

THE UNDERGRADUATE RESEARCH ACADEMY
OFFICE OF UNDERGRADUATE ASSESSMENT & PROGRAM REVIEW
Cover Page (Please type)

STUDENT: Andrew Jason Givens

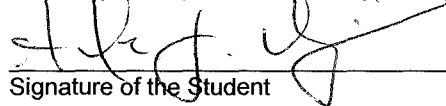
MENTOR(S): Dr. Denise DeGarmo

PROJECT TITLE: The Impact of Failed States on Terrorism in the Middle East

ABSTRACT: The abstract is a brief but comprehensive summary of the contents of the proposal *in plain language*, approximately 150 words. Readers receive their first impression of the flavor of the topic from this abstract. The information in the abstract needs to be concise, well organized, self contained, and understandable to persons outside the discipline.

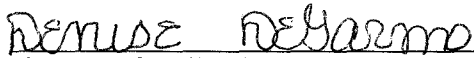
Following the attacks of September 11th, 2001, a major question posed to policymakers internationally is how to effectively confront the causes and the conditions that are favorable to the rise of terrorism within a country. This question is especially difficult due to terrorists' ability to operate outside a particular boundary in combination with international inability to define terrorism. Despite this, as the global war on terrorism continues, overwhelmingly there is a need for a focus on the link between failed states and terrorism. The objective is to take one region, the Middle East, and demonstrate how failed states and instability is one of the key foundations to the fostering of terrorism. Internationally, no other region has suffered the serious consequences of terrorism than the Middle East. There have more terror-related incidents, injuries, and fatalities in the Middle East than any other region of the world. Based on the results of the review, a series of policy recommendations will conclude the study.

Upon submitting this proposal, I verify that this writing is my own and pledge to fulfill all of the expectations of the Undergraduate Research Academy to the best of my abilities. I understand that failure to do so may result in return of fellowship money to the University and forfeiture of academic credit and honors recognition.



Signature of the Student

I am able, willing, and committed to providing the necessary facilities and to take the time to mentor this student during this project. I verify that this student is capable of undertaking this proposed project.



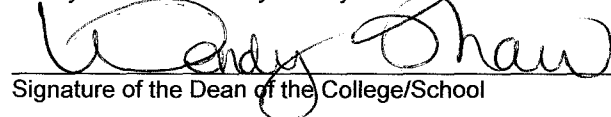
Signature of the Faculty Mentor

This project is within the mission and scope of this department, and the department fully supports the faculty mentor and student during this venture.



Signature of the Department Chairperson

I testify that all necessary research protocols (human, animal, toxic waste) have been fulfilled, and I support this proposed faculty-student scholarly activity as within the mission of the College/School.



Signature of the Dean of the College/School

Introduction & Significance:

In the wake of the September 11th, 2001 attacks on the World Trade Centers and the Pentagon many researchers and policymakers have battled over how to effectively address terrorism. More specifically, researchers question how to deal with the rising threat of terrorism from the Middle East. As a response to the attacks, the United States began to build a coalition of over 70 countries worldwide to execute the global war on terrorism¹. In addressing the problems associated with terrorism, it is important to understand that the phenomenon of terrorism has been present in world history for decades. By some accounts, terrorism traces as far back in history as 2,000 years². Because of the diverse ways in which terrorism is defined, it is difficult to access when its use first originated. The magnitude and the implications of the attacks waged by terrorists brought about increased interest to the root causes of terrorist organizations. Furthermore, it brought about the increased attention to government failure as potential conditions favorable to terrorist organizations; particularly in the Middle East. In the Middle East, there have been an estimated 9,165 terror related incidents, 32,919 terror related injuries, and 15,054 terror related fatalities since 1968³. The Middle East will be focused on because no other region has had more incidents, injuries, and fatalities as a result of terrorism. The study of government failure and terrorism will focus on a wide variety of factors in the Middle East region.

The nature of this study is to, simply stated, scratch the surface of this very complex issue. The study is to provide an analytical framework to examine whether government and institutional failure leads to the increased propensity for terrorist organizations to take hold within a country's borders. If the latter is true, what can be done to better counter those conditions? Many analysts, researchers, and policymakers have made careers out of the researching this issue. By no means will a concrete answer to the problems of terrorism in the Middle East be found by my study. However, this study can contribute to the analysis of government's role in addressing terrorism in the region. These studies are being analyzed by hundreds of think tanks, government organizations, non-government organizations, such as the International Center for Terrorism Studies, Center for Strategic and International Studies, the RAND Corporation, the Institute for Middle East Peace, and the Institute for Global Affairs.

One might ask why I would want to study this field considering a great deal of work is currently being done in it. My intention upon graduation is to continue to pursue a specialized degree in International Relations with an emphasis on the Middle East and Asia. Career analysis of these issues is what I intend on pursuing, whether at a government or non-governmental level. This summer of 2006, I have been accepted into the International Affairs Program of the Washington Center in Washington DC. There, I will be interning at one of more than 11 agencies, including the organizations listed above. In addition, I will have consistent access to Middle East embassies while in Washington DC over the summer. It is my intentions to use my internship experience as a catalyst to conduct this research and communicate with other career analyst in this field.

Context & Background

At its core, the single most important issue that is disrupting the international community from making progress against terrorism is its inability to define it. The operating phrase used by many in academia, analysts, and intellectuals in various cultures is that "one man's terrorist is another's freedom fighter." Internationally, what is considered terrorism is socially constructed. For example, some base the definition of terrorism on their operational techniques whereas others look towards their motivations and intentions⁴. In the book, *Political Terrorism*, violence and force appeared 83.5% of the time in people's definition of terrorism followed by 65% using the term to indicate a political motivation. In this particular study, there were 109 different definitions provided⁵. Without a definition, it's nearly impossible to mobilize international or regional support against terrorism. Because of the transnational nature of terrorism, cooperation between nations is critical; therefore a common definition is imperative.

There are a wide-range of explanations of terrorism provided worldwide. Many studying terrorism look to the theory of relative deprivation to explain its root cause. The theory of relative deprivation centers on the belief that a certain level of economic, political, and or cultural deprivation has the potential to lead individuals to violence, in some cases terrorism⁶. This causal explanation for terrorism is divisive among many in the international field. Economically, the general idea is that when people lack resources such as access to water, food, and employment at the least, then individuals are more vulnerable to recruitment of terrorist organizations. This theory has received an increasing level of attention and has been applied to civil conflicts worldwide.

For some, the use of terrorism is perceived as "war by other means," a similar characteristic of Karl von Clausewitz description of "war as politics by other means⁷." This is a concept that many analysts and policymakers internationally struggle with. This style of terrorism is characteristic when a level of dissent and dissatisfaction with a particular regime or policy reaches a pinnacle and turns violent. The goal of political terrorism can be summarized as being designed to obtain leverage and influence in attempt to effect political change on the particular state or on the international community⁸. The use of terrorism with the agenda to alter the political, social, and/or economic situations while under occupation of a foreign entity is considered as a legitimate national resistance simply exercising the right to self determination. Whereas, using those grounds against the existing government is considered a political crime. Therefore, the above action is considered terrorism because it challenges the legitimacy of the government according to the Arab Strategy in the Struggle Against Terrorism⁹.

Generally, fundamentalist terrorism is closely related to Islamic extremists who attempt to impose the Shar'ia (Islamic law) and/or establish a Pan-Arab state¹⁰. An estimated 57% of terrorist fatalities and 61% of those wounded in 2004 and early 2005 are the result of Islamic extremism according to the National Counterterrorism Center¹¹. This just demonstrates one facet of terrorism and the various forms posing a threat to the international community at large; much of which originates from the Middle East. However, this is just one facet of religious extremism; other types exist in terrorist organizations.

Objectives – Procedures – Timeline

The conduct of the study's methodology is an important aspect of the analysis and one that requires transparency. At the conclusion of the study, one must be able to follow the exact steps I took to achieve my findings. Therefore, every attempt will be made to use techniques that permit others to do the same study and locate consistency in my findings. One of the best methods is through empirical analysis with limited normative arguments.

At my disposal, I will have many resources to conduct this study. As stated before, for the summer of 2006 I will be in Washington DC on an internship largely dealing with this issues pertaining to this study. It is my intention to utilize the resources around me while in DC. Testimony and mentorship will play a major role in the success of this research project. I will have access to experts in the field of counterterrorism, Middle East Security, and International Relations/Security that I will correspond with. In addition, here at SIUE, I will be under the mentorship of Dr. Denise Degarmo. Dr. Degarmo deals exclusively with international relations and has a host of valuable sources, documents, and statistics that can be used. Furthermore, there are other professors at SIUE that will be of great assistance to my research efforts. Another example is Dr. Steve Tamari of the History Department. Dr. Tamari has a host of information dealing with the Middle East as that is his marquee area. In addition to testimony from various experts in the field, I will rely on primary sources. Some of my analysis will be conducted using recently declassified information. This will be the case of many of my sources such as Stratfor Intelligence and the MIPT Terrorism Knowledge Base.

Because I will be seeking to identify correlations and comparing different variables influencing the propensity for terrorism to take hold in a country, I will be doing a great deal of work with empirical analysis. One of the best analytical tools at my disposal is SPSS. SPSS is predictive, analytical software that has assisted political analyst of various subfields. Upon evaluating the variables, I will use SPSS to determine whether the correlations are strong or weak. SPSS also has the ability to expose flaws in my analysis.

There are three objectives that will be contributing to study's conclusion. Before outlining them, all relevant analysis of the Middle East will take a total of 10 months. As stated previously, by no means is this study the final word on the complex issue of terrorism in the Middle East. This is an issue that will remain a controversial for the years to come. Instead, I am simply scratching the surface of the issue. My goal is to link the impact of government and institution failure of a country with terrorist organizations in the Middle East.

Objective One: Analysis of State Behavior

This objective will conceptualize the problem and set the tone for the remainder of the study. Overwhelmingly, this objective will be empirically based. I will evaluate the political and economic situation within specific countries. I will study select countries that have the most and the least terrorist organizations within their borders. Economically, I will seek to analyze the overall health of society. Is there a large segment of the population in poverty? Politically, for example, I will attempt to assess the power distribution within the state. Is the government preventing political opposition? Is a certain group of people being oppressed? Is the population under occupation? Are there appropriate avenues for individuals to express discontent? In addition, I will examine public opinion polls within the states

analyzed. I will seek to gather as much information to conceptualize the situation on the ground of the countries chosen. I will determine which countries to analyze by evaluating statistics provided through governmental and nongovernmental agencies. As mentioned earlier, the countries will be chosen by those with the most and the least terrorist organizations within its borders.

Objective Two: Analysis of Terrorism within the State

Previously, I made clear of the intentions to evaluate the number of terrorist groups operating in the state. Obviously, time does not permit the analysis of them all. Therefore, I will focus on those terror organizations that have carried out the most attacks, domestically and/internationally. Determination of which groups to look more at will depend on the statistics from governmental and nongovernmental agencies. In this stage, for example, I will look at the grievances, the targets of choice, and the motivations of terrorist organizations within that particular state. Similar questions from objective one will be applied to the current objective. However, in this stage, the focus will be on the terrorism within the state.

Objective Three: Drawing the Connection

The results from objective 1 and objective 2 will play a significant role in the construction of the third objective. Based off my findings, I will evaluate whether there is a connection between government and institutional failure with terrorism. I will look at the behavior of states being analyzed for correlations. This will also be an objective that looks for intervening factors. Simply stated, it may not solely be government failure that leads to the increased propensity for terrorist organizations to rise. Instead, there may be another factor in combination with the latter that leads to the increased propensity.

<p>May June July August</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Objective 1- Analysis of State Behavior
<p>September October November December</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Objective 2- Analysis of Terrorism within the State
<p>January February</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Objective 3- Drawing the Connection
<p>March April</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Preparation for Symposium <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Presentation

References

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http://www.tkb.org/Glossary.jsp#F

Budget Justifications

Supplies				
Quantity	Item	Item #	Cost	Source
5	Wilson Jones D-Ring 2"Binder	786111	31.95	Office Depot.com
1	Elmer's Premium Foam Display Board	460901	12.99	Office Depot. com
2	HP 56/57 Cartridge	439777	103.98	Office Depot.com
5	Avery Ready Index 15- tab dividers	586315	39.50	Office Depot.com
Total: 188.42				

Item Source: Stratfor (www.stratfor.com) & Amazon (www.amazon.com)			
Item Type	Item	Cost	Source
Online Subscription 5 Months	-	199.75	Stratfor Consulting Intelligence Agency
	Resisting Rebellion: The History and Politics of Counterinsurgency By Anthony James Jones	22.05	Amazon.com
	Why Terrorism Works: Understanding the Threat, Responding to the Challenge By Alan Dershowitz	18.00	Amazon.com
	Origins of Terrorism: Psychologies, Ideologies, Theologies, State of Mind	18.95	Amazon.com

By: Walter Laguer			
Battling Terrorism in the Horn of Africa		12.97	Amazon.com
By: Robert I. Rotberg			
Crescent of Crisis		12.32	Amazon.com
Total: 284.04			

Item Source (online) – Center for Strategic and International Studies – www.csis.org	
Item	Cost
From Conflict to Cooperation: Writing a New Chapter in US-Arab Relations	18.95
Modernization, Democracy, and Islam	29.95
National Security in Saudi Arabia: Threats, Responses and Challenges	54.95
Commentaries on International Political Economy	22.95
Pakistan's Future & US Policy Options	13.95
Islam, Europe's Second Religion	28.95
Winning the Peace	24.95
Improving the Practice of National Security Strategy	21.95
The Iraq War	29.95
Islam and Human Rights: Advancing a US- Muslim Dialogue	20.00
Total: 266.55	

Item Source (online): Brookings Institute: www.brookings.edu	
Item	Cost
Unmasking Terror: Global Review of Terrorist Activities	29.95
Total: 29.95	

Shipping Fees:	31.04
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OVERALL COST: \$ 800.00