

AN EMPIRICAL EVALUATION OF THE RELATION BETWEEN FOREIGN POLICY
BEHAVIOR AND FATALITY OF TRANSNATIONAL TERRORISM

by

ELİF BURCU GÜNDOĞDU

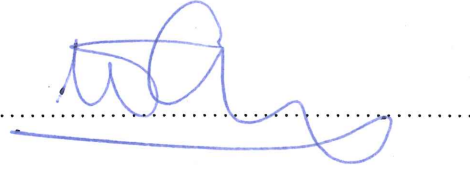
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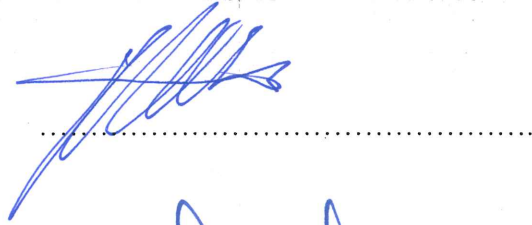
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ABSTRACT

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Keywords: transnational terrorism, foreign policy behavior, fatality of terrorism, empirical analysis

What kind of foreign policy behaviors of states affect the fatality of transnational terrorist incidents they suffer in a given year? This study argues that states that follow certain foreign policy behaviors are more likely to challenge the strategic interests of other actors in the international arena. In such situations, sponsoring or conducting a terrorist attack may appear as a good tactic for those whose interests are hurt as a result of these foreign policy behaviors. From this point of view, the expectation is that states that pursue certain foreign policy behavior are likely to incur more lethal transnational terrorist incidents. This thesis analyses the following foreign policy behaviors of states; involvement in international crises, intervention in civil wars and foreign policy similarity with the United States. Therefore, it aims to test the possible influence of states' involvement in international crises, intervention to civil wars and foreign policy similarity with the US on the fatality of terrorist incidents which they incur. For this purpose, I analyze the lethality of transnational terrorist incidents between 1970 and 2007. The findings suggest that certain type of foreign policy behaviors of states have an impact on the fatality of transnational terrorist incidents they are exposed to. More specifically, states' involvement in international crises and their foreign policy similarity with the United States influence the total number of deaths as a result of transnational terrorist attacks.

ÖZET

DIŞ POLİTİKA DAVRANIŞI VE TRANSNASYONAL TERÖR SALDIRILARININ ÖLÜMCÜLLÜĞÜ ARASINDAKİ İLİŞKİNİN AMPİRİK DEĞERLENDİRMESİ

ELİF BURCU GÜNDOĞDU

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Anahtar sözcükler: transnasyonal terörizm, dış politika davranışı, terörizmin ölümcüllüğü, ampirik analiz

Devletlerin izledikleri dış politika davranışlarından hangileri maruz kaldıkları transnasyonal terör saldırılarının ölümcüllüğünü etkiler? Bu çalışma, bazı dış politika davranışlarını izleyen devletlerin uluslararası aktörlerin stratejik çıkarlarıyla çatışmaya daha çok elverişli olduklarını varsayar. Bu durumlarda, terör saldırıları, devletlerin izledikleri dış politika davranışlarıyla çıkarları zedelenen aktörlerin başvurabilecekleri bir araç olarak ortaya çıkabilir. Söz konusu bakış açısından hareketle, bazı dış politika davranışlarını sergileyen ülkelerin daha ölümcül transnasyonal terör saldırılarına maruz kalabileceklerini öngörmektedir. Bu çalışmanın analiz ettiği dış politika tercihleri; uluslararası krizlere dahil olmak, sivil savaşa müdahale etmek ve Amerika Birleşik Devletleri ile dış politika benzerliğidir. Dolayısıyla bu çalışma, devletlerin uluslararası krizlere dahil olmalarının, sivil savaflara müdahale etmelerinin ve ABD ile dış politika benzerliklerinin, söz konusu devletlerin maruz kaldıkları transnasyonal terör saldırılarının ölümcüllüğüne etkisini test etmeyi amaçlar. Bu araştırmayı yürütmek için, 1970 ve 2007 arasında devletlerin maruz kaldıkları transnasyonal terör saldırılarının ölümcüllüğü incelenmiştir. Çalışmanın bulguları devletlerin izledikleri bazı dış politika davranışlarının, söz konusu devletlerin maruz kaldıkları transnasyonal terör saldırılarındaki ölümcüllüğü etkilediğini ortaya koymuştur. Analize göre, devletlerin uluslararası krizlere dahil olmaları ve ABD ile dış politika benzerlikleri maruz kaldıkları transnasyonal terör saldırılarındaki toplam ölüm sayısını etkilemektedir.

*Dedicated to my family
Serpil-Birol Gündođdu*



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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

In 2010, I attended my mother's symbolic university graduation ceremony. She had graduated from Gazi University in 1980. The last two years of her university life were full of boycotts, demonstrations, and conflicts due to the increasing politicization in Turkey. After 30 years, my mother's friends from university organized a symbolic ceremony for their cohort. She introduced me to her female friends who used to be leftist leaders of the faculty. I was quite surprised to hear that there were leftist women who were active during the 60s and 70s. Until then, I had only been exposed to the stories and images of male activists such as Deniz Gezmiş and Mahir Çayan. The women I knew were either identified as lovers, sisters or mothers. This lack of knowledge resulted in a growing curiosity about women's experiences of leftist activism. What were the reasons for this lack of knowledge? The 1960s and 70s had seen a rapid growth in youth movements and leftist politics, with widespread support coming from different parts of the society. Women were active participants of these movements. Yet, their contributions and witnessing had not been a part of the subsequent historiography.

In the wake of the Cold War, transnational terrorism has become as one of the main threats to global security. In recent years, we began witnessing dreadful and shocking incidents committed by transnational terror networks. Such devastating events created a continued atmosphere of fear among public as well as government circles. The assaults increased the feeling of vulnerability and insecurity and indicate that no one or no country is immune from being a victim of terrorism. In line with the focus of global politics, academia also pays attention to the subject of transnational terrorism. Some of the topics that were studied are the determinants of terrorism, the dynamics of terrorist attacks and counter

terrorism policies of countries. Previous studies suggest several and sometimes divergent explanations to these topics.

Regarding the dynamics of terrorist incidents, one of the items that received limited attention in terrorism literature is foreign policy behavior of states. Savun and Phillip's (2009) article "Democracy, Foreign Policy and Terrorism" constitutes an exception to this. Authors analyze the relation between foreign policy behavior of states and the number of transnational terrorist incidents they incur in a given year. In order to evaluate the foreign policy behavior of states; authors make a differentiation between states' active and isolationist foreign policy behaviors. In their study, active foreign policy is assessed through three variables: involvement in foreign policy crisis with other states, alliance relations with the United States and the frequency of intervention in civil wars. Their findings suggest that states that pursue active foreign policy are more likely to experience transnational terrorism.

On the other hand, quality of terrorist incidents is another significant point which empirical studies of terrorism overlook. Conrad and Greene (2014) highlight the differentiation between the quantity and the quality of terrorist incidents. They argue that the number of terrorist attacks a country exposes to in a given year may not truly reflect the brutality of the terrorist events. From this point of view, they analyze the severity of terrorist incidents by focusing on the pieces of information about each attack which are the type of target that terrorists attacked and their method of attack. The work of Conrad and Greene show that only looking at the number of transnational attacks which is what Savun and Phillips (2009) do is not sufficient.

Assessing these gaps highlighted in the literature, this study aims to analyze empirically the relation between foreign policy behavior of states and the lethality of transnational terrorist events they suffer in a given year. Therefore, it attempts to answer the question of whether certain type of foreign policy behavior of states affect the fatality of transnational terrorist incidents they incur in a given year. This thesis analyses the following foreign policy behaviors of states;

1. Involvement in international crises,
2. Intervention in civil wars,
3. Foreign policy similarity with the United States.

Therefore, this study will analyze the possible impact of states' involvement in international crises, intervention in civil wars and foreign policy similarity with United States on the fatality of transnational terrorist incidents they suffer. Different from Savun and Phillips (2009), this thesis takes intervention in civil wars and foreign policy similarity with the US as independent variables rather than frequency in intervention to civil wars and alliance relations with the US. On the other hand, different from Conrad and Greene's (2014) severity measurement, this study analyzes the quality of transnational terrorist incidents through calculating the total number of deaths in a country in a given year.

The second chapter of this thesis comprises the literature review which composes of four sections. In the first part, it attempts to analyze the definition of terrorism deeply. In the following section, it focuses on the differentiation between the types of terrorisms. It tries to illustrate conceptual differences between domestic, transnational and international terrorism. Then, it attempts to examine recent studies on terrorism briefly. Lastly, existing studies that focus on the relation between foreign policy and transnational terrorism will be presented.

The third chapter, theoretical part of this thesis, is mainly composed four sections. First of all, it tries to illustrate briefly how active foreign policy behavior of states can create resentment abroad. Then, it focuses on the trends in the fatality of terrorist incidents by covering the major articles and the reports about terrorism. In the light of the illustration of such studies, this thesis seeks to analyze the determinants of such trend. Therefore, it tries to explain the lethality of transnational terrorist attacks by focusing on the foreign policy behavior of states. Thus, in the next section, it tries to underline the mechanisms that may lead more several forms of terrorist incidents. In line with the three indicators of state's' foreign policy behavior; involvement in international crises, civil war intervention and foreign policy similarity with the US, each of the following sections attempt to analyze theoretically their relations with transnational terrorism.

The fourth chapter concentrates on the quantitative methodology that has been adopted to conduct this thesis. This chapter of the study mainly aims to give information about the research design and presents the databases for dependent, three independent and three control variables to conduct this study. Furthermore, it also presents the limitations of the dataset and the research design. The fifth chapter presents the results from multi-variate ordinary least square regression model to analyze foreign policy behavior of states and the fatality of

transnational terrorism they suffer. The last chapter is the conclusion part. After a brief overview of the research motivation and the overall study, it presents the summary of the results and the discussion of the findings.



CHAPTER 2

LITERATURE REVIEW

Transnational terrorism is one of the major threats to global security in the 21st century which international community has to deal. From the recent news, we observe that shocking type of transnational terrorist incidents were conducted. We are following that the recent terrorist incidents resulted with a high number of fatalities. For instance, Paris attacks on November 13, 2015 killed 130 innocents; Brussel bombings on March 22, 2016 killed 32; Nice terror attack on July 14, 2016 killed 84; Gaziantep incident on August 20, 2016 killed 52; İstanbul attack on January 1, 2017 killed 39 victims; and recently Manchester terror attack on May 22, 2017 killed 22 innocents (Sigman, 2017). These instances lead to question whether states' foreign policy behaviors affect the fatality of transnational terrorism they suffer. Therefore, this thesis attempts to analyze the possible relation between foreign policy behavior and the lethality of transnational terrorist incidents.

In this review, the first part focuses on the definition of terrorism and then presents the concept of terrorism in complementary with the dataset which this study utilizes. The second part, discusses the types of terrorism; domestic, transnational and international. The following section, investigates the recent academic studies on terrorism. Lastly, it attempts to present the studies related to foreign policy behavior of states and transnational terrorism.

2.1. What is Terrorism?

First section of this chapter attempts to review the debates surrounding the definition of terrorism. First of all, it addresses briefly the debate regarding the definition of the terrorism and how inclusion criteria set by the Global Terrorism Database (National Consortium for the Study of Terrorism and Responses to Terrorism, 2016) fits into this definition.

2.1.1. Defining Terrorism

Although terrorism has long been debated, it is not possible to claim that there is a consensus over its definition. In academics, politics, security agencies and media, different meanings of terrorism have been used. Whittaker (2002) claims that there are clear differences in these areas' perception of terrorism. Therefore, it is worth to discuss why it is difficult to agree upon the definition of terrorism.

First of all, one of the argument states that the answer of “who is a terrorist” completely depends on the subjective interpretation of an individual (Ganor, 2002). Walter Laqueur (1987) asserts that defining terrorism comprehensively is not possible since terrorism has emerged in “many different forms and under many different circumstances”. According to him, it is possible to regard that “one person's terrorist is another person's freedom fighter”.

Secondly, different “arenas of discourse” further intensifies the definitional problems of terrorism (Weinberg et al., 2004). In order to manage the problems regarding the definition of the concept, Schmid categorizes four such discourse arenas; academics, statements, the public area and lastly those who are the supporters or the performers of the violent act

(Schmid, 1992). Furthermore, the common definition of terrorism is difficult since it suffers from ‘border’ and ‘membership’ problems as Weinberg et al. (2004) argue. According to their argument, there is not any clear cut separation between terrorism and other forms of political violence. It may not be able to assess the line which political violence ends and terrorist activity begins. Therefore, an incident can be regarded as a terrorist act in certain occasions and not in others. However, according to Hoffman (2006) terrorism is different from other forms of violence since it carries a political message beyond the targets itself. All of these factors lead to consideration of terrorism as a subjective phenomenon which boundaries of the concept are both fluid and difficult to define.

Objective and collective understanding of what terrorism is essential in order to reach a comprehensive agreement over its definition. Munck and Verkuilen (2002) suggest minimalist and maximalist types of definitions. According to their typology, while minimalist definitions exclude theoretically relevant attributes, maximalist definitions include theoretically irrelevant attributes of a phenomenon. Therefore, in line with the “arenas of discourse” argument, certain arenas may use these specific forms of definitions.

Lacqueur (1990) approaches the concept of terrorism as “a dangerous ground for simplificateurs and generalisateurs and to assess it, a cool head is probably more essential than any other intellectual quality”. Therefore, it is possible to observe that state institutions, academia and civil society illustrate differences in their approaches towards the definition of terrorism from the point of maximalist and minimalist outlooks.

In their book, “Political Terrorism: A New Guide to Actors, Authors, Concepts, Data Bases, Theories, and Literature” Schmid and Jongman (1988) cited 109 working definitions of terrorism in order to reach a broadly acceptable and comprehensive definition of the concept. In their definition, Schmid and Jongman attempt to include as many terrorism related elements as possible. Then, they generated a definition by using sixteen of twenty two elements which they extracted from 109 definitions in the literature. Therefore, Schmid and Jongman (1988) define terrorism as;

[...] an anxiety-inspiring method of repeated violent action, employed by (semi-) clandestine individual, group or state actors, for idiosyncratic, criminal or political reasons, whereby - in contrast to assassination - the direct targets of violence are not the main targets. The immediate human victims of violence are generally chosen randomly (targets of opportunity) or selectively (representative or symbolic targets) from a target population, and serve as message generators.

Threat- and violence-based communication processes between terrorist (organization), victims, and main targets are used to manipulate the main target (audience(s)), turning it into a target of terror, a target of demands, or a target of attention, depending on whether intimidation, coercion, or propaganda is primarily sought.

Therefore, it may be possible to evaluate Schmid and Jongman's definition of terrorism as appropriate for the maximalist typology. On the other hand, some of the definitions can be criticized as being minimalist definition. One of the working definitions from Schmid's categorization of 'arenas of state discourse' belongs to U.S. State Department (2004) which terrorism means;

Premeditated, politically motivated violence perpetrated against noncombatant targets by subnational groups or clandestine agents.

In a similar vein, this definition may also be criticized for being minimalist by excluding theoretically relevant attributes of the concept. Therefore, the most appropriate definition can be found on the middle ground between these two options. A brief overview of the terrorism literature suggests certain commonalities among all definitions. In general, the definitions of the terrorism include similar concepts including innocent victims, violence, fear, political motivation and demand for change.

2.1.2. The Global Terrorism Database Inclusion Criteria

Definition of terrorism in this thesis is prescribed by the data set. Therefore, the definition of terrorism in this study is complementary with the inclusion criteria for Global Terrorism Database (GTD, 2016). The GTD defines a terrorist attack as; "the threatened or actual use of illegal force and violence by a non-state actor to attain a political, economic, religious, or social goal through fear, coercion, or intimidation".

Accordingly, GTD inclusion criteria consist of two main parts. In the first part there are three attributes. These three items have to be satisfied for an attack to be included in the data-set (START, 2016). These attributes are;

- The incident must be committed intentionally.
- The incident must lead to certain level of violence or threat of violence.
- The perpetrators of the incident must be sub-national actors which mean the GTD does not include the events of state terrorism.

In the second part, two out of three criteria for an event are necessary in order to be included in the dataset. These attributes are;

- The act must aim to gain political, economic, religious or social goals.
- There must be evidence that the incident has a message to a larger audience than the victims.
- The incident has to be outside the context of legitimate warfare situations.

2.2. Types of Terrorism

In addition to several definitions of terrorism, the concept can also be categorized even further. One of the main components of this thesis is to highlight the distinction between different types of terrorism. Thus, it is important to discuss different forms of terrorism which is categorized in the literature as domestic, transnational and international.

The distinction between these categories is made based on the nationality relationships among victims, perpetrators and the venues. Accordingly, domestic terrorism involves the incidents which targets, perpetrators and the audience belong to the same country (Sandler, 2011; Enders et al., 2011). However, transnational terrorism includes the cases which perpetrators, victims, governments and institutions concern at least two countries or more (Sandler, 2011; Enders et al., 2011). For instance, if a terrorist organization in one country, attacks to the targets in another country for political purposes, this incident is regarded as a transnational terrorism. One of the advantages of our data set is that it allows us to differentiate transnational terrorism from other types. It will also be mentioned elaborately in the chapter related with methodology.

Although, domestic and transnational terrorism are differentiated by the nationality of the actors involved in the incident, some scholars believe that this distinction is irrelevant (Sanchez- Cuenca & de la Calle, 2009). According to them, both types of incidents display the similar driving factors and consequences.

On the other hand, there have been a number of studies that measure the effect of different elements on these different types of terrorism. In such studies, there are some cases which the influence of one element is significant in one type of terrorism; however it is insignificant in the other one. Therefore, it is possible to state that for a proper analysis, some empirical questions require to include both domestic and transnational terrorism, while others require observing only domestic or transnational terrorism. Since this thesis attempts to relate terrorism with states' foreign policy behavior, it attempts to conduct the research by only taking into the consideration of transnational events.

In addition to domestic and transnational terrorism, there is another category in the literature which is international terrorism. Some studies, argue that international terrorism is not exactly same as transnational terrorism (Reinares, 2005; Guelke, 1998). Badey (1998) defines international terrorism as “the repeated use of politically motivated violence with coercive intent, by non-state actors, that affects more than one state”. For Reinares (2005), two conditions constitute international terrorism which are about the declared goals of the terrorist organization and the extent of their organizational structures. Accordingly, international terrorist activities attempt to change the power distribution in the world politics and their activities extend to a number of countries or regions.

With respect to the differentiation between transnational and international terrorism, while the latter includes the cases which states are the actors, the former does not (Guelke, 1998; Lia, 2005). However, Badey does not state the differentiation between two. Thus, the literature is not entirely agreed on this distinction. In this thesis, the differentiation between these two is not needed. The only thing to consider is that transnational and international terrorism consist of the events which the victim, perpetrator and the venue involve more than a state. In this study, I will use the transnational terrorism term for any incident which involves two or more states since some definitions treat international terrorism as state has a role against its citizens. However, our data our database have no information to indicate this.

2.3. Recent Studies On Terrorism

More than a decade has passed since the shocking events on September 11, 2001 which re-made the world aware of the significant threat posed by terrorism in an acute way. Even though transnational terrorism takes its roots from 1967 with the attacks of Palestine Liberation Army (Hoffman, 1998), these hijackings may be considered as a significant turning point in terms of its influence on the global awareness of terrorism risk. In the following years, the terrorist attacks in Tunisia (April 2002), Bali (October 2002), Istanbul (November 2003), Madrid (March 2004), and London (July 2005) illustrate that transnational terrorism is one of the major threats to global security in 21st century.

The events on these fateful events then followed by an increase in government, media and academic attention to the threat posed by terrorism. For example, government spending on counter-terrorism measures increased after September 11, 2001 attacks (Enders & Sandler, 2006). In parallel with the agenda of world politics, there has been a growing scholarly interest in terrorism studies. This part of the chapter attempts to cover some of the main contributions of the empirical and theoretical studies on terrorism literature.

Terrorism studies display a rich diversity of topics and methods in the literature. Past studies focus on the root causes of terrorism, the dynamics of terrorist attacks and counter terrorism policies of countries (Sandler, 2013). In recent years, there have been several theoretical and empirical methods applied to study terrorism. The evolution of the letter is seen as a result of increasing availability of data sources on terrorism such as, International Terrorism: Attribute of Events (ITERATE, 2011) and Global Terrorism Database (GTD, 2016) and RAND Database of Worldwide Terrorism Incidents (RDWTI, 2010). With respect to the variety of topics, earlier empirical articles have studied the root causes of terrorism (Krueger & Maleckova, 2003), the dynamics of terrorist attacks (Brandt & Sandler, 2010), macroeconomic consequences of terrorism (Blomberg, Hess & Orphanides, 2004; Keefer & Loayza, 2008) and the effectiveness of counter-terrorism policies (Enders & Sandler, 1993; Landes, 1978; Zussman & Zussman, 2006).

In terrorism studies, the question of why are some states more vulnerable to terrorism than other states is one of the main focuses. As similar with the definition of terrorism, there is not a consensus in the literature to answer this question. Previous researches examine institutional components of state, macroeconomic factors, government capability, demography, geography and proximity to terrorism as predictors of terrorism. Although there

are links between terrorism and the environment that produces it, there is not any comprehensive analysis that explains the conditions that trigger terrorism completely.

One of the aspects that have received considerable attention is the regime type of states. Scholars of this subject present two opposing arguments regarding the relation between regime type and terrorism. Some researchers argue that democratic regimes are less prone to terrorist attacks than autocratic ones (e.g., Eyerman 1998; Hamilton and Hamilton 1983; Ross 1993). On the other hand, some other researchers argue that democratic states are more likely to attract terrorism than non-democracies (e.g., Eubank and Weinberg 2001; Li 2005; Pape 2003). Most empirical literature support for the first argument suggesting democracies are more prone to transnational terrorism than non-democracies (Eubank and Weinberg 2001; Li 2005; Schmid 1992).

Several theoretical arguments have been put forward in order to explain why democracies are more likely to attract transnational terrorism than other regime types. Certain aspects of democratic regimes are analyzed in the literature such as executive constraints, free press and political participation as a reason which makes them the target of terrorism (Savun and Phillips, 2009). Chenoweth's (2013) study categorizes four groups to show the existing explanations for the association between democracy and terrorism. These four groups composed of "structural, strategic, organizational and political approaches". According to structural approach, institutional design of states explains the terrorist violence. Several studies research on the relation between institutional design of democracies and terrorism. For example, Li (2005) works on several mechanism of democracies such as; democratic participation, institutional constraints and press freedom to analyze their effect on terrorism.

In addition to these, several researches focus on the variation in terrorist activities across democracies. For instance, Koch and Cranmer (2007) analyze the differences in democratic states' experience of terrorism by focusing on the government ideology. Their findings state that left governments are more likely to being the target of transnational terrorism than right governments. Young and Dugan's (2011) study shows that number of veto players in a political system is a reason why some democratic regimes foster terrorism while others do not. Their findings demonstrate that as the number of veto players increase in a country, the number of terrorist events are more frequent.

Some of the recent studies focus on the economic dynamics of transnational terrorism. For example, Li and Schaub (2005) analyze the effect of economic globalization on transnational terrorism. They seek to answer the question of whether countries that are more integrated into the global economy also experience more transnational terrorist incidents within their borders. Accordingly, their findings suggest that while trade, foreign direct investment (FDI), and portfolio investment have no direct positive effect on transnational terrorist incidents within countries, economic developments of a country reduces the number of terrorist incidents inside the country.

On the other hand, Burgoon's (2004) study tests the impact of social welfare provisions on transnational terrorism. According to the results, trade, FDI, and financial capital flows of a country have no direct positive effect on the number of transnational terrorist incidents initiated within the country. However, the economic development of a country and its top economic partners reduces the number of transnational terrorist incidents within the country.

So far, previous sections tried to cover existing researches on terrorism. These studies suggest several and sometimes divergent explanations for the determinants of terrorism. In other words, no set of analysis can provide a comprehensive explanation to expound the determinants of terrorism. The overarching premise driving all of these studies is to work on the potential determinants of transnational terrorism using a broad database. So far, it can be claimed that limited attention in the literature has been paid to the relation between foreign policy and terrorism. Additionally, these articles mainly focus on the number of terrorist attacks which a country experience. However, not all countries experience the same amount of terrorism and in a similar way. In the following sections, we will emphasize the differentiation between the quality and quantity of terrorist incidents.

2.4. Foreign Policy and Transnational Terrorism

The empirical studies of terrorism have overlooked foreign policy behavior of states. The literature largely focuses on state, group or individual level factors to explain the

predictors of terrorism. However, this thesis attempts focus on the foreign policy behavior of states. On the other hand, another issue that receives valuable attention in empirical studies is to measure the number of terrorist incidents. In this thesis, we will try to analyze the possible relation between foreign policy behavior of states and the lethality of transnational terrorist incidents. In this section, we will try to cover major studies that focus on the relation between foreign policy behavior of states and transnational terrorism.

Savun and Phillips's (2009) article is one of the significant works that research on the relation between foreign policy behavior of states and terrorism. Authors suggest that states that pursue certain type of foreign policy behavior, regardless of their regime type, are likely to attract transnational terrorism. They compares the states those who actively involve international politics and those who pursue isolationist foreign policy behavior. Accordingly, states that follow active foreign policy behavior are more likely to create resentment from abroad, so more likely to be the target of transnational terrorism. Their study firstly tests the relationship between regime type and attraction of terrorism. According to their assumption, if regime type of states matter, democratic states should also attract domestic terrorism. However, their findings do not support this hypothesis. Then, they suggest as their findings show, regime type is not a matter. Rather, foreign policy behavior of states affects states' likelihood of being the target of transnational terrorism.

Another study that deals with the foreign policy behavior of states and transnational terrorism is conducted by Koch and Cranmer (2007). Authors seek to answer the question of how government ideology affects states' being the target of transnational terrorism. Their findings suggest that governments of the left are vulnerable to transnational terrorism more than governments of the right. One of the theoretical links authors form is based on the partisan accountability and its outcomes on foreign policy behavior of two types of governments. Based on some evidences (Budge & Hofferbert, 1990; Fordham, 1998; Koch, 2002; Palmer et al., 2004) which suggest parties of the right tend to be more hawkish than parties of the left, authors develop their argument. Accordingly, since right wing governments tend to pursue hawkish foreign policy issues, this influences decision- making calculus of terrorist organizations; therefore right governments are less vulnerable to transnational terrorist attacks.

Findley, Piazza and Young (2010) conduct an empirical study to test whether interstate rivalry between two states influences transnational terrorism. Their findings demonstrate that interstate rivalries are positive indicators of transnational terrorism. The theoretical link authors suggest is that direct and indirect direct and indirect avenues which conflictual relations between two states create transnational terrorist activity. Firstly, state rivals 'instrumentalize' terror by providing them support in accordant with their foreign policy objectives. On the other hand, interstate rivalry may encourage terrorist activities in an indirect way. Sobek and Braithwaite' (2005) study focuses on another important element of international relations which is power. They hypothesize that relative power positions of states in the international system make countries more vulnerable to transnational terrorism. In their argument terrorism is a tool of the powerless. Thus, terrorist organizations prefer to use unconventional means to affect the status-quo in the international system. In their findings, as political, military and diplomatic capabilities become concentrated into American and allied hands, the amount of terrorism directed against America's interests will increase.

With respect to regime type and transnational terrorism, Chenoweth (2012) firstly examines whether terrorism and democracy link persist in the 21th century. Enriching the data from 1997 to 2010, Chenoweth finds that while terrorism is still prevalent in democracies, it has increased anocracies. Her potential theoretical explanation for this trend is the American led occupations of Iraq and Afghanistan. Therefore, her study also emphasizes the link between international interventions and the rise of transnational incidents. Young and Findley's (2011) study focuses on another aspect of foreign policy behavior of states. They examine whether foreign aid reduces transnational terrorism. Their results support that foreign aid decreases terrorism especially when the aid goes to certain sectors like education, health, civil society and conflict prevention. Milton, Spencer and Findley' (2013) study works on another important aspects of foreign policy which is refugee flows. This topic is also relevant in 2010s political agenda. Authors ask whether refugee flows affect countries' vulnerability to transnational terrorism. According to their findings, refugee flows contribute the increasing likelihood of terrorist activities in host states.

The focus of these articles is the likelihood of states being the target of transnational terrorism. Dependent variable of these studies is the count variable measuring the number of

terrorist events in a country. However, Conrad and Greene (2015) make a distinction between quantity and quality of terrorist incidents. According to authors, the counts of number of attacks do not include the quality of terrorist attacks which varies widely. The following sections will also analyze the quality of terrorist incidents in detail. Although the studies above conduct their research on the quantity of terrorist incidents, it can be claim that they largely ignore the quality of terrorism in terms of lethality. Lethality of a terrorist incident is determined with respect to number of fatalities a terrorist group has generated from its attacks. Therefore, this thesis attempts to fill the gap in terrorism literature by focusing on the relation between foreign policy behavior, transnational terrorism and the quality of terrorist attacks. In that regard, this thesis seeks to answer the possible relation between foreign policy behavior of states and the lethality of transnational terrorism.

CHAPTER 3

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK AND RESEARCH HYPOTHESES

Terrorism is the premeditated use, or threat of use of violence or brutality to reach a political objective through fear directed at a larger audience beyond the victims (Enders & Sandler, 2012). Since the 1970s, transnational terrorism has played a significant role in international relations (Enders and Sandler, 1999; Hoffman, 2006). Several theoretical arguments have been put forward in order to explain why certain countries are more vulnerable to transnational terrorism. However, limited attention in the literature has been paid to foreign policy behavior of states to explain dynamics of transnational terrorism. One of the exceptions is Burcu Savun and Brian J. Phillips's (2009) article that mainly focuses on the relation between foreign policy behavior of states and the number of transnational terrorist incidents they experience. In order to evaluate the foreign policy behavior of states; Savun and Phillips make a differentiation between active and isolationist foreign policy behavior. In their study, active foreign policy is assessed through three variables: involvement in foreign policy crisis with other states, alliance relations with the United States and the frequency of intervention in civil wars.

Another important point which empirical studies of terrorism overlook is the quality of terrorist incidents (Conrad and Greene, 2014). Conrad and Greene emphasize the differentiation between the quantity and the quality of terrorist incidents. Authors argue that the number of terrorist attacks a country exposes to in a given year may not truly reflect the brutality of the terrorist events. Conrad and Greene (2014) argue that an increase in the competitiveness in domestic political scene leads to more severe type of terrorist attacks.

They measure the severity of terrorist incidents by focusing on the pieces of information about each attack which are the type of target that terrorists attacked and their method of attack.

This thesis seeks to analyze the possible relation between states' foreign policy behavior and the quality of transnational terrorist incidents they suffer. Based on three indicators of foreign policy behavior which are the involvement in international crises, civil war intervention and foreign policy similarity with the United States, this study tests the brutality of transnational terrorist incidents by focusing on the lethality of the incidents. On the other hand, different from Conrad and Greene's (2014) severity measurement, this study treats the quality of transnational terrorist incidents through calculating the total number of deaths in a country in a given year.

Theoretical part of this thesis is mainly composed of four sections. The first one includes three sub-titles. First of all, it tries to illustrate briefly how active foreign policy behavior of states can create resentment abroad. Then, it focuses on the trends in the lethality of terrorist incidents by covering the major articles and the reports about terrorism. In the light of the illustration of such studies, this thesis seeks to analyze the determinants of such trend. Therefore, it tries to explain the lethality of transnational terrorist attacks by focusing on the foreign policy behavior of states. Thus, in the next section, it tries to underline the mechanisms that lead more several forms of terrorist incidents. In line with the three determinants of states' foreign policy behavior; involvement in international crises, civil war intervention and foreign policy similarity with the United States, each of the following sections attempt to analyze theoretically their relations with transnational terrorism.

3.1. Foreign Policy Behavior and Transnational Terrorism

3.1.1. Resentment and Foreign Policy Behavior

Violence is a main component of terrorism. Terrorist organizations engage in brutal incidents to create widespread fear, anxiety and reaction (Krieger & Meierrieks, 2011).

Crenshaw (1981) argues that terrorism is best understood through its strategic function. Furthermore, Pape (2005) asserts that even suicide terrorist incidents are the result the strategic logic of the perpetrators. Therefore, it is possible to claim that economic, political or social motivations of terrorist organizations constitute a rationale for them to conduct terrifying activities.

In the light of strategic rationality arguments, terrorist attacks are designed to achieve specific purposes. This study focuses on the foreign policy behavior of states as one of the rationale for brutal organizations to conduct terrorist attacks against these states. Therefore, it can be argued that foreign policy behavior of states constitutes the rational strategy of terrorist organizations to design brutal incidents. In other words, states' involvement in international foreign policy crises, their foreign policy similarities with the United States and the states' intervention to civil wars may constitute the strategic logic of the motivations of terrorist organizations to conduct transnational attacks.

Rationality of terrorist organizations is briefly touched upon in the previous paragraphs. Accordingly, brutal terrorist attacks are assumed as an outcome of the strategic calculations of violent groups. States' interests are seen as displayed by their foreign policy behavior in international arena. When a state's interests are clash with the national interests of another state or the interests of terrorist networks, the situation is likely to create resentment abroad. Such resentment may be the motivation of terrorist organizations to conduct attacks or of states whose interests get harmed to support brutal groups.

For instance, when a state's foreign policy behavior harms the strategic interests of another state; the former might be the target of transnational terrorist attack which is sponsored by the latter. The similar logic may also apply for terrorist organizations. These organizations may conduct brutal attacks since their interests are challenged by the foreign policy behavior of another state. Therefore, it can be said that states that create hostility abroad by pursuing certain foreign policy behaviors may eventually carry the risk of being the victim of brutal transnational terrorist incidents. The theoretical link between active foreign policy and being the target of terrorist events will also be elaborated in the following sections.

Before this, Madrid attack in 2004 can be analyzed as an example which indicates the relation between resentment abroad as a result of foreign policy behavior of states and being

the victim of transnational terrorist incidents. On March 11, 2004, 191 people were killed and 2,000 were injured when 10 bombs exploded on four trains in Madrid train station (BBC, 2005). The attacks were assessed as the deadliest terror attack in Europe since the Lockerbie bombing in 1988 (Tremlett, 2004). After the attacks, Spanish police had discovered a videotape in which a declaration was made by a man “in the name of someone who says he is the military spokesman of al-Qaeda in Europe” (Tremlett, 2004). Accordingly, the man on the tape records: “we declare our responsibility for what happened in Madrid exactly two-and-a-half years after the attacks on New York and Washington. This is an answer to the crimes in Afghanistan and Iraq. If your injustices do not stop there will be more if god wills it.” Before the incident, another audiotape was released by chief ideologue of Al Qaeda, Bin Laden, on October that calls for attacks on countries supplying coalition forces for the Iraq war, including Britain, Spain and Italy (Bergen, 2004).

Hence, based on the theoretical background mentioned in previous paragraphs, it can be claimed that Spain was a natural target for Al Qaeda. From Al Qaeda’s point of view, Spain’s support for the Iraq war constitutes a strategic logic for the organization to conduct terrorist attack. Therefore, in the light of the arguments of this study, the situation can be evaluated as, Spain’s foreign policy behavior created a challenge for Al Qaeda’s interests and eventually Spain became the target of its one of the brutal attacks.

Savun and Phillips (2009) make a distinction between states that follow active foreign policy and isolationist foreign policy. According to their argument states that are actively involved in the issues of global politics are likely to create resentment abroad and more likely to be the target of transnational terrorist incidents than the states which pursue isolationist foreign policy. In other words, when states do not prefer to actively react to the developments in international politics, they are less likely to be a challenge for the interests of other international actors including terrorist organizations. On the other hand, states that pursue active foreign policy, like intervening civil wars, being part of common defense alliances or involve in international crises, are more likely to create resentment abroad by constituting challenge for the interests of other global actors. If these clashes lead other actors to use unconventional means, states that follow active foreign policy behavior are more likely be vulnerable to lethal terrorist incidents.

To make inferences about countries' foreign policy behavior, this study examines three variables including; involvement in foreign policy crisis with other states, intervention in civil wars and foreign policy similarity with the US. Each of these variables indicates different aspects of state's foreign policy behavior which can create some sort of hostility from abroad. Before focusing on the relation between these three indicators of active foreign policy behavior and being vulnerable to transnational terrorism, the following sessions will briefly indicate and discuss the trends in terrorist incidents and the possible mechanisms that lead more violent form of attacks.

3.1.2. Trends in the Lethality of Terrorist Incidents

Although many countries around the world are exposed to terrorist attacks, all of them are not experience the same amount of incidents and in a similar way. That means brutality of terrorist incidents is different in each case. As it is stated in the previous parts; large body of academic studies on terrorism focuses on the quantity of terrorist events in terms of the numbers of attacks a country experiences in a given year (Savun & Phillips, 2009; Chenoweth, 2012; Li & Schaub, 2004). However, the count number of terrorist attacks may not completely reflect the brutality of the incidents. For instance, a country which is the target of transnational terrorist organization may expose to terrorist attacks ten times in a given year. However, these ten incidents may not result with any casualties or injuries. On the other hand, another country which is also targeted by transnational terrorism may experience an incident in a year with a hundred losses. For this reason, quantity of terrorist attacks which is measured through the number of terrorist events in a given year may not truly mirror the brutality of the incidents. Therefore, it might be useful to take into consideration of the quality of terrorist attacks.

Different from Conrad and Greene (2014), this study does not measure the quality of terrorist incidents by severity through focusing on target types and methods used during the attacks. Rather, it assesses the quality of terrorist attacks by calculating the total number of deaths in a given year. Therefore, this thesis attempts to investigate the possible relation

between states' foreign policy behavior and the lethality of transnational terrorist attacks. This section of the study tries to focus on the literature and reports that show trends in the lethality of terrorist incidents.

Todd Sandler (2013), in his review of analytical study of terrorism, focuses on the question of how terrorism has changed since 1968. Sandler's study is based on "International Terrorism: Attributes of Terrorist Events, 2011" (ITERATE) data-set. He indicates that while number of transnational terrorist incidents decrease from 1980s to 1990s, the proportion of transnational incidents with casualties increase from mid-1990s. According to his findings, before 1990, 26% of transnational terrorist attacks end with casualties, after 1990, 41% of these attacks result with casualties.

Another study that deals with the changing nature of terrorism is conducted by Enders and Sandler in 2000 which is also based on is based on ITERATE data-set. Regarding the trend of decreasing number of terrorist incidents and rising amount of deaths, authors question whether transnational terrorism is becoming more threatening. Their inquiry is also based on the fact that although the number of terrorist incidents has dropped with the end of Cold War, transnational terrorism is a still significant fact. Authors' findings also support the trend that transnational terrorist incidents are almost more likely to result with deaths and injuries.

From the late 1960s and throughout the end of Cold War, transnational terrorism has been primarily caused by nationalism, separatism, racism and Marxist ideology (Wilkinson, 1998). The significant fall in the number of transnational terrorist incidents is evaluated as the result of the reduction in state sponsored terrorism, increased measures for counter-terrorism and the abandonment of leftist armed groups after the end of Cold War (The Economist, 1998; U.S. Department of State, 1997). However, despite the decrease in the number of incidents, transnational terrorism has continued to possess a greater danger for all around the world. Hoffman (1988) explains this trend with the motivation change of brutal organizations. Accordingly, he asserts that the emergence of religious fundamental armed groups lead to conduct more lethal terrorist attacks. As a result of this motivation change, Hoffman (1998) and Juergensmeyer (1997) evaluate that the new type of terrorist groups pose more deadly threat compared to earlier groups. Hence, these scholars attribute the

increasing lethality of incidents as a result of the rise of religious based terrorist organizations.

Institute for Economic and Peace published a report “Global Terrorism Index-2015” to measure and to understand the impact of terrorism (2015). Global Terrorism Index provides a detailed analysis of the changing patterns of terrorism like geographic dispersion and methods of attacks, since 2000 by covering 162 countries. GTI is published with the collaboration of National Consortium for the Study of Terrorism and Responses to Terrorism (START) based on the Global Terrorism Database (GTD) dataset. The report includes the changing patterns of both domestic and transnational terrorism. Thus, it provides significant insights in parallel with the inquiry of this thesis.

First of all, this report takes attention to increasing lethality of terrorist attacks. In 2014, the total number of deaths from terrorism increased by 80 percent when compared to the previous year. The report indicates that this increase is the largest yearly increase in the last 15 years. Since the beginning of the 21th century, there has been over a nine-fold increase in the number of deaths from terrorism rising from 3,329 in 2000 to 32,685 in 2014. In addition to this, the report states that more countries than ever have more lethality rates from terrorist incidents. According to the results, countries that suffer from more than 500 deaths increase by 120 percent. In 2014, 11 countries had over 500 deaths when in 2013 only five did.

In line with the literature and the report mentioned in previous paragraphs, it can be claimed that recent trends in terrorist incidents indicate that what is most shocking regarding the terrorism is not the occurrence of terrorism itself. Rather, the lethality of terrorist attacks is also one of the reasons of shocking influence. This trend which is highlighted in previous studies necessitates focusing on the reasons of it. However, the question of why transnational terrorist incidents become more violent remains understudied. In order to answer the question, this study focuses on the foreign policy behavior of states. Therefore, in order to capture these new frontiers in terrorism literature, this thesis attempts to analyze the fatality of transnational terrorism by measuring its possible relations with the choice of states' foreign policy behavior. The following section will attempt to briefly analyze the theoretical explanations of the mechanisms that may lead more lethal form of terrorist incidents.

3.2. Mechanisms that lead more lethal form of terrorist incidents

Before analyzing the relation between foreign policy behavior and transnational terrorism, theoretical framework regarding what leads to more lethal forms of incidents needs to be emphasized. Several mechanisms can be suggested to analyze the reasons of rising lethality of terrorist incidents. In this part of the study, first of all attributes of terrorist organizations will be touched upon. Then, the improvements in technology and communication will be briefly explained. Furthermore, competition argument will be elaborated as a reason for lethal transnational terrorist incidents. The following section will focus on the state level factors like regime type. In this paragraph, two opposing arguments with respect to the relation between regime type and attraction to terrorism will be discussed.

3.2.1. Attributes of Terrorist Organizations

As it is stated in previous paragraph, the first mechanism focuses on the attributes of terrorist organizations. Much of the literature assumes that terrorist organizations are rational actors that select their strategies and tactics in accordance with the expected higher benefits. Terrorist organizations do not change the status-quo through conventional military and diplomatic means. This incapability provokes the revisionist actors in the system to employ unconventional methods (Carr, 1997). The choice of non-state armed groups to engage in terrorist activity is a result of an expected lower utility from conventional tactics (Crenshaw, 2002; Kydd & Walter, 2006). Sobek and Braithwaite (2005) claim that when the expected payoffs of terrorism are more than the status-quo, the organizations will rationally conduct terrorist operations. That means, terrorism offers hope for organizations to shift the balance of power between the state and the terrorist groups by giving them better bargaining power for such groups' stated political goals (Lake, 2002).

Enders and Sandler (2000) make an analysis over the allocative decisions of terrorist organizations. These allocative decisions which are influenced by groups' attitudes towards the risk may also determine the lethality of terrorist incidents. According to authors, when risk-loving groups prefer more risky operations whose outcomes influence greater audience, risk-averse organizations prefer less risky operations. Even though, terrorist organizations of 1970s and 1980s engaged in some risky operations, most of their attacks were logistically simple and relatively riskless (Sandler, Tschirhart, and Cauley, 1983). However, Enders and Sandler evaluates religious fundamental groups as risk loving organizations are expected to conduct more risky and logistically complex attacks.

3.2.2. Improvements in Technology and Communication

Another argument regarding the increasing lethality of terrorist attacks may be related with the improvement of technology. Enders and Sandler (2002) claim that terrorist organizations use the advantage of improvements in communication, transportation and technology for their brutal operations, when their demands are not met. For instance, Smith (2002) evaluates transnational organizations like al Qaeda as “both product and beneficiary of globalizations”. Smith claims that these groups rely on the advantage of globalization and modernization through technology, easy travel, internet and all other modern devices. Therefore, it may possible to argue that developing technology and communication make easier for transnational terrorist organizations to conduct brutal attacks.

3.2.3. Competitiveness

Another mechanism that may lead more lethal form of transnational terrorist incidents is about to competitiveness of terrorist organizations. Conrad and Greene's (2015) study investigates the increasing severity of terrorist incidents. Their study is based on the assumption that domestic competition leads terrorist organizations to differentiate themselves. Thus, more brutal forms of terrorist incidents appear for terrorist groups as an

effective way for differentiation. Therefore, their findings suggest that states with a higher number of terrorist groups are likely to experience more severe forms of terrorist attacks.

Conrad and Greene (2015) make an analysis over why ISIL has employed shocking type of tactics. Contrary to many observers who relate ISIL's use of extreme violence with its Islamic roots, authors focus on the context in which ISIL operates. Accordingly, ISIL operates its activities in Iraq and Syria in an environment where the competition is fierce. One of the estimations suggest that nearly 1000 opposition groups operate in this region against Assad regime and each other. As Conrad and Greene claim, in order to differentiate them and gain greater attention, ISIL resorts to more violent forms of terrorist incidents.

In parallel with Conrad and Greene's argument, it is also possible to expect that states that are on the target lists of greater number of organizations are likely to experience terrorist incidents in a more lethal form. In line with the focus of this thesis, states that pursue v-certain foreign policy behaviors are more likely to enter in clash of interests with a higher number of terrorist groups. In order to increase their effectiveness and get greater attention, these resentful organizations may try to differentiate themselves from other groups who target the same country by attempting more violent tactics. Therefore, it is possible to claim that states that create hostility among the higher number of organizations as a result of their foreign policy behavior are likely to experience terrorism in a more brutal way.

3.2.4. State Level Factors

Another mechanism regarding the increasing lethality of terrorist incidents focuses on state level factors. Terrorism is the use or threat of use of extreme violence by non-state groups to receive political gains through intimidation of a large audience (Enders & Sandler, 2012). Terrorist attacks aim to create a general atmosphere of fear in order to increase public pressure on government to receive more accommodation from it with respect to organizations demands (Enders & Sandler, 2000). In that regard, for some scholars, liberal democracies appear as more likely to be targeted by transnational terrorism because of the institutional design of democratic regimes (Eubank & Weinberg, 1994; Li & Schaub, 2004).

Several studies in the literature examine various mechanisms by which democratic governance attract transnational terrorism. First of all, democracies encourage terrorism due to the fact that greater liberties and freedoms provide an opportunity for terrorist organizations to easily organize by lowering to cost of conducting terrorist activities (Li, 2005; Enders and Sandler, 2006). Kydd and Walter (2006) analyze the strategies of terrorist organizations and which of them works under what conditions. They also emphasize the regime type differences in order to assess different strategies of terrorist organizations. Accordingly, democracies are more attractive for “attrition and provocation strategies”. They claim that because of the structural features, democracies are more sensitive to the costs of terrorist activities.

Another argument states that terrorist incidents receive greater media attention in democratic countries (Li, 2005). Since democratic governments are accountable to their citizens, in order to prevent the future attacks, terrorist organizations may receive greater concessions from democratic regimes. For these reasons, liberal democracies may be expected to be the venue of more lethal forms of terrorist incidents.

One the other hand, some scholars of terrorism argue that democratic regimes are less prone to suffer from terrorist incidents than autocratic ones (Schmid, 1992; Ross, 1993). Accordingly, democratic system can also have a pacifying effect by raising the opportunity cost to terrorist organizations by offering non-violent channel for such groups (Ross, 1993). Since democracies respect civil liberties and political freedoms, they may make more difficult for brutal groups to recruit terror agents (Crenshaw, 1981).

Over the last 15 years, there have been a number of large and devastating terrorist attacks in Western democracies. This includes the September 11 attacks which killed 2,996 people, the Madrid train bombings which caused the death of 191 people and the November, 2015 Paris attacks which claimed the lives of 130 (Farrell, 2015). In the last two decades, Western countries have been targeted by some of the terrorist organizations in Afghanistan and Iraq. More recently ISIL has replaced al-Qa’ida as the biggest threat of terrorism. In September 2014 the spokesperson of ISIL stated that they are willing to conduct a terrorist attacks in Western countries which include those in Europe, the United States, Canada and Australia (Bayaumy, 2014). In the light of the theoretical framework above, these devastating incidents may also be related with the institutional structure of Western democracies.

Regarding the relation between democracy and vulnerability to terrorist incidents, the Spanish case can be analyzed. Madrid attacks in 2004 can be evaluated with its domestic political impacts in Spain. The coincidence of the bombings with the closing days of election campaign takes the attention to the impact of transnational terrorism on domestic politics. The election was resulted with the defeat of the Conservative Government and the victory of Socialist Party that pledges the end of Spanish presence in Iraq intervention (Sciolino, 2004). The new government took the decision of withdrawing Spanish troops from Iraq. By the way, this decision gave way to the comments as terrorist organizations succeed. For instance, Alvarez and Scilonio (2004) in their article claim that democracies became the target of terrorism and terrorists could deteriorate democracy and have an impact on the elections (Sciolino, 2004).

Rather than the regime type, the main concern of this thesis is to analyze the relation between foreign policy behavior of states and transnational terrorism. Theoretical mechanisms that link the relation between foreign policy behavior of states and the lethality of terrorist attacks are explained in previous paragraphs. In the following sections, the relation between three indicators of active foreign policy behavior and transnational terrorism will be analyzed theoretically.

3.3. Involvement in International Crises and Transnational Terrorism

Foreign policy crisis with other states occur, when actors of international politics are unable to find a peaceful resolution to the issues of global politics. Therefore, states' involvement in international crises with other states is one of the obvious foreign policy indicators which are likely to create hostility in abroad. In a similar logic, interests of transnational terrorist organizations may also be challenged by states' involvement in international crisis. It can be speculated that when the national interests of states clash with the interests of other actors in the international system, emergence of hostility abroad is it

more likely. Therefore, it can be said that conducting terrorist attacks or supporting terrorist organizations may appear as useful instrument for terrorist organizations or states to deal with their conflictual relations.

For instance, Smith (2002) argues that The United States has become the target of al Qaeda because of its involvement in international crisis like; “US operations in the 1990-91 Gulf war and the 1992-93 Operation Restore Hope in Somalia”. He also argues that al Qaeda’s hostility towards the United States is triggered by its military presence in Saudi Arabia and throughout the Arabian Peninsula which also point active US foreign policies. In 1992 and 1993, al Qaeda released fatwas urging American forces in Somalia should be attacked (CNN, 2011). In 1996, the group issued a “Declaration of Jihad on the Americans Occupying the Country of the Two Sacred Places,” which urged the expulsion of American forces from the Arabian Peninsula (Wood, 2015). This was followed by a media interview with Peter Bergen in 1997 which bin Laden called for attacks on US soldiers (CNN, 2017). Thus, it can be inferred that states’ involvement in international crises makes them the target of transnational terrorism since their policies harm the interests of brutal groups.

Terrorist incidents are generally thought that to be conducted by the independent initiative of non-state actors. However, the link between states and terrorist organizations should also be taken into consideration. Hoffman (2007) defines hybrid warfare as conflicts that “incorporate a full range of different modes of warfare including conventional capabilities, irregular tactics and formations, terrorist acts including indiscriminate violence and coercion, and criminal disorder...that can be conducted by states or non-states actors”. The term also illustrates the interaction between states and non-state actors which terrorism is an instrument of it (Mumford, 2016). In that regard, states may also apply unconventional means through their direct or indirect support to terrorist organizations for several reasons. Even though our data-set (Global Terrorism Database, 2015) does not allow us to differentiate state-sponsored terrorist incidents, this study treats the term transnational terrorism including the attacks which are supported by states.

One of the empirical studies focuses on state sponsorship terrorism is conducted by Conrad (2011). He mainly argues that when the relations between two states are extremely hostile, they are more likely to sponsor terrorist activities against each other as an alternative way of conventional war. Conrad (2011) reaches a conclusion that states involved in ongoing

rivalries with other states are victims of terrorist attacks more than the states that are not involved in such hostile interstate relationships. Therefore, it can be expected that states involvement in hostile interstate relationships increase their vulnerability to transnational terrorism.

In conflictual inter-state relations, states may apply to sponsor terrorism as a foreign policy tool, in order to pursue their strategic interests in global politics. State-sponsored terrorism is a “complex and multi-causal phenomenon lying between the nexus of war and peace” (O'Brien, 1996) that allow states an alternative way to full-scale war. Laqueur (1996) asserts that “state-sponsored terrorism is quietly flourishing when wars of aggression have become too expensive and too risky”. Therefore, since the cost of conventional warfare is too much, sponsoring terrorism may become more useful method for national states (Jenkins 1975; O'Ballance 1978). By the way, sponsoring terrorism seems as a cheap alternative to full scale wars for several reasons.

Conrad (2011) formulates two tactical advantages of sponsoring terrorism which are “deniability and disproportionate effectiveness”. Firstly, supporting terrorist organizations offers states invisibility by plausibly denying their involvement in terrorist events. Kupperman et al. (1982) also argue that supporting terrorist attacks can be attractive for states in order to undermine the power of their rivals since sponsoring terrorism generates “uncertainty about the origin of the threat”. It is possible to speculate that when a number of states' direct or indirect support to the activities of terrorist organizations taking into consideration, it is possible to see the double-faced attitudes of states in real politics. For instance, when a terrorist incident takes place, even though some countries have a contribution to the destructive outcomes of such brutal event, they may also convey their condolences to the victim country. Furthermore, if they are able to cover their actions playing terrorism card as a foreign policy tool allow states to eliminate the risk of being subject of domestic pressure and subject to criticisms and sanctions of international community. Hence, sponsoring terrorism allows a disproportionate effectiveness by providing a total benefit with lower-cost alternative.

The question of why states might decide to sponsor terrorism as a foreign policy instrument needs to be further elaborated theoretically. Realist theory of international relations is based on the assumption that states seek to balance their adversaries (Waltz, 1979;

Walt 1985). One of the methods which states manage their conflictual relations is alliance formation. By the way, states attempt to deter or compel the other states through forming alliances with the third parties (Maoz&Akça, 2012). Most studies of strategic partnership focus on formal alliances (Leeds, 2003; Gibler 2008). However, sponsorship of terrorist organizations constitutes another form of alliance formation. States may intentionally decide to support terrorist organizations which target the states they are in hostile relations. By hybrid warfare's very nature, sponsorship of third party terrorist attacks creates difficulties in understanding the origin of the hostile actions (Mumford, 2016). Therefore, in conflictual inter-state relations, states may prefer to ally with terrorist organizations in order to catch up with their rivals (Saideman, 2002).

Maoz and Akça's (2012) study that analyzes the relation between strategic rivalry and state support to non-state armed groups (NAG) reaches the conclusion that states who support NAG's are those who are dissatisfied with the status quo in international system and avoid the expected risk of retaliation. Byman (2008) claims that state sponsorship of terrorism can be motivated in order to compensate the strategic weakness of states vis-a-vis their rivals. Accordingly, terrorism appears as a tactic of who lacks the capacity to deal with its rivals through conventional means. Therefore, as Byman argues, active state support to terrorist organizations whose target is hostile with the sponsoring state can be considered as an attempt to bridge the capacity gap between these two states.

In the light of these theoretical backgrounds, one of the historical trajectories that exemplify the relation between involvement in international crises and transnational terrorism is the Cold War period. Hoffman (2006) calls 1980s as the era of state sponsored terrorism. This period is considered as Cold War, since two superpowers had refrained from engaging in a direct confrontation on the battle. As the cost of direct confrontation is too costly for several reasons, the United States and the Soviet Union sought to indirect outlets for competition. Therefore, during this period, sponsoring terrorist organizations appears as a foreign policy instrument for those who have conflictual relations (Hoffman, 2006). It is possible to argue that states that involve international crises are more likely to be the target of lethal transnational terrorism. Sandler's (2013) study also analyzes quantitatively trends in transnational terrorist incidents. According to his conclusion, the number of terrorist

incidents had decreased from 1980s to 1990s as a result of the end of Cold war and reduction of state sponsored terrorism.

Theoretical explanations in previous paragraphs attempt to link the relation between states involvement in international crises and being the target of transnational terrorism by specifically focusing on state sponsored terrorism as a foreign policy tool. On the other hand, another channel that illustrates how states' involvement in international crises makes them vulnerable to transnational terrorist incidents is resentment of terrorist organizations. It can be argued that when states' involvement in international crises deteriorates the interests of terrorist organizations, they may resort brutal attacks against these states.

One of the proper examples to the relation between states' involvement in international crises and their vulnerability to transnational terrorism would be the United States' presence in Iraq. Civil war erupted in Iraq after the U.S. led invasion in 2003. High level of hostility and opposition in Iraq regarding foreign intervention created a devastating risk for global security (Biddle, Friedman and Long; 2012). One of them which was profited by power vacuum after the invasion is al Qaeda in Iraq. The organization changed its name as the Islamic State of Iraq and the Levant in 2012 to reflect its cross-border interests (Mumford, 2016). ISIL as the latest version of al Qaeda in Iraq emerged after the U.S. invasion of Iraq (Jenkins, 2013). If states' foreign policy behavior harms the interests of transnational terrorist organizations and creates hostility abroad, they may become the target lists of such brutal groups. Therefore, it would be expected that states that involve in international crises are more likely to be the target of

transnational terrorism.

All of these theoretical frameworks and historical trajectories illustrate that as states' involvement in international crises increase, the probability of clash of interests with other actors of the international politics raises too. In other words, states' involvement in international crises may deteriorate the interests of other global actors and eventually may create hostility and resentment in abroad. In such hostile relations, if the actors are unable to solve their disputes and their clash of interests through peaceful means, states may seek for unconventional means. Hence, when the interests of states are challenged by the active foreign policy behavior of other states, unconventional means may also appear as a foreign policy tool for those whose interests are deteriorated. Therefore, these states may support

brutal organizations which they have the common enemies. In a similar logic, when the interests of transnational terrorist organizations are harmed as a result of states' involvement in international crises, they can conduct violent attacks against these states. To sum, high level of hostility, mistrust and resentment in foreign relations as an outcome of active policy preferences of states, may make them vulnerable to extremely violent form of transnational terrorist attacks. Therefore;

Hypothesis 1: States that are involved in more international crises will suffer more deaths from transnational terrorism.

3.4. Civil War Intervention and Transnational Terrorism

Another component of states' foreign policy behavior which may influence how states experience transnational terrorism is civil war intervention. Civil war literature poses several theoretical and empirical questions, but one of them is foreign intervention. Warfare internal to state has many damaging and tragic consequences for that state. However, if foreign intervention in civil wars leads to spread of the crisis beyond the borders of that state, internal tragedy may turn to a global crisis which requires international community to deal (Biddle, Friedman and Long, 2012). On the one hand, military or economic interventions sometimes can bring armed violence to an end and contribute peace and stability. However there seems to be a small consensus that third party interventions into civil wars reduce the duration of these disputes (Regan 1996, 2002; Balch-Lindsay and Enterline 2000). On the other hand, interventions to civil wars may further fuel the ongoing conflict and contribute to continued oppression of people (Regan, 2010). In parallel with these theoretical debates, civil war intervention may also lead to war termination. The large body of empirical studies reached a conclusion that outside military and economic interventions increase the duration of war and hostility between parties (Regan 2000, 2002; Elbadawi and Sambanis 2000). Thus, one of the possible outcomes of civil war intervention may be transnational terrorism. Interventions may create the latent potential to fuel transnational terrorism by triggering "grievance-based motives for attack and by providing an ideal environment in which these

attacks can materialize” (Powers & Choi, 2010). Therefore, local warfare may turn to a global crisis via transnational terrorism with far worse consequences for international community.

As it is stated, civil war intervention is one of the illustrations of states’ active foreign policy behavior. It is a risky and costly preference which requires high degree of commitment at the same time. According to Regan (1996), states are unlikely to intervene in civil wars, unless the political elites have a strong interest for involvement and have a belief that they will success. On the other hand, intervention to domestic affairs of another state is a controversial issue by its nature. According to the literature, civil war intervention may lead to the peaceful resolution of the conflict or may lead to the extension of an ongoing conflict. States may have good intention to intervene civil wars that is bringing an end to the dispute. However, in some cases, states may have completely different motivation to intervene civil wars. For instance states may pursue their own national interests either by prolonging the ongoing dispute, or by taking stand with one of the parties and strengthening them.

Cunningham (2010) argues that when states intervene to civil wars, they make the settlement of the dispute more difficult for two reasons. First of all, states intervention to civil wars brings another actor on the negotiation table that is also expected to approve one of the resolution options on the ground. In other words, it is possible that the intervening state may bring its own agenda to the negotiation table. Secondly, intervening states has lower incentives for negotiation than the domestic actors. These situations may also further fuels the hostility towards the intervener and may increase the likelihood of terrorist attacks that target the intervener. Regan (2000) asserts that to shorten the duration of civil war, intervening states have to be biased in favor of either the government or the opposition. Therefore, in any case, interests of the one of the parties of the conflict are challenged with the intervention of the third party. If resentful sides apply unconventional ways like terrorism, it can be expected that intervenor states are more likely to be the target of violent transnational attacks.

As it is mentioned previously, intervention in civil war is most likely to change the power balances in the internal conflict. External involvement may bring one of the conflicting sides in an advantageous position at the expense of the other parties of the conflict. For instance, if an external state seeks to maintain the political power of the current government against the opponents of the regime, the intervener may attempt to empower the current

regime that harms the interests of the opposition. In the face of such a situation, it can be expected that the party which becomes in a disadvantaged position as the result of foreign intervention may articulate hostility towards the intervener. Therefore, it is reasonable to expect that foreign interventions can exacerbate terrorist organizations to conduct attacks against the intervening states (Powers & Choi, 2014). Civil war intervention also gives the primary justification to brutal organizations for their violent attacks (e.g. al Qaeda, Hezbollah). By the way, it is likely to expect that states that create resentment by damaging the interests of certain groups in a civil war may become vulnerable to violent terrorist incidents.

Additional analytical study that also supports the reasoning of the arguments above is conducted by Bois and Buts (2014). They analyze the relationship between states' military support to another country and the state of becoming vulnerable to transnational terrorist incident. Their study illustrates that one country's military presence in another country, increases the probability of being attacked by the terrorists organizations already located in the latter. Neumayer and Plümper (2011) also asserts that the more a country militarily supports the states in which terrorists operate, the probability of transnational terrorist attack against that country increases.

One of the anecdotal evidence supporting the relation between civil war intervention and being the target of transnational terrorism can be found in the videotape made by the bombers of London attack in 2005 which states “what you have witnessed now is only the beginning ... until you pull your forces out of Afghanistan and Iraq”.

Another aspect that links the civil war intervention and transnational terrorism would be explained by the state's sponsorship of terrorist organizations. Civil wars sometimes may become the proxy wars of international actors which they display their strategic interests. In these situations, the course of events in the internal conflict may witness the competition of power status of the states that are in conflictual relations. These competing states may carry different interests and agendas regarding the trajectory of the civil war. Therefore, one of the actors' involvements in civil war may deteriorate the interests of the competing actors. In such situations, the state whose objectives are interrupted with external intervention of the other actor may choose to support terrorist organizations in order to change the status-quo for its own advantages. In this scenario, intervention in civil wars may increase state's

vulnerability to transnational terrorism as a result of state sponsored terrorism. Based on all of these theoretical background and historical analogies it can be hypothesized that;

Hypothesis 2: States that intervene in other countries' civil wars will suffer more deaths from transnational terrorism.

3.5. Foreign Policy Similarity and Transnational Terrorism

Another foreign policy behavior which may influence the fatality of transnational terrorist incidents they incur is the foreign policy similarity with the United States. At the end of the Second World War, the United States and the Soviet Union emerged as the superpowers of the new international system. The period between the end of the Second World War and the downfall of the Soviet Union is described as bipolar world order. The period is called as the Cold War, since two of the superpowers refrained from a direct close combat. During this period, the United States and the Soviet Union engaged in economic, military and cultural confrontation and competition. Since 1945, one of the primary objectives of the US foreign policy has been to build and maintain a network of allies that support its economic and security objectives. The signature of the Treaty of Washington in April 1949 brings a common security system based on the partnership among 12 countries (NATO, 2006). Treaty of Washington states that the Parties to this treaty “are resolved to unite their efforts for collective defense and for the preservation of peace and security.” On the other side, Soviet Union and seven Soviet satellite states in Central and Eastern Europe also signed a collective defense treaty namely the Warsaw Pact in 1955. During the Cold War era, the central purpose of these alliance networks is considered to contain the sphere of influence of the other camp. Therefore, it is possible to evaluate that during the Cold War period, perpetrator of any action that deteriorates the interests of one of the camp's interest is assumed to be done by the opposite camp.

Since the end of the Cold War was followed by the dissolution of the Warsaw Pact and the breakup of the Soviet Union, the United States has emerged as the sole major power of the global politics. Many theorists of international relations predict that with the

dismantling of the Soviet Union, the American network of alliances would also lose its significance (e.g., Mearsheimer, 1990). However, even “Soviet threat has gone”, United States continued to maintain and expand its alliance networks. NATO’s “open door policy” is based on Article 10 of the North Atlantic Treaty (1949). The Treaty states that NATO membership is open to any “European state in a position to further the principles of this Treaty and to contribute to the security of the North Atlantic area”. Hence, after the fall of the Soviet Union, The Czech Republic, Hungary and Poland in 1999; Bulgaria, Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania, Romania, Slovakia and Slovenia in 2004; Albania and Croatia in 2009; and lastly Montenegro on June 5, 2017 became members of NATO (NATO, 2017). The National Security Strategy of the United States of America (2002) also highlights the importance of alliance networks that states “we are also guided by the conviction that no nation can build a safer, better world alone”. Alliances and multilateral institutions can multiply the strength of freedom-loving nations.

“Unilateral and preemptive” foreign policy behavior which is followed by the US after the Cold War leads to hostility among many people around the world. The US led intervention to Iraq in 2003 constitutes one of the clearest examples of unpopular American foreign policy behavior. Global public opinion surveys report that America's image has “plummeted” in the years following the United States' invasion to Iraq (Pew Research Center, 2004). One of the main assumptions of this study is that states’ certain foreign policy behaviors leads to resentment and hostility abroad (Biddle, Friedman and Long; 2012). Therefore, it can be expected that American hostility as a result of its foreign policy behaviors trigger transnational organizations to attack the United States. However, Savun and Phillips (2009) argue that, no matter how resentful a terrorist group against the United States. According to authors, a direct attack against the United States is relatively risky and costly for two reasons. First of all, geographic location of the US separates it from the majority of countries by oceans. Therefore, conducting a terrorist operation is more costly. Secondly, the United States’ high economic and military capability may deter the terrorist groups. Therefore such factors may direct brutal organizations to target the allies of the real enemy.

For all of these reasons, conducting and managing a terrorist operation which directly targets the United States may increase the costs for terrorist groups and decrease the probability of the “success” of the operation. Therefore, it may appear for brutal

organizations as an alternative to attack the states that pursue similar foreign policy behavior with the United States.

Alliance relations can also be considered as an indicator of states foreign policy affinity. In certain aspects, alliance networks shape the foreign policy behavior of the member states. Therefore, it can be asserted that taking the part between one of the camps during the Cold War, may make countries the victim of transnational terrorism. Similar logic can also be applied to the alliance relations after the Cold War. For instance, alliance relations with the United States may make countries the target of transnational terrorist organizations whose interests are deteriorated as a result of foreign policy behavior of the US. Jihadist terrorists have started target key American allies since the Iraq conflict began (Bergen & Cruickshank, 2007). There have been six transnational lethal terrorist incidents against the United States' NATO allies in the period after the invasion of Iraq (Bergen & Cruickshank, 2007). For example, multiple bombings in London killed 52 on July, 2005 and in Madrid killed 191 on March 2004.

Sobek and Braithwaite's (2005) study analyzes the relation between power status of states in the international system and the terrorist attacks. According to authors' finding, as the dominance of the United States in the international system increases the number of incidents that target the American interests raises too. Sobek and Braithwaite's assumption is that when the dominance of one of the actors in global politics increases, the chance of other states to challenge the status-quo through conventional means decreases. Hence, when the capabilities of states are unable to alter the situation for their own sake, terrorism may appear an alternative way to challenge the dominant power. Sobek and Braithwaite's (2005) hypothesize that as the political, economic and military capabilities become dominated into the hands of United States and its allies, the amount of terrorism that target America's interests will increase. Based on this theoretical background, as oppose to bandwagon theory of international relations, foreign policy affinity with the United States may also have adversary effects. Therefore, pursuing similar foreign policy behavior with the U.S. may make states the victim of lethal transnational terrorist incidents.

Power positions of states in the international system also indicate how states follow their foreign policy preferences. Focusing on the theoretical framework given above, it is expected from dominant powers to involve the issues of international politics more frequently

and in an active way. As is seen in American experience with its invasion in Afghanistan and Iraq, hegemon power may use its capabilities with an assertive ways. In such situations, the number of actors whose interests are deteriorated as a result of hegemon's policies may increase, and they may develop hostility towards the dominant power. Therefore, because of the reasons mentioned above foreign policy affinity with the U.S. may increase the risk for being the target of brutal transnational terrorism. All these theoretical background allow us to expect;

Hypothesis 3: States that pursue a foreign policy more similar to the United States will suffer more deaths from transnational terrorism.

CHAPTER 4

METHODOLOGY

The purpose of this research is to understand the possible impact of foreign policy behavior of states on the fatality of transnational terrorist incidents which they suffer. An empirical analysis is designed to test these three hypotheses presented above. The unit of analysis of this study is country year. The main estimation sample consists of 5631 cases and covers about 159 countries from 1970 to 2007. The time period is limited due to the availability of independent variables. The data on civil war intervention is limited to 2007.

In order to analyze the relationship between foreign policy behavior of states and the fatality of transnational terrorist incidents they experience, statistical software namely STATA 13 was used. It enables researchers to conduct large-scale statistical analysis and the ability to conduct regression analysis. In this study, multi-variate ordinary least square (OLS) regression analysis is used to the influence of states' involvement in international crises with other states, civil war intervention and foreign policy similarity with the United States on the fatality of transnational terrorist incidents.

This chapter concentrates on the methodology that has been adopted to conduct this study. The main aims of this chapter are (1) to give information about the research design, (2) to present the databases applied to conduct this study.

4.1. Research Design

4.1.1. Dependent Variable:

Dependent variable of this thesis is the fatality of transnational terrorist incidents. In terms of fatality, this study considers the total number of deaths as a result of transnational terrorist incidents in a given year. Fatality of transnational terrorism data is based on Global Terrorism Database (GTD, 2016), which is an open source database of domestic and transnational terrorist incidents occurring from 1970 to 2015 (National Consortium for the Study of Terrorism and Responses to Terrorism, 2016). GTD is a rich data source including more than 140.000 cases and recording information for nine categories of variables ranging from attack method to target information for each terrorist event. “Casualties and consequences” section gives the total number of fatalities. It is a numeric variable that stores the number of confirmed fatalities for the incident. In the dataset, this number includes all the victims and attacker who died as a direct result of terrorist incident.

The advantage of this dataset and the reason for us to use it is that the latest version allows researchers to distinguish domestic and transnational terrorist incidents. Categorical variable of this data set makes the differences between domestic and transnational terrorism by focusing on three items. The first variable is based on the comparison between the location of the attack and the nationality of the targets. The following one concentrates on the difference between the nationality of the perpetrator group and the nationality of the targets. Last item makes a comparison between the nationality of the perpetrator group and the location of the attack. By this way, an attack is regarded as transnational if any of these three dimensions is met.

4.1.2. Independent Variables:

This thesis assumes that the foreign policy behavior of states have an influence on how states experience transnational terrorism. Independent variable of this thesis is the foreign policy behavior of states. In order to assess the foreign policy behavior of states, this study includes three items; state's involvement in international crises with other states, foreign policy similarity with the United States and the intervention in civil wars.

4.1.2.1. Involvement in international crises with other states:

One of foreign policy behaviors of states which this thesis considers is involvement in international crises with other states. The data on our first independent variable comes from International Crisis Behavior Project Version 11 (Brecher, Wilkenfeld et. al., 2016). International crisis measures whether or not the state has been involved in a foreign policy crisis. Brecher (1977) defines international crisis as a “breakpoint along the peace-war continuum of a state's relations with any other international actors”. In the dataset, trigger to foreign policy crises are highlighted as “the specific act, event or situational change which leads decision-makers to perceive a threat to basic values, time pressure for response and heightened probability of involvement in military hostilities.” The International Crisis Behavior Project is an actor-level data capturing the time span 1918-2013 and including 1036 crisis actors. In this study, we are coding states' involvement in international crises during the previous three years.

4.1.2.2. Civil War Intervention:

Another indicator of state's foreign policy behavior is civil war intervention. This study's data of civil war intervention is based on Regan and Meachum's (2014) database

which is “Data in Interventions Prior to the Onset of Civil War”. Authors define the third party interventions as “convention breaking military, economic, or diplomatic activities in the internal affairs of a foreign country targeted at the authority structures of the government with the aim of affecting the balance of power between the government and

opposition forces.” Therefore this database includes military, economic and diplomatic interventions. This study attempts to include all of these types of intervention methods. In addition to this, this data set also contains the information about the intervention to intra state conflicts when there was an ongoing civil war. Regarding the hypothesis of this study, we will only make the analysis of the cases which there was an ongoing civil war.

4.1.2.3. Foreign Policy Similarity with the United States

The third independent variable which is a component of states’ active foreign policy behavior is foreign policy similarity with the United States. The data on the foreign policy similarity with the United States comes from The Affinity of Nations Index (Gartzke, 2006). The scores that indicate foreign policy similarity with the U.S. ranges between -1 and 1.

4.1.3. Control Variables:

It is essential in quantitative studies to employ significant statistical controls. This thesis attempts to cover variety of confounding causes of transnational terrorism which are analyzed in the literature. Therefore, control variables include three items; regime type, civil war and capability.

4.1.3.1. Regime Type

One of the aspects that have received a valuable attention in terrorism literature is the regime type of states. Previous studies suggest two opposing arguments regarding relation between regime type and transnational terrorism. Some researchers argue that democracies are less vulnerable to transnational terrorist incidents (e.g., Eyerman 1998; Hamilton and Hamilton 1983; Ross 1993). On the other hand, some other researchers argue that democratic states are more likely to attract transnational terrorism than non-democracies (e.g., Eubank and Weinberg 2001; Li 2005; Pape 2003). Several theoretical arguments have been put forward in order to explain why democracies are more likely to attract transnational terrorism than other regime types. These theoretical arguments suggest that certain aspects of democratic regimes such as executive constraints, free press and political participation make states vulnerable target for transnational terrorism (Chenoweth, 2013; Savun and Phillips, 2009). On the other hand, some of the scholars argue that democratic regimes are less likely to be the target of transnational terrorism because of the availability of democratic channels to convey grievances (Crenshaw, 1981). According to this argument, there is a less incentive for grievant groups to resort brutal means.

This thesis attempts to control its hypotheses statistically with the regime type of states. In consistent with many other empirical studies of regime type- terrorism literature (Savun and Phillips, 2009; Li, 2005; Piazza, 2008), this study operationalizes democracy as dichotomous variable coded “1” if the state has a score 6 or higher or “0” if the state has a score less than 6 in POLITY IV. Therefore, regime type data comes from Political Regime Characteristics and Transitions, POLITY IV Project, (Marshall, Gurr and Jagers, 2016).

4.1.3.2. Civil War

Some studies indicate a growing concern that civil war experience of states has a danger to global security by creating conditions under which terrorist organizations can thrive

(Piazza, 2008; Findley & Young, 2010; Regan, 2010). Civil wars undoubtedly pose significant security and humanitarian crises for the international community like severe political instability, humanitarian crisis and the breakdown of governability. Therefore, in addition to domestic terrorism, civil war experience of states may also make them vulnerable to transnational terrorism. Therefore it is useful to control the fatality of transnational terrorist incidents with whether such states experience civil war.

Civil war experience is a dummy variable measuring whether there is an intrastate conflict occurring in the country. Peace Research Institute Oslo data (Harbom et al., 2009) defines conflict as “a contested incompatibility that concerns government and/or territory where the use of armed force between two parties, of which at least one is the government of a state, results in at least 25 battle-related deaths.”

4.1.3.3. Capability

Another control variable of this study is capability. Capability measures the strength of states both economically and militarily as a percentage of the capability in the international system. Data on state’s capability is based on Correlates of War Project (COW) National Material Capabilities Data Documentation Version 5 (Greig and Eterline, 2017). This data set measures the capability by including six variables; “military expenditure, military personnel, energy consumption, iron and steel production, urban population and total population”. Some scholars argue that more capable states are better equipped to prevent terrorism (Sandler 1997; Li and Schaub 2004). Therefore, we may assume that state’s capability also affect the lethality of transnational terrorism. The expectation here is that states with higher capability are likely to experience less brutal form of transnational terrorist incidents. By the way, this study attempts to control the possible relation between state’s foreign policy behavior and the lethality of transnational terrorism with the capability of states.

4.2. Empirical Approach

First of all, all these seven databases were downloaded from the open sources. Since the unit of analysis of this thesis is in country-year, all the datasets were organized into a Microsoft Excel data table accordingly. It provides an organized table that shows the dependent, independent and control variables in country-year format. Then, STATA 13 software was used to import the Excel data table and conduct the statistical analysis. Firstly, the summary statistics function was used in STATA and a summary of the variables of the study was received. The variance inflation factor of the variables was estimated to assess multicollinearity. This stage is done to be sure that none of the two variables of the study having a compounding effect on the dependent variable. Then, the data statistically analyzed by applying multi-variate Ordinary Least Squares regression model.

4.3. Limitations of the Data

One of the limitations of this study was related to the datasets. When I merge the data sets of the dependent variable and independent variables, I noticed that there are some countries that exist in the data of our dependent variable; however they are missing in the data of our independent variables. For instance, information about Falkland Islands, Luxembourg, Vatican City, West Bank and Gaza Strip exists in the Global Terrorism Database (2016) and is missing in our the data on our first independent variable which comes from International Crisis Behavior Project Version 11 (Brecher, Wilkenfeld et. al., 2016). For this reason, when I merge dependent variable with independent variables, I keep these missing items out of the analysis.

CHAPTER 5

RESEARCH FINDINGS

This section of the study provides an analysis of the results from multi-variate ordinary least square regression model to analyze foreign policy behavior of states and the fatality of transnational terrorism they suffer.

5.1. Summary Statistics

Table 1 gives basic summary statistics which provides an overview of the means, standard deviation, minimum value and maximum value for the variables of this study. The number of observation is 5631. The mean of the fatality rates of transnational terrorist incidents is 11,80412. The standard deviation is 51,78671. It shows that there is a high degree of variation in the number of fatalities as the result of transnational terrorist incidents. Minimum value indicates that these incidents resulted without any fatality and maximum value indicates that an attack resulted with 714 casualties then extreme values.

Table 1: Summary Statistics

Variable	Observed Values	Mean	Standard Deviation	Min	Max
Transnational Terrorism Killings	5231	11.80412	51.78671	0	714
International Crises Involvement	5231	.2104400	.4076589	0	1
Civil War Intervention	5231	.0293021	.1686669	0	1
Similarity to U.S. Foreign Policy	5231	-.1920487	.3566424	-1	1
Democracy	5231	.405079	.4909509	0	1
Own Civil War	5231	.0454626	.208335	0	1
Capabilities	5231	.0067031	.0202181	6.00e-06	.198578

Variance inflation measure for variables is also controlled. Accordingly, mean of the VIF values is 1.10 which meant that there is a low degree of multicollinearity among the variables. A VIF below 10 and above 0.1 indicate that the variables are satisfactory for analysis.

5.2. Correlation Matrix

Table 2 shows the correlation matrix between the pairs of variables. Accordingly, the total number of the deaths as a result of the transnational terrorist incident which a country exposes to is positively correlated with these states' involvement in international crises. However, the matrix does not indicate a linear correlation between the second independent

variable which is states' intervention to civil wars and the total number of deaths as the result of transnational terrorist incidents. With regard to the third independent variable which is foreign policy similarity with the United States, the matrix indicates positive correlation. Accordingly, the total number of the deaths as a result of the transnational terrorist incident which a country exposes to is positively correlated with these states' foreign policy similarity with the United States.

Table 2: Correlation Matrix

	Transnational Terrorism Killings
International Crises Involvement	0.1050*
Civil War Intervention	0.0134
Similarity to U.S. Foreign Policy	-0.0679*
Democracy	0.0477*
Own Civil War	0.1393*
Capabilities	0.0929*

5.3. Multi-Variate Ordinary Least Square Regression Model

Table 3 presents the findings for Multi-Variate Ordinary Least Square regression model. The table illustrates the results from the test of three hypotheses of this thesis. The first hypothesis examines the impact of involvement in international crises on the fatality of transnational terrorism. It states that involvement in international crises increases the fatality rates which a country exposes in last three years. The coefficient for the involvement in international crisis is significant at level $p < .05$. The coefficient for the involvement in international crisis is 10,5, with the variable also having a p value of .00. This suggests that for a unit of change in the states' involvement in international crises, the dependent variable which is the fatality of transnational terrorist incidents would change in a positive direction

at the rate of 10,5. This is consistent with the first hypothesis as it shows that states' involvement in international crises influences the fatality rates in the increasing direction.

The second independent variable of this thesis examines the possible impact of states' intervention to civil wars on the fatality of transnational terrorist incidents that they suffer. The second hypothesis states that "Intervention to civil wars increases the fatality rates which a country exposes in a given year". In this analysis, hypotheses are tested in 95% confidence interval. Accordingly, the coefficient the intervention to civil wars for the second hypothesis is shown statistically insignificant with a p value of 0.274. The coefficient for the intervention in civil wars is -4.6. This suggests that for a unit of change in states' intervention to civil wars, the dependent variable which is the fatality of transnational terrorist incidents would change in a negative direction at the rate of -4.6. This is not consistent with the second hypothesis as it indicates intervention to civil wars influences the fatality rates in the decreasing direction. In addition, because the p value is greater than zero we cannot say with confidence that there is any effect of civil war intervention on the fatality of transnational terrorism.

The third hypothesis analyzes the effect of foreign policy similarity with the United States on the fatality of transnational terrorism. It states that "foreign policy similarity with the United States increases the fatality rates which a country exposes in a given year". The coefficient for the foreign policy similarity with the United States is significant at level $p < .05$. The coefficient for the foreign policy similarity with the United States is -14,4, with the variable also having a p value of .00. This suggest that for a unit of change in states' foreign policy similarity with the United States, the dependent variable which is the fatality of transnational terrorist incidents would change in a negative direction at a rare of -14,4. This is not consistent with the third hypothesis, since it shows that states' foreign policy similarity with the United States reduces the number of deaths from transnational terrorism.

Table 3 also presents the findings of Multi-variate OLS regression model for the control variables of this study. The first control variable is the regime type of the states. The coefficient for the regime type is 8,8, with the variable also having a p value of .00. The coefficient for the democracy is significant at level $p < .05$.

The second control variable is the civil war experience. The analysis indicates that the coefficient for the civil war is 31,3, with the variable also having a p value of .00. The

coefficient for civil war experience is significant at level $p < .05$. It suggests that states civil war experience influences the fatality of transnational terrorist incidents they suffer in a positive direction at the rate of 31,3.

The last control variable is the capability of states. The regression analysis indicates that the coefficient for the capability is 218,8 with the variable also having a p value of .00. Therefore, the coefficient for capability of states is significant at level $p < .05$. It suggests that states' capability influence the fatality of transnational terrorist incidents they suffer to in a positive direction at the rate of 218,8. States' capability ranges in the dataset between 0 and 1. This result suggest that for 0.01 unit of change in states' capability, the dependent variable which is the fatality of transnational terrorist incidents would change in a positive direction at a unit of 2,18.

Table 3: Multi-variate OLS Regression Model

Fatality Number (Dependent Variable)	Coeffi cient	Stan dard Error		p > t	95% Confidence Interval
Involvement to International Crises	10.52 844*	1.71 958	.13	0. 000	7.163281 13.8936
Intervention to Civil War	- 4.610707	4.21 1862	1.09	0. 274	-12.86758 3.646168
Foreign Policy Similarity with the United States	- 14.4071*	2.01 0357	7.17	0. 000	-18.34818 10.46603
Regime Type	8.880 811*	1.44 4815	.15	0. 000	6.048416 11.71321
Civil War Experience	31.29 212*	3.27 3119	.56	0. 000	24.87554 37.7078
Capability	218.7 917*	35.7 4757	.12	0. 000	148.7126 288.8707
Alpha	.4700 98*	1.13 2111	.42	0. 678	-1.749277 2.689473

CHAPTER 6

CONCLUSION

Transnational terrorism is one of the main threats to the global security in the 21st century. Dreadful and shocking incidents committed by transnational terrorist networks lead us to question the conditions that produce them. With this, comes the importance of understanding what kind of foreign policy behavior of states influence the fatality of transnational terrorist incidents they suffer. For this reason, this study examined the possible impact of certain foreign policy behavior of states which are; the involvement in international crises, intervention in civil wars and foreign policy similarity with the United States. As it is stated in the previous parts, the three hypotheses that guided this research are; 1) States that are involved in more international crises will suffer more deaths from transnational terrorism, 2) States that intervene in other countries' civil wars will suffer more deaths from transnational terrorism, 3) States that pursue a foreign policy more similar to the United States will suffer more deaths from transnational terrorism.

6.1. Summary of the Results

The first hypothesis, which stated that involvement in international crises increases the fatality rates which a country exposes in a given year, is shown to be correct. When multi-variate ordinary least square regression model was used to evaluate the effect of involvement

in international crises on the fatality of transnational terrorist incidents, the coefficient is significant at level $p < .05$. The coefficient for states' involvement in international crises is 10,5, with the variable also having a p value of .00. This suggest that with the involvement of international crises, the dependent variable which is the fatality of transnational terrorism would change in a positive direction at the rate of 10,5. This proves statistically significant, and consistent, with the first hypothesis of this study.

With regard to the second hypothesis which states that intervention to civil wars increases the fatality rates which a country exposes in a given year, this study fails to reject the null hypothesis. When multi-variate ordinary least square regression model is used to measure the impact of states' intervention to civil wars on the fatality of transnational terrorist incidents, the dependent variable has a coefficient of -4.6 with a p value of 0.274. Since the p value for intervention to civil wars is so high, these results are assessed statistically insignificant.

The third hypothesis, which states that foreign policy similarity with the United States increases the fatality rates which a country exposes in a given year, is not proved to be correct. When evaluating foreign policy similarity with the United States and the fatality of transnational terrorism, the foreign policy similarity with the US has a resultant coefficient of -14,4 with the variable also having a p .00. The coefficient for foreign policy similarity with the U.S. is significant at level $p < .05$. However, the direction of the correlation is negative. The results indicate that foreign policy similarity with the United States decrease the fatality of transnational terrorist incidents.

Thus, in summary, the analysis is able to reject the null hypothesis for hypotheses 1 and 3. Further, the analysis is unable to reject the null hypothesis for hypothesis 2. The failure to reject the null hypothesis for the hypothesis 2 stemmed from the fact that the p value of it proves statistically insignificant.

6.2. Discussion on the Findings

The results show that certain type of foreign policy behaviors of states have an impact on the fatality of transnational terrorist incidents they suffer. For instance, involvement in international crises and foreign policy similarity with the United States influence the total number of deaths as a result of transnational terrorist attacks. On the one hand, involvement in international crises in the last three years positively correlated with the fatality of transnational terrorist incidents. On the other hand, different from the expectation of this study, states' foreign policy similarity with the United States is negatively correlated with the fatality of transnational terrorist incidents they suffer. However, the results do not allow supporting the statistically significant influence of the states' intervention to civil wars on the fatality of transnational terrorist attacks.

However, the results do not show statistical significance for the impact of states' intervention to civil wars on the fatality of transnational terrorist incidents they suffer. When we analyze the impact of involvement in international crises on the fatality of transnational terrorism, we assess states' involvement to the international crises in last three years. However, we evaluate the impact of states' intervention in civil wars on that year. This may lead to the failure to reject the null hypothesis.

The research question of this study is that what kind of foreign policy behaviors of states affect the fatality of transnational terrorist incidents they suffer in a given year. In line with the initial expectation of the research, the results of our regression analysis demonstrated that states that follow certain foreign policy behaviors are likely to incur more lethal transnational terrorist incidents. To be specific, the results indicated states that are involved in more international crises will suffer more deaths from transnational terrorism.

One of the main contributions of this thesis is that it assesses the gaps highlighted in terrorism literature. First of all, it focuses on the relation between foreign policy behavior and transnational terrorism that the literature overlooked. By the way, it attempts to analyze the dynamics of the quality of transnational terrorism with the factor which is understudied in the literature. Then, different from a large body of empirical studies, it aimed to analyze

the quality of transnational terrorism by focusing on the total number of deaths in a given year as a result of the incidents. On the other hand, many studies in empirical terrorism literature focus on the quantity which is the count number of the terrorist attacks. Therefore, in line with the Conrad and Greene's emphasis which differentiates the quantity and quality of terrorist attacks, different from large body of empirical studies of terrorism, our study deals with the quality of transnational terrorist incidents.

Areas for Future Research

Our results indicate that certain foreign policy behaviors of states have an effect on the lethality of transnational terrorist incidents they incur. For instance, in line with the first and the third hypotheses of this study, involvement in international crises and foreign policy similarity with the United States influence the total number of deaths as a result of transnational terrorist attacks. On the one hand the findings support our first hypothesis that analysis the relation between involvement in international crises and the lethality. However, different from our expectation, the results indicate negative relationship between foreign policy similarity with the United States and the fatality of transnational terrorism. Therefore, negative correlation between foreign policy similarity with the United States and the lethality of transnational terrorism can be studied in future.

In our study the theoretical mechanism that explain the relation between foreign policy behavior and the fatality of transnational terrorism is explained by hostility. Accordingly, states who pursue active foreign policy are more likely to create hostility abroad and become the target of transnational terrorism. However, hostility is not the only factor that may lead brutal actors to conduct terrorist attacks against the states follow active foreign policy. On the other hand, none of the empirical models includes all factors that may influence the dependent variable. My model also does not include each and every items that may influence the fatality of transnational terrorism. Therefore, since the independent variables I analyzed are correlated, this issue is not a problem for my study. In that regard, our results remains valid. Apart from the foreign policy behavior of states, lifestyle, religious factors and state ideology may also create hostility abroad and lead to transnational terrorism. These factors may also be the topic of future researches.

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