

CONSTRUCTIONS OF TERRORISM

Confronting the Challenges to Global Security
Created By Daesh/Islamic State

April 27--28, 2016

The Stimson Center, Washington, D.C.



STIMSON

ORFALEA CENTER
FOR GLOBAL & INTERNATIONAL STUDIES
UNIVERSITY of CALIFORNIA, SANTA BARBARA

CONSTRUCTIONS OF TERRORISM
CONFRONTING THE CHALLENGES TO GLOBAL SECURITY
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The Stimson Center, Washington, D.C.

organized by

TRENDS Research and Advisory, Abu Dhabi, UAE

The Orfalea Center for Global and International Studies
University of California, Santa Barbara

and

The Stimson Center, Washington, D.C.

CONFERENCE SCHEDULE

Wednesday 27 April, 2016

8:00 *Registration/Coffee (Light breakfast will be available)*

8:45 *Welcome*

9:00 Panel 1

Mark Sageman *Historiography of Terrorism*
Laura Dugan *How United States and Canadian Actions Affect Jihadi Violence*
Mary Breen-Smyth *Security in the wake of the War on Terror: a critical analysis*

10:45 *BREAK*

11:00 Panel 2

Scott Englund *Vanguards, Avengers, and Liberators:
Violent Political Movements and the Islamic State*
Craig Whiteside *The Islamic State and the Return of Revolutionary Warfare*

12:30 LUNCH

13:30 Panel 3

Hussein Ibish *How Daesh is Surviving a War Against All*
Joel Day *ISIS Allies and the Future of Terrorism*

15:00 *BREAK*

15:15 Panel 4

Ben Smith, et al *Ideological motives: Failures of differentiation
within the print media*
Charlie Winter *Communicate, command, control:
Islamic State's offline messaging strategy*

16:45 *Adjourn for the day*

Thursday, 28 April 2016

8:00 *Registration/Coffee (Light breakfast will be available)*

8:45 Panel 5

<i>Lasse Lindekilde</i>	<i>Countering Foreign Fighting Recruitment and Radicalization at the Local Level: Insights from and Reflections on the Aarhus Model</i>
<i>Sara Zeiger</i>	<i>Female migrants, Daesh and countering violent extremism (CVE) response</i>
<i>Mia Bloom</i>	<i>Armed and Innocent? ISIS Cubs of the Caliphate</i>

10:45 *BREAK*

11:00 Panel 6

<i>Victor Asal</i>	<i>Violent Nonstate Actor (VNSA) Organizational Lethality and Network Co-Evolution in the Middle East and North Africa</i>
<i>John Mueller</i>	<i>Misoverestimating ISIS: Comparisons with al-Qaeda</i>

12:30 LUNCH

13:30 Panel 7

<i>Risa Brooks</i>	<i>Is the ISIS Threat Truly Unique or Exceptional?</i>
<i>Clark McCauley</i>	<i>What comes after ISIS?</i>

15:00 *BREAK*

15:15 Panel 8

<i>Richard Falk</i>	<i>The Failure of Militarism</i>
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16:00 *Closing Remarks*

16:30 *Adjourn*

CONFERENCE PAPERS

Wednesday, 27 April 2016

Panel 1

“Historiography of Terrorism”

Mark Sageman

I will survey how people conceived and wrote about non-state political violence in peacetime from the French Revolution to the present, pointing out trends and biases. In the process, I will provide a self-reflexive definition of terrorism to transcend the tendency to adopt the state perspective, which prevents a scientific study of the phenomenon. I will conclude by commenting on the present state of research in the field and point to possible future improvements to overcome the present stagnation in the field.

“How United States and Canadian Actions Affect Jihadi Violence”

Laura Dugan

Since the “War of Terror” began western nations have strategically attacked terrorist safe havens, disrupted finances, and engaged in prolonged campaigns to dismantle the activities of terrorist organizations. Yet, the grievances of those who join Jihadi movements like ISIL claim that a long history of western interventionism motivated them to join the fight against westerners, suggesting that the war on terror might be fueling more terrorism rather than stopping it. This raises the question of whether other government responses might be more effective in weakening Jihadi movements. This research uses new data, Government Actions in Terror Environments (GATE) collected in the United States and Canada to assess how a wide range of actions by those governments affect Jihadi terrorist attacks that target their nationals.

“Security in the wake of the War on Terror: a critical analysis”

Marie Breen-Smyth

There is a symbiotic relationship between terrorism and counter-terrorism. Orthodox approaches to terrorism and counter-terrorism has privileged security and military responses over political and diplomatic approaches. These approaches, adopted in the Global War on Terror, have served, not to solve or even diminish the problem of terrorism, but rather to deepen and proliferate security threats to the West, alienate domestic Muslim populations, and destabilise significant proportions of the Middle East and beyond. An urgent reconsideration of counterterrorist policy and practice is called for. As a first step, an affirmation on the part of the West of its commitment to its own affirmation of international humanitarian law might signal the possibility of a de-escalation and reversal of the current alarming global security trajectory.

Panel 2

“Vanguards, Avengers, and Liberators: Violent Political Movements and the Islamic State”

Scott Englund & Michael Stohl

The threat posed by Daesh is frequently described as unprecedented and unique. In the scope of territory it once controlled, its wealth in terms of cash on hand and access to modern military material, and in its shocking brutality, Daesh has broken new ground as a terrorist organization. However, Daesh is not simply a terrorist organization, but is instead a well-equipped insurgent army, and at least as of fairly recently, a quasi-state that inherited and, with partial success, continued the bureaucratic institutions of the territories it seized. Daesh is often contrasted with its ideological progenitor, al-Qaeda; highlighting how these organizations differ is helpful in developing effective means of confronting them. In this paper, we compare Daesh to two other terrorist organization to help understand the forces that gave rise to them, sustained them, and ultimately meant their demise. Through this comparative analysis, we argue that understanding Daesh as a social movement allows us to contextualize its violence within patterns evinced by other violent social movements. This approach will also allow us to better understand how Daesh might eventually end. The conclusion is that although the military defeat Daesh may be inevitable, the socio-political conditions that gave rise to and sustained it will likely remain and its remnants may very well present a “traditional” terrorist threat for years to come.

“The Islamic State and the Return of Revolutionary Warfare”

Craig Whiteside

The rise of the Islamic State (ISIS/ISIL) is not well understood at this point. This paper starts by comparing the Islamic State to the Vietnamese Communists in a revolutionary warfare framework and make a casual argument that the Islamic State’s defeat of the Sahwa (Awakening) movement in Iraq was the key to its successful establishment of control of most Sunni areas and the mobilization of its population for support. Islamic State operational summaries and captured documents are used to quantitatively establish the impact of the subversion campaign against the Sahwa and Iraqi Government and trace the efforts of operatives in tribal outreach and recruiting. This research provides a valuable insight into the return of a powerful method of insurgency as well as a glimpse into the vast clandestine network that provides the strength of the Islamic State movement.

Panel 3

“How Daesh is Surviving a War Against All”

Hussein Ibish

The almost universally reviled and, as recent opinion polls indicate, increasingly and extremely unpopular, terrorist organization known as Daesh/Islamic State has spent almost 2 years effectively at war with all of its neighbors as well as other powers simultaneously. The organization, which operates primarily in parts of Syria, Iraq and, increasingly, Libya, consists of an estimated 25-50,000 fighters. Its operations and quasi-state capabilities are impressive for a terrorist organization, but do not match those of even the smallest well-functioning state. Yet the organization has been able to survive, and in some ways even thrive, in this context of total opposition from all other parties (even often including Al Qaeda and other salafist-jihadist groups). This paper will examine how and why Daesh/Islamic State has been able to persist in the theoretically implausible, if not impossible, position of practically universal armed opposition. It will examine how all of its enemies have constructed other priorities, which Daesh/Islamic State has effectively used to forestall decisive action against it and to play one side off against the other time and again. It also examines the organization’s public image as an uniquely “pure” group that does not tolerate the slightest deviation from its absolute stances, which has proven a major selling point to its constituency even as it has brought it into conflict with even other radical and violent

Sunni Muslim groups. Finally, the paper will consider how the ability of Daesh/Islamic State to survive, and even in some ways expand, in the face of universal enmity and armed opposition can be overcome without relying on a counterfactual, fictional reconstruction reality but accepting the interests of all parties as they are currently constructed.

“ISIS Allies and the Future of Terrorism”

Joel Day

Over 50 domestic insurgencies around the world have pledged support for ISIS, but what does a pledge of allegiance mean for these groups? Does a pledge of support change the way local affiliates engage in terrorism? These puzzles are addressed through new quantitative and case-study evidence, with findings suggesting that organizational support for the Islamic State is far more about social jihadist "imagination" than about traditional, material military alliances. The policy recommendations suggest national security strategy should transition to assisting local allies deal with local, contingent ISIS threats, especially as the geographic area of the caliphate is squeezed militarily

Panel 4

“Ideological Motives: Failures of Differentiation within the print media”

Benjamin Smith, Andrea Figuera-Caballero, Michael Stohl, et al.

The actual structures and motivations of terrorist organizations like Daesh are often invisible to the general public, and given their clandestine nature often opaque to all external actors (including government, militaries, and others). For the general public, the ‘picture’ of terrorism and terrorist organizations is often painted by the media, with media framing having a direct influence on the American public’s understanding of the global terrorist threat, and in turn of the policies and actions the public expects and wants in response. It is our contention that much of the preliminary understanding of Daesh was couched in an understanding of al Qaeda, despite many real and important distinctions between the two groups. We explore media representations of Daesh, in direct comparison with media representations of al Qaeda, with a specific focus on the time period between January 1, 2013 and December 31, 2014. Our major contention is that the behaviors of the organization are shaped by the motives of the organization, and as such the perceived motives are especially important in understanding, evaluating and combating Daesh. We argue that there

is a dependent relationship between the motives ascribed to the organization and the perceived organizational functions of the group. By failing to fully address the motives of Daesh - and the preliminary failure to understand the motives of Daesh as separate from those of al Qaeda within the public discourse - we are hampered in our ability to combat Daesh, and Islamic radicalization in general.

“Communicate, command, control: Islamic Stat’s offline messaging strategy”

Charlie Winter

In the space of five years, Islamic State has attracted tens of thousands of supporters and inspired more “self-starter” terrorist attack than al- Qaeda ever did. Countering its political messaging in an attempt to mitigate the threat it poses has long been a central objective of the international coalition that was formed to destroy it. However, member states have been overly preoccupied with how propaganda on the Internet endangers their respective national securities, at the expense of seeking to understand how and why it is being applied offline in the so-called caliphate itself. This paper seeks to redress this balance by exploring Islamic State’s offline media strategy using Arabic-language primary source materials. It is argued that Islamic State’s offline public diplomacy is characterized by three tenets of totalitarian communications - monopolized mass media, total censorship, and an Orwellian narrative of “unreality” - and constitutes a nuanced approach towards “demotic” public diplomacy that is set to have lasting reverberations.

Thursday 28 April, 2016

Panel 5

“Countering Foreign Fighting Recruitment and Radicalization at the Local Level: Insights from and Reflections on the Aarhus Model”

Lasse Lindekilde

A growing consensus is emerging among practitioners of counter-radicalization efforts and academics that the problem of foreign fighter recruitment and radicalization is best addressed at the local level through a multi-layered and multi-agency approach and collaboration between local police, relevant municipal authorities, frontline personnel (school teachers, social workers, youth club staff etc.), religious authorities and parent networks. Such an approach calls for effective

cross-agency communication and coordination and requires building trust in authorities within affected communities. Building on experiences and insights from the city of Aarhus, Denmark, and the so-called Aarhus Model of counter-radicalization efforts, this paper discusses how countering foreign fighter recruitment and radicalization is best organized, implemented and communicated at the local level. Key insights and challenges are identified, and their transferability to other contexts specified. The paper draws upon interviews with key stakeholders in the Aarhus Model, including representatives of the local police crime prevention unit, the municipality counter-radicalization task force, and de-radicalization mentors and mentees. In addition, the paper is informed by privileged access to documentation on concrete counter-radicalization measures and their implementation as well as participant observations.

“Female migrants, Daesh and countering violent extremism (CVE) response”

Sara Zeiger

The number of females joining Daesh in Iraq and Syria is unprecedented and has gained significant media attention. For example, recent reports from the EU have noted that 20% of travelers to Daesh are female, while interviews with representatives from governments of South East Asia have listed women and children as near to 50% of the travelers. While females participating in terrorism and violence (such as genocide) is not a new trend, Daesh's specifically targeted recruitment of women is challenging our current definitions of what terrorism means. Moreover, the number of female migrants to the so-called Islamic State has implications for counter-terrorism and countering violent extremism strategies, policies and programs. Based on Hedayah's work, and with reference to international framework documents (such as UN Security Council Resolutions and GCTF framework documents), I will highlight some key good practices and lessons learned from existing programs and policies related to the role of women in countering terrorism and violent extremism. In particular I will outline areas of intervention around counter-narratives as well as programs specifically targeted towards women as potential recruits as well as potential preventers of violent extremism.

“Armed and Innocent? ISIS Cubs of the Caliphate”

Mia Bloom

In recent years, the so-called ‘Islamic State’ has normalized the exploitation of children and youth for military ends. The Syrian Observatory for Human Rights reported in 2015 that the Islamic State had recruited as many as 1,100 children under 16 years of age in a period of just seven months. Children are said to have been used to haul weapons, act as human shields, and even become

suicide bombers. Most shockingly, they are being used as executioners, too. The media has not missed this. Indeed, it regularly highlights the most public and dramatic roles played by children – namely when they appear in Islamic State’s grotesque snuff film, whether it’s in firing squads, holding severed heads, or shooting and beheading victims. In a recent video, for example, four-year-old Isa Dare was filmed detonated a car bomb in which 3 men - alleged to have been spies - were blown up. Dare, the Islamic State’s youngest executioner, was celebrated across jihadist social media with great fanfare and made headline news around the world. Just one week earlier, another English-speaking pre-adolescent was shown beheading a leading member of the Syrian opposition group, the Levant Front. Invariably, these increasingly graphic images of children perpetrating acts of savagery draw a great deal of attention. However, the presence and participation of children in Islamic State propaganda extends far beyond the ultra violence. On an almost daily basis, children feature in multiple contexts, from public amputations and training campus to Qur’an memorization fairs and evangelical ‘caravans’. The mobilization of young people into extremist groups is by no means a new phenomenon ± nor is their appearance in propaganda. Indeed, both have many historical precedents. However, the Islamic State has so championed its mobilization of children on a scale rarely associated with militant groups that it suggests an organizational strategy that extends far beyond short-term propaganda benefits.

Panel 6

“Violent Nonstate Actor (VNSA) Organizational Lethality and Network Co-Evolution in the Middle East and North Africa”

Victor Asal

This study provides an analysis of Violent Nonstate Actor (VNSA) lethality and VNSA network/behavior *co-evolution* using a newly created dataset, the Big Allied and Dangerous Version 2 (BAAD2) focusing on VNSAs in the Middle East and North Africa. We will begin by presenting an overview of BAAD2 and discuss and contrast with previous data on violent organizations. It sheds light on the factors that are making some organizations in MENA so much more lethal than others as well as the impact of counter terror efforts on the part of government on organizational lethality. We then present two analyses: one focused just on lethality and another focused on network/behavior co-evolution. After discussing the results, we end with some policy implications and directions for future

“Misoverestimating ISIS: Comparisons with al-Qaeda”

John Mueller

An examination of the ISIS phenomenon, comparing it with that generated a decade and a half earlier by al-Qaeda. Although the vicious group certainly presents a threat to the people under its control and although it can contribute damagingly to the instability in the Middle East that has followed serial intervention there by the American military, it scarcely presents a challenge to global security. As with al-Qaeda, however, the unwarranted fear and alarm it has generated around the world is likely to persist even if it is effectively extinguished as a physical force in the Middle East.

Panel 7

“Is the ISIS Threat Truly Unique or Exceptional?”

Risa Brooks

In the contemporary era, ISIS appears to pose a novel set of challenges to those states that oppose its radical political agenda. Analysts commonly imply that it represents an especially efficacious and ruthless organization unlike prior extremist groups. But, in fact, is ISIS qualitatively different from other terrorist organizations, and if so, how? I address this question by examining ISIS within a framework that evaluates the nature of different terrorist threats. I then compare it with other groups that have employed terrorist methods, asking in what manner ISIS does, and does not, present a unique challenge to regional and Western governments.

“What comes after ISIS?”

Clark McCauley

My presentation will develop the following points. 1) Sunni in Syria and Iraq join ISIS for a job and for defense against humiliation and domination by Shi'a: religious ideology has little to do with recruitment. 2) ISIS is more an ethnic than a religious movement. 3) ISIS would probably survive even if Western countries could block all Western volunteers. 4) Sykes-Picot is dead; peace in the Middle East depends on development of some degree of self-determination and security, not only for Sunni and Shi'a's but for Kurds, Alawites, Christians and Druze. 5) There is pressing need for a vision of the Middle East after ISIS; I briefly describe one possibility that Western countries might support.

Panel 8

“The Failure of Militarism”

Richard Falk

An exploration of how to frame counter-terrorist policy in view of the insufficiency of the common understating of either the ‘war’ or ‘criminal law enforcement’ paradigm. The importance of developing a hybrid ‘war/enforcement’ paradigm that would also benefit from a new special additional protocol. International humanitarian law as currently encompassed by the Geneva Conventions and 1977 Protocols that do not adequately address the transnational terrorist challenge from either policy or normative perspectives.

BIOGRAPHIES

Victor Asal, Associate Professor of Political Science State University of New York, Albany

Victor Asal is Director of the Center for Policy Research and an Associate Professor in the Department of Political Science and the director of the Homeland Security Concentration in the Department of Public Administration and Policy. Dr. Asal focuses on four main areas of research. One area of research focuses on the choices of violence by nonstate actors - both when they choose violence but also the kinds of violence they choose to use. His second main area of research is the causes of political discrimination by states against different groups such as sexual minorities, women and ethnic groups. In both of these areas Dr Asal often collects new data to test empirically questions in new ways. Asal has been involved in research projects funded by the Defense Advanced Research Projects Agency, Defense Threat Reduction Agency, The Department of Homeland Security, The National Science Foundation, and The Office of Naval Research. Prof. Asal teaches courses on world and comparative politics, political violence and oppression, negotiation and research design.



Mia Bloom, Professor of Communication Georgia State University

Mia Bloom is Professor of Communication at Georgia University. She conducts ethnographic field research in Europe, the Middle East and South Asia and speaks eight languages. She has authored several books and articles on terrorism and violent extremism including *Dying to Kill: The Allure of Suicide Terror* (2005), *Living Together After Ethnic Killing* [with Roy Licklider] (2007) and *Bombshell: Women and Terror* (2011). Under the auspices of the Minerva Research Initiative (MRI) of Department of Defense, Bloom is currently conducting research with John G. Horgan on how children become involved in terrorist organizations. Bloom and Horgan's findings will be published in a book for Cornell University Press entitled *Small Arms: Children and Terror* (2016). Bloom has a PhD in political science from Columbia University, a Masters in Arab Studies from the School of Foreign Service at Georgetown University and a Bachelors from McGill University in Russian, Islamic and Middle Eastern Studies. Follow her on Twitter @miambloom



**Ambassador Lincoln Bloomfield, Chairman
Stimson Center, Washington, D.C.**

Ambassador Lincoln P. Bloomfield, Jr. is Chairman of the non-partisan Stimson Center in Washington, DC. He was U.S. Special Envoy for MANPADS Threat Reduction from 2008-09, and U.S. Assistant Secretary of State for Political Military Affairs from 2001-2005. He previously served as Deputy Assistant Secretary of State for Near Eastern Affairs (1992-93), Deputy Assistant to the Vice President for National Security Affairs (1991-02), and Principal Deputy Assistant Secretary of Defense for International Security Affairs (1988-89), among other policy positions in the Departments of State and Defense beginning in 1981. Author or editor of two books and many articles, a graduate of Harvard College and the Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy, he is also President of Palmer Coates LLC, Senior Advisor to Seatrec, Inc., non-Attorney Senior Advisor to Akin Gump Strauss Hauer & Feld LLP, and a Director and National Executive Committee Member of the U.S. Water Partnership



**Marie Breen-Smyth, Senior Research Fellow
Center for Peace Democracy and Development
University of Massachusetts, Boston**

Marie Breen-Smyth is currently a Senior Research Fellow in the Center for Peace, Democracy and Development and Visiting Professor in the Department of Conflict Resolution, Human Security and Global Governance in the McCormack Graduate School of the University of Massachusetts in Boston. She is a founder editor of the journal *Critical Studies on Terrorism*, and her most recent publications include: 'A critical approach: violence, 'victims' and 'innocent' (with Samantha Cooke) in Kennedy-Pipe, C. Mabon, C and Clubb, G. (eds) 'Terrorism and Political Violence: the Evaluation of Contemporary Insecurity'. Sage (2015); 'Everywhere and forever' War on 'Terrorism' and the challenge for Transitional Justice' Institute of Transitional Justice (forthcoming); *The Ashgate Research Companion on Political Violence*, (Ashgate 2013) and *Terrorism*; *A critical introduction* with Jackson, Gunning and Lee Jarvis (Palgrave, 2011). In Northern Ireland she established the Institute for Conflict Research and she has made two films about the impact of political violence, *And then there was silence* (2000) and *Injured* (2011).



**Risa Brooks, Associate Professor of Political Science
Marquette University**

Dr. Risa Brooks is an Associate Professor of Political Science at Marquette University, where she specializes in the study of civil-military relations, non-state militant groups, terrorism, and issues of military effectiveness. In addition to her substantive specialties, Dr. Brooks maintains a regional interest in the Middle East. She is the author of *Shaping Strategy: the Civil-Military Politics of Strategic Assessment* (Princeton University Press, 2008) and editor (with Elizabeth Stanley) of *Creating Military Power: the Sources of Military Effectiveness* (Stanford University Press, 2007), as well as numerous articles in the field of security studies.



**Richard Burchill, Director of Research and Engagement
TRENDS Research and Advisory**

Dr. Richard Burchill is the Director of Research and Engagement at TRENDS Research and Advisory, Abu Dhabi, UAE. Previously he was in the Law School at the University of Hull, UK and has taught in the UK, Germany, Malaysia, and Canada. He has been an expert speaker on issues of international law, human rights and counter-terrorism for the UN Office on Drugs and Crime, and the George C. Marshall Centre for Security Studies.



**Joel Day, Assistant Professor
Center for Terrorism and Security Studies
University of Massachusetts, Lowell**

Joel Day is an expert on ISIS and its alliances, as well as religious-based terrorism, insurgency and resistance movements. An authority on how ideological factors impact dynamics of violence such as intensity, bargaining and organizational coherence, Day can discuss the reasons for and responses to terrorism. He has studied and researched global security as it relates to terrorism and has worked on foreign policy. Day is an assistant professor with the Center for Terrorism and Security Studies at UMass Lowell and is affiliated with the National Consortium for the Study of Terrorism and Responses to Terrorism



(START). Day is a National Security Act Scholar and is the former operations director for an international nonprofit organization that fights human trafficking. His experience includes work as a foreign policy adviser on presidential and congressional campaigns. He earned a Ph.D. in international studies at the University of Denver, a master of arts degree in international relations from University of San Diego and a bachelor of arts degree in political science from Point Loma Nazarene University.

**Laura Dugan, Professor of Criminology & Criminal Justice
University of Maryland**



Laura Dugan is a Professor in the Department of Criminology and Criminal Justice at the University of Maryland. Her research examines the consequences of violence and the efficacy of violence prevention/intervention policy and practice. She also designs methodological strategies to overcome data limitations inherent in the social sciences. Dr. Dugan is a co-principal investigator for the Global Terrorism Database (GTD) and the Government Actions in Terrorist Environments (GATE) dataset. The GTD is the most comprehensive source of terrorist incidents, as it records all known attacks across the globe since 1970. The GATE data record government actions related to terrorists and their constituencies for a select set of countries since 1987. Dr. Dugan's research has been published in top journals in criminology and sociology. She has also published in political science and public policy journals. She received her Ph.D. in Public Policy and Management from Carnegie Mellon University in 1999; her MA in Statistics from Carnegie Mellon University in 1998; her MA in Public Policy and Management from Carnegie Mellon University in 1995; and her BFA in Applied Media Arts from Edinboro University of Pennsylvania in 1987. She has published with colleagues, *Putting Terrorism into Context: Lessons Learned from the World's Most Comprehensive Database*, along with more than fifty journal articles and book chapters. She is the Chair of American Society of Criminology's National Policy Committee and serves as Executive Counselor on its Board. Her publications appear in journals such as the *Journal of Quantitative Criminology*, *Criminology*, the *American Sociological Review*, *Law and Society Review*, as well as *Terrorism and Political Violence*, and the *Journal of Peace Research*.

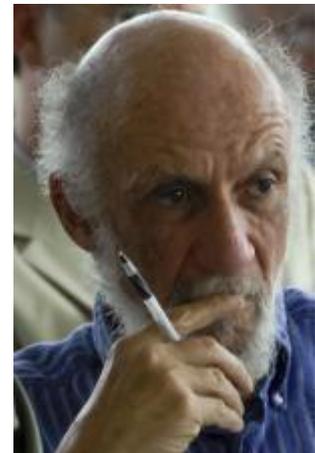
**Scott Englund, Post-Doctoral Research Fellow
Orfalea Center for Global & International Studies
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Non-Resident Fellow, TRENDS Research & Advisory**

Scott Englund is a Post Doctoral Research Fellow at the Orfalea Center for Global and International Studies at the University of California, Santa Barbara, a Non-Resident Fellow with Abu Dhabi based TRENDS Research and Advisory, and an adjunct professor of political science. Prior to his present academic career, Dr. Englund was a political and counter-terrorism analyst for the Department of Defense and the Federal Bureau of Investigation; in that capacity he provided assessments for the President of the United States, the Secretary of Defense, the Joint Staff, and other senior US policy makers. During the period of 2006-2009 he deployed to the Iraq theatre of operations four times. Dr. Englund has also served on the professional staff of elected officials at the federal, state and municipal level of government in the US. His primary research interests are terrorism, counter-terror policy, political communication and public opinion.



**Richard Falk, Fellow
Orfalea Center for Global & International Studies
University Of California, Santa Barbara**

Richard Falk is Albert G. Milbank Professor Emeritus of International Law at Princeton University and Fellow at the Orfalea Center for Global and International Studies at the University of California, Santa Barbara. He has served as the United Nations Special Rapporteur on Palestinian human rights. Professor Falk is the author, co-author, or editor of more than thirty books and numerous essays. He is Chair of the Board of the Nuclear Age Peace Foundation and a member of the World Federalist Institute, the Independent International Commission on Kosovo, and the Advisory Board for the American Movement for World Government.



Andrea Figueroa-Caballero, Doctoral Student
Department of Communication
University of California, Santa Barbara



Andrea Figueroa-Caballero is a second-year PhD student in the Department of Communication at UC Santa Barbara. She holds an M.A. in Communication from the University of Illinois, Urbana-Champaign and a B.A. in International Studies with a focus on Communication and Media from Texas A&M University at College Station. Andrea's research interests focus predominately on media effects from an intergroup perspective. Most recently, her research has focused on the portrayal of racial and ethnic minorities on television, media framing of groups such as al Qaeda, and she is currently working on exploring the role of physiological responses to stereotyped groups in the media.

Hussein Ibish, Senior Resident Scholar
Arab Gulf States Institute, Washington, D.C.



Dr. Hussein Ibish is a senior resident scholar at the Arab Gulf States Institute in Washington. He is a weekly columnist for The National (UAE) and a monthly contributing writer for The International New York Times. Ibish is also a regular contributor to many other American and Middle Eastern publications. He has made thousands of radio and television appearances and was the Washington, DC Correspondent for the Daily Star (Beirut). Ibish previously served as a Senior Fellow at the American Task Force on Palestine (ATFP), and Executive Director of the Hala Salaam Maksoud Foundation for Arab-American Leadership.

**Lasse Lindekilde, Associate Professor of Political Science
Aarhus University**

Lasse Lindekilde is associate professor at the Department of Political Science, Aarhus University. Lasse received his PhD from the European University Institute, Florence (2009), for a dissertation on the mobilization and claims-making of Danish Muslims in reaction to the publication of the Muhammad cartoons. His recent research has focused on violent radicalization and the design, implementation and effects of counter-radicalization policies. He has conducted field-based research on mechanisms of radicalization and the impact of counter-radicalization policies. He is currently Co-PI on the FP7-sponsored research project PRIME, focusing on lone actor extremism. As a visiting fellow at the University of California Santa Barbara (2014-2015) he has conducted experimental research on the effects of small group deliberation and interaction on the radicalization of attitudes and action preparedness.



**Clark McCauley, Research Professor of Psychology
Bryn Mawr College**

Clark McCauley is Research Professor of Psychology at Bryn Mawr College. He received his Ph.D. in social psychology from the University of Pennsylvania in 1970; his research interests include stereotypes, group dynamics, and the psychological foundations of terrorism, ethnic conflict and genocide. He is co-author of *Why Not Kill Them All? The Logic and Prevention of Mass Political Murder* (2006), co-author of *Friction: How radicalization happens to them and us* (2011), and founding editor of the journal *Dynamics of Asymmetric Conflict: Pathways toward Terrorism and Genocide*. He is a lead investigator with the National Consortium for Study of Terrorism and Responses to Terrorism (START) for research supported by the U.S. Department of Homeland Security.



**John Mueller, Professor of Political Science
Ohio State University**

John Mueller is a political scientist at Ohio State University and a Senior Fellow at the Cato Institute in Washington, DC. He has published over a dozen books and is currently working on terrorism and particularly on the reactions and costly over-reactions it often inspires. His book, *Terror, Security, and Money: Balancing the Risks, Benefits, and Costs of Homeland Security*, written in collaboration with engineer and risk analyst Mark Stewart, applies cost-benefit analysis to issues of homeland security and was published in 2011 by Oxford University Press. His latest book, *Chasing Ghosts: The Policing of Terrorism*, also with Stewart, has just been published by Oxford.



**Mark Sageman
Sageman Consulting, LLC**

Marc Sageman is an independent consultant on terrorism and the founder of Sageman Consulting, LLC. After a year at the U.S. Secret Service, he was the New York Police Department's first "scholar in residence" for over a year. For three and a half years, he was the special advisor to the U.S. Army Deputy Chief of Staff (Intelligence) on the "insider thread" including terrorists and spies. In the fall of 2012, he was ISAF Political Scientist looking at the Insider Threat in Afghanistan. After graduating from Harvard, he obtained an M.D. and a Ph.D. in sociology from New York University. He was a flight surgeon in the U.S. Navy and a case officer at the Central Intelligence Agency for seven years. He spent three years supporting the Afghan Mujahedin resistance against the Soviet occupation. He returned to medicine and completed a residency in psychiatry at the University of Pennsylvania. He is a forensic and clinical psychiatrist and taught course on law and psychiatry, Holocaust perpetrators and terrorism at the University of Pennsylvania and Columbia University at both graduate and undergraduate levels. He is the author of *Understanding Terror Networks and Leaderless Jihad* and several studies on the process of radicalization. His new book, *The Turn to Political Violence*, describing a new model of this process and testing it on various campaigns of political violence spanning two centuries and four continents, will be published next spring. He testified before both the 9/11 Commission in the U.S. and the Beslan Commission in Russia. He has extensively consulted with most national security agencies in the U.S. and the West as well as law enforcement agencies. He has lectured at dozens of universities in the U.S. and abroad.



Benjamin Smith, Doctoral Student
Department of Communication
University of California, Santa Barbara

Benjamin Smith is a second-year PhD student in UCSB's Department of Communication. He is also a Graduate Research Assistant with UCSB's Orfalea Center for Global and International Studies. He earned his M.S. in Communication from Portland State University, in 2014. His thesis focused on the role of interpersonal communication networks in moderating the effects of mass media. He earned his B.S. in Communication, with an emphasis in Public Relations, from Southern Utah University, in 2012. While broadly focused on public opinion and mass media, Benjamin's research has looked at a variety of issues across an assortment of contexts. His research has ranged from understanding the way cross-cutting communication moderates reactions to NSA's bulk collection of meta-data, to the role of media pundits in promoting post-hoc inoculation from polling results. Current projects include development of a synthesized model for predicting U.S. elections based in part on Wikipedia page views, and a look at the role of print media in shaping perceptions of al Qaeda and global terrorism.



Michael Stohl, Director
Orfalea Center for Global & International Studies
Professor of Communication & Political Science
University of California, Santa Barbara

Michael Stohl was appointed as Director of the Orfalea Center for Global and International Studies in July 2014. He is Professor of Communication and an affiliate faculty member of the Departments of Political Science and Global and International Studies at UCSB. He served as Department Chair of the Department of Communication from 2004-2010. Prior to his appointment in January 2002 at UCSB, Professor Stohl was Dean of International Programs and Professor of Political Science at Purdue University in West Lafayette, Indiana, where he had taught since 1972. Dr. Stohl received his B.A. from the State University of New York at Buffalo (1969) and his M.A. (1970) and Ph.D. (1974) degrees in Political Science from Northwestern University in Evanston, Illinois.



**Craig Whiteside, Associate Professor
Naval War College, Monterey**

Craig Whiteside is an Associate Professor at the Naval War College Monterey, California where he teaches national security affairs to military officers as part of their professional military education. He is a senior associate with the Center on Irregular Warfare and Armed Groups at the Naval War College in Newport, Rhode Island and lectures at the U.S. Air Force Special Operations School. Whiteside's current research focuses on the doctrinal influences of the leadership of the Islamic State movement, the evolution of its political-military doctrine since 1999, and the tribal engagement strategy that fueled its return since 2008. His doctoral research investigated the political worldview of the Islamic State of Iraq (2003-2013), relying on an analysis of over 3,000 original documents published by the movement as well as captured documents that have been recently declassified. He is a graduate of the United States Military Academy at West Point and Washington State University. Prior to his doctoral work, he was a U.S. Army officer with counterinsurgency experience in Iraq from 2006-2007.



**Charlie Winter, Senior Research Associate
Transcultural Conflict & Violence Initiative
Georgia State University**

Charlie Winter is a Senior Research Associate at Georgia State University's Transcultural Conflict and Violence Initiative, where his research focuses on transnational jihadist movements and insurgency. As well as managing a Department of Defense Minerva Research Initiative Project, Preventing the next generation: mapping the pathways of child mobilization into Violent Extremist Organizations, he is quantitatively and qualitatively assessing Islamic State's outreach strategy, and specializing in the sourcing, translation, and analysis of Arabic-language documents circulated online by jihadists. He holds a degree in Arabic from the University of Edinburgh and an MA in Middle East & Mediterranean Studies from King's College, University of London, for both of which he graduated summa cum laude. He also attended the Higher Language Institute in Damascus, where he lived for a year in 2010-11.



**Sara Zeiger, Senior Research Analyst
Hedayah, the International Center of Excellence for
Countering Violent Extremism**



Sara Zeiger is a Senior Research Analyst at Hedayah, the International Center of Excellence for Countering Violent Extremism (CVE) based in Abu Dhabi, United Arab Emirates, as well as a Non-Resident Fellow at TRENDS Research & Advisory. Sara recently published an edited volume on the role of women in countering violent extremism and terrorism together with the Global Center on Cooperative Security, and is currently spearheading a project to collect and analyze relevant counter-narratives against violent extremist across 5 regions as part of Hedayah’s virtual Counter-Narrative Library. She was Hedayah’s liaison with the Global Counterterrorism Forum (GCTFO) to support the development and drafting their framework document, the *Abu Dhabi Memorandum on Good Practices for Education and CVE*. Sara previously served as consultant for the Strategy and Delivery Unit at that was tasked with standing up and launching Hedayah in 2012. Prior to moving to the UAE, Sara worked as a Research Assistant at the Center for Middle Eastern Studies at Harvard University. She also served as a Head Teaching Fellow for the Harvard Extension School where she taught courses on Middle Eastern politics. Sara holds an M.A. in International Relations and Religion (with a focus on Security Studies and Islam) from Boston University and a B.A. in Psychology and Religion from Ohio Northern University.



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