

CHAPTER 10



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UNDERSTANDING WAR AND TERRORISM

Amy Sodaro

LEARNING QUESTIONS

- 10.1 What is war? What is terrorism? How are they different?
- 10.2 Why is war frequently not considered a social problem?
- 10.3 What are some of the key social and individual consequences of war?
- 10.4 What does it mean to say that terrorism is a social construction?
- 10.5 What are some of the key social and individual consequences of terrorism?
- 10.6 What are some key international, national, and grassroots efforts to prevent or stop war and/or terrorism?

On Halloween, 2017, Sayfullo Saipov, a young man who had immigrated to the United States from Uzbekistan in 2010, rented a pickup truck at a Home Depot in New Jersey and drove it down a Manhattan bike path to kill as many Americans as possible. When a crash with a school bus ended his deadly drive, he leapt out of the truck brandishing a paintball and pellet gun and shouted, “Allahu Akhbar,” before police shot and arrested him. During his attack, Saipov killed eight people, mostly non-U.S. tourists, and wounded 12 more. A subsequent investigation revealed that Saipov acted as a “lone wolf” who had radicalized himself during his time in the United States through Islamic State (ISIS) propaganda on the Internet.

The U.S. government labeled the event a terrorist attack, and people immediately recalled the horrific attacks of September 11, 2001, when the Al-Qaeda terrorist group flew commercial airplanes into the twin towers in New York City and killed thousands. In a speech

to Congress a few days after 9/11, President George W. Bush (2001) declared: “Our war on terror begins with Al-Qaeda, but it does not end there. It will not end until every terrorist group of global reach has been found, stopped and defeated.” Subsequent terrorist attacks, like the Manhattan truck attack, have therefore been framed as acts of war, but Bush noted that the war on terror would look different than previous wars. We generally consider **war** to be an armed, usually violent fight between states or groups within a state, with each party attempting to impose its will on the other. Terrorism is more difficult to define than war, but a bit of thought tells us that the concept of a war on terror is unusual and problematic.

First, who is fighting this war—and against whom? The United States is taking the lead but is relying on allies around the world for help. And while the military is involved, law enforcement and intelligence agencies also play a central role. President Bush declared that the war



HOW I GOT ACTIVE IN SOCIOLOGY

AMY SODARO

I was a latecomer to sociology. Astonishingly, although I had a lifelong interest in culture and society, I made it through my undergraduate degree with two majors—drama and classics—and not one sociology course. I was working in New York City as a costume designer when the terror attacks of September 11, 2001, occurred. Watching the towers fall convinced me that I didn't have a sufficient framework or vocabulary for understanding the complexity of contemporary society, so I enrolled in an interdisciplinary master's program at the New School for Social Research in New York. I took my first

sociology course there and realized that sociology provides the conceptual framework I had been looking for to merge my interests in culture, politics, and society and make sense of the world around me. Both my PhD studies and my current research focus on the sociology of culture, with an emphasis on how societies remember and come to terms with violence. I currently teach sociology just a few blocks away from the World Trade Center site, at the Borough of Manhattan Community College, where I strive to demonstrate to students the value and importance of developing a sociological perspective.

is “against terror,” but terror or terrorism is a tactic, not a group, collective, or ideology (Tilly 2004). Moreover, who are the “terrorist group[s] of global reach” that we must find, stop, and defeat? As we shall see, the answer to this question depends very much on who is defining terrorism. It is often said that “one person's terrorist is another person's freedom fighter.”

Finally, wars also usually have a beginning and end. The beginning of this war on terror was September 11, 2001, but what will mark its end? It is extremely unlikely that “every terrorist group with global reach” will ever be defeated (Bush 2001); attacks like the Manhattan truck attack remind us of the difficulty of stopping terror attacks. The waging of a war on terror also reflects the fact that, while war and terrorism often overlap, they are fundamentally different social problems.

Understanding War as a Social Problem

10.1 What is war? What is terrorism? How are they different?

War has been a part of social life for all human history. According to *New York Times* journalist and war chronicler Chris Hedges (2003), over the past 3,400 years of human history, humans have been at peace for just 268 years (8% of recorded history) and wars have killed an estimated 150 million to 1 billion people, with 108 million killed in the 20th century alone. And yet, despite—or perhaps because of—its prevalence, war is more often thought of as a normal

part of social life rather than a social problem. In fact, some argue that war is a part of “human nature” and that we are biologically hardwired to be at war with each other.

Evolutionary biologists claim that war has been integral to our evolution as a species, and look to our close relatives, chimpanzees—who band together in groups and fight each other viciously—as evidence of the centrality of war to being human (Johnson and Thayer 2014). According to this view, war is part of the competition that ensures survival of the fittest. Peace, however, is also an intrinsic part of human social life. Some great apes, like bonobos—who, like chimpanzees, share the same 99% of DNA with humans (Gibbons 2012)—are famous for making love not war! Among humans, anthropologist Douglas Fry has identified more than 70 non-warring cultures throughout history, including the Mardu people of Australia, who do not have a word for feud or warfare (Fry 2008). There are also modern nations that are remarkably peaceful; for example, Costa Rica does not have a military, and Iceland, which has been ranked the most peaceful country in the world for the past 10 years by the Global Peace Index (Institute for Economics and Peace 2018), had its last conflict—a fishing dispute with England—in the 1970s. Additionally, the wide variations in motivations and tactics for war throughout history and around the world challenge the notion that war is a part of human nature and instead suggest that it is a social phenomenon. Thus, sociologists have valuable things to say both about war as a social phenomenon and particularly about war as a social problem.



War has been a large part of human social life, with accounts of war dating back to ancient times.

Sociological Theories of War

Early and still influential works on war, such as Sun Tzu's 6th century Chinese military treatise *The Art of War* and Machiavelli's 16th century Italian dialogue of the same name, set the stage for one of the most important theoretical analyses of war: Prussian general Carl von Clausewitz's book *On War* (1832). Von Clausewitz fought in the Napoleonic Wars (1803–1815) and defined war as “an act of violence intended to compel our opponent to fulfil our will.” He argues that “war is not merely a political act, but also a real political instrument, a continuation of political commerce, a carrying out of the same by other means.” Von Clausewitz's theory that war is an act of the state, distinct from other forms of violence and a continuation or extension of politics, has become a basis for sociological understandings of war.

Marx's and Weber's Perspectives on War: Though Karl Marx did not construct a specific theory of war, he linked the state and politics to war. He argued that owners of the means of production control both the state and the production of weapons and the military. Accordingly, the state can use its coercive violence, even against its own people if it is necessary to maintain the interests of the ruling class (Marx 1871). This “savagery” of the ruling class (Engels 1891) can be overcome only by the proletarian revolution, which may be bloody and violent. Similarly, Max Weber (1918) argued that the modern state is a “community that (successfully) claims the monopoly of the legitimate use of physical force within a given territory.” Indeed, Weber says the very definition of the modern state derives from its legitimate ability to use violence against other states or its own people—to wage war. As in Marx's conceptualization, Weber sees the state as a form of “organized domination” (1918), and both believe war is a necessary and fundamental part of life within society. For Marx the use of violence by the state is problematic, and the answer to that problem is war in the form of proletarian revolution!

Total Wars, Just Wars, and the Functions of Wars

In 1941, after World War I and just before the United States entered World War II, sociologist Robert Park wrote an important essay called “The Social Functions of War.” World War I was a **total war**, a war with no limits on weaponry or territorial scope, and in which all society's resources were mobilized.

Advances in warfare and weapons technology (e.g., machine guns and poison gas) made World War I unprecedented in its brutality; 20 million people died, and even more were wounded. While the horrors of WWI left little appetite for war among the U.S. public, when Japan attacked the U.S. naval base at Pearl Harbor, Hawaii, in 1941, the public strongly supported the United States entering WWII and most considered it a **just war**, one that is morally justifiable. While Park (1941) started his essay stating that “modern technology has made war itself our No. 1 social problem” (551), he went on to argue that war is inevitable and it serves important social functions.

Like von Clausewitz, Marx, and Weber, Park (1941) argued that war is “a political institution in process” (551) and that war as politics not only serves the function of “settling issues” between nations, but it also brings people together and creates social solidarity. This argument about the social functions of war reflects Park's theoretical orientation as a functionalist but also the prevalent public attitude toward war just before World War II.

CONSIDER THIS 10.1

What constitutes a just war? Do you consider recent U.S. wars, such as the war in Afghanistan, the Iraq War begun in 2003, and/or the war on terror to be just? Why or why not? Are just wars social problems?

Check Your Understanding

1. What is war?
2. How did early sociologists understand and explain war?
3. How is total war different from other wars?
4. According to Robert Park, what are some of the functions of war?

CONFRONTING SOCIAL PROBLEMS 10.1

Today's Power Elite

Watch this news report from Vox News on the cost of cutting America's defense budget (<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=UuZGX46X4Tg>); then write responses to the following questions:

1. What are the political and economic reasons for continuing to manufacture weapons even during times of peace? What is the social cost of reducing U.S. weapons manufacturing?
2. How might Mills's concept of the power elite help explain how embedded weapons manufacturing is in America's economy?
3. Do our political and economic leaders benefit financially from the United States or other countries going to war? Do regular Americans benefit financially from war? Is this a problem?

Seeing War as a Social Problem

10.2 Why is war frequently not considered a social problem?

World War II ended in August 1945 when the United States dropped atomic bombs on Hiroshima and Nagasaki, Japan, immediately killing between 100,000 and 200,000 people, with the radiation affecting hundreds of thousands more over time. Only months before, the allied forces (the United States, Britain, and the Soviet Union) had liberated the Nazi concentration camps, finding gas chambers, piles of corpses, and skeletal survivors. In the wake of this extreme violence, attitudes toward war began to change in the United States and overseas. More people began to see it not as a natural and inevitable part of human society, but as a social problem.

The threat of nuclear annihilation during the Cold War (1946–1989), as the United States and USSR sought to amass huge arsenals of nuclear weapons, gave even more credence to the perception of war as a social problem. It was within this context that sociologist C. Wright Mills wrote his 1956 book *The Power Elite*, a sharp critique of American power structures. In this book, he argued that the leaders of three social sectors—the economy, the military, and the political institution—have merged into one extremely powerful, elite ruling class. Mills argued that these corporate, military, and political leaders—the **power elite**—come from the same social background and thus have a shared set of interests they pursue whether or not they benefit the greater good. They work together to create a “permanent war economy,” which links the most powerful corporations’

interests to the military needs of the state. This means that corporations flourish when the United States is at or preparing for war. Mills feared that the huge amounts of money and power to be gained from preparing for and waging wars could be a threat to peace and democracy in the United States and around the world. If those in power benefit economically from war, there is little incentive for our leaders to avoid it.

The Vietnam War

Though *attitudes* toward war began to shift, nations continued to fight wars throughout the 20th century. Many of the wars that the United States engaged in were so-called **proxy wars** of the Cold War: Rather than the United States and USSR fighting each other directly, they took sides in other wars over political ideology around the world. The best known of these proxy wars—and one that had an enormous impact on U.S. society—was the Vietnam War (1955–1975).

The United States fought on the side of South Vietnam against the North Vietnamese and communist Viet Cong forces, with the goal of stopping the spread of communism. The war was long, expensive, and brutal. The United States spent about \$168 billion on the war. The death toll was horrific; 58,000 U.S. soldiers and about 1 million Vietnamese soldiers and civilians died during the war. To come up with the manpower needed to wage this war, the United States instituted a draft of young men, in which military service was compulsory for those randomly selected. However, college students could seek deferments until they left or finished school, and many of the



The Vietnam War sparked a broad anti-war movement across the United States.

Joe Munroe/The LIFE Images Collection via Getty Images/Getty Images

well-connected found entry into the National Guard (and few National Guard units were sent to Vietnam) or other means of avoiding fighting in Vietnam, fueling the public's sense that the draft was unfair (Appy 1993; Foley 2003).

There were also arguments that the war was immoral—that it was not a just war. These arguments became stronger when images and details of some of the atrocities of the war appeared in the U.S. media. The My Lai Massacre was one such atrocity. In 1968, U.S. soldiers brutally killed about 500 Vietnamese civilians—among them women, children, and the elderly—in a small Vietnamese hamlet where they mistakenly believed Viet Cong fighters were hiding. When journalist Seymour Hirsch broke the story in 1969 and *Life* magazine published color photographs of the massacre, public support for the war diminished even further. Though the United States did not withdraw troops from Vietnam until 1975, the anti-war movement became a powerful force and ensured that the Vietnam War became such a problem for politicians, the military, and society in general, that the United States had to pull its troops—and hopes for victory—out of Vietnam.

Check Your Understanding

1. How did attitudes toward war begin to change after World War II?
2. What did Mills mean by the “power elite”?
3. What are some of the reasons many people in the United States considered the Vietnam War a social problem?

War in the 21st Century

After the U.S. loss in Vietnam, there was a general reluctance in U.S. society to go to war. This changed in the aftermath of 9/11. There was strong public support for President George W. Bush's calls to hunt down those who perpetrated the attacks, and the invasion of Afghanistan in October 2001 was largely seen as a necessary and just action taken against the enemies who had attacked the United States. However, the U.S. invasion of Iraq in 2003 was viewed as much more problematic. Millions of people took to the streets to protest the war, declaring it unjust because they did not believe the United States needed to go to war to protect itself from Iraq. And this was before it became known that Bush had declared war based on false intelligence that Iraq had **weapons of mass destruction**—nuclear, chemical, or biological weapons that can cause significant harm. Bush declared “mission accomplished” just months after the initial invasion of Iraq, but the war dragged on for almost another decade, creating a power vacuum in the region that contributed to the spread of conflict and terrorism in the Middle East and around the world. The war in Afghanistan continues today. As of 2018, Taliban insurgents control or are active in around 70% of the country, suggesting that the already almost two decades-long war will not end anytime soon (Sharifi and Adamou 2018).

New Technology and New Ways to Fight Wars

The wars in Afghanistan and Iraq, waged within the context of the war on terror, differ from previous wars. New weapons technology like drones—small, unmanned aircrafts equipped with video cameras for surveillance and able to carry and deploy missiles—mean that some soldiers can watch and attack the enemy from afar, safe from combat. At the same time, the use of improvised explosive devices, or IEDs, by those fighting the United States has been extremely deadly and destructive, causing between half and two-thirds of all U.S. deaths and countless injuries. The military has spent billions of dollars developing technology like armored trucks that protect soldiers from IED explosions and training troops in dealing with them, helping change the face of war in the 21st century (Shell 2017).

While weapons technology changes how wars are fought on the battlefield, there is also an entirely new form of warfare today—**cyber warfare**, the attempt by a state or organization to attack a nation's computer or information systems. With much of our lives lived online today, cyber warfare can impact everyone in

society—including you. Russia has carried out several cyber warfare campaigns. In Ukraine, which has been at war with Russia and pro-Russia separatists since Russia invaded and annexed part of the country in 2014, a hacking group linked to the Russian government used malware to track Ukrainian artillery units used against pro-Russia separatists (Volz 2016).

Much closer to home, we now know that Russian groups interfered in the 2016 presidential election in support of Donald Trump. They hacked State Department computers and the e-mails of the Democratic National Committee and Hillary Clinton's campaign director, John Podesta; carried out a propaganda campaign on social media; and even infiltrated voting equipment in several U.S. states (though there is no evidence of vote tampering) (Bump 2017). In 2018, the Department of Homeland Security reported that Russia's military intelligence agency infiltrated the control rooms of power plants across the United States (Sanger 2018). These and many other examples of cyber warfare give us an indication of the potential dangers and vulnerabilities of our computer systems and suggest that war in the future might be fought most effectively online.

Check Your Understanding

1. How has war changed in the 21st century?
2. What might the future of war look like?
3. How might cyber warfare impact you?

War's Impact on Society

10.3 What are some of the key social and individual consequences of war?

As this brief history of war suggests, war has very serious consequences for societies and individuals. Sociologists argue that war is a form or extension of politics that uses violent conflict to attain political goals, meaning it has long-lasting social consequences—for winners as well as losers. During war “societies reorder themselves, both in opposition to an outside enemy and internally” (Modell and Haggerty 1991:206). War changes the structures of society and the lives of those within it.

For example, WWII essentially changed the world order. The United Nations was formed; the Iron Curtain fell between the capitalist, democratic West and the communist USSR and Eastern Bloc; and the United States' economy entered the so-called Golden Age of Capitalism, experiencing tremendous growth and establishing the United States as an economic and military

superpower. WWII also spurred important technological advances. For example, the computer as we know it today was developed to break Nazi codes. Try to imagine our world today without computers!

War changes social structures in more subtle ways as well, such as the shift in gender roles that came with WWII. Because it was a total war that mobilized all society's resources, millions of men went off to fight, taking with them a critical labor force. Women stepped in to fill the gap, and by 1945, nearly 1 in 4 married women was working outside the home. While most (White middle- and upper-class) women left the paid workforce at the end of the war, the war experience altered the idea that women could not work outside the home and likely paved the way for later feminist movements and the dramatic changes to gender roles that you read about in Chapter 4 (Campbell 1984; Higgonnet et al. 1987).

Today's wars are not total wars like World War II, but U.S. troops have suffered grave losses. More than 4,000 U.S. soldiers have been killed and more than 30,000 have been wounded in Afghanistan and Iraq (U.S. Department of Defense 2018). These wars cost all members of society in other ways. The wars in Afghanistan and Iraq have cost the United States about \$5.6 trillion (so far) (Crawford 2017). That's a lot of money! What else could it have funded?

Guns Versus Butter

Economists have a simple model to determine the fiscal priorities of a nation that they call “guns versus butter”; that is, nations must choose whether to put their resources into military and defense spending or “butter,”



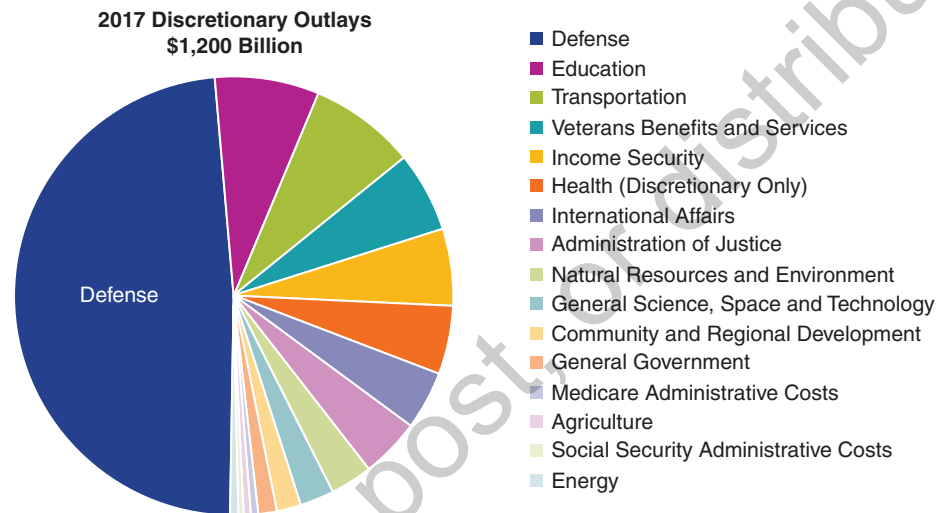
Women entered the workforce in unprecedented numbers during WWII, changing gender roles in U.S. society.

Bettmann/Contributor/Getty Images

meaning spending on civilians. With relatively high rates of poverty, which you learned about in Chapter 2, dwindling social programs, and ballooning military spending, it looks as if the United States has selected guns over butter. Almost half the government’s discretionary funding goes toward defense, and the United States spends much more on its military than do other nations (see Figures 10.1 and 10.2). Mills would say that this

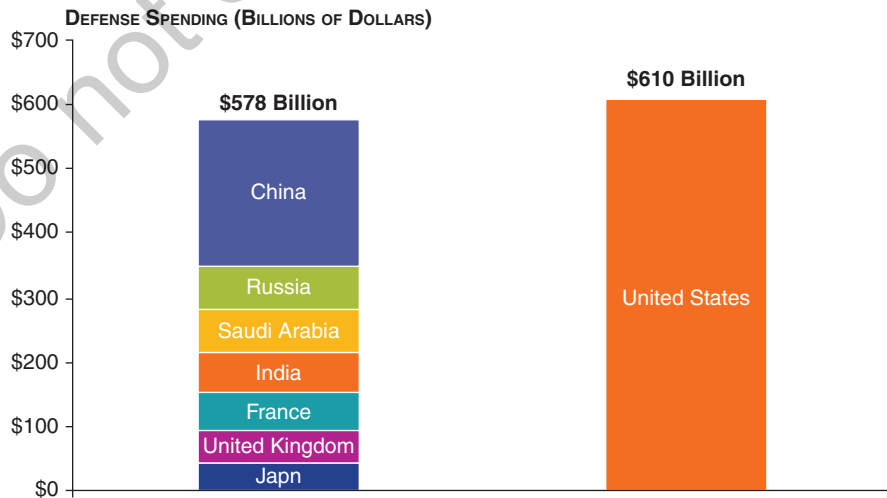
reflects the power elite hard at work enriching those industries and defense contractors who benefit from war. In addition to the economic costs, the war on terror and the wars in Afghanistan and Iraq have also allowed the government to change policies and laws related to civil liberties. For example, the 2001 PATRIOT Act vastly expands the U.S. government’s powers to electronically surveil the population, and in Guantanamo and

▼ FIGURE 10.1
Breakdown of Discretionary Federal Spending for 2017



Source: Office of Management and Budget, *Budget of the United States Government, Fiscal Year 2019*, February 2018. Compiled by Peter G. Peterson Foundation. © 2019 Peter G. Peterson Foundation.

▼ FIGURE 10.2
U.S. Defense Spending Compared With Other Countries



Source: Stockholm International Peace Research Institute, *SIPRI Military Expenditure Database*, May 2018. Data are for 2017. Compiled by Peter G. Peterson Foundation. © 2019 Peter G. Peterson Foundation.

SOCIOLOGIST IN ACTION

Helping Refugee Girls Reclaim Childhood

KRISTYN ROHRER

Following my sophomore year of college, I had the opportunity to spend 6 weeks in Amman, Jordan, interning at a summer camp directed by the nonprofit organization Reclaim Childhood (RC). There I saw firsthand some of the negative consequences of war and terrorism. Surrounded by nations in conflict, Jordan has become the second largest refugee-hosting country in the world (Ghazal 2017). According to the UNHCR (2018b) and UN Relief and Works Agency (2016), Jordan is home to more than 2.8 million refugees and asylum seekers. Refugees make up roughly 30% of the country's total population!

The primary goal of summer camp at RC is to make sure that at-risk refugee girls have a safe place to play, meet friends, gain confidence, and have fun—even if just for a little while. RC uses sports to empower and support Syrian, Iraqi, Palestinian, Somali, and Sudanese refugee women and girls living in Jordan. As a summer intern, I helped facilitate RC's month-long summer camp, which hosted roughly 100 girls (ages 6–16) every day. My fellow international interns and I helped the Jordanian coaches develop basketball, soccer, Frisbee, and dance activities designed to foster positive life skills.

Every morning I would take a taxi into the congested refugee cities of East Amman and Zarqa to get to the camp. As we drove east from my Jordanian host family's home in West Amman, I could see the landscape change from shopping malls and embassy complexes to vendor stands and crumbling apartments. Viewed from a functionalist perspective, refugees contribute to Jordan's economic growth; however, the costs it takes to maintain adequate infrastructure, health care, education, and other services for the mass influx of refugees are more than many countries can afford. There are simply too many people to help and not enough government allocated funds to support them.

For this reason, nonprofit organizations have stepped in to provide vulnerable refugee populations with a variety of much-needed services.

I also saw the importance of social networks during my internship. By networking with other nonprofits, organizations like RC widen the scope of their services. RC partners with several organizations in Amman, including the Center for Victims of Torture (CVT), International Refugee Assistance Project (IRAP), and Collateral Repair Project (CRP). CVT, IRAP, and CRP provide refugees with counseling services, legal advice, and basic necessities, respectively. When RC finds a family looking to resettle in the United States or Canada, they refer them to IRAP. When CVT works with a child traumatized by war who could benefit from friendship and female empowerment, they can send them to RC.

Through my internship with RC I now know much more about the logistics of the nonprofit sector and the refugee situation in Jordan. The cultural competency, interpersonal skills, and greater awareness of social issues that I developed over the course of my internship have broadened my sociological understanding and provided avenues for future educational, research, and career opportunities. I also developed relationships with some of the incredible refugee women and girls living in Jordan. Their dedication, strength, and ferocity inspired me every day.

Kristyn Rohrer is a 2018 sociology graduate of Kutztown University, looking to pursue a career in the nonprofit sector working with Middle Eastern refugees.

Discussion Questions: From a global sociological perspective, how does the refugee crisis in Jordan affect life in the United States? Brainstorm ideas as to how the United States can help alleviate this negative consequence of war and terrorism.

other overseas military prisons, the United States has indefinitely detained and even tortured many individuals suspected of being terrorists. Even though many people in the United States aren't directly affected by wars today—as they would be by total wars—today's wars are changing our social institutions and relations.

Individual Costs of War

While war comes with high economic and sociopolitical costs, it also has huge impacts on individuals. Although war is generally fought between military forces, civilians, whose deaths are often referred to as **collateral damage**, increasingly make up the majority of war casualties.

CONFRONTING SOCIAL PROBLEMS 10.2

The Human Cost of War—Refugees

Many people around the world are forced to flee dangerous situations of war and conflict and become refugees. The UNHCR (2018a) estimates that there are 22.5 million refugees around the world, half of whom are under the age of 18 and 55% of whom come from Sudan, Afghanistan, and Syria. In this exercise you will play a game to get a sense of what it is like to be a refugee).

Play the UNHCR game Against All Odds (http://www.playagainstalloods.ca/game_us.html). Make sure to play at least two parts of each section (“War and Conflict,” “Border Country,” “A New Life”).

Write your responses to the following questions:

1. What strategies did you use to escape war and conflict? Were you successful? Why or why not? How did you feel trying to escape?
2. Did you manage to find shelter and/or get asylum in the border country? Why or why not? What kinds of challenges did you face? How is being a refugee different from being an immigrant?
3. What was your experience like trying to get a job and start a new life? What kind of challenges did you face?
4. What was your experience playing this game? What does it teach you about the refugee experience?

Though most civilians in the United States remained safe in recent wars (apart from the threat of cyberattacks), an estimated 370,000 civilians lost their lives (most of those in Afghanistan and Iraq) and hundreds of thousands more have died from indirect causes related to war.

Even civilians who are not killed in war are deeply and dramatically affected by it. Many are forced to flee and become refugees, people forced to leave their country because of conflict or threat. The UNHCR, the United Nations Refugee Agency, estimates that there are 25.4 million refugees around the world, half of whom are under the age of 18, and another 40 million internally displaced people who are still in their country but have had to flee their home (UNHCR 2018a). More than half of today’s refugees come from Syria, Afghanistan, and Sudan, contributing to a refugee crisis as millions of people try to flee violence and find somewhere safe to relocate. For a glimpse into experiences of refugees in Jordan, check out “Sociologist in Action” Kristyn Rohrer’s essay.

War affects civilians, including women and children, in other ways as well. In many conflicts, especially in Africa, young boys as well as men fight; some are violently forced into service, and others join willingly because they have no other way to survive. These child soldiers, some as young as 8 years old, are made to fight and kill and are often fueled with drugs or coerced with threats; young girls are often forced to become sex slaves for the soldiers (U.S. Department of State 2017). Women are

similarly victims of sexual violence in the context of war. Rape is a common tactic of warfare; in antiquity women were included as part of the “spoils of war,” and rape continues to be a powerful weapon today in many areas. For example, scholars estimate that between 20,000 and 50,000 women were raped by Serbian forces during the Bosnian War (1992–1995) as part of their tactics of fear and ethnic cleansing (Crowe 2013). And within military forces, sexual violence is a major problem: The U.S. Department of Veteran Affairs has found that, among women in the U.S. military, 23% report being sexually assaulted while in service (and many other assaults are presumably not reported; Street and Stafford 2017).

The Hidden Wounds of War

These kinds of traumatic experiences lead to the “hidden wounds” of war (Modell and Haggerty 1991:209), like **post-traumatic stress disorder (PTSD)**. Though a psychological diagnosis was developed only recently, soldiers throughout history have suffered mental health problems—such as trouble sleeping, anxiety, traumatic memories, and even hallucinations—caused by the traumas of combat. What people called “shell shock” after WWI is today known as PTSD, and an estimated 11% to 20% of veterans of Afghanistan and Iraq suffer from it (National Center for PTSD 2018). PTSD can lead to substance abuse and other health problems and difficulty maintaining jobs and relationships. This

CONFRONTING SOCIAL PROBLEMS 10.3

Veteran Services in Your Community

Visit your college or university's office for veteran resources or services, and write your answers to the following questions:

1. How many veterans are at your college or university?
2. What kinds of services does your college provide for them?
3. Is there a student club or organization for veterans? What kinds of activities and programs does it sponsor?

4. Do you think these services are sufficient? What might be missing?
5. Propose solutions to the limitations to veteran services that you see.

If your college or university does not have an office of veteran services (or for a more in-depth exercise), find what kinds of veteran services are available in your community. Visit <https://www.vets.gov/facilities/?facilityType=veteran> center to locate veteran resources, and reach out to the offices near you to find what kinds of services they provide to veterans and answer the above questions.

might be one reason veterans are overrepresented in the homeless population in the United States and the suicide rate among veterans is double that of the civilian population (Veterans Affairs 2018).

But PTSD is not the only reason many veterans find transitioning to civilian life difficult. After WWII, social scientist Alfred Schuetz (1945) developed **homecoming theory**, arguing that travelers who spend a significant time away from home, particularly veterans, are distanced by time and space. Both they and those at home change, making reunions difficult. In the case of veterans of the wars in Iraq and Afghanistan, they have returned (or will return) to a society largely untouched by the wars, making for a disorienting return for many. Although most people in the United States do not think much about these wars, many live in fear of one of the key reasons for them—terrorism.

Understanding Terrorism as a Social Problem

10.4 What does it mean to say that terrorism is a social construction?

Terrorism is very difficult to define—for example, International Center for Counter-Terrorism researcher Alex Schmid (2011) has found more than 260 definitions of terrorism used by scholars, organizations, and governments, and the U.S. government alone has used

more than 100 definitions (Record 2003)—but the most common definitions propose that **terrorism** is the use or threat of violence against civilians perpetrated by non-state actors with a political motivation or goal. As the word suggests, it is a tactic or strategy intended to create terror. Of course, one person's terrorist can be another person's political hero who uses the tactic to achieve a just end. Think about John Wilkes Booth, who assassinated President Abraham Lincoln. Right after shooting the president, he shouted, "Sic semper tyrannis!" (Thus always to tyrants!). Booth was sure that he would be hailed as a hero for killing the president, whom he believed to be a tyrant (National Public Radio 2009).

The term *terrorism* has its roots in the Reign of Terror, which occurred during the French Revolution. Threatened by civil war, French revolutionaries carried out a purge of individuals they suspected to be enemies of the revolution, executing more than 1,000 people by guillotine. Robespierre (1794), a leader of the revolution, glorified and justified this terror, saying "Terror is only justice prompt, severe and inflexible; it is then an emanation of virtue; it is less a distinct principle than a natural consequence of the general principle of democracy, applied to the most pressing wants of the country." According to Robespierre, terror was a necessary tool of the democratic state.

Recognizing that the public had become horrified by Robespierre's widespread use of terror, his former

CONFRONTING SOCIAL PROBLEMS 10.4

Defining Terrorism¹

In small groups or individually, decide which of the following are acts of terrorism. These are real-life examples, and your instructor will tell you more about them.

1. A paramilitary group seeking independence blows up the military headquarters of the occupying force. The group's warning that there will be a bombing is ignored, and many people, civilian as well as military, are killed.
2. Rebels seeking to set up an independent state fire at occupying troops from concealed positions.
3. A radical group makes a list of opponents it believes should be killed and distributes it to sympathizers, telling them that they will be rewarded in heaven for defending the innocent if they carry out these assassinations.
4. A government routinely "disappears," tortures, and murders civilians as well as political and military leaders whom it suspects of opposing the regime.

5. More than a dozen undercover agents of the state are killed in one day by a radical rebel group.
6. A well-armed individual opens fire indiscriminately on a crowd of civilians gathered in a public celebration, seeking to maim and kill as many as possible.

Once you have made your decisions and learned about the real-life examples these scenarios depict, answer the following questions:

1. How do you think the U.S. government defines terrorism?
2. How do you think the media define terrorism?
3. Come up with your own definition of terrorism. Students should consider:
 - Who (state or non-state actors; group or individuals)
 - What (what kinds of acts constitute terror)
 - Why (purpose; motivation)

allies turned on Robespierre and executed him, declaring "eternal war . . . on the terrorists" (Bell 2018). This reconceptualization of terror in France gets closer to the understanding of terrorism that predominates today and sees terror as a social problem.

Old and New Terrorism

Until the beginning of the 21st century, terrorism mostly referred to the acts of revolutionary and separatist groups like the Irish Republican Army in Northern Ireland or ETA, the Basque separatist group in Spain. These groups used terror tactics, such as bombings, assassinations, and kidnappings, to draw attention to their causes and achieve their political goals. This is referred to as **old terrorism**, as opposed to the **new terrorism** of today. Old terrorism tended to be used by territorially based, formal organizations with hierarchical structures, who were driven by political ideologies and for whom violence was secondary to their use of terror to communicate; killing or maiming people was not always the goal of old terrorism. New terrorism, on the

other hand, is carried out by much more loose networks of individuals spread across countries and continents, motivated by religious goals, and much more violent, with mass casualties being central to their goals (Neumann 2009). The September 11, 2001, and Manhattan truck attacks are examples of new terrorism.

Check Your Understanding

1. What is the most common definition of *terrorism*?
2. How can one person's terrorist be another person's hero?
3. From where did the term *terrorism* originate?
4. What are the differences between old and new terrorism?

9/11 and New Terrorism as a Social Problem

Before 9/11, the United States experienced mostly **domestic terrorism**, or terrorism carried out by U.S.

citizens. Groups like the militant leftwing Weather Underground, the anti-abortion Army of God, and the notorious Ku Klux Klan were labeled terrorist organizations by the U.S. government. Individuals have also committed domestic terrorism, like Timothy McVeigh, who carried out the 1995 Oklahoma City bombing, which killed 168 people and injured close to 700, in the name of some murky anti-government ideology. But the United States had never seen terrorism of the scope and type of 9/11. The attacks shocked many in their indiscriminate violence and massive destruction and their method: hijackers willing to kill themselves in pursuit of their ideological goals, using airplanes (with civilian passengers) as weapons. Terrorism took on a new meaning and became central to domestic and international politics and policy.

Terrorism, the Media, and Moral Panics

Part of why the nature of terrorism has changed today—and why it has become such a prominent social problem—is because of media coverage. About 2 billion people around the world witnessed 9/11 on TV, via the Internet, over the radio, or in person (Haines 2017). It was a media event unlike any other, which shapes the way 9/11 and subsequent terror attacks are interpreted within society.

Recall the discussion of moral panics in Chapter 5. Incessant and dramatic media coverage in the weeks and months after September 11, 2001, created a moral panic in the United States (Rothe and Muzzati 2004). The culture of fear that this moral panic produced constructed



Timothy McVeigh was a domestic terrorist who carried out the Oklahoma City bombing in 1995 because of grievances he had with the U.S. government.

BOB DAEMMERICH/AFP/Getty Images

terrorism as a significant social problem, which allowed authorities to enact policies—like declaring wars in Afghanistan and Iraq, passing the PATRIOT Act, and allowing indefinite detention and torture of suspected terrorists—with long-lasting consequences that changed society. These policies and actions gave the U.S. government vast powers and extended its geopolitical influence into other regions of the world, particularly the Middle East.

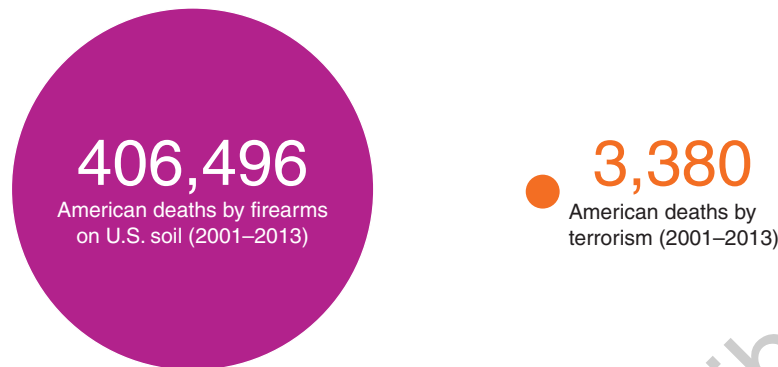
The Outsized Terror of Terrorism Today: Several recent studies and statistics demonstrate the effects of this moral panic around terrorism. People in the United States are terrified of terrorism. A 2016 survey by Chapman University found that terrorist attacks and being a victim of terror were the second and fourth greatest fears of U.S. residents (first was corruption of public officials, and third was not having enough money for the future; ScienceDaily 2016). In January 2018, just before President Trump's first State of the Union Address, 73% of those polled said that defending the nation against terrorism should be a top priority for the Trump administration, well above preventing other forms of crime, caring for the poor and needy, or protecting the environment (Bialik 2018). Statistically, people in the United States are significantly more likely to choke to death on food or be crushed by furniture than killed in a terror attack (Shaver 2015), but you don't see Americans fearing their next french fry or prioritizing increased safety regulations on IKEA furniture. People in the United States are more than 100 times more likely to be killed by a gun—in homicides, suicides, and accidents—than in a terror attack (see Figure 10.3). Yet, while there is a growing movement calling for greater gun control—as evidenced by the student-led 2018 March for Our Lives in the wake of the shooting at Stoneman Douglas High School in Parkland, Florida—and although 4 in 10 Americans worry that they or someone in their family will be a victim in a mass shooting (Newport 2018), there has been virtually no effort by the federal government to reduce gun violence. The last significant gun control measure by the federal government was passed in 1994—the assault weapons ban, which has long since expired—and since then gun laws have become more lenient, not more strict.

This outsized fear of terrorism—and perception of terrorism as a significant social problem—reflects the moral panic created around terrorism by politicians, the public, and the media. Media coverage of terrorism is not just constant and prolific but also in itself can cause fear and trauma. Research shows that exposure to media about the Boston Marathon bombing (2013) caused more acute stress than actually being

▼ FIGURE 10.3

American Deaths Caused by Terrorism Versus Gun Violence

Guns kill many more Americans than terrorism does, yet Americans are much more afraid of terrorism.



Source: Data of American Deaths by Firearms from CATO Institute, and data of American deaths by firearms from CDC.

present during the bombing (Anderson 2017). Media coverage also shapes our ideas about what is considered terrorism; a recent University of Alabama study found that terror attacks by Muslims received 357% more media coverage than those carried out by non-Muslims (Chalabi 2018). This is part of why we tend to equate terrorism with Islam in U.S. society, even though a recent study by the Southern Poverty Law Center found that two-thirds of terror attacks carried out in the United States in 2017 were committed by rightwing extremists (Morlin 2018). Thus, terrorism, while deadly and frightening and certainly problematic, remains a concept that is difficult to define and can be socially constructed to be a social problem in ways that serve those who are in power.

CONSIDER THIS 10.2

On a scale of 1 to 10, with 10 being the greatest threat, how big a threat do you think terrorism is in your life? Why? Did the data cited here change how much you fear becoming a victim of a terrorist attack?

Check Your Understanding

1. What is domestic terrorism?
2. What is a moral panic? What causes a moral panic?
3. What is the relationship between the media and fear of terrorism?

Consequences of Terrorism

10.5 What are some of the key social and individual consequences of terrorism?

Terrorism and the fear of it have serious consequences for society and individuals. Historically, terrorism has been used to try to change society—to achieve some set of clear goals vis-à-vis the structures of power, such as gaining independence or political autonomy. The goals of today's terrorists are often not very clear, and their effects can be both intentional (e.g., to inspire fear, reveal the vulnerability of enemies, and attract new recruits) and unintentional (e.g., states increasing their surveillance of and control over their citizens, increased spending on defense, making money for security-related companies).

In addition to helping foment the wars discussed above, including the war on terror, new terrorism like 9/11 has opened the door for new systems of surveillance and security. The PATRIOT Act, for example, gives law enforcement the ability to monitor U.S. citizens' e-mail and phone interactions and access to financial and even library records (Department of Justice n.d.). And we see the changes to security practically every day! We all know the drill when we travel by plane: remove your shoes, laptops, and liquids (and now snacks!), and endure metal detectors, full-body scans, and often invasive pat downs. This kind of security has pervaded other spheres of society as well, such as theaters, concert halls, and sports arenas. And this comes at a massive economic cost: The United States has spent \$2.8 trillion on counterterrorism efforts since September 11, 2001, including the wars in Iraq and Afghanistan, homeland security, and international counterterrorism efforts (Mehta 2018).

CONFRONTING SOCIAL PROBLEMS 10.5

Guns Versus Butter?

According to the National Priorities Project, every hour, taxpayers in the United States are paying \$32.08 million for the total cost of wars and national security since 2001. See real-time estimates of spending here: <https://www.nationalpriorities.org/cost-of/>.

You have just been put in charge of the national budget and need to decide where the United States' spending priorities lie: with guns or butter? Use the calculator

here to make adjustments to the budget: <https://www.nationalpriorities.org/interactive-data/trade-offs/>.

Write your answers to the following questions:

1. Why have you prioritized the things that you have? Why have you taken money away from other things?
2. Was it difficult to make these decisions?
3. What kinds of issues factored into your decision-making?

Terrorism inspired by attacks like 9/11 has grown dramatically around the world in the wake of 9/11 and in response to the war on terror, driven largely by processes of globalization. While globalization has made many people rich, it has also led to increased global inequality while threatening to absorb traditional cultures through the spread of U.S. and Western culture (Segatto 2017). At the same time, terrorist organizations have effectively used global communications technology and media to recruit followers and operate in increasingly decentralized and global modes (Miller and Fahey 2019). U.S. foreign policies, particularly in the Middle East and Israel, have also contributed to a deep dissatisfaction among many Muslims around the world, with some of the most disaffected becoming radicalized.

Like globalization, terrorism affects the whole world: Groups like Boko Haram in Nigeria, which has killed more than 15,000 people and displaced 2.1 million; Al-Shabab, which has launched hundreds of attacks in Somalia and Kenya, killing thousands; and Al-Qaeda in the Islamic Maghreb (AQIM), which has carried out recent high-profile attacks in Mali and Burkina Faso, have brought extremist terrorism to Africa (Council on Foreign Relations 2018). In fact, some today wonder if terrorism is becoming the dominant form of conflict on that continent (Gberie 2016). Asia has seen devastating terrorist attacks, such as the 2008 Mumbai, India, attacks by Lashkar-e-Taiba, which killed more than 160 people, and the 2002 bombings in Bali, Indonesia, which killed more

than 200 people. Europe has also seen terror attacks, including the Madrid, Spain, train attacks in 2004; the attacks on the London underground in 2005; the 2015 attack at the Bataclan in Paris, France; the 2017 bombing of the Ariana Grande concert in Manchester, England; and many smaller but still deadly attacks. The global spread of these attacks demonstrates the ways terrorism has become more decentralized and global in its scope and ideological demands. In turn, fighting terrorism has turned into an increasingly global affair.

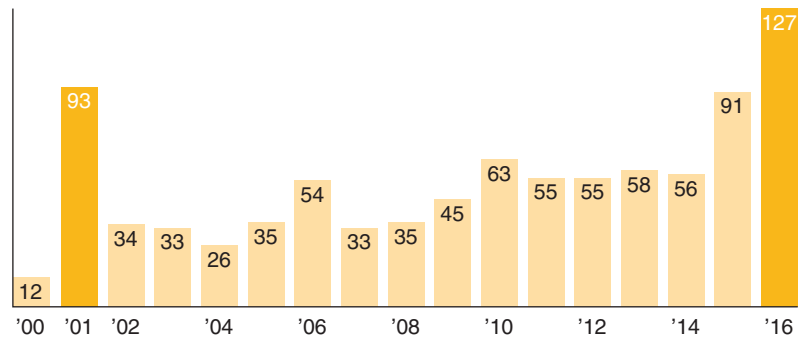
The Social and Individual Costs of Terrorism

In addition to global political and social consequences, terrorism, like war, has a huge impact on individuals and social relationships. Terrorism is intended to cause terror, fear, and intimidation, which, as the above surveys demonstrate, it does. This culture of fear contributes to discrimination and assaults against Muslims, which have increased since the presidential campaign and election of 2016 (see Figure 10.4). A strong majority of U.S. adults (69%) and 75% of Muslim Americans say that there is “a lot” of discrimination against Muslims in the United States (Kishi 2017).

In addition to social repercussions, fear related to terror attacks (or the possibility of them) also has psychological impacts on individuals. Just as many veterans experience PTSD, many individuals who experience terrorism, or even media coverage of

▼ FIGURE 10.4

Anti-Muslim Attacks in the United States From 2000 to 2016



Note: Includes simple and aggravated assaults.

Source: Pew Research Center. "Anti-Muslim assaults exceed 2001 total" NOVEMBER 14, 2017, https://www.pewresearch.org/fact-tank/2017/11/15/assaults-against-muslims-in-u-s-surpass-2001-level/ft_17-11-14_muslimhatecrimes/

terrorism, experience ongoing impacts of trauma. Studies found that in the days following September 11, 2001, 44% of people in the United States experienced at least one symptom of PTSD, with levels of PTSD reflecting the amount of television coverage individuals had watched (Hamblen and Slone 2016). Societies need to think about how to deal with the scars that terrorism, and the media coverage of terrorism, inflict—above and beyond the physical injuries and deaths of individuals.

Check Your Understanding

1. What are some of the ways 9/11 has changed U.S. social institutions and policies in the wake of 9/11?
2. How has 9/11 caused changes around the world?
3. What are some of the consequences of terrorism for individuals? Social relationships?



The 9/11 Memorial in New York City

iStockphoto.com/aluxum

Confronting War and Terrorism

10.6 What are some key international, national, and grassroots efforts to prevent or stop war and/or terrorism?

Though war and terrorism have been part of social life for all human history, people have also always tried to find ways to prevent them or ameliorate their consequences. From efforts to promote peace to waging war against terrorism, societies have taken various steps to address the social problems of war and terrorism. We now take a closer look at some of them.

International Efforts to Prevent and Mitigate the Effects of War

Treaties, alliances, sanctions, and other economic measures have been—and continue to be—methods used to try to prevent war. As we have seen, however, most societies have failed in their efforts to prevent war. Understanding this, societies have also come up with rules of war to attempt to ensure that war does not become too brutal.

The contemporary rules of war were set by the Geneva Convention in 1864 to limit the kinds of weaponry allowed and establish protections for civilians and combatants. The Geneva Convention paved the way for the Hague Conventions of 1899 and 1907, which regulate how war can be fought. Together these conventions establish a set of international humanitarian laws aimed at minimizing the violence and horror of war (International Committee of the Red Cross 2010).

In the wake of the 20th century World Wars, which were new in their brutality and scope, global leaders created the United Nations with a key goal of preventing war and encouraging international cooperation. The UN

Security Council, made up of representatives of 15 member states, is the international body holding the “primary responsibility for the maintenance of international peace and security.” International declarations and new organizations like the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (1948), the Genocide Convention (1948), the International Court of Justice (1945), and the International Criminal Court (2002) have worked to promote peace and punish those who violate human rights. However, these international bodies are often limited in the actions they can take, largely because of state **sovereignty**, or the supreme right of states to govern themselves. Because of the sovereignty of states, it is difficult for international or outside bodies to intervene in the actions of individual states, even if those actions are violent or belligerent. Thus, it is often up to states to attempt to prevent war themselves through diplomacy—the peaceful management of international relations through talks, negotiations, and agreements.

Social Movements

When people perceive that states are not doing enough to prevent or stop war, they can form social movements to try to create change. Anti-war movements are as old as war itself, from Aristophanes’s comedy featuring Lysistrata, who got her fellow wives of ancient Greece to refuse sex with their husbands until the men ended the Peloponnesian War, to today’s pacifist and anti-war movements that span the globe. We have seen how the anti-Vietnam war movement hastened the end of that war and the mobilization against the Iraq War spurred what some scholars have called the largest protest in the United States and around the world (Walgrave and Rucht 2010).

One anti-war organization, the International Campaign to Abolish Nuclear Weapons (ICAN), won the 2017 Nobel Peace Prize. ICAN, a coalition of nongovernmental organizations in about 100 countries, works to implement the United Nations nuclear weapon ban. The nuclear bombings of Hiroshima and Nagasaki in 1945 showed the world how deadly nuclear weapons can be, and yet many nations continue to work to develop and threaten to use them. Groups like ICAN are working hard to prevent the proliferation of nuclear weapons and the deadly violence those weapons can cause.

Stopping Terrorism

Like war, terrorism has been part of social life for a long time, and stopping and preventing it has been an ongoing

challenge. The U.S. government responded to the 9/11 attacks by waging a war on terror meant to end global terrorism. While the threat of terrorism at home is relatively low today, the war on terror can be argued to have increased the threat globally, as discussed above.

The United States continues to implement policies intended to prevent terrorism. The Department of Homeland Security, established by the Bush administration in 2002 to “secure the nation from the many threats that we face,” oversees many of these efforts (Department of Homeland Security 2019). The Department of Homeland Security deals with everything from customs to transportation security (those individuals searching your bags and taking your drinks at the airport!) to emergency management and immigration, so is involved in many different means of fighting terrorism. New policies initiated by President Trump, such as banning all immigration from seven Muslim-majority countries, were also enacted in the name of terrorism prevention.

State and local police departments play a central role in terrorism prevention, and thus police officers—particularly those in urban centers—increasingly receive training not just in how to respond to attacks but also how to prevent them by identifying potential terrorists. Local law enforcement agencies work closely with federal agencies and the intelligence community, including the FBI, the Secret Service, and the Drug Enforcement Agency, through Joint Terrorism Task Forces. This kind of coordination preceded 9/11, but as the 9/11 Commission found (National Commission on Terrorist Attacks Upon the United States 2011), there were many failings of federal agencies like the FBI and CIA and a lack of coordination that allowed the attacks to happen. In the wake of 9/11, better coordination became a priority, and local law enforcement agencies across the United States have received billions of dollars in funding for counterterrorism (Sales 2017).

The many different agencies and bodies involved in the fight against terrorism point to one of the overarching questions about terrorism: Is it a crime or an act of war? This question is important because nations respond differently to criminal acts versus acts of war. As this book demonstrates, war and crime are different kinds of social problems with different solutions; criminal acts are dealt with by law enforcement, while acts of war are dealt with militarily. While U.S. definitions of terrorism

typically view it as a criminal act, the declaration of a war on terror meant that the United States responded to 9/11 not just using law enforcement and the criminal justice system but also the military. Framing the effort to stop terrorism as a war also helped the government justify illegal measures, like torture—what the government called “enhanced interrogation”—as necessary because of the threat of future attacks (Majoran 2015). We have seen what the consequences of this kind of response have been in human, social, and economic terms—such as how the government spends tax dollars. Some experts note that declaring terrorism an act of war is counterproductive in that it elevates the terrorists, making their attacks more important and visible: exactly what the terrorists want (Thrall and Goepner 2017).

CONSIDER THIS 10.3

Do you believe that war can be prevented? If so, what do you think are the most effective means? If not, why not? What about terrorism?

Check Your Understanding

1. What are some of the key ways societies try to prevent or stop war?
2. What role do social movements play in the prevention of war?
3. What is the difference between understanding terrorism as a crime or an act of war? How has the framing of 9/11 impacted the response to it?

CONCLUSION

Like all social problems, how society constructs war and terrorism affects how it addresses them. Wars viewed as “just” receive much more public support than other wars—particularly if they are “total” wars. Likewise, because the U.S. government deemed

9/11 an act of war, the U.S. and global response was militaristic. If 9/11 had been declared a criminal act and the masterminds treated as criminals rather than as enemies in a war, U.S. society—and the world—would be very different.

REVIEW

1. What is war? What is terrorism? How are they different?

War and terrorism are interrelated but different types of social problems. War refers to armed conflict between states or groups. Most sociologists see war as a form or extension of politics, through which states or groups within states attempt to impose their will on each other. Terrorism differs from war in that it usually refers to a threat or act of violence carried out by non-state actors against civilians to achieve some sort of political or ideological goal. Like war, terrorism has been around for a long time, but today’s “new terrorism”—often driven by religious ideology, decentralized and increasingly global in scope, and meant to cause mass casualties—has become a major social problem in the United States and around the world.

2. Why is war frequently not considered a social problem?

War has been around for all human history and causes lots of problems for society but is only sometimes viewed as a social problem. Often it is considered justified and necessary, as in the case of the two World Wars of the 20th century or the war in Afghanistan and war on terror, both of which were waged in response to 9/11. Because war is such a central part of the human experience, it is also sometimes even considered a “natural” part of social life and the survival of the fittest. However, certain wars, like the Vietnam War or the 2003 Iraq

War, are deemed to be social problems when they don’t have a strong moral justification, are considered losing causes, or are perceived to be a drain on society’s resources. The idea that our political, military, and economic leaders benefit financially by going to war, as described by Mills’s concept of the power elite, also problematizes war in contemporary society.

3. What are some of the key social and individual consequences of war?

War has serious consequences for societies and individuals. It has widespread, macro effects that cause sweeping institutional and social changes. These macro effects include changing social structures and shaping policies, creating social cohesion and division, and incurring massive economic costs. War also affects individual lives and cause micro problems like trauma, PTSD, and fear.

4. What does it mean to say that terrorism is a social construction?

Terrorism is notoriously difficult to define; after all, one person’s terrorist is another’s freedom fighter or political hero. Because of this we can think of terrorism itself as a social construction. It is those in power who generally determine whether a particular act of violence is terrorism and, therefore, a social problem. Governments label certain groups and acts

that are particularly threatening or that do not fit into their political worldview as terrorist.

5. What are some of the key social and individual consequences of terrorism?

Like war, terrorism has serious consequences for societies and individuals. Terrorism also has widespread, macro effects that cause sweeping institutional and social changes. These macro effects include changing social structures and shaping policies, creating social cohesion and division, and incurring massive economic costs. Terrorism also affects individual lives and cause micro problems like trauma, PTSD, and fear.

6. What are some key international, national, and grassroots efforts to prevent or stop war and/or terrorism?

Because of their negative consequences, societies around the world and throughout history have used various methods

to try to prevent or stop war and terrorism. When it comes to war, at the global level there are international organizations, laws, and conventions meant to prevent or regulate war and increase international cooperation; states also engage in diplomacy and embark on treaties and agreements intended to prevent war. When states and other authorities fail, social movements can be effective methods of pressuring states to avoid or stop military conflict. Like war, terrorism is also difficult to prevent or stop, but many efforts are made to do so. U.S. efforts to prevent terrorism today have been primarily shaped by the U.S. response to 9/11 as an act of war rather than a crime. This has also contributed to the construction of terrorism as a major social problem of our time and fueled the moral panic and fear that come with it.

KEY TERMS

collateral damage	196	new terrorism	199	sovereignty	204
cyber warfare	193	old terrorism	199	terrorism	198
domestic terrorism	199	post-traumatic stress disorder (PTSD)	197	total war	191
homecoming theory	198	power elite	192	war	189
just war	191	proxy wars	192	weapons of mass destruction	193

NOTE

1. This activity is adapted from <http://www.pbs.org/wgbh/globalconnections/mideast/educators/militant/lesson1.html#resources>.



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