

PUBLIC POLICY IN THE AGE OF TERRORISM: ARE GOVERNMENT POLICIES VULNERABLE TO TERRORIST ACTIVITIES?

Terör Çağında Kamu Politikaları: Hükümet Politikaları Terör Saldırılarından Etkilenir mi?

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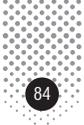
Abstract

Are government policies affected by terrorist attacks? This study argues that terrorism, as one of the most intriguing phenomena of the post modern world, profoundly affects government policies because of several reasons. First, terrorist groups can be considered as policy entrepreneurs or interest groups since they want to change policies for the benefit of for a specific group of people. Terrorist attacks, second, cause the emergence of policy window for policy change. Third, terrorist attacks can function as punctuation to incremental policy-making. Fourth, terrorist incidents can be an effective agenda setter. Terrorism, fifth, can be considered a sign of failure of policies. And finally, terrorist attacks facilitate innovation and diffusion of policies all across the world. Obviously, terrorists aim to send political messages through attacks. Governments need to pay special attention for not letting terrorist attacks to set agenda, to diffuse specific policies, to use policy window for the benefit of the latter, and to cause dramatic policy changes. However, policy-makers must provide adequate political means for diverse segments of the society to send their own political messages to policymakers.

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Özet

Hükümet politikaları terörist saldırılardan etkilenir mi? Bu çalışma, postmodern zamanların en dikkat çekici fenomenlerinden olan terörizmin birçok nedenden dolayı hükümet politikalarını etkilediğini vurgulamaktadır. Birincisi, terörist gruplar kamu politikalarını kendi çıkarları yönünde etkilemeyi hedefledikleri için politika çıkar grupları olarak nitelendirilebilirler. İkincisi, terörist saldırılar politika değişimi için politika fırsat penceresinin açılmasına neden olmaktadır. Üçüncüsü, terör saldırıları genellikle statik bir görünüm arz eden politikalarda köklü değişimlere neden olabilmektedir. Dördüncüsü, terör olayları gündemi belirleyen etkiye sahiptir. Beşincisi, terörizmin ortaya çıkması uygulanan politikalardaki başarısızlığın işareti olarak değerlendirilebilir. Son olarak da terör bazı politikaların dünyanın değişik yerlerine yayılmasını kolaylaştırabilir. Açıktr ki, teröristler, saldırılar vasıtasıyla politik mesajlar vermeyi amaçlamaktadırlar. Bu bağlamda, hükümetler, teröristlerin gündemi belirlemesine, bazı politikaların yayılmasına neden olmasına, politika pencerelerini kullanarak kendi çıkarlarını ön plana çıkarmasına ve politikalarda çok köklü değişikliklere neden olmasına engel olmalıdır. Bununla birlikte, politika-yapıcılar, toplumdaki değişik grupların kendi politik istek ve mesajlarını yayabilecekleri uygun ve yeterli ortamlar ve kanallar sağlamalıdır.

Introduction

Terrorism is one of the most intriguing phenomenons of the post modern world. It has become a world-shaping fact in late 1990s and early twenty-first century. September 11 attacks to the US made it a global threat (Bal and Ozeren, 2009). Globalization exacerbated its proliferation (Newman and Clarke, 2009), and today, it is considered a worldwide phenomenon (Benavides and Gultekin, 2007). The phenomenon causes drastic effects in the world. Borders are changing, international relations are being affected, military spending is increasing, peoples are hurt, public services are affected and lives are deteriorated. Print and visual media are full of news on terrorism. Government officials are talking about precautions against terrorist attacks and terror groups. Peoples, even though likelihood of being subject to a terrorist attack is much lower than being subject to car wreck (Boin and Smith, 2006), are afraid of terrorist attacks and expect governments to take necessary steps to prevent terrorism. Obviously, terrorism has become a global reality.

Terrorist attacks are destructive. The means terrorists use varies from powerful bombs and even planes to suicide bombings (Perl, 2007). People, buildings, and nature are damaged through terrorist attacks. There is a wide public attention to terrorism and government responses to it (Hosein, 2005). When citizens see death people, ruined buildings, and destroyed neighborhoods they expect governments to put effective strategies to prevent terrorism. Ironically, the focal point of terrorist groups is to influence government policies. Indeed, it is terrorism's political nature what makes it different than ordinary crimes. Are ter-

rorists successful to influence public policies? Are government policies affected by terrorist activities? Do terrorist groups play an important role in shaping public policy preferences of countries? Is there a connection between terrorist activities and public policies? This study intends to answer these questions of the relationship between government policies and terrorist activities.

1. Public Policy

Prior to analyzing the relationship between terrorism and public policies, a brief definition of public policy is needed since such a definition is likely to present insights about the potential relationship. Policy is “a standing decision by an authoritative source such as a government, a corporation, or head of a family” or a goal “yet to be achieved” (Shafritz, 2004; p.221). Public policy, according to Shafritz (2004), is “a policy made on behalf of a public by means of a public law or regulation that is put into effect by public administration [, or simply] decision-making by government” (p.243). Governments, as people, always take actions about what they should do or should not do (Dye, 2007). Each choice shows an action preference. From this standpoint, public policy can be defined as actions that a government does or does not do. Governments prefer taking some actions in a particular area at the expense of other choices. For example, Turkish government may pay extra salary for those who work on the eastern part of the country. This action shows a public policy, the policy of paying more for government official who work in certain geographies. The nature of public policy is dynamic (Akgul and Kapti, 2010). Public policy directly affects people’s lives because it involves in governmental preferences and implementations. Public policy cannot be separated from the administration (Cevik, 2008). In this sense, all citizens are expected to be concerned about public policies since impacts of government policies affect daily lives.

2. Terrorism and Public Policy

The focal point of terrorist attacks is to change government policies. Terrorist activities are considered a means of sending political messages to policy makers and political nature of it makes different from other crimes (Congleton, 2002). In most cases, terrorists have agendas and want governments to take their agendas into account in policy making and governments’ actions. That is to say, terrorist groups attack their targets to damage in order to show their disobedience or disapproval of current governmental policies and implementations. The September 11 attacks, for example, are interpreted as dissatisfaction of some religious groups about the US’s policy on Islamic countries (Congleton, 2002). Terrorism, indeed, is “any violent action to gain political results” (Grob-Fitzgibbon in Benavides and Gültekin, 2007). Terrorists aim to persuade policymakers to legislate in the way the former wants.

Governments indeed are aware of the messages sent by terrorist groups. They know that terrorist organizations try to send political signals to policy makers through destructive techniques and actions. That is the reason, government officials strive to prevent terrorist activities, in other words, “destructive political games by discouraging terrorist modes of political speech. It is for this reason that violent and destructive methods of ‘sending mes-



sages' are punished more severely than other forms of civil disobedience in all modern democratic societies, regardless of the value of the message sent ... because less expensive means could have been used to get a policy message across" (Congleton, 2002, p.11). Some political analysts defend violent nature of terrorist groups and interpret it a justification for free speech since they argue that these attacks usually influence policies and most of the time make improvements (Congleton, 2002). Public policy, from this standpoint, has a close relationship with terrorist activities.

Terrorist attacks are intimately related to public policy because of several reasons. First, terrorist groups can be considered as policy entrepreneurs or interest groups since they want to change policies for the benefit of a specific group of people. Terrorist attacks, second, cause the emergence of policy window for policy change. Third, terrorist attacks can function as punctuation to incremental policy-making. Fourth, terrorist incidents can be an influential agenda setter. Terrorism, fifth, can be considered a sign of failure of policies. And finally, terrorist attacks facilitate innovation and diffusion of policies all across the world. There is, in short, constant and close connection between terrorism and public policy in which both parties affect and cause changes on each other. Public expects government officials to implement specific policies toward terrorism to avoid losses since government policies can reduce the impacts and risks of terrorist attacks (Congleton, 2002). This study aims to present a comprehensive analysis of the relationship between government policies and terrorist attacks to provide a thorough understanding.

2.1. Terrorist Groups as Policy Entrepreneurs/Interest Groups

Interest groups are vital actors of policy making process. An interest group consists of a group of individuals "who share common cause that puts them into political competition with other groups or interests" (Shafritz, 2004, p.157). Interest groups are important in politics because politicians seek support from interest groups (Balla, 1998; Moe, 1989). Support or opposition of interest groups is crucial for politicians because they may determine the future of any policy proposals and politicians in the political arena. "An interest group could use the same disruptive act to draw attention to objections regarding a simple parking ticket, a failure or extravagance of environmental regulation, or a mistaken foreign policy (Congleton, 2002, p.8). For example, if all interest groups regarding trade policy are against a new proposal of the proposed trade policy of the government, then the proposal has almost no chance to be implemented by the government. Administrative and legislative turnover affect politics as well as national mood and interest groups' pressures. A new member in administration or a major shift in Congress can affect the balance of politics in the country. Accordingly, policy preferences are affected by these turnovers. For example, changes in Iraq policy have been discussed since democrats gained the majority of congressional seats in the 2006 elections in the US. Therefore, who holds power is, undeniably, influences policy preferences.

In most basic sense, terrorist groups and organizations can be considered as policy entrepreneurs due to their willingness to have an impact on public policy toward their benefits. Since they seek their own benefits or a particular group's advantages, they can be considered as interest groups using unlawful means to influence policy. A well organized and relentless terrorist organization is likely to influence "policy makers to alter policies because

the interest group threatens to impose damages on society that are larger than the long-run net benefits of the policy being attacked” (Congleton, 2002, p.8). accordingly, it is obvious that terrorists target government policies.

There are many similarities between ordinary policy advocacy groups and terrorist groups (Congleton, 2002). Both groups aim to influence government policies they do not approve or contradict their interests. They both want to show their disapproval of the policies. In this sense, policy advocacy groups use non-violent methods while terrorist groups apply violence to influence policy makers. Terrorist groups use violence since they believe that is the only way for them to affect policies and behaviors of governments. As other competing groups to shape public policies, terrorist groups apply violence to be dominant over other competing ideas so that they could shape government actions in accordance with their interest. From this perspective, terrorist groups can be considered as a policy-interest group. However, use of violence makes government treat terrorist groups different from ordinary policy interest groups because aiming to send political message does not justify use of violence and to harm people and properties. From this perspective, one might argue that costs involve in terrorists as interest groups are far greater than ordinary interest group.

2.2. Terrorist Attacks as Agenda Setter

Agenda setting process is considered as the primary initiation of a problem in a public policy making process (Baumgartner and Jones, 1993). Various demands and problems in a society might be captured but they may not be on political agenda (Akgul and Kapti, 2010). Only those which pass through political channels and labeled as “salience” are treated as problems that need to be solved. Others are not paid much attention by political actors (Shafritz, Layne and Borick, 2005). Therefore, interest groups seek different ways to influence political actors about their problems and pressure them to account their problem as “salience”. No matter how the extent of their demands fit legality, terrorist groups attempt to influence political agenda by acting illegally.

From the point of Shafritz, Layne and Borick (2005), agenda setting is “the play everybody can play” (p.125) and this identifies the actions of the terrorist groups clearly. The terrorist groups believed that they have been neglected by the political actors. Their demands and problems are not paid attention. So, they usually attempt to pay attention by playing destructive games against the society and the state. This is their way of influencing political agenda. However, this contradicts with the democratic tools of the policy making process. The play of political agenda setting has some rules within the democratic values. However, it seems that terrorist groups attempt to play these games with no rules and regulation, which makes them illegal.

The formation of a problem depends upon on “dynamic interplay between initiator and the trigger device” (Cobb and Elder, 1972). So, an initiation and triggering factor takes place to create an agenda for terrorist groups. Most of the time, they function as “triggering device” to start a problem or issue. A direct or indirect message is linked with their actions and the content of the political issue. Their influence on forming political agenda is dependent on the magnitude of their actions. Generally, they prefer catastrophic actions through the issues that they demand drastic changes.



Terrorist attacks attract more attention than any other form of politically motivated action (Congleton, 2002). Mostly, too much attention is paid to terrorism which makes it attractive for transmitting political messages. As mentioned above, terrorist attacks usually are extremely destructive. People get hurt, lives are ruined, and buildings are damaged. Due to that, attentions are drawn on terrorist activities and ultimately the notion of terrorism. For example, the world has been talking about September 11 attacks since September 2001. Similarly, terrorist attacks to a private bank, a consulate building, and religious place in Istanbul drew the attention of the nation on the single issue for months. Media, scientists, citizens, bureaucrats, celebrities, politicians, and many other segments of the society discussed the attacks for a long time. In its simplistic terms, one might argue that terror is perhaps most attention-paid issue all across the world when destructive attacks are involved. Obviously, terrorist groups are successful to get attention through their attacks. They send their message and expect the nation take necessary steps toward what they prefer as government policy.

In this sense, terrorist attacks are a very successful means of agenda setting even unwillingly by the government. Almost all people including policy makers discuss why attacks happen and how to prevent them. Potential threat is there unless some steps are taken about the incidents. Obviously, brutal activities of terrorist groups function as an effective agenda setter in any given jurisdiction. The agenda may result in enacting policies what terrorists want or making governments become more aggressive on terrorists than before; however, terrorist attacks are still considered as agenda setter. In this sense, one might consider terrorist groups successful as interest groups or policy entrepreneurs, since they have the power and means to set agenda.

2.3. Policy Window and Terrorism

One of the aims of the terrorist activities is to open 'policy window.' Policy window is a concept developed by John Kingdon. According to Kingdon (in Zahariadis, 1999), the policy process consists of three streams of policy actors and processes. The first stream involves problems which contain the data about problems and differing problem definitions. Kingdon argues that some problems are ignored whereas policy makers pay attention to the other problems. He argues that three reasons affect whether problems are addressed. First, indicators can be used to evaluate the existence and severity of a problem. For example, if crime skyrockets due to homeless people, the problem of homelessness is more likely to attract the attention of policy makers. Second, an important and high-profile event can cause high amounts of attention to the problem. For example, September 11 drastically changed perception and attention of policy makers in the US regarding worldwide terrorism. September 11 functioned as a stimulus for new policy initiatives against the problem, threat of terror and terrorists. Third, feedback of existing policy programs may bring new conditions into the realm of policy makers' attention. These proposals are the result of feedback of the programs which indicates many unintended consequences and deficiencies in the prevention of crime (Walker, 2001; Yeats, 1997; Vitiello, 1997; Lungren, 1996). Not all problems are given attention since actors in policymaking "define conditions as problems by letting their values and beliefs guide their decisions, by placing subjects in one category rather than another and by comparing conditions in different countries" (Zahariadis, 1999, p. 76).

Policy stream, the second stream, concerns with various solutions to problems stated in the first stream and proponents of the solutions. It includes the policy ideas that are developed in policy communities which consist of bureaucrats, politicians, researchers, academicians, interest groups, and so on; vocalization of these ideas through hearings, conferences, print and visual media; competition of these ideas; revision, integration, selection, or abandonment of these ideas; and preparing proposals according to practical feasibility and value acceptability of the ideas. A politics stream involving electoral institutions and elected officials is the third stream of policy process. Politics matter in shaping policy choices (Peters and Pierre, 2006).

However, each of these three streams is not enough to explain policy process. Three streams normally function independently, but should be coupled. In other words, to make a policy proposal rise, these three streams should join together at the same time. There must be windows of opportunity to connect the streams. Times that these three streams join altogether are defined as “policy windows” (Kingdon in Zahariadis, 1999). When an important event happens, the policy windows are opened.

In this sense, terrorist attacks can cause the policy window to be opened. Terrorist groups mobilize their resources and power to affect policy makers through different means. They try to influence policy preferences of governments. Terrorist events affect national mood and there emerge a pressure on the government bodies to who are supposed to prevent such incidents. The pressure from terrorist groups and affected public mood may lead changes in governments’ policy preferences. If all three streams are coupled in a single policy initiative, the policy proposal has a good chance to be formulated and legitimated. All three streams “interact only during open windows when policy entrepreneurs attach problems to solutions and present them to receptive political audience” (Zahariadis, 1999, p. 81). Put differently, entrepreneurial strategies of terrorist organizations affect the coupling of the streams. In this sense, policy windows can be considered as windows of opportunity. If terrorists are successful to couple all three streams, then policy shifts become possible.

Destructive terrorists attacks draw wide attention from all across any given country and international community. It becomes a visible problem by policymakers. These attacks easily make the first stream available. In the second stream, solutions to problems are discussed as in the case of terrorist attacks. When the problem, the attacks, happens, scientists, sociologists, politicians and many people propose solution to the problem. How to prevent terrorists attacks and what to do to minimize the negative outcomes are discussed extensively. The second stream, accordingly, is present in the case of terrorism. Politicians and particularly government officials are expected to take a strong and decisive stance against terrorist attacks. They express their stance frequently and take some steps toward preventing the attacks. Other power-holders, scientists, journalists, academicians and opinion leaders also involve in the discussions. Again, the third stream, politics stream is available in the case of terrorist attacks. Obviously, terrorists seem to be successful to couple all these three streams to have an impact on public policies and governmental implementations.



2.4. Terror Attacks as Punctuation To Instrumentalism

Policies usually are incremental. Stability typifies most policy areas. However, there are periods in which major policy shifts are likely to occur due to tragic events and crises (True, Jones, and Baumgartner, 1999). Changes in public understanding of problems may also cause major shifts in policy preferences. Policy entrepreneurs, to make major policy changes, seek to design new policy images and to exploit multiple policy venues. In other words, policy shows a relative stability and incrementalism followed by unexpected episodes of substantial change largely due to catastrophic events, economic, social, and international crises, shifts on modes of production and so on (Wilson, 2000). Policies are in most part results of incremental changes but sometimes of dramatic changes. That is to say, policy-making reflects “periods of equilibrium or near stasis, when an issue is captured by a subsystem, and periods of disequilibrium, when an issue is forced onto the macropolitical agenda” (True et al., 1999, p. 101). In this regard, True et al. (1999) contend that political institutions typically reflect a conservative way of policy consideration, which tends to protect status quo.

To make dramatic changes in policies, conflicts and problems are needed since gridlock and frequent macro level policy changes rarely occur. Terrorist attacks, since they draw wide attention from all segments of the society, function as a dramatic problem for punctuation to this incremental policy-making. Put differently, terrorist incidents show the need for new policies. In most cases, dramatic policy changes are needed. The major legislative actions and completely newly innovated policies in the US after September 11 attacks show the power of terrorism on drastic policy changes. The emergence of Department of Homeland Security and Transportation Security Administration would have been impossible, if the attacks had not happened. People in Turkey, for example, are discussing autonomy of some parts of the country. This is because of terrorist attacks since government officials want to ensure peace at home and pay attention what terrorist want to try to prevent future attacks and consequently damages and causalities. The debates about autonomy of some provinces most likely would be impossible without catastrophic results of the terrorist group’s attacks. Accordingly, one can conclude that terrorist attacks can function as punctuation to incremental policy-making and can cause dramatic and rapid policy changes and even emergence of completely new policies. The US policy toward terrorism was deterring countries to sponsor terrorist groups and organization; however, September 11 attacks drastically affected the policy and after that the U.S. has been attacking to territories of potential terrorists (Perl, 2007). This shows a drastic policy change toward terrorism and terrorist groups. Countries, as Hosein (2005) notes, when they are subject to terrorist attacks are, tend to enact many new policy to effectively combat with terrorism.

2.5. Terrorist Attacks as Failure of Policies

Terrorism is one of the ways that groups or individuals apply to communicate a political message. This political message usually aims to influence government policies or to show dissatisfaction about current policies (Congleton, 2002). From this perspective, one might argue that if government policies are successful enough, terrorism does not emerge because there will not be dissatisfaction about governmental actions. Since some people are dissatisfied about some policies, they apply terrorist attacks because they think that is the

only way to show their dissatisfaction and make an impact on the current policies. Some scholars argue that September 11 attacks are a result of the US foreign policy on Islamic world (Congleton, 2002). Similarly, some argue that some governmental policies implemented over decades helped PKK terror to strengthen (Akyol, 2010; Bal, 2007). Terrorist attacks, therefore, can be considered as a sign of failure of some particular policies.

Terrorist attacks, in the same way, can be considered as a result of lack of enough channels and means to communicate political messages. In a truly perfect political setting, all ideas and objections might be discussed and all messages can be shared across different parties and political actors. Nevertheless, that perfect political setting cannot be achieved, perhaps even not desired because if all voices are heard, possibly, enacting policies might be impracticable. That is why there are always some people remain unheard or ignored. These people might consider terrorism as a means of sending political messages about government policies. In other words, terrorism becomes the sole way to reach out policy-makers. That is the reason, terrorist attacks might be considered as signs of failure of at least some public policies.

In this respect, terrorism can be considered as successful to show the failure of some policies. Citizens expect governments to deal with terrorists and prevent future attacks. Failure of policies require policy makers to take necessary actions to prevent undesired consequences, in this context, terrorist activities and attacks (May, Sapotichne, and Workman, 2009). Terrorists also expect governments to change policies toward their benefits. Obviously, public and terrorists unconsciously agree to expect government to do something. Since all expect governments to take some actions, policy-makers take some steps to prevent terrorist attacks and to lessen damages and the possibility of future attacks.

2.6. Terrorist Attacks for Diffusion of Policies

Policy adoption of a country is “a function of both the characteristics of the specific political systems and a variety of diffusion processes” (Sabatier, 1999, p. 10). Indeed, there are two models in the context of adoption of new policy programs by any given state or country; internal determinants models and diffusion models (Berry and Berry, 1999). According to internal determinants model, states’ adoption of new policies depends on in-state factor such as political, economic, demographic, and social and so on characteristics determine policy adoptions. Diffusion models, on the other hand, believe that adoption of new policies can be explained through intergovernmental relations; in other words, states affect each other in the context of policy adoption. Put differently, previous adoptions of some states affect other states adoption of new policies because states learn each other (Berry and Berry, 1999). States look at other states’ policy innovations and adopt successful ones or revise unsuccessful ones and adopt them. In this sense, the experiences and policy evaluation of states become a good source for other states in terms of policy adoption. Similarly, the states compete with each other. Therefore, they seek to adopt best policies. A state’s policy success becomes a pressure for other states to adopt that policy. In this sense, pressure for new policy adoption may come from either policy entrepreneurs or/and citizens.

It is quite understandable that states do not invent policies from the zero. Brand-new and never implemented polices are very rare in today’s world. Countries tend to adopt other



countries' policy preferences. For example, when a new problem exists in Turkey, the media and academicians directly refers to the policies of the West regarding the problem. Policy proposals are developed over the successful policy implementations of Western world. On the other hand, it can be argued that policy entrepreneurs have huge impact on new policy innovations. It can be said that policy entrepreneurs are agents and drivers of policy diffusion. Policy entrepreneurs can also be considered as the people who open the policy windows. Successful policy programs are more likely subject to innovation because the states and countries seek better and more comprehensive policies. As discussed above, terrorist groups aim to function as policy entrepreneurs. The impact of terrorists becomes more understandable in policy diffusion with this notion in mind. The terrorists, willingly or unwillingly, help the proliferation of certain policies all across the world.

In today's world, countries tend to model each other's policies including counter-terrorism policies. For example, the UK innovated France's ID cards policy (Hosein, 2005). Some countries have got to know terrorism in recent decades. They do not have such experiences before. That is why they tend to duplicate policies other countries implement to effectively overcome the terror problem. For example, as Hosein notes, the U.S. has discarded some terror policies which the EU has been trying to implement. That is to say, countries tend to model terror related policies without adequate analysis of the divergence in laws and legislative process of the other country. Within this context, one might argue that countries do not take the specifics of their country when it comes to terrorism. Governments need to immediately satisfy public in taking policy measures toward prevention of terrorist attacks and keeping terrorists away from their homelands. When the EU is involved in such policymaking, member countries automatically implement same policy. Put differently, the anti-terrorism policy that the EU enacts is proliferated over almost entire Europe and all countries in the union. That is simply a specific example of policy diffusion. That is to say, terrorism has a strong connection with the diffusion of certain policies. Terrorism causes the diffusion of specific anti-terrorism policies all across the world. Obviously the U.S. has been an example for the rest of the world to implement terror-related policies.

2.7. Other Impacts

Need for new legislation: Congleton (2002) remarkably argues some of the political and economic effects terrorism causes. First, labor supply and markets are negatively affected and diminished: accordingly, tax revenues fall and demands and expectations from government increases. Second, terrorism causes increase in uncertainty and risks due to potential to cause fear for future attacks which causes lower investments and reduces private commitments since "living for today clearly makes more sense when tomorrow is less likely to bear fruit" (p.10). That is why some governments implement stimulus policies in order to encourage private sector to invest in terror prone regions. Third, demand for insurance and investment increases and people spend more to be stay away future attacks. Fourth, terrorist attacks also affect international flow of money as in Greece and Spain after terrorist attacks capital flow reduced drastically (Lapan and Sandler in Congleton, 2002). Governments, therefore, feel the need for new legislation. Countries enact various new laws or make legislative moves after catastrophic terrorists attacks.

Governmental Priorities: Terrorism also affects the priorities of governments (Perl, 2007; Henderson, 2005; Haque, 2002). What policies will be enforced what policies will be abandoned, what policies will be funded and what policies will get fund-cut are influenced by terrorism. Priorities in expenditure are also changed. Increase in military spending can be considered in this context (Perl, 2007). Hauque states that the U.S. increased the fund for prevention of terrorist activities at the expense of the funds for hospitals and highways.

Conflicting Goals: It has become a challenging issue for policymakers to compromise protecting civil liberties and tightening security (Perl, 2007). When security is tightened there is a great likelihood that constitutional principles are ignored. Even though most people oppose holding constitutional rights and principles (Perl, 2007) terrorism makes governments deviate from this premise. Many countries conduct surveillance particularly electronic surveillance without permission of jurisdictional bodies since the concern about internal and external security become the vital issue for government officials. This is basically a trade-off between liberty and security. Terrorist attacks make countries to pursue such conflicting goals at the same time.

Varieties in Policies: In addition, countries may use different types of policies against terrorism. The US for example has been using a wide variety of policies ranging “from diplomacy, international cooperation, and constructive engagement to protective security measures, economic sanctions, covert action, and military force (Perl, 2007).

Lack of long term concentration to legal and legislative systems: Hosein (2005) remarkably argues that countries when they are subject to terrorist attacks are tend to enact many new policy to effectively combat with terrorism. Nevertheless, these laws become subject to questions over years since they might be unconstitutional or lacking public support. That is the reason, some policies are quitted whereas some others are seriously modified.

Criminal Justice System and Criminal Code Largely Affected By Terrorism: Terrorist attacks, most of the time, make governments more aggressive. New laws and penal code become harsher especially if they are enacted just after the attacks and if it is still smoking. New punishments are set and new rules are introduced. For example, time limits for interrogations of suspects are extended for the suspects of terrorists activities. Sometimes, new courts are established for offenders of terrorism. The jurisdictional process for Guantanamo inmates is an example of the impact of terrorism on criminal justice system and criminal code.

Laws Are Enacted With Little Debates: Anti-terrorism policies are usually are rarely discussed and scrutinized by the public and the media (Hosein, 2005). In most cases, such laws and policies are discussed behind closed doors. Public scrutiny is barely mentioned when it comes to anti-terrorism policies. Media coverage particularly in the EU is minimal. Nevertheless, as time goes, when the topic becomes off the agenda people and the media



ask questions about the policies and its side effects. Therefore, some polices are abandoned and some are modified dramatically.

Relations with International Community: Terrorism largely affects the relations among countries. Trade, tourism, communication, and even borders of countries are influenced by terrorists' activities. The relationship between Turkey and Syria was largely affected by the terrorist activities of PKK. Similarly, Turkey's Iraq policy has been under the influence of terrorism. The foreign investment in Spain, as noted above, negatively affected by Madrid attacks. These examples show the decisive impact of terrorism on international relations.

Global Cooperation: Since terrorism has been a global fact, cooperation among international community has been a vital policy. The U.S. has begun intelligence-sharing and cooperation in law enforcement due to this notion (Perl, 2007). Evidence shows that as international cooperation against terrorism increases, countries are less likely to support terrorist groups and activities (Perl, 2007).

3. Discussion

Obviously, terrorism and public policy have a close relationship. Terrorists groups function as policy entrepreneurs to send their political messages to decision-makers. They want policy-makers to promote policies that terrorists prefer at the expense of current implementations or other alternatives. Terrorist groups as policy entrepreneurs expect government to change current policies. They apply necessary means to influence governments. They even apply different means depending of governments' leanings (Forsberg, 2009). Government officials and policy-makers need to be careful in this sense. Any changes toward what terrorists want mean that terrorists become successful to change policies or to abandon some implementations. This type of governmental policy changes might reveal the signal that terrorism is a way to influence government bodies. When government changes policies due to terrorist groups' activities, other legitimate policy entrepreneurs might get the idea of applying to terrorism to achieve their goals. Policy-makers, accordingly, must be very careful regarding policies terrorists strive to change. Policy-makers are expected to do something to prevent terrorist attacks; nevertheless, trying to prevent terrorism through just making policy changes terror groups desire could yield more serious problem and vicious cycle. Any dissatisfied group who cannot reach its political goals may see terrorism as a legitimate way to get desired political moves from the government. That is the reason, governments must be very skeptical about giving what terrorists want. This might mean that terror beats governments and achieve its goals.

Policy-makers also need to prevent terrorists to set agenda in any given country. Terrorist attacks draw wide attention not only from all segments of any given country but also international community. Government officials must be very vigilant about situations. Perhaps, terrorist attacks deserve wide attention but letting such attacks to set the agenda in the country again will benefit to achieve the aims of terrorist groups and organizations. Government officials need to cooperate with the media and other responsible parties to

prevent terrorist activities to influence policy agenda. Turkish media sometimes cover some particular events as Turkey is a warzone (Fendoglu, 2010). Such coverage, no doubt, affects the agenda in the way terrorists desire. When terrorism hold the agenda, the likelihood of terrorists' success increases. Keeping terrorists attacks as the top issue on the national agenda for a long time might cause tediousness among citizens and policy-makers which might lead to providing what terrorists want. In the same way, such a long standing at the top of the agenda might reveal the sign of governments' inabilities to effectively fight against terrorists. That is the reason, policy-makers need to be cautious to let terrorists groups and terrorist attacks to occupy the agenda of the nation.

Governments need to be aware that one of the main aims of terrorist activities is to influence the public mood. Terrorists intend to open policy window for policy changes. Destructive attacks have the power to influence agenda. Accordingly, first stream is present. Possible solutions and precautions are discussed by responsible parties and scholars, which makes Kingdon's second stream available for policy window to open. Politics stream is also available because policy-makers and politicians express their thoughts and enact policies. Obviously, brutal terrorist activities can open policy window. Indeed, the nature of terrorists attacks yield such policy window. Policy-makers need to be aware of this notion. Policies enacted, thus, must not encourage terrorists to take further steps toward continuing unlawful activities. Even though, terrorists are successful to open policy window, decision-makers must use such opportunities to discourage terrorist activities. Policies adopted, programs implemented, and steps taken should reflect the determination of governments not to lean toward what terrorists want. In other words, policy windows opened by terrorist activities must be exploited as opportunities to discourage future terrorist attacks and people who might think of terrorism as a means of getting what they want politically.

Terror also can function as punctuation to incrementalism for drastic political changes since it has catastrophic effects. Policies in most areas are usually consistent and if changes happen it is in most cases incremental. However, catastrophic events, as the case of terrorist attacks, can cause drastic policy changes. Indeed, terrorists groups intend to cause radical policy changes. Policy-makers for that reason must be careful to make major policy moves as terrorists intend. Such moves by political actor may serve benefits of terrorists groups. Again, if governments make far-reaching policy changes, then it is counted as a success of terrorism. The major political moves by the US Government, as Congleton (2002) argues, can be considered as a success of the attackers because they made the government enact drastic policy modifications and implement different programs. Policy-makers that is the reason must be paying special attention to serving benefits of terrorism simply making too much drastic changes. If these changes are needed such enactments must have the character of discouraging terrorism as a way of influencing governmental actions.

Policy-makers must also consider the signs of policy failure in terrorist attacks. Terror incidents show failure of at least some government policies. Such failure can be not having enough political means to express legitimate political messages to policy-makers, or ignoring, discriminating, or underserving some segments of the society. In addition, some groups may want more than what government provides. Whatever the reason, terrorist attacks must be analyzed carefully and if there are some wrongdoings of government, they



must be corrected. However, that must be done to serve citizens better not because terrorists demand that. There is a thin line between giving what terrorists want and taking corrective measures about governmental misconduct. Policy-makers, hence, must be careful in this respect because they must serve citizens better at the same time while discouraging terrorists groups.

Terror-experiencing countries usually implement similar policies and this causes the diffusion of counter-terrorism policies. Decision-makers need to give special attention to take counter-terrorism laws from other countries. All countries have unique specifics. Similarly, all terrorist groups have different features. Accordingly, just borrowing policies does not seem to be a plausible solution for countries. The IRA and PKK has different specifics and demands as well as different means and supports. A successful policy regarding IRA in the UK might not be an effective step for PKK terror in Turkey. That is the reason, countries must be very careful to copy counter-terrorism policies from other countries. Governments must delicately analyze the specifics of terrorist activities in their homeland. Otherwise, dealing with terrorist groups can be a tough challenge for decision-makers. Governments are responsible to take steps toward preventing terrorist attacks and not to encourage terrorists by enacting policies as terrorists groups want. As Bal and Ozeren (2009) state, fight against terrorists by security forces must be supported by political moves and governments must be proactive not reactive. Reactive policies, even though they might result in some short term success against terrorists, can cause some side effects, as frustration in the public in PKK terrorism torn precincts of Turkey (Durna and Hancerli, 2007). More proactive and more democratic policies could be an effective solution to such problems.

Conclusion

Terrorist attacks are “just one possible method of political dialogue” (Congleton, 2002, p.47). In this respect, Congleton (2002) argues that terrorism, as a form of policy-influencing activity, generates a fourth form of cost for policy influencing contest. There are three costs associated with a peaceful contest of policy actors. First, there are avoidable losses that if every contestant reduce their policy-influencing activity proportionately, same policy is likely to be implemented. Second, external costs likely to arise due to the method employed. Third, costs associated with policy mistakes largely because of one-sided information. Terrorism as a form of political dialogue adds threat, causalities, and damages to these costs. Indeed, the direct costs of terrorist attacks “need to be obvious in order for terrorism to be successful [since] the entire point of terrorism is to influence government policies by directly harming persons or property, and, by the visibility of that harm, making all those not physically affected feel worse off by evoking sympathy for victims and expectations of future harm” (Congleton, 2002, p.9). Terrorists use these effects of catastrophic attacks as ‘persuasive impact’ to get what they want.

Evidently, government policies are affected by terrorism, particularly since negative externalities of terrorism causes excessive damages and losses. The greater the damages and the greater exaggerated perceptions of public about terrorism exist, citizens’ demands new policies; therefore, government policies are put into effect to reduce future terrorist activities and damages. Such policies are visible in the form of anti-terrorist laws, racial arran-

gements, criminal code, and precautions regarding liberties such as communication and traveling. Establishing new institutions is another policy initiative against terrorism. Many public policies seem to be shaped by the trade off between liberty and security. Governments implement policies aiming to prevent or reduce externalities of terrorism. Governments also implement policies to prevent terrorists to access weapons. Priorities in expenditures to implement certain types of policies are also affected by terrorist events. International relations and foreign policy are heavily affected by terrorism. Impacts of terrorism are so important in policy-making that terrorist groups might be categorized as interest-groups formed to influence governments' policy preferences.

Terrorism seems to be a devastating political stance. However, lavish policies against minor risks or excessive political precautions to reduce terrorist attacks damage the society and the government itself. Extravagant policies cause obstacles for governments to address major problems and issues at the expense of the future of the society. In addition, in many cases, government policies toward terrorist acts undermine constitutional liberties and rights.

There is, no doubt, a close connection between public policy and terrorist attacks. Government officials need to be aware of the political nature of terrorism. Terrorism can be considered "political violence" (Wilkinson, 2002). Policy-makers must establish means to distinguish violence and political messages. In other words, appropriate means to express legitimate political messages can eradicate violence.

Counter-terrorism policies and strategies are usually unique to any given country and require profound analyses to understand each specific terrorist group. Policy-makers need to seriously analyze solutions and policies in other countries to handle terrorist attacks. Terrorists are feed by support of people (Wilkinson, 2002). When they have wide support from citizens they become politically more powerful. That is the reason, governments must be careful in communicating with citizenry regarding messages from terrorists. A complete cooperation with media is needed. Otherwise, terrorists reveal their messages in the way they desire and try to get support of larger number of citizens.

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