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Global Terrorism: An Overview and Analysis

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GLOBAL TERRORISM:
AN OVERVIEW AND ANALYSIS

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"Dulce bellum inexpertis" [1] – Erasmus

Overview

The subject of "terrorism" seized the world's attention in late 2001 as a result of one fairly brief, yet highly dramatic and destructive, attack on two of the core symbols of the world's most powerful political actor, the United States of America. The targeting of the World Trade Center in New York City, the symbol of the United States' enormous global economic power, and the Pentagon Building in Washington, DC, the symbol of the United States' overarching military superiority, was well planned, coordinated, and executed. The attack itself attained symbolic stature as an affront to the established global order, a challenge to the world's dominant power, and an announcement that the prevailing US-led global order was not viewed, or valued, equally by all those whose daily lives are increasingly caught in the vortex of post-Cold War change.

Of course, the problem of terrorism was already well-known when the planes struck their targets in full view of a vast, global, tele-connected audience and created their indelible psychic images of sophisticated savagery. The politics of terror, and the overpowering fear that terror produces in its wake, lay at the very foundation of the evolution of social order. And it is the ultimate irony of societal development that modern acts of savagery have attained such high levels of sophistication. In its most simple terms, terror has stood as the stark alternative to civility in social relations from the time of humankind's earliest recorded reflections. As Hobbes explained in his 17th century treatise, "Out of civil states, there is always war of every one against every one…the nature of war, consisteth not in actual fighting; but in the known disposition thereto…and which is worst of all, continual fear and danger of violent death; the life of man [*sic*], solitary, poor, nasty, brutish, and short."[2] At their roots, terror, force, and violence are integral and, as such, terrorism as a course of action is hardly distinguishable from coercion as a strategy or violence as a tactic.

Contemporary analyses of the problem of terrorism have usually foundered between the perceptual extremes that are inherent in the amorphous ideas of terror: conceptualizations of terrorism are either too broad to be analytically useful, too narrow to be analytically meaningful, or too complex to be applied systematically. The conceptualizations themselves are all too often politically motivated as the analyst attempts to rationalize a distinction between civil and uncivil applications of violence: (useless) terror and (useful) enforcement, (undisciplined) terrorism and (disciplined) war, and (dishonorable) terrorists and (honorable) "freedom fighters." Conceptual confusion is further exacerbated by the often cavalier usage of the pejorative term "terrorist" to refer to any political opponent, much as "communist" was used for political effect in the West during the Cold War. Hoffman offers an example of a broad definition, "[Terrorism is] the deliberate creation and exploitation of fear through violence or the threat of violence in the

[1] "War is most attractive to those who know nothing of it."

[2] Thomas Hobbes, *Leviathan: Or the Matter, Forme and Power of a Commonwealth Ecclesiasticall and Civil*, edited by Michael Oakeshott (New York: Collier Books, 1962), p. 100.

pursuit of political change."[3] Hoffman attempts to differentiate his definition of terrorism from criminal and lunatic violence by emphasizing the "altruistic" and "intellectual" qualities of terrorist motivation. However, it seems clear that all acts of terrorism are criminalized acts that are made particularly effective because they are unconventional (extralegal or non-rational) applications of violent or coercive behavior. The parallels between terrorism, state repression, organized crime, and war are too great to be discounted. The use of arbitrary and indiscriminate violence in wartime has become increasingly criminalized since the establishment of the Nuremberg trials at the end of the Second World War in 1945. State repression, or "state terror," which finds its most extreme form in totalitarianism has become increasingly scrutinized and criminalized by the international community.[4] In a similarly broad definition, Carr goes so far as to equate terrorism with conventional warfare, with one very important distinction: "[Terrorism is] warfare deliberately waged against civilians with the purpose of destroying their will to support either leaders or policies that the agents of such violence find objectionable."[5] For Carr, terror is established through the unrestrained demonstration of violence; it is an induced emotional state intended to disable the will in individuals to resist, or seek rectification for, a perceived injustice through the credible threat (fear) of unspecified, unbearable consequences. While both Hoffman and Carr concentrate on the serious psycho-social affects of terror, their perspectives are separated widely by the perquisites of power: Hoffman's low-power, non-state terrorists using terror to challenge authority and facilitate change, Carr's high-power, state terrorists using terror to establish authority and facilitate conquest.

Schmid and Jongman provide an example of a definition of terrorism which, due ironically to their attempt to increase definitional specificity, is far too complex (and, at once, too broad) to be applied systematically in research. For them, terrorism is

> [a]n anxiety-inspiring method of repeated violent action, employed by (semi-) clandestine individual, group, or state actors, for idiosyncratic, criminal or political reasons, whereby – in contrast to assassination – the direct targets of violence are not the main targets. The immediate human victims of violence are generally chosen randomly (targets of opportunity) or selectively (representative or symbolic targets) from a target population, and serve as message generators. Threat- and violence-based communication processes between terrorist (organizations), (imperilled) victims, and main targets are used to manipulate the main target (audience(s)), turning it into a target of terror, a target of demands, or a target of attention, depending on whether intimidation, coercion, or propaganda is primarily used.[6]

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[3] Bruce Hoffman, *Inside Terrorism* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1998), p.43. Hoffman lists three other defining traits that, for some unknown reason, are not incorporated explicitly in his definition: 1) conspiratorial and 2) clandestine agents representing a 3) subnational group or non-state entity. It is this more narrow definition that actually informs his analysis.

[4] Michael Stohl and George A. Lopez, eds., *The State as Terrorist* (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1984).

[5] Caleb Carr, *The Lessons of Terror; A History of Warfare Against Civilians: Why It Has Always Failed and Why It Will Fail Again* (New York: Random House, 2002), p. 6, emphasis added.

[6] Alex P. Schmid and Albert J. Jongman, *Political Terrorism: A New Guide to Actors, Authors, Concepts, Data Bases, Theories, and Literature* (New Brunswick, NJ: Transaction Books, 1988).

The core qualities of Schmid and Jongman's definition are its inclusion of state actors, as well as non-state actors, as potential agents; its inclusion of wide ranges of power and political intent, and its recognition that acts of violence must be reiterative and somewhat arbitrary in order to induce widespread terror (rather than the more immediate response of revulsion to acts of brutality). Pillar emphasizes this later point in his definition of terrorism, that terror gains its greatest strength from its focus on the possible future rather than the knowable present.[7]

A variant of the "narrow" approach to defining the problem of terrorism has been to identify a special class of terrorist activity, that is, "international," or "transnational," terrorism.[8] This conceptualization has gained currency among policy-makers, particularly in "global powers" of the West, as it appears, on surface, to focus on a particular subset of terrorist actions with "global scope," thereby inferring that this subset of terrorism stands as a direct threat to the "global social order." The concept is based on two important, implicit, *a priori* assumptions: first, the West, and particularly the US, is the recognized authority leading the establishment of an emerging global order and, second, the actions taken by the leading authorities in establishing and maintaining the emerging global order are either legitimate by definition (an extended form of the classic *raison d'état*) or that the interests of populations affected by the global order are adequately represented within the emerging global political system. This narrow form of terrorism, then, is conducted by those, usually non-state actors who may or may not receive support from dissident states or populations, who are intent on challenging, and changing, the terms of the prevailing social order.[9] The essential qualities of this conceptualization relate to issues of distance and jurisdiction.

The first quality, distance or "reach," may be best viewed as simply a spatial artifact, often made salient by asymmetries of power between contending groups and established authorities. That is, challengers to a particular form of social order take advantage of available technologies and the prevailing vulnerabilities associated with distance by using, or seeking to exploit, available advantages in communication, information, and mobility to identify and attack relatively distant (and comparatively weak) outposts of authority.[10] This spatial component of international terrorism is not unique, however. Opposition always operates near the boundaries of the

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[7] Paul R. Pillar, *Terrorism and U.S. Foreign Policy* (Washington, DC: Brookings Institution Press, 2001), p. 12-18. Pillar agrees with Caleb (n. 3) that the targets of terrorism are necessarily non-combatants.

[8] Enders and Sandler prefer the term "transnational terrorism" as the basis for their quantitative studies of trends in internationalized terrorism; for them, this subset of terrorist acts is distinguished by "ramifications that transcend a national boundary." See, Walter Enders and Todd Sandler, "Transnational Terrorism in the Post-Cold War Era," *International Studies Quarterly* 43 (1999): 145-167, and "Is Transnational Terrorism Becoming More Threatening?" *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 44 (2000): 307-332.

[9] Such "non-state actors" may include agents receiving support from states, as in state-sponsored or state-supported terrorism, or they may involve clandestine state agents engaged in covert operations directed by state authorities where actual state involvement is consequently denied or falsely attributed to "non-state actors."

[10] The media-seeking incentives associated with terrorist actions are well known. Actors often "reach out" in seeking access to media outlets and more receptive audiences or broader bases of support outside their immediate location, particularly when the local value of the conflict has remained largely invisible, stagnated, or stalemated.

collective consciousness as it is shaped by central authorities. Most acts of non-international terrorism have similar qualities of combining local, proximate, and distant action. In a strategic interaction between distanced groups, what is considered local to one is necessarily considered distant by the other.[11] Agents of violence find it logistically easier to conduct local attacks but strategically important to demonstrate their capability to mount attacks on relationally distant targets located in their opponent's heartland. The perceived value, and therefore the terror potential, of targets increase with proximity to the heartland (and breach of the security perimeter). Two contending groups rarely occupy the exact same political space and, even when they do share competing claims to authority over the same political space, their "heartlands" remain spatially distinct and separated even when their territorial or jurisdictional interests contend and overlap. So, for instance, the Irish Republican Army has operated mainly in the British province of Northern Ireland but has conducted operations in London at the center of the British heartland; the Tamils of Sri Lanka have struck targets both in Colombo (the Sinhalese heartland) and in India, including the May 1991 assassination of Indian Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi; and Chechen militants have allegedly struck targets as "remote" as Moscow. The relatively recent "internationalization" of anti-authority terrorism may be simply a function of increased popular access to distance or technological reach. Friedman has referred to this phenomenon as the "super-empowered individual."[12] Such strategic behavior is not confined to asymmetric power relationships or non-state actors. The US air raids against Tokyo in April 1942 and NATO air raids against Belgrade during the 1999 Kosovo war are similar demonstrations of the capability to mount "distant" attacks in the opposition's heartland.

The second essential quality of international terrorism, jurisdiction, is particularly important in defining potential remedies to a contestation between groups or individuals. Operating outside of, or across, an established juridical boundary complicates remedial action (ameliorative or coercive) and limits the range and/or effectiveness of institutional options. With the lack of definitive and effective instruments for addressing the problem of terrorist action in international law and institutions, ambiguities and uncertainties of juridical responsibility provide special opportunities and vulnerabilities for exploitation both by terrorist agents and affected authorities. In the absence of established institutional mechanisms, it can be expected that those entities that are most greatly affected and who enjoy the greatest capacity for direct action will act within such a "political vacuum" in terms of their own perspectives and according to their own interests, that is, unilaterally. The unregulated strategic interactions of the most directly affected parties played out in the greater communal space will undoubtedly serve to terrorize the entire system, creating a global imperative to act. But the ability to respond rationally and effectively will be limited by selection biases inherent in our understandings of the problem. Again, selection biases often reflect asymmetries of power. Powerful actors have recourse to a wide array of instrumentalities to promote their parochial interests, whereas weak actors may feel they have

[11] Groups in conflict tend to distance themselves, or polarize, whether spatially, socially, politically, or some combination, over the course of a conflict in direct proportion to their evolving valuations of the issues and terms of the conflict.

[12] Thomas L. Friedman, *The Lexus and the Olive Tree: Understanding Globalization* (New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 1999).

very few options to demonstrate their position and the strength of their resolve other than violence. Diffuse and indirect actions often have very direct consequences, as Galtung has argued with his concept of "structural violence."[13] Such structural violence, that is, violence embedded in the underlying structures of social relationships, is necessarily biased toward power and established authority and, thus, makes it particularly difficult to identify the interactive, reciprocal, and alternating qualities of "terrorist" and "terrorized."

The problems of distance and jurisdiction act within a context of immediacy and imperative created by the violent attack and, as such, treatments of the problem of international terrorism tend to favor emotive and reactive responses, focusing on the symptoms and rarely considering the nature of the problems that might have stimulated such extreme or radical actions. While studies of international terrorism usually contain the recognition of the political intent of terrorist acts, the convention of non-negotiation with terrorists often obviates the identification of possible motives and, thus, stifles our ability to avoid or preclude the resort to terrorism (which would, of course, obviate the need to negotiate with terrorists). In addition to ignoring the structural foundations of terrorism, the literature on international terrorism does not usually include reference to comparable attacks on agents and institutions of international organizations such as the UN, international NGOs, and international journalists, thus confounding that concept with "anti-internationalist" or "anti-US" resistance.[14] This is especially confusing in a global environment where the vestiges of "anti-colonialism" often intertwine with emerging strands of "anti-globalism." In systematic studies of international terrorism, the US, Israel, and the former colonial powers of Western Europe account for the vast majority of the targets of international terrorist acts (see below for further discussion). The fact that the US, especially, enjoys an unprecedented extent of "international reach" in global affairs and, therefore, runs an unprecedented level of risk from engendered international contention should not be conflated with, and used as, a measure of the general security of the global system. In this sense, both the United States' proactive policies and reactions to those policies must be included in any objective measure of the affects of such strategic interaction on global security.

Perhaps the most difficult aspect to reconcile in our various attempts to define terrorism has been the almost universal claim that terrorism is necessarily political. Beyond the broadest sense of what is political, that is, the sense in which all actions taken in a social context are inherently political, the idea that an action is political implies that the action is instrumental in pursuing or achieving some commonly understood goal. On surface, action in pursuit of a goal must be considered rational, however, when the evidence strongly suggests that such action is largely ineffective in attaining the desired goal(s), the action, or strategy, must be considered irrational in practice. This is the "lesson" that Carr argues in *The Lessons of Terror*, that is, that terror is not rational; it is, rather, counter-productive to the general pursuit of political goals. This is the central argument in my earlier examination of the problem of violence in the context of societal

[13] Johan Galtung, "Violence, Peace and Peace Research," *Journal of Peace Research* 3 (1969):167-192.

[14] The collected "evidence" of cases of international terrorism do not include covert attacks or seizures by clandestine state agents nor overt acts by state authorities outside their legal jurisdictions, either of which could provide evidence of interactive qualities in the use of violence in international contentions.

and systemic development.[15] This rationality conundrum presents terrorism as an unsolvable problem. The conundrum can only be reconciled by examining the emotive qualities of terrorism: that terrorism is borne of an emotive or psychic impulse in search of a political expression. Perhaps the most powerful emotive impulse is vengeance, whether as a result of a perceived injustice or indignity or an act of humiliation. Such powerful emotive impulses are often individuated, internalized, and personalized by affected individuals leading to acts of self-destruction where the unworthy self becomes the target for retribution of perceived wrongs. The act of externalizing these emotive impulses may be facilitated by political rhetoric that emphasizes the commonality of the aggrieved and a common source of grievances. In this politicization of vengeance and other, lesser forms grievance, the rationalization of externalization and the identification of targets for retribution find expression in a common political perspective and agenda for action. Common emotional impulses provide the impetus for overcoming collective action problems among politically disempowered individuals. The immediate and direct goal of such emotive action is to establish the capacity to "strike back." Although the impetus to "strike back" implies grievance and, thus, a desire for political change, the immediate and realizable goal is to inflict hurt, not to effect change. The politics of terror, in this instance, are imposed from the outside, recast on the inside, and redirected toward an external target. This emotive, relational quality makes (non-repressive) terrorist action less amenable to rational deterrent strategies. Deterrent actions can be viewed as consistent with, and therefore validation of, the structures of perceived injustice and very often widen the scope of persons directly affected by the actions of authorities and, so, can actually stimulate rather than deter further acts of terrorism.

It can be seen that it is the political quality of common experience, the common attribution of causal agent or target, and the collective coordination, or mobilization, of emotive response that differentiates (non-repressive) organized terrorist action from lesser forms of terror, such as psychotic, sociopathic, or criminal violence.[16] Even these lesser (less-politicized) forms of terror can create a climate of terrorism that has serious effects on social relations, especially when those ostensibly random non-organized acts of disturbed individuals attain a sense of regularity and arbitrariness. For example, psychotic and sociopathic terror have become more extreme and regularized in US society such that hardly a week goes by without news of another attack on a school or a multiple murder-suicide. This form of terror is much closer to most Americans and is likely to have produced more diffuse effects than the more dramatic but far less frequent form of political terrorism that has culminated in the September 11, 2001, events and the subsequent "war on terrorism" in Afghanistan. Similarly, terror does not need to be premeditated as is evidenced in the regularity of "spontaneous" Hindu-Muslim riots in India. Such communal pogroms are not unique to this context but have been, and continue to be, a fairly common

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[15] Monty G. Marshall, *Third World War: System, Process, and Conflict Dynamics* (Boulder, CO: Rowman & Littlefield, 1999).

[16] In *Third World War* I present a conceptual scheme for social organization that opposes "active" (repressive) coercion and violence to "reactive" (non-repressive) coercion and violence and counterpoises that interactive (strategic) dynamic to "proactive" sociation, which is an inherently integrative dynamic that eschews violence and coercion. See, chapter 3, "The Societal Dimensions of 'Human Nature' and the Dynamics of Group Conflict" (pp. 59-116).

method used to maintain power asymmetries in situations of communal competition. Purely sociopathic terrorism, such as the anarchist groups that have operated in Western democracies, are particularly difficult to sustain as they lack sufficient emotive strength (they are steeped mainly in malaise, disaffection, and indignation) and, by nature of their ideological perspective, can not define a common political agenda other than the destruction of the existing order. Organized terror, while it can be orchestrated to a certain extent among "violence sycophants" (i.e., those individuals who are predisposed to value and commit violence), is most problematic when it achieves a broad network of popular support. Even the "super-empowered individual" who ultimately "pulls the trigger" requires a relatively broad base of support in order to ensure secrecy long enough to realize their full capacity for technological empowerment. Although greater and more accessible technologies of destruction make possible greater power to the individual actor, the preparation of such technologies for actual implementation draw greater aversion, publicity, and attention. Terror requires secrecy and secrecy demands silence not only by those who are integral to the conspiracy but, also, all potential witnesses (i.e., the "sea" in which the "fish" must swim). Silence is sometimes a function of ignorance (particularly in the first instance of a new form of terrorist action) but is most often achieved through popular, supportive, and cooperative behavior. As such, most terrorist cells operate in close association with larger, more conventional political associations that are sympathetic with the terrorists' political rhetoric and agenda but uncomfortable with the terrorists' methods. Equally important to the instrumental and operational aspects of broad, popular support is the creation of a supportive rhetorical environment in which extremist rhetoric may reverberate, amplify, and escalate over time. Terrorism, as a political act, stands at once at the nexus between individual and collective action, the emotional and rational, the conventional and the unconventional. It is can be the strongest form of protest or the weakest form of rebellion or a specialized tactic in warfare. Above all else, it is the most personal form of violence.

The nature and quality of the association between the tactical terrorist organization and the larger support network are crucial in defining the scope, efficacy, resilience, and persistence of terrorist activity. Carr makes a particularly strong argument regarding the "galvanizing" effects of terrorist tactics on the strategic interactions between contending groups. Rather than undermining, intimidating, or disabling the will to support contention, the intentional targeting of noncombatant populations, that is the actual, potential, or imagined oppositional support base, further polarizes the contending groups and strengthens and fortifies the affected group's collective resolve to resist and/or strike back. Carr claims this as compelling evidence of the inevitable failure of terror. Like the myth of the Hydra, terrorist organization tends to recreate and regenerate itself in direct response to the strength of coercive attempts to thwart its activities and remove its leaders or operatives: as one head is removed, several others appear to take its place. Even when the organizational structure is broken completely in a mass sweep of operatives, if there is no attendant change in the underlying conditions that gave rise to the original terrorist psyche, the organization of affected individuals will most likely be recreated over a period of time and such activity will reemerge.[17] This is surely the general experience of

[17] The most difficult resistance movements to break are those that are mobilized around a distinct social identity with a defendable territorial base in response to a pattern of gross injustice with clear linkages to dominant elites. Access to external support is often crucial in transforming campaigns of terrorist resistance to full insurgencies. See,

brutal dictatorships and a large part of the reason why these forms of governance are inherently unstable, giving way eventually to more open and less coercive forms of governance. This is also the lesson of the use of "right-wing death squads" in places such as El Salvador, Colombia, and Algeria that create great death, injury, and mayhem but are ineffective in quelling dissent, even when great care is taken to identify and target the leadership cadres of the opposition. It is surely the lesson of the Israeli-Palestinian terrorist conflict which has continued in various forms for seventy years or more.

The strong emotive quality of terrorism is at once a powerful motivating and an inherently limiting factor. Terror is a dynamic, transitional quality that rarely exists for long periods of time without transforming to or integrating with more complex forms of instrumental conflict behavior. The strength of our emotional responses tends to wane over time unless transferred to hate. More often, strong emotional responses stimulate the search for rationality; in this application repeated, or re-stimulated, emotional responses can be very important in sustaining levels of activity. The greatest threat of terrorism lay not in its capacity to threaten, and deliver, personalized violence but, rather, in its relation to the more institutionalized forms of violence. Terrorist activity is commonly associated, as Carr argues, with all forms of warfare. It is a common instrument in separatist violence, used both by government authorities and separatist agents.[18] Terrorism's greatest strategic value may lay in its demonstration effects, that is, its capacity for signaling both the group's strength and resolve and the target's complicities and vulnerabilities. Terrorism may not be successful in achieving tangible political goals, but, through its capacity to galvanize public opinion, it may be instrumental in polarizing contending groups and stimulating group members to increase their support for more conventional tactics such as protest or the transformation of protest to open, armed rebellion. These conventional conflict strategies are generally more acceptable alternatives to terrorist activities. Where terrorism exists without ties to these more collective forms of conflict, it is generally due to one of two reasons: 1) terrorism, as a limited form of engagement, more quickly and effectively overcomes collective action problems that may retard or thwart the mobilization of mass conventional action or 2) state repression may prevent the formation of mass movements, in which case terrorism may be the only available avenue for demonstrations of dissent. Terrorist activity is often the prelude to the transformation of non-violent protest movements to armed rebellion. The transformation of protest to armed conflict provides a tactical niche for acts of terrorism.

The emotive content of terrorist motivation makes it compatible with both political, as argued above, and spiritual rationalizations or justifications. Terrorist activity can be doubly emotive as the moral and ethical dimensions of terrorist action have to be reconciled in the mind of the

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Ted Robert Gurr and Monty G. Marshall, "Assessing Risks of Future Ethnic Wars," chapter 7 and appendix B in Ted Robert Gurr, *Peoples versus States: Minorities at Risk in the New Century* (Washington DC: United States Institute of Peace Press, 2000).

[18] In fact, Gurr and Marshall found repression to be the single, strongest correlate of separatist rebellion. Ibid.

terrorist.[19] Spiritual rationalizations can be particularly effective, and threatening, as they better match the absolution of personal responsibility, legitimizing authority, and commonality of cause and perspective. After all, what greater authority exists in the mind of the believer than the "will of God?" What has come to be known as "Islamic fundamentalism" is especially emblematic of the utility of spiritual or theocratic rationalization and mobilization of dissent as it purports a convergence between the spiritual, political, and economic aspects of human social relations. Judaism is very similar in this regard. The sole redeeming quality, so to speak, of the theocratic rationalization is that it is at once empowering and restraining. The appeal to cosmic authorization implies recognition that the contemplated deed is wrong and regretted and that the course of remedial action must be "fit" within the theological parameters of spiritual beliefs in divine benevolence. Purely secular (political) rationalizations of terror may not provide either of these inhibiting qualities: the recognition of transgression and the need for redemption.[20] The recent examples of Nazism and Communism verify this apprehension regarding the qualities of purely human rationalizations of "social engineering."[21] The contemporary predominance of secular government also contributes to the utility of sectarian rationalizations of dissent as accentuating the moral divide between an unjust temporal authority and aspirations for an ideal and just society in its place. This separation of "state and church" may also help to explain the recent claims of analysts, like Hoffman, that "terrorist incidents perpetrated for religious motives result in so many more deaths [than those with purely political motives]."[22] Such claims are based on statistical artifacts generated by selection biases in data collection (i.e., evidence of state terrorism not included; only non-state terrorism is considered).

From this brief discussion of the various conceptualizations of terrorism, a common thread seems to emerge from which the core elements of an operational definition of the terrorist action may be identified. The essential defining quality of terrorism is that it is a direct and intentional violation of the intrinsic vulnerability of the human condition; in the context of the modern state and its structures of collective security this translates into the intentional targeting of civilian, non-combatant populations. As McKeogh explains, "It is because it is a breach of the [principle of non-combatant immunity] that terrorism is forthrightly condemned: its wrongness consists primarily in the fact that it targets, not military installations and personnel, but civilian ones."[23] This essential quality has two fundamental political forms which derive from the prevailing structures of authority in societal systems and are part of the same strategic interaction process: repressive (state) and expressive (non-state) terrorism. The underlying assumption of terrorism is

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[19] See, for example, Albert Bandura, "Mechanisms of Moral Disengagement," chapter 9 in Walter Reich, ed., *Origins of Terrorism: Psychologies, Ideologies, Theologies, States of Mind* (Washington, DC: Woodrow Wilson Center Press, 1990).

[20] This is Dostoevsky's argument in his literary classic, *Crime and Punishment*.

[21] See, Stephen L. Chorover, *From Genesis to Genocide: The Meaning of Human Nature and the Power of Behavioral Control* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1979).

[22] Hoffman, *Inside Terrorism*, p. 94.

[23] Colm McKeogh, *Innocent Civilians: The Morality of Killing in War* (Basingstoke, UK and New York: Palgrave, 2002), p. 4.

that it is a primarily emotive, rather than rational, action in direct pursuit of psychic, rather than, material goals. Factors that contribute to determining the strength and persistence of the "terror" produced by violence against non-combatant populations include the dramatic, shocking (i.e., extraordinary) impact of the attack(s); the intensity of media coverage; the frequency, lethality, and arbitrariness of the attacks; the perceived potential for future attacks, and the recognized connections between individualized acts of contention and collective action. The historical record of terrorism seems to indicate that it is becoming less ordinary, that there is a strong negative relationship between the scope and frequency of terrorism and the pace of societal development in specific locations and that the general trend has been a gradual decrease in the scope and frequency of terrorism over the course of evolution of human societies.[24] An important caveat is the positive relationship between the destructive capabilities of terrorism and the general extent and pace of technological development: the "super-empowered terrorist." Think, for example, of the very powerful, subliminal terrorism produced by the growing availability of the technologies of mass destruction and the fear that these weapons may fall into the hands of ill intent.[25]

Analysis

It is, perhaps, particularly ironic to be conducting a quantitative study of the problem of terrorism in contemporary world politics in the post-Cold War era. The amorphous threat posed by small-scale, individualized terrorist attacks to an abstract reality as large as "world peace and security" surely pales in comparison to the very real threat (fact) of total, mechanized warfare that characterized the fervent nationalism of the first half of the last century and the very credible and pervasive threat of total nuclear, chemical, or biological annihilation (the so-called "balance of terror") that characterized the superpower confrontation of the latter half of the twentieth century. Terror in the hands of individuals, even the "super-empowered individual," can not compare to terror wielded by the "hands" of the "modern" state and its agents. Terrorism, as we know it, is essentially a micro-event that appears quite trivial when placed in the macro-social context. Terrorism as an event must tap into the nexus of our greatest fears and the realization of our own personal vulnerabilities in order to be perceived as a problem or a threat. Yet, terrorism as a mode of human relations captures the essence of the human dilemma and defines the one true threat to human security, even humanity's very existence: inhumanity.

In order to study a social phenomenon, great or small, it must be distinguishable; we must be able to define it as a reasonably standardized action that is distinct from other social phenomena (objectified) and operationalize that definition to identify a "problem set" for systematic and

[24] The relationship between political violence and societal development is examined in detail in Marshall, *Third World War*. This perspective is consistent with the theme of Carr's *The Lessons of Terror*. For a specific examination of the negative effect of terrorism on foreign direct investment, see Walter Enders and Todd Sandler, "Terrorism and Foreign Direct Investment in Spain and Greece," *Kyklos*49 (1996): 331-352.

[25] See Monty G. Marshall, *The Scientific Study of International Conflict Processes: Postcards at the Edge of the Millennia*, unpublished monograph (National Science Foundation, contract #B22456A-00-0, 1998), available from the Center for Systemic Peace Web site, http://members.aol.com/cspmgm.

rigorous examination. The first section of this study has argued that violence is such a "reasonably standardized action;" that argument is treated in much greater detail in *Third World War* (Marshall 1999). Terrorism, if it can be objectified, is surely a subset of violence, that is, if it is not held to be synonymous with violence. Terrorism, in the present conceptualization, has one essential quality: **the intentional targeting of civilian, non-combatant populations**.[26]

It has also been proposed that this essential quality of targeting civilians with political violence has two fundamental political forms which derive from the prevailing structures of authority in societal systems and are part of the same **strategic interactive process**: repressive and expressive forms of terrorism. Third, the simple act of terrorism is necessarily a one-sided imposition of violent force upon a victim. This implies an **asymmetrical power or authority relationship**; the asymmetry may be structural (i.e., a stable asymmetry between a relatively strong and a weak actor) or temporal (i.e., a momentary, situational or imagined advantage wherein a generally weak actor may be temporarily, relationally strong as in a surprise attack launched before the target can muster adequate protection). A fourth, perhaps more controversial, quality of our common conception of terrorism refers to the perceptual impact of the terrorist act; the quality of terror in an act of terrorism is somehow related to social expectations and the social context: terrorism is an **extraordinary act of violence**; it must stand in contrast to our "normal" expectations of adversity. It must seize our attention and hijack our imagination if it is to be effective as a special form of political violence. The power of an act of terrorism is related to its treatment in the mass media and its establishment as a commonly recognized act of terrorism. And finally, a fifth conventional quality of terrorism is that it is perpetrated by a terrorist, that is, it is a highly **individualized and personalized** use of violence, making it more immediate and tactically and logistically distinct from more complex forms of militant action but, thus, rendering it hardly distinguishable from psychopathic, sociopathic, or criminal violence.[27]

Unfortunately, these definitional qualities can be perceived and combined in complex ways, making any operationalization of the concept of terrorism somewhat problematic. Particularly troubling in the systematic analysis of the problem of terrorism is the tendency toward "privileging" the concept due to its inherently political nature and intrinsic power asymmetry. In the classic conceptions of power, power is equated with authority, finding its ultimate expression in the concept of *raison d'etat* (where the societal need for the survival of the state defines legitimacy in practical terms) and theories of *realpolitik* (relations based on an assumption of a natural hierarchy of societal capabilities). The Westphalian presumption of the unassailable authority of the state (within a system of states) combined with the Weberian ideal of the state as

[26] Intent is always difficult to establish. Here intent is evidenced by sustained and/or systematic (i.e., patterned) targeting of civilian populations.

[27] Many commentators insist that terrorism is highly impersonal violence in that it often targets "innocent" people as a media vehicle to reach the "real" target which is the mediated audience. However, terrorism must be differentiated from sabotage, which is the willful destruction of property. Terror necessarily carries with it the perception of personal harm and terrorism, it has been argued, is motivated most strongly by the recognition of personal harm. Terrorism is, thus, highly personalized in motivation, intention, affliction, and reception.

requiring a "monopoly on the means of coercion" tend to privilege the state and its agents, and by implication the strong, over non-state actors, the weak. This privileging of power finds its way into the majority of operational definitions of terrorism, where terrorism is seen as an act of violence perpetrated by non-state actors (the weak) against institutions and agents of the state (the strong) or innocent civilians, who are necessarily assumed to be wards under the protection of the state.[28] In its most "visible" form, this privileging is used by the state to "filter" public information on events connected with overt repression and covert action. The problem of state privileging is particularly vexing as it affects even "free" media journalistic reports, and non-reporting, of terrorist events by state agents. The resulting concatenation of terrorism as a special form of violence of the "weak" against the "strong" satisfies the more subjective elements in our common definitions of terrorism: illegitimate actors, innocent victims, and extraordinary violence, but removes these acts from the larger interactive context, thus instilling a strong sense that these particular acts are unprovoked and unjustifiable (i.e., evil). It also imparts a sense that coercive responses to such acts are provoked and justifiable. That is, these "privileged" conceptualizations of terrorism are skewed in favor of powerful actors and biased toward maintenance of the status quo power relationships, not necessarily global peace and security.[29] In order to properly understand the social roots of terrorism, we can not merely presume that the state acts legitimately, that it does not act as *agent provocateur* and is not similarly responsible for acts of terrorism. This conditional quality of legitimacy and victimization must be demonstrated in the objective evidence.

As mentioned, the systematic analysis of terrorism is also complicated by the proposal that terrorism is a "gateway" concept. As argued above, terrorism stands at a complex nexus in societal relations: between individual and collective action, emotional and rational, rational and irrational, civil and uncivil, conventional and unconventional, ordinary and extraordinary, protest and rebellion, tactical and strategic, political and criminal, personal and impersonal, local and remote, even, material and spiritual. As a gateway concept, it is necessarily positioned at or near the borders of several concepts, making it difficult to focus operationalization and analysis on a discrete phenomenon. The resulting conceptualizations are "fuzzy" and bounce like a pinball around the too narrow, the too broad, the too complex. Analysis may only hint at mapping the conceptual perimeters and parameters.

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[28] See, for example, definitions used as the basis for the two extant compilations of data on contemporary incidents of "international terrorism" restated in Bruce Hoffman, *Inside Terrorism* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1998), p. 43 ("perpetrated by a subnational group or non-state entity"--RAND-St.Andrews database) and in Walter Enders and Todd Sandler, "Is Transnational Terrorism Becoming More Threatening?" (*Journal of Conflict Resolution* 44.3, June 2000), p. 309 ("by subnational groups"—ITERATE data series).

[29] Such perceptual bias can induce the most incredulous claims, even by those analysts purporting a strong sympathy or identification with the weaker actors of the world. For example, Ihekwoaba D. Onwudiwe makes the claim in *The Globalization of Terrorism* (Aldershot, UK and Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2001) that "West African countries have not participated in international terrorism" (meaning there have been few attacks against agents of the global powers) and that, while some non-international terrorism does occur in West Africa , it "is not of the same magnitude as it occurs in other parts of the world" (chapter 3). I would counter that claim by arguing that terrorism in Liberia, Sierra Leone, and Nigeria, to name a few, has been among the most brutal in the world.

This discussion begs the immediate question of whether meaningful analysis is even possible. Quantitative research on political violence has depended on, and been facilitated by, the strength of the collective quality of action. Complex collective action is rarely achieved spontaneously. Collective action requires organization, coordination, communication, technologies, skills, resources. It extremely difficult to achieve effective collective action without having well-established commonalties and conventions serve as an organizing framework. These requisite social coherencies and conventions add stability to collective action and, therefore, some measure of rationality and predictability to social processes and interactive outcomes. This stability facilitates social learning processes. Whereas no human social action can be considered perfectly rational, the deliberative and reflective qualities required for social organization and action can largely counter natural emotive responses. Individual action is not similarly bound by conventions; it can be, and very often is, completely arbitrary and capricious. It is certainly more susceptible to irrationality. Small groups are often highly recruited or self-selective (exclusive) and, so, can closely approximate the qualities and properties of individual action. However, in larger social aggregates the member population is largely, randomly distributed across the range of possibilities of individual traits and characteristics and, in consequence, the range of possibilities for collective action by the group are seriously constrained by the difficulty of establishing commonalities and conventions; collective behaviors tend to fall within a more-or-less predictable range of socially favored and acceptable options. Within the larger group, even the highly erratic or largely emotive behavior of anomalous individuals can exhibit probabilistic tendencies based on conditional qualities of the social milieu; collected behaviors that can not be predicted at the individual level can be better understood and anticipated at the aggregate, societal or systemic level. The analysis of fuzzy or chaotic behavior is possible, and achievable, from the systemic perspective, even with limited or imperfect information. What is necessary is the establishment of patterns of relationships among key variables across multiple and extensive analyses.

There are no known databases with sufficient scope and coverage that provide information compatible with the definition of "terrorism" described above from which we can derive a measure for a global (systemic) quantitative analysis of the social roots of terrorism. The only two extant global databases on terrorism cover only the very specialized, or narrow, form of terrorism, international (or transnational) terrorism. International terrorism represents a small subset of terrorism; "distance terrorism" is too abstract, too impersonal, too difficult to justify and accomplish. Most acts of terrorism are local and personal. International terrorism, as it is conceived, mainly involves members of states enjoying "global reach" or a "global presence" and, so, may be viewed largely as an artifact or concomitant of power and mobility. As agents of global powers operate in distant locations, they become potential, local targets for the terrorist impulse. As such, the most often targeted states are the United States, Israel, and the former colonial powers. The irony of this peculiar form of terrorism is that those who are the most affected by transnational terrorism are among those least affected by terrorism in its more general and local forms, with the possible exception of Israel. But even this observation is largely an artifact of perceptions and privileging as the local act of "transnational" terrorism is most strongly associated with xenophobia, the fear of strangers, and manifested most commonly in attacks on members of immigrant or ethnic communities. These common types of terrorist

attacks against members of "others" living among "us" are not included with the extant terrorism databases.

For the purposes of this study, two operationalized conceptions of "terrorism" were designed and measured. Both measures focus on the problem of terrorism in the most recent decade, the 1990s. The reasons for limiting the scope of the study to the 1990s are threefold. The main reason is that detailed information on the lesser forms of political violence and covering, fairly consistently, the entire world has only been available since the advent of the information and communication "revolution;" this dramatic change in the quality and quantity of information began in the late 1980s and early 1990s; information resources continue to expand and improve. A second reason stems from a qualitative change in the nature of world politics that coincides with the end of the Cold War period, which also transpires in the late 1980s and early 1990s; the ideological "war" between East and West can be assumed to have a substantial conditioning effect on the target phenomena.[30] A third, more practical reason, results from the necessity to limit the scope of inquiry in such a complex and exploratory inquiry in human security. One of the measures, the Collective Political Violence (CPV) scale, emphasizes a more expansive vision of terrorism as the "excessive targeting of civilian populations" within the general context of political conflict and collective political violence. The other measure, the Terrorism (TERROR) indicator, emphasizes the perceptual commonality of terrorism. The foundational assumption of this second conception is that terrorism is necessarily a commonly recognized phenomenon, that an act of violence only truly becomes a terrorist act when it is generally recognized, and communicated, as an act of terrorism. The operationalization and construction of these two indicators are described below.

Construction of the Collective Political Violence (CPV) Scale

The Collective Political Violence (CPV) scale reflects general, ordinal levels of state, non-state, and communal group violence within a particular country during the 1990s. The scale also reflects whether the episode(s) of collective political violence resulted in an excessive targeting of civilians. The term "excessive targeting of civilians" focuses on the deliberate and systematic use of violence against non-combatant populations in situations of political conflict by either state or non-state actor groups that can be considered in <u>excess</u> of the general suffering of civilian populations that is associated with warfare. The scaling is based on information collected by CIDCM researchers centered at the University of Maryland. The time period covered includes annual and biennial information beginning in 1990; this data is not generally available for earlier years as such information was usually restricted, or otherwise unavailable, during the Cold War era. Scores 8, 7, 5, 3 represent political violence with excessive targeting of civilians; scores 6, 4, 2, 1 represent political violence without excessive targeting of civilians. The scaling was constructed mainly using information and data from the Minorities at Risk (MAR) and State

[30] See, Ted Robert Gurr, Monty G. Marshall, and Deepa Khosla, *Peace and Conflict 2001: A Global Survey of Armed Conflicts, Self-Determination Movements, and Democracy* (College Park, MD: Center for International Development and Conflict Management, University of Maryland, 2001) for a description of the contrasts between Cold War and post-Cold War global peace and security trends.

Failure Problem Set (SFPS) datasets for the years 1991-2000 according to the rules summarized in the table below (rules are detailed in Appendix A, following).[31]

The SFPS dataset contains a comprehensive listing of all major episodes of civil armed conflict (revolutionary and ethnic wars) since 1955 and includes annual measures of scope and magnitude (i.e., area affected, rebel forces, and battle deaths) for the duration of those armed conflicts. The SFPS was originally compiled by CIDCM researchers and is maintained by the author. Since the late 1980s, revolutionary wars have diminished substantially; the majority of civil wars in the 1990s have been associated with ethnic conflict. The SFPS also contains a comprehensive listing of episodes of genocide and politicide that have occurred since 1955; this listing was originally compiled by Barbara Harff and is maintained in collaboration with her.[32] This listing includes all cases where civilian populations have been intentionally targeted with collective violence by agents of the state or oppositional groups. The MAR dataset includes broad information on all ethnic and religious groups that have experienced some form of differential treatment within their home country since 1945. The MAR data provides valuable information on violent intercommunal conflicts (i.e., serious fighting between non-state groups; since 1945) and policies of violent government repression (data begins in 1996). Civilian populations are particularly vulnerable to attack in situations of intercommunal violence (conflict between communal groups where the state is not directly involved).[33] Communal groups depend crucially on state institutions for security and protection and, when fighting between groups breaks out, provision of group security by the state is, by definition, neither functional nor effective. The MAR data on state repression provides information on over twenty specific forms of repression; fourteen of these forms can be considered direct uses of destructive or lethal force and it is these policies that are considered in constructing the CPV values.[34] The MAR repression variables code each policy type as to whether the policies are directed only at persons directly involved in anti-regime collective action (i.e., discriminate enforcement policies) or whether those policies are applied more indiscriminately to include populations who are not engaged in opposition activities. Government repression of populations who are not directly engaged in anti-government activities is considered an "excessive use of force" in the construction of the CPV indicator. As the MAR dataset only provides information on ethnic minorities, armed conflicts and group relations that do not include a substantial ethnic or religious identity component would not be covered in the data. The application of the coding

[31] Both the Minorities at Risk and State Failure Problem Set datasets are available from the Integrated Network for Societal Conflict Research (INSCR) program Web site at the following URL: http//www.cidcm.umd.edu/inscr.

[32] A genocide is identified by the intentional targeting of civilian populations based on their ethnic or religious identity, whereas in a politicide the targeted group is based on commonly held political views.

[33] The MAR data include three types of intercommunal contention that inform the CPV values: sporadic violent attacks, communal rioting and armed attacks, and communal warfare.

[34] Information on violent government policies include leaders arrested, disappeared or detained; show trials; torture; executions; reprisal killings; systematic killings by paramilitaries; forced resettlement; interdiction of food supplies; ethnic cleansing; unrestrained use of force against protesters; military targets and destroys rebel areas; and military massacres of suspected rebel supporters.

rules was reviewed and augmented by additional information collected by the Armed Conflict and Intervention project at CIDCM which covers all forms of major political violence.

Annual conflict information was aggregated for the period 1990-1999 and a single ordinal indicator of magnitude value was assigned for each country for the entire period based on comparative levels of violence. The CPV indicator is evidentiary and based on a Guttman scaling procedure; it approximates a cardinal scale and its use in statistical analysis is suggestive, though not definitive. The strength of the data, or evidence, does not support annualized variation in the target (CPV) indicator. The collective and interactive qualities of political violence tend to "stabilize" this particular societal attribute, that is, transformations in the general quality of societal relations from non-violent to violent, and vice versa, are difficult to achieve. Thus, a "culture of violence" condition approximates a structural attribute that can be assumed to change very slowly over time. The use of a single indicator over the ten year period is reasonable given our information limitations.

Table 1. Description of CPV Categories

Level	General Category Description (CPV)
8	Systematic, lethal targeting of civilian populations either directly, through the use of deadly force, or indirectly, through restrictions on access to food, water, and/or other basic needs; this may, but does not necessarily, occur within a context of armed insurrection
7	Major, sustained, armed insurrection during which state and/or non-state militant groups regularly, and indiscriminately, target civilian populations with deadly terror and intimidation tactics and repressive policies
6	Major, sustained, armed insurrection or communal fighting without substantial evidence of intentional targeting of civilian populations
5	Limited, localized, or sporadic major armed insurrection during which state or non-state militant groups occasionally, and indiscriminately, target civilian populations with deadly terror and intimidation tactics and repressive policies and/or non-state groups engage in serious communal fighting
4	Limited, localized, or sporadic major armed insurrection without substantial evidence of intentional targeting of civilian populations or serious communal fighting
3	Limited, localized armed rebellions of limited duration or sustained campaigns of terrorist incidents with limited scope during which there is evidence of intentional, but largely discriminate, targeting of civilian political leaders by state or non-state militant groups or serious communal fighting
2	Limited, localized armed rebellions of limited scope and duration without substantial evidence of intentional targeting of civilian populations
1	Small scale political violence
0	No evidence of political violence during the 1990s

The above 9-category scale was then disaggregated into three classifications of states for further comparative analysis: states experiencing collective political violence with excessive targeting of civilians (CPVCIV), states experiencing political violence without excessive targeting of civilians (CPVNOCIV), and states without collective political violence. The first two classifications provided ordinal magnitude scales, ranging from 1 to 4; the third classification was used as a common baseline control set (scaled value "0"). Simple conversions are listed below.

It should be noted that the CPV scaling is almost entirely based on information regarding episodes of intra-state collective political violence. During the period beginning in 1990, CIDCM researchers have recorded only eight distinct episodes of inter-state armed conflict (violence associated with interventions by foreign forces in civil conflicts are not recorded as distinct conflicts). Three of these episodes involve minor skirmishes that would not be relevant to this study. Two involve confrontations associated with, and subsumed in the data by, larger civil conflicts: several clashes between India and Pakistan connected with the Kashmir rebellion in India and armed conflict between Armenia and Azerbaijan connected with the Nagorno-Karabakh rebellion in Azerbaijan. The three remaining episodes include the 1990-91 Iraq invasion of Kuwait and consequent Gulf War, the 1998-2000 border war between Ethiopia and Eritrea, and the 1999 NATO aerial bombardment of Yugoslavia. These last three episodes are not factored in the scaling process, although information regarding related societal contentions are included (e.g., attacks on Kurds and Shia's in Iraq following the Gulf War, fighting between Ethiopian forces and Oromo rebels during the Ethipoia-Eritrea border war, and violence between ethnic-Albanians and Serbian forces in Kosovo).

Collective Political Violence with Excessive Targeting of Civilians (CPVCIV)

CPV	recoded into	CPVCIV
8		4
7		3
5		2
3		1

Collective Political Violence without Excessive Targeting of Civilians (CPVNOCIV)

CPV	recoded into	CPVNOCIV
6		4
4		3
2		2
1		1

Countries listed in each of the CPV categories described above are listed in Tables 2 and 3 and are plotted on the world maps in Figures 1, 2, and 3, following.

Table 2: Collective Political Violence in the 1990s, Combined Rankings (All States)

8	Angola	4	Tajikistan	1	Uzbekistan
8	Rwanda	4	Thailand	1	Venezuela
8	Sudan	4	Yemen	1	Vietnam
				1	Zimbabwe
7	Afghanistan	3	Bhutan		
7	Algeria	3	Brazil	0	Armenia
7	Azerbaijan	3	Macedonia	0	Austria
7	Bosnia and	3	Namibia	0	Belarus
7	Burundi	3	Togo	0	Belgium
7	Croatia			0	Benin
7	Democratic Rep. of	2	Cameroon	0	Burkina Faso
7	Ethiopia	2	Canada	0	Central African
7	India	2	Eritrea	0	Comoros
7	Indonesia	2	Fiji	0	Costa Rica
7	Iraq	2	Guinea	0	Cote d'Ivoire
7	Myanmar	2	Kyrgyzstan	0	Cuba
7	Philippines	2	Madagascar	0	Denmark
7	Sierra Leone	2	Mauritania	0	Dominican Republic
7	Somalia	2	Zambia	0	Equatorial Guinea
7	Sri Lanka			0	Finland
		1	Argentina	0	Gabon
6	Bangladesh	1	Australia	0	Gambia
6	Djibouti	1	Bahrain	0	Haiti
6	Georgia	1	Bolivia	0	Hungary
6	Israel	1	Botswana	0	Iceland
6	Turkey	1	Bulgaria	0	Ireland
6	Uganda	1	Chile	0	Jamaica
		1	Cyprus	0	Kazakhstan
5	Cambodia	1	Czech Republic	0	Kuwait
5	Chad	1	Ecuador	0	Lesotho
5	China	1	Estonia	0	Libya
5	Colombia	1	France	0	Luxembourg
5	Egypt	1	Germany	0	Malawi
5	Guatemala	1	Ghana	0	Mauritius
5	Iran	1	Greece	0	Mongolia
5	Kenya	1	Guyana	0	Netherlands
5	Lebanon	1	Honduras	0	New Zealand
5	Liberia	1	Italy	0	Nicaragua
5	Morocco	1	Japan	0	North Korea
5	Nigeria	1	Jordan	0	Norway
5	Pakistan	1	Latvia	0	Oman
5	Peru	1	Lithuania	0	Poland
5	Russia	1	Malaysia	0	Portugal
5	Senegal	1	Panama	0	Qatar
5	Yugoslavia	1	Paraguay	0	Slovenia
		1	Romania	0	Swaziland
4	Albania	1	Saudi Arabia	0	Sweden
4	Congo-Brazzaville	1	Singapore	0	Trinidad
4	El Salvador	1	Slovakia	0	United Arab Emirates
4	Guinea-Bissau	1	South Korea	0	Uruguay
4	Laos	1	Spain		
4	Mali	1	Switzerland		
4	Mexico	1	Syria		
4	Moldova	1	Taiwan		
4	Mozambique	1	Tanzania		
4	Nepal	1	Tunisia		
4	Niger	1	Turkmenistan		
4	Papua New Guinea	1	Ukraine		
4	South Africa	1	United Kingdom		

Table 3a: Collective Political Violence in the 1990s with Excessive Targeting of Civilians

4 Angola
4 Rwanda
4 Sudan

3 Afghanistan
3 Algeria
3 Azerbaijan
3 Bosnia and
3 Burundi
3 Croatia
3 Democratic Rep. of
3 Ethiopia
3 India
3 Indonesia
3 Iraq
3 Myanmar
3 Philippines
3 Sierra Leone
3 Somalia
3 Sri Lanka

2 Cambodia
2 Chad
2 China
2 Colombia
2 Egypt
2 Guatemala
2 Iran
2 Kenya
2 Lebanon
2 Liberia
2 Morocco
2 Nigeria
2 Pakistan
2 Peru
2 Russia
2 Senegal
2 Yugoslavia

1 Bhutan
1 Brazil
1 Macedonia
1 Namibia
1 Togo

Table 3b: Collective Political Violence in the 1990s without Excessive Targeting of Civilians

4 Bangladesh
4 Djibouti
4 Georgia
4 Israel
4 Turkey
4 Uganda

3 Albania
3 Congo-Brazzaville
3 El Salvador
3 Guinea-Bissau
3 Laos
3 Mali
3 Mexico
3 Moldova
3 Mozambique
3 Nepal
3 Niger
3 Papua New Guinea
3 South Africa
3 Tajikistan
3 Thailand
3 Yemen

2 Cameroon
2 Canada
2 Eritrea
2 Fiji
2 Guinea
2 Kyrgyzstan
2 Madagascar
2 Mauritania
2 Zambia

1 Argentina
1 Australia
1 Bahrain
1 Bolivia
1 Botswana
1 Bulgaria
1 Chile
1 Cyprus
1 Czech Republic
1 Ecuador
1 Estonia
1 France
1 Germany
1 Ghana
1 Greece
1 Guyana
1 Honduras
1 Italy
1 Japan
1 Jordan
1 Latvia
1 Lithuania
1 Malaysia
1 Panama
1 Paraguay
1 Romania
1 Saudi Arabia
1 Singapore
1 Slovakia
1 South Korea
1 Spain
1 Switzerland
1 Syria
1 Taiwan
1 Tanzania
1 Tunisia
1 Turkmenistan
1 Ukraine
1 United Kingdom
1 Uzbekistan
1 Venezuela
1 Vietnam
1 Zimbabwe

Table 3c: No Collective Political Violence in the 1990s

0 Armenia	0 Gabon	0 Netherlands
0 Austria	0 Gambia	0 New Zealand
0 Belarus	0 Haiti	0 Nicaragua
0 Belgium	0 Hungary	0 North Korea
0 Benin	0 Iceland	0 Norway
0 Burkina Faso	0 Ireland	0 Oman
0 Central African Republic	0 Jamaica	0 Poland
0 Comoros	0 Kazakhstan	0 Portugal
0 Costa Rica	0 Kuwait	0 Qatar
0 Cote d'Ivoire	0 Lesotho	0 Slovenia
0 Cuba	0 Libya	0 Swaziland
0 Denmark	0 Luxembourg	0 Sweden
0 Dominican Republic	0 Malawi	0 Trinidad
0 Equatorial Guinea	0 Mauritius	0 United Arab Emirates
0 Finland	0 Mongolia	0 Uruguay

Figure 1

Figure 2

Figure 3

Construction of the Global Terrorism Indicator

As mentioned above, there are no known data bases that have compiled systematic, global information on incidents of terrorism except the two datasets on international terrorism already discussed: those commonly referred to as the RAND-St. Andrews and ITERATE datasets. International terrorism is assumed to represent only a small portion of the global problem of terrorism; it has been argued that this conceptualization is strongly biased toward power, privilege, and maintenance of the status quo. In order to construct an indicator of the more general form of terrorism, a new data base had to be constructed. Terror is a psychological response that gains its peculiar social stature in the collective consciousness; it is in large part, a media, and mediated, construct. Evidence of terror must necessarily find its way into the news media and, as such, the public record. Keesing's Worldwide publishes a monthly series, Keesing's *Record of World Events*, which is a widely respected intermediate source for global news. It is an intermediate source because it compiles news accounts and summarizes and records what are generally considered to be the most important political events in each country of the world. This resource has long been a mainstay of comparative political research in political stability and security issues. Keesing's Worldwide has recently provided its archives in an electronic format that is keyword searchable.[35]

Using various keyword searches of the Keesing's archives, a comprehensive listing of all terrorist events was compiled covering the time period from January 1, 1991 through September 10, 2001.[36] The cutoff date of September 10, 2002, was used so that the sample would not be directly affected by the September 11, 2002, attacks on targets in the United States. The global security environment can be assumed to have been strongly affected by those events and the aftermath of US-led reprisals. The Keesing's records were then reviewed for applicability and duplication and then coded as discreet terrorist events. Some reports combined information from multiple terrorist events. Nearly all reports provided information on number of fatalities. The events were sorted according to the nature of the primary targets of the attack: civilians, political figures, or security forces. For the purposes of analysis, and maintaining consistency in our definition of terrorism, only attacks on civilians and political figures were included in the dataset used to construct the terrorism indicator. Appendix B provides the full list of 878 civilian and 392 political global terrorism cases (some cases record more than one event).

Of course, it is recognized that the Keesing's archive does not include information on all incidents that might be considered terrorism or that are perpetrated by known terrorist groups, only those that are considered situationally important. Events of (relatively) extraordinary terrorism are more likely to have been included in the records. As such, a measure based on the lethality of terrorism is likely to be more accurate than one based on the incidence of terrorism.

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[35] Keesing's, *Record of World Events*, electronic database (Bethesda, MD: Keesing's Worldwide, 2002).

[36] The main keywords used include all word forms of terror; a secondary pass was conducted keying the various terrorist tactics of political violence: massacre, abduct, kidnap, hostage, assassinate, bomb, and hijack.

For example, in the ITERATE dataset, non-lethal incidents outnumber lethal incidents by about 3 to 1 in the early 1990s.[37] In the Keesing's compilation, lethal incidents outnumber non-lethal incidents by a similar factor, 2.5 to 1. A six-point Guttman scale was designed that ranks each country according to the number of deaths resulting from terrorist incidents attributed to actors from that country (variable ACT1) during the study period, 1991-2001. Table 4, below, summarizes the coding rules (cut points) for the terrorism indicator.

Table 4: Description of the Global Terrorism Indicator

Level	General Category Description (TERROR)
5	Greater than 1000 deaths
4	Greater than 200 and less than or equal to 1000 deaths
3	Greater than 100 and less than or equal to 200 deaths
2	Greater than 20 and less than or equal to 100 deaths
1	Less than or equal to 20 deaths
0	No deaths or incidents recorded

Countries listed in each of the Global Terrorism categories described above are listed in Table 5 and are plotted on the world map in Figure 4, following.

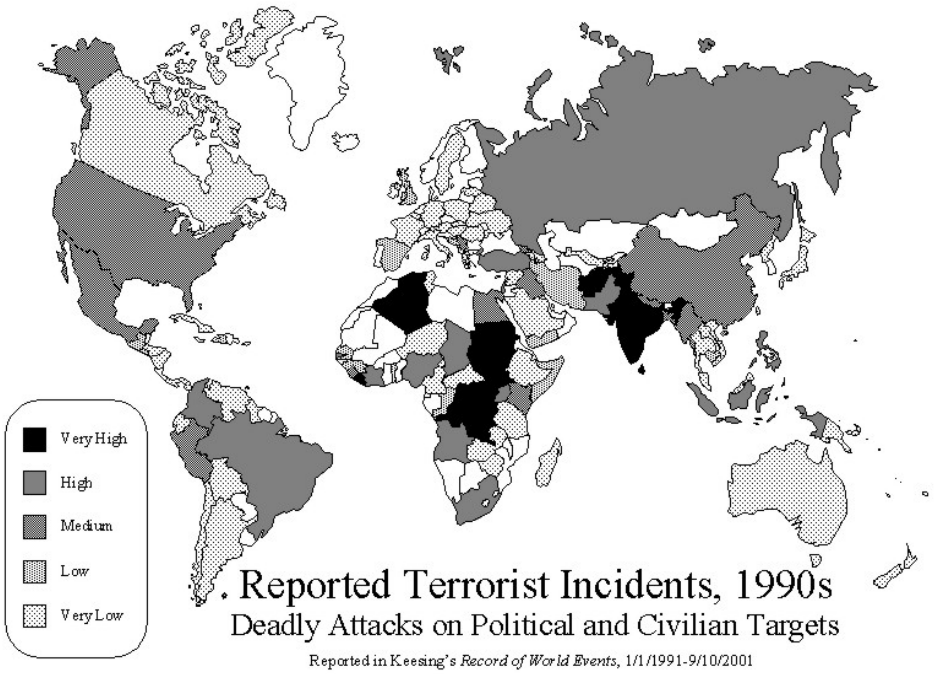

Figure 4

[37] Enders and Sandler, "Is Transnational Terrorism Becoming More Threatening?" p. 316. "On average [over the period 1968-1996], incidents with any form of casualties comprise about one-quarter of the terrorist events… whereas those with deaths comprise about 16% of the terrorist events."

Table 5: Actor Nationalities in Reported Terrorist Incidents, 1991-2001

5	Afghanistan	1	Albania	1	Zambia
5	Algeria	1	Argentina	1	Zimbabwe
5	Burundi	1	Armenia		
5	Democratic Rep. of Congo	1	Australia	0	Benin
5	India	1	Austria	0	Bhutan
5	Indonesia	1	Azerbaijan	0	Botswana
5	Liberia	1	Bahrain	0	Bulgaria
5	Rwanda	1	Belarus	0	Burkina Faso
5	Sri Lanka	1	Belgium	0	Comoros
5	Sudan	1	Bolivia	0	Costa Rica
		1	Cameroon	0	Croatia
4	Angola	1	Canada	0	Czech Republic
4	Brazil	1	Central African Republic	0	Denmark
4	Chad	1	Chile	0	Djibouti
4	Colombia	1	Cuba	0	Dominican Republic
4	Cote d'Ivoire	1	Cyprus	0	Eritrea
4	Equatorial Guinea	1	Ecuador	0	Estonia
4	Israel	1	Ethiopia	0	Finland
4	Nigeria	1	Fiji	0	Gabon
4	Pakistan	1	France	0	Gambia
4	Philippines	1	Germany	0	Ghana
4	Russia	1	Greece	0	Guinea-Bissau
4	South Africa	1	Guyana	0	Iceland
4	Turkey	1	Honduras	0	Ireland
4	Uganda	1	Hungary	0	Jamaica
		1	Italy	0	Jordan
3	Bangladesh	1	Japan	0	Kazakhstan
3	China	1	Kuwait	0	Kyrgyzstan
3	Egypt	1	Laos	0	Libya
3	Georgia	1	Latvia	0	Lithuania
3	Iraq	1	Lesotho	0	Luxembourg
3	Kenya	1	Madagascar	0	Malawi
3	Lebanon	1	Malaysia	0	Mali
3	Mexico	1	New Zealand	0	Mauritania
3	Myanmar	1	Nicaragua	0	Mauritius
3	Nepal	1	Niger	0	Moldova
3	Peru	1	North Korea	0	Mongolia
3	Sierra Leone	1	Panama	0	Morocco
3	United States	1	Papua New Guinea	0	Mozambique
3	Yugoslavia	1	Poland	0	Namibia
		1	Romania	0	Netherlands
2	Bosnia and Herzegovina	1	Saudi Arabia	0	Norway
2	Cambodia	1	Slovakia	0	Oman
2	Congo-Brazzaville	1	Swaziland	0	Paraguay
2	El Salvador	1	Sweden	0	Portugal
2	Guatemala	1	Switzerland	0	Qatar
2	Guinea	1	Syria	0	Singapore
2	Haiti	1	Taiwan	0	Slovenia
2	Iran	1	Tajikistan	0	South Korea
2	Macedonia	1	Tanzania	0	Trinidad
2	Senegal	1	Thailand	0	Turkmenistan
2	Somalia	1	Tunisia	0	United Arab Emirates
2	Spain	1	Ukraine	0	Uruguay
2	Togo	1	Uzbekistan		
2	United Kingdom	1	Venezuela		
2	Yemen	1	Vietnam		

The State Failure Global Database

Having constructed two principal indicators of global terrorism, quantitative analysis directed at expanding our understanding of the "social roots" of terrorism may proceed through comparative analysis of those indicators with measures of other conditional and structural attributes that may be associated with the variation in the terrorism indicators. The State Failure Task Force has compiled the most extensive global collection of open source data known to exist. The Task Force was organized at the direction of senior US policymakers in October 1994 and tasked with designing and carrying out a study of the correlates of state failure.[38] Since its inception, the Task Force has constructed, and continues to expand and enhance, a global database that combines most major global data resources, covers the period 1955-present, and includes data on a broad array of societal factors: agricultural, communications and transportation, economic, education, environmental, demographic, defense, health, political, social, and trade information. The global database contains data from over fifty data sources ranging from large international organizations, such as the United Nations, World Bank, and International Monetary Fund, to individual researchers. Several measures were designed especially for analysis by Task Force members and their collection commissioned at the behest of the Task Force. The Global Database contains measures of over 1500 separate variables.[39] While the Global Database is quite large by contemporary standards, it represents only a very limited sampling of the myriad factors that constitute and characterize the global community and may influence social relations. Analyses using the Global Database were augmented in several instances through additional, more detailed analyses of specific relationships using special CIDCM and Center for Systemic Peace (CSP) data resources, particularly in further detailing relationships with regime characteristics and changes, group discrimination, elite orientation, and refuges and internally displaced populations.

Identifying the Social Roots of Global Terrorism

Having arrived at a conceptual definition of terrorism and an operationalized set of indicators, several different comparative methodologies were used to gain insights into the topic of inquiry. These methods range from observation, to reflection, to examination, to comparison, to computation, to statistical analysis, and even to informed speculation. Each of these methods contributes to a greater understanding of this complex social phenomenon and each can add information to the other methods of analysis. The following analysis of the social roots of terrorism relies on many methodologies as well as a broad knowledge of societal conflicts in all

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[38] Daniel C. Esty, Jack A. Goldstone, Ted Robert Gurr, Pamela T. Surko, and Alan N. Unger, *Working Papers: State Failure Task Force Report* (McLean, VA: Science Applications International Corporation, 30 November 1995). See also, Daniel C. Esty, Jack A. Goldstone, Ted Robert Gurr, Barbara Harff, Marc Levy, Geoffrey D. Dabelko, Pamela T. Surko, and Alan N. Unger, *State Failure Task Force Report: Phase II Findings* (McLean, VA: Science Applications International Corporation, 31 July 1998).

[39] A complete list of the variables included, variable descriptions, and data sources included in the State Failure Global Database can be found at the INSCR/CIDCM Web site, already cited above. A sample set of the Global Database is also available on the Web site. However, the full Data Base is subject to complex proprietary and copyright restrictions and can not be distributed.

countries of the world since World War II. Above all, the analysis is exploratory. This is the logical beginning point for any rigorous quantitative inquiry into complex social behavior, particularly when those behaviors are situated within highly complex and diverse societal systems. As in any developmental process, the qualities of the technologies used must remain consistent with the qualities of the information and data available. Understanding naturally progresses from broad and simple observations to more complex and detailed descriptions and assessments. In every case, the technologies used should not demand more from the information at hand than that information can reasonably provide. Quality evolves through extensive analyses and progressively over time.

Reflections of the Conceptualization of Terrorism. The aim of this section is to further elucidate the concept of terrorism by distinguishing it from related concepts and situate it properly within its affective, existential context, that is, somehow to move toward reconciling the terrific image we hold of terrorism with its more practical qualities (to "bring it down to earth"). The conceptualization of global terrorism requires quite extensive comparison and reflection on prior work by scholars, researchers, analysts, and practitioners. Probably the greatest difficulty in conceptualizing, and thus operationalizing, terrorism stems from the practical nature of the action. As already discussed, terrorism is generally conceived as highly individuated violent action. It is a micro-event that is easily conflated with other forms of individuated and personal violence. All forms of violence carry some measure of psychological terror and elicit some form of emotive and rational response from those affected by the act of violence. Acts of violence are spectacles that attract both media and audience. Violence, by its nature, is instrumental in forcing a change in a social situation or relationship, that much is simply tautological. Violence may even be perceived as the most readily available and most immediately successful tactic or strategy in social interactions, particularly for the (relatively) more powerful actor and in situations where alternatives to force in conflict resolution are limited or underdeveloped. Terrorism is often distinguished by commentators by reference to its broader political motivation or intent, but these psychological qualities of the perpetrator are often very difficult to identify, attest, or gauge. Terrorism is often distinguished by its impact on the target audience, but these psychological qualities are equally difficult to measure and attest. Terrorism may be self-declaratory, that is, the perpetrator(s) may publicly declare their political intent, but this declaration of intent must be weighed against the need to protect the identity of the actor(s) and increase the chances of avoiding a punitive response. It may also acquire attribution by the testament of some authority figure who can identify the perpetrator and provide convincing evidence of their political intent. Perpetrators of violence may profess political agendas in order to escape personal responsibility for or to increase the social stature of their ignoble acts. Potential activists may become involved in terrorist acts to demonstrate the strength of their commitment and resolve. Potential leaders may become involved in order to prove their capacity to challenge the opposition.

This brief discussion surely does not exhaust the extent of motivations, ambiguities, and uncertainties inherent in the act of terrorism. Grievance, goal, ambiguity, uncertainty, and secrecy provide the political space where terrorism may operate. Violence is a potential tactic in any social situation and every social situation has a political quality. Political causes will always attract "violence entrepreneurs" who are looking for a rationalization, justification, and venue to apply their trade. Political interactions provide the basic dynamics for escalation in contentious

rhetoric and action. Political grievances and goals will always provide justifications for tactical and strategic action. Destructive acts can run the gamut from whimsical, to demonstrative, to hurtful, and even accidential. Nearly every cause of political activism has elicited some terrorist action on its behalf. Anger, frustration, revenge, hate, vindictiveness, and, even, sadism make important contributions to the more lethal terrorist impulses. Where violence is most common, terrorism can be seen to be the most effective in defining the political milieu. Totalitarian regimes, racial apartheid, colonialism, and sexual dominance all are political systems predicated on systematic terrorism, writ large. In these systems the threat of violence may gain far greater terroristic prominence than the actual act of violence. When terrorism is pervasive it becomes almost invisible because such overwhelming, systemic terror system tends to elicit avoidance and denial from its potential victims; confronting systemic terror seems only to harden and invigorate terror as a system. It is only when general levels of violence lessen that such terror begins to elicit broad indignation and condemnation. Terrorism is more visible when it is less prominent. This perverse perceptual distortion can, and often does, seriously confound our comprehension and analysis of the problem of terrorism.

International terrorism as a tactic of political violence, in almost all instances, can hardly be seen to live up to its reputation as a major threat to peace and security. According to Figure 1, "Number Killed," in Enders and Sandler's study of transnational terrorism, on average about 200-300 people are killed each year in transnational terrorist events.[40] The Keesing's Terror data on similarly defined international terrorist incidents provides a similar figure: about 200 killed per annum. Those numbers are less than the average number of people brutally murdered in Washington, DC each year. According to the data on global terrorism compiled from Keesing's *Record of World Events*, there have been, on average, about 3,000 deaths per year in the world since 1991. That number is very close to the average number of children killed in the United States by hand guns each year. It seems the principal power of terrorism lies in its constancy, its ability to capture the imagination, its capability to disrupt normal social relations and routines, and its capacity to distort normal political priorities and responses.[41] As it is commonly conceived, terrorism is simply the smallest-scale use of political violence (whether as an act of protest or rebellion) and, as such, it can not amount to much in relative or absolute terms. If it did, it would be seen to have escalated to a greater form of political violence, such as a small-scale insurgency or societal warfare. Terrorism appears to stand at the threshold of transformation of non-violent political conflict to political violence.

There is a recognizable hierarchy of terrorism. Just about any political cause or agenda can rationalize and justify some form of destructive action. Many of us are familiar with the romanticization of eco-terrorism in Edward Abbey's *The Monkey Wrench Gang*. More recently, we in the West have become familiar with acts of property destruction and public humiliation by animal rights activists. It seems that just about every political group and every political cause has

[40] Enders and Sandler, "Is Transnational Terrorism Becoming More Threatening?" p. 313.

[41] Hannah Arendt, in attempting to understand the acquiescence of great populations to the "total terror" of totalitarianism, points to the fascination of crime and evil and the power of the imagination: "[The modern masses] do not believe in anything visible, in the reality of their own experience; they do not trust their eyes and ears but only their imaginations, which may be caught by anything that is at once universal and consistent in itself." *The Origins of Totalitarianism* (London and New York: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, 1973), p. 337.

its "radical fringe." However, not all values, causes, or goals are equal when it comes to motivating and justifying lethal violence. Violence against human targets generally requires strongly-held and deep-seated grievances, highly valued goals, and lofty authority. In general terms, practical and material concerns are unlikely to contribute to the rationalization of violence, especially violence against humans. The application of lethal violence usually requires reference to vital threats; broad and complex grievances; spiritual, moral, and ethical authority; and symbolic, identity, or other irreducible goals. It is beyond the scope and competence of this study to fully examine the psychology of terrorism.[42] Suffice to say that the perceived threat of terrorism by non-state actors assumes an importance in the minds of men that is far larger than the evidence supports.

A great part of the perception of threat in terrorism must stem from the acknowledged connections between terrorism as a individuated micro-event (the restricted concept of terrorism) and terrorism as a collective macro-event (the broad concept of terrorism). Terrorism is an integral part of warfare and warfare does represent the greatest threat to global peace and security, particularly in the age of the mechanized and technological warfare. Our greatest fears are realized when the state becomes the terrorist, or when the powerful weapons created by the state fall into the hands of the evildoer. Total war and genocide are both creations of the state, as are weapons of mass destruction and weapons of mass effect. When the state takes at active role in the cycle and process of violence and terrorism, the magnitude of terror's toll increases exponentially. By way of comparison, as mentioned, in the 1990s there have been on the order of about 300 reported deaths per annum by international terrorism and 3000 reported deaths per annum by acts of local terrorism. In contrast, according to calculations based on data from the Armed Conflict and Intervention project at CIDCM, there have been over 300,000 deaths in the world per annum in warfare in the 1990s. In the period 1939-1945, the period of total war among the advanced industrial countries, there were well over 4,000,000 deaths per annum.[43]

Terror is an integral part of armed conflict as even under the most controlled circumstances civilians invariable become victims of violence, accidentally, incidentally, and intentionally, thus raising personal incentives and justifications to reciprocate and avenge. Smaller-scale violence stands as both a precursor and successor to larger armed conflicts, as well as characterizing the lulls between more active and intense periods of fighting. Small-scale attacks on vulnerable targets are the training ground for many aspiring rebels, rebel leaders, and rebel movements. According to the MAR data, of the 184 minority groups that engaged in some form of violent group rebellion since 1945, only 24 never progressed beyond small-scale terrorist-type attacks (i.e., "political banditry" or "campaigns of terrorism"). Such "failure to progress" is most likely to involve minority groups in advanced industrial (or post-industrial) economies, where non-violent alternatives to rebellion are plentiful, and groups elsewhere that have shown little development of organization in pursuit of group interests in general.

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[42] For an excellent examination of the psychological issues of terrorism, see Walter Reich, ed., *Origins of Terrorism: Psychologies, Ideologies, Theologies, States of Mind* (Washington, DC: Woodrow Wilson Center Press, 1990/1998).

[43] Marshall, *Third World War*, p. 3 and *n*4, p. 6.

The commission of political violence, in general, and the perpetration of brutal attacks on civilians, in particular, increases the visibility and vulnerability of the persons responsible for these acts; these actions provoke, and evoke, strong punitive responses. In order to continue to ply their profession, terrorists must have some protection from retribution. Anonymity and secrecy provide some protection but these tactics seriously limit the potential for terrorist action, especially in tightly integrated communities. Having access to a large supportive, sympathetic, or acquiescent "audience" population can greatly increase the measure of protection. Even more helpful to the terrorist is having a relatively secure home base, sanctuary, or refuge where punitive forces have limited access. It is simply a matter of logistics that proximity supports terrorism. It is much easier to attack an "outside" target that comes into the terrorist's local area of operations. And, it is relatively easy for the terrorist to mount a foray into "marginal" territories immediately adjacent to his home territory, or adopted refuge (marginal in the sense that they are not strongly protected by the target population). In this sense, "transboundary terrorism" may be viewed as quite common and it is here that rivalries between neighboring states, as well as the presence of weak or failed states, can serve to foster and facilitate terrorism (i.e., by providing sanctuary or support).[44] Many terrorist groups are critically dependent on cross-border hideouts for protection from their home authorities. However, the more distant the potential targets are outside the terrorist's "effective range" the less "rational" the act. Attacks on highly protected targets situated at relatively great distances from the terrorist's home base are very risky for the terrorist and very difficult to accomplish successfully. Kenneth Boulding has termed this logistic aspect of projecting violence the "loss-of-power gradient." However, such attacks can be perceived as having a very high "utilitarian" value, particularly as a demonstration of power, commitment, and resolve. These types of missions are generally referred to in Western military parlance as "suicide missions."

The Global Terrorism data derived from the Keesing's records can be used to illustrate the spatial, power gradient principle. The data can be parcelled into categories based on spatial gradients, or distance. "National" acts of terrorism, where a single country provides actor, target, and location, can be separated from "international" acts of terrorism, where more than one country is involved in the event. The category of inter-national terrorism can then be broken out into "local" acts, where an actor acts within his home country and strikes a foreign target, "proximate" acts, where an actor acts in a country adjoining his home country to strike a target, and "distant" acts, where an actor acts in a country that does not border his home country to attack his chosen target (refer to Figure 0). In doing so, we find that over 90% of the incidents listed in the Global Terrorism data are in the category of national terrorism and these events account for about 94% of the fatalities (32,264 deaths and 3,229 incidents). Within the general category of inter-national terrorism, local events account for 66% of fatalities and 63% of the incidents (1,352 deaths and 215 incidents), proximate events account for 25% of the deaths and 25% of the incidents (506 deaths and 88 incidents), and distant events account for only 9% of the deaths and 10% of the incidents (184 deaths and 35 incidents). Civilian targets comprise nearly 97% of the targets of terrorism, whereas political targets (what one might consider relatively

[44] Gurr and Marshall found access to foreign support to be a crucial factor in identifying which minority groups were most likely to use political violence as a tactic in their opposition to the state. See, Ted Robert Gurr and Monty G. Marshall, "Assessing Risks of Future Ethnic Wars," chapter 7 in Ted Robert Gurr, *Peoples Versus States: Minorities at Risk in the New Century* (Washington, DC: United States Institute of Peace Press, 2000).

"hardened targets") constitute the remaining 3% of attacks on non-combatant populations. Attacks on political targets are highly likely to focus on very specific targets and individual political figures so the fatalities associated with this category of terrorism are usually much smaller than attacks on civilian targets. Also, public figures have a much higher "comparative value" than anonymous civilian targets; attacks on non-political (civilian) targets rely on high mortality to achieve acceptable levels of terror effect or media coverage. Interestingly, distant international attacks are far more likely than any other category of terrorist event to be directed at political targets, with over 25% of the deaths and 37% of the incidents in this category having political targets.

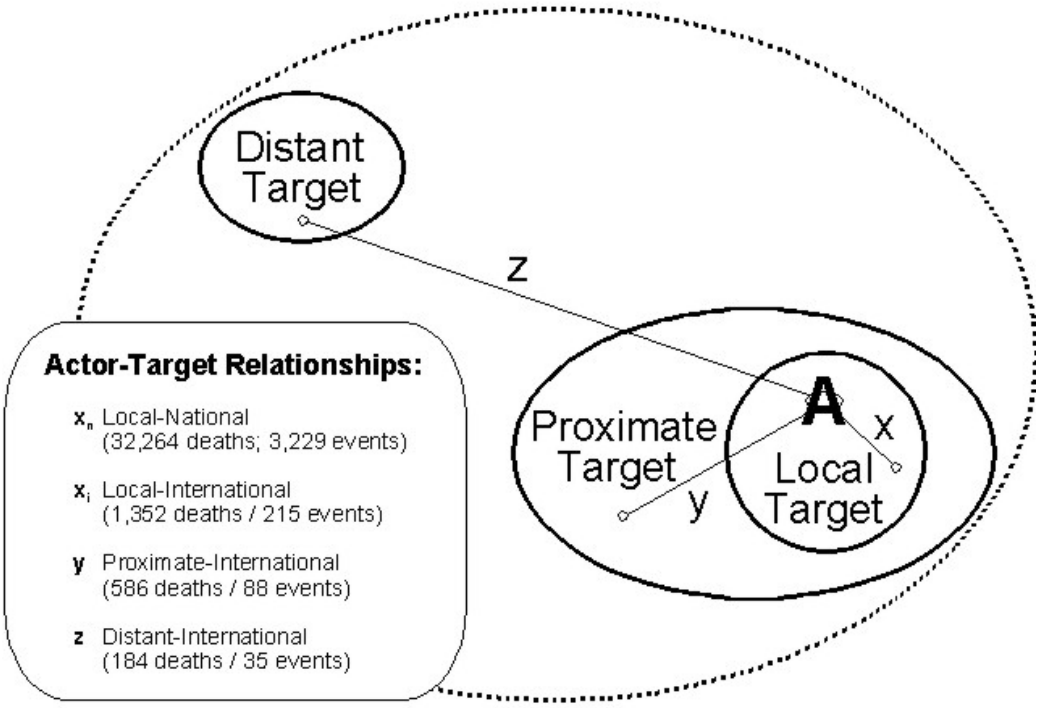

Figure 5: Actor-Target Relations in Global Terrorism, 1991-2001

The final question that will be addressed in this section is that posed by Enders and Sandler in their recent analysis, "Is terrorism becoming more threatening?" In an earlier study, I addressed the long term trend of violence in human social relations in this way:

> Seen from the vantage of the whole, the prevalence and pervasiveness of violence in human relations has steadily diminished over the course of human history. Barbarian hordes are mostly a thing of the past, mass slaughter occurs less frequently, slavery and servitude are largely gone (or at least more subtle and less onerous), the wholesale extermination of native populations has abated, forced labor and relocation has diminished, torture is no longer condoned, capital punishment has decreased, domestic abuse and corporal punishment are frowned upon in many regions of the world. Plagues and epidemics are controlled and structural violence, while still a serious problem in large areas of the world, is much less of a problem in other areas. This points to an important trait of the steady progress toward peace: that progression is not evenly distributed across time nor space. It is difficult to believe the proposition of peace when we are faced with a barrage of terrifying images on a daily basis, images generated mainly within the pocketed remnants of violence and transmitted to inflame our indignation of continuing barbarity and atrocity;

> perception complicates knowledge. As the sheer magnitude of violence in life is lessened, the act of violence gains greater weight, it becomes the unusual rather than the usual.[45]

After several additional years of studying political violence and war, I remain convinced of this fundamental assertion of social progress. In examining more closely the contemporary trends in political violence, we have charted a linear increase in global warfare throughout the Cold War period and a steep decline in active warfare since 1992.[46] In regard to the more restricted concept of terrorism used here, the Global Terrorism data shows evidence of doubling in the deaths attributed to terrorism in the latter half of the 1990s (from 1996). Enders and Sandler argue that terrorism became less common but more deadly in the first half of the 1990s. The terrorism data used here can not shed much light on that claim. There was an upsurge in ethnic warfare in the late 1980s and early 1990s and identity conflicts appear prone to higher levels of personal violence in general. The noted increase in deaths associated with terrorism may be largely associated with the general decrease in larger forms of armed conflict, as "out-of-work" armed bands look for new venues in which to apply their expertise. The major issues driving collective political violence and terrorism at the beginning of the third millennium are identity differences, underdevelopment, and fierce competition over the control of valuable commodities, such as drugs, diamonds, and oil. Nowhere is the competition over resources more determinative than in the politics of the Middle East and it is, I believe, the severe distortions caused by this competition over oil wealth, rather than some cultural impediment imbedded in Islam, that explains more convincingly why these states have declined to or failed to participate in the "third wave" of global democratization. I will return to an examination of the correlates of terrorism later in this analysis.

One thing that emerges from this conceptual discussion of global terrorism is a contextual clarification of the profound impression that the September 11, 2001, attacks on the US had on the collective consciousness and the global media. Those attacks were an extraordinary event in just about every possible way. The death toll of about 3,000 made the World Trade Center tragedy the single most deadly attack on a civilian target in recent history. The attacking group was a largely unpublicized radical group apparently based in one of world's poorest and technologically most backward countries. The action was "projected" nearly half-way around the world and attacked a completely civilian target with enormous symbolic "globalization" content set in a location with the world's greatest density of global media. It perverted the single most important technology of global mobility, interconnectedness, and vulnerability (both for those onboard aircraft and those subject to "air superiority" in combat) and converted it into a suicide weapon of mass destruction. It required the recruitment, training, and coordination of a large number of conspirators that could maintain discipline and secrecy for a long period of time in the midst of an alien society. Much of the training was provided unknowingly by the target country.

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[45] Monty G. Marshall, *The Scientific Study of International Conflict Processes: Postcards at the Edge of the Millennia*, Monograph (National Science Foundation, contract #B22456A-00-0, 1998). Available from the Center for Systemic Peace Web site, http://members.aol.com/cspmgm.

[46] Gurr, Marshall, and Khosla, *Peace and Conflict 2001*, figure 1, p. 7. For a more detailed examination of trends in global warfare see, Monty G. Marshall, "Measuring the Societal Impact of war," chapter 4 in Fen Osler Hampson and David M. Malone, eds., *From Reaction to Conflict Prevention: Opportunities for the UN System* (Boulder, CO: Lynne Rienner, 2002.

The power asymmetry between the attacking group and the victim was probably the largest in history. The targeted country prides itself as the "defender of the free world" and, basically, unassailable and invulnerable. And the event unfolded slowly enough to capture the global media and, perhaps, the largest live audience ever assembled. This single act of terrorism stands so far beyond the pale of the usual and expected that it literally rapes the imagination. It stands completely naked as an "outlier" in the statistical evidence on global terrorism. As such, the greatest threat to international peace and security posed by this singular act is not that it is a prototype for future attacks, although this is certainly a concern, but that it will become an organizing symbol that is able to tap into an expanding well of collective discontent. Social discontent, however, is a contingent and, therefore, a potentially manageable condition.

Examination of the Global Terrorism Measures. The two indicators developed especially for this study attempt to measure global terrorism in both its macro-event (CPV) and micro-event (TERROR) aspects. The two scales correlate fairly strongly (.698) for the 160 countries included in the study.[47] The TERROR variable correlates more strongly with the CPVCIV subset (excessive targeting of civilians; .735) than with the CPVNOCIV subset of cases (.484). This appears consistent with the interactive, reciprocal, and cultural nature of violence, that is, terrorism is most commonly used as a tactic in situations where there are ongoing violent contentions and, especially, where civilians are caught up in the "cross-fire." Michael Stohl at the Purdue University Global Studies Program has developed two Political Terror Scales (PTS), one based on information collected by Amnesty International (PTSAI) and the other from information provided by the US State Department (PTSSTATE). The PTS annual indicators provide "a graded scale for measuring human rights violations" for the years 1980-96. Using average PTS scores for the period 1990-96 allows an additional check on the face validity of the measures developed for this study. The CPV and TERROR variables correlate well with the PTS measures. CPV correlates at .747 with PTSAI and .775 with PTSSTATE. For the two CPV subcategories, we find that, as expected, CPV with "excessive targeting of civilians" (CPVCIV) provides a better fit with the two measures based on human rights violations (.813 and .842) than does the CPVNOCIV variable (.558 and .489). The TERROR variable correlates at .682 and .686, respectively. Of course, a very important check on the validity of coding complex political phenomena is to examine the data and compare it with expert knowledge. Machines, after all, are only a tool in service to the human intellect. I have monitored information on social conflict in all countries of the world on a regular basis through the 1990s. A careful review of the values assigned to each country fits well with my own knowledge of the situations in those countries. In sum, I believe we can feel reasonably confident with the general validity of the measures developed for this study.

A simple comparison of the CPV and TERROR scores identifies some interesting cases of inconsistency between the measures. The CPV indicator focuses on situational information where the state is directly involved in violent societal conflict interaction, that is, it is nuanced toward interactive violence. The TERROR indicator is based on media presentations of terrorism that are, as we know, perceptually nuanced toward violence directed by non-state agents against the political and social bases of the state. Differences in the measures may point to imbalances in

[47] The State Failure Global Database does not include information on the United States, so that country is not included in the majority of the correlation analyses.

the inherently reciprocal character of political violence. Brazil and Equatorial Guinea score high on TERROR but low on CPVCIV, possibly due to a high incidence of urban terrorism but little organized resistance activity. El Salvador, Georgia, Israel, Mexico, Nepal, South Africa, Turkey, Uganda, and the United Kingdom all score high on TERROR but are scored on the CPVNOCIV ("no excessive targeting of civilians") rather than the CPVCIV scale. Most of these countries have been highly visible in world politics in the 1990s and have strong incentives to avoid targeting civilians. El Salvador and South Africa had been among the worst violators of human integrity in the 1980s but both have made major gains in reconciling their internal divisions. The United Kingdom has worked hard to reconcile the protracted, brutish conflict that has long plagued Northern Ireland. Turkey has changed its policies dramatically in hopes of gaining acceptance in the European Union, although it has managed to "export" a substantial portion of its long-running conflict with its Kurdish population to neighboring Iraq. Museveni has made great strides in bringing down the general levels of violence in Uganda, although this effort has also been benefited from the movement of substantial conflict into neighboring Democratic Republic of Congo. Georgia has made a conscious policy of avoiding confrontation with its dissident groups, while Mexico has allowed a devolution of power to the regional governments rather than risk a further escalation of conflict by imposing central authority over dissident regions. Both Nepal and Israel steered clear of heavy-handed policies through the 1990s in response to growing challenges by their respective dissident groups, however, at the end of the period both appear to have moved toward adopting policies of greater repression.

Mapping Global Terrorism. One of the most problematic aspects of global analysis is the state system. I say this from a purely statistical standpoint, not as a political commentary. The state system is problematic it at least three important ways. States organize information; states control and "filter" information; and states condition information. In systematic, global analysis, nearly all our data points are measures of the state as a singular unit; we have precious little information on the distribution of, or variations in, these qualities within the states. To give an extreme example, two states may have the same figures for both GDP (gross domestic product) and GDP per capita whether the income from that production is equally distributed across the entire population, concentrated in one region of the state, or held by only a few individuals. The capabilities and capacities of states to collect and record information vary widely in both space and time, as do the incentives to distribute or suppress such information. To follow the previous example, information on the distribution of a quality across a population, such as the Gini coefficient (index of dissimilarity), may increase our knowledge but that information may not be collected by a weak state, may be suppressed by a strong state, or "cooked" (altered) by an insecure state. Information regarding conditions thought to affect internal security was routinely suppressed by states during the Cold War period. Because of the ways information has been collected and stored, the state necessarily becomes the principal unit of quantitative analysis but states are not generally comparable units for analysis. States vary widely in "size" and their relative "size" also varies widely. For example, one state may have ten times the territory of another state and three times the resource endowment but only one-quarter the arable land, one-third the GDP, and one-tenth the population. In complex societies, many social qualities are conditioned by other qualities; in attempting to "control" the analysis to account for variations in one quality we increase the distortion affecting the variations in other attributes, often in unknown or unpredictable ways. As such, we can not rely too much on any singular method of analysis but must use multiple analyses to look for patterns and consistencies that increase our

confidence in our findings. Spatial mapping, time sequencing, categorizing, and associating all stimulate mental comparisons that may help to identify patterns and inconsistencies. They can also provide tools for guiding a systematic review of case information for validity or explanation of anomalies.

Figures 1-4 provide spatial illustrations of the distributions, for the 1990s, of the different concepts/variants of terrorism examined in this study. A cursory review of the full mappings of the two concepts shows that both collective political violence (Figure 1) and the more individuated acts of terrorism (Figure 4) are widely distributed and affect most countries of the world to some extent. Looking at the countries that are listed as not having one or the other type of terrorism in the 1990s, we can see many that have had such violence before the target period or have experienced some since the turn of the century. Many are simply experiencing a "lower than normal" rate of deadly political violence or there have been some cases that have gone unreported or unnoticed by the global community. Some are experiencing more subtle or less formal forms of political violence. The Scandinavian countries of Europe have been the countries that have experienced the lowest amounts of both collective and individuated political violence through the contemporary period, but even they are not immune to occasional attacks on political figures. It is reasonable to assert that some level of lethal terrorism, in some form, will affect every mass society, regardless of their political, economic, or social system. If some amount is a(n inherent) probability then there will also be a(n inherently) probable variation in the range of those amounts over the global aggregate, that is, some countries will experience higher or lower amounts of deadly terrorism for no identifiable (i.e., contingent) reason. The "baseline level of terrorism" is most certainly responsive to changes in the general foundational qualities of human society and its evolutionary development, as argued at the conclusion of the conceptual section above, meaning the baseline level we have reached is probably still relative and not yet absolute.

There are, of course, levels and concentrations of deadly violence that can not be explained by reference to some random distribution; these are the qualities we hope that quantitative analysis will help us to identify and gauge. I argued in an earlier study that during the Cold War period the non-random distribution of political violence assumed a highly "disciplined" pattern in "protracted conflict regions."[48] In the post-Cold War era, these highly disciplined patterns have dissipated somewhat; there is still evidence of regional clustering in major political violence but the patterns are becoming less disciplined. The strongest protracted conflict regions are in south Asia and central Africa. What seems to be emerging is a much more prominent north-south diagonal where the countries with the longer histories as independent states (i.e., east and west Europe and north and south Americas) are better able to avoid, manage, or dampen the resort to violence within their societies (compare Figures 2 and 3). The difference is not necessarily that there is less conflict in these societies or that there is less "acting out" of political disputes. Indeed, many of these countries have extremely high numbers of reported incidents of non-deadly, or less-deadly, political violence (e.g., Canada, France, Germany, Greece, Italy, Japan, and the United States). Some have unusually high levels of deadly personal or criminal violence (e.g., the United States, which has one of the highest per capita murder rates in the world, has experienced a rash of apparently non-political mass-murder suicides and deadly attacks by juveniles on schools). Similarly, some countries have succeeded in driving and pursuing armed

[48] Marshall, *Third World War*.

opposition groups across the borders into neighboring countries; for example, Rwanda, Burundi, Angola, and Uganda exported large portions of their civil wars into neighboring Democratic Republic of Congo. In a new wrinkle on this theme, it seems that the Saudi Arabian regime may be driving its political opponents into the international space, where they have become central figures in the al-Qaeda global terrorist network that espouses pan-Islamic revolution. In brief, the unique qualities and adaptations of local circumstances and the vagaries of organizing, categorizing, and accounting behavior can both have confounding or obscuring effects on quantitative analysis of which we must be aware. Visualizing the layout and dynamics of global conflicts can help us to recognize, and catalogue, these unique properties.

Identifying the Correlates of Global Terrorism in the 1990s. Having examined and discussed many of the difficulties and caveats associated with the quantitative analysis of global terrorism, we can proceed with the analytic process using the indicators designed for this purpose and the measures provided by the Global Database. The indicators themselves have strong face validity but they are simple Guttman scales; they must be considered "soft" or "fuzzy" data. As such, the results gained from any single data run, or test, are considered to be merely suggestive; confidence in the results has been increased through multiple tests that have established consistency in the patterns of reported relationships. The more stable the results, the greater confidence we may have in the insights they provide. This, in large part, explains why we have two independently designed indicators. If these two conceptualizations of terrorism are intimately related, as I have argued in the previous sections, then they should exhibit some consistency in their relationships, or correlations, with various measures of conditional social qualities. The fact that the Database contains multiple measures of similar qualities from different data sources also increases our confidence level in the results when the relationships are consistent across multiple measures of the same quality. It is not only the constructed terrorism variables that are considered "soft" and "fuzzy;" all data is soft to some extent. The fact that the two measures of terrorism designed for this study are based on quite different (macro and micro) conceptualizations of the object of inquiry should also reveal important information on those differences. Because of limited information available on the conceptualizations of global terrorism, in order to increase our confidence level in the indicators, we had to develop a single indicator value for each of the 160 countries in the study for the entire period of the 1990s.[49] Thus, we have little analytic depth and, so, little basis for making causal inferences. Casual relationships are difficult to establish under optimal circumstances. What we are looking to establish is the identification of a stable set of correlates to the presence and magnitude of the two concepts of global terrorism. In doing so, we can begin to establish evidence of the structural relationships, or "social roots," of terrorism.

In order to enhance our analysis, we have also cut the analyses into sections. This is why the CPV indicator has been divided into two separate scales: with (CPVCIV) and without excessive targeting of civilians (CPVNOCIV). If the quality of excessive targeting of civilians is a distinct quality that changes slowly and is substantially determined by social or structural factors as assumed (and we have measured the property adequately) we should be able to discern different patterns of relationships using the two subsets of cases (i.e., countries, in this set-up). If there are conditioning influences between the terrorism and the social and structural factors, we should see

[49] Only countries that have 500,000 population in the l999 are included in the study.

some evidence of changes in patterns of relationships by looking at data from different subsets of time, for example, by running the terrorism variables measuring that condition in the 1990s against data from the 1980s. If the relationships are more or less strong using leading (1980s) and concurrent (1990s) data we can establish some evidence that the variables co-vary (and have some conditioning influence over one another; or both be conditioned by some third, common quality). We have cut the data into smaller segments, such as using five-year and annual increments to check for patterned movement between the variables across time, but in doing so we begin to strain the analysis. The more detailed, or finer-grained, the analytic techniques used, the more volatile the results are likely to become; thus, possibly adding more noise and confusion to the results than clarification. An early finding in comparing the correlations of the CPV, CPVCIV, CPVNOCIV, and TERROR indicators was that the qualities of the state regime very likely has an important conditioning influence on these behavioral outcomes. As a result, the Global Database was also parceled into three regime categories: institutionalized democracies, recently democratized states (i.e., states that have become democracies since 1980); and the residual "non-democratic" regimes, for further analysis.

There are additional techniques that can be used to strengthen the results without delving too deeply into data conditioning (e.g., recalculating variables to focus on certain special properties of the data, testing for non-linear relationships and interaction effects, etc.), manipulations that are clearly beyond the scope of this initial, exploratory analysis. One technique is to collapse the scales into single dichotomous categories to focus on differences in relationships based solely on having or not having the condition (basically, to control for factors that affect the magnitude but not the fact of the condition). Despite the caveat about breaking the data into too small of segments (discussed in the preceding paragraph), one very important technique is to run the terrorism indicators against each year of the annual data. This helps to identify two potential problems. First, as the data in the Data Base is mainly structural data that does not change substantially from year to year, running a ten-year composite indicator in a time series is equivalent to counting a single (non-varying) data point ten times; this will seriously improve/distort the statistical significance factor, which is an important indicator of the strength of the correlation. Running correlations on single-year data (i.e., 160 or fewer data points) will give a truer indication of the significance of the relationship. Secondly, most of the variables in the Global Database have some limits to their coverage; whether they are limited in countries or years covered (or both) this may have an impact on the reported relationship. Running incremental segments can help to alert the analyst and identify data "holes" that may bias the results. Having identified many of the limitations of the research, the remainder of this section will discuss the correlation results.

Appendix C provides a comprehensive correlation analysis of the target variables: CPV, CPVCIV, CPVNOCIV, and TERROR; the table provides representative coverage of the cross-national time-series data, covering the period 1990-1994. The correlation tables are comprehensive in that they list all the key variables from all important clusters of characteristics that exhibit strong and consistent relationships with the target variables over time. The time period used in calculating the correlations in the tables is somewhat arbitrary; it is simply the "leading" half of the time period on which the target variables are based. All time periods were examined in the correlation analyses, from the 1970s to present, as were all years from 1980 to present. Most of the variables contained in the Database are structural variables; these variables

change very slowly over time. As such, the basic relationships between these structural variables and the target variables remain consistent and mostly constant over the short- to medium-term. And, as it has been proposed that there are fundamental, mutually reinforcing, simultaneous relationships among the structural, social conflict, and political authority characteristics, we should expect the correlations between key variables to track together over time. This is the existential basis for the concepts of "culture of violence," "protracted social conflict," and "arrested development."[50] A five-year period was chosen as the representative sample because of differences in time coverage among the 1500 variables examined: some provide annual data, some biennial, some quinquennial, and some decadal; the five-year sample captures all the variables. The early 1990s was chosen because it is at once a leading and concomitant period for the target variables. Not all variables display relatively invariant relationships with the target variables; some appear to be consequential (or at least subsequential; that is, the strength of the correlation increases during the 1990s) and are noted in the table by a double asterisk.

In the most general terms, and as was expected, the results of the analyses of the terrorism indicators closely parallel the results reported by the State Failure Task Force in their analyses of state failure events, particularly the three categories of civil warfare events: ethnic war, revolutionary war, and genocide and politicide. They have reported that outbreaks of these major collective political violence events are strongly associated with various measures of 1) **poverty, underdevelopment, and maldistribution of resources** (e.g., higher infant mortality, lower GDP per capita, lower levels of general education, lower health expenditures, lower calories per capita, poorer sanitation); 2) **weak regimes and poor governance** (e.g., weak autocracies, partial democracies, ineffective legislatures, newly constituted regimes); 3) **poor regional integration** (e.g. low openness to trade, low memberships in regional organizations, low trade with neighboring countries); and 4) **bad neighborhoods** (e.g., high number of bordering states with armed civil conflicts, high percentage of autocratic neighbors).[51] These findings are strongly supported in the global analyses of terrorism in the 1990s.

One qualifying finding is that larger countries, in the sense of both territory and population, were somewhat more likely to experience terrorism, as it is defined in this study. Of course, this finding may be largely an artifact of the behavior under study and the ways it has been measured. Larger states are more difficult to govern, especially when undergoing development processes. And, because of the way the problem condition is measured, larger states have a greater probability of reaching an absolute threshold based on numbers of deaths and of having multiple political groups to potentially engage in oppositional activity. A second such finding is that states with a high level of activity in the global system or that systems several regional subsystems were somewhat more likely to be targets of international terrorism, although these states were much less likely to be the targets of deadly acts of terrorism.

Taken together, the variables listed in the correlation tables in Appendix C provide a fairly broad profile of circumstances under which civilian populations are at greatest risk of gross violations of human security and integrity:

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[50] See Marshall, *Third World War*.

[51] Esty *et al*, *Working Papers: State Failure Task Force Report*, and Esty *et al*, *State Failue Task Force Report: Phase II Findings*.

- *Demographic factors* include lower life expectancy, higher male "youth bulge," and higher ethnic fractionalization. While higher fertility rates are associated with greater violence against civilians, population growth is not (correlations with birth rates and death rates, not reported, are nearly equal). Religious fractionalization is not linearly related to terrorism, although it is possible that there is a more complex, non-linear relationship that would not be detected in these simple tests.
- *Human capital factors* include higher infant mortality, lower health expenditures, lower general caloric intake, higher percentage of uneducated adults, and lower rates education of females.
- *Economic capital factors* include lower income, lower productive efficiency (GDP per unit of energy, lower consumption of electricity, lower access to telecommunications, lower tax revenues, higher technical cooperation grants (no strong relationship to non-technical grants), high levels of undistributed debt, lower exports of goods and services, higher proportions of the work force in agriculture, and, while the rate of urbanization appears not to be related to violence and terrorism, the annual growth rate of large urban agglomerations is.
- *Governmental performance factors* include higher repudiation of contracts, higher risk of expropriation, higher corruption, weaker rule of law, lower bureaucratic quality, lower political rights and civil liberties, more exclusive or parochial leadership (ethnic and ideological), and active economic and/or political discrimination.
- *Contextual factors* include "bad neighborhood" effects such as prevalence of armed conflict in bordering countries, percentage of autocratic neighbors (despite the doubling of democratic regimes in the 1990s), the presence of large numbers of refugees, and a history of armed conflict and regime instability.

Factors associated specifically with excess targeting of civilian populations in armed conflict situations and terrorism focus more on the qualities of the chief executive: fewer institutional constraints on executive power, the centralization of executive power in military or presidential rule, and, in particular, military regimes. Economic factors indicate revenue extraction through higher trade duties (probably to offset limited ability to extract tax revenues), and a greater dependence on fuelwood energy (indicating lower endowments and foreign exchange). Higher levels of excess civilian targeting appears to contribute to escalating central government debt and higher military and arms expenditures while producing much greater internal population displacements and humanitarian crises (higher numbers of multilateral organizations intervening).

General qualities that appear to differentiate collective political violence events with excessive targeting of civilian populations (CPVCIV) from similar events without excessive targeting of civilians are the following: 1) **exclusionary ideologies** (strong ethnic and ideological character of the ruling elites, political and economic discrimination); 2) **militancy** (military governments, high military expenditures as percent of government expenditures, high numbers of military personnel, high arms as a percentage of imports); 3) **restricted human rights** (Freedom House measures of civil liberties and political rights); 4) **displaced populations** (high numbers of refugees resident, high estimates of displaced populations); and 5) **protracted social violence** (long time periods of sustained violent conflict). There is also evidence that the targeting of civilians is associated with protracted social conflicts and "over urbanization" (i.e., large numbers of agricultural workers and large cities with fewer middle-size urban areas). The trading

patterns of states characterized by armed conflicts with excessive civilian deaths also appear to be distorted by 1) diffuse trading partners (no single, strong trading partner that might influence the state's policies); 2) lower regional integration (lower trade with neighboring countries); and 3) higher levels of trade with autocratic countries. Unique factors that appear to distinguish the excessive targeting of civilian populations during episodes of armed societal conflict display some hints of highly autocratic and/or nationalist regimes ruling with little institutional embeddedness in a general society characterized by weak civic cultures. These more brutal regimes are more susceptible to extralegal changes in leadership (coups) and are poorly integrated in the global liberal trade networks (favoring, instead, trade with other autocratic regimes) and with no major trading partner with substantial influence over their policies. These latter interpretations are much more speculative than the more general profiles described above but are deserving of further investigation, especially of the "British factor" that appears to figure so prominently in the avoidance of excess violence against civilian populations.

An important "non-finding" is that nothing seems to strongly differentiate the TERROR variable from the CPV variable, and particularly the CPVCIV variable, except that TERROR is much more likely to occur in the advanced industrial and post-industrial economies than the higher magnitudes of collective political violence. That is, the developed states appear to be much better at managing or dampening the escalation of violence conflict than avoiding violent conflict all together. These economically and politically advantaged states are likely to experience much higher numbers of terrorist incidents but far lower numbers of deaths. They are also more likely to be the targets of terrorist incidents but, still, these incidents are likely to be less deadly, even when perpetrated by actors from less advantaged countries. A related finding is that the deadly conflict profiles of newly democratized states is much more similar to that of the "old" democracies than that of the non-democracies, giving some weight to the proposition that democracy is an advanced function of successful conflict management performance, rather than the other way around. This does not mean that all democracies are non-violent and peaceful. There are several notable examples of violence-plagued democratic societies, for example, Colombia, India, and Israel. What appears to distinguish higher levels of violence in otherwise democratic societies are lower quality of life measures, higher youth unemployment, political and economic discrimination, higher inflows of foreign workers, high government share of GDP, and a higher proportion of autocracies in their immediate region. Unlike any other category of regime, "old' democracies that have a higher involvement in international violence and wars are likely to experience greater levels of terrorism. In the poorer democracies, violent political conflicts are more likely to escalate to insurrection than in the wealthier "old" democracies. In addition, a larger agricultural sector is associated with higher levels of TERROR in democracies.

A more speculative finding regards the correlation between terrorism and workers' remittances: this may indicate that restricted employment opportunities for a technically trained sector of the population (which may be driven to seek employment in other countries) may contribute to higher levels of frustration and dissent among "alternative elite" populations (i.e., underemployed professionals).

Factors that generally distinguish countries that do not excessively target civilian populations from those that do appear to concentrate on qualities of governance. Factors that are specifically associated with the category CPVNOCIV are more frequent changes in political executives (but

not through coups) and greater isolation (i.e, lower numbers of memberships in international, particularly regional, organizations). Further analysis of governance factors is required to more fully detail the contributions of governance to civility in violent conflict and restraint in the use of force.

Appendix A: Rules for Constructing the Collective Political Violence (CPV) Scale(s)

Value	CPV Scaling Rules
8	All cases with an average yearly magnitude genocide score in the 1990s greater than or equal to two (i.e., SFPSGEN $\geq$2)
7	All cases with a summed MAR annual rebellion score, selecting for score 3, 4, and 5, greater than or equal to 30 (sum REB90 through REB00, selecting for values of 3, 4, and 5, $\geq$ 30) **or** an average annual magnitude ethnic war score greater than or equal to 2.5 (SFPSETH $\geq$ 2.5) **or** revolutionary war score greater than or equal to 2.5 (SFPSREV $\geq$ 2.5) **and** An average yearly magnitude genocide score genocide less than 2 (SFPSGEN<2) **or** an aggregate MAR repression score greater than 10 on level 2 and 3 only (sum REP9603-REP9610, REP9612-REP9614, REP9619, REP9621-REP9622 for all years from 1996-2000, selecting for values 2 and 3 only, >10) **or** an aggregate MAR group communal conflict score, selecting values 3, 5 and 6 for GCC1, GCC2, and GCC3 for all years in the 1990s, greater than 40 (sum GCC190-GCC100, GCC290-GCC200, GCC390-GCC300, selecting scores of 3, 5, and 6 > 40)
6	All cases with a summed MAR rebellion score, selecting for score 3, 4, and 5, greater than or equal to 30 (sum REB90 through REB00, selecting for values of 3, 4, and 5, $\geq$ 30) **or** an average yearly magnitude ethnic war score (SFPSETH $\geq$ 2.5) **or** revolutionary war score greater than or equal to 2.5 (SFPSREV $\geq$ 2.5), **but** no excessive targeting of civilians.
5	All cases with a summed MAR rebellion score, selecting for score 3, 4, and 5, less than 30 but greater than 10 (30 > sum REB90 through REB00, selecting for values of 3, 4, and 5, > 10) **or** an average yearly magnitude ethnic war score less than or equal to 2.5 (SFPSETH $\leq$ 2.5) **or** revolutionary war score less than or equal to 2.5 (SFPSREV $\leq$ 2.5) **and** An average yearly magnitude genocide score genocide less than 2 (SFPSGEN<2) **or** an aggregate MAR repression score greater than 10 on level 2 and 3 only (sum REP9603-REP9610, REP9612-REP9614, REP9619, REP9621-REP9622 for all years from 1996-2000, selecting for values 2 and 3 only, >10) **or** an aggregate MAR group communal conflict score, selecting values 3, 5 and 6 for GCC1, GCC2, and GCC3 for all years in the 1990s, greater than 40 (sum GCC190-GCC100, GCC290-GCC200, GCC390-GCC300, selecting scores of 3, 5, and 6 > 40)
4	All cases with a summed MAR rebellion score, selecting for score 3, 4, and 5, less than 30 but greater than 10 (30 > sum REB90 through REB00, selecting for values of 3, 4, and 5, > 10) **or** an average yearly magnitude ethnic war score less than or equal to 2.5 (SFPSETH $\leq$ 2.5) **or** revolutionary war score less than or equal to 2.5 (SFPSREV $\leq$ 2.5) **but** no excessive targeting of civilians
3	All cases with a summed MAR rebellion score, selecting for score 3, 4, and 5, less than 10 (sum REB90 through REB00, selecting for values of 3, 4, and 5, < 10) **and** An average yearly magnitude genocide score genocide less than 2 (SFPSGEN<2) **or** an aggregate MAR repression score greater than 10 on level 2 and 3 only (sum REP9603-REP9610, REP9612-REP9614, REP9619, REP9621-REP9622 for all years from 1996-2000, selecting for values 2 and 3 only, >10) **or** an aggregate MAR group communal conflict score, selecting values 3, 5 and 6 for GCC1, GCC2, and GCC3 for all years in the 1990s, greater than 15 (sum GCC190-GCC100, GCC290-GCC200, GCC390-GCC300, selecting scores of 3, 5, and 6 > 15) **or** an aggregate MAR rebellion score greater than or equal to 6 on level 1 or 2, representing terrorism (sum REB90 through REB00, selecting for values of 1 and 2, $\geq$ 6)
2	All cases with a summed MAR rebellion score, selecting for score 3, 4, and 5, less than 10 (sum REB90 through REB00, selecting for values of 3, 4, and 5, < 10)) **but** no excessive targeting of civilians
1	Any country with scores from any type of violent conflict that has not already been scaled above
0	No violent conflict scores recorded since 1990

Appendix B: Global Terrorism Database Codebook
January 1, 1991-September 10, 2001

Compiled by Donna Ramsey Marshall and Monty G. Marshall
From Keesing's, *Record of World Events*, electronic database
(Bethesda, MD: Keesing's Worldwide, 2002)

Variables Listed:

CNUM Unique data record number for each event type

LOC Country code for location of event

ETYPE Event type (1 = Civilian target; 2 = Political target)

BEGMO Month in which event begins

BEGDA Day on which event begins

BEGYR Year in which event begins

ENDMO Month in which event ends

ENDDA Day on which event ends

ENDYR Year in which event begins

ACT1-2 Country code for nationality of actor(s)

TARG1-6 Country code for nationality of target(s)

INTER International terrorism (actor/target are different nationalities: 1 = yes)

TYPE1-3 Type of terrorist attack

1 = Bomb	10 = Shooting/gun battle	19 = Knife/stab
2 = Car/truck/bus bomb	11 = Attack	20 = Execution
3 = Pipe bomb	12 = Assassination/attempted assassination	21 = Arson/fire
4 = Letter/parcel bomb	13 = Clash/ambush/raid	22 = Torture
5 = Suicide bomb	14 = Kidnap	23 = Derailment
6 = Fire bomb	15 = Hijack	24 = Munity/coup/ouster
7 = Landmine	16 = Beating/bludgeon	25 = Hostage
8 = Shelling/mortar/grenade	17 = Cut throat/behead	26 = Massacre
9 = Rocket/missile	18 = Gas attack	

NINCD Number of incidents reported, if greater than one (9999 = multiple incidents, unknown number)

Appendix C: Correlation Tables, 1990-1994

Notes: Pearson two-tailed correlation values for each variable are listed in the first row; the second row indicates the number of cases used in the analysis. All correlation values are significant at the .01 level on an annual basis except those in shaded cells (light shaded cells are significant at the .05 level; dark shaded entries are not significant at the .05 level). Sources of the variables listed in the table are identified with a three-letter code in the table (Source); these source codes are explained in the Data Source notes following the table, below.

Source	Variable Description	CPV	CPVCIV	CPVNOCIV	TERROR
	CPV – collective political violence, combined scale	1.000	0.996	0.987	0.698
		164	89	119	164
	CPVCIV – collective political violence with excess targeting of civilians	0.996	1.000		0.735
		89	89	44	89
	CPVNOCIV – collective political violence without excess targeting of civilians	0.987		1.000	0.484
		119	44	119	119
	TERROR – deadly terrorism scale	0.698	0.735	0.484	1.000
		164	89	119	164
	General Factors Associated with Serious Political Violence				
Demographic Factors					
WDI	Total population	0.214	0.215	0.238	0.277
		795	430	585	795
UND	Male age 15-24 as % male population (computed male "youth bulge")	0.318	0.350	0.302	0.260
		795	430	585	795
UND	Median age	-0.360	-0.380	-0.312	-0.272
		159	86	117	159
WDI	Life expectancy at birth, total (years)	-0.450	-0.466	-0.349	-0.340
		424	220	329	424
WDI	Population growth (annual %)	0.069	0.042	0.116	0.059
		794	430	584	794
UND	Total fertility rate	0.325	0.330	0.286	0.217
		159	86	117	159
CUL	Ethnic Herfindahl Index (0-1; 1 = ethnic homogeneity)	-0.317	-0.342	-0.273	-0.267
		153	84	110	153
REL	Religion Herfindahl Index (0-1; 1 = Religion homogeneity)	0.046	0.043	-0.015	0.018
		160	86	115	160
Human Capital Factors					
WDI	Infant mortality rate (per 1,000 live births)	0.444	0.458	0.347	0.349
		509	260	402	509
WDI	Health expenditure per capita (current US$)	-0.361	-0.442	-0.277	-0.242
		557	284	422	557
WDI	Health expenditure, total (% of GDP)	-0.305	-0.391	-0.275	-0.216
		605	302	457	605
FAO	Calories per capita per day	-0.387	-0.417	-0.289	-0.200
		718	389	521	718
EDU	% no school in total population (age 25+)	0.477	0.468	0.380	0.306
		525	280	390	525
WDI	Illiteracy rate, adult female (% of females ages 15 and above)	0.348	0.280	0.273	0.200
		615	320	445	615
Economic Capital Factors					
WDI	GDP per capita (constant 1995 US$)	-0.361	-0.415	-0.281	-0.228
		720	369	549	720
WDI	GDP per unit of energy use (1995 US$ per kg of oil equivalent)	-0.307	-0.474	-0.211	-0.182
		523	255	403	523

SOURCE	VARIABLE DESCRIPTION	CPV	CPVCIV	CPVNOCIV	TERROR
WDI	ELECTRIC POWER CONSUMPTION (KWH PER CAPITA)	-0.426	-0.500	-0.330	-0.335
		565	290	427	565
ITU	TELEPHONE MAIN LINES PER 100 INHABITANTS	-0.401	-0.435	-0.279	-0.283
		796	428	588	796
WDI	TAX REVENUE (% OF GDP)	-0.411	-0.491	-0.325	-0.318
		463	243	354	463
GDF	TECHNICAL COOPERATION GRANTS (US$)	0.347	0.326	0.349	0.358
		562	301	379	562
GDF	UNDISBURSED DEBT, TOTAL (UND, US$)	0.339	0.323	0.260	0.473
		560	299	379	560
WDI	EXPORTS OF GOODS AND SERVICES (% OF GDP)	-0.332	-0.411	-0.257	-0.336
		714	369	542	714
UNU	AVERAGE ANNUAL GROWTH RATE OF % URBAN POPULATION	0.167	0.159	0.088	0.120
		159	86	117	159
UNU	AVERAGE ANNUAL GROWTH RATE OF URBAN AGGLOMERATIONS	0.327	0.318	0.290	0.183
		110	58	78	110
WDI	LABOR FORCE IN AGRICULTURE (% OF TOTAL)	0.476	0.503	0.402	0.353
		480	235	372	480
GOVERNMENTAL PERFORMANCE FACTORS					
PRS	GOVERNMENT REPUDIATION OF CONTRACTS	-0.491	-0.535	-0.321	-0.315
		592	320	432	592
PRS	RISK OF EXPROPRIATION	-0.482	-0.498	-0.356	-0.298
		592	320	432	592
PRS	CORRUPTION	-0.457	-0.543	-0.253	-0.333
		592	320	432	592
PRS	LAW AND ORDER TRADITION, RULE-OF-LAW	-0.572	-0.621	-0.423	-0.434
		592	320	432	592
PRS	BUREAUCRATIC QUALITY	-0.400	-0.509	-0.230	-0.220
		592	320	432	592
FHS	FREEDOM HOUSE POLITICAL RIGHTS INDEX (LOWER SCORES DENOTE GREATER RIGHTS)	0.399	0.479	0.170	0.310
		774	420	570	774
FHS	FREEDOM HOUSE CIVIL LIBERTIES INDEX (LOWER SCORES DENOTE GREATER LIBERTIES)	0.472	0.542	0.240	0.368
		774	420	570	774
ELC	ETHNIC CHARACTER OF THE RULING ELITE	0.470	0.663	0.400	0.376
		772	425	564	772
ELC	IDEOLOGICAL CHARACTER OF THE RULING ELITE	0.279	0.358	0.148	0.260
		772	425	564	772
MAR	POLITICAL (GROUP) DISCRIMINATION PRESENT	0.486	0.719	0.472	.0397
		772	425	564	772
MAR	ECONOMIC (GROUP) DISCRIMINATION PRESENT	0.433	0.672	0.337	0.354
		772	425	564	772
CONTEXTUAL FACTORS					
MAC	NUMBER BORDER STATES WITH ANY TYPE OF MAJOR ARMED CONFLICT	0.417	0.426	0.353	0.340
		800	430	585	800
UCR	MEAN ESTIMATE OF REFUGEE POPULATION**	0.299	0.308	0.237	0.259
		711	388	508	711
SFT	PERCENTAGE OF AUTOCRATIC NEIGHBORS	0.288	0.285	0.259	0.147
		807	437	590	807
SFT	UPHEAVAL: SUM OF MAXIMUM MAGNITUDE OF STATE FAILURE EVENTS IN PRIOR 15 YEARS	0.610	0.622	0.483	0.454
		800	430	575	800

Source	Variable Description	CPV	CPVCIV	CPVNOCIV	TERROR
Factors Associated with Excessive Targeting of Civilians (CPVCIV and TERROR)					
Leadership Factors					
BNK	Type of regime (military vs civilian)	0.394	0.423	0.144	0.351
		761	412	555	761
BNK	Head of state type (centralization of power)	0.253	0.296	0.100	0.212
		761	412	555	761
POL	Executive Constraints	-0.272	-0.351	-0.056	-0.196
		722	378	557	722
Economic Factors					
WDI	Import duties (% of imports)	0.379	0.434	0.128	0.239
		434	223	329	434
EDB	Fuelwood energy consumption	0.336	0.309	0.175	0.411
		389	207	258	389
WDI	Central government debt, total (% of GDP)**	0.291	0.326	0.200	0.304
		292	144	227	292
Militancy/Security Factors					
WDI	Arms imports (% of total imports)**	0.160	0.207	-0.001	0.118
		737	401	543	737
WDI	Military expenditure (% of central government expenditure)**	0.200	0.242	0.021	0.132
		613	312	467	613
Internal Disruption Factors					
DMI	Number of different multilateral organizations intervening	0.325	0.360	0.157	0.201
		764	412	562	764
UCR	Mean estimate of internally displaced population**	0.399	0.528	0.252	0.374
		711	387	508	710
Factors Associated with Excessive Targeting of Civilians in Armed Civil Conflict (CPVCIV)					
Governance Factors					
POL	Polity score (-10-10; -10 = fully institutionalized autocracy)	-0.277	-0.363	-0.083	-0.170
		722	378	557	722
DPI	Largest government party is nationalist	0.145	0.340	0.070	0.077
		661	348	504	661
Trade Factors					
DOT	First major trading partner, percentage of trade	-0.108	-0.239	-0.009	-0.139
		682	360	498	682
DOT	Average (polity) democracy score of trading partners	-0.191	-0.239	-0.094	-0.057
		682	360	498	682
DOT	Average (polity) autocracy score of trading partners	0.197	0.260	0.075	0.090
		682	360	498	682
Historical Factors					
SFT	Country is former non-British colony	0.425	0.516	0.281	0.189
		305	170	215	305
Factor Associated with Terrorism (TERROR)					
WDI	Workers' remittances, receipts (BoP, current US$)	0.156	0.137	0.137	0.231
		531	301	371	531

SOURCE	VARIABLE DESCRIPTION	CPV	CPVCIV	CPVNOCIV	TERROR
FACTORS ASSOCIATED WITH NO EXCESSIVE TARGETING OF CIVILIANS IN ARMED CIVIL CONFLICT (CPVNOCIV)					
GOVERNANCE FACTORS					
BNN	LEADER YEARS IN OFFICE	-0.091	-0.106	-0.204	-0.084
		770	417	568	770
EXTERNAL INTEGRATION FACTORS					
CIO	MEMBERSHIPS IN REGIONALLY DEFINED ORGANIZATIONS	-0.139	-0.149	-0.240	-0.011
		156	84	115	156
CIO	TOTAL NUMBER OF MEMBERSHIPS IN CONVENTIONAL INTER-GOVERNMENTAL ORGANIZATIONS	-0.130	-0.115	-0.218	0.098
		156	84	115	156

Data Sources:

Code	Dataset	Principal Investigator/Project
BNK	Cross-National Time-Series Data Archive	Arthur S. Banks
BNN	Leadership Duration	Henry S. Bienen and Nicholas van de Walle
CIO	Conventional Inter-Governmental Organizations	Union of International Associations
CUL	Cultural Data Set	Correlates of War
DMI	Direct Military Interventions	Monty G. Marshall
DOT	Direction of Trade	International Monetary Fund
DPI	Dataset of Political Institutions	Center for International Development, World Bank
EDB	Energy Statistics Database	United Nations
EDU	International Comparisons of Educational Attainment	Center for International Development, World Bank
ELC	Elite Ethnic and Ideological Orientation	Barbara Harff
FAO	FAOSTAT	Food and Agriculture Organization
FHS	Political Rights and Civil Liberties	Freedom House
GDF	Global Development Finance	World Bank
ITU	World Telecommunication Indicator Database	International Telecommunications Union
MAC	Major Armed Conflict	Monty G. Marshall
MAR	Group Discrimination	Minorities at Risk
POL	Regime Characteristics and Transitions	Polity IV
PRS	International Country Risk Guide	IRIS Political Risk Services
REL	Religious Fractionalization	Mark Woodward
SFT	State Failure Measures	State Failure Task Force
UCR	World Refugee Survey	United States Committee for Refugees
UND	World Population Prospects	United Nations, Population Division DESIPA
UNU	World Urbanization Prospects	United Nations, Population Division DESIPA
WDI	World Development Indicators	World Bank
WII	World Income Inequality Indicators	United Nations Development Programme