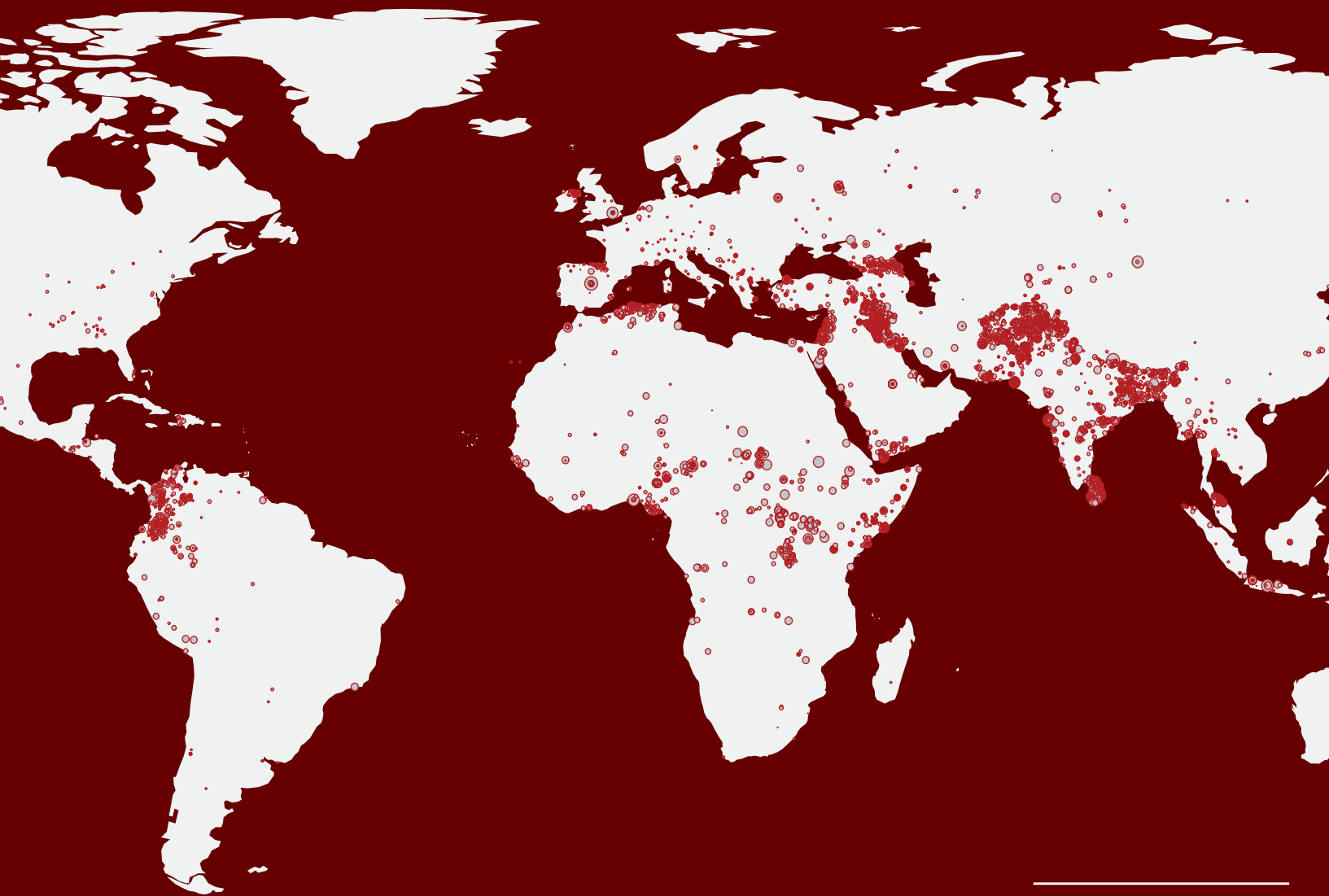# 2012
GLOBAL
TERRORISM
INDEX

Capturing the Impact of Terrorism from 2002 - 2011

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CONTENTS

GLOBAL TERRORISM INDEX 2011

HIGHEST IMPACT OF TERRORISM

	8.01 - 10
	6.01 - 8
	4.01 - 6
	2.01 - 4
	0.01 - 2
	0

NO IMPACT OF TERRORISM

NOT INCLUDED

RANK	COUNTRY	SCORE	RANK	COUNTRY	SCORE	RANK	COUNTRY	SCORE
1	Iraq	9.556	30	Uganda	4.492	59	Tajikistan	2.016
2	Pakistan	9.049	31	Lebanon	4.483	60	Mexico	2.008
3	Afghanistan	8.669	32	Belarus	4.256	61	Sweden	1.755
4	India	8.147	33	Myanmar	4.088	62	Germany	1.743
5	Yemen	7.305	34	Cote D'Ivoire	3.990	63	France	1.731
6	Somalia	7.244	35	Eritrea	3.917	64	Australia	1.720
7	Nigeria	7.242	36	Senegal	3.864	65	Angola	1.696
8	Thailand	7.086	37	Ethiopia	3.732	66	Venezuela	1.620
9	Russia	7.068	38	Rwanda	3.729	66	Argentina	1.475
10	Philippines	6.801	39	Bangladesh	3.672	68	Ireland	1.456
11	Sudan	6.304	40	Morocco	3.599	69	Austria	1.408
12	Congo, Dem Rep.	6.182	41	United States	3.566	70	Bosnia and Herzegovina	1.369
13	Colombia	6.055	42	Georgia	3.428	71	Zimbabwe	1.360
14	Syria	5.861	43	Mali	3.389	72	Bhutan	1.235
15	Algeria	5.831	44	Niger	3.266	73	Honduras	1.225
16	Sri Lanka	5.680	45	Spain	3.086	74	Canada	1.177
17	Iran	5.633	46	Chad	3.010	75	Switzerland	1.173
18	Kenya	5.266	47	Kazakhstan	2.804	76	Serbia	1.168
19	Turkey	5.238	48	Saudi Arabia	2.708	77	Denmark	1.129
20	Israel	5.155	49	Qatar	2.680	78	Portugal	1.129
21	Norway	5.031	50	Chile	2.636	79	Moldova	0.992
22	Nepal	5.017	51	Cameroon	2.627	80	Guyana	0.976
23	China	4.992	52	Peru	2.491	81	Azerbaijan	0.867
24	Burundi	4.899	53	Tunisia	2.358	81	Bulgaria	0.741
25	Central African Republic	4.844	54	Mauritania	2.181	83	Ecuador	0.679
26	Greece	4.597	55	Paraguay	2.174	84	Macedonia (FYR)	0.624
27	Egypt	4.576	56	Ukraine	2.163	85	Bahrain	0.616
28	United Kingdom	4.509	57	Italy	2.066	86	Jordan	0.585
29	Indonesia	4.505	58	Netherlands	2.037	87	Uzbekistan	0.585
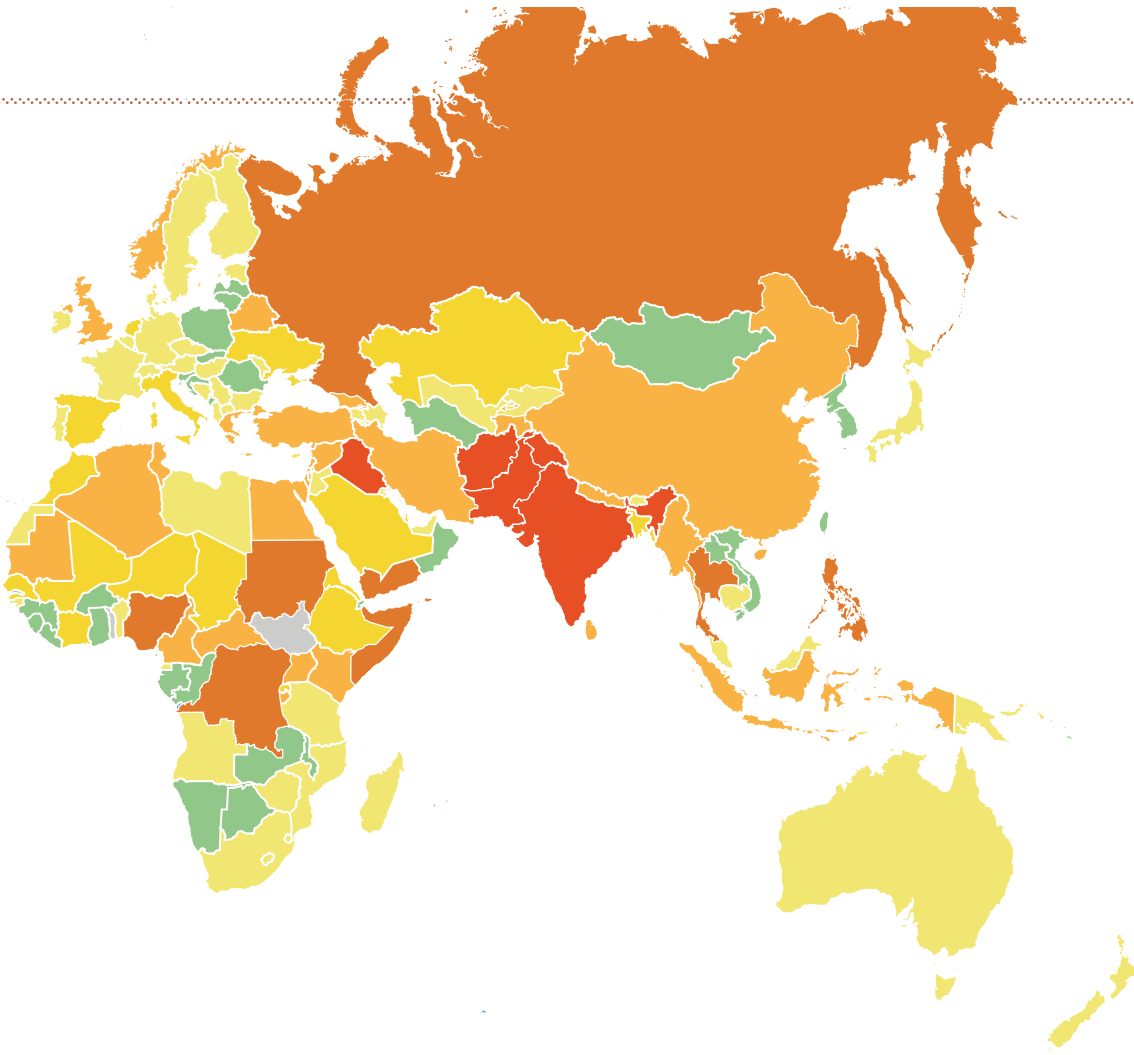
RANK	COUNTRY	SCORE						
88	Czech Republic	0.522	=116	Botswana	0	=116	Oman	0
89	Madagascar	0.435		Brazil	0		Panama	0
90	Bolivia	0.415		Burkina Faso	0		Poland	0
91	Malaysia	0.415		Congo, Republic Of	0		Romania	0
92	Kyrgyzstan	0.395		Costa Rica	0		Sierra Leone	0
93	Libya	0.346		Croatia	0		Singapore	0
94	Hungary	0.277		Cuba	0		Slovakia	0
95	Equatorial Guinea	0.217		Djibouti	0		Slovenia	0
95	Mozambique	0.203		Dominican Republic	0		South Korea	0
97	Armenia	0.188		El Salvador	0		Taiwan	0
98	Estonia	0.158		Gabon	0		Trinidad and Tobago	0
99	Guinea-Bissau	0.158		Gambia	0		Turkmenistan	0
99	Kuwait	0.158		Ghana	0		Uruguay	0
101	Albania	0.119		Guatemala	0		Vietnam	0
102	Cambodia	0.119		Guinea	0		Zambia	0
103	Tanzania	0.119		Iceland	0			
104	New Zealand	0.079		Jamaica	0			
105	United Arab Emirates	0.079		Laos	0			
106	Haiti	0.074		Latvia	0			
107	Belgium	0.069		Liberia	0			
108	Finland	0.069		Lithuania	0			
109	Japan	0.059		Malawi	0			
110	Swaziland	0.059		Mauritius	0			
111	South Africa	0.054		Mongolia	0			
111	Cyprus	0.049		Montenegro	0			
113	Lesotho	0.040		Namibia	0			
114	Benin	0.030		Nicaragua	0			
115	Papua New Guinea	0.010		North Korea	0			

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

THE GLOBAL TERRORISM INDEX (GTI) IS A COMPREHENSIVE BODY OF WORK WHICH SYSTEMATICALLY RANKS THE NATIONS OF THE WORLD ACCORDING TO THEIR TERRORIST ACTIVITY.

The index combines a number of factors associated with terrorist attacks to build a thorough picture of the impact of terrorism over a 10-year period, illustrating trends, and providing a useful data series for further analysis by researchers and policymakers. Produced by the Institute for Economics and Peace (IEP), the GTI is based on data from the Global Terrorism Database (GTD) which is collected and collated by the National Consortium for the Study of Terrorism and Responses to Terrorism (START). The GTD is considered to be the most comprehensive dataset on terrorist activity and has codified over 104,000 cases of terrorism.

This report summarizes changing trends in terrorism over time, as well as analyzing its different dimensions in terms of geographic activity, methods of attack, organizations involved, and its national context in terms of economic development and governance. The index has also been compared to other socio-economic indicators to determine what factors are commonly associated with terrorism.

The definition of what constitutes a terrorist attack is **"the threatened or actual use of illegal force and violence by a non-state actor to attain a political, economic, religious, or social goal through fear, coercion, or intimidation"**. This definition excludes perceived acts of state terror, such as drone attacks resulting in civilian casualties. As the vast literature on terrorism shows, there are many competing definitions, but for consistency this report adopts the GTD definition which is elaborated in more detail in the next section of this report.

The data shows the global impact of terrorism has increased significantly from 2002 to 2011, peaking in 2007 and then slightly falling to approximately 2006 levels in 2011. The current global trend of terrorism can best be described as plateauing rather than decreasing. This is somewhat offset by terrorist activity increasing in more countries than it decreased in, with 72 countries experiencing increased activity and 63 experiencing decreased activity over the last decade.

The overall global trend does give some hope for optimism as the steep increase in terrorist activity experienced from 2003 to 2007 has halted, however the deteriorating situation in Syria and other future possible conflicts in the Middle-East could reverse the situation. While the impact of terrorism has leveled out, a closer analysis shows a more nuanced view: the number of attempted attacks has actually increased, albeit very slightly over the last two years, while the number of fatalities has decreased significantly from a peak of approximately 10,000 in 2007 to 7,500 in 2011. The number of injuries, not including deaths, has also declined from a peak of 19,000 in 2009 to 14,000 in 2011.

After 9/11, global terrorism as measured by the total number of attacks and fatalities remained below the late 1970s trend, only to increase significantly after the escalation of the Iraq war and U.S. and Multinational presence in the country. The increased terrorist activity in Iraq was subsequently followed by

further increasing waves of terrorism in Afghanistan and then in India and Pakistan eighteen months later. Iraq and Afghanistan accounted for 35% of the global total number of terrorist incidents from 2002 to 2011.

Besides Iraq, three other countries, Pakistan, India, and Afghanistan influenced the steep increase in terrorism from 2002 to 2009, accounting for 12%, 11% and 10% of global terrorist incidents, respectively. Thailand, the Philippines, and Russia also accounted for a notable portion of the global total of terrorist incidents at 5%, 4%, and 4% respectively.

In terms of the execution of terrorism, most attacks are successful. Success rates vary from 89% to 97% depending on the year of measurement. In 2011 the rate was 91%[1].This indicates the continued importance of intelligence gathering services with the aim of preemptively disrupting the terrorist cells prior to them becoming operational.

For those groups that are committed to terrorism, the number of fatalities compared to the losses of their own members highlights the efficacy of their methods. In 2011, 92% of fatalities were non-terrorist victims with just 8% of total fatalities being terrorists. Of all those injured, 99% were victims and 1% terrorists.

Al Qa'ida is one of the most notorious terrorist organisations, its name is synonymous with terrorism. However, today Al Qa'ida is much weakened and was responsible for only one of the 5,000 terrorist attacks that were carried out in 2011. START Executive Director Bill Braniff's contribution, presented in section three of this report, describes the rise and fall of the organisation, highlighting its evolution.

Perhaps one of the more surprising findings is that out of the 158 countries covered in the GTI, only 31 did not experience a terrorist incident over the ten year period. This shows the impact of terror, while heavily concentrated in some places such as Iraq, Afghanistan, Pakistan, and India, is also distributed globally. This is partly due to the sensitivity of the definition of terrorism in the GTD which captures many relatively minor incidents which may only involve a couple of injuries and a very small amount of property damage. The ten countries with the most terrorist incidents for 2011 accounted for 87% of total global incidents. All ten recorded over 100 incidents for the year.

The biggest falls in terrorist impact from 2002 to 2011 were in the U.S. and Algeria, with most of the ongoing terrorist activity in the U.S. being domestic in nature. Conversely, Iraq has had the biggest increase in terrorism from 2002 till 2011, while Pakistan had the second largest increase in terrorism, seeing large increases in explosive attacks, especially from 2007 to 2009.

When analyzing the incidence of terrorism in the context of economic development as measured by income levels, countries with the highest levels of terrorist attacks tended not to be low income countries, but rather low-medium income countries, which have a 50% higher rate of attacks than low income countries. This highlights that poverty is not a primary driver of terrorism. High income and upper middle income

countries have the lowest likelihood of being attacked and share approximately the same level of terrorist activity. Only three of the ten countries most impacted from terrorism are not in the lower middle income category, with Afghanistan and Somalia both low income countries and Russia the only upper middle income country in the top ten.

Hybrid regimes are the most likely form of government in which terrorist attacks will take place. Full democracies are the least likely category of government type to suffer from terrorism, although 'black swan' events do occur. 9/11, the London and Madrid bombings and the Norwegian massacre register as singularly some of the largest terrorist incidents in the GTD. In START Director Gary La Free's contribution, presented in section three of this report, two different characteristics of terrorism are discussed, its black swan nature and its burstiness. While the former denotes events that are unexpected, very difficult to predict, and very expensive to protect against, the latter refers to the tendency of terrorism to rapidly intensify in the areas in which it starts.

North America is the region of the world that is least likely to suffer from a terrorist incident, followed by Western Europe and Latin America. Western Europe suffered nineteen times more deaths from terrorist incidents than North America between 2002 and 2011. The Middle-East and North Africa region had the highest number of terrorist fatalities with the Asia-Pacific region closely following.[2]

In terms of targets of terrorist attacks, private citizens, government facilities, and police are the three most commonly targeted at 29%, 17% and 14%, respectively. It is perhaps surprising that military personnel and installations only account for 4% of terrorists' targets, with transportation and businesses being targeted more frequently. Notably, religious figures and institutions and utilities only account for 3% and 2% of terrorist targets respectively.
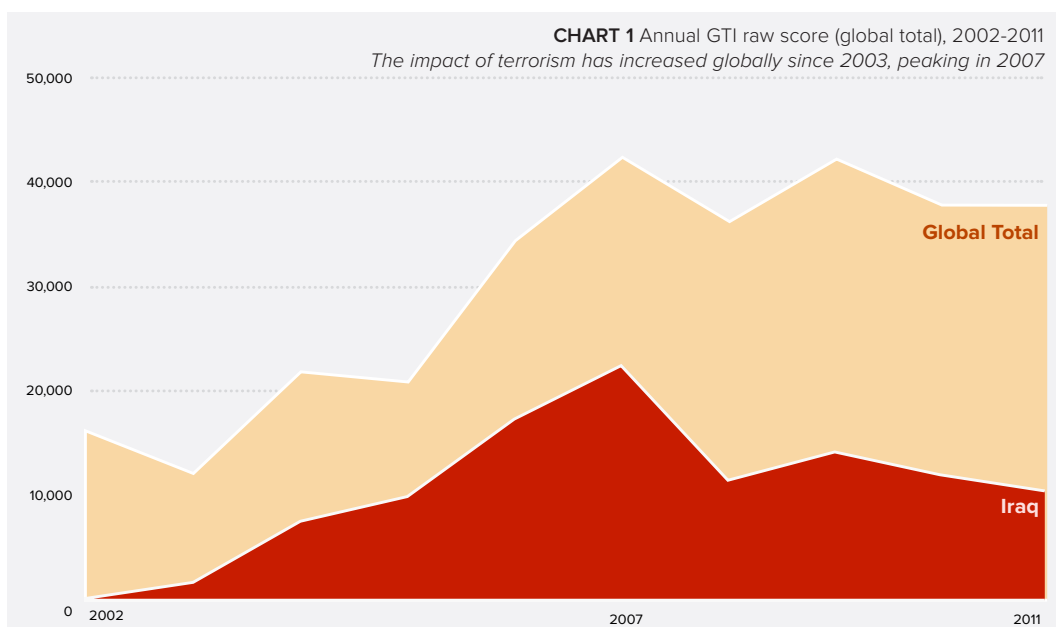
Analysis has also been carried out against a range of socio-economic data to determine what factors may be associated with terrorism. The factors that correlated the strongest with the GTI were *group grievances*, *intergroup cohesion, human rights,* and *political stability.*

Further research conducted by Prof. Raul Caruso indicates an empirical relationship between youth unemployment, political grievances and terrorism. These findings are explained in section three of this report and highlight the importance of both economic and social cohesion policies.

While corruption did not correlate globally, the ten nations most impacted by terrorism did all score significantly below the global average on the World Bank's measures of corruption and Transparency International's Corruption Perceptions Index with many being at the bottom of these indexes. Peace has a strong statistical relationship to corruption. The aspects of corruption most associated with decreases in peace are corruption in the police, military and judiciary. There were a number of other important factors that were found not to be significant such as a well-functioning government, a sound business environment and the equitable distribution of resources.

Given the considerable resources spent on counter-terrorism operations it is important governments and policymakers use resources such as the GTI to inform a strategic and inter-generational approach to addressing root causes of terrorism. The importance of peacebuilding and statebuilding initiatives can't be overstated in preventing the creation of the attitudes which are susceptible to exploitation by terrorists. Statebuilding initiatives need to continue focusing on reducing tensions related to group grievances and building inter-group cohesion, while creating political stability and fostering human rights.

CHART 1 Annual GTI raw score (global total), 2002-2011
The impact of terrorism has increased globally since 2003, peaking in 2007

Global Total

Iraq

WHAT IS THE GLOBAL TERRORISM INDEX?

THE GLOBAL TERRORISM INDEX (GTI) IS A COMPREHENSIVE ATTEMPT TO ACCOUNT FOR THE DIRECT AND RELATIVE IMPACT OF TERRORISM IN 158 COUNTRIES IN TERMS OF ITS EFFECT ON LIVES LOST, INJURIES, AND PROPERTY DAMAGE.

It aggregates the most authoritative data source on terrorism today, the Global Terrorism Database (GTD) into a composite score in order to provide an ordinal ranking of nations on the negative impact of terrorism. The GTD is unique in that it consists of systematically and comprehensively coded data on domestic as well as international terrorist incidents and includes more than 104,000 cases.

Similar in concept to the Global Peace Index (GPI), the GTI is an attempt to capture the direct effects of terrorist related violence, in terms of its physical effect. However by counting prior years with a lower weighting to earlier years it also takes into account the residual effects of terrorism in terms of emotional wounds and fear.

Given the resources committed to counter terrorism efforts internationally today, it is important to analyze and aggregate available data related to terrorism to better understand its various properties such as the differing economic conditions, geopolitical aspects, and ideological aims of terrorists groups; types of strategic and tactical terrorist targets; and how these evolve over time. In this context, one of the key aims of the GTI is to examine these trends to help inform a positive and practical debate about the future of terrorism and policy responses.

The GTI was developed in consultation with the GPI Expert Panel, and in particular with the advice of Expert Panel member and terrorism expert Dr Ekaterina Stepanova. The creation of the index started during the process of updating and improving the terrorism indicator in the GPI from a qualitative measure of the potential for terrorist acts to a quantitative indicator informed by the GTD. The Occupied Palestinian Territories is the only region affected by significant amounts of terrorism that is not included in the index.[3]

Defining terrorism is not a straightforward matter. There is no single internationally accepted definition of what constitutes terrorism, and the terrorism literature abounds with competing definitions and typologies. The GTI accepts the terminology and definitions agreed to by START researchers and its advisory panel. The GTI therefore defines terrorism as "**the threatened or actual use of illegal force and violence by a non-state actor to attain a political, economic, religious, or social goal through fear, coercion, or intimidation"**. This definition recognizes that terrorism is not only the direct physical act of an attack, but also the psychological impact it has on a society, sometimes for many years after.

In the GTD, for data coded from 1997 to today, in order to be included an incident has to be: *"an intentional act of violence or threat of violence by a non-state actor."* This means an incident has to meet three criteria in order for it to be counted as a terrorist act:

1. The incident must be intentional – the result of a conscious calculation on the part of a perpetrator.

2. The incident must entail some level of violence or threat of violence - including property violence, as well as violence against people.

3. The perpetrators of the incidents must be sub-national actors. This database does not include acts of state terrorism.

In addition to this baseline definition, two of the following three criteria also have to be met in order to be included in the GTD from 1997:

• The violent act was aimed at attaining a political, economic, religious, or social goal;

• The violent act included evidence of an intention to coerce, intimidate, or convey some other message to a larger audience (or audiences) other than the immediate victims; and

• The violent act was outside the precepts of international humanitarian law.

This allows researchers flexibility to apply different definitions depending on interpretation and use of the data. In cases where there is insufficient information to make a definitive distinction about whether it is a terrorist incident within the confines of the definition, the database also codes these as 'doubt terrorism proper' incidents. Depending on where the definitional overlap is, between, for instance, a terrorist incident and potentially other forms of crime and political violence, such as insurgency, hate crime, and organized crime, the GTD coders identify where doubt may lie.[4] In order to only count unambiguous incidents of terrorism under the definition, the GTI does not count doubted incidents.

It is important to understand how incidents are counted. According to the GTD codebook; "incidents occurring in both the same geographic and temporal point will be regarded as a single incident, but if either the time of occurrence of incidents or their locations are discontinuous, the events will be regarded as separate incidents." Illustrative examples from the GTD codebook are as follows:[5]

• *Four truck bombs explode nearly simultaneously in different parts of a major city.* This represents four incidents.

• *A bomb goes off, and while police are working on the scene the next day, they are attacked by terrorists with automatic weapons.* These are two separate incidents, as they were not continuous, given the time lag between the two events.

• *A group of militants shoot and kill five guards at a perimeter checkpoint of a petroleum refinery and then proceeds to set explosives and destroy the refinery.* This is one incident since it occurred in a single location (the petroleum refinery) and was one continuous event.

• *A group of hijackers diverts a plane to Senegal and, while at an airport in Senegal, shoots two Senegalese policemen.* This is one incident, since the hijacking was still in progress at the time of the shooting and hence the two events occurred at the same time in the same place.

METHODOLOGY

GTI SCORING SYSTEM

The GTI score for a country in a given year is based on a unique scoring system to account for the relative impact of incidents in the year. There are four factors counted in each country's yearly score:

• Total number of terrorist incidents in a given year.

• Total number of fatalities caused by terrorism in a given year.

• Total number of injuries caused by terrorism in a given year.

• The approximate level of total property damage from terrorist incidents in a given year

Each of the factors is weighted differently and a five year weighted average is applied to importantly reflect the lingering psychological effect of terrorist acts over time. The weightings shown in table one were determined by consultation with the GPI Expert Panel.

TABLE 1 Indicator weights used in the Global Terrorism Index

DIMENSION	WEIGHT
Total number of incidents	1
Total number of fatalities	3
Total number of injuries	0.5
Sum of property damages measure	2

The greatest weighting is attributed to a fatality. It should be noted the property damage measure is further disaggregated into four bands depending on the measured scope of the property damage inflicted by one incident. These bandings are shown in table 2, whereby incidents causing less than US$1 million are accorded a weighting of 1, between $1 million and $1 billion a 2, and more than $1 billion a 3. It should be noted a great majority of incidents are coded in the GTD as an 'unknown' level of property damage, thus scoring nil, with 'catastrophic' events being extremely rare.

TABLE 2 Property damage levels as defined in the GTD and weights used in the Global Terrorism Index

CODE	DAMAGE LEVEL
0	Unknown
1	Minor (likely < $1 million)
2	Major (likely between $1 million and $1 billion)
3	Catastrophic (likely > $1 billion)

EXAMPLE OF A COUNTRY'S GTI SCORE

To assign a relative number to how a country has been directly impacted by terrorism in any given year, for every incident recorded, the GTI calculates a weighted sum of all indicators. To illustrate, table three depicts a hypothetical country's score for a given year.

TABLE 3 Hypothetical country terrorist attacks in a given year

DIMENSION	WEIGHT	# OF RECORDS FOR THE GIVEN YEAR	SCORE
Total number of incidents	1	21	21
Total number of fatalities	3	36	108
Total number of Injuries	0.5	53	26.5
Sum of property damages measure	2	20	40
Total Raw Score			**195.5**

Given these indicator values, the country for that year would be assessed as having a raw impact of terrorism score of:

$$(1\times21) + (3\times36) + (0.5\times53) + (2\times20) = \mathbf{195.5.}$$

FIVE YEAR WEIGHTED AVERAGE

To account for the lingering effect terrorist attacks have on a society in terms of fear and subsequent security response, the GTI takes into consideration the events of previous years as having a bearing on a country's score in the current year. The rationale for this is based on the fundamental function terrorist acts aim to serve, which is the systematic use of fear and terror to coerce a population. For instance, the scale of the 2011 terrorist attacks in Norway will continue to have a psychological impact on the population for many years to come. The scoring system presented here attempts to account for this by weighting the country's previous scores using the values shown in table four.

TABLE 4 Weighting of Historical Scores

YEAR	WEIGHT	% OF SCORE
Current year	16	52%
Previous year	8	26%
Two years ago	4	13%
Three years ago	2	6%
Four years ago	1	3%

LOGARITHMIC BANDING ON A SCALE OF 0-10

The impact of terrorism is not evenly distributed throughout the world; there are a handful of countries with very high levels of terrorism compared to many countries which experience only very small amounts, if not zero terrorism. Hence, the GTI uses a base 10 logarithmic banding system between 0 and 10 at 0.5 intervals.

As shown in Table 5, mapping the scores in this way yields a total of 21 bands. This maps all values to a band of size 0.5 within the scale of 0-10. In order to band these scores the following method is used:

1. Define the minimum GTI raw weighted average score across all country data as having a banded score of 0

2. Define the maximum GTI raw weighted average score across all country data as having a banded score of 10

3. Subtract the Minimum from the Maximum GTI scores and calculate score by:
    a) Root = 2*(Highest GTI Banded Score - Lowest GTI Banded Score) = 20*(10-0) =20
    b) Range = 2*(Highest Recorded GTI Raw Score – Lowest Recorded GTI Raw Score)
    c) score = $^{Root}\sqrt{Range}$

4. The mapped band cut-off value n is $score^n$.

Following this method produces mapping of GTI scores to the set bands as defined in Table 5.

TABLE 5 Scoring bands used in the GTI

BAND #	BANDS	BANDS CUT OFF VALUE	BAND #	BANDS	BANDS CUT OFF VALUE
1	0	0.00	12	5.5	218.06
2	0.5	1.63	13	6	355.77
3	1	2.66	14	6.5	580.45
4	1.5	4.34	15	7	947.03
5	2	7.09	16	7.5	1545.12
6	2.5	11.56	17	8	2520.93
7	3	18.86	18	8.5	4113.00
8	3.5	30.77	19	9	6710.52
9	4	50.21	20	9.5	10948.48
10	4.5	81.92	21	10	17862.87
11	5	133.65			

Using these bands, the distribution of scores is depicted in Chart two below.

In following this method of scoring, weighting and banding, the GTI can be seen as a relative indicator of how terrorism impacts a country compared to all other countries in the GTD. This importantly recognizes that there are diminishing returns to terrorism in terms of its psychological, economic, political and cultural impact. A terrorist incident killing one person is likely to have a greater psychological impact in a country with zero terrorist incidents than in a country like Iraq where terrorism is a regular, if not daily occurrence.[6]

CHART 2 Raw Score vs Banded Score, Global Terrorism Index 2011
The banded score, which measures the 'impact' of terrorism, has a much more even distribution than the raw score
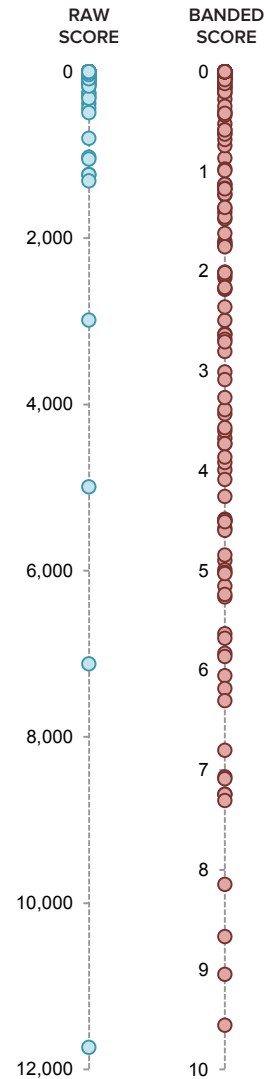
HOW DOES THE GTI CLASSIFY COUNTRIES INTO DIFFERENT CATEGORIES?

BY GOVERNMENT TYPE

The government type groups in this report are based on the Economist Intelligence Unit's (EIU) classifications. The EIU compile the Democracy Index which uses 60 indicators grouped into five categories: electoral process and pluralism, civil liberties, functioning of government, political participation and political culture. The 60 indicators are aggregated to give a score between zero and ten:

• Full democracies: scores of 8 to 10

• Flawed democracies: scores of 6 to 7.9

• Hybrid regimes: scores of 4 to 5.9

• Authoritarian regimes: scores of 0 to 3.9

BY INCOME GROUP

The income groupings used in this report are based on the World Bank's classifications. Countries are categorised using the 2011 Gross National Product (GNI) per capita in U.S. dollars:

• *Low Income:* $1,025 or less

• *Lower Middle Income:* $1,026 - $4,035

• *Upper Middle Income:* $4,036 - $12,475

• *High Income:* $12,476 or more

SECTION 1 REFERENCES

1. This only captures the success of terrorist incidents once they have been executed and not foiled attempts by security and counter terrorism authorities.

2. Afghanistan has been included in the Asia-Pacific region.

3. This follows Global Peace Index convention, further detail on the Palestinian score is provided in the Results section of this report.

4. Where there is doubt, GTD analysts would code an incident as conforming to one of four possible alternative designations: 1) Insurgency/Guerilla Action; 2) Other Crime Type; 3) Intra/Inter-group Conflict; or 4) Lack of Intentionality.

5. (2012). Global Terrorism Database: Codebook: Inclusion Criteria and Variables. Washington D.C. , National Consortium for the Study of Terrorism and Responses to Terrorism (START). pp7 URL: http://www.start.umd.edu/gtd/downloads/Codebook.pdf

6. Throughout this report the following four terms will be used to describe trends in the data:

• **GTI incident score:** The GTI score of an individual incident

• **Annual GTI activity score:** the sum total of the GTI Incident score all events in any given year, used as an indicator of how active terrorism was in any given year

• **Annual GTI raw weighted average score:** is the 5 year weighted average of the Annual GTI activity score used as an indicator of both the immediate and lingering impact of terrorism

• **Annual GTI banded score:** the Annual GTI raw weighted average score logarithmically banded between 0 to 10

RESULTS
OVERVIEW

THE GLOBAL IMPACT OF TERRORISM INCREASED SIGNIFICANTLY FROM 2002 TO 2007. IT REACHED ITS PEAK IN 2007 AND HAS SINCE PLATEAUED.

The biggest rise took place over the period from 2005 to 2007 when the majority of the global increase in terrorism was driven by events in Iraq. Four other countries also significantly contributed to the global rise with Pakistan, India, Afghanistan, and the Philippines all experiencing increases, especially between 2007 and 2009.

It is worth noting only 20 nations scored a zero for terrorist impact over the 2002-2011 period, indicating the impact of terror, while heavily concentrated in some places like Iraq, Afghanistan, Pakistan, and India, is nonetheless widely distributed around the world.

There has been a significant increase in the total number of terrorist incidents over the ten year period with the number of terrorist incidents increasing by 464%. The most significant jump was from 2007 to 2008 with incidents rising from 2520 to over 4000. Since then the number of incidents has plateaued. The success rate of these attacks remained very high ranging between 89% and 97%. In 2011 the average rate of success was 91%. From 2004 there has been an increase in the total global number of injuries from terrorist incidents which reached its peak in 2009, while the number of fatalities peaked in 2007 and by 2011 were back to a similar level to 2006.

The results for 2011 show Iraq, Pakistan and Afghanistan were the three countries most affected by terrorism that year. Of the 158 nations included in the GTI, 84 did not suffer a terrorist incident in 2011.

KEY FACTS

• The number of incidents and the number of successful attacks has steadily increased over the last decade.

• Of the 158 countries ranked, only 20 did not experience any terrorist impact over the 2002-2011 period.

• Most terrorist attacks occur in the context of a wider conflict situation.

• Terrorist attacks are highly concentrated in a relatively few places; the ten countries with the most terrorist incidents for 2011 accounted for 87% of total global incidents. All ten recorded over 100 incidents for the year.

• From 2002 to 2011 over one third of all victims killed in terrorist attacks were Iraqi.

• By the end of 2011, Iraq and Afghanistan accounted for 35% of the global total number of terrorist incidents from 2002.

• Whilst religious terrorism often gets widespread coverage, there is a significant level of terrorism from non-religious groups.

• Western Europe experienced many more terrorist incidents than the U.S. from 2002 to 2011, with 19 times more deaths than the U.S.

• Terrorists were most likely to target private citizens and property, government, police, and business. The trends for these attacks have been increasing as a percentage for all targets since 2002.

• Global incidents, fatalities and injuries are dominated by events in Lower Middle Income Countries, *not Low Income countries,* with 65% of incidents, 69% of fatalities and 73% of all injuries recorded in Lower Middle Income countries.

• Lower Middle Income Countries account for seven of the ten countries most affected by terrorism.

• The majority of global incidents, fatalities and injuries occur in countries with Hybrid Regimes, which account for 46% of incidents, 54% of fatalities and 60% of all injuries.

•   Terrorism correlates with:

Group grievances: Countries with low levels of group grievances score better on the Global Terrorism Index. As grievances increase within a group, scores on the Global Terrorism Index also increase.

• **Intergroup cohesion:** Countries with high levels of Intergroup cohesion score better on the Global Terrorism Index.

• **Political instability:** Countries with high levels of political instability also score poorly on the Global Terrorism Index.

• **Human rights:** Countries that are more compliant with international human rights obligations score better on the Global Terrorism Index.

COUNTRIES MOST AFFECTED BY TERRORISM

Table six shows the ten countries most affected by terrorism in 2011.

TABLE 6 Ten countries most affected by terrorism in 2011

RANK	COUNTRY	GTI SCORE
1	Iraq	9.56
2	Pakistan	9.05
3	Afghanistan	8.67
4	India	8.15
5	Yemen	7.30
6	Somalia	7.24
7	Nigeria	7.24
8	Thailand	7.09
9	Russia	7.07
10	Philippines	6.80

It is worth noting that only 43 countries scored a zero for terrorist impact in 2011. While terrorism is highly concentrated in places such as Iraq, Afghanistan, Pakistan, and India it is also widely distributed across the world.

It is important to note the only area that registers notable amounts of terrorist activity that has not been included in the index is the Occupied Palestinian Territories (OPT). This is because the index only ranks independent states as recognized by the UN General Assembly. However the GTD does record incidents in the OPT and registered 369 incidents resulting in 435 fatalities over the last decade. Incidents and fatalities were high in 2002 but saw a dramatic decline until 2007 where, coinciding with the Battle of Gaza, there was a drastic increase. The trend since this conflict and the subsequent splitting of power between Hamas and Fatah has once again been decreasing with 17 incidents in 2011 resulting in 14 fatalities.

There is no clearly discernible pattern in the countries that have been free of terrorism for the last five years. Some are low income countries such as Sierra Leone, Malawi or Burkina Faso, others have high rates of violent crime as such El Salvador or the Dominican Republic. Full democracies are represented by Poland and Iceland whereas authoritarian regimes are represented by North Korea and Laos.

TABLE 7 Countries with no terrorist impact in 2011

COUNTRY		
Brazil	Iceland	Panama
Botswana	Jamaica	Poland
Burkina Faso	South Korea	Romania
Republic of Congo	Laos	Sierra Leone
Costa Rica	Latvia	Singapore
Croatia	Liberia	Slovakia
Cuba	Lithuania	Slovenia
Djibouti	Malawi	Taiwan
Dominican Republic	Mauritius	Trinidad and Tobago
El Salvador	Mongolia	Turkmenistan
Gabon	Montenegro	Uruguay
Gambia	Namibia	Vietnam
Ghana	Nicaragua	Zambia
Guatemala	North Korea	
Guinea	Oman	

TERRORIST
INCIDENTS
2002-2011

LOCATION OF ATTACKS SINCE 2002

Through matching the GTD with a comprehensive database of world cities, IEP has geocoded approximately 90% of incidents with latitude and longitude locations. The map overleaf depicts the result of this analysis, with events grouped by location.

The size of the red circles represents the size of the GTI score for that event. It is clear from this map that terrorism is a global phenomenon, however, it is also apparent that the magnitude of attacks varies from region to region, with North America, Australia and large parts of North East Asia rarely being targeted by large terrorist incidents.

The black circles represent the twenty worst attacks since 2002. Of these attacks, listed in Table eight, 11 have occurred in Iraq. Number one on this list however occurred in 2004 and was perpetrated by the then terrorist organization Communist Party of Nepal – Maoist (CPN-M) in their fight to overthrow the monarchy of Nepal.

The second highest ranking incident is the Madrid train bombing which occurred on 11 March 2004, claiming 191 lives. This attack was conducted by the Abu Hafs al-Masri Brigades, a jihadist organisation with links to Al-Qa'ida.

The third highest ranked incident is the Beslan School Hostage crisis of 2004. This act was perpetrated over three days by a group of 30-35 Chechen Rebels fighting for Chechnya's independence from Russia. By the end of the siege 344 lives were lost with another 727 people wounded.

The fourth highest ranking incident occurred on 30 March 2007 in the Tel Afar district of Iraq. In this instance, car bombs were detonated in residential areas, which resulted in revenge killings later on that day. In total, 290 people were killed while 340 people were injured. No organisation has claimed responsibility for these attacks.

The train bombings in Mumbai, India on the 7th December 2006 ranks fifth in the GTI. These attacks are suspected to have been carried out by the Lashkar-e Taiba group, one of the largest militant Islamic groups in south Asia. Operating mainly from Pakistan, the aim of this group is to "liberate" Muslims residing in Indian Kashmir, an area of frequent civil unrest.

The 2005 London Bombings rank 19th on the list of terrorist attacks since 2002. These occurred on 7 July 2005 attacking the underground tube and bus service, injuring 784 people and killing 56.

The GTD is also sensitive to smaller incidents. As an example, it includes an incident that occurred in Sydney, Australia in 2006. On this occasion a group a men threw rocks at Synagogues in a large suburb of Sydney damaging windows and nearby cars. This demonstrates the comprehensive span of the events recorded in the GTD.
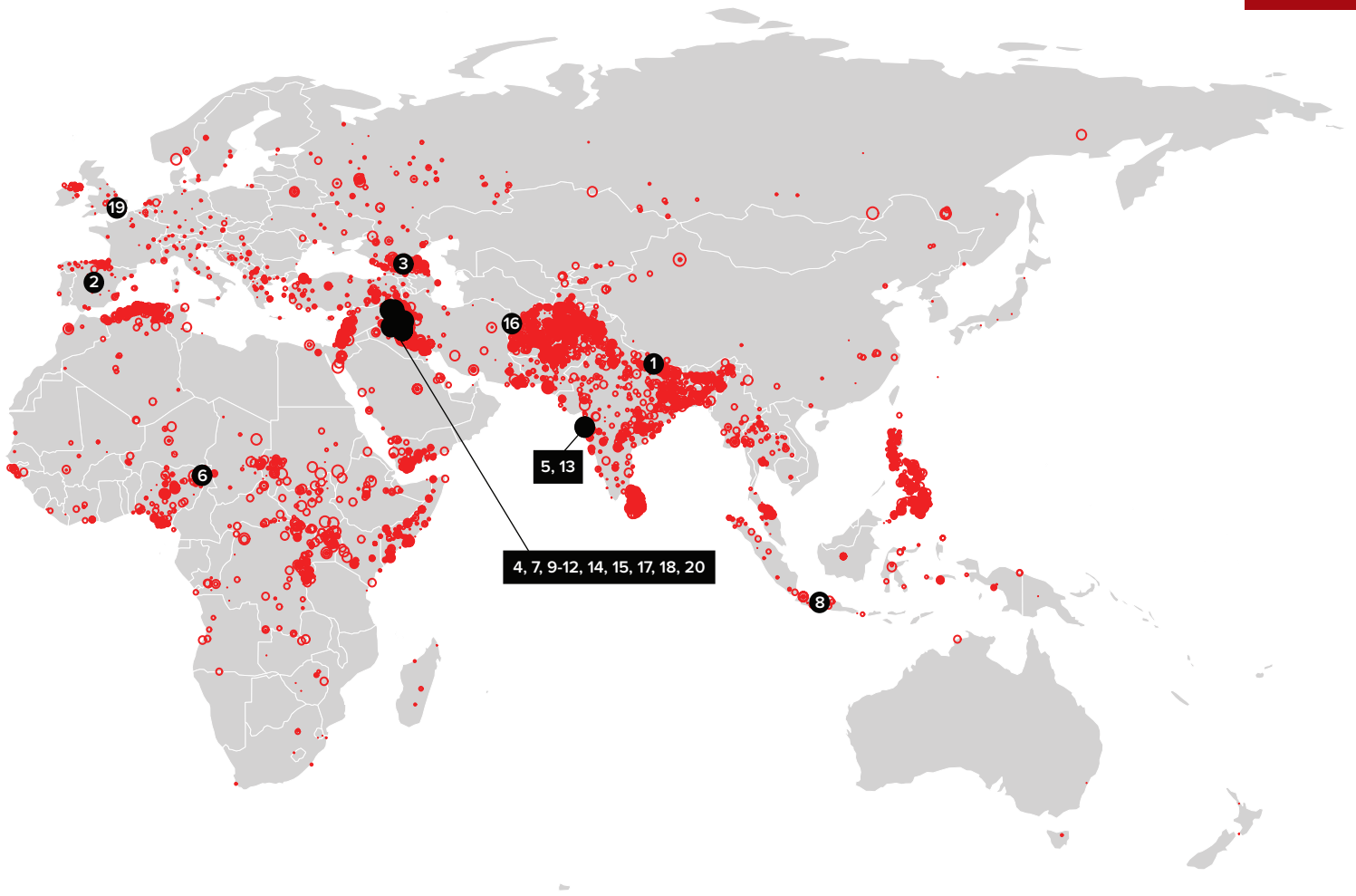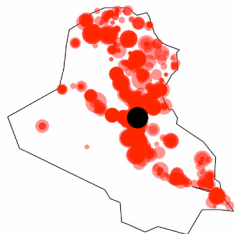
TABLE 8 Worst terrorist attacks over the period 2002-2011[7]

RANK	COUNTRY	CITY	DATE	FATALITIES	INJURIES
1	Nepal	Bedi	21/3/2004	518	216
2	Spain	Madrid	11/3/2004	191	1800
3	Russia	Beslan	1/9/2004	344	727
4	Iraq	Tal Afar	30/3/2007	290	340
5	India	Mumbai	12/7/2006	187	817
6	Nigeria	Maiduguri	27/7/2009	304	Unknown
7	Iraq	Baghdad	l25/10/2009	153	720
8	Indonesia	Kuta	12/10/2002	202	300
9	Iraq	Baghdad	14/9/2005	160	542
10	Iraq	Baghdad	23/11/2006	202	257
11	Iraq	Baghdad	3/12/2006	183	278
12	Iraq	Kahtaniyah	15/8/2007	200	170
13	India	Mumbai	26/11/2008	183	252
14	Iraq	Baghdad	8/12/2009	132	500
15	Iraq	Tal Afar	27/3/2007	153	351
16	Afghanistan	Herat	12/5/2006	206	1
17	Iraq	Mosul	16/8/2007	200	Unknown
18	Iraq	Baghdad	19/8/2009	104	568
19	United Kingdom	London	7/7/2005	56	784
20	Iraq	Amerli	7/7/2007	150	250

10 COUNTRIES WHERE TERRORISM HAD THE GREATEST IMPACT IN 2011

● Location of a terrorist incident, 2002-2011
● Location of worst terrorist incident, 2002-2011

1. IRAQ - 9.56

INCIDENTS: 1228
FATALITIES: 1798
INJURIES: 4905

Iraq has suffered the most devastation from terrorism out of any nation over the last decade. The type of attacks used by terrorists is almost exclusively firearms and bombs/explosives which is a reflection of the wider conflict and context in which terrorist incidents occur. Although the majority of the terrorist incidents were not claimed by any group, out of the attacks in which the perpetrator was known, most were carried out by Islamic extremists. Targets of the terrorist attacks were private citizens and property, police and government institutions. In terms of the geographical distribution of terrorist attacks, 45% occurred in Baghdad. Other theatres of conflict like the cities of Mosul, Kirkuk and Fallujah saw high numbers of attacks and deaths. A total of nearly 500 different cities and towns experienced some kind of terrorism, indicating that terrorism was diffuse and spread across the whole of the country. The number of deaths from terrorist attacks, including suicide bombings, peaked circa 2007. In 2011, the number of fatalities had dropped to 2004 levels.

Although Iraq made significant improvements with reductions in the number of people displaced, and the likelihood of violent demonstrations, political instability and the ongoing conflict makes Iraq one of the most violent places on Earth. Iraq also suffers from high levels of corruption and poorly functioning governments despite having high levels of political participation by its citizens.

WORST INCIDENT, 2002-2011

Date: 23/11/2006
Location: Baghdad
Target: Private Citizens and Property
Group Responsible: Unknown
Fatalities: 202
Injuries: 257

Five car bombs exploded, three suicide bombs and two detonated in parked cars, and two mortars struck Sadr City, the Shi`i slum in Baghdad, Iraq, killing 202 and injuring 257. The car bombs exploded at 15 minute intervals while the mortars struck at the same time. The car bombs struck Jamila market, al-Hay market and al-Shahidein Square, while the mortars landed in al-Shahidein Square and Mudhafar Square; there were no security forces present at the bombing sites. No group immediately claimed responsibility for the attacks.

2. PAKISTAN - 9.05

INCIDENTS: 910
FATALITIES: 1468
INJURIES: 2459
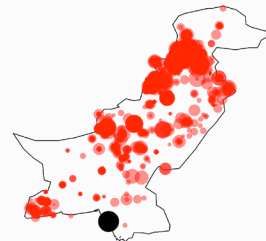
The number of fatalities has been trending upwards for the last decade going from 96 deaths recorded in 2002, to 1468 in 2011. Almost two thirds of the terrorist attacks were in the form of bombings/explosions followed by firearms. Most attacks took place in Karachi, Peshawar and Quetta with further significant activity in Bajaur, Dera Bugti (District), Khyber (District) and Mohmand. This indicates significant and widespread terrorist activities within Pakistan. Pakistan is dealing with many Islamic groups other than the Taliban such as Tehrik-e-Taliban Pakistan (TTP) or internal tensions between ethnic/tribal groups and the government in Islamabad.

With respect to the Pillars of Peace,[8] Pakistan has extremely high levels of corruption and performs badly in the 'Acceptance of the Rights of Others' indicator. In fact, Pakistan is well below the world average on all eight Pillars of Peace indicators: *Well-functioning Government, Sound Business Environment, Equitable Distribution of Resources, Good Relations with Neighbors, Free Flow of Information, Acceptance of the Rights of Others, High Levels of Education* and *Low levels of Corruption*. Pakistan ranks fourth last in the Positive Peace index.

WORST INCIDENT, 2002-2011

Date: 18/10/2007
Location: Karachi
Target: Government
Group Responsible: Harkatul Jiahd-e-Islami
Fatalities: 141
Injuries: 250

Approximately 141 Pakistanis were killed, more than 250 others were wounded, and at least three police vans and several other vehicles were destroyed when one suspected Harkatul Jihad-e-Islami (HUJI) perpetrator threw a grenade and a suicide bomber immediately detonated a vehicle-borne improvised explosive device (VBIED) adjacent to a homecoming procession for exiled former Pakistani Prime Minister Benazir Bhutto in Karsaz neighborhood, Karachi, Sindh Province, Pakistan.

3. AFGHANISTAN - 8.67

INCIDENTS: 364
FATALITIES: 1293
INJURIES: 1882

4. INDIA - 8.15

INCIDENTS: 529
FATALITIES: 402
INJURIES: 667
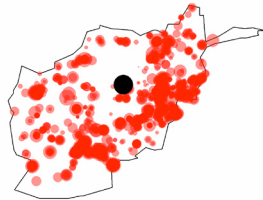
The history of Afghanistan's experience with terrorism is intimately linked with its history of conflict with foreign forces, most notably Russia and more recently the U.S. led "War on Terrorism". Terrorists in Afghanistan attack a wider range targets with private citizens being targeted heavily. There are also an unusually high number of attacks against businesses, educational institutions, police and the government. The military is being attacked in less than 3% of instances. This indicates that the Taliban is also engaged in war against civil society, and is the main perpetrator of terrorist attacks, against schools, primarily aimed at girls, as well as attacks on election/polling stations, and road construction teams. Although terrorist incidents occurred all over the country, Kabul and Kandahar experienced the most.

During 2011, Afghanistan has seen a small decline in its overall level of peacefulness. This was primarily driven by an increase in both political instability and the number of displaced people (refugees and internally displaced people) as a percentage of the population. Although there was a minor decrease in the likelihood of violent demonstrations, Afghanistan's situation still remains precarious, being the second least peaceful nation on Earth according to the GPI.

WORST INCIDENT, 2002-2011

Date: 17/02/2008
Location: Kandahar
Target: Military
Group Responsible: Taliban
Fatalities: 101
Injuries: 100

A suicide bomber detonated an explosive at a dog fight in the Bagh-e Pol area of Kandahar, which killed approximately 100 people and injured approximately 100 people; the casualties included both men and children. Authorities are fairly certain that the target of this attack was Abdul Hakim Jan, an anti-Taliban militia leader, who attended the match. Although it was initially suspected that the Taliban carried out this attack, which they adamantly denied, a Taliban splinter group named Jaysh al-Muslimin (Army of the Muslims), led by Mullah Sayed Mohammad, claimed responsibility and seven members of said group were arrested in connection with this attack along with two other suicide attacks in Kandahar.
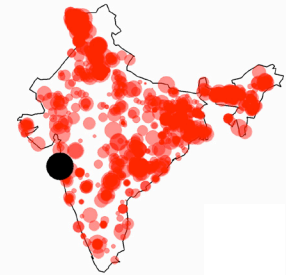
India's experience with terrorism, like other countries in the region, can also be roughly divided into foreign and 'home-grown' terrorism. Foreign terrorism broadly covers the dispute over Kashmir with Pakistan. Both foreign and home-grown terrorism have underlying nationalist/ separatist aspirations although the overarching ideological formulation is different: in the case of Kashmir, the ideology is largely religious (Islamic) whilst the other is political (communist). The communist insurgency in north-eastern India is quite large, with large swathes of the country in conflict. The Communist Party of India – Maoists (CPI-M) by itself is responsible for nearly 45% of all attacks in India. If we include all groups affiliated with the Maoist insurgency, the vast majority of terrorism which occurs in India is by nationalists/separatists who are politically motivated. The political nature of both the conflict and terrorism is reflected in the above average numbers of kidnappings which constituted almost 10% of the total attacks. Kidnappings often involve ransoms and other demands which must be met in order to release the hostages – this is often used as a political tool.

India ranks 89th out of the 108 countries in the Positive Peace index. It performs poorly on all the indicators of positive peace where it falls below the world average although the Well-functioning Government indicator is close to the world average. It ranks third last in the region in terms of having the necessary formal and informal institutions in place which can create and sustain a peaceful environment.

WORST INCIDENT, 2002-2011

Date: 12/07/2006
Location: Mumbai
Target: Transportation
Group Responsible: Lashkar-e-Taiba
Fatalities: 187
Injuries: 817

A series of train bombings suspected to be carried out by the Lashkar-e Taiba group killed at least 187 civilians in Mumbai, India. The train bombing injured another 817 others injured in a string of seven blasts that spanned 56 kms, from Churchgate to Mira Road. One of the 13 arrested suspects, Asif Bashir Khan alias Junaid, emerged as the chief operative of the militant outfit, Lashkar-e Taiyiba. Fifteen others remained wanted at the time, including nine Pakistani nationals.

● Location of a terrorist incident, 2002-2011

● Location of worst terrorist incident, 2002-2011

5. YEMEN - 7.30

INCIDENTS: 113
FATALITIES: 454
INJURIES: 415
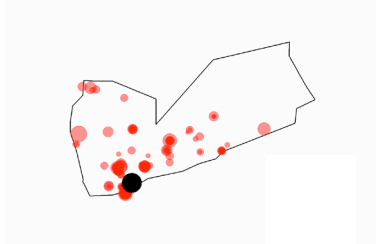
Yemen is one of the few countries where private citizens and civilians are not the primary targets of terrorist attacks. During the last decade, almost a third of all attacks were aimed at the military. The police and the government were also major targets. Due to the targeting of tourists, which involves kidnappings, many countries advise against travelling to Yemen. Al-Qa'ida in the Arab Peninsula (AQAP), along with its affiliated and associated groups, carries out most of the known attacks. Conversely, Islamic terrorist groups make up the overwhelming majority of terrorist groups known to have carried out attacks in Yemen. AQAP was behind the infamous attack on USS Cole. In keeping with the global trends, most terrorist attacks were either bombings/explosions or armed attacks. Most terrorist activities took place in the west of the country, in the cities of Sanaa and Aden.

Yemen is ranked 143rd out of the 158 nations in the 2012 Global Peace Index, making it one of the least peaceful nations. Despite its overall level of peacefulness improving marginally, it saw a sharp deterioration in its 'Political Terror Scale' which measures a country's respect for and adherence to political rights. 15-34 year old males constitute approximately a third of the population.

WORST INCIDENT, 2002-2011

Date: 28/03/2011
Location: Ja'ar
Target: Business
Group Responsible: Al-Qa'ida in the Arabian Peninsula (AQAP)
Fatalities: 110
Injuries: 45

Near Ja'ar in Abyan, Yemen, suspected Al-Qa'ida Organization in the Arabian Peninsula (AQAP) militants lit a cigarette to detonate explosives at an ammunition factory a day after looting weapons from the factory. At least 110 Yemenis were killed and 45 others were injured. An unknown amount of property damage was reported. No group claimed responsibility.

6. SOMALIA - 7.24

INCIDENTS: 175
FATALITIES: 294
INJURIES: 493
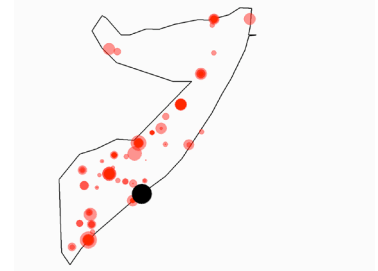
The number of fatalities has sharply risen in Somalia since 2002, with 2011 being their deadliest year with 171 lives lost. 80% of the known attacks were by al-Shabaab whose raison d'etre is to fight the "enemies of Islam", which include the Somali, Ethiopian and U.S. Other than private citizens, the government was the main target of terrorist attacks. Although bombings/explosions were mostly used in the attacks, hostage taking or kidnapping has become the most popular method comprising almost half of all attacks in 2011. Terrorism in Somalia appears to predominantly revolve around the activities of al-Shabaab which was originally a nationalist organisation. Their control of Somalia currently extends from the south to central Somalia.

Somalia is ranked at the bottom of the 2012 Global Peace Index, the least peaceful nation. Somalia saw a further deterioration of its internal peace over the past year as political instability increased to the -worst possible score on the GPI. The legacy of violence is keenly felt in Somalia which has one of the highest infant mortality rates and lowest rates of adult literacy (10%).

WORST INCIDENT, 2002-2011

Date: 04/10/2011
Location: Mogadishu
Target: Government
Group Responsible: Al-Shabaab
Fatalities: 71
Injuries: 42

In Mogadishu, Banaadir, Somalia, 70 people were killed and 42 people were injured when a Somali national, Bashar Abdulahi Nur, detonated a suicide vehicle borne improvised explosive device (SVBIED) targeting the compound that houses several Somali government ministries. The SVBIED was made of a truck that had been loaded with drums of fuel. The attack caused an unknown amount of material damage. The militant group Al-Shabaab claimed responsibility for the attack.

7. NIGERIA - 7.24

INCIDENTS: 168
FATALITIES: 437
INJURIES: 614
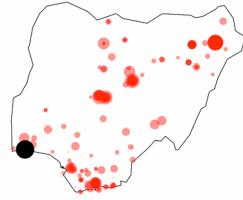
The number of fatalities in Nigeria has steadily increased over the last decade, and has seen a dramatic increase in 2011 with 165 lives lost as opposed to 57 in 2010. Until recently, most of the terrorist activity was associated with the dispute in the Niger Delta over oil extraction and claims of exploitation. The most active group in that period was the Movement for the Emancipation of the Niger Delta. In recent years, Boko Haram, an Islamic terrorist group has operated in the north/north east of the country where it has carried out a wave of attacks against local Christians, churches and schools. Boko Haram's main enemy is the government, as they hope to implement Sharia law, as opposed to 'man-made laws'. This can be observed in its choice of targets which include religious institutions, government buildings, the police and businesses in an attempt to precipitate a war. In keeping with global trends, terrorism in Nigeria almost entirely consisted of armed assault and bombings/explosions.

Nigeria also performs poorly on the Positive Peace Index where it ranks third last, scoring well below the global average on all indicators. Its poor performance is especially noticeable in the areas of Equitable Distribution of Resources, Acceptance of the Rights of Others and Low Levels of Corruption.

WORST INCIDENT, 2002-2011

Date: 12/05/2006
Location: Atlas Creek Island
Target: Utilities
Group Responsible: Movement for the Emacipation of the Niger Delta (MEND)
Fatalities: 200
Injuries: Unknown

An unknown number of members of the Movement for the Emancipation of the Niger Delta (MEND) used explosives to blow up an oil pipline killing 200 in Atlas Creek Island, Nigeria.

8. THAILAND - 7.09

INCIDENTS: 173
FATALITIES: 142
INJURIES: 427

The number of fatalities has fluctuated in the last decade, although generally trending upwards. 2009 was the worst year with 283 deaths. More than 85% of terrorist attacks were not claimed nor attributed to any group. It is due to the anonymity of the insurgents that has made it difficult for the Thai government to engage in negotiations. However, out of the terrorists attacks which were claimed or attributed to a group, almost all entirely are related to the insurgency in the south of the country between Muslim separatists and the Thai government. The main targets excluding private citizens were businesses, police and educational institutions including schools which terrorists regarded as representing the Thai government.

Thailand ranks 70th out of 108 nations in the Positive Peace Index. Thailand falls just below the world average on most indicators apart from Equitable Distribution of Resources where it is above the global average. It performs poorly, relative to the world average on the Acceptance of the Rights of Others.

WORST INCIDENT, 2002-2011

Date: 08/06/2009
Location: Joh I Rong
Target: Religious Figures/Institutions
Group Responsible: Unknown
Fatalities: 10
Injuries: 13

Around 8.30pm, insurgents launched an attack at a mosque in Thailand's southern most province of Narathiwat, killing at least 10, injuring 13. The attack occurred when five gunmen armed with assault rifles slipped through a back door into the mosque in Ibaye village, Juak Sub-district, Cho-ai- rong district in Narathiwat province where there were about 50 worshippers inside the mosque. No group claimed responsibility.

● Location of a terrorist incident, 2002-2011

● Location of worst terrorist incident, 2002-2011

9. RUSSIA - 7.07

INCIDENTS: 182
FATALITIES: 159
INJURIES: 431
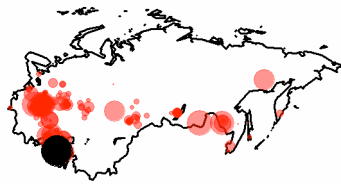
Russia is another country where private citizens are not the main targets of terrorist activities. 45% of all attacks are either against the police or the government. The number of fatalities has trended upwards since 2002, hitting its maximum in 2010. In keeping with global trends, armed assault and bombings/explosions composed over 75% of the attacks. 10% of terrorist attacks were assassinations which is an unusually high number by global standards, suggesting that the assassinations were of a political nature. Whilst most terrorist attacks weren't claimed by any group, out of those which were known, the most numerous were carried out by Chechen Rebels and the Caucasus Emirate. The dispute over Chechnya continues to be the main source of terrorist violence in Russia.

Russia is ranked 71 out of 108 in the Positive Peace Index, just below Thailand. Russia's performance on the various indicators is mixed. Although it performs above the global average on Equitable Distribution of Resources, Good Relations with Neighbors and High Levels of Education, its level of corruption is amongst the worst in the world.

WORST INCIDENT, 2002-2011

Date: 01/09/2004
Location: Beslan
Target: Educational Institution
Group Responsible: Riyadus-Salikhin Reconnaissance and Sabotage Battalion of Chechen Martyrs
Fatalities: 344
Injuries: 727

A group of thirty to thirty-five armed Chechen Rebels (non-specific), including men and women, many wearing suicide bomber belts, seized a school in Beslan in the Pravoberezhny district of North Ossetia, Russia. The perpetartors took approximately 1200 children, parents, and teachers hostage in the school gym. By the conclusion of the seize 727 people had been injured and 344 had been killed.

10. PHILLIPINES - 6.80

INCIDENTS: 125
FATALITIES: 120
INJURIES: 213

The last decade has seen the number of fatalities fluctuate year on year from a maximum of 212 in 2003 to a minimum of 19 in 2006. This is in contrast to 120 fatalities in 2011. Terrorism in the Philippines is intrinsically tied with nationalist/separatist claims by people living in provinces in southern Philippines. Terrorist acts are primarily carried out by the New People's Army, Moro Islamic Liberation Front and the Abu Sayyaf Group. Although both communist and Islamic groups operate within those regions, their goals overlap significantly with both groups seeking increased autonomy. The groups have been known to work together: for instance, Al-Khobar was reported to have been led by MILF which itself is a separatist faction of the Moro National Liberation Front (MNLF).

Excluding private citizens and property, businesses and the government were most likely targets for terrorists in Philippines.

The Philippines ranks 9th within the Asia-Pacific region and is ranked 74th overall in the Positive Peace index. Its performance on the indicators is mixed with it performing relatively well in the Acceptance of the Rights of Others and High Levels of Education indicators. It underperforms in the other indicators with the poorest being Low Levels of Corruption where it is amongst the most corrupt in the world.

WORST INCIDENT, 2002-2011

Date: 27/02/2004
Location: Manilla
Target: Maritime
Group Responsible: Abu Sayyaf Group (ASG)
Fatalities: 116
Injuries: Not recorded

A bomb consisting of eight pounds of TNT planted in a TV set by an Abu Sayyaf member caused a powerful explosion and large fire that destroyed the Superferry 14 in Manila Bay about an hour after it left Manila, Philippines. The ferry was carrying 899 passengers and crew, 116 of whom were killed by the attack. Abu Sayyaf spokesman Abu Soliman and leader Khaddafy Janjalani claimed responsibility for the attack on behalf of the group.

CHANGE IN THE IMPACT OF TERRORISM, 2002-2011

To investigate trends in the relative impact of terrorism the 2011 GTI Annual Weighted Average Scores were subtracted from 2002 scores for each country. Table 9 lists the five countries with the greatest increases and decreases while chart four shows the relative size of these differences. Iraq has suffered from the largest GTI score increase since 2002. The violent decade suffered by Iraq is a repeating trend in the data and coincides with the Second Gulf War. With its continued internal struggles and external tensions Pakistan is the country that has next suffered the largest increase in GTI score. War torn Afghanistan has suffered the third largest increase in GTI score.

The five countries that have seen the largest decrease in GTI score were plagued in the early parts of the decade either by civil wars or religious violence. After being the target of the largest incident recorded in the GTD on 9/11, the U.S. has seen the largest decrease in GTI score since 2002.

Since 2002, a total of 72 countries have seen their GTI raw score increase. Conversely 86 countries have had their GTI raw score improve or remain the same. This shows the increasing spread of global terrorism over the period.

TABLE 9 Countries where the impact of terrorism has increased or decreased the most from 2002 to 2011

RANK	INCREASING	DECREASING
1	Iraq	United States
2	Pakistan	Algeria
3	Afghanistan	Colombia
4	Yemen	Israel
5	Somalia	Indonesia

CHART 3 Number of countries increasing or decreasing in terrorist activity, 2002-2011
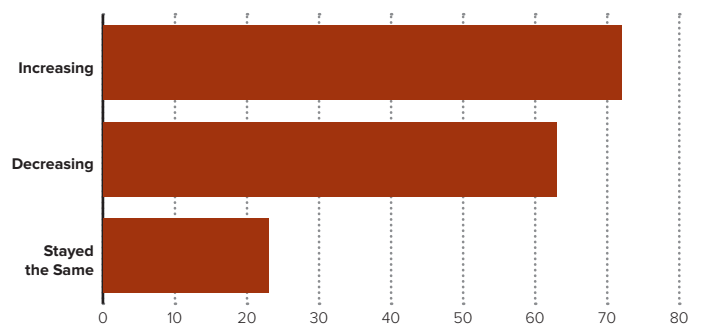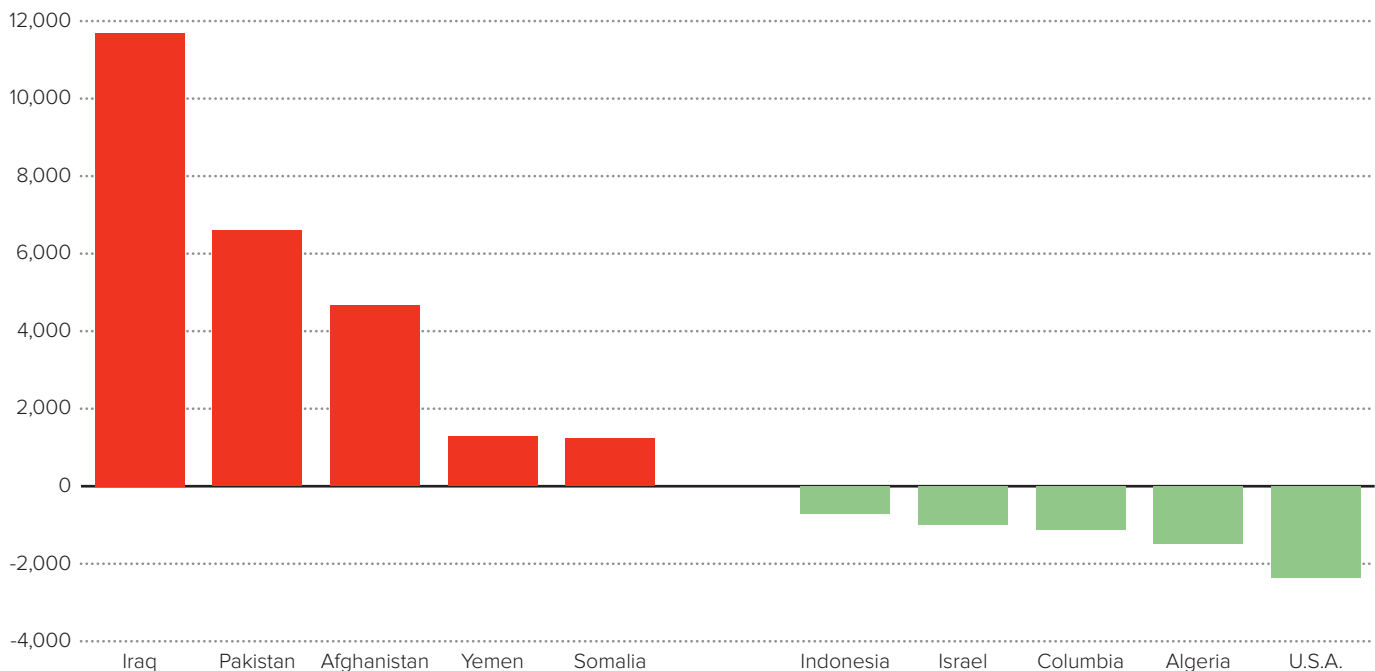

CHART 4 Largest increases and decreases in GTI raw score
Global increases in GTI score are over three times the equivalent global decreases

The following five countries experienced the largest decreases in the impact of terrorism over the last decade.

UNITED STATES - 1st to 41st

9/11 was one of the most catastrophic terrorist attacks in history when members from Al-Qa'ida hijacked four commercial passenger aircraft and flew them into major targets in New York and Washington D.C. Since then, between 2002-2011, the United States has been victim to a further 127 terrorist incidents on home soil. Of these, 30% were perpetrated by the Earth Liberation Front (ELF); The Animal Liberation Front (ALF) and the acts of individuals accounted for 18% each. The perpetrators of 20% of all attacks are unknown. Anti-abortion activists were responsible for 7% of all attacks. Organisations such as the Ku Klux Klan, Al-Qa'ida in the Arabian Peninsula (AQAP) and Tehrik-i-Taliban Pakistan (TTP) made up less than 3% of the attacks. The loss of lives from all terrorist attacks between 2002 and 2011 has totaled 23, with a further 76 individuals injured. In global terms this is a relatively low level of activity. The United States was the country with the largest decline in GTI score from 2002-2011.

ALGERIA - 3rd to 15th

Over the past decade Algeria has been recovering from a bloody civil war between the government and various Islamic rebel groups. This began in 1991 and lasted until 2002 when the government defeated the Armed Islamic Group and obtained surrender from the Islamic Salvation Army. Fatality estimates range from over 40,000 up to 200,000 and low level fighting is still prevalent in some areas.

Consequently, Algeria has seen a steady decline in terrorist incidents on home soil, from 109 in 2002 to only 15 in 2011. Fatalities too have dropped from over 500 in 2002 to only 25 in 2011. Of all attacks since 2002, Algerian Islamic Extremists account for 27%, Salafist Group for Preaching and Fighting (GSPC) and Al-Qa'ida in the Lands of the Islamic Maghreb (AQLIM) account for 18% each and it is not known who perpetrated 26% of the attacks. Despite defeat, the Armed Islamic Group remained active until 2005 accounting for 6% of all attacks since 2002 but has not been active since 2005.

COLOMBIA - 4th to 13th

Terrorism in the past decade in Colombia has been dominated by the Marxist-Leninist guerilla organisation the Revolutionary Armed Forces of Colombia (FARC). Since 2004, attacks have been on the rise hitting a peak of 112 in 2010 and recording 72 in 2011. Fatalities have seen a decline from 281 in 2002 to 31 in 2011. So while FARC have been increasing activity in the past few years, the loss of life has remained low when compared to 2002 levels. Of the rest of attacks in Colombia, 12% are unknown perpetrators and 6% were committed by National Liberation Army of Colombia (ELN).

ISRAEL - 6th to 20th

Given the ongoing tensions in the area and the fact that 2006 and 2007 saw the Hamas-Fatah and Battle of Gaza conflicts, it is not surprising that terrorist incidents have been primarily over political and territorial disputes over Palestine. These have fluctuated in the past decade with attacks peaking in 2008 when 128 attacks were recorded. 2010 represented a decade low with only 14 incidents on record. Of the 508 incidents in total, perpetrators are only known for around two-thirds of cases. The organisation which is known to be most active in Israel has been the Palestinian Islamic Jihad (PIJ) accounting for 18% of terrorist incidents. Based in Syria with strongholds in the West Bank, the organisation has fought against the existence of the state of Israel since it was founded in 1979. Hamas (Islamic Resistance Movement), the political party that governs the Gaza Strip has accounted for 14% of all attacks. Al-Aqsa Martyrs Brigade, the coalition of Palestinian nationalist militia in the West Bank accounted for another 13% of all attacks. Fatalities have been decreasing since 2002. Out of a total of 667 deaths, just under half of those occurred in 2002 and has steadily decreased to 21 in 2011.

INDONESIA - 9th to 29th

After 2002, a year when 38 incidents were recorded in the country, terrorist attacks in Indonesia decreased ever year until 2008. A total of 21 incidents took place in 2011. In total there have been 146 incidents since 2002, with approximately two thirds being committed by unknown perpetrators. Fatalities however have seen a steep decline which spiked in 2002 because of the Bali Bombings in Kuta on the 12th of October. This incident saw bombs detonated in nightclubs in tourist areas resulting in around 200 deaths and 300 injuries and ranks as the 8th largest attack in the GTI over the 2002 to 2011 period. This attack was undertaken by the Islamic militant group Jemaah Islamiya (JI) which is dedicated to creating a regional Islamic state joining Indonesia, Malaysia, the southern Philippines, Singapore and Brunei. On 9 November 2008, the three men convicted of this attack were executed by a firing squad by Indonesian Officials. Abu Bakar Bashir, considered to be the spiritual head of JI was arrested in 2011 and sentenced to 15 years in prison for his involvement in supporting jihadi training camps.

Aside from the well-publicised attacks by Islamic extremists, Indonesia has also experienced internal conflicts over disputed regions of Aceh and West Papua. In 2005, the Indonesian government and the Free Ache Movement agreed on ending the thirty-year insurgency. This has resulted in the number of terrorist attacks motivated by nationalist/separatist aspiration to decline substantially in Indonesia. However, the situation in West Papua continues to be unresolved, and a source of tension with fresh attacks being committed in 2012.

TRENDS IN TERRORISM

TERRORISM HAS INCREASED MARKEDLY SINCE 2002. BY INVESTIGATING THIS TREND ACROSS A NUMBER OF DIFFERENT AREAS, IT IS POSSIBLE TO DEVELOP A FULLER UNDERSTANDING OF THE CAUSES OF THIS TREND.

Chart five shows the trends in the GTI annual activity score of all terrorist incidents since 2002. In 2011, the global trend suggests that terrorist activity has increased by 234% when compared to 2002 levels. However, further examination shows that Iraq, being the country ranked first in the GTI, is highly influential in the global trend. Furthermore, since 2007, terrorist impact in Iraq has been decreasing, while in the rest of the world it has continued to increase mainly due to increases in incidents in Afghanistan, Pakistan, India and the Philippines. This divergence results in a plateau in the global trend.

TRENDS IN THE NUMBER OF TERRORIST INCIDENTS

Chart six shows that the global trend in the number of incidents has been on the rise over the past decade but seem to be leveling out in recent years. Despite this, the number of incidents recorded has increased by over 460% above the 2002 levels. The success rates of these attacks are high and fluctuate between 89%-97% since 2002. In 2011 the success rate of attacks was 90.7%.

Incidents took a sharp turn upwards from 2004. This can be attributed to the significant increase in attacks in Iraq as shown in chart seven coinciding with the invasion of Iraq. A second increase occurred in 2007 and continued until 2009. During this period Iraq continued its trend with violent incidents increasing while at the same time incidents in India and Pakistan began to rise steeply.

In India, the most active organization was the Communist Party of India - Maoist (CPI-M) and their violent struggles to overthrow the Indian Government accounted for over 40% of all incidents recorded in India in this period. However the trend is encouraging as there has been a sharp decrease in incidents since 2009. Unknown perpetrators account for a third of these Indian attacks.

The period between 2007 and 2009 was a time of civil unrest in Pakistan evidenced by the assassination of the twice President Benazir Bhutto on 27th December 2007 during her campaign before the January 2008 elections. After the assassination terrorist activity increased dramatically. During this period, responsibility for 70% of all attacks is not known. The Taliban, the Islamic fundamentalist group, account for 12% of the attacks, targeting private citizens, police and government.

CHART 5 Trends in the GTI annual activity score since 2002
Using IEP methodology the impact of terrorism has increased globally since 2003, peaking in 2007
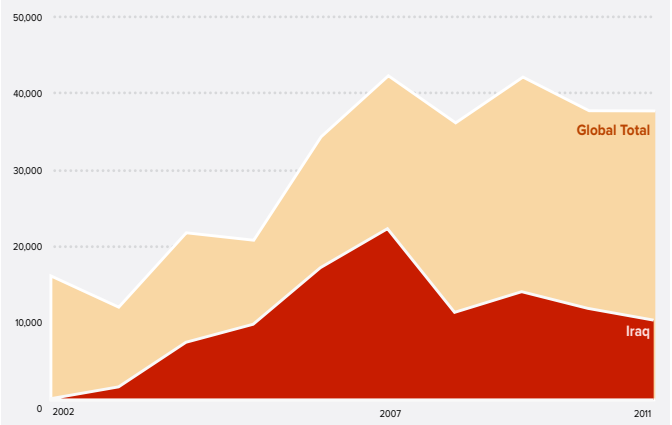
CHART 6 Number of terrorist attacks since 2002
The number of incidents is on the rise globally. More than 90% of terrorist attacks in this period were successful.
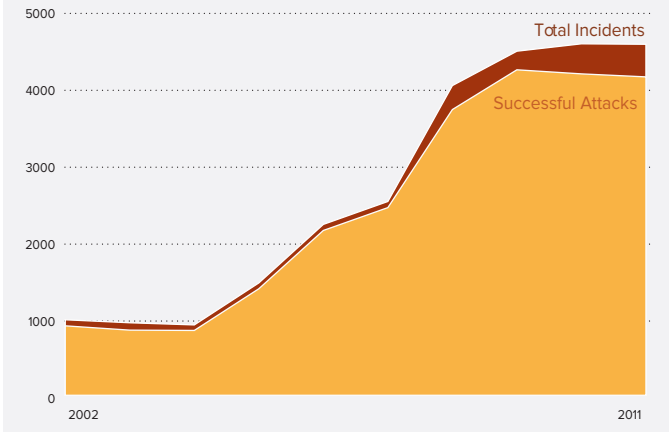
CHART 7 Incidents in Iraq and the rest of the world
While Iraq is the most affected country, the rest of the world still suffers from a large number of terrorist attacks.

CHART 8 The five countries with the most incidents recorded from 2002 to 2011
Iraq is the country with the most terrorist attacks with incidents steadily rising since 2002. India and Pakistan have been increasingly affected by terrorism since 2007.

TRENDS IN THE NUMBER OF FATALITIES AND INJURIES

From 2003 fatalities and injuries rose sharply with fatalities peaking in 2007 and injuries peaking in 2009. Since then, both measures have fallen but are still 224% higher for injuries and 195% higher for fataliti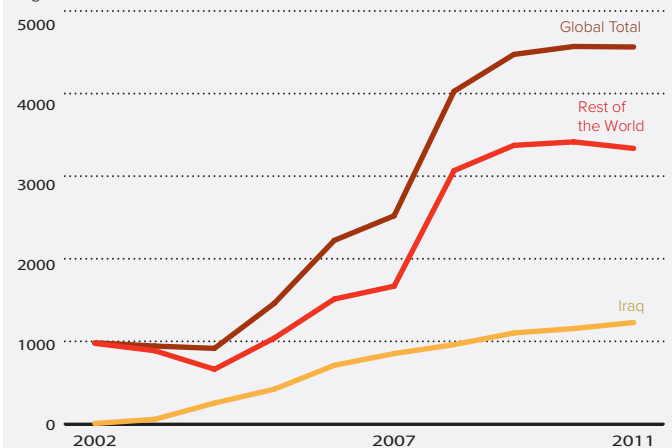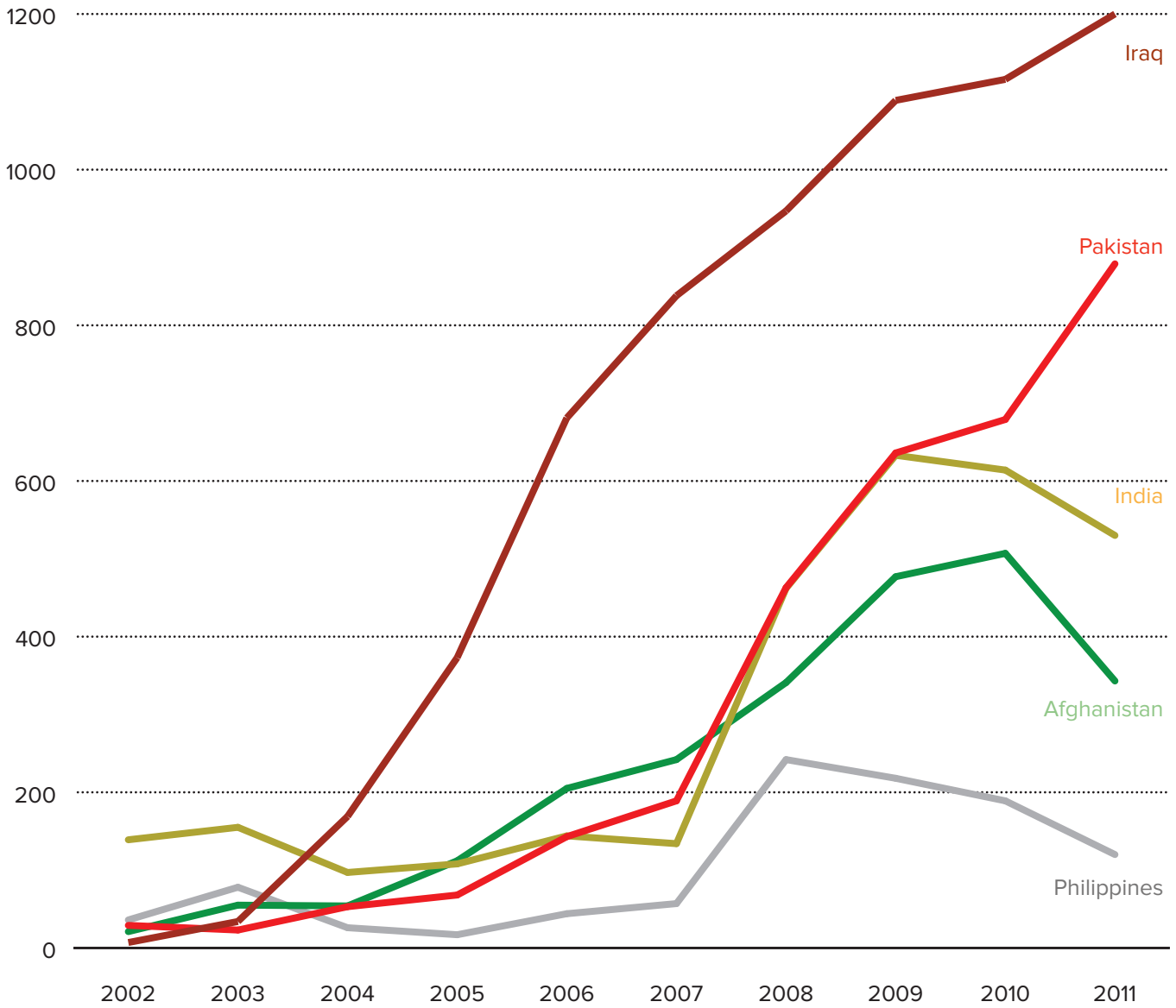es than in 2002. This is largely due to events in Iraq which, in 2007, suffered over five hundred times more deaths than it did in 2002. After 2009 the number of fatalities dropped steeply and has continued on a downward

trend. The charts below clearly illustrate the influence of Iraq on the global trend over the past ten years. While incidents in Iraq since 2007 have continued to rise, they appear to be becoming increasingly less lethal with fatality rates falling since 2007.

Chart twelve demonstrates the effectiveness of terrorist attacks. In the past decade over 64,000 people have been killed compared to 4,384 terrorist perpetrators indicating that for every 100 people who have been killed from terrorist attacks, around six terrorists lose their lives.

CHART 9 Total Fatalities 2002-2011
Over 22.000 people died in Iraq from 2002 to 2011 due to terrorist attacks
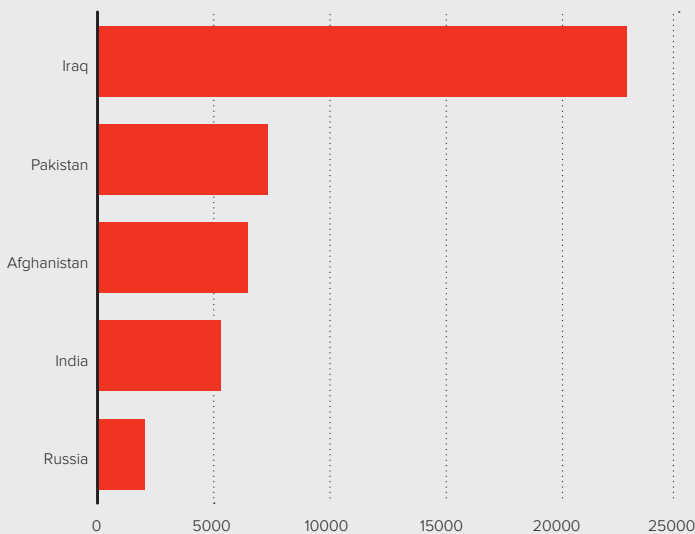
CHART 10 Global fatalities (Iraq vs Rest of World)
In 2007, Iraq had more fatalities from terrorism than the rest of the world combined.
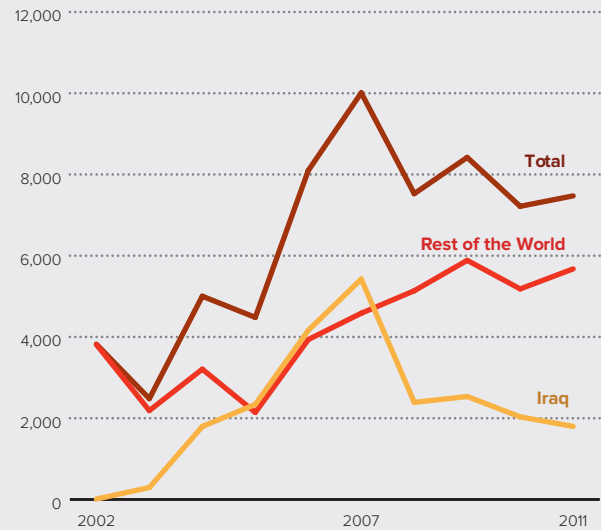

CHART 11 Countries with the highest number of fatalities since 2002
Fatalities in Iraq at its peak in 2007 were at least five times worse than in any other country.
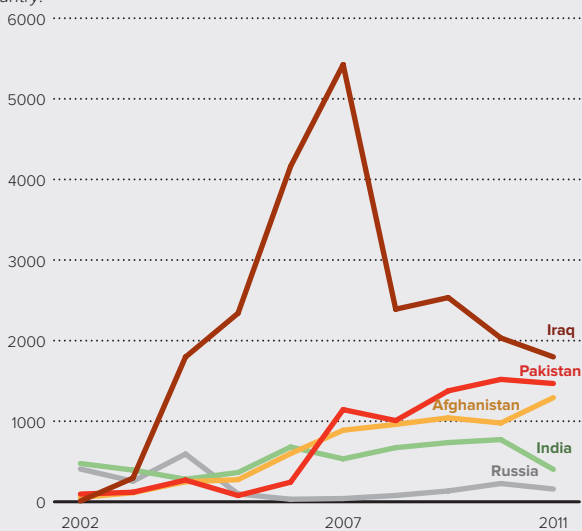
CHART 12 Numbers of fatalities and injuries due to terrorist activities
Fatalities and injuries have increased since 2002
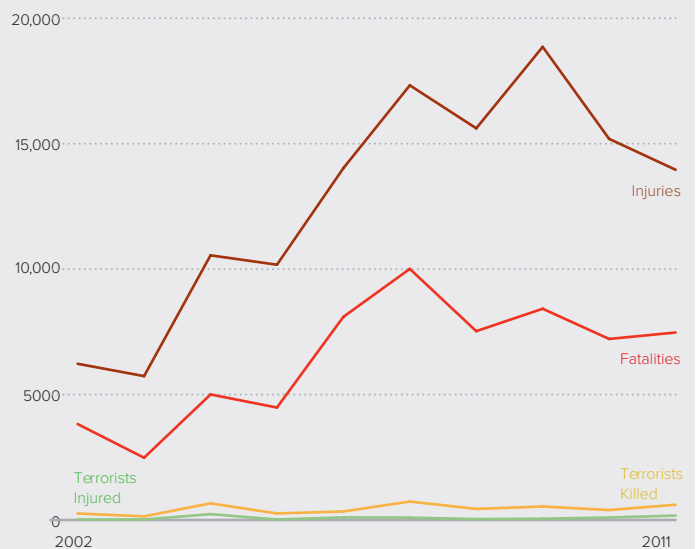
TRENDS IN WEAPONS AND TARGETS

Chart 13 shows that the most common type of weapons used in terrorist attacks are explosive devices. Attacks with firearms have increased steadily over the last decade while suicide bombings have become more prevalent in Iraq, Afghanistan, and Pakistan. At over four and a half times their 2002 levels, global trends for suicide attacks peaked in 2007 at 288, however once again these trends are dominated by Iraq.

CHART 13 Types of weapons used in terrorist attacks
Explosives are the weapon most used in terrorist attacks, followed by firearms
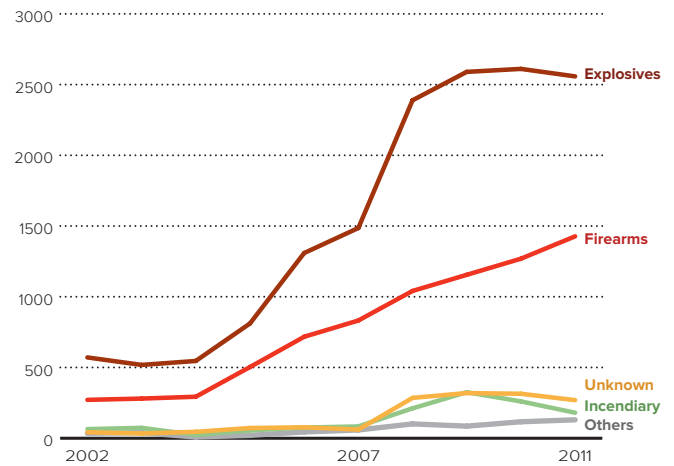
CHART 14 Average number of terrorists involved per attack
The size of groups perpetrating each attack has remained the same in the past ten years.
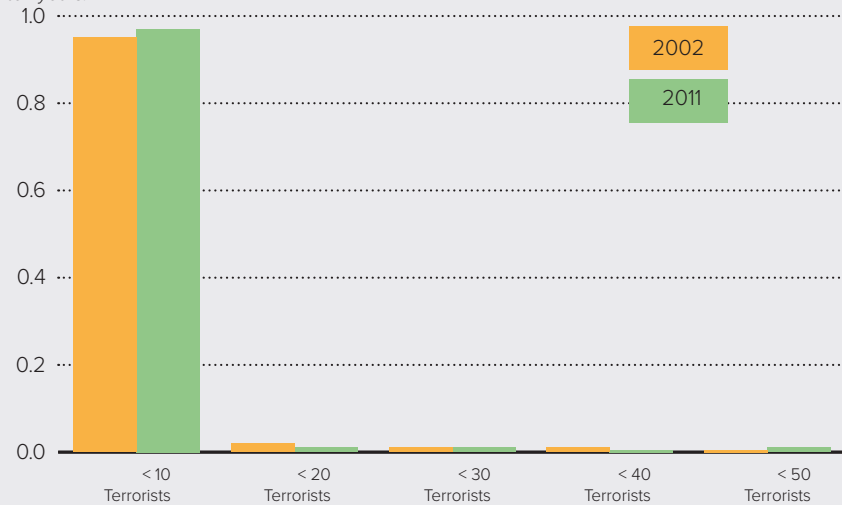
Chart 14 illustrates the distribution by number of terrorists per attack. The proportion of small attacks involving fewer than ten terrorists has been increasing and accounts for almost 100% of attacks. Although the overall shift is towards smaller groups the category of greater than 50 combatants has increased suggesting larger groups may be forming. For example, in April 2011, the Communist Party of India - Maoist (CPI-M) conducted a terrorist act that involved 1000 armed rebels.

CHART 15 Targets of terrorist attacks, 2002-2011
Private citizens, property, government, police and business are targeted in around two thirds of all attacks

Chart 15 shows that attacks targeted at private citizens and property, business, government and police make up more than two thirds of all targets of terrorist attacks since 2002.

26

By 2009 attacks on private citizens and property increased almost sixfold since 2002. They have since dropped, but in 2011 there were still 1136 attacks aimed at this group. Attacks on police have seen the largest relative increase going from 84 in 2002 to over nine times that in 2011. Attacks on government have also increased 560% since 2002. Attacks on military targets have remained relatively low throughout the period.

CHART 16 Trends in targets of terrorist attacks from 2002-2011
Attacks on private citizens and property have increased the most in the past ten years. In 2007, as attacks on police and military decreased, attacks on all other targets increased.

Iraq once again dominates attacks on almost all major types of targets. Particularly stark is that Iraq's attacks on private citizens are two and half times higher than in Pakistan, the country with the next highest number of incidents. In Pakistan, educational institutions have been targeted almost as much as government, accounting for 13% of all recorded attacks in that country. A similar phenomenon occurs in Thailand, with 8% and 13% of targets being directed at educational institutions and governments respectively. Attacks on private citizens dominate in all countries while attacks against the military in all are relatively low.

CHART 17 Types of targets for the five countries most affected by terrorism, total 2002-2011 incidents

TERRORISM BY GOVERNMENT TYPE

FULL DEMOCRACY	FLAWED DEMOCRACY
HYBRID REGIME	AUTHORITARIAN REGIME

CHART 18 Incidents by government type
Countries with a hybrid regime of government are most affected by terrorism.
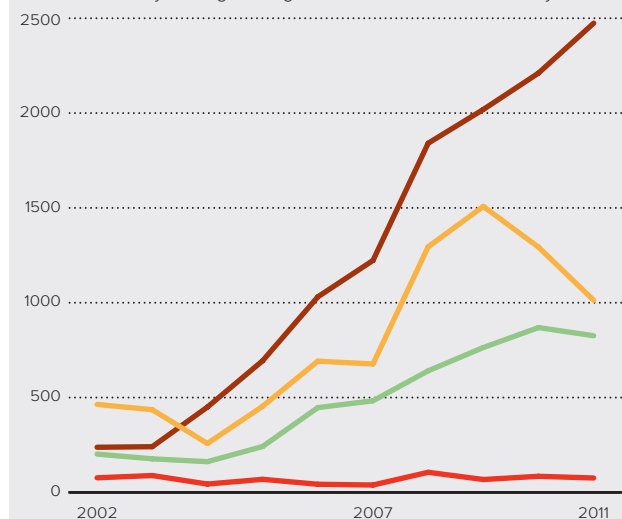
CHART 19 Fatalities by government type
Most deaths from terrorism since 2002 have occured in hybrid regimes.
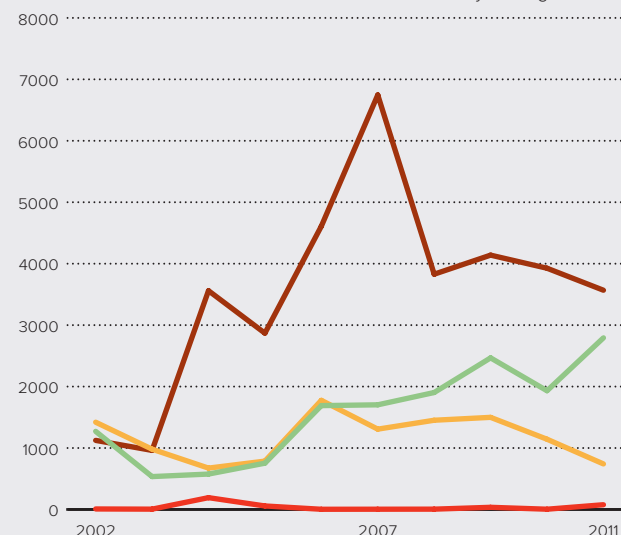
CHART 20 Impact of terrorism by government type (total GTI score)
Countries under Authoritarian regimes suffer the most from terrorism
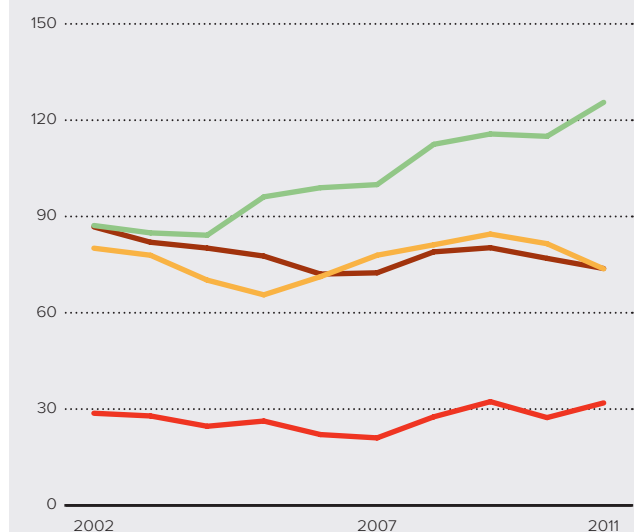
TABLE 10 Top ten countries most affected by terrorism in 2011 and their government type

COUNTRY	GOVERNMENT TYPE
Afghanistan	Authoritarian regime
India	Flawed democracy
Iraq	Hybrid regime
Nigeria	Authoritarian regime
Pakistan	Hybrid regime
Philippines	Flawed democracy
Russia	Hybrid regime
Somalia	Unclassified
Thailand	Flawed democracy
Yemen	Authoritarian Regime

Three of four government types are roughly equally distributed amongst the ten countries most affected by terrorism. These are authoritarian regimes, flawed democracies and hybrid regimes.

Table ten shows the ten countries most affected by terrorism are comprised of three authoritarian regimes, three flawed democracies and three hybrid regimes, with no full democracy being found in the ten countries most affected by terrorism. Somalia's governance is unclassified.

Flawed democracies are the government type with the second highest level of terrorism and have seen terrorist incidents

double from 2002 to 2011. This was primarily due to events in India, Thailand and Pakistan. The number of terrorist incidents in fully democratic countries has remained low throughout the past decade.

Hybrid regimes suffer the most in terms of incidents, lives and injuries however; the relative impact of terrorism is greater in authoritarian regimes. This is explained by the fact that there are approximately twice as many countries classified as authoritarian regimes in the GTD than there are hybrid regimes.

TERRORISM BY INCOME GROUP

LOW INCOME	UPPER MIDDLE INCOME
LOWER MIDDLE INCOME	HIGH INCOME

CHART 21 Incidents by country income level
Countries in the lower middle income group have suffered more from terrorism
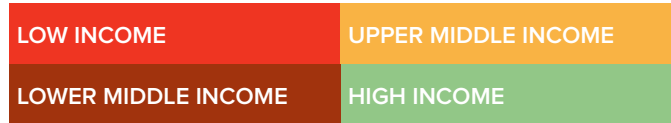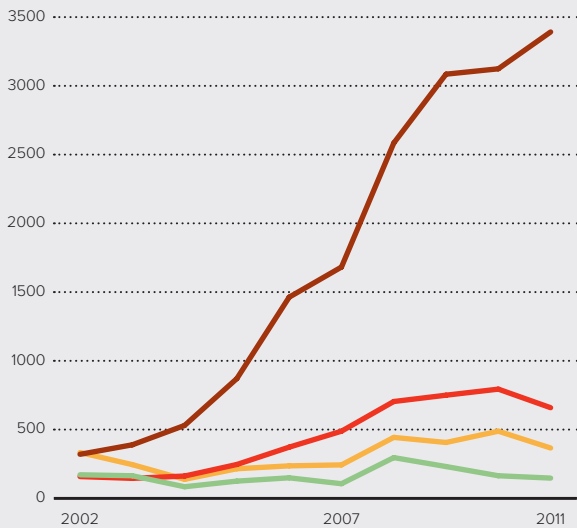
CHART 22 Fatalities by country income level
Fatalities in Lower Middle Income groups dominate the rest of the world
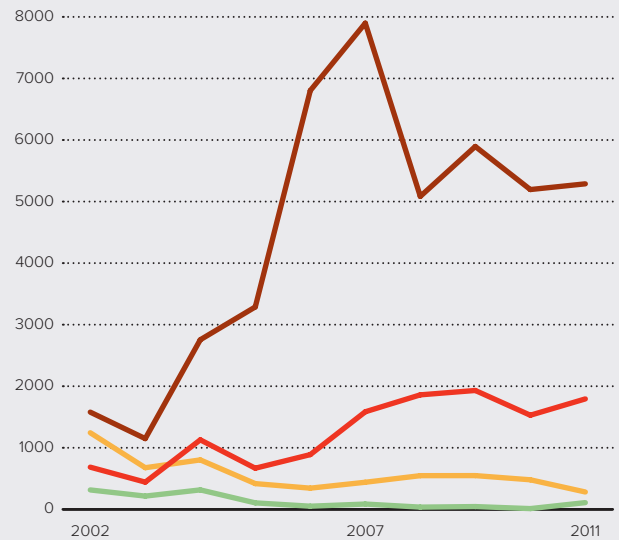
CHART 23 Injuries by country income level
Injuries in Lower Middle Income group dominate the rest of the world. London
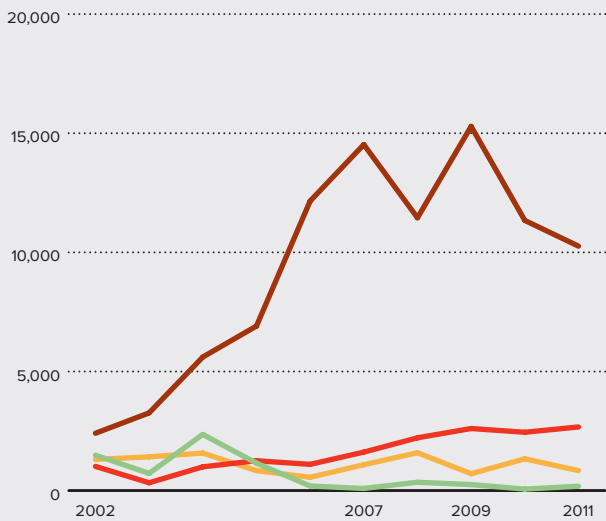
TABLE 11 Top ten countries most affected by terrorism and their income group

COUNTRY	INCOME GROUP
Afghanistan	Low income
India	Lower middle income
Iraq	Lower middle income
Nigeria	Lower middle income
Pakistan	Lower middle income
Philippines	Lower middle income
Russia	Upper middle income
Somalia	Low income
Thailand	Lower middle income
Yemen	Lower middle income

Countries in the lower middle income group bracket have seen the highest level of terrorist activity in the past decade with a tenfold increase occurring since 2002. This is illustrated in table eleven by the fact that of the ten countries most impacted by terrorism, seven are classified in this category. Only two of the ten countries most affected by terrorism are low income countries. This indicates that being a low income country does not nceessarily lead to a higher frequency of terrorism.

In recent years, however, low income countries, which include Afghanistan and Somalia, have seen an increase in terrorist activity to four times their 2002 levels. The upper middle income group, which include Russia, and the high income

group have only seen small fluctuations in incident numbers since 2002 and have remained relatively stable over the period.

Injuries and fatalities in lower middle income countries took a sharp rise in 2005 mirroring the drastic increase observed in Iraq during this period. This increase began in January 2005 as Iraq held its first democratic election after the Second Gulf War.

Upper middle and high income countries have seen a steady decrease in fatalities from 2002.

TERRORISM BY REGION

CHART 24 Number of incidents by geographic region
Asia-Pacific, Middle-East and North Africa are the regions most affected by terrorism
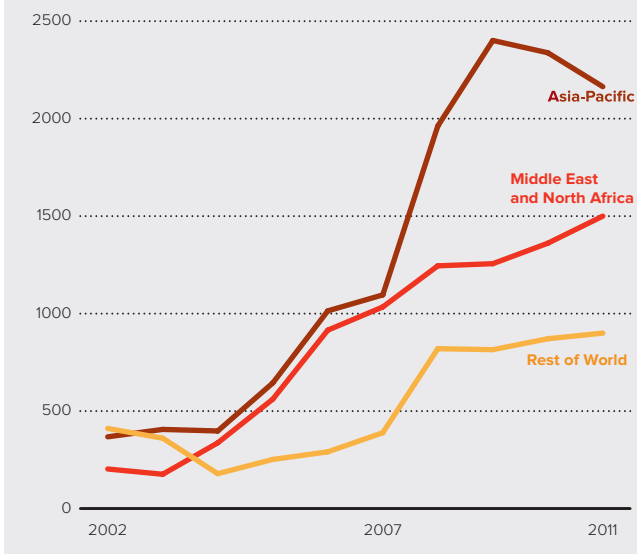
CHART 25 Total fatalities by geographic region (2002-2011)
While more incidents occur in the Asia-Pacific, the most fatalities have occurred the Middle-East and North Africa
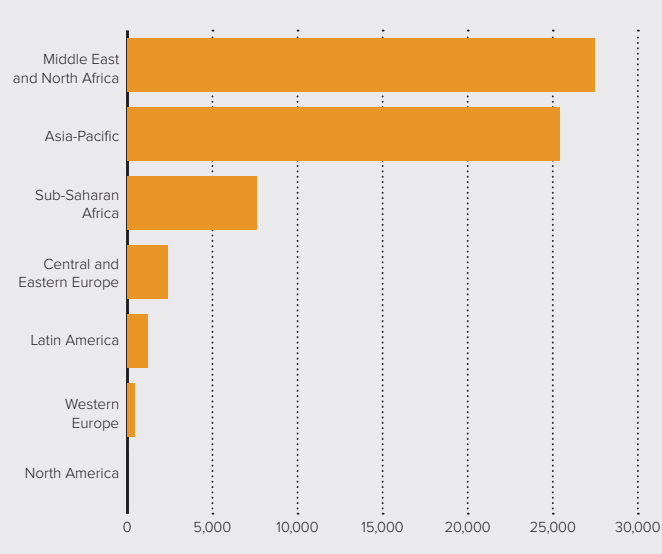
Over the past decade, Asia-Pacific and the Middle-East and North Africa regions have suffered the most from terrorism. The Middle-East and North Africa had the most fatalities while the Asia-Pacific region recorded the highest frequency of terrorist attacks. The decade long trend highlights a sharp decrease in fatalities from terrorism in the Middle-East and North Africa, however this has been offset by a rise in the number of fatalities in the Asia-Pacific region. Although fatalities have decreased in the Middle-East and North Africa, the number of incidents shows a clear upward trend. Table twelve shows that of the ten countries most impacted by terrorism, five are from the Asia-Pacific region, two are from the Sub-Saharan Region, two are from the Middle-East and North Africa region and one is in the Central and Eastern Europe region.

The increase in the number of fatalities from terrorist attacks in the Middle-East and North Africa coincided with the U.S. troop surge in 2007. Over the last decade, nearly a third of all victims killed in terrorist attacks have been Iraqi.

The majority of the fatalities which occurred in the Asia-Pacific region are an adjunct to larger armed conflicts which are occurring in the region. The war in Afghanistan has also enveloped areas of Pakistan where terrorists can easily move between the borders of the two countries. To the east of Pakistan, India not only suffers from terrorist attacks from Islamic militants over the contested area of Kashmir, but also the Maoist insurgents who use terrorist tactics to pressure the Indian state. Similarly, the civil the war in Nepal which culminated in the dissolution of the monarchy was initiated by Maoists.

In Sri Lanka, the Tamil Tigers (LTTE) fought the Sri Lankan government for an independent state. The Tamil Tigers are one of the few non-religious groups which have used suicide bombings to achieve their political aims. The result of the terrorists tactics used in these wider conflicts is also borne out

by the nationality of the victims. India, Pakistan, Afghanistan, Sri Lanka and Nepal are amongst the Asian countries with the highest number of fatalities.

North America is the region of the world that has had the least number of terrorist incidents over the past decade. However, immediately prior to the period covered by the GTI the U.S. had the 9/11 attacks, the most deadly terrorist incident in the GTD database.

North America and Western Europe, on average, experienced the lowest level of terrorism both in terms of fatalities and number of incidents.

TABLE 12 Top ten countries most affected by terrorism and their region

COUNTRY	REGION TYPE
Iraq	Middle-East and North Africa
Pakistan	Asia-Pacific
Afghanistan	Asia-Pacific
India	Asia-Pacific
Yemen	Middle-East and North Africa
Somalia	Sub-Saharan Africa
Nigeria	Sub-Saharan Africa
Thailand	Asia-Pacific
Russia	Central and Eastern Europe
Philippines	Asia-Pacific

CASE STUDY: US, UK, EUROPE

CHART 26 Numbers of Incidents in the US, UK, and EU since 2002
The EU has suffered from more terrorist attacks in the past ten years than the US.
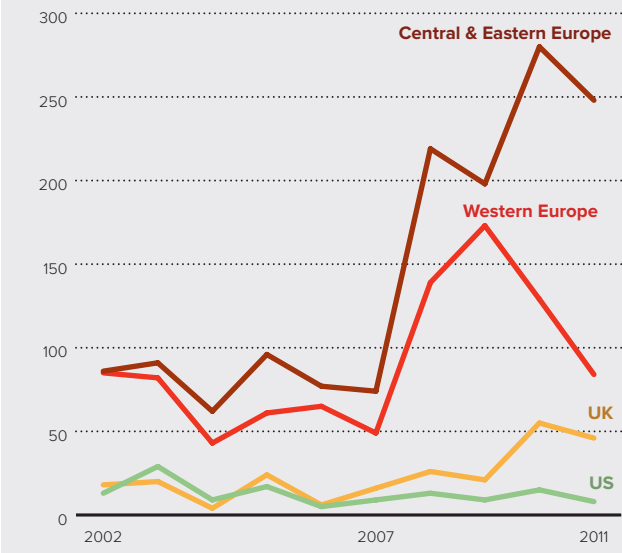
CHART 27 Fatalities in the UK, US and EU since 2002
The EU has had more fatalities in the past ten years than the EU and the UK
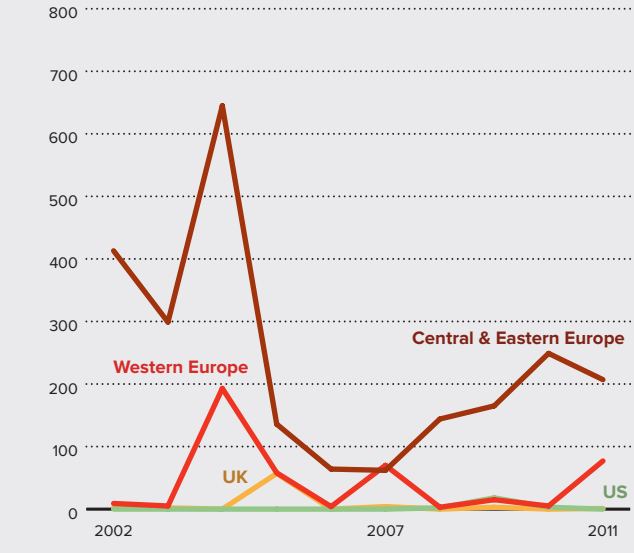
The attacks in the U.S. during the 2002-2011 period were predominately of a 'domestic' nature and mainly committed by environmentalists, animal activists, racists, and anti-abortion activists. It should be noted in the U.S., most terrorist attacks were aimed at buildings and businesses, with minimal attacks on private citizens. The spike in fatalities in the U.S. in 2009 was the result of the Army Major Nidal Malik Hasan opening fire on fellow soldiers at a military facility where he killed 13 soldiers and injured 19.

In spite of the persistent number of relatively small and medium sized terrorist attacks in the U.S., from 2002 to 2011 North America was the region with the least number of terrorist attacks, followed by Western Europe. When combining Western and Eastern Europe as one region and aggregating all the countries, it can be seen that Europe experiences many more incidents of terrorism than the U.S.

Since 2002, Europe has had 2,341 incidents with 1,431 occurring in Central and Eastern Europe and the other 910 incidents occurring in Western Europe, 25% of which took place in the UK. Of these attacks, two thirds were committed by unknown perpetrators. Where the perpetuators were known, attacks have centered on nationalist separatist objectives. In Central and Eastern Europe, Chechen Rebels and the Kurdistan Workers Party (PKK), who have been fighting for independence from Russia and Turkey respectively, were the most active. The Basque Fatherland and Freedom (ETA) were the most active in Spain.

As with other parts of the world, bombings/explosions are the most common type of terrorist attack in Europe. The majority of terrorist incidents in Europe were domestic. That is to say, the raison d'etre seems to be focused on national issues as in Greece with its austerity measures or Spain with its nationalist/separatist discontent.

Chart 26 shows that incidents in Europe increased drastically in 2007. This increase is primarily due to Russia which suffered 140 attacks in 2008. Chechen Rebels and the Caucasus Emirate are known to have each committed around 7% of these attacks.

Georgia was also the victim of increased attacks, going from not being targeted once in 2007 to suffering 31 attacks in 2008. While the majority of these attackers remain unknown, South Ossetian separatists account for around a third of all incidents. A second increase in incidents occurred in 2009 and 2010 which again can be attributed to rising attacks in Russia. In Western Europe, the increase observed in 2007-2009 can be largely attributed to increased activity in Greece that rose from 14 incidents in 2007 to 115 in 2009. Since 2009 however, incidents have decreased in Western Europe to around 2002 levels.

The U.S. had a lower number of terrorist attacks than the U.K. with 127 incidents being recorded from 2002 to 2011, compared to 236 in the U.K. The majority of the incidents in the UK occurred in Northern Ireland.

On the whole, the numbers of fatalities in Europe have decreased since 2002. The spikes shown in chart 27 in 2004 for these regions are due to the Beslan Hostage Crisis in Central and Eastern Europe, and the Madrid Bombings in Western Europe.

TERRORIST GROUPS AND IDEOLOGY

There is a significant overlap between terrorist incidents and fatalities by region, and by terrorist group. Excluding attacks by unknown terrorist groups, most attacks are carried out by groups operating within conflict situations. The Taliban can be given the dubious title of having caused the highest number of fatalities followed closely by al-Qa'ida.

The rise of religious extremism is well-documented with a clear rise in the number of incidents since 2002. The most prolific religious terrorist groups are almost exclusively Islamic.

In an interesting trend, since 2008 there has been a marked decrease in the number of terrorist incidents from groups with nationalist/separatist ideologies. It could be argued that a number of Islamic terrorist groups such as the Taliban or Lashkar-e-Taiba (LeT) have nationalist/separatist aspirations, so the reduction in groups with outwardly nationalist/separatist agendas is absorbed, to some extent, in the 'Religious' category.

The number of political groups which use terrorism is noteworthy: although the category of 'Political Organizations' only constitutes roughly 10% of known terrorist groups, five out of the ten most active terrorist groups are political organizations. In terms of magnitude, The Communist Party of India (Maoists) has caused nearly the same amount of deaths as al-Qa'ida in Iraq.

Charts 28 and 29 detail the ten most active terrorist organisations based on total number of incidents and fatalities. The Taliban is the organization that is responsible for both the most incidents and fatalities. However, the two are not always closely linked. For example, al-Qai'da in Iraq is responsible for the second largest number of fatalities, yet it doesn't rank in the top ten with regard to the number of incidents. Of the GTD data used in this study, the perpetrators of 60% of all events are unknown.

CHART 28 Incidents by terrorist organisation, 2002 to 2011
Excluding unknown attacks, the Taliban took responsibility for the most incidents out of any terrorist organisation
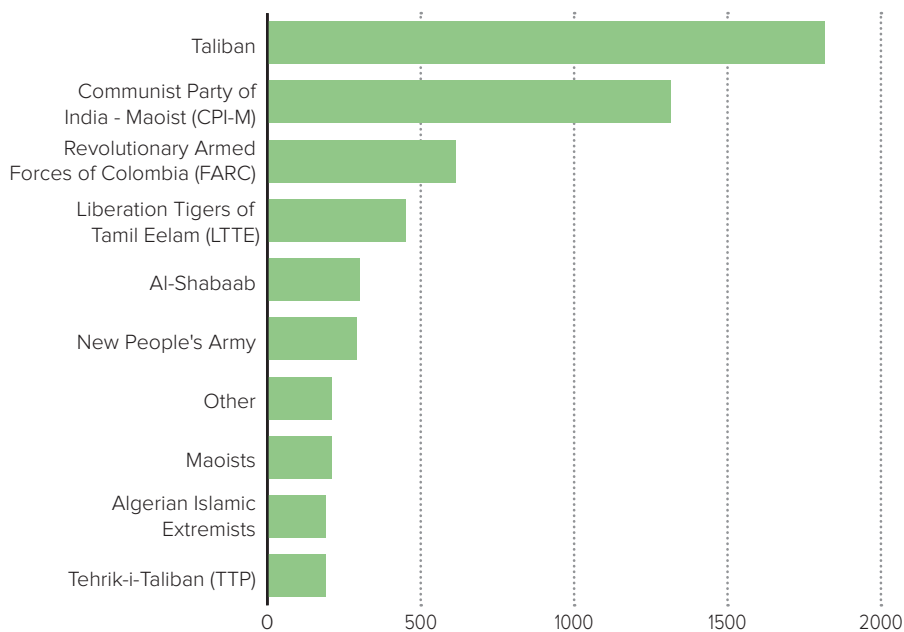
CHART 29 Fatalities by organisation from 2002 to 2011
While some organisations are more active, some are more lethal
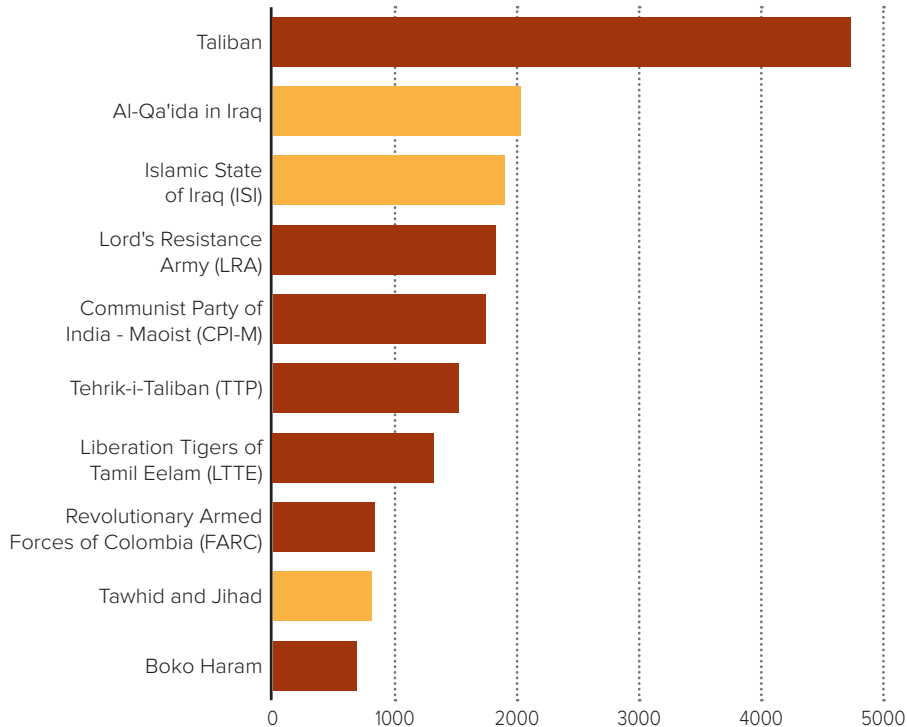
The three organisations Tawhid and Jihad, Al-Qa'ida in Iraq, and Islamic State of Iraq were all headed Abu Musab al-Zarqawi. These three are essentially the same organisation. If the three organisations are treated as one then the fatalities committed would be the same as the Taliban.

CHART 30 Number of incidents by terrorist group ideology, 2002-2011
While religion is the most common motivation for organisations, political and national sentiment is also prominent.
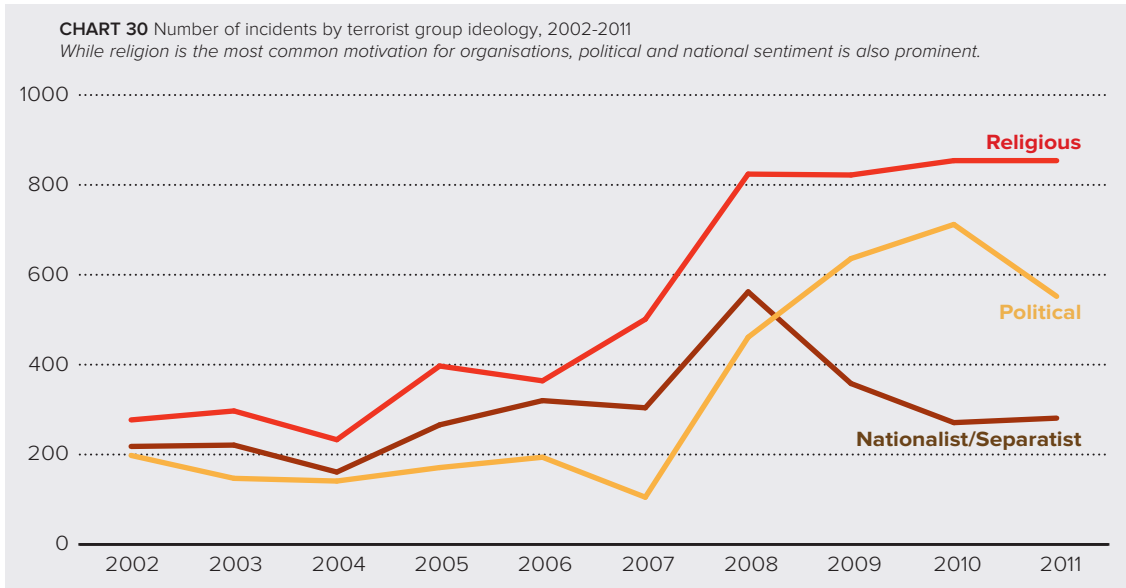
CHART 31 Terrorist group activity in the ten countries most affected by terrorism

S - Small Groups
U - Unknown Groups
AI - Al Qa'ida in Iraq
ISI - Islamic State of Iraq
AIE - Algerian Islamic Extremists
GSPC - Salafist Group for Preaching and Fighting
FARC - Revolutionary Armed Forces of Colombia
ASG - Abu Sayyaf Group
NPA - New People's Army
CPI-M - Communist Party of India - Maoist
ULFA - United Liberation Front of Assam
AQLIM - Al-Qa'ida in the Lands of the Islamic Maghreb
MILF - Moro Islamic Liberation Front
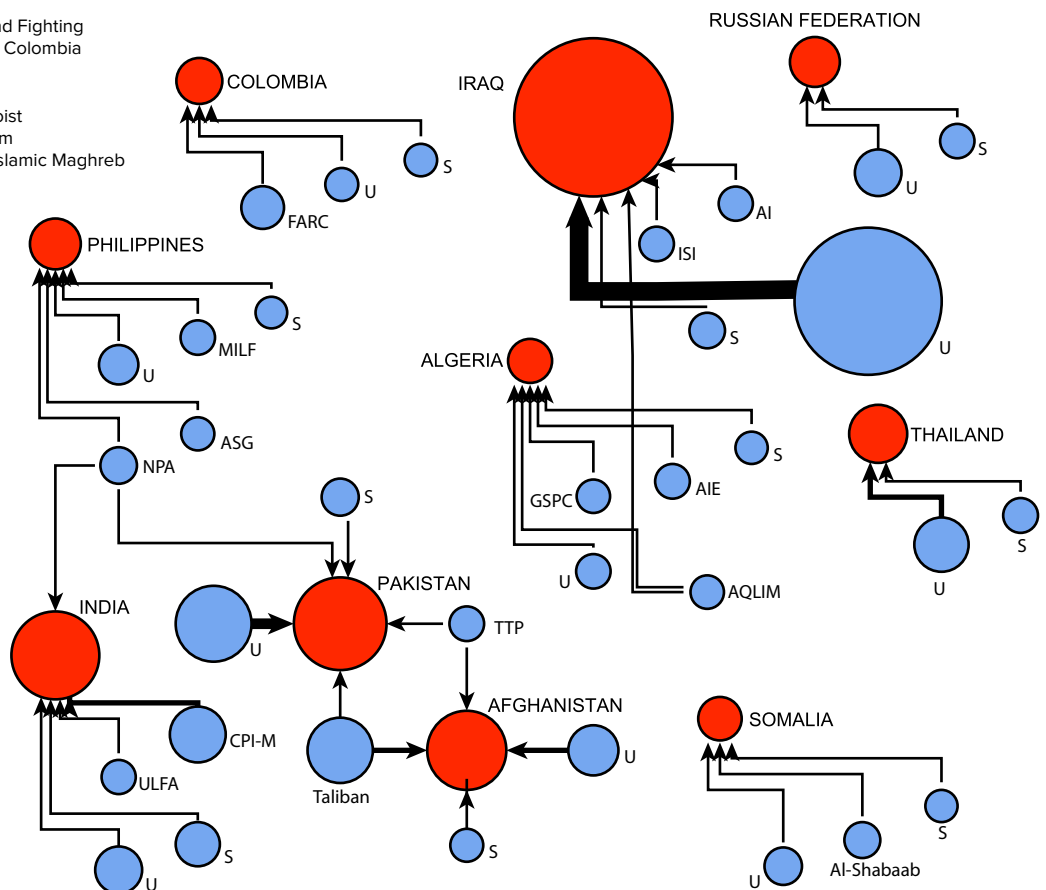
CORRELATES OF
TERRORISM

TO FURTHER UNDERSTAND WHAT TYPES OF FACTORS ARE LINKED WITH TERRORISM AND ITS IMPACT ON SOCIETY, IEP HAS CORRELATED THE INDEX WITH OVER 40 SECONDARY DATASETS MEASURING VARIOUS SOCIO-ECONOMIC AND GOVERNANCE MEASURES.

It has found that higher levels of terrorism are most strongly associated with the following key factors:[9]

- Higher levels of group grievances as measured by the Failed States Index.

- Lower levels of intergroup cohesion as measured by the Indices for Social Development (ISD).

- Higher levels of organised conflict as measured by the Global Peace Index.

- Higher levels of political violence as measured by the Political Terror Scale.

- Lower human rights standards as measured by the Escola de Pau Human Rights Index.

- Higher numbers of refugees and internally displaced people (IDPs) as measured by the Internally Displaced Monitoring Centre (IDMC).[10]

- Lower levels of political stability as measured by the World Bank's World Governance Indicators (WGI).

- Lower levels of negative peace,[11] as measured by the overall Global Peace Index.

- Lower levels of internal peace, as measured by the Global Peace Index.

TABLE 13 Significant Correlations between the GTI and selected international datasets

SOURCE	INDEX	FACTOR	CORRELATION
Fund For Peace	Failed States Index	Group Grievance	0.56
Escola de Cultura de Pau	Human Rights Index	Overall Score	0.72
IDMC		Refugees and Internally Displaced Persons	0.51
International Institute of Social Studies	Indices of Social Development	Intergroup Cohesion	-0.67
World Bank	Worldwide Governance Indicators	Political Stability	-0.67

TABLE 14 Correlation between the GTI and the Global Peace Index indicators

INDICATOR	CORRELATION
Overall Score	0.61
Internal Peace	0.52
External Peace	0.48
Perceptions of criminality in society	0.30
Number of internal security officers and police 100,000 people	-0.04
Number of homicides per 100,000 people	-0.04
Number of jailed population per 100,000 people	-0.05
Ease of access to weapons of minor destruction	0.26
Level of organised conflict (internal)	0.49
Likelihood of violent demonstrations	0.33
Level of violent crime	0.27
Political instability	0.33
Political Terror Scale	**0.59**
Volume of transfers of major conventional weapons, as recipient (Imports) per 100,000 people	-0.01
Terrorist acts	**0.97**
Number of deaths from organised conflict (internal)	0.23
Military expenditure as a percentage of GDP	0.09
Number of armed services personnel per 100,000 people	0.07
UN Funding	0.14
Aggregate number of heavy weapons per 100,000 people	0.00
Volume of transfers of major conventional weapons as supplier (exports) per 100,000 people	0.07
Military capability/sophistication	0.24
Number of displaced people as a percentage of the population	0.32
Relations with neighbouring countries	0.33
Number of external and internal conflicts fought	0.45
Estimated number of deaths from organised conflict (external)	0.17

CHART 32 GTI vs Internal Peace (Global Peace Index) (r = 0.52)
Peacefulness is inversely associated with the impact of terrorism
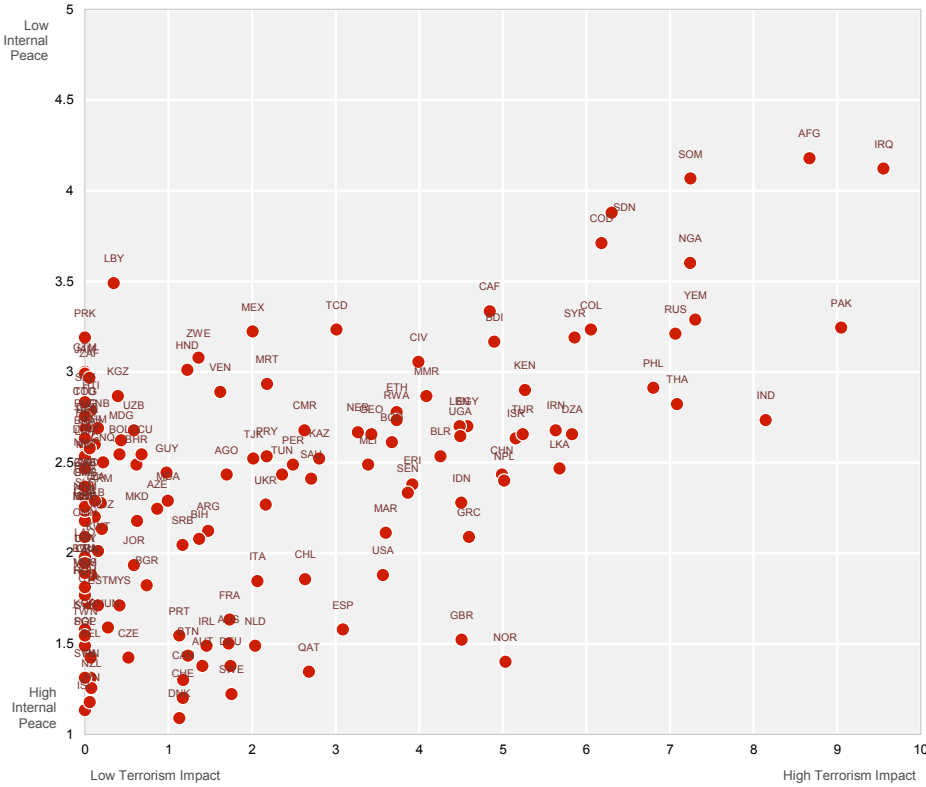
The Global Peace Index (GPI) correlates significantly with the GTI, with an r value of 0.61. The relatively high correlation is in part due to the fact that the GPI is intrinsically a measure of violence as the definition of peace used in the construction of the index is 'the absence of violence or fear of violence'.

The types of violence which these countries suffer from are usually some form of conflict whether it is war, as with Iraq and Afghanistan, or internal conflicts such is the case with India and Pakistan. Given that most terrorism occurs within the context of a wider conflict, it is not surprising that there is a correlation between the GPI and the GTI. Thus, more peaceful nations tend to be impacted less by terrorism than less peaceful nations.

The internal peace indicators of the GPI with a correlation coefficient greater than 0.5 are level of organized conflict, the political terror scale, and the terrorist acts indicator. None of the external indicators on their own correlate higher than 0.5 with the GTI,

CHART 33 GTI vs Overall Global Peace Index (r = 0.61)
Unlike most international datasets, the GTI correlates more strongly with the overall GPI than the internal peace measure
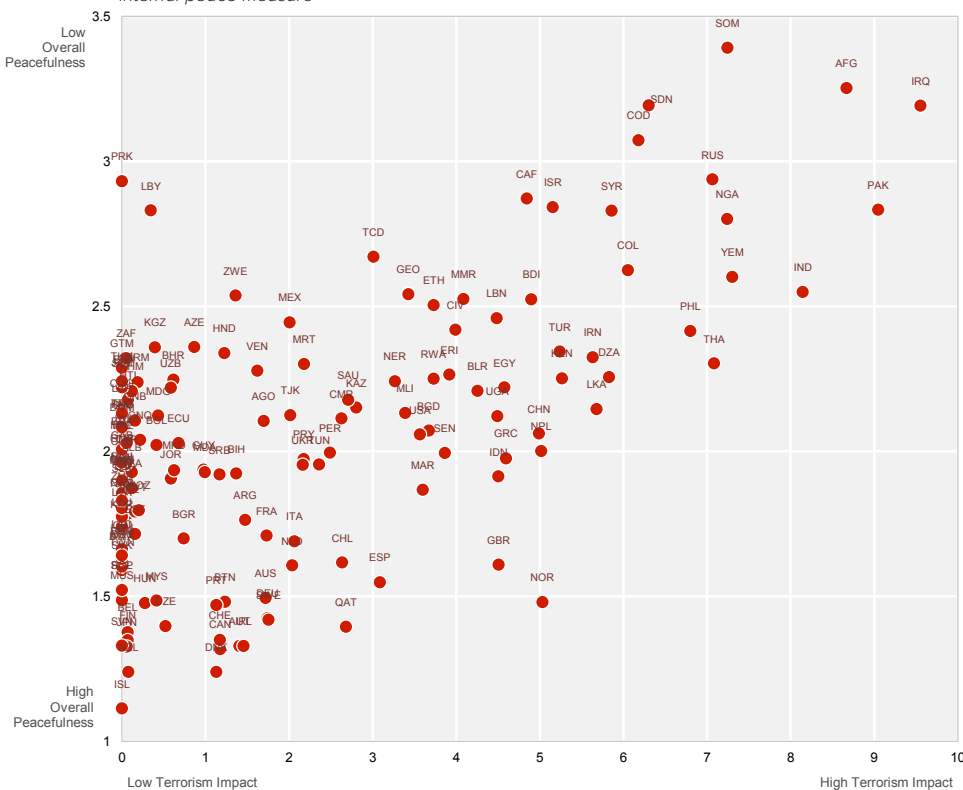
CHART 34 GTI vs Intergroup Cohesion (r = -0.67)
Countries with better relationships between different groups and communities tend to have a lower impact of terrorism
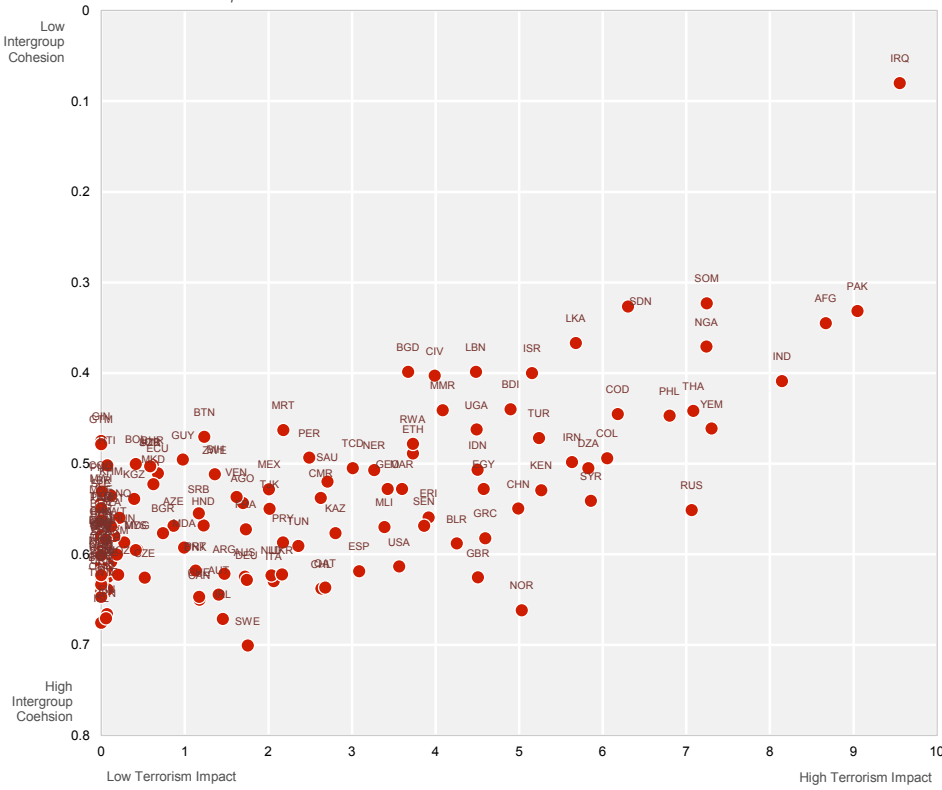
The Failed States Index (FSI) is compiled by the Fund for Peace. One of the sub-indicators which make up the FSI is 'Group Grievance' which quantifies the tension and violence which exists between groups and the state's ability to provide security. The Group Grievance indicator correlates significantly with the GTI with an r-value of 0.56. The positive correlation means that high levels of group grievances are associated with higher levels of terrorism. Conversely, low levels of group grievances are associated with low levels of terrorism.

The Intergroup Cohesion indicator is compiled by the Internal Institute of Social Studies (ISS). The indicator measures the relations of cooperation and respect between identity groups within a society. When cooperation breaks down between salient identity groups, there is the potential for conflict including killings, assassinations, rioting, and acts of terrorism. ISS measures intergroup cohesion using data on "inter-group disparities, perceptions of being discriminated against, and feelings of distrust against members of other groups."

The significant relationship between intergroup cohesion and the GTI shows that nations with low levels of intergroup cohesion are more likely to be associated with high levels of terrorism. Conversely, nations with high levels of intergroup cooperation and respect experience low levels of terrorism.

CHART 35 GTI vs Group Grievances (r = 0.56)
The Failed States Index's measure of group grievance is closely correlated with terrorism.

CHART 36 GTI vs World Bank Political Stability (r = -0.67)
Political instability is strongly correlated with the impact of terrorism

CHART 37 GTI vs Escola de Pau Human Rights Index (r = 0.72)
Countries that do not meet their international human rights obligations score tend to have a higher impact of terrorism
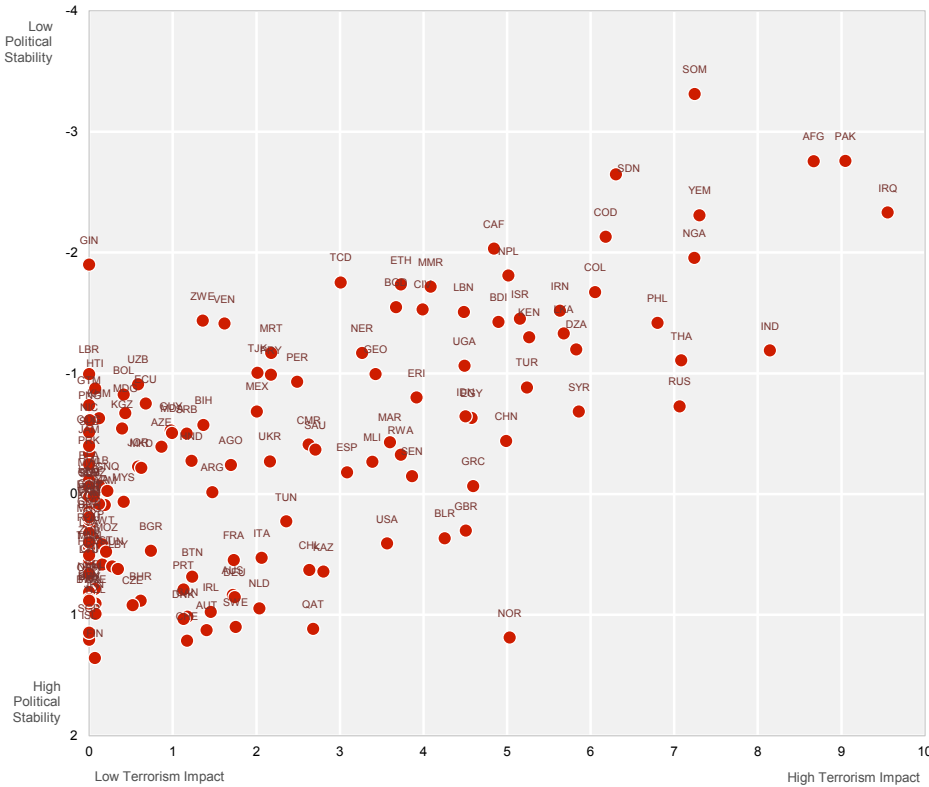
Both the political stability and intergroup cohesion indicators share some conceptual overlap since they both are proxies for internal tensions which may escalate into possible violence.

Two measures of political stability have been correlated to the overall GTI, the Economist Intelligence Unit's (EIU) political instability indicator and the World Bank's WGI political stability indicator. The EIU's indicator measures perceptions of the likelihood that a government will be destabilized or overthrown by unconstitutional or violent means, including politically-motivated violence and terrorism.

The Human Rights Index is compiled by Escola de Cultura de Pau (The School for Culture of Peace). It uses 22 indicators which fall under 3 broad groups or 'dimensions': the non-ratification of the main instruments of Internal Law of Human Rights and International Humanitarian Law (IHL), the violation of the International Law of Human Rights, and violation(s) of IHL. The indicators themselves asses the degrees to which countries are committed to respecting and protecting its citizens: for example, *has the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights (1966), or the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women (1979) been ratified?* The correlation between the Human Rights Index and GTI shows a strong positive correlation: countries that have a high degree of protection and compliance in regards to human rights and IHL are typically associated with low levels of terrorism. Conversely, countries with high levels of terrorism have fewer safeguards with respect to human rights.

37
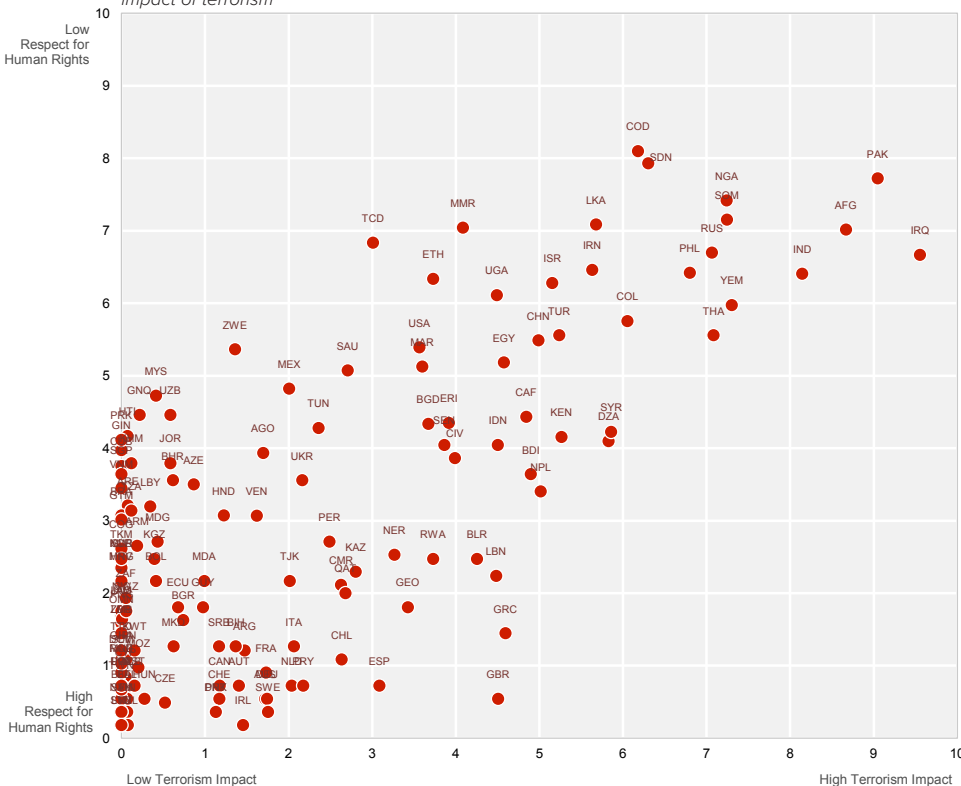
CORRUPTION AND
TERRORISM

ALTHOUGH THE CORRELATION BETWEEN CORRUPTION AND TERRORISM IS NOT STRONG; A DEEPER INVESTIGATION HIGHLIGHTS THAT THOSE COUNTRIES WITH THE HIGHEST LEVELS OF TERRORIST ACTIVITY ALSO SCORE VERY POORLY ON CORRUPTION MEASURES.

Four of the 15 countries with the highest level of terrorist activity are ranked in the bottom ten on the Corruption Perception Index with the rest being in bottom third and only Thailand and India having mid-ranking scores on corruption.

There are many countries which are corrupt but do not have terrorism, therefore corruption on its own does not necessarily lead to terrorism, however nations severely affected by terrorism share high levels of corruption.

The relationship between peace and corruption has a very distinctive shape as can be seen in chart 38. As corruption increases it has little effect on peace until a tipping point is reached, after which very small increases in corruption result in very large decreases in peacefulness. The countries most affected by terrorism have been highlighted.

Not surprisingly countries which are most affected by terrorism also score very poorly on the Global Peace Index (GPI) and dominate the bottom ten countries on the GPI. Not one of the fifteen countries most affected by terrorism was above the bottom third of the GPI.

CHART 38 Corruption Perceptions Index vs Global Peace Index, 2011
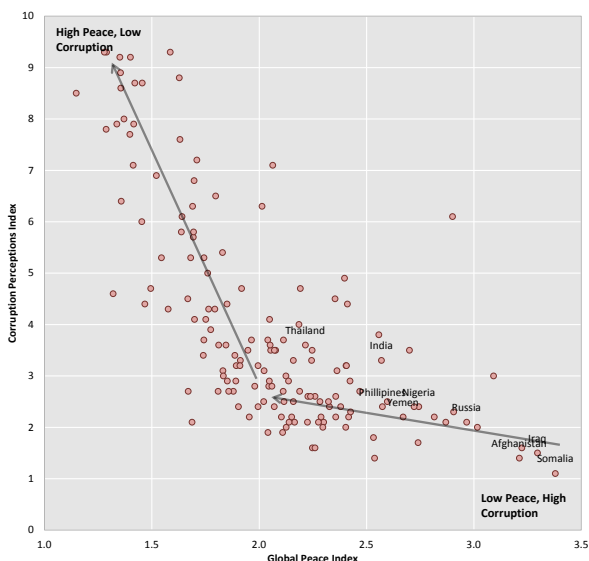
Perceptions of corruption have been on the increase over the last decade as illustrated in chart 39, theoretically placing downward pressure on the level of peace as measured by the GPI. This is relevant not only to peace but also to business and civil society as increases in corruption directly impact their effectiveness.

CHART 39 World Bank Control of Corruption, 2002-2011
Corruption has increased globally over the last decade
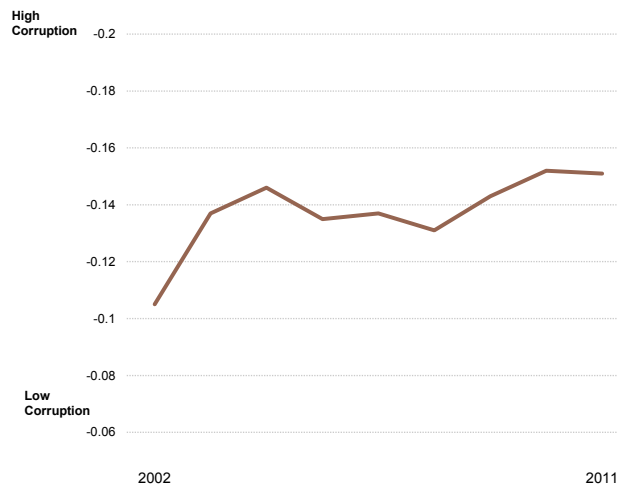
To further understand what types of corruption were associated with low levels of peacefulness the Global Corruption Barometer (GCB) from Transparency International was correlated against the GPI. Changing levels of corruption in the police, military and judiciary were found to be most closely aligned with changes in peace. This demonstrates the link between corruption and the breakdown of rule of law and would indicate that measures aimed at reducing corruption within the law enforcement agencies would go a long way to improving their legitimacy and undercutting societal discontent

TABLE 15 Correlations between selected Global Corruption Barometer (GCB) questions and the Global Peace Index

	GCB QUESTION	CORRELATION WITH GLOBAL PEACE INDEX	CORRELATION WITH INTERNAL PEACE
In the last year...	% Believe corruption has stayed the same	-0.41	-0.46
	% Believe corruption has increased	0.15	0.18
% who see the institution as corrupt or extremely corrupt	Political Parties	-0.03	0.02
	Parliament	0.19	0.23
	Police	**0.46**	**0.56**
	Business	-0.26	-0.30
	Medical Services	-0.09	-0.17
	Civil Servants	0.33	0.37
	Judiciary	**0.33**	**0.40**
	Military	**0.43**	**0.44**
	Educational System	0.37	0.39
	Paid a bribe in the last year	0.53	0.63

SECTION 2 REFERENCES

7. See Appendix B for a list of the 100 worst terrorist incidents in the GTD database, 2002-2011

8. (2012). Pillars of Peace: Finding the attitudes, institutions, and structures most closely associated with peace. IEP Report Sydney, Institute for Economics and Peace. no.18.

9. IEP considers a correlation greater than 0.5 or less than -0.5 to be significant

10. Internally Displacement Monitoring Centre (IDMC), Internally Displaced People Database.

11. Defined as the absence of violence and the absence of the fear of violence.

BLACK SWANS AND BURSTINESS:
Countering Myths About Terrorism
Gary La Free
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TERRORISM HAS TWO CHARACTERISTICS THAT MAKE IT PRONE TO MYTH MAKING--ITS *BLACK SWAN* NATURE AND ITS *BURSTINESS.*

Essayist Nassim Taleb defines a black swan incident as one that falls outside the realm of regular expectations, has a high impact, and defies predictions. The term is based on the observation that before they visited Australia, Europeans had assumed that all swans were white; an assumption that at the time was supported (for Europeans at least) by their own experience. Taleb claims that the coordinated terrorist attacks of 9/11 are a perfect example of a black swan event because they were unexpected, had a huge impact on policy and were difficult to predict. One of the major challenges in responding to terrorism is that a handful of very rare cases can have a disproportionate effect on setting the agenda for the phenomena more generally.

But terrorism also tends to be bursty. Bursty distributions are those that are highly concentrated in time and space. Recent research has shown that diverse phenomena are bursty, including streams of e-mail messages; traffic on crowded freeways; the frequency of forest fires--and the global distribution of terrorism. These two qualities—its black swan character and its burstiness—make responding to terrorism challenging. On the one hand, terrorism is relatively infrequent and hard to predict; on the other hand, when it starts to happen there is a tendency for it to happen in the same place a lot.

The Global Terrorism Database (GTD), maintained by the START Center at the University of Maryland, and now being used for this report by the Institute for Economics and Peace, can help us put these characteristics of terrorism into context. The GTD includes over 104,000 terrorist attacks from everywhere in the world that took place from 1970 until 2011. In this short essay, I will use the GTD to first reflect on some of the myths generated by the incredible impact of 9/11 and then consider some of the policy implications of the bursty nature of terrorism made evident by the GTD.

I will begin by discussing nine myths about terrorism that have been strongly influenced by black swan events like 9/11. I call these myths in the everyday sense that they are conclusions that are fictitious or unscientific. First, 9/11 had an immediate and dramatic impact on levels of public concern about terrorism in the United States and well beyond. Accordingly, many observers assumed that terrorist attacks and fatalities were up sharply in the years just before 9/11. But in fact, the GTD tells a different, more complicated story. According to our data, terrorist attacks reached their twentieth century zenith not in 2001, but in 1992—just after the collapse of the Soviet Union. Total attacks the year before 9/11 were at about the same level as they had been at in the mid-1970s.

Second, the ubiquity of modern communications systems means that individuals are now continuously bombarded by images of terrorist attacks from around the globe. Consider how many times you have you seen the iconic 9/11 image of a jet plane crashing into the World Trade Center? This blanket media coverage leaves the impression that no location on the planet is safe from terrorism. But in fact, our analysis of the GTD indicates that terrorist attacks are highly concentrated in a relatively few places. For example, the top ten countries in terms of terrorist attacks account for nearly half of all terrorist activities in the world since 1970. Ten percent of the world's countries account for 75% of the world's terrorist attacks.

Third, the devastating impact of 9/11 led many observers, both in the United States and elsewhere, to assume that the United States is the target of an inordinate number of terrorist attacks. However, when we use the GTD to examine the frequency of attacks and the number of fatalities by country, we find that the US ranks about 14th in the world in terms of total attacks and about 16th in terms of total fatalities. And while the US ranks 16th in terms of total fatalities, 90 percent of total US terrorism fatalities since 1970 are accounted for by the four coordinated attacks of 9/11. If these attacks are removed from the estimates, US fatalities from terrorism are similar to fatalities for Canada or Greece.

Fourth, the tremendous impact of 9/11 encourages us to think about terrorism as being mostly about dissatisfied individuals from one country attacking innocent civilians from another country. My colleagues and I recently looked at the attack patterns of 52 foreign terrorist groups that were identified by the US State Department as posing the greatest threat to US security. Based on GTD data we found that more than 90 percent of the 17,000 attacks carried out by these groups were actually domestic attacks. This means that groups located in, for example, Pakistan, were far more likely to use terrorist violence against non US targets in Pakistan than they were to attack US targets in Pakistan or to attack the US homeland.

Fifth, because of the seeming irrationality of the al Qa'ida attack of 9/11, it is easy to lose sight of the fact that a large number of terrorist attacks involve fairly rational political disputes over territory. Although there are major differences in terms of their specific orientation, this explains in large part all of the top ten most active terrorist groups of the modern era, including Shining Path, ETA, the FMLN, the IRA, FARC, Hamas, and the LTTE.

Sixth, because of the devastating attack of 9/11, it is easy to suppose that most terrorist attacks are incredibly lethal. However, from the GTD we find that more than half of all terrorist attacks since 1970 involved no fatalities. Many incidents are directed at property—bridges, electric plants, factories. Others attacks are aimed at civilians, but they fail. And in many other cases terrorist groups provide a warning to civilians before striking. This has been a common practice for ETA and the IRA and used to be a common practice for the Weather Underground.

Seventh, the coordinated attacks of 9/11 involved long term planning, split second timing, and an innovative use of existing resources. And the sophistication of 9/11 pales into insignificance compared to the diabolical cleverness of the enemies that Clair Danes, Kiefer Sutherland and other television and media heroes routinely face. These images no doubt encourage us to think that most terrorist strikes depend on sophisticated weaponry. But contrary to the view of terrorism

that we commonly get from Hollywood, the vast majority of terrorist attacks rely on unsophisticated, readily accessible weapons. According to the GTD 80 percent of all attacks rely on explosives and firearms. And for the most part, the explosives used are relatively common, especially dynamite and grenades. Similarly, the most common firearms are also widely available, including especially shot guns and pistols. Fortunately, sophisticated weapons, including chemical, biological, radiological and nuclear weapons, are the rare exception.

Eighth, given the persistence of high profile, long lasting groups like al Qa'ida, the Tamil Tigers or the Irish Republican Army, there is also a common perception that most terrorist groups have long life spans. The GTD identifies more than 2,000 separate terrorist groups.   We gauge their longevity by the amount of time from their first strike to their last known strike. We find that nearly 75 percent of the terrorist organizations identified in the GTD last for less than a year. Most terrorist groups are like most business start ups—very likely to disappear during their first year of operation.

And finally, the advance planning, originality and destructiveness of 9/11 contributed to the notion that terrorist groups are infallible.   We could call this, the myth of the super terrorist. My colleagues and I at the START Center have been involved in several research projects using GTD data which suggests otherwise. For example, in a recent study we used the GTD to examine the targeting strategies of the Armenian Secret Army for the Liberation of Armenia (ASALA)—a very active group based in Turkey. We were especially interested in ASALA because after mounting a long series of deadly terrorist attacks throughout the 1970s and early 1980s, its attacks abruptly declined. After modeling many possible explanations for this sudden desistance, our conclusion was that the most convincing explanation was a strategic shift by ASALA in its targeting strategy. Before the early 1980s, ASALA was careful to target Turks and avoided non-Turkish and especially Armenian, casualties. But starting in the early 1980s, they became far less discriminate in their targeting methods. The pivotal historical event in our analysis was an especially brutal attack on Paris's Orly Airport in 1983 that killed eight people and wounding over fifty more. The increasing reliance on random, brutal violence such as the attack on Orly created a polarized and hostile climate among the supporters of ASALA and seriously undermined its legitimacy. In short, ASALA badly miscalculated the impact of its changing strategy on its followers.

So, contrary to our stereotypes based on 9/11 and a few other extraordinary events, most terrorist attacks for the past four decades have relied on readily available, unsophisticated weaponry, and frequently involve few or no fatalities. The typical terrorist group disappears in less than a year and there is ample evidence that terrorists frequently make strategic errors.   Attacks were declining just before 9/11 and very few attacks involve disgruntled groups from one country attacking civilians in another country.   If 9/11 is a black swan event, why not simply ignore it and go back to business as usual?

A major reason why ignoring terrorism is a risky idea is directly related to its burstiness: when it starts to happen it happens a lot and rapidly. We have many examples of this phenomenon provided by research being conducted at the START Center. Attacks by groups that target the United States follow this pattern so that if we look at attack patterns over the past four decades we see not one single group but three waves of attacks. We see similar patterns when we look at aerial hijackings, suicide bombings, and improvised explosive devices. There is a rapidly developing literature suggesting that a wide variety of different types of crime and violence may have this bursty quality, including burglaries, robberies and gang violence. My colleagues and I have begun to apply similar logic to the study of terrorism. For example, in a recent study we examined the spatial and temporal distribution of terrorist attacks by the Basque Separatist Group ETA in Spain from 1970 on and the attacks of the Farabundi Marti National Liberation Front (FMLN) in El Salvador from 1980 to 1992.

We were especially interested in measuring what we call microcycles— localized bursts of criminal or violent attacks. We began by classifying 2,000 terrorist attacks attributed to ETA and 3,300 terrorist attacks attributed to the FMLN into a time-space grid. We found that for ETA, 52% of all attacks happened within microcycles that were within two weeks and 5 miles of each other—60 percent happened within microcycles that were within two weeks and 10 miles of each other. The concentration was even greater for the FMLN: 67% of FMLN attacks happened within microcycles that were within two weeks and 5 miles of each other and 81% happened within microcycles of 2 weeks and 10 miles of each other. Moreover, we found that compared to other attacks, attacks that were part of microcycles had significantly different characteristics in both countries. For example, compared to other types of attacks, bombings by both ETA and the FMLN were likely to be part of microcycles while assassinations and armed attacks were likely to be isolated events. We also found that whether an attack was part of a microcycle was closely related to its location. For both ETA and the FMLN, attacks on the national capital were more likely to be part of microcycles. While these results are preliminary, they give us reason to hope that analysis of the spatial and temporal patterns of terrorism might help to guide policies on countering terrorism.

Which brings me to a few conclusions. I have argued that policies on terrorism are strongly affected by black swan events and that 9/11 is a good example of such an event: it was unexpected, of great magnitude, and had a huge impact on policy.   But in addition, terrorism has a bursty quality. When it is effective in a particular time and place, we get a lot of it rapidly. This last point suggests that it would be foolhardy to ignore the threats posed. And this is the challenge for contemporary societies raised by terrorism: there are dangers in over reacting but there are also dangers in not reacting. Fortunately, 9/11 has turned out to be a rare event—a black swan.   But unfortunately, the threat of sudden bursts of terrorist attacks is likely to be a permanent feature of the twenty-first century.

BEYOND Al-QA'IDA
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DATA FOUND IN THE GLOBAL TERRORISM DATABASE AND CONVEYED IN THE INSTITUTE FOR ECONOMICS AND PEACE'S GLOBAL TERRORISM INDEX DEMONSTRATE THE BREADTH OF VIOLENCE EMANATING FROM VIOLENT JIHADIST GROUPS GLOBALLY.

The Global Terrorism Index lists Iraq, Pakistan, Afghanistan, Yemen and Somalia as experiencing the greatest increase in the "impact of terrorism" between 2002 and 2011. The ten most lethal organizations in that timeframe include the Taliban, the Islamic State of Iraq and its two precursor organizations (al-Qa'ida in Iraq and Tawhid wal Jihad - which make the top ten on their own record), Tehrik-i-Taliban Pakistan, and Boko Haram. Four of the five most lethal-single attacks of 2011 were conducted by al-Qa'ida in the Arabian Peninsula (110 killed), the Tehriki-Taliban Pakistan (80 killed), al-Shabaab (70 killed), and al-Qa'ida in Iraq (65 killed). According to GTD data, however, the al-Qa'ida organization itself was responsible for only one incident – a kidnapping - out of the 5000 terrorist incidents in 2011, while 11 of the most 20 active groups globally were al-Qa'ida linked.

As a result, the al-Qa'ida organization does not currently claim the majority of our attention, except when another important cadre member is killed or captured. Instead, observers ponder the meaning of the continuous or frequently increasing levels of violence from other jihadist groups in the context of a post Arab-Spring world, despite the fact that the various narratives of the Arab Spring seem to undermine al-Qa'ida's reliance on violence and its call to reestablish the caliphate as the governing structure for the Muslim nation. Additionally, individuals continue to join jihadist groups or plot violent attacks of their own volition. What should we take from these seemingly contradictory developments? Did al-Qa'ida succeed by inspiring widespread jihadism, or has it lost to a variety of more popular, parochial actors? To address these questions, it is essential to understand al-Qa'ida's origins and its place in the broader Islamist landscape; only in context can the decline of the al-Qa'ida organization and the persistence of violent jihadism be understood and can governments formulate policy for a threat environment beyond al-Qa'ida.

HISTORICAL CONTEXT

The al-Qa'ida organization gained centrality among militant organizations as a result of the role played by key members during the anti-Soviet Jihad. Through their participation in a logistical organization known as the Maktab al-Khidamat, or the "Service Bureau," Usama bin Ladin and his key associates networked extensively with individual recruits and organizations that traveled to support the defensive jihad of the Afghan mujahidin. The Services Bureau created mobilization infrastructure largely in the safe-haven provided by the Haqqani network, which promulgated local and global jihadist sentiment prior to the conflict with the Soviet Union. Tens of thousands of volunteers, many veterans of previous or on-going local and regional conflicts, socialized together in the intake and

training camps preparing them to fight an imperial superpower. Militants from Southeast Asia met those from North Africa, South Asia, China, and the Middle East, and in this peculiar historical moment the seeds of global jihadism were sewn.

Al-Qa'ida, a small organization that emerged from the Services Bureau in 1988, has spent the last 24 years arguing that the grievances vexing each of these Muslim communities were not unrelated, but instead were the result of a global conspiracy against "true" Islam led by the West and enabled by apostate Muslim rulers.

The failure of local jihadist groups to successfully topple corrupt Muslim rulers, the "near enemy," and regionally oriented jihadist groups or reclaim political control of occupied territory frustrated these actors before, during, and after the anti-Soviet jihad. Upon Bin Ladin's failure to convince the Saudi government to allow this community of jihadist veterans to protect the Arabian Peninsula from Saddam Hussein's Bathist military, al-Qa'ida formulated the master narrative that would underpin the next twenty years of ideological and operational output. The reason that the Royal Family would not allow the mujahidin to defend Mecca and Medina from Iraq's advance was the same reason that local and irredentist jihadist groups elsewhere had failed in their parochial contests. The regimes were illegitimate proxies of foreign powers, and behind each of these puppet regimes was the military and economic aid of the "far-enemy." Led by the United States, the far enemy pulled the strings across the Muslim world for their own imperial purposes and to undermine Islam.

Al-Qa'ida's grand strategy would emerge from this diagnosis; Al-Qa'ida would enable and repurpose the violence of others militant actors to attrite the political, economic, and military will of the United States to remain engaged in the Muslim world. If al-Qa'ida's geographically distributed attrition warfare could sever the ties between the puppet-master and the puppets, revolutionary local and regional campaigns could reestablish Islamic governance for the Muslim nation.

To realize this grand-strategy, al-Qa'ida exploited relationships created during the anti-Soviet jihad and glommed on to extant violent campaigns. They provided training, financing, and propaganda support when they did not also engage directly in the violence. The increasingly intertwined histories of local, regional and global jihadist actors had multiple consequences. Most significantly, the global jihadist cause often benefited from resources mobilized for the purpose of defensive or classical jihad – a concept far easier to justify politically and religiously than the offensive jihad practiced by global jihadists. Iraq, Pakistan, Afghanistan, Yemen and Somalia, the five fastest rising nations of the last decade in the Global Terrorism Index, illustrate this volatile relationship between military occupations or aerial strikes into sovereign territory and violent mobilization. In addition, the multiplicity of grievances espoused by local, regional and local actors created numerous radicalization pathways, and the harmonization of parochial and cosmic narratives by al-Qa'ida's propaganda organ helped conflate actions on the ground.

In many cases, money, arms, and individual recruits were syphoned off from relatively robust resource pipelines and reoriented towards al-Qa'ida's global cause. The perceived legitimacy of the conflicts in the Balkans, Chechnya, Iraq, Afghanistan, Kashmir and Somalia drew foreign actors who did not act in the best interests of the local communities they grafted on to. This often created tensions among the jihadist factions themselves, or between the local populace and the militant actors. As a result, al-Qa'ida rarely succeeded retaining popular support among the populace or reorienting jihadist groups en toto to their tactical and targeting preferences, but they frequently achieved partial successes that amplified al-Qai'das operational reach far beyond their organizational safe haven along the Durand line. In several instances, the key leaders of militant organizations were persuaded to adopt al-Qa'ida's operational paradigm more wholly, even changing their name to reflect a formal affiliation with al-Qa'ida.

IDEOLOGICAL CONTEXT

The al-Qa'ida organization is a reincarnation - the latest manifestation of a militant idea which has surfaced at moments of crisis throughout Sunni Islamic history. The grand-strategy formulated by al-Qa'ida in the context of the first Gulf War embodies a logic previously articulated but not widely accepted. Scholars such as Ahmed Ibn Taymiyya argued that the reason the seat of the caliphate, Baghdad, had been sacked by the Mongols in the middle of the 13th century was that Muslims had turned their back on the proper, archetypal modality of Islam realized during the time of the Prophet Mohammad and his contemporaries - the establishment of a theocracy in which Islam served as the organizing principle of society.

Of particular importance to today's violence, Ibn Taymiyya not only diagnosed the problem through the lens of political Islam, but provided the justification for revolutionary violence that jihadists cite today. In the anti-Mongul fatwas, written half a century after the Monguls had conquered the Abbasid Caliphate and after many had converted to Islam, Ibn Taymiyya excommunicated them and their proxy rulers for not governing by an unadulterated interpretation of Islamic law. For this sin, he declared that they were no longer Muslim and could be violently overthrown, upending the Sunni convention of non-violence towards Muslim (even tyrannical or incompetent) rulers.

In the 19th and 20th centuries, the ravages of colonialism, the failures nationalism, monarchism, Marxism, and pan-Arabism in the post-colonial Middle East and North Africa, similar failures in South Asia, and the creation of the states of Israel and Pakistan among others all contributed to the current rise of militant Islamism. In this incarnation, an imprisoned Egyptian named Sayyid Qutb called for a vanguard to act upon the ideas put forward by ideologues like Ibn Taymiyya when faced with insufficiently Islamic governance from within the Muslim world, and toxic foreign ideological and physical incursions from outside of the Muslim world. These thought-leaders, cherry-picked from moments of crisis, remain foundational thought leaders of jihadist movements today.

The vocabulary of this narrative is supplied by revivalist interpretations of Islam. Maximalist notions of tawhid, absolute monotheism, and taqlid, emulation of the actions of the Prophet Muhammad and a literalist interpretation of the Qur'an, provide a universally accessible and seemingly unassailable haven for Sunni Muslims looking for alternatives to the oppressive realities provided by their current regimes. Faced with persecution by a morally bankrupt ruling class, the Prophet emigrated from Mecca to Medina in 622 where he established the first Islamic city-state. In this archetypal moment the Prophet Muhammad reorganized society around Islam as opposed to the bonds of kinship and tribal custom, after which he successfully defended his new Muslim nation and expanded the political boundaries of the Muslim empire.

For many Islamists, violent Islamists like al-Qa'ida among them, this pre-Westphalian modality of Islam is instructional. "True" Islam only exists when it is the primary source of governance, manifest today by the implementation of a fundamentalist interpretation of Islamic law. It supersedes tribe, or nationality today, it is to be defended everywhere it exists, and when it exists it is an ascendant force. According to this logic, in the current moment of extended crisis Muslims are duty-bound to follow the example of the Prophet and emigrate from places of persecution to a place where they can fight on behalf of "true" Islam. If they cannot make that journey, they are to fight where they live.

This ideological context helps to explain jihadism's appeal beyond its embodiment in al-Qa'ida. In any current political climate where national leaders fail to deliver economic prosperity, just governance and security, and foreign powers prey on this internal weakness, the argument can gain traction. By describing an alternative political order in a religious lexicon, jihadist ideologues disassociate themselves from the corruption and incompetence demonstrated since the post-Colonial era. Because al-Qa'ida inherited a resonant argument and spent decades propagating it in training camps and online, and because modern jihadist ideologues continue to interpret this argument for current political conditions, al-Qa'ida's continued salience as an organization is not required for this narrative to remain compelling.

BIN LADIN IS DEAD; LONG LIVE JIHADISM

Jihadism persists because it predates al-Qa'ida and is not dependent upon al-Qa'ida. Ibn Taymiyya's revolutionary narrative, inherited and amplified by al-Qa'ida, can gain traction among other aggrieved Sunni militant groups. Al-Qa'ida sought footholds where extant local or regional groups already existed and often propagandized on their behalves, creating the perception that these conflicts existed because of al-Qa'ida. While not true, it is true that al-Qa'ida had varying success enabling the violence of others and reorienting that violence against the West. Even without a robust al-Qa'ida presence, members of local and regional groups may continue

to see Western targets as legitimate. As al-Qa'ida currently discourages foreign fighters to travel to Pakistan, globally minded individuals are more likely to target far enemy targets in their own locale. If nothing else, al-Qa'ida demonstrated that small groups can attack powerful nation-states successfully, potentially emboldening disparate groups and cells to take action.

In addition, jihadism persists because al-Qa'ida delegates operational decision-making to varying degrees in varying contexts, to include empowering lone-actors with no formal connection to the organization to take direct action. Following Nidal Hasan's terrorist attack at Fort Hood, for example, al-Qa'ida did not claim the attack but endorsed the behavior. This is in large part because al-Qa'ida is a pragmatic vanguard with an expansive definition of itself. When operationally constrained it has stuck to the strategic principle of enabling the violence of others, as opposed to privileging absolute command and control.

CONCLUSION

The death of the 21st century's first super-empowered individual, Usama bin Ladin, lead to broad reflection about the viability of his organization and its place in a changing political landscape. Underscoring al-Qa'ida's failure to generate widespread support for both the ends (severing of ties between the West and the Muslim world and reestablishment of the caliphate) and means (violence) of its campaign, protestors acted largely peaceably and entirely within the parameters of the international system that al-Qa'ida sought to overthrow. Control of the nation-state, not its dissolution, remained the prize of popular protests even for the Islamist political parties that have benefited from the instability.

Within the context of this political turmoil, extant violent groups persist and some have found new safe-haven. While many coalesced around a local agenda without any impetus from the al-Qa'ida organization, al-Qa'ida's long-running propagation of global jihadism and its vilification of the West has influenced these militant organizations to varying degrees. As a result, in contested regions far from al-Qa'ida's geographic center of gravity, violence targeting both local Muslim populations and "far-enemy" targets persists. Making this mix of violence more difficult to disentangle, it often occurs in places where anti-American sentiment is paramount creating the very real risk that American audiences will conflate the two.

It is essential, therefore, that policy-makers understand the differing motivations and goals among violent and non-violent Islamist actors in a given region. Many of these actors choose to act within the international system with the goal of winning a seat at the table. Others act outside of the system in the medium term, but for the same prize; the ability to govern within the international system. Foreign policy should endeavor to influence the behaviors of these organizations with the understanding that Western nation states retain the advantage in this arena, even if policy options are less attractive than prior to the Arab Spring. There is a new political reality at play.

At the same time, the interplay of local, regional and global actors presents a parallel reality that counterterrorism professionals continue to address. This condition will persist to varying degrees even if the al-Qa'ida organization fails to recover from the withering attacks made against it over the last three years. Sophisticated counterterrorism policy must minimize the effects of global jihadism without inciting local and regional groups to take up its cause. This requires an understanding of the jihadist narrative and the ability to distinguish it from political Islam and anti-American sentiment, as well as an understanding of the specific history that allows al-Qa'ida to enable the violence of others in so many regions of the world.

YOUTH UNEMPLOYMENT AND TERRORISM
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IN WHAT FOLLOWS, I BRIEFLY ELABORATE SOME POINTS ON FUTURE ASPECTS OF TERRORISM ON A GLOBAL SCALE. IN PARTICULAR, I TRY TO HIGHLIGHT SOME TRENDS AND ASPECTS THAT WOULD MAKE TERRORISM AND POLITICAL VIOLENCE A SERIOUS THREAT TO MANY POLITIES.

Available figures show that terrorist incidents increased in the period 2001-2010. This increasing trend is confirmed by several sources.

First, the definition of terrorism which I espouse is the one provided by Sandler et al. (1983:37), namely terrorism is "… premeditated, threatened or actual use of force or violence to attain a political goal through fear, coercion, or intimidation." According to this definition, the nature of terrorism is intrinsically political. To some extent and for sake of simplicity I would refer to terrorism as the 'dark side of political mobilization'. But what inflames terrorism? No clear-cut answers exist in this respect. However, there is a growing consensus on the positive association between declining economic opportunities and the emergence of violence. In particular, there are several studies analyzing the causal relationship between economic conditions and antisocial behaviors, political violence and terrorism. In this vein, I want to highlight a particular aspect which has been often underestimated, namely the relationship between youth unemployment and emergence of terrorism.

Youth unemployment is a particular aspect of economic environment. Youth unemployment in many countries is currently a growing phenomenon. According to the figures released by the ILO in May 2012, 12.7 per cent of the global youth labor force will be unemployed in 2012. If we take into account the global numbers, there will be nearly 75 million unemployed youth aged 15 to 24 in 2012. This constitutes an increase of nearly 4 million since 2007. In fact, the global economic distress worsened the youth unemployment rates across the world. In fact, it is widely acknowledged that youth employment is more sensitive than adult employment. Young workers are supposed to be vulnerable because of their lack of seniority and their skills are low. That is, in times of economic sluggishness, employers would hire workers with superior experience and competences, namely adults unemployed. Therefore, youth unemployment is expected to be more sensitive to the swings of the business cycle. However, the rise of youth unemployment has been asymmetric across regions. In 2011, in North Africa, the 27.9 per cent of young people was unemployed 2011. In the Middle East the rate was of 26.5 per cent. In Latin America and the Caribbean the figure peaked to 15.6 in 2009 and eventually decreased to 14.3 per cent in 2011. In developed economies in 2012, the figure is expected to be around 18 per cent.

In my view, the dramatic rise of youth unemployment is likely to constitute the fundamental engine of political violence and terrorism. Caruso and Schneider (2011) find a positive and significant association between youth unemployment and terrorism in Europe for the period 1994-2007. In particular, they find a significant association between youth unemployment

and incidence of terrorism. Caruso and Gavrilova (2012) find a positive association between the growth rate of youth unemployment and the brutality and incidence of violence in Palestine.

As noted above, the relationship between current trends in youth unemployment and the emergence of political violence has been underestimated in recent years. In addition, the relationship between youth unemployment and political violence contributes to solve the dilemma on the relationship between education and terrorism. In fact, the level of education influences the sense of frustration and grievances perceived by younger individuals. Put differently, educated individuals in the presence of unfavorable economic landscape perceive that their expectations on employment outcomes are not likely to take shape. In other words, a superior education magnifies the grievance mechanism. The Arab Spring seems to be a fundamental example in this respect.

If my conjecture on the perilous impact of youth unemployment holds, three consequences are likely to take shape. First, transnational terrorism is likely to become less appealing or less crucial than few years ago. Local claims would become the real channels that are translating social dissent into terrorism. Terrorist groups would focus much more on local needs, in particular on the domain of economic opportunities. Rent-seekers, corrupted bureaucrats and unproductive subsidized firms would become the natural targets of violent activities perpetrated by organized groups. Unjust taxation and allocation of public spending, and lack of employment opportunities would become the frequent grievances of terrorist groups.

At the same time, religious identity and ideology, however, will not disappear. They will be used to legitimate or to develop a terrorist brand more effectively even if - in reality - there will be a substantial departure from global issues. In particular, religious motivated terrorism would strengthen its focus on social justice rather than on religious instances. Such kind of behavior already took shape in countries like Algeria, Nigeria, and Indonesia, among others, where Islamist groups channeled social grievances into the channel of religious hatred. Similarly, declining European economies as Italy, Spain, Greece would face secular extremisms as global anarchism or global communism. They would be both focused on social and economic grievances.

With this in mind, another logical consequence takes shape. Since preferences, perceptions and beliefs of individuals on economic issues are highly heterogeneous, there will be a large number of (small) organized groups. Evidently the focus on local grievances, and different interpretations of them, would also generate a larger number of groups. Such a trend already took shape in the latest years. In fact, this phenomenon has been indicated by means of expressions like 'self-starters' or 'homegrown terrorists'. Evidently, the larger the number of terrorist groups, the larger the number of terrorist attacks will be. As said, available figures confirm this trend.

Moreover, if the hypothesis of a growing number of small groups is convincing, it is also easy to predict that brutality of

terrorism is also likely to increase. In fact, competition between groups may dramatically increase the brutality of terrorist incidents. Evidently, terrorist groups aim to gain the highest status possible in the realm of the terrorist activities. In order to do that, they may be expected to try spectacular and brutal attacks. This is also true because of the necessary linkage between terrorism and media. Similar explanations have been provided by Bloom (2004) with regard to suicide bombing by Palestinian militants, by Della Porta (1995), with regard the competition between terrorist groups in Italy in 1970s and more recently by Caruso and Schneider (2012) for Jihadist terrorism in the period 2002-2010.

To summarize, what I would expect - in general terms - is 1) a superior focus on local rather than global issues; 2) a larger number of (small) terrorist groups; 3) a higher brutality in terrorist attacks.

If looking at regional patterns, what I would expect in particular is a serious recrudescence of terrorism in both western and eastern Europe. In MENA countries I also expect no decrease in terrorist activities. At the time this short paper is being written, a dramatic jobless recovery seems to be the outcome of austerity policies in some countries in Europe. It mainly affected youth. In MENA countries, in spite of positive figures of GDP growth unemployment rates increased dramatically and also the private investment rates has not increased so not allowing for positive expectations on future demand of labor. In the light of previous considerations, a steady decrease of terrorism in East Asia could be expected in the next few years.

POLICY RESPONSES

As noted above, the latent idea of this brief report is that terrorism is the 'dark side of political mobilization'. That is, in some cases terrorism is based on some social dissent that has no representation within a polity. Needless to say, there is a clear-cut empirical evidence that less democratic states are natural laboratories for political violence and terrorism. Under the belief that political dissent has to be channeled into the realm of a proper political competition, the question is how to make the groups not prone to violence. The simple answer would be that securing citizens with access decision-making processes. Put differently, reforming representative institutions becomes for many states an issue that cannot be delayed anymore. In other words, expanding the domain of democracy would be the natural strategy to be pursued. Consequently, further democratization would severely reduce terrorism and political violence. However, the question on what is the best strategy to stimulate democracy remains unsolved. Moreover, this exceeds the scope of this brief paper. What it is clear, however, is that muscular and repressive policies have proved to be unsuccessful in many respects. They can inflame and not weaken the terrorist threat.

A more viable set of solutions is related to the design of economic policy. In terms of economic policy, the imperative appears to be clear. Governments have to face seriously the growing numbers of youth unemployed. In fact, as said

above, the economic crises in many countries increased the rate of youth unemployment. Evidently, there is no common prescription to be suggested. Economies and related labor markets differ tremendously across countries. Economic policies must be designed on the basis of local needs and peculiarities. However, what can be firmly maintained is that countering youth unemployment should become a top priority on the agenda of policy makers in many countries. This does not seem to be the case in many countries. Within EU, for example, macroeconomic stability is the top priority for many governments.

Evidently, economic strategies to counter youth unemployment should not be designed at risk of exacerbating causes of grievances. In fact, rent-seeking policies, albeit capable of boosting growth in the short term, can also be predicted to reinforce the unjust economic conditions that make political violence likely to emerge. By contrast, economic policies should be designed to favor the strengthening of the business environment for private investment. In brief, the novel global war on terrorism should have as a fundamental pillar a global war on youth unemployment.

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APPENDIX A - GTI 2011

TABLE A1 Global Terrorism Index, 2011
Whilst the score refers to a five year weighted average, the number of incidents, fatalities, and injuries only refers to 2011.

Country	Rank	Score	Incidents	Fatalities	Injuries	Property Damage
Iraq	1	9.56	1228	1798	4905	660
Pakistan	2	9.05	910	1468	2459	458
Afghanistan	3	8.67	364	1293	1882	131
India	4	8.15	529	402	667	184
Yemen	5	7.3	113	454	415	44
Somalia	6	7.24	175	294	493	35
Nigeria	7	7.24	168	437	614	33
Thailand	8	7.09	173	142	427	59
Russia	9	7.07	182	159	431	66
Philippines	10	6.8	125	120	213	53
Sudan	11	6.3	34	183	117	5
Congo, Dem. Rep.	12	6.18	14	47	8	4
Colombia	13	6.06	80	32	68	30
Syria	14	5.86	45	149	195	9
Algeria	15	5.83	15	25	34	4
Sri Lanka	16	5.68	0	0	0	0
Iran	17	5.63	14	18	13	4
Kenya	18	5.27	40	40	111	8
Turkey	19	5.24	50	25	110	23
Israel	20	5.15	48	21	77	33
Norway	21	5.03	2	75	75	2
Nepal	22	5.02	29	5	73	14
China	23	4.99	4	19	32	2
Burundi	24	4.9	8	47	30	3
Central African Republic	25	4.84	3	35	3	1
Greece	26	4.6	10	0	5	4
Egypt	27	4.58	16	26	107	9
United Kingdom	28	4.51	46	1	3	19
Indonesia	29	4.51	21	20	70	5
Uganda	30	4.49	0	0	0	0
Lebanon	31	4.48	10	1	23	5
Belarus	32	4.26	1	13	161	1
Myanmar	33	4.09	2	0	0	0
Cote D'ivoire	34	3.99	3	23	3	0
Eritrea	35	3.92	1	17	5	0
Senegal	36	3.86	4	21	6	0
Ethiopia	37	3.73	3	2	3	0
Rwanda	38	3.73	2	2	49	0
Bangladesh	39	3.67	6	3	4	2
Morocco	40	3.6	1	17	24	0
United States	41	3.57	8	0	2	2
Georgia	42	3.43	3	1	1	1

Country	Rank	Score	Incidents	Fatalities	Injuries	Property Damage
Mali	43	3.39	4	4	2	0
Niger	44	3.27	2	4	6	0
Spain	45	3.09	0	0	0	0
Chad	46	3.01	0	0	0	0
Kazakhstan	47	2.8	3	9	0	0
Saudi Arabia	48	2.71	2	3	15	1
Qatar	49	2.68	1	8	1	1
Chile	50	2.64	5	0	1	4
Cameroon	51	2.63	3	4	0	0
Peru	52	2.49	0	0	0	0
Tunisia	53	2.36	3	4	0	1
Mauritania	54	2.18	3	1	4	1
Paraguay	55	2.17	4	0	4	2
Ukraine	56	2.16	3	0	0	2
Italy	57	2.07	3	0	2	0
Netherlands	58	2.04	2	0	0	2
Tajikistan	59	2.02	0	0	0	0
Mexico	60	2.01	1	0	0	1
Sweden	61	1.76	1	0	0	1
Germany	62	1.74	6	0	0	1
France	63	1.73	4	0	1	0
Australia	64	1.72	0	0	0	0
Angola	65	1.7	0	0	0	0
Venezuela	66	1.62	0	0	0	0
Argentina	67	1.47	0	0	0	0
Ireland	68	1.46	3	0	0	1
Austria	69	1.41	1	0	0	1
Bosnia and Herzegovina	70	1.37	1	0	1	0
Zimbabwe	71	1.36	1	0	0	0
Bhutan	72	1.23	1	0	2	1
Honduras	73	1.23	0	0	0	0
Canada	74	1.18	0	0	0	0
Switzerland	75	1.17	3	0	2	1
Serbia	76	1.17	0	0	0	0
Denmark	77	1.13	1	1	2	0
Portugal	77	1.13	2	0	0	2
Moldova	79	0.99	0	0	0	0
Guyana	80	0.98	0	0	0	0
Azerbaijan	81	0.87	0	0	0	0
Bulgaria	82	0.74	2	0	0	1
Ecuador	83	0.68	1	0	0	1
Macedonia (FYR)	84	0.62	0	0	0	0

Country	Rank	Score	Incidents	Fatalities	Injuries	Property Damage
Bahrain	85	0.62	1	0	0	0
Jordan	86	0.58	0	0	0	0
Uzbekistan	86	0.58	0	0	0	0
Czech Republic	88	0.52	1	0	0	0
Madagascar	89	0.43	1	0	0	0
Bolivia	90	0.42	0	0	0	0
Malaysia	90	0.42	0	0	0	0
Kyrgyzstan	92	0.4	1	0	0	0
Libya	93	0.35	2	0	0	0
Hungary	94	0.28	0	0	0	0
Equatorial Guinea	95	0.22	0	0	0	0
Mozambique	96	0.2	0	0	0	0
Armenia	97	0.19	0	0	0	0
Estonia	98	0.16	1	0	0	0
Guinea-bissau	98	0.16	0	0	0	0
Kuwait	98	0.16	1	0	0	0
Albania	101	0.12	0	0	0	0
Cambodia	101	0.12	0	0	0	0
Tanzania	101	0.12	0	0	0	0
New Zealand	104	0.08	0	0	0	0
United Arab Emirates	104	0.08	0	0	0	0
Haiti	106	0.07	0	0	0	0
Belgium	107	0.07	0	0	0	0
Finland	107	0.07	0	0	0	0
Japan	109	0.06	0	0	0	0
Swaziland	109	0.06	0	0	0	0
South Africa	111	0.05	0	0	0	0
Cyprus	112	0.05	0	0	0	0
Lesotho	113	0.04	0	0	0	0
Benin	114	0.03	0	0	0	0
Papua New Guinea	115	0.01	0	0	0	0
Brazil	116	0	0	0	0	0
Congo, Rep.	116	0	0	0	0	0
Croatia	116	0	0	0	0	0
Djibouti	116	0	0	0	0	0
Gambia	116	0	0	0	0	0
Guatemala	116	0	0	0	0	0
Guinea	116	0	0	0	0	0
South Korea	116	0	0	0	0	0
Laos	116	0	0	0	0	0
Latvia	116	0	0	0	0	0
Liberia	116	0	0	0	0	0

Country	Rank	Score	Incidents	Fatalities	Injuries	Property Damage
Montenegro	116	0	0	0	0	0
Namibia	116	0	0	0	0	0
Nicaragua	116	0	0	0	0	0
Panama	116	0	0	0	0	0
Poland	116	0	0	0	0	0
Sierra Leone	116	0	0	0	0	0
Slovakia	116	0	0	0	0	0
Trinidad and Tobago	116	0	0	0	0	0
Turkmenistan	116	0	0	0	0	0
Uruguay	116	0	0	0	0	0
Vietnam	116	0	0	0	0	0
Zambia	116	0	0	0	0	0
Burkina Faso	116	0	0	0	0	0
Botswana	116	0	0	0	0	0
Costa Rica	116	0	0	0	0	0
Cuba	116	0	0	0	0	0
Dominican Republic	116	0	0	0	0	0
Gabon	116	0	0	0	0	0
Ghana	116	0	0	0	0	0
Iceland	116	0	0	0	0	0
Jamaica	116	0	0	0	0	0
Lithuania	116	0	0	0	0	0
Mongolia	116	0	0	0	0	0
Mauritius	116	0	0	0	0	0
Malawi	116	0	0	0	0	0
Oman	116	0	0	0	0	0
North Korea	116	0	0	0	0	0
Romania	116	0	0	0	0	0
Singapore	116	0	0	0	0	0
El Salvador	116	0	0	0	0	0
Slovenia	116	0	0	0	0	0
Taiwan	116	0	0	0	0	0

APPENDIX B - 100 WORST TERRORIST ATTACKS

TABLE B1 Worst Terrorist Attacks, 2002-2011

Rank	Country	Date	City	Organisation	Fatalities	Injuries	Weapon Type
1	Nepal	21/3/2004	Bedi	Communist Party of Nepal- Maoist (CPN-M)	518	216	Firearms
2	Spain	3/11/2004	Madrid	Abu Hafs al-Masri Brigades	191	1800	Explosives/Bombs/Dynamite
3	Russia	9/01/2004	Beslan	Riyadus-Salikhin Reconnaissance and Sabotage Battalion of Chechen Martyrs	344	727	Firearms
4	Iraq	30/3/2007	Tal Afar	Unknown	290	340	Explosives/Bombs/Dynamite
5	India	7/12/2006	Mumbai	Lashkar-e-Taiba (LeT)	187	817	Explosives/Bombs/Dynamite
6	Nigeria	27/7/2009	Maiduguri	Boko Haram	304	0	Unknown
7	Iraq	25/10/2009	Baghdad	Islamic State of Iraq (ISI)	153	720	Explosives/Bombs/Dynamite
8	Indonesia	10/12/2002	Kuta	Jemaah Islamiya (JI)	202	300	Explosives/Bombs/Dynamite
9	Iraq	14/9/2005	Baghdad	Al-Qa'ida in Iraq	160	542	Explosives/Bombs/Dynamite
10	Iraq	23/11/2006	Baghdad	Unknown	202	257	Explosives/Bombs/Dynamite
11	Iraq	12/03/2006	Baghdad	Unknown	183	278	Explosives/Bombs/Dynamite
12	Iraq	15/8/2007	Kahtaniyah	Unknown	200	170	Explosives/Bombs/Dynamite
13	India	26/11/2008	Mumbai	Deccan Mujahideen	183	252	Firearms
14	Iraq	12/08/2009	Baghdad	Al-Qa'ida in Iraq	132	500	Explosives/Bombs/Dynamite
15	Iraq	27/3/2007	Tal Afar	Unknown	153	351	Explosives/Bombs/Dynamite
16	Afghanistan	5/12/2006	Herat	Taliban	206	1	Explosives/Bombs/Dynamite
17	Iraq	16/8/2007	Mosul	Unknown	200	0	Explosives/Bombs/Dynamite
18	Iraq	19/8/2009	Baghdad	Islamic State of Iraq (ISI)	104	568	Explosives/Bombs/Dynamite
19	United Kingdom	7/07/2005	London	Secret Organization of al-Qa'ida in Europe	56	784	Explosives/Bombs/Dynamite
20	Iraq	7/07/2007	Amerli	Unknown	150	250	Explosives/Bombs/Dynamite
21	China	7/05/2009	Urumqi	Unknown	184	0	Melee
22	Pakistan	18/10/2007	Karachi	Harkatul Jihad-e-Islami	141	250	Explosives/Bombs/Dynamite
23	Nepal	4/11/2002	Sadbariya	Unknown	170	0	Firearms
24	Iraq	2/03/2007	Baghdad	Unknown	120	246	Explosives/Bombs/Dynamite
25	Iraq	18/4/2007	Baghdad	Al-Qa'ida in Iraq	132	156	Explosives/Bombs/Dynamite
26	Iraq	12/12/2006	Baghdad	Unknown	107	296	Explosives/Bombs/Dynamite
27	Pakistan	28/10/2009	Peshawar	Taliban	120	200	Explosives/Bombs/Dynamite
28	Iraq	3/02/2004	Karbala	Tawhid and Jihad	110	233	Explosives/Bombs/Dynamite
29	Iraq	2/01/2004	Irbil	Unknown	100	267	Explosives/Bombs/Dynamite
30	Nepal	5/07/2002	Gama	Maoists	140	0	Unknown
31	India	28/5/2010	Midnapore	Communist Party of India - Maoist (CPI-M)	115	140	Unknown
32	Sudan	5/10/2008	Omdurman	Justice and Equality Movement (JEM)	134	0	Firearms
33	Iraq	29/8/2003	Najaf	Tawhid and Jihad	100	200	Explosives/Bombs/Dynamite
34	Colombia	5/02/2002	Bojaya	Revolutionary Armed Forces of Colombia (FARC)	119	80	Explosives/Bombs/Dynamite
35	Russia	23/10/2002	Yuzhnoportovy	Special Purpose Islamic Regiment (SPIR)	129	0	Firearms
36	Pakistan	7/09/2010	Mohmand	Tehrik-i-Taliban Pakistan (TTP)	106	115	Explosives/Bombs/Dynamite
37	Iraq	3/06/2007	Al Hillah	Islamic State of Iraq (ISI)	92	200	Explosives/Bombs/Dynamite
38	Iraq	22/1/2007	Baghdad	Unknown	93	175	Explosives/Bombs/Dynamite
39	Iraq	3/11/2007	Baghdad	Unknown	103	104	Explosives/Bombs/Dynamite
40	Iraq	20/6/2009	Taza Khurmatu	Islamic State of Iraq (ISI)	83	211	Explosives/Bombs/Dynamite
41	Yemen	28/3/2011	Ja'ar	Al-Qa'ida in the Arabian Peninsula (AQAP)	110	45	Explosives/Bombs/Dynamite
42	Afghanistan	17/2/2008	Kandahar	Taliban	101	100	Explosives/Bombs/Dynamite
43	Philippines	27/2/2004	Manila	Abu Sayyaf Group (ASG)	116	0	Explosives/Bombs/Dynamite
44	Iraq	7/07/2010	Baghdad	Al-Qa'ida in Iraq	55	340	Explosives/Bombs/Dynamite
45	Pakistan	1/01/2010	Bannu	Taliban	100	87	Explosives/Bombs/Dynamite
46	Pakistan	15/9/2011	Dir	Taliban	93	122	Explosives/Bombs/Dynamite
47	Iraq	19/6/2007	Baghdad	Unknown	79	200	Explosives/Bombs/Dynamite
48	Iraq	2/01/2008	Baghdad	Al-Qa'ida in Iraq	90	130	Explosives/Bombs/Dynamite
49	Egypt	23/7/2005	Sharm el-Sheikh	Abdullah Azzam Brigades	91	110	Explosives/Bombs/Dynamite
50	Iraq	18/7/2007	Kirkuk	Unknown	80	183	Explosives/Bombs/Dynamite

Rank	Country	Date	City	Organisation	Fatalities	Injuries	Weapon Type
51	Iraq	5/01/2008	Balad Ruz	Al-Qa'ida in Iraq	81	141	Explosives/Bombs/Dynamite
52	Pakistan	13/5/2011	Charsadda	Tehrik-i-Taliban Pakistan (TTP)	82	140	Explosives/Bombs/Dynamite
53	Iraq	3/12/2006	Baghdad	Unknown	62	250	Explosives/Bombs/Dynamite
54	Pakistan	7/10/2007	Islamabad	Other	96	35	Firearms
55	Congo, Dem Rep.	8/06/2009	Niangara	Lord's Resistance Army (LRA)	100	0	Unknown
56	Sri Lanka	8/05/2006	Muttur	Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam (LTTE)	100	0	Firearms
57	Pakistan	28/5/2010	Lahore	Tehrik-i-Taliban Pakistan (TTP)	82	92	Firearms
58	Iraq	12/02/2006	Baghdad	Unknown	77	125	Explosives/Bombs/Dynamite
59	Iraq	24/6/2004	Mosul	Tawhid and Jihad	60	220	Explosives/Bombs/Dynamite
60	Iraq	17/8/2010	Baghdad	Unknown	68	169	Explosives/Bombs/Dynamite
61	Iraq	2/10/2004	Al-Iskandariyah	Tawhid and Jihad	71	150	Explosives/Bombs/Dynamite
62	Pakistan	20/9/2008	Islamabad	Unknown	60	200	Explosives/Bombs/Dynamite
63	Algeria	12/11/2007	Algiers	Al-Qa'ida in the Lands of the Islamic Maghreb (AQLIM)	77	100	Explosives/Bombs/Dynamite
64	Iraq	30/3/2007	Baghdad	Unknown	72	130	Firearms
65	Iraq	18/11/2005	Khanaqin	Unknown	77	90	Explosives/Bombs/Dynamite
66	Iraq	7/01/2006	Baghdad	Sunni Supporters	77	96	Explosives/Bombs/Dynamite
67	Sri Lanka	14/8/2006	Colombo	Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam (LTTE)	68	150	Explosives/Bombs/Dynamite
68	Iraq	21/4/2004	Basra	Tawhid and Jihad	74	100	Explosives/Bombs/Dynamite
69	Russia	5/12/2003	Znamenskoye	Chechen Rebels	59	197	Explosives/Bombs/Dynamite
70	Iraq	2/12/2007	Baghdad	Unknown	66	150	Explosives/Bombs/Dynamite
71	Pakistan	9/03/2010	Quetta	Tehrik-i-Taliban Pakistan (TTP)	66	150	Explosives/Bombs/Dynamite
72	Iraq	4/07/2006	Baghdad	Al-Qa'ida in Iraq	90	0	Explosives/Bombs/Dynamite
73	Congo, Dem Rep.	5/09/2009	Busurungi	Democratic Front for the Liberation of Rwanda (FDLR)	86	24	Melee
74	Congo, Dem Rep.	26/12/2008	Doroma	Lord's Resistance Army (LRA)	89	0	Firearms
75	Pakistan	21/12/2007	Charsadda	Unknown	72	101	Explosives/Bombs/Dynamite
76	Uganda	7/11/2010	Kampala	Al-Shabaab	75	71	Explosives/Bombs/Dynamite
77	Iraq	8/07/2009	Shirakhan	Unknown	40	276	Explosives/Bombs/Dynamite
78	Iraq	24/4/2009	Baghdad	Unknown	66	127	Explosives/Bombs/Dynamite
79	Iraq	18/1/2011	Tikrit	Al-Qa'ida in Iraq	61	150	Explosives/Bombs/Dynamite
80	Iraq	3/02/2004	Baghdad	Tawhid and Jihad	58	167	Explosives/Bombs/Dynamite
81	Iraq	5/04/2005	Arbil	Ansar al-Sunna	60	150	Explosives/Bombs/Dynamite
82	Pakistan	18/2/2010	Khyber district	Unknown	59	150	Explosives/Bombs/Dynamite
83	Iraq	29/3/2011	Tikrit	Al-Qa'ida in Iraq	68	95	Explosives/Bombs/Dynamite
84	Pakistan	27/3/2009	Jamrud sub	Tehrik-i-Taliban Pakistan (TTP)	57	158	Explosives/Bombs/Dynamite
85	Iraq	19/12/2004	Najaf	Unknown	62	130	Explosives/Bombs/Dynamite
86	Afghanistan	7/07/2008	Kabul	Haqqani Network	58	141	Explosives/Bombs/Dynamite
87	India	4/06/2010	Dantewada	Communist Party of India - Maoist (CPI-M)	82	0	Firearms
88	Iraq	2/01/2007	Hilla	Unknown	57	150	Explosives/Bombs/Dynamite
89	Iraq	18/7/2006	Kufa	Mujahedeen Shura Council	59	132	Explosives/Bombs/Dynamite
90	India	29/10/2005	New Delhi	Lashkar-e-Taiba (LeT)	55	155	Explosives/Bombs/Dynamite
91	Iraq	28/7/2004	Baqouba	Tawhid and Jihad	70	56	Explosives/Bombs/Dynamite
92	Pakistan	21/8/2008	Islamabad	Tehrik-i-Taliban Pakistan (TTP)	64	100	Explosives/Bombs/Dynamite
93	Sudan	20/11/2006	Umm Bayi	Unknown	80	0	Firearms
94	Sudan	11/11/2006	Muhajiriyah	Unknown	80	0	Firearms
95	Iraq	12/05/2006	Baghdad	Unknown	61	114	Explosives/Bombs/Dynamite
96	Afghanistan	11/06/2007	Baghlan	Unknown	64	95	Explosives/Bombs/Dynamite
97	Nigeria	11/04/2011	Damaturu	Boko Haram	63	100	Explosives/Bombs/Dynamite
98	Iran	15/7/2010	Zahedan	Jundallah	28	300	Explosives/Bombs/Dynamite
99	Norway	22/7/2011	Utoya	Individual	68	60	Firearms
100	Somalia	10/04/2011	Mogadishu	Al-Shabaab	71	42	Explosives/Bombs/Dynamite

APPENDIX C - COUNTRY CODES

TABLE C1 ISO 3 Letter Country Codes

Country	Code	Country	Code	Country	Code	Country	Code
Afghanistan	AFG	Algeria	DZA	Kuwait	KWT	Paraguay	PRY
Angola	AGO	Ecuador	ECU	Laos	LAO	Qatar	QAT
Albania	ALB	Egypt	EGY	Lebanon	LBN	Romania	ROU
United Arab Emirates	ARE	Eritrea	ERI	Liberia	LBR	Russia	RUS
Argentina	ARG	Spain	ESP	Libya	LBY	Rwanda	RWA
Armenia	ARM	Estonia	EST	Sri Lanka	LKA	Saudi Arabia	SAU
Australia	AUS	Ethiopia	ETH	Lesotho	LSO	Sudan	SDN
Austria	AUT	Finland	FIN	Lithuania	LTU	Senegal	SEN
Azerbaijan	AZE	France	FRA	Latvia	LVA	Singapore	SGP
Burundi	BDI	Gabon	GAB	Morocco	MAR	Sierra Leone	SLE
Belgium	BEL	United Kingdom	GBR	Moldova	MDA	El Salvador	SLV
Benin	BEN	Georgia	GEO	Madagascar	MDG	Somalia	SOM
Burkina Faso	BFA	Ghana	GHA	Mexico	MEX	Serbia	SRB
Bangladesh	BGD	Guinea	GIN	Macedonia (FYR)	MKD	Slovakia	SVK
Bulgaria	BGR	The Gambia	GMB	Mali	MLI	Slovenia	SVN
Bahrain	BHR	Guinea-Bissau	GNB	Myanmar	MMR	Sweden	SWE
Bosnia and Hercegovina	BIH	Equatorial Guinea	GNQ	Montenegro	MNE	Swaziland	SWZ
Belarus	BLR	Greece	GRC	Mongolia	MNG	Syria	SYR
Bolivia	BOL	Guatemala	GTM	Mozambique	MOZ	Chad	TCD
Brazil	BRA	Guyana	GUY	Mauritania	MRT	Thailand	THA
Bhutan	BTN	Honduras	HND	Mauritius	MUS	Tajikistan	TJK
Botswana	BWA	Croatia	HRV	Malawi	MWI	Turkmenistan	TKM
Central African Republic	CAF	Haiti	HTI	Malaysia	MYS	Trinidad and Tobago	TTO
Canada	CAN	Hungary	HUN	Namibia	NAM	Tunisia	TUN
Switzerland	CHE	Indonesia	IDN	Niger	NER	Turkey	TUR
Chile	CHL	India	IND	Nigeria	NGA	Taiwan	TWN
China	CHN	Ireland	IRL	Nicaragua	NIC	Tanzania	TZA
Cote d' Ivoire	CIV	Iran	IRN	Netherlands	NLD	Uganda	UGA
Cameroon	CMR	Iraq	IRQ	Norway	NOR	Ukraine	UKR
Congo, Dem. Rep.	COD	Iceland	ISL	Nepal	NPL	Uruguay	URY
Congo, Republic of	COG	Israel	ISR	New Zealand	NZL	United States of America	USA
Colombia	COL	Italy	ITA	Oman	OMN	Uzbekistan	UZB
Costa Rica	CRI	Jamaica	JAM	Pakistan	PAK	Venezuela	VEN
Cuba	CUB	Jordan	JOR	Panama	PAN	Vietnam	VNM
Cyprus	CYP	Japan	JPN	Peru	PER	Yemen	YEM
Czech Republic	CZE	Kazakhstan	KAZ	Philippines	PHL	South Africa	ZAF
Germany	DEU	Kenya	KEN	Papua New Guinea	PNG	Zambia	ZMB
Djibouti	DJI	Kyrgyz Republic	KGZ	Poland	POL	Zimbabwe	ZWE
Denmark	DNK	Cambodia	KHM	North Korea	PRK		
Dominican Republic	DOM	South Korea	KOR	Portugal	PRT		

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