

University of Nevada, Reno

**Guerrilla Warfare and Terrorism: The Distinctions Between Them and Their Implications
in the War on Terror and Beyond**

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of the requirements for the degree of

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by

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Abstract

In the aftermath of the recent San Bernardino shooting in California and other similar events, an interesting question has been raised: are these events acts of terrorism? The ambiguity in meaning regarding terrorism which renders such questions necessary also extends to other types of political violence, such as guerrilla warfare. Building on the work of Weinberg, Pedahzur, and Hirsch-Hoefler (2004), the work done in this study includes an analysis of the the definitions of terrorism and guerrilla warfare found in the academic literature. The analysis conducted here draws on definitions of these terms found in articles in two of the top journals in the field: *Terrorism and Political Violence* and *Studies in Conflict and Terrorism*. Following the model provided by Weinberg et al. (2004), each definition is analyzed to identify which of the elements identified in an earlier study by Schmid and Jongman (1988) are included. This analysis makes it possible to answer the following questions: How are terrorism and guerrilla warfare defined in the post-9/11 literature? Why do these definitions matter within the academic community and the political realm? What are the implications of these definitions in the war on terror and beyond?

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Introduction

There can be no doubt that the academic literature, citizens, and media each suffer from perception issues in regards to the question of terrorism. Just as terrorist groups and insurgencies often label their actions as those of freedom fighters or liberation forces, so too do the modern media, the people, and the governments of the United States and other countries often refer to actions by such groups as terroristic. This fundamental misunderstanding of what the differences are in the actions of terrorists, guerrilla groups, and insurgents hinders progress in the fight against groups such as ISIS and al Qaeda, and harms the standing of the United States government in international affairs by mislabeling events and erroneously utilizing limited political influence.

In addressing and determining the distinction between terrorism and guerrilla warfare, several questions must be answered: How are terrorism and guerrilla warfare defined in the post-9/11 literature? Why do these definitions matter to the academic community and the political realm? What are the implications of these definitions in the war on terror and beyond? The desire to answer the first question leads to a need to 1) differentiate between guerrilla warfare and acts of terrorism, for the purpose of applying the available definitions to previously identified definitional elements that will allow individuals and governments to differentiate between these two distinct types of actions; and to 2) analyze and explain why these distinctions are critical to addressing current international events as well as the consequences of failing to differentiate between these two terms.

Terrorism

To address the ways in which this analysis of the literature can add to the current

research defining terrorism as well as what it is that distinguishes terrorism from other forms of political violence, particularly guerrilla warfare, it becomes important to discuss where the research currently stands. It is also important to explore what could be perceived as being missing from the research that has been conducted thus far. After all, it would be incorrect to say that the definition of terrorism has never been analyzed. In fact, scholars such as Bruce Hoffman (2006), Arthur H. Garrison (2004), Boaz Ganor (2002), and Alex Schmid (1992; 2004), among others, have been studying and writing on the topic for a number of years. Over the course of time, varying definitions and their elements have been explored by these scholars and others, each lamenting in their own way the lack of any form of agreed upon definition of terrorism or attempting to present their own definitions to add to the sizable list of examples. Some of the definitions formulated by these scholars and others have ultimately become among the most cited definitions of terrorism within the literature on the topic. Yet, despite this previous work in the field, few have systematically analyzed the elements that differentiate terrorism or guerrilla warfare from each other as well as from other types of violence.

One of the previous studies conducted on the topic of defining terrorism, and the one which is most critical to this project, was performed by Weinberg, Pedahzur, and Hirsch-Hoefler (2004). In this previous study, Weinberg et al. (2004) analyzed all of the articles published in three academic journals, *Terrorism* (which later became *Studies in Conflict and Terrorism*), *Terrorism and Political Violence*, and *Studies in Conflict and Terrorism* dating within the target period of the study, 1977-2001, so as to identify all the definitions of terrorism that were offered. This involved reading the articles in *Terrorism* from 1977 through its change in title in 1991, *Terrorism and Political Violence* from

1990 through 2001, and *Studies in Conflict and Terrorism* from 1992 through 2001. In the process, Weinberg et al. (2004) identified a total of seventy-three definitions of terrorism found within fifty-five articles, with some articles containing more than one definition. Weinberg et al. (2004) then analyzed these definitions, drawing on previous work by Schmid and Jongman (1988).

In Schmid and Jongman's (1988) previous work, Schmid contributed to the pair's project by working to achieve a consensus definition of terrorism based upon the responses that he had received to a questionnaire mailed to scholars in the field. These questionnaires resulted in the gathering of 109 separate definitions, which Schmid then divided into twenty-two definitional elements, which make up the key terms and ideas that can be found as main aspects of the definitions. He then ranked these elements in order of frequency, using the most commonly-occurring elements in the creation of a consensus definition. It is this work by Schmid contained in Schmid and Jongman (1988) which Weinberg et al. (2004) later continued, analyzing the definitions that they themselves pulled from the journals and comparing said definitions to the twenty-two definitional elements originally listed by Schmid and Jongman (1988). In this current study, the prior research by both Schmid and Jongman (1988) and Weinberg et al. (2004) is extended through to the end of 2015, and the understanding of the topics of terrorism and guerrilla warfare in 2016's widely-changed reality wherein terrorism is a significant subject worldwide is updated.

in order to answer the question of what similarities and differences are present among the various definitions of terrorism, the analysis conducted within this thesis applies the method used previously by Weinberg et al. (2004) by analyzing the

definitions found within the literature in the two remaining journals *Terrorism and Political Violence* and *Studies in Conflict and Terrorism* since 2001. In this study, the frequencies of definitional elements within the definitions drawn from the articles in the literature are analyzed and reported, and these frequencies are compared to the findings in the previous studies by Schmid and Jongman (1988) and Weinberg et al. (2004). The goal of this type of analysis is to understand how terrorism is defined by scholars, which can ultimately increase understanding of what terrorism is in practice, and allow for the use of these definitions to understand current threats. Also, the analysis helps to understand what is being fought against in terms of the war against terrorism by allowing for greater understanding of what terrorism is by definition and the implications therein. In order to study these frequencies, a table of all of the definitions offered within the two aforementioned journals used in this analysis is created. Then, whether these definitions include any of the definitional elements previously identified by Schmid and Jongman (1988) is determined by comparing each definition to the list of twenty-two definitional elements used in the previous studies. Next, the number of times that each definitional element appears across these definitions pulled from the literature is calculated, allowing the data to be subsequently tabulated and organized in order to identify patterns in the data and compare these patterns with the previous findings by Schmid and Jongman (1988) and Weinberg et al. (2004).

Guerrilla Warfare

An attempt was made within this study to analyze the definitions of guerrilla warfare offered within the literature in a fashion similar to the analysis done in regard to the definitions of terrorism within this study, as such a task has seemingly not yet been

undertaken in regards to guerrilla warfare. Ultimately, conducting this similar analysis of the definitions of guerrilla warfare proves to be a difficult task. This difficulty is simply because, after reviewing 1,047 articles published in the journals *Terrorism and Political Violence* and *Studies in Conflict and Terrorism* between 2002 and 2015, only five of the definitions pertain to guerrilla warfare. Without a sufficiently large sample group, within the confines of this study one is only able to do something along the lines of what has been previously seen in the work of such scholars as Boaz Ganor (2002), comparing the larger general consensus of what terrorism is accepted to be after analysis of the definitions with the limited available definitions of guerrilla warfare. Unlike Ganor (2002), the work in this study seeks to pull these definitions for comparison from the literature itself, from the aforementioned journals, and then attempt to determine what clear distinction can be made between guerrilla warfare and terrorism, even if the definition of such cannot be deeply analyzed, by comparing the few available definitions for guerrilla warfare to the analysis of terrorism definitions.

Objectives and Anticipated Results

The analysis conducted in this study will not be used to identify a definitive consensus definition of either terrorism or guerrilla warfare, as the definitions of these two terms are still very much in flux, but the information garnered remains useful in finding what the definitions offered by scholars within the literature have in common, and thus what progress has been made in settling the definitions and distinctions. This research can be useful to the scholarly community in allowing them to use and apply the terms terrorism and guerrilla warfare more effectively within their work, and provide a greater understanding for the academic community, policy experts, and the public as a

whole as to meanings. By finding the commonalities between definitions, as well as identifying patterns in the definitions of both guerrilla warfare and terrorism as provided by experts within the literature, particularly at different points in time, one can also find how these definitions are changing over time. In doing so, the evolution of the definitions and the way they have shifted in light of external events can be tracked.

This analysis is especially helpful in offering a guide to what each term is perceived to mean at a particular time in general usage, as scholars often do not define the terms terrorism or guerrilla warfare within their writing, and terminology may be mixed or not differentiated in its usage within the literature. Indeed, approximately 88% of the articles researched for this study had no readily apparent and clearly stated definition to offer. Therefore, because of this frequent lack of definitions, making it clear where more explanation and clarity as to an individual's definition needs to be offered is an option should scholars make use of this research. Due to the fact that many scholars do not spend much if any time directly and carefully defining the terms terrorism and guerrilla warfare for those reading their work, this research is also helpful in being able to provide a reader with a greater understanding of what these terms mean within the context of an academic text. In addition to these issues, there are practical considerations as well, as the definitions tend to become clouded with their interchangeable usage in general usage by the public as a whole, as well as the media and, at times, the government.

Because terrorists and those who engage in guerrilla warfare inherently must have different defining characteristics, targets, behaviors, and weaknesses, despite the struggle to settle upon definitions, it becomes crucial to understand who and what constitutes each

group, if the means that are used to fight against them are meant to be practical and effective. When one also considers the implications related to loss of life in terrorist attacks versus workplace violence and other forms of violence, the significance of using as precise of a definition as possible becomes even clearer, given the real impact of such classifications on those affected. While one might find that some actions presumed to be terrorism may in fact not meet the definitional criteria that distinguish terrorism from other forms of violence, in terms of the general definition arrived at by the consensus definitions given by experts, thus causing the need to reevaluate one's perceptions and assumptions, applying this definitional knowledge may also enable individuals to make these distinctions more clearly and easily in the future.

Literature Review

In general, definitions are granted a great deal of attention within the literature, to the extent that books often devote opening chapters to a discussion of definitions. Yet, there is still a fundamental misunderstanding that currently exists regarding the differences in the actions of terrorists and guerrilla groups. This misunderstanding largely stems from a failure to clearly define and distinguish between these two terms and clearly categorize the actions committed by the perpetrators. This question related to the distinction between guerrilla warfare and terrorism once again leads to a need to be able to differentiate between and identify key definitional elements of both these terms as well as to analyze and explain why these definitions and understandings are critical to current international events. In the end, this brings us back to the key questions investigated within this thesis: How are terrorism and guerrilla warfare defined in the post-9/11 literature? Why do these definitions matter to the academic community and the political

realm? What are the implications of these definitions in the war on terror and beyond?

Building on the work previously undertaken by Leonard Weinberg, Ami Pedahzur, and Sivan Hirsch-Hoefler (2004), who analyzed the definitional elements found within the literature prior to 9/11, the work in this current study seeks to analyze the definitions of terrorism used in the academic literature in the years since. By focusing on the definitions of terrorism and guerrilla warfare found in two journals, *Terrorism and Political Violence* and *Studies in Conflict and Terrorism*, as previously used by Weinberg et al. (2004) in their work, and the definitions of guerrilla warfare found in the articles in these same two journals post-9/11, the work done in this project also seeks to examine how the definitions are used within the literature, what definitional elements are most common across definitions, and how the terms have changed over time since the study conducted by Schmid and Jongman (1988). The work done within this current project reviews all of the articles in the journals that were published post-2001 to find the definition or conceptualization of terrorism or guerrilla warfare, and analyzes these definitions to continue the work of Schmid and Jongman (1988) and Weinberg et al. (2004).

In their study, Schmid and Jongman (1988) identified twenty-two definitional elements in the definitions of terrorism drawn from a survey that was distributed via mail to scholars in several related fields. These definitional elements of terrorism were later used in the analysis of definitions collected by Weinberg et al. (2004) in their analysis of top terrorism journals. Schmid and Jongman's (1988) definitional elements of terrorism are listed in Table 1. Together, these elements lend a greater understanding of terrorism in our pre-9/11 world, and it is these definitional elements that this current study will

again use in bringing the research up-to-date for the post-9/11 world.

TABLE 1: Definitional Elements of Terrorism (Listed by Schmid and Jongman, 1988)

1. Violence, Force
2. Political
3. Fear, Terror emphasized
4. Threat
5. Psychological effects and (anticipated) reactions
6. Victim-Target differentiation
7. Purposive, Planned, Systematic, Organized action
8. Method of combat, strategy, tactic
9. Extranormality, in breach of accepted rules, without humanitarian constrains
10. Coercion, extortion, induction of compliance
11. Publicity aspect
12. Arbitrariness, impersonal, random character, indiscrimination
13. Civilians, noncombatants, neutrals, outsiders as victims
14. Intimidation
15. Innocence of victims emphasized
16. Group, movement, organization as perpetrator
17. Symbolic aspect, demonstration to others
18. Incalculability, unpredictability, unexpectedness of occurrence of violence
19. Clandestine, covert nature
20. Repetitiveness, serial or campaign character of violence
21. Criminal
22. Demands made on third parties

The study by Schmid and Jongman (1988), which was conducted via a mailed questionnaire disseminated by Schmid, identified the twenty-two definitional elements listed above. Schmid found these elements by breaking down the terms and ideas comprising the elements of each proffered definition, which he then used to formulate a consensus definition of terrorism utilizing the elements found most frequently across the

collected definitions. According to Schmid's findings in Schmid and Jongman (1988), later revisited by Weinberg et al. (2004), the final analysis of the definitions leads to the formulation of a very long and complicated consensus definition:

An anxiety-inspiring method of repeated violent action, employed by (semi-) clandestine individual, group, or state actors, for idiosyncratic, criminal, or political reasons, whereby—in contrast to assassination—the direct targets of violence are not the main targets. The immediate human victims of violence are generally chosen randomly (targets of opportunity) or selectively (representative or symbolic targets) from a target population, and serve as message generators. Threat—and violence—based communication processes between terrorist (organization), (imperiled) victims, and main target (audiences(s)), turning it into a target of terror, a target of demands, or a target of attention, depending on whether intimidation, coercion, or propaganda is primarily sought. (p. 28).

Weinberg, Pedahzur, and Hirsch-Hoefler (2004) built upon the results of this previous survey of experts conducted by Schmid and Jongman (1988), wherein Schmid and Jongman (1988) sought input regarding the definitions of terrorism offered by scholars and others, along with conducting their own analysis of the definitions used within the literature, so as to identify which definitional elements are actually being used in studies and published in the academic literature. Using the data compiled by both the survey and their own analysis, Weinberg et al. (2004) also proposed a consensus definition of the meaning of the word “terrorism,” in the same way Schmid and Jongman (1988) had before them. Weinberg et al.'s (2004) own analysis of the literature as well as Schmid's prior data led to a more concise consensus definition which states “terrorism is

a politically motivated tactic involving the threat or use of force or violence in which the pursuit of publicity plays a significant role” (Weinberg et al., 2004, p. 786). This consensus is not fully satisfying by Weinberg et al.’s (2004) own admission, especially due to the lack of mention of non-state actors and noncombatants in their definition. As such, theirs is not a definition that would be entirely agreed upon by experts, despite the deliberate effort to reach a point of seeming consensus. Weinberg et al.’s (2004) is also not a definition that distinguishes terrorism from guerrilla warfare, or one that meets the criteria often thought to be relevant in making such distinctions. In particular, with non-state actors being such a key component of terrorism discourse within the political, public, and academic discourses, one may expect that non-state actors would warrant mention. Yet, the consensus definition these scholars suggest serves as a useful starting point for a comparison of definitions over time, starting with a comparison between Schmid and Jongman (1988) and Weinberg et al. (2004). Also, this current project provides an opportunity for identifying similarities and differences over time in the definitions of terrorism and guerrilla warfare, providing an updated picture of the way that the patterns in the offered definitions may have changed in the more than ten years since Weinberg et al. (2004) conducted their study.

Bruce Hoffman, author of *Inside Terrorism* (2006), also contributes to this area of discourse, analyzing various definitions of terrorism. In his book, Hoffman makes an effort to analyze and differentiate between the definitions of terrorism identified in differing sources, finding a trend of widely varying definitions which continues across various sources, though elements of the consensus definition arrived at by Weinberg et al. (2004) can still be recognized. The United States government has varied its definition of

terrorism quite significantly across government agencies over the course of time. According to the U.S. State Department at the time Hoffman's book was published in 2006, terrorism consisted of "premeditated, politically motivated violence perpetrated against non-combatant targets by subnational groups or clandestine agents, usually intended to influence an audience" (Hoffman, 2006, p. 31). The Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) at the time, in 2006, defined terrorism as "the unlawful use of force or violence against persons or property to intimidate or coerce a Government, the civilian population, or any segment thereof, in furtherance of political or social objectives" (Hoffman, 2006, p. 31). As two agencies with different objectives and responsibilities, different definitions of terrorism are used so as to focus on their respective purposes. Each of these definitions includes a reference to the political motivation and use of violence included in the previously enumerated consensus definition by Weinberg et al. (2004). Still, there are differences in the emphasis on premeditation as well as the nature of the targets and actors in the case of the State Department, and with regards to the FBI's focus on the unlawful nature of the act and the use of force. Yet, these are only two examples of the similarities and differences found in definitions across government agencies, beginning to show evidence of how this definitional analysis process is and is not applicable to the way in which definitions of terrorism have been used within our own government.

Conducting a different investigation of the meaning of guerrilla warfare as is being attempted in this study, Boaz Ganor analyzed the definition of guerrilla warfare. In his article, "Defining Terrorism: Is One Man's Terrorist Another Man's Freedom Fighter" (2002), Ganor begins the analysis of terrorists in contrast with guerrilla fighters

that Audrey Kurth Cronin (2015) would apply specifically to the current situation with ISIS over a decade later. While acknowledging the general belief that an objective and internationally accepted definition of terrorism could never be agreed upon due to the subjective nature of the definitional question, Ganor (2002) argues that such a definition is not only possible, but is also critical in combating terrorism if fights against terrorism are to be effective. Ganor (2002) writes in favor of basing such a definition on international laws and standards of behavior in conventional conflicts, proceeding to extend the code of behavior that governs conflicts between states to conflicts between states and non-state actors so as to readily distinguish between guerrilla warfare and terrorism. While Ganor's (2002) argument might be somewhat simplistic in merely proposing to extend the standards of behavior regarding conflict, he ultimately puts forward the critical simple distinction of defining terrorism and guerrilla warfare not by the aims of the perpetrators, which may be similar regardless of whether it be an act of terrorism or guerrilla warfare, but rather by the nature of their targets. For Ganor, a group that deliberately targets civilians is a terrorist group, while a group that targets military or government forces to achieve their aims is a guerrilla group, regardless of the perceived legitimacy of the goals that the organization hopes to achieve (Ganor, 2002).

For Audrey Kurth Cronin (2015), who later analyzed ISIS and the organization's composition in order to determine whether or not ISIS constitutes a terrorist group, "terrorist networks, such as al Qaeda, generally have only dozens or hundreds of members, attack civilians, do not hold territory, and cannot directly confront military forces" (Cronin, 2015, p. 88). According to Cronin, this definition stands in stark contrast with ISIS, which "boasts some 30,000 fighters, holds territory in both Iraq and Syria,

maintains extensive military capabilities, controls lines of communication, commands infrastructure, funds itself, and engages in sophisticated military operations” (Cronin, 2015, p. 88). In her research, Cronin laments upon the wisdom of treating both groups in a similar fashion through the United States’ counterinsurgency doctrine. Yet, treating both types of groups in the same way is exactly the technique that the counterinsurgency doctrine of the United States (Joint Chiefs of Staff, 2013) has traditionally followed (Cronin, 2015). What worked to essentially nullify one group by rendering them effectively inoperable was, at least for a time, largely presumed to be effective against the other, underestimating the impact that control of territory, group size, support and other such factors have on the ways in which these groups operate (de la Calle and Sanchez-Cuenca, 2015).

Many of the references within the literature to the definitions of terrorism make at least some use of the United States Code, which has changed somewhat since the time when Hoffman (2006) evaluated and summarized definitions of terrorism for his book. The Federal Bureau of Investigation has since updated its definition of terrorism to match the definition provided by 18 U.S.C. § 2331, as “activities which involve violent acts or acts dangerous to human life that violate federal or state law and appear to be intended (i) to intimidate or coerce a civilian population; (ii) to influence the policy of a government by intimidation or coercion; or (iii) to affect the conduct of a government by mass destruction, assassination, or kidnapping” (FBI, 2016), while the Central Intelligence Agency complies with the standard of the intelligence community in using the definition of terrorism provided in 22 U.S.C. § 2656f(d): “premeditated, politically motivated violence perpetrated against noncombatant targets by subnational groups or clandestine

agents” (CIA, 2013). This is the case even as current immigration standards ban admission to all individuals guilty of terrorist activity, specifically defined as any of the following:

The hijacking or sabotage of any conveyance (including an aircraft, vessel, or vehicle); (II) The seizing or detaining, and threatening to kill, injure, or continue to detain, another individual in order to compel a third person (including a governmental organization) to do or abstain from doing any act as an explicit or implicit condition for the release of the individual seized or detained; (III) A violent attack upon an internationally protected person (as defined in section 1116(b)(4) of title 18) or upon the liberty of such a person; (IV) An assassination; (V) The use of any— (a) biological agent, chemical agent, or nuclear weapon or device, or (b) explosive, firearm, or other weapon or dangerous device (other than for mere personal monetary gain), with intent to endanger, directly or indirectly, the safety of one or more individuals or to cause substantial damage to property; (VI) A threat, attempt, or conspiracy to do any of the foregoing. 8 U.S.C. § 1182. (as cited in Cornell University, 2016).

In comparing the definitions listed above, the way in which current definitions, even within different sections of the United States Code, have different focuses in regards to what terrorism means can be seen. Immigration services are focused upon specific acts that constitute terrorism; the CIA presents an international focus within their definition; and the FBI focuses on unlawful acts using a degree of force that the other agencies do not mention. Each of these federal agencies has distinct purposes and aims, ultimately leading to the creation of a definition of terrorism that suits their respective mandates.

When these governmental definitions are placed in contrast against leading data resources, such as the Global Terrorism Database (2015), a frequently-consulted source of data used in terrorism studies as well as a frequently-cited source for an operational definition of terrorism, we find yet another rather distinct set of definitions.

In the first incarnation of the Global Terrorism Database, from 1970-1997, the simpler definition "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" (Global Terrorism Database, 2015) was used to guide the determination of which acts to include within the database. This definition was later refined to include "intentional act of violence or threat of violence by a non-state actor" wherein at least two of the following criteria applies: "1. The violent act was aimed at attaining a political, economic, religious, or social goal; 2. 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 3. The violent act was outside the precepts of International Humanitarian Law" (Global Terrorism Database, 2015). The inconsistency in the way in which the word terrorism is defined at this point becomes clearer, as does the ambiguity that accompanies any formal attempts to categorize potential terrorist actions. In every instance what is terrorism under one definition may not be considered as such under another definition.

When it comes to the concept of guerrilla warfare within the framework of this discussion, it is critical to note that the concept is not completely ignored within the literature or the government's policies. While guerrilla warfare appears to be addressed at a far lesser frequency than terrorism itself both within the literature and on the part of the

government, accounting for only five out of the 167 definitions of terrorism or guerrilla warfare found within the terrorism literature, in part no doubt due to the greater notability of terrorism as a concept in the post 9/11 world and what seems to be a certain reluctance to add to the ambiguity of the definitions, there are indeed still definitions to be found.

There is a contrast to be found in whether the difference between terrorism and guerrilla warfare is based in the distinction between holding territory or not, as is found in Phillips (2015), or the Department of Defense's (ProCon, 2007) training standards that peg guerrillas as the "overt military aspect" of an insurgency which is defined as

an organized resistance movement that uses subversion, sabotage, and armed conflict to achieve its aims. Insurgencies normally seek to overthrow the existing social order and reallocate power within the country. They may also seek to (1) Overthrow an established government without a follow-on social revolution. (2) Establish an autonomous national territory within the borders of a state. (3) Cause the withdrawal of an occupying power. (4) Extract political concessions that are unattainable through less violent means. (ProCon, 2007).

When contrasted with the Department of Defense's terrorism definition, which is simply "the calculated use of violence or threat of violence to inculcate fear; intended to coerce or to intimidate governments or societies in the pursuit of goals that are generally political, religious, or ideological" (ProCon, 2007), this definition makes clear that guerrillas are potentially more specific in the way that they function, and thereby possibly easier to identify on that basis. That is, as far as the Department of Defense is concerned, guerrillas have specific targets for and purposes behind their actions compared to terrorists. As a continuing increase is perceived in the number of terror groups of all

kinds throughout the world, this distinction between terrorism and guerrilla warfare continues to become more important and play a more significant role in the combat against said terror groups as well as the classification of their respective actions as a whole. It is, therefore, ultimately through the analysis and synthesis of the above definitions, as well as the unique definitions provided by authors published in the two listed journals post-9/11, that a more complete picture of where the definitions of terrorism and guerrilla warfare currently stand, as well as what the implications of these definitions may be, can be fully determined.

Table 2 includes a list of some of the most significant and referenced definitions of terrorism, which are cited or used most often within the literature and within the academic community.

TABLE 2: Significant Definitions of Terrorism

<u>Source</u>	<u>Definition of Terrorism</u>
Schmid and Jongman (1988)	“An anxiety-inspiring method of repeated violent action, employed by (semi-) clandestine individual, group, or state actors, for idiosyncratic, criminal, or political reasons, whereby—in contrast to assassination—the direct targets of violence are not the main targets. The immediate human victims of violence are generally chosen randomly (targets of opportunity) or selectively (representative or symbolic targets) from a target population, and serve as message generators. Threat—and violence—based communication processes between terrorist (organization), (imperiled) victims, and main target (audiences(s)), turning it into a target of terror, a target of demands, or a target of attention, depending on whether intimidation, coercion, or propaganda is primarily sought” (p. 28).
Weinberg, Pedahzur, and Hirsch-Hoefler (2004)	“A politically motivated tactic involving the threat or use of force or violence in which the pursuit of publicity plays a significant role” (p. 786).
Hoffman (2006)	“The deliberate creation and exploitation of fear through violence or threat of violence in the pursuit of political change.”

Global Terrorism Database (1970-1997)	“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.”
Global Terrorism Database (2015)	“An intentional act of violence or threat of violence by a non-state actor wherein at least two of the following criteria applies: 1. The violent act was aimed at attaining a political, economic, religious, or social goal; 2. 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 3. The violent act was outside the precepts of International Humanitarian Law.”

Methodology

Description of Analysis and Data

In order to answer the questions posed here regarding the definitions of terrorism and guerrilla warfare and their implications, one must consider how to go about conducting the necessary research and what will be looked at to find the necessary information through research. This project will build upon the study conducted by Leonard Weinberg, Ami Pedahzur, and Sivan Hirsch-Hoefler (2004), wherein they used analyzed definitions found in articles from three notable terrorism journals: *Terrorism and Political Violence*, *Studies in Conflict and Terrorism*, and *Terrorism*. Duplicating their study will make it possible to identify the commonalities in the definitions of terrorism used in two of the main journals for scholarship in the field since the completion of their study, *Terrorism and Political Violence* and *Studies in Conflict and Terrorism*. More than a decade has passed since Weinberg and his colleagues published their study, leaving a great deal of room for change since the conclusion of their analyzed data in 2001. This current study picks up where they left off in order to ascertain the ways scholars have been and are currently using the terms terrorism and guerrilla warfare, and serve as a starting point to compare definitions used in the past against those that are used

in the present.

The Weinberg et al. (2004) study used definitions from articles published between 1977 and 2001; this study resumes the work from where they left off in 2002 and continues through the end of 2015. By replicating their study, this analysis is able to add some additional insights into the operationalization of these concepts in the post-2001 era, which is a time wherein scholars in the field have become more aware of definitional issues relating to terrorism and guerrilla warfare.

The first step in this analysis involved identifying the definitions used in the articles published in the journals *Studies in Conflict and Terrorism* and *Terrorism and Political Violence*. There were 1,047 articles published in these journals for the period between the start of January 2002 and the end of December 2015. Identifying definitions for “terrorism” or “guerrilla warfare” required first searching each article for references to these terms. This was done through a search of key terms. Conducting such a search involved using the find function to search for the partial terms “defin,” “terroris,” “terror,” and/or “guer” within each article, in order to make sure no suitable matches were missed, and then reading each area of the article where each fragmented search term appeared to determine whether the article includes a definition. Such abbreviated search terms allow for the discovery of any word variation with any of those letter combinations, including terror, terrorist, terrorism, define, definition, guerrilla, and others.

Most of the articles published within the two journals during the time period in question do not offer definitions of either of the terms. In a search of the 1,047 articles – the number of academic articles published in these two journals during the fourteen year period being studied, 123 of the articles were found to contain a total of 167 definitions

of either terrorism or guerrilla warfare. This effectively means that a definition was found in only approximately 10% of the published articles. This may be based in the assumption that what the writer is talking about is clear to the reader given the context. Another explanation may be the fact that an article is not specifically discussing guerrilla warfare or terrorism. Alternatively, there may be an open acknowledgment that there is difficulty in defining the terms and no solid true consensus exists. Or, there may be another reason. Regardless, an offered definition only occurs in the minority of instances. Data on which articles do have definitions and what the definitions are was recorded, and all definitions identified through this process are recorded as part of a data-set. This data-set also includes definitions drawn from the articles which are not explicitly stated as being the exact definition the article makes use of, provided the article content makes it clear that this is indeed the case, such as in referring back to a definition when offering analyses. This is due to the fact that article authors sometimes do not definitively inform the reader of their definition, but will sometimes mention a definition when conducting their analysis or discussion.

Next, for each definition that was found, it needed to be compared individually to the list of the aforementioned twenty-two definitional elements previously provided by Schmid and Jongman (1988), with each definition coded according to the definitional elements that were present within that definition and noted accordingly in the data-set. Many of the elements simply seek to have the exact term in question located within the given definition. For example, whenever terms such as violence, force, political, fear, terror, threat, intimidation, or criminal appeared within a definition, the corresponding definitional elements could be marked as being present or represented within the

definition. Ascertaining the presence/representation of some definitional elements required an amount of interpretation due to the use of synonyms for the descriptions given by Schmid and Jongman (1988) in their definitional elements. These are largely self-explanatory, as they include lists of terms which can be expressed in different ways.

The terms that required some potential interpretation include the elements of being a “purposive, planned, systematic, or organized action;” “extranormality, in breach of accepted rules, or without humanitarian constraints;” “coercion, extortion, or induction of compliance;” “arbitrariness, impersonal, random character, or indiscrimination;” “civilians, noncombatants, neutrals, or outsiders as victims;” “the innocence of victims being emphasized;” “a group, movement, or organization as perpetrator;” the act having a “symbolic aspect as a demonstration to others;” “incalculability, unpredictability, unexpectedness of occurrence of the violence;” a “clandestine, covert nature;” and “repetitiveness, serial or campaign character of violence” (Schmid and Jongman, 1988). For these elements, if the definition contained the phrase or synonyms of the phrase, with categories being intended by the labels, then the element could be considered to be present within the definition for the purposes of this study.

The handful of remaining elements required a bit more interpretation in order to classify as to whether they were present within the definitions. That is, “psychological effects and (anticipated) reactions” (Schmid and Jongman, 1988) were considered in this study to include any mention of the direct intended psychological effects or the reaction the terrorist act was intended to garner in the audience as a definitional element. “Victim-target differentiation” (Schmid and Jongman, 1988), for the purposes of this study, was considered to be present whenever a definition included a statement regarding the

distinction between the actual victims of a terrorist act and the act's intended target. Terrorism as a "method of combat, strategy, tactic" (Schmid and Jongman, 1988) was considered present in a definition when the definition spoke of specific methods or tactics used or terrorism as a means of combat. The "publicity aspect" (Schmid and Jongman, 1988) refers, in this study, to any mention of the terrorist act having a publicity aspect or terrorists seeking publicity, or anything similar. Finally, "demands made on third parties" (Schmid and Jongman, 1988) was an element considered to be present within a definition if mention was made of a purpose of seeking specific actions from outside parties, such as a state government.

The next step in this methodology involved analyzing the frequency of occurrence within these definitions of each of the twenty-two elements, in order to allow for later analyzing the data in order to make comparisons and identify patterns or variations in similarities and differences in definitions over time. This data helps to determine how the usage of definitional terms and phrases differs, if at all, across these distinct elements when such factors as year of publication are taken into account.

To summarize, the process of conducting this research began with checking all of the scholarly articles published within the journals *Studies in Conflict and Terrorism* and *Terrorism and Political Violence* between the years 2002 and 2015 and finding and recording all of the definitions of terrorism or guerrilla warfare used. Once the definitions were gathered, they were placed into a table along with the information regarding from which article the definition originated. With all of the definitions collected in one place, it became easier to then compare each definition individually to the list of twenty-two definitional elements previously provided by Schmid and Jongman (1988) using the

methods described above, allowing overall patterns and results to be easily seen.

Findings

All 1,047 articles published in the journals *Terrorism and Political Violence* and *Studies in Conflict and Terrorism* between January 2002 and December 2015 were reviewed. In the process of this review, 167 definitions of guerrilla warfare or terrorism were found in 123 articles. Five of these definitions pertain to guerrilla warfare; the remaining 162 definitions pertain to terrorism. For a complete list of the sixty-six definitions taken from the journal *Terrorism and Political Violence*, see Appendix A in the Appendix. A complete list of the fifty-seven definitions drawn from the journal *Studies in Conflict and Terrorism* is provided in Appendix B in the Appendix.

After completing and reporting on the analysis of definitions, it is possible to further discuss the implications for current applications of these terms. This involves analyzing any omissions within the data, as well as applications the findings may provide. These applications include the legal and political implications of the definitions of terrorism and guerrilla warfare, which are then explored along with the consequences of this distinction when it comes to the war on terror and other relevant current events. In so doing, with these definitional elements available and applied, a greater understanding of how these terms are used today can be found.

Data Organization

In the study by Weinberg et al. (2004), the researchers sorted their data by a variety of dimensions, including the professional affiliation of the writers of the articles, the region of the globe from whence the writers originated, the range of years in which an article was published, the academic field of the writer, as well as general frequency of the

definitional terms as compared to the previous findings by Schmid and Jongman (1988). While many of these organizational dimensions led to the discovery of interesting trends and biases in the data, for the purposes of the confines of this particular study, the data organization and analysis of the use of the definitional elements are confined to points of comparison stemming from the definitional elements themselves. That is to say, this study includes an analysis of the overall frequency of usage of the definitional terms in general, as well as the usages between journals and within certain given timeframes. A more detailed analysis of the authors and their affiliations and origins is left for future research.

Analysis

Data

Replicating Weinberg et al.'s (2004) earlier analysis required identifying the definitions for terrorism and guerrilla warfare in articles in the two remaining terrorism journals, *Terrorism and Political Violence* and *Studies in Conflict and Terrorism*. In order to do this, the find function was used to search for the partial terms “defin,” “terroris,” “terror,” and “guer” within each article. Using these truncated search terms made it possible to search for fragments of these key terms so as to be able to leave the endings of the terms open-ended. Thus, “define” and “definition” would both be found, as would “terrorism,” “terrorist,” and other words containing the same fragments, without needing to search for more than these four fragmented search terms. The parts of the article where each fragmented search term appeared were then read to determine whether a definition was being offered. Depending on how frequently the search terms appeared within an article, this process might involve the need to read significant portions of a

given article. Searching for all of these terms would not always be necessary. If an earlier search yielded a result that the article clearly indicated to be the singular definition used within the article, subsequent searches would be rendered unnecessary.

Through this process, 1,047 articles were searched through and a total of 167 definitions identified across a total of 123 articles. Several articles had more than one definition. While the vast majority of these definitions pertain to terrorism, five are related to guerrilla warfare. Using the terrorism definitions in particular, a frequency analysis could then be performed comparing the definitions against the definitional elements used in the prior studies.

Frequency Analysis and Findings

In conducting the frequency analysis on the definitions garnered from the two journals, the first step was to compare each definition against the list of twenty-two definitional elements, indicating whether each of the definitional elements was present within the definition. Essentially, the elements that were the most straightforward, naming specific terms, would be looked at first, as they were the easiest to identify and most frequently present, with those elements requiring interpretation looked at next. Whenever a definition referred to the use of violence, force, or intimidation, or mentioned a political aspect or the presence of fear, terror, or a threat, said definitional element could be marked quickly as being present within the definition. Next, the elements which conveyed ideas that involve potential synonyms in imparting the same meaning would be sought. For all of those elements, synonyms clearly conveying the same idea as the element sought were acceptable for having the element being marked as present within the definition. The remaining elements that still needed to be classified as being present

within a definition or not, after the above were all checked, required more personal judgment in whether or not to consider them to be present within a definition. Though, an effort was made to also classify these in an intuitive fashion, as is described above.

Refer to Figure 1 for the frequency of occurrence of each of the definitional elements defined by Schmid and Jongman (1988) within the data-set for this project. To determine these figures, the total number of definitions that included reference to each definitional element according to the previously described process out of the sum total of 162 terrorism definitions used in the study were counted, and then were placed in descending order within a table.

Mention of the use of force or violence, as well as a political element, each appear frequently, while the unpredictable or unexpected nature of the violence is the least mentioned definitional element within the data-set. To be precise, the use of violence or force was used as an element in 129 out of the 162 definitions, while a political element was used 114 times across the 162 definitions. The purposive or planned nature of the terrorist act was mentioned in 85 of the definitions, while fear or terror was used as a definitional element 72 times across the definitions, and the element of a threat was mentioned in 71 of the definitions. The nature of the targets of terrorism as civilians or noncombatants was noted in 66 out of the 162 definitions, while the coercion element was named in 54 and a group as the perpetrator was identified in 53, with intimidation being mentioned in 50 out of the 162 definitions found as part of this study. Psychological effects or reactions were mentioned in 44 of the definitions, publicity in 37, and a criminal element in 27. Schmid and Jongman's (1988) element of a "method of combat" was found in 26 definitions, terrorism as a clandestine or covert enterprise was

mentioned in 22 definitions, and its extranormality bore mention in 17 of the definitions, tied with the symbolism component. Some form of demand being made upon third parties was an element in 15 of the terrorism definitions, with the innocence of the victims arising 12 times, the arbitrary or random nature of the terrorist violence being used as an element 11 times, and a differentiation between the victims and the target being made 10 times across definitions. Finally, terrorism having a repetitive or serial nature was named six times, and unpredictability was mentioned just four times. Though, this data really becomes truly useful when compared across studies.

FIGURE 1: Frequency of Definitional Elements (Defined by Schmid and Jongman, 1988)

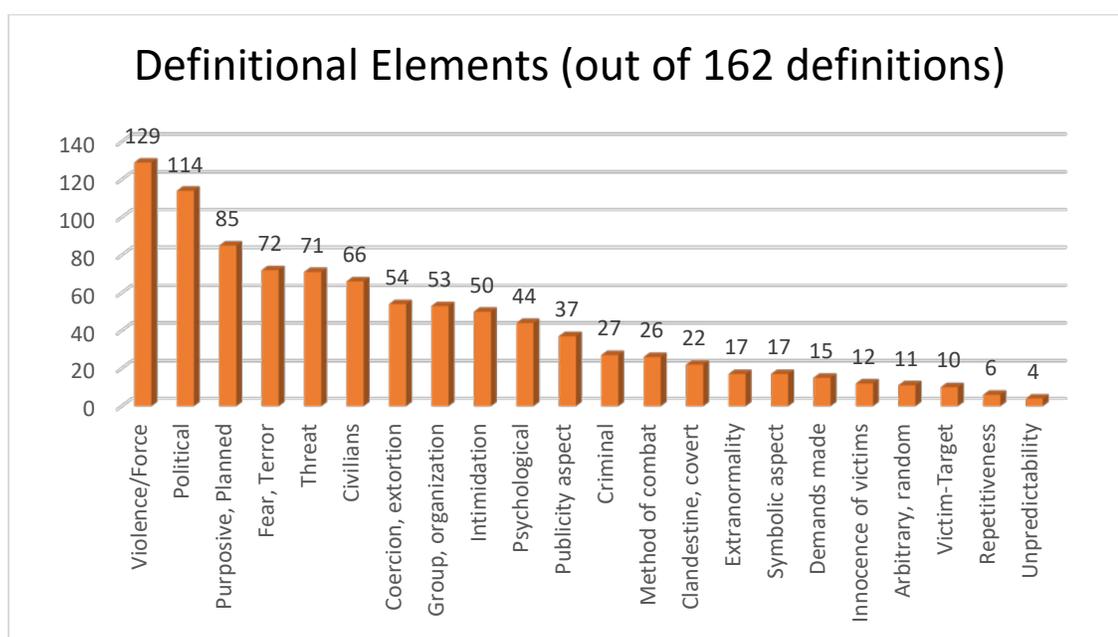


Table 3 compares the frequency of each of the definitional elements across the three studies, including Schmid and Jongman (1988) (S&J), Weinberg et al. (2004) (W), and this study (2016). Without comparing the findings in the definitions in the current study to these previous studies, it is rather difficult to understand what significance there might be to the findings in the frequency graph in Figure 1. Table 3 breaks down, as a

percentage of the whole, the rate of occurrence of each of the twenty-two definitional elements across all of the definitions of terrorism analyzed in each of the three studies:

TABLE 3: Frequency of Definitional Elements across Studies

Element	S&J (1988) frequency (%)	W (2004) frequency (%)	Current (2016) frequency (%)
1. Violence, Force	83.5	71	79.6
2. Political	65	60	70.4
3. Fear, Terror emphasized	51	22	44.4
4. Threat	47	41	43.8
5. Psychological effects	41.5	5.5	27.2
6. Victim-Target differentiation	37.5	25	6.2
7. Purposive, Planned	32	11	52.5
8. Method of combat, strategy, tactic	30.5	31.5	16
9. Extranormality	30	0	10.5
10. Coercion, extortion	28	5.5	33.3
11. Publicity aspect	21.5	18	22.8
12. Arbitrariness, impersonal, random	21	0	6.8
13. Civilians, noncombatants, neutrals	17.5	22	40.7
14. Intimidation	17	11	30.9
15. Innocence of victims emphasized	15.5	10	7.4
16. Group, movement, organization	14	29	32.7
17. Symbolic aspect, demonstration	13.5	5.5	10.5
18. Incalculability, unpredictability	9	1	2.5
19. Clandestine, covert nature	9	7	13.6
20. Repetitiveness, serial or campaign	7	0	3.7
21. Criminal	6	5.5	16.7
22. Demands made on third parties	4	1	9.3
Schmid & Jongman's (1988) study involved 22 elements taken from 109 definitions. The Weinberg et al. (2004) study involved 73 definitions taken from 55 articles collected from three journals. The current study consists of 162 definitions taken from 123 articles collected from two journals. Frequency data/statistics from earlier studies comes from Weinberg et al. (2004).			

There are some notable trends in the frequencies of elements used in definitions of terrorism over time. That is to say, the frequency of some elements, such as the criminality or unlawful element of the terrorist act as well as references to attacks on civilians or noncombatants and terrorism as a systematic or planned action, increases

over time. These elements, as well as the heightened rate of intimidation as a factor and the resurgence of recognition of a group as the perpetrator all perhaps indicate a shift in the definition and operationalization of terrorism in the current post-9/11 world. With groups such as ISIS and al Qaeda dominating terrorism discussions, as well as the planned attacks such groups carry out against civilians to intimidate populations being broadcast worldwide, what is viewed as terrorism has changed significantly since 9/11 first reshaped the discourse on terrorism. This change is further indicated by the fact that other elements appear less frequently in the 2016 study than in the previous studies. The elements first identified by Schmid and Jongman (1988) that appear with decreased frequency include elements such as method of combat and the victim-target differentiation, as these elements have perhaps effectively taken a backseat to terrorism concerns in the post-9/11 world, shaped by the terrorism shown in the public discourse.

It is also a worthwhile effort to try to determine whether these changes in rate of appearance of the definitional elements are spread across the journals as a whole or are the result of a particular journal skewing the results. To do so, the frequency of appearance of select definitional elements within each of the two journals *Terrorism and Political Violence* and *Studies in Conflict and Terrorism* can be found, and the results from Weinberg et al. (2004) – who also did this analysis – can be compared with the findings in this current study. While a full breakdown of the comparison in findings is not available, largely due to limitations in the specific available data from Weinberg et al. (2004), there is still much of interest in conducting such a comparison. A comparison of several of the most frequently-used definitional elements is located in Table 4, with original data table taken from Weinberg et al. (2004). The analysis of the definitions

found in each journal shows a slight increase of about four percent in mention of the use of violence or force in the current study compared to that of Weinberg and his colleagues, while mention of a political element within the terrorism definitions jumps a bit more, by over ten percent, in this current study compared to that of Weinberg et al. The largest jump in the list overall comes in the element of fear or terror being emphasized, the findings of which are approximately doubled in the 2016 results compared to those of the study by Weinberg et al. in 2004. All of these findings hold consistently with those illustrated in Table 3, above. The presence of threat as an element, only showing a slight increase overall in the 2016 study compared to that of Weinberg et al. (2004) according to Table 3, shows a significant increase in Table 4 in terms of results from *Studies in Conflict and Terrorism* and a slight decrease between the results of Weinberg et al.'s study and the current study in the journal *Terrorism and Political Violence*.

TABLE 4: Definitional Elements by Journal (Compared with Weinberg et al. (2004))

Elements	Studies in Conflict and Terrorism (Weinberg et al.) (N=10)	Studies in Conflict and Terrorism (present) (N=74)	Terrorism and Political Violence (Weinberg et al.) (N=25)	Terrorism and Political Violence (present) (N=88)
1. Violence, Force	80%	84%	72%	76%
2. Political	50%	68%	60%	73%
3. Fear, Terror	20%	47%	24%	42%
4. Threat	0%	46%	44%	42%

This comparison in the use of threat provides interesting insight. It is interesting that *Terrorism*, the third journal in Weinberg et al.'s study, which has since been renamed to *Studies in Conflict and Terrorism*, does have some measureable impact in creating the results seen in Table 3. Prior to the change in the title of the journal mention of the term

threat as an element of the definition of terrorism would have needed to be fairly significant to make the results found in Table 3 possible. The inclusion of the third journal makes the appearance of the threat element end up virtually the same, as seen in Table 3 above, despite the clear difference in the appearance of the term between the two journals that the studies shared in common, as noted in Table 4. The difference regarding the frequency of appearance of the term “threat” as a definitional element is particularly worth noting, however, as it remains the one data point in Table 4 wherein the information in Tables 3 and 4 do not coincide with each other. None of the ten definitions of terrorism that Weinberg et al. (2004) found in the journal *Studies in Conflict and Terrorism* included the mention of a threat as part of the definition of terrorism. It is possible that this absence is a coincidence, or perhaps the editors frowned upon such non-operational definitions during the timeframe Weinberg et al. (2004) studied. Regardless, for that one instance, Weinberg et al.’s (2004) findings from the *Terrorism* journal need to be included in the calculations in order for the rates of comparison in Table 3 between the current study and that of Weinberg et al. (2004) to come to fruition. Otherwise, the results in Table 3 seem to remain consistent across the journals, based on the limited comparison conducted here.

Discussion

Implications of the Findings

The purpose of the research in this thesis never included the creation of any form of consensus definition of guerrilla warfare or terrorism. Rather, the work done in this thesis sought to find how the contemporary scholars define terrorism and whether or not these definitions have changed over time since the conclusion of the study completed by

Weinberg et al. (2004), as well as how these changes compared to the findings of Schmid and Jongman (1988). The fact that a change can be seen in the frequencies of specific definitional elements illustrates that the consensus definition proposed by Weinberg et al. (2004), “terrorism is a politically motivated tactic involving the threat or use of force or violence in which the pursuit of publicity plays a significant role” (Weinberg et al., 2004, p. 786), is now even less aligned with the trends within the literature than it was at the time. If the goal of the creation of such a consensus definition is to make use of the most frequently appearing definitional elements, then there are other definitional elements that would need to be included; most especially that of terrorism as a purposive, planned, or organized endeavor, as has become one of the most frequently-occurring of the definitional elements first offered by Schmid and Jongman (1988). Figure 1, in its illustration of the frequency of each element across the definitions used in the research, shows the most commonly occurring elements in order, to detail what would need to be included in an updated consensus definition were one to be suggested.

Guerrilla Warfare

Regarding definitions of guerrilla warfare, while there are not enough definitions available within the data-set to be able to break down and analyze elements of the definitions to the extent that could be done with the definitions of terrorism, what is offered can at least be explored. That is, there appears to be little consensus among the definitions as to whether guerrilla warfare requires guerrilla groups to control territory, where they are located, or as to what extent guerrilla fighter’s general tactics or appearance differentiate them from their terrorist counterparts, investigating the definitions does allow for some points of beginning consensus to be found. Three out of

the five definitions of guerrilla warfare explicitly mention tactical groups using military techniques in a hit-and-run fashion, striking without warning and then disappearing. If this definition could be further refined as to the precise nature of the targets and other differences, such as a distinction between military or state targets and noncombatants, then an absolute distinction could someday be drawn between acts of terrorism and acts of guerrilla warfare. Being able to draw such a distinction between terrorism and guerrilla warfare would be a great help, both in refining and narrowing the definitions of these two terms and in making it generally clearer as to what actions fall into each category.

Significance

Since it has been established within this thesis as to why clarifying these definitions, both for terrorism and guerrilla warfare, is particularly helpful for academics, and this paper also has looked at how the trends in the definitional elements that have been used in recent years have changed or remained the same, it is also important to look at how this distinction is significant within the everyday world and to the public at large. This distinction as to the meaning of terrorism and guerrilla warfare is not merely a question of how individuals think about or discuss the topic of terrorism, though that is important as well if everyone is to be in agreement as to what is being talked about. Audrey Kurth Cronin (2015), in her article analyzing why ISIS should not be considered a terrorist group and therefore cannot be effectively countered via the same counterterrorism strategy as that which was used successfully against such groups as al Qaeda offered a solid start in making it clear as to why it is so important to be able to classify groups and actions clearly and effectively. Effective military strategy against ISIS is far from the only reason why an accurate and clear definition of a term such as

terrorism is so important in the war on terror and other current events however.

An example of the legitimate real-world implications that such definitional classifications can have, particularly for a term as politically loaded as “terrorism,” can be found by looking no further than the Fort Hood shooting. For the public, the nature of the shooting and the identity of the shooter caused a widespread perception, in light of the general conception of what terrorism is believed to be, that the shooting must be an act of terrorism. The demands in the months following the shooting for the government to officially classify the shooting as a terrorist act, however, were not merely a matter of concern over widespread denial of a perceived act of terrorism, but for the families of the victims was a far more urgent matter regarding specific benefits set aside for service members killed or injured in terrorist violence (Kreider 2012). This same necessity also applies to civilians, as civilians can be made eligible for certain tax benefits (IRS 2015) and other relief programs (Benefits.gov 2016) should they be classified as victims or survivors of certain terrorist attacks committed on U.S. soil. While these are only a couple of examples of the real-world applications and implications of terrorism definitions, they do extend the importance far outside the realm of academia, and therefore serve to further demonstrate the significant importance of this research.

While the research conducted within this study is useful, there are some limitations within the current research. Not only is there a certain amount of room for human error within the study itself, particularly as each subsequent researcher attempts to handle the large amounts of data as well as apply the sometimes not fully clear definitional elements to the definitions that they uncover in the course of their research, but there is also a certain amount of inconsistency involved. For one, there is no single

consensus definition that can be offered, even after analyzing all of the definitions offered within the two journals, *Terrorism and Political Violence* and *Studies in Conflict and Terrorism*, since the start of 2002. This remaining lack of a consensus definition is because, as of yet, there remains a wide variety of fields and applications for which a terrorism definition is useful to have, but the needed applications for said definitions vary widely, as can be seen even in the wide variety of government bodies that must acknowledge the term with one definition or another in conducting their duties. Thus, while it remains useful to know the ways in which usage and meaning of the word “terrorism” is changing, just as it is useful to know what is referred to by the term “guerrilla warfare,” there remains no way in which a single definition could prove always correct or beneficial. Thus, no matter how closely analyzed the definitions may be, the usage of the words “terrorism” and “guerrilla warfare” can and will remain inconsistent at points.

This concern over an inconsistent element to the definitions of both terrorism and guerrilla warfare makes necessary a final note of caution regarding what the potential consensus definitions and analysis of the definitional elements do and do not offer for the reader. While the definitional analysis can inform one about trends within the definitions and how frequently different definitional elements are used and intended when a definition is offered, such an analysis cannot currently assure with any true certainty that an individual using the terms “terrorism” or “guerrilla warfare” means the term in the same way that said analysis or consensus definition would suggest. This inconsistency in meaning is a weakness inherent in the remaining lack of agreement as to what each term means which remains to be resolved.

Conclusions

Over the course of this study, the question of how the terms “terrorism” and “guerrilla warfare” are defined in the post-9/11 world has been explored via means of both a literature review as well as a definitional analysis which seeks to build upon and update the prior work of both Schmid and Jongman (1988) and Weinberg et al. (2004). Why these distinctions in terms of a definition of guerrilla warfare and terrorism, and analyzing the trends within said definitions, is important within academia and outside of the academic realm has also been investigated. While consensus definitions were not formed and the data was not broken down to the level of detail previously seen in Weinberg et al. (2004), the data-set necessary to allow for such efforts has been created for further additional research in the future. Ultimately, the ways in which the definitions of terrorism and guerrilla warfare are continuously evolving when compared to what has been researched before still remains an enlightening subject of study that has potential to play a significant role in politics and international affairs alike, both now and in the foreseeable future, thereby extending itself as a topic of importance far beyond the academic realm alone.

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Appendix A: TABLE 5: List of Definitions from *Terrorism and Political Violence*

First Author: Volume(Issue); Year	Pg.	Definition
1. Bart Schuurman: 27(5); 2015	906	“The threatened or actual use of violence against civilians in pursuit of political goals. The political nature of terrorism draws attention to the terrorists' ideological or religious convictions as a variable that can reveal under what circumstances, for which purposes, and against whom violence is legitimized”
2. Muhammad Sohail Anwar Malik: 27(3); 2015	537	“Use the psychological impact of violence or of the threat of violence to effect political change; “the premeditated, threatened or actual use of force or violence to attain a political, religious or ideological goal through fear, coercion or intimidation”
3. Brian J. Phillips: 27(2); 2015	225	“For purposes of this exercise we define terrorist organizations as any whose use of violence regularly violated the principles of distinction and proportionality under the law of armed conflict for at least one year of their existence”
4. Jane Esberg: 27(2); 2015	243	“groups that employ “the unlawful use of force or violence against persons or property to intimidate or coerce a government, the civilian population, or any segment thereof, in furtherance of political or social objectives”
5. Henda Y. Hsu: 27(1); 2015	29	“the threatened or actual use of illegal force and violence by non-state actors to attain a political, economic, religious, or social goal through fear, coercion, or intimidation”
6. Susan Fahey: 27(1); 2015	81	“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.”
7. Eteri Tsintsadze-Maass: 26(5); 2014	735	“politically motivated violence perpetrated against noncombatant targets by non-state actors. Terrorists commit violent acts as tools of coercion, hoping to force a desired political change by threatening further violence”
8. Alex P. Schmid: 26(4); 2014	587	“a doctrine about the presumed effectiveness of a special form or tactic of fear-generating, coercive political violence and, on the other hand, [as a] conspiratorial practice of calculated, demonstrative, direct violent action without legal or moral restraints, targeting mainly civilians and non-combatants, performed for its propagandistic and psychological effects on various audiences and conflict parties.”
9. Joerg Le Blanc: 25(5); 2013	798	“aims at provoking a political change without organizing the population into a military force; a politically motivated violent act, or a credible threat of violence aimed at a broader audience than the direct subject of the act”
10. Donald Holbrook: 25(2); 2013	202	“1. Terrorism is violence; 2. Terrorism is political; 3. Terrorism is carried out against non-combatants (especially civilians); and 4. for wider communicative purposes.”

11. Lindsay Shorr Newman: 25(1); 2013	8	“a) the incident must be intentional, defined as the result of a conscious calculation on the part of a perpetrator; b) the incident must involve some level of violence, including property violence; and c) there must be subnational perpetrators. In addition, an incident must satisfy at least two of the following three criteria: a) the act must be “aimed at attaining a political, economic, religious, or social goal”; b) there must be “evidence of an intention to coerce, intimidate, or convey some message to a larger audience ... other than the immediate victims”; and c) the incident must be “outside the context of legitimate warfare activities.” - GTD
12. Nil S. Satana: 25(1); 2013	29	“the premeditated use, or threat of use, of extra-normal violence or brutality to gain a political objective through intimidation or fear of a targeted audience.” - Sandler
13. Robert Brathwaite: 25(1); 2013	53	“Terrorism is the use of premeditated, politically motivated violence against noncombatant targets by sub-national or clandestine agents, usually intended to influence an audience.” - United States Penal Code, Section 2656 (d)
14. Michael G. Findley: 24(5); 2012	706	“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” - GTD
15. Scott Straus: 24(4); 2015	544	“a form of violence that directly targets civilians, but it is generally committed by non-state clandestine organizations that are the weaker party in an asymmetric conflict”
16. Hayley Watson: 24(3); 2012	465	“Terrorism refers on the one hand to a doctrine about the presumed effectiveness of a special form or tactic of fear-generating, coercive political violence and, on the other hand, to a conspiratorial practice of calculated, demonstrative, direct violent action without legal or moral restraints, targeting mainly civilians and non-combatants, performed for its propagandistic and psychological effects on various audiences and conflict parties.” - Schmid
17. James A. Piazza: 24(2); 2012	213	“violence perpetrated by non-state actors against civilians with the intention of communicating a political message or influencing an audience”
18. Shawn Teresa Flanigan: 24(2); 2012	279	“creating an atmosphere of fear, intimidation, and terror among the general population or a specific group; a goal of influencing government actions or decisions, political or ideological motivations, and targeting civilians or public officials as tactics”
19. Jennifer Varriale Carson: 24(2); 2012	295	“the threatened or actual use of illegal force and violence to attain a political, economic, religious or social goal through fear, coercion or intimidation.” - GTD
20. Peter S. Henne: 24(1); 2012	38	“the deliberate creation and exploitation of fear through violence or the threat of violence in pursuit of political change.” - Bruce Hoffman
21. Oliver P. Richmond:	120	“the incitement of, or threat to incite, terror in an attempt to maximise gains in a conflicting political relationship”

24(1); 2012		
22. Alethia H. Cook: 23(5); 2011	711	“Terrorism is defined by the nature of the act, not the identity of the perpetrators or the nature of the cause; key elements include: violence or the threat of violence, calculated to create fear and alarm, intended to coerce certain actions, motive must include a political objective, generally directed against civilian targets, can be a group or an individual.” - TKB Assertion
		“The term “terrorism” means premeditated, politically motivated violence perpetrated against noncombatant targets by subnational groups or clandestine agents, usually intended to influence an audience.” - State Department
		“acts committed by a nonstate actor and intentionally carried out against civilian targets.” - Kuznar
23. Manni Crone: 23(4); 2011	521	“the creation of a climate of extreme fear.” - Wilkinson
24. Miroslav Mareš: 23(2); 2011	233	“criminal acts, including against civilians, committed with the intent to cause death or serious bodily injury, or taking of hostages, with the purpose to provoke a state of terror in the general public or in a group of persons or particular persons, intimidate a population or compel a government or an international organization to do or to abstain from doing any act.” - United Nations Security Council Resolution S-RES-1566 (2004)
25. Amitai Etzioni: 23(1); 2010	1	“individuals who seek to drive fear into a population by acts of violence in order to advance their goals in a sub rosa manner. Terrorists, as a rule, wear no insignia that identifies them as combatants, engage in a large variety of other means to make themselves indistinguishable from noncombatant civilians, and often use civilians' vehicles, homes, and public facilities, such as schools and places of worship, for their terrorist acts.”
		“the deliberate creation and exploitation of fear through violence or threat of violence in the pursuit of political change” -Bruce Hoffman
		“the intentional random murder of defenseless non-combatants, with the intent of instilling fear of mortal danger amidst a civilian population as a strategy designed to advance political ends” -Tamar Meisels
		“the deliberate use of violence aimed against civilians in order to achieve political ends” -Boaz Ganor
		“involve violent acts or acts dangerous to human life that are a violation of criminal laws...appear to be intended—(i) to intimidate or coerce a civilian population; (ii) to influence the policy of a government by intimidation or coercion; or (iii) to affect the conduct of a government by mass destruction, assassination, or kidnapping; and...occur primarily outside the territorial jurisdiction of the United States...” -Title 18, Sect 2331 of the U.S. Code

26. Ogen Goldman: 23(1); 2010	31	“...terrorism is defined by the nature of the act, not by the identity of the perpetrators. Terrorism is violence calculated to create an atmosphere of fear and alarm to coerce others into actions they would not otherwise undertake, or refrain from actions they desired to take. Acts of terrorism are generally directed against civilian targets. The motives of all terrorists are political, and terrorist actions are generally carried out in a way that will achieve maximum publicity...International terrorism includes incidents in which the perpetrators go abroad to strike their targets, select domestic targets associated with a foreign state, or create an international incident by attacking airline passengers or equipment.” - RAND and Terrorism Knowledge Base (TKB)
27. Efrat Silber: 23(1); 2010	89	““Terrorism is the intentional use of or threat to use violence against civilians or against civilian targets, in order to attain political aims.” - Boaz Ganor
28. Simon Shen: 22(4); 2010	522	“an anxiety-inspiring method of repeated violent action, employed by (semi-)clandestine individuals, groups, or state actors, for idiosyncratic, criminal, or political reasons, whereby—in contrast to assassination—the direct targets of violence are not the main targets.” - Alex Schmid (1988)
29. Nathan Porath: 22(4); 2010	581	“The terror-violence, which terrorism justifies, is violence that deliberately targets members of a civilian population or its civic property, and uses them as symbolic vehicles to convey a political message to the protagonists' (and their supporters') political-other”
30. Christian Kaunert: 22(1); 2009	41	“They must be intentional acts ... which given their nature or context, may serve to damage a country or an international organisation. These acts must be committed with the aim of either seriously intimidating a population or unduly compelling a Government or international organisation to act or fail to act, or seriously destabilizing or destroying the fundamental political, constitutional economic or social structures of a country or international organisation.” - EU's Framework Decision on Combating Terrorism
31. Kristopher K. Robison: 22(1); 2009	62	"unconventional violence conducted by an autonomous, non-state affiliated civil actor against vulnerable targets that is intended to induce anxiety among various audiences, including the general public, in order to produce specific political or ideological goals. Acts of terrorism include bombings, suicide attacks, assassinations, hijackings, hostage-taking, small arms and chemical attacks, and other uses of coercive force."
32. Marco Pinfari: 21(4); 2009	580	“terrorist acts involve the killing or harming of individuals who do not constitute legitimate targets as such (and thus can be defined as “civilians” or “non-combatants”) and thus can be defined as “indiscriminate”; and such killings should be part of a wider strategy of “double targeting” which aims at “influencing the behaviour, perceptions, beliefs, or attitudes of others than the immediate victims or targets of its violence.”

33. Luciana M. Fernández: 21(4); 2009	595	“a form of instrumental violence which, although not always politically motivated, has political objectives in that it seeks to influence political decisions and behavior. According to Wilkinson, terrorism has five distinctive characteristics which differentiate it from other forms of violence that are totally unrelated to politics. 1. It is premeditated and designed to create a climate of extreme fear; 2. It is directed at a wider target than the immediate victims; 3. It inherently involves attacks on random or symbolic targets, including civilians; 4. It is considered by the society in which it occurs as “extra-normal,” that is in the literal sense that it violates the norms regulating disputes, protest, and dissent; and 5. It is used primarily, though not exclusively, to influence the political behaviour of governments, communities, or specific social groups.”
34. Jennifer J. Webb: 21(3); 2009	428	"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." - GTD
35. Joshua D. Freilich: 21(3); 2009	450	“the unlawful use of force or violence against persons or property to intimidate or coerce a government, the civilian population, or any segment thereof, in furtherance of political or social objectives.” - Hewitt (FBI)
36. Sophia Moskalenko: 21(2); 2009	239	“terrorists are the subset of radicals who use violence against civilian targets”
37. Andreas E. Feldmann: 21(1); 2009	42	"an anxiety inspiring method of repeated violent action employed by (semi-) clandestine, individual, group or state actors for idiosyncratic, criminal or political reasons, whereby—in contrast to assassination—the direct targets of violence are not the main targets. The immediate human victims of violence are generally randomly (targets of opportunity) or selectively (representative or symbolic) targets from a target population, and serve as message generators. Threat- and violence-based communication processes between terrorist (organization), (imperiled) victims, and main target (audiences[s]), turning it into a target of terror, a target of demands, or a target of attention, depending on whether intimidation, coercion or propaganda is primarily sought." - Schmid, Jongman, and Stohl definition of terrorism
38. Jessie Blackburn: 21(1); 2009	133	"The use or threat of an action where an action involves serious violence against a person; serious damage to a property; endangers a person's life, other than that of the person committing the action; creates a serious risk to the health or safety of the public, or a section of the public; or is designed seriously to interfere with or seriously to disrupt an electronic system. Where the use or threat is designed to influence the government or to intimidate the public or a section of the public, and the use or threat is made for the purpose of advancing a political, religious or ideological cause. The use or threat of action which involves the use of firearms or explosives is terrorism whether or not the use or threat is designed to influence the government or an international governmental organization or to intimidate the public or a section of the public." - Terrorism Act 2006
39. Justin Magouirk: 20(3); 2008	356	“any action...that is intended to cause death or serious bodily harm to civilians or non-combatants, when the purpose of such an act, by its nature or context, is to intimidate a population, or to compel a Government or an international organization to do or to abstain from doing any act.” - The Report of the High-level Panel on Threats, Challenges and Change

40. Daniel Masters: 20(3); 2008	396	“Terrorism is the premeditated use or threat of violence by individuals or subnational groups to obtain a political or social objective through intimidation of a large audience beyond that of the immediate victims.” - Enders and Sandler
41. David C. Rapoport: 20(2); 2008	167	“The term ‘terrorism’ means premeditated, politically motivated violence perpetrated against non-combatant targets by sub-national groups or clandestine agents, usually intended to influence an audience.” – 22 United States Code, Section 2656 (d)
		"Terror is violence with distinctive properties used for political purposes both by private parties and states. That violence is unregulated by publicly accepted norms to contain violence, the rules of war, and the rules of punishment."
42. Michael Clarke: 20(2); 2008	271	“any act of violence undertaken for the purpose of altering a government's political policies or actions that targets those who do not actually have the personal authority to alter governmental policy.” -Bueno de Mesquita
		“the intentional generation of massive fear by human beings for the purpose of securing or maintaining control over other human beings.” -Cooper
		“politically motivated violence by small groups (Rubenstein); covert violence for political ends (Laqueur); and as premeditated violence aimed to “create a climate of extreme fear or terror.” (Wilkinson)"
43. Gerry Nagtzaam: 20(1); 2007	110	"using or threatening to use violence against innocent people or non-combatants—or even property—to effect political change and achieve political goals by creating an atmosphere of fear" -Pete Lentini
		"using or threatening to use violence against innocent people or non-combatants—or even property—to effect political change and achieve political goals by creating an atmosphere of fear" -Pete Lentini
		“The unlawful use of force or violence against persons or property to intimidate or coerce a government, the civilian population or any segment thereof, in the furtherance of political or social objectives.” -FBI
		“Terrorist acts are...conventionally regarded as acts or threats of illegitimate killing...and therefore...treat differently acts of violence against mere property from that against persons.” -Steve Vanderheiden
44. Edward Newman: 19(4); 2007	463	"the deliberate and illegal use of violence with no regard for—or deliberately targeting—civilians; a political objective; and the intention to exert influence and change upon third parties."
45. Cristiana C. Brafman Kittner: 19(3); 2007	307	“the deliberate creation and exploitation of fear through violence or the threat of violence in the pursuit of political change.”
46. Gregory D. Miller: 19(3); 2007	331	“politically or religiously motivated violence, or threatened violence, against non-combatants, with the intention of generating fear in a wider audience”

47. Mariya Y. Omelicheva: 19(3); 2007	369	"violence, or the threat of violence, committed with the purpose of the creation of an atmosphere of fear in order to coerce others into actions they would not otherwise undertake, or refrain from actions they desire to take. This violence or threat of violence is generally directed against civilian targets, but the motives of all terrorists are political" - RAND
48. Tom Parker: 19(2); 2007	155	"Terrorism is the intentional use of or threat to use violence against civilians or against civilian targets, in order to attain political aims."- Boaz Ganor
49. Gary LaFree: 19(2); 2007	181	GTD Definition: "the threatened or actual use of illegal force and violence to attain a political, economic, religious or social goal through fear, coercion or intimidation." - PGIS
		GTD2: "(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 (including violence against property) or the threat of violence. And (3) there must be sub-national perpetrators." PLUS two of the following: "(1) The act must be aimed at attaining a political, economic, religious, or social goal. In terms of economic goals, the exclusive pursuit of profit does not satisfy this criterion. (2) There must be evidence of an intention to coerce, intimidate, or convey some other message to a larger audience (or audiences) than the immediate victims. And (3) the action must be outside the context of legitimate warfare activities; that is, the act must be outside the parameters permitted by international humanitarian law"
50. Erik Nemeth:19(1); 2007	19	"The term "terrorism" means premeditated, politically motivated violence perpetrated against noncombatant targets by subnational groups or clandestine agents, usually intended to influence an audience." - Title 22 of the U.S. Code, Section 2656f(d)
51. Kate Ivanova: 18(3); 2006	423	"the premeditated use or threat of use of violence by individuals or subnational groups to obtain political or social objectives through intimidation of a large audience beyond that of the immediate victim"
52. Tamar Meisels: 18(3); 2006	465	"targets defenseless non-combatants, many of whom must be regarded as innocent even by the terrorist's own standards (e.g., infants, children, the elderly and infirm, foreign nationals, etc.). Its purpose is to destroy the moral of a nation or a class, to undercut its solidarity; its method is the random murder of innocent people. Randomness is the crucial feature of terrorist activity. If one wishes fear to spread and intensify over time, it is not desirable to kill specific people identified in some particular way with a regime, a party, or a policy. Death must come by chance to individual Frenchmen, Germans, to Irish Protestants or Jews, simply because they are Frenchmen or Germans, Protestants or Jews, until they feel themselves fatally exposed and demand that their governments negotiate for their safety." -Walzer
53. Arie W. Kruglanski: 18(2); 2006	193	"terrorism' is a premeditated, politically motivated violence (conducted in times of peace) perpetrated against noncombatant targets by sub-national groups or clandestine state agents, usually intended to influence an audience to advance political ends." -U.S. Department of State
		"the strategic use of terror for the advancement of one's objectives."

		<p>“terrorism is a purposeful human political activity...directed toward the creation of a general climate of fear and...designed to influence in ways desired by the protagonist, other human beings, and through them, some course of events.” -R. P. Hoffman</p>
		<p>“the use of force of violence by individuals or groups that is directed toward civilian populations and intended to instill fear as a means of coercing individuals or groups to change their political or social positions.” -Anthony Marsella</p>
		<p>“terrorism [is] the deliberate creation and exploitation of fear through violence or the threat of violence in the pursuit of political change.” Bruce Hoffman</p>
		<p>“the terrorists' primary aim is to create fear within the target population.” -Boaz Ganor</p>
		<p>“terrorism... is simply the contemporary name given to the modern permutation of warfare deliberately waged against civilians with the purpose of destroying their will [presumably via terror] to support either leaders or policies that the agents of such violence find objectionable.” -Caleb Carr</p>
54. Ian Cram: 18(2); 2006	335	<p>"the use or threat of “action” (serious violence against persons, serious damage to property, endangering a person's life, creating a risk to the health or safety of the public or a section of it, seriously interfering with/disrupting an electronic system) designed to influence the government or to intimidate the public or a section of it for the purpose of advancing a political, religious, or ideological cause." - U.K. Terrorism Act 2000</p>
55. Oldrich Bures: 18(1); 2006	57	<p>"First, it stipulates there must be “intentional acts...which, given their nature or context, may seriously damage a country or an international organization.” Second, the acts must be committed with the aim of either “seriously intimidating a population,” or “unduly compelling a Government or international organization” to act or fail to act, or “seriously destabilizing or destroying the fundamental political, constitutional, economic or social structures of a country or an international organization.” Third, there is a list of eight types of specific acts: Attacks upon a person's life which may cause death; Attacks upon the physical integrity of a person; Kidnapping or hostage taking; Causing extensive destruction to a Government or public facility, a transport system, an infrastructure facility, including an information system, a fixed platform located on the continental shelf, a public place or private property likely to endanger human life or result in major economic loss; Seizure of aircraft, ships or other means of public or goods transport; Manufacture, possession, acquisition, transport, supply or use of weapons, explosives or of nuclear, biological or chemical weapons, as well as research into, and development of, biological and chemical weapons; Release of dangerous substances, or causing fires, floods or explosions the effect of which is to endanger human life; Interfering with or disrupting the supply of water, power or any other fundamental natural resource the effect of which is to endanger human life. Threatening to commit any of the above acts is also included and, according to Article 2.1, the EU Member States must also punish the following intentional acts: Directing a terrorist group; Participating in the activities of a terrorist group, including by supplying information or material resources, or by funding its activities in any way, with</p>

		knowledge of the fact that such participation will contribute to the criminal activities of the terrorist group." -EU Framework Decision on Combating Terrorism
56. Maryam Razavy: 18(1); 2006	79	"the deliberate creation and exploitation of fear through violence or the threat of violence in the pursuit of political change" - Bruce Hoffman
57. James A. Piazza: 18(1); 2006	159	"[t]he term "terrorism" means premeditated, politically motivated violence perpetrated against noncombatant targets by sub national groups or clandestine agents, usually intended to influence an audience." - Title 2 of the United States Code, Section 2656f(d)
58. Bertil Dunér: 17(1-2); 2005	89	"violence against civilians perpetrated by non-state groups for political purposes"
59. Sergio Catignani: 17(1-2); 2005	245	"... premeditated, politically motivated violence perpetrated against non-combatant targets by sub-national groups or clandestine state agents, usually intended to influence an audience" - US State Department
60. Leonard Weinberg: 16(4); 2004	777	"terrorism is a politically motivated tactic involving the threat or use of force or violence in which the pursuit of publicity plays a significant role"
61. Alex P. Schmid: 16(2); 2004	197	See article
62. Abdelaziz Testas: 16(2); 2004	253	"the use, or threat of use, of anxiety-inducing, extra-normal violence for political purposes by any individual or group, whether acting for or in opposition to established governmental authority" - ITERATE
63. Michael C. Clarke: 16(2); 2004	294	"a criminal act that has planning, the use of a technology and a socio/political cause and is designed to foster fear and dread outside the immediate impact area"
64. Beril Dedeoglu: 15(3); 2003	81	"a serious offence involving an attack against the life, physical integrity or liberty of internationally protected persons, including diplomatic agents, an offence involving kidnapping, the taking of a hostage or serious unlawful detention, as well as involving the use of a bomb, grenade, rocket, automatic firearm or letter or parcel bomb if this use endangers persons' while Article II enlarges the definition by including the threats against the life, physical integrity or liberty of a person'." -1977 European Convention for the Suppression of Terrorism

		"acts perpetrated to threaten the government or the society; to harm the latter through individuals and their properties in order to impose political, religious, or ideological objectives; to endanger public health and safety; to damage electronic systems or use firearms, are considered as acts of terror" -Terrorism Act of 2000 (Britain)
		"‘...any act aimed at the destruction of any of the rights and freedoms set forth herein or at their limitation to a greater extent than is provided for in the Convention’.; ‘...in defense of any person from unlawful violence’." -Article 17 of the European Convention for the Protection of Human Rights and fundamental freedoms
		"any act committed by an individual or individuals belonging to an organization with a view to change the constitutionally determined characteristics of the Republic and the political, legal, social, secular and economic order through oppression, violence, intimidation or threat; to destroy the indivisible territorial and national integrity of the State or to endanger the existence of the Turkish State and Republic; to weaken or take over state authority; to suppress fundamental rights and freedoms; to disrupt domestic or external security as well as public order and health, is an act of terror’." -Article 1 of the 1991 Anti-Terror Law (Turkey)
65. M. Schönreich: 14(2); 2002	1	“an incident of violence, or the threat thereof, against a person, a group of persons or property not necessarily related to the aim of the incident, to coerce a government or civil population to act or not to act according to certain principles” - 1998 South Africa
66. R.D. Crelinsten: 14(2); 2002	77	"the combined use and threat of violence, planned in secret and usually executed without warning, that is directed against one set of targets (the direct victims) in order to coerce compliance or to compel allegiance from a second set of targets (targets of demands) and to intimidate or to impress a wider audience (target of terror or target of attention)"

Appendix B: TABLE 6: List of Definitions from *Studies in Conflict and Terrorism*

First Author: Volume(Issue); Year	Pg.	Definition
1. Yair Galily: 38(12);2015	998	"terror attacks are a military strategy that hopes to change the political situation by spreading fear, rather than by causing material damage"
2. Moran Yarchi: 38(12): 2015	1008	"Terror is a type of violent struggle that purposely utilizes or threatens to utilize violence against civilians in order to create fear and anxiety for the sake of political goals."
3. Luis de la Calle: 38(10): 2015	795	"the threatened or actual use of illegal force and violence to attain a political, economic, religious or social goal through fear, coercion or intimidation" -GTD1
4. Stefano Bonino: 38(10): 2015	814	"[predominantly politically motivated,] calculated, demonstrative, direct violent action without legal or moral restraints, targeting mainly civilians and non-combatants, performed for its propagandistic and psychological effects on various audiences and conflict parties. ... Sources of terrorist violence can be individual perpetrators, small groups, diffuse transnational networks as well as state actors or state-sponsored clandestine agents (such as death squads and hit teams)." - Schmid
5. David C. Hofmann: 38(9): 2015	710	"threats or acts of violence meant to coerce and/or intimidate a political entity or a section of the public in order to further an ideologically, politically, and/or religiously motivated cause."
6. Jacqueline S. Bruscella: 38(9): 2015	759	"the unlawful use of violence or threat of violence, often motivated by religious, political, or other ideological beliefs, to instill fear and coerce governments or societies in pursuit of goals that are usually political." - U.S. Department of Defense
		"Terrorists seek to evoke fear in a victim or audience through their acts of violence, whether actually perpetrated or merely threatened." -Stohl and Stohl
7. Elizabeth Grimm Arsenault: 38(2): 2015	85	"terrorism is defined according to terrorism expert Bruce Hoffman's definition as a "fundamentally and inherently political" act that is "planned, calculated, and indeed systematic." He outlines five components of terrorism: (1) political aims and motives; (2) use of violence or threats of violence; (3) violence intended to have psychological repercussions beyond the immediate victim or target; (4) perpetrators who are part of an organization with an identifiable chain of command, cell, or ideologically motivated collection of individuals; and (5) perpetrators who are part of a subnational group or non-state entity. This definition contains no judgment about the justness of the cause and the validity of violence; rather, it focuses on terrorism as a violent tactic employed by non-state actors in pursuit of political aims."
8. Moran Yarchi: 37(8): 2014	674	"Terror is a type of violent struggle that purposely utilizes or threatens to utilize violence against civilians, in order to create fear and anxiety for the sake of political goals." - Schmid

9. Sivan Hirsch-Hoefler:37(7): 2014	586	"a strategy that employs the threat or use of force or violence to instill fear in (a subset of) the population with the ultimate aim of achieving political goals."
		"A politically motivated tactic involving the threat or use of force or violence in which the pursuit of publicity plays a significant role."
10. Pablo Brum:37(5): 2014	387	"deliberately and violently targeting civilians for political purposes." - Louise Richardson
11. Erin M. Kearns:37(5): 2014	422	"violence or threats of violence against noncombatants to coerce an opponent in pursuance of a goal."
12. Anthony Richards:37(3): 2014	213	"the deliberate creation and exploitation of fear through violence or the threat of violence in the pursuit of political change. ... Terrorism is specifically designed to have far-reaching psychological effects beyond the immediate victim(s) or object of the terrorist attack. It is meant to instill fear within, and thereby intimidate, a wider "target audience" that might include a rival ethnic or religious group, an entire country, a national government or political party, or public opinion in general." - Bruce Hoffman
		"organized and systematic attempt to create fear'... that aims at attaining specific political ends (motivation) through the creation of fear, and not through the mere act of violence." -European Commission Sixth Framework Programme Project
		"terrorism is the use of violence or the threat of violence with the primary purpose of generating a psychological impact beyond the immediate victims or object of attack for a political motive."
13. Olli J. Teirilä:37(1): 2014	18	"According to the EU, the concept of terrorism combines two elements: an objective element, as it refers to a list of instances of serious criminal conduct (murder, bodily injuries, hostage taking, extortion, fabrication of weapons, committing attacks, threatening to commit any of the above, etc.); a subjective element, as these acts are deemed to be terrorist offences when committed with the aim of seriously intimidating a population, unduly compelling a government or international organisation to perform or abstain from performing any act, or seriously destabilising or destroying the fundamental political, constitutional, economic or social structures of a country or an international organisation."
		"(a) any act which is a violation of the criminal laws of a State Party and which may endanger the life, physical integrity or freedom of, or cause serious injury or death to, any person, any number or group of persons or causes or may cause damage to public or private property, natural resources, environmental or cultural heritage and is calculated or intended to: (i) intimidate, put in fear, force, coerce or induce any government, body, institution, the general public or any segment thereof, to do or abstain from doing any act, or to adopt or abandon a particular standpoint, or to act according to certain principles; or (ii) disrupt any public service, the delivery of any essential service to the public or to create a public emergency; or (iii) create general insurrection in a State. (b) any

		promotion, sponsoring, contribution to, command, aid, incitement, encouragement, attempt, threat, conspiracy, organizing, or procurement of any person, with the intent to commit any act referred to in paragraph (a) (i) to (iii)." -OAU convention of prevention and combating of terrorism in 1999 (held in the Algerian capital Algiers)
14. Younkyoo Kim:36(11): 2013	917	"terrorism is a politically motivated tactic involving the threat or use of force or violence in which the pursuit of publicity plays a significant role" - Leonard Weinberg, Ami Pedahzur, and Sivan Hirsch-Hoefler
		"the use of indiscriminate violence to spread a message of generalized fear" - Michael Boyle
15. Henry Rome:36(10): 2013	819	"incidents in which subnational or clandestine groups or individuals deliberately or recklessly attacked civilians or noncombatants (including military personnel and assets outside war zones and war-like settings)." - NCTC
16. Anne Lise Fimreite : 36(10): 2013	839	"the use of violence that deliberately targets civilians in order to create an effect on others" - Nordenhaug and Engene
		"The intention is to create fear in order to achieve certain political goals"
17. Pete Simi:36(8): 2013	654	"a type of politically motivated violence that arises during asymmetrical conflict designed to have far reaching psychological repercussions beyond the immediate target" - Bruce Hoffman
18. Shale Horowitz:36(5): 2013	372	"intentional killing of civilians to achieve political objectives"
19. Jessica Davis :36(4): 2013	279	"an act, tactical in nature, that targets civilians, infrastructure, and sometimes military forces"
20. Christina Cliff:36(4): 2013	219	"In order to consider an incident for inclusion in the GTD, all three of the following attributes must be present: the incident must be intentional ...; the incident must entail some level of violence or threat of violence ...; the perpetrators of the incidents must be sub-national actors. ... In addition, at least two of the following three criteria must be present for an incident to be included in the GTD: Criterion 1: the act must be aimed at attaining a political, economic, religious, or social goal ...; there must be evidence of an intention to coerce, intimidate, or convey some other message to a larger audience (or audiences) than the immediate victims ...; the action must be outside the context of legitimate warfare activities." - GTD
21. Bridget Rose Nolan:36(3): 2013	219	"terrorism" involves the "use of violence by an organization other than a national government to cause intimidation or fear among a target audience" - State Department

22. Bart Schuurman:36(2): 2013	152	“[t]errorism refers on the one hand to a doctrine about the presumed effectiveness of a special form or tactic of fear-generating, coercive political violence and, on the other hand, to a conspiratorial practice of calculated, demonstrative, direct violent action without legal or moral restraints, targeting mainly civilians and non-combatants, performed for its propagandistic and psychological effects on various audiences and conflict parties.” - 2011 Revised Academic Consensus Definition by Schmid
23. John Curtis Amble:35(5): 2012	339	“politically motivated violence that intentionally targets civilians and non-combatants” - United Nations Security Council and endorsed by the UN Secretary General
24. Scott Matthew Kleinmann: 35(4); 2012	278	“the unlawful use of force and violence against persons or property to intimidate or coerce a government, the civilian population, or any segment thereof, in furtherance of political or social objectives.”
25. Victor H. Asal:35(3): 2012	229	“Terrorism is violence, or the threat of violence, calculated to create an atmosphere of fear and alarm. These acts are designed to coerce others into actions they would not otherwise undertake, or refrain from actions they desired to take...” - MIPT
26. Angela Dalton: 34(10): 2011	802	"a political strategy and is the “asymmetrical deployment of threats and violence against enemies using means that fall outside the forms of political struggle routinely operating within some current regime.”” - Tilly
		“politically motivated violence perpetrated against noncombatant targets by subnational groups or clandestine agents, usually intended to influence an audience.” - Ruby
27. Priya Dixit:34(6): 2011	501	“Terrorism is violence, but not every form of violence is terrorism. It is vitally important to recognize that terrorism, although difficult to define precisely ... is not a synonym for civil war, banditry, or guerrilla warfare” - Laqueur
28. Aaron Edwards:34(4): 2011	318	"a military strategy employed primarily by non-state actors who wish to influence a much broader political context"
29. Hemda Ben-Yehuda:34(1): 2010	31	"a threat or actual use of violence by a Non-State Actor against civilians in pursuit of political goals."
30. Tiffiany Howard: 33(11): 2010	960	"Terrorism: A system of terror. 1. Government by intimidation" - Oxford English Dictionary
		“[an] abhorrent act of violence perceived as directed against society...” - Hoffman
31. Steven M. Chermak: 33(11): 2010	1019	"violent crimes, generally claimed by a group, and prosecuted on the federal level, or preparatory crimes committed to further the terrorist act" - FBI
32. Todd Sandler:33(10): 2010	893	"the premeditated use or threat to use violence by individuals or subnational groups against noncombatants in order to obtain a political or social objective through intimidation of a large audience beyond that of the

		immediate victims" -Enders and Samdler
33. Ramón Spaaij:33(9): 2010	854	"intentional acts that are committed with the aim of seriously intimidating a population, or unduly compelling a Government or international organization to perform or abstain from performing any act, or seriously destabilizing or destroying the fundamental political, constitutional, economic or social structures of a country or an international organization." - EU
34. Kristopher K. Robison: 33(8): 2010	735	"violence that includes bombings, suicide attacks, assassinations, hijackings, hostage-taking, small arms and chemical attacks, and other uses of coercive force."
35. Christian Kaunert:33(7): 2010	652	"They must be intentional acts ... which given their nature or context, may serve to damage a country or an international organisation. These acts must be committed with the aim of either seriously intimidating a population or unduly compelling a Government or international organisation to act or fail to act, or seriously destabilizing or destroying the fundamental political, constitutional economic or social structures of a country or international organisation." - EU's Framework Decision on Combating Terrorism
36. Na'ama Nagar:33(6): 2010	533	"premeditated, politically motivated violence perpetrated against noncombatant targets by sub-national groups or clandestine agents, usually intended to influence an audience." - U.S. State Department
37. Alex S. Wilner:33(4): 2010	307	"the use of indiscriminate violence against non-combatants by non-state actors with the purpose of generating fear in order to "signal," communicate, and advance particular sociopolitical objectives"
38. Anne Aly:33(3): 2010	268	"criminal acts directed against a state [...] intended or calculated to create a state of terror in the minds of particular persons, group of persons or general public." - League of Nations
		"the unlawful use of force or violence against persons or property to intimidate or coerce in furtherance of political or social objectives." - United States
		"the use of violence for political ends and includes any use of violence for the purpose of putting the public or any section of the public in fear." - U.K
		"use or threatened use of violence for political ends or for the purpose of putting the public or any section of the public in fear." - Australian Defense Force
39. Hanne Eggen RØislien: 33920: 2010	134	"use or threatened use of violence for political ends or for the purpose of putting the public or any section of the public in fear." - Australian Defense Force
40. Fernando Celaya Pacheco:32(12): 2009	1021	"he whom in the use of explosives, toxic substances, fire weapons or through fire, flood or through any other violent means, perpetrates acts

		against people, things or public services, that produce alarm, fear, terror in the population or in one of its groups or sectors aiming to disrupt the public peace or challenge the authority of the state or force a response upon the authorities." - Mexican Federal Penal Code (MFPC)
41. Petter Nesser:31(10): 2008	924	"—ineluctably political in aims and motives,—violent, or equally important, threatens violence,—designed to have far-reaching psychological repercussions beyond the immediate victim or target,—conducted by an organization with an identifiable chain of command or conspiratorial cell structure (whose members wear no uniform or identifying insignia),—and perpetrated by a sub national group or non state entity." - Whittaker (2003)
42. Boaz Ganor: 31(4): 2008	269	"Terror organizations by definition always adopt some degree of violence, but some of them also are active simultaneously in ways that are not violent. For example, they may take action in the political-diplomatic, educational, or welfare arena. "
43. Mitchel P. Roth:30(10): 2007	901	"acts of a violent nature, conspiracy, providing transportation, safe houses, false identification, weapons, or training to individuals who commit terrorist acts" - U.S. State Department
		"The unlawful use of force or violence against persons or property to intimidate or coerce a government, the civilian population, or any segment thereof, in furtherance of political or social objectives." - FBI
44. Christina Hellmich:30(5): 2007	375	"the violence or threat of violence"
45. Lee E. Dutter:30(5): 2007	429	"Terrorism is the premeditated use or threat of use of extranormal violence or brutality by subnational groups to obtain a political, religious, or ideological objective through intimidation of a large audience, usually not directly involved with the decision making. Key ingredients include the political, religious, or ideological motive and the creation of a general atmosphere of fear from which popular pressures may be placed on government officials to reach an accommodation with the terrorists." Enders and Sandler
46. Amritha Venkatraman: 30(3): 2007	229	"Terrorism is a non-political act of aggression in which the extent of violence used is "outside the realm of normative behavior." (Biggo). Terrorists use or threaten to use this violence against combatants and non-combatants to achieve political, social, economic, or religious change within a given community. These reforms appeal to the terrorists and do not represent popular opinion of the society from which terrorism arises and "terrorists are no respecters of borders." (Tony Blair). The "only common denominator among different variants of terrorism is the calculated use of deadly violence against civilians." (Security Council Foreign Ministers). Terrorists are those who violate the "right to life, liberty and security" vested in each civilian by the UN's Universal Declaration of Human Rights—Resolution: 217 A (III)."
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47. Mark Sedgwick:30(2): 2007	97	"the use of violence for the sake of its indirect political and psychological consequences by a group aiming to take political power."
48. Assaf Moghadam:29(8): 2006	707	"attacks against noncombatant targets; attacks against civilians"; "premeditated, politically motivated violence perpetrated against noncombatant targets by subnational groups or clandestine agents, usually intended to influence an audience." - U.S. State Department
49. Edward Newman:29(8): 2006	749	"the deliberate and illegal use of violence with no regard for—or deliberately targeting—civilians; a political objective; and the intention to exert influence and change on third parties."
50. Rhonda Callaway:29(7): 2006	679	"politically motivated violence by small groups (Rubenstein 1974), covert violence by a group for political ends (Laqueur 2001), political violence that includes a “climate of terror” (Wilkinson 2003), and a “synthesis of war and theater...perpetuated on innocent victims...in the hope of creating a mood of fear, for political purposes” (Combs 2003, 10)."
		“any act of violence undertaken for the purpose of altering a government's political policies or actions that targets those who do not actually have the personal authority to alter governmental policy.” As such, terrorism is designed to “spread fear and anxiety (terror) through a population so that it will, in turn, put pressure on its leaders to change policies in a way favored by terrorists” - Buena de Mesquita
51. Jessica Wolfendale:29(7): 2006	753	"terrorist acts are threats of violence or acts of violence directed at innocent people with the intention of coercing or intimidating a target group for ideological reasons."; “the use, or threat of the use, of violence is intended to generate anxiety, fear, or terror, or to cause a breakdown in normal levels of trust in a society, among some target group” - Robert Young
52. Martijn Rasser:28(6): 2005	481	"The considered and systematic use—or threatened use—of widespread, offensive violence, murder and destruction aimed at governmental employees and the general population, as well as public and private property, in order to force individuals, groups, communities, economic entities and governments to modify or change their actual or proposed behavior and policies so as to concede to the terrorists' political demands."
53. Cindy D. Ness:28(5): 2005	353	"violence that is perpetrated by these groups is done with the intent of spreading terror in civilian populations"

54. Susan McKay:28(5): 2005	385	“those acts and events systematically protagonized for the purpose of instilling massive fear in individuals and/or the public at large, and which are deliberately used for coercive purposes. Terrorists are those who engage in these activities, whatever form they take. Terrorism is never accidental ... [but] is deliberately aimed at the human mind through the calculated infliction of pain or loss or the threat of the same.... Terrorism is something done by people to other people.” -Deborah Galvin
55. Kathleen M. Blee::28(5): 2005	421	“premeditated, politically motivated violence perpetrated against noncombatant targets by subnational groups or clandestine agents, usually intended to influence an audience.” -U.S. State Department
56. Gabriel Weimann: 28(2): 2005	129	“Violence, or the threat of violence, used and directed in pursuit of, or in service of, a political aim.” -Hoffman
		“premeditated, politically motivated violence perpetrated against noncombatant targets by subnational groups or clandestine agents, usually intended to influence an audience.” -U.S. State Department
57. William Rosenau 28(1): 2005	1	"terrorists carry out, or threaten, politically motivated violent acts against noncombatants. At the same time, terrorists also typically engage in a range of nonviolent or less-violent acts designed to destabilize governments. These include the use of front groups, strikes, propaganda, and the suborning or corruption of political leaders, police and other government officials."