

TERRORISM IN OECD COUNTRIES



Australian Government

Australian Reinsurance Pool Corporation

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INSTITUTE FOR
ECONOMICS
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What is the OECD?

The Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD) is a unique forum where the governments of 34 democracies with market economies work with each other, as well as with more than 70 non-member economies to promote economic growth, prosperity, and sustainable development. The member states of the OECD include 25 European countries, North America, as well as Australia, Chile, Japan, New Zealand and South Korea.

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The Australian Reinsurance Pool Corporation (ARPC) is a statutory authority administering the terrorism reinsurance scheme insurance cover, for commercial property and associated business interruption losses and public liability claims.

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IEP achieves its goals by developing new conceptual frameworks to define peacefulness; providing metrics for measuring peace; and uncovering the relationships between business, peace and prosperity as well as promoting a better understanding of the cultural, economic and political factors that create peace.

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY	4
TERRORISM IN OECD COUNTRIES	9
PROPERTIES OF TERRORISM	14
ATTACK TYPES AND TARGETS	18
THE INFLUENCE OF ISIL	24
PROFILES OF TERRORIST ACTORS	27

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

The need to understand the properties and drivers of terrorism has never been more urgent. The Institute for Economics and Peace (IEP), in partnership with the Australian Reinsurance Pool Corporation (ARPC), has undertaken the most complete descriptive analysis to date on terrorism in OECD countries.

The aim of this research is to provide a more informed basis for understanding terrorism in OECD countries to governments, businesses and researchers. This is the first report in a further set of studies commissioned by the ARPC that IEP will carry out over the next nine months into 2017.

The past three years have seen a surge in the impact of terrorism in OECD countries. There were 577 deaths from terrorism in 2015, the most in a single year since 2001. The number of deaths from terrorism increased 650 per cent from 2014 to 2015 alone, and this trend has shown no sign of levelling off in 2016. There were 482 deaths from terrorism in the first seven months of this year. The impact of terrorism has also begun to spread out across more OECD countries, and has become a more constant threat, with ten of the 20 largest terrorist attacks of the last 15 years occurring in 2015.

This report looks at terrorism in OECD countries from 1 January 2000 to 31 July 2016, focusing on the different types of attacks, targets and methods used by terrorist groups. It also looks in detail at the growing influence of ISIL in OECD countries, as well as the socio-demographic profile of terrorists. Lone actors have historically posed the biggest risk of major attacks, with the potential for high casualties such as the Bastille Day attack in Nice and the Pulse Nightclub shooting in Orlando in 2016. Similarly, home grown terrorist groups, including those inspired by international terrorism, have also engaged in recent large scale attacks such as the Île-de-France attacks which involved people inspired by al-Qa'ida and ISIL. However, the threat of terrorism directed and carried out by large international terrorist groups has not abated. 2015 saw the first major direct assault on the West by a

large international terrorist group since September 11 2001. The Ankara bombings in October and the Paris attacks in November shows that the terrorist threat has become increasingly globalised.

This report highlights the key characteristics, properties and drivers of terrorist activity, to enable a more informed understanding and response to the threat of terrorism. While most member countries of the OECD have experienced some form of terrorism since the turn of the century, not all countries have been affected equally. Different countries with very similar socio-demographic profiles and economic situations have vast discrepancies in the number of terrorist attacks. France has suffered multiple severe attacks, whereas terrorism in Germany, Italy and Spain has had a lesser impact. Similarly, Belgium is increasingly seen as a locus of ISIL activity, but the Netherlands is not. Furthermore, some countries have bucked the trend of increasing terrorism and have seen a large decrease in the number of deaths and attacks over the past decade.

Terrorism is an unevenly distributed phenomenon but does follow some measurable statistical patterns. The distribution and pattern of terrorist activity still follows a basic power law distribution. Research that showed that an attack killing 1,000 people in a developed country would approximately occur once every 22 years remains the case in 2016. The same research has found an event on the scale of September 11 which killed 3,000 people could statistically occur once every 40 years. While this meta-statistical analysis is illustrative and has limited predictive value, it should be supplemented by detailed descriptive analysis that aims to pinpoint the factors that increase the risk of terrorism or reduce its likelihood.

KEY FINDINGS

TERRORISM IN OECD COUNTRIES IS INCREASING

The last three years have seen a significant increase not only in deaths from terrorism, but in the overall number of attacks, across a wider range of countries. Although there hasn't been a repeat of an attack on the scale of the September 11 attacks, the sheer volume of attacks suggests that terrorism is now a much greater threat to political stability in OECD countries.

THE NATURE OF TERRORISM IS CHANGING, IN LARGE PART DUE TO ISIL

ISIL is responsible for much of the upswing in terrorist activity in OECD countries, however, it is directly responsible for less than half of deaths from terrorism in recent years. A large number of attacks have been ISIL inspired, meaning that the perpetrators did not have direct contact with ISIL, but used tactics, methods etc. that have been suggested or promoted to ISIL, and have sworn allegiance to ISIL before carrying out the attacks. Countries in the OECD now face a three-pronged threat: lone actors with a variety of motivations and backgrounds; home grown groups which are increasingly being inspired by ISIL; and finally attacks planned, directed, and coordinated by ISIL itself.

UNCONVENTIONAL ATTACKS ARE BECOMING MORE COMMON

Traditional terrorist targets (plane hijackings, mid-air bombings etc.) have become rarer as increased security around key targets and comprehensive surveillance from intelligence services has made planning more sophisticated types of attacks much more difficult. However, 'low risk, high impact' attacks that require less planning and fewer resources (for example, the Bastille Day attack in Nice, in which a truck drove through a large crowd of pedestrians) are becoming more common. As a corollary, attacks on high profile tourist attractions or key infrastructure have not increased.

SOME COUNTRIES ARE MORE AT RISK THAN OTHERS

Even though most countries in the OECD have had at least one instance of terrorism since 2001, some countries have experienced significantly higher levels of terrorist activity than others. While this

kind of variation might be expected, countries with otherwise very similar socio-economic situations have very different levels of terrorist activity. France has suffered from a very high number of attacks, whereas Germany, the UK, Spain, and Italy have not seen a similar upswing. Similarly, Belgium is at high risk of terrorist attacks, whereas the Netherlands has remained relatively unscathed.

Black swan events like the 1995 Oklahoma City bombing and the 2011 Oslo attacks (which included car bombs) are hard to predict and rare. However, they are still quite possible and the effects can be catastrophic. There's also a tendency towards complacency about large attacks given a heavy focus recently on soft target attacks by lone actors.

THE ECONOMIC IMPACT OF TERRORISM IS SMALLER THAN OTHER FORMS OF VIOLENCE

Most of the losses from terrorism are indirect and related to lost future income and productivity from lives lost. In 2015 the economic cost was approximately \$2.4 billion which was an increase on previous years but smaller than the cost in 2002. There has not been an event since September 11 2001 that has come close to inflicting the level of economic damage and destruction of that event. Even if all of the economic losses from terrorism in all of the last 15 years were added together they would not equal the economic losses from September 11.

ISIL IS NOT THE ONLY TERRORIST THREAT

There is still a high level of 'traditional' terrorist activity (nationalist groups, targeting government infrastructure, police etc), with the most notable example being the PKK in Turkey. Interestingly, the level of nationalist terrorism has risen at the same time as more unconventional methods of terrorism. This leads to the final point:

TERRORISM DOES NOT OCCUR IN A VACUUM

Though terrorism is in a sense 'sticky' or 'bursty', occurring in waves or cycles, but these cycles do not occur in a vacuum. Terrorism cannot be divorced from the broader socio-political context, with political unrest increasing the likelihood of terrorist activity. The conflict in Syria, the associated migration crisis, and the subsequent destabilization of Turkey, along with political unrest in the EU, are all factors that are driving the increase in terrorism.

DESCRIPTIVE FINDINGS

TRENDS IN TERRORISM

- Terrorism has been increasing in both intensity and spread in OECD countries. In 2015 there were 731 attacks in OECD countries, the most since 2000. This was a 23 per cent increase from the previous high of 592 attacks in 2014.
- The number of deaths from terrorism also increased. There were 577 deaths in 2015 compared to 77 deaths in 2014. This is the highest deaths recorded from terrorism in OECD countries since the September 11 attacks in 2001.
- The impact of terrorism can be felt across most of OECD member countries. In 2015, of the 34 countries in the OECD:
 - * 21 experienced a terrorist attack,
 - * 11 recorded at least one death from terrorism,
 - * Nine recorded the highest levels of terrorism since at least 2000,
 - * Five had the most deaths since at least 2000.

OECD COUNTRIES IN PERSPECTIVE

- While deaths from terrorism in OECD countries have increased in the last few years, between 2000 and mid-2016, only three per cent of global deaths from terrorism occurred in OECD countries. The September 11 attacks constitutes more than half of this three per cent. There were 26 per cent more deaths from terrorism in Iraq in 2015 than the entire OECD had in total from 2000 to 2015.
- Since 2000 there have been 57 terrorist attacks in OECD countries that have resulted in more than ten deaths. This is compared with over 3,500 terrorist attacks in the rest of the world resulting in ten or more deaths.

TYPES OF ATTACKS

- Excluding the September 11 attacks which are typically coded as hijackings, the majority of deaths from terrorism in OECD countries have been from bombings and explosions.
- There has been an increase in the use of unconventional tactics and methods by terrorist groups. For example, there have been at least six attacks using vehicles as weapons since 2014.
- The biggest target of attacks are private citizens followed by police which are either targeted by bombings at headquarters or armed assaults at checkpoints.

ECONOMIC COST OF TERRORISM

- The economic impact of terrorism in OECD countries is notable but nonetheless relatively small compared to other forms of violence.
- The economic losses from terrorism in 2015 amount to approximately \$2.4 (PPP) billion in direct and indirect terms.
- There has not been an event since September 11 2001 that has come close to inflicting the level of economic damage and destruction of that event. This puts into context how significant 9/11 was as an event and its 'black swan' nature. Even if all of the economic losses from the other years were added together they would not equal the economic losses from 9/11.

TERRORISM IN AUSTRALIA

- Terrorist activity has increased in Australia. There were more terrorist incidents on Australian soil in 2014-2015 than in the preceding 15 years combined.
- Australia's level of terrorist activity is low by global standards, but is one of ten highest amongst OECD countries.
- As with other member countries in the OECD, the increasing threat of terrorism has been

driven by groups or individuals claiming some sort of connection with ISIL.

- As of mid-2014, there were as many as 240 Australians fighting for ISIL in Syria.

THE INFLUENCE OF ISIL

- More than half of the deaths from terrorism in OECD countries since 2014 have had some connection with ISIL. 36 per cent of deaths were caused by terrorists directed by ISIL.
- There have been 131 ISIL affiliated attacks or plots since 2014.
- 29 per cent of all attacks with an ISIL connection occurred in the United States, followed by 19 per cent in France.
- Half of all plots with an ISIL connection have been conducted by people who have had no direct contact with ISIL.

PROFILES OF TERRORIST ACTORS

- There is no universal profile of terrorist actors in OECD countries. However, certain traits can be extrapolated from the different types of actors.
- Lone actors tend to be male and motivated by an ideological driver. Since 2014 there have been several high fatality attacks inspired by ISIL.
- Recruitment to domestic terrorist groups tends to be of locals and is largely through friends and family.
- Education and employment opportunities seems to influence membership of international terrorist groups. Foreign fighters generally have higher levels of education and lower income status.

TERRORISM IN THE OECD

Since 2000 there have been two periods of increased terrorist activity in the OECD which have largely been driven by high fatality attacks.

The first period is from 2001 to 2005 where major attacks in each year were responsible for the higher yearly totals. The second period is from 2015 and is due to the increased activity of ISIL.

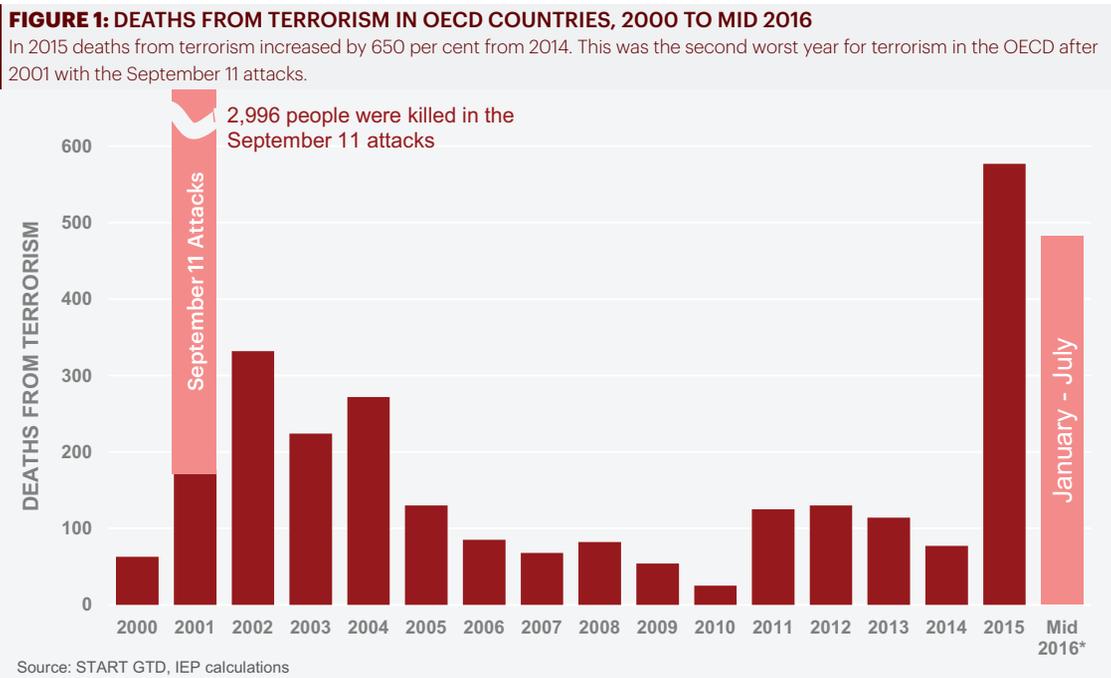
The dawn of the first period was the September 11 2001 attacks in the United States by al-Qa'ida which killed 2,996 people. In 2002 and 2003 the majority of deaths from terrorism in OECD countries were in Israel from attacks by the Al-Aqsa Martyrs Brigade, Hamas and Palestinian Islamic Jihad. This increase in terrorist attacks corresponded with the so-called Second Intifada, an uprising that caused thousands of deaths of Israelis and Palestinians. There were 14 attacks in these years which resulted in at least ten deaths from terrorism, and four attacks with 20 or more deaths.

Israel is the only country amongst OECD members to have a death from terrorism in every year since 2000. Since 2000, 900 people have died from terrorism in Israel which is 15 per cent of the total in OECD countries.

Since 2000, four out of five people killed from terrorism in Israel were killed in the Second Intifada period.

The majority of deaths in 2004 and 2005 were from two al-Qa'ida inspired attacks. In 2004 the Madrid attacks resulted in 191 deaths which accounted for 70 per cent of deaths from terrorism in OECD countries that year. The terrorist bombings in London in July 2005 similarly constituted 43 per cent of all terrorism related deaths in OECD countries that year.

The Madrid bombings, which killed 191 people, account for over three quarters of deaths from terrorism in Spain since 2000. The remaining quarter of deaths in Spain were from Basque Fatherland and Freedom (ETA) attacks, a separatist group which declared a ceasefire with the Spanish government and disbanded in 2011. In the 11 years since the Madrid bombings there have been only three years with deaths from terrorism, with no deaths recorded from 2010 onwards. Similarly, most deaths from terrorism in the United Kingdom were from the London



bombings which account for 65 per cent of deaths in the United Kingdom since 2000.

In 2005 there were also a series of attacks by the Kurdistan Workers' Party (PKK) in Turkey and by the Al-Aqsa Martyrs Brigade and Palestinian Islamic Jihad in Israel. Turkey has had the second highest number of deaths from terrorism between 2000 and mid-2016, with 1,071 deaths, which is 18 per cent of all deaths from terrorism in OECD countries in that period. Turkey has had at least one death from terrorism every year since 2003.

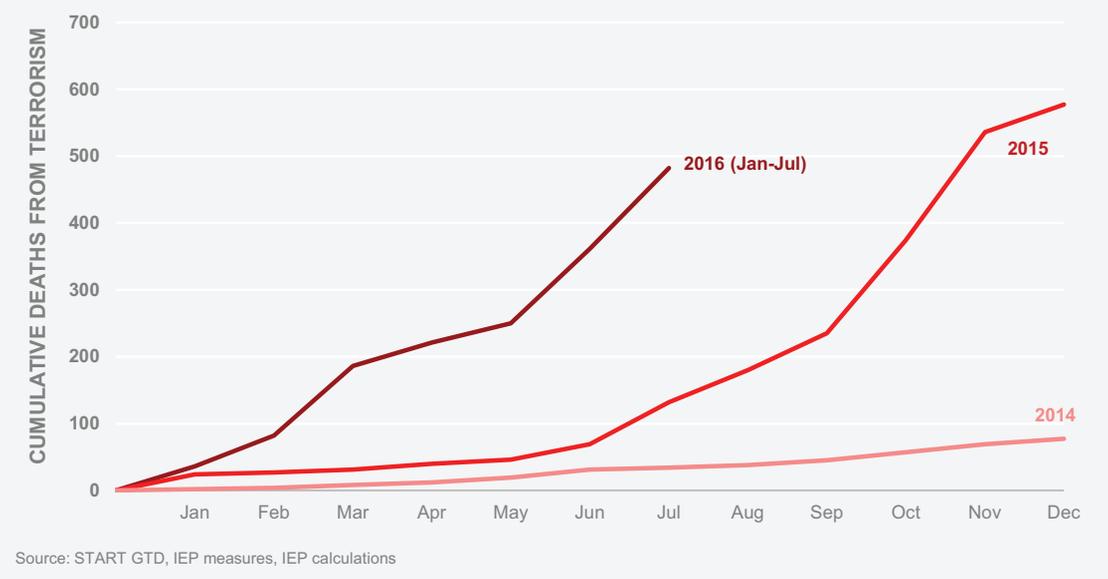
The second period of increased terrorist activity began in 2015, the first year since 2004 in which there were more than 150 deaths from terrorism. There were relatively consistent levels of deaths from terrorism between 2006 to 2014, with an average of 84 deaths per year during these nine years. There was a 650 per cent increase in deaths from 2014 to 2015, ending the period of relatively low levels of deaths from terrorism. Like the first phase, this phase has been characterised by large attacks planned or inspired by an international jihadi group. In this second phase ISIL, also known as ISIS, Daesh or the Islamic State, rather than al-Qa'ida is the dominant international terrorist organisation.

In 2015 half of the deaths from terrorism in OECD countries were from attacks inspired or directed by ISIL. This includes the Paris attacks in November which killed 136, the Ankara bombing in October which killed 105 and the suicide bombing in Suruç which killed 34. This phase has continued into 2016 with large ISIL inspired attacks in Brussels, Istanbul, Nice and Orlando. These four attacks combined killed 211 people, representing 44 per cent of the 482 deaths from terrorism between 1 January and 31 July 2016.

TERRORISM IN THE PAST YEAR

Terrorism has been increasing in both intensity and spread in OECD countries. In 2015 there were 731 attacks in OECD countries, the most since at least 2000. This was a 23 per cent increase from the 592 attacks in 2014 which was previously the highest. The number of deaths from terrorism also increased. There were 577 deaths in 2015 compared to 77 deaths in 2014. This is the most deaths recorded from terrorism in OECD countries since 2001 when there were 3,172 deaths, 94 per cent of which were from the September 11 2001 attacks.

FIGURE 2: CUMULATIVE DEATHS FROM TERRORISM IN THE OECD BY YEAR, 2014 TO MID 2016
 If attacks in the second half of 2016 continue at similar rates as the first half, 2016 will be the worst year for terrorism in OECD countries since 2001.



The spread of terrorism has also been increasing. In 2015, of the 34 countries in the OECD:

- 11 had at least one death from terrorism, up from nine the previous year
- 21 experienced a terrorist attack, the same as the previous year but up from 16 in 2013
- Nine recorded the highest levels of terrorism since at least 2000
- Five had the most deaths since at least 2000.

The recent increase in terrorism in OECD countries appears to have continued into 2016. From 1 January to 31 July 2016 there were an estimated 482 deaths from terrorism in OECD countries. This is compared to 132 deaths from terrorism in the same period in 2015. The first seven months of 2016 had 265 per cent more deaths from terrorism than the previous year.

The impact of terrorism differs across OECD countries. There were 16 OECD member countries that suffered a death from terrorism in the last two and half years. However, 96 per cent of deaths from terrorism occurred in just five OECD countries: Turkey, France, the US, Israel and Belgium. With the exception of Israel, these countries all experienced high fatality attacks with ISIL involvement in the last two years.

Despite the longstanding nature of terrorism in Turkey, since 2000 57 per cent of deaths have been recorded since 2015. Deaths in Turkey have increased substantially with 20 deaths in 2014 increasing to 337 in 2015 due to major attacks by ISIL and the Kurdistan Workers' Party (PKK). Turkey has also had the most deaths from terrorism in the first half of 2016 with 269 deaths. Over half of deaths from terrorism in OECD countries since 2014 have been in Turkey. However, even prior to 2014 Turkey had the second highest levels of terrorism in OECD countries behind Israel. There were on average 31 deaths per year from terrorism in the 15 years between 2000 to 2014.

France has had the second most deaths among OECD countries in 2015 and the first half of 2016.

Unlike Turkey, France has not had a recent history of high levels of terrorism. In the same 15-year period (2000-2014) France averaged one death a year with a total of 15 deaths. However, in 2015 deaths from terrorism increased to 161. This increase was due to the November Paris attacks by ISIL, the Île-de-France attacks which included the attack on the Charlie Hebdo magazine offices and an attack by a man who drove a cargo truck into a crowd celebrating Bastille Day in Nice. These three attacks account for 90 per cent of total deaths in France since 2000. The Paris attacks were the deadliest terrorist act in OECD countries since the 2004 Madrid bombings. Other attacks in France in 2016 include an attack of a Paris police station, the stabbing of a police officer and his wife and the killing of a priest at a Normandy church. The three largest attacks in France account for 94 per cent of total deaths from terrorism.

The United States had the third most deaths from terrorism in OECD countries in 2015 and the first half of 2016. Since 2006, 98.4 per cent of all deaths from terrorism in the United States have been by lone actors. There were several high fatality lone actor attacks in 2015 and 2016. This includes the San Bernardino attack where 14 were killed, the attack on attendees of the Emanuel African Methodist Episcopal Church in South Carolina which killed nine, the attacks on the Navy Operational Support Center in Tennessee which killed five and the Orlando nightclub shooting which killed 50 and is suspected to be motivated by ISIL. Although the United States has had the highest number of deaths from terrorism of all OECD countries since 2000, 95 per cent of these deaths were from the September 11 attacks in 2001. There have been 168 deaths from all other terrorist attacks in the United States between 2000 and mid-2016.

Israel is the only OECD country that has had a death from terrorism in every year since 2000. In 2014 Israel had 20 deaths which was tied with Turkey for the most in OECD countries. There have been similar levels of deaths from terrorism in subsequent years, with 17 deaths in 2015 and 18 in the first half of 2016. There was at least one fatal attack in Israel in the first

half of 2016 which appears to be inspired by ISIL. In January an assailant shot into a pub and surrounding businesses as well as a taxi driver in Tel Aviv killing three people.

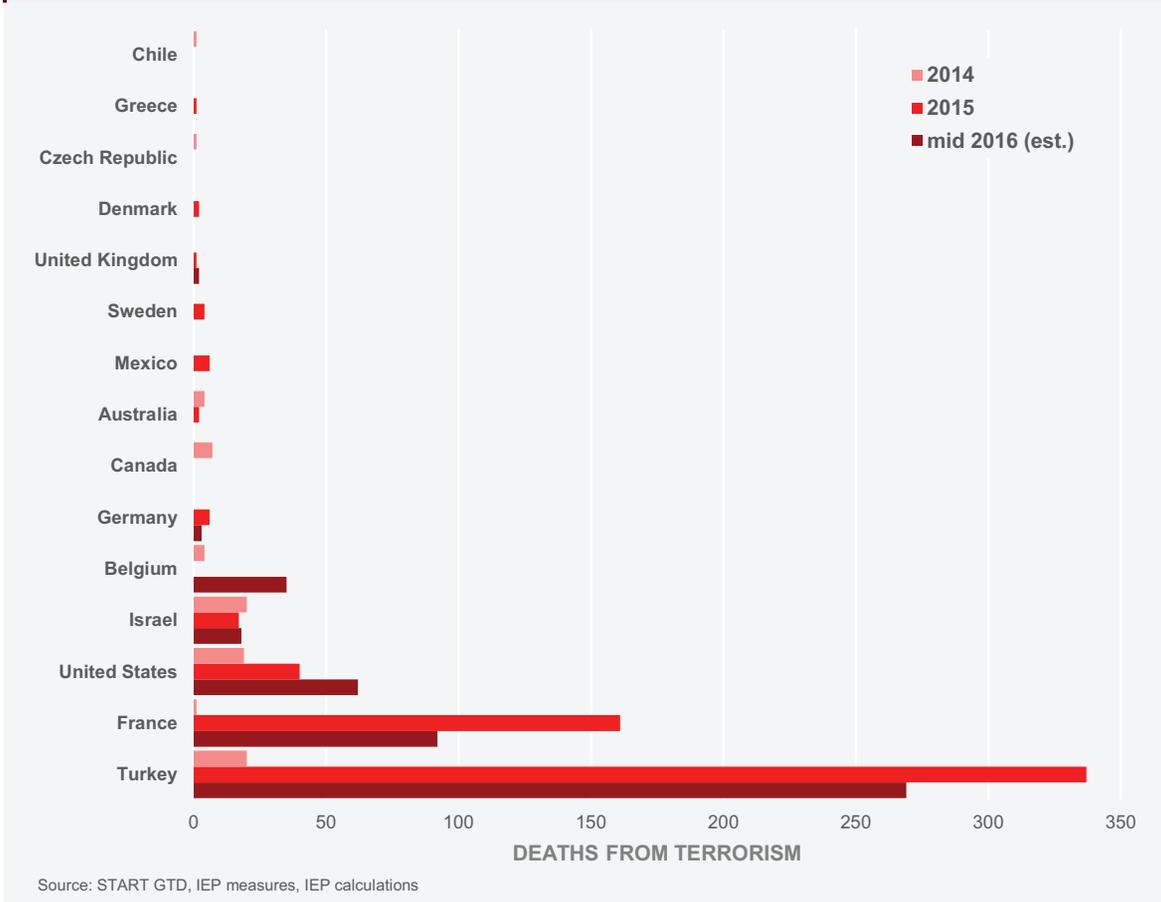
Belgium had the fourth most deaths from terrorism in the first half of 2016. This was due to the Brussels attacks on 22 March where nail bombings of the Brussels airport and Maelbeek metro station killed 35 and injured 340. Prior to this attack the deadliest attack in Belgium was in May 2014 when four people were killed by an attack on the Jewish Museum in

Brussels by a former ISIL member. The only other fatal terrorist attack in Belgium since 2000 was in 2012 when the imam of a Shiite mosque was killed by a firebomb.

Like Belgium, Germany has not had high levels of terrorism in the past two decades. 2015 was the first year since 2007 that Germany experienced a death from terrorism. There were three fatal terrorist attacks in 2015 which killed six people. Two of these attacks targeted refugee shelters or buildings with fire, killing five people. In the first half of 2016 there

FIGURE 3: DEATHS IN OECD COUNTRIES, 2014 TO MID-2016

There are 16 OECD countries that have experienced deaths from terrorism between 1 January 2014 and 31 July 2016. In total this is 1,136 deaths.



Source: START GTD, IEP measures, IEP calculations

were three attacks that resulted in deaths. Two of these attacks involved stabbings which injured eight people and killed one civilian. The other attack was a suicide bomber who, having pledged allegiance to ISIL, exploded at a wine bar injuring 15 people.

There were two other OECD countries that experienced a fatal attack from terrorism in the first half of 2016; the United Kingdom with two deaths and Ireland with one death. Unlike the six other countries in the OECD that had a fatal terrorist attack in the first half of 2016, there was no ISIL connection in the United Kingdom or Ireland. In the United Kingdom the deaths were caused by a British nationalist who killed politician Jo Cox, and the Real Irish Republican Army which killed a prison officer. The death in Ireland was the Continuity Irish Republican Army who opened fire in a Dublin hotel.

TERRORIST ATTACKS

As well as an increase in the number of deaths from terrorism, there has also been an increase in the number of attacks. In 2015, 21 OECD countries experienced a terrorist attack. Of these, 16 countries had increases in the number of attacks since 2014. This includes five countries where the number of attacks more than doubled in 2015 from the previous year.

France and Turkey both had increases in attacks with increased activity by ISIL. France had 13 attacks in 2014 which increased to 35 in 2015 and was driven by attacks by ISIL and lone actors. This includes the attacks in Paris in November. Turkey had a four-and-a-half-fold increase in attacks from 68 in 2014 to 308 in 2015. As well as ISIL, Turkey also saw an increase in attacks by the Kurdistan Workers' Party (PKK).

Mexico also experienced a significant increase in attacks from 2014. Mexico had a fourfold increase in attacks from four to 16 due to the activity of the Pagan Sect of the Mountain who planted bombs on buses in Mexico City. This previously unknown anarchist group undertook these attacks in protest for destruction of the environment.

With 36 attacks in 2015, Sweden had almost six times as many attacks as it had in 2014, and double the number of attacks that it had in the preceding 15 years combined. This was due to arson attacks generally targeting buildings housing refugees. Opposition to the immigration policies in Sweden also motivated a sword attack in Trollhattan which killed four.

Whilst Israel actually had reduced attacks from Abdullah Azzam Brigades, Hamas and Palestinian Islamic Jihad, there was an increase in numbers of attacks by individuals who may not have been associated with groups. This mainly involved armed assaults with knives against civilians as opposed to previously where mainly bombings and explosions were used. This reflects the success of counter terrorism forces in foiling more sophisticated attacks. In Israel there were also four attacks using vehicles as weapons which killed four, included two assailants, and injured 12.

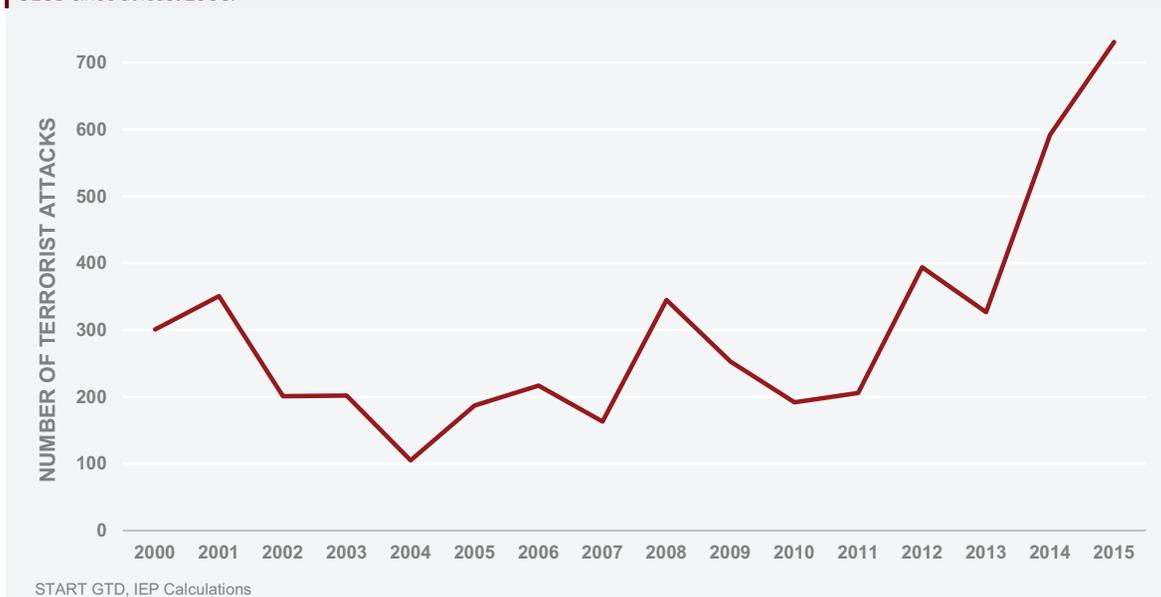
Nine countries had the most attacks in 2015 since at least 2000. Turkey in 2015 suffered the highest number of attacks in a single year in an OECD country, with 308 attacks. The eight other countries with the highest numbers of attacks since 2000 had a combined 122 terrorist attacks in 2015. These countries are Canada, Czech Republic, Denmark, Estonia, Finland, Germany, Mexico and Sweden.

As significant changes in deaths from terrorism in OECD countries are largely driven by high fatality attacks, the number of attacks per year does not correspond with deaths. Nevertheless, there are some trends about attacks in OECD countries worth noting. The number of attacks appears to be rising. There were 731 attacks in 2015 which is the most since at least 2000 and is 23 per cent more than the previous high of 592 in 2014. One out of every seven attacks over the last 16 years was in 2015.

From 2000 to 2015 there have been 4,864 attacks in OECD countries. More than half of all these attacks were in three countries: 20 per cent were in Israel; 19 per cent in Turkey; and 16 per cent in the United

FIGURE 4: TERRORIST ATTACKS IN OECD COUNTRIES, 2000-2015

There was a 23 per cent increase in attacks in OECD countries in 2015. This is the highest number of terrorist attacks in one year in the OECD since at least 2000.



Kingdom. Israel has had the most persistent levels of terrorist attacks, with at least 14 attacks every year since 2000. This is followed by the United States and Turkey which have both had at least five attacks every year.

All but two of the 34 OECD member countries have had at least one terrorist attack since 2000. The last attack in Luxembourg was in 1994 with an explosive device at the Caisse Rurale Raiffeisen Bank in Grosbous, and Slovenia last had an attack in 1997 with a minor explosion against the Defence Ministry in Ljubljana. There have been attacks resulting in at least one death in 23 of the OECD member countries since 2000. Of these, 12 countries have had five or more deaths in the one year, with nine countries experiencing more than ten deaths. With the exception of Mexico and Norway, these nine countries have all had large jihadi-inspired attacks which have resulted in a large number of casualties.

PROPERTIES OF TERRORISM

There are two distinct characteristics of major terrorist attacks: they are inherently unpredictable and they tend to come in waves.

Major attacks are black swan events; highly improbable but with a large impact. But terrorism also has an element of burstiness, or an extension of the contagion effect, whereby distribution is highly concentrated. From 2000 to mid-2016 only three per cent of deaths from terrorism occurred in OECD countries. Nonetheless, the nature of these attacks means they have a high impact. Reflecting the devastating impact of black swan events, 1.7 per cent of all deaths from terrorism since 2000 occurred in the September 11 2001 attacks. Since 2000 there have been only 57 terrorist attacks in OECD countries that have resulted in more than ten deaths. Whilst very rare, another major attack on this scale will always be possible. Nonetheless, in the last two years there has been a significant burst of major terrorist attacks in OECD countries. Half of the 20 worst terrorist attacks in OECD countries since 2000 have occurred since 2015.

happened in OECD countries. Since 2000 there were 180,000 deaths from terrorism in the world, of which 6,012 were from OECD countries. In total, three per cent of deaths from terrorism since 2000 have occurred in OECD countries. The September 11 2001 attacks alone were responsible for 1.7 per cent of all deaths. Terrorism is much more concentrated in other countries. There were 26 per cent more deaths from terrorism in Iraq in 2015 than the entire OECD had in total from 2000 to 2015.

Most attacks in OECD countries do not result in any deaths. Of the 4,863 attacks in OECD countries 4,100 did not result in deaths, accounting for 84 per cent of all attacks. Of the remaining 16 per cent of attacks, half resulted in only one death. There were 333 attacks which had between two and ten deaths. Only 57 of the 4,863 (or 0.16 per cent) attacks in OECD countries since 2000 resulted in more than ten deaths.

DISTRIBUTION OF ATTACKS

Most terrorist attacks in the last 16 years have not

Nevertheless, the number of deadly attacks appear to

FIGURE 5: DEATHS FROM TERRORISM IN OECD VS ALL OTHER COUNTRIES, 2000 TO MID 2016

Since 2000 there have been more deaths from terrorism in non-OECD members than OECD members.

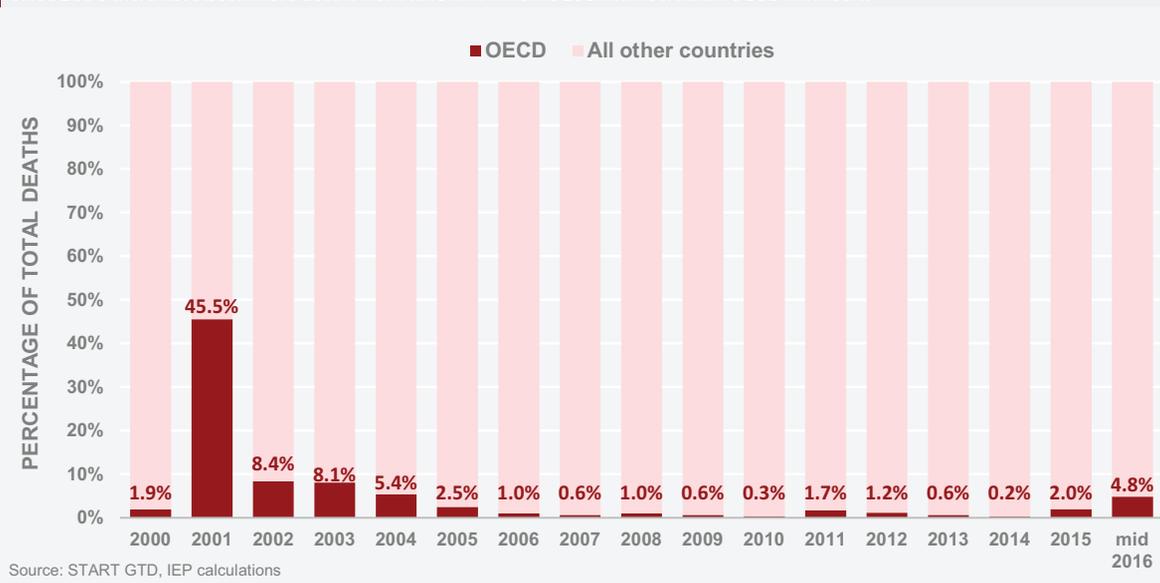
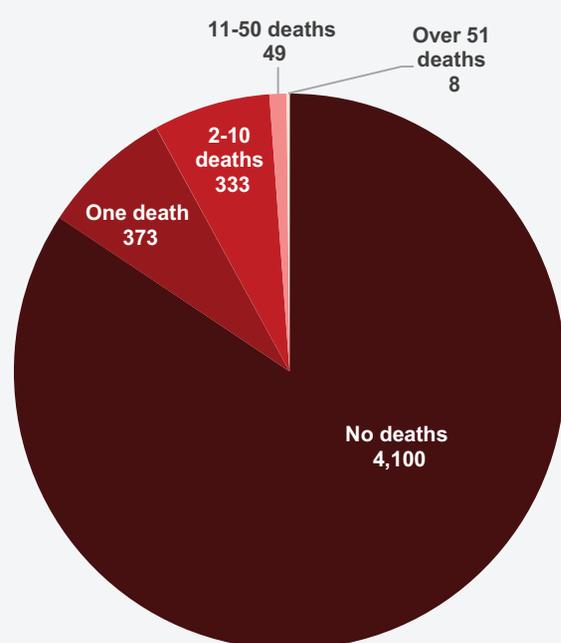


FIGURE 6: NUMBER OF TERRORIST ATTACKS IN OECD BY DEATHS, 2000 TO MID 2016

Since 2000, there have been 57 terrorist attacks in the OECD that have resulted in more than ten deaths.



Source: START GTD, IEP Calculations

be increasing in OECD countries. Whilst historically 16 per cent of attacks in OECD countries resulted in fatalities, in 2015 this increased to 22 per cent which means more than one in five attacks had at least one death. The proportion of attacks that had high fatalities has also increased in 2015. Nearly ten per cent of attacks had more than two deaths, and 1.1 per cent had over ten deaths.

Half of the worst terrorist attacks since 2000 in OECD countries have occurred since 2015. Four of the 20 largest attacks were in 2015 and six in 2016. Combined, these ten attacks resulted in 579 deaths and nearly 2,000 injuries. Eight of these recent deadly attacks had some affiliation with ISIL either being attacks perpetrated by the group such as the Paris Attacks in 2015, or with ISIL inspiring lone actors as suspected with the Orlando nightclub shooting.

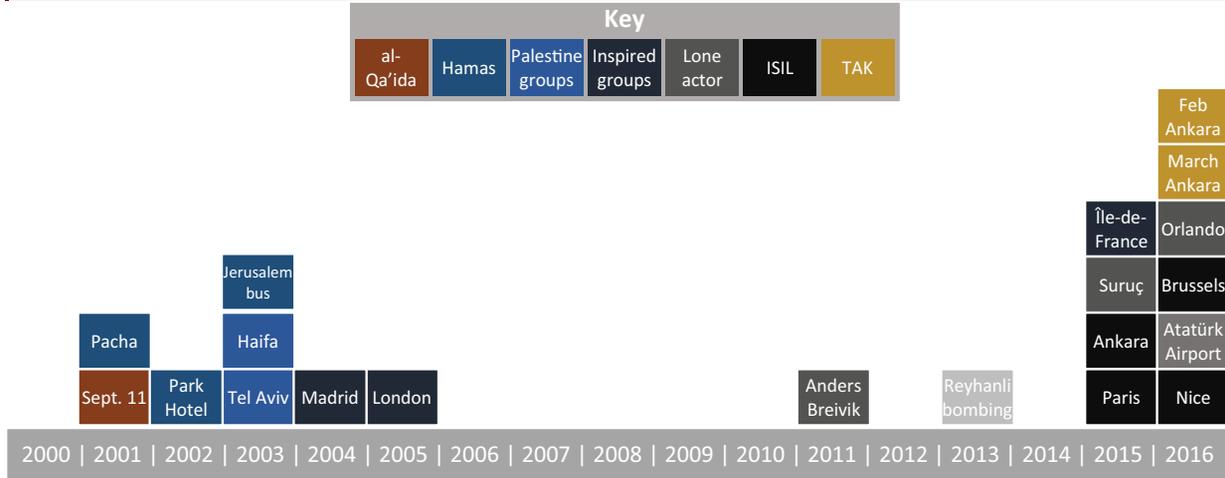
Whilst major attacks have an element of unpredictability, the same countries in OECD countries have tended to experience higher levels of terrorism. Since 2000, 85 per cent of terrorist attacks in OECD countries have occurred in just

TABLE 1: 20 LARGEST ATTACKS IN OECD COUNTRIES SINCE 2000

Country	Year	Attack	Deaths	Injuries	Responsible
United States	2001	September 11 attacks	2,996	6,000	Al-Qa'ida
Spain	2004	Madrid bombings	191	2,000	Local group (al-Qa'ida inspired)
France	2015	Paris attacks	137	368	ISIL
Turkey	2015	Ankara bombings	105	400	ISIL
France	2016	Nice truck attack	85	300	Lone actor (ISIL inspired)
Norway	2011	Anders Breivik attack	77	75	Lone actor
United Kingdom	2005	London bombings	56	700	Local group (al-Qa'ida inspired)
Turkey	2013	Reyhanli bombings	52	140	Unknown
Turkey	2016	Atatürk Airport attack	50	230	ISIL
United States	2016	Orlando nightclub shooting	50	53	Lone actor (ISIL inspired)
Belgium	2016	Brussels attacks	35	330	ISIL
Turkey	2016	March Ankara bombing	34	125	Kurdistan Freedom Falcons (TAK)
Turkey	2015	Suruç bombing	33	104	Lone actor (ISIL inspired)
Turkey	2016	February Ankara bombing	30	60	Kurdistan Freedom Falcons (TAK)
Israel	2003	Suicide bombings in Tel Aviv	24	100	Al-Aqsa Martyrs Brigade
Israel	2003	Haifa restaurant bombing	23	50	Palestinian Islamic Jihad (PIJ)
Israel	2001	Pacha disco bombing	22	100	Hamas
Israel	2002	Park Hotel bombing	21	72	Hamas
France	2015	Île-de-France attacks	20	22	Local group (al-Qa'ida/ISIL inspired)
Israel	2003	Jerusalem bus bombing	19	100	Hamas

FIGURE 7: 20 DEADLIEST ATTACKS IN OECD BY YEAR, 2000 TO MID 2016

Ten of the 20 most deadly terrorist attacks in the OECD since 2000 were in 2015 and 2016.



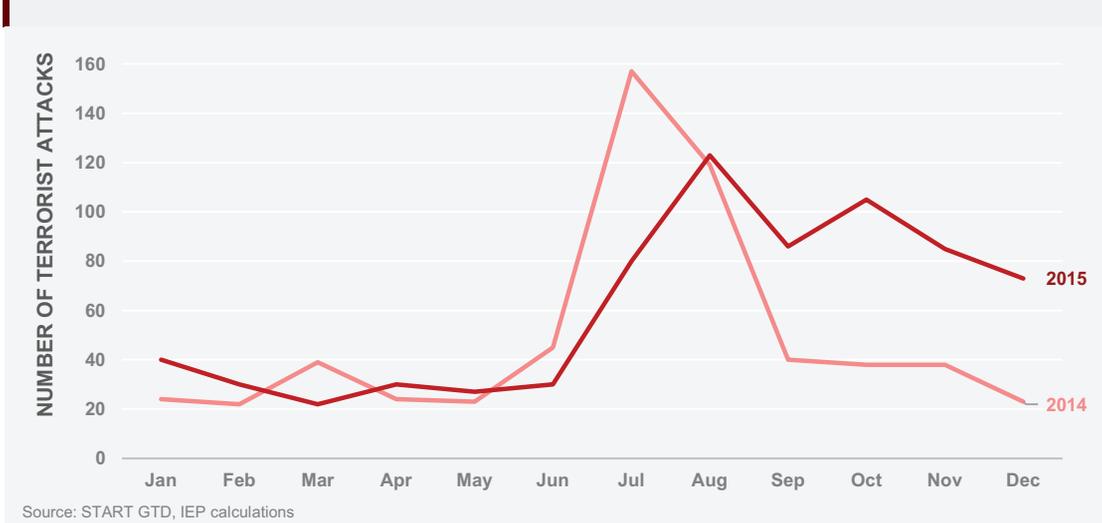
Source: IEP

seven countries: Israel, Turkey, the United Kingdom, Greece, Spain, France and the United States. These same seven countries had 96 per cent of all deaths from terrorism in OECD countries in 2015. The rise in deaths from terrorism from 2015 has not significantly altered the distribution of deaths. Of the 1,000 deaths from 2015 to the first half of 2016, 94 per cent were in the same seven countries.

As well as occurring in the same countries, terrorism tends to occur at similar times. This reflects that there are sudden bursts of increased activity. This burstiness could be driven by copycat attacks, a prolonged campaign by a group or something less

intentional, such as a spate of weather conducive to public attacks. There is a defined cyclical element to terrorism. For example, the research team at START has found that terrorist groups often act in microcycles which are localised bursts of activity.¹ For the Euskadi Ta Askatasuna (ETA), a Basque separatist group, 60 per cent of attacks happened in microcycles that were within two weeks and 10 miles of each other. A similar pattern was found with Farabundo Martí National Liberation Front in El Salvador where 81 per cent of attacks were in microcycles of two weeks and ten miles of each other. This demonstrates the bursty characteristic of terrorism.

FIGURE 8: TERRORIST ATTACK BY MONTH, 2014 – 2015



Source: START GTD, IEP calculations

¹ Gary La Free, "BLACK SWANS AND BURSTINESS: Countering Myths About Terrorism" in 2012 Global Terrorism Index, Institute for Economics and Peace, Sydney, 2012.

ECONOMIC IMPACT OF TERRORISM

The economic impact of terrorism in OECD countries is notable but nonetheless relatively small compared to other forms of violence. Firstly, there has not been an event since September 11 that has

come close to inflicting the level of economic damage and destruction of that event. This puts into context how significant September 11 was as an event and its 'black swan' nature. Even if all of the economic losses from the other years were added together they would not equal the economic losses from September 11.

FIGURE 9: ECONOMIC IMPACT OF TERRORISM, DIRECT AND INDIRECT COSTS, 2000 TO 2015

9/11 was still by orders of magnitude the most economically damaging terrorist attack over the past 15 years.

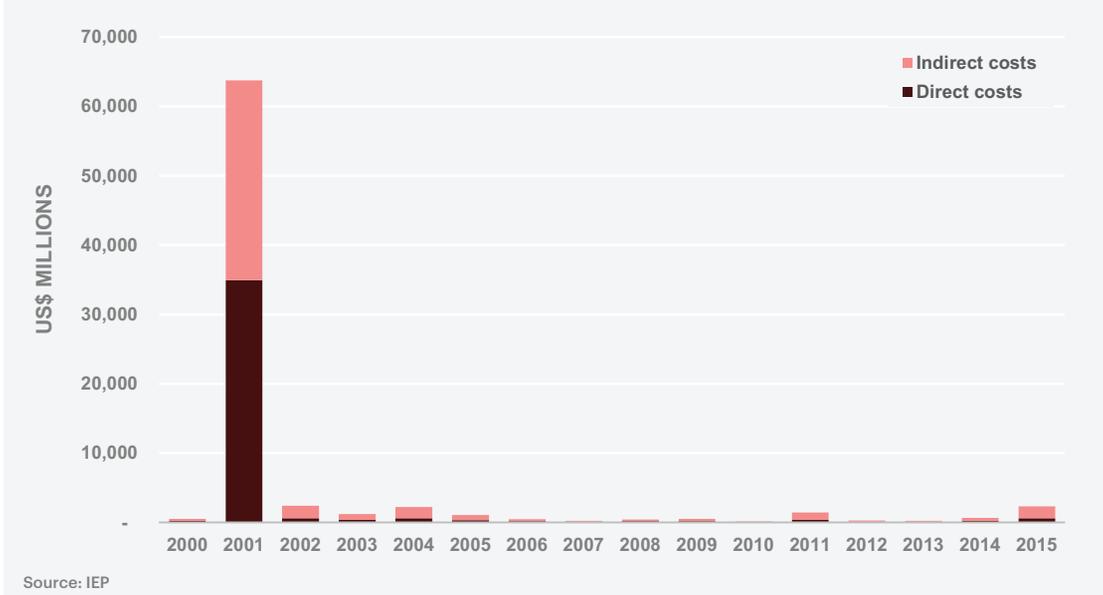
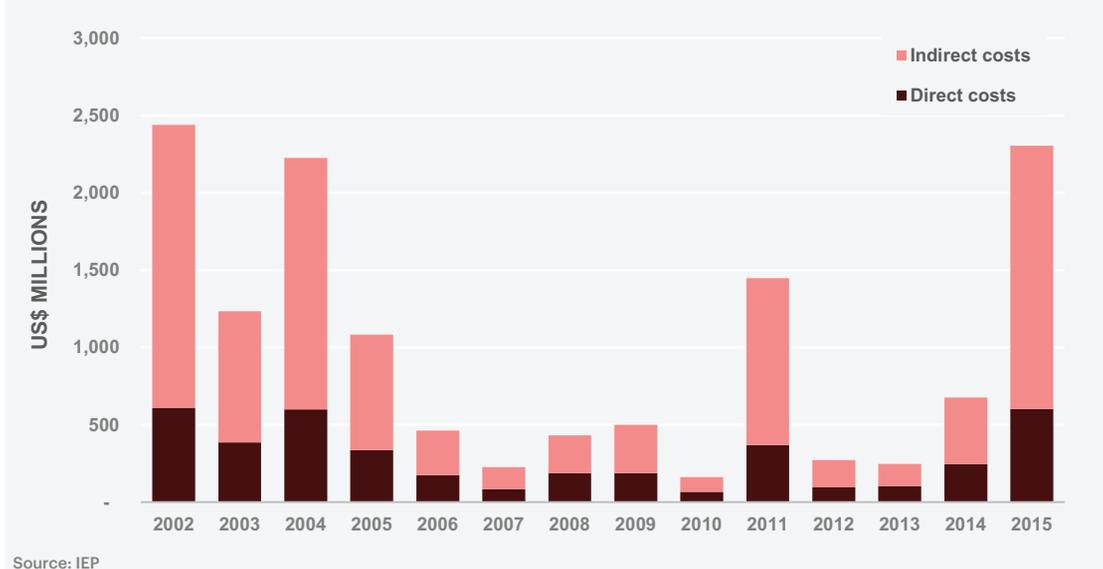


FIGURE 10: ECONOMIC IMPACT OF TERRORISM, DIRECT AND INDIRECT COSTS, 2002 TO 2015

Taking the trend from 2002 and removing 9/11 from the time series allows comparison showing the cost of terrorism has significantly increased in the last few years, it is nonetheless still below the levels of 2002.



ATTACK TYPES AND TARGETS

As well as coming in waves, the methods used by terrorist actors tend to follow each other. Different groups tend to have a set of tactics and methods that they employ or encourage others associated with them to carry out.

Historically, most terrorist attacks have required intricate planning and coordination between terrorists in a single cell, and also between a single cell and more high-ranking members of the group as a whole. However, the last three years have seen an increase in more 'opportunistic' forms of terrorism, with a number of attacks carried out using unconventional tactics that require less training, planning, and resources.

- Whilst the majority of deaths from terrorism in OECD countries have been from bombings and explosions, the number of armed assaults has been increasing. The Bataclan theatre siege and the shootings at the offices of the satirical magazine Charlie Hebdo are the most prominent examples of this trend.
- The use of vehicles as weapons has also increased, with at least six attacks since 2014.
- The biggest target of attacks are private citizens followed by police which are either targeted by bombings at headquarters or armed assaults at checkpoints.
- Since 2014 ISIL has been responsible for 36 per cent of deaths from terrorism in OECD countries, followed by the PKK, a Kurdish separatist group in Turkey.
- Lone actors were responsible for 22 per cent of deaths from terrorism. In the United States, the country with around half of all deaths from lone actor attacks, two thirds of all deaths by lone actors were from attacks inspired by Jihadism.

Of the 6,000 deaths from terrorism in OECD countries since 2000, half were from the September 11 attacks. These attacks are coded as hijacking. However, hijackings have been relatively uncommon, responsible for only two other deaths in OECD countries. Over the longer run, there has been

a much broader shift away from hijacking as a terrorist tactic, with midair hijackings and bombings becoming increasingly rare.

Excluding the September 11 attacks, the majority of deaths in OECD countries are from bombings and explosions accounting for 61 per cent of deaths. Bombings and explosions can result in very high casualties. 14 of the 20 largest attacks in OECD countries since 2000 have been from bombings which resulted in nearly 700 deaths. Nevertheless, 88 per cent of the 3,249 bombings since 2000 have resulted in no casualties.

Armed assaults led to 32 per cent of all deaths from terrorism, excluding the deaths from the September 11 attacks. Four of the deadliest attacks in OECD countries were armed assaults that caused 284 deaths. The Nice truck attack can also be classified as an armed assault as the vehicle was used as a weapon.

Other attacks in OECD countries included unarmed assault, attacks on infrastructure and hostage taking. Combined, these three attack types killed 108 people. Hostage taking accounted for a little over one per cent of all attacks. However, hostage taking can have a larger impact as it tends to be a protracted attack which can effectively close down an area whilst negotiations take place. An example of this is the attack in the Lindt Chocolate cafe in the central business district of Sydney in 2014 which lasted for 16 hours.

There have been at least six attacks in OECD countries using vehicles as weapons. The deadliest attack in both OECD countries and the world is the September 11 attacks, where planes were hijacked and flown into buildings in New York and Virginia. It was the first major attack where the intention was to cause mass casualties without firearms or bombings.

The fifth deadliest attack in OECD countries since 2000 was the Nice truck attack in 2016 which killed 85 and injured at least 303 people. There have been at least two other instances where vehicles used as weapons have resulted in deaths. In 2014 in Israel an assailant drove a vehicle into a light rail stop killing three other people. Also in 2014 in Canada a lone actor inspired by ISIL rammed his car into two Armed Forces soldiers in a shopping centre car park, killing one of the soldiers. Other attacks using vehicles have targeted civilians including at a bus stop, police officers and soldiers.

Before 2014 there have been limited uses of vehicles as weapons. Possibly the most prominent example was in September 2004 when the Ulster Freedom Fighters used a construction vehicle, as well as gasoline bombs, to attack a pub in Belfast which resulted in no casualties. All six attacks in table 2 occurred after the call by ISIL spokesman, Abu Mohammad al-Adnani, to attack Westerners on 22 September 2014. This included the directive to “run him over with your car.”

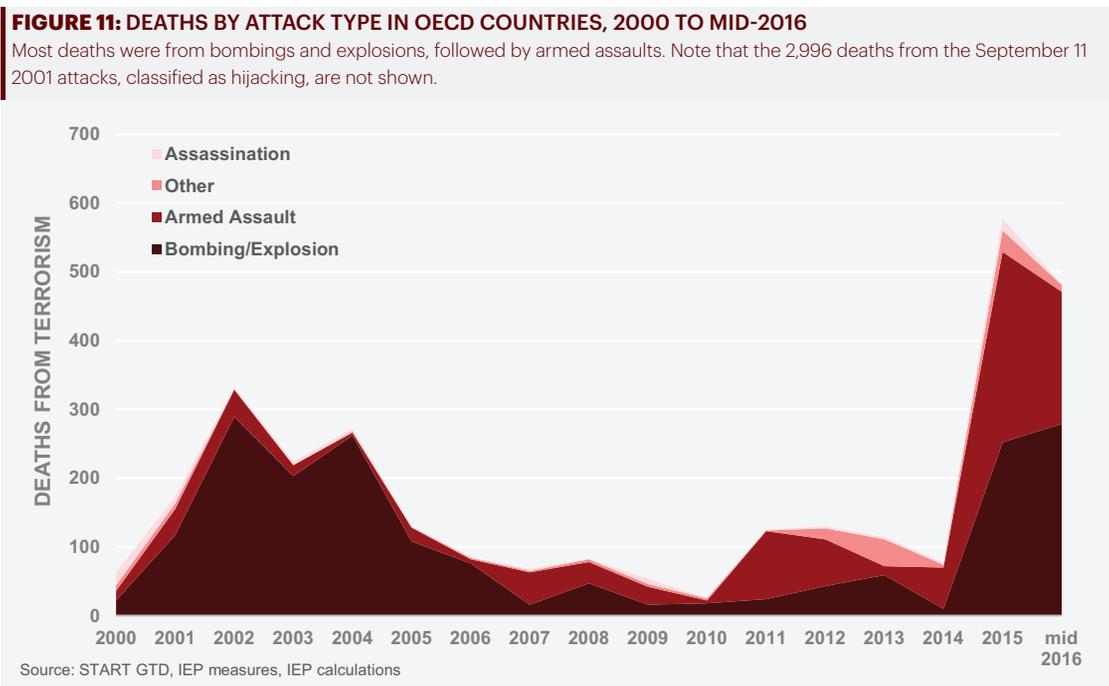


TABLE 2: USE OF VEHICLES AS WEAPONS IN OECD COUNTRIES SINCE 2014

Country	Date	Killed	Injured	Responsible	Description
France	14/7/2016	85	303	Lone Actor	A cargo truck drove through a crowd on Promenade des Anglais celebrating Bastille Day in Nice.
Israel	05/11/2014	4	12	Hamas	An assailant drove a vehicle into civilians at a light rail stop in Jerusalem. At least four people, including a police officer and the assailant, were killed.
Canada	20/10/2014	2	1	Lone Actor	An assailant rammed his car at two Canadian Armed Forces soldiers in Saint-Jean-sur-Richelieu. After being chased by police and crashing his car, he approached police with a knife and was shot and killed.
Israel	6/12/2015	1	2	Palestinian Extremists	An assailant rammed his vehicle into a civilian, exited the vehicle and stabbed a police officer. The assailant was killed.
Israel	14/12/2015	0	14	Hamas	An assailant rammed his vehicle into civilians at a bus stop along Herzl boulevard, Jerusalem. At least 14 people were injured in the attack.
France	1/1/2016	0	3	Lone Actor	An assailant attempted to ram troops guarding a mosque in Valence. He then put his car into reverse to try to ram the soldiers again who disabled the driver.

Private citizens have consistently been targets of terrorism in OECD countries, and have been the targets of most of the largest attacks since 2000. All but three of the 20 largest attacks since 2000 were targeted at civilians. The other large attacks were the Madrid and London bombings which targeted transportation and the Île-de-France attacks which targeted the journalists at the Charlie Hebdo magazine. The biggest instance where civilians were targeted was the September 11 attacks with 2,807 of the total 2,996 deaths from the New York World Trade Centers. The other attack on the same day at the Pentagon killed 189 and targeted the government. The Paris attacks in November 2015 also focused on private citizens with most deaths occurring from the assault at concertgoers at the Bataclan theatre.

The second biggest target of attacks has been police. Private citizens and police have made up the majority of deaths for nine out of the last 17 years. There has been an increase in the targeting of police in recent years, largely due to attacks by the Kurdistan Workers' Party (PKK) in Turkey. In 2012 coordinated attacks at police checkpoints killed 40 people. There were also a series of attacks by the PKK targeting police in 2015 killing 118 and in the first half of 2016 which killed 57.

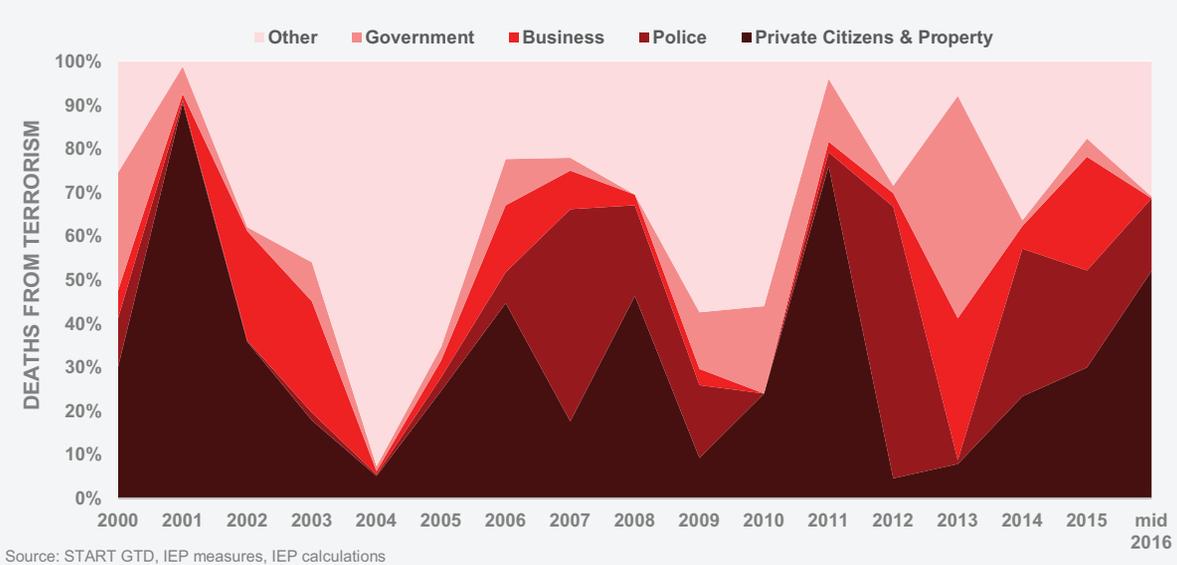
From 2013 onwards private citizens and police have made up the majority of deaths from terrorism in OECD countries. Of the 1,250 deaths from terrorism in OECD countries since 2013, private citizens accounted for 36 per cent of deaths, whilst police accounted for 19 per cent.

Since 2013, attacks on the police have mainly occurred in five countries with 60 per cent in Turkey, 20 per cent in the United Kingdom, five per cent in Greece and three per cent in France and the United States respectively. Nearly two thirds of attacks targeting the police have no deaths. The majority of deaths and injuries from attacks targeting the police occurred in Turkey where there were 190 deaths and over 400 injuries across 180 attacks. Attacks on the police were generally much more lethal in the United States where 20 people were killed and 17 injured across nine attacks. There were no deaths in the 60 attacks in the United Kingdom, but there were 58 injuries.

Half of the attacks on police are bombings, the majority of which target police headquarters or vehicles transporting police. There are also infrastructure attacks which do not have any casualties and are designed to reduce the capabilities

FIGURE 12: TARGET OF TERRORISM IN OECD COUNTRIES, 2000 TO MID-2016

In the last three years the majority of deaths have been from attacks targeting private citizens and police. The category 'Other' includes attacks on transportation, and hence peaked in 2004 and 2005 with the Madrid and London bombings.



of the police. Around 40 per cent of attacks are armed assaults with police targeted at checkpoints. The majority of attacks on police were of people in uniform and on duty with three notable exceptions. In 2015 two police in south-eastern Turkey were killed at their residence by the PKK in retaliation for their alleged involvement in an attack. The other two attacks involved the deaths of people who were associated with the police. In 2015 in Sydney a civilian police employee was shot and killed outside a police headquarters. In June 2016 in Magnanville

France, a man killed his neighbours, a couple who were both police, then pledged allegiance to ISIL.

Since 2013 three groups were responsible for the majority of deaths from terrorism in OECD countries. The deadliest group in OECD countries is ISIL which was responsible for 37 per cent of all deaths since 2013. ISIL began in 2013 in Iraq and Syria, and first undertook an attack in OECD countries in Turkey in 2013. There were also three attacks by ISIL in Turkey in 2014 which resulted in three deaths.

FIGURE 13: ATTACKS IN OECD COUNTRIES BY GROUP, 2013 TO MID-2016

In the last three years ISIL and the PKK have been responsible for most deaths from terrorism in the OECD. Unaffiliated Individuals account for the third most deaths, but the most in 2016 up to July.

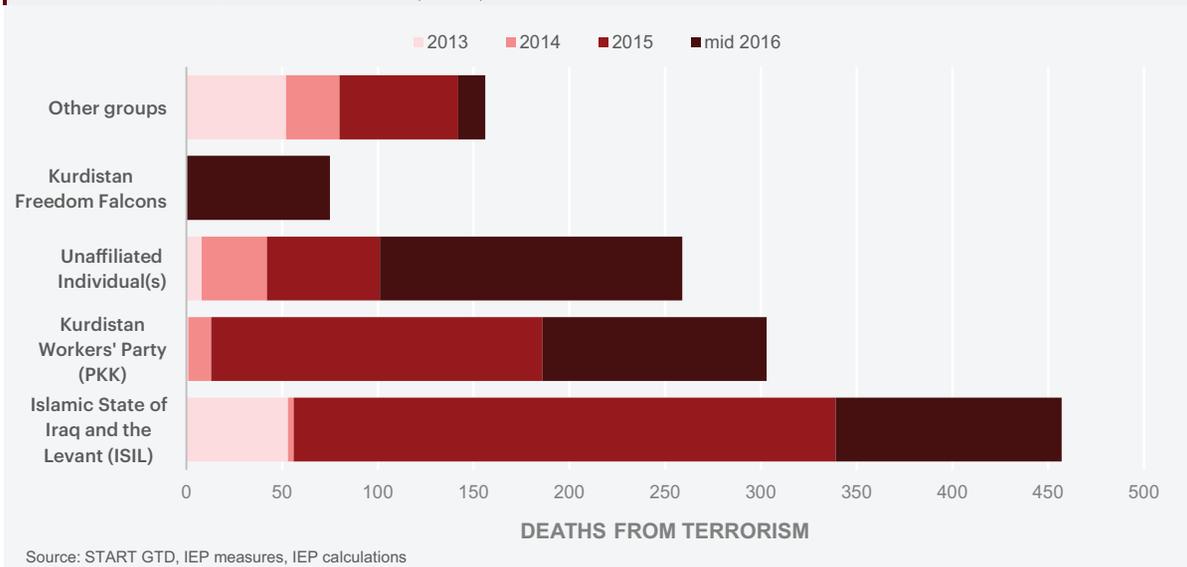
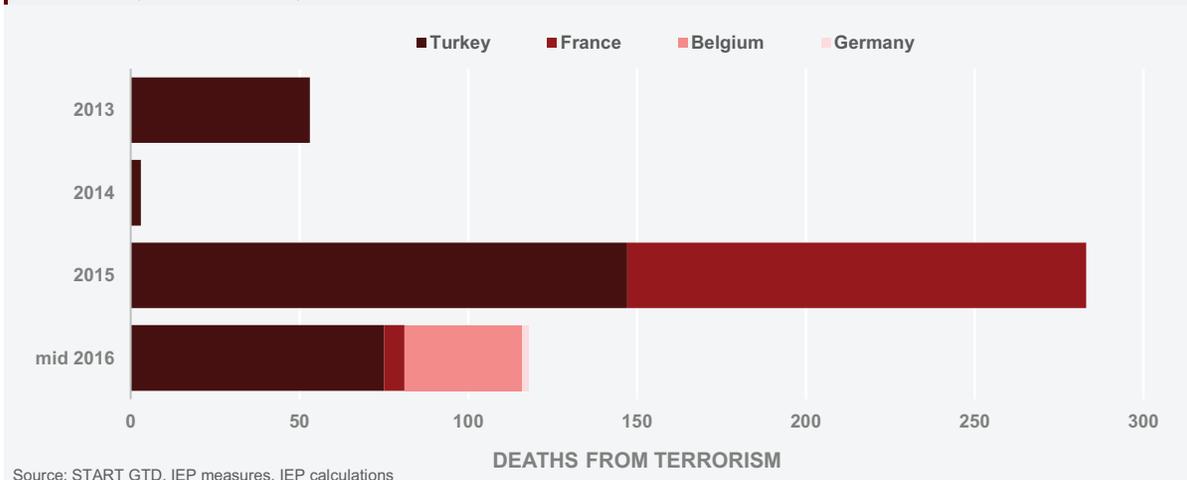


FIGURE 14: DEATHS FROM ISIL ATTACKS IN OECD COUNTRIES, 2013 TO MID-2016

Most attacks by ISIL were in Turkey and France.



However, ISIL significantly expanded in OECD countries in 2015, conducting major attacks in France which killed 136. In the first half of 2016 there were also attacks by ISIL in Belgium and Germany.

The second and third deadliest group in OECD countries, the PKK and the Kurdistan Freedom Falcons, are only active in Turkey. The PKK was responsible for 344 attacks with 303 deaths since 2013. In the first six months of 2016 they have been the deadliest group in OECD countries, killing 117 people in 45 attacks. The third deadliest group in OECD countries, the Kurdistan Freedom Falcons, is a splinter group from the PKK. They conducted two attacks in Ankara in 2016 with 64 deaths which were among the deadliest attacks in OECD countries. In total they have killed 75 people in four attacks, all conducted in the first half of 2016.

2015 was the deadliest year for ISIL attacks in OECD countries. There were 53 deaths from ISIL in OECD countries in 2013, all of which occurred in Turkey. This decreased to three deaths in 2014 as ISIL focused more on activity in Syria and Iraq. However, in 2015 they undertook several very deadly attacks which resulted in 283 deaths in Turkey, France and Germany. In the first half of 2016 this continued with 118 deaths including attacks in Turkey, France, Belgium and Germany.

Unaffiliated individuals, or lone actors, were responsible for 482 deaths since 2013. Half of attacks

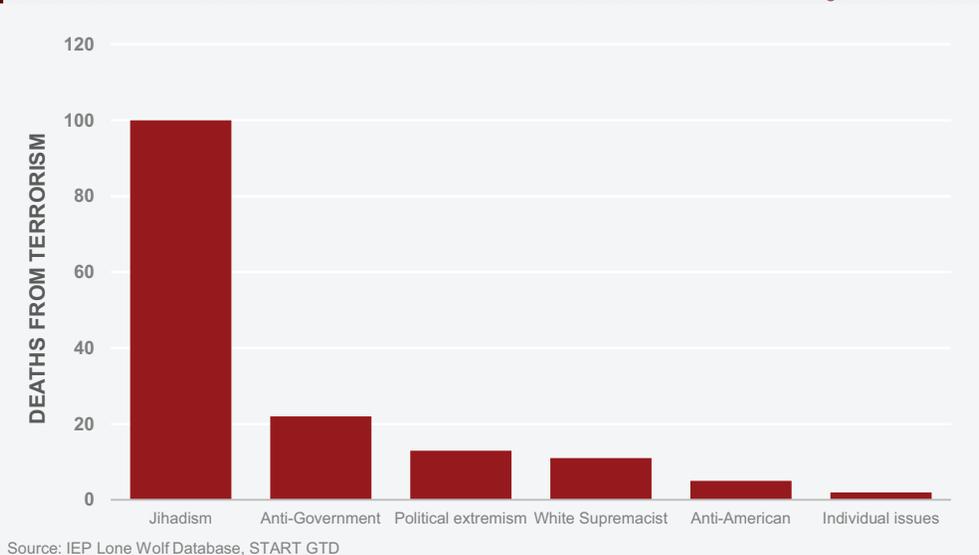
by lone actors resulted in no deaths and 27 per cent had one death. There was an increase in the deaths from lone actors in 2016 due to two high fatality attacks. The Orlando nightclub attack had 50 deaths and the Nice truck attack that killed 85. The San Bernardino shootings in December 2015 also killed 16. All three attacks were allegedly inspired by jihadism. As a result, the number of fatalities from jihadist attacks have overtaken other motivations as the biggest causes of deaths from terrorism in OECD countries, excluding Turkey.

The United States has suffered 47 per cent of attacks and 41 per cent of deaths from lone actors in OECD countries since 2006. Of the 153 deaths from lone actors in the United States, 65 per cent were from people motivated by jihadism. The majority of these deaths were from three attacks: the Fort Hood shooting in 2009 where a Major Nidal Malik Hasan opened fire on fellow soldiers killing 13 people; the San Bernardino shooting in December 2015 which killed 16; and the Orlando nightclub shooting in 2016 which killed 50.

Nearly four out of five deaths from lone actors in the United States from the last decade were from these three attacks. Prior to the San Bernardino and Orlando nightclub shootings, anti-government sentiments motivated the worst attacks in the United States. With the prominence of ISIL and so-called self-radicalisation there has been an increase in jihadist-inspired attacks.

FIGURE 15: DEATHS BY LONE ACTOR TERRORISM IN THE UNITED STATES BY MOTIVATION, 2006 TO MID 2016

The majority of deaths in the United States were from attacks inspired by Jihadism. However, four in five of these deaths were from two attacks; the San Bernardino attacks which killed 16 and the Orlando shootings which killed 50.



TERRORIST ATTACKS IN AUSTRALIA

- Terrorist activity has been increase in Australia. There were more terrorist incidents on Australian soil in 2014-2015 than in the preceding 15 years combined.
- Australia’s level of terrorist activity is low by global standards, but is one of ten highest amongst OECD countries.
- As with other countries in OECD countries, the increasing threat of terrorism has been driven by groups or individuals claiming some sort of connection with ISIL.
- As of mid-2014, there were as many as 240 Australians fighting for ISIL in Syria.

Australia has remained relatively unaffected by terrorism over the past fifteen years, with 22 recorded incidents of terrorism since 2001. These attacks resulted in seven injuries and six fatalities, all of which occurred in the last three years, as shown in figure 16. Australians have also been targeted in terrorist attacks outside of Australia’s borders, most notably in 2002, when 88 Australian were killed in the Bali bombings.

Although the level of terrorist activity in Australia is low by global standards, it has one of the highest levels in OECD countries. From 2014 to July 2016, Australia had the eighth highest number of deaths from terrorism of any OECD country, and the 9th highest number of terrorist incidents. The deadliest terror attack on Australian soil in the last fifteen years occurred in December 2014, when Mon

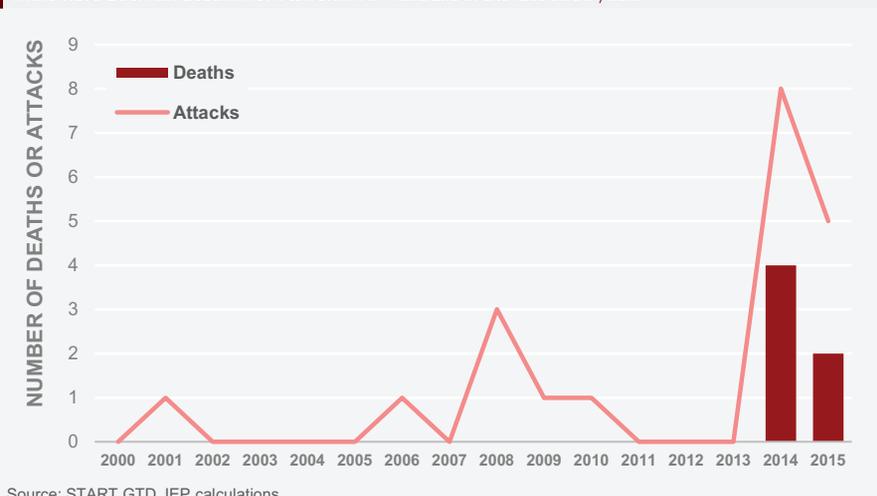
Haron Monis, took 18 people hostage in a café in Sydney. The siege lasted for 16 hours, at which point police stormed the café. Monis and two of the hostages were killed. Five hostages were able to escape during standoff. Although no terrorist group claimed responsibility for the incident, official ISIL publications claimed that Monis had been inspired by the group.

The rise in terrorist activity in Australia over the past three years has mirrored increase in terrorism in other OECD countries, with many of the same drivers. Since 2014 there have been at least five attacks in Australia that were linked in some way to ISIL, although most were not directed by ISIL operatives in the Middle East.

The threat of future ISIL directed or inspired terrorism in Australia remains high, with the group recently calling for attacks on prominent Australian landmarks and tourist locations. Concerns also remain about the number of Australians who have joined ISIL in Syria. Estimates from mid-2014 suggest that as many as 240 (with a low estimate of 100) Australians are fighting with ISIL in the conflict in Syria. If the high estimate is correct, Australia is the sixth largest contributor of foreign fighters from OECD countries, with only France, Germany, the United Kingdom, Belgium, and Sweden contributing more.

FIGURE 16: TERRORIST INCIDENTS AND FATALITIES IN AUSTRALIA, 2001 TO JULY 2016

There have been six deaths from terrorism in Australia in the last three years



THE INFLUENCE OF ISIL

The increase in deaths from terrorism in the OECD has been driven by attacks inspired or directed by ISIL. Over half of the deaths from terrorism in the OECD since 2014 are connected with ISIL.

- More than half of deaths from terrorism in OECD countries since 2014 have had a connection with ISIL.
- There have been 131 ISIL affiliated attacks or plots since 2014.
- 29 per cent of all attacks with an ISIL connection occurred in the United States, followed by 19 per cent in France.
- Half of all plots with an ISIL connection have been conducted by people who have had no direct contact with ISIL.

The increase in deaths from terrorism in OECD countries has been driven by attacks inspired or directed by ISIL. Over half of the deaths from terrorism in OECD countries since 2014 are connected with ISIL. Since 2014 there were at least 131 different attacks with some ISIL involvement in OECD countries, either as directed or inspired. These attacks took place in 17 of the 34 members of OECD countries, and 11 of these countries suffered deaths from these terrorist attacks.

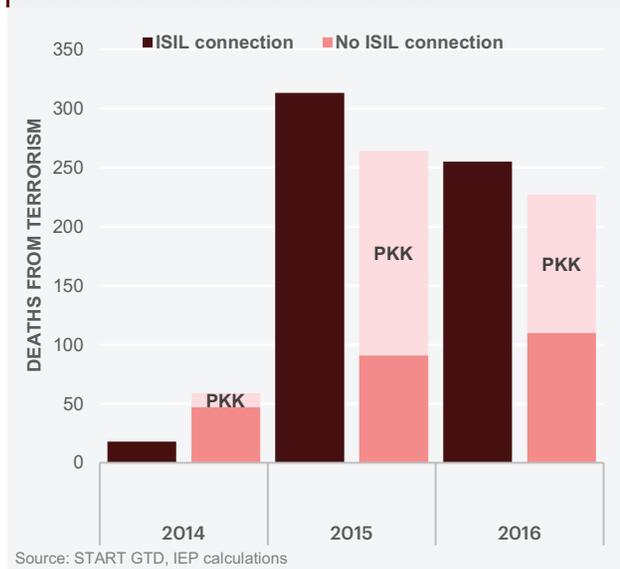
There were 20 deaths from ISIL affiliated attacks in 2014, of which direct contact between the perpetrator and ISIL had been established in at least seven attacks. This increased significantly in 2015 with 313 deaths across 67 attacks, of which 19 had directions from ISIL. The largest of these attacks was in November in Paris where 137 people were killed by a series of coordinated attacks by ISIL operatives, followed by the Ankara bombings in October which killed 105. This increase continued into the first half of 2016 with 44 attacks which killed 255.

Whilst there was a significant increase in deaths from attacks with an ISIL connection from 2014, there was also an increase in deaths in OECD countries not related to ISIL. There were 59 deaths from attacks without an ISIL connection in 2014 which increased

by 350 per cent to 264 deaths in 2015. The majority of these deaths were from attacks in Turkey by the Kurdistan Workers' Party (PKK). In the first half of 2016 there have been 227 deaths from terrorism in OECD countries without an ISIL connection. Two attacks by the Kurdistan Freedom Falcons (TAK) in Ankara in February and March killed a combined 64

FIGURE 17: DEATHS IN OECD FROM ATTACKS WITH ISIL CONNECTION VS NO CONNECTION, 2014 TO MID 2016

ISIL was responsible for 52 per cent of all deaths from terrorism in the OECD since 2014. members than OECD members.



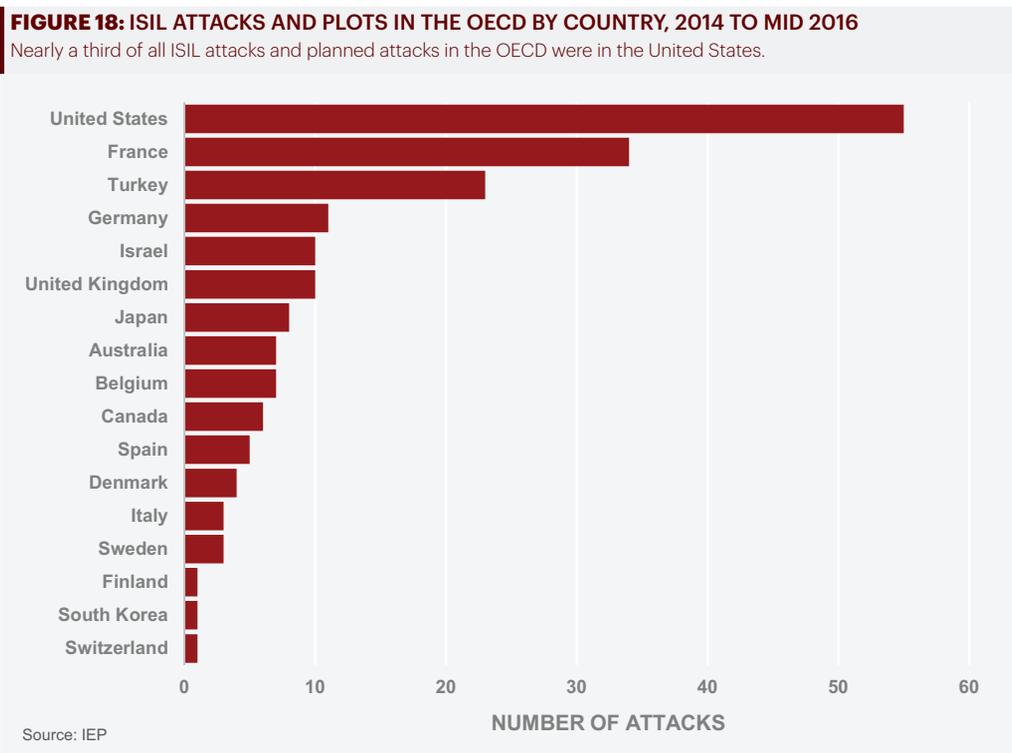
people, with attacks by the PKK killing 117 people. There were 17 OECD members that had an ISIL connected attack or plot since 2014. Two thirds of these attacks occurred in four countries. 29 per cent of all attacks with an ISIL connection occurred in the United States, followed by 18 per cent in France, 12 per cent in Turkey and six per cent in Germany. Seven of the 20 worst terrorist attacks, in terms of number of deaths, in OECD countries since 2000 have had an ISIL link.

The most deaths from ISIL linked attacks were in France which had 38 per cent of all deaths in OECD countries. This was due to the Paris attacks which killed 137 and the Nice truck attack which killed 85. Turkey had the second most deaths which was similarly due to high casualty attacks. The Ankara bombings in 2015 killed 105, and the Atatürk Airport attack killed 50. Turkey had 35 per cent of all deaths in OECD countries. The United States had 16 per cent of deaths in OECD countries, mainly due to the Orlando night club shootings which killed 50.

The level of support that ISIL plays in attacks and plots differs. Half of all ISIL related plots were by lone actors who showed sympathy to ISIL without having any direct contact. These types of attacks have increased since the call by ISIL on 22 September 2014 to directly target many OECD countries. In 2014 there were 13 lone actor attacks inspired by ISIL,

which increased to 33 in 2015. Up until the end of July 2016 there have been 22 attacks. This includes two of the largest attacks in recent years which are the Nice truck attack and the Orlando night club shooting. The other largest of the lone actor attacks was the Suruç bombing in 20 July 2015 which killed 33 people.

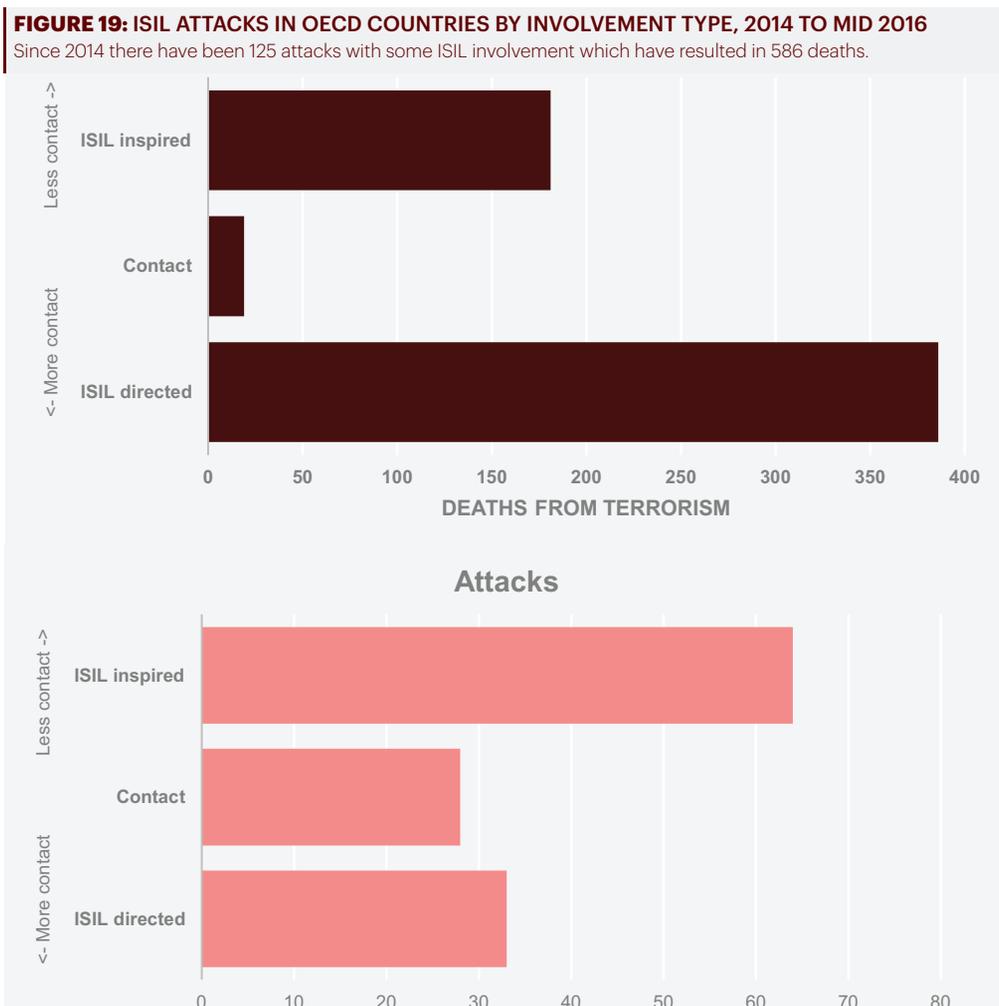
However, it may be possible that after investigations some of the attacks currently coded as lone actor attacks with sympathy and no contact to ISIL may actually be determined to have a greater connection to ISIL. For example, the Thalys train attempted shooting in August 2015 in France where a gunman was overpowered by passengers was initially described as a lone actor. However, after investigation it was determined that he was in communication with the leader of the Paris attacks who was one of the highest-ranking external ISIL members.



Alternatively, the motivation behind some lone actor attacks may never be fully known with the necessity for secrecy to avoid attacks being thwarted also resulting in limited information left behind.

Even though there were some very deadly attacks by lone actors, generally the deadliest attacks had greater ISIL involvement. Four of the ten deadliest attacks in OECD countries since 2015 were by ISIL. These attacks were the Paris Attacks, the 2015 Ankara bombings, Atatürk Airport attack and the Brussels attacks which killed a combined 327 people and injured over 1,300 people.

Attacks by small groups of people that have received training and directives by senior ISIL members have increased. In 2014 there were two such attacks which had no deaths. In 2015 this increased to 19 attacks which resulted in 281 deaths. In the first half of 2016 there have been 12 ISIL directed attacks with 105 deaths.



PROFILES OF TERRORIST ACTORS

There are three major sources of terrorist attacks in the OECD: lone actors such as Anders Breivik in Norway 2011; domestic terrorist groups such as ETA and the PKK; and international terrorist groups such as ISIL.

- There is no ubiquitous profile of lone actors in OECD countries. However, certain traits can be extrapolated from the different types of actors.
- Lone actors tend to be male and motivated by an ideological driver. Since 2014 there have been several high fatality attacks inspired by ISIL.
- Recruitment to domestic terrorist groups tends to be of locals and is largely through friends and family.
- Education and employment opportunities seems to influence membership of international terrorist groups. Foreign fighters generally have higher levels of education and lower income status.

LONE ACTORS

Lone actor terrorism is defined as terrorist acts committed by individuals who act alone and without the support of a terrorist organisation. Lone actor terrorist attacks are not a new phenomenon, but have tended to come in waves, which have seen these types of attacks resurface in recent years. This could be due to a contagion effect whereby a general terrorist strategy is adopted without direct contact with other actors.²

In one study that examined all lone actor attacks between 1969 and 2012, three distinct spikes in attacks were identified: in the early 1980s, early to mid-1990s, and early 2000s.³

² Mark Sedgwick, 'Inspiration and the Origins of Global Waves of Terrorism', *Studies in Conflict & Terrorism* Vol 30, No. 2, February 2007.

³ Ramon Spaaij, *Understanding Lone Wolf Terrorism* (Melbourne: Springer, 2012)

Since ISIL's call for individuals to carry out independent attacks in 2014 there has been another increase in lone actor attacks.⁴

Lone actors have the potential to cause high casualties as seen in the Nice attack and Orlando shooting of 2016. In 2015, lone actors were responsible for 22 per cent of terrorist deaths in OECD countries.

Given that lone actor terrorism has been around since at least the late 1880s beginning with the anti-monarch anarchists in Russia,⁵ and the differing ideological drivers of lone actor attacks, it is perhaps not surprising that there is no one profile that aptly characterises lone actor terrorists.

TRAITS OF LONE ACTOR TERRORISTS

- There are no generalizable traits for age, education or social isolation which act as predictors to carry out lone actor terrorist attacks.
- The only trait which is common amongst lone actor attacks is that perpetrators are mostly, but not exclusively, male.⁶
- Some research has found that lone actor attackers tend to be slightly older than terrorist members of an organization – an average age of 33 for lone attackers as compared to 20

⁴ Michael Steinbach, Assistant Director, Counterterrorism Division, Federal Bureau of Investigation: Statement Before the House Judiciary Committee, Subcommittee on Crime, Terrorism, Homeland Security, and Investigation, Washington, D.C, February 26, 2015

⁵ David C Rapoport, 'The Four Waves of Modern Terrorism', in Audrey Kurth Cronin and James M Ludes (eds), *Attacking Terrorism: Elements of a Grand Strategy* (Washington, DC: Georgetown University Press, 2004), pp. 46–73

⁶ See for example Gill, Horgan and Deckert, 'Bombing Alone', p. 427; Gruenewald, Chermak and Freilich, 'Far-Right Lone Wolf Homicides in the United States'; Jeanine de Roy van Zuijdewijn and Edwin Bakker, 'Lone-Actor Terrorism Policy Paper 1: Personal Characteristics of Lone-Actor Terrorists', *Countering Lone-Actor Terrorism Series No. 5*, 2015.

for Columbian militants and 26 for al-Qa'ida related groups,⁷ however other research has not found any consistent trends in age.⁸

- There have been similarly mixed findings on the levels of education and affluence for lone attackers, with both under-educated, poor attackers as well as highly educated affluent individuals.⁹
- A study focused on lone attacks in the EU between 2000 and 2014 did find slightly higher rates of mental health issues in lone actor attackers than in the general population (35 per cent compared to 27 per cent),¹⁰ however the limited scope of the study makes this - frequently claimed - characteristic of lone actor attackers difficult to generalise.

DOMESTIC TERRORIST GROUPS

Domestic terror groups are most often motivated by anti-government sentiment, nationalism, separatism, racism, bigotry or anarchy. The most prominent domestic terrorist groups in OECD countries have been motivated by nationalist ideologies or independence movements. This includes the Irish Republican Army (IRA) in Northern Ireland, Euskadi Ta Askatasuna (ETA) of Spain and the Kurdistan Workers' Party (PKK) of Turkey. The other main form of domestic terrorism is home-grown group terrorism like the perpetrators of the London

bombings of 2005.¹¹ This attack, which was the deadliest on British soil since WWII, was executed by a group of people born in Britain and motivated by jihadist beliefs and opposition to the foreign policy of Britain.

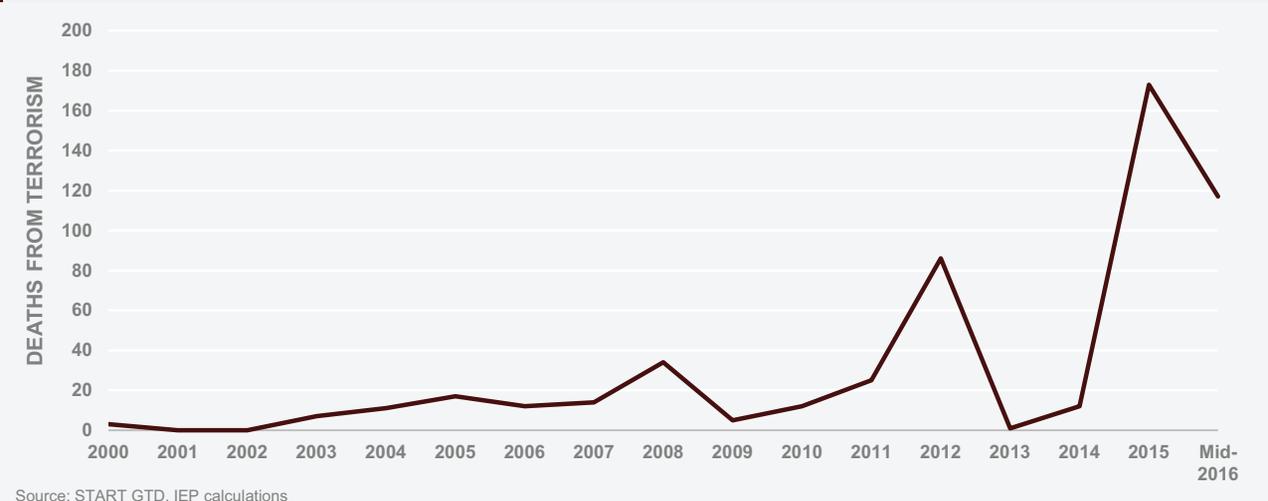
Due to the array of different motivations behind domestic terrorist groups, and the varying circumstances under which they come into existence, it is difficult to establish a profile of a 'generic domestic terrorist.' However, substantial research exists on why individuals join ethnic rebellions and independence movements.¹² When group grievances against the state are high, and the opportunity cost of joining a rebellion is low, groups are most likely to form.

The deadliest home grown group in OECD countries in the last few years is the PKK. Between 2000 and mid-2016 the PKK carried out 569 terrorist attacks which resulted in 529 deaths. These trends are shown in figure 20.

Despite the recent increase in deaths from terrorism by the PKK, the peak of recruitment happened from 1990-1994 where there were on average over 700 recruits per year. In contrast, from 2000-2012 there were on average 65 recruits per year. A unique database of 8,011 PKK recruits shows nearly 80 per cent of recruits to

FIGURE 20: TIME-LINE OF PKK CAUSED DEATHS, 2000 TO MID 2016

Deaths from PKK have increased in 2015 and in the first seven months of 2016.



7 Gill, Horgan and Deckert

8 Van Zuijdeijn and Bakker 2015.

9 <http://www.cfr.org/europe/islamic-states-bloody-summer/p38188>

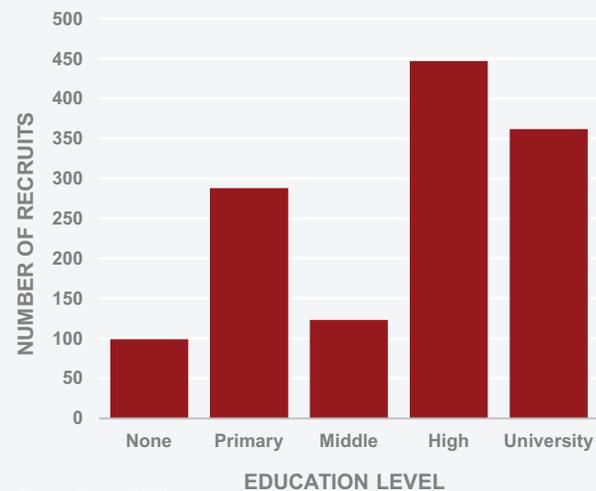
10 Raffaello Pantucci, Clare Ellis and Lorien Chaplais, "Lone-Actor Terrorism: Literature Review", Countering Lone-Actor Terrorism Series No. 1, 2015

11 Manni Crone and Martin Harrow, "Home-grown terrorism in the West, 1989-2008", DIIS Working Paper 2010:30

12 See for example Horowitz 2000: 175-9; or Fearon and Laitin 2003

FIGURE 21: EDUCATIONAL PROFILES FOR PKK RECRUITS AT RECRUITMENT, 1975 TO 2012

The PKK recruits are characterised by generally high levels of educational attainment.



Source: Tezcur 2016

the PKK were born in Turkey, with other recruits born in Iraq, Iran and Syria.¹³ Only 78 of the 8,011 recruits were forcibly recruited into the PKK, highlighting that the organization is an organically ‘home-grown’ group. Thirteen per cent of these PKK recruits had been political activists prior to being recruited into the PKK, but only four per cent claimed that their families had been victimised by the state. The average age of recruitment does not vary substantially over time, ranging from 20 in 1975 to 21 in 2012. The majority of recruits had either finished high school or university level, as shown in figure 21.

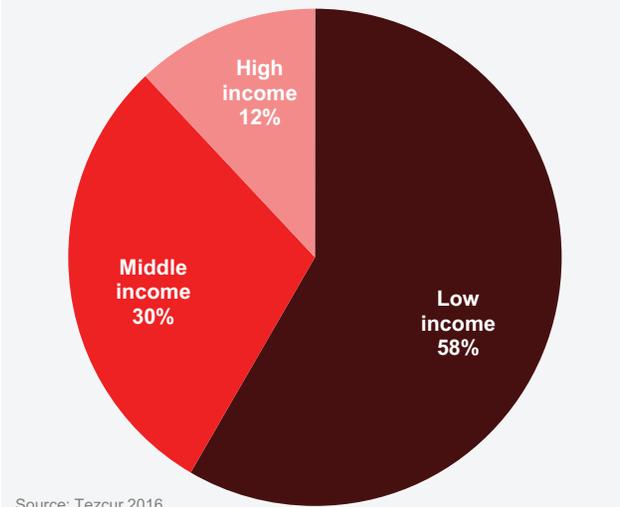
Family socio-economic status data is available for 1,079 recruits, and is distributed as shown in figure 22. Fifty-eight per cent of the recruits for which data are available come from low socio-economic backgrounds, while 12 per cent come from high income families. Middle income families account for 30 per cent of recruits.

Most recruitment for domestic terrorist groups

¹³ The data set, compiled by Güneş Murat Tezcür, and appearing originally in Güneş Murat Tezcür “Ordinary People, Extraordinary Risks: Joining an Ethnic Rebellion,” *American Political Science Review* 110(2) (May 2016), may be accessed at <http://www.tezcur.org/kim/>

FIGURE 22: SOCIO-ECONOMIC STATUS OF PKK RECRUITS AT RECRUITMENT, 1975 TO 2012

The majority of PKK recruits come from families considered to have low income socio-economic status.



Source: Tezcur 2016

active in Turkey is done through friends and family.¹⁴ This appears to be regardless of the ideology of the group and includes groups inspired by Marxist-Leninist ideology such as the Revolutionary People’s Liberation Party/Front (DHKP/C) as well as Turkish Hezbollah which is motivated by religious ideology.¹⁵

INTERNATIONAL TERRORIST GROUPS

2015 and the first seven months of 2016 have seen ISIL become the most prominent international terrorist organization in OECD countries by numbers of attacks and deaths. There have been at least 31,000 people who have travelled to Iraq and Syria to join ISIL and other extremist groups.¹⁶

¹⁴ Ahmet Kule and Zakir Gul, “How Individuals Join Terrorist Organizations in Turkey: An Empirical Study on DHKP-C, PKK, and Turkish Hezbollah”, *The GLOBAL* 1:1, pp. 15-47, 2013

¹⁵ *ibid.*

¹⁶ “FOREIGN FIGHTERS: An Updated Assessment of the Flow of Foreign Fighters into Syria and Iraq”, *The Souffan Group*, December 2015.

Similarly to al-Qa'ida,¹⁷ foreign recruitment appears to be based on personal rather than political motivations.¹⁸ A key impetus for foreign fighters joining ISIL has been a strong sense of isolation and perceived difficulty in assimilating into 'Western' culture.¹⁹

Leaked ISIL documents from early 2016 has revealed the personal details of 4,600 militants who had joined ISIL in 2013 and 2014. Of the 3,244 records where the nationality is known, 12 per cent or 387 come from 17 OECD countries. Through analysing these documents, the United States Counter Terrorism Center found the average ISIL fighter is male, 26, has a relatively high level of education but relatively low level of knowledge on the Islamic religion.²⁰ The average age is in line with other estimates of foreign fighter age, including an average age of 24-25 for al-Qa'ida. However, there is a large distribution of ages ranging from the oldest recruit, born in 1945, to the youngest recruits, 41 of whom were under 15 years old when they arrived.²¹

The differing knowledge of Islam appears to have an influence of the types of roles within ISIL that

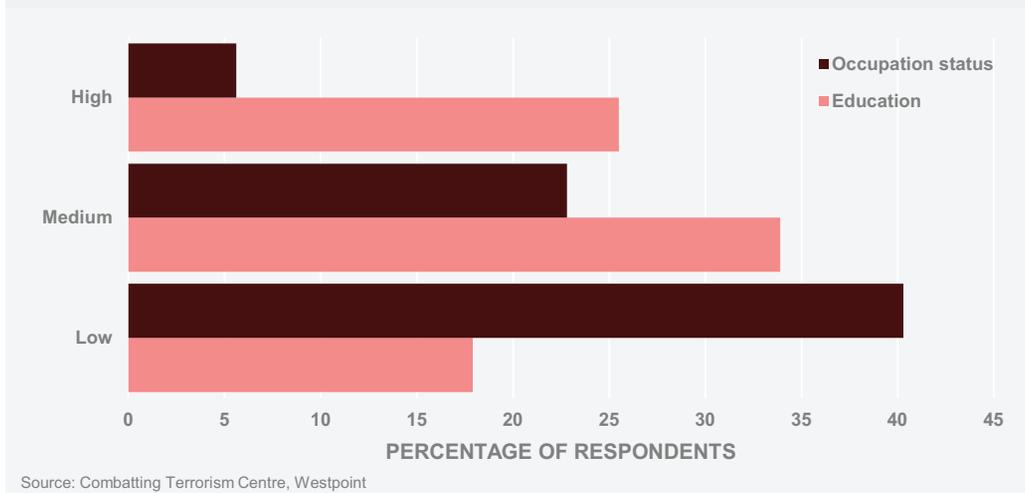
people choose. Twelve per cent of recruits opted for a suicide role over a more conventional fighting role with those who had advanced knowledge of Islam and Sharia were far less likely to choose the suicide role than those with more limited knowledge.²²

Unlike home grown groups, education and employment opportunities seems to influence membership of international terrorist groups. Recruits to ISIL generally have higher levels of education and lower income status, as seen in figure 23. Although 25.5 per cent of recruits reported having a high level of education, only six per cent of recruits have a high level occupational status.

Western recruits tended to have slightly higher education levels than non-Western recruits. High level of education was classified as post high school degree or advanced degree, whereas high occupational status meant white-collar work or teaching. There is speculation that this disconnect between education and opportunity may have been a motivating factor for recruits joining ISIL out of a sense of frustration.²³

FIGURE 23: EDUCATION LEVEL VERSUS OCCUPATION STATUS OF ISIL RECRUITS

There is a large mismatch between levels of education and occupational status for ISIL recruits for those with high and medium levels of education.



17 Colonel John Venhaus, "Why Youth Join Al-Qaeda", United States Institute for Peace Special Report 236, May 2010.

18 "FOREIGN FIGHTERS", The Souffan Group

19 Efraim Benmelech and Esteban Klor, "What explains the Flow of Foreign Fighters to ISIS?", Northwestern University working paper, April 2016. Available from: http://www.kellogg.northwestern.edu/faculty/benmelech/html/BenmelechPapers/ISIS_April_13_2016_Effi_final.pdf

20 <http://www.independent.co.uk/news/world/middle-east/isis-documents-leak-reveals-profile-of-average-militant-as-young-well-educated-but-with-only-basic-a6995111.html>

21 Brian Dodwell, Daniel Milton, Don Ressler, "The Caliphate's Global Workforce: An Inside Look at the Islamic State's Foreign Fighter Paper Trail", Combatting Terrorism Centre at Westpoint, April 2016, available at: <https://www.ctc.usma.edu/posts/the-caliphates-global-workforce-an-inside-look-at-the-islamic-states-foreign-fighter-paper-trail>

22 *ibid.*

23 *ibid.*

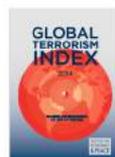
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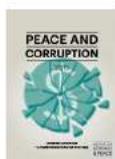
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Institute for Economics and Peace, Mar 2014

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2012 United States Peace Index

Institute for Economics and Peace, Apr 2012

The 2012 United States Peace Index has found that the U.S. is more peaceful now than at any other time over the last twenty years.

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