The Chicago Project on Suicide Terrorism

Robert Pape

Professor of Political Science The University of Chicago

Overview

- Goal: Strategic Knowledge Base to Analyze Suicide Terrorism
- Phase I: Worldwide Database of Suicide Terrorist attacks and Attackers, 1980-
- Phase II: New Analyses of the Causes, Conduct, and Consequences of Suicide Terrorism
- Phase III:Develop Unifying Frameworks

Origins

- Pape, "The Strategic Logic of Suicide Terrorism,"
 <u>American Political Science Review</u> (2003) -- original database of suicide terrorist attacks worldwide, 1980-2001
- DTRA, Argonne National Laboratory, and University of Chicago sponsor Phase I research -- update and expansion of database (2004)
- Collaboration among social scientists at University of Chicago and Argonne National Laboratory

Phase 1

Objectives

- Update original database on suicide attacks worldwide through 2003
- Collect demographic data on suicide attackers with native language sources – Arabic, Hebrew, Tamil, Russia.

Research Team

- Spring-Summer 2004
- 10 researchers fluent in native languages

Sources

- Terrorist Group Documents
 - LTTE, Hezbollah, Hamas, Al Qaeda
- Target Country Lists
 - IDF, MFA. State Department
- Media
 - FBIS, Lexis, International and Local
- International Research
 - Beirut, Cairo

Verification

Suicide Attack

- Classic: individuals kill themselves themselves in order to kill others
- Not: suicide "mission" or to avoid capture

Strict Coding Rule

- Attackers must complete the mission and kill themselves themselves
- Attempts, captures, or preemptive kills by defending forces not count

Requires Independent Verification

- Terrorist groups and target states use loose, inconsistent coding rules
- Hamas lists leaders killed by IDF as "martyrs"
- IDF counts attempts, captures, preemptive kills, remote control bombing.
 - "Suicide and Other Bombings" lists 130 events 2000-2003, but only 73 suicide attacks and misses 19 suicide attacks (apparently because they killed no Israelis).
- If loose standards applied generally, this would double count for the LTTE in Sri Lanka and probably make the universe uncountable.

2002-2003 Update

- Every suicide terrorist attack worldwide in 2002-03 and verified 1980 to 2001
- 315 suicide terrorist attacks 1980-2003
- Suicide terrorism is rising sharply:
 - 3 per year in 1980s
 - 10 per year in 1990s
 - 25+ per year in 2000-2001
 - 50 per year in 2002-2003

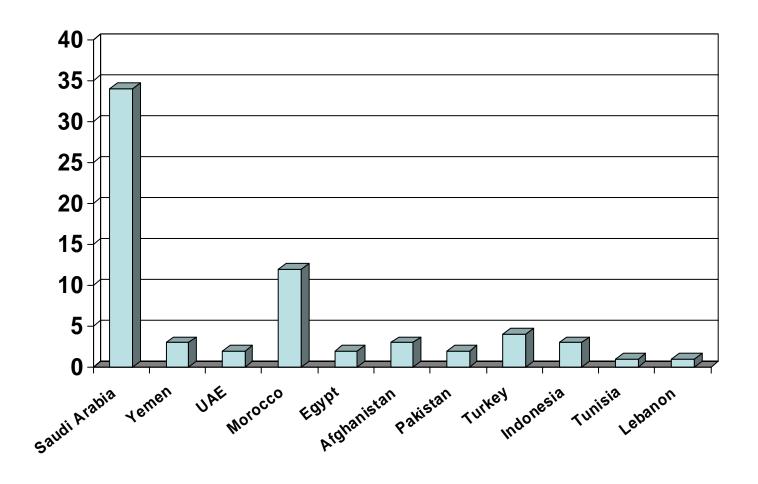
Suicide Terrorist Campaigns, 1980-2003

Completed Campaigns					
	<u>Date</u>	Terrorist Group	Terrorists' Goal	Attack/killed	Target Behavior
1.	Apr-Dec 1983	Hezbollah	US/France out, Lebanon	5 / 393	Total withdrawal
2.	Nov 82-Apr 82	Hezbollah	Israel out, Lebanon	11 / 197	Partial withdrawal
3.	Jun 85-Jun 86	Hezbollah	Israel out, Leb. sec. zone	20 / 156	No change
4.	Jul 90-Nov 94	LTTE	Sri Lanka accept Tamil state	14 / 164	negotiations
5.	Apr 95-Oct 00	LTTE	Sri Lanka accept Tamil state	54 / 629	No change
6.	Apr 1994	Hamas	Israel out, Palestine	2 / 15	Partial withdrawal, Gaza
7.	Oct 94-Aug 95	Hamas	Retaliation, Israeli Assassination	11 / 65	Partial withdraw, W Bank
8.	Feb-Mar 96	Hamas	Israel out, Palestine	4 / 58	No change
9.	Mar-Sept 97	Hamas	Israel out, Palestine	3 / 24	Top leader released
10.	Jun-Oct 96	PKK	Turkey accept Kurd autonomy	3 / 16	No change
11.	Mar-Aug 99	PKK	Turkey free leader	11 / 6	No change
12.	2001	LTTE	Sri Lanka accept Tamil state	6 / 51	Granted autonomy
Ongoing Campaigns					
13.	1996-	Al Qaeda	US out, Arabian Peninsula	21 / 3661	TBD
14.	2000-	Chechens	Russia out, Chechnya	19 / 362	TBD
15.	2000-	Kashmir Rebels	India out, Kashmir	5 / 61	TBD
16.	2000-	Several	Israel out, Palestine	92 / 515	TBD
17.	2003-	Iraqi rebel	US out, Iraq	20 / 262	TBD
Total incidents = 315 # in Campaigns = 301 # isolated = 14					

Motivation and Targets of Suicide Terrorist Campaigns, 1980-2003

Region/Dispute	Homeland Status	Terrorist Goal	Target a Democracy
Lebanon, 1982-1986	US/F/IDF military presence	US/F/IDF withdrawal	Yes
West Bank/Gaza 1994-	IDF military presence	IDF withdrawal	Yes
Tamils in Sri Lanka 1990-	SL military presence	SL withdrawal	Yes (after 1950)
Kurds in Turkey 1990s	Turkey military presence	Turkey withdrawal	Yes (after 1983)
Chechnya, 2000-	Russia military presence	Russian withdrawal	Yes (after 1993)
Kashmir, 2000-	Indian military presence	Indian withdrawal	Yes
Arabian Peninsula, 1995-	US military presence	US withdrawal	Yes
Iraq, 2003-	US military presence	US withdrawal	Yes

Nationality of al Qaeda Suicide Attackers



Al Qaeda vs United States and Allies, 1995-2003

	<u>Date</u>	<u>Weapon</u>	<u>Target</u>	Killed	
1.	Nov 13, 1995	Car bomb	US military base, Riyadh, SA	5	
2.	June 25, 1996	Truck bomb	US military base, Dhahran, SA	19	
3.	Aug 7, 1998	Truck bomb	US embassies, Kenya/Tanzania	225	
4.	Oct 12, 2001	Boat bomb	USS Cole, Yemen	17	
5.	Sept 9, 2001	Camera bomb	Ahmed Massoud, Afghanistan	1	
			Sub total	262	
6.	Sept 11, 2001	Hijacked airplanes	WTC/Pentagon	2955	
Since	9/11:				
1.	April 11, 2002	Car bomb	Synagogue, Djerba, Tunisia	21	
2.	May 8, 2002	Car bomb	Sheraton Hotel, Karachi	14	
3.	June 16, 2002	Car bomb	US consulate, Karachi	12	
4.	Oct 6, 2002	Boat bomb	French oil tanker, Yemen	1	
5.	Oct 12, 2002	Car bomb	Nightclub, Bali, Indonesia	202	
6.	Nov 28, 2002	Car bomb	Hotel Mombasa, Kenya	13	
7.	May 12, 2003	3 car bombs	Riyadh, Saudi Arabia	34	
8.	May 16, 2003	Car bombs	Casablanca, Morocco	31	
9.	June 7, 2003	Car bomb	German military bus, Kabul	4	
10.	Aug 5, 2003	Car bomb	Jakarta, Indonesia	15	
11.	Nov 8, 2003	Car bomb	Riyadh, Saudi Arabia	17	
12.	Nov 15, 2003	2 car bombs	2 synagogues, Istanbul Turkey	31	
13.	Nov 20, 2003	2 truck bombs	British embassy, Istanbul Turkey	25	
14.	Dec 25, 2003	2 truck bombs	President Musharraf, Pakistan 14		
15.	Dec 28, 2003	Car bomb	Airport, Kabul 5		
	Since 9/11: 15 attacks 439				

Al Qaeda vs United States and Allies, since 9/11

	<u>Date</u>	<u>Weapon</u>	Target	Killed	Victim's Identity
1.	April 11, 2002	Car bomb	Synagogue, Djerba, Tunisia	21	14 Germans, 1 French
2.	May 8, 2002	Car bomb	Sheraton Hotel, Karachi	14	11 French
3.	June 16, 2002	Car bomb	US consulate, Karachi	12	12 local residents working w US
4.	Oct 6, 2002	Boat bomb	French oil tanker, Yemen	1	1 French
5.	Oct 12, 2002	Car bomb	Nightclub, Bali, Indonesia	202	103 Australians
6.	Nov 28, 2002	Car bomb	Hotel Mombasa, Kenya	13	3 Israelis
7.	May 12, 2003	3 car bombs	Riyadh, Saudi Arabia	34	8 US; most Western
8.	May 16, 2003	Car bombs	Casablanca, Morocco	31	French, Spanish, Italians
9.	June 7, 2003	Car bomb	German military bus, Kabul	4	4 Germans
10.	Aug 5, 2003	Car bomb	Jakarta, Indonesia	15	Western tourists
11.	Nov 8, 2003	Car bomb	Riyadh, Saudi Arabia	17	Arabs working w/ US
12.	Nov 15, 2003	2 car bombs	2 synagogues, Istanbul Turkey	31	9 Jews
13.	Nov 20, 2003	2 truck bombs	British embassy, Istanbul Turkey	25	British and Turks working w UK
14.	Dec 25, 2003	2 truck bombs	President Musharraf, Pakistan	14	Leader allied to US
15.	Dec 28, 2003	Car bomb	Airport, Kabul	5	European troops
			•	439	18 of 20 countries OBL cites as supporting US troops in Iraq/Afghanistan

Demographic Data on Suicide Terrorists

- 461 Total Suicide Attackers, 1980-2003
- Primary Demographic Data
 - 333 names
 - 384 Ideological affiliation
 - 381 Gender
 - 278 age
- Socio-Economic Data for Arab Attackers
 - 232 Arab suicide terrorists (Lebanon, Palestine, AQ)
 - 67 Education level
 - 77 Income level

Suicide Attackers in Lebanon, 1982-1986

• Total attacks: 36

Total attackers: 41

• Names: 37 (90%)

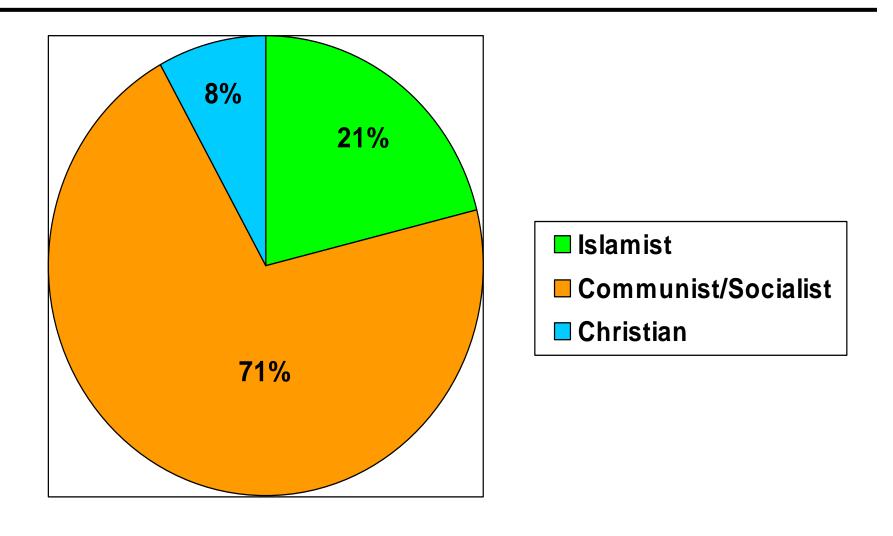
Gender: 31 men; 6 women

Average age: 21.1 years

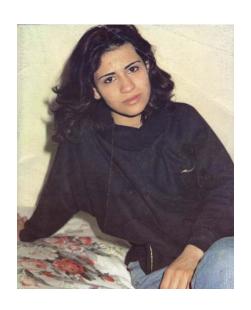
Marital Status: 97% Single

Education: 42% Post Secondary

Ideology of Suicide Attackers in Lebanon



Lebanese Suicide Attackers

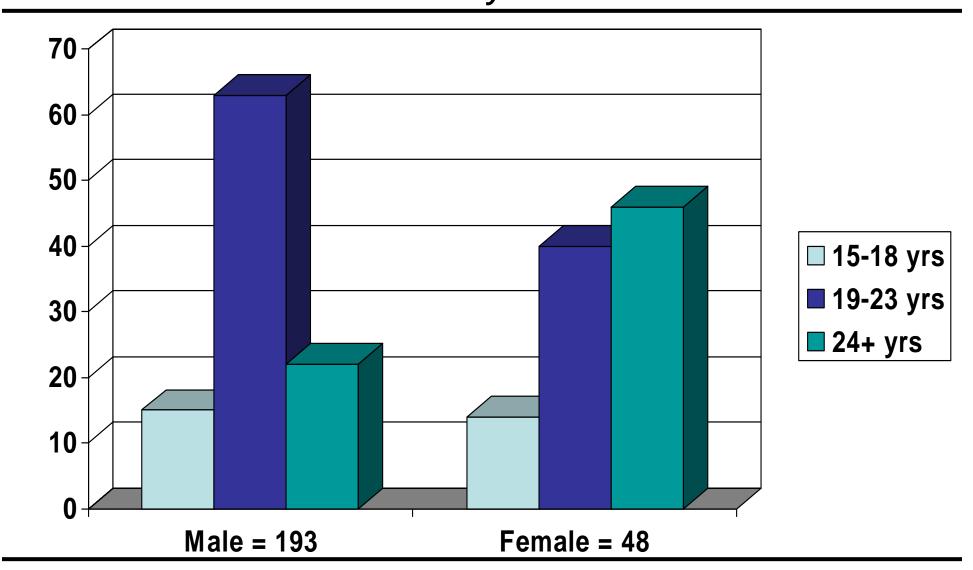




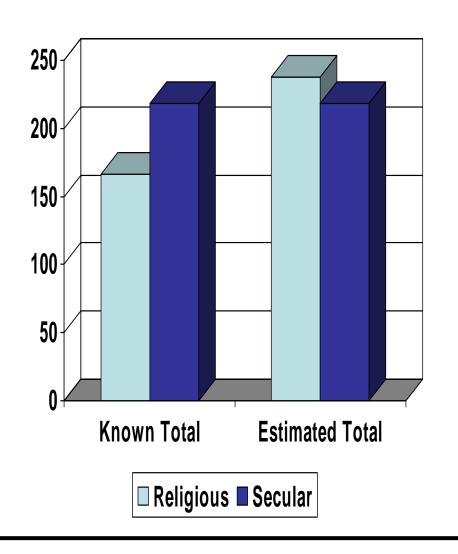


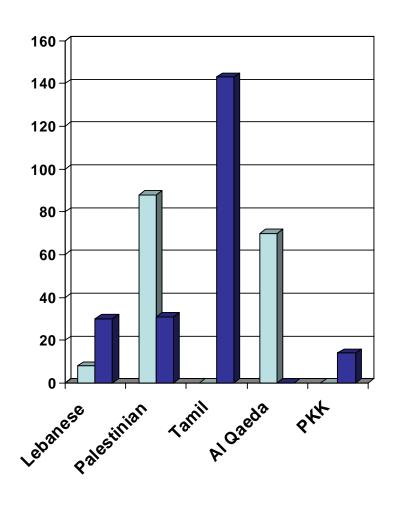


Age of Suicide Attackers Percent by Gender

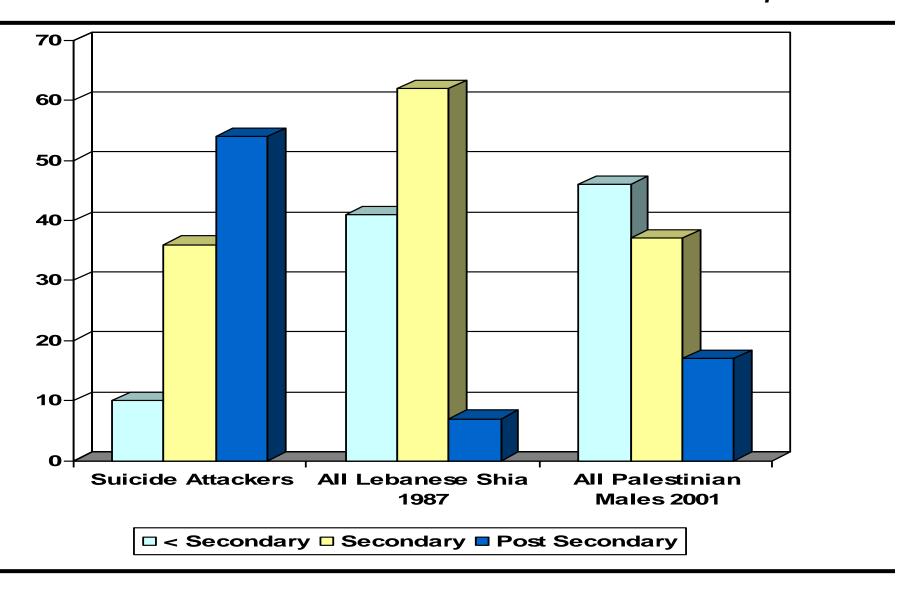


Religious vs Secular Suicide Attackers

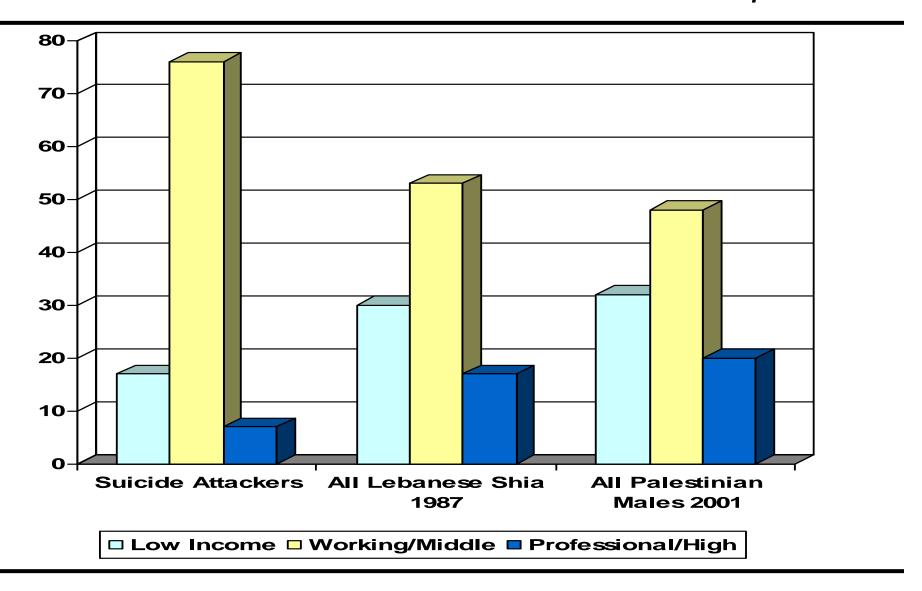




Education of Suicide Attackers vs Peer Groups

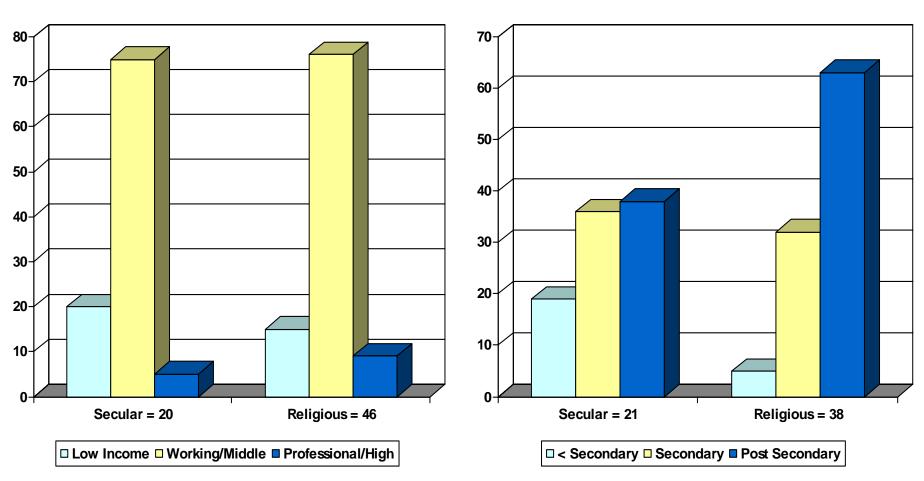


Income of Suicide Attackers vs Peer Groups



Secular vs Religious Suicide Attackers in Lebanon and Palestine





Next Steps:

- Phase I:
 - Complete Database: 70 -> 90%
 - Create User-Friendly Research Archive
- Phase II:
 - Initiate multi-disciplinary studies of operational practices and martyrdom appeals related to suicide terrorism