Content Analysis of academic consensus in terrorism definitions;
Chasing Ghosts in Bermuda Triangle.

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Abstract

What does not accept the contrary, that the good communication between disciplines requires agreement on definitions of terminology. Brian Jenkins has called the definition problem the Bermuda Triangle of terrorism. Philip Schlesinger, a British sociologist, even argued that no commonly agreed definition can in principle be reached, because the very process of definition is in itself part of a wider contestation over ideologies or political objectives. Response to this issue this Study objective to exploration a revised academic consensus definition of terrorism by Content Analysis of 262 terrorism definitions through 10 Elements; Dual character of the term terrorism, Threefold context, Perpetrator as source or agent of violence, Political, Violent act, Threat-based communication, Differentiation between direct civilian victims and the ultimate target audience, Terror/fear/dread, Intent, Campaign.

Key words: Terrorism Terminology Ideologies - Academic consensus.

Definitions of terrorism:

Some people consider the quest for a more perfect definition of ‘terrorism’ as ‘no more than a futile polemical exercise, chasing a chimera’, to quote Kiran Krishan, one of our respondents to a questionnaire mailed out in 2006 to scholars and other experts in the field of terrorism. (1) Walter Laqueur held as early as 1977 that ‘[a]ny definition of political terrorism venturing beyond noting the systematic use of murder, injury and destruction or the threats of such acts toward achieving political ends is bound to lead to endless controversies’. (2)

More recently, he wrote, ‘After thirty years of hard labour there is still no generally agreed definition of terrorism. (3) Brian Jenkins (of the RAND Corporation) has called the definition prob-

(1) Omar Malik, Enough of a Definition of Terrorism. London: Royal Institute of International Affairs, 2000, p. 4.
lem the ‘Bermuda Triangle of terrorism.’ (1) So, the study will Classification the Definitions of terrorism in The following Elements:

(1) Violence, force

(Year not known - Anonymous ) (2) Kill one, frighten ten thousand. ‘(Mozorov-1880)(3) It replaces by a series of individual political assassinations, which always hit their target’ (Hardman-1936) (4) as a term used to describe the method or the theory behind the method whereby An organized group or party seeks to achieve its avowed aims chiefly through the systematic Use of violence.’(Thornton-1964)(5) as entailing the use or threat of violence.’(Walter-1964)(6) as a conventionally means a type of violent action.’(Left-1965) (7) as a fighting system openly.’(Aron-1966) (8) as the psychological effects are out of proportion to its purely physical result.’ (Silverman and Jackson-1970) (9) as process of


violent change. (Crozier- 4791) (1) as motivated violence for political ends (United Kingdom -1974) (2) as the use of violence for political ends and includes any use of violence. (Bite -1975) (3) as politically and socially motivated violence. (Jenkins –1975) (4) as The threat of violence. (Paust -1977) (5) as a form of violent strategy, a form of coercion utilized to alter the freedom of choice of others. (Kaplan –1978) (6) as the use of force. (Gordon - 1985) (7) as the systematic use of violence and intimidation to achieve an end. (Gunter - 1986) (8) as a phenomenon that usually stems from the failure of its perpetrators to develop sufficient political. (Mitchell et al - 1986) (9) as involves deliberate coercion and violence. (Lynch -

1987) (1) as the use of violence and threats to use violence as a political weapon to achieve control. (Townsend -

1988) (2) as the use of force by the armed. (Wardlaw-1989) (3) as the use, or threat of use, of violence by an individual or group. (George-Abeyie -1991) (4) as the use of force/violence or threat of force/violence. (Narveson –1991) (5) as means of random acts of violence. (Walker - 1992) (6) as the use of violence for political ends. (Wilkinson - 1992) (7) as all the systematic and premeditated use of violence to create a climate of extreme fear. (Freeman - 1994) (8) as the use of violence against non-combatants, civilians or other persons. (Reilly - 1994) (9) as the use of intentional violence against non-combatants for political

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(2) Charles Townsend, in answer to questionnaire, quoted in: A.P. Schmid et al., Political Terrorism, p. 38.


ends. (Reisman and Antoniou –1994) (1) as the use of violence against civilian and military targets.


(4 ) US Department of State, Patterns of Global Terrorism, 1994, p. 6.
against governments, publics, or individuals.\(^1\) as politically motivated violence directed against non-combatants.\(^2\) as the use, or the threat of the use, of violence.\(^3\) as the organized use of violence against civilians or their property.

(2) Political

(Robespierre-1794) \(^4\) as a terror is nothing else than immediate justice, severe, inflexible.\(^5\) as consists of the destruction of the most harmful persons in the government.\(^6\) as acts of terrorism’ means criminal acts directed against a State.\(^7\) as acts of violence for political coercion.\(^8\) as a strategy, a method by which an organized group or party tries to get attention for its aims.\(^9\) as the use, or threatened use, of anxiety-inducing.

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\(^2\) Robert Young, ‘Political Terrorism as a Weapon of the Politically Powerless’. In Igor Primoratz (ed.), Terrorism: The Philosophical Issues, p. 56.


\(^4\) Maximilien Robespierre (February 1794), quoted in Paul Wurth, La Répression internationale du terrorisme. Lausanne: Imprimerie la Concorde, 1941, p. 12.


\(^6\) Paul Wurth, La répression internationale du terrorisme, Lausanne: p. 50.


extra-normal violence for political purposes.\(^{(1)}\) as violence employed in pursuit of political. (Waldmann -1977) \(^{(2)}\) as the service of power maintenance.\(^{(3)}\) (Wilkinson -1977) as the systematic use of murder and destruction, and the threat of murder and destruction in order.\(^{(4)}\) (Crenshaw Hutchinson -1978) as a systematic and purposeful method used by a revolutionary organization.\(^{(5)}\) (Evans and Murphy -1978) as the threat or use of violence by private persons for political ends.\(^{(6)}\) (Hamilton -1978) \(^{(6)}\) as planned acts of violence, employed for explicitly political purposes.\(^{(7)}\) (Jenkins -1978) \(^{(7)}\) as any violent act by an opponent.\(^{(8)}\) (Karanovic’ -1978) \(^{(8)}\) as create fear.\(^{(9)}\) (Lösche -1978) \(^{(9)}\) as a form of exercise of power based on the systematic production of fear and fright.\(^{(10)}\) (Schreiber -1978) \(^{(10)}\) as a political act, ordinarily


\(^{(5)}\) A.E. Evans and J.F. Murphy (eds), the American Journal of Comparative Law, 28, 1980, p. 355.


committed by an organized group. (Schwind -1978) as politically motivated behavior. (Zawodny -1978) as order to change values and institutions through extralegal means. (Mickolus -1980) as the use, or threat of use, of anxiety-inducing, extra-normal violence for political purposes. (Hess -1981) as the threat or use of violence for political purposes by individuals or groups. (Lodge -1981) as the resort to violence for political ends by unauthorized, non-governmental actors., (Quainton - 1982 International) as the threat or use of violence for political. (Coady - 1985) as a political act, ordinarily committed by an organized group . (Hewitt –1990) as alter the political situation by changing public opinion. (Weinberg -1990) as a type of politically motivated violence threatened. (Mullins -1997) as intended to change a government. (Mullins -1997) as

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as based upon ideologies of racial.

(2) as a conventional attack. (de Mesquita -2000) (3) as any act of violence undertaken for the purpose of altering a government’s political policies. (International Counter-Terrorism Academic Community -2004) (4) as use of violence against civilians in order.

(5) as involves heterogeneous violence used or threatened with a politica

(3) Fear, terror emphasized

(The Shorter Oxford English Dictionary-1969) (6) as The state of beinterrified or greatly frightened; intense fear, fright, or dread. (Moss-1971) (7) as the systematic use of intimidation for political ends. (Moss-1972) (8) as the systematic use of intimidation for political purposes. (Wilkinson -1974) (9) as the use of coercive intimidation. (Fromkin -1975) (10) as violence used to create fear. (USSR Ministry of the Interior –1989) (11) as illegal or premeditat-

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(1) Ibid.
(4) International Policy Institute for Counter-Terrorism, ICT Newsletter, no. 4, Spring 2004, p. 11.
ed acts of violence committed.\textsuperscript{(1)} (Weisband and Roguly -1976)\textsuperscript{(1)} as a terrorist violence tries to create the framework for political interactions.\textsuperscript{(2)} (Franck -1978)\textsuperscript{(2)} as the terrorist rather than being directly related to external variables.\textsuperscript{(3)} (Gurr - 1986)\textsuperscript{(3)} as a symbolic act designed to influence political behaviour by extraordinary means.\textsuperscript{(4)} (Encyclopaedia - 1987)\textsuperscript{(4)} as the systematic use of terror or unpredictable violence against governments, publics, individuals to attain a political objective.\textsuperscript{(5)} (Bunzl –1991)\textsuperscript{(5)} as a method to spread fear through repeated application of violence.\textsuperscript{(6)} (Jackson –1991)\textsuperscript{(6)} as any organized set of acts of violence designed to create an atmosphere of despair or fear.\textsuperscript{(7)} (Rabbie –1991)\textsuperscript{(7)} as a form of psychological warfare using violence.\textsuperscript{(8)} (Richardson -1999)\textsuperscript{(8)} as a politically motivated violence directed against non-combatant or symbolic targets.\textsuperscript{(9)} (Fotion -2004)\textsuperscript{(9)} as a policy of coercive intimidation.\textsuperscript{(10)} (Walzer -2004)\textsuperscript{(10)} as to spread fear.\textsuperscript{(11)} (Neumann -2009)\textsuperscript{(11)} as the deliberate creation of fear.\textsuperscript{(1)}

\textsuperscript{(4)} Mark S. Watson, ‘Rogue States and State Sponsored Terrorism’. Available at \url{http://markswatson.com/WebSite/terrorFrame2Source1_1.htm}.
\textsuperscript{(10)} Michael Walzer, ‘After 9/11: Five Questions about Terrorism’. In Walzer, Arguing about War. New Haven,
(4) Threat

(Crozier-1960) \(^{(2)}\) as the threat or the use of violence for political ends.

(Paust -1974) \(^{(3)}\) as the purposive use of violence or the threat of violence.\((\text{Kossoy -1976}) \(^{(4)}\) as actual or threatened use of violence.\((\text{Pierre -1976}) \(^{(5)}\) as the threat of violence.\((\text{US Central Intelligence Agency -1976}) \(^{(6)}\) as as the threat or use of violence for political.\((\text{Wolf -1976}) \(^{(7)}\) as the threat or use of deliberate violence.\((\text{Clutterbuck -1977}) \(^{(8)}\) as the attack on an individual to frighten and coerce a large number of others.\((\text{Jenkins -1977}) \(^{(9)}\) as the use of actual or threatened.\((\text{Jenkins -1977}) \(^{(10)}\) as the threat of violence, individual acts of violence, or a campaign of

\(^{(5)}\) J.D. Elliott and K. Gibson (eds), Contemporary Terrorism. Gaithersburg, MD: International Academy of Collaborative Professionals, 1978, p. 36.
ience. • (Silverstein -1977) (1) as the systematic threat of imprisonment, mutilation or death. • (Smith -1977) (2) as the use and the threat of violence. • (Schmid and de Graaf -1980) (3) as the deliberate and systematic use or threat of violence against instrumental human. • (Wardlaw -1987) (4) as the threat, practice, or promotion of force for political objectives. • (Jaggar -2005) (5) as the use of extreme threats or violence designed to intimidate or subjugate governments, groups or individuals. • (NACOS -2010) (6) as a violence or the threat of violence by groups or individuals who deliberately target civilians.

(5) (Psychological) effects and (anticipated) reactions

Günther- 2791) (7) as a systematization that operates with dread as an element of action. • (Price -1977) (8) as Planned violence intended to have psychological. • (Hess -1981) (9) as the goal of psychic effectiveness. • (Ganor -1999) (10) as a form of psy-

chological warfare against the public morale. (2002 - Inter-American Convention against Terrorism) (1) as a serious attack on the life, the physical, material, or moral well-being of persons. (Held - 2004) (2) as the intention to spread fear or the intention to harm non-combatants. (Smilansky - 2004) (3) as the intentional targeting of non-combatants with lethal or severe violence.

(6) Victim–target differentiation

(Sederberg - 1981) (4) as severe acts of violence directed at non-combatants by the contending sides of a political game. (Devine and Rafalko - 1982) (5) as violence directed, as a matter of political strategy, against innocent persons. (Wilkins - 1983) (6) as the actual or threatened use of violence against persons or property. (Ross - 1988) (7) as a method of combat in which random or symbolic victims are targets of violence. (Crelinsten – 1989) (8) as the combined use of threat and violence against one set


(1) OAS document CP/CAJP1891/02 corr. 1. of 25 March 2002. For the final version of 3 June 2002 (which is less specific), see www.oas.org/xxxiiga/english/docs_en/docs_items/AGres1840_02.htm (accessed 22 July 2010).


of targets victims.\(^{(1)}\) as who take and threaten hostages.\(^{(1)}\) (The Mitchell Commission report on the Palestinian-Israeli violence (accepted by both sides) - 2001) \(^{(2)}\) as involves the deliberate killing of randomly selected non-combatants for political ends.\(^{(3)}\) (2001- UN Ad Hoc Committee on Terrorism) \(^{(3)}\) Serious damage to public or private property. (Coady -2004) \(^{(4)}\) as the organized use of violence to attack non-combatants cents').\(^{(5)}\) (Simpson -2004) \(^{(5)}\) as consists of acts of indiscriminate violence directed at civilians or non-hostile personnel.\(^{(6)}\) (Walzer -2004) \(^{(6)}\) as the deliberate killing of innocent people.\(^{(6)}\) (Richardson -2006) \(^{(7)}\) as deliberately and violently targeting civilians.

(7) Purposive, planned, systematic tactic

(Anonymous -1977) \(^{(8)}\) as continuation of public protest by different means.\(^{(8)}\) (Iviansky -1977) \(^{(9)}\) as seeks to sow disorder and panic, to undermine.\(^{(10)}\) (Mallin -1977) \(^{(10)}\) as the threat of violence or an act or series of acts of violence effected through surreptitious

\(^{(1)}\) Martin Hughes, ‘Terror and Negotiation’. Terrorism and Political Violence, 2(1), Spring, 1990, p. 73.


means by an individual. •(Zinam -1978) (1) as the use or threat of violence by individuals or by organized groups to evoke fear and submission to attain some economic, political, socio-psychological, ideological, or other objective. •(Allemann -1980) (2) as campaigns on the other. The claim of the terrorists to constitute a type of ‘urban guerrilla’. •(Kaplan -2004) (3) as the use of the internet as a vehicle through which to launch an attack. •(McMahan -2004) (4) as intentional attacks, for political or ideological purposes. •(Rodin -2004) (5) as the deliberate, negligent, or reckless use of force against non-combatants. •(University of Princeton: WordNet 2.0 A Lexical Database for the English Language -2004) (6) as the calculated use of violence. •(Gianola -2009) (7) as the strategic activity, be it of an individual or an [organized group, of a bearer of collective interests. •(Tinnes -2010) (8) as planned, unpredictable violence against targets selected arbitrarily or for their symbolic value.


(6) www.cogsci.princeton.edu/cgi-bin/webwn?stage=1&word=terrorism
bin/webwn?stage=1&word=terrorism (accessed 17 August 2004).


(8) Method of combat, strategy, tactic

(Mallin- 1791) (1) as a form of guerrilla warfare. (Crenshaw Hutchinson - 1972) (2) as a part of insurgent strategy in the context of internal warfare or revolution. (Laqueur - 1987) (3) as the use or the threat of use of violence, a method of combat, or a gy. (Merari –1999) (4) as a means, not a goal. Because it is the simplest form of armed struggle. (Weinberg and Pedahzur (New Academic (Minimal) Consensus Definition -2003) (5) as motivated tactic involving the threat or use of force or violence. (Margolis - 2004) (6) as employing weapons of mass destruction.

(9) Extra-normality, in breach of accepted rules, without humanitarian constraints

(Jenkins and Johnson -1975) (7) as a single incident or a campaign of violence waged outside the presently accepted rules. (Singh -1977) (8) as a type of violent activity subsumed under the general heading of unconventional warfare. (Mick-

olus -1978) as the use, of anxiety-inducing extra-normal violence for political purposes by an individual or group. (Shultz -1978) as the threat and/or use of extra-normal forms of political violence. (Green -1981) as anyone who attempts to further his views of coercive intimidation. (Schmid -1984) as a method of combat in which random or symbolic victims serve as an instrumental target of violence. (Gal-Or -1990) as a kind of mini-warfare without a conventional military front. (Card -2003) as a Mass killing of unarmed civilians targeted deliberately. (Sterba -2003) the use or threat of violence against.

(10) Coercion, extortion, induction of compliance

(Waciorsky-1939) as a method of action by which an agent tends to produce terror in order to impose his
tion. (Nutter - 1984) as a direct coercion... (Wellman - 1984) as the used to coerce with the threat of great harm of one or

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more persons if the threat is not heeded. (Dolnik -2003) (1) as premeditated acts of ideologically or religiously motivated violence. (Annan -2005) (2) as intended to cause death or serious bodily harm to civilians.

(11) Publicity aspect

(Gross -1972) (3) as a apolitical tactic. (Schmid -2002) (4) as the use, or credible threat of use, of destructive force against noncombatant/civilian targets for purposes of propaganda.

(12) Arbitrariness; impersonal, random character, indiscrimination

(Chernov-1909) (5) as a form of military combat, a form of war, and as in war, any state whose military tactics are outdated exposes itself to failure. (Arendt-1951) (6) as the arbitrariness by which victims are chosen. (Dallin and Breslauer—1970) (7) as stresses of the element of arbitrariness. (Combs –2000) (8) as a

violence – that which is perpetrated on innocent victims .•(Corlett -2003) (1) as the attempt to achieve (or prevent) political, social, economic.

(13) Civilians, non-combatants, neutrals, outsiders as victims

(Morrison et al-1792) (2) as events involving relatively highly organized and planned activity on the part of small but cohesive groups .•(Laos -2000 ) (3) as the indiscriminate use of violence .•(Coady -2001) (4) as Intentionally targeting non-combatants with lethal or severe violence.

(14) Intimidation

(Hacker- 3791) (5) as the use of the intimidation instrument of of rule by the powerful. •(Holton -1977) (6) as a method of coercing a population or its leadership by means of fear or tion. •(Horowitz -1977) (7) as the selective use of fear. •(Leiser -1977) 1977) (8) as any organized set of acts of violence designed to create

(8) B.M. Leiser, ‘Terrorism, Guerrilla Warfare and International Morali-
an atmosphere of despair or fear. *(Holton -1978)* (1) as a method of coercion of a population or its leadership through fear or traumatization. *(Karanovic^ -1979)* (2) as systematic and organized violence against non-resistant persons to create fear in them. *(Hacker -1980)* (3) as the manufacture and spread of fear. *(Army Regulation 310-25 U.S. Army, Dictionary of United States Army Terms -1983)* (4) as the use or threat of violence in furtherance of a political aim. *(Hoffmann - 1984)* (5) as a purposeful human political activity, which is directed toward the creation of a general climate of fear. *(Smith-1984)* (6) as create a climate of fear and intimidation by means of threats or violent action. *(Wilkinson - 1987)* (7) as coercive intimidation. *(Mozaffari –1988)* (8) as the use of violence or the threat thereof to achieve a political end by means of creating fear. *(Lackey-1989)* (9) as threat or use of violence against non-combatants. *(Allan –1990)* (10) as a governing instrument in an ef-

(6) US antiterrorism legislation as quoted by Brent L. Smith, Department of Criminal Justice, University of Alabama in Birmingham, Alabama, 1984, p. 217.
fort to preserve the state order. (Hoffman -1998) (1) as the delib-
erate creation and exploitation of fear through violence. (Malik -
2000) (2) as the deliberate creation and exploitation of fear through
violence or the threat of violence. (Cooper -2001) (3) as the inten-
tional generation of massive fear by human beings. (Combs and
Slann -2003) (4) as creating a mood of fear for political purposes.

(15) Innocence of victims emphasized

(Chisholm-1948) (5) as the planned use of violence or threat of violence against an individual or social group. (Netan-
yahu - 1986) (6) as the deliberate and systematic murder, maiming,
ing, and menacing of the innocent to inspire fear. (Anderson -1998 ) (7) as seeks deliberately to target largely non-combatants as its
victims and to cultivate terror among both victims and tors. (Elshtain -2003) (8) as the random murder of innocent people.

(16) Group, movement, organization as perpetrator

(Anand - 1984) (9) as the art of compelling an individual,
group, or authority to adopt a particular disposition. (Wilkinson -

(1 ) Bruce Hoffman, Inside Terrorism. New York: Columbia University
(2 ) Omar Malik, ‘Terrorism: Method or Madness. Paper 1. Enough of
the Definition of Terrorism’. London: Royal Institute of International Af-
fairs, 2000, p. 11.
(3 ) H.H.A. Cooper, ‘Terrorism: The Problem of Terrorism Revisited’.
(4 ) Cindy C. Combs, Martin Slann et al., Encyclopedia of Terrorism.
MA thesis, Georgetown University, Washington, DC, 1948, pp.11–12,
18–19, 21–22.
(6 ) Benjamin B. Netanyahu (ed.), Terrorism: How the West Can Win.
(7 ) Sean K. Anderson, ‘Warnings versus Alarms: Terrorist Threat
Analysis Applied to the Iranian State-run Media’. Studies in Conflict
(8 ) Jean Bethke Elshtain, Just War against Terror. New York: Basic
1986) (1) as the systematic use of murder and destruction in order to terrorize individuals, groups, communities or governments into conceding to the terrorists’ political demands. (Alexander and Sinai - 1989) (2) as the deliberate employment of violence or the threat of the use of violence by sovereign states or the sub-national groups. (Ganor –1998) (3) as the use of violence against civilians or against civilian targets in order to attain political aims. (Byman -1999) (4) as deliberate violence by a sub-national ethnic group to advance its cause. (European Union -2002) (5) as an intentional act which may seriously damage a country or an international organization.

(17) Incalculability, unpredictability, unexpectedness of occurrence of violence

(Neale -1973) (6) as the use or threat of violence and designed to influence political behaviour. (Finger and Alexander -1977) (7) as perpetrating random and brutal intimidation, coercion or destruction of human lives and. (Funke -1977) (8) as systematic, planned threatening with, or application of, violence organized to

strike by surprise.«(Greisman -1977) (1)as the catalogue of organized violence.«(Thackrah –1987) (2) as an organized system of extreme and violent intimidation to create instability within democracies.«(Schneider –1994) (3) as the use of violence or the threat of violence against persons or objects.

(18) Clandestine, covert nature

(Bouthoul -1975) (4) as the work of small and very secret groups.«(Wilkinson-1976) (5) as a special form of clandestine, undeclared and unconventional warfare waged without any humanitarian restraints or rules.«(Laqueur -1977) (6) as the use of covert violence by a group for political ends.«(Wördemann -1977) (7) the use of force by a small and isolated.«(Wilkinson - 1986) (8) as a special form of clandestine, undeclared and unconventional warfare, waged without any humanitarian restraints or rules.«Della Porta - 1988) (9) as the action of clandestine political organizations.«(Schmid - 1988) (10) as an anxiety- inspiring method of repeated violent action,

(10) Alex P. Schmid et al., Political Terrorism, p. 28.
employed by (semi-) clandestine individual, group, or state actors.\(^{(1)}\) as unlawful violence, or the plausible threat of such violence, by an illegal, sub-national, clandestine group – usually carried out in a peaceful, civilian.\(^{(2)}\) as a violent form of political struggle employed by revolutionary groups.\(^{(3)}\) is the combined threat and use of violence, planned in secret. \(^{(157)}\) \(^{(4)}\) as the exploitation of computerized systems.\(^{(5)}\) as a violence perpetrated against non-combatant combatant targets by subnational groups.\(^{(6)}\) as the sustained clandestine use of violence.

(19) Repetitiveness; serial or campaign character of violence

\(^{(7)}\) as un-sponsored and unsanctioned violence against the body or bodies of others.\(^{(8)}\)as


the deliberate use of violence, or threat of its use, against innocent people.

(20) Criminal

(Marighela-1971) (1) as the use of bomb attacks. (Fairbairn -1974) (2) as a form of violence and Revolutionary guerrilla. (US FBI -1976) (3) as a types of criminal activity. (Fearey -1976) (4) as assassination or murder, kidnapping, extortion, arson, maiming or an assortment. (US Task Force -1976) (5) as a way of engaging in certain types of criminal activity. (Bell -1978) (6) as a model to madmen and criminals appears. (Bassiouni -1979) (7) as a strategy of unlawful violence calculated to inspire terror in the general public or a significant segment thereof in order to achieve a power-outcome. (Nanes – 1984) (8) as a violent act or an act dangerous to human life in violation of the criminal laws of any state. (US Federal Bureau of Investigation - 1984) (9) as the unlawful use of force or violence against (South Asian As sociation for Region

(9) FBI Analysis of Terrorist Incidents in the United States (1984), p. 87.
Cooperation (SAARC) - 1987)\(^{(1)}\) as a political offence. (Linn - 1988)\(^{(2)}\) as the deliberate and systematic murder, maiming, and menacing of the innocent to inspire fear. (Houghton –1995)\(^{(3)}\) as a political crime. (Hoffman –1997)\(^{(4)}\) religious terrorist violence first and foremost is a sacramental act of divine duty - (Davidson Smith -1998)\(^{(5)}\) as a form of anti-state terrorism that manifests itself as an extreme, illegitimate. (1999 -Organization of African Unity (OAU) Convention on the Prevention and Combating of Terrorism)\(^{(6)}\) as any act which is a violation of the criminal laws of of a State .(1999 - Treaty on Cooperation among States Members of the Commonwealth of Independent States in Combating Terrorism)\(^{(7)}\) as an illegal act punishable under criminal law. (EU Definition of Terrorism- 2001)\(^{(8)}\) as an offences intentionally committed by an individual or a group against one or more countries. (Knobler et al – 2002)\(^{(9)}\) as using biological agents. (NATO


\(^{7\)}\) Quoted in UN Office of Legal Affairs, International Instruments Related to the Prevention and Suppression of International Terrorism, pp. 174–175.


Standardization Agency -2003) \(^{(1)}\) as the unlawful use or threatened use of force or violence against individuals.\(^{4}\) (Derrida and Borradori 2004) \(^{(2)}\) as a reference to a crime against human life and violation of laws.\(^{(3)}\)(Addicott -2009) as the illegal use of violence directed at civilians to produce fear.

(21) Demands made on third parties

(German Federal Republic, ministry of the interior - 1984) \(^{(4)}\) as the enduringly conducted struggle for political goals.\(^{(5)}\)(Ahmad - 1986) \(^{(6)}\) as the use of terrorizing methods of governing or resisting a government’.\(^{(2)}\)(Kaufman – 1986) \(^{(6)}\) as the random murder of innocent people.\(^{(7)}\)(Ezeldin - 1987) \(^{(7)}\) as a systematic and persistent strategy of violence Practised by a state or political group against another state or political group.\(^{(8)}\)(Murphy –1989) as an acts of

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\(^{(5)}\) Eqbal Ahmad, ‘Comprehending Terror’. Middle East Report, May–June 1986, p. 3.


international terrorism include. (Taylor Wilkins - 1992) \(^{(1)}\) as the attempt to achieve political, social, economic, or religious change by the actual or threatened use of violence. (Chalk –1998) \(^{(2)}\) as an inexpensive method of warfare that can achieve relatively effective results.

Methodology

Content analysis is a research method that uses a set of procedures to make valid inferences from text. These inferences are about the sender(s) of the message, the message itself, or the audience of the message. The rules of this inferential process vary with the theoretical and substantive interests of the investigator. Content analysis can be used for many purposes as describe trends in communication content. Content analysis refers to a general set of techniques useful for analyzing and understanding collections of text. \(^{(3)}\) so, the study exploration a revised academic consensus definition of terrorism by Content Analysis of 262 terrorism definitions through (10 Elements \(^{(4)}\) ); Dual character of the term terrorism • Threefold context • Perpetrator as source or agent of violence • Political • Violent act • Threat-based communication • Differentiation between direct civilian victims and the ultimate target audience • Terror/fear/dread • Intent • Campaign.

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\(^{(2)}\) Peter Chalk, ‘Political Terrorism in South-East Asia’. Terrorism and Political Violence, 10(2), Summer 1998, p. 97.


## Table (1)

Identifies results of Content Analysis of academic consensus in terrorism definitions

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Element</th>
<th>Frequencies</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1-Dual character of the term ‘terrorism’</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>An ideology</td>
<td>83</td>
<td>31.7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The primary victims of violence</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>11.8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>special form of violence</td>
<td>98</td>
<td>34.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>generate power in political conflict</td>
<td>41</td>
<td>15.6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a practice, tactic or method</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>11.1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>influence and manipulate the political process</td>
<td>52</td>
<td>19.8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>deliberately planned</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>16.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2: Threefold context</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a form of rule by fear</td>
<td>61</td>
<td>23.3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a continuation of protest and propaganda by other means</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>3.4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a form of irregular warfare</td>
<td>82</td>
<td>31.3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3: Perpetrator as source or agent of violence</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>takes a human agent to produce terrorism</td>
<td>52</td>
<td>19.9%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a human agent to produce terrorism that can produce terrorism</td>
<td>49</td>
<td>18.7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>include secret agents</td>
<td>73</td>
<td>27.9%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>violence-prone ideological movements</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>6.1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>attribute the capacity to engage in terrorism</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>2.7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>include figures from organized crime</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>10.3%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
the agent is usually acting from an underground | 69 | 26.3%
under the veil of secrecy | 74 | 28.2%

4: Political
not merely criminal or psychotic violence | 9 | 3.4%
referred to the common concerns of the citizens | 80 | 30.5%
a form of violence without moral influence the state government’s politics | 31 | 11.8%
as violent protests | 79 | 30.2%
protest suicides | 13 | 5.0%

storming of government buildings | 2 | 0.8%
Political violence | 9 | 3.4%
collective violent action | 89 | 34.0%
civil strife | 16 | 6.1%
mass political violence | 8 | 3.1%
internal war | 88 | 33.6%

5: Violent act
use of violence without moral restraints | 5 | 1.9%
illegal or illegitimate application of extreme force | 49 | 18.7%
death or serious injury | 15 | 5.7%
Bombing | 9 | 3.4%
armed assault | 8 | 3.1%
Massacre | 62 | 23.7%
hostage taking for coercive bargaining | 13 | 5.0%
criminal offences outside the context of war | 12 | 4.9%
| Non-Combatants are Deliberately Targeted | 27 | 10.0% |
| Selective Violence | 59 | 22.5% |
| Indiscriminate Violence | 62 | 23.7% |

6: Threat-based Communication

| Create a Climate of Fear | 77 | 29.3% |
| A Fear of Repetition | 4 | 1.5% |
| Can Strike Anyone | 59 | 22.5% |
| Dual-phase Incidents | 12 | 4.9% |
| Publication of Death Lists | 5 | 1.9% |
| Organized Crime | 67 | 25.6% |
| Allegedly Against | 5 | 1.9% |
| A Form of Blackmail Takes Place | 9 | 3.4% |
| Use the Conditional Suspension | 7 | 2.7% |

7: Differentiation between Direct Civilian Victims and the Ultimate Target Audience

| Innocent | 19 | 7.3% |
| Harmless Civilians | 2 | 0.8% |
| Unarmed Civilians | 47 | 17.9% |
| Civilians in General | 35 | 13.4% |
| The Defenceless in General | 29 | 11.1% |
| Who are Neutral or Not a Party to the Conflict | 37 | 14.1% |
| Indiscriminately Chosen (Random) Victims | 28 | 10.7% |
| Nonmilitary Targets | 14 | 5.3% |
| Genuine Non-combatants | 16 | 29.0% |
| Non-civilian Noncombatants | 21 | 8.0% |
| Unarmed Police Not on Duty | 12 | 4.6% |
## 8: Terror/fear/dread

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Phenomenon</th>
<th>Frequency</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Deliberate act of violence</td>
<td>63</td>
<td>24%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Produce a psychological effect</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>7.3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The element of surprise</td>
<td>70</td>
<td>26.7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Coercively exploit – shock</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>4.2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A climate of terror</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>12.6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hate the victim</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>5.3%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

## 9: Intent

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Phenomenon</th>
<th>Frequency</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Search for attention</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0.8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Publicity</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>1.5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Destabilization</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>13.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mobilization of supporters</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>2.7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Polarization in society</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>3.4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Enforcing obedience</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1.1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Destroying public</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>6.5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Confidence in government</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>17.1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Advertising the goals of the terrorist organization</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>5.3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Publication of a manifesto</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>3.1%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

## 10: Campaign

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Phenomenon</th>
<th>Frequency</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Declaring a conditional cease-fire</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0.8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Involve multiple simultaneous attacks</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>6.1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dual- or multi-phase acts of terrorism</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>1.9%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Single-phase attacks</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0.8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A political front organization</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>10.3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Use terrorism as a stand-alone technique</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>3.4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lightning war</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>3.1%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Content Analysis of academic consensus in terrorism

Dr. Shereen Salah