



Integrated United States Security Database (IUSSD): Data on the Terrorist Attacks in the United States Homeland, 1970 to 2011

*Final Report to Resilient Systems Division, DHS
Science and Technology Directorate*

December 2012

National Consortium for the Study of Terrorism and Responses to Terrorism
A Department of Homeland Security Science and Technology Center of Excellence
Based at the University of Maryland

3300 Symons Hall • College Park, MD 20742 • 301.405.6600 • www.start.umd.edu

About This Report and the Global Terrorism Database

The authors of this report are Gary LaFree (START Director, UMD), Laura Dugan (START Associate, UMD), Erin Miller (GTD Project Manager). Questions about this report should be directed to Gary LaFree (garylafree@gmail.com).

The initial collection of data for the Global Terrorism Database (GTD) data was carried out by the Pinkerton Global Intelligence Services (PGIS) between 1970 and 1997 and was donated to the University of Maryland in 2001. Digitizing and validating the original GTD data from 1970 to 1997 was funded by a grant from the National Institute of Justice in 2004 (PIs Gary LaFree and Laura Dugan; grant number: NIJ2002-DT-CX-0001) and thereafter in 2005 as part of the START Center of Excellence by the Department of Homeland Security Science and Technology Directorate (DHS S&T), Office of University Programs (PI Gary LaFree; grant numbers N00140510629 and 2008-ST-061-ST0004). Data collection funding for GTD from 1998 to 2007 was supplied by the DHS S&T Human Factors/Behavioral Sciences Division (HFD) (PIs Gary LaFree and Gary Ackerman; contract number HSHQDC-05-X-00482). All information in the database on events through March 2008 was collected and coded by database staff at the National Consortium for the Study of Terrorism and Responses to Terrorism (START) and the Center for Terrorism and Intelligence Studies (CETIS).

For GTD data collection from April 2008 to November 2011, START partnered with the Institute for the Study of Violent Groups (ISVG), headquartered at New Haven University. Beginning in November 2011, the START Consortium headquartered at the University of Maryland began collecting the original data for the GTD. Data collection on cases for 2008 through 2011 has been funded by a grant from DHS S&T Office of University Programs, (PI Gary LaFree; grant number 2008-ST-061-ST0004). The GTD now includes information on 104,688 terrorist attacks from around the world from 1970 through 2011 and can be accessed directly from the START web site (www.start.umd.edu/gtd). The GTD data for 2012 will be collected by START at the University of Maryland and jointly funded by DHS S&T Office of University Programs (PI Gary LaFree; grant number 2012-ST-061-CS0001) and by the U.S. State Department (PIs Gary LaFree and Erin Miller; contract number SAQMMA12M1292).

In addition to ongoing data collection, efforts to review and update information on terrorist attacks in the United States have been supported through funding from the DHS S&T Resilient Systems Division (PI Gary LaFree, grant number 2009ST108LR0003). Beginning in 2009, efforts to supplement GTD data for the United States have included systematically reviewing numerous chronologies of terrorism and political violence to identify cases that qualify for inclusion in the GTD, as well as updating existing GTD cases with new information.

This report focuses on the U.S. segment of the Global Terrorism Database.

About START

The National Consortium for the Study of Terrorism and Responses to Terrorism (START) is supported in part by the Science and Technology Directorate of the U.S. Department of Homeland Security through a Center of Excellence program based at the University of Maryland. START uses state-of-the-art theories, methods and data from the social and behavioral sciences to improve understanding of the origins, dynamics and social and psychological impacts of terrorism. For more information, contact START at infostart@start.umd.edu or visit www.start.umd.edu.

Citations

To cite this report, please use this format:

LaFree, Gary, Laura Dugan and Erin Miller, "Integrated United States Security Database (IUSSD): Terrorism Data on the United States Homeland, 1970 to 2011," Final Report to the Resilient Systems Division, DHS Science and Technology Directorate, U.S. Department of Homeland Security. College Park, MD: START, 2012.

Table of Contents

Executive Summary.....	5
Global Terrorism Data for the United States, 1970 to 2011	6
Longitudinal Trends	6
Spatial Distributions	9
Terrorist Weapons	14
Terrorist Tactics.....	18
Targets of Terrorist Attacks in the United States.....	21
Terrorist Organizations Perpetrating Attacks in the United States	24
Conclusion and the New Reorganization of GTD Data Collection	27

Executive Summary

Beginning in November 2011, the START Consortium headquartered at the University of Maryland began collecting original data for the Global Terrorism Database (GTD). The GTD now includes information on 104,688 terrorist attacks from around the world from 1970 through 2011. This report focuses on the U.S. segment of the GTD. For each GTD incident, information is included on the date and location of the incident, the weapons used and nature of the target, the number of casualties, and when available, the group or individual responsible for the incident. In total, 2,608 terrorist attacks occurred in the United States between 1970 and 2011. In this report, we describe longitudinal trends in terrorism in the United States and its spatial distribution at the country, state and city levels. We also examine the weapons and tactics used in these attacks, as well as their targets and perpetrators. Findings include:

- There were a total of 207 terrorist attacks in the United States between 2001 and 2011.
- Total attacks declined from a high of 40 in 2001 to nine in 2011.
- Between 2001 and 2011, we recorded a total of 21 fatal terrorist attacks in the United States.
- The highest proportion of unsuccessful attacks since 1970 occurred in 2011, when four out of nine recorded attacks were unsuccessful.
- From 2001 to 2011 California (40) and New York (19) experienced the most total terrorist attacks against the U.S. homeland.
- The three cities in the United States that experienced the most attacks from 2001 to 2011 were New York City (12), Washington, DC (9) and Los Angeles (8).
- The most common weapons used in terrorist attacks in the United States from 2001 to 2011 were incendiary devices (53% of all weapons used) and explosives (20% of all weapons used).
- For the period from 2001 to 2011, biological weapons were tied with firearms as the third most common weapon used in terrorist attacks (both represented 8% of all weapons used). This unusual result is due to the anthrax attacks in October 2001.
- From 2001 to 2011, non-explosive attacks aimed at damaging property or reducing the functionality of a system but not causing direct human injury accounted for more than half (54%) of all tactics used. Many of these cases were due to an increased reliance on arson, much of it associated with environmental and animal rights violent extremist groups.
- From 2001 to 2011, the most common targets of terrorists in the United States were businesses (62 attacks), private citizens and property (59 attacks), and government (43 attacks).
- The three terrorist organizations with the largest number of attacks on the U.S. homeland from 2001 to 2011 were the Earth Liberation Front (50), the Animal Liberation Front (34) and al-Qa'ida (4).

Integrated United States Security Database (IUSSD): Data on Terrorist Attacks in the U.S. Homeland, 1970 to 2011

The Global Terrorism Database (GTD) is a collection of open source structured data on terrorist attacks that have occurred worldwide since 1970. It currently includes over 104,000 attacks that took place between 1970 and 2011, and data collection through 2012 is ongoing.

The GTD defines terrorism as *the threatened or actual use of illegal force and violence by a non-state actor to attain a political, economic, religious, or social goal through fear, coercion or intimidation*.

For each attack included in the GTD, researchers record information for over 120 variables pertaining to the date, location, targets, tactics, weapons, perpetrators, casualties and outcomes of the attack. This information is drawn from unclassified accounts, almost entirely media reports. The data and accompanying documentation are available to policymakers, analysts, scholars, educators, journalists, and the general public on the START website: www.start.umd.edu/gtd.

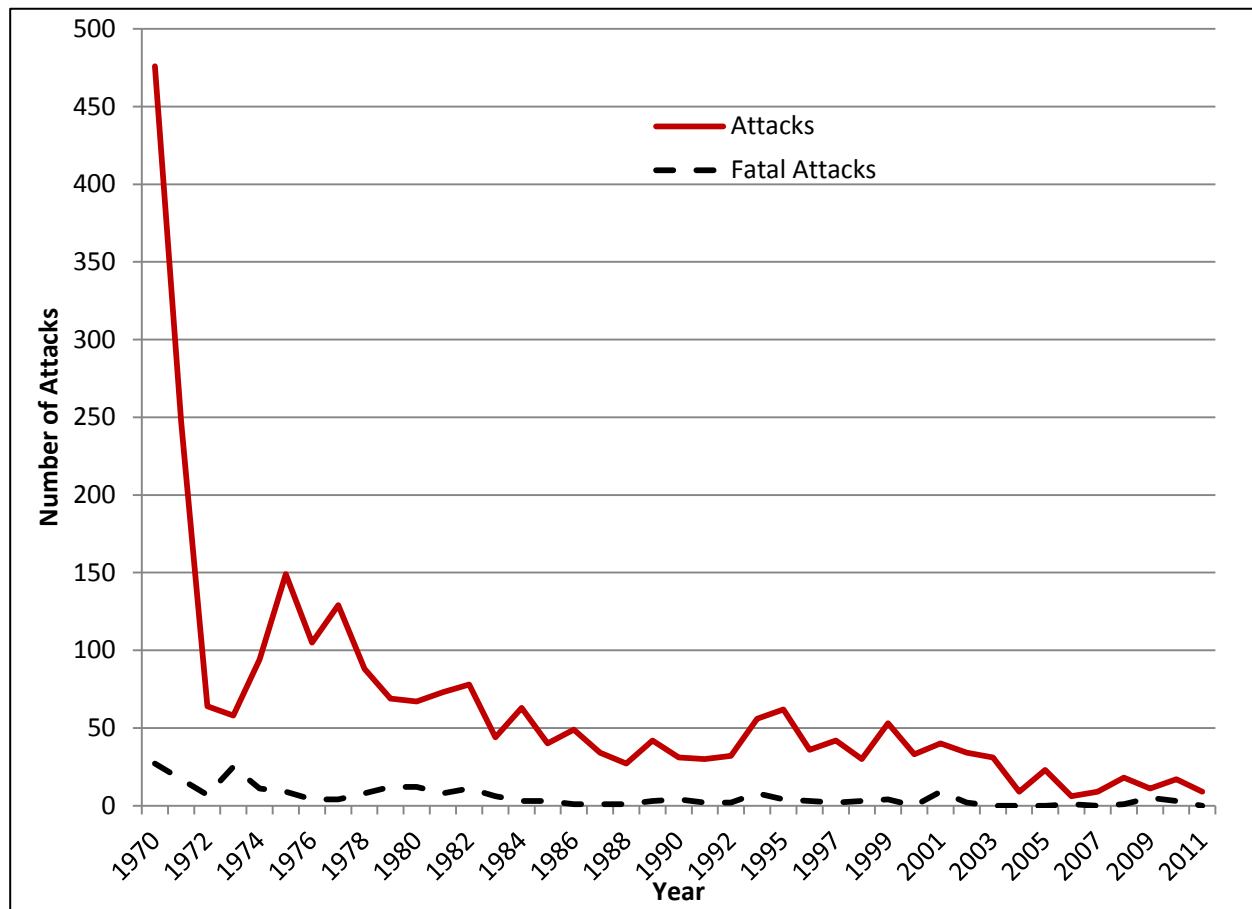
In this report we introduce the updated GTD data on terrorist attacks that took place in the United States from 1970 through 2011.¹ In total, 2,608 terrorist attacks occurred in the United States during this period. In the sections that follow, we describe longitudinal trends in terrorism in the United States and its spatial distribution at the country, state and city levels. We also examine the weapons and tactics used in these attacks, as well as their targets and perpetrators.

Longitudinal Trends

In Figure 1 we show total and fatal terrorist attacks in the United States by year from 1970 to 2011. The numbers of both total and fatal attacks per year are sharply down over the 42 years included in the GTD. The largest number of total attacks recorded during a single year in the United States (476) took place in 1970, the first year covered by the database, and the smallest number of total attacks in the United States (6) took place in 2006. (Total attacks in 2011 were only slightly higher at 9). Following a large drop after 1970, total attacks per year hit a much lower peak in the mid-1970s, with 149 attacks in 1975. Total attacks per year declined throughout the period spanned by the data, dropping below 50 for the first time in 1983 (44) and below 30 for the first time in 1988 (27).

¹ Data for 1993 are missing in the GTD and are thus excluded from this report.

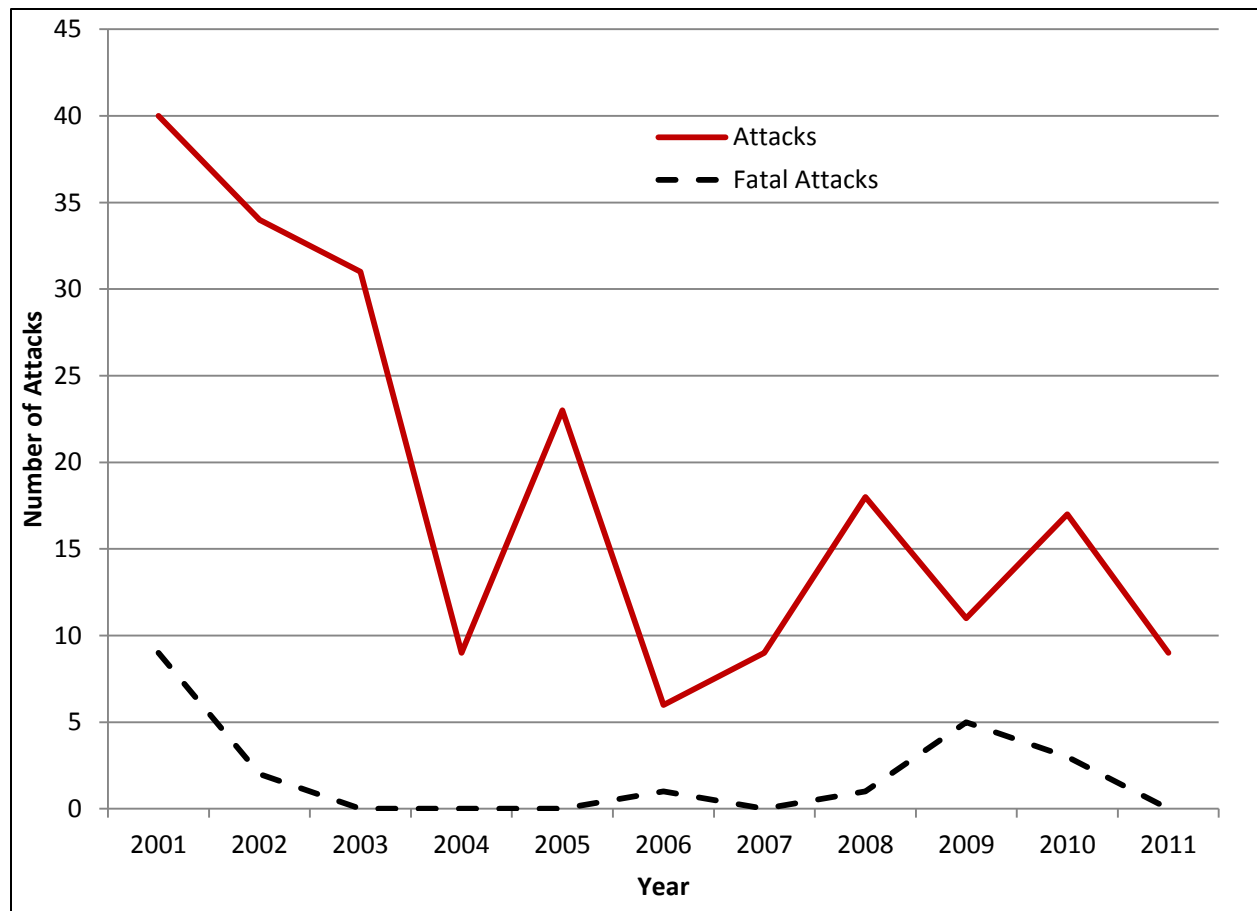
Figure 1. Total and Fatal Terrorist Attacks in the United States by Year, 1970 to 2011



Note: There were 2,608 total attacks and 226 fatal attacks between 1970 and 2011.

In Figure 2 we provide the same information on the number of total attacks and fatal attacks per year, but to make it easier to see small differences, we only examine the years from 2001 to 2011. According to Figure 2, there were a total of 207 terrorist attacks in the United States between 2001 and 2011. Total attacks per year declined from a high of 40 in 2001 to nine in 2011. The smallest number of attacks occurred in 2006 when we recorded six terrorist attacks in the U.S. homeland. Between 2001 and 2011, we recorded a total of 21 fatal terrorist attacks in the United States.

Figure 2. Total and Fatal Terrorist Attacks in the United States by Year, 2001 to 2011



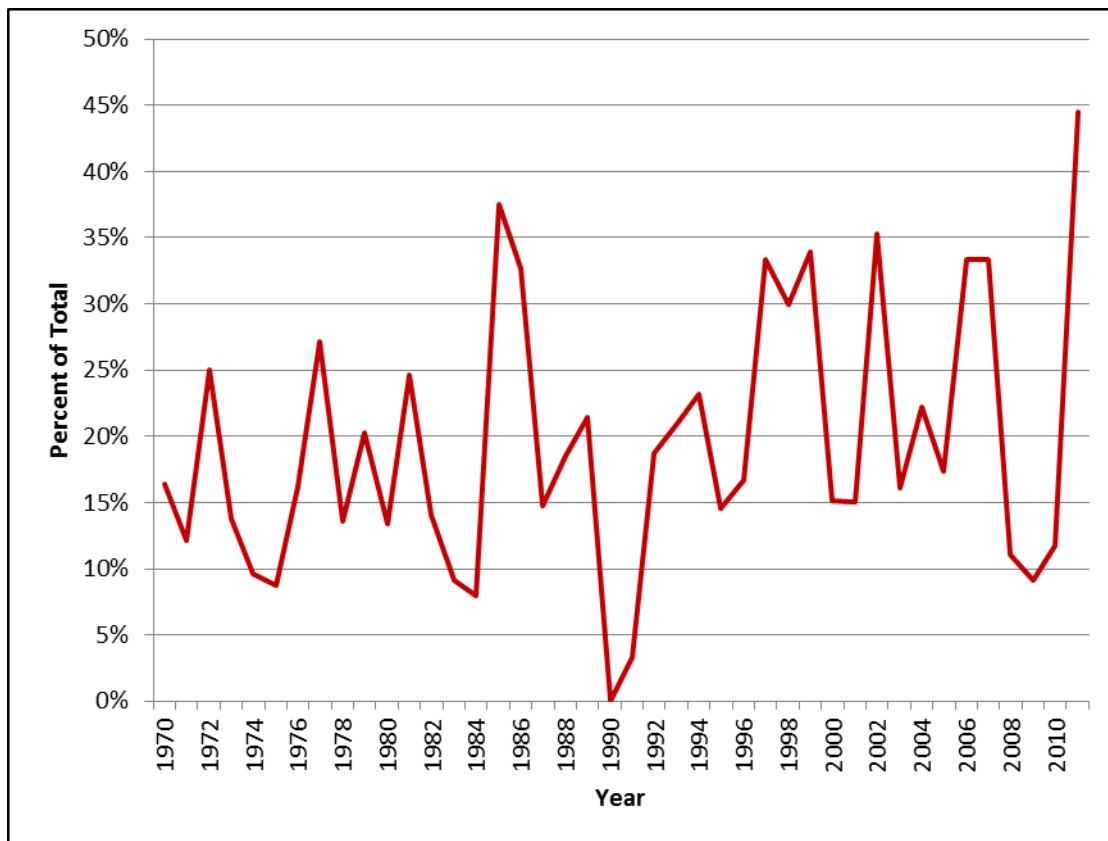
Note: There were 208 total attacks and 21 fatal attacks in the United States between 2001 and 2011.

Although the GTD does not include plots, conspiracies, or hoaxes, it does include attacks that were attempted but ultimately unsuccessful. The minimum threshold for inclusion of unsuccessful attacks in this sense is that the perpetrators have taken action toward carrying out the attack. In other words, they were “out the door” intending to imminently attack their target. Once it meets this threshold, an attack is identified as unsuccessful in the GTD if it does not take place. Precisely what this means actually varies depending on the type of attack, but it is important to note that an attack need not take place exactly as planned or achieve the ultimate goals of the perpetrators in order to be identified as a successful attack in the GTD. For example, a bombing is unsuccessful if the bomb does not detonate, either because the device failed or it was intercepted and defused before it could detonate. Recent examples of unsuccessful bombings in the United States include the December 2009 attempted suicide bombing of a Northwest Airlines flight and the May 2010 attempted vehicle bombing in Times Square in New York City. However, an attack in which a bomb detonates prematurely or causes only minor damage is still classified as a successful bombing due to the fact that the bomb did actually detonate. In contrast, an assassination is considered unsuccessful if the intended target was not killed, even if others were. A successful assassination is one in which the intended target is killed.

Figure 3 shows the percent of all attacks in the United States that were unsuccessful by year from 1970 to 2011. The percentage of attacks that were unsuccessful varies considerably from year to year, but appears to have gradually trended upward over time ($r = 0.28$). The lowest proportion of unsuccessful

attacks occurred in 1990 when all 31 attacks in the United States were successful. The highest proportion of unsuccessful attacks occurred in 2011, when four out of nine recorded attacks were unsuccessful. In three of these attacks bombs failed to detonate before they were discovered, and in the fourth unsuccessful attack, shots were fired at the White House by an individual who has since been charged with attempting to assassinate President Obama.

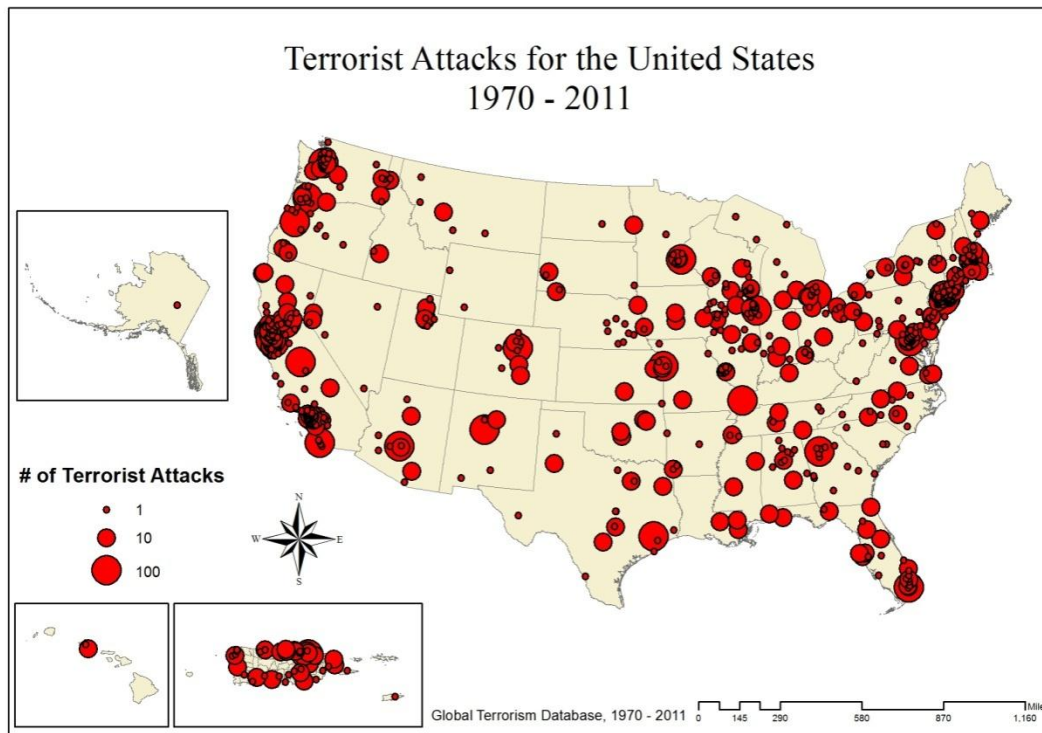
Figure 3: Percent of Total Attacks in the United States that were Unsuccessful by Year, 1970 to 2011



Spatial Distributions

In Figure 4 we show all terrorist attacks against the U.S. homeland from 1970 to 2011 by geographic location: the larger the circle, the greater the number of attacks. The largest circles indicate concentrations of more than 100 attacks, and these circles are limited to New York City, Washington DC, Miami, Los Angeles and San Francisco. In the most general terms, Figure 4 permits at least two main conclusions. First, as we would expect, terrorist attacks in the United States have been closely associated with large urban areas. But second, attacks are also fairly dispersed. In fact, according to the GTD, every single state in the United States and (including Alaska, Hawaii and the territory of Puerto Rico) experienced at least one terrorist attack between 1970 and 2011.

Figure 4. Terrorist Attacks in the United States, 1970-2011



In Table 1 we next examine the 10 U.S. states that have experienced the most terrorist attacks and fatalities from 1970 to 2011. California and New York experienced the most total attacks, jointly accounting for 1,066 attacks or 41 percent of all attacks against the United States between 1970 and 2011. Puerto Rico (treated here as a state) was the third most frequently attacked, owing especially to the Fuerzas Armadas de Liberacion Nacional, a high profile separatist group that was especially active in the 1970s. It is also worth emphasizing that the ranking of states is influenced greatly by the large cities that are included in each state. Thus, California's number one ranking is mostly due to attacks in Los Angeles and San Francisco, and New York State's number two ranking is due mostly to attacks in New York City.

Table 1 also shows the 10 states with the highest number of terrorism-related fatalities from 1970 to 2011. The terrorist attacks of September 11, 2001 are largely responsible for the number one ranking of New York, the number two ranking of Virginia, and the number five ranking of Pennsylvania. The 1995 Oklahoma City bombing accounts for Oklahoma being ranked number three. Fatalities in the other states included in Table 1 are spread out over a larger number of attacks with fewer fatalities in each.

Table 1. U.S. States Experiencing the Most Terrorist Attacks and Fatalities, 1970-2011

Attacks			Fatalities		
Rank	State	Number of Attacks	Rank	State	Number of Fatalities
1	California	574	1	New York	2,818
2	New York	492	2	Virginia	196
3	Puerto Rico	241	3	Oklahoma	170
4	Florida	144	4	California	61
5	Illinois	108	5	Pennsylvania	48
6	Washington	88	6	Puerto Rico	22
7	District of Columbia	81	7	Texas	19
8	Oregon	60	8	Colorado	18
9	Massachusetts	50	9	District of Columbia	17
10	Texas	48	10	Florida	15

Note: We treat Puerto Rico and the District of Columbia here as states.

For comparative purposes we present in Table 2 the five states that experienced the most terrorist attacks and fatalities between 2001 and 2011. As in Table 1, California and New York experienced the most total terrorist attacks against the U.S. homeland recorded by the GTD during this time period. The state of Washington experienced the third most terrorist attacks, owing mostly to the activities of the Earth Liberation Front between 2001 and 2011. Florida is ranked fifth. Virginia is the only state that is among those experiencing the most terrorist attacks from 2001 to 2011 but not among those experiencing the most terrorist attacks from 1970 to 2011. The attacks in Virginia between 2001 and 2011 have primarily been carried out by unaffiliated offenders not linked to a specific group.

Table 2. U.S. States Experiencing the Most Terrorist Attacks and Fatalities, 2001-2011

Attacks			Fatalities		
Rank	State	Number of Attacks	Rank	State	Number of Fatalities
1	California	40	1	New York	2,764
2	New York	19	2	Virginia	190
3	Washington	16	3	Pennsylvania	44
4	Virginia	11	4	Texas	15
5	Florida	10	5	District of Columbia	5

Again, because lethal terrorist attacks are relatively infrequent in the United States, the list of states experiencing the greatest number of fatalities due to terrorist attacks between 2001 and 2011 tend to be

marked by extraordinary single attacks rather than general patterns of heightened lethality in these areas. The three states that experienced the most fatalities between 2001 and 2011 are the three states where the coordinated attacks of September 11, 2001 took place: New York, Virginia and Pennsylvania. Texas ranks number four in terms of fatalities because of the attack at Fort Hood in November 2009 when Army Major Nidal Malik Hasan opened fire on fellow soldiers, killing 13 and wounding 31 others. The District of Columbia ranks number five because of deaths resulting from the anthrax attacks in October 2001.

In Table 3 we examine total attacks and fatalities at the city level. Not surprisingly, we see that the largest cities in the United States predominate, including New York City, San Juan, Los Angeles, San Francisco, Miami, Washington DC, and Chicago. The smallest city in terms of population is Berkeley, although it is part of a much larger urban area that includes San Francisco. The city that has experienced the most terrorist attacks by far is New York City, which accounts for nearly 17 percent of all U.S. attacks between 1970 and 2011—about four times more attacks than occurred in San Juan or Los Angeles, the cities experiencing the second and third most terrorist attacks during this time period. Combined, the U.S. cities shown in Table 3 account for 40.6 percent of all U.S. attacks from 1970 to 2011.

Table 3. U.S. Cities Experiencing the Most Terrorist Attacks and Fatalities, 1970-2011

Attacks			Fatalities		
Rank	City	Number of Attacks	Rank	City	Number of Fatalities
1	New York City, NY	430	1	New York City, NY	2,812
2	San Juan, PR	115	2	Arlington, VA	192
3	Los Angeles, CA	103	3	Oklahoma City, OK	170
4	San Francisco, CA	97	4	Shanksville, PA	44
5	Miami, FL	85	5	San Francisco, CA	22
6	Washington, DC	81	6	San Juan, PR	18
7	Chicago, IL	56	7	Washington, DC	17
8	Seattle, WA	36	8	Littleton, CO	15
9	Berkeley, CA	33	9	Fort Hood, TX	13
10	Denver, CO	22	9	Los Angeles, CA	13
			10	Miami, FL	10
			10	New Orleans, LA	10

With respect to the cities experiencing the most fatalities due to terrorist attacks, we see again that the data are heavily influenced by a few extremely lethal events. More than 80 percent of all terrorist fatalities in the United States between 1970 and 2011 took place in New York City. The vast majority of these fatalities (98 percent) were due to the 2001 attacks on the World Trade Center. Likewise, the other three coordinated attacks of September 11, 2001 are among the top four deadliest. Thus, Arlington, Virginia, where the Pentagon is located, is the city with the second highest number of fatalities,

amounting to more than five percent of all terrorist fatalities in the United States. Shanksville, Pennsylvania, where the fourth hijacked plane crashed on September 11, 2001, experienced the fourth most fatalities, amounting to more than one percent of all fatalities between 1970 and 2011. Thus, among the four cities that experienced the most fatalities, three were locations where the coordinated attacks of on September 11, 2001 took place. The other city is Oklahoma City, which experienced the bombing of the Alfred P. Murrah Federal Building in 1995, accounting for nearly five percent of all U.S. terrorist fatalities between 1970 and 2011. No other city in the United States experienced more than one percent of the total terrorist fatalities between 1970 and 2011. Perhaps more than any other consideration, a look at terrorism-related fatalities in the United States underscores the uniquely lethal impact of the September 11, 2001 attacks.

According to Table 3, six of the U.S. cities that experienced the most attacks (New York, San Francisco, San Juan, Washington DC, Los Angeles, and Miami) are also among those that have experienced the most terrorism-related fatalities. U.S. cities vary enormously in terms of the perpetrator groups involved in terrorism. The terrorist organizations that are most active in the four cities that have experienced the most attacks include the Fuerzas Armadas de Liberacion Nacional (FALN) in New York City (66 attacks), the Macheteros in San Juan (14 attacks), the Chicano Liberation Front in Los Angeles (20 attacks), and the New World Liberation Front in San Francisco (32 attacks).

In Table 4 we show the U.S. cities that have experienced the most terrorist attacks and fatalities between 2001 and 2011. The three cities that have experienced the most attacks (New York, Washington and Los Angeles), are also among the 10 cities that experienced the most attacks for the full period. The ten cities that have experienced the most attacks between 2001 and 2011 include three cities that experienced five attacks – Albuquerque, New Mexico; Chico, California; and San Diego, California – and four cities that experienced four attacks – Arlington, Virginia; Bloomington, Indiana; Denver, Colorado; and Seattle, Washington. With the exception of Arlington, in most of the cities that experienced four or five attacks they were primarily perpetrated by the Animal Liberation Front (ALF) and the Earth Liberation Front (ELF).

Table 4. U.S. Cities Experiencing the Most Terrorist Attacks and Fatalities, 2001-2011

Attacks			Fatalities		
Rank	City	Number of Attacks	Rank	City	Number of Fatalities
1	New York City, NY	12	1	New York City, NY	2,764
2	Washington, DC	9	2	Arlington, VA	190
3	Los Angeles, CA	8	3	Shanksville, PA	44
4	Albuquerque, NM	5	4	Fort Hood, TX	13
4	Chico, CA	5	5	Washington, DC	5
4	San Diego, CA	5			
5	Arlington, VA	4			
5	Bloomington, IN	4			
5	Denver, CO	4			
5	Seattle, WA	4			

Fatalities due to terrorist attacks between 2001 and 2011 are again mostly due to the September 11, 2001 attacks, with New York City; Arlington, Virginia; and Shanksville, Pennsylvania experiencing the most fatalities. Fort Hood, Texas experienced the fourth most fatalities due to the attack in November 2009 when Nidal Malik Hasan opened fire on fellow soldiers, killing 13 and wounding 31 others. Four of the five fatalities in Washington, DC were connected to the anthrax attacks in late 2001. The fifth fatality in Washington, DC occurred in 2009 when white supremacist James W. von Brunn entered the National Holocaust Memorial Museum and fired upon civilians, killing a security guard.

In Table 5, we show the five U.S. cities that experienced the most terrorist attacks by decade. In general, we see a good deal of stability in the most frequently attacked U.S. cities over time. Thus, New York City is among the five most frequently attacked cities in all four decades, Los Angeles and Washington, DC in three of the four decades, and San Juan, Miami and San Diego in two decades. Other large cities among the five most frequently attacked include San Francisco and Chicago in the 1970s and Phoenix and Seattle in the first decade of the 21st century. In the 1990s, the most frequently attacked cities include a wider variety of smaller cities than in earlier decades. These include Albuquerque, New Mexico; Tulsa, Oklahoma; Columbus, Ohio; Fayetteville, North Carolina; and Redding, California. In the first decade of the 21st century, among the most frequently attacked cities are Bloomington, Indiana; Albuquerque, New Mexico; Chico, California; and Eugene, Oregon. However, we should hasten to add that the numbers are quite low for some of these cities. For example, to be among the five most frequently attacked cities in the 1990s required only five attacks, and in the first decade of the 21st century only four attacks.

Table 5. U.S. Cities Experiencing the Most Terrorist Attacks by Decade

1970s	1980s	1990s	2000s (through 2009)
1. New York City, NY (325)	1. New York City, NY (73)	1. New York City, NY (20)	1. New York City, NY (11)
2. San Francisco, CA (90)	2. San Juan, PR (39)	2. Miami, FL (11)	2. Los Angeles, CA (7)
3. San Juan, PR (73)	3. Miami, FL (25)	3. Albuquerque, NM (8)	2. Washington, DC (7)
4. Los Angeles, CA (69)	4. Los Angeles, CA (23)	3. Washington, DC (8)	3. Bloomington, IN (6)
5. Chicago, IL (47)	5. Washington, DC (20)	4. San Diego, CA (6)	3. Phoenix, AZ (6)
		4. Tulsa, OK (6)	4. Albuquerque, NM (5)
		5. Columbus, OH (5)	4. Chico, CA (5)
		6. Fayetteville, NC (5)	4. San Diego, CA (5)
		7. Redding, CA (5)	5. Eugene, OR (4)
			5. Seattle, WA (4)

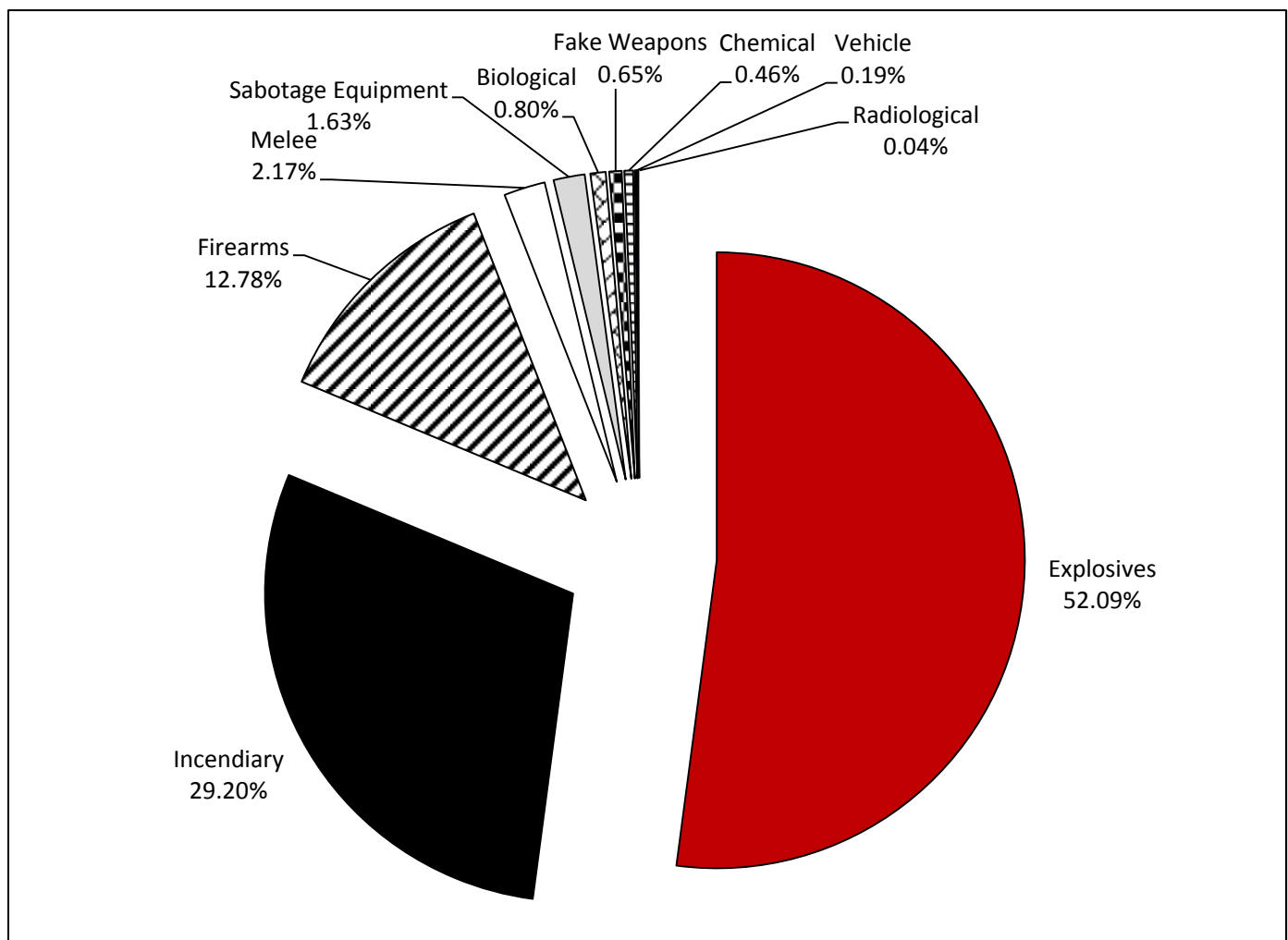
Note: In 2011, 24 cities have experienced attacks. Three experienced two attacks (Arlington, VA; Triangle, VA; and Washington DC). The other 21 cities experienced one attack each.

Terrorist Weapons

We next explore the weapons used by terrorists who have attacked in the United States. We include up to four weapon types per attack, for a total of 2,630 weapon types used in terrorist attacks from 1970 to

2011. These weapons types are displayed in Figure 5.² Perhaps the single most striking feature of Figure 5 is that the vast majority of weapons used by terrorists are readily accessible. According to Figure 5, the most common weapons used by terrorists in the United States between 1970 and 2011 were explosives and incendiaries. These two categories account for more than 81 percent of all the weapons used in attacks. Moreover, for the most part the explosives used were readily available and included dynamite, grenades, mortars and improvised explosive devices placed inside vehicles (“car bombs”). Incendiary weapons include any weapons, besides explosives, that produce fire: flame throwers, fire bombs, containers filled with gasoline or alcohol, or any other weapon that facilitates arson. Interestingly, we find that firearms were used less often in terrorist attacks in the United States than they were in other parts of the world. Thus, in the GTD as a whole, 38 percent of all of the weapons used in terrorist attacks between 1970 and 2011 were firearms while according to Figure 5, the 13 percent of all of the weapons used in U.S. attacks between 1970 and 2011 were firearms. In general, the most commonly used firearms involved readily available types, including shot guns and pistols.

Figure 5. Weapons used in Terrorist Attacks in the United States, 1970-2011



Note: this includes up to four different per attack. We excluded “other” (14) and “unknowns” (50). The total number of recorded weapons analyzed is 2,630.

² Note that the denominator for the percentages in the figures is the total number of weapons used, not the total number of attacks. We follow the same strategy below in our discussion of terrorist tactics and targets.

All other weapons shown in Figure 5, account for less than three percent of all weapons used in the attacks. We use *melee* to refer to weapons that can only be used at very close range, such as blunt objects, hands, feet, knives, other sharp objects, rope or other materials that can be used to strangle victims, or any object that can be used to suffocate victims. The melee category excludes firearms. According to Figure 5, melee attacks represented a little more than 2 percent of the total weapons identified in the attacks.

Sabotage equipment describes any object that is used to disrupt the functioning of an existing system, other than explosives or firearms. One common example includes tools that remove nuts and bolts from utility structures causing them to collapse and disrupt power. Among all weapons used in the attacks, sabotage equipment accounted for less than two percent of total weapons used in the U.S. cases.

Among all weapons, *biological agents* accounted for less than 1 percent of all weapons in the U.S. attacks. This category includes the 10 anthrax attacks that took place in the United States in 2001—in which seven people died. The only other biological agent case involved the Rajneeshees, a religious cult in Dulles, Oregon. The group poisoned salad bars in Oregon with salmonella in order to incapacitate voters in the 1984 local election.

Fake weapons describe nonlethal objects that appear to be weapons and are designed to frighten targets into thinking that they are in danger. These can include fake explosives or toy guns. We record fake weapons in the GTD in cases where there is an immediate threat of violence (the perpetrator is present) and it cannot be immediately determined at the scene that the weapon is indeed fake. Also, we record fake weapons when they are used in concert with real weapons (as previously noted, the GTD includes up to four weapon types per attack). A good example of the use of fake weapons is the 2010 hostage situation at the Discovery Channel Headquarters in Silver Spring, Maryland, in which the perpetrator had real weapons as well as fake weapons (starter pistols).

Chemical weapons are poisonous substances, such as ricin, insecticides, or cyanide that can cause immense discomfort, sickness, and even death. The U.S. cases that involved chemical weapons include an attack by the Ku Klux Klan in March 1970 when members put cyanide in the water supply hoping to poison Black Muslims in Ashville, Alabama. More recently, in February 2010 in Clearwater, Florida, two acid bombs exploded in waterfront restaurants.

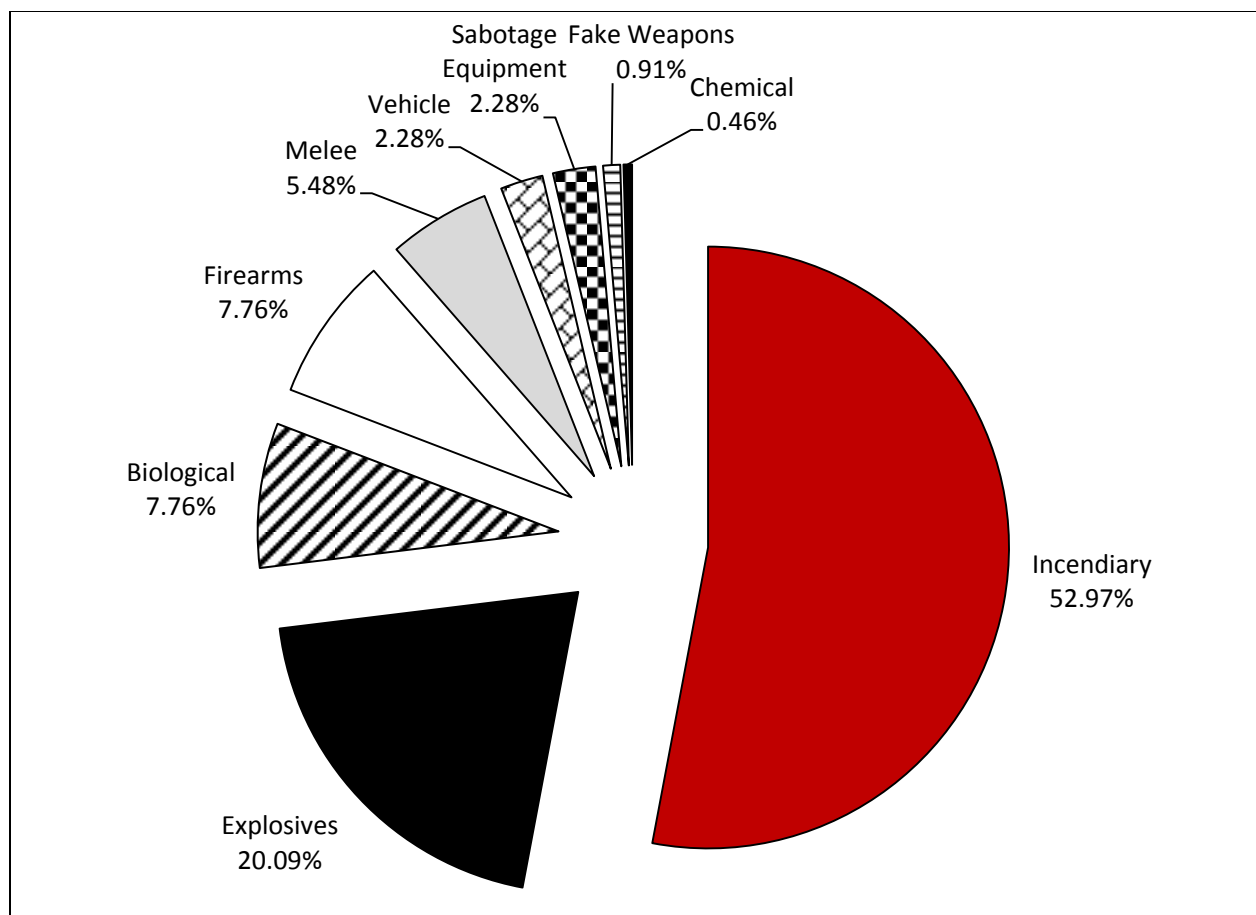
Vehicles are listed as a weapon when they are used to attack through impact and do not include explosives. If explosives are used in a vehicle, the weapon is coded as explosives. The U.S. cases that involved using vehicles as a weapon include the March 2006 incident in which Mohammad Reza Taheri-azar drove a Jeep Cherokee through a crowd of people gathered on the University of North Carolina-Chapel Hill campus motivated by the desire to avenge the deaths of Muslims around the world.

Finally, *radiological weapons* include any devices that are used to disperse radioactive material. Typically, this material is dispersed through conventional weaponry such as explosives. The GTD reports only one U.S. case that involved radiological weapons: an incident in 1985 when the mayor of New York City received a letter threatening to contaminate the city's water supply. Media sources reported that the unknown perpetrators did drop plutonium tri-chloride in an area water reservoir.

For comparative purposes, in Figure 6 we examine the distribution of weapons used in terrorist attacks within the United States only between 2001 and 2011. Although the numbers are relatively small (we recorded 219 different weapons used in U.S. terrorist attacks from 2001 to 2011), nevertheless we find

some substantial differences compared to the full time period between 1970 and 2011. The biggest single difference is a huge increase in the use of incendiary weapons in the United States between 2001 and 2011. During this period incendiaries accounted for almost 53 percent of the weapons used in all attacks (up from 29 percent between 1970 and 2011). By contrast, the use of explosives declined substantially to just more than 20 percent (compared to 52 percent between 1970 and 2011). For the period between 2001 and 2011, biological weapons were actually tied with firearms for third most common weapon used. Although this is quite an unusual pattern for weapons use in terrorist attacks, these biological weapons are all related to the 2001 anthrax attacks noted earlier. In addition, the use of melee-style weapons was proportionately about twice as common between 2001 and 2011 as it was between 1970 and 2011.

Figure 6. Weapons used in Terrorist Attacks in the United States, 2001-2011



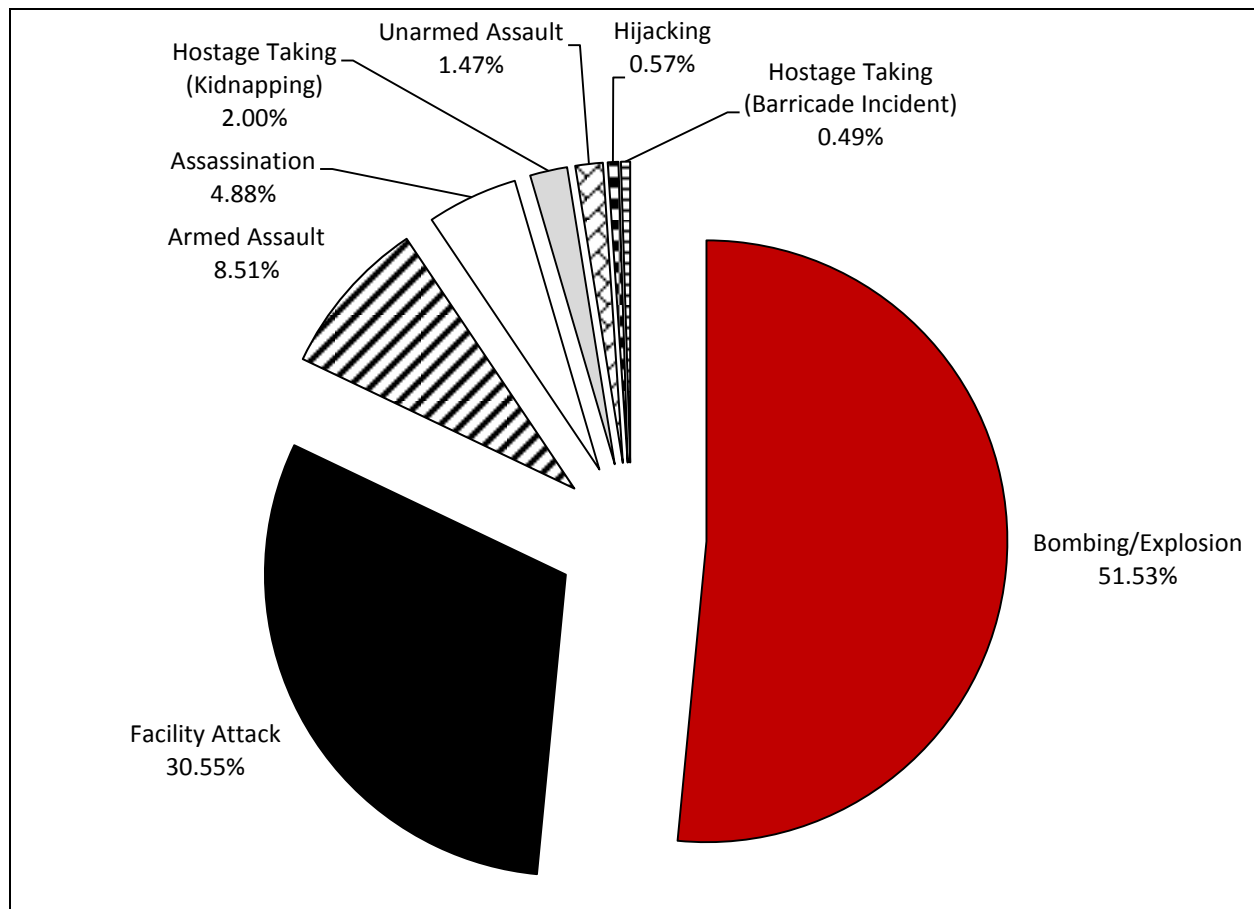
Note: this figure includes up to four weapons types per attack. We excluded “other” (1). There were no “unknowns”. The total number of recorded weapons is 219.

Terrorist Tactics

We turn next to an examination of terrorist tactics used in the United States. We define tactics as actions carefully planned to achieve specific ends and divide the more than 2,608 attacks in the United States included in the GTD into a small set of major tactical categories. Of course, a terrorist attack can use more than one tactic to achieve its mission. A facility attack could lead to a hostage taking; and, as we learned on September 11, 2001, bombings can be achieved with hijacked airplanes. In order to get the most thorough sense of the tactics used in the attacks recorded in the GTD, we allowed each attack to be associated with up to three tactics.

In Figure 7 we examine the 2,645 tactics used in the terrorist attacks that occurred in the United States from 1970 to 2011. According to Figure 7, more than half of the major tactics used in these attacks were bombings. The next most common tactics shown in Figure 7 are facility attacks, which account for more than 30 percent of the total. Taken together, bombings and facility attacks account for more than 82 percent of the tactics used in all the attacks in the United States included in the GTD. Armed assault accounted for eight percent, and assassinations accounted for nearly 5 percent of the total tactics used. By contrast, kidnappings, barricade/hostage situations, unarmed assaults and hijackings were relatively infrequent (none accounting for more than 2 percent of the total). Below we describe these tactics in more detail.

Figure 7. Tactics used in Terrorist Attacks in the United States, 1970-2011



Note: this figure includes up to three tactics per case. We excluded “unknowns” (11). The total tactics included is 2,645.

The main objective of a bombing is to destroy or damage a facility, to kill individuals, or both. The use of explosives separate bombings from armed assaults, as does the fact there is no intention to take over the installation, to occupy it, or to take hostages. In fact, to count an attack as a bombing, we do not require that buildings be occupied at the time of the bombing. Some terrorist organizations in the United States, including the Weather Underground, were known to warn officials prior to a bombing so that their actions could produce no human casualties. Other than an accidental explosion in New York City, the Weather Underground appears to have successfully avoided harming people through bombings.

A facility or infrastructure attack is a non-explosive attack on infrastructure or a building where the primary objective is to cause damage to a non-human target (e.g., a building, monument, train, pipe line). Facility attacks are primarily aimed at damaging property or reducing the functionality of an operating system (mass disruption) and not causing direct injury to people. However, facility attacks can include acts that indirectly harm people as a result of the harm done to objects (e.g., blowing up a dam and the ensuing flood kills residents downstream). This attack type may involve a wide variety of weapons, from incendiary devices to sabotage equipment.

For armed assaults we require that the perpetrators be present and actively engaged during the attack. The primary objective of an armed assault is to cause physical harm or death by any weapons other than melee and explosives.

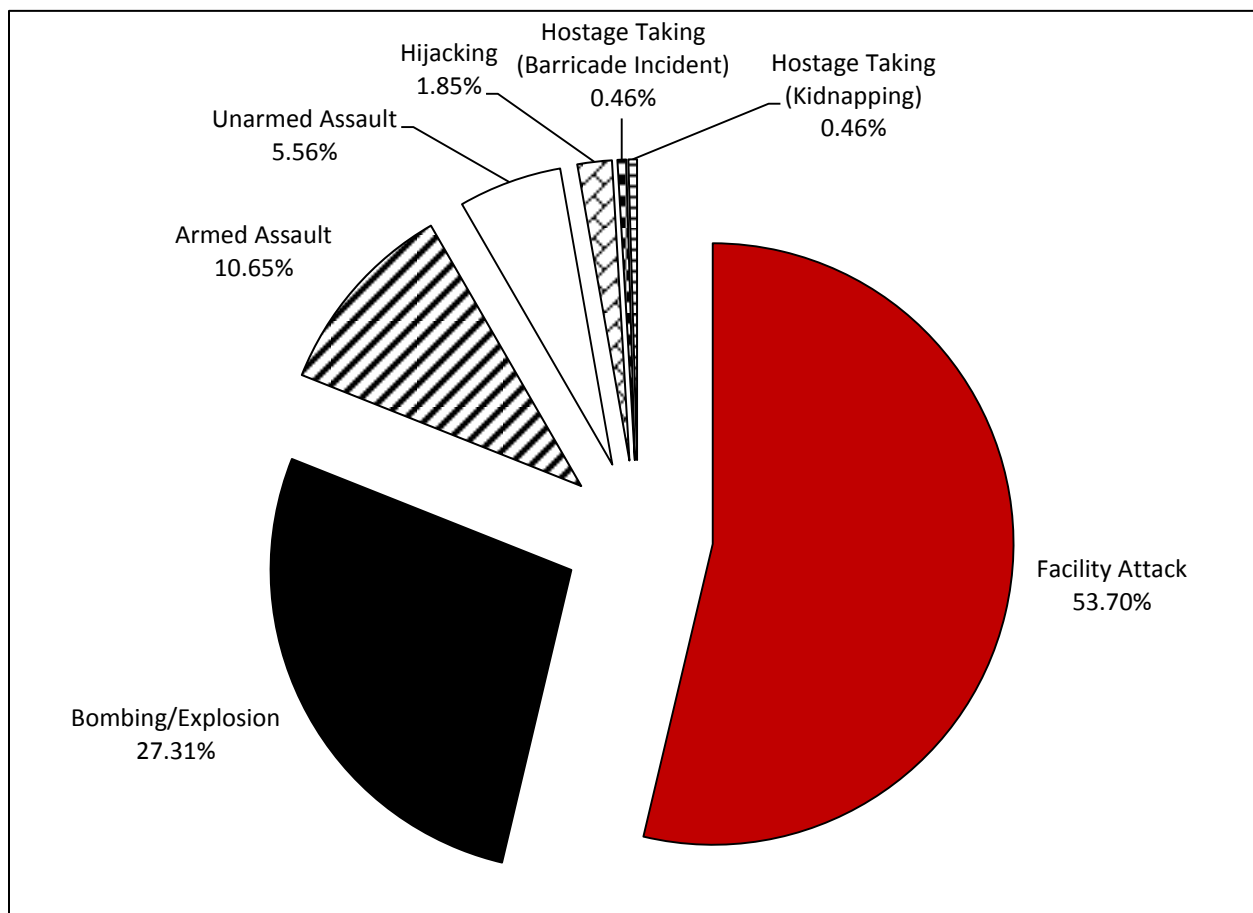
As the name implies, an unarmed assault does not include either a bomb or a weapon that is capable of striking at a distance. Most of the unarmed attacks in the database are associated with melee style weapons that are used at close range such as knives and bludgeons. While not depending on longer range weapons, unarmed assaults can still be threatening. For instance, in October, 1999, the Justice Department—an animal rights organization—sent letters booby-trapped with razor blades to researchers across several universities threatening them harm for conducting experiments on animals.

Assassinations differ from armed assaults, unarmed assaults, and bombings because they target specific persons that have some special rank or prominence, such as police administrators, government officials, or celebrities. The key to distinguishing assassinations from armed assaults is to identify the objective of the act. For example, we classify an attack on a police vehicle in a secure area as an armed assault, but an attack against a single prominent police official as an assassination. Generally, attacks against vehicles carrying police, police posts, or attacks on other places where police congregate are coded as armed assaults or bombings depending on the weapons used. By contrast, the main objective of assassinations is instead the death or injury of a specific identified person or persons well-recognized by the media or the government.

The next three attack types involve taking hostages; and all three have as their primary objective to obtain political or other concessions in exchange for the release of prisoners. In a barricade attack, the event takes place at the target's location, and typically only lasts for a short time. Kidnappings, on the other hand, target specific victims and move them or attempt to move them to a usually secret location. Because their whereabouts are unknown, kidnappings can last for extended periods of time. Finally, hijackings are kidnappings by means of taking control of a vehicle, such as an aircraft, boat, or bus and diverting it to a different location. The key distinction between hijackings and other forms of hostage taking is that for the former the target is a vehicle and not the specific passengers who happen to be onboard a vehicle.

Again to facilitate comparisons, in Figure 8 we next looked at the distribution of 216 tactics used in terrorist attacks in the United States between 2001 and 2011. As in the earlier comparisons related to weapons, the results show some substantial differences between the tactics used between 1970 and 2011 compared to the tactics used just for the attacks between 2001 and 2011. The most notable difference is that bombings and facility attacks approximately switch places in terms of relative frequency. Thus, between 1970 and 2011 bombings account for more than half of the tactics used and facility attacks for about 30 percent; but between 2001 and 2011, facility attacks account for well more than half of all tactics used (53.7 percent) while bombings account for less than 30 percent (27.3 percent). While we have not yet done a thorough analysis of these changes, it appears that most of the increase in facility attacks in recent years is due to an increased reliance on arson, much of it associated with environmental and animal rights violent extremist groups.

Figure 8. Tactics used in Terrorist Attacks in the United States, 2001-2011



Note: we include up to three tactics per case. We excluded “unknowns” (1). The total tactics included is 216.

Targets of Terrorist Attacks in the United States

We look next at the targets of terrorist attacks in the United States. In Table 6 we show a breakdown of the suspected targets of terrorist attacks within the U.S. homeland from 1970 to 2011. Our goal in creating the categories shown in Table 6 was to separate distinct targets while grouping similar targets. This process inevitably produces some ambiguities. For example, the GTD distinguishes businesses from private citizens and property, despite the fact that businesses are obviously staffed by private citizens. Nevertheless, this distinction makes sense because businesses are often targeted because of what they represent, whereas private citizens are often targeted as a way to demonstrate everyone's vulnerability. At the same time, businesses may be targeted simply because private citizens typically congregate there (for example in hotels and restaurants). Based on open sources, we frequently cannot distinguish between these subtle differences. The GTD allows up to three different types of targets to be included for an attack, and when it is unclear which target is primary, up to three are listed.

In Table 6 we classify a total of 2,593 specific targets of terrorist attacks against the U.S. homeland. According to Table 6, the most common target of terrorism in the United States between 1970 and 2011 were businesses, accounting for 28 percent of the total. As just noted, it is difficult in practice to separate attacks on businesses from attacks on private citizens and their property, which shows up as the third most frequent target type in Table 6. Taken together, attacks on businesses and private citizens and their property accounted for more than 38 percent of the unique targets included in the analysis.

In addition, several of the other target categories shown in Table 6 are likely to affect a large proportion of private citizens, even if they are not primary targets. These include attacks against cars, trains and other types of land-based transportation; utilities; schools and educational institutions; religious institutions; airlines and airports; telecommunications systems; tourists; maritime targets; and attacks on food or water supplies. Even in attacks that seem to be aimed mostly at government, the military or the police, ordinary citizens are frequently killed or injured.

Table 6. Targets of Terrorist Attacks in the United States, 1970-2011

Type of Target	Frequency
Business	736
Government (General)	343
Private Citizens & Property	258
Abortion-Related	242
Military	191
Police	158
Educational Institution	155
Government (Diplomatic)	140
Utilities	89
Religious Figures/Institutions	77
Airports & Airlines	72
Journalists & Media	55
NGO	21
Transportation	16
Tourists	10
Telecommunication	8
Terrorists	8
Maritime	6
Violent Political Party	6
Food or Water Supply	2

Note: We include up to three target types per case. We exclude “other” (82) and “unknowns” (13). There are 2,593 targets included in this table.

According to Table 6, after businesses, the next most common target in the GTD U.S. data was the government, accounting for more than 13 percent of the targets of attacks between 1970 and 2011. A devastating example is the attack in April 1995 on the Alfred P. Murrah Federal Building in Oklahoma City, where 550 people worked and their children were cared for in the building’s daycare facility. On the morning of the attack, Timothy McVeigh parked a Ryder rental truck filled with explosives near the building. The resulting explosion killed 168 people, including 19 children, and left a 20-foot-wide and 8-foot-deep crater in the street. In fact, this attack illustrates well the complexity of coding the targets of terrorists. Although the attack was clearly aimed at a government building, the casualties included nongovernment workers.

A somewhat unique feature of GTD for the United States is that, unlike other countries, the U.S. data includes a substantial number of violent attacks on abortion-related targets, including facilities and

personnel. In fact, abortion-related entities are the fourth most common target in the U.S. data, accounting for 9 percent of the targets analyzed.

The next most common target of attacks in the United States between 1970 and 2011 was military targets, accounting for 7 percent of the U.S. targets identified here. Most of these military cases are included because the military forces targeted were either on leave, attacked when not actively engaged in a military role, or included in an attack that was aimed more generally at civilians. A good example is the 2009 shooting attack by Army Major Nidal Malik Hasan at Fort Hood, mentioned earlier.

According to Table 6, police were the next most common target of terrorists in the United States between 1970 and 2011. As with the military, determining when police are the targets of terrorism is a major area of ambiguity for terrorism event databases. Given the nature of their job and in situations where few details are available in the media, it can be difficult to determine the motive or goals of attacks on police. Police account for about 6 percent of the total targets included in the analysis.

The next most frequent target of terrorists in the United States between 1970 and 2011 was educational institutions, which also accounted for 6 percent of the total targets analyzed. The fact that educational institutions were targeted nearly as frequently as police may surprise some. Both police and educational institutions were commonly targeted by student radicals and black nationalists in the 1970s. More recently, animal rights groups commonly target educational institutions—likely due to their research facilities. Following educational institutions are diplomatic targets. Attacks on diplomatic targets are closely related to attacks on government targets and account for about 5 percent of all U.S. targets identified in the GTD.

Table 6 shows that in addition to these more common targets, the GTD includes a wide range of other targets that were attacked less commonly. These include attacks against utilities; religious figures and institutions; airports and airlines; journalists and the media; members of non-governmental organizations (NGOs); transportation systems; tourists; telecommunications systems; other terrorists; maritime transportation; other violent political parties; and food or water supplies. Attacks against journalists or media representatives include attacks on newspaper offices; television and radio stations; and specific persons, such as reporters, editors, and even their family members—an example includes the kidnapping of famed newspaper heiress, Patty Hearst, who was seized by the Symbionese Liberation Army in the United States in 1974. The NGOs that were targeted by terrorist groups between 1970 and 2011 were extremely diverse, including a small African-American community center in New York City that the Jewish Defense League firebombed in July 1970, four days after Black Nationalists successfully firebombed the Crown Heights Jewish Community Council in Brooklyn. In 1989 a larger NGO was targeted when a package bomb containing caustic gas was sent to the southeast regional headquarters of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People in Atlanta, Georgia.

To facilitate comparison, in Table 7 we provide the same analysis of terrorist targets but this time limited to the years between 2001 and 2011. According to Table 7, businesses were still the most common target of terrorists in the years between 2001 and 2011. In fact, although there were some differences in ranking between 1970 and 2011 and between 2001 and 2011, the top five targets are the same. One of the biggest changes is that between 2001 and 2011 targeting the police becomes considerably less common (shifting from 6 percent of all targets between 1970 and 2011 to 0.04 percent of all targets for the period between 2001 and 2011).

Table 7. Targets of Terrorist Attacks in the United States, 2001-2011

Type of Target	Frequency
Business	62
Private Citizens & Property	59
Government (General)	43
Abortion Related	14
Military	13
Educational Institution	10
Religious Figures/Institutions	9
Airports & Airlines	6
Journalists & Media	6
Transportation	3
Government (Diplomatic)	2
Police	1
NGO	1
Telecommunication	1
Terrorists	1
Tourists	1
Utilities	1

Note: We include up to three target types per case. We excluded “other” (4) and “unknowns” (2). There are 233 targets included in this table.

Terrorist Organizations Perpetrating Attacks in the United States

In this final section we include descriptive information about the terrorist organizations responsible for attacks in the United States. In Table 8, we begin with the twenty terrorist groups that have perpetrated the most terrorist attacks in the United States, rank ordered by total numbers of attacks. We exclude from this list unaffiliated offenders (e.g., Timothy McVeigh and Nidal Malik Hasan)³ and also cases where we only have generic information (e.g., anti-abortion activists; Puerto Rican nationalists). We also include in Table 8 total fatalities resulting from the attacks committed by each group. Including twenty terrorist organizations captures a fairly large segment of total terrorist attacks against the U.S. homeland and all known groups with 14 or more attacks attributed to them between 1970 and 2011.

³ Between 1970 and 2011 there were 147 attacks and 242 fatalities specifically attributed to unaffiliated individuals. The majority of these fatalities (168) resulted from Timothy McVeigh’s 1995 attack in Oklahoma City. Note that this is likely not an exhaustive accounting of attacks carried out by unaffiliated individuals because it is plausible that a number of these cases are recorded in the database as having unknown or generic perpetrator groups.

Table 8. Groups Responsible for the Most Terrorist Attacks in the United States, 1970-2011

Rank	Organization	Number of Attacks	Number of Fatalities
1	Fuerzas Armadas de Liberacion Nacional (FALN)	119	7
2	New World Liberation Front (NWLF)	86	1
3	Animal Liberation Front (ALF)	85	0
4	Earth Liberation Front (ELF)	76	0
5	Jewish Defense League (JDL)	74	4
6	Omega-7	55	4
7	Weather Underground, Weathermen	45	1
8	Macheteros	37	6
9	Black Liberation Army	36	19
10	Armed Revolutionary Independence Movement (MIRA)	31	2
10	Chicano Liberation Front	31	2
11	United Freedom Front (UFF)	29	0
12	Black Panthers	24	6
12	Organization of Volunteers for the Puerto Rican Revolution	24	1
13	Ku Klux Klan	23	7
14	Army of God	21	3
15	George Jackson Brigade	20	1
15	May 19 Communist Order	20	1
15	Zebra Killers	20	15
16	Independent Armed Revolutionary Commandos (CRIA)	19	0
17	Jewish Armed Resistance	17	0
18	Aryan Republican Army	16	0
19	Revolutionary Commandos of the People (CRP)	15	2
20	The Justice Department	14	0

Note: If more than one group was attributed responsibility for an attack, then both are listed. The total number of attacks with attributed groups (weighted by the number of groups listed) is 1,342.

The terrorist organization with the single largest number of attacks in the United States according to the GTD is the Fuerzas Armadas de Liberacion Nacional, followed by the New World Liberation Front, ALF, ELF and the Jewish Defense League. Taken together, these five groups were responsible for 440 attacks in the United States between 1970 and 2011.

In Table 9, we limit the analysis of terrorist organizations to the most active groups during the period between 2001 and 2011. This substantially changes the results. From 2001 to 2011, the GTD includes only 90 U.S. attacks in which a specific group is attributed responsibility, and seven of these attacks list

two groups as perpetrators. As Table 9 shows, this means that only five groups during this period are attributed responsibility for more than one attack in the United States. Two of these groups—ELF and ALF—are also included in the 20 groups responsible for the most attacks between 1970 and 2011 (ALF at number three and ELF at number four). The remaining three groups that are associated with more than one attack in Table 9 are not included among the 20. This includes al-Qa’ida, the Coalition to Save the Preserves, and the Revolutionary Cells—Animal Liberation Brigade. Five organizations each conducted a single attack between 2001 and 2011: al-Qa’ida in the Arabian Peninsula (AQAP), the Ku Klux Klan, the Minutemen American Defense, Tehrik-i-Taliban Pakistan (TTP) and the Justice Department. These organizations are quite diverse. The AQAP attack was Umar Farouk Abdulmutallab’s Detroit suicide bomb attempt on Northwest Airlines Flight 253. The TTP attack was Faisal Shazhad’s attempt to detonate a bomb in Times Square. Members of the Minutemen American Defense, an anti-immigration militia group targeted a Mexican-American family. The KKK assaulted someone, and the Justice Department sent razor blades in envelopes to those conducting experiments on animals. Finally, it is also striking to note that the attacks of only two of these groups resulted in fatalities, with the attacks perpetrated by al-Qa’ida on September 11, 2001 responsible for 2,996 fatalities and the attack perpetrated by the Minutemen American Defense responsible for two.

Table 9. Groups Responsible for Most Terrorist Attacks in the United States, 2001-2011

Rank	Organization	Number of Attacks	Number of Fatalities
1	Earth Liberation Front (ELF)	50	0
2	Animal Liberation Front (ALF)	34	0
3	Al-Qa’ida	4	2,996
4	Coalition to Save the Preserves (CSP)	2	0
4	Revolutionary Cells-Animal Liberation Brigade	2	0
5	Al-Qa’ida in the Arabian Peninsula (AQAP)	1	0
5	Ku Klux Klan	1	0
5	Minutemen American Defense	1	2
5	Tehrik-i-Taliban Pakistan (TTP)	1	0
5	The Justice Department	1	0

Note: These are all groups attributed responsibility for attacks in the GTD between 2001 and 2011. If responsibility for an attack was attributed to more than one group, then both are listed. The total number of attacks with attributed groups is 90. Seven of those attacks list a second perpetrator, resulting in 97 attributions of responsibility.

In Table 10 we examine the five most active terrorist organizations in the United States by decade. In general, the most obvious conclusion from Table 10 is that those groups that have been most active in fomenting terrorist attacks in the United States have changed considerably over time. In fact, no organization was among the five most active for all four decades or for three of four decades. Three organizations were among the five most active for at least two decades: the Jewish Defense League (1970s, 1980s), the Animal Liberation Front (1990s, 2000s,) and the Earth Liberation Front (1990s, 2000s).

Table 10. Groups Responsible for Most Terrorist Attacks in the United States in Each Decade

1970s	1980s	1990s	2000s (though 2009)
1. Fuerzas Armadas de Liberacion Nacional (FALN) (106)	1. Macheteros (31)	1. Animal Liberation Front (ALF) (38)	1. Earth Liberation Front (ELF) (59)
2. New World Liberation Front (NWLFF) (86)	2. Jewish Defense League (JDL) (30)	2. Earth Liberation Front (ELF) (17)	2. Animal Liberation Front (ALF) (36)
3. Weather Underground, Weathermen (45)	3. Omega-7 (25)	3. Aryan Republican Army (16)	3. Coalition to Save the Preserves (CSP) (8)
4. Jewish Defense League (JDL) (44)	4. Organization of Volunteers for the Puerto Rican Revolution (23)	4. The Justice Department (13)	4. Al-Qa`ida (4)
5. Black Liberation Army (34)	5. United Freedom Front (UFF) (19)	5. Army of God (6)	5. Revolutionary Cells-Animal Liberation Brigade (2)

Note: The number of attacks counted for each group is based on the number of attacks for which it is attributed responsibility; more than one group can be attributed responsibility for an attack. The total number of attacks associated with specific groups (weighted by the number of groups listed) is 775 for the 70s, 309 for the 80s, 137 for the 90s, and 113 for the 2000s. In 2010 and 2011, the GTD identifies three groups that have attacked the United States. Of these groups, only ALF perpetrated more than one attack with 5 attacks total. The other two groups are Tehrik-i-Taliban Pakistan (TTP) and the Justice Department.

Conclusion and the New Reorganization of GTD Data Collection

This report focused on examining the GTD data as it pertains to terrorist attacks in the United States between 1970 and 2011. There were 2,608 terrorist attacks that occurred in the United States between 1970 and 2011. This study found that fatal attacks are much less common than non-fatal attacks in each of the years covered by the database. The percentage of attacks that are unsuccessful varied considerably from year to year. The lowest proportion of unsuccessful attacks occurred in 1990 when all 31 attacks in the United States were successful. Our research found that the highest proportion of unsuccessful attacks occurred in 2011, when four out of nine recorded attacks were unsuccessful. Analysis of the geographic location of the attacks showed that terrorist attacks in the United States have been closely associated with large urban areas and that the attacks are fairly dispersed. With respect to the weapons used, we found that terrorist attacks generally rely on readily accessible weapons. The most common weapons used by terrorists were explosives and incendiaries. This study also examined a number of tactics that are used by terrorists and found that more than half of the major tactics used in U.S. terrorist attacks were bombings. The next most common was facility attacks and lastly armed assaults. In our analysis, we examined the targets of terrorist attacks and found that the most common targets of terrorists have been businesses and private citizens and their property. Lastly, our research found that the organization with the single largest number of attacks in the United States between 1970 and 2011 was the Fuerzas Armadas de Liberacion Nacional (FALN), with a total of 119 attacks.

We conclude by noting that START is currently implementing a reorganization of its GTD data collection strategy that should also lead to more accurate recording of terrorist attacks in the United States. In 2011 START's GTD team developed and implemented a new process for collecting the original open

source data used to create the GTD, including data for the United States. The global media sources on which the GTD is based produce hundreds of thousands of articles every day. Only a very small percentage of these sources are relevant to terrorist attacks. In addition to adopting machine learning tools to help researchers classify the universe of source documents into those that are relevant to terrorist attacks and those that are not, the collection process has involved dividing the variables into five separate domains: (1) location, (2) perpetrators and targets, (3) weapons and tactics, (4) casualties and consequences, and (5) general attack information (including incident summary, motive, and links between coordinated attacks). The variables for each domain are recorded by teams of six coders, each supervised by a senior GTD staff member. This strategy allows data collectors to develop domain-expertise and improves the overall consistency of coding practices. This strategy will be fully implemented when we release the 2012 GTD.