



Communication Strategy of Terrorism at Major Sporting Events

Adéla Hofmannová, Louis S. Nadelson

Faculty of Biomedical Engineering

Department of Health and Population Protection

Czech Technical University in Prague

Czech Republic

ABSTRACT

Sport has historically played a vital role in fostering positive values and fostering connections between cultures and nations globally. However, over the past 50 years, sporting events have increasingly become targets for terrorist attacks, posing significant security challenges. To explore this issue, we conducted an integrative review, viewing terrorism at sporting events as an ecosystem with various elements and interactions. Our goals were threefold: to evaluate terrorist attacks at major sporting events since the 1972 Olympics, analyzing terrorists' communication strategies, and to identify trends for detecting and preventing terrorism. Our findings contribute to unraveling the complexities surrounding the motivations of perpetrators, the vulnerabilities of the sporting environment, and the effectiveness of counterterrorism measures. In essence, it is a comprehensive examination that seeks to enhance knowledge, inform policy, and contribute to the development of strategies aimed at ensuring the safety and security of sporting events.

Keywords: Communication strategy, civil protection, Counterterrorism, Olympic Games, Jihadism, Threats, Terrorism, Security, Sports competitions, Risks, Radicalism.

1. INTRODUCTION

Over the last fifty years, terrorists have threatened or attacked major sporting events and athletes, posing substantial safety and security concerns. These attacks have been widespread taking place in Germany, Sri Lanka, Togo, France, United States of America, and many other locations. The statistics of these attacks correlate with increasing globalization (Giulianotti & Klauser, 2012). Crowded stadiums and masses of people have been perceived as ideal targets for terrorists (Toohey & Taylor, 2010). Attacks by terrorists tend to cause chaos, injure people, divide society, and spread their ideology, which is why crowded sports venues are ideal targets.

Terrorism is a substantial security challenge justifying the need to increase understanding of terrorism strategies. Understanding the elements of terrorists' communication is fundamental to preventing terrorism. Every terrorist attack has a motive and a message (Fischer et al., 2010). Commonly the messages of terrorists involve highly sophisticated rhetoric in which arguments are in the form of violence, propaganda is based on target selection, and publicity and media coverage are means of increasing fear (Nacos, 2022). Symbolism, promotional materials, and propaganda are spread in offline and online environments (Herath; Whittaker, 2023).

Analysis of the history and contexts of attacks, evaluation of the current economy, consideration of the political and social situations, and monitoring the dynamics of the typology of potential terrorists are necessary to identify possible terrorist threats. By analyzing and creating a current comprehensive communication strategy of the salient variables of terrorism we can enhance the opportunities for predicting and preventing potential attacks, particularly in sporting event venues. Further, since terrorism is not constrained by political borders (Galily et al., 2015) a description of the ecosystem of terrorism could benefit the multiple governments who cooperate to mitigate events.

1.1 Conceptual Framework

We examined terrorism from a communication strategy perspective with consideration toward root causes, dynamics, and the interconnected factors that contribute to the emergence and sustenance of terrorism. A communication strategy framework motivates us to move beyond considering terrorism as isolated incidents to a

holistic examination of the relationships among the environmental, social, economic, and political conditions that foster terrorism. In the context of attacks on sports events the communication strategy of terrorism also includes integrating the symbolic and practical implications of attacks such as generating fear, attracting attention, or disrupting societal norms.

2. LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1 Motivations for Terrorism

There are multiple motivations for terrorism which are typically associated with one or more societal tensions (Buker, 2017). The primary tensions associated with terrorism include historical disputes, uneven distributions of wealth, cultural contrasts, different priorities due to ethnic diversity, religious variations leading to differences in beliefs, and political power struggles (Buker, 2017). Our assessments of contemporary terrorist events that took place at sporting events led us to identify three primary motivations for the acts.

2.2 Clash in Societal Values

A clash in societal values is exemplified by the statement by al Qaeda leader Osama bin Laden, "every Muslim who can do so has a personal obligation to kill Americans and their allies, whether civilians or military troops, in every country where possible" (World Islamic Front Statement Urging Jihad Against Jews and Crusaders). The U.S. presidential administration of George W. Bush Jr subsequently presented bin Laden's message as a struggle between evil and good, of values, of progress, and against the wealth of the USA (Choi, 2020). Identifying societies with values similar to those of bin Laden, Bush grouped Iraq, Iran, North Korea, Cuba, Libya, and Syria as an axis of evil (Wagner, 2002). There have been a number of terrorist events that have been motivated by these conflicts in societal values including democracy, freedom, globalization, secularism and increased wealth.

2.3 Attack on Global Security Relations

Some terrorists are motivated to seek to fundamentally disrupt the global system of international security relations. The USA, as one of the richest and most economically and technically advanced democratic states in the world, is a major leader in forming and maintaining the majority of security alliances. There are societies that perceive USA involvement in leading security alliances as an unfair distribution of globalization in favor of Western democratic powers (Perkovich, 2005). There are factions in some of the societies where citizens hold a perspective of unfair global distribution who perceive the situation as needing extreme actions, motivating them to engage in terrorist acts.

2.4 Policy Retaliation

Many experts claim terrorist attacks are retaliation for military inventions which some consider to be side effects of armed conflicts (Eichler, 2006b). Osama bin Laden shared this perspective in his recordings and messages, often inflecting the words of humiliation, degradation, oppression, and appropriation on the US and its allies for their amassed mineral wealth. Some citizens who embrace bin Laden's perspective are motivated to take action to bring attention to the disparity of policies that enhance the lives of some while diminishing the lives of others (Nesser, 2006). Some of their actions involve acts of terrorism including at sporting events (Spaaij, 2015).

2.5 Sport and Terrorism

Boykoff and Fussey's (2017) analysis of the evolution of security measures at the Olympic Games includes a stark warning of the importance of learning from past events to enhance future security planning. Their report includes the identification of multiple factors influencing terrorists' selection of targets, such the desire for high-profile targets with significant symbolic value and potential for mass casualties. Building on the work Schmid (2023) analysis of the past attacks such as the Munich Olympic Games attack included an exploration of terrorist's communication strategies, symbolism, and the broader impact of the attack on international terrorism. The Munich attack highlighted the global reach and potential extended impact of terrorism, demonstrating the use of symbolism to draw attention to the cause of the terrorists. The Munich attack motivated significant changes in security measures at Olympic and other related sporting events, especially regarding the protection of athletes and the sharing of intelligence information (Crenshaw & Lafree, 2009; Schmid & Jongman, 1984). The shift led to more global perspectives of the relationship between sporting events and terrorism, the impetus for such attacks, and the implications for security and counterterrorism (Gill, Horgan & Corner, 2019). Comparative analysis of international and domestic terrorism acts in the United States reveals symbolic aspects of target selection in terrorism, including attacks on sports events further

exemplifying the need to consider the motivations and goals of terrorist groups, the targets of attacks as highly symbolic, and understanding all aspects of an attack reflect the ideologies and goals of the terrorists (Gill, Horgan & Corner, 2019). For example, the communication strategies used by terrorist organizations involve exploiting the media to spread their messages and ideologies to instill fear and increase their support (Ganor, 2023). The complexity of terrorist communications continues to shift to keep pace with the evolution of societal use of media as is the case with the rise in the potential for cyberterrorism (Angus & Masters, 2019). Cyberterrorism is expanding as a strategy with high potential impact on the functioning of sporting events, such as disruptions to ticket sales systems and security turnstiles (Giulianotti, R., & Klauser, 2012). Consideration of the multiple facets of acts of terrorism is fundamental to disrupting and preventing attacks (Singh, 2020)

2.6 Theoretical Frameworks for Studying Terrorism

Historically, the primary foundation for theoretical frameworks used to study terrorism was political science, which views terrorism as a tactic non-governmental actors use to achieve political goals (Freedman, 2007). This perspective emphasizes the role of political and social grievances in motivating terrorist groups and the importance of understanding these groups' strategic and tactical decisions. A sociological perspective has also been historically used to frame terrorism as a social phenomenon based on the dynamics of group behavior and the social construction of identity (Akhtar, 2018). This perspective emphasizes the role of social factors such as poverty, inequality, and discrimination in creating the conditions that lead to terrorism.

As the understanding of terrorism continues to evolve new perspectives for framing the acts and events continue to emerge. For example, using an integrative review Galily et al. (2016) offer a multifaceted framework for connecting sports and terrorism using four key sport psychology themes: viewing sport events and terrorism as interconnected aspects of mainstream society, understanding terrorism and the media as channels of communication, recognizing sport as a tool for recruitment both toward and away from terrorism, and considering sport as a countermeasure to terrorism. suggest that there

Similarly, is an effort to address the need to adopt a more robust framework for analyzing terrorist attacks at sporting events Toohey and Taylor (2005) propose a model which considers multiple perspectives, including psychological, social, and various other dimensions, understanding of the complex factors involved in acts of terrorism. The analysis of specific communication patterns and symbolism associated with individual attacks on sports events is considerably limited without a unifying theoretical framework and an explanation of elements of terrorism communication strategy. Geopolitical, psychological, and sociocultural factors

3. MODELS OF COMMUNICATION IN TERRORISM

Reinforcing the need for a message, many researchers disregard the first terrorist communication model introduced by Shannon and Weaver (1949) as the model fails to consider the "message," which is a central tenant to the act of terrorism. Complementing the Schramm (1954) model Berlo (1960) integrates the concept of "message" including the effects (positive and negative) that a message has on the intended recipient. Tuman (2009) expands on previous models that have integrated messages by creating a model that conceives terrorist communication as being received by multiple different groups of people. The Turman model integrates the scope and complexity of the communication process as being complicated by the presence of other target audiences on top of the immediate circle of attack.

Building on prior work, Eichler (2023) posits a terrorist communication model that is recognized as being by including four elements as key components of any communication process (see Table 1). The Eichler (2023) framework applies to significant events in which terrorists used media coverage to convey their violent messages to multiple audiences. With the substantial effort by terrorists to convey their messages, it may be possible that terrorist attacks and terrorist groups would gradually disappear if media coverage of their attacks was eliminated. Terrorist's embrace their acts as communication requires an audience, and without the audience there would be nobody with which to share their message. Thus, communication is a substantial and critical aspect of the work of terrorists that requires significant attention.

Table 1 Four Key Elements of Terrorist Communication

Element	Definition
Transmitter	The actor of the attack or the threat of violence who packages the attack into the necessary communication strategy. They are actively involved in planning, executing, and communicating the attack and its ideological underpinnings.
Message	Messages are the transmitter’s main goals. The message represents the ideology, narrative, or demands that terrorists aim to convey through their actions. Messages include religious or political ideologies, grievances against a particular group or government, or a desire to instill fear and chaos. Terrorist messages often contain inflammatory language, glorification of violence, and attempts to justify their actions as necessary for a perceived cause.
Target of attack	Targets (victim(s)) are strategically chosen to maximize the impact and generate widespread fear or disruption. They may include civilians, government institutions, religious sites, infrastructure, or symbols of power.
Feedback	Response and subsequent actions are dependent on understanding the sender’s message.

3.1 A Communication Strategy Framework of Terrorism

We argue there is a need to be able to holistically classify terrorist events to effectively create the structures necessary to prevent future attacks. Thus, creating a description of the communication strategy of terrorist events enhances the opportunity for identifying the consistency among the elements associated with an array of terrorist attacks. Such a scheme would enhance the opportunity for reviewing the common and unique elements of terrorist attacks.

By describing the communication strategy of terrorism and terrorist attacks we can raise understanding of the evolution of terrorism, the form of their messages, the motives of their attacks, and other critical aspects of their actions and motives. Thus, a communication strategy framework is important for studying and understanding the complex issue of terrorism..

4. METHODOLOGY

4.1 Research Questions

We created our research questions to guide our exploration of the current security and political situations of terrorist attacks on sporting events and to form recommendations for increasing the security at the events for all participants. We also sought to formulate a more comprehensive framework to study terrorist attacks on sporting events. Thus, we sought to answer:

- 1) What frameworks are commonly used for researching terrorism?
- 2) What contexts and events are common to terrorist attacks on major sporting events?
- 3) How can the communication strategy of terrorism be used to predict and prevent potential threats to future athletic events?

4.2 Research Design and Data Collection

4.2.1 Comparison Analysis Method

We used a comparative analysis method for data analysis (White et al, 2013). We selected the comparative method to align and contrast the explanations of terrorism specifically associated with event security. The support for our methods is the assumption that the communication strategy is an inseparable part of every attack and the analysis of individual elements can inform the prevention of future attacks.

We justified the comparison method based on the lack of objective data and sources for the theoretical frameworks (White et al, 2013). The comparison method offers the possibility of considering multiple varying hypotheses, positions, and actions.

4. RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

4.1 Analysis Framework

Our first research question was, what frameworks are commonly used for researching terrorism? To answer this question, we examined the five leading terrorism frameworks we found in our literature search (see Table 3). We found the frameworks were based on political, sociological, psychological, and international relations perspectives.

Table 2 Selected Authors of Terrorism Theoretical Frameworks

Author	Framework: Essential Elements
Freedman (2002, 2007), Freedman et al. (2011)	<i>Superterrorism and Anti-Colonialism</i> : Attacks against colonial/occupying country on a global scope of engagement, the use of brutality, with the aim of not only causing physical and mental harm to the immediate target of the attack, but with the aim of psychologically disintegrating the entire society, it has unlimited targets and seeks a change in the global order of the world in the name of a violent Islamist movement.
Hoffman (1999, 2002, 2017)	<i>Terrorism as War</i> : Terrorism as a modern war tactic in the 21st century. Specific characteristics of modern terrorists and radicalization process. Terrorist groups follow a hierarchy where everyone has a unique assignment and global deployment.
Rapoport (2004, 2013)	<i>Religious Cycle</i> : Modern terrorism as a (religious) pathway to societal evolution. Terrorism abuses national and social instability, tensions, and regional conflicts to further intensify the crisis.
Schmid (2004, 2011, 2016)	<i>Insurgent Domestic Terrorism</i> : Insurgent terrorism among domestic terrorists, often without traceable ties to a specific organization. Common for countries with high rates of immigrants from Syria, Afghanistan, Iraq, and Palestina. The most common factors of radicalization are poverty, difficulty integrating into a culturally, economically, and socially different country, social injustice, and criminal background.
Crenshaw (1981, 2010)	<i>Provocative Terrorism and Self-Identification</i> : Identity crises of vulnerable groups are the main factors leading to terrorist attacks, along with the attempt to gain recognition, fame, and money. There are often ties to a specific terrorist organization as the perpetrators seek a sense of belonging within a group; they can share a common ideology and goals and fight for something "greater" which is promoted to them as reaching paradise after death.

4.2 Superterrorism and Anti-Colonialism

Freedman (2007) describes terrorism in the light of Western foreign policy. According to Freedman, terrorism is "the use of brutality, with the aim of not only causing physical and mental harm to the immediate target of the attack, but with the aim of psychologically disintegrating the whole society" (p. 314-339). Freedman also points out that it is

impossible to create a psychological profile of a prototypical terrorist. Both secular and religious acts of terrorism have occurred in various historical, geographic, and ideological settings. There is no doubt that some people can benefit from engaging in terrorism (Freedman, 2011). Superterrorism is, by definition, global, or at least aspires to be international in scope, and as such, need not be tied to any particular location or armed conflict. Superterrorism is merciless, has unlimited goals, and seeks change in the global order of the world in the name of a violent Islamist movement (Freedman, 2002). For example, domestic terrorist activity related to the conflicts in Afghanistan or Iraq may have inspired a transnational superterrorist network, and individuals or groups may replicate tactics and attacks across Europe and other continents. A terrorist act is distinguished from other attacks mainly by three criteria (Freedman, 2007); a motive, a target, character of the attack.

4.3 Terrorism as War

Hoffman (1999, 2002, 2017) argues terrorism is a new form of war in the 21st century, and thus the framework used to analyze the structures of contemporary terrorist groups, their strategies, goals, and modus operandi should be framed in terms of war. Hoffman focuses on domestic terrorists and the process of their radicalization. Hoffman (2002) maintains terrorism can be a threat designed to intimidate a government or its population to achieve political or social goals. Hoffman contends a "new" type of terrorism has emerged in the past few years and should soon become prevalent. According to Hoffman (1999), "new" terrorism is considered to be different from "old" terrorism in terms of objectives, strategies, and modus operandi (Hoffman, 2017). Hoffman argues that terrorism evolved, arguing the main goal of any terrorist organization is to undermine the legitimacy of a government (Copeland, 2001). Hoffman came to identify at least four layers in the hierarchy of this terrorist organization (Hoffman, 2002); professionals, trained amateurs, volunteers, adherents from insurgent or guerilla groups.

4.4 Religious Cycle

Rapoport (2004, 2013) examines modern terrorism in individual cycles (waves), where each cycle requires a different approach to prevention and solution. Rapoport's theoretical model offers a coherent framework for explaining the complex phenomenon of terrorism (Walls, 2017). The theory translates the description of more than a century of political violence and describes the main catalysts, actors, goals, and tactics of modern terrorist organizations. The application of the model is based on understanding the sub-parts and using national identity and political legitimacy as the most effective weapon in the war against terrorism (Rosenfeld, 2011). The conceptualization of this theory has clearly outlined the chronology of terrorism and explains that terrorists achieve their goals continuously, thanks to contemporary hegemonic struggles and tensions within states (Rapoport, 2004). Current developments further suggest that a fifth wave is imminent. Each wave has a projected data line. Previous waves ended within their intended lifespan. In contrast, the wave of religious terrorism has proven to be exceptionally strong and long-lasting. Furthermore, Rapoport characterizes the differences between military activity, guerrilla warfare and terrorism. In this case, Rapoport describes terrorist groups as groups that refuse to accept conventional moral values and characteristics, as well as the rules of war, and by their atrocities, force the enemy to react.

4.5 Insurgent Domestic Terrorism

Schmid (2011) introduced the concept of "insurgent terrorism" and defined it as a deliberate communication strategy with clear motives and modus operandi. Schmid defines terrorism as violence against the innocent, causing as much harm as possible and creating an atmosphere of fear. Schmid claims terrorism is a form of communication with the primary motivation of gaining media attention and that victims serve solely as propaganda tools for the terrorists' larger goals. According to Schmid, it is, therefore, necessary to look at terrorism primarily as a type of communication because the goal of terrorist acts is not so much to kill as to influence a wide audience (Schmid, 2011). Schmid argues the media is critical to terrorist meeting their goals. Communication based on the threat of violence and the actual commission of a terrorist attack are interactions between terrorist groups and their message, the target of the attack (threatened/victims), and the recipient of the message (the government of the given state). The nature of the attack and the communication with the recipient varies depending on whether it is intimidation, coercion, or propaganda. Terrorist acts are criminalized domestically and internationally due to their criminal nature; however, political motives are the dominant link between rhetoric and attacks. Terrorism is thus sometimes called "political terror" (Schmid, 2004). Schmid further recommends that a terrorist act be judged according to the nature of the attack and not the target the terrorists are attacking. Terrorism primarily serves as a tool to spread ideology and achieve its goals. Compared to

a military operation or a guerrilla war, terrorism is characterized by the following features (Schmid, 2004): the number of offenders and the arsenal of weapons, the modus operandi, the target of attack, the message. Furthermore, Schmid discusses the concept of religious rationalization, radicalization, and insurgent terrorism in individual terrorist acts. From the point of view of rationalization, the terrorist act is understood by believers as a heroic act of a sacred nature. Brutal violence is justified as punishment for infidels. Many personal, social, political, and religious factors are part of the symbolism of individual attacks. Radicalization has many definitions, but in the context of terrorism, the professional public most often leans towards "the process of conversion, indoctrination, deindividuation, submitting to the demands of a religious cult and acting in the belief that the individual is part of something larger and superior" (Schmid, 2016) According to Schmid, insurgent terrorism results from several factors, the most common of which are poverty, social injustice, and state repression. These factors can further catalyze migration, revolt, crime, or religious inclination. A characteristic of terrorists is that they tend to see the world through a polarized lens and an "us versus them" dichotomy, and nothing in between. Through this lens, terrorism turns into a war between the profane and the sacred, between good and evil. In the context of the above, it is necessary to understand that terrorist incidents at sporting events are one of the soft targets of terrorists, providing a concrete illustration of a phenomenon of pre-planned and highly publicized events are highly attractive to terrorist groups.

4.6 Provocative Terrorism and Self-Identification

Crenshaw (1992) introduced the term "provocative terrorism," which is committed by individuals who fully identify with the motive of the attack. These are often radicalized young Muslims who are deeply convinced that they are fulfilling Allah's commands and sacrificing themselves to attain Paradise. According to a recognized expert, the primary cause of terrorist attacks is the effort to gain attention and recognition. Crenshaw notes that researchers have looked at many motivations. Some people may be drawn to terrorist groups because they provide an outlet for their socially motivated desires for identity, belonging, and recognition (Crenshaw, 1992). If we focus on terrorism directed against the governments of world powers with the goal of global political change, we are thinking about the intentional use or threat of use of "symbolic" violence by the attackers. Terrorist attacks carry a deeper message, and their goal is beyond physical injury and material damage, as they work to draw the attention of the general public, media and spread their ideology (Crenshaw, 1981). With the desire for recognition, terrorists seek highly destructive acts of violence. Crenshaw was one of the first to examine the typology of perpetrators of terrorist attacks and concluded that the main link is the psychological relationships within a closed group of terrorists; a sense of identity, belonging, a clear goal with strictly defined steps to achieve it, and a sense of heroism and self-sacrifice for something greater (Crenshaw, 1981).

4.7 Framework Summary

The perspectives of the five frameworks are not mutually exclusive, and many terrorism studies combine elements of different perspectives to provide a more comprehensive understanding of the phenomenon. To respond to the dynamic nature of terrorists, including the radicalization process, technology use, attack methods, and communication preferences may be considered comprehensively. Combined, these offer a holistic perspective based on the work of multiple terrorist scholars.

4.8 Analysis Used in Reports of Terrorism

Our second research question was, what contexts and events are common to terrorist attacks on major sporting events, and how are they being analyzed? We began answering this question by organizing the reports of major terrorist attacks at sporting events. We organized the events by attack location, the responsible terrorist group, the motivation, and the analysis framework used to explain the event (see Table 4). The organization resulted in thirteen events, and many of the events were reported on by multiple authors. All had identifiable motivations and could be readily aligned with an analysis framework.

Attacks on sports events claimed a total of 213 victims. Most of them happened in France, China, Iraq and Sri Lanka. We found the terrorists tended to pick larger, widely publicized events with the potential for international participation and attendance. The reasons behind the attacks are diverse and complex. However, the analysis of individual attacks points to some commonalities. According to our analysis, the common feature of most attacks is a highly publicized international sporting event in which the attackers choose to spread their religious ideology and political demands. From approximately 1972 to 2010, there were mainly attacks carried out by established terrorist

groups (Islamic State most frequent attacker), but subsequently, attacks carried out by domestic/insurgent terrorists began to rise.

Attacks on sporting events involve long-term planning and the use of premeditated tools to carry out the attack and hit the target. Attacks during sporting events tend to target open spaces where large numbers of people gather. Before entering the stadiums or sports fields, fans gather before the start of the events. Places such as the opening ceremonies, the Olympic Village and the surrounding parks have also been targeted in the past. These spaces are attractive to attackers who may aim to target a specific expedition. Attacks on transport infrastructure such as airports, subways or bus stops affect the mobility of spectators and participants. Attackers choose these locations because of the high concentration of people. In addition, attackers also target other open spaces, such as public squares or parks, where people can gather to watch sporting events on giant screens. Moreover, trends show that terrorists are attacking police and armed forces with the aim of weakening security measures and creating chaos before or during the event. The most common modus operandi used were homemade weapons and explosives, knife attacks, car attacks, or suicide bombings.

4.9 Communication Strategy Models

Our third research question was, how can knowledge of the communication strategy of terrorism be used to predict and prevent potential threats to future athletic competitions? We found commonalities across all frameworks, indicating a similar perspective on current terrorism and trends across the authors. While the cause is not always identical, the underpinned message circles around the themes such as targeting Western values in the name of radical Islam, and revenge for the historical oppression and invasion into Asian and African countries. The individuals in the attacks commonly had an identity crisis and a lack of social integration. The modus operandi was less predictable than in the past, with a prevalence of homemade explosives, guns, knives, and driving vehicles into crowds. In terms of communication, mass media covered the attacks providing extensive publicity. The attacks created chaos and undermined order, even if the attacks did not result in fatalities. While the primary attacks we were interested in were sporting events, the attacks have occurred in other settings, yet the goals and processes remained aligned.

Addressing the root problems underlying terrorism is crucial for developing effective long-term solutions to prevent terrorist events. To effectively predict and prevent potential threats to future athletic competitions based on knowledge of the communication strategy of terrorism, the evidence indicates the need to address several potential catalysts that promote terrorism.

Monitor Communication

We found a commonality in communication being fundamental to organizing terrorist events. Thus, establish robust intelligence and surveillance systems to monitor various communication channels, including online platforms, social media, and encrypted messaging apps. This monitoring can help identify potential threats, track the dissemination of extremist ideologies, and identify individuals or groups involved in terrorist activities.

Increasing Sense of Community

Our evidence suggests that terrorists do not tend to attack people in their communities. Thus, fostering a sense of community and social cohesion among diverse populations may reduce the potential for terrorist events. Integration and inclusivity may be promoted by encouraging dialogue, understanding, and respect among different cultures, religions, and ethnicities. Increasing integration may help counter feelings of alienation and marginalization that can contribute to radicalization.

Alleviate Vulnerability

Our research revealed many terrorist groups target specific groups for recruitment, particularly populations that are vulnerable due to being marginalized, disenfranchised, or desperate due to basic needs not being met. Thus, addressing the issues that leave people vulnerable to terrorist recruitment will likely reduce the potential for terrorist attacks. Reducing vulnerability includes addressing socio-economic disparities, educational opportunities, and access to basic services. Reducing social and economic grievances makes people less likely to find extremist ideologies appealing.

Distribute Events to Lower Opportunity

Our research revealed a trend in terrorists taking advantage of conditions where multiple activities occur with high levels of publicity. Thus, to reduce the potential for terrorist attacks, there is likely a benefit to organizing athletic

competitions in ways that distribute events across different locations and venues to lower the concentration of potential targets. The reorganization may help minimize the attractiveness of such events as high-profile targets for terrorist attacks and elevate the security concentration to monitor the events.

Continued Support for Development and Inclusion

Our literature search and research revealed that many of those orchestrating attacks are not readily invited or included in economic development gatherings or governmental negotiations. Because of the lack of involvement, individuals may feel excluded and lack opportunities for development, leading them to engage in radical acts. However, there is long term investment in programs that promote education, economic opportunities, and social integration. The individuals may become empowered and more likely to seek alternatives to extremist ideologies by following a path to positive societal engagement.

Thrive and Respect

Our research indicates terrorism is likely fostered when people are threatened with conflict, and outsiders engage in political and societal dominance. Thus, by approaching communities with a position of valuing tolerance, diversity, and respect within the sporting community and society. Emphasizing the positive aspects of international sporting events, such as fostering camaraderie and friendly competition, to counter the narratives of hatred and violence propagated by terrorist groups is likely to lead to a spirit of respect and support.

Summary

Communication strategy sets specific attacks apart from more traditional or singular methods of terrorism that were seen before 2001. Superterrorism, Terrorism as War, and Religious Cycle have in common the transmitters are often established groups or individuals associated with established groups. The groups tend to harbor a motive of a sense of oppression and lack of acceptance of Islam by the Western world and revenge for the invasions into Asian and African countries. On the other hand, Insurgent and Provocative terrorism is often carried out by an individual in the name of jihadism, stemming from a lack of identity, lack of social integration, poverty, and even psychological problems.

While there are similarities in the target, message, transmitter, and some aspects of the modus operandi, the distinguishing elements primarily lie in the ideological motivations and the inclusion/exclusion of specific transmitter profiles within each element. It is more important than ever to implement suitable prevention programs.

Discussion and Implications

Understanding terrorism is critical to predicting the potential for and likely intensity of terrorist strikes at future athletic events. Experts have been warning for a long time that the question is not whether terrorists will strike but when and where they choose to engage in acts of terrorism. To address these conditions and concerns, we examined the models for explaining the motivation for terrorism and created a communication strategy model for categorizing the events. Our work has multiple implications for anticipating future events and reducing the possibility of attacks. Our research is likely to be beneficial for the further development of the scientific study of terrorism and provides an additional foundation for future empirical research

Frameworks of Terrorism

In our research, we found five prominent frameworks of terrorism. The frameworks shared some commonalities, but the authors varied their perceptions and explanations for terrorism. We speculate the variation is due to emphasizing or amplifying an element or facet of terrorism. We make the posit based on the high overlap in the similarities of terrorist events classified into different frameworks. We argue that the frameworks may be useful for identifying nuanced differences in terrorist events but also may not fully provide meaningful details due to a limited scope of focus. Our findings suggest the frameworks are likely more useful when considered in aggregate, partially, or as a whole. An interesting direction for future research may be determining the outcome of applying the frameworks as a whole or in subgroups to more holistically explore and explain terrorist events.

Context and Events for Terrorism

We found the predominant common features of terrorist attacks at athletic competitions to be the events that involved international representation with global mass media coverage, large numbers of spectators, were held in rather contained areas, took advantage of security weaknesses, and had religious (jihadism) and political motives. While the specific messages varied, there was wide commonality among the attacks. We posit terrorists choose to engage in attacks that are most likely to be successful and, therefore, base their decisions for engagement on

successful attacks from the past. The implication of our finding is that there is likely high predictability for where and how terrorists may choose to attack athletic events. Knowing the commonalities is critical to staging and monitoring the events for potential terrorist attacks.

Communication Patterns and Preventing Future Attacks

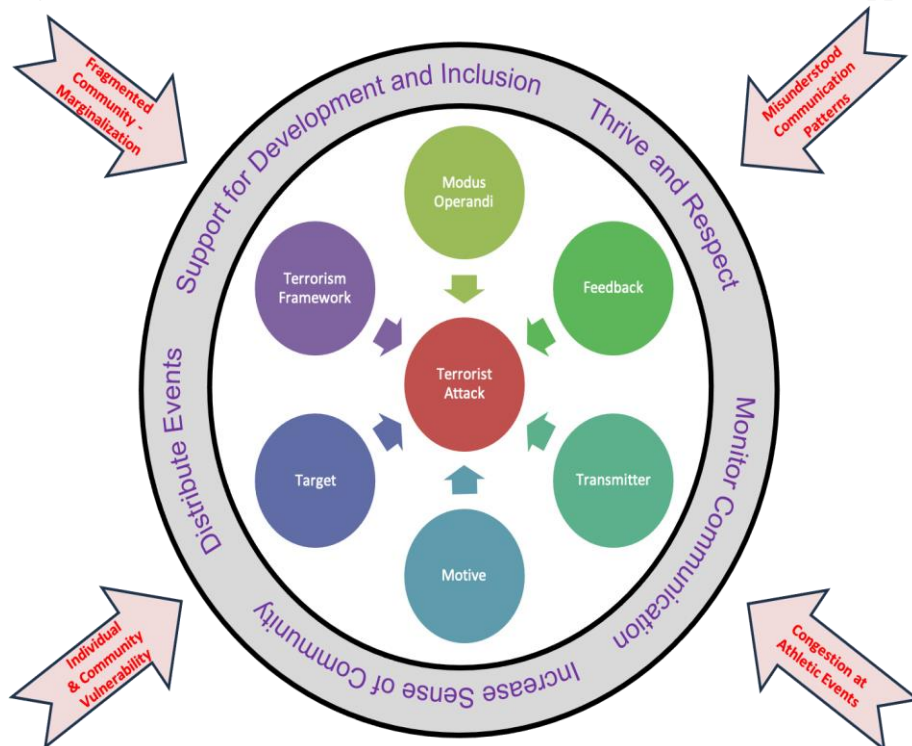
As we classified the major terrorist events by framework and sought to determine trends, we found considerable overlap in the events' structure, communication, and messaging. The substantial overlap indicates high levels of consistency and potential redundancy in the frameworks used to explain terrorism. The consistency increases the potential for reducing the potential or preventing future terrorist attacks.

However, we also found by examining the characteristics of the events and the people involved in orchestrating the attacks. We may be preemptive if we address a range of social, political, and economic issues that act as catalysts for terrorism. Thus, our analysis indicates a combination of economic, societal, and governmental initiatives to support the prosperity of marginalized groups, and being mindful of the structure and logistics of athletic events may be needed to prevent or substantially reduce the potential for attacks.

A Proposed Model for Predicting and Preventing Terrorist Attacks

Through our study, we found that much of the research, reporting, and explaining terrorist attacks tend to be limited due to the reductionist approaches toward considering terrorism. As we conducted our research, we gained insight into the need to regard terrorism and its prevention holistically. Thus, we propose a model (see Figure 1) that includes elements common to terrorist events, such as the transmitter, target, and modus operandi, which we depicted as the connected circles in the center of the model graphic. Through our research, we also found trends in the motivators for terrorist engagement, such as marginalization, and economic disparity, which we represent as the arrows pushing toward the center. The third components we included in our model are the endeavors that could prevent attacks, such as expanding political engagement, supporting economic development, supporting societal respect, and the ability to thrive, which we depicted in our graphic as a circle of text that acts as a barrier between the motivators for terrorism and the elements of terrorism. Our model can further serve as a basis for developing new theories or refining existing theories associated with predicting, preventing, or explaining terrorist attacks on athletic events.

Figure 1 A Holistic Model of Terrorism Elements, Motivators, and Approaches to Prevention



CONCLUSION

Through our examination of the literature, we developed a theoretically based communication strategy framework based on a combination of perspectives from five prominent experts in the field; Freedman (2002, 2007, 2011), Hoffman (1999, 2002, 2017), Rapoport (2004, 2013), Schmid (2004, 2011, 2016) and Crenshaw (1981, 1992), and further from the findings of Eichler (2023). Our framework provides a means of holistically examining terrorist attacks on major sporting events, which have not yet been sufficiently explored. Through the exploration we hope to gain deeper knowledge and develop approaches to effectively predicting and preventing threats to future athletic events such as the Olympic Games in Paris in 2024.

REFERENCES

- Akhtar, M (2018). Role of Identity Crisis and Relative Deprivation As Catalysts of Political Violence and Terrorism. 7th International RAIS Conference on Social Sciences. <http://doi.org/10.2139/ssrn.3152121>
- Bigo, D. (2016). Delivering liberty and security? The reframing of freedom when associated with security. In *Europe's 21st century challenge* (pp. 263-288). Routledge. <https://doi.org/10.4324/9781315581095>
- Bechtol Jr, B. E. (2010). North Korea and support to terrorism: An evolving history. *Journal of Strategic Security*, 3(2), 45-54. <https://doi.org/10.5038/1944-0472.3.2.5>
- Clarke, M. (2010). China, Xinjiang and the internationalization of the Uyghur issue. *Global Change, Peace & Security*, 22(2), 213-229. <https://doi.org/10.1080/14781151003770846>
- Boykoff, J., & Fussey, P. (2017). London's shadow legacies: Security and activism at the 2012 Olympics. In *The Olympic Legacy* (pp. 129-146). Routledge. <http://doi.org/10.1080/21582041.2013.838292>
- Buker H (2017) A Motivation Based Classification of Terrorism. *Forensic Res Criminol Int J* 5(2): 00147. <https://doi.org/10.15406/frcij.2017.05.00147>
- Choi, J. (2020). Watchdog or Cheerleader: The Role of American News Media in Covering Political Leader's Speech. *Media Watch*, 11(2), 363-370. <https://doi.org/10.15655/mw/2020/v11i2/195661>
- Clarke, M. (2015). *China and the Uyghurs: the "Palestinization" of Xinjiang*. *Middle East Policy*, 22(3), 127-146. <https://doi.org/10.1111/mepo.12148>
- Crenshaw, M. (1981). The causes of terrorism. *Comparative Politics*, 13(4), 379-399. <https://doi.org/10.2307/421717>
- Crenshaw, M. (1992). Current research on terrorism: The academic perspective. *Studies in Conflict & Terrorism*, 15(1), 1-11. <https://doi.org/10.1080/10576109208435887>
- Copeland, T. (2001). Is the "new terrorism" really new?: An analysis of the new paradigm for terrorism. *Journal of Conflict Studies*, 21(2), 7-27. https://www.erudit.org/en/journals/jcs/2001-v21-n2-jcs_21_2/jcs21_2art01.pdf
- Crenshaw, M., & LaFree, G. (2017). *Countering terrorism*. Brookings Institution Press. ISBN: 9780815727668
- Eichler, J. (2006a). Hrozba globálního terorismu a její vyhodnocování. *Mezinárodní vztahy*, 41(3), 19-45. URI: <https://www.cceol.com/search/article-detail?id=212616>
- Eichler, J. (2006b). Mezinárodní bezpečnost na počátku 21. století. Ministerstvo obrany České republiky – AVIS.
- Eichler, J. (2010). Terorismus a války na počátku 21. století. Karolinum. <https://www.databazeknih.cz/knihy/terorismus-a-valky-na-pocatku-21-stoleti-230161>
- Eichler, J. (2012). Legitimní a nelegitimní války po roce 1990: (Perský záliv, Afghánistán a Balkán). *Vojenské rozhledy*, 21(53), 12-24. <https://doi.org/10.3849/2336-2995.21.2012.04.012-024>
- Eichler, J. (2023). *Terrorism in contemporary France*. Contributions to Political Science. <https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-031-23551-1>
- Erelle, A. (2016). *Džihád: v kůži bojovníka islámského státu*. CPress. ISBN 978-80-264-1283-0.
- Europol, 2018. *European Union Terrorism Situation and Trend Report* [online]. [vid. 2023-03-26]. <https://doi.org/10.2813/00041>
- Fischer, P., Fischer, J. K., Weisweiler, S., & Frey, D. (2010). Terrorism as collective communication: The collective communication model of terrorism (CCMT). *Social and Personality Psychology Compass*, 4(9), 692-703. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1751-9004.2010.00298.x>
- Freedman, L. (2002). *Superterrorism: policy responses*. Blackwell Publishing. ISBN 1405105933.

- Freedman, L. (2007). Terrorism as a strategy. *Government and Opposition*, 42(3), 314–339. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1477-7053.2007.00226.x>
- Freedman, D., & Thussu, D. K. (Eds.). (2011). *Media and terrorism: global perspectives*. Sage. <https://doi.org/10.4135/9781446288429>
- Gabriel, M. (2002). *Islam and terrorism*. Charisma House.
- Galily, Y., Yarchi, M., & Tamir, I. (2015). From Munich to Boston, and from Theater to Social Media: The Evolutionary landscape of world sporting terror. *Studies in Conflict & Terrorism*, 38(12), 998-1007. <https://doi.org/10.1080/1057610X.2015.1076640>
- Ganor, B. (2023). A typology of terrorist attacks: The “32 profiles” model. *Studies in Conflict & Terrorism*, 46(9), 1529-1546. <https://doi.org/10.1080/1057610X.2020.1868095>
- Gill, P., Horgan, J., & Corner, E. (2019). The rational foraging terrorist: Analysing the distances travelled to commit terrorist violence. *Terrorism and political violence*, 31(5), 929-942. <https://doi.org/10.1080/09546553.2017.1297707>
- Giulianotti, R., & Klauser, F. (2012). Sport mega-events and ‘terrorism’: A critical analysis. *International Review for the Sociology of Sport*, 47(3), 307-323. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1012690211433454>
- Hamm, M. (2013). *The Spectacular Few: Prisoner Radicalisation and the Evolving Terrorist Threat*. New York University Press. *Crime, Law and Social Change* [online]. 64 [vid. 2023-03-26]. <https://doi:10.1007/s10611-015-9557-7>
- Herath, C., & Whittaker, J. (2021). Online Radicalisation: Moving beyond a Simple Dichotomy. *Terrorism and Political Violence*, 1-22. <https://doi.org/10.1080/09546553.2021.1998008>
- Hoffman, B. (1999). Is Europe soft on terrorism? *Foreign Policy*, (115), 62–76. <https://doi.org/10.2307/1149493>
- Hoffman, B. (2002). Rethinking terrorism and counterterrorism since 9/11. *Studies in Conflict and Terrorism*, 25(5), 303-316. <https://doi.org/10.1080/105761002901223>
- Hoffman, B., & Reinares, F. (2016). *The evolution of the global terrorist threat: From 9/11 to Osama bin Laden's death*. Columbia University Press. <https://doi.org/10.1080/17419166.2015.1067985>
- Hoffman, B. (2017). *Inside terrorism*. Columbia University Press. <https://doi.org/10.7312/hoff17476>
- Jenkins, B. (2008). International terrorism: A balance sheet. *Survival: Global Politics and Strategy*, 50(6), 158-164. <https://doi.org/10.1080/00396337508441554>
- Lyle, B. (2005). Blood for oil: Secession, self-determination, and superpower silence in Cabinda. *Washington University Global Studies Law Review.*, 4, 701-718.
- Mareš, M., Rekořík, J., & Šelešovský, J. (2013). *Krizový management. Případové bezpečnostní studie. První*. Praha: Ekopress. ISBN 978-80-86929-92-7.
- McAllister, B., & Schmid, A. P. (2011). Theories of terrorism. In A. P. Schmid (Ed.), *Handbook of Terrorism Research*, (pp. 246-247). Routledge.
- MVČR. (2009). Definice pojmu terorismus v českém kontextu. Retrieved from <https://www.mvcr.cz/clanek/definice-pojmu-terorismus.aspx>
- Nacos, B. (2022). Intersections of mass media, terrorism, and policy response: How mass mediated representations of terrorism may influence counterterrorist policies. *The journal of intelligence, conflict, and warfare*, 5(3), 131-135. <https://doi.org/10.21810/jicw.v5i3.5182>
- Nazir, M. (2006). Democracy, Islam and Insurgency in Iraq. *Pakistan Horizon*, 59(3), 47–65. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/41394370>.
- Nesser, P. (2006). Jihadism in western Europe after the invasion of Iraq: Tracing motivational influences from the Iraq war on jihadist terrorism in western Europe. *Studies in Conflict & Terrorism*, 29, 323-342. <https://doi.org/10.1080/10576100600641899>
- Nesser, P., & Stenersen, A. (2014). The modus operandi of jihadi terrorists in Europe. *Perspectives on terrorism*, 8(6), 2-24.
- Norris, P., Kern, M., & Just, M. (Eds.). (2004). *Framing terrorism: The news media, the government and the public*. Routledge. <https://doi.org/10.4324/9780203484845>
- Ojakorotu, V. (2011). The paradox of terrorism, armed conflict and natural resources: An analysis of Cabinda in Angola. *Perspectives on Terrorism*, 5(3/4), 96-109. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/26298526>.

- Pannier, A., Schmitt, O. (2019). To fight another day: France between the fight against terrorism and future warfare. *International Affairs*, 95(4), 897–916. <https://doi.org/10.1093/ia/iiz050>
- Perkovich, G. (2005). Giving justice is due. *Foreign Affairs*, 84, 79. <https://doi.org/10.2307/20034422>
- Rapoport, D. (2004). The four waves of modern terrorism. In A. K. Cronin & J. M. Ludes (Eds.). In: *Attacking terrorism: Elements of a grand strategy*. (pp. 46–73). Georgetown University Press.
- Rapoport, D. (2013). The four waves of modern terror: International dimensions and consequences. In J. M. Hanhimaki & B. Blumenau (Eds.), *An international history of terrorism: Western and non-Western experiences* (pp. 280-311). Routledge.
- Rosenfeld, J. E. (2011). Introduction: The meaning of political violence. In J. E. Rosenfeld (Ed.), *Terrorism, identity and legitimacy: The four waves theory and political violence*. (45-61). Routledge.
- Schmid, A. P., Jongman, A. J., & Documentatiecentrum, S. W. I. E. (1984). *Political terrorism: A research guide to concepts, theories, data bases and literature* (No. 12). Amsterdam: North-Holland.
- Schmid, A. P. (2004). Frameworks for conceptualising terrorism. *Terrorism and Political Violence*, 16(2), 197-221. <https://doi.org/10.1080/09546550490483134>
- Schmid, A. P. (2011). The definition of terrorism. In A. P. Schmid (Ed.), *Handbook of terrorism research*, (pp. 39-157). Routledge. <https://doi.org/10.4324/9780203828731-10>
- Schmid, A. P. (2016). Research on radicalisation: Topics and themes. *Perspectives on Terrorism*, 10(3), 26–32. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/26297594>
- Schmid, A. P. (2023). Defining Terrorism. *The Hague: ICCT*.
- Schmitt, E., Schmidt, M. S., & Barry, E. (2013, April 21). *Inquiry shifts to suspect's Russian trip*. <https://www.nytimes.com/2013/04/21/us/boston-marathon-bombings.html>
- Singh, R. P. (2020). Combating Different Facets Of International Terrorism. *World Affairs: The Journal of International Issues*, 24(2), 68-89. <https://www.jstor.org/stable/48629025>
- Smith, D. (2003). *The atlas of war and peace*. Earthscan Publications Ltd.
- Soriano, T. (2010). The road to media jihad: The propaganda actions of Al Qaeda in the Islamic Maghreb. *Terrorism and Political Violence*, 23(1), 72-88. <https://doi.org/10.1080/09546553.2010.512839>
- Stepanova, E. (2008). *Terrorism in asymmetrical conflict: Ideological and structural aspects*. Oxford University Press. <https://doi.org/10.1037/e549992011-001>
- Souza, M. T. D., Silva, M. D. D., & Carvalho, R. D. (2010). Integrative review: what is it? How to do it?. *Einstein (São Paulo)*, 8, 102-106. <https://doi.org/10.1590/s1679-45082010rw1134>
- Teich, J. M., Wagner, M. M., Mackenzie, C. F., & Schafer, K. O. (2002). The informatics response in disaster, terrorism, and war. <https://doi.org/10.1197/jamia.M1055>
- Tuman, J. S. (2009). *Communicating terror: The rhetorical dimensions of terrorism*. Sage Publications. <https://doi.org/10.4135/9781452275161>
- UN Office on Drugs and Crime (2016). *Handbook on the Management of Violent Extremist Prisoners and the Prevention of Radicalization to Violence in Prisons*. Retrieved from <https://www.refworld.org/docid/587e13534.html>
- Vegrichtová, B. (2019) *Hrozba radikalizace: terorismus, varovné signály a ochrana společnosti*. Praha: Grada, 2019. ISBN 978-80-271-2031-4.
- Walls, E. (2017). *Waves of modern terrorism: Examining the past and predicting the future*. (Master's thesis). Georgetown University.
- Weimann, G. (2004). *www.terror. Net` how modern terrorism uses the Internet* (Vol. 31). United States Institute of Peace.
- White, G., Porter, M. D., & Mazerolle, L. (2013). Terrorism risk, resilience and volatility: A comparison of terrorism patterns in three Southeast Asian countries. *Journal of Quantitative Criminology*, 29, 295-320. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s10940-012-9181-y>
- Yass, S. (2014). Sri Lanka and the Tamil Tigers: Conflict and Legitimacy. *Military and Strategic Affairs*. 6(2), 65–82. URI: <https://www.inss.org.il/he/wp-content/uploads/sites/2/systemfiles/SystemFiles/ShlomiYass.pdf>
- Zahid, F. (2017). Lashkar-e-Jhangvi al Alami: A Pakistani partner for islamic state. *Terrorism Monitor*, 15(2). 14-36