



**Module Name:** Terrorism

**Module Code:** PUBL0015

**Teaching:** 10 hours of lectures, 10 hours of seminars

**Credits:** 15

**Assessment:** 1 essay (3,000 words)

**Essay Deadline:** 29 April 2025 (2pm)

**Lecturer:** Dr Manuel Vogt

**Office Hours:** Wednesdays, 10am to 12 noon

### Useful Links

[UCL Timetable](#)

[Extenuating Circumstances](#)

[Essay Extensions](#)

[Penalties for Late Submission](#)

[Penalties for Overlength Essays](#)

[Essay Submission Information](#)

[Examinations](#)

[Plagiarism and TurnItIn](#)

[Plagiarism and Academic Writing - a Guide for Students](#) (you will need to log in and enrol yourself on the page)

## Overview and Objectives

This module will acquaint you with the main theoretical debates and empirical findings in scientific research on terrorism. It covers the topic from both a contemporary and a historical perspective and examines terrorism as a strategic tool of intra-state and transnational warfare. We will draw on insights from political science, sociology, psychology, criminology, economics, and history to shed light on the historical trends in terrorist activity, the relationship of terrorism to other forms of political violence, the use of one-sided violence in civil conflicts, “extremism”, radicalization, and the system and individual-level roots of terrorism, the role of religion in contemporary transnational terrorism, as well as the effects and effectiveness of this strategy of political violence. We will also examine the policy responses available to political decision makers in the field of security. The module will *not* cover so-called “critical” approaches to terrorism nor the normative/ethical questions concerning (counter-)terrorism.

You will be asked to complete a comprehensive set of readings, to participate actively in seminar discussions, and to complete a long paper assignment. In addition to the required readings, the syllabus below provides an ample body of additional literature for each session and topic. These readings are not required for the course, but you are encouraged to draw on them to deepen your understanding of topics that are of particular interest to you.

By the end of the module, you will have developed an understanding of the individual, organization, state/societal, and transnational causes of terrorism. Specifically:

- You will be able to critically evaluate competing approaches to the analysis of terrorist violence and apply theory to reflect on and develop your own understanding of contemporary counterterrorism debates.
- You will have familiarized yourself with a number of case studies of historical and contemporary relevance to the study of terrorism.
- You will have gained the analytical and methodological skills to systematically analyse key issues associated with the causes and consequences of terrorism.
- You will have developed the necessary skills to participate in group discussions about conceptual issues and theoretical debates related to terrorism and to write essays on the topic.

## Assessment

This module is assessed by a 3,000-word essay. Please see the corresponding guidelines document for further information.

## Communication

Together, we aim to create an inclusive classroom environment that encourages participation, critical thinking, and debate. The classroom is the best place to raise questions that are relevant to everybody in the course. The best time to ask short questions that might not be relevant to everybody is after class. Our one-on-one meetings during office hours should be dedicated to discuss more in-depth questions and your essay ideas. Unlike other modes of communication, these face-to-face settings allow for interactive discussions, including the possibility to ask questions of clarification. Given these clear advantages, I will not reply to emails with issues that could be resolved (1) in class, (2) after class, or (3) during office hours.

Please keep in mind that our module and universities as a whole are a space of professional collaboration that will prepare you for your future professional career. Therefore, basic standards of etiquette, professionalism, and mutual respect apply. If you have an office-hours appointment with your lecturer/seminar leader and can't make it, please let them know in advance. **If you do not attend your office-hours meeting with me without letting me know at least 24 hours in advance, you will not be able to book any further slots with me during the same term.**

## Academic Freedom

Academic freedom is the cornerstone of university research and teaching, so that all university staff, speakers, and students can freely explore questions and ideas and challenge perceived views and opinions, without being censored or harassed by a government, any state authorities, the University, other students, or external pressure groups.<sup>1</sup> As part of the UCL academic community, all staff, speakers, and students share these responsibilities:

- **Everyone must respect freedom of thought and freedom of expression.** Your lecturer will not limit what can be discussed in the seminar, as long as it is relevant to the subject. They will not censor any topics, and they will expose you to controversial issues, questions, facts, views, and debates.
  - You may disagree with some facts or views that you read or hear in the classroom. You are encouraged to engage with these facts and views in a respectful manner.
  - Your lecturer will not penalise you merely for expressing views they or other students disagree with. However, they will expect you to present logical arguments supported by evidence.
- **You are explicitly prohibited from recording, publishing, distributing or transferring any class material/content**, in whole or in part, in any format, to any individual or entity outside the module, linking to or posting it online (including social media), or making it otherwise available to any person or entity outside the module, unless you have received prior specific written approval from the module leader. You are also explicitly prohibited from aiding or abetting in any of these actions. Similarly, your lecturer will not record, publish or distribute seminar sessions without the explicit consent of the participants.

**By agreeing to take this module, you agree to abide by these terms. If you do not comply with these terms**, you will potentially be subject to disciplinary actions similar to those under violations of the university [Student Code of Conduct](#).

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<sup>1</sup> As defined in Statute 18 of the UCL Charter and Statutes, academic freedom's role is to "ensure that academic staff have freedom within the law to question and test received wisdom, and to put forward new ideas and controversial or unpopular opinions, without placing themselves in jeopardy of losing their jobs or privileges."

## Schedule

### Week 1. Concepts I: What Terrorism Is and What It's Not

#### Topics:

- Definition(s) + data
- Historical background and global trends
- Putting terrorism in perspective: how is terrorism distinguished from, and how is it related to, other forms of political violence?

#### Required readings:

- 1) de la Calle, Luis and Ignacio Sánchez-Cuenca. 2011. "What We Talk About When We Talk About Terrorism." *Politics & Society* 39(3): 451-72.
- 2) Tilly, Charles. 2004. "Terror, Terrorism, Terrorists." *Sociological Theory* 22(1): 5-13.
- 3) Rapoport, David C. 2002. "The Four Waves of Rebel Terror and September 11." *Anthropoetics* 8(1): 1-17.
- 4) Findley, Michael G., and Joseph K. Young. 2012. "Terrorism and Civil War: A Spatial and Temporal Approach to a Conceptual Problem." *Perspectives on Politics* 10(02): 285-305.

#### Additional literature:

- Valentino, Benjamin A. 2014. "Why We Kill: The Political Science of Political Violence against Civilians." *Annual Review of Political Science* 17: 89–103.
- Kalyvas, Stathis N. 2006. *The Logic of Violence in Civil War*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. Pp. 1-31.
- Laqueur, Walter. 2002. *A History of Terrorism*. 2nd printing. New Brunswick, NJ: Transaction Publishers. Chapter 1.
- Chaliand, Gérard and Arnaud Blin (eds.). 2016. *The History of Terrorism: From Antiquity to ISIS*. Berkeley, CA: University of California Press. Chapter 2.
- Sánchez-Cuenca, Ignacio and Luis de la Calle. 2009. "Domestic Terrorism: The Hidden Side of Political Violence." *Annual Review of Political Science* 12(1): 31-49.
- Crenshaw, Martha. 1981. "The Causes of Terrorism." *Comparative Politics* 13(4): 379-399.
- Shapiro, Jacob N. 2012. Terrorist Decision-Making: Insights from Economics and Political Science. *Perspectives on Terrorism* 6(4-5): 5-20.
- Walzer, Michael. 2002. "Five Questions about Terrorism." *Dissent* 49(1): 1-9.
- LaFree, Gary and Laura Dugan. 2015. "How Has Criminology Contributed to the Study of Terrorism since 9/11?" Pp. 1-23 in *Terrorism and Counterterrorism Today, Sociology of Crime, Law and Deviance*, edited by M. Defflem: Emerald Group Publishing Limited.
- Young, Joseph K., and Michael G. Findley. 2011. "Promise and Pitfalls of Terrorism Research." *International Studies Review* 13(3): 411-431.
- Hegghammer, Thomas, and Neil Ketchley. 2025. "Plots, Attacks, and the Measurement of Terrorism." *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 69(1): 100-126.
- LaFree, Gary, and Gary Ackerman. 2009. "The Empirical Study of Terrorism: Social and Legal Research." *Annual Review of Law and Social Science* 5(1): 347-374.
- Rasler, Karen, and William R. Thompson. 2009. "Looking for Waves of Terrorism." *Terrorism and Political Violence* 21(1): 28-41.
- Sedgwick, Mark. 2007. "Inspiration and the Origins of Global Waves of Terrorism." *Studies in Conflict & Terrorism* 30(2): 97-112.
- Shughart, William F. 2006. "An Analytical History of Terrorism, 1945–2000." *Public Choice* 128(1-2): 7-39.
- Rapoport, David C. 1984. "Fear and Trembling: Terrorism in Three Religious Traditions." *American Political Science Review* 78(3): 658-677.
- Sambanis, Nicholas. 2008. "Terrorism and Civil War." In P. Keefer and N. Loayza (eds.): *Terrorism, Economic Development, and Political Openness*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. 174-206.
- D'Orazio, Vito and Idean Salehyan. 2018. "Who Is a Terrorist? Ethnicity, Group Affiliation, and Understandings of Political Violence." *International Interactions* 44(6): 1017-39.
- Huff, Connor and Joshua D. Kertzer. 2018. "How the Public Defines Terrorism." *American Journal of Political Science* 62(1): 55-71.
- Norman, Julie M. Forthcoming. "Other People's Terrorism: Ideology and the Perceived Legitimacy of Political Violence." *Perspectives on Politics*.

- Powell, Kimberly A. 2011. "Framing Islam: An Analysis of U.S. Media Coverage of Terrorism since 9/11." *Communication Studies* 62(1): 90-112.
- Montiel, Cristina J., Erwine S. Dela Paz and Jose S. Medriano. 2022. "Narrative Expansion and "Terrorist" Labeling: Discursive Conflict Escalation by State Media." *Journal of Social and Political Psychology* 10(2): 518-35.
- LaFree, Gary and Laura Dugan. 2007. "Introducing the Global Terrorism Database." *Terrorism and Political Violence* 19(2): 181-204.
- Calle, Luis de la and Ignacio Sánchez-Cuenca. 2011. "The Quantity and Quality of Terrorism: The Dtv Dataset." *Journal of Peace Research* 48(1): 49-58.
- Pape, Robert A., Alejandro Albanez Rivas and Alexandra C. Chinchilla. 2021. "Introducing the New Cpost Dataset on Suicide Attacks." *Journal of Peace Research* 58(4): 826-838.
- Hou, Dongfang, Khusrav Gaibulloev and Todd Sandler. 2020. "Introducing Extended Data on Terrorist Groups (EDTG), 1970 to 2016." *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 64(1): 199-225.

## Week 2. Terrorism as an Insurgent Strategy I: Organizational Logics

### Topics:

- The strategic functions of terrorism in and outside of civil war
- The influence of organizational characteristics and inter-organizational competition

### Required readings:

- 1) Kydd, Andrew H., and Barbara F. Walter. 2006. "The Strategies of Terrorism." *International Security* 31(1): 49-80.
- 2) Belgioioso, Margherita. 2018. "Going Underground: Resort to Terrorism in Mass Mobilization Dissident Campaigns." *Journal of Peace Research* 55(5): 641-55.
- 3) Polo, Sara M. T. and Belén González. 2020. "The Power to Resist: Mobilization and the Logic of Terrorist Attacks in Civil War." *Comparative Political Studies* 53(13): 2029-60.

### Additional literature:

- Shapiro, Jacob N. 2012. "Terrorist Decision-Making: Insights from Economics and Political Science." *Perspectives on Terrorism* 6(4-5): 5-20.
- Martha Crenshaw. 2016. "The Strategic Logic of Terrorism." In R. K. Betts (ed.): *Conflict After the Cold War*. New York, NY: Routledge. 471-484.
- Lake, David A. 2002. "Rational Extremism: Understanding Terrorism in the Twenty-first Century." *Dialogue IO* 1(1): 15-29.
- Della Porta, Donatella. 2013. *Clandestine Political Violence*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press. Chapters 2-3.
- Abrahms, Max, and Philip B. K. Potter. 2015. "Explaining Terrorism: Leadership Deficits and Militant Group Tactics." *International Organization* 69(2): 311-342.
- Polo, Sara M. T. 2020. "The Quality of Terrorist Violence: Explaining the Logic of Terrorist Target Choice." *Journal of Peace Research* 57(2): 235-50.
- Polo, Sara M. T. and Kristian Skrede Gleditsch. 2016. "Twisting Arms and Sending Messages: Terrorist Tactics in Civil War." *Journal of Peace Research* 53(6): 815-29.
- Stanton, Jessica A. 2013. "Terrorism in the Context of Civil War." *The Journal of Politics* 75(4): 1009-22.
- Bueno de Mesquita, Ethan, and Eric S. Dickson. 2007. "The Propaganda of the Deed: Terrorism, Counterterrorism, and Mobilization." *American Journal of Political Science* 51(2): 364-381.
- Kydd, Andrew, and Barbara F. Walter. 2002. "Sabotaging the Peace: The Politics of Extremist Violence." *International Organization* 56(2): 263-296.
- Bloom, Mia M. 2004. "Palestinian Suicide Bombing: Public Support, Market Share, and Outbidding." *Political Science Quarterly* 119 (1):61-88.
- Wood, Reed M., and Jacob D. Kathman. 2015. "Competing for the Crown: Inter-rebel Competition and Civilian Targeting in Civil War." *Political Research Quarterly* 68(1): 167-179.
- Gassebner, Martin, Paul Schaudt and Melvin H. L. Wong. Forthcoming. "Armed Groups: Competition and Political Violence." *Journal of Development Economics*.
- Cunningham, Kathleen Gallagher, Kristin M. Bakke, and Lee J. M. Seymour. 2012. "Shirts Today, Skins Tomorrow: Dual Contests and the Effects of Fragmentation in Self-Determination Disputes." *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 56(1): 67-93.
- Nemeth, Stephen. 2014. "The Effect of Competition on Terrorist Group Operations." *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 58(2): 336-362.

- Findley, Michael G., and Joseph K. Young. 2012. "More Combatant Groups, More Terror?: Empirical Tests of an Outbidding Logic." *Terrorism and Political Violence* 24(5): 706-721.
- Conrad, Justin, and Kevin Greene. 2015. "Competition, Differentiation, and the Severity of Terrorist Attacks." *The Journal of Politics* 77(2): 546-561.
- Phillips, Brian J. 2015. "Enemies with Benefits? Violent Rivalry and Terrorist Group Longevity." *Journal of Peace Research* 52(1): 62-75.
- Nemeth, Stephen C. and Holley E. Hansen. 2022. "Political Competition and Right-Wing Terrorism: A County-Level Analysis of the United States." *Political Research Quarterly* 75(2): 338-52.
- Brown, Joseph M. 2020. "Correlates of Warning: Territory, Democracy, and Casualty Aversion in Terrorist Tactics." *International Organization* 74(2): 396-415.
- Humphreys, Macartan and Jeremy M. Weinstein. 2006. "Handling and Manhandling Civilians in Civil War: Determinants of the Strategies of Warring Factions." *American Political Science Review* 100(3): 429-447.
- Salehyan, Idean, David Siroky, and Reed M. Wood. 2014. "External Rebel Sponsorship and Civilian Abuse: A Principal-Agent Analysis of Wartime Atrocities." *International Organization* 68(3): 633-661.
- Wood, R. M. 2010. "Rebel Capability and Strategic Violence against Civilians." *Journal of Peace Research* 47(5): 601-614.
- Tschantret, Joshua. 2018. "Cleansing the Caliphate: Insurgent Violence against Sexual Minorities." *International Studies Quarterly* 62(2): 260-73.
- Revkin, Mara Redlich and Elisabeth J. Wood. 2021. "The Islamic State's Pattern of Sexual Violence: Ideology and Institutions, Policies and Practices." *Journal of Global Security Studies* 6(2): 1-20.
- Ahmad, Aisha. 2019. "We Have Captured Your Women': Explaining Jihadist Norm Change." *International Security* 44(1): 80-116.
- Fjelde, Hanne, and Lisa Hultman. 2014. "Weakening the Enemy: A Disaggregated Study of Violence against Civilians in Africa." *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 58(7): 1230-1257.
- Asal, Victor, Mitchell Brown, and Marcus Schulzke. 2015. "'Kill Them All—Old and Young, Girls and Women and Little Children': An Examination of the Organizational Choice of Targeting Civilians." *Political Science Research and Methods* 3(03): 589-607.
- Asal, Victor, and R. Karl Rethemeyer. 2008. "The Nature of the Beast: Organizational Structures and the Lethality of Terrorist Attacks." *The Journal of Politics* 70(2): 437-449.
- Laitin, David D., and Jacob N. Shapiro. 2008. "The Political, Economic, and Organizational Sources of Terrorism." In P. Keefer and N. Loayza (eds.): *Terrorism, Economic Development, and Political Openness*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. 209-232.
- Piazza, James A. 2009. "Is Islamist Terrorism More Dangerous?: An Empirical Study of Group Ideology, Organization, and Goal Structure." *Terrorism and Political Violence* 21(1): 62-88.
- Kalyvas, Stathis N. 2006. *The Logic of Violence in Civil War*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. Chapter 6.

### Week 3. Terrorism as an Insurgent Strategy II: National-level Conditions

#### Topics:

- Grievances vs. opportunities for violence
- Societal and state-level conditions that incentivize terrorism as a strategy

#### Required readings:

- 1) Hendrix, Cullen S., and Joseph K. Young. 2014. "State Capacity and Terrorism: A Two-Dimensional Approach." *Security Studies* 23(2): 329-363.
- 2) Brooks, Risa. 2009. "Researching Democracy and Terrorism: How Political Access Affects Militant Activity." *Security Studies* 18(4): 756-788.
- 3) Choose **one** of the following two:
  - a) Piazza, James A. 2020. "Politician Hate Speech and Domestic Terrorism." *International Interactions* 46(3): 431-53.
  - b) Brancati, Dawn, Jóhanna Birnir, and Qutaiba Idlbi. 2023. "Locking down Violence: The Covid-19 Pandemic's Impact on Non-state Actor Violence." *American Political Science Review* 117(4): 1327-1343.

#### Additional literature:

- Goodwin, Jeff. 2006. "A Theory of Categorical Terrorism." *Social Forces* 84(4): 2027-2046.
- de la Calle, Luis, and Ignacio Sanchez-Cuenca. 2012. "Rebels without a Territory: An Analysis of Nonterritorial Conflicts in the World, 1970-1997." *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 56(4): 580-603.

- Berrebi, Claude and Jordan Ostwald. 2011. "Earthquakes, Hurricanes, and Terrorism: Do Natural Disasters Incite Terror?". *Public Choice* 149(3-4): 383-403.
- Chae, Seung Hoon and Wukki Kim. Forthcoming. "State Capacity Matters in 'the Middle:' a New Perspective on Domestic Terrorism." *Journal of Peace Research*.
- Coggins, Bridget L. 2015. "Does State Failure Cause Terrorism? An Empirical Analysis (1999–2008)." *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 59(3): 455-483.
- Meierrieks, Daniel and Daniel Auer. Forthcoming. "Bribes and Bombs: The Effect of Corruption on Terrorism." *American Political Science Review*.
- Krueger, Alan B. and David D. Laitin. 2008. "Kto Kogo?: A Cross-country Study of the Origins and Targets of Terrorism." In P. Keefer and N. Loayza (eds.): *Terrorism, Economic Development, and Political Openness*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. 148-173.
- Auer, Daniel, and Daniel Meierrieks. 2021. "Merchants of Death: Arms Imports and Terrorism." *European Economic Review* 137: 103813.
- Chenoweth, Erica. 2010. "Democratic Competition and Terrorist Activity." *The Journal of Politics* 72(1): 16-30.
- Pape, Robert A. 2003. "The Strategic Logic of Suicide Terrorism." *American Political Science Review* 97(3): 343-361.
- Goodwin, Jeff. 2006. "What Do We Really Know About (Suicide) Terrorism?" *Sociological Forum* 21(2): 315-330.
- Li, Quan. 2005. "Does Democracy Promote or Reduce Transnational Terrorist Incidents?" *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 49(2): 278-97.
- Abrahms, Max. 2007. "Why Democracies Make Superior Counterterrorists." *Security Studies* 16(2): 223-253.
- Savun, Burcu and Brian J. Phillips. 2009. "Democracy, Foreign Policy, and Terrorism." *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 53(6):878-904.
- Blankenship, Brian. 2018. "When Do States Take the Bait? State Capacity and the Provocation Logic of Terrorism." *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 62(2): 381-409.
- Young, Joseph K., and Laura Dugan. 2011. "Veto Players and Terror." *Journal of Peace Research* 48(1): 19-33.
- Krieger, T., and Daniel Meierrieks. 2010. "Terrorism in the Worlds of Welfare Capitalism." *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 54(6): 902-939.
- Aksoy, Deniz and David B. Carter. 2012. "Electoral Institutions and the Emergence of Terrorist Groups." *British Journal of Political Science* 44(1): 181-204.
- Aksoy, Deniz, David B. Carter, and Joseph Wright. 2012. "Terrorism in Dictatorships." *The Journal of Politics* 74(3): 810-826.
- Abadie, Alberto. 2006. "Poverty, Political Freedom, and the Roots of Terrorism." *American Economic Review* 96(2): 50-56.
- Ezcurra, Roberto, and David Palacios. 2016. "Terrorism and Spatial Disparities: Does Interregional Inequality Matter?" *European Journal of Political Economy* 42: 60-74.
- Piazza, James A. 2011. "Poverty, Minority Economic Discrimination, and Domestic Terrorism." *Journal of Peace Research* 48(3): 339-353.
- Stanton, Jessica A. 2013. "Terrorism in the Context of Civil War." *The Journal of Politics* 75(4): 1009-22.
- Gleditsch, Kristian Skrede and Sara M. T. Polo. 2016. "Ethnic Inclusion, Democracy, and Terrorism." *Public Choice* 169(3-4): 207-29.
- Olzak, Susan. 2023. "Ethno-Nationalism and Right-Wing Extremist Violence in the United States, 2000 through 2018." *Sociological Science* 10: 197-226.
- Lee, Chia-yi. 2018. "Oil and Terrorism: Uncovering the Mechanisms." *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 62(5): 903-28.
- Henne, Peter S., Nilay Saiya and Ashlyn W. Hand. 2020. "Weapon of the Strong? Government Support for Religion and Majoritarian Terrorism." *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 64(10): 1943-67.
- Sánchez-Cuenca, Ignacio. 2019. *The Historical Roots of Political Violence: Revolutionary Terrorism in Affluent Countries*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press. Chapter 1.
- Rohner, Dominic, and Bruno S. Frey. 2007. "Blood and Ink! The Common-interest-Game between Terrorists and the Media." *Public Choice* 133(1-2): 129-145.
- Mahmood, Rafat and Michael Jetter. 2020. "Communications Technology and Terrorism." *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 64(1): 127-66.
- Thomas, Jakana L. 2021. "Wolves in Sheep's Clothing: Assessing the Effect of Gender Norms on the Lethality of Female Suicide Terrorism." *International Organization* 75(3): 769-802.

## Week 4. Concepts II: Extremism and Radicalization

### Topics:

- Conceptual debates & levels of analysis
- The strategic functions of ideology and extremism within organizations
- From ideas to action: extremism and violence

### Required readings:

- 1) Neumann, Peter R. 2013. "The Trouble with Radicalization." *International Affairs* 89(4): 873-93.
- 2) McCauley, Clark, and Sophia Moskalenko. 2017. "Understanding Political Radicalization: The Two-Pyramids Model." *American Psychologist* 72(3): 205-216.
- 3) Choose **one** of the following two:
  - a) Revkin, Mara Redlich and Elisabeth J. Wood. 2021. "The Islamic State's Pattern of Sexual Violence: Ideology and Institutions, Policies and Practices." *Journal of Global Security Studies* 6(2): 1-20.
  - b) Hagan, John, and Wenona Rymond-Richmond. 2008. "The Collective Dynamics of Racial Dehumanization and Genocidal Victimization in Darfur." *American Sociological Review* 73(6): 875-902.

### Additional literature:

- Borum, Randy. 2011. "Radicalization into Violent Extremism I: A Review of Social Science Theories." *Journal of Strategic Security* 4(4): 7-36.
- Sedgwick, Mark. 2010. "The Concept of Radicalization as a Source of Confusion." *Terrorism and Political Violence* 22(4): 479-94.
- Hafez, Mohammed, and Creighton Mullins. 2015. "The Radicalization Puzzle: A Theoretical Synthesis of Empirical Approaches to Homegrown Extremism." *Studies in Conflict & Terrorism* 38(11): 958-975.
- Della Porta, Donatella. 2018. "Radicalization: A Relational Perspective." *Annual Review of Political Science* 21(1): 461-74.
- Karell, Daniel and Michael Freedman. 2019. "Rhetorics of Radicalism." *American Sociological Review* 84(4): 726-53.
- Nielsen, Richard A. 2017. *Deadly Clerics: Blocked Ambition and the Paths to Jihad*. New York: Cambridge University Press. Chapter 3.
- Della Porta, Donatella. 2013. *Clandestine Political Violence*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press. Chapters 5-8.
- Mitchell, Neil J. 2004. *Agents of Atrocity: Leaders, Followers, and the Violation of Human Rights in Civil War*. New York, NY: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Backes, Uwe. 2010. *Political Extremes: A Conceptual History from Antiquity to the Present*. Abingdon, UK: Routledge.
- Moghaddam, F. M. 2005. "The Staircase to Terrorism: A Psychological Exploration." *American Psychologist* 60(2): 161-169.
- Doosje, Bertjan, Fathali M. Moghaddam, Arie W. Kruglanski, Arjan de Wolf, Liesbeth Mann, and Allard R. Feddes. 2016. "Terrorism, Radicalization and De-radicalization." *Current Opinion in Psychology* 11: 79-84.
- McCauley, Clark, and Sophia Moskalenko. 2008. "Mechanisms of Political Radicalization: Pathways Toward Terrorism." *Terrorism and Political Violence* 20(3): 415-433.
- Leader Maynard, Jonathan. 2019. "Ideology and Armed Conflict." *Journal of Peace Research* 56(5): 635-49.
- Walter, Barbara F. 2017. "The Extremist's Advantage in Civil Wars." *International Security* 42 (2):7-39.
- Gutiérrez Sanín, Francisco and Elisabeth J. Wood. 2014. "Ideology in Civil War: Instrumental Adoption and Beyond." *Journal of Peace Research* 51(2): 213-26.
- Ugariza, Juan E., and Matthew J. Craig. 2013. "The Relevance of Ideology to Contemporary Armed Conflicts." *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 57(3): 445-477.
- Ahmad, Aisha. 2019. "'We Have Captured Your Women': Explaining Jihadist Norm Change." *International Security* 44(1): 80-116.
- Vogt, Manuel, Kristian Skrede Gleditsch and Lars-Erik Cederman. 2021. "From Claims to Violence: Signaling, Outbidding, and Escalation in Ethnic Conflict." *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 65(7-8):1278-307.
- Hagan, John, and Wenona Rymond-Richmond. 2008. "The Collective Dynamics of Racial Dehumanization and Genocidal Victimization in Darfur." *American Sociological Review* 73(6): 875-902.



## Week 5. Individual-level Motivations for Terrorist Violence

### Topics:

- Why do individuals participate in armed conflict and terrorism?
- The role of politics, poverty, ideology, and peer effects in radicalization processes

### Required readings:

- 1) Lee, Alexander. 2011. "Who Becomes a Terrorist? Poverty, Education, and the Origins of Political Violence." *World Politics* 63(2): 203-245.
- 2) Choose **one** of the following two:
  - a) LaFree, Gary, and Erin Miller. 2008. "Desistance from Terrorism: What Can We Learn from Criminology?" *Dynamics of Asymmetric Conflict* 1(3): 203-230.
  - b) Moskalenko, Sophia, and Clark McCauley. 2011. "The Psychology of Lone-wolf Terrorism." *Counselling Psychology Quarterly* 24(2): 115-126.
- 3) Choose **one** of the following two:
  - a) Gade, Emily Kalah. 2020. "Social Isolation and Repertoires of Resistance." *American Political Science Review* 114(2): 309-25.
  - b) Thomas, Jakana L. and Kanisha D. Bond. 2015. "Women's Participation in Violent Political Organizations." *American Political Science Review* 109(3): 488-506.

### Additional literature:

- Sageman, Marc. 2004. *Understanding Terror Networks*. Philadelphia, PA: University of Pennsylvania Press. Chapter 4.
- Della Porta, Donatella. 2013. *Clandestine Political Violence*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press. Chapter 4.
- Mitts, Tamar. 2019. "From Isolation to Radicalization: Anti-Muslim Hostility and Support for Isis in the West." *American Political Science Review* 113(1): 173-94.
- Nielsen, Richard A. 2017. *Deadly Clerics: Blocked Ambition and the Paths to Jihad*. New York: Cambridge University Press. Chapter 3.
- Cerina, Roberto, Christopher Barrie, Neil Ketchley, and Aaron Y. Zelin. 2024. "Explaining Recruitment to Extremism: A Bayesian Hierarchical Case-Control Approach." *Political Analysis* 32(2): 256-274.
- Costalli, Stefano, and Andrea Ruggeri. 2015. "Indignation, Ideologies, and Armed Mobilization: Civil War in Italy, 1943-45." *International Security* 40(2): 119-157.
- Obaidi, Milan, Robin Bergh, Jim Sidanius, and Lotte Thomsen. 2018. "The Mistreatment of My People: Victimization by Proxy and Behavioral Intentions to Commit Violence Among Muslims in Denmark." *Political Psychology* 39(3): 577-593.
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## Week 6. Transnational Factors and the Role of Religion

### Topics:

- How does violence spread across borders?
- Transnational dimensions of terrorism
- Global jihad and the role of religion

### Required readings:

- 1) Wucherpennig, Julian and Sara M. T. Polo. 2022. "Trojan Horse, Copycat, or Scapegoat? Unpacking the Refugees-Terrorism Nexus." *The Journal of Politics* 84(1): 33-49.
- 2) Kalyvas, Stathis N. 2018. "Jihadi Rebels in Civil War." *Daedalus* 147(1): 36-47.
- 3) Choose **one** of the following two:
  - a) Findley, Michael G., James A. Piazza, and Joseph K. Young. 2012. "Games Rivals Play: Terrorism in International Rivalries." *The Journal of Politics* 74(1): 235-248.
  - b) Farrell, Megan. 2020. "The Logic of Transnational Outbidding: Pledging Allegiance and the Escalation of Violence." *Journal of Peace Research* 57(3): 437-51.

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- Forsberg, Erika. 2016. "Transnational Dimensions of Civil Wars: Clustering, Contagion, and Connectedness." In *What Do We Know About Civil Wars?*, edited by T. D. Mason and S. McLaughlin Mitchell. Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield. 75-90.
- Polo, Sara M. T. 2020. "How Terrorism Spreads: Emulation and the Diffusion of Ethnic and Ethnoreligious Terrorism." *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 64(10): 1916-42.
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- Braithwaite, Alex. 2015. "Transnational Terrorism as an Unintended Consequence of a Military Footprint." *Security Studies* 24(2): 349-375.

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- Braithwaite, Alex and Tiffany S. Chu. 2018. "Civil Conflicts Abroad, Foreign Fighters, and Terrorism at Home." *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 62(8):1636-60.
- Blomberg, S. Brock and Gregory D. Hess. 2008. "The Lexus and the Olive Branch: Globalization, Democratization, and Terrorism." In P. Keefer and N. Loayza (eds.): *Terrorism, Economic Development, and Political Openness*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. 116-147.
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- Carter, David B. 2012. "A Blessing or a Curse? State Support for Terrorist Groups." *International Organization* 66 (01):129-151.
- Salehyan, Idean, David Siroky, and Reed M. Wood. 2014. "External Rebel Sponsorship and Civilian Abuse: A Principal-Agent Analysis of Wartime Atrocities." *International Organization* 68(3): 633-661.
- Piazza, James A. 2008. "Incubators of Terror: Do Failed and Failing States Promote Transnational Terrorism?" *International Studies Quarterly* 52(3): 469-488.
- Coggins, Bridget L. 2015. "Does State Failure Cause Terrorism? An Empirical Analysis (1999-2008)." *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 59(3): 455-483.
- George, Justin. 2018. "State Failure and Transnational Terrorism: An Empirical Analysis." *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 62(3):471-95.
- Philpott, Daniel. 2002. "The Challenge of September 11 to Secularism in International Relations." *World Politics* 55(1): 66-95.
- Sedgwick, Mark. 2004. "Al-Qaeda and the Nature of Religious Terrorism." *Terrorism and Political Violence* 16(4): 795-814.
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- Benmelech, Efraim and Esteban F. Klor. 2020. "What Explains the Flow of Foreign Fighters to Isis?" *Terrorism and Political Violence* 32(7): 1458-81.
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- Isaacs, Matthew. 2016. "Sacred Violence or Strategic Faith? Disentangling the Relationship between Religion and Violence in Armed Conflict." *Journal of Peace Research* 53(2): 211-225.
- Bormann, Nils-Christian, Lars-Erik Cederman, and Manuel Vogt. 2017. "Language, Religion, and Ethnic Civil War." *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 61(4): 744-771.
- Moghaddam, Fathali M., Zachary Warren, and K. Love. 2013. "Religion and the Staircase to Terrorism." *Handbook of the Psychology of Religion and Spirituality*. Pp. 632-648.
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- Norbrook, Nicholas. 2016. Islamic State in Africa and the grim utopia. The Africa Report. Berkhamsted, UK, Groupe Jeune Afrique. Online: <http://www.theafricareport.com/North-Africa/islamic-state-in-africa-and-the-grim-utopia.html>
- Skelton, Rose. 2015. Mali: Faith and the fightback. The Africa Report. Berkhamsted, UK, Groupe Jeune Afrique. Online: <http://www.theafricareport.com/West-Africa/mali-faith-and-the-fightback.html>

## Week 7. Internal Organization (Structure, Recruitment, Tactics) & ICT

### Topics:

- How do terrorist groups organize themselves?
- How do they recruit members?
- And how do modern communication technologies affect the functioning of these groups?

**Required readings:**

- 1) Shapiro, Jacob N. 2013. *The Terrorist's Dilemma: Managing Violent Covert Organizations*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press. Chapter 2 (pp. 26-62).
- 2) Hegghammer, Thomas. 2013. "The Recruiter's Dilemma: Signalling and Rebel Recruitment Tactics." *Journal of Peace Research* 50(1): 3-16.
- 3) Choose **one** of the following two:
  - a) Benson, David C. 2014. "Why the Internet Is Not Increasing Terrorism." *Security Studies* 23(2): 293-328.
  - b) Mitts, Tamar, Gregoire Phillips and Barbara F. Walter. 2022. "Studying the Impact of Isis Propaganda Campaigns." *The Journal of Politics* 84(2): 1220-25.

**Additional literature:**

- Sageman, Marc. 2004. *Understanding Terror Networks*. Philadelphia, PA: University of Pennsylvania Press. Chapter 5.
- Sageman, Marc. 2011. *Leaderless Jihad: Terror Networks in the Twenty-First Century*. Philadelphia, PA: University of Pennsylvania Press. Chapters 6 & 7.
- Eilstrup-Sangiovanni, Mette, and Calvert Jones. 2008. "Assessing the Dangers of Illicit Networks." *International Security* 33(2): 7-44.
- Helfstein, Scott. 2009. "Governance of Terror: New Institutionalism and the Evolution of Terrorist Organizations." *Public Administration Review* 69(4): 727-739.
- Shapiro, Jacob N., and David A. Siegel. 2011. "Moral Hazard, Discipline, and the Management of Terrorist Organizations." *World Politics* 64(1): 39-78.
- Weinstein, Jeremy M. 2007. *Inside Rebellion: The Politics of Insurgent Violence*. New York: Cambridge University Press. Pp. 1-24.
- Staniland, Paul. 2012. "Organizing Insurgency: Networks, Resources, and Rebellion in South Asia." *International Security* 37(1): 142-177.
- Brown, Joseph M. 2020. "Notes to the Underground: Credit Claiming and Organizing in the Earth Liberation Front." *Terrorism and Political Violence* 32(2): 237-56.
- Mitts, Tamar. Forthcoming. *Safe Havens for Hate: The Challenge of Moderating Online Extremism*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.
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- Chen, Hsinchun, Wingyan Chung, Jialun Qin, Edna Reid, Marc Sageman, and Gabriel Weimann. 2008. "Uncovering the Dark Web: A Case Study of Jihad on the Web." *Journal of the American Society for Information Science and Technology* 59(8): 1347-1359.
- Cuéllar, Mariano-Florentino. 2006. "The Untold Story of al Qaeda's Administrative Law Dilemmas." *Minnesota Law Review* 91: 1302-1368.
- Mueller, John, and Mark G. Stewart. 2015. "Terrorism, Counterterrorism, and the Internet: The American Cases." *Dynamics of Asymmetric Conflict* 8(2): 176-190.
- Klausen, Jytte. 2015. "Tweeting the Jihad: Social Media Networks of Western Foreign Fighters in Syria and Iraq." *Studies in Conflict & Terrorism* 38(1):1-22.
- Mahmood, Rafat and Michael Jetter. 2020. "Communications Technology and Terrorism." *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 64(1): 127-66.
- Horowitz, Michael C. 2010. "Nonstate Actors and the Diffusion of Innovations: The Case of Suicide Terrorism." *International Organization* 64(1): 33-64.
- Horowitz, Michael C., Evan Perkoski and Philip B. K. Potter. 2018. "Tactical Diversity in Militant Violence." *International Organization* 72(1): 139-71.
- Santifort, Charlinda, Todd Sandler, and Patrick T. Brandt. 2013. "Terrorist Attack and Target Diversity: Changepoints and Their Drivers." *Journal of Peace Research* 50(1): 75-90.
- Benmelech, Efraim, Claude Berrebi, and Esteban F. Klor. 2012. "Economic Conditions and the Quality of Suicide Terrorism." *The Journal of Politics* 74(1): 113-128.
- Nanes, Matthew and Trevor Bachus. 2021. "Walls and Strategic Innovation in Violent Conflict." *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 65(6): 1131-1158.
- Ahmad, Aisha. 2016. "Going Global: Islamist Competition in Contemporary Civil Wars." *Security Studies* 25(2): 353-384.

**Week 8. Does Terrorism Work?****Topics:**

- The effectiveness of terrorism as a strategy of political violence

- Individual and system-level consequences of terrorism

**Required readings:**

- 1) Fortna, Virginia Page. 2015. "Do Terrorists Win? Rebels' Use of Terrorism and Civil War Outcomes." *International Organization* 69(3): 519-556.
- 2) Godefroidt, Amélie. 2023. "How Terrorism Does (and Does Not) Affect Citizens' Political Attitudes: A Meta-Analysis." *American Journal of Political Science* 67(1): 22-38.
- 3) Choose **one** of the following two:
  - a) Hirsch-Hoefler, Sivan, Daphna Canetti-Nisim, Carmit Rapaport, and Stevan E. Hobfoll. 2014. "Conflict will Harden your Heart: Exposure to Violence, Psychological Distress, and Peace Barriers in Israel and Palestine." *British Journal of Political Science* 46(4): 845-859.
  - b) Nussio, Enzo, Vincenzo Bove, and Bridget Steele. 2019. "The Consequences of Terrorism on Migration Attitudes across Europe." *Political Geography* 75: 1-10.

**Additional literature:**

- Krause, Peter. 2013. "The Political Effectiveness of Non-State Violence: A Two-Level Framework to Transform a Deceptive Debate." *Security Studies* 22(2): 259-294.
- Abrahms, M. 2012. "The Political Effectiveness of Terrorism Revisited." *Comparative Political Studies* 45(3): 366-393.
- Gould, Eric D., and Esteban F. Klor. 2010. "Does Terrorism Work?" *Quarterly Journal of Economics* 125(4): 1459-1510.
- Abrahms, Max. 2013. "The Credibility Paradox: Violence as a Double-Edged Sword in International Politics." *International Studies Quarterly* 5 (4): 660-671.
- Thomas, Jakana L. 2021. "Wolves in Sheep's Clothing: Assessing the Effect of Gender Norms on the Lethality of Female Suicide Terrorism." *International Organization* 75(3): 769-802.
- Park, Johann, and Valentina Bali. 2017. "International Terrorism and the Political Survival of Leaders." *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 61(7): 1343-1370.
- Williams, Laron K., Michael T. Koch, and Jason M. Smith. 2013. "The Political Consequences of Terrorism: Terror Events, Casualties, and Government Duration." *International Studies Perspectives* 14(3): 343-361.
- Berrebi, Claude, and Esteban F. Klor. 2008. "Are Voters Sensitive to Terrorism? Direct Evidence from the Israeli Electorate." *American Political Science Review* 102(3): 279-301.
- Montalvo, José G. 2011. "Voting after the Bombings: A Natural Experiment on the Effect of Terrorist Attacks on Democratic Elections." *The Review of Economics and Statistics* 93(4): 1146-1154.
- Mitts, Tamar. 2019. "Terrorism and the Rise of Right-Wing Content in Israeli Books." *International Organization* 73(1): 203-24.
- Bjørnskov, Christian and Stefan Voigt. 2020. "When Does Terror Induce a State of Emergency? And What Are the Effects?" *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 64(4): 579-613.
- Findley, Michael G., and Joseph K. Young. 2015. "Terrorism, Spoiling, and the Resolution of Civil Wars." *The Journal of Politics* 77 (4):1115-1128.
- Thomas, Jakana. 2014. "Rewarding Bad Behavior: How Governments Respond to Terrorism in Civil War." *American Journal of Political Science* 58(4): 804-818.
- Wood, Reed M., and Jacob D. Kathman. 2013. "Too Much of a Bad Thing? Civilian Victimization and Bargaining in Civil War." *British Journal of Political Science* 44(3): 685-706.
- Brandsch, Jürgen and André Python. 2021. "Provoking Ordinary People: The Effects of Terrorism on Civilian Violence." *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 65(1): 135-65.
- Woods, Joshua. 2011. "The 9/11 Effect: Toward a Social Science of the Terrorist Threat." *The Social Science Journal* 48(1): 213-233.
- Hersh, Eitan D. 2013. "Long-term Effect of September 11 on the Political Behavior of Victims' Families and Neighbors." *Proceedings of the National Academy of Sciences* 110(52): 20959-63.
- Canetti-Nisim, Daphna, Eran Halperin, Keren Sharvit, and Stevan E. Hobfoll. 2009. "A New Stress-Based Model of Political Extremism: Personal Exposure to Terrorism, Psychological Distress, and Exclusionist Political Attitudes." *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 53(3): 363-389.
- Peffley, Mark, Marc L. Hutchison and Michal Shamir. 2015. "The Impact of Persistent Terrorism on Political Tolerance: Israel, 1980 to 2011." *American Political Science Review* 109(4): 817-32.
- Romanov, Dmitri, Asaf Zussman, and Noam Zussman. 2012. "Does Terrorism Demoralize? Evidence from Israel." *Economica* 79(313): 183-198.
- Nussio, Enzo, Vincenzo Bove and Bridget Steele. 2019. "The Consequences of Terrorism on Migration Attitudes across Europe." *Political Geography* 75: 1-10.
- Böhmelt, Tobias, Vincenzo Bove and Enzo Nussio. 2020. "Can Terrorism Abroad Influence Migration Attitudes at Home?" *American Journal of Political Science* 64(3): 437-51.

- Helbling, Marc and Daniel Meierrieks. 2022. "Terrorism and Migration: An Overview." *British Journal of Political Science* 52(2): 977-996.
- Kushner Gadarian, Shana. 2010. "The Politics of Threat: How Terrorism News Shapes Foreign Policy Attitudes." *The Journal of Politics* 72(2): 469-483.
- Abadie, Alberto, and Javier Gardeazabal. 2003. "The Economic Costs of Conflict: A Case Study of the Basque Country." *American Economic Review* 93(1): 113-132.
- Gaibullov, Khusrav, and Todd Sandler. 2011. "The Adverse Effect of Transnational and Domestic Terrorism on Growth in Africa." *Journal of Peace Research* 48(3): 355-371.
- Bilgel, Firat and Burhan Can Karahasan. 2017. "The Economic Costs of Separatist Terrorism in Turkey." *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 61(2): 457-79.
- Meserve, Stephen A. and Daniel Pemstein. 2020. "Terrorism and Internet Censorship." *Journal of Peace Research* 57(6): 752-63.

## Week 9. Counter-terrorist Strategies

### Topics:

- How terrorist organizations collapse
- Repression vs. accommodation
- "Clinical" and social approaches to counter-terrorism

### Required readings:

- 1) Cronin, Audrey K. 2006. "How al-Qaida Ends: The Decline and Demise of Terrorist Groups." *International Security* 31(1): 7-48.
- 2) Johnston, Patrick B. 2012. "Does Decapitation Work?" *International Security* 36(4): 47-79.
- 3) Choose **one** of the following two:
  - a) Mitts, Tamar. 2022. "Countering Violent Extremism and Radical Rhetoric." *International Organization* 76(1): 251-272.
  - b) Wolfowicz, Michael, Gian Maria Campedelli, Amber Seaward, and Paul Gill. 2023. "Arrests and Convictions but not Sentence Length Deter Terrorism in 28 European Union Member States." *Nature Human Behaviour* 7(11): 1878-1889.

### Additional literature:

- Gaibullov, Khusrav, and Todd Sandler. 2014. "An Empirical Analysis of Alternative Ways that Terrorist Groups End." *Public Choice* 160(1-2): 25-44.
- LaFree, Gary, and Erin Miller. 2008. "Desistance from Terrorism: What Can We Learn from Criminology?" *Dynamics of Asymmetric Conflict* 1(3): 203-230.
- Belanger, Jocelyn J., Claudia F. Nisa, Birga M. Schumpe, Tsion Gurmu, Michael J. Williams and Idhamsyah E. Putra. 2020. "Do Counter-Narratives Reduce Support for Isis? Yes, but Not for Their Target Audience." *Frontiers in Psychology* 11: 1-11.
- Della Porta, Donatella. 2013. *Clandestine Political Violence*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press. Chapter 9.
- Murua, Imanol. 2016. "No More Bullets for ETA: The Loss of Internal Support as a Key Factor in the End of the Basque Group's Campaign." *Critical Studies on Terrorism* 10(1): 93-114.
- Reinares, Fernando. 2011. "Exit from Terrorism: A Qualitative Empirical Study on Disengagement and Deradicalization among Members of Eta." *Terrorism and Political Violence* 23(5): 780-803.
- Moghadam, Assaf. 2012. "Failure and Disengagement in the Red Army Faction." *Studies in Conflict & Terrorism* 35(2): 156-81.
- Björge, Tore. 2011. "Dreams and Disillusionment: Engagement in and Disengagement from Militant Extremist Groups." *Crime, Law and Social Change* 55(4): 277-85.
- Perliger, Arie. 2012. "How Democracies Respond to Terrorism: Regime Characteristics, Symbolic Power and Counterterrorism." *Security Studies* 21(3): 490-528.
- Aksoy, Deniz. 2018. "Electoral and Partisan Cycles in Counterterrorism." *The Journal of Politics* 80(4): 1239-53.
- Potter, Philip B. K. and Chen Wang. 2022. "Governmental Responses to Terrorism in Autocracies: Evidence from China." *British Journal of Political Science* 52(1): 358-380.
- Gleditsch, Kristian Skrede and Sara M. T. Polo. 2016. "Ethnic Inclusion, Democracy, and Terrorism." *Public Choice* 169(3-4): 207-29.
- Chowdhury, Arjun, and Ronald R. Krebs. 2009. "Making and Mobilizing Moderates: Rhetorical Strategy, Political Networks, and Counterterrorism." *Security Studies* 18(3): 371-399.

- Neumayer, Eric, Thomas Plümper, and Mariaelisa Epifanio. 2014. "The 'Peer-Effect' in Counterterrorist Policies." *International Organization* 68(1): 211-234.
- Lehrke, Jesse Paul, and Rahel Schomaker. 2016. "Kill, Capture, or Defend? The Effectiveness of Specific and General Counterterrorism Tactics against the Global Threats of the Post-9/11 Era." *Security Studies* 25(4): 729-762.
- Schutte, Sebastian. 2017. "Violence and Civilian Loyalties: Evidence from Afghanistan." *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 61(8): 1595-1625.
- Lyll, Jason. 2009. "Does Indiscriminate Violence Incite Insurgent Attacks? Evidence from Chechnya." *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 53(3): 331-362.
- Kocher, Matthew, Thomas B. Pepinsky, and Stathis N. Kalyvas. 2011. "Aerial Bombing and Counterinsurgency in the Vietnam War." *American Journal of Political Science* 55(2): 201-218.
- Walsh, James I., and James A. Piazza. 2010. "Why Respecting Physical Integrity Rights Reduces Terrorism." *Comparative Political Studies* 43(5): 551-577.
- Rooney, Bryan. 2020. "Emergency Powers and the Heterogeneity of Terror in Democratic States." *International Studies Quarterly* 64(4): 894-905.
- Benmelech, Efraim, Claude Berrebi and Esteban F. Klor. 2015. "Counter-Suicide-Terrorism: Evidence from House Demolitions." *The Journal of Politics* 77(1): 27-43.
- Longo, Matthew, Daphna Canetti-Nisim, and Nancy Hite-Rubin. 2014. "A Checkpoint Effect? Evidence from a Natural Experiment on Travel Restrictions in the West Bank." *American Journal of Political Science* 58(4): 1006-1023.
- Nanes, Matthew and Trevor Bachus. 2021. "Walls and Strategic Innovation in Violent Conflict." *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 65(6): 1131-1158.
- Brancati, Dawn, Jóhanna Birnir, and Qutaiba Idlbi. 2023. "Locking down Violence: The Covid-19 Pandemic's Impact on Non-state Actor Violence." *American Political Science Review* 117(4): 1327-1343.
- LaFree, Gary, Laura Dugan, and Raven Korte. 2009. "The Impact of British Counterterrorist Strategies on Political Violence in Northern Ireland: Comparing Deterrence and Backlash Models." *Criminology* 47(1): 17-45.
- Berman, Eli, Jacob N. Shapiro, and Joseph H. Felter. 2011. "Can Hearts and Minds Be Bought? The Economics of Counterinsurgency in Iraq." *Journal of Political Economy* 119(4): 766-819.
- Rigterink, Anouk S. 2020. "The Wane of Command: Evidence on Drone Strikes and Control within Terrorist Organizations." *American Political Science Review* 115(1): 31-50.
- Mir, Asfandyar. 2018. "What Explains Counterterrorism Effectiveness? Evidence from the U.S. Drone War in Pakistan." *International Security* 43(2): 45-83.
- Jordan, Jenna. 2014. "Attacking the Leader, Missing the Mark." *International Security* 38(4): 7-38.
- Price, Bryan C. 2012. "Targeting Top Terrorists: How Leadership Decapitation Contributes to Counterterrorism." *International Security* 36(4): 9-46.
- Ellis, B. H., and S. Abdi. 2017. "Building Community Resilience to Violent Extremism through Genuine Partnerships." *American Psychologist* 72(3): 289-300.
- Vermeulen, Floris. 2014. "Suspect Communities—Targeting Violent Extremism at the Local Level: Policies of Engagement in Amsterdam, Berlin, and London." *Terrorism and Political Violence* 26(2): 286-306.
- Montiel, Cristina J., Erwine S. Dela Paz and Jose S. Medriano. 2022. "Narrative Expansion and "Terrorist" Labeling: Discursive Conflict Escalation by State Media." *Journal of Social and Political Psychology* 10(2): 518-35.
- Sarma, Kiran M. 2017. "Risk Assessment and the Prevention of Radicalization from Nonviolence into Terrorism." *American Psychologist* 72(3): 278-288.
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## Week 10. From Counterinsurgency to State Terror

### Topics:

- Indiscriminate counterinsurgency
- Violence and terror as an instrument of rule
- Strategic vs. ideological roots of state terror

### Required readings:

- 1) Leader Maynard, Jonathan. 2022. *Ideology and Mass Killing: The Radicalized Security Politics of Genocides and Deadly Atrocities*. Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press. Chapters 3.2 & 3.3 (pp. 63-93).
- 2) Choose **one** of the following two:
  - a) MacDonald, Paul K. 2023. "Civilized Barbarism: What We Miss When We Ignore Colonial Violence." *International Organization* 77(4): 721-53.
  - b) Scharpf, Adam and Christian Gläsel. 2020. "Why Underachievers Dominate Secret Police Organizations: Evidence from Autocratic Argentina." *American Journal of Political Science* 64(4): 791-806.

### Additional literature:

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- Wang, Yuhua. 2019. "The Political Legacy of Violence During China's Cultural Revolution." *British Journal of Political Science* 51(2): 463-87.