



**POLS7002  
Strategies of Terrorism**

<b>Lecturer:</b>	Dr Manuel Vogt
<b>Office Hours:</b>	TBC
<b>Teaching:</b>	10 hours of lectures, 10 hours of seminars
<b>Credits:</b>	0.5 Course Units/ 4 US Credits/ 7.5 ECTS Credits
<b>Assessment Method:</b>	One 1,500 word essay and one 2,500 word essay (40%/60% weighting)
<b>Essay Deadlines:</b>	Essay 1: 21.2.2018 (by 2pm) Essay 2: 25.4.2018 (by 2pm)
<b>Attendance:</b>	Attendance is compulsory at all lectures and seminars for which students are timetabled. Attendance will be monitored and no student will be entered for assessment unless they have attended and pursued the module to the satisfaction of the department.

**USEFUL LINKS**

**Lecture and Seminar Times:**

Online Timetable at [www.ucl.ac.uk/timetable](http://www.ucl.ac.uk/timetable)

**UG Student Intranet**

<http://www.ucl.ac.uk/political-science/intranet/ug>

**Extenuating Circumstances**

<http://www.ucl.ac.uk/political-science/intranet/ug/pastoral/extenuating-circumstances>

**Penalties for Late Submission and Overlength Essays**

<http://www.ucl.ac.uk/political-science/intranet/ug/essays/lateness-word-penalties>

**Essay Submission Information**

<http://www.ucl.ac.uk/political-science/intranet/ug/essays/submission-return>

**Essay Writing, Plagiarism and TurnItIn**

<http://www.ucl.ac.uk/political-science/intranet/ug/essays/writing-skills>

<http://www.ucl.ac.uk/political-science/intranet/ug/policies/plagiarism>

<http://www.ucl.ac.uk/Library/CitationPlagiarism.doc>

## Overview and Objectives

This module is suitable for advanced undergraduate students. It will acquaint students with the main theoretical debates and empirical findings in the research on terrorism. It covers the topic from both a contemporary and an historical perspective and examines terrorism's strategic dimension as a tool of intra-state and transnational warfare. We will draw on insights from political science, international relations, sociology, psychology, economics, and history to shed light on such topics as 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, 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 form of political violence. We will also examine the policy responses available to political decision makers in the field of security, including the ethical concerns arising in the context of counter-terrorist strategies.

Students will be asked to complete a comprehensive set of readings, to participate actively in seminar discussions, and to complete two written paper assignments. 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 students are encouraged to draw on them to deepen their understanding of topics that are of particular interest to them.

By the end of the term, students should be equipped to answer central theoretical and practical questions, such as: why and when do organizations resort to terrorist strategies? Under what conditions are grievances and opportunities for terrorism most likely to emerge? How does violence spill across borders, and what drives transnational terrorism? What leads individuals to the point at which they feel that violence is their only option to bring about political change? How does terrorism affect politics and society in the target countries? How do terrorist organizations collapse, and what options do policymakers have to counter the threat of terrorism?

## Schedule

### Week 1. The Concept and Its History

#### *Topics:*

- Definition(s)
- Historical background and global trends
- Terrorism as a rational or irrational behavior?
- History of, and current state of affairs in, research on terrorism

#### *Required readings:*

Shapiro, Jacob N. 2012. Terrorist Decision-Making: Insights from Economics and Political Science. *Perspectives on Terrorism* 6(4-5): 5-20.

Laqueur, Walter. 2002. *A History of Terrorism*. 2nd printing. New Brunswick, NJ: Transaction Publishers. Chap. 1.

Rapoport, David C. 2002. The Four Waves of Rebel Terror and September 11. *Anthropoetics* 8(1): 1-17.

Sandler, Todd. 2014. The Analytical Study of Terrorism. *Journal of Peace Research* 51(2): 257-271.

#### *Additional literature:*

Crenshaw, Martha. 1981. The Causes of Terrorism. *Comparative Politics* 13(4): 379-399.

Tilly, Charles. 2004. Terror, Terrorism, Terrorists. *Sociological Theory* 22(1): 5-13.

Walzer, Michael. 2002. Five Questions About Terrorism. *Dissent* 49(1): 1-9.

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.

Rapoport, David C. 1984. Fear and Trembling: Terrorism in Three Religious Traditions. *American Political Science Review* 78(3): 658-677.

## **Week 2. Political Conflict, One-sided Violence, and Terrorism as an Insurgent Strategy I**

### *Topics:*

- How is terrorism distinguished from, and how is it related to, other forms of political violence?
- Putting terrorism in perspective: violence against civilians as a strategy in civil war
- The strategic functions of terrorism within and outside of civil war

### *Required readings:*

Kalyvas, Stathis N. 2006. *The Logic of Violence in Civil War*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. Pp. 1-31.

Valentino, Benjamin A. 2014. Why We Kill: The Political Science of Political Violence against Civilians. *Annual Review of Political Science* 17: 89–103.

Kydd, Andrew H., and Barbara F. Walter. 2006. The Strategies of Terrorism. *International Security* 31(1): 49–80.

Goodwin, Jeff. 2006. A Theory of Categorical Terrorism. *Social Forces* 84(4): 2027-2046.

### *Additional literature:*

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.

Chaliand, Gérard and Arnaud Blin (eds.). 2016. *The History of Terrorism: From Antiquity to ISIS*. Berkeley, CA: University of California Press. Chap. 2.

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.

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.

## **Week 3. Political Conflict, One-sided Violence, and Terrorism as an Insurgent Strategy II**

### *Topics:*

- When do organizations resort to terrorism? And who are their targets?
- The influence of organizational characteristics and inter-organizational competition
- Exogenous vs. conflict-endogenous determinants of victimization

*Required readings:*

Pape, Robert A. 2003. The Strategic Logic of Suicide Terrorism. *American Political Science Review* 97(3): 343-361.

Abrahms, Max, and Philip B. K. Potter. 2015. Explaining Terrorism: Leadership Deficits and Militant Group Tactics. *International Organization* 69(2): 311-342.

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.

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.

*Additional literature:*

Goodwin, Jeff. 2006. What Do We Really Know About (Suicide) Terrorism? *Sociological Forum* 21(2): 315-330.

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.

Danzell, Orlandrew E. 2011. Political Parties: When Do They Turn to Terror? *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 55(1):85-105.

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.

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.

Kalyvas, Stathis N. 2006. *The Logic of Violence in Civil War*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. Chap. 6.

Balcells, Laia. 2010. Rivalry and Revenge: Violence against Civilians in Conventional Civil Wars. *International Studies Quarterly* 54(2): 291–313.

Balcells, Laia and Stathis N. Kalyvas. 2014. Does Warfare Matter? Severity, Duration, and Outcomes of Civil Wars. *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 58(8): 1390-1418.

Horowitz, Michael C. 2010. Nonstate Actors and the Diffusion of Innovations: The Case of Suicide Terrorism. *International Organization* 64(1): 33.

## **Week 4. The Causes of Terrorism: State-level Explanations**

### *Topics:*

- Where and why does terrorism occur?
- Grievances vs. opportunities
- The role of democracy, group discrimination, and state strength

### *Required readings:*

Hendrix, Cullen S., and Joseph K. Young. 2014. State Capacity and Terrorism: A Two-Dimensional Approach. *Security Studies* 23(2): 329-363.

Brooks, Risa. 2009. Researching Democracy and Terrorism: How Political Access Affects Militant Activity. *Security Studies* 18(4): 756-788.

Piazza, James A. 2011. Poverty, Minority Economic Discrimination, and Domestic Terrorism. *Journal of Peace Research* 48(3): 339-353.

### *Additional literature:*

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.

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.

Piazza, James A. 2008. Incubators of Terror: Do Failed and Failing States Promote Transnational Terrorism? *International Studies Quarterly* 52(3): 469-488.

Abrahms, Max. 2007. Why Democracies Make Superior Counterterrorists. *Security Studies* 16(2): 223-253.

Young, Joseph K., and Laura Dugan. 2011. Veto Players and Terror. *Journal of Peace Research* 48(1): 19-33.

Krieger, T., and D. Meierrieks. 2010. Terrorism in the Worlds of Welfare Capitalism. *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 54(6): 902-939.

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.

## **Week 5. The Causes of Terrorism: Individual-level Motivations**

### *Topics:*

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

### *Required readings:*

Humphreys, Macartan, and Jeremy M. Weinstein. 2008. Who Fights? The Determinants of Participation in Civil War. *American Journal of Political Science* 52(2): 436-455.

Lee, Alexander. 2011. Who Becomes a Terrorist? Poverty, Education, and the Origins of Political Violence. *World Politics* 63(2): 203-245.

Moghaddam, F. M. 2005. The Staircase to Terrorism: A Psychological Exploration. *American Psychologist* 60(2): 161-169.

McCauley, Clark, and Sophia Moskalenko. 2017. Understanding Political Radicalization: The Two-Pyramids Model. *American Psychologist* 72(3): 205-216.

*Additional literature:*

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.

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.

Krueger, Alan B., and Jitka Malečková. 2003. Education, Poverty and Terrorism: Is There a Causal Connection? *Journal of Economic Perspectives* 17 (4):119–144.

Ugarriza, Juan E., and Matthew J. Craig. 2013. The Relevance of Ideology to Contemporary Armed Conflicts. *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 57 (3):445-477.

Gates, Scott. 2002. Recruitment and Allegiance: The Microfoundations of Rebellion. *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 46(1): 111-130.

Argo, Nichole. 2009. Why Fight?: Examining Self-Interested Versus Communally-Oriented Motivations in Palestinian Resistance and Rebellion. *Security Studies* 18(4): 651-680.

Sageman, Marc. 2016. Jihadi Networks of Terror. In R. K. Betts (ed.): *Conflict After the Cold War*. New York, NY: Routledge. 506-519.

Reynolds, Sean C., and Mohammed M. Hafez. Forthcoming. Social Network Analysis of German Foreign Fighters in Syria and Iraq. *Terrorism and Political Violence*.

## **Week 6. The Causes of Terrorism: Transnational Factors and the Role of Religion**

*Topics:*

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

*Required readings:*

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.

Walter, Barbara F. 2017. The New New Civil Wars. *Annual Review of Political Science* 20(1): 469-486.

Ahmad, Aisha. 2016. Going Global: Islamist Competition in Contemporary Civil Wars. *Security Studies* 25(2): 353-384.

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.

*Additional literature:*

Braithwaite, Alex. 2015. Transnational Terrorism as an Unintended Consequence of a Military Footprint. *Security Studies* 24(2): 349-375.

Collard-Wexler, Simon, Costantino Pischedda, and Michael G. Smith. 2014. Do Foreign Occupations Cause Suicide Attacks? *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 58(4): 625-657.

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.

Hastings, Justin V. 2008. Geography, Globalization, and Terrorism: The Plots of Jemaah Islamiyah. *Security Studies* 17(3): 505-530.

Collins, Stephen D. 2014. State-Sponsored Terrorism: In Decline, Yet Still a Potent Threat. *Politics & Policy* 42(1): 131-159.

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.

Byman, Daniel L., and Sarah E. Kreps. 2010. Agents of Destruction? Applying Principal-Agent Analysis to State-Sponsored Terrorism. *International Studies Perspectives* 11(1): 1-18.

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.

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.

Buhaug, Halvard, and Kristian Skrede Gleditsch. 2008. Contagion or Confusion? Why Conflicts Cluster in Space. *International Studies Quarterly* 52(2): 215-233.

Kalyvas, Stathis N. 2014. The logic of violence in the Islamic State's war. The Monkey Cage. Online: <https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/monkey-cage/wp/2014/07/07/the-logic-of-violence-in-islamic-states-war/>

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. Does Terrorism Work?**

*Topics:*

- The effectiveness of terrorism as a strategy of political violence
- Individual and system-level consequences of terrorism

*Required readings:*

Fortna, Virginia Page. 2015. Do Terrorists Win? Rebels' Use of Terrorism and Civil War Outcomes. *International Organization* 69(3): 519-556.

Thomas, Jakana. 2014. Rewarding Bad Behavior: How Governments Respond to Terrorism in Civil War. *American Journal of Political Science* 58(4): 804-818.

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.

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.

*Additional literature:*

Abrahms, M. 2012. The Political Effectiveness of Terrorism Revisited. *Comparative Political Studies* 45(3): 366-393.

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.

Gould, Eric D., and Esteban F. Klor. 2010. Does Terrorism Work? *Quarterly Journal of Economics* 125(4): 1459-1510.

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.

Park, Johann, and Valentina Bali. Forthcoming. International Terrorism and the Political Survival of Leaders. *Journal of Conflict Resolution*.

Abrahms, Max. 2013. The Credibility Paradox: Violence as a Double-Edged Sword in International Politics. *International Studies Quarterly* 5 (4): 660-671.

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.

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.

Romanov, Dmitri, Asaf Zussman, and Noam Zussman. 2012. Does Terrorism Demoralize? Evidence from Israel. *Economica* 79(313): 183-198.

Balcells, Laia. 2012. The Consequences of Victimization on Political Identities. *Politics & Society* 40(3): 311-347.

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.

Gaibulloev, 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.



## Week 8. Counter-terrorist Strategies I

### Topics:

- How terrorist organizations collapse
- Counter-terrorist strategy as a function of terrorism's suspected causes: grievances vs. opportunities
- Political approaches to counter-terrorism

### Required readings:

Gaibulloev, Khusrav, and Todd Sandler. 2014. An Empirical Analysis of Alternative Ways that Terrorist Groups End. *Public Choice* 160(1-2): 25–44.

Perliger, Arie. 2012. How Democracies Respond to Terrorism: Regime Characteristics, Symbolic Power and Counterterrorism. *Security Studies* 21(3): 490-528.

Chowdhury, Arjun, and Ronald R. Krebs. 2009. Making and Mobilizing Moderates: Rhetorical Strategy, Political Networks, and Counterterrorism. *Security Studies* 18(3): 371-399.

Dugan, Laura, and Erica Chenoweth. 2012. Moving Beyond Deterrence: The Effectiveness of Raising the Expected Utility of Abstaining. *American Sociological Review* 77(4): 597-624.

### Additional literature:

Neumayer, Eric, Thomas Plümper, and Mariaelisa Epifanio. 2014. The “Peer-Effect” in Counterterrorist Policies. *International Organization* 68(1): 211-234.

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.

de Nevers, Renée. 2007. NATO's International Security Role in the Terrorist Era. *International Security* 31(4): 34–66.

Schwartz, Joseph M. 2004. Misreading Islamist Terrorism: The “War Against Terrorism” and Just-War Theory. *Metaphilosophy* 35(3): 273-302.

Ignatieff, Michael. 2004. Lesser Evils. *New York Times*, May 2, 2004. Online:

[http://www.michaelignatieff.ca/assets/pdfs/Lesser%20Evils\\_The%20New%20York%20Times.pdf](http://www.michaelignatieff.ca/assets/pdfs/Lesser%20Evils_The%20New%20York%20Times.pdf)

## Week 9. Counter-terrorist Strategies II

### Topics:

- “Clinical” and social approaches to counter-terrorism
- Selective and indiscriminate counter-terrorism

### Required readings:

Jordan, Jenna. 2014. Attacking the Leader, Missing the Mark. *International Security* 38(4): 7-38.

Ellis, B. H., and S. Abdi. 2017. Building Community Resilience to Violent Extremism through Genuine Partnerships. *American Psychologist* 72(3): 289-300.

Lyll, Jason. 2009. Does Indiscriminate Violence Incite Insurgent Attacks? Evidence from Chechnya. *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 53(3): 331-362.

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.

Walzer, Michael. 2007. On Fighting Terrorism Justly. *International Relations* 21(4): 480-484.

*Additional literature:*

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.

Price, Bryan C. 2012. Targeting Top Terrorists: How Leadership Decapitation Contributes to Counterterrorism. *International Security* 36(4): 9–46.

Sarma, Kiran M. 2017. Risk Assessment and the Prevention of Radicalization from Nonviolence into Terrorism. *American Psychologist* 72(3): 278-288.

Abrahms, Max. 2008. What Terrorists Really Want: Terrorist Motives and Counterterrorism Strategy. *International Security* 32(4): 78–105.

Schutte, Sebastian. Forthcoming. Violence and Civilian Loyalties: Evidence from Afghanistan. *Journal of Conflict Resolution*.

Walsh, James I., and James A. Piazza. 2010. Why Respecting Physical Integrity Rights Reduces Terrorism. *Comparative Political Studies* 43(5): 551-577.

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.

Bellamy, Alex J. 2006. No Pain, no Gain? Torture and Ethics in the War on Terror. *International Affairs* 82 (1): 121-148.

## **Week 10. From Counterinsurgency to State Terrorism**

*Topics:*

- Violence and terror as an instrument of rule
- State terror in the context of civil violence
- Nationalism and genocide

Davenport, Christian. 2007. State Repression and Political Order. *Annual Review of Political Science* 10(1): 1-23.

Valentino, Benjamin A., Paul Huth and Dylan Balch-Lindsay. 2004. Draining the Sea: Mass Killing and Guerrilla Warfare. *International Organization* 58(2): 375-407.

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.

Mann, Michael. 1999. The Dark Side of Democracy: The Modern Tradition of Ethnic and Political Cleansing. *New Left Review* 235: 18-44.

*Additional literature:*

Mazower, Mark. 2002. Violence and the State in the Twentieth Century. *American Historical Review* 107(4): 1158-1178.

Chaliand, Gérard and Arnaud Blin. 2016. Lenin, Stalin, and State Terrorism. In C. Gérard and A. Blin (eds.): *The History of Terrorism: From Antiquity to ISIS*. Berkeley, CA: University of California Press. Pp. 197-207.

Harff, Barbara. 2003. No Lessons Learned from the Holocaust? Assessing Risks of Genocide and Political Mass Murder since 1955. *American Political Science Review* 97(1): 57-73.

Straus, Scott. 2012. Retreating from the Brink: Theorizing Mass Violence and the Dynamics of Restraint. *Perspectives on Politics* 10(02): 343-362.

Carey, Sabine C., and Neil J. Mitchell. 2017. Progovernment Militias. *Annual Review of Political Science* 20: 127-147.

Mason, T. David, and Dale A. Krane. 1989. The Political Economy of Death Squads: Toward a Theory of the Impact of State-Sanctioned Terror. *International Studies Quarterly* 33(2): 175-198.

Mitchell, Neil J., Sabine C. Carey, and Christopher K. Butler. 2014. The Impact of Pro-Government Militias on Human Rights Violations. *International Interactions* 40(5): 812-836.

Schirmer, Jennifer. 1998. *The Guatemalan Military Project: A Violence Called Democracy*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press. Chapter 2.

Owens, Peter B., Yang Su, and David A. Snow. 2013. Social Scientific Inquiry Into Genocide and Mass Killing: From Unitary Outcome to Complex Processes. *Annual Review of Sociology* 39(1): 69-84.