



**POLS0035  
Strategies of Terrorism**

<b>Lecturer:</b>	Dr Manuel Vogt & Finn Klebe
<b>Teaching:</b>	10 hours of discussion sessions, 10 hours of workshop-style seminars
<b>Credits:</b>	0.5 Course Units/ 4 US Credits/ 7.5 ECTS Credits
<b>Assessment Method:</b>	<b>One group portfolio (30%) and one 2,000-word essay (70%)</b>
<b>Assessment Deadlines:</b>	<b>28 March 2025 (group portfolio) &amp; 30 April 2025 (essay)</b>
<b>Module Level:</b>	<b>Advanced</b>
<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.
<b>Office Hours:</b>	<b>Manuel:</b> Wednesdays, 10am to 12 noon (see SPPBOOK scheduler) <b>Finn:</b> TBD

**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 is only suitable for **highly motivated advanced undergraduate students** and requires sound methodological knowledge, including familiarity with quantitative research.

**Students should also have taken POLS001 International Conflict and Cooperation and POLS0019 International Security (or equivalent) before taking this module.**

The module is about the causes, dynamics, and consequences of terrorism and how we can empirically study them. As such, it places as much emphasis on the field's main theoretical debates and empirical findings as on the practical process of the scientific study of terrorism. The module will *not* cover so-called "critical" approaches to terrorism nor the normative/ethical questions concerning (counter-)terrorism.

We will study the topic from both a contemporary and a historical perspective and examine 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.

### Learning goals

By the end of the module, you should have achieved the following learning goals:

- Be familiar with the key theoretical arguments on each of the module's topics.
- Be able to critically engage with existing theoretical arguments.
- Be able to develop your own theoretical argument, including empirically testable hypotheses.
- Know how to empirically examine theoretically relevant questions on terrorism.
- Be able to develop a research design that can test the empirical expectations of a theoretical argument.
- Be familiar with the methodological challenges to empirical studies of terrorism.

### Expectations

This is an advanced political science module. Its delivery is based on the expectations that you...

- have good prior knowledge of theories in the field of conflict research;
- are familiar with empirical (including quantitative) research (= you should have a good understanding of the epistemological function of empirical research and know how to interpret quantitative and qualitative evidence);

- show strong interest in deepening your knowledge of empirical political science and applying it to the study of terrorism;
- participate actively in the seminar workshops (computers are required!);
- and invest about two hours per week in preparation for the seminars, *in addition* to reading the required texts specified in the syllabus and watching the online lectures.
- Experience with statistics programmes, such as R or Stata, is advantageous, but not required.

## Delivery

**Please note that this module is designed as an “apprenticeship”-style research module and does *not* follow the traditional lecture-seminar approach.** Hence, there are no in-person lectures in this module. Instead, weekly teaching delivery will be divided into **one 50-minute interactive discussion of the weekly readings** (with the whole class) and one **50-minute workshop-based seminar** (in the smaller seminar groups).

**The lectures will be available online on Moodle and you are still expected to watch them ahead of class, *in addition*** to the two teaching contact hours. These lectures will focus on the “bigger picture” of each week’s topic, summarizing the relevant theoretical debates and key empirical findings. They will thus reflect, but go beyond, the required readings and will constitute a fundamental part of our interactive discussion sessions.

You are also expected to complete the required readings for each week, as specified in the syllabus below. (Note that since this is an advanced module, you are expected to find and access these readings yourself online!) The additional literature listed for each session is *not* required material, but provides a collection of relevant works you can consult to deepen your understanding of topics that are of particular interest to you.

While the interactive discussions of the weekly readings (with the whole class) aim to deepen your theoretical understanding and practice critical reasoning, the workshop-based seminars serve to illustrate how to empirically study terrorism. To this end, over the course of the term, **you will work together in small peer groups** to develop a research design tackling a research question of your own choice related to terrorist violence. (Note, though, that carrying out the actual research is *not* part of the module.) The small-group work on the research design project will be organized in the form of methodological “mini workshops” that serve to familiarize you with each step in the designing of empirical scientific enquiries, leading to a full-fledged research design.

Ultimately, **this small-group work** serves to examine the practical/empirical learning goals of the module and **will result in the 30%-weighted group portfolio assessment, including a short video presentation of your research design** at the end of the module. **You will also submit a 70%-weighted individual essay** after the end of the module.

Computers are required for the seminars, and some of the “mini workshops” will involve applying the acquired theoretical knowledge to concrete data on terrorist activity.

### **Accompanying textbook**

In addition to the weekly required readings, you should consult the following core methodological guide in your small peer group, available in the “Readings” section on our Moodle course website:

King, Gary, Robert O. Keohane and Sidney Verba. 1994. *Designing Social Inquiry: Scientific Inference in Qualitative Research*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.

**You will read parts of the book in preparation for selected seminars and discuss the text with your peers in a self-organized manner.** The relevant chapters/pages are listed under the “Seminar” heading for the respective weeks in the syllabus below.

### **A Note on the Readings**

This module requires an above-average amount of preparatory reading for each session. As an advanced module, it is based on the expectation that you are able to process large amounts of knowledge under conditions of limited time resources. Nevertheless, here are some recommendations for an efficient reading of *empirical* social science texts when time is scarce:

1. Read the abstract and introduction.
2. Unless you have doubts about the authors’ theoretical argument, skip the literature review and theory parts and just look at the actual hypotheses.
3. Read the methodology part carefully (research design, data sources, operationalizations, etc.).
4. In the analysis part, focus first on the tables and figures. If you have difficulties interpreting them, read the corresponding paragraphs in the text (search for, e.g., “Figure X” in the text).

**You should read at least one text per week in full and use this more “efficient” approach for the other readings if needed.**

In general, you should be able to answer the following **guiding questions** for each text:

- What are the key terms and their definitions?
- What do the authors claim is new in their theoretical approach/argument?
- What’s their empirical strategy?
- What challenges to their empirical strategy do they identify and how do they address these challenges?

### **A Note on Etiquette**

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.**

# Syllabus

## 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.

### Seminar:

- Function and elements of a research design
- From concepts to definitions and operationalization
- *Forming small peer groups for KKV reading and research design project*

### 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. Deflem: 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) Choose **one** of the following two:
  - a) 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.
  - b) Abrahms, Max, and Philip B. K. Potter. 2015. "Explaining Terrorism: Leadership Deficits and Militant Group Tactics." *International Organization* 69(2): 311-342.

### Seminar:

- How to formulate analytical, empirically testable research questions
- Peer groups choose topic/research question for their project
- Peer group reading for seminar: King, Keohane and Verba (KKV) (1994), Chapter 1.

### 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.
- Belgioioso, Margherita. 2018. "Going Underground: Resort to Terrorism in Mass Mobilization Dissident Campaigns." *Journal of Peace Research* 55(5): 641-55.
- 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.
- Gassebner, Martin, Paul Schaudt and Melvin H. L. Wong. 2023. "Armed Groups: Competition and Political Violence." *Journal of Development Economics*. 162: 103052.
- 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.
- 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) Meierrieks, Daniel and Daniel Auer. Forthcoming. "Bribes and Bombs: The Effect of Corruption on Terrorism." *American Political Science Review*.

**Seminar:**

- Theory building and causal mechanisms
- *Peer group reading for seminar:* KKV, Chapters 2, 3.1, 3.2.1, 3.5.

**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.
- 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.
- 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.
- 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.
- Gleditsch, Kristian Skrede and Sara M. T. Polo. 2016. "Ethnic Inclusion, Democracy, and Terrorism." *Public Choice* 169(3-4): 207-29.
- 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.
- 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.

### **Seminar:**

- Formulating empirically testable hypotheses: design, units of analysis, and counterfactuals

### **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.
- Ugarriza, 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.

### **Seminar:**

- Challenges to causal inference I: selection bias
- Peer group reading for seminar: KKV, Chapter 4.3.

### **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.
- 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.
- Bjørge, Tore. 2011. "Dreams and Disillusionment: Engagement in and Disengagement from Militant Extremist Groups." *Crime, Law and Social Change* 55(4): 277-85.
- Bartlett, Jamie, and Carl Miller. 2012. "The Edge of Violence: Towards Telling the Difference Between Violent and Non-Violent Radicalization." *Terrorism and Political Violence* 24(1): 1-21.
- Doosje, Bertjan, Annemarie Loseman, and Kees van den Bos. 2013. "Determinants of Radicalization of Islamic Youth in the Netherlands: Personal Uncertainty, Perceived Injustice, and Perceived Group Threat." *Journal of Social Issues* 69(3): 586-604.
- Jasko, Katarzyna, Gary LaFree, and Arie Kruglanski. 2017. "Quest for Significance and Violent Extremism: The Case of Domestic Radicalization." *Political Psychology* 38(5): 815-831.
- Krueger, Alan B., and Jitka Malečková. 2003. "Education, Poverty and Terrorism: Is There a Causal Connection?" *Journal of Economic Perspectives* 17(4): 119–144.
- Morris, Andrea M. 2020. "Who Wants to Be a Suicide Bomber? Evidence from Islamic State Recruits." *International Studies Quarterly* 64(2): 306-15.
- Cunningham, Karla J. 2003. "Cross-Regional Trends in Female Terrorism." *Studies in Conflict & Terrorism* 26(3): 171-195.
- Wood, Reed M., and Jakana Thomas. 2017. "Women on the Frontline: Rebel Group Ideology and Women's Participation in Violent Rebellion." *Journal of Peace Research* 54(1): 31-46.
- 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.
- 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.
- Argo, Nichole. 2009. "Why Fight?: Examining Self-Interested Versus Communally-Oriented Motivations in Palestinian Resistance and Rebellion." *Security Studies* 18(4): 651-680.
- Magouirk, Justin, Scott Atran, and Marc Sageman. 2008. "Connecting Terrorist Networks." *Studies in Conflict & Terrorism* 31(1): 1-16.
- Reynolds, Sean C. and Mohammed M. Hafez. 2019. "Social Network Analysis of German Foreign Fighters in Syria and Iraq." *Terrorism and Political Violence* 31(4): 661-86.
- Hegghammer, Thomas. 2013. "Should I Stay or Should I Go? Explaining Variation in Western Jihadists' Choice between Domestic and Foreign Fighting." *American Political Science Review* 107(1) :1-15.
- Gill, Paul and Emily Corner. 2017. "There and Back Again: The Study of Mental Disorder and Terrorist Involvement." *American Psychologist* 72(3): 231.
- Spaaij, Ramón. 2010. "The Enigma of Lone Wolf Terrorism: An Assessment." *Studies in Conflict & Terrorism* 33(9): 854-870.
- Becker, Michael. 2014. "Explaining Lone Wolf Target Selection in the United States." *Studies in Conflict & Terrorism* 37(11): 959-978.
- Gill, Paul. 2015. *Lone-Actor Terrorists: A Behavioural Analysis*. Abingdon, UK: Routledge.
- Gill, P., J. Horgan and P. Deckert. 2014. "Bombing Alone: Tracing the Motivations and Antecedent Behaviors of Lone-Actor Terrorists." *Journal of Forensic Sciences* 59(2): 425-35.
- Bouhana, Noémie, Emily Corner, Paul Gill and Bart Schuurman. 2018. "Background and Preparatory Behaviours of Right-Wing Extremist Lone Actors: A Comparative Study." *Perspectives on Terrorism* 12(6): 150-63.

## 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) 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.
- 2) Kalyvas, Stathis N. 2018. "Jihadi Rebels in Civil War." *Daedalus* 147(1): 36-47.
- 3) Choose **one** of the following two:
  - a) Wucherpfennig, 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.
  - b) Farrell, Megan. 2020. "The Logic of Transnational Outbidding: Pledging Allegiance and the Escalation of Violence." *Journal of Peace Research* 57(3): 437-51.

### Seminar:

- Challenges to causal inference II: spatial dependencies

### Additional literature:

- Walter, Barbara F. 2017. "The New New Civil Wars." *Annual Review of Political Science* 20(1): 469-486.
- 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.
- Ahmad, Aisha. 2016. "Going Global: Islamist Competition in Contemporary Civil Wars." *Security Studies* 25(2): 353-384.
- 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.
- Conrad, Justin. 2011. "Interstate Rivalry and Terrorism: An Unprobed Link." *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 55(4): 529-555.
- Braithwaite, Alex. 2015. "Transnational Terrorism as an Unintended Consequence of a Military Footprint." *Security Studies* 24(2): 349-375.
- Piazza, James A. and Seung-Whan Choi. 2018. "International Military Interventions and Transnational Terrorist Backlash." *International Studies Quarterly* 62(3): 686-95.
- Collard-Wexler, Simon, Costantino Pischedda, and Michael G. Smith. 2014. "Do Foreign Occupations Cause Suicide Attacks?" *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 58(4): 625-657.
- 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.
- Horowitz, Michael C. 2010. "Nonstate Actors and the Diffusion of Innovations: The Case of Suicide Terrorism." *International Organization* 64(1): 33-64.
- 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.
- 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.
- Hegghammer, Thomas. 2010. "The Rise of Muslim Foreign Fighters: Islam and the Globalization of Jihad." *International Security* 35(3): 53-94.
- Hegghammer, Thomas. 2013. "Should I Stay or Should I Go? Explaining Variation in Western Jihadists' Choice between Domestic and Foreign Fighting." *American Political Science Review* 107(1) :1-15.
- Benmelech, Efraim and Esteban F. Klor. 2020. "What Explains the Flow of Foreign Fighters to Isis?" *Terrorism and Political Violence* 32(7): 1458-81.
- Pischedda, Costantino, and Manuel Vogt. Forthcoming. "When Do Religious Organizations Resort to Violence? How Local Conditions Shape the Effects of Transnational Ideology." *Ethnopolitics*.
- 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.
- Tabaar, Mohammad A., Reyko Huang, Kanchan Chandra, Evgeny Finkel, Richard A. Nielsen, Mara Redlich Revkin, Manuel Vogt, and Elisabeth J. Wood. 2023. "How Religious Are 'Religious' Conflicts?". *International Studies Review*, 25(3), viad029.
- Buhaug, Halvard, and Kristian Skrede Gleditsch. 2008. "Contagion or Confusion? Why Conflicts Cluster in Space." *International Studies Quarterly* 52(2): 215-233.
- 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 3 (pp. 63-81).
- 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.

### **Seminar:**

- Measurement and descriptive analysis
- Peer group reading for seminar: KKV, Chapter 4 (minus 4.3).

### **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.
- Walter, Barbara F. and Gregoire Phillips. Forthcoming. "Who Uses Internet Propaganda in Civil Wars and Why?" *Journal of Peace Research*.
- 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: Change-points 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) Choose **one** of the following two:
  - a) 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.
  - b) Nussio, Enzo, Vincenzo Bove, and Bridget Steele. 2019. "The Consequences of Terrorism on Migration Attitudes across Europe." *Political Geography* 75: 1-10.
- 3) Choose **one** of the following two:
  - a) 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.

- b) Balcells, Laia and Gerard Torrats-Espinosa. 2018. "Using a Natural Experiment to Estimate the Electoral Consequences of Terrorist Attacks." *Proceedings of the National Academy of Sciences* 115(42): 10624-29.

**Seminar:**

- Challenges to causal inference III: omitted variable bias
- Short presentation

**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.
- 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.
- Park, Johann, and Valentina Bali. 2017. "International Terrorism and the Political Survival of Leaders." *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 61(7): 1343-1370.
- 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.
- 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.
- 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.
- 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.



- 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.
- 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) 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.
- 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.

### Seminar:

- Challenges to causal inference IV: reverse causality
- Peer group reading for seminar: KKV, Chapter 5 (excluding the "formal analysis" sections).

### Additional literature:

- Gaibulloev, 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.
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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.

### Seminar:

- Discussion of peer-group research designs

### Additional literature:

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- Rozenas, Arturas and Yuri M. Zhukov. 2019. "Mass Repression and Political Loyalty: Evidence from Stalin's 'Terror by Hunger'." *American Political Science Review* 113(2): 569-83.
- Rozenas, Arturas, Sebastian Schutte and Yuri M. Zhukov. 2017. "The Political Legacy of Violence: The Long-Term Impact of Stalin's Repression in Ukraine." *The Journal of Politics* 79(4): 1147-61.