



POLS0035
Strategies of Terrorism

Lecturer:	Dr Manuel Vogt
Office Hours:	Wednesdays, 10am - 12 noon (except Reading Week)
Teaching:	10 hours of lectures, 10 hours of seminars
Credits:	0.5 Course Units/ 4 US Credits/ 7.5 ECTS Credits
Assessment Method:	One 1,500-word essay (40%) and one 2,500-word essay (60%)
Essay Deadlines:	Essay 1: 24.2.2021 (by 2pm) Essay 2: 26.4.2021 (by 2pm)
Module Level:	Advanced
Attendance:	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

[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 advanced undergraduate students and requires sound methodological knowledge, including familiarity with quantitative research. Students are also encouraged to 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, students will not only be acquainted with the main theoretical debates and empirical findings in the research on terrorism, but also with the concrete process of its empirical scientific enquiry. It will *not* cover so-called “critical” approaches to terrorism nor the normative/ethical questions concerning (counter-)terrorism.

We will study the topic of terrorism 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 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 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, students 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 serves to test the empirical expectations of a theoretical argument.
- Be familiar with the methodological challenges to empirical studies of terrorism.

Expectations

Given that this is an advanced political science module, its delivery is based on the expectations that students...

- 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, know the basics of an empirical research design, and know how to evaluate qualitative and quantitative methods and to interpret quantitative evidence);
- show strong interest in deepening their knowledge of empirical political science and applying it to the study of terrorism;
- participate actively in the seminar exercises (computers recommended);
- and invest about one hour per week in preparation for the seminars, in addition to reading the required texts specified in the syllabus.
- Experience with statistics programmes, such as R or Stata, is advantageous, but not required.

Delivery

Students will be asked to complete a comprehensive set of readings. The 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 of each week. The seminars serve to deepen students’ understanding, practice critical reasoning, and illustrate how to empirically study terrorism. They contain a series of methodological “mini workshops” that familiarize students with each step of the process of empirical scientific enquiry. In some seminars, students will apply the acquired theoretical knowledge to concrete data on terrorist activity.

Recommended reading

In self-organized peer reading groups, students will read the following core methodological text: King, Gary, Robert O. Keohane and Sidney Verba. 1994. *Designing Social Inquiry: Scientific Inference in Qualitative Research*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.

Online classroom policy

Our principal aim at UCL is to create an inclusive online classroom environment that encourages participation, critical thinking, and debate. Please observe the following classroom policies: (1) complete all required readings and homework prior to the seminar, (2) log on to the online seminars on time, and (3) adhere to the principles of academic freedom as outlined below.

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.¹ 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](#).

¹ 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. The Concept and Its History

Topics:

- Definition(s)
- Historical background and global trends
- History of, and current state of affairs in, research on terrorism

Required readings:

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

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

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.

Seminar:

- From concepts to definitions and operationalization

Additional literature:

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.

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.

Week 2. Terrorism as an Insurgent Strategy I: A Conceptual Perspective

Topics:

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

Required readings:

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

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.

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

Seminar:

- How to formulate analytical, empirically testable research questions

Additional literature:

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

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.

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. Chapter 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.

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.

Week 3. Terrorism as an Insurgent Strategy II: Organizational Characteristics and the Strategic Environment

Topics:

- When do insurgent organizations resort to terrorism? And who are their targets?
- The influence of organizational characteristics and inter-organizational competition

Required readings:

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

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

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.

Seminar:

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

Additional literature:

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

Bloom, Mia M. 2004. "Palestinian Suicide Bombing: Public Support, Market Share, and Outbidding." *Political Science Quarterly* 119 (1):61-88.

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.

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.

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.

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.

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

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.

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.

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.

Berman, Eli, and David D. Laitin. 2008. "Religion, Terrorism and Public Goods: Testing the Club Model." *Journal of Public Economics* 92(10-11): 1942-1967.

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

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

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.

Seminar:

- Formulating empirically testable hypotheses II: identifying causal mechanisms

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.

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.

Chenoweth, Erica. 2010. "Democratic Competition and Terrorist Activity." *The Journal of Politics* 72(1): 16-30.

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.

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.

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:

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

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

LaFree, Gary, and Erin Miller. 2008. "Desistance from Terrorism: What Can We Learn from Criminology?" *Dynamics of Asymmetric Conflict* 1(3): 203-230.

Seminar:

- Challenges to causal inference I: selection bias

Additional literature:

Sageman, Marc. 2004. *Understanding Terror Networks*. Philadelphia, PA: University of Pennsylvania Press. Chapter 4.

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.

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.

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.

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. 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:

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.

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

Kalyvas, Stathis N. 2018. "Jihadi Rebels in Civil War." *Daedalus* 147(1): 36-47.

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

Seminar:

- Challenges to causal inference I: selection bias (cont.)

Additional literature:

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.

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.

- 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.
- 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.
- Benmelech, Efraim, and Esteban F. Klor. Forthcoming. "What Explains the Flow of Foreign Fighters to ISIS?" *Terrorism and Political Violence*.
- 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.
- 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: Organizational Structure, Recruitment, and Tactics

Topics:

- How do terrorist groups organize themselves?
- How do they recruit members?
- And what are the practical consequences of these organizational structures and strategies?

Required readings:

Shapiro, Jacob N. 2013. *The Terrorist's Dilemma: Managing Violent Covert Organizations*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press. Chapter 2 (pp. 26-62).

Eilstrup-Sangiovanni, Mette, and Calvert Jones. 2008. "Assessing the Dangers of Illicit Networks." *International Security* 33(2): 7-44.

Hegghammer, Thomas. 2009. "The Recruiter's Dilemma: Signalling and Rebel Recruitment Tactics." *Journal of Peace Research* 50(1): 3-16.

Seminar:

- Descriptive analysis

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.

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. Forthcoming. "Notes to the Underground: Credit Claiming and Organizing in the Earth Liberation Front." *Terrorism and Political Violence*.

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.

Benson, David C. 2014. "Why the Internet Is Not Increasing Terrorism." *Security Studies* 23(2): 293-328.

Mueller, John, and Mark G. Stewart. 2015. "Terrorism, Counterterrorism, and the Internet: The American Cases." *Dynamics of Asymmetric Conflict* 8(2): 176-190.

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

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.

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

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.

Moskalenko, Sophia, and Clark McCauley. 2011. "The Psychology of Lone-wolf Terrorism." *Counselling Psychology Quarterly* 24(2): 115-126.

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:

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.

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

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.

Seminar:

- Challenges to causal inference II: spatial dependencies

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.

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.

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. 2015. "International Terrorism and the Political Survival of Leaders." *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 61(7): 1343-1370.

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

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.

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.

Kushner Gadarian, Shana. 2010. "The Politics of Threat: How Terrorism News Shapes Foreign Policy Attitudes." *The Journal of Politics* 72(2): 469-483.

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.

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.

Week 9. Counter-terrorist Strategies

Topics:

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

Required readings:

Cronin, Audrey K. 2006. "How al-Qaida Ends: The Decline and Demise of Terrorist Groups." *International Security* 31(1): 7-48.

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.

Johnston, Patrick B. 2012. "Does Decapitation Work?" *International Security* 36 (4):47-79.

Seminar:

- Challenges to causal inference III: omitted variable bias

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.

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.

- LaFree, Gary, and Erin Miller. 2008. "Desistance from Terrorism: What Can We Learn from Criminology?" *Dynamics of Asymmetric Conflict* 1(3): 203-230.
- 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.
- 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.
- Walsh, James I., and James A. Piazza. 2010. "Why Respecting Physical Integrity Rights Reduces Terrorism." *Comparative Political Studies* 43(5): 551-577.
- 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.
- 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.
- 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.
- 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.
- Brachman, Jarret M., and William F. McCants. 2006. "Stealing Al Qaeda's Playbook." *Studies in Conflict & Terrorism* 29 (4):309-321.
- de Nevers, Renée. 2007. "NATO's International Security Role in the Terrorist Era." *International Security* 31(4): 34–66.
- Walzer, Michael. 2007. "On Fighting Terrorism Justly." *International Relations* 21(4): 480-484.
- 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

Week 10. From Counterinsurgency to State Terror

Topics:

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

Required readings:

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

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.

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

Seminar:

- Challenges to causal inference IV: reverse causality
- Elements of a research design

Additional literature:

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.

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.

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.

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.

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

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.