The Politics of Terrorism

GVPT 456
Fall 2022
Mondays & Wednesdays 1:00-2:15pm, TYD 0111

Contact Information

Instructor: Rithvik Yarlagadda
Drop-In Hours: 10:00am to 12:00pm, Tuesdays,
                  Or by appointment (https://calendar.app.google/FLP8C2voC8QtK3UR7)
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Include "GVPT456: [subject]" in subject field. Please do not email me through ELMS.

Course Overview

This course teaches you how to think scientifically about the politics of terrorism. It will provide an examination of the definition, causes and consequences of terrorism, along with key domestic and international counter-, and anti-terrorism responses. Special emphasis on challenges and opportunities to the scientific study of terrorism. The course explores some of the fundamental questions of terrorism: How terrorist groups operate, what kind of tactics do they adopt, how do they fund themselves, and what counterterrorism strategies are effective? It aims to develop critical thinking about these basic questions, knowledge of the details of a few selected cases, and give students experience constructing social-scientific arguments.

Please note, the course is taught from a political science disciplinary perspective. Accordingly, some of the readings for the course use quantitative methods. This can sometimes complicate understanding of the readings. We will discuss the quantitative results of these studies in class, and I will try to guide you through the methodology of each piece.

As a prerequisite for the course, students must have taken GVPT 200 (Introduction to International Relations). If you have not had one of these classes, please talk to me before continuing the class.

Required Readings

Hoffman, B. (2017). *Inside terrorism*. Columbia university press.
    https://www.amazon.com/Terrorism-Columbia-Studies-Irregular-Warfare/dp/0231174772/ref=sr_1_1?crid=1R07B8JAJZARV&keywords=9780231174770&qid=1661867012&s=digital-text&sprefix=9780231174770%2Cdigital-text%2C65&sr=1-1

Gottlieb, S. (2013). *Debating terrorism and counterterrorism: conflicting perspectives on causes, contexts, and responses*. CQ Press. https://www.amazon.com/Debating-Terrorism-Counterterrorism-Conflicting-Perspectives/dp/1452226725

In addition to the above required books, there are a number of required readings (see under the schedule below) that are articles or selections from books. These readings will be posted on the course page on elms.

Course Requirements

Student participation is crucial in this seminar class. To participate actively in class, students are expected to have done all the readings before class. There are three main assignments in this course—midterm exam 1, midterm exam 2, and a research paper.

Exams: You will complete two in-class exams in this course. The first exam will be held on Wednesday, October 19th. The second exam will be held on Monday, December 5th. The exams will not be cumulative and are designed to demonstrate your grasp on the course readings and class discussion, and your ability to analyze and critique arguments.
NOTE: All exams must be written in blue or black ink. I will not grade exams written in pencil or any other color ink than blue or black.

Research Paper: You will be asked to submit a research paper of 12-15 pages (double-spaced) in length. The research paper will be composed of two main components: research proposal, and the final research paper. All the students will be required to submit a written topic proposal by October 26th. The final paper will be due by 11:59 pm (EST) on Dec 17th. You will submit both the proposal and the final paper assignments digitally via ELMS.
      I will provide you with a handout describing the paper assignment in more detail by late September. At that time, I will also provide you with additional information about potential resources and guidance on choosing a research topic. Additionally, students will have an opportunity to submit a rough draft of the paper on November 28th and get comments on it.

Participation: You are expected to attend class regularly and to participate actively in the class discussions. While there will be no formal rollcall during the class, I will still occasionally be tracking each student's attendance record. You will be given an overall grade for attendance and participation that is based upon your attendance record and the degree to which you contribute to classroom activities and discussions.

Course Grading

Student's grades in the course are determined in the following manner:

	Value	Date
Midterm Exam 1	30%	October 19th (in class)
Research Proposal	5%	Due on ELMS by October 26th
Midterm Exam 2	30%	December 5th (in class)
Final Research Paper	25%	Due on ELMS by December 17th
Attendance and Participation	10%	

Grading Scale:

Course grades are calculated using the following grading scale: When grades fall between percentages, I will round up after 0.5:

Final Grade Cutoffs									
+	97.00%	+	87.00%	+	77.00%	+	67.00%		
A	94.00%	B	84.00%	C	74.00%	D	64.00%	F	<60.0%
-	90.00%	-	80.00%	-	70.00%	-	60.00%		

Course Related Policies

Communication – All communication will be through email or ELMS. I try to respond to e-mail as soon as possible, however it may sometimes take up to 24 hours to receive a response.

Contact: I strongly encourage you to drop by my office for any clarifications of course policies, explanations of course materials/discussions, or to discuss any other concerns and/or difficulties that you encounter during this course. Be assured that our conversations will be held in the appropriate confidence; I am genuinely interested in each of you getting that most you can out of this class. If you have a scheduling conflict during my usual drop-in hours, do not hesitate to contact me for an appointment at some other time using this link https://calendar.app.google/FLP8C2voC8QtK3UR7. You need to book an appointment with me at least 4 hours prior to the time slot available on a given day. In all your email correspondence with me, be sure to include "GVPT 456: [subject]" in the subject field. I will occasionally post announcements to the class through ELMS, but I cannot guarantee a timely response to direct emails sent to me through ELMS.

Electronics: Place your phone on mute before you come to class. Once the class has begun, please refrain from texting, emailing, or browsing the Web, since such activities are distracting and disrespectful. Laptop computers and/or tablets may be used for note-taking purposes only. All other technological devices – including MP3 devices, smartphones, phones, gaming devices, etc. – are prohibited in this class. I reserve the right to revoke permission for electronic devices in the classroom if this policy is abused.

Copyright: The course lectures and other materials are copyrighted. They may not be reproduced for anything other than personal use without written permission from me.

Accessibility: If you have a documented disability, anticipate needing any type of accommodation in this course, or have questions/concerns about access, please tell me as soon as possible. Reasonable accommodations will be made for all students with disabilities, but it is your responsibility to inform me early in the term and provide me with the proper ADS documentation. I strongly encourage you to register any disability with the Accessibility and Disability Service (ADS). It is your responsibility to discuss accommodation options for taking exams, etc. with me, and for providing me with the appropriate paperwork to schedule alternative test-taking arrangements. Please do not present me with accommodation documentation from your doctor.
For more information on this see https://counseling.umd.edu/ads/prospective

Medical Absences: Please note that the University has a policy regarding medical absences, which allows you to present a self-signed note and be excused for missing a single class meeting per semester. You must submit to me a letter that includes the date of the illness, a statement that the information you have provided is true, and your signature. This policy does NOT apply to absences on days when there is an exam or major assignment due. If you have a valid medical excuse for missing a major grading event, you must provide me with detailed written documentation from the Campus Health Center or another health care provider. Use the self-signed note form distributed by the University at: https://health.umd.edu/sites/default/files/inline-files/Medical_attestation_5-2016.pdf.

Academic Integrity: The University of Maryland has a nationally recognized Code of Academic Integrity, administered by the Student Honor Council. This Code sets standards applicable to all undergraduate students, and you are responsible for upholding these standards as you complete assignments and take exams in this course. Please make yourself aware of the consequences of cheating, fabrication, facilitation, and plagiarism. For more information see https://studentconduct.umd.edu. If any student is believed to be in violation of the Code of Academic Integrity, they will be referred to the Student Honor Council.

Other Policies
The course policies align with those of the university Office of Undergraduate Studies. For more information, please visit:
http://www.ugst.umd.edu/courserelatedpolicies.html

LECTURE AND ASSIGNMENT SCHEDULE

Week		Date	Lecture
1	M	8/29	Course Overview
	W	8/31	What is Terrorism?
2	M	9/5	No Class (Labor Day)
	W	9/7	The History of Terrorism
3	M	9/12	Types of Terrorism: Domestic versus Transnational
	W	9/14	No Class (Attending APSA Conference)
4	M	9/19	How to Study Terrorism Analytically?
	W	9/21	Understanding Terrorism I: Strategic Approaches
5	M	9/26	Understanding Terrorism II: Organizational Approaches
	W	9/28	Understanding Terrorism III: Psychological Approaches
6	M	10/3	Understanding Terrorism IV: Ideological Approaches
	W	10/5	Understanding Terrorism V: Structural Approaches
7	M	10/10	Origins, Spread, and Evolution of ISIS
	W	10/12	Terrorist Tactics, Weapons, Target Selection, & Lethality
8	M	10/17	Suicide Terrorism; Exam Review
	W	10/19	**MIDTERM EXAM 1** (in class)
9	M	10/24	State Sponsorship of Terrorism
	W	10/26	Crime-Terror Nexus; **Research Proposal Due**
10	M	10/31	Terrorist Group Alliances, Rivalries, and Internal Cohesion
	W	11/2	Women, Children, and Terrorism
11	M	11/7	When do Terrorists Claim Attacks?
	W	11/9	How Terrorism Ends?
12	M	11/14	Design and Effectiveness of Counterterrorism Strategies
	W	11/16	Repression, Human Rights, and Terrorism
13	M	11/21	Lone Wolf Terror
	W	11/23	No Class (Thanksgiving Break)
14	M	11/28	Terrorism and the Old Media; **Rough Paper Due (Optional)**
	W	11/30	Digital Terrorism; Exam Review
15	M	12/5	**MIDTERM EXAM 2** (in class)
	W	12/7	The Future of Terrorism
16	S	12/17	**Final Draft of Research Paper Due**

LECTURES AND READINGS

All readings are available on ELMS. I recommend reading the articles in the order they are listed. Additional readings are recommended for those who wish to pursue this topic further.

August 29: Introduction

No reading.

August 31: What is Terrorism?

Hoffman, B. (2006). 1. Defining Terrorism. In Inside terrorism (pp. 1–41). Columbia University Press.

Tamar Meisels and Ted Honderich, "Can Terrorism Ever Be Justified?" in Gottlieb, Debating Terrorism and Counterterrorism, Ch. 3.

Additional Recommended Readings

Asal, V., De la Calle, L., Findley, M., & Young, J. (2012). Killing civilians or holding territory? How to think about terrorism. International Studies Review, 14(3), 475–497.

Ben Saul, "Defining Terrorism: A Conceptual Minefield," in Erica Chenoweth, Richard English, Andreas Gofas, and Stathis Kalyvas, eds. The Oxford Handbook of Terrorism (Oxford University Press, 2019), Ch. 3.

Huff, C., & Kertzer, J. D. (2018). How the public defines terrorism. American Journal of Political Science, 62(1), 55–71.

Tilly, C. (2004). Terror, terrorism, terrorists. Sociological Theory, 22(1), 5–13.

Weinberg, L., Pedahzur, A., & Hirsch-Hoefler, S. (2004). The challenges of conceptualizing terrorism. Terrorism and Political Violence, 16(4), 777–794.

Fortna, V. P. (2022). Is Terrorism Really a Weapon of the Weak? Debunking the Conventional Wisdom. Journal of Conflict Resolution, 00220027221121143.

September 5: No Class (Labor Day)

September 7: The History of Terrorist Violence

Alexander Spencer and Rohan Gunaratna, "Is the 'New' Terrorism Really New?" in Gottlieb, Debating Terrorism and Counterterrorism, Ch. 1.

Rapoport, D. C., Cronin, A. K., & Ludes, J. (2004). "The four waves of modern terrorism." Attacking Terrorism: Elements of a Grand Strategy (Washington, DC: Georgetown University Press 2004) p, 54, 3-11.

<u>Additional Recommended Readings</u>

Walter, B. F. (2017). The new new civil wars. Annual Review of Political Science, 20, 469–486.

September 12: Types of Terrorism: Domestic versus Transnational

Bjelopera, J. P. (2012). *The domestic terrorist threat: Background and issues for Congress.*

Hoffman, B. (2006). 3. The Internationalization of Terrorism (pp. 63–80). Columbia University Press.

<u>Additional Recommended Readings</u>

Enders, W., Sandler, T., & Gaibulloev, K. (2011). Domestic versus transnational terrorism: Data, decomposition, and dynamics. Journal of Peace Research, 48(3), 319–337.

Hegghammer, T. (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.

September 14: No Class (APSA Conference)

September 19: How to Study Terrorism Analytically?

John Mueller and Walter Laqueur, "Is the Threat of Terrorism Overstated?" in Gottlieb, Debating Terrorism and Counterterrorism, Ch. 12.

Browse the following databases prior to class:
Global Terrorism Database:
https://www.start.umd.edu/gtd/

Rand Database of Worldwide Terrorism Incidents:
https://www.rand.org/nsrd/projects/terrorism-incidents.html

National Counterterrorism Center (NCTC):
https://www.dni.gov/nctc/index.html

Minorities at Risk Project (MAR):
http://www.mar.umd.edu

Mapping Militants Project (MMP):

https://cisac.fsi.stanford.edu/mappingmilitants

South Asia Terrorism Portal (SATP):
https://www.satp.org

Big Allied and Dangerous (BAAD) Database:
https://www.start.umd.edu/baad/database

Profiles on Individual Radicalization in the United States (PRIUS) Database:
https://www.start.umd.edu/data-tools/profiles-individual-radicalization-united-states-pirus

Chicago Project on Security and Terrorism (CPOST) Suicide Attack Database:
https://cpost.uchicago.edu/research/suicide_attacks/database_on_suicide_attacks/

Additional Recommended Readings

Mahoney, C. W. (2018). More data, new problems: Audiences, ahistoricity, and selection bias in terrorism and insurgency research. Oxford University Press.

Moghadam, A., Berger, R., & Beliakova, P. (2014). Say terrorist, think insurgent: Labeling and analyzing contemporary terrorist actors. Perspectives on Terrorism, 8(5), 2–17.

Phillips, B. J. (2015). What is a terrorist group? Conceptual issues and empirical implications. Terrorism and Political Violence, 27(2), 225–242.

Ross, J. I. (2004). Taking stock of research methods and analysis on oppositional political terrorism. The American Sociologist, 35(2), 26–37.

Sanchez-Cuenca, I. (2014). Why do we know so little about terrorism? International Interactions, 40(4), 590–601.

Young, J. K. (2019). Measuring terrorism. Terrorism and Political Violence, 31(2), 323–345.

Young, J. K., & Findley, M. G. (2011). Promise and pitfalls of terrorism research. International Studies Review, 13(3), 411–431.

September 21: Understanding Terrorism I: Strategic Approaches

Kydd, A. H., & Walter, B. F. (2006). "The strategies of terrorism." *International security*, *31*(1), 49-80.

Tamar Meisels and Ted Honderich, "Can Terrorism Ever Be Justified?" in Gottlieb, Debating Terrorism and Counterterrorism, Ch. 3.

Abrahms, M. (2006). "Why terrorism does not work." *International Security*, *31*(2), 42-78.

Additional Recommended Readings

Lake, D. A. (2002). Rational extremism: Understanding terrorism in the twenty-first century. *Dialogue IO*, *1*(1), 15–28.

Fortna, V. P. (2015). Do Terrorists Win? Rebels' Use of Terrorism and Civil War Outcomes. *International Organization*, *69*(3), 519–556.

Thomas, J. (2014). Rewarding bad behavior: How governments respond to terrorism in civil war. *American Journal of Political Science*, *58*(4), 804–818.

Crenshaw, M. (2007). The logic of terrorism. *Terrorism in Perspective*, *24*, 24–33.

Abrahms, M. (2008). What terrorists really want: Terrorist motives and counterterrorism strategy. *International Security*, *32*(4), 78–105.

September 26: Understanding Terrorism II: Organizational Approaches

Pearlman, W. (2009). Spoiling inside and out: Internal political contestation and the Middle East peace process. *International Security*, *33*(3), 79–109.

McCormick, G. H. (2003). Terrorist decision making. *Annual Review of Political Science*, *6*(1), 473–507.

Crenshaw, M. (1987). Theories of terrorism: Instrumental and organizational approaches. *The Journal of Strategic Studies*, *10*(4), 13–31.

Additional Recommended Readings

Stern, J., & Modi, A. (2010). Producing terror: organizational dynamics of survival. In *Terrorism, Security and the Power of Informal Networks*. Edward Elgar Publishing.

Krause, P. (2013). The political effectiveness of non-state violence: A two-level framework to transform a deceptive debate. *Security Studies*, *22*(2), 259–294.

Shapiro, J. N. (2013). *The terrorist's dilemma*. Princeton University Press.

Weinstein, J. M. (2006). *Inside rebellion: The politics of insurgent violence*. Cambridge University Press.

Heger, L., Jung, D., & Wong, W. H. (2012). Organizing for resistance: How group structure impacts the character of violence. *Terrorism and Political Violence*, *24*(5), 743–768.

Chenoweth, E., Miller, N., McClellan, E., Frisch, H., Staniland, P., & Abrahms, M. (2009). What makes terrorists tick. *International Security*, *33*(4), 180–202.

September 28: Understanding Terrorism III: Psychological Approaches

Victoroff, J. (2005). The mind of the terrorist: A review and critique of psychological approaches. *Journal of Conflict Resolution*, *49*(1), 3–42.

Additional Recommended Readings

Merari, A., Diamant, I., Bibi, A., Broshi, Y., & Zakin, G. (2009). Personality characteristics of "self martyrs"/"suicide bombers" and organizers of suicide attacks. *Terrorism and Political Violence*, *22*(1), 87–101.

Crenshaw, M. (2000). The psychology of terrorism: An agenda for the 21st century. *Political Psychology*, *21*(2), 405–420.

Post, J., Sprinzak, E., & Denny, L. (2003). The terrorists in their own words: Interviews with 35 incarcerated Middle Eastern terrorists. *Terrorism and Political Violence*, *15*(1), 171–184.

McCauley, C., & Moskalenko, S. (2008). Mechanisms of political radicalization: Pathways toward terrorism. *Terrorism and Political Violence*, *20*(3), 415–433.

Horgan, J. (2008). From profiles to pathways and roots to routes: Perspectives from psychology on radicalization into terrorism. *The ANNALS of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, *618*(1), 80–94.

Silke, A. (2008). Holy warriors: Exploring the psychological processes of jihadi radicalization. *European Journal of Criminology*, *5*(1), 99–123.

Horgan, J. G., & Horgan, J. (2004). *The psychology of terrorism*. Routledge.

October 3: Understanding Terrorism IV: Ideological Approaches

Hoffman, B. (2006). 4. Religion and Terrorism (pp. 1–44). Columbia University Press.

Andrew McCarthy and Fawaz Gerges, "Does Islam Play a Unique Role in Today's Terrorism?" in Gottlieb, Debating Terrorism and Counterterrorism, Ch. 4.

Additional Recommended Readings

Piazza, J. 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.

Asal, V., & Rethemeyer, R. K. (2008). Dilettantes, ideologues, and the weak: Terrorists who don't kill. *Conflict Management and Peace Science*, *25*(3), 244–263.

Masters, D. (2008). The origin of terrorist threats: Religious, separatist, or something else? *Terrorism and Political Violence*, *20*(3), 396–414.

Sanchez-Cuenca, I. (2007). The dynamics of nationalist terrorism: ETA and the IRA. *Terrorism and Political Violence*, *19*(3), 289–306.

Pratt, D. (2010). Religion and terrorism: Christian fundamentalism and extremism. *Terrorism and Political Violence*, *22*(3), 438–456.

Juergensmeyer, M. (2017). *Terror in the mind of God: The global rise of religious violence* (Vol. 13). Univ of California Press.

Iannaccone, L. R., & Berman, E. (2006). Religious extremism: The good, the bad, and the deadly. *Public Choice*, *128*(1), 109–129.

Kaufman, S. J. (2006). Symbolic politics or rational choice? Testing theories of extreme ethnic violence. *International Security*, *30*(4), 45–86.

October 5: Understanding Terrorism V: Structural Approaches

James A. Piazza and Karin von Hippel, "Does Poverty Serve as a Root Cause of Terrorism?" in Gottlieb, Debating Terrorism and Counterterrorism, Ch. 2.

F. Gregory Gause III and Jennifer L. Windsor, "Can Spreading Democracy Help Defeat Terrorism?" in Gottlieb, Debating Terrorism and Counterterrorism, Ch. 8.

<u>Additional Recommended Readings</u>

Chenoweth, E. (2013). Terrorism and democracy. *Annual Review of Political Science*, *16*, 355–378.

Lee, C. (2018). Oil and terrorism: Uncovering the mechanisms. *Journal of Conflict Resolution*, *62*(5), 903–928.

Piazza, J. A. (2008). Incubators of terror: Do failed and failing states promote transnational terrorism? *International Studies Quarterly*, *52*(3), 469–488.

Krueger, A. B. (2008). What makes a terrorist. In *What Makes a Terrorist*. Princeton University Press.

Piazza, J. A. (2006). Rooted in poverty?: Terrorism, poor economic development, and social cleavages. *Terrorism and Political Violence*, *18*(1), 159–177.

Coggins, B. L. (2015). Does state failure cause terrorism? An empirical analysis (1999–2008). *Journal of Conflict Resolution*, *59*(3), 455–483.

Choi, S.-W., & Luo, S. (2013). Economic sanctions, poverty, and international terrorism: An empirical analysis. *International Interactions*, *39*(2), 217–245.

Lai, B. (2007). "Draining the swamp": An empirical examination of the production of international terrorism, 1968—1998. *Conflict Management and Peace Science*, *24*(4), 297–310.

October 10: Origins, Spread, and Evolution of ISIS

Laub, Z., & Masters, J. (2016). CFR Backgrounders: The Islamic State. *Council on Foreign Relations*. https://www.cfr.org/backgrounder/islamic-state

Additional Recommended Readings

Byman, D. (2016). Understanding the Islamic state—a review essay. *International Security*, *40*(4), 127–165.

Wood, G. (2015). What ISIS really wants. *The Atlantic*, *315*(2), 78–94. https://www.theatlantic.com/magazine/archive/2015/03/what-isis-really-wants/384980/

Cronin, A. K. (2015). ISIS is not a terrorist group: Why counterterrorism won't stop the latest jihadist threat. *Foreign Aff.*, *94*, 87.

Warrick, J. (2016). *Black flags: The rise of ISIS*. Anchor Books.

October 12: Terrorist Tactics, Weapons, Target Selection, & Lethality

Hoffman, B. (2006). 8. The Modern Terrorist Mind-set: Tactics, Targets, Tradecraft, and Technologies (pp. 1–44). Columbia University Press.

Hoffman, B. (2006). 9. Terrorism Today and Tomorrow (pp. 267–281). Columbia University Press.

Matthew Bunn and Susan B. Martin, "Is Nuclear Terrorism a Real Threat?" in Gottlieb, Debating Terrorism and Counterterrorism, Ch. 6.

Additional Recommended Readings

Horowitz, M. C. (2010). Nonstate actors and the diffusion of innovations: The case of suicide terrorism. *International Organization*, *64*(1), 33–64.

Santifort, C., Sandler, T., & Brandt, P. T. (2013). Terrorist attack and target diversity: Changepoints and their drivers. *Journal of Peace Research*, *50*(1), 75–90.

Asal, V., Gill, P., Rethemeyer, R. K., & Horgan, J. (2015). Killing range: Explaining lethality variance within a terrorist organization. *Journal of Conflict Resolution*, *59*(3), 401–427.

Brandt, P. T., & Sandler, T. (2010). What do transnational terrorists target? Has it changed? Are we safer? *Journal of Conflict Resolution*, *54*(2), 214–236.

Asal, V., & Rethemeyer, R. K. (2008). The nature of the beast: Organizational structures and the lethality of terrorist attacks. *The Journal of Politics*, *70*(2), 437–449.

Asal, V. H., Rethemeyer, R. K., Anderson, I., Stein, A., Rizzo, J., & Rozea, M. (2009). The softest of targets: A study on terrorist target selection. *Journal of Applied Security Research*, *4*(3), 258–278.

Horowitz, M. C., Perkoski, E., & Potter, P. B. K. (2018). Tactical diversity in militant violence. *International Organization*, *72*(1), 139–171.

Lieber, K. A., & Press, D. G. (2013). Why states won't give nuclear weapons to terrorists. *International Security*, *38*(1), 80–104.

Neumayer, E., & Plümper, T. (2011). Foreign terror on Americans. *Journal of Peace Research*, *48*(1), 3–17.

Drake, C. J. M. (1998). The role of ideology in terrorists' target selection. *Terrorism and Political Violence*, *10*(2), 53–85.

Pluta, A. M., & Zimmerman, P. D. (2006). Nuclear terrorism: A disheartening dissent. *Survival*, *48*(2), 55–69.

Wood, R. M. (2010). Rebel capability and strategic violence against civilians. *Journal of Peace Research*, *47*(5), 601–614.

Moghadam, A. (2013). How al Qaeda innovates. *Security Studies*, *22*(3), 466–497.

October 17: Suicide Terrorism

Hoffman, B. (2006). 5. Suicide Terrorism (pp. 1–44). Columbia University Press.

Gordon H. McCormick, Lindsay Fritz, and Max Abrahms, "Is Suicide Terrorism an Effective Tactic?" in Gottlieb, Debating Terrorism and Counterterrorism, Ch. 5.

Additional Recommended Readings

Horowitz, M. C. (2010). Nonstate actors and the diffusion of innovations: The case of suicide terrorism. *International Organization*, *64*(1), 33–64.

Pape, R. A. (2003). The strategic logic of suicide terrorism. *American Political Science Review*, *97*(3), 343–361.

Bloom, M. (2004). Outbidding, market share, and Palestinian suicide bombing. *Political Science Quarterly*, *119*, 61–88.

Moghadam, A. (2009). Motives for martyrdom: Al-Qaida, Salafi Jihad, and the spread of suicide attacks. *International Security*, *33*(3), 46–78.

O'rourke, L. A. (2009). What's special about female suicide terrorism? *Security Studies*, *18*(4), 681–718.

Merari, A., Diamant, I., Bibi, A., Broshi, Y., & Zakin, G. (2009). Personality characteristics of "self martyrs"/"suicide bombers" and organizers of suicide attacks. *Terrorism and Political Violence*, *22*(1), 87–101.

Merari, A. (2010). *Driven to death: Psychological and social aspects of suicide terrorism*. Oxford University Press.

Thayer, B. A., & Hudson, V. M. (2010). Sex and the Shaheed: Insights from the life sciences on Islamic suicide terrorism. *International Security*, *34*(4), 37–62.

Ashworth, S., Clinton, J. D., Meirowitz, A., & Ramsay, K. W. (2008). Design, inference, and the strategic logic of suicide terrorism. *American Political Science Review*, *102*(2), 269–273.

Kruglanski, A. W., Chen, X., Dechesne, M., Fishman, S., & Orehek, E. (2009). Fully committed: Suicide bombers' motivation and the quest for personal significance. *Political Psychology*, *30*(3), 331–357.

Piazza, J. A. (2008). A supply-side view of suicide terrorism: A cross-national study. *The Journal of Politics*, *70*(1), 28–39.

Crenshaw, M. (2007). Explaining suicide terrorism: A review essay. *Security Studies*, *16*(1), 133–162.

October 19: Midterm Exam 1 (in class)

October 24: State Sponsorship of Terrorism

Hoffman, B. (2006). 9. Terrorism Today and Tomorrow (pp. 258–267). Columbia University Press.

Byman, D. (2020). Understanding, and misunderstanding, state sponsorship of terrorism. *Studies in Conflict & Terrorism*, 1–19.

Additional Recommended Readings

Byman, D. (2005). *Deadly connections: States that sponsor terrorism*. Cambridge University Press.

Byman, D., & Kreps, S. E. (2010). Agents of destruction? Applying principal-agent analysis to state-sponsored terrorism. *International Studies Perspectives*, *11*(1), 1–18.

Siqueira, K., & Sandler, T. (2006). Terrorists versus the government: Strategic interaction, support, and sponsorship. *Journal of Conflict Resolution*, *50*(6), 878–898.

Bapat, N. A. (2007). The internationalization of terrorist campaigns. *Conflict Management and Peace Science*, *24*(4), 265–280.

Findley, M. G., Piazza, J. A., & Young, J. K. (2012). Games rivals play: Terrorism in international rivalries. *The Journal of Politics*, *74*(1), 235–248.

October 26: Crime-Terror Nexus

Makarenko, T. (2004). The crime-terror continuum: tracing the interplay between transnational organised crime and terrorism. *Global Crime*, *6*(1), 129–145.

<u>Additional Recommended Readings</u>

Phillips, B. J. (2018). Terrorist tactics by criminal organizations: The Mexican case in context. *Perspectives on Terrorism*, *12*(1), 46–63.

Felbab-Brown, V. (2005). Afghanistan: When counternarcotics undermines counterterrorism. *Washington Quarterly*, *28*(4), 55–72.

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October 31: Terrorist Group Alliances, Rivalries, and Internal Cohesion

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November 2: Women, Children, and Terrorism

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Phelan, A. (2020). Special issue introduction for terrorism, gender and women: Toward an integrated research agenda. In *Studies in Conflict & Terrorism* (pp. 1–9). Taylor & Francis.

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Abrahms, M., & Conrad, J. (2017). The strategic logic of credit claiming: A new theory for anonymous terrorist attacks. *Security Studies*, *26*(2), 279–304.

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Brown, J. M. (2021). Terrorist Peer Review: Which Autonomous Attacks Does ISIL Accept for Publication? *Studies in Conflict & Terrorism*, 1–18.

Hoffman, A. M. (2010). Voice and silence: Why groups take credit for acts of terror. *Journal of Peace Research*, *47*(5), 615–626.

November 9: How Terrorism Ends?

Cronin, A. K. (2006). How al-Qaida ends: The decline and demise of terrorist groups. *International Security*, *31*(1), 7–48.

Barbaro, M. (2019). ISIS Has Lost Its Land. What About Its Power. *The New York Times*.

Zelin, A. (2020). After Losses, Islamic State Plots Comeback. *Wilson Center*.

<u>Additional Recommended Readings</u>

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Gaibulloev, K., & Sandler, T. (2013). Determinants of the demise of terrorist organizations. *Southern Economic Journal*, *79*(4), 774–792.

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November 14: Design and Effectiveness of Counterterrorism Strategies

Brigitte L. Nacos and Michael Rubin, "Counterterrorism Strategies: Do We Need Bombs over Bridges?" in Gottlieb, Debating Terrorism and Counterterrorism, Ch. 7.

Byman, D. (2007). US counter–terrorism options: A taxonomy. *Survival*, *49*(3), 121–150.

<u>Additional Recommended Readings</u>

Neumann, P. R. (2007). Negotiating with terrorists. In *Democratic Responses to Terrorism* (pp. 103–112). Routledge.

Johnston, P. B. (2012). Does decapitation work? Assessing the effectiveness of leadership targeting in counterinsurgency campaigns. *International Security*, *36*(4), 47–79.

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November 16: Repression, Human Rights, and Terrorism

Michael H. Posner and Alan M. Dershowitz, "Is an Outright Ban the Best Way to Eliminate or Constrain Torture?" in Gottlieb, Debating Terrorism and Counterterrorism, Ch. 10.

John Yoo and David Cole, "Counterterrorism and the Constitution: Does Providing Security Require a Trade-Off with Civil Liberties?" in Gottlieb, Debating Terrorism and Counterterrorism, Ch. 11.

Additional Recommended Readings

Blankenship, B. (2018). When do states take the bait? State capacity and the provocation logic of terrorism. *Journal of Conflict Resolution*, *62*(2), 381–409.

Piazza, J. A. (2017). Repression and terrorism: A cross-national empirical analysis of types of repression and domestic terrorism. *Terrorism and Political Violence*, *29*(1), 102–118.

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Avdan, N., & Uzonyi, G. (2017). V for vendetta: Government mass killing and domestic terrorism. *Studies in Conflict & Terrorism*, *40*(11), 934–965.

November 21: Lone Wolf Terror

Jason Burke, "The Myth of the Lone Wolf Terrorist." The Guardian, March 30, 2017. Web. https://www.theguardian.com/news/2017/mar/30/myth-lonewolf-terrorist

Byman, D. (2017). How to hunt a lone wolf: Countering terrorists who act on their own. *Foreign Aff.*, *96*, 96.

November 23: No Class

November 28: Terrorism and the Old Media

Hoffman, B. (2006). 6. The Old Media, Terrorism and Public Opinion (pp. 173–196). Columbia University Press.

Additional Recommended Readings

Asal, V., & Hoffman, A. M. (2016). Media effects: Do terrorist organizations launch foreign attacks in response to levels of press freedom or press attention? *Conflict Management and Peace Science*, *33*(4), 381–399.

Chermak, S. M., & Gruenewald, J. (2006). The media's coverage of domestic terrorism. *Justice Quarterly*, *23*(4), 428–461.

Conway, M., & McInerney, L. (2012). What's love got to do with it? Framing 'JihadJane'in the US press. *Media, War & Conflict*, *5*(1), 6–21.

November 30: Digital Terrorism

Hoffman, B. (2006). 7. The New Media, Terrorism, and the Shaping of Global Opinion (pp. 197–228). Columbia University Press.

December 5: Midterm Exam 2 (in Class)

December 7: The Future of Terrorism

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