The Politics of Terrorism

GVPT 456
Spring 2023

Tuesdays & Thursdays 11:00am – 12:15pm, TYD 1132

Contact Information

Instructor: Rithvik Yarlagadda
Drop-In Hours: 12:30pm to 1:30pm, Tuesdays & Thursdays,
               Or by appointment (https://calendar.app.google/N661BcJSPaYyS2fVA)
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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&qi
    d=1661867012&s=digital-text&sprefix=9780231174770%2Cdigital-text%2C65&sr=1-1

In addition to the above required book, there are a few required readings (see under the schedule below) in the form of articles or selected book chapters. 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—quizzes, final exam, and a final research project.

Response Paper:
You will upload a 2-page document (word/pdf) on ELMS summarizing your thoughts of the film "*If a Tree Falls: A Story of the Earth Liberation Front*" that you will be watching on March 2nd. The response paper is due via ELMS by 11:59 pm (EST) on March 9th. More details about the assignment prompt to follow soon.

Monthly Quizzes:
I will conduct four quizzes overall during the class time. All the quizzes are available online via ELMS. You are expected to have access to your laptops/computers on quiz days. They will be short (10 mins) and will primarily be of multiple-choice format. **Quiz 2 is mandatory** and will be slightly longer (~20 mins). For the remainder three quizzes, I will consider the best two out of them towards your grade.

Final Exam:
You will complete one take-home open-book exam in this course. The final exam will be held online (via ELMS) on Tuesday, May 16th. The timed exam will be available from 8 am to 6 pm on Tuesday, May 16th. You will have 75 MINS (1.25 HRS) from the time you log in until the exam closes. Log in to ELMS to take the exam. The final exam will be cumulative and is designed to demonstrate your grasp on the course readings and class discussion, and your ability to analyze and critique arguments.

Research Project:
This will be a group project (2 students in each group) where you will be asked to select a terrorist organization case from a specified list of organizations. You will conduct a detailed case-study of these organizations as part of this project. Each group will submit their unique choice of a terrorist organization that they will be working on by February 28th.

      Towards the end of semester (May 9 & 11), each group will formally present their project findings to the class. The schedule for presentation slots (first-come first-serve) will be made available soon. The final paper will be due by 11:59 pm (EST) on May 18th. Each student in the group will individually upload their presentation slides and the final paper assignments via ELMS.

      I will provide you with a handout describing the paper assignment in more detail by mid-February. At that time, I will also provide you with additional information about potential resources and guidance on choosing a relevant research topic.

Attendance & Participation:
Attendance is mandatory. At the beginning of each class, I will provide you with a unique **attendance code**. To confirm your presence in each class, you need to enter this code through the respective attendance quiz marked for that specific class on ELMS. Class participation is also important. 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:

Assignment	Percentage %
Response Paper	6%
Quizzes	12%
Attendance & Participation	12%
Team Project/Paper/Presentation	35%
Final Exam	35%
Total	100%

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.

This term we will be using Piazza for class discussion. The system is highly catered to getting you help fast and efficiently from classmates, the TA, and myself. Rather than emailing questions to the teaching staff, I encourage you to post your questions on Piazza. If you have any problems or feedback for the developers, email team@piazza.com.

Find our class page at: https://piazza.com/umd/spring2023/gvpt456/info

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/N661BcJSPaYyS2fVA. 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	T	1/26	Course Overview
2	T	1/31	What is Terrorism? What are the Types of Terrorism?
	Th	2/2	Where did Terrorism Come From? The History of Terrorism
3	T	2/7	How to Study Terrorism Analytically?
	Th	2/9	Understanding Terrorism I: Strategic Approaches
4	T	2/14	Understanding Terrorism II: Organizational Approaches
	Th	2/16	Understanding Terrorism III: Psychological Approaches
5	T	2/21	Understanding Terrorism IV: Ideological Approaches
	Th	2/23	Understanding Terrorism V: Structural Approaches **[Quiz 1]**
6	T	2/28	Understanding Terrorism VI: Critical Approaches
	Th	3/2	Film: *"If a Tree Falls: A Story of the Earth Liberation Front"*
7	T	3/7	Suicide Terrorism **[Response paper due]**
	Th	3/9	Women, Children, and Terrorism
8	T	3/14	Terrorist's Provision of Social Services
	Th	3/16	No Class (Attending ISA Conference) **[Quiz 2]**
9	T	3/21	No Class (Spring Break)
	Th	3/23	No Class (Spring Break)
10	T	3/28	Al Qaeda, ISIS, and Jihadi Terrorism
	Th	3/30	The Rise of Far-Right Extremism; Guest Lecture by Dr Andrew Vitak
11	T	4/4	Terrorist Tactics, Weapons, Target Selection, & Lethality **[Quiz 3]**
	Th	4/6	How Terrorism Ends?
12	T	4/11	Design and Effectiveness of Counterterrorism Strategies
	Th	4/13	State Repression and Terrorism; Guest Lecture by Dr Victor Asal
13	T	4/18	Terrorist Group Alliances, Rivalries, and Internal Cohesion
	Th	4/20	State Sponsorship of Terrorism
14	T	4/25	Crime-Terror Nexus
	Th	4/27	Lone-Wolf Terror
15	T	5/2	Terrorism and the Media: Old and New
	Th	5/4	The Political Effects of Terrorism **[Quiz 4]**
16	T	5/9	When do Terrorists Claim Attacks? **[Presentations I]**
	Th	5/11	The Future of Terrorism **[Presentations II]**

| 17 | T | 5/16 | Final Exam (Take-Home via ELMS) |
| | Th | 5/18 | Final 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.

January 26: Course Overview

No reading.

January 31: What is Terrorism? What are the Types of Terrorism?

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

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

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.

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

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

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.

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

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.

February 2: The History of Terrorist Violence

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.

Additional Recommended Readings

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

February 7: How to Study Terrorism Analytically?

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

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.

Perliger, A., Koehler-Derrick, G., & Pedahzur, A. (2016). The gap between participation and violence: Why we need to disaggregate terrorist 'profiles.' *International Studies Quarterly*, *60*(2), 220–229.

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.

February 9: Understanding Terrorism I: Strategic Approaches

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

Additional Recommended Readings

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

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

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

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

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

February 14: Understanding Terrorism II: Organizational Approaches

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

Additional Recommended Readings

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

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

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.

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.

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

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

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

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

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

February 16: 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

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

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.

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

Kruglanski, A. W., Gelfand, M. J., Bélanger, J. J., Sheveland, A., Hetiarachchi, M., & Gunaratna, R. (2014). The psychology of radicalization and deradicalization: How significance quest impacts violent extremism. *Political Psychology*, *35*, 69–93.

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

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.

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.

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

February 21: Understanding Terrorism IV: Ideological Approaches

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

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.

February 23: Understanding Terrorism V: Structural Approaches [Quiz 1]

Ross, J. I. (1993). Structural causes of oppositional political terrorism: Towards a causal model. *Journal of Peace Research*, *30*(3), 317–329.

Additional Recommended Readings

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

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

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

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

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.

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

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

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

February 28: Understanding Terrorism VI: Critical Approaches

Jackson, R. (2007). The core commitments of critical terrorism studies. *European Political Science*, *6*, 244–251.

Additional Recommended Readings

Blakeley, R. (2007). Bringing the state back into terrorism studies. *European Political Science*, *6*, 228–235.

Gunning, J. (2007). Babies and bathwaters: reflecting on the pitfalls of critical terrorism studies. *European Political Science*, *6*, 236–243.

Jackson, R. (2007). Constructing enemies: Islamic terrorism in political and academic discourse. *Government and Opposition*, *42*(3), 394–426.

March 2: Watch Film

"If a Tree Falls: A Story of the Earth Liberation Front"

March 7: Suicide Terrorism [Response Paper Due]

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

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.

March 9: Women, Children, and Terrorism

Bloom, M., & Warpinski, K. K. (2021). Children in Violent Movements: From Child Soldiers to Terrorist Groups. In *Oxford Research Encyclopedia of International Studies*.

Bloom, M. (2017). Women and terrorism. In *Oxford Research Encyclopedia of Politics*.

Searcey, D., & Ferguson, A. (2017). Boko Haram strapped suicide bombs to them. Somehow these teenage girls survived. *The New York Times*. https://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2017/10/25/world/africa/nigeria-boko-haram-suicide-bomb.html

Additional Recommended Readings

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.

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

Dalton, A., & Asal, V. (2011). Is it ideology or desperation: Why do organizations deploy women in violent terrorist attacks? *Studies in Conflict & Terrorism*, *34*(10), 802–819.

Thomas, J. L., & Bond, K. D. (2015). Women's participation in violent political organizations. *American Political Science Review*, *109*(3), 488–506.

Cunningham, K. J. (2003). Cross-regional trends in female terrorism. *Studies in Conflict and Terrorism*, *26*(3), 171–195.

March 14: Terrorist's Social Service Provision

Flanigan, S. T. (2008). Nonprofit service provision by insurgent organizations: the cases of Hizballah and the Tamil Tigers. *Studies in Conflict & Terrorism*, *31*(6), 499–519.

Additional Recommended Readings

Asal, V., Flanigan, S., & Szekely, O. (2022). Doing good while killing: Why some insurgent groups provide community services. *Terrorism and Political Violence*, *34*(4), 835–855.

Grynkewich, A. G. (2008). Welfare as warfare: How violent non-state groups use social services to attack the state. *Studies in Conflict & Terrorism*, *31*(4), 350–370.

March 16: NO CLASS (Attending ISA conference) [Quiz 2]

Take-Home Quiz via ELMS

March 21: NO CLASS (SPRING BREAK)

March 23: NO CLASS (SPRING BREAK)

March 28: Al Qaeda, ISIS, and Jihadi Terrorism

Bajoria, J., & Bruno, G. (2012). CFR Backgrounders: Al Qaeda. *Council on Foreign Relations*.
    https://www.cfr.org/backgrounder/al-qaeda-aka-al-qaida-al-qaida

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.

Byman, D., & Mir, A. (2022). Assessing al-Qaeda: A Debate. *Studies in Conflict & Terrorism*, 1–40.

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.

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/

Wright, L. (2006). *The looming tower: Al-Qaeda and the road to 9/11*. Alfred a Knopf Incorporated.

March 30: The Rise of the Global Far-Right Movement; Guest Lecture (Dr Andrew Vitak)

Miller-Idriss, C. (2022). *Hate in the Homeland: The New Global Far Right*. Introduction. Princeton
    University Press.

Listen: "The Rise of Right-Wing Extremism, and How U.S. Law Enforcement Ignored It," The
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https://www.nytimes.com/2018/12/13/podcasts/the-daily/far-rightextremism-united-states.html

Additional Recommended Readings

Meier, A. A. (2020). The idea of terror: Institutional reproduction in government responses to political violence. *International Studies Quarterly*, *64*(3), 499–509.

April 4: Terrorist Tactics, Weapons, Target Selection, & Lethality [Quiz 3]

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.

<u>Additional Recommended Readings</u>

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.

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.

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

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

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.

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

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

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

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.

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

April 6: How Terrorism Ends?

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

Additional Recommended Readings

Alonso, R. (2011). Why do terrorists stop? Analyzing why ETA members abandon or continue with terrorism. *Studies in Conflict & Terrorism*, *34*(9), 696–716.

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

Dalgaard-Nielsen, A. (2013). Promoting exit from violent extremism: Themes and approaches. *Studies in Conflict & Terrorism*, *36*(2), 99–115.

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

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Jones, S. G., & Libicki, M. C. (2008). *How terrorist groups end: Lessons for countering al Qa'ida* (Vol. 741). Rand Corporation.

Stern, J. (2010). Mind over martyr: How to deradicalize Islamist extremists. *Foreign Affairs*, 95–108.

Young, J. K., & Dugan, L. (2014). Survival of the fittest: Why terrorist groups endure. *Perspectives on Terrorism*, *8*(2), 2–23.

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

April 11: Design and Effectiveness of Counterterrorism Strategies

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

Additional Recommended Readings

Danzell, O. E., & Zidek, S. (2013). Does counterterrorism spending reduce the incidence and lethality of terrorism? A quantitative analysis of 34 countries. *Defense & Security Analysis*, *29*(3), 218–233.

De Mesquita, E. B. (2007). Politics and the suboptimal provision of counterterror. *International Organization*, *61*(1), 9–36.

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Jordan, J., Kosal, M. E., & Rubin, L. (2016). The strategic illogic of counterterrorism policy. *The Washington Quarterly*, *39*(4), 181–192.

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Plümper, T., & Neumayer, E. (2014). Terrorism and counterterrorism: An integrated approach and future research agenda. *International Interactions*, *40*(4), 579–589.

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April 13: State Repression and Terrorism; Guest Lecture (Dr Victor Asal)

Tschantret, J. (2018). Repression, opportunity, and innovation: The evolution of terrorism in Xinjiang, China. *Terrorism and Political Violence*, *30*(4), 569–588.

Additional Recommended Readings

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

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.

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Greitens, S. C., Lee, M., & Yazici, E. (2019). Counterterrorism and preventive repression: China's changing strategy in Xinjiang. *International Security*, *44*(3), 9–47.

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.

April 18: Terrorist Group Alliances, Rivalries, and Internal Cohesion

Hoffman, B. (2006). 3. The Internationalization of Terrorism (pp. 71–80). Columbia University Press.

Additional Recommended Readings

Bacon, T. (2014). Alliance Hubs Focal Points in the International Terrorist Landscape. *Perspectives on Terrorism*, *8*(4). https://www.jstor.org/stable/26297192

Bacon, T. (2017). Hurdles to International Terrorist Alliances: Lessons From Al Qaeda's Experience. *Terrorism and Political Violence*, *29*(1), 79–101.

Bacon, T. (2018). Is the Enemy of My Enemy My Friend? How Terrorist Groups Select Partners. *SECURITY STUDIES*, *27*(3), 345–378. https://doi.org/https://doi.org/10.1080/09636412.2017.1416813

Phillips, B. J. (2019). Terrorist Group Rivalries and Alliances: Testing Competing Explanations. *Studies in Conflict & Terrorism*. https://doi.org/https://doi.org/10.1080/1057610X.2018.1431365

April 20: 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

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

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.

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.

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

April 25: 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.

Additional Recommended Readings

Basra, R., & Neumann, P. R. (2016). Criminal pasts, terrorist futures: European jihadists and the new crime-terror nexus. *Perspectives on Terrorism*, *10*(6), 25–40.

Felbab-Brown, V. (2005). The Coca Connection: Conflict and Drugs in Colombia and Peru. *Journal of Conflict Studies*, *25*(2), 104–128.

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

Perliger, A., & Palmieri, M. (2022). Mapping connections and cooperation between terrorist and criminal entities. *Studies in Conflict & Terrorism*, *45*(5–6), 335–347.

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

April 27: Lone Wolf Terror

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

Additional Recommended Readings

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

May 2: Terrorism and the Media: Old and New

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

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

May 4: Political Effects of Terrorism [Quiz 4]

Harding, R., & Nwokolo, A. (2022). Terrorism, Trust, and Identity: Evidence from a Natural Experiment in Nigeria. *American Journal of Political Science*.

Additional Recommended Readings

Aksoy, D., Carter, D. B., & Wright, J. (2015). Terrorism and the Fate of Dictators. *World Politics*, *67*(3), 423–468.

Asongu, S. A., & Nwachukwu, J. C. (2017). The impact of terrorism on governance in African countries. *World Development*, *99*, 253–270.

Berrebi, C., & Klor, E. F. (2008). Are voters sensitive to terrorism? Direct evidence from the Israeli electorate. *American Political Science Review*, *102*(3), 279–301.

Getmansky, A., & Zeitzoff, T. (2014). Terrorism and voting: The effect of rocket threat on voting in Israeli elections. *American Political Science Review*, *108*(3), 588–604.

Newman, L. S. (2013). Do Terrorist Attacks Increase Closer to Elections? *Terrorism and Political Violence*, *25*(1), 8–28. https://doi.org/10.1080/09546553.2013.733247

Robbins, J., Hunter, L., & Murray, G. R. (2013). Voters versus terrorists: Analyzing the effect of terrorist events on voter turnout. *Journal of Peace Research*, *50*(4), 495–508.

May 9: When do Terrorists Claim Attacks? [Presentations I]

Brown, J. M. (2020). Notes to the underground: Credit claiming and organizing in the Earth Liberation Front. *Terrorism and Political Violence*, *32*(2), 237–256.

Additional Recommended Readings

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

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.

Kearns, E. M. (2021). When to take credit for terrorism? A cross-national examination of claims and attributions. *Terrorism and Political Violence*, *33*(1), 164–193.

May 11: The Future of Terrorism [Presentations II]

TBA

May 16: Final Exam (Take-Home)

May 18: Final Paper Due