

**The Causes and Consequences of Terrorism**  
**Political Science G8839**

**Spring 2012**  
**Thursdays 2:10-4:00, IAB 1302**  
**office hours: W 3:30-4:00, Th 4:00-5:00**

**Prof. Page Fortna**  
**IAB 1329**  
**212 854-0021**  
**vpf4@columbia.edu**

This course examines the politics of terrorism, with a focus on theoretical and empirical studies of its causes and consequences. We will look at both domestic and transnational forms of terrorism. We begin with issues of definition, and theoretical and empirical approaches to the study of terrorism. We address the causes of terrorism, considering questions such as when, where, and why terrorism occurs, which individuals and which groups resort to terror and why, and who are the targets of terrorist attacks. We then turn to the consequences of terrorism, both for the outcome of conflicts, and for domestic politics.

**Prerequisites:**

This is an upper level graduate course that assumes a general familiarity with theories and literatures of international relations. Students who have not taken, or are not currently taking, the International Relations Field Survey (6801) should discuss with the instructor whether this course is appropriate.

**Course Requirements:**

- Students are expected to come to class ready to discuss critically the week's readings. (Reading load averages ~200-250pp/week)
- Short memo (2-4 pages double-spaced) on one week's readings briefly outlining the major themes of the session, raising questions for discussion in class, and suggesting a few testable hypotheses on the week's topic. These are due (to be posted to CourseWorks) no later than 5pm, the Tuesday before the relevant class.
- Coding assignment: measuring the use of terrorism by a non-state actor in the Armed Conflict Dataset. Due February 16.
- Research paper: publishable-quality original research on a topic related to terrorism. A statement of your proposed research question and hypotheses is due February 23. Presentations will take place on April 12, 19, and 26. The final paper is due Thursday, May 10.

## Policies:

- Grades: Research paper = 40% of the grade; presentation in class = 20%; memo and coding assignment = 10% each; participation in class = 20%.
- Late assignments, including the memo and coding assignment, will be penalized by one third grade per day (i.e., an A paper or memo turned in 1 day late is an A-, 2 days late a B+, etc.), except in cases of medical or family emergency.
- Incompletes will be allowed only under exceptional circumstances (e.g., family or medical emergency).
- Requirements for R credit and auditors: the memo and coding assignment and participation in class discussion (which requires doing the reading).

## Readings

The following books have been ordered at Book Culture Bookstore (112th St., btw Broadway & Amsterdam) and are on reserve at Lehman. Journal articles are available through e-journals and/or e-reserves. Unpublished papers will be posted to CourseWorks.

### Recommended for Purchase:

- Crenshaw, Martha. 2011. *Explaining Terrorism*. New York: Routledge.  
ISBN: 978-0-415-78051 \$36.42 [7 chapters assigned]
- Hoffman, Bruce. 2006. *Inside Terrorism*. New York: Columbia University Press.  
ISBN: 978-0-231-12699-1 \$24.95 [4 chapters assigned]
- Horgan, John, and Kurt Braddock, eds. 2012. *Terrorism Studies: A Reader*. New York: Routledge. (referred to as H&B below)  
ISBN: 978-0-415-45505-3 \$44.95 [9 chapters assigned – individual articles also available from e-journals]
- Mao, Tse-Tung. 1937. *On Guerilla Warfare*. University of Illinois Press  
ISBN 978-0-252-06892-8 \$16.95 [Full book assigned – also available online at <http://www.marxists.org/reference/archive/mao/works/1937/guerrilla-warfare/> ]

### Optional:

- Silke, Andrew, ed. 2004. *Research on Terrorism: Trends, Achievements & Failures*. Portland OR: Frank Cass. [3 chapters assigned]  
ISBN: 0-7146-8273-X
- Keefer, Philip, and Norman Loayza, eds. 2008. *Terrorism, Economic Development, and Political Openness*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. [3 chapters assigned]  
ISBN: 978-0-521-88758-8

## **Session 1. January 19. Introduction and Course Logistics**

No assigned readings

### **I. What is Terrorism and How Should we Study it? Definitions and Approaches**

#### **Session 2. January 26. Defining Terrorism**

- Hoffman, Bruce. 2006. *Inside Terrorism*. New York: Columbia University Press. Chapters 1-3, pp.1-80 (and photos ff.)
- Merari, Ariel. 1993. Terrorism as a Strategy of Insurgency. *Terrorism and Political Violence* 5: 4, pp. 213-251.
- Gibbs, Jack “Conceptualization of Terrorism” in H&B Chapter 4 pp.63-75. Originally published in *American Sociological Review* 54 (1989), pp.329-340
- Weinberg, Pehazur & Hirsch-Hoefler “The Challenges of Conceptualizing Terrorism” in H&B Chapter 5 pp.76-90. Originally published in *Terrorism and Political Violence* 16 (2004), pp. 777-794.
- Schmid, Alex “The Response Problem as a Definition Problem” in H&B Chapter 6 pp.91-96. Originally published in Schmid & Crelinsten *Western Responses to Terrorism* (Frank Cass 1993), pp.7-13
- Claridge, David. 1996. State Terrorism? Applying a Definitional Model. *Terrorism and Political Violence* 8 (3):47-63.

### Session 3. February 2. Theoretical Approaches to the Study of Terrorism

- Crenshaw, Martha. 2011. *Explaining Terrorism*. New York: Routledge. Chapters 4-7, pp.67-134.
- Lake, David A. 2002. Rational Extremism: Understanding Terrorism in the Twenty-First Century. *Dialogue-IO* 1. pp.15-29.
- Neumann, Peter R., and M.L.R. Smith. 2005. Strategic Terrorism: The Framework and Its Fallacies. *Journal of Strategic Studies* 28 (4), pp.571-595.
- McCormick, Gordon H. 2003. Terrorist Decision Making. *Annual Review of Political Science* 6, pp.473-507.
- Taylor & Horgan. A Conceptual Framework for Addressing Psychological Process in the Development of the Terrorist. in H&B, Chapter 9, pp.130-144. Originally cited in *Terrorism and Political Violence* 18 (2006), pp. 1-17.
- Victoroff, Jeff. 2005. The Mind of the Terrorist: A Review and Critique of Psychological Approaches. *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 49 (1), pp.3-42.
- Rapoport, David “Fear and Trembling: Terrorism in Three Religious Traditions” in H&B Chapter 1, pp.3-26. Originally published in *American Political Science Review* 78 (1984), pp. 658-677.
- Hoffman *Inside Terrorism* Chapter 4 “Religion and Terrorism” pp.81-130

#### Further Reading:

Caplan, Bryan. 2006. Terrorism: The Relevance of the Rational Choice Model. *Public Choice* 128 (1/2), pp.91-107.

Reich, Walter, ed. 1998. *Origins of Terrorism: Psychologies, Ideologies, Theologies, States of Mind* Washington, DC: Woodrow Wilson Press.

Weinberg, Leonard. 2006. Political and Revolutionary Ideologies. In *The Making of a Terrorist: Recruitment, Training, and Root Causes*, edited by J. J. F. Forest. Westport, CT: Praeger Security International, pp.196-181.

Larsson, J.P. 2006. The Role of Religious Ideology in Modern Terrorist Recruitment. In *The Making of a Terrorist: Recruitment, Training, and Root Causes*, edited by J. J. F. Forest. Westport, CT: Praeger Security International, pp.182-215.

Snow, David A., and Scott C. Byrd. 2007. Ideology, Framing Processes, and Islamic Terrorist Movements. *Mobilization: An International Quarterly* 12 (2), pp.119-136.

## Session 4. February 9. No Class

[Alternative Session TBA]

## Session 5. February 16. Data and Information Sources on Terrorism

### **\*\*Coding Assignment Due\*\***

- Young, Joseph K., and Michael G. Findley. 2011. Promises and Pitfalls of Terrorism Research. *International Studies Review* 13 (3), pp.411-431.
- Silke, Andrew, ed. 2004. *Research on Terrorism: Trends, Achievements & Failures*. Portland OR: Frank Cass. Chapters 1-3 pp.1-71 by Silke, Horgan, & Silke. Chapter 3 originally published in *Terrorism & Political Violence* 13:4 (2001).
- Drakos, Konstantinos, and Andreas Gofas. 2006. The Devil You Know but Are Afraid to Face: Underreporting Bias and its Distorting Effects on the Study of Terrorism. *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 50 (5), pp.714-735.
- Sánchez-Cuenca, Ignacio, and Luis de la Calle. 2009. Domestic Terrorism: The Hidden Side of Political Violence. *Annual Review of Political Science* 12, pp.31-49.
- LaFree, Gary, and Laura Dugan. 2009. Introducing the Global Terrorism Database. *Terrorism and Political Violence* 19 (2), pp.181-204.
- de la Calle, Luis, and Ignacio Sánchez-Cuenca. 2011. The Quantity and Quality of Terrorism: The DTV Dataset. *Journal of Peace Research* 48 (1), pp.49-58.
- Browse datasets & codebooks:
  - Global Terrorism Database (GTD): <http://www.start.umd.edu/gtd/>
  - RAND Database of Worldwide Terrorist Incidents (formerly known as MIPT) <http://www.rand.org/nsrd/projects/terrorism-incidents.html>
  - Terrorist Organization Profiles (TOPS) [http://www.start.umd.edu/start/data\\_collections/tops/](http://www.start.umd.edu/start/data_collections/tops/)
  - International Terrorism: Attributes of Terrorist Events (ITERATE) <http://www.icpsr.umich.edu/icpsrweb/ICPSR/studies/07947>

## II. The Causes of Terrorism

### Session 6. February 23. The Causes of Terrorism: Motivation and Capability

#### **\*\*Research Statements Due\*\***

- Crenshaw, Martha. "The Causes of Terrorism" in H&B Chapter 7, pp. 99-114, and in Crenshaw, *Explaining Terrorism*. Chapter 2. Originally published in *Comparative Politics* 13:4 (1981), pp.379-399.
- Goodwin, Jeff. 2006. A Theory of Categorical Terrorism. *Social Forces* 84 (4), pp.2027-2046.
- Wood, Reed M. 2011. The Strength to Kill or the Power to Protect? Power Resources and Violence against Civilians in Civil Conflict. Presented at *American Political Science Association*. Seattle, WA.
- Bueno de Mesquita, Ethan. 2011. Rebel Tactics. Unpublished Paper. University of Chicago, Harris School.
- Abrahms, Max. 2008. What Terrorists Really Want. *International Security* 32 (4), pp.78-105.
- Various Authors. 2009. Correspondence: What Makes Terrorists Tick *International Security* 33, pp.4, pp.180-202.
- Danzell, Orlandrew E. 2011. Political Parties: When Do They Turn to Terror? *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 55 (1), pp.85-105.
- Pape, Robert A. 2003. "The Strategic Logic of Suicide Terrorism" in H&B, Chapter 17, pp.260-288. Originally published in *American Political Science Review* 97:3 (2003), pp.343-361.
- Ashworth, S., J.D. Clinton, A. Meirowitz, and K.W Ramsay. 2008. Design, Inference, and the Strategic Logic of Suicide Terrorism. *American Political Science Review* 102 (2), pp.269-273.
- Moghadam, Assaf. 2008/2009. Motives for Martyrdom: Al-Qaida, Salafi Jihad, and the Spread of Suicide Attacks. *International Security* 33 (3), pp.46-78.
- 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), pp.62-88.

Further Reading:

Pape, Robert A. 2005. *Dying to Win: The Strategic Logic of Suicide Terrorism*. New York: Random House.

Pape, Robert A. 2010. *Cutting the Fuse: The Explosion of Global Suicide Terrorism and How to Stop It*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Moghadam, Assaf. 2008. *The Globalization of Martyrdom: Al Qaeda, Salafi Jihad, and the Diffusion of Suicide Attacks*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press.

Brandt, Patrick T. , and Todd Sandler. 2010. What Do Transnational Terrorists Target? Has It Changed? Are We Safer? *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 54 (2), pp.214-236.

Masters, Daniel. 2008. The Origins of Terrorist Threats: Religious, Separatist, or Something Else? *Terrorism and Political Violence* 20 (3), pp.369-414.

## Session 7. March 1. Strategies of Terrorism

- Kydd, Andrew H., and Barbara F. Walter. 2006. The Strategies of Terrorism. *International Security* 31 (1), pp.49-80.
- Mao, Tse-Tung. 1937. *On Guerilla Warfare*.  
[<http://www.marxists.org/reference/archive/mao/works/1937/guerrilla-warfare/>]
- Thornton, Thomas Perry. 1964. Terror as a Weapon of Political Agitation. In *Internal War: Problems and Approaches*, edited by H. Eckstein. London: Free Press. pp.71-99.
- Arreguín-Toft, Ivan. 2001. How the Weak Win Wars: A Theory of Asymmetric Conflict. *International Security* 26 (1), pp.93-128.
- Laitin, David D., and Jacob N. Shapiro. 2008. The Political, Economic, and Organizational Sources of Terrorism. In *Terrorism, Economic Development, and Political Openness*, edited by P. Keefer and N. Loayza. New York: Cambridge University Press. pp. 209-232
- Hoffman, Bruce, and McCormick. 2004. Terrorism, Signaling, and Suicide Attack. *Studies in Conflict & Terrorism* 27 (4), pp.243-281.
- Bloom, Mia M. “Palestinian Suicide Bombing: Public Support, Market Share, and Outbidding” in H&B, Chapter 18, pp.289-310. Originally published in *Political Science Quarterly* 119:1 (2004), pp.61-88.
- Young, Joseph K., and Michael G. Findley. 2011. More Combatant Groups, More Terror?: Empirical Tests of an Outbidding Logic. Unpublished paper.
- 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), pp.364-381.
- Overgaard, Per Baltzer. 1994. The Scale of Terrorist Attacks as a Signal of Resources. *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 38 (3), pp.452-478.

### Further Reading:

Bloom, Mia. 2005. *Dying to Kill: The Allure of Suicide Terror*. New York: Columbia University Press.

Faria, João Ricardo, and Daniel G. Arce. 2005. Terror Support and Recruitment. *Defence and Peace Economics* 16 (4), pp.263-273.



## Session 8. March 8. The Effects of Democracy on Terrorism

- Li, Quan. 2005. Does Democracy Promote or Reduce Transnational Terrorist Incidents. *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 49 (2), pp.278-297.
- Wade, Sarah Jackson, and Dan Reiter. 2007. Does Democracy Matter? Regime Type and Suicide Terrorism. *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 51 (2), pp.329-348.
- Chenoweth, Erica. 2010. Democratic Competition and Terrorist Activity. *Journal of Politics* 72 (1), pp.16-30.
- Stanton, Jessica. 2011. Terrorism in the Context of Civil War. Unpublished paper. University of Pennsylvania.
- Ron, James. 2001. Ideology in Context: Explaining Sendero Luminoso's Tactical Escalation. *Journal of Peace Research* 38 (5), pp.569-592.
- Eubank, William Lee, and Leonard Weinberg. 1994. Does Democracy Encourage Terrorism? *Terrorism and Political Violence* 6 (4), pp.417-463.
- Eubank, William, and Leonard Weinberg. 1998. Terrorism and Democracy: What Recent Events Disclose. *Terrorism and Political Violence* 10 (1), pp.108-18.
- Savun, Burcu, and Brian J. Phillips. 2009. Democracy, Foreign Policy, and Terrorism. *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 53 (6), pp.878-904.
- Aksoy, Deniz, David B. Carter, and Joseph Wright. 2011. "Terrorism in Dictatorships." Forthcoming *Journal of Politics*.

### Further Reading:

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

Gurr, Ted Robert "Terrorism in Democracies" in Reich, Walter, ed. 1998. *Origins of Terrorism: Psychologies, Ideologies, Theologies, States of Mind* Washington, DC: Woodrow Wilson Press, p.86-102.

Blomberg & Hess "Lexus and Olive Branch" in Keefer & Loayza, eds.

Gassebner, Martin, and Simon Luechinger. 2011. Lock, Stock, and Barrel: a Comprehensive Assessment of the Determinants of Terror. *Public Choice* 149 (3-4), pp.235-261.

## Session 9. March 15. Spring Break

## Session 10. March 22. The Effects of Economics on Terrorism

- Abadie, Alberto. 2006. Poverty, Political Freedom, and the Roots of Terrorism. *American Economic Review* 96 (2), pp.50-56.
- Li, Quan, and Schaub. 2004. Economic Globalization and Transnational Terrorist Incidents. *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 48 (2), pp.230-258.
- Kavanagh, Jennifer. 2011. Selection, Availability, and Opportunity: The Conditional Effect of Poverty on Terrorist Group Participation. *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 55 (1), pp.106-132.
- Burgoon, Brian. 2006. On Welfare and Terror: Social Welfare Policies and Political-Economic Roots of Terrorism. *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 50 (2), pp.176-203.
- Lee, Alexander. 2011. Who Becomes a Terrorist? Poverty, Education, and the Origins of Political Violence. *World Politics* 63 (2), pp. 203-245.
- Krueger, Alan B., and David D. Laitin. 2008. *Kto Kogo? A Cross-Country Study of the Origins and Targets of Terrorism*. In *Terrorism, Economic Development, and Political Openness*, edited by P. Keefer and N. Loayza. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. pp.148-173
- Blomberg, S. Brock, and Gregory D. Hess. 2008. From (No) Butter to Guns? Understanding the Economic Role of Transnational Terrorism. In *Terrorism, Economic Development, and Political Openness*, edited by P. Keefer and N. Loayza. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. pp. 83-115.

### Further Reading:

Blomberg, S. Brock, Gregory D. Hess, and Akila Weerapana. 2004. Economic Conditions and Terrorism *European Journal of Political Economy* 20 (2), pp.463-478.

Gassebner, Martin, and Simon Luechinger. 2011. Lock, Stock, and Barrel: a Comprehensive Assessment of the Determinants of Terror. *Public Choice* 149 (3-4), pp.235-261.

### III. The Consequences of Terrorism

#### Session 11. March 29. Terrorism and Conflict Outcomes

- Abrahms, Max. Forthcoming 2012. The Political Efficacy of Terrorism Revisited. *Comparative Political Studies*.
- Wood, Reed M. and Jacob Kathman. 2011. Too Much of a Bad Thing? Violence Against Civilians and the Outcome of Civil Wars. Unpublished paper, Arizona State and University of Mississippi.
- Fortna, Virginia Page. 2011. “Do Terrorists Win? Rebels’ Use of Terrorism and Civil War Outcomes” Unpublished Paper, Columbia University.
- Chenoweth, Erica, and Maria J. Stephan. 2008. Why Civil Resistance Works: The Strategic Logic of Nonviolent Conflict. *International Security* 33 (1), pp.7-44.
- Blomberg, S. Brock, Khusrav Gaibulloev, and Todd Sandler. 2011. Terrorist Group Survival: Ideology, Tactics, and Base of Operations *Public Choice* 149 (3), pp.441-463.
- Findley, Michael G. 2011. Terrorism, Spoiling, and the Resolution of Civil Wars. Unpublished paper. Brigham Young University.
- Cronin, Audrey Kurth. 2006. How al-Qaida Ends: The Decline and Demise of Terrorist Groups. *International Security* 31 (1), pp.7-48.
- Crenshaw, Martha. 2011. *Explaining Terrorism*. New York: Routledge. Chapters 11-12, pp. 193-222.
- Bapat, Navin A. 2006. State Bargaining with Transnational Terrorist Groups. *International Studies Quarterly* 50 (1), pp.213-229.

#### Further Reading:

Jones, Seth G., and Martin C. Libicki. 2008. *How Terrorist Groups End: Lessons for Countering al Qa'ida*. Santa Monica, CA: RAND Corporation.

Chenoweth, Erica, and Maria J. Stephan. 2011. *Why Civil Resistance Works*. New York: Columbia University Press.

Cronin, Audrey Kurth. 2009. *How Terrorism Ends: Understanding the Decline and Demise of Terrorist Campaigns*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.

Blomberg, S. Brock, Rozlyn C. Engel, and Reid Sawyer. 2010. On the Duration and Sustainability of Transnational Terrorist Organizations. *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 54 (2), pp.303-330.

## **Session 12. April 5. Effects of Terrorism on the Economy, Democracy, Human Rights, and Public Opinion**

- Chenoweth, Erica, and Joseph K. Young. 2011. "Resilient Republics: Terrorism's Negligible Effect on Democracy." Unpublished Paper, Wesleyan University and Southern Illinois University.
- Mueller, John. "Six Rather Unusual Propositions about Terrorism" in H&B, Chapter 25, pp.403-419. Originally published in *Terrorism and Political Violence* 17: 4 (2005), pp. 487-505.
- Responses to Mueller in *Terrorism and Political Violence* 17 (4), pp. 507-521.
- Piazza, James A., and James Igoe Walsh. 2009. Transnational Terror and Human Rights. *International Studies Quarterly* 53 (1), pp.125-148.
- Nitsch, Volker, and Dieter Schumacher. 2004. Terrorism and International Trade: An Empirical Investigation. *European Journal of Political Economy* 20 (2), pp.423-433.
- Gupta, Sanjeev, Benedict Clements, Rina Bhattacharya, and Shamit Chakravarti. 2004. Fiscal Consequences of Armed Conflict and Terrorism in Low- and Middle-Income Countries. *European Journal of Political Economy* 20 (2), pp.403-421.
- Gould, Eric D., and Esteban F. Klor. 2010. Does Terrorism Work? *Quarterly Journal of Economics* 125 (4), pp.1459-1510.
- Kibris, Arzu. 2011. Funerals and Elections: The Effects of Terrorism on Voting Behavior in Turkey. *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 55 (2), pp.220-247.
- Criado, Henar. 2011. Bullets and Votes: Public Opinion and Terrorist Strategies. *Journal of Peace Research* 48 (4), pp.497-508.

### Further Reading:

Mueller, John. 2006. *Overblown: How Politicians and the Terrorism Industry Inflate National Security Threats, and Why We Believe Them* Free Press.

Chen, Andrew, and Thomas Siems. 2004. The Effects of Terrorism on Global Capital Markets. *European Journal of Political Economy* 20 (2), pp.349-366.

And other articles in this special issue on the Economic Consequences of Terror. 20 (2) 2004.

Dreher, Axel, Martin Gassebner, and Lars-H. Siemers. 2010. Does Terrorism Threaten Human Rights. *Journal of Law and Economics* 53 (1), pp.65-93.

## **IV. Presentation of Research Papers**

### **Session 13. April 12. Presentations**

Schedule TBA

Reading: draft papers

### **Session 14. April 19. Presentations**

Schedule TBA

Reading: draft papers

### **Session 15. April 26. Presentations**

Schedule TBA

Reading: draft papers

**\*\*Final Paper Due Thursday, May 10, 5pm.\*\***