

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

Spring 2014
Tuesdays 11:00-12:50, IAB 711
office hours: T 1:30-2:30, W 2:00-3:30

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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 then turn to the causes and consequences of terrorism, considering questions such as when, where, and why terrorism occurs; which individuals and which groups resort to terror and why; who are the targets of terrorist attacks; and the effects and effectiveness of terrorism, its consequences 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 = ~175-275pp/week), and having read the week's memo.
- 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 Sunday before the relevant class.
- Coding assignment: measuring the use of terrorism by a non-state actor in the Armed Conflict Dataset. Due February 11.
- Research paper: publishable-quality original research on a topic related to terrorism. A statement of your proposed research question and hypotheses is due March 4. Presentations will take place on April 15, 22, and 29. The final paper is due Tuesday, May 13.

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). Articles, unpublished papers, and book chapters not in the “purchase” books below are available through CourseWorks, in the “Readings” file in Files & Resources.

Purchase:

- Crenshaw, Martha. 2011. *Explaining Terrorism*. New York: Routledge.
ISBN: 978-0-415-78051 \$36.42 (6 chapters assigned)
- Hoffman, Bruce. 2006. *Inside Terrorism*. New York: Columbia University Press.
ISBN: 978-0-231-12699-1 \$24.95 (3-5 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 (7-8 chapters assigned – individual articles also available from e-journals)

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 21. Introduction/Course Logistics

No assigned readings.

Class Discussion: Ethics of Terrorism

Session 2. January 28. How Should We Define Terrorism?

- Hoffman, Bruce. 2006. *Inside Terrorism*. New York: Columbia University Press. Chapters 1-3, pp.1-80 and photos ff. (Read Chapter 1, skim Chapters 2-3)
- Merari, Ariel. 1993. "Terrorism as a Strategy of Insurgency." *Terrorism and Political Violence* 5:4, pp. 213-251. (Skim pp. 231-242, which we revisit later, read the rest).
- 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, pp.47-63.
- De la Calle, L., and I. Sánchez-Cuenca. 2011. "What We Talk About When We Talk About Terrorism." *Politics & Society* 39:3, pp.451-72.
- Herschinger, Eva. 2013. "A Battlefield of Meanings: The Struggle for Identity in the UN Debates on a Definition of International Terrorism." *Terrorism and Political Violence* 25:2, pp.183-201.

Further Reading:

Asal, Victor, ed. 2013. "Killing Civilians or Holding Territory? How to Think About Terrorism." Forum with Asal, de la Calle & Sánchez-Cuenca, Findley, Young, Dugan, LaFree, in *International Studies Review* 14:3, pp.475-497.

Session 3. February 4. How Should We Study Terrorism: Theoretical Approaches

- 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 published 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
- Juergensmeyer, Mark. 2001. "Terror in the Name of God." *Current History* 100:649, pp.355-56.

Further Reading:

Sandler, T. 2013. "The Analytical Study of Terrorism: Taking Stock." *Journal of Peace Research*.

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

Ross, Jeffrey Ian. 1993 "Structural Causes of Oppositional Terrorism: Towards a Causal Model." *Journal of Peace Research* 30:3, pp.317-29.

Oots, Kent Layne. 1989 "Organizational Perspectives on the Formation and Disintegration of Terrorist Groups." *Terrorism* 12, pp.139-52.

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.

Juergensmeyer, Mark. 1997, "Terror Mandated by God." *Terrorism and Political Violence* 9:2, pp.16-23.

Juergensmeyer, Mark. 2003. *Terror in the Mind of God : The Global Rise of Religious Violence*. Comparative Studies in Religion and Society. 3rd ed. Berkeley: University of California Press.

Session 4. February 11. 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.
- Findley, Michael G., and Joseph K. Young. 2012. "Terrorism and Civil War: A Spatial and Temporal Approach to a Conceptual Problem." *Perspectives on Politics* 10:2, pp. 285-305.
- Bahney, Benjamin W., Radha K. Iyengar, Patrick B. Johnston, Danielle F. Jung, Jacob N. Shapiro, and Howard J. Shatz. 2013. "Insurgent Compensation: Evidence from Iraq." *American Economic Review* 103: 3, pp. 518-22.
- Browse datasets, databases, & 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/
 - International Terrorism: Attributes of Terrorist Events (ITERATE) <http://www.icpsr.umich.edu/icpsrweb/ICPSR/studies/07947>
 - Worldwide Incidents Tracking System (WITS) [no longer available online??] <http://www.trackingterrorism.org/resource/us-nctc-worldwide-incidents-tracking-system>
 - <http://www.ctc.usma.edu/programs-resources/harmony-program>

Session 5. February 18. Strategies of Terrorism

- Merari, Ariel. 1993. "Terrorism as a Strategy of Insurgency." *Terrorism and Political Violence* 5:4, pp. 213-251. Revisit pp. 231-238.
- Kydd, Andrew H., and Barbara F. Walter. 2006. "The Strategies of Terrorism." *International Security* 31:1, pp.49-80.
- 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.
- Laitin, David D., and Jacob N. Shapiro. 2008. "The Political, Economic, and Organizational Sources of Terrorism." In *Terrorism, Economic Development, and Political Openness*, Keefer and Loayza. eds. New York: Cambridge UP. pp.209-232
- Findley, Michael G., and Joseph K. Young. 2012. "More Combatant Groups, More Terror? Empirical Tests of an Outbidding Logic." *Terrorism and Political Violence* 24:5, pp.706-21.
- Nemeth, Stephen. Forthcoming "The Effect of Competition on Terrorist Group Operations." *Journal of Conflict Resolution*.
- Kaplan, Morgan. 2013. "How Civilian Perceptions Affect Patterns of Violence and Competition in Multi-Party Insurgencies." Unpublished Paper. University of Chicago.
- Findley, Michael G. , and Joseph K. Young. 2013. "Terrorism, Spoiling, and the Resolution of Civil Wars. Unpublished paper." Unpublished Paper. UT-Austin and American University.
- 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.

Further Reading:

Mao, Tse-Tung. 1937. *On Guerilla Warfare*.

Arreguín-Toft, Ivan. 2001. "How the Weak Win Wars: A Theory of Asymmetric Conflict." *International Security* 26:1, pp.93-128.

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

Overgaard, Per Baltzer. 1994. "The Scale of Terrorist Attacks as a Signal of Resources." *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 38:3, pp.452-478.

Brathwaite, Robert. 2013. "The Electoral Terrorist: Terror Groups and Democratic Participation." *Terrorism and Political Violence* 25:1, pp.53-74.

Session 6. February 25. What Causes Terrorism? Capability and Motivation

- Crenshaw, Martha. *Explaining Terrorism*. Chapters 2 and 12, pp. 34-50 & 206-222. Chapter 2 also appears in H&B Chapter 7, pp. 99-114. Originally published in *Comparative Politics* 13:4 (1981), pp.379-399. Chapter 12 originally published in 1996.
- Goodwin, Jeff. 2006. "A Theory of Categorical Terrorism." *Social Forces* 84:4, pp.2027-2046.
- Wood, R. M. Forthcoming. "Opportunities to Kill or Incentives for Restraint? Rebel Capabilities, the Origins of Support, and Civilian Victimization in Civil War." *Conflict Management and Peace Science*.
- Hendrix, Cullen S., and Joseph K. Young. 2013. "Weapon of the Weak? Assessing the Effects of State Capacity on Terrorism." Unpublished Paper. College of William & Mary and American University.
- Bueno de Mesquita, Ethan. 2013. "Rebel Tactics." *Journal of Political Economy* 121:2, pp. 323-57.
- Abrahms, Max. 2008. "What Terrorists Really Want." *International Security* 32:4, pp.78-105.
- De la Calle, L. and I. Sanchez-Cuenca. 2013. "How Insurgents Fight: Territorial Control and Violent Tactics." Unpublished paper. Centro de Investigación y Docencia Económicas and Juan March-Carlos III Institute.
- Coggins, Bridget. Forthcoming. "Does State Failure cause Terrorism? An Empirical Analysis (1999-2008)." *Journal of Conflict Resolution*.

Further Reading:

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.

Danzell, Orlandrew E. 2011. "Political Parties: When Do They Turn to Terror?" *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 55:1, pp.85-105.

Wood, Reed M. Forthcoming "From Loss to Looting? Battlefield Costs and Rebel Incentives for Violence." *International Organization*.

Various Authors. 2009. "Correspondence: What Makes Terrorists Tick." *International Security* 33, pp.4, pp.180-202. (Response to Abrahms 2008).

Session 7. March 4. Motivation continued: Religion, Secessionism, etc.

****Research Statements Due****

- 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.
- Satana, Nil S., Molly Inman, and Jóhanna Kristín Birnir. 2013. "Religion, Government Coalitions, and Terrorism." *Terrorism and Political Violence* 25:1, pp.29-52.
- Asal, Victor, and R. Karl Rethemeyer. 2008. "The Nature of the Beast: Organizational Structures and the Lethality of Terrorist Attacks." *The Journal of Politics* 70:2, pp. 437-449.
- Stanton, Jessica A. 2013. "Terrorism in the Context of Civil War." *The Journal of Politics* 75:4, pp.1009-22.
- Fazal, Tanisha. 2013. "Secessionism and Civilian Targeting." Unpublished Paper. Notre Dame.
- Fortna, Virginia Page. 2013. "Choosing Terror: Rebels' Use of Terrorism in Internal Armed Conflict 1970-2010." Unpublished Paper. Columbia University.
- Masters, Daniel. 2008. "The Origins of Terrorist Threats: Religious, Separatist, or Something Else?" *Terrorism and Political Violence* 20:3, pp. 369-414.

Further Reading:

Juergensmeyer, Mark. 1997. "Terror Mandated by God." *Terrorism and Political Violence* 9:2, pp.16-23.

Stern, Jessica. 2003. *Terror in the Name of God: Why Religious Militants Kill*. New York: Ecco.

Saggar, Shमित. 2009. "Boomerangs and Slingshots: Radical Islamism and Counter-Terrorism Strategy." *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies* 35:3, pp. 381-402.

Session 8. March 11. Terrorism and Regime Type

- Li, Quan. 2005. "Does Democracy Promote or Reduce Transnational Terrorist Incidents." *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 49:2, pp.278-297.
- Chenoweth, Erica. 2010. "Democratic Competition and Terrorist Activity." *Journal of Politics* 72:1, pp.16-30.
- Ron, James. 2001. "Ideology in Context: Explaining Sendero Luminoso's Tactical Escalation." *Journal of Peace Research* 38:5, pp.569-592.
- Savun, Burcu, and Brian J. Phillips. 2009. "Democracy, Foreign Policy, and Terrorism." *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 53:6, pp.878-904.
- Wilson, Matthew C., and James A. Piazza. 2013. "Autocracies and Terrorism: Conditioning Effects of Authoritarian Regime Type on Terrorist Attacks." *American Journal of Political Science* 57:4, pp. 941-55.
- Dalacoura, Katerina. 2006. "Islamist Terrorism and the Middle East Democratic Deficit: Political Exclusion, Repression and the Causes of Extremism." *Democratization* 13:3, pp.508-25.
- San-Akca, Belgin. Forthcoming. "Democracy and Vulnerability: An Exploitation Theory of Democracies by Terrorists." *Journal of Conflict Resolution*.
- Chenoweth, Erica. 2013. "Terrorism and Democracy." *Annual Review of Political Science* 16:1, pp. 355-78.
- Chenoweth, Erica, and Joseph K. Young. 2011. "Resilient Republics: Terrorism's Negligible Effect on Democracy." Unpublished Paper, Wesleyan University and Southern Illinois University.
- Piazza, James A., and James Igoe Walsh. 2009. Transnational Terror and Human Rights. *International Studies Quarterly* 53:1, pp.125-148.

Further Reading:

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.

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.

Dalacoura, Katerina. *Islamist Terrorism and Democracy in the Middle East*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011.

Heger, Lindsay. 2010. "In the Crosshairs: Explaining Violence against Civilians." Dissertation, University of California, San Diego.

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

Aksoy, Deniz, David B. Carter, and Joseph Wright. 2012. "Terrorism in Dictatorships." *Journal of Politics* 74:3, pp. 810-26.

Session 9. Spring Break

Session 10. March 25. Economic Causes and Effects of Terrorism

- Abadie, Alberto. 2006. "Poverty, Political Freedom, and the Roots of Terrorism." *American Economic Review* 96:2, pp.50-56.
- 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.
- 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.
- Meierrieks, D., and T. Gries. 2013. "Causality between Terrorism and Economic Growth." *Journal of Peace Research* 50:1, pp. 91-104.
- Caruso, Raul, and Friedrich Schneider. 2011. "The Socio-Economic Determinants of Terrorism and Political Violence in Western Europe (1994–2007)." *European Journal of Political Economy* 27, pp.S37-S49.
- 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.
- Blair, Graeme, C. Christine Fair, Neil Malhotra, and Jacob N. Shapiro. 2012. "Poverty and Support for Militant Politics: Evidence from Pakistan." *American Journal of Political Science* 57:1, pp. 30-48.

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.

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.

Li, Quan, and Schaub. 2004. "Economic Globalization and Transnational Terrorist Incidents." *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 48:2, pp.230-258.

Singh, P. 2013. "Impact of Terrorism on Investment Decisions of Farmers: Evidence from the Punjab Insurgency." *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 57:1, pp.143-68.

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.

Session 11. April 1. (When) Is Terrorism Effective?

- Merari, Ariel. 1993. "Terrorism as a Strategy of Insurgency." *Terrorism and Political Violence* 5:4, pp. 213-251. Revisit pp.238-242.
- Abrahms, Max. 2012. "The Political Efficacy of Terrorism Revisited." *Comparative Political Studies*. 43:3, pp.366-93.
- Wood, Reed M., and Jacob D. Kathman. Forthcoming. "Too Much of a Bad Thing? Civilian Victimization and Bargaining in Civil War." *British Journal of Political Science* pp. 1-22.
- Fortna, Virginia Page. 2013. "Do Terrorists Win? Rebels' Use of Terrorism and Civil War Outcomes." Working Paper. Columbia University.
- 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.
- Cronin, Audrey Kurth. 2009. *How Terrorism Ends: Understanding the Decline and Demise of Terrorist Campaigns*. Princeton: Princeton University Press. Chapter 3, pp.73-93.
- Krause, Peter. 2013. "The Political Effectiveness of Non-State Violence: A Two-Level Framework to Transform a Deceptive Debate." *Security Studies* 22:2, pp. 259-94.
- Kibris, Arzu. 2011. "Funerals and Elections: The Effects of Terrorism on Voting Behavior in Turkey." *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 55:2, pp.220-247.
- Lyall, Jason, Graeme Blair, and Kosuke Imai. 2013. "Explaining Support for Combatants During Wartime: A Survey Experiment in Afghanistan." *American Political Science Review* 107:4, pp.679-705.

Further Reading:

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

Maria J. Stephan and Chenoweth, Erica. 2008. "Why Civil Resistance Works: The Strategic Logic of Nonviolent Conflict." *International Security* 33:1, pp.7-44.

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.

- 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.
- 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.
- Bapat, Navin A. 2006. "State Bargaining with Transnational Terrorist Groups." *International Studies Quarterly* 50:1, pp.213-229.
- Mueller, John. "Six Rather Unusual Propositions about Terrorism" in H&B, Chapter25, 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.
- Mueller, John. 2006. *Overblown: How Politicians and the Terrorism Industry Inflate National Security Threats, and Why We Believe Them* Free Press.
- Williams, Laron K., Michael T. Koch, and Jason M. Smith. 2013. "The Political Consequences of Terrorism: Terror Events, Casualties, and Government Duration." *International Studies Perspectives* 14:3, pp. 343-61.
- Gould, Eric D., and Esteban F. Klor. 2010. "Does Terrorism Work?" *Quarterly Journal of Economics* 125:4, pp.1459-1510.
- Criado, Henar. 2011. "Bullets and Votes: Public Opinion and Terrorist Strategies." *Journal of Peace Research* 48:4, pp.497-508.
- de la Calle, Luis, and Ignacio Sánchez-Cuenca. 2013. "Killing and Voting in the Basque Country: An Exploration of the Electoral Link between ETA and Its Political Branch." *Terrorism and Political Violence* 25:1, pp. 94-112.

Session 12. April 8. Suicide Terrorism: (How) Is it Different?

- Hoffman, Bruce. 2006. *Inside Terrorism*. New York: Columbia University Press. Chapter 5, pp.131-171.
- 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.
- Wade, Sarah Jackson, and Dan Reiter. 2007. "Does Democracy Matter? Regime Type and Suicide Terrorism." *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 51:2, pp.329-348.
- Collard-Wexler, S., C. Pischedda, and M. G. Smith. Forthcoming. "Do Foreign Occupations Cause Suicide Attacks?" *Journal of Conflict Resolution*.
- Piazza, James A. 2008. "A Supply-Side View of Suicide Terrorism: A Cross-National Study." *The Journal of Politics* 70:1, pp. 28-39.
- Braun, R., and M. Genkin. Forthcoming. "Cultural Resonance and the Diffusion of Suicide Bombings: The Role of Collectivism." *Journal of Conflict Resolution*.
- Horowitz, Michael. 2010. "Non-State Actors and the Diffusion of Innovations: The Case of Suicide Terrorism." *International Organization* 64:1, pp.33-64.
- Moghadam, Assaf. 2008/2009. "Motives for Martyrdom: Al-Qaida, Salafi Jihad, and the Spread of Suicide Attacks." *International Security* 33:3, pp.46-78.
- Hoffman, Bruce, and McCormick. 2004. "Terrorism, Signaling, and Suicide Attack." *Studies in Conflict & Terrorism* 27:4, pp.243-281. (Read pp.243-256 only – rest reprinted in Hoffman chapter above).
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Further Reading

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III. Presentation of Research Papers

Session 13. April 15. Presentations

Schedule TBA

Reading: draft papers

Session 14. April 22. Presentations

Schedule TBA

Reading: draft papers

Session 15. April 29. Presentations

Schedule TBA

Reading: draft papers

****Final Paper Due Tuesday, May 13, 5pm.****