

Terrorism: Graduate Seminar (PLSC 567-001)
Spring 2020
James A. Piazza
Department of Political Science, Penn State University
Thursdays 9:00 a.m. to 12:00 p.m.
Business Building 009

Office: 330 Pond Lab
Phone: 814.867.4429
Email: jap45@psu.edu
Office Hours: By appointment.

This seminar investigates terrorism: what it is, how and why it is used by nonstate actors, its political, economic and social root causes, its consequences for political, economic and social institutions and outcomes and the implications of current research on terrorism and counterterrorism. The study of terrorism has a long history in the social sciences, but since the 9/11 attacks the terrorism literature, especially in Political Science, has burgeoned. Over the course of this semester, we try to make sense of this newer literature. We will critically evaluate it, noting its contributions, limitations, gaps and opportunities for future discovery.

Note, the contemporary scholarly literature on terrorism makes use of state-of-the-art Political Science research methodologies. What this means is that quite a bit of the literature we read this semester employs quantitative analysis. Prior exposure to quantitative work in the social sciences – either via coursework on statistical analysis or a familiarity with such work – is a real advantage in the class. At a minimum, you must be able to interpret statistical/quantitative results in academic papers. If you have concerns about this, please talk with me before continuing in the seminar.

Readings

The seminar also has a heavy reading load week to week. The specific readings are listed below in the schedule of class meetings. Each week I assign between 4-5 scholarly articles that I expect you to have read thoroughly prior to the class meeting. These readings are posted on Canvas for your convenience. I also have listed optional additional readings each week. These are to give you a deeper list of readings in topics you might have a particular interest in. We will not necessarily discuss these in class. They are supplementary.

Course Requirements

Seminar grades are determined by the following items:

Participation in seminar discussions:	20%
Discussion Leadership:	30%
Research Paper <u>or</u> Research Design <u>or</u> Replication/Extension:	50%

Participation. This class is a seminar, not a lecture. As such, we spend our time discussing the topics and readings and I rely upon the students to be full participants. That means I expect you to come to class having read all of the week's material and prepared to engage in discussion. I expect you to contribute to discussion *each* week. Note that a contribution might take various forms: answering factual questions about the readings for the week, making comments on the readings, talking about larger themes in the class, posing good, thoughtful questions about the readings or about the material. The seminar is small, and it will be noticeable if you have not prepared and are silent!

I also expect your participation in the seminar to be respectful, civil and productive. Hostile, tangential, unserious and unprofessional discourse or conduct will not be tolerated!

Discussion Leadership. During the semester, you will serve as discussion leader for the readings for one or more weeks. This will involve your leading the seminar discussion of the assigned material for that week. Early in the semester, I will pass out a sign-up sheet for you to select the week or weeks that you will serve as discussion leader. As discussion leader, I will ask you to prepare comments on all of the assigned readings – particularly the main arguments made in the readings, the basic outline of the research design and the conclusions reached – and deliver them to the seminar participants. Be prepared to answer any questions that may arise about the readings. I would also ask that you prepare some critical remarks on the readings or some ideas on how the readings could inform future scholarship.

I have prepared a brief “Guide for Discussing Assigned Readings” and have added it to the syllabus. Please use it when preparing your remarks on the readings when you are serving as discussion leader.

I also ask you to prepare a brief set of 4-7 questions or main points on the readings (one typed page) and send them to me by **12:00 noon on Wednesday** before the seminar meeting. I will distribute these to the seminar on the day we meet. We will use these to inform our seminar discussion.

Research Paper / Research Design / Replication or Extension

There are three ways you can satisfy the written requirements of the seminar. Please choose from one of the following:

1. *Research Design.* You may opt to write a research design on a particular relevant topic. For the research design, develop a hypothesis or set of hypotheses, derived from the topics and themes we cover this semester and grounded in the relevant literature, and then design an appropriate research/analysis strategy to test the hypothesis or hypotheses. You will not actually conduct the analysis, but rather will produce a strong defense of the analytical strategy you propose to pursue. You are free to use whatever research methodology you feel is best able to test your hypothesis(es), including qualitative comparative case studies, cross-sectional or time series regression analysis, etc. The research design should include an introduction, a literature review, theory section, presentation of the hypotheses, an analysis section where you lay out your test and a short

conclusion where you discuss how your findings might contribute to the wider field, or future research directions. You may use some of the readings we cover to get ideas on how to structure each of these sections, what tests might be appropriate, etc. Note, if you opt to use case studies, I will expect you will have a reasoned strategy for selecting the cases. If you opt to use quantitative analysis, I will expect a strong rationale for the data you propose to use and for the empirical tests you employ.

2. *Replication/Extension Study.* For this option you select one of the pieces we read this semester and either attempt to *replicate* (rerun the analysis to see if you can produce the same results) or *extend* (add to the study in a small way by, for example, extending the time series, looking at a different time period, changing how a key variable was measured or adding a new relevant variable) the findings. This option requires you to think about how the way a study we have read was set up and conducted and how the results might be affected by changes in the research design. The replication/extension study should, however, be more than an arbitrary change in the empirics of a piece we have read. It should include a theory, literature and hypothesis section that makes the case for why it is important to revisit the study and change the specification of the analysis in the way you do. The conclusion will spell out the scholarly and, if relevant, policy implications of the new version of the study. If you opt to do a replication or extension study, make sure to select a project that you will be able to acquire data for and leave yourself enough time to get the data. [Note, replication/extension studies very well may produce the same core results as in the original study. This is perfectly acceptable. The conclusion to such an outcome would attest to the robustness of the original study.]
3. *Research Paper.* For this option, you will develop an original hypothesis or set of hypotheses, drawn from the themes we explore this semester and placed within the context of the relevant literature, select an appropriate method of analysis – again, this can be quantitative/empirical, qualitative case studies, whatever suits – conduct the analysis, interpret the results and then conclude with scholarly and other implications. Note, this option may require you to invest some time in putting together data, if you opt to do a quantitative/empirical piece, which can be time-consuming. That means it pays to get to work early on identifying available data early. A good strategy might be to use the framework of an existing study that utilizes easily available data; for example, a published piece that has data available online.

The research designs, replication papers and research papers should be between 20 and 40 pages all inclusive (abstract, bibliography, tables, appendix, etc.) They should be formatted to APSA guidelines. **They are due by 12:00 noon on May 7.**

I encourage you to discuss your plans for your research paper, design or replication/extension over the course of the semester. It is a good idea to clear ideas with me ahead of time and check in with me from time to time on your progress.

Grading Scale: Course grades are calculated using the following grading scale:

A = 94 to 100
A- = 90 to 93
B+ = 87 to 89
B = 83 to 86
B- = 80 to 82
C+ = 77 to 79
C = 70 to 76
D = 60 to 69
F = 59 and below

Please note that The Penn State grading scale does not allow the option of awarding grades of C-, D+ or D- grades.

Late Policy: All assigned course materials will be penalized by one grade-point average for every working day (defined as a day on which Penn State holds classes) that they are not turned in. This means that the work is an automatic F if it is five or more days late. This policy applies to discussion leader questions/notes, the research paper, research designs and the reaction/thought papers. All of these are due in class on the days indicated. Extensions are obtainable only for personal illness or family emergency, and then only if you have proper documentation. Please note that outside commitments are never an excuse for lateness.

Deferred Grade Policy: No student will be given a grade of “DF” (Deferred Grade) unless she or he fits the following criteria: 1) the request is being made due to serious medical or personal emergency that will prevent you from finishing the class; 2) this emergency is properly documented; 3) the student is passing the class prior to the request; 4) the request is submitted as soon as the emergency arises. Note, poor performance in the class or fear that you will receive an F is not a sufficient reason to ask for an incomplete.

Inclement Weather: The course will abide by the University’s inclement weather policies. Simply, if Penn State is closed due to weather, we do not meet and the class is cancelled. Please consult the Penn State website or the university weather hotline to see if classes have been cancelled.

Statement on Academic Integrity

Academic integrity is the pursuit of scholarly activity in an open, honest and responsible manner. Academic integrity is a basic guiding principle for all academic activity at The Pennsylvania State University, and all members of the University community are expected to act in accordance with this principle. Consistent with this expectation, the University’s Code of Conduct states that all students should act with personal integrity, respect other students’ dignity, rights and property, and help create and maintain an environment in which all can succeed through the fruits of their efforts.

Academic integrity includes a commitment by all members of the University community not to engage in or tolerate acts of falsification, misrepresentation or deception. Such acts of dishonesty violate the fundamental ethical principles of the University community and compromise the worth of work completed by others.

The College of Liberal Arts policy on academic dishonesty is strictly enforced in the class. Consequently, all forms of academic dishonesty including but not limited to plagiarism, cheating or misrepresentation of work will be prosecuted. A full description of College policies and procedures regarding academic dishonesty can be found at CLA Academic Integrity website (<http://www.la.psu.edu/current-students/student-services/academic-integrity>).

I will be requiring students to upload their papers/research designs/replications/extensions to turnitin.com to be checked for plagiarism.

Students with Disabilities

Penn State welcomes students with disabilities into the University's educational programs. Every Penn State campus has an office for students with disabilities. Student Disability Resources (SDR) website provides contact information for every Penn State campus (<http://equity.psu.edu/sdr/disability-coordinator>). For further information, please visit the Student Disability Resources website (<http://equity.psu.edu/sdr/>).

In order to receive consideration for reasonable accommodations, you must contact the appropriate disability services office at the campus where you are officially enrolled, participate in an intake interview, and provide documentation: See documentation guidelines at (<http://equity.psu.edu/sdr/guidelines>). If the documentation supports your request for reasonable accommodations, your campus disability services office will provide you with an accommodation letter. Please share this letter with your instructors and discuss the accommodations with them as early as possible. You must follow this process for every semester that you request accommodations.

All students, regardless of ability, are welcome in the class. However, if you have a disability that you require an accommodation for, you must follow university procedures. You must contact a campus disability coordinator, obtain an accommodation letter and then bring it to me. The accommodation letter will help to spell out what sorts of accommodations I will be able to make for you for the class. Please, bring me your accommodation letter as early in the semester as absolutely possible. Please try to do this well in advance of the mid-term exam. This will better enable me to plan for your accommodation.

Counseling and Psychological Services Statement

Many students at Penn State face personal challenges or have psychological needs that may interfere with their academic progress, social development, or emotional wellbeing. The university offers a variety of confidential services to help you through difficult times, including individual and group counseling, crisis intervention, consultations, online chats, and mental health screenings. These services are provided by staff who welcome all students and embrace a

philosophy respectful of clients' cultural and religious backgrounds, and sensitive to differences in race, ability, gender identity and sexual orientation. Counseling and Psychological Services at University Park (CAPS) (<http://studentaffairs.psu.edu/counseling/>): 814-863-0395 Counseling and Psychological Services at Commonwealth Campuses (<http://senate.psu.edu/faculty/counseling-services-at-commonwealth-campuses/>)

Penn State Crisis Line (24 hours/7 days/week): 877-229-6400 Crisis Text Line (24 hours/7 days/week): Text LIONS to 741741.

Education Equity/Report Bias Statement

Penn State takes great pride to foster a diverse and inclusive environment for students, faculty, and staff. Consistent with University Policy AD29, students who believe they have experienced or observed a hate crime, an act of intolerance, discrimination, or harassment that occurs at Penn State are urged to report these incidents as outlined on the University's Report Bias webpage (<http://equity.psu.edu/reportbias/>)

Schedule of Seminar Meetings

1/16 Introduction to the Seminar, Seminar Policies

Readings: None. We will discuss the class and its policies.

1/23 Defining Terrorism

Readings:

Todd Sandler. 2019. "A Primer on Terrorism." *Terrorism: What Everyone Needs to Know*. Oxford University Press.

Luis de la Calle and Ignacio Sanchez-Cuenca. 2011. "What We Talk About When We Talk About Terrorism." *Politics and Society*. 39(3): 451-472.

Joseph Young. 2019. "Measuring Terrorism." *Terrorism and Political Violence*. 31(2): 323-345.

Brian J. Phillips. 2014. "What is a Terrorist Group?: Conceptual Issues and Empirical Implications." *Terrorism and Political Violence*. 27(2): 225-242.

Vito D'Orazio and Idean Salehyan. 2018. "Who is a Terrorist? Ethnicity, Group Affiliation, and Understandings of Political Violence." *International Interactions*. 44(6): 1017-1039.

Optional Further Readings:

- Charles Tilly. 2004. "Terror, Terrorism, Terrorists." *Sociological Review* 22(1): 5-13.
- Joseph K. Young and Steve Shellman. 2019. "Protestors, Terrorists or Something Else? How to Think About Dissident Groups." *Conflict Management and Peace Science*. doi.org/10.1177/0738894219881425.
- Victor Asal, Luis De La Calle, Michael Findley and Joseph Young. 2012. "Killing Civilians or Holding Territory?: How to Think About Terrorism." *International Studies Review*. 14(3): 475-497.
- Connor Huff and Joshua D. Kertzer. 2018. "How the Public Defines Terrorism." *American Journal of Political Science*. 62(1): 55-71.

1/30 Challenges of Terrorism Research

Readings:

- Ignacio Sanchez-Cuenca. 2014. "Why Do We Know So Little About Terrorism?" *International Interactions*. 40(4): 590-601.
- Joseph K. Young and Michael Findley. 2011. "Promise and Pitfalls of Terrorism Research." *International Studies Review*. 13(3): 411-431.
- Joshua D. Freilich, Steven M. Chermak and Jeff Gruenwald. 2014. "The Future of Terrorism: A Review Essay." *International Journal of Comparative and Applied Criminal Justice*. 39(4): 353-369.
- Neil G. Bowie. 2017. "Terrorism Events Data: An Inventory of Databases and Data Sets, 1968-2017." *Perspectives on Terrorism*. 11(4) Online article available at: <http://www.terrorismanalysts.com/pt/index.php/pot/article/view/622>

Databases. Investigate the following:

- Global Terrorism Database (GTD): <https://www.start.umd.edu/gtd>
- Other START Center Data and Tools: <http://www.start.umd.edu/data-and-tools/start-datasets>
- Big , Allied and Dangerous (BAAD), TORG crosswalk tool: <http://www.albany.edu/pvc/data.shtml>
- RAND Database of Worldwide Terrorism Incidents: <http://www.rand.org/nsrd/projects/terrorism-incidents/download.html>

Look over: Dongfang Hou, Khusrav Gaibulloev and Todd Sandler. 2019. "Introducing Extended Data on Terrorist Groups (EDTG), 1970-2016." *Journal of Conflict Resolution*. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0022002719857145>.

Optional Further Readings:

- Jeffrey Ian Ross. 2004. "Taking Stock of Research Methods and Analysis on Oppositional Political Terrorism." *The American Sociologist*. 35(2): 26-37.
- Marc Sageman. 2014. "The Stagnation in Terrorism Research." *Terrorism and Political Violence*. 26(4): 565-580.
- Bart Schuurman. 2018. "Research on Terrorism, 2007-2016: A Review of Data, Methods, and Authorship." *Terrorism and Political Violence*. DOI: 10.1080/09546553.2018.1439023.

2/6 Theories, Motivations and Strategies of Terrorism

Readings:

- Crenshaw, Martha. 1981. "The Causes of Terrorism." *Comparative Politics* 13(4): 379-399.
- Pape, Robert. 2003. "The Strategic Logic of Suicide Terrorism." *American Political Science Review*. 97(3): 343-361.
- Kydd, Andrew and Barbara Walter. 2006. "The Strategies of Terrorism." *International Security*. 31(1): 49-80.
- Abrahms, Max. 2008. "What Terrorists Really Want: Terrorist Motives and Counterterrorism Policy." *International Security*. 32(4): 78-105.
- Page Fortna. 2015. "Is Terrorism Really a Weapon of the Weak?: Testing the Conventional Wisdom." Unpublished paper.

Optional Further Readings:

- "Correspondence: What Makes Terrorists Tick." 2009. *International Security*. 33(4): 180-202.
- Friedrich Schneider, Tilman Bruck and Daniel Meierrieks. 2014. "The Economics of Counterterrorism: A Survey." *Journal of Economic Surveys*. 29(1): 131-157.
- Ryan Bakker, Daniel Hill and Will Moore. 2016. "How Much Terror?: Dissidents, Governments, Institutions and the Cross-national Study of Terror Attacks." *Journal of Peace Research*. 53(5): 711-726.
- Benjamin Acosta. 2016. "Dying for Survival: Why Militant Organizations Continue to Conduct Suicide Attacks." *Journal of Peace Research*.
<https://doi.org/10.1177/0022343315618001>.
- David B. Carter. 2016. "Provocation and the Strategy of Terrorist and Guerrilla Attacks." *International Organization*. 70(1): 133-173.
- Victor Asal, Aaron M. Hoffman. 2016. "Media Effects: Do Terrorist Organizations Launch Foreign Attacks in Response to Levels of Press Freedom or Press Attention?" *Conflict Management and Peace Science*.
<https://doi.org/10.1177/0738894215579622>.

2/13 Individual-Level Studies of Terrorism

Readings:

- Thomas Hegghammer. 2013. "Should I Stay or Should I Go?: Explaining Variation in Western Jihadist's Choice Between Domestic and Foreign Fighting." *American Political Science Review*. 107(1): 1-15.
- Merari, Ariel et al. 2009. "Personality Characteristics of 'Self Martyrs' / 'Suicide Bombers' and Organizers of Suicide Attacks." *Terrorism and Political Violence*. 22(1): 87-101.
- Kirill Zhirkov, Maykel Verkuyten and Jeroen Weesie. 2014. "Perception of World Politics and Support for Terrorism Among Muslims: Evidence from Muslim Countries and Western Europe." *Conflict Management and Peace Science*. 31(5): 481-501.
- Mary Beth Altier, Emma Leonard Boyle, Neil D. Shortland and John G. Horgan. 2017. "Why They Leave: An Analysis of Terrorist Disengagement from Eighty-Seven Autobiographical Accounts." *Security Studies*. 26(2): 305-332.

Optional Further Readings:

- Reinares, Fernando. 2004. "Who Are the Terrorists?: Analyzing Changes in Sociological Profile Among Members of ETA." 2004. *Studies in Conflict and Terrorism*. 27(6): 465-488.
- David Webber and Arie W. Kruglanski. 2018. "The Social Psychological Makings of a Terrorist." *Current Opinion in Psychology*. 19: 131-134.
- Jeff Victoroff. 2005. "The Mind of the Terrorist: A Review and Critique of Psychological Approaches." *Journal of Conflict Resolution*. 49(1): 3-42.
- Paul Gill, John Horgan and Paige Deckert. 2014. "Bombing Alone: Tracing the Motivations and Antecedent Behaviors of Lone-Actor Terrorists." *Journal of Forensic Sciences*. 59(2): 425-435.
- Paul Gill and John Horgan. 2013. "Who Were the Volunteers?: The Shifting Sociological and Operational Profile of 1,240 Provisional Irish Republican Army Members." *Terrorism and Political Violence*. 25(3): 435-456.

2/20 Terrorist Groups, Group and Organizational Studies of Terrorism

Readings:

- Asal, Victor and Karl Rethemeyer. 2008. "The Nature of the Beast: Organizational Structures and the Lethality of Terrorist Attacks." *Journal of Politics*. 70(2): 437-449.
- Joshua Kilberg. 2012. "A Basic Model Explaining Terrorist Group Organizational Structure." *Studies in Conflict and Terrorism*. 35(11): 810-830.

Khusrav Gaibulloev and Todd Sandler. 2013. "Determinants of the Demise of Terrorist Organizations." *Southern Economic Journal*. 79(4): 774-792.

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

Optional Further Readings:

Robert Braithwaite. 2013. "The Electoral Terrorist: Terror Groups and Democratic Participation." *Terrorism and Political Violence*. 25(1): 53-74.

Brian Phillips. 2014. "Terrorist Group Cooperation and Longevity." *International Studies Quarterly*. 58: 336-347.

Brian Phillips. 2019. "Do 90 Percent of Terrorist Groups Last Less than a Year?: Updating the Conventional Wisdom." *Terrorism and Political Violence*. 31(6): 1255-1265.

James A. Piazza. 2018. "Transnational Ethnic Diasporas and the Survival of Terrorist Organizations." *Security Studies*. 27(4): 607-632.

William A. Wagstaff and Danielle F. Jung. 2017. "Competing for Constituents: Trends in Terrorist Service Provision." *Terrorism and Political Violence*.
<https://doi.org/10.1080/09546553.2017.1368494>.

2/27 Poverty, Deprivation, Material Grievances, Socioeconomic Causes of Terrorism

Readings:

Krueger, Alan and Jitka Maleckova. 2003. "Education, Poverty and Terrorism: Is There a Causal Connection?" *Journal of Economic Perspectives*. 17(4): 119-144.

Bueno de Mesquita, Ethan. 2005. "The Quality of Terror." *American Journal of Political Science*. 49(3): 515-530.

Burgoon, Brian. 2006. "On Welfare and Terror: Social Welfare Policies and Political-Economic Roots of Terrorism." *Journal of Conflict Resolution*. 50(2): 176-203

Walt Enders, Gary A. Hoover and Todd Sandler. 2016. "The Changing Nonlinear Relationship between Income and Terrorism." *Journal of Conflict Resolution*.
<https://doi.org/10.1177/0022002714535252>

Optional Further Readings:

Piazza, James. 2011. "Poverty, Minority Economic Discrimination and Terrorism." *Journal of Peace Research*. 48(3): 339-353.

Berman, Eli et. al. 2011. "Do Working Men Rebel?: Insurgency and Unemployment in Afghanistan, Iraq and the Philippines." *Journal of Conflict Resolution*. 55(4): 496-528.

Tim Krieger and Daniel Meierrieks. 2019. "Income Inequality, Redistribution and Domestic Terrorism." *World Development*. 116: 125-136.

3/5 Democracy, Regime-Type and Terrorism

Readings:

Windsor, Jennifer. 2003. "Promoting Democratization Can Combat Terrorism." *The Washington Quarterly*. 26(3): 43-58.

Eyerman, Joe. 1998. "Terrorism and Democratic States: Soft Targets or Accessible Systems?" *International Interactions*. 24(2): 151-170.

Khusrav Gaibulloev, James A. Piazza, Todd Sandler. 2017. "Regime Types and Terrorism." *International Organization*. 71(3): 491-522.

Deniz Aksoy, David Carter and Joseph Wright. 2012. "Terrorism in Dictatorships." *The Journal of Politics*. 74(3): 810-826.

Optional Further Readings:

Alex P. Schmid. 1992. "Terrorism and Democracy." *Terrorism and Political Violence*. 4(4): 14-25.

Kristian Skrede Gleditsch and Sara Polo. 2016. "Ethnic Inclusion, Democracy and Terrorism." *Public Choice*. 169(3): 207-299.

Deniz Aksoy, David B. Carter and Joseph Wright. 2015. "Terrorism and the Fate of Dictators." *World Politics*. 67(3): 423-468.

Matthew Wilson and James A. Piazza. 2013. "Autocracies and Terrorism: Conditioning Effects of Authoritarian Regime Type on Terrorist Attacks." *American Journal of Political Science*. 57(4): 941-955.

Chenoweth, Erica. 2013. "Terrorism and Democracy" *Annual Review of Political Science*. 16: 355-378.

Li, Quan. 2005. "Does Democracy Promote or Reduce Transnational Terrorist Incidents?" *Journal of Conflict Resolution*. 49(2): 278-297.

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

Enders, Walter and Todd Sandler. 2011. "The Dilemma of Liberal Democracies," in *The Political Economy of Terrorism*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Sara Jackson Wade and Dan Reiter. 2007. "Does Democracy Matter?: Regime Type and Suicide Terrorism." *Journal of Conflict Resolution*. 51(2): 329-348.

3/12 Spring Break, Seminar does not meet.

3/19 Repression, Human Rights and Terrorism

Readings:

- James I. Walsh and James A. Piazza. 2010. "Why Respecting Physical Integrity Rights Reduces Terrorism." *Comparative Political Studies*. 43(5): 551-557.
- Ursula Daxecker and Michael Hess. 2013. "Repression Hurts: Coercive Government Responses and the Demise of Terrorist Campaigns." *British Journal of Political Science*. 43(3): 559-577.
- Dugan, Laura and Erica Chenoweth. 2012. "Moving Beyond Deterrence: The Effectiveness of Raising Expected Utility of Abstaining from Terrorism in Israel." *American Sociological Review*. 77(4): 597-624.
- Erin M. Kearns and Joseph K. Young. 2017. "If Torture is Wrong: What about 24?: Torture and the Hollywood Effect." *Crime and Delinquency*.
<https://doi.org/10.1177/0011128717738230>.

Optional Further Readings:

- Seung-Whan Choi. 2010. "Fighting Terrorism Through the Rule of Law?" *Journal of Conflict Resolution*. 54(6): 940-966.
- Ursula Daxecker. 2017. "Dirty Hands: Government Torture and Terrorism." *Journal of Conflict Resolution*. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0022002715603766>.
- Piazza, James. 2017. "Repression and Terrorism: A Cross-National Empirical Analysis of Types of Repression and Domestic Terrorism." *Terrorism and Political Violence*. 29(1): 102-118.
- Peter S. Henne. 2019. "Government Interference in Religious Institutions and Terrorism." *Religion, State and Society*. 47(1): 67-86.
- Courtenay R. Conrad, Justin Conrad, James Igoe Walsh and James A. Piazza. 2017. "Who Tortures the Terrorists?: Transnational Terrorism and Military Torture." *Foreign Policy Analysis*. 13(4): 761-786.
- James A. Piazza and James I. Walsh. 2009. "Transnational Terrorism and Human Rights." *International Studies Quarterly*. 53(1): 125-148.
- James A. Piazza. 2015. "Terrorist Suspect Religious Identity and Public Support for Harsh Interrogation and Detention Practices." *Political Psychology*. 36(6): 667-690.

3/26 Religion, Religious Extremism and Terrorism

Readings:

- Duyvesteyn, Isabelle. 2004. "How New is the New Terrorism?" *Studies in Conflict and Terrorism*. 27: 439-454.

- Henne, Peter. 2012. "The Ancient Fire: Religion and Suicide Terrorism." *Terrorism and Political Violence*. 24(1): 38-60.
- Moghadam, Assaf. 2009. "Motives for Martyrdom: Al-Qaida, Salafi Jihad and the Spread of Suicide Attacks." *International Security*. 33(3): 46-78.
- Fair, Christine, Neil Malhotra and Jacob Shapiro. 2012. "Faith or Doctrine?: Religion and Support for Political Violence in Pakistan." *Public Opinion Quarterly*. 76(4): 688-720.

Optional Further Readings:

- James Piazza. 2009. "Is Islamist Terrorism More Dangerous?: An Empirical Study of Group Ideology, Organization and Goal Structure." *Terrorism and Political Violence*. 21(1): 62-88.
- Graig Klein. 2015. "Ideology Isn't Everything: Transnational Terrorism, Recruitment Incentives, and Attack Casualties." *Terrorism and Political Violence*. 28(5): 868-887.
- Alon Burstein. 2016. "Armies of God: A Global Comparison of Secular and Religions Terror Organizations." *Terrorism and Political Violence*. Forthcoming, published online ahead of print. Feb 10.
- Nil Satana, Molly Inman and Johanna Kirstin Birnir. 2013. "Religion, Government Coalitions and Terrorism." *Terrorism and Political Violence*. 25(1): 29-52.
- Sabri Ciftci, Becky J. O'Donnell and Allison Tanner. 2017. "Who Favors al-Qaeda?: Anti-Americanism, Religious Outlooks and Favorable Attitudes Toward Terrorist Organizations." *Political Research Quarterly*. 70(3): 480-494.
- Matthew D.M. Francis. 2016. "Why the 'Sacred' is a Better Resource than 'Religion' for Understanding Terrorism." *Terrorism and Political Violence*. 28(5): 919-927.

4/2 Terrorism and State Failure, Political Instability, Intrastate War

Readings:

- Bridget Coggins. 2015. "Does State Failure Cause Terrorism?: An Empirical Analysis (1999-2008)." *Journal of Conflict Resolution*. 59(3): 455-483.
- Cullen Hendrix and Joseph K. Young. 2014. "State Capacity and Terrorism: A Two-Dimensional Approach." *Security Studies*. 23(2): 329-363.
- Michael J. Schumacher and Peter J. Schraeder. 2019. "Does Domestic Political Instability Foster Terrorism?: Global Evidence from the Arab Spring Era (2011-2014)." *Studies in Conflict and Terrorism*. <https://doi.org/10.1080/1057610X.2018.1538124>.
- Jessica Stanton. 2013. "Terrorism in the Context of Civil War." *Journal of Politics*. 75(4): 1009-1022.

Optional Further Readings:

- Justin George Kappiaruparampil. 2016. "State Failure and Transnational Terrorism: An Empirical Analysis." *Journal of Conflict Resolution*. Forthcoming and published online.
- Michael G. Findley and Joseph K. Young. 2012. "Terrorism and Civil War: A Spatial and Temporal Approach to a Conceptual Problem." *Perspectives on Politics*. 10(2): 285-305.
- Rotberg, Robert. 2002. "Failed States in a World of Terror." *Foreign Affairs*. 81(4): 127-140.
- Takeyh, Ray and Nikolas Gvosdev. 2002. "Do Terrorist Networks Need a Home?" *The Washington Quarterly*. 25(3): 97-108.

4/9 Research Paper Workshop

Readings:

None

For this class meeting, we will workshop our paper ideas. Please submit a brief (1 page) abstract or short description of your planned research paper, research design or extension/replication study to me via email by 12:00 noon on Tuesday, April 7. I will distribute it to the class. Please come to class prepared to discuss your paper, design or extension/replication. Please also look over the abstracts/descriptions of your classmate's papers so that you are prepared to offer feedback.

4/16 Terrorism and International Relations

Readings:

- Thomas Plümper and Eric Neumayer. 2010. "The Friend of my Enemy is my Enemy: International Alliances and International Terrorism." *European Journal of Political Research*. 49(1): 75-96.
- Savun, Burcu and Brian Phillips. 2009. "Democracy, Foreign Policy and Terrorism." *Journal of Conflict Resolution*. 53(6): 878-904.
- Justin Conrad. 2011. "Interstate Rivalry and Terrorism: An Unprobed Link." *Journal of Conflict Resolution*. 55(4): 529-555.
- Justin Conrad and James Igoe Walsh. "International Cooperation, Spoiling and Transnational Terrorism." *International Interactions*. 40: 453-476.

Optional Further Readings:

- Michael Findley, James A. Piazza and Joseph K. Young. 2012. "Games Rivals Play: Terrorism in International Rivalries." *Journal of Politics*. 74(1): 235-248.
- Quan Li and Drew Schaub. 2004. "Economic Globalization and Transnational Terrorism: A Pooled Time-Series Analysis." *Journal of Conflict Resolution*. 48(2): 230-258.
- Navin A. Bapat, Luis De La Calle, Kaisa H. Hinkkainen and Elena V. McLean. 2016. "Economic Sanctions, Transnational Terrorism and the Incentive to Misrepresent." *Journal of Politics*. 78(1): 249-264.
- Khusrav Gaibullov and Todd Sandler. 2019. "Terrorism and Affinity of Nations." *Public Choice*. 178(3-4): 329-347.

4/23 Terrorism and Policy

Readings:

- Azam, Jean-Paul and Veronique Thelen. 2010. "Foreign Aid vs. Military Intervention in the War on Terror." *Journal of Conflict Resolution*. 54(2): 237-261.
- Andrew Boutton. 2014. "US Foreign Aid, Interstate Rivalry and Incentives for Counterterrorism Cooperation." *Journal of Conflict Resolution*. 51(6): 741-754.
- Patrick Johnson and Anop Sarbahi. 2016. "The Impact of US Drone Strikes on Terrorism in Pakistan." *International Studies Quarterly*. 60(2): 203-219.
- Tobias Böhmelt and Vincenzo Bove. 2017. "How Migration Policies Moderate the Diffusion of Terrorism." *European Journal of Political Research*.
<https://doi.org/10.1111/1475-6765.12339>.

Optional Further Readings:

- James A. Piazza and Seung-Whan Choi. 2018. "International Military Interventions and Transnational Terrorist Backlash." *International Studies Quarterly*. 62(3): 686-695.
- Whan Choi and James Piazza. 2015. "Foreign Military Interventions and Suicide Attacks." *Journal of Conflict Resolution*. 62(2): 271-297.
- Jenna Jordan. 2009. "When Heads Roll: Assessing the Effectiveness of Leadership Decapitation." *Security Studies*. 18(4): 719-755.
- Seung-Whan Choi and Idean Salehyan. 2013. "No Good Deed Goes Unpunished: Refugees, Humanitarian Aid and Terrorism." *Conflict Management and Peace Science*. 30(1): 53-75.
- Dov Levin. 2018. "Voting for Trouble?: Partisan Electoral Interventions and Domestic Terrorism." *Terrorism and Political Violence*.
<https://doi.org/10.1080/09546553.2017.1383243>.
- Brian J. Phillips. 2019. "Foreign Terrorist Organization Designation, International Cooperation and Terrorism." *International Interactions*. 45(2): 316-343.

Burcu Savun and Daniel C. Tirone. 2018. "Foreign Aid as a Counterterrorism Tool: More Liberty, Less Terror?" *Journal of Conflict Resolution*. 62(8): 1607-1635.

4/30 Costs and Consequences of Terrorism

Readings:

Mueller, John. 2005. "Six Rather Unusual Propositions About Terrorism." *Terrorism and Political Violence*. 17(4): 487-505.

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

Berrebi, Claude and Esteban Klor. 2008. "Are Voters Sensitive to Terrorism?: Direct Evidence from the Israeli Electorate." *American Political Science Review*. 102(3): 279-301.

Enders, Walt and Todd Sandler. 2011. "Chapter 10: The Economic Impact of Terrorism." *The Political Economy of Terrorism*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. 288-316.

5/7 Research Papers, Research Designs, Replication/Extension Papers Due

Guide for Discussing Assigned Readings

When serving as the discussion leader on your assigned week, prepare brief answers to the following questions for each assigned piece:

- Who is/are the author/authors? Affiliations?
- What is the main argument, research question, theory tested?
- What is the intended contribution to the literature?
- What is the methodology employed? (If applicable)
- What are the findings? (If applicable)
- What are the implications of the findings for the discipline and for the study of terrorism?
- What are some critical observations you might have about the study? (Is the question pertinent, unique and significant? Is the literature properly covered? Is the theory properly developed? Do the hypotheses follow from the theory? Are the hypotheses properly tested? Are the results properly interpreted?)