

Terrorism: Graduate Seminar (PLSC 597-001)
Spring 2017
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Wednesdays 1:00 to 4:00 p.m., 303 Rackley

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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 to political, economic and social institutions and outcomes and the implications of current research on terrorism and counterterrorism. The study of terrorism has a long pedigree 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 (post 9/11) 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 Political Science – either via coursework on statistical analysis or a familiarity with such work – is a real advantage in the class. What you really need to be able to do is to read tabulated statistical / quantitative results. 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 4-6 scholarly articles that I expect you to have read thoroughly prior to the class meeting. These readings are posted on the Angel site for the seminar. Some weeks, I have listed optional additional readings. These are for students who have a particular interest in that week's theme and wish to do additional readings beyond what we will discuss in class.

Course Requirements

Seminar grades are determined by the following items:

Participation in seminar discussions	20%
Discussion Leadership	20%
3 Response Papers or Research Design or Replication Study or Research Paper	60%

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 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 posted it on Angel. 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 questions or main points on the readings (one typed page) and send them to me by 5pm on Monday 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.

Response Papers / Research Design / Replication Study / Original Analysis

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

1. *3 Response Papers.* You may opt to write three response papers in reaction to a week's topic or theme over the course of the semester. You may select any three weeks in the semester, but you may not select a week that you are serving as the presenter. The response papers are 5-10 page, double spaced analyses of the assigned readings and the general topic covered in a week. In your response papers briefly summarize the theme or topic of the week and note the contributions made by the readings for that week. Critically evaluate the theory, logic, research design and conclusions of the readings for the week. Finally, suggest and briefly discuss one or more alternative hypotheses that you would want to test to further scholarly understanding of the topic. I want you to be critical in these response papers, but try to keep your criticism constructive. What might be done to follow up on the literature you evaluate that would further understanding of terrorism? **Response papers are due at the beginning of class for the week selected.**
2. *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. **Research designs are due at the beginning of class on April 26.**
3. *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.] **Replication studies are due at the beginning of class on April 26.**

4. *Original Analysis.* For this option, you will develop a new 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. **Original analyses are due at the beginning of class on April 26.**

As previously stated, the three response papers should be between 5 and 10 pages (double-spaced, typed, standard margins) each.

The research designs, replication papers and original analyses should be between 20 and 40 pages all inclusive (abstract, bibliography, tables, appendix, etc.) If you are interested in doing a research design, replication paper or original analyses, please meet with me early in the semester to discuss the project.

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.

Incomplete Policy: No student will be given a grade of “DF” (Deferred Grade / Incomplete) 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; the request is submitted as soon as the emergency arises. Note, poor performance in the class or fear that you will receive a low grade is not a sufficient reason to ask for an incomplete.

Statement on Academic Dishonesty

The College of Liberal Arts policy on academic dishonesty is strictly enforced in the class. Consequently, all forms of academic dishonest including plagiarism, cheating or misrepresentation of work and behavior 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>).

Some of the important language from the College Statement on Academic Dishonesty is:

The University’s ability to achieve its mission depends upon the quality and integrity of the intellectual work performed by all of its faculty and students. All members of the University at all times must take full responsibility for the integrity and basic honesty of the expression and communication of their thoughts.

Accordingly, individual faculty and students are never permitted to take credit for or represent as one’s own work anything that in fact is the work of other persons, whether classmates, published authors, or anonymous contributors on the Internet. Academic dishonesty encompasses a wide range of activities, whether intentional or unintentional, that include, but are not limited to, all forms of fraud, plagiarism, and any failure to cite explicitly all materials and sources used in one’s work. Similarly, individual faculty and students are never permitted to pursue work by any means that unfairly disadvantage others. This prohibits activities that include, but are not limited to, cheating, copying, deception, lying, plagiarism, and unauthorized collaboration

The College of the Liberal Arts seeks to achieve compliance with its policy on academic integrity. The College does not tolerate violations of that policy, and, toward that end, the College supports appropriate sanctions consistent with University guidelines and with state and federal law. For students, these sanctions include, but are not limited to, failure for an assignment or in a course, failure in a course with an explanation in the permanent transcript of the cause for failure, or, for serious cases, removal from a degree program.

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. The Student Disability Resources (SDR) web site provides contact information for every Penn State campus:

<http://equity.psu.edu/sdr/disability-coordinator>. For further information, please visit the Student Disability Resources Web site: <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: <http://equity.psu.edu/sdr/guidelines>. If the documentation supports your request for reasonable accommodations, your campus's 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 in your courses as possible. You must follow this process for every semester that you request accommodations.

Schedule of Seminar Meetings

1/11 Introduction to the Seminar, Seminar Policies

Readings: None

1/18 Defining Terrorism

Readings:

Bruce Hoffman. 2006. "Chapter 1: Defining Terrorism." *Inside Terrorism*. New York, NY: Columbia 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.

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

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.

Joseph Young. 2016. "Measuring Terrorism." *Terrorism and Political Violence*. Forthcoming.

Optional Further Readings:

Charles Tilly. 2004. "Terror, Terrorism, Terrorists." *Sociological Review* 22(1): 5-13.

1/25 Challenges of Terrorism Research

Readings:

Jeffrey Ian Ross. 2004. "Taking Stock of Research Methods and Analysis on Oppositional Political Terrorism." *The American Sociologist*. 35(2): 26-37

Joseph K. Young and Michael Findley. 2011. "Promise and Pitfalls of Terrorism Research." *International Studies Review*. 13(3): 411-431.

Enders, Walter and Todd Sandler. 2011. "Statistical Studies and the Dynamics of Terrorist Behavior," in *The Political Economy of Terrorism*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Ignacio Sanchez-Cuenca. 2014. "Why Do We Know So Little About Terrorism?" *International Interactions*. 40(4): 590-601.

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>

University of Chicago Project on Security and Terrorism Suicide Attack Database:

http://cpostdata.uchicago.edu/search_new.php

Mapping Militant Organizations:

<http://web.stanford.edu/group/mappingmilitants/cgi-bin/>

South Asian Terrorism Profile:

<http://www.satp.org/>

TWEED Database:

<http://folk.uib.no/sspje/tweed.htm>

U.S. State Department FTOs:

<https://www.state.gov/j/ct/rls/other/des/123085.htm>

RAND Database of Worldwide Terrorism Incidents:

<http://www.rand.org/nsrd/projects/terrorism-incidents/download.html>

2/1 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. "What Terrorists Really Want: Terrorist Motives and Counterterrorism Policy." *International Security*. 32(4): 78-105.

“Correspondence: What Makes Terrorists Tick.” 2009. *International Security*. 33(4): 180-202.

Page Fortna. 2016. “Is Terrorism Really a Weapon of the Weak?: Testing the Conventional Wisdom.” Unpublished paper.

Optional Further Readings:

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.

2/8 Individual-Level Studies of Terrorism

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.

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.

2/15 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.

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

Optional Further Readings:

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

2/22 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.

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

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

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

Enders, Walter and Gary A. Hoover. 2012. "The Nonlinear Relationship Between Poverty and Terrorism." *American Economic Review*. 102(3): 267-272.

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.

Optional Further Readings:

Seung-Whan Choi. 2015. "Economic Growth and Terrorism: Domestic, International and Suicide." *Oxford Economic Papers*. 67(1): 157-181.

3/1 Democracy, Regime-Type and Terrorism

Readings:

- Windsor, Jennifer. 2003. "Promoting Democratization Can Combat Terrorism." *The Washington Quarterly*. 26(3): 43-58.
- Enders, Walter and Todd Sandler. 2011. "The Dilemma of Liberal Democracies," in *The Political Economy of Terrorism*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Li, Quan. 2005. "Does Democracy Promote or Reduce Transnational Terrorist Incidents?" *Journal of Conflict Resolution*. 49(2): 278-297.
- Eyerman, Joe. 1998. "Terrorism and Democratic States: Soft Targets or Accessible Systems?" *International Interactions*. 24(2): 151-170.
- Chenoweth, Erica. 2010. "Democratic Competition and Terrorist Activity." *The Journal of Politics*. 72(1): 16-30.
- Deniz Aksoy, David Carter and Joseph Wright. 2012. "Terrorism in Dictatorships." *The Journal of Politics*. 74(3): 810-826.

Optional Further Readings:

- Kristian Skrede Gleditsch and Sara Polo. 2016. "Ethnic Inclusion, Democracy and Terrorism." *Public Choice*. 169(3): 207-299.
- Chenoweth, Erica. 2013. "Terrorism and Democracy" *Annual Review of Political Science*. 16: 355-378.

3/8 No Seminar Meeting, Spring Break

3/15 Repression, Human Rights and Terrorism

Readings:

- Hafner-Burton, Emilie and Jacob Shapiro. 2010. "Tortured Relations: Human Rights Abuses and Counterterrorism Cooperation." *PS: Political Science and Politics*. 43(3): 415-419.
- 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.

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.

Ursula Daxecker. 2015. "Dirty Hands: Government Torture and Terrorism." *Journal of Conflict Resolution*. Forthcoming.

Gronke, Paul, Darius Rejali, et al. 2010. "U.S. Public Opinion on Torture." *PS: Political Science and Politics*. 43(3): 437-444.

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.

Optional Further Readings:

Seung-Whan Choi. 2010. "Fighting Terrorism Through the Rule of Law?" *Journal of Conflict Resolution*. 54(6): 940-966.

3/22 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.

Saiya, Nilay. 2015. "Religion, Democracy and Terrorism." *Perspectives on Terrorism*. 9(6).

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 Religious 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.

3/29 Terrorism and State Failure, Political Instability, Intrastate War

Readings:

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.

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.

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.

4/5 State Sponsorship of Terrorism

Readings:

Byman, Daniel. 2005. *Deadly Connections: States That Sponsor Terrorism*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. Chapters 1-3, 8-10.

Carter, David. 2012. "A Blessing or A Curse?: State Support for Terrorist Groups." *International Organization*. 66(1): 129-151.

4/12 Terrorism and International Relations

- 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.
- 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.
- Savun, Burcu and Brian Phillips. 2009. "Democracy, Foreign Policy and Terrorism." *Journal of Conflict Resolution*. 53(6): 878-904.

4/19 Counterterrorism Policy

- 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.
- Whan Choi and James Piazza. 2015. "Foreign Military Interventions and Suicide Attacks." *Journal of Conflict Resolution*. Forthcoming.
- Jenna Jordan. 2009. "When Heads Roll: Assessing the Effectiveness of Leadership Decapitation." *Security Studies*. 18(4): 719-755.
- Patrick Johnson and Annop Sarbahi. 2016. "The Impact of US Drone Strikes on Terrorism in Pakistan." *International Studies Quarterly*. Forthcoming.

4/26 Costs and Consequences of Terrorism

- Page Fortna. 2015. "Do Terrorists Win?: Rebels' Use of Terrorism and Civil War Outcomes." *International Organization*. 69(3): 519-556.
- Enders, Walt and Todd Sandler. 2011. "Chapter 10: The Economic Impact of Terrorism." *The Political Economy of Terrorism*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. 288-316.
- 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.

Piazza, James and James Walsh. 2009. "Transnational Terror and Human Rights." *International Studies Quarterly*. 53(1): 125-148.

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