

# POLITICAL ECONOMY OF TERRORISM

David A. Siegel

## Course information:

Course Number: POLSCI.658S.01  
Time: F 10:05 AM–12:35 PM  
Place: Gross Hall 111  
Course website: Sakai

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## Course Description

The topic of this seminar is subnational terrorism, considered from a political economic perspective. Practically that means we will take a quantitative approach to the study of terrorism, using the tools of game theory and statistical inference. Though there are no prerequisites, the readings will be heavy in both statistics and game theory, and prior or simultaneous coursework is encouraged. However, we will take the first week of class to discuss/review important concepts from each of statistics and game theory to aid in later productive discussions. Subsequent weeks will focus on different aspects of terrorism, e.g., aggregate and individual determinants of terrorism, mobilization and terror networks, methods of terror and counter-terror and their consequences, and organization of and competition between terror groups. In each week we will consider what we can learn from the existing literature and discuss productive ways to go beyond it with further study. The culminating project requires the student to formulate and ground in the literature a novel research idea that could be the basis of publishable work. Grades will be based on the final project as well as seminar participation, papers, and discussion leadership.

Our tight focus on political economic approaches to subnational terrorism means we will not be able to cover other approaches to the study of terrorism in this course. Two notable aspects of terrorism that will *not* be covered are state terror and psychological approaches to terrorism. This is not in any way a statement of the relative importance of these two; merely an accommodation to time constraints and methodological approach. And, in the case of state terrorism, the often different dynamics between it and oppositional terrorism, which we will study.

## Readings

All readings for the class are listed in the tentative schedule below in the order in which they will be used. Any book chapters or articles not available through Duke's library or on the Internet will be available via Sakai. Required readings are to be done before class in all cases. Because many of these readings are dense, you should leave yourself time to do them. In some cases, additional recommended readings are listed below each topic on the schedule as well. These are included as a preliminary (and non-exhaustive) guide for further reading on the topic for those who are interested.

## Grading

- Participation: 25%. All students are required to have completed the required readings for each week before class begins, and *everyone* should be prepared to discuss the readings during class. All students should also have read the discussion papers circulated by discussion leaders the day before (see below). This is a seminar and will be treated accordingly. That is to say, we will be *discussing* the readings; I will not be lecturing except to clarify readings

and explain their more technical aspects. I expect you to provide evidence that you have done the readings in a thoughtful and careful manner. After each class meeting I will assign a participation grade that takes into account the frequency and quality of your contributions. The following scale will be used for scoring your participation:

A to A-: The student made a very strong contribution to the class. Comments were thoughtful and constructive.

B+ to B-: The student contributed meaningfully to the course. Comments went beyond simply repeating the assigned material, but did not demonstrate strong insights.

C+ or lower: The student did not contribute meaningfully. Comments were limited to repeating the assigned material rather than making connections or extensions, or were inaccurate.

F: The student did not speak in class.

- Discussion leadership: 40%. Each student will be assigned in the first week of class four articles/chapters to lead between weeks 3 and 14. That student will be the discussion leader for that article/chapter. A discussion leader has two responsibilities. First, each leader is responsible for delivering to me via e-mail *and* Sakai dropbox a 2-3 page paper by noon Wednesday the week of class. The paper should open with a **brief** summary of the major points of the article/chapter s/he was to have read, and then offer additional avenues for discussion that the leader feels would be productive and interesting to address during the seminar. Second, the student will then lead discussion during the seminar on that particular article/chapter. Roughly a half hour total will be devoted to each article/chapter each week. The depth of preparation evinced in these papers, particularly in the discussion questions, along with the leading of the seminar itself, will determine the student's grade. All four leadership opportunities will count equally.
- Final paper: 35%. The final paper will be due by noon one week after the last day of class. No late papers will be accepted. Papers should be both e-mailed to me and placed in the dropbox on Sakai. Acceptable formats include pdf and doc/docx (i.e. Acrobat and Word); it is your responsibility to ensure that the document can be opened. Papers should be double-spaced, with one inch margins and 12 point font, and be no more (or much less than) 15 pages. I will provide more instruction as to the content of the papers as the semester goes on, but in general each paper needs to do a few things: 1) identify a real-world problem relating to terrorism that is of substantive interest; 2) set the problem in the literature we have read, explaining who has looked at it or similar problems before and what they have found; 3) propose a theory about the problem (either how to solve it or why it occurs, or both); and 4) apply the approach of this class to propose ways to study (quantitatively and/or formally) the problem further in order to come to a reasoned policy conclusion.

### **Tentative Schedule of Readings (Subject to Change with Advance Notice):**

#### PRELIMINARIES

#### **Week 1: August 28** — A Crash Course in Quantitative and Formal Analysis

##### REQUIRED READING:

Bueno de Mesquita, Ethan. 2008. "The Political Economy of Terrorism: A Selective Overview of Recent Work." *The Political Economist* 10(1):1-12.

**Week 2: No Class Sep 4, Day/Time TBD** — Definitions, Progress, and Problems

REQUIRED READING:

- Asal V, L De la Calle, M Findley, and J Young. 2012. "Killing Civilians or Holding Territory? How to Think about Terrorism" *International Studies Review* 14 (3), 475–497.
- Crenshaw, Martha. 1981. "The Causes of Terrorism." *Comparative Politics* 13:4. p. 379–99.
- Crenshaw, Martha. 2014. "Terrorism Research: The Record." *International Interactions* 40(4): 556–567.
- Hoffman, Bruce. 2006. "Defining Terrorism" in *Inside Terrorism*. Columbia University Press. p. 13–44.
- Ross, Jeffrey Ian. 2004. "Taking Stock of Research Methods and Analysis on Oppositional Political Terrorism." *The American Sociologist* (Summer) p. 26–37.
- Sánchez-Cuenca, Ignacio. 2014. "Why Do We Know So Little About Terrorism?" *International Interactions* 40(4): 590–601.
- Tilly, Charles. 2004. "Terror, Terrorism, Terrorists." *Sociological Theory* 22(1): 5–13.
- Young, Joseph K. and Michael G. Findley. 2011. "Promise and Pitfalls of Terrorism Research." *International Studies Review* 13: 1–21.

RECOMMENDED READING:

- Abrahms, Max. 2008. "What Terrorists Really Want: Terrorist Motives and Counterterrorism Strategy." *International Security* 32 (4): 78-105.
- Balcells, Laia and Patricia Justino. 2014. "Bridging Micro and Macro Approaches on Civil Wars and Political Violence: Issues, Challenges, and the Way Forward." 58 (8): 1343-1359.
- Claassen, Christopher. 2014. "Group Entitlement, Anger and Participation in Intergroup Violence." *British Journal of Political Science* 1–22.
- Crenshaw, Martha. "Introduction: Thoughts on Relating Terrorism to Historical Contexts" *Terrorism in Context*. The Pennsylvania State Press. pp. 3-24.
- Ganor, Boaz. 2002. "Defining Terrorism: Is One Man's Terrorist Another Man's Freedom Fighter?" *Police Practice & Research* 3(4): 287-304.
- Gupta, Dipak K. 2008. *Understanding Terrorism and Political Violence*. Routledge.
- Hoffman, Bruce. 2006. *Inside Terrorism*. Columbia University Press.
- Horgan, John. 2011. "Interviewing the Terrorists: Reflections on Fieldwork and Implications for Psychological Research." *Behavioral Sciences of Terrorism and Political Aggression* 4(3): 195-211.
- Merari, Ariel. 1993. "Terrorism as a Strategy of Insurgency." *Terrorism and Political Violence* 5(4): 213-251.
- Post, Jerrold M. and Anat Berko. 2009. "Talking with Terrorists." *Democracy and Security* 5(2): 145-148.
- Reid, Edna F. and Hsinchun Chen. 2007. "Mapping the contemporary terrorism research domain." *International Journal of Human-Computer Studies* 65. p. 42–56.
- Ross, Jeffrey Ian. 2007. "Chapter Three: Exploring the Causes" in *Political Terrorism : An Interdisciplinary Approach*. Peter Lang Pub Inc. p. 77-91.
- Sageman, Marc. 2014. "The Stagnation in Terrorism Research." *Terrorism and Political Violence* 26(4): 565-580. (and responses in that issue)
- Shugart, William. 2006. "An Analytical History of Terrorism, 1945-2000." *Public Choice* 128(1-2): 7-39.

Silke, A. 2001. "Devil You Know: Continuing Problems with Terrorism Research." *Terrorism and Political Violence* 13 (4), 1-14.

Stohl, Michael. 1983. "Demystifying Terrorism: The Myths and Realities of Contemporary Political Terrorism," in M. Stohl (ed.) *The Politics of Terrorism, Second Edition: Revised and Expanded*. Marcel Dekker. p. 1-19.

Victoroff, Jeff. 2005. "The Mind of a Terrorist: A Review and Critique of Psychological Approaches." *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 49(1): 3-42.

Weinberg, Leonard, Ami Pedahzur, and Sivan Hirsch-Hoeffler. 2004. "The Challenges of Conceptualizing Terrorism." *Terrorism and Political Violence* 16(4): 777-794.

## WHO JOINS?: MOBILIZATION, RECRUITMENT, AND NETWORKS

### **Week 3: Sep 11** — Economics, Democracy, and Repression I

#### REQUIRED READING:

Aksoy, Deniz and David B. Carter. 2014. "Electoral Institutions and the Emergence of Terrorist Groups." *British Journal of Political Science* 44(1): 181-204.

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

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

Drakos, Kostas 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):714-735.

Krueger, Alan B. and David Laitin. 2008. "Kto Kogo?: A Cross-Country Study of the Origins and Targets of Terrorism." In *Terrorism and Economic Development*, ed. Philip Keefer and Norman Loayza. New York: Cambridge University Press.

#### RECOMMENDED READING:

Abadie, Alberto. 2006. "Poverty, Political Freedom, and the Roots of Terrorism." *American Economic Review (Papers and Proceedings)* 96(2):50-56.

Blomberg, S. Brock and Gregory Hess. 2008. "The Lexus and the Olive Branch: Globalization, Democracy, and Terrorism." In *Terrorism and Economic Development*, ed. Philip Keefer and Norman Loayza. New York: Cambridge University Press.

Burgoon, Brian. 2006. "On Welfare and Terror: Social Welfare Policies and Political-Economic Roots of Terrorism." *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 5 (2): 176-203.

Drakos, Kostas and Andreas Gofas. 2006. "In Search of the Average Transnational Terrorist Attack Venue." *Defence and Peace Economics* 17(2):73-93.

Eubank, William and Leonard Weinberg. 1998. "Terrorism and Democracy: What Recent Events Disclose." *Terrorism and Political Violence* 10(1):108-118.

Keefer, Philip and Norman Loayza. 2008. *Terrorism, Economic Development, and Political Openness*. Cambridge University Press.

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

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

Li, Quan and Drew Schaub. 2004. "Economic Globalization and Transnational Terrorist Incidents: A Pooled Time Series Cross Sectional Analysis." *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 48(2):230-258.

Mirza, Daniel and Thierry Verdier. 2008. "International trade, security and transnational terrorism: Theory and a survey of empirics" *Journal of Comparative Economics* Volume 36, Issue 2, June 2008, P. 179-194.

Piazza, James A. 2008. "Incubators of Terror: Do Failed and Failing States Promote Transnational Terrorism?" *International Studies Quarterly* 52(3): 469-488.

Piazza, James A. 2006. "Rooted in Poverty?: Terrorism, Poor Economic Development, and Social Cleavages." *Terrorism and Political Violence* Volume 18, Issue 1, p. 159-177.

Young, Joseph K. and Laura Dugan. 2011. "Veto players and terror." *Journal of Peace Research* 48(1): 19?-33.

Young, Joseph K. and Michael G. Findley. 2011. "Can peace be purchased? A sectoral-level analysis of aid's influence on transnational terrorism." *Public Choice* 149: 365?-381.

#### **Week 4: Sep 18** — Economics, Democracy, and Repression II

##### REQUIRED READING:

Berrebi, Claude. 2007. "Evidence About the Link Between Education, Poverty and Terrorism Among Palestinians," *Peace Economics, Peace Science and Public Policy*, Vol. 13, No. 1.

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

Shapiro, Jacob N. and C. Christine Fair. 2010. "Why Support Islamic Militancy? Evidence from Pakistan." *International Security* 34: 79-118.

Thomas, Jakana L. and Kanisha D. Bond. Forthcoming. "Women's Participation in Violent Political Organizations." *American Political Science Review* [http://www.jakanathomas.com/uploads/2/7/1/6/27169143/thomas\\_bond\\_2015.pdf](http://www.jakanathomas.com/uploads/2/7/1/6/27169143/thomas_bond_2015.pdf)

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* 75 (4): 941-955.

##### RECOMMENDED READING:

Benmelech, Efraim and Claude Berrebi. 2007. "Human Capital and the Productivity of Suicide Bombers." *Journal of Economic Perspectives* Vol. 21, No. 3.

Benmelech, Efraim, Claude Berrebi and Esteban Klor. 2010. "Counter-Suicide-Terrorism: Evidence from House Demolitions." NBER Working Paper No. 16493.

Bueno de Mesquita, Ethan. 2010. "Regime Change and Revolutionary Entrepreneurs." *American Political Science Review* 104(3): 446-466.

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

de Figueiredo, Rui J.P. Jr. and Barry R. Weingast. 2001. "Vicious Cycles: Endogenous Political Extremism and Political Violence." Institute of Governmental Studies Working paper # 2001-9.

Enders, Walter, Todd Sandler and Khusrav Gaibullov. 2011. "Domestic Versus Transnational Terrorism: Data, Decomposition, and Dynamics." *Journal of Peace Research* 48(3): 319-337.

Fair, C. Christine. 2004. Militant Recruitment in Pakistan: Implications for al-Qaeda and Other Organizations. *Studies in Conflict and Terrorism* 27(6): 489-504.

Fair, C. Christine, Neil Malhotra, and Jacob N. Shapiro. 2012. "Faith or Doctrine? Religion and Support for Political Violence in Pakistan." *Public Opinion Quarterly* 76(4): 688–720.

Hegghammer, Thomas. 2013. "Should I Stay or Should I Go? Explaining Variation in Western Jihadists' Choice between Domestic and Foreign Fighting." *American Political Science Review* 107(1): 1–15.

Hegghammer, Thomas. 2013. "The Recruiter's Dilemma: Signaling and Terrorist Recruitment Tactics." *Journal of Peace Research* 50(1): 3–16.

Jaeger, David A., Esteban F. Klor, Sami H. Miaari and M. Daniele Paserman. 2008. "The Struggle for Palestinian Hearts and Minds: Violence and Public Opinion in the Second Intifada." Hebrew University typescript.

Jaeger, David A. and M. Daniele Paserman. 2006. "Israel, the Palestinian Factions and the Cycle of Violence." *American Economic Review Papers and Proceedings* 96(2):45-49.

Jaeger, David A. and M. Daniele Paserman. 2008. "The Cycle of Violence? An Empirical Analysis of Fatalities in the Palestinian-Israeli Conflict." *American Economic Review* 98(4): 1591-1604.

Kaplan, Edward H., Alex Mintz, Shaul Mishal, and Clausio Samban. 2005. "What Happened to Suicide Bombings in Israel? Insights from a Terror Stock Model." *Studies in Conflict and Terrorism* 28:225-235.

Krueger, Alan B. 2007. *What Makes a Terrorist: Economics and the Roots of Terrorism*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.

Lichbach, Mark Irving. 1987. "Deterrence of Escalation?: The Puzzle of Aggregate Studies of Repression and Dissent." *The Journal of Conflict Resolution* 31:266-297.

Rosendorff, Peter and Todd Sandler. 2004. "Too Much of a Good Thing? The Proactive Response Dilemma." *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 48(4):657-671.

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

Walsh, James I. and James A. Piazza. 2010. "Why Respecting Physical Integrity Rights Reduces Terrorism." *Comparative Political Studies* 43(5): 551–577.

### **Week 5: Sep 25** — Impact of Terrorism

#### REQUIRED READING:

Abadie, Alberto and Javier Gardeazabal. 2003. "The Economic Costs of Conflict: A Case Study of the Basque Country." *American Economic Review* 93(1):113-132.

Abrahms, Max. 2012. The Political Effectiveness of Terrorism Revisited. *Comparative Political Studies* 45(3): 366-393.

Berrebi, Claude and Esteban F. Klor. 2008. "Are Voters Sensitive to Terrorism?" *American Political Science Review* 102(3).

Condra, Luke. N. and Jacob N. Shapiro. 2012. "Who Takes the Blame? The Strategic Effects of Collateral Damage." *American Journal of Political Science* 56 (1): 167-187.

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

#### RECOMMENDED READING:

Abadie, Alberto and Javier Gardeazabal. 2005. "Terrorism and the World Economy." Harvard University typescript.

Bapat, Navin A. 2014. "The Escalation of Terrorism: Microlevel Violence and Interstate Conflict." *International Interactions* 40(4): 568–578.

Berrebi, Claude and Esteban F. Klor. 2006. "On Terrorism and Electoral Outcomes: Theory and Evidence from the Israeli-Palestinian Conflict." *The Journal of Conflict Resolution*, Vol. 50, No. 6.

Berrebi, Claude and Esteban F. Klor. 2010. "The Impact of Terrorism on the Defense Industry" *Economica* 77: 518–543.

Eckstein, Zvi and Daniel Tsiddon. 2004. "Macroeconomic Consequences of Terror: Theory and the Case of Israel." *Journal of Monetary Economics* 51(5):971-1002.

Enders, Walter, Todd Sandler and Gerald F. Parise. 1992. "An Econometric Analysis of the Impact of Terrorism on Tourism." *Kyklos* 45(4):531-554.

Enders, Walter, and Todd Sandler. 2006. *The Political Economy of Terrorism*. New York: Cambridge University Press.

Krause, Peter. 2013. "The Political Effectiveness of Non-State Violence: A Two-Level Framework To Transform a Deceptive Debate." *Security Studies* 22(2) 259–294.

Max Abrahms and Peter Krause Exchange on Krause's *Security Studies* Article, *H-Diplo* (2013).

Krueger, Alan and Jitka Maleckova. 2009. "Attitudes and Action: Public Opinion and the Occurrence of International Terrorism." *Science*. 325: 1534-1536.

Zussman, Asaf and Noam Zussman. 2006. "Assassinations: Evaluating the Effectiveness of an Israeli Counterterrorism Policy Using Stock Market Data." *Journal of Economic Perspectives* 20(2):193-206.

## **Week 6: Oct 2** — Terror Networks and the Impact of Religion

### REQUIRED READING:

Berman, Eli and David D. Laitin, David D. 2008. "Religion, terrorism and public goods: Testing the club model." *Journal of Public Economics* 92(10-11): 1942–1967.

Jordan, Jenna. 2014. "Attacking the Leader, Missing the Mark: Why Terrorist Groups Survive Decapitation Strikes." *International Security* 38(4): 7–38.

Long, Austin. 2014. "Whack-a-Mole or Coup de Grace? Institutionalization and Leadership Targeting in Iraq and Afghanistan." *Security Studies* 23(3): 471–512.

Piazza, James. 2009. "Is Islamic Terrorism More Dangerous?: An Empirical Study of Group Ideology, Organization and Goal Structure." *Terrorism and Political Violence* 21(1): 62-88.

Siegel, David A. 2011. "When Does Repression Work?: Collective Action and Social Networks." *Journal of Politics* 73 (4): 993–1010.

### RECOMMENDED READING:

Berman, Eli. 2003. " Hamas, Taliban, and the Jewish Underground: An Economist's View of Radical Religious Militias." UC San Diego typescript. NBER Working Paper No. W10004.

Iannaccone, Lawrence R. 1992. "Sacrifice and Stigma: Reducing Free-Riding in Cults, Communes, and Other Collectives." *Journal of Political Economy* 100(2):271–292.

Iannaccone, Lawrence R. and Eli Berman. 2006. "Religious Extremists: The Good, the Bad and the Deadly." *Public Choice* 128(1-2):109-129.

Johnston, Patrick. 2012. "Does Decapitation Work?: Assessing the Effectiveness of Leadership Targeting in Counterinsurgency Campaigns." *International Security* 36(4): 47–79.

Jordan, Javier and Nicola Horsburgh. 2005. "Mapping Jihadist Terrorism in Spain." *Studies in Conflict & Terrorism* 28:169-191.

- Juergensmeyer, Mark. 2001. *Terror in the Mind of God*. University of California Press.
- Parkinson, Sarah Elizabeth. 2013. "Organizing Rebellion: Rethinking High-Risk Mobilization and Social Networks in War." *American Political Science Review* 107(3): 418-432.
- Rapoport, David. 1984. "Fear and Trembling: Terrorism in Three Religious Traditions." *American Political Science Review* 78(3): 658-677.
- Rodriguez, Josep. 2008. "Weakness and strengths of terrorist networks: The Madrid's March 11th attacks." Paper presented at the annual meeting of the American Sociological Association Annual Meeting, Boston, MA.
- Sageman, Marc. 2004. *Understanding Terror Networks*. University of Pennsylvania Press, Ch 5.
- Sageman, Marc 2008. *Leaderless Jihad: Terror Networks in the Twenty-First Century*. University of Pennsylvania Press.
- Hoffman, Bruce. 2008. "The Myth of Grass-Roots Terrorism: Why Osama bin Laden Still Matters." (Review of Sageman's 2008 book.) *Foreign Affairs*, May/June. Available at <http://www.foreignaffairs.org/20080501fareviewessay87310/bruce-hoffman/the-myth-of-grass-roots-terrorism.html>.
- Siegel, David A. 2009. "Social Networks and Collective Action." *American Journal of Political Science* 53 (1).
- Siegel, David A. 2011. "Non-disruptive Tactics of Suppression are Superior in Countering Terrorism, Insurgency, and Financial Panics." *PLoS ONE* 6 (4): e18545. doi:10.1371/journal.pone.0018545.
- Stern, Jessica. 2004. *Terror in the Name of God: Why Religious Militants Kill*. HarperCollins.
- Stollenwerk, Eric, Thomas Dörfler, and Julian Schibberges. Forthcoming (2015). "Taking a New Perspective: Mapping the Al Qaeda Network Through the Eyes of the UN Security Council." *Terrorism and Political Violence*.

#### ATTACK AND DEFENSE: METHODS OF TERROR AND COUNTER-TERROR

##### **Week 7: Oct 9** — Terror Strategies I

###### REQUIRED READING:

- Bueno de Mesquita, Ethan and Eric Dickson. 2007. "The Propaganda of the Deed: Terrorism, Counterterrorism, and Mobilization." *American Journal of Political Science* 51(2).
- Crenshaw, Martha. 2002. "The Logic of Terrorism: Terrorist Behavior as a Product of Strategic Choice." in *Origins of Terrorism: Psychologies, Ideologies, Theologies, States of Mind*, ed. Walter Reich. p. 54-66.
- Kydd, Andrew H. and Barbara F. Walter. 2006. "The Strategies of Terrorism," *International Security* Vol. 31, No. 1, p. 49-80.
- Min, Eric. 2013. "Taking Responsibility: When and Why Terrorists Claim Attacks." *Paper presented at the 2013 meeting of the APSA* and available at [http://papers.ssrn.com/sol3/papers.cfm?abstract\\_id=2299920](http://papers.ssrn.com/sol3/papers.cfm?abstract_id=2299920).
- Plümper, Thomas and Eric Neumayer. 2014. "Terrorism and Counterterrorism: An Integrated Approach and Future Research Agenda." *International Interactions* 40(4): 579-589.

###### RECOMMENDED READING:

- Bapat, Navin. 2008. "The Strategy of the Weak: State Support for Terrorism and Bargaining Power." Working Paper.
- Conrad, Justin and James Igoe Walsh. 2014. "International Cooperation, Spoiling, and Transnational Terrorism." *International Interactions* 40(4): 453-476.



Della Porta, Donatella. 2006. *Social Movements, Political Violence, and the State: A Comparative Analysis of Italy and Germany*. New York : Cambridge University Press.

Lake, David A. 2002. "Rational Extremism: Understanding Terrorism in the Twenty-first Century." *Dialog IO* Spring, p. 1592. Available at <http://dss.ucsd.edu/~dlake/Reprints/Rational%20Extremism.pdf>.

### **Week 8: Oct 16** — Terror Strategies II

#### REQUIRED READING:

Berrebi, Claude and Darius Lakdawalla. 2007. "How Does Terrorism Risk Vary Across Space and Time? An Analysis Based on the Israeli Experience." *Defence and Peace Economics*, Vol. 18, No. 2.

Bueno de Mesquita, Ethan. 2013. "Rebel Tactics." *Journal of Political Economy* 121(2): 323–357.

Carter, David B. 2014. "Provocation and the Strategy of Terrorist and Guerilla Attacks." *Working Paper* available at [https://www.princeton.edu/~dbcarter/David\\_B.\\_Carter/Research\\_files/strategicterror31.pdf](https://www.princeton.edu/~dbcarter/David_B._Carter/Research_files/strategicterror31.pdf)

Stanton, Jessica A. 2013. "Terrorism in the Context of Civil War." *Journal of Politics* 75(4): 1009–1022.

Toft, Monica Duffy and Yuri M. Zhukov. 2015. "Islamists and Nationalists: Rebel Motivation and Counterinsurgency in Russia's North Caucasus." *American Political Science Review* 109(2): 222-238.

#### RECOMMENDED READING:

Bausch, Andrew W., Joao R. Faria, and Thomas Zeitzoff. 2013. "Warnings, terrorist threats and resilience: A laboratory experiment." *Conflict Management and Peace Science* 30(5): 433-451.

Polo, Sara and Kristian Skrede Gleditsch. 2014. "Twisting Arms and Sending Messages: Terrorist Tactics in Civil War." *Working Paper*. [http://www.michael-findley.com/uploads/2/0/4/5/20455799/terrorismcivilwar\\_pologleditsch\\_pss.pdf](http://www.michael-findley.com/uploads/2/0/4/5/20455799/terrorismcivilwar_pologleditsch_pss.pdf)

### **Week 9: Oct 23** — Suicide Terror

#### REQUIRED READING:

Crenshaw, Martha. 2007. "Explaining Suicide Terrorism: A Review Essay." *Security Studies* Vol. 16 no. 1, p. 133-162.

Pape, Robert A. 2003. "The Strategic Logic of Suicide Terrorism." *American Political Science Review* Vol. 97, No. 3.

#### *Responses to Pape:*

1) Ashworth, Scott, Joshua D. Clinton, Adam Meirowitz, and Kristopher W. Ramsay. 2008. "Design, Inference, and the Strategic Logic of Suicide Terrorism." *American Political Science Review* Volume 102 (2): 269-273.

2) Pape, Robert A. 2008. "Methods and Findings in the Study of Suicide Terrorism." *American Political Science Review* Volume 102 (2): 275-277.

3) Ashworth, Scott, Joshua D. Clinton, Adam Meirowitz, and Kristopher W. Ramsay. 2008. "Design, Inference, and the Strategic Logic of Suicide Terrorism: A Rejoinder." Available at <http://www.princeton.edu/~clinton/WorkingPapers/ACMRResponse.pdf>.

Pedahzur, Ami and Arie Perliger. 2006. "The Changing Nature of Suicide Attacks - A Social Network Perspective." *Social Forces* 84 (4): 1987-2008.

Wade, Sara Jackson and Dan Reiter. 2007. "Does Democracy Matter?: Regime Type and Suicide Terrorism." *Journal of Conflict Resolution* Vol. 51, No. 2, 329-348.

RECOMMENDED READING:

Atran, Scott. 2003. "The Genesis of Suicide Terrorism." *Science* 299(5612): 1534-1539.

Gambetta, Diego (Editor). 2006. *Making Sense of Suicide Missions*. Oxford University Press, USA. Horowitz, Michael C. 2010. "Nonstate Actors and the Diffusion of Innovations: The Case of Suicide Terrorism." *International Organization* 64(1): 33-64.

Moghadam, Assaf. 2006. "Suicide Terrorism, Occupation, and the Globalization of Martyrdom: A Critique of Dying to Win." *Studies in Conflict and Terrorism* 29/8: 707-29.

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

Shafiq, M. Najeeb and Abdulkader Sinno. 2010. "Education, Income, and Support for Suicide Bombings: Evidence from Six Muslim Countries." *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 54 (1): 146-178.

**Week 10: Oct 30** — Counter-terror: Target Defense and Information

REQUIRED READING:

Bueno de Mesquita, Ethan. 2007. "Politics and the Suboptimal Provision of Counterterrorism." *International Organization* 61(1):9-36.

Dragu, Tiberiu. 2011. "Is There a Tradeoff Between Security and Liberty? Executive Bias, Privacy Protections, and Terrorism Prevention." *American Political Science Review*. 105 (1): 64-78.

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**Week 11: Nov 6** — Negotiations, Credible Commitment and Costly Signaling

REQUIRED READING:

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Bueno de Mesquita, Ethan. 2005. "Conciliation, Counterterrorism, and Patterns of Terrorist Violence." *International Organization* 59(1):145-176.

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ORGANIZATION, FINANCE, AND COMPETITION

**Week 12: Nov 13** — Finance and Counter-finance

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**Week 13: Nov 20** — Organizational Structure

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Abrahms, Max and Philip B.K. Potter. 2015. "Explaining Terrorism: Leadership Deficits and Militant Group Tactics." *International Organization* 69: 311-342.

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Crenshaw, Martha. 1991. "How Terrorism Declines." *Terrorism and Political Violence* 3 (1):69-87.

Shapiro, Jacob N. and David A Siegel. 2007. "Underfunding in Terrorist Organizations." *International Studies Quarterly* 51, p. 405-429.

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Twomey, "Staff Report" (course website).

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Abrahms, Max and Jochen Mierau. Forthcoming. "Leadership Matters: The Effects of Targeted Killings on Militant Group Tactics." *Terrorism and Political Violence*.

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#### **Week 14: Dec 4** — Competition and Factionalization

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##### RECOMMENDED READING:

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Moloney, Ed. 2002. *A secret history of the IRA*. New York : W.W. Norton.