

# POLITICS OF TERROR

David A. Siegel

## Course information:

Course Number: INR5137/CPO5934  
Time: Monday 2:30 - 5:00 pm  
Place: Bellamy Building 113  
Course website: Blackboard

## Contact Information:

E-mail: dsiegel@fsu.edu  
Tel: 850-645-0083  
Office: 541 Bellamy Building  
Office Hours: Monday 1:00 - 2:30 pm

## Course Description

As its title implies, this course addresses terrorism as a political act. We will consider solely terror as an oppositional tactic in this class, leaving aside state terror entirely. This is not in any way a statement of the relative importance of the two; merely an accommodation to the often different dynamics of the two cases. The first couple of weeks will provide a broad overview of the state of research in oppositional terrorism and a common pool of historical terror examples on which to draw later in the class. Subsequent to this we will break down the topic, looking at issues of mobilization and terror networks, methods of terror and counter-terror and their consequences, and the organization of and competition between terror groups. Discussion of problems and opportunities for research in the literature will arise naturally, often multiple times, in response to analyses of each of these issues. The course will culminate in the production of a research proposal designed to be the stub of a future publishable paper (or even dissertation project).

## Readings

All readings for the class are listed in the tentative schedule below in the order in which they will be used. Some readings, particularly single book chapters, will be available via Blackboard, and you should check there first for all readings. Articles not there are available via the internet and your responsibility to obtain. Required readings are to be done before class. 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.

## Grading

- Participation: 20%. 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. Intelligent participation in departmental talks and at conferences will be highly valued throughout your professional career and you should practice this ability now. 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: 25%. Each student will be assigned two seminars to lead between weeks 3 and 14; weeks may have multiple leaders. Discussion leaders will be chosen in the first class meeting. Each week's discussion leader(s) is(are) responsible for delivering to the class, via e-mail, a 2-3 page paper by noon of the Friday the week before the class. The paper should open with a **brief** summary of the major points of the reading, and then spend most of its time offering additional avenues for discussion that the leader feels would be productive and interesting to address during the seminar. The student(s) in charge that week will then lead discussion during the seminar. The depth of and preparation evidenced in these papers, particularly in the discussion questions, along with the leading of the seminar itself, will determine the student's grade.
- Presentation of terrorist group: 5%. In the second week of class, each student will be assigned one historical terrorist group on which to give a brief presentation. Readings from which to start are provided under the week 2 header below.
- Final paper: 50%. This is an elective class, so your attendance suggests an interest in the subject area. As you go through the course, you should be thinking first about how you could turn this interest into a concrete research question, and second about how you can address this research question in a publishable paper. This thinking will culminate in a paper due at the end of class. The intent of this paper is to provide the framework for future publishable work. While you need not perform significant data analysis nor solve formal models in the paper, it must do two other things: 1) Set your research question solidly in extant literature, which may entail a selective literature review as well; and 2) Detail your proposed theory, its derived hypotheses, your expectations about these hypotheses, and where you will look for your data. While you are of course welcome to finish the paper by completing the analysis (and I will provide comments on this as well should you do so), it is not required, and the grade will be based solely on the required parts.

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

#### PRELIMINARIES

#### **Week 1: January 9** — Definitions, Progress, and Problems

##### 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.

Crenshaw, Martha. 1981. "The Causes of Terrorism." *Comparative Politics* 13:4. p. 379-99.

Hoffman, Bruce. 2006. "Defining Terrorism" in *Inside Terrorism*. Columbia University Press. p. 13-44.

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. 2004. "Taking Stock of Research Methods and Analysis on Oppositional Political Terrorism." *The American Sociologist* (Summer) p. 26-37.

Ross, Jeffrey Ian. 2007. "Chapter Three: Exploring the Causes" in *Political Terrorism : An Interdisciplinary Approach*. Peter Lang Pub Inc. p. 77-91.

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.

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.

Gupta, Dipak K. 2008. *Understanding Terrorism and Political Violence*. Routledge.

Hoffman, Bruce. 2006. *Inside Terrorism*. Columbia University Press.

**Week 2: (Will need to be rescheduled)** — An Abbreviated and Partial Tour of History

A FEW STARTING READINGS:

Crenshaw, Martha. 1994. *Terrorism in Context*. Penn State University Press. [Selections: chapters by Crenshaw (Introduction), della Porta (Red Brigades), Palmer (Shining Path), Shabad and Llera (ETA), Townshend (IRA), Crenshaw (Algeria)]

[Note: The International Crisis Group (<http://www.crisisgroup.org/home/index.cfm>) is an excellent source of background information on groups, and further puts out weekly updates on conflict situations.]

International Crisis Group. 2004, Sections II and II of "Dealing with Hamas," pp. 4-19.

Council on Foreign Relations. "Backgrounder: Hezbollah," (at <http://www.cfr.org/publication/9155/>).

International Crisis Group. 2003. "Hizbollah: Rebel Without a Cause?"

9/11 Commission Report, Chapters 2 and 4, (<http://www.9-11commission.gov/report/index.htm>) p. 1-24 and 1-36.

International Crisis Group. 2007. "Sri Lanka: The Failure of the Peace Process," p. 1-12.

Mia Bloom. 2003. "Sri Lanka: In the Tiger's Belly," (<http://www.worldpress.org/Asia/1015.cfm>).

Council on Foreign Relations, "Backgrounder: LTTE," (<http://www.cfr.org/publication/9242/>).

Council on Foreign Relations, "Backgrounder: Boko Haram," (<http://www.cfr.org/africa/boko-haram/p25739>).

Council on Foreign Relations, "Backgrounder: Al-Shabaab," (<http://www.cfr.org/somalia/al-shabaab/p18650>).

RECOMMENDED READING:

Crenshaw, Martha. 1994. *Terrorism in Context*. Penn State University Press.

English, Richard. 2003. *Armed Struggle: The History of the IRA*. London : Pan Macmillan.

Biographies: O'Doherty, *The Volunteer*; Giorgio, *Memoirs of an Italian Terrorist*; Figner, *Memoirs of a Revolutionist*; Aukai Collins, *My Jihad*; Savinkov, *Memoirs of a Terrorist*; Taruc, *He Who Rides the Tiger*; McGuire, *To Take Arms*; Kabiro, *Man in the Middle*; Nasiri, *My Jihad*.

**Week 3: January 23** — Economics, Democracy, and Repression I

REQUIRED READING:

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

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.

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.

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

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.

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

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

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.

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

RECOMMENDED READING:

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.

Findley, Michael G., James Piazza, and Joseph K. Young. Forthcoming (2012). "Games Rivals Play: Terrorism in International Rivalries." *Journal of Politics*.

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

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

**Week 4: January 30** — Economics, Democracy, and Repression II

REQUIRED READING:

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

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

Jaeger, David A., Esteban F. Klor, Sami H. Miaari and M. Daniele Paserman. Forthcoming. "The Struggle for Palestinian Hearts and Minds: Violence and Public Opinion in the Second Intifada." *Journal of Public Economics*. Available at <http://ftp.iza.org/dp3439.pdf>.

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.

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.

RECOMMENDED READING:

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

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. Available at <http://polisci.ucsd.edu/~bslantch/courses/pdf/figueiredo-vicious.pdf>.

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

Findley, Michael G., James Piazza and Joseph K. Young. Forthcoming (2012). "Games Rivals Play: Terrorism in International Rivalries." *Journal of Politics*.

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

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

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

Plumper, Thomas and Eric Neumayer. 2011. "Foreign Terror on Americans." *Journal of Peace Research* 48(1).

Plumper, Thomas 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.

**Week 5: February 6** — Mass 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.

Berrebi, Claude and Esteban F. Klor. 2009. "Are Voters Sensitive to Terrorism?" *American Political Science Review* 102(3): 279-301.

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.

Condra, Luke N., Joseph H. Felter, Radha K. Iyengar, and Jacob N. Shapiro. 2010. "The Effect of Civilian Casualties in Afghanistan and Iraq." NBER Working Paper No. 16152. (<http://www.nber.org/papers/w16152>)

Condra, Luke N. and Jacob N. Shapiro. 2011. "Who Takes the Blame? The Strategic Effects of Collateral Damage." *American Journal of Political Science*

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

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

RECOMMENDED READING:

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

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

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

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: February 13** — Terror Networks

REQUIRED READING:

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

Perliger, Arie and Ami Pedahzur. 2011. "Social Network Analysis in the Study of Terrorism and Political Violence." *PS: Political Science & Politics* 44: 45-50.

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.
- Siegel, David A. 2009. "Social Networks and Collective Action." *American Journal of Political Science* 53 (1): 122-138.
- Siegel, David A. 2011. "When Does Repression Work?: Collective Action and Social Networks." *Journal of Politics* 73 (4): 993-1010.
- 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.

RECOMMENDED READING:

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>.

**Week 7: February 20** — Religion

REQUIRED 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. Available at <http://econ.ucsd.edu/~elib/tamir.pdf>.

Berman, Eli and David D. Laitin. 2008. "Religion, Terrorism and Public Goods: Testing the Club Model." *Journal of Public Economics*. 92(10-11): 1942-1967.

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.

Juergensmeyer, Mark. 2001. *Terror in the Mind of God*. University of California Press. Chapters 1 and 11.

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.

Rapoport, David. 1984. "Fear and Trembling: Terrorism in Three Religious Traditions." *American Political Science Review* 78(3): 658-677.

RECOMMENDED READING:

Stern, Jessica. 2004. *Terror in the Name of God: Why Religious Militants Kill*. HarperCollins.

**Week 8: February 27** — Terror Strategies

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 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.

Della Porta, Donatella. 2006. *Social Movements, Political Violence, and the State: A Comparative Analysis of Italy and Germany*. New York : Cambridge University Press, Ch. 6 and 7.

Enders, Walter and Todd Sandler. 1993. "The Effectiveness of Anti-Terrorism Policies: Vector-Autoregression-Intervention Analysis." *American Political Science Review* 87:829-844.

Kydd, Andrew H. and Barbara F. Walter. 2006. "The Strategies of Terrorism," *International Security* Vol. 31, No. 1, p. 49-80.

Lake, David A. 2002. "Rational Extremism: Understanding Terrorism in the Twenty-first Century." *Dialog IO* Spring, p. 15-29. Available at <http://dss.ucsd.edu/~dlake/Reprints/Rational%20Extremism.pdf>.

RECOMMENDED READING:

Bapat, Navin. 2008. "The Strategy of the Weak: State Support for Terrorism and Bargaining Power." Working Paper. Available at [http://www.unc.edu/~bapat/Bapat\\_Weakness.pdf](http://www.unc.edu/~bapat/Bapat_Weakness.pdf).

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

**Week 9: March 13** — Suicide Terror

REQUIRED READING:

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

Benmelech, Efraim and Claude Berrebi. 2007. "Human Capital and the Productivity of Suicide Bombers." *Journal of Economic Perspectives* 21(3): 223-238.

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.

Ashworth, Scott, Johsua 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.

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



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 [www.princeton.edu/~kramsay/Site/research\\_files/rejoinder3.pdf](http://www.princeton.edu/~kramsay/Site/research_files/rejoinder3.pdf).

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.

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.

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

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.

RECOMMENDED READING:

Gambetta, Diego (Editor). 2006. *Making Sense of Suicide Missions*. Oxford University Press, USA.

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

**Week 10: March 20** — Counter-terror: Target Defense and Information

REQUIRED READING:

Arce, Daniel and Todd Sandler. 2005. "Counterterrorism: A Game-Theoretic Analysis." *Journal of Conflict Resolution* (April), p. 183-200.

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.

Powell, Robert. 2007. "Defending Against Terrorist Attacks with Limited Resources." *American Political Science Review* 101(3):527-541.

Powell, Robert. 2007. "Allocating Defensive Resources with Private Information about Vulnerability." *American Political Science Review* 101(4):799-809.

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

Shapiro, Jacob N. and David A. Siegel. 2010. "Is This Paper Dangerous? Balancing secrecy and openness in counterterrorism." *Security Studies* 19 (1) 66-98.

Siqueira, Kevin and Todd Sandler. 2007. "Terrorist Backlash, Terrorism Mitigation, and Policy Delegation." *Journal of Public Economics* 91(9):1800-1815.

RECOMMENDED READING:

Arce, Daniel G. and Todd Sandler. 2007. "Terrorist Signalling and the Value of Intelligence." *British Journal of Political Science* 37:573-586.

Sandler, Todd and Kevin Siqueira. 2006. "Global Terrorism: Deterrence versus Preemption." *Canadian Journal of Economics* 39(4):1370-1387.

Zuang, Jun and Vicki M. Bier. 2008. "Secrecy and Deception in Anti-Terrorism Resource Allocation and Policy Implication." Working Paper.

**Week 11: March 27** — Negotiations, Credible Commitment and Costly Signaling

REQUIRED READING:

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

Bueno de Mesquita, Ethan. 2005. "The Terrorist Endgame: A Model with Moral Hazard and Learning." *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 49(2):237-258.

Findley, Michael G., and Joseph K. Young. 2011. "Terrorism, Democracy, and Credible Commitments." *International Studies Quarterly* 55: 357-378.

Kydd, Andrew and Barbara Walter. 2002. "Sabotaging the Peace: The Politics of Extremist Violence." *International Organization* 56(2):263-296.

Lapan, Harvey E. and Todd Sandler. 1988. "To Bargain or Not to Bargain: That is the Question." *American Economic Review* 78(2):16-21.

Lapan, Harvey E. and Todd Sandler. 1993. "Terrorism and Signaling." *European Journal of Political Economy* 9(3):383-397.

RECOMMENDED READING:

Bapat, Navin. 2006. "State Bargaining with Transnational Terrorist Groups." *International Studies Quarterly* 50:213-229.

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

ORGANIZATION, FINANCE, AND COMPETITION

**Week 12: April 3** — Finance and Counter-finance

REQUIRED READING:

Byman, Daniel. 2005. "Passive Sponsors of Terrorism." *Survival* 47(4):117-144.

Dishman, Chris. 2005. "The Leaderless Nexus: When Crime and Terror Converge." *Studies in Conflict and Terrorism* 28: 237-252.

Fair, C. Christine and Bryan Shepherd. 2006. "Who Supports Terrorism? Evidence from Fourteen Muslim Countries." *Studies in Conflict and Terrorism* 29:51-74.

Financial Action Task Force. 2008. "Terrorist Financing." p. 1-37. Available at <http://www.fatf-gafi.org/dataoecd/28/43/40285899.pdf>.

Giraldo, Jeanne K. and Harold A. Trinkunas. 2006. "The Political Economy of Terrorist Financing." in Jeanne K. Giraldo and Harold A. Trinkunas, eds., *The Political Economy of Terrorism Finance and State Responses: A Comparative Perspective*. Stanford: Stanford University Press, Ch 1.

Giraldo, Jeanne K. and Harold A. Trinkunas. 2006. "Terrorist Financing: Explaining Government Responses." in Jeanne K. Giraldo and Harold A. Trinkunas, eds., *The Political Economy of Terrorism Finance and State Responses: A Comparative Perspective*. Stanford: Stanford University Press, Ch 16.

Hovil, Lucy and Eric Werker. 2005. "Portrait of a Failed Rebellion: An Account of Rational, Sub-optimal Violence in Western Uganda." *Rationality & Society* 17, no. 1: 5-34.

Levitt, Matthew A. 2002. "The Political Economy of Middle East Terrorism." *Middle East Review of International Affairs* Vol. 6, No. 4, p. 49-65.

Kalyvas, Stathis N. 1999. "Wanton and Senseless?: The Logic of Massacres in Algeria." *Rationality and Society* 11(3):243-286.

Prober, Joshua. 2005. "Accounting for Terror: Debunking the Paradigm of Inexpensive Terrorism." Washington Institute for Near East Policy. PolicyWatch #1041. Available at <http://www.washingtoninstitute.org/templateC05.php?CID=2389>.

RECOMMENDED READING:

Felter et al., Joseph. 2006. "Al-Qaida: Back to the Future; The Vanguard and Muslim Brotherhood Operations in Syria" in *Combating Terrorism Center: Harmony and Disharmony Report*. Available at <http://ctc.usma.edu/aq/pdf/Harmony%20and%20Disharmony%20--%20CTC.pdf>. p. 40-55.

GAO. 2004. "Investigating Money Laundering and Terrorist Financing." GAO-04-710T. Available at <http://www.gao.gov/new.items/d04710t.pdf>.

**Week 13: April 10** — Organizational Structure

REQUIRED READING:

Asal, Victor and R. Karl Rethemeyer. 2008. "The Nature of the Beast: Terrorist Organizational Characteristics and Organizational Lethality." *Journal of Politics* 70: 437-449.

Chai, Sun-Ki. 1993. "An Organizational Economics Theory of Anti-Government Violence." *Comparative Politics* 26:99-110.

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

Cullison, Alan. Inside Al-Qaeda's Hard Drive, at (<http://www.theatlantic.com/doc/200409/cullison>).

Felter et al., Joseph. 2006. "Organizational Vulnerabilities and Recommendations to Exploit Them" in *Combating Terrorism Center: Harmony and Disharmony Report*. Available at <http://ctc.usma.edu/aq/pdf/Harmony%20and%20Disharmony%20--%20CTC.pdf>. p. 40-55.

Shapiro, Jacob N. 2006. "The Challenges of Organizing Terror: A Theoretical Framework for Analysis," in *Combating Terrorism Center: Harmony and Disharmony Report*. Available at <http://ctc.usma.edu/aq/pdf/Harmony%20and%20Disharmony%20--%20CTC.pdf>. p. 11-24.

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

Shapiro, Jacob N. and David A Siegel. 2012. "Moral Hazard, Discipline, and the Management of Terrorist Organizations." *World Politics* 64 (1): 39-78.

Harmony Documents: "Al-Qa'ida Goals and Structure" and "Employment Contract." Available at [http://ctc.usma.edu/aq/aq\\_pdf.asp](http://ctc.usma.edu/aq/aq_pdf.asp). [There are many other such documents as well for your perusal.]

Twomey, "Staff Report" (course website).

RECOMMENDED READING:

Bates, Robert, Avner Grief and Smita Singh. 2002. "Organizing Violence." *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 46 (5): 599-628.

Gates, Scott. 2002. "Recruitment and Allegiance: The Microfoundations of Rebellion." *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 46: 111-130.

**Week 14: April 17** — Competition and Factionalization

REQUIRED READING:

Bloom, Mia M. 2004, "Palestinian Suicide Bombing: Public Support, Market Share, and Outbidding." *Political Science Quarterly* 119 (1):61-88.

Bueno de Mesquita, Ethan. 2008. "Terrorist Factions." *Quarterly Journal of Political Science* 3(4): 399-418.

Findley, Michael G. and Joseph K. Young. (Forthcoming 2012) "More Combatant Groups, More Terror? Empirical Tests of an Outbidding Logic." *Terrorism and Political Violence*.

Moloney, Ed. 2002. *A secret history of the IRA*. New York : W.W. Norton, Ch. 16 and 17.

Siqueira, Kevin. 2005. "Political and Militant Wings within Dissident Movements and Organizations." *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 49(2):218-236.

RECOMMENDED READING:

Bloom, Mia M. 2005. *Dying to Kill*. Columbia University Press.

**Papers Due by noon April 24th**

## Additional Information

**University Attendance Policy:** Excused absences include documented illness, deaths in the family and other documented crises, call to active military duty or jury duty, religious holy days, and official University activities. These absences will be accommodated in a way that does not arbitrarily penalize students who have a valid excuse. Consideration will also be given to students whose dependent children experience serious illness.

**Academic Honor Policy:** The Florida State University Academic Honor Policy outlines the University's expectations for the integrity of students' academic work, the procedures for resolving alleged violations of those expectations, and the rights and responsibilities of students and faculty members throughout the process. Students are responsible for reading the Academic Honor Policy and for living up to their pledge to "...be honest and truthful and... [to] strive for personal and institutional integrity at Florida State University." (Florida State University Academic Honor Policy, found at <http://dof.fsu.edu/honorpolicy.htm>.)

**Americans With Disabilities Act:** Students with disabilities needing academic accommodation should: (1) register with and provide documentation to the Student Disability Resource Center; and (2) bring a letter to the instructor indicating the need for accommodation and what type. This should be done during the first week of class.

This syllabus and other class materials are available in alternative format upon request.

For more information about services available to FSU students with disabilities, contact the: Student Disability Resource Center  
874 Traditions Way  
108 Student Services Building  
Florida State University  
Tallahassee, FL 32306-4167  
(850) 644-9566 (voice)  
(850) 644-8504 (TDD)  
[sdrc@admin.fsu.edu](mailto:sdrc@admin.fsu.edu)  
<http://www.disabilitycenter.fsu.edu/>

**Syllabus Change Policy:** Except for changes that substantially affect implementation of the evaluation (grading) statement, this syllabus is a guide for the course and is subject to change with advance notice.