

POLITICAL ECONOMY OF TERRORISM

David A. Siegel

Course information:

Course Number: INR 5934
Time: Wednesday noon - 2:30 pm
Place: Bellamy Building 113
Course website: Blackboard

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Course Description

This course is a Masters-level seminar that addresses terrorism from a political economic perspective. At times this will mean explicitly examining the political and the economic determinants and consequences of terrorism. In general, it implies a quantitative approach to the study of terrorism, using the tools of game theory and statistical inference. The former helps structure the strategic interactions in which terrorists and governments engage; the latter helps us draw general conclusions from multiple, disparate cases. Though no prior knowledge of either tool is required, readings will contain both. The first week will be a crash course in everything you need to know to get a handle on the readings; additional detail will be provided in class during discussion.

In the remaining thirteen weeks, we will tackle different aspects of terrorism. Terrorism has become a broad subject, and our focus on a political economic approach means we will not be able to cover all of it 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.) What we will explore are 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 10 page policy analysis memo that will take a real-world problem relating to terrorism, set it in the literature we have read, and apply the approach of this class to propose ways to study the problem further and come to a reasoned policy conclusion.

Readings

All readings for the class are listed in the tentative schedule below in the order in which they will be used. Book chapters will be available via Blackboard, and you should check there first for all readings. Articles not there are available via the internet, either at a site listed with the reading (copy and paste these links, do not click directly on them), or via www.jstor.org or the like. It is your responsibility to obtain these readings (we will discuss how to do this in the first class). 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: 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. All students should also have read the discussion papers circulated by discussion leaders the day before (see below). This is a seminar class, 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 two papers to lead between weeks 4 and 15. Discussion leaders will be chosen in the second class meeting. A discussion leader has two responsibilities for the week that s/he leads. First, each leader is responsible for delivering to the class, via e-mail (one can do this via Blackboard), a 2-3 page paper by noon Monday the week of class. The paper should open with a **brief** summary of the major points of the paper 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 in charge of that paper will then lead discussion on the paper during the seminar. The depth of 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 third 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 3 header below.
- Final paper: 35%. The final paper will be due by noon on Friday the last week of class (April 20th). Each late day will result in a loss of one letter grade. Papers should be both e-mailed to me and placed in the digital dropbox on Blackboard. 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 11 or 12 point font, and be no more (or much less than) 10 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: January 4 — 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: January 11 — Definitions, Progress, and Problems

REQUIRED READING:

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.

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.

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.

Week 3: January 18 — An Abbreviated and Partial Tour of History

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)]

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

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>).

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*.

WHO JOINS?: MOBILIZATION, RECRUITMENT, AND NETWORKS

Week 4: January 25 — Economics, Democracy, and Repression I

REQUIRED READING:

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.

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:

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 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 5: February 1 — 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.

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

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.

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.

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

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.

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 6: February 8 — Mass Impact of Terrorism

REQUIRED READING:

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

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.

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

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

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

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.

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 7: February 15 — Terror Networks

REQUIRED READING:

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

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

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>.

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.

Week 8: February 22 — 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.

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.

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.

RECOMMENDED READING:

Juergensmeyer, Mark. 2001. *Terror in the Mind of God*. University of California Press.

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.

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

Week 9: February 29 — 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.

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

RECOMMENDED READING:

Bapat, Navin. 2008. "The Strategy of the Weak: State Support for Terrorism and Bargaining Power." Working Paper.

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. 1529. Available at <http://dss.ucsd.edu/~dlake/Reprints/Rational%20Extremism.pdf>.

Week 10: March 15 — 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>.

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.

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.

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.

Week 11: March 22 — 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.

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

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

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

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.

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 12: March 29 — 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.

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. 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.

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

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

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 13: April 5 — Finance and Counter-finance

REQUIRED READING:

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 Terrorism Finance and State Responses: A Comparative Perspective*. Stanford: Stanford University Press, Ch 1.

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.

RECOMMENDED 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. "Who Supports Terrorism? Evidence from Fourteen Muslim Countries." *Studies in Conflict and Terrorism* 29:51-74.

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>.

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>.

Week 14: April 12 — 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.

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.

Primary Sources:

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

Harmony Documents: "Al-Qa'ida Goals and Structure" and "Employment Contract." Available at 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:

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.

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.

Week 15: April 19 — 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*.

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.

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

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
<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.