

DRAFT

Course Information

Course Number: XXXX ###
Course Title: *Terrorism and Counterterrorism*
Section: *Section*
Time: Thursdays, xx-xx
Location: *Location*
Credit Hours: 3

Instructor Details

Instructor: *Sara Daly*
Office: *Location*
Phone: 703-655-3524 (m)
E-Mail: saraadaly@tamu.edu; saraadaly@gmail.com
Office Hours: Available by appointment only. If you would like to visit with me by phone or online, send me an email. We'll find a time that will work for both of us. I am also available to meet before and after class.

Course Description

This course will examine the fundamentals of understanding the threat posed by terrorism, the basics of counterterrorism, and look at several key issues important to the study of terrorism. The approach of this course is multi-disciplinary, examining terrorism through the lens of political science, history, law, economics, criminology, and religious studies. The course is designed to provide a basis for understanding the phenomenon of terrorism, and to set it into an appropriate context in relation to other critical issues facing a globalized society.

Course Prerequisites

None.

Special Course Designation

None.

Course Learning Outcomes

Students who complete this course will have obtained a thorough understanding of the theoretical underpinnings of both terrorism and counterterrorism; an appreciation of the historical longevity and dimensions of this unique form of conflict; a comprehensive knowledge of the challenges of countering terrorism through a variety of key, historical and contemporary case studies; and a firm foundation of understanding terrorism and how this mode of warfare can be effectively countered. By the end of this course you will be able to:

- Articulate the key arguments and debates critical to understanding the issue of terrorism and how it can be countered.
- Illustrate a substantive grasp of the fundamental components of terrorism and counterterrorism.
- Assess both the key benefits and pitfalls of counterterrorism policy and operations.

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Textbook and/or Resource Materials

None.

Grading Policy

Class Participation 10%

Case Study 30%

Oral Presentation 30%

Research Paper 30%

The grading scale below, based on percent, determines your final letter grade.

100-95: A

94-90: A-

89 -87: B+

86 - 84: B

83 - 80: B-

79 - 77: C+

76 - 74: C

73 - 70: C-

< 70: F

- **Readings:** Several readings are assigned weekly to each module. You will be expected to have read these articles before you come to class each week and should be fully prepared to engage in a lively discussion/debate of some of the arguments/theories/approaches/research contained therein.
- **Class Participation (10%):** You will come to class prepared to discuss the readings for the week, participate in group discussions and activities, and ask thoughtful questions.
- **Case Study (30%):** You will prepare a five-page case study. You will select a significant terrorist attack to analyze, focusing on tactics, participants, motivations, financing, etc. Or you may select a prominent terrorist leader and use the case study method to analyze how the underlying factors of extremism contributed to the individual's worldview and outline their importance within the group. We will discuss the case study method in class to familiarize you with how to prepare this assignment.
- **Oral Presentation (30%):** You will also prepare an oral presentation in which you will provide background analysis and recommendations to the "National Security Advisor" on a specific terrorist issue which requires near term policy attention. The oral presentation will be conducted during our in-person sessions. There will be a sign up sheet circulated the first day of class.
- **Final Paper (30%):** The final paper will be a policy memo. You will select a specific counterterrorism-related security issue to analyze and make recommendations to a policymaker on how to address the issue. The paper will be 7-10 pages

Requirements for Assignments

For all assignments, you are expected to use:

- American Political Science Association (APSA) style
- 1.5 spacing
- 12-point, Times New Roman font
- 1 ½ inch margins on all sides
- All pages numbered
- Include a reference section
- Completely cite all of your sources (including author, date, and page numbers).

Assignment Grading Criteria:

A Range: The paper is clear, engaging, original, and focused; ideas and content are richly developed with details and examples. Organization and form enhance the central idea and theme; ideas are presented coherently to move the reader through the text. The voice of the writer is compelling and conveys the writer's meaning through effective sentence structure and precise word choices. The writer successfully moves the paper through academic constructs

and experiential documentation to critical analysis. The paper demonstrates a clear balance of these three components.

B Range: The paper is reasonably clear, focused, and well supported; ideas are adequately developed through details and examples. Organization and form are appropriate, and ideas are generally presented coherently. The voice of the writer contributes to the writer's meaning through appropriate and varied sentence structure and word choices. Surface features do not interfere with understanding or distract from meaning. The writer has clearly brought the reader through properly cited academic constructs and experiential documentation, but has not fully developed the area of critical analysis.

C Range: The paper has some focus and support; ideas and content may be developed with limited details and examples. The writing may be somewhat disorganized or too obviously structured. The voice of the writer is generally absent; basic sentence structure and limited vocabulary convey a simple message. Surface feature errors may reduce understanding and interfere with meaning. The content areas of academic constructs are limited and large generalizations are made. Critical analysis is all but absent from the paper.

D Range: The paper has little focus and development; few details and examples support ideas and content. There is little discernible shape and no direction. The writer's tone is flat. Awkward sentence structure and inadequate vocabulary interfere with understanding. Limited control of surface features makes paper difficult to read. Critical analysis is absent, and segments of the paper are given to rambling descriptions of life experience without academic context.

Late Work Policy

This syllabus provides all relevant due dates for assignments. It is your responsibility to ensure that I receive them on time by 11:59 PM ET on the day they are due. Late assignments will be marked down five points for each day they are late, unless student has received permission in advance of the assignment due date for an extension.

Course Schedule

Spring 2022 Schedule:

January 19: First day of class

February 2: Case Study topic due

February 23: Final paper topic due

March 10: Case Study due:

March 13-17: Spring Break

April 6: Final paper rough draft due:

April 13: Final paper peer review due

April 28: Last day of class

May 4: Final paper due

Modules and Readings:

Unit 1: The Fundamentals of Terrorism (Modules 1-8)

Module 1: What is Terrorism?

Readings:

- Jonathan Collins (2021) A New Wave of Terrorism? A Comparative Analysis of the Rise of Far-Right Terrorism, *Perspectives on Terrorism*, 15:6, 2-22.
- Lance Y. Hunter, Martha Humphries Ginn, Scott Story Llewellyn & Joshua Rutland (2021) Are mass shootings acts of terror? Applying key criteria in definitions of terrorism to mass shootings in the United States from 1982 to 2018, *Behavioral Sciences of Terrorism and Political Aggression*, 13:4, 265-294, DOI: 10.1080/19434472.2020.1762108
- Michael Livesey (2021) Historicising “terrorism”: how, and why?, *Critical Studies on Terrorism*, 14:4, 474-478, DOI: 10.1080/17539153.2021.1982467
- Recep Onursal & Daniel Kirkpatrick (2021) Is Extremism the ‘New’ Terrorism? the Convergence of ‘Extremism’ and ‘Terrorism’ in British Parliamentary Discourse, *Terrorism and Political Violence*, 33:5, 1094-1116, DOI: 10.1080/09546553.2019.1598391
- Wesley S. McCann & Nicholas Pimley (2020) Mixed Mandates: Issues Concerning Organizational and Statutory Definitions of Terrorism in the United States, *Terrorism and Political Violence*, 32:4, 807-830, DOI: 10.1080/09546553.2017.1404457
- Jeffrey Treistman (2021) Revisiting reactionary terrorism: definitions, causes, and consequences, *Journal of Policing, Intelligence and Counter Terrorism*, 16:2, 192-201, DOI: 10.1080/18335330.2021.1892169
- Gary A. Ackerman & Michael Burnham (2021) Towards a Definition of Terrorist Ideology, *Terrorism and Political Violence*, 33:6, 1160-1190, DOI: 10.1080/09546553.2019.1599862
- Vladimir Rauta (2020) Towards a typology of non-state actors in ‘hybrid warfare’: proxy, auxiliary, surrogate and affiliated forces, *Cambridge Review of International Affairs*, 33:6, 868-887, DOI: 10.1080/09557571.2019.1656600
- David Lowe (2020): Far-Right Extremism: Is it Legitimate Freedom of Expression, Hate Crime, or Terrorism?, *Terrorism and Political Violence*.

Suggested readings:

- Jeffrey Kaplan (2021) A Conspiracy of Dunces: Good Americans vs. A Cabal of Satanic Pedophiles?, *Terrorism and Political Violence*, 33:5, 917-921, DOI: 10.1080/09546553.2021.1932342
- Lee Jarvis (2022) Critical terrorism studies and the far-right: beyond problems and solutions?, *Critical Studies on Terrorism*, 15:1, 13-37, DOI: 10.1080/17539153.2021.2017484

- James M. Jasper (2021) Fear of the angry mob, *Dynamics of Asymmetric Conflict*, 14:2, 121-137, DOI: 10.1080/17467586.2021.1913506

Module 2: Underlying Factors

- Maiah Jaskoski, Michael Wilson & Berny Lazareno (2020) Approving of but Not Choosing Violence: Paths of Nonviolent Radicals, *Terrorism and Political Violence*, 32:2, 257-274, DOI: 10.1080/09546553.2017.1364638
- Clara Isabel Morgades-Bamba, Patrick Raynal & Henri Chabrol (2020) Exploring the Radicalization Process in Young Women, *Terrorism and Political Violence*, 32:7, 1439-1457, DOI: 10.1080/09546553.2018.1481051
- Emma Cardeli, Mia Bloom, Sarah Gillespie, Tanya Zayed & B. Heidi Ellis (2022) Exploring the Social-Ecological Factors that Mobilize Children into Violence, *Terrorism and Political Violence*, 34:2, 318-340, DOI: 10.1080/09546553.2019.1701444
- Amélie Godefroidt & Arnim Langer (2020) How Fear Drives Us Apart: Explaining the Relationship between Terrorism and Social Trust, *Terrorism and Political Violence*, 32:7, 1482-1505, DOI: 10.1080/09546553.2018.1482829
- Daveed Gartenstein-Ross & Madeleine Blackman (2022) Fluidity of the Fringes: Prior Extremist Involvement as a Radicalization Pathway, *Studies in Conflict & Terrorism*, 45:7, 555-578, DOI: 10.1080/1057610X.2018.1531545
- Simon Cottee (2021) Incel (E)motives: Resentment, Shame and Revenge, *Studies in Conflict & Terrorism*, 44:2, 93-114, DOI: 10.1080/1057610X.2020.1822589
- Adesoji Adelaja and Justin George. (2020). Is Youth Unemployment Related to Domestic Terrorism? *Perspectives on Terrorism*. 14:5, 41-62.
- Vincent A. Auger. Right-Wing Terror: A Fifth Global Wave? (2020). *Perspectives on Terrorism*. 14:3, 87-97.
- Amira Jadoon & Daniel Milton (2022) Strength from the Shadows? How Shadow Economies Affect Terrorist Activities, *Studies in Conflict & Terrorism*, 45:5-6, 517-534, DOI: 10.1080/1057610X.2019.1678880
- Boaz Ganor. (2021). Understanding the Motivations of "Lone Wolf" Terrorists: The "Bathtub" Model. 15:2, 23-32.

Suggested readings:

- Sarah Knight, David Keatley & Katie Woodward (2022) Comparing the Different Behavioral Outcomes of Extremism: A Comparison of Violent and Non-Violent Extremists, Acting Alone or as Part of a Group, *Studies in Conflict & Terrorism*, 45:8, 682-703, DOI: 10.1080/1057610X.2019.1680192
- Arie Perliger & Mengyan Liu (2022) Exploring the Intersection of Environmental Events and Domestic Political Violence in the United States, *Terrorism and Political Violence*, 34:5, 1024-1040, DOI: 10.1080/09546553.2022.2069933
- Thomas McCauley (2021) Race war or culture war: the diversity in right-wing extremism, *Dynamics of Asymmetric Conflict*, 14:2, 192-208, DOI: 10.1080/17467586.2021.1917771

Module 3: Leadership

- Barak Mendelsohn (2021): Casting Shadow: Founders and the Unique Challenges of a Terrorist Group's First Leadership Change, *Studies in Conflict & Terrorism*, DOI: 10.1080/1057610X.2021.2018903
- Anastasia Filippidou (2022) The Oxymoron of a Benevolent Authoritarian Leadership: The Case of Lebanon's Hezbollah and Hassan Nasrallah, *Terrorism and Political Violence*, 34:3, 585-604, DOI: 10.1080/09546553.2020.1724967
- Mohammed Ibrahim Shire (2020): How Do Leadership Decapitation and Targeting Error Affect Suicide Bombings? The Case of Al-Shabaab, *Studies in Conflict & Terrorism*, DOI: 10.1080/1057610X.2020.1780021
- Tricia Bacon and Elizabeth Grimm Arsenault. (2019). Al Qaeda and the Islamic State's Break: Strategic Strife or Lackluster Leadership? *Studies in Conflict and Terrorism*. 42:3, 229-263.
- Mehmet F. Bastug & Ahmet Guler (2018) The influence of leadership on the strategies and tactics of Islamic State and its predecessors, *Journal of Policing, Intelligence and Counter Terrorism*, 13:1, 38-59, DOI: 10.1080/18335330.2018.1432879
- Yasutaka Tominaga. (2019). Evaluating the impact of repeated leadership targeting on militant group durability. 45:5, 865-892.
- Abhay Kumar Rai and Sumit Kumar. (2022). Identifying the leaders and main conspirators of the attacks in terrorist networks. *ETRI Journal*. 1-14.
- Max Abrahms & Jochen Mierau (2017) Leadership Matters: The Effects of Targeted Killings on Militant Group Tactics, *Terrorism and Political Violence*, 29:5, 830-851, DOI: 10.1080/09546553.2015.1069671
- Barak Mendelsohn (2020): Ayman al-Zawahiri and the Challenges of Succession in Terrorist Organizations, *Terrorism and Political Violence*, DOI: 10.1080/09546553.2020.1844673

Module 4: Strategy and Tactics

- Ahmet Guler & Mustafa Demir (2021) A global comparison of suicide and non-suicide terrorism, *Journal of Policing, Intelligence and Counter Terrorism*, 16:2, 105-124, DOI: 10.1080/18335330.2021.1889015
- Joel A. Capellan & Jason R. Silva (2021) An Investigation of Mass Public Shooting Attacks Against Government Targets in the United States, *Studies in Conflict & Terrorism*, 44:5, 387-409, DOI: 10.1080/1057610X.2018.1551294
- James A. Piazza & Scott Piazza (2020) Crime Pays: Terrorist Group Engagement in Crime and Survival, *Terrorism and Political Violence*, 32:4, 701-723, DOI: 10.1080/09546553.2017.1397515
- Victor Asal, Shawn Flanigan & Ora Szekely (2022) Doing Good while Killing: Why Some Insurgent Groups Provide Community Services, *Terrorism and Political Violence*, 34:4, 835-855, DOI: 10.1080/09546553.2020.1745775
- Joseph M. Brown (2020) Force of Words: The Role of Threats in Terrorism, *Terrorism and Political Violence*, 32:7, 1527-1549, DOI: 10.1080/09546553.2018.1486301
- Manuel Ricardo Torres-Soriano (2021) How Do Terrorists Choose Their Targets for an Attack? The View from inside an Independent Cell, *Terrorism and Political Violence*, 33:7, 1363-1377, DOI: 10.1080/09546553.2019.1613983
- Zoe Marchment, Noémie Bouhana & Paul Gill (2020) Lone Actor Terrorists: A Residence-to-Crime Approach, *Terrorism and Political Violence*, 32:7, 1413-1438, DOI: 10.1080/09546553.2018.1481050

- Paul Gill, Zoe Marchment, Emily Corner & Noémie Bouhana (2020) Terrorist Decision Making in the Context of Risk, Attack Planning, and Attack Commission, *Studies in Conflict & Terrorism*, 43:2, 145-160, DOI: 10.1080/1057610X.2018.1445501
- Erin M. Kearns (2021) When to Take Credit for Terrorism? A Cross-National Examination of Claims and Attributions, *Terrorism and Political Violence*, 33:1, 164-193, DOI: 10.1080/09546553.2018.1540982

Suggested readings:

- William A. Wagstaff & Danielle F. Jung (2020) Competing for Constituents: Trends in Terrorist Service Provision, *Terrorism and Political Violence*, 32:2, 293-324, DOI: 10.1080/09546553.2017.1368494
- Mohammed Ibrahim Shire & Abdi Hersi (2022) Brothers in Arms: The Phenomenon of Complex Suicide Attacks, *Terrorism and Political Violence*, 34:2, 263-284, DOI: 10.1080/09546553.2019.1693371

Module 5: Facilitation and Communication

- Thomas J. Holt, Joshua D. Freilich & Steven M. Chermak (2022) Examining the Online Expression of Ideology among Far-Right Extremist Forum Users, *Terrorism and Political Violence*, 34:2, 364-384, DOI: 10.1080/09546553.2019.1701446
- Ido Levy & Abdi Yusuf (2021) How Do Terrorist Organizations Make Money? Terrorist Funding and Innovation in the Case of al-Shabaab, *Studies in Conflict & Terrorism*, 44:12, 1167-1189, DOI: 10.1080/1057610X.2019.1628622
- Anna Kruglova (2021) "I Will Tell You a Story about Jihad": ISIS's Propaganda and Narrative Advertising, *Studies in Conflict & Terrorism*, 44:2, 115-137, DOI: 10.1080/1057610X.2020.1799519
- Louise I. Shelley. (2020). Illicit Trade and Terrorism. *Perspectives on Terrorism*. 14:4, 7-20.
- Katharine Petrich (2022) Cows, Charcoal, and Cocaine: Al-Shabaab's Criminal Activities in the Horn of Africa, *Studies in Conflict & Terrorism*, 45:5-6, 479-500, DOI: 10.1080/1057610X.2019.1678873
- Christian Vianna de Azevedo. (2020). ISIS Resurgence in Al Hawl Camp and Human Smuggling Enterprises in Syria: Crime and Terror Convergence? 14:4, 43-63.
- Robert J. VandenBerg (2021) Legitimizing Extremism: A Taxonomy of Justifications for Political Violence, *Terrorism and Political Violence*, 33:6, 1237-1255, DOI: 10.1080/09546553.2019.1606800
- Arie Perliger & Michael Palmieri (2022) Mapping Connections and Cooperation between Terrorist and Criminal Entities, *Studies in Conflict & Terrorism*, 45:5-6, 335-347, DOI: 10.1080/1057610X.2019.1678874
- Mutlu Koseli, Niyazi Ekici, Murat Erkan Eren & Christopher Bitner (2021) Use of kidnapping and extortion as a tool for financing terrorism: the case of the PKK, *Behavioral Sciences of Terrorism and Political Aggression*, 13:3, 215-230, DOI: 10.1080/19434472.2020.1745257

Suggested readings:

- James A. Piazza (2022) Fake news: the effects of social media disinformation on domestic terrorism, *Dynamics of Asymmetric Conflict*, 15:1, 55-77, DOI: 10.1080/17467586.2021.1895263
- Jan Christoffer Andersen & Sveinung Sandberg (2020) Islamic State Propaganda: Between Social Movement Framing and Subcultural Provocation, *Terrorism and Political Violence*, 32:7, 1506-1526, DOI: 10.1080/09546553.2018.1484356

Module 6: State Support and Fragile States

- Aleksandar Pašagić. (2020). Failed States and Terrorism: Justifiability of Transnational Interventions from a Counterterrorism Perspective. *Perspectives on Terrorism*, 14:3, 19-28.
- Steven M. Radit & Jaume Castan Pinos (2022) Reexamining the Four Waves of Modern Terrorism: A Territorial Interpretation, *Studies in Conflict & Terrorism*, 45:4, 311-330, DOI: 10.1080/1057610X.2019.1657310
- Miguel Carreras & Ajay Verghese (2020) Violence, Insecurity, and Religiosity: A Multilevel Analysis of 71 Countries, *Terrorism and Political Violence*, 32:6, 1310-1328, DOI: 10.1080/09546553.2018.1466704
- Harrison Akins (2021) Violence on the Home Front: Interstate Rivalry and Pro-Government Militias, *Terrorism and Political Violence*, 33:3, 466-488, DOI: 10.1080/09546553.2018.1548353
- Daniel Byman (2020): Understanding, and Misunderstanding, State Sponsorship of Terrorism, *Studies in Conflict & Terrorism*.
- Zeynab Malakoutikhah, "Iran: Sponsoring or Combating Terrorism?" *Studies in Conflict and Terrorism* 2020, Vol. 43, No. 10, 913–939.
- Joshua Tschantret, "Democratic breakdown and terrorism," *Conflict Management and Peace Science* 2021, Vol. 38(4) 369–390.
- Sascha Bruchmann, "Towards a structural understanding of powerbrokers in weak states: From militias to alliances," *Security and Defence Quarterly*, 4/2020 vol. 31.
- Ore Koren, Sumit Ganguly & Aashna Khanna (2021): Fragile States, Technological Capacity, and Increased Terrorist Activity, *Studies in Conflict & Terrorism*.

Suggested readings:

- O. O. Thompson A. S. Afolabi A. Shola Abdulbaki, "Beyond the Capture of 'Camp Zero': Terrorism and Insecurity in a Failing-Weak State," *India Quarterly* 75(3) 303–322, 2019.
- S. Yaqub Ibrahim (2020) Violence-producing Dynamics of Fragile States: How State Fragility in Iraq Contributed to the Emergence of Islamic State, *Terrorism and Political Violence*, 32:6, 1245-1267, DOI: 10.1080/09546553.2018.1463914

Module 7: Learning and Innovation

- Kenney, Michael. (2020). A Community of True Believers: Learning as a Process Among "The Emigrants." *Terrorism and Political Violence* Vol. 32 (No. 1), 57-76. DOI: 10.1080/09546553.2017.1346506
- Craig Whiteside, Ian Rice & Daniele Raineri (2021) Black Ops: Islamic State and Innovation in Irregular Warfare, *Studies in Conflict & Terrorism*, 44:12, 1190-1217, DOI: 10.1080/1057610X.2019.1628623

- Brecht Volders (2021) Building the Bomb: A Further Exploration of an Organizational Approach to Nuclear Terrorism, *Terrorism and Political Violence*, 33:5, 1012-1031, DOI: 10.1080/09546553.2019.1598387
- Thomas R. Guarrieri & Collin J. Meisel (2021) Extremists and unconventional weapons: examining the pursuit of chemical and biological agents, *Behavioral Sciences of Terrorism and Political Aggression*, 13:1, 23-42, DOI: 10.1080/19434472.2019.1698633
- Isaac Kfir (2021): Innovating to Survive, a Look at How Extremists Adapt to Counterterrorism, *Studies in Conflict & Terrorism*, DOI: 10.1080/1057610X.2021.1926069
- Håvard Haugstvedt and Jan Otto Jacobsen. (2020). Taking Fourth-Generation Warfare to the Skies? An Empirical Exploration of Non-State Actors' Use of Weaponized Unmanned Aerial Vehicles (UAVs—'Drones'), 14:5, 26-40.
- Michael Fürstenberg and Carolin Görizig. (2020). Learning in a Double Loop: The Strategic Transformation of Al-Qaeda. 14:1, 26-38.
- Colleen E. Mills, Joshua D. Freilich, Steven M. Chermak, Thomas J. Holt & Gary LaFree (2021) Social Learning and Social Control in the Off- and Online Pathways to Hate Crime and Terrorist Violence, *Studies in Conflict & Terrorism*, 44:9, 701-729.

Module 8: Emerging Issues

- Curtis M. Craig, Randy W. Overbeek & Elizabeth M. Niedbala (2021) A Global Analysis of Temperature, Terrorist Attacks, and Fatalities, *Studies in Conflict & Terrorism*, 44:11, 958-970, DOI: 10.1080/1057610X.2019.1606992
- Zachary Kallenborn & Philipp C. Bleek (2020) Avatars of the Earth: Radical Environmentalism and Chemical, Biological, Radiological, and Nuclear (CBRN) Weapons, *Studies in Conflict & Terrorism*, 43:5, 351-381, DOI: 10.1080/1057610X.2018.1471972
- Margherita Belgioioso, Stefano Costalli & Kristian Skrede Gleditsch (2021) Better the Devil You Know? How Fringe Terrorism Can Induce an Advantage for Moderate Nonviolent Campaigns, *Terrorism and Political Violence*, 33:3, 596-615, DOI: 10.1080/09546553.2018.1559836
- Jordan J. Plotnek and Jill Slay "Cyber terrorism: A homogenized taxonomy and definition," *Computers and Security* (2021): Vol. 102.
- A Comprehensive Look at the Gendered Dimensions of Counterterrorism. *Peace and Conflict: (2022). Journal of Peace Psychology*. Advance online publication. <http://dx.doi.org/10.1037/pac0000597>
- Katja Lindskov Jacobsen. (2021). Biometric data flows and unintended consequences of counterterrorism. *International Review of the Red Cross*. 103:916-917, 619–652. Counterterrorism, sanctions and war doi:10.1017/S1816383121000928
- David Malet & Rachel Hayes (2020) Foreign Fighter Returnees: An Indefinite Threat?, *Terrorism and Political Violence*, 32:8, 1617-1635, DOI: 10.1080/09546553.2018.1497987
- Andrew Silke & John Morrison (2022) Gathering Storm: An Introduction to the Special Issue on Climate Change and Terrorism, *Terrorism and Political Violence*, 34:5, 883-893, DOI: 10.1080/09546553.2022.2069444

Unit 2: Counterterrorism (Modules 9-15)

Module 9: Counterterrorism Strategy and Policy

- Roberto Baldoli (2020) Fighting terrorism with nonviolence: an ideological perspective, *Critical Studies on Terrorism*, 13:3, 464-484, DOI: 10.1080/17539153.2020.1758478
- Boaz Ganor (2021) Targeted Killings: Ethical & Operational Dilemmas, *Terrorism and Political Violence*, 33:2, 353-366, DOI: 10.1080/09546553.2021.1880234
- John Mueller & Mark G. Stewart (2021) Terrorism and Bathtubs: Comparing and Assessing the Risks, *Terrorism and Political Violence*, 33:1, 138-163, DOI: 10.1080/09546553.2018.1530662
- Marc Helbling and Daniel Meierrieks, "Transnational terrorism and restrictive immigration policies," *Journal of Peace Research* 2020, Vol. 57(4) 564–580.
- Livio Di Lonardo, Tiberiu Dragu. (2021) Counterterrorism Policy in an Uncertain World. *The Journal of Politics*. 83:4, 1857-1860.
- Subhayu Bandyopadhyaya, Todd Sandler.(2021). Counterterrorism policy: Spillovers, regime solidity, and corner solutions. *Journal of Economic Behavior and Organization*. 188, 811-827.
- Amal Abu-Bakare. (2020). Counterterrorism and race. *International Politics Reviews*. 8, 79-99.
- Daphna Canetti, Joshua Gubler, Thomas Zeitzoff. (2021). Motives Don't Matter? Motive Attribution and Counterterrorism Policy. *Political Psychology*. 42:3, 483-499. DOI: 10.1111/pops.12708
- Daniel Byman (2021): Counterterrorism and Modern White Supremacy, *Studies in Conflict & Terrorism*, DOI: 10.1080/1057610X.2021.1956100
- Syed Yusuf Saadat. (2021). International cooperation for counter-terrorism: a strategic perspective. *Journal of Policing, Intelligence, and Counterterrorism*. 15:1, 83–93, <https://doi.org/10.1080/18335330.2020.1732451>

Suggested readings:

- Stephen J. Ceccoli (2022): Foreign Policy Orientations and U.S. Counterterrorism Support, *Studies in Conflict & Terrorism*, DOI: 10.1080/1057610X.2021.2015820
- Thomas Renard. (2021). Counter-Terrorism as a Public Policy Author(s): Thomas Renard Source: *Perspectives on Terrorism*. 15:4, 2-10.
- Nicholas J. Rasmussen.(2021). Reflections on Twenty Years of Counterterrorism Strategy and Policy. *Journal of National Security Law and Policy*. 12, 35-42
- Michael Chertoff, Patrick Bury, and Daniela Richterova. Bytes not waves: information communication technologies, global jihadism and counterterrorism. (2020). *International Affairs* 96: 5, 1305–1325; DOI: 10.1093/ia/iiaa048
- Gaetano Joe Ilardi, Debra Smith & Andrew Zammit (2021) Revisiting the relationship between academics and national security practitioners, *Journal of Policing, Intelligence and Counter Terrorism*, 16:1, 1-11, DOI: 10.1080/18335330.2021.1895441
- Sumaia A. Al-Kohlani, Carlin C. Crisanti, and Jennifer L. Merolla.(2021). Droned Out? Counterterrorism Policies in Yemen. *Middle East Policy*. 28:2, 130-146, <https://doi-org.proxygw.wrlc.org/10.1111/mepo.12557>

Module 10: Law and Diplomacy

- Jesse J. Norris (2021) Another Form of American Exceptionalism? A Comparative Analysis of Terrorism Sting Operations in the US and Abroad, *Terrorism and Political Violence*, 33:7, 1399-1423, DOI: 10.1080/09546553.2019.1613984
- Wesley S. McCann & Nicholas Pimley (2022) Eliminating Extremism: A Legal Analysis of Hate Crime and Terrorism Laws in the United States, *Terrorism and Political Violence*, 34:2, 285-317, DOI: 10.1080/09546553.2019.1699794
- Jori Breslawski (2021) In the Spotlight: How International Attention Affects Militant Behavior, *Terrorism and Political Violence*, 33:1, 3-25, DOI: 10.1080/09546553.2018.1517087
- Helen Durham. (2021). Counterterrorism, Sanctions, and War. *International Review of the Red Cross*. 103, 916-917. 1-9. DOI:10.1017/S1816383121000898
- Dag Arne Christensen, Jacob Aars. (2021). Counterterrorism Policies and Attitudes Towards Out-Groups: Evidence from a Survey Experiment on Citizens' Attitudes Towards Wiretapping. *Political Behavior*. 43:997–1015 <https://doi.org/10.1007/s11109-019-09580-7>
- Robert W. White, Tijen Demirel-Pegg & Vijay Lulla (2021) Terrorism, counterterrorism and 'the rule of law': state repression and 'shoot-to-kill' in Northern Ireland, *Irish Political Studies*, 36:2, 263-290, DOI: 10.1080/07907184.2020.1833822
- David McKeever.(2020). International Humanitarian Law and Counterterrorism: Fundamental Values, Conflicting Obligations. *International and Comparative Law Quarterly*. 69, 43–78, doi:10.1017/S0020589319000472
- Lawrence Hill-Cawthorne. (2021). Detention in the context of counterterrorism and armed conflict: Continuities and new challenges. *International Review of the Red Cross*. 103:916-917, 555–579. Counterterrorism, sanctions and war doi:10.1017/S1816383121000333

Suggested readings:

- Eitan Azani & Nadine Liv (2020) A Comprehensive Doctrine for an Evolving Threat: Countering Terrorist Use of Social Networks, *Studies in Conflict & Terrorism*, 43:8, 728-752, DOI: [10.1080/1057610X.2018.1494874](https://doi.org/10.1080/1057610X.2018.1494874)
- Dino Krause. (2022). How Transnational is "Transnational"? Foreign Fighter Recruitment and Transnational Operations among Affiliates of al-Qaeda and the Islamic State. 16:1, 23-37.

Module 11: Intelligence

- Boaz Ganor (2021) Artificial or Human: A New Era of Counterterrorism Intelligence?, *Studies in Conflict & Terrorism*, 44:7, 605-624, DOI: 10.1080/1057610X.2019.1568815
- Adam D. Jacobson (2021) Back to the Dark Side: Explaining the CIA's Repeated Use of Torture, *Terrorism and Political Violence*, 33:2, 257-270, DOI: 10.1080/09546553.2021.1880193
- Peter Ford (2020) Combatting terrorist propaganda, *Journal of Policing, Intelligence and Counter Terrorism*, 15:2, 175-186, DOI: 10.1080/18335330.2020.1780298
- Kurt Braddock & John F. Morrison (2020) Cultivating Trust and Perceptions of Source Credibility in Online Counternarratives Intended to Reduce Support for Terrorism, *Studies in Conflict & Terrorism*, 43:6, 468-492, DOI: 10.1080/1057610X.2018.1452728
- Peter Gill (2020) Explaining Intelligence Failure: Rethinking the Recent Terrorist Attacks in Europe, *International Journal of Intelligence and CounterIntelligence*, 33:1, 43-67, DOI: 10.1080/08850607.2019.1663702

- David Omand (2021) The Ethical Limits We Should Place on Intelligence Gathering as Part of an Integrated CT Strategy, *Terrorism and Political Violence*, 33:2, 290-301, DOI: 10.1080/09546553.2021.1880225
- Patrick Bury & Michael Chertoff (2020) New Intelligence Strategies for a New Decade, *The RUSI Journal*, 165:4, 42-53, DOI: 10.1080/03071847.2020.1802945
- John P. Sullivan, Genevieve Lester. (2022). Revisiting Domestic Intelligence. *Journal of Strategic Security*. 15:1, 75-105, DOI: <https://doi.org/10.5038/1944-0472.15.1.1976>

Module 12: Military and Policing

- Keiran Hardy (2022) A Crime Prevention Framework for CVE, *Terrorism and Political Violence*, 34:3, 633-659, DOI: 10.1080/09546553.2020.1727450
- Mustafa Kirisci (2022) Militarized Law Enforcement Forces, State Capacity and Terrorism, *Terrorism and Political Violence*, 34:1, 93-112, DOI: 10.1080/09546553.2019.1668376
- Michelle Butler (2020) Using Specialised Prison Units to Manage Violent Extremists: Lessons from Northern Ireland, *Terrorism and Political Violence*, 32:3, 539-557, DOI: 10.1080/09546553.2017.1388791
- Andree-Anne Melancon (2020) What's wrong with drones? Automatization and target selection, *Small Wars & Insurgencies*, 31:4, 801-821, DOI: 10.1080/09592318.2020.1743486
- Mustafa Kirisci (2022) Who Fights Terror: Gendarmerie Forces and Terrorist Group Termination, *Terrorism and Political Violence*, 34:4, 746-771, DOI: 10.1080/09546553.2020.1741355
- Anna Kruglova (2021) 'Does peacekeeping deter terrorism?', *Dynamics of Asymmetric Conflict*, 14:1, 50-71.
- Stephen Tankel. US counterterrorism in the Sahel: from indirect to direct intervention. (2020). *International Affairs*. 96:4, 875-893, DOI: 10.1093/ia/iiaa089
- Ronit Berger Hobson & Ami Pedahzur (2022) The Munich massacre and the proliferation of counterterrorism special operation forces, *Israel Affairs*, 28:4, 625-637, DOI: 10.1080/13537121.2022.2088134
- Pierre Philippe Balestrini. (2021). Counterterrorism Evaluation and Citizens: More Than about Policing? *Social Sciences*. 10: 298. <https://doi.org/10.3390/socsci10080298>

Suggested readings:

- Kyle T. Kattelman (2020) Assessing success of the Global War on Terror: terrorist attack frequency and the backlash effect, *Dynamics of Asymmetric Conflict*, 13:1, 67-86, DOI: 10.1080/17467586.2019.1650384
- Nil S. Satana & Tijen Demirel-Pegg (2020) Military Counterterrorism Measures, Civil-Military Relations, and Democracy: The Cases of Turkey and the United States, *Studies in Conflict & Terrorism*, 43:9, 815-836, DOI: 10.1080/1057610X.2018.1499696
- Matthew Robson (2020) Re-visioning the "Eye in the Sky": targeted drone strikes and an ethics of the encounter, *Critical Studies on Terrorism*, 13:1, 100-117, DOI: 10.1080/17539153.2019.1658414
- Iselin Silja Kaspersen (2021) New societies, new soldiers? A soldier typology, *Small Wars & Insurgencies*, 32:1, 1-25, DOI: 10.1080/09592318.2020.17859

Module 13: Development and Finance

- Stephen C. Nemeth & Jacob A. Mauslein (2020) Generosity Is a Dangerous Game: Aid Allocation and the Risks of Terrorism, *Terrorism and Political Violence*, 32:2, 382-400, DOI: 10.1080/09546553.2017.1377074
- Peter Krause, Daniel Gustafson, Jordan Theriault, and Liane Young. (2022). Knowing is Half the Battle: How Education Decreases the Fear of Terrorism. *Journal of Conflict Resolution*, 1–27.
- Orlandrew E. Danzell, Emizet F. Kisangani, Jeffrey Pickering. (2019). Aid, Intervention, and Terror: The Impact of Foreign Aid and Foreign Military Intervention on Terror Events and Severity. *Social Science Quarterly*. 100:3, 951-964.
- Emma O’Leary. (2021). Politics and principles: The impact of counterterrorism measures and sanctions on principled humanitarian action. *International Review of the Red Cross*. 103:916-917, 459–477. Counterterrorism, sanctions and war doi:10.1017/S1816383121000357
- Naz K. Modirzadeh, Dustin A. Lewis. (2021). Humanitarian values in a counterterrorism era. *International Review of the Red Cross*. 103:916-917, 403–413. Counterterrorism, sanctions and war doi:10.1017/S181638312100045X
- Alejandro Pozo Mari’n, Rabia Ben Ali. (2021). Guilt by association: Restricting humanitarian assistance in the name of counterterrorism. *International Review of the Red Cross*. 103:916-917, 539–554. Counterterrorism, sanctions and war doi:10.1017/S1816383121000266
- Serhan Cevik and John Ricco, “Shock and awe? Fiscal consequences of terrorism,” *Empirical Economics* (2020) 58:723–748.
- Isaac Kfir (2020) Cryptocurrencies, national security, crime and terrorism, *Comparative Strategy*, 39:2, 113-127, DOI: 10.1080/01495933.2020.1718983
- Fabian Maximilian Teichmann. (2019). Recent trends in money laundering and terrorism financing. *Journal of Financial Regulation and Compliance*, 27:1, 2-12, DOI 10.1108/JFRC-03-2018-0042
- Seyfettin Unal and Mehmet Altun. (2021). The role of financial intelligence in combating the financing of terrorism. *Journal of Money Laundering Control*. 24:3, 571-583, DOI 10.1108/JMLC-09-2020-0102

Suggested readings:

- Abayomi T. Onanuga, Ibrahim A. Odusanya & Ibrahim A. Adekunle (2021) Terrorism and financial flows in Africa, *Behavioral Sciences of Terrorism and Political Aggression*, 13:3, 197-214, DOI: 10.1080/19434472.2020.1736128
- Wukki Kim, Todd Sandler. (2021). Foreign aid and terrorist groups: incidents, ideology, and survival. *Public Choice*. 189:139–160 <https://doi.org/10.1007/s11127-020-00866-7>
- Ben Scott & Mark McGoldrick (2018) Financial intelligence and financial investigation: opportunities and challenges, *Journal of Policing, Intelligence and Counter Terrorism*, 13:3, 301-315, DOI: 10.1080/18335330.2018.1482563
- Tom Keatinge & Kerstin Danner (2021) Assessing Innovation in Terrorist Financing, *Studies in Conflict & Terrorism*, 44:6, 455-472, DOI: 10.1080/1057610X.2018.1559516
- Jamal Bouoiyour, Refk Selmi. (2021). The financial costs of terrorism: evidence from Germany. *The European Journal of Comparative Economics*.18:1, 87-104.

- Pankaj C. Patel & Igor Pereira (2021) The relationship between terrorist attacks and cryptocurrency returns, *Applied Economics*, 53:8, 940-961, DOI: 10.1080/00036846.2020.1819952
- Orlandrew E. Danzell, Yao-Yuan Yeh & Melia Pfannenstiel (2020) Does Education Mitigate Terrorism? Examining the Effects of Educated Youth Cohorts on Domestic Terror in Africa, *Terrorism and Political Violence*, 32:8, 1731-1752, DOI: 10.1080/09546553.2018.1506336
- Andrew Boutton. (2019). Of terrorism and revenue: Why foreign aid exacerbates terrorism in personalist regimes. *Conflict Management and Peace Science* 2019. 36:4, 359–384.

Module 14: Can Terrorism Ever End?

- Mark Juergensmeyer. (2022) How Religious Violence Ends. *Perspectives on Terrorism*. 16:1, 38-45.
- Christian Vianna de Azevedo & Sara Pollak Dudley. (2020). Network vs. Network: Countering Crime-Terror by Combining the Strengths of Law Enforcement, Military and Academia. 14:4, 99-117.
- Charles W. Mahoney (2020). Splinters and Schisms: Rebel Group Fragmentation and the Durability of Insurgencies, *Terrorism and Political Violence*, 32:2, 345-364, DOI: 10.1080/09546553.2017.1374254
- Lasse Skjoldager Eskildsen and Christian Bjørnskov, “Does Freedom of Expression Cause Less Terrorism?” *Political Studies* 2022, Vol. 70(1) 131–152.
- Sondre Lindahl. (2021). 20 Years with the Global War on Terror: A Critical Evaluation and Thoughts on How to Prevent Future Terrorism. *Security Theory and Practice*. 44:3, 35-45, DOI: 10.48269/2451-0718-btip-2021-3-002
- Antonio Giustozzi. (2021). Afghanistan after the U.S. Withdrawal: Trends and Scenarios for the Future. *Asia Policy*. 16:3, 57–74.
- Mustafa Kirisci (2020) Fighting for survival: responding to state capacity and terror group end, *Critical Studies on Terrorism*, 13:2, 312-336, DOI: 10.1080/17539153.2019.1708040

University Policies

Attendance Policy

The university views class attendance and participation as an individual student responsibility. Students are expected to attend class and to complete all assignments.

Please refer to [Student Rule 7](#) in its entirety for information about excused absences, including definitions, and related documentation and timelines.

Makeup Work Policy

Students will be excused from attending class on the day of a graded activity or when attendance contributes to a student’s grade, for the reasons stated in Student Rule 7, or other reason deemed appropriate by the instructor.

Please refer to [Student Rule 7](#) in its entirety for information about makeup work, including definitions, and related documentation and timelines.

Absences related to Title IX of the Education Amendments of 1972 may necessitate a period of more than 30 days for make-up work, and the timeframe for make-up work should be agreed upon by the student and instructor” ([Student Rule 7, Section 7.4.1](#)).

“The instructor is under no obligation to provide an opportunity for the student to make up work missed because of an unexcused absence” ([Student Rule 7, Section 7.4.2](#)).

Students who request an excused absence are expected to uphold the Aggie Honor Code and Student Conduct Code. (See [Student Rule 24](#).)

Academic Integrity Statement and Policy

“An Aggie does not lie, cheat or steal, or tolerate those who do.”

“Texas A&M University students are responsible for authenticating all work submitted to an instructor. If asked, students must be able to produce proof that the item submitted is indeed the work of that student. Students must keep appropriate records at all times. The inability to authenticate one’s work, should the instructor request it, may be sufficient grounds to initiate an academic misconduct case” ([Section 20.1.2.3, Student Rule 20](#)).

You can learn more about the Aggie Honor System Office Rules and Procedures, academic integrity, and your rights and responsibilities at aggiehonor.tamu.edu.

Americans with Disabilities Act (ADA) Policy

Texas A&M University is committed to providing equitable access to learning opportunities for all students. If you experience barriers to your education due to a disability or think you may have a disability, please contact the Disability Resources office on your campus (resources listed below) Disabilities may include, but are not limited to attentional, learning, mental health, sensory, physical, or chronic health conditions. All students are encouraged to discuss their disability related needs with Disability Resources and their instructors as soon as possible.

Disability Resources is located in the Student Services Building or at (979) 845-1637 or visit disability.tamu.edu.

Title IX and Statement on Limits to Confidentiality

Texas A&M University is committed to fostering a learning environment that is safe and productive for all. University policies and federal and state laws prohibit gender-based discrimination and sexual harassment, including sexual assault, sexual exploitation, domestic violence, dating violence, and stalking.

With the exception of some medical and mental health providers, all university employees (including full and part-time faculty, staff, paid graduate assistants, student workers, etc.) are Mandatory Reporters and must report to the Title IX Office if the employee experiences, observes, or becomes aware of an incident that meets the following conditions (see [University Rule 08.01.01.M1](#)):

- The incident is reasonably believed to be discrimination or harassment.
- The incident is alleged to have been committed by or against a person who, at the time of the incident, was (1) a student enrolled at the University or (2) an employee of the University.

Mandatory Reporters must file a report regardless of how the information comes to their attention – including but not limited to face-to-face conversations, a written class assignment or paper, class discussion, email, text, or social media post. Although Mandatory Reporters must file a report, in most instances, a person who is subjected to the alleged conduct will be able to control how the report is handled, including whether or not to pursue a formal investigation. The University's goal is to make sure you are aware of the range of options available to you and to ensure access to the resources you need.

Students wishing to discuss concerns in a confidential setting are encouraged to make an appointment with [Counseling and Psychological Services](#) (CAPS).

Students can learn more about filing a report, accessing supportive resources, and navigating the Title IX investigation and resolution process on the University's [Title IX webpage](#).

Statement on Mental Health and Wellness

Texas A&M University recognizes that mental health and wellness are critical factors that influence a student's academic success and overall wellbeing. Students are encouraged to engage in healthy self-care by utilizing available resources and services on your campus

Students who need someone to talk to can contact Counseling & Psychological Services (CAPS) or call the TAMU Helpline (979-845-2700) from 4:00 p.m. to 8:00 a.m. weekdays and 24 hours on weekends. 24-hour emergency help is also available through the National Suicide Prevention Hotline (800-273-8255) or at suicidepreventionlifeline.org.

College and Department Policies

The Bush School of Government and Public Service supports the Texas A&M University commitment to diversity, and welcomes individuals of all ages, backgrounds, citizenships, disabilities, ethnicities, family statuses, genders, gender identities, geographical locations, languages, military experiences, political views, races, religions, sexual orientations, socioeconomic statuses, and/or work experiences (see <http://diversity.tamu.edu/>). Accordingly, all of us in this class are expected to respect the different experiences, beliefs, and values expressed by others, and to engage in reasoned discussions that refrain from derogatory comments or dehumanizing language about other people, cultures, groups, or viewpoints.

Intellectual argument and disagreement are a fundamental element of both the academic world and the policy process. Disagreement does not, in and of itself, mean disrespect. However, the way that

disagreement is expressed can be disrespectful. Unprofessional, insensitive, or disrespectful behaviors (such as using dehumanizing, derogatory, or coarse language; dismissing ideas based on the characteristics of the speaker/writer; or expressing threat or intent to harm, even if framed “as a joke”) are inconsistent with the Bush School's commitment to diversity, and will not be tolerated by faculty or students participating in this class. This applies both inside and outside of the classroom and includes electronic venues such as GroupMe.