

**GOV 360S: Terrorism and Counterterrorism, Spring 2022, 38035**

Department of Government, University of Texas at Austin

## 1 Instructor Information

Professor Michael Findley  
Phone: 512.232.7208  
Email: [mikefindley@utexas.edu](mailto:mikefindley@utexas.edu)  
Zoom link: [\[Link here\]](#)  
Office: BAT 3.102

Office Hours: Th 9:30–12:30 & by appt  
Office hours signup: [\[Link here\]](#)  
Class Location: WAG 201  
TA: Alex Wais, BAT 1.118 / Zoom: [\[Link here\]](#)  
TA: Office Hours T/Th 9:30–11:00

## 2 Course Overview, Format, and Objectives

This course introduces the topic of terrorism and addresses the core ideas in studies of terrorism. We examine in detail the primary causes of terrorist acts committed both by dissidents and governments as well as counterterrorist measures taken by states and international organizations. We also focus on common misunderstandings of terrorism, such as the idea that terrorism is a group ideology or group characteristic rather than a political act. Further, we move beyond a narrow focus on Islamic terrorism, which seems to dominate the public discourse, and consider many varieties of terrorism over time and throughout the world.

The course will enable students to develop an understanding of what terrorism is, what its causes are, and how it can be addressed. In addition to considering various theoretical approaches, we will discuss a number of instances of terrorist acts and campaigns. A research paper on a terrorist campaign of your choice will allow you to gain an even deeper perspective on terrorist behavior. These activities and assignments should help you (1) gain a knowledge of countries and violence, theoretically and factually, (2) write professional research papers, (3) communicate effectively in oral presentations, and (4) think critically, analytically, and synthetically.

I hope that our sessions will be engaging, informative, and participatory. I eschew a strict lecture format. Instead, we will engage in a variety of activities including lectures, personal writing exercises, partner and group work, class discussions, video clips, demonstrations, problem-solving activities, and other critical thinking exercises. I value and will solicit your input on class activities both at the beginning of the semester as well as around the midterm. I will make every reasonable effort to incorporate these ideas in the classroom.

As you are aware, at least the first two weeks of classes are online. Please see the Zoom link above in the information section. [\[Also here\]](#). I will record the Zoom sessions. Also, because office hours are typically very busy, please book a time in advance and I will prioritize those who sign up. [\[Also here\]](#).

## 3 Requirements

### 3.1 Required Readings

One book is required for purchase, but other articles will be placed on Canvas and you will also be responsible for them. Please note that I will alter the readings from time to time including adding, dropping, and reorganizing. I will give you advance notice when this is to take place.

- Martin, Gus. 2020. *Understanding Terrorism: Challenges, Perspectives, and Issues*. 7th ed. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications.

You should also plan to follow world news on a regular basis by reading, for examples, the *BBC* or *New York Times*.

### 3.2 Attendance and Participation

Attendance and participation are worth 15% of your grade. The pop quizzes are worth another 15% of your grade.

I expect all students to attend class regularly. On many days, we will spend a few minutes writing about various topics from the text or lecture. Frequently, you will hand in these writings for credit. These writing activities will enable us to think critically and they will also guide some of our discussion. On other days, we will have pop quizzes on the readings. I also encourage you to ask questions and make germane comments *at any time* during class. Furthermore, finish the assigned readings *by the date* they appear in the syllabus. Read critically and be prepared to comment on the readings in class.

### 3.3 Assignment

Students are required to complete one writing assignment. The TA and I are happy to provide initial feedback on the direction of the paper if you get it to us far enough in advance. If you turn in any rough draft less than a week in advance, we will not look at it.

**Writing Assignment:** The writing assignment requires you to examine some data on terrorism to understand trends over time as well as some important, but under appreciated, facts about terrorism. This paper can be no more than 7 pages in length. The assignment is worth 15% of your grade and due on April 4.

For this assignment, you need to conduct some research on current trends in terrorism. To do this, you need to use a data set and do some very basic data analysis on global terrorism. I will post the data set on Canvas. For the assignment, you need to obtain the following information from the data:

1. How is terrorism defined and measured in the data set?
2. How many terrorist events are there (total) in each data set?
3. Which country (countries) have the fewest events; which have the most; and what is the average?
4. What is the average number of deaths per terrorist event?
5. What is the most common terrorist target?

Once you obtain these specific pieces of information, then I would like you to learn three other trends about terrorism in the world. You can choose other trends yourself, so long as they are not isolated facts.

Please write a 7 page (max; double-spaced) paper that reports the results of your data searches both in brief tables as well as in the text. You should talk about each result and discuss what you thought about the trend prior to seeing the data, what your impressions are now that you have examined the trends, and why you think the trend exists. Finally, please identify three possible *causal* research questions that you could address with this dataset.

The assignment is worth 15% of your final grade and is due on April 4.

### 3.4 Exams

The midterm and final exams account for 55% of your final grade (25% for the midterm and 30% for the final). Both exams will consist of multiple choice and short and long essays. Closer to the exam dates, I will hand out more detailed information about preparing for, and taking, the exams.

### 3.5 Schedule of Important Dates

Date	Assignment	Time	% of Grade
Jan 24	Email the TA about syllabus		Req.
Mar 1	Midterm Exam	In Class	25%
Apr 4	Writing Assignment	Canvas	15%
May 5	Final Exam	In Class	30%
	Attendance/Participation	In Class	15%
	Pop Quizzes	In Class	15%

## 4 Course Policies

### 4.1 Make-up Exams and Assignment

No make-up exams or quizzes will be given unless either prior consent is obtained from the instructor or a valid excuse is obtained according to university guidelines. I will consent to give makeup exams only in the case of a documented emergency or some other commensurate event.

Papers arriving late (i.e., later than 5 minutes into the class period) will be subject to a 1/3 grade reduction. For each successive late day, your grade will be reduced by 1/3 each day (i.e., an *A* will be lowered to an *A-* on the first day late, an *A-* to a *B+* on the second day late, and so on).

### 4.2 Assignment of Grades

Grades are assigned on the following scale: *A* = 94–100; *A-* = 90–93; *B+* = 87–89; *B* = 84–86; *B-* = 80–83;...*F* = 63 or lower. If you have a complaint about how your exam (or paper) was graded, I am happy to take a second look. You must type a formal appeal addressing the problem and explain clearly what you originally wrote, why you wrote it, and how you think your original response correctly answered the original question. Additionally, you must turn in the original exam (or paper) along with your typed appeal.

### 4.3 Online Resources

The syllabus, all grades, paper topics, lecture outlines, and more will be posted on Canvas. Although the lecture outlines will be posted here, do not assume that this exempts you from taking notes in class. The outlines will facilitate your note taking, but will not provide sufficient detail from which to study for exams.

### 4.4 Academic Integrity

UT students should seek to be totally honest in their dealings with others. They should complete their own work and be evaluated based upon that work. They should avoid academic dishonesty

and misconduct in all its forms, including plagiarism, fabrication or falsification, cheating, and other academic misconduct. Students are expected not only to be honest but also to assist other students in fulfilling their commitment to be honest.

While students should make a general commitment to proper academic conduct, there are still specific skills most students need to master over time in order to correctly cite sources, especially in the age of the internet, as well as deal with the stress and strain of college life without resorting to cheating. Please know that as your professor I will notice instances of cheating on exams or plagiarizing on papers.

Writing submitted for credit at UT must consist of the student's own ideas presented in sentences and paragraphs of his or her own construction. The work of other writers or speakers may be included when appropriate (as in a research paper or book review), but such material must support the student's own work (not substitute for it) and must be clearly identified by appropriate introduction and punctuation and by footnoting or other standard referencing.

The substitution of another person's work for the student's own or the inclusion of another person's work without adequate acknowledgment (whether done intentionally or not) is known as plagiarism. It is a violation of academic, ethical, and legal standards and can result in a failing grade not only for the paper but also for the course in which the paper is written. In extreme cases, it can justify expulsion from the University. Because of the seriousness of the possible consequences, students who wonder if their papers are within these guidelines should visit a writing lab or consult a faculty member who specializes in the teaching of writing or who specializes in the subject discussed in the paper. Useful books to consult on the topic include the current *Harbrace College Handbook*, the *MLA Handbook*, and James D. Lester's *Writing Research Papers*.

Please also see the University Honor Code site for more information at:  
[Link here].

## 4.5 Classroom Civility

Regrettably, a handful of students occasionally demonstrate insensitivity to other students and to instructors by disrupting classes unnecessarily. Arriving late for class, reading newspapers in class, packing up bags prior to the end of class, and cell phone use are all disruptive activities.

Browsing the internet, checking email, and playing games on laptops are also inappropriate in class because you should be listening and participating. Certainly, taking notes on a laptop is appropriate, but do not waste your time or mine by getting distracted by other activities on the web. In calculating the attendance and participation grades I will take into account whether you spent your time engaged in the discussion/lecture or whether you were distracted with other activities.

Moreover, I will not tolerate incivility of one opinion to another. It is exciting and healthy to exchange a diversity of opinions, but in no case should anyone demean another because of his or her viewpoint. If you have any questions about what classroom civility entails, please contact me.

## 4.6 Syllabus

Each of you needs to email the TA by January 24 to let us know that you have read through the syllabus and that you understand all that is required of you. Also, readings for this course may be changed on an ad hoc basis. For the most part this will not happen, but if so, I will give as much notice as possible. I will likely assign short conflict summaries on a regular basis so that we can discuss specific civil wars in class.

## 4.7 Health

The university has official policies and all those apply in this class. Please just kindly take all the advice medical experts are giving. Please. Information regarding safety protocols with and without symptoms can be found [here](#).

## 4.8 Sensitive Content

This is a course on terrorism, which connects to a broader variety of forms of violence. As such, the content and discussion will necessarily engage with sensitive material in each class session, all the readings, and in the assignments. Those topics may include the following: violence, kidnapping and abduction, sexual assault, abuse, racism, ethnic discrimination, religious discrimination, and sexism. Much of the material is emotionally and intellectually challenging to engage. Some content may be particularly sensitive. Because I am not a mental health professional I do not understand all possible conditions that could be triggered, so if I need to be aware of any personal circumstances, please provide an SSD accommodations letter and I will be happy to adjust as possible. To the full extent possible, I will provide alternative readings, assignments, or discussion opportunities to adequately accommodate. More generally, I will do my best to make space for thoughtful, respectful, and meaningful discussion of difficult content each class session, while balancing the weightiness of the topics, including when possible advance notice of material that is more sensitive than usual for a course on violence. Students with concerns related to these topics may wish and are encouraged to consult the UT Counseling and Mental Health Center: <https://cmhc.utexas.edu>, or another organization that provides suitable support. (Some of this material adapted from <https://sites.lsa.umich.edu/inclusive-teaching/>).

## 4.9 Other Policies

**Access:** The University of Texas at Austin is committed to providing a working and learning atmosphere that reasonably accommodates qualified persons with disabilities. If you have any disability which may impair your ability to complete this course successfully, please contact the Division of Diversity and Community Engagement, Services for Students with Disabilities, 512-471-6259, [[Link Here](#)].

**Religious Holidays:** By UT Austin policy, you must notify me of your pending absence at least fourteen days prior to the date of observance of a religious holy day. If you must miss a class, an examination, a work assignment, or a project in order to observe a religious holy day, you will be given an opportunity to complete the missed work within a reasonable time after the absence.

**Emergencies:** Please also see the following recommendations regarding emergency evacuation from the Office of Campus Safety and Security, 512-471-5767, [[Link Here](#)]. 1. Occupants of buildings on The University of Texas at Austin campus are required to evacuate buildings when a fire alarm is activated. Alarm activation or announcement requires exiting and assembling outside. 2. Familiarize yourself with all exit doors of each classroom and building you may occupy. Remember that the nearest exit door may not be the one you used when entering the building. 3. Students requiring assistance in evacuation shall inform their instructor in writing during the first week of class. 4. In the event of an evacuation, follow the instruction of faculty or class instructors. 5. Do not re-enter a building unless given instructions by the following: Austin Fire Department, The University of Texas at Austin Police Department, or Fire Prevention Services office. 6. Behavior Concerns Advice Line (BCAL): 512-232-5050. 7. Link to information regarding emergency evacuation routes and emergency procedures can be found at: [www.utexas.edu/emergency](http://www.utexas.edu/emergency).

**Family:** I am not aware of an official university policy on children in the classroom. The following is an attempt to insure family friendliness while also maintaining a proper learning environment. [I borrowed heavily and adapted these policies from Melissa Cheyney’s syllabus. [Link here](#)] 1. All exclusively breastfeeding babies are welcome in class as often as is necessary. 2. For older children and babies, unforeseen disruptions in childcare often put parents in the position of having to miss class to stay home with a child. While this is not meant to be a long-term childcare solution, occasionally bringing a child to class in order to cover gaps in care is perfectly acceptable. 3. I ask that all students work to create a welcoming environment that is respectful of all forms of diversity, including diversity in parenting status. 4. In all cases where babies and children come to class, please sit close to the door so that if your little one needs special attention and is disrupting learning for others’ students, you may step outside until their need has been met. For my part, I will work with you should you need to step out so that you can remain caught up. 5. Finally, often the largest barrier to completing your coursework once you become a parent is the tiredness many parents feel in the evening once children have finally gone to sleep. While I maintain the same high expectations for all students in my class regardless of parenting status, I am happy to problem-solve with you in a way that helps you feel supported as you strive for school-parenting balance.

**Senate Bill 212 and Title IX Reporting Requirements:** Under Senate Bill 212 (SB 212), the professor and TAs for this course are required to report for further investigation any information concerning incidents of sexual harassment, sexual assault, dating violence, and stalking committed by or against a UT student or employee. Federal law and university policy also requires reporting incidents of sex- and gender-based discrimination and sexual misconduct (collectively known as Title IX incidents). This means we cannot keep confidential information about any such incidents that you share with us. If you need to talk with someone who can maintain confidentiality, please contact University Health Services (512-471-4955 or 512-475-6877) or the UT Counseling and Mental Health Center (512-471-3515 or 512-471-2255). I strongly urge you make use of these services for any needed support and that you report any Title IX incidents to the Title IX Office.

## 5 Tentative Course and Reading Schedule

### 5.1 Jan 18: Syllabus and Introduction

- Byman 2021: “2021 Saw Plenty of Violence...”
- Malley & Finer 2018: “The Long Shadow of 9/11...”

### 5.2 Jan 20, 25: Defining / Conceptualizing Terrorism

- Martin: 1–8; Chp 2
- Hoffman: 1–3; 20–41 (Canvas)
- Young 2019: 323–345 (Canvas)
- Jetter & Stadelmann 2019: 286–304 (Canvas; skim)
- Schmid & Jongman 2008: 1–38 (Canvas; skim)
- Huff and Kertzer 2018: 55–71. (Canvas; skim)
- Definition simulation

**5.3 Jan 27: History of Terrorism**

- Martin: Pg 8–19
- Phillips: 225–242 (Canvas)
- Hoffman: 3–20; 43–80 (Canvas)
- Rapaport 2004: 46–73

**5.4 Feb 1, 3: Rational, Psychological, Sociological, Biological Theories**

- Martin: Chp 3
- Kydd and Walter, 2006: 49–79
- Thayer and Hudson, 2010: 37–62
- Victoroff 2005: 3–42
- McCauley and Moskalenko, 2008

**5.5 Feb 8, 10: Specific Causes of Terrorism (Democracy, Poverty, Security)**

- Martin: Chp 5
- Crenshaw 1981: 379–399
- Findley and Young, 2011a: 357–378
- Piazza, 2011.
- Eubank and Weinberg 2001: 155–164
- Chenoweth 2013: 355–378

**5.6 Feb 15, 17, 22, 24: Rightist/Reactionary & Leftist/Revolutionary Terrorism**

- Martin: Chp 7
- Miller-Idriss 2021: “From 9/11 to 1/6...”
- Schonteich, 2004: 757–776
- Durham, 2003: 96–111
- Crenshaw, 1972: 383–396
- McClintock, 1984: 48–84

**5.7 Mar 1: Midterm Exam****5.8 Mar 3, 8: Religious & Nationalist Terrorism**

- Martin: Chp 6
- Lahoud 2021: “Bin Laden’s Catastrophic Success...”
- Byman, 1998: 149–169

**5.9 Mar 10: State (-Sponsored) Terrorism**

- Martin: Chp 4
- Piazza and Walsh, 2010: 551–577 (skim)

**5.10 Mar 15-17: Spring Break – No Class****5.11 Mar 22: Wars and International Terrorism**

- Martin: Chp 8
- Sambanis, 2008: 1–49 (skim)
- Merari, 1993: 213–251 (skim)
- Findley and Young, 2012
- Milton, Spencer, Findley, 2013

**5.12 Mar 24: Organization, Tactics, and Targets**

- Martin: Chp 10
- Fortna, 2015. (skim)
- Horowitz, 2010: 33–64 (skim)
- Bloom, 2005: 76–100 (skim)
- Sanderson, 2004: 49–61 (skim)

**5.13 Mar 29: The Media and the State**

- Martin: Chp 11
- Kearns Et Al: 985–1022.
- Rhodes 2021: “Them and Us.”

**5.14 Mar 31, Apr 5: Hostage Crisis Simulation****5.15 Apr 7: Terrorism Financing**

- Baradaran Et Al (2013): 477–536



**5.16 Apr 12: Gendered Terrorism**

- Martin: Chp 9
- Thomas 2021: “Wolves in Sheep’s Clothing...”

**5.17 Apr 14, 19: Counterterrorism**

- Martin: Chp 13
- Monaco 2017: “Preventing the Next Attack...”
- Ackerman 2021: “Winning Ugly...”
- Abrahms, 2006: 42–78

**5.18 Apr 21, 26: Counterterrorism Simulation****5.19 Apr 28: Consequences of Terrorism**

- Mitts 2021: “Countering Violent Extremism...”
- Breton & Eady 2022: “Does International Terrorism Affect Public Attitudes...”
- Byman 2021: “The Good Enough Doctrine...”

**5.20 May 3: Future of Terrorism**

- Martin: Chp 15
- Hegghammer 2021: “Resistance is Futile...”
- USIP report, 1999: 1–11
- Young & Shellman 2020: 645–660
- Betts, 1998: 1–8

**5.21 Final Exam — May 5**

## References

- [1] Abrahms, Max. 2006. "Why Terrorism Does Not Work." *International Security* 31(2): 42–78.
- [2] Ackerman, Elliot. 2021. "Winning Ugly." *Foreign Affairs* 100(5): 66–74.
- [3] Baradaran, Shima, Michael G. Findley, Daniel L. Nielson, and J.C. Sharman. 2014. "Funding Terror." *University of Pennsylvania Law Review* 162(3): 477–536.
- [4] Betts, Richard. 1998. "The New Threat of Mass Destruction." *Foreign Affairs* January/February 1998: 1–8.
- [5] Bloom, Mia. 2005. *Dying to Kill: The Allure of Suicide Terror*. New York: Columbia University Press. Pp. 76–100.
- [6] Breton, Charles, and Gregory Eady. 2022. "Does International Terrorism affect Public Attitudes toward Refugees? Evidence from a Large-scale Natural Experiment." *The Journal of Politics* 84(1) (2022): 000–000.
- [7] Byman, Daniel. 1998. "The Logic of Ethnic Terrorism" *Studies in Conflict and Terrorism* 21(2): 149–169.
- [8] Byman, Daniel. 2020. "Some good news from 2020: So far, very few Americans have been killed in terrorist attacks." *The Washington Post*. <https://www.washingtonpost.com/politics/2020/12/21/2020-appears-be-good-year-counterterrorism/>. Accessed 17 Jan 2021.
- [9] Byman, Daniel. 2021. "2021 saw plenty of violence — but no mass terrorist attacks in the U.S." *The Washington Post*. <https://www.brookings.edu/opinions/2021-saw-plenty-of-violence-but-no-mass-terrorist-attacks-in-the-u-s/>. Accessed 17 Jan. 2021.
- [10] Byman, Daniel. 2021. "The Good Enough Doctrine" *Foreign Affairs* 100(5): 32–36, 38–43.
- [11] Chenoweth, Erica. 2013. "Terrorism and Democracy." *Annual Review of Political Science* 16: 355–378.
- [12] Crenshaw, Martha. 1972. "The Concept of Revolutionary Terrorism" *The Journal of Conflict Resolution* 26(3): 383–396.
- [13] Crenshaw, Martha. 1981. "The Causes of Terrorism." *Comparative Politics* 13(4): 379–399.
- [14] Durham, Martin. 2003. "The American Far Right and 9/11" *Terrorism and Political Violence* 15(2): 96–111.
- [15] Eubank, William, and Leonard Weinberg. 2001. "Terrorism and Democracy: Perpetrators and Victims." 13(1): 155–164.
- [16] Findley, Michael, and Joseph Young. 2011a. "Terrorism, Democracy, and Credible Commitments." *International Studies Quarterly* 55(2): 357–378.
- [17] Findley, Michael, and Joseph Young. 2012. "Terrorism and Civil War: A Spatial and Temporal Approach to a Conceptual Problem." *Perspectives on Politics* 10(2): 285–305.

- [18] Fortna, Virginia Page. 2015. "Do Terrorists Win? Rebels' Use of Terrorism and Civil War Outcomes." *International Organization* Volume 69(3).
- [19] Hegghammer, Thomas. 2021. "Resistance Is Futile." *Foreign Affairs* 100(5): 44-53.
- [20] Hoffman, Bruce. 2006. *Inside Terrorism*. 2nd ed. New York: Columbia University Press
- [21] Horowitz, Michael. 2010. "Nonstate Actors and the Diffusion of Innovations: The Case of Suicide Terrorism." *International Organization* 64: 33-64.
- [22] Huff, Connor, and Joshua D. Kertzer. 2018. "How the public defines terrorism." *American Journal of Political Science* 62(1): 55-71.
- [23] Jetter, Michael, and David Stadelmann. 2019. "Terror per capita." *Southern Economic Journal* 86(1): 286-304.
- [24] Kearns, Erin M., Allison E. Betus, and Anthony F. Lemieux. 2019. "Why do some terrorist attacks receive more media attention than others?." *Justice Quarterly* 36(6): 985-1022.
- [25] Kydd, Andrew, and Barbara Walter. 2006. "The Strategies of Terrorism." *International Security* 31(1): 49-79.
- [26] Lahoud, Nelly. 2021. "Bin Laden's Catastrophic Success." *Foreign Affairs* 100(5): 10-14,16.
- [27] Malley, Robert, and Jon Finer. 2018. "The Long Shadow of 9/11." *Foreign Affairs* 97(4): 58-69.
- [28] Martin, Gus. 2020. *Understanding Terrorism: Challenges, Perspectives, and Issues*. 7th ed. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications.
- [29] McCauley, Clark, and Sophia Moskalenko. 2008. "Mechanisms of Political Radicalization: Pathways Toward Terrorism." *Terrorism and Political Violence* 07.
- [30] McClintock, Cynthia. 1984. "Why Peasants Rebel: The Case of Peru's Sendero Luminoso" *World Politics* 37: 48-84.
- [31] Merari, Ariel. 1993. "Terrorism as a Strategy of Insurgency." *Terrorism and Political Violence* 5(4): 213-251.
- [32] Miller-Idriss, Cynthia. 2021. "From 9/11 to 1/6." *Foreign Affairs* 100(5):54-64.
- [33] Milton, Daniel, Megan Spencer, and Michael G. Findley. 2013. "Radicalism of the Hopeless: Refugee Flows and Transnational Terrorism." *International Interactions* 39(5): 621-645.
- [34] Mitts, Tamar. 2021. "Countering Violent Extremism and Radical Rhetoric." *International Organization*
- [35] Monaco, Lisa. 2017. "Preventing the Next Attack: A Strategy for the War on Terrorism." *Foreign Affairs* 96(6): 23-29.
- [36] Phillips, Brian J. 2015. "What is a terrorist group? Conceptual issues and empirical implications." *Terrorism and Political Violence* 27(2): 225-242.
- [37] Piazza, James. 2011. "Poverty, minority economic discrimination, and domestic terrorism." *Journal of Peace Research* 48(3).

- [38] Piazza, James, and James Walsh. 2010. "Why Respecting Physical Integrity Rights Reduces Terrorism." *Comparative Political Studies* 43(5): 551-577.
- [39] Rapaport, David. 2004. "The Four Waves of Modern Terrorism." In Audrey Kurth Cronin & James Ludes (Eds) *Attacking Terrorism: Elements of a Grand Strategy*. Pp. 46-73. Washington D.C.: Georgetown University Press.
- [40] Rhodes, Ben. "Them and Us." 2021. *Foreign Affairs* 100(5): 22-31.
- [41] Sambanis, Nicholas. 2008. "Terrorism and Civil War." In Phillip Keefer and Norman Loayza (Eds.) *Terrorism and Development*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- [42] Sanderson, Thomas. 2004. "Transnational Terror and Organized Crime: Blurring the Lines." *SAIS Review* 24(1): 49-61.
- [43] Schmid, Alex, and Albert Jongman. 2008. *Political Terrorism: A New Guide to Actors, Authors, Concepts, Data Bases, Theories, & Literature*. 3rd paperback edition. New Brunswick: Transaction Publishers.
- [44] Schonteich, Martin. 2004. "The Emerging Threat? South Africa's Extreme Right" *Terrorism and Political Violence* 16(4): 757-776.
- [45] Thayer, Bradley, and Valerie Hudson. 2010. "Sex and the Shaheed." *International Security* 34(4): 37-62.
- [46] Thomas, Jakana L. 2021. "Wolves in sheep's clothing: assessing the effect of gender norms on the lethality of female suicide terrorism." *International organization*.
- [47] *United States Institute of Peace (USIP) Special Report*. "How Terrorism Ends." 1999.
- [48] Victoroff, Jeff. 2005. "The Mind of the Terrorist: A Review and Critique of Psychological Approaches." *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 49(1): 3-42
- [49] Young, Joseph. 2016. "Measuring Terrorism." *Terrorism and Political Violence*. 31(2): 323-345.
- [50] Young, Joseph K., and Steve Shellman. 2020. "Protestors, terrorists or something else? How to think about dissident groups." *Conflict Management and Peace Science* 36(6): 645-660.