

Module Title: TOPICS IN POLITICAL SCIENCE 12

Module Code: POU44334

Module Name: Terrorism & Counter-Terrorism 2025-26

- **ECTS Weighting: 5**
- **Semester/Term Taught: Semester 2**
- **Contact Hours: 2 Hours Lecture per week**
- **Module Personnel: Dr Sotirios Karampampas**
- **Module Pre-Requisite : None**
- **Module Co-Requisite: None**

Module Learning Aims:

The module aims to

- Provide an interdisciplinary understanding of the phenomenon of terrorism across historical and contemporary contexts.
- Examine the main theoretical and methodological approaches to the study of political violence and terrorism.
- Explore the processes of radicalisation, de-radicalisation, and counter-radicalisation.
- Assess the global impact of counter-terrorism measures and the long-term consequences of the war on terror.
- Encourage critical reflection on the political, ethical, and legal dilemmas involved in defining and responding to terrorism.

Module Learning Outcomes:

Upon successful completion of the module, students will be able to

- Demonstrate a critical awareness of the key debates in the study of terrorism and counter-terrorism.
- Analyse the factors contributing to individual and group radicalisation and the adoption of political violence.
- Situate contemporary terrorist groups and tactics within broader historical and geopolitical contexts.
- Critically assess the role of the nation-state in both perpetrating and responding to terrorism.
- Evaluate the ethical, legal, and political implications of counter-terrorism policies in diverse settings.



Module Content:

This module offers a critical introduction to the study of terrorism and counter-terrorism. Adopting an interdisciplinary perspective, it examines key debates surrounding the concept of terrorism, including definitional ambiguities, competing explanations of terrorist violence, and the range of counter-terrorism strategies employed by states and international actors. Topics include state terrorism, the impact of 9/11, radicalisation processes, and global responses to terrorism. Particular attention is paid to the political uses of the term “terrorism” and the power dynamics that shape its application. The module encourages students to question dominant narratives, explore under-researched forms of political violence, and engage with the ethical and legal dilemmas raised by counter-terrorism measures. Emphasis is placed on the empirical and conceptual challenges of studying terrorism in a globalised and securitised world.

Recommended Reading List:

Top Reads

Bakker, E. (2015). *Terrorism and Counterterrorism Studies: Comparing Theory and Practice*. Leiden University Press.

Chenoweth, E. et al. (eds.) (2019). *The Oxford Handbook of Terrorism*. Oxford University Press.

Hoffman, B. (2017). *Inside Terrorism*. 3rd edition. Columbia University Press (multiple editions).

Martin, G. (2018). *Understanding Terrorism: Challenges, Perspectives and Issues*, 6th Edition. Sage Publishing (multiple editions).

Silke, A. P. (ed.) (2018). *Routledge Handbook of Terrorism and Counterterrorism*. 2nd edition. Routledge (multiple editions).

Week 1 – Introduction: What is Terrorism?

Bergesen, A. (2007). “Three-step model of terrorist violence.” *Mobilization: An International Quarterly*, 12(2), 111-118.

<https://doi.org/10.17813/maiq.12.2.k578066743257820>

Ganor, B. (2002). “Defining terrorism: Is one man's terrorist another man's freedom fighter?” *Police Practice and Research*, 3(4), 287-304.

<https://doi.org/10.1080/1561426022000032060>

Kurtulus, E. (2017). “Terrorism and fear: Do terrorists really want to scare?” *Critical Studies on Terrorism*, 10(3), 501-522.

<https://doi.org/10.1080/17539153.2017.1329080>



Schmid, A. P. (2023). Defining terrorism. ICCT Report. International Centre for Counter-Terrorism. <https://doi.org/10.19165/2023.3.01>

Sinai, J. (2008). "How to define terrorism." *Perspectives on Terrorism*, 2(4), 9-11. <https://www.jstor.org/stable/26298341>

Week 2 – Theoretical Approaches to Terrorism

Alimi, E. Y. (2006). "Contextualizing political terrorism: A collective action perspective for understanding the Tanzim." *Studies in Conflict & Terrorism*, 29(3), 263-283. <https://doi.org/10.1080/10576100600564216>

Jackson, R. (ed.) (2016). *Routledge Handbook of Critical Terrorism Studies*. Routledge.

Jackson, R., & Psoiu, D. (2018). *Contemporary debates on terrorism*. Routledge.

Jarvis, L. (2024). Three waves of critical terrorism studies: agenda-setting, elaboration, problematisation. *Critical Studies on Terrorism*, 17(3), 463-487. <https://doi.org/10.1080/17539153.2024.2356918>

Stampnitzky, L. (2013). *Disciplining terror: How experts invented 'terrorism'*. Cambridge University Press.

Week 3 – Historical Trajectories of Terrorism

Chaliand, G. and Blin, A. (eds.). (2016). *The History of Terrorism: From Antiquity to ISIS*. University of California Press.

English, R. (ed.). (2021). *The Cambridge history of terrorism*. Cambridge University Press.

Laqueur, W. (2017). *A History of Terrorism*. Routledge (multiple editions).

Parker, T. and Sitter, N. (2016). "The four horsemen of terrorism: It's not waves, it's strains." *Terrorism and Political Violence*, 28(2), 197-216. <https://doi.org/10.1080/09546553.2015.1112277>

Rapoport, D. C. (2002). "Four waves of rebel terror and September 11." *Anthropoetics*, 8(1), 1-11. <http://anthropoetics.ucla.edu/ap0801/terror/>

Week 4 – Insurgencies & Armed Groups

Asal, V., Phillips, B. J., & Rethemeyer, R. K. (2022). *Insurgent terrorism: Intergroup relationships and the killing of civilians*. Oxford University Press.



Biddle, S. (2021). *Nonstate warfare: The military methods of guerillas, warlords, and militias*. Princeton University Press.

Carey, S., Mitchell, N., & Scharpf, A. (2022). Pro-Government Militias and Conflict. *Oxford Research Encyclopedia of Politics*.

<https://oxfordre.com/politics/view/10.1093/acrefore/9780190228637.001.0001/acrefore-9780190228637-e-33>.

Ezrow, N. (2017). *Global politics and violent non-state actors*. Sage Publishing.

Shesterinina, A., & Livesey, M. (2024). Armed group formation in civil war: 'Movement', 'insurgent', and 'state splinter' origins. *Review of International Studies*, 50(4), 638-661. <https://doi.org/10.1017/S0260210524000020>

Shultz, R. H., & Dew, A. J. (2009). *Insurgents, terrorists, and militias: the warriors of contemporary combat*. Columbia University Press.

Week 5 – State Terrorism & Structural Violence

Blakeley, R. (2009). *State terrorism and neoliberalism: The North in the South*. Routledge.

Blakeley, R. (2018). "Drones, state terrorism and international law." *Critical Studies on Terrorism*, 11(2), 321-341. <https://doi.org/10.1080/17539153.2018.1456722>

Erlenbusch-Anderson, V. (2018). *Genealogies of Terrorism: Revolution, State Violence, Empire*. Columbia University Press. **Chapter 3**

Jackson, R. et al. (eds.) (2010). *Contemporary State Terrorism: Theory and Practice*. Routledge.

Jalata, A. (2005). "State terrorism and globalization: The cases of Ethiopia and Sudan." *International Journal of Comparative Sociology*, 46(1-2), 79-102. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0020715205054471>

Jarvis, L. and Lister, M. (2014). "State terrorism research and critical terrorism studies: An assessment." *Critical Studies on Terrorism*, 7(1), 43-61. <https://doi.org/10.1080/17539153.2013.877669>

Week 6 – Radicalisation & De-radicalisation

Alimi, E. Y., Bosi, L. and Demetriou, C. (2015). *The Dynamics of Radicalization: A Relational and Comparative Perspective*. Oxford University Press.

Borum, R. (2011). "Radicalization into violent extremism I: A review of social science theories." *Journal of Strategic Security*, 4(4), 7-36. <http://dx.doi.org/10.5038/1944-0472.4.4.1>



Busher, J., Malkki, L., & Marsden, S. (Eds.). (2023). *The Routledge handbook on radicalisation and countering radicalisation*. Taylor & Francis.

Koehler, D. (2016). *Understanding Deradicalization: Methods, Tools and Programs for Countering Violent Extremism*. Routledge.

McCauley, C. and Moskaleiko, S. (2008). "Mechanisms of political radicalization: Pathways toward terrorism." *Terrorism and Political Violence*, 20(3), 415-433. <https://doi.org/10.1080/09546550802073367>

Schmid, A. P. (2013). "Radicalisation, de-radicalisation, counter-radicalisation: A conceptual discussion and literature review." ICCT Research Paper, 97(1). (https://icct.nl/sites/default/files/import/publication/ICCT-Schmid-Radicalisation-De-Radicalisation-Counter-Radicalisation-March-2013_2.pdf).

Week 7 – Reading week

Week 8 – 9/11 & the War on Terror

English, R. (2019). "Change and continuity across the 9/11 fault line: Rethinking twenty-first-century responses to terrorism." *Critical Studies on Terrorism*, 12(1), 78-88. <https://doi.org/10.1080/17539153.2018.1494119>

Jackson R. (2009). "The study of terrorism after 11 September 2001: Problems, challenges and future developments." *Political Studies Review*, 7(2), 171-184. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1478-9299.2009.00177.x>

Hoffman, B. (2002). "Rethinking terrorism and counterterrorism since 9/11." *Studies in Conflict and Terrorism*, 25(5), 303-316. <https://doi.org/10.1080/105761002901223>

Miller, D., et al. (eds.). (2016). *Critical terrorism studies since 11 September 2001: what has been learned?* Routledge.

Stohl, M. (2012). "Don't confuse me with the facts: Knowledge claims and terrorism." *Critical Studies on Terrorism*, 5(1), 31-49. <https://doi.org/10.1080/17539153.2012.659908>

Webel, C. and Tomass, M. (eds.). (2017). *Assessing the War on Terror: Western and Middle Eastern Perspectives*. Routledge.

Week 9 – Cyber-Terrorism & Online Extremism

Awan, I. (2017). Cyber-Extremism: Isis and the Power of Social Media. *Society* 54, 138–149. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s12115-017-0114-0>



Binder, J. F., & Kenyon, J. (2022). Terrorism and the internet: How dangerous is online radicalization?. *Frontiers in Psychology*, 13, 997390, <https://doi.org/10.3389/fpsyg.2022.997390>

Conway, M. (2016). Determining the Role of the Internet in Violent Extremism and Terrorism: Six Suggestions for Progressing Research. *Studies in Conflict & Terrorism*, 40(1), 77–98. <https://doi.org/10.1080/1057610X.2016.1157408>

Ebner, J. (2021). *Going dark: The secret social lives of extremists*. Bloomsbury Publishing.

Scrivens, R., & Conway, M. (2019). The roles of ‘old’ and ‘new’ media tools and technologies in the facilitation of violent extremism and terrorism. In *The human factor of cybercrime*. Taylor & Francis.

Whittaker, J. (2022). Rethinking online radicalization. *Perspectives on Terrorism*, 16(4), 27-40. <https://www.jstor.org/stable/27158150>

Week 10 – The Crime–Terror Nexus

Asal, V. H., Rethemeyer, R. K., & Schoon, E. W. (2019). Crime, conflict, and the legitimacy trade-off: Explaining variation in insurgents’ participation in crime. *The Journal of Politics*, 81(2), 399-410. <https://doi.org/10.1086/701492>

Basra, R., & Neumann, P. R. (2016). Criminal pasts, terrorist futures: European jihadists and the new crime-terror nexus. *Perspectives on Terrorism*, 10(6), 25-40. <https://www.jstor.org/stable/26297703>

Clarke, R., & Lee, S. (2008). The PIRA, D-company, and the crime-terror nexus. *Terrorism and Political Violence*, 20(3), 376-395. <https://doi.org/10.1080/09546550802073334>

Hutchinson, S., & O’Malley, P. (2007). A Crime–Terror Nexus? Thinking on Some of the Links between Terrorism and Criminality. *Studies in Conflict & Terrorism*, 30(12), 1095–1107. <https://doi.org/10.1080/10576100701670870>

Makarenko, T. (2004). The crime-terror continuum: Tracing the interplay between transnational organised crime and terrorism. *Global Crime*, 6(1), 129-145. <https://doi.org/10.1080/1744057042000297025>

Phillips, B. J., & Schiele, A. (2023). Dogs and Cats Living Together? Explaining the Crime-Terror Nexus. *Terrorism and Political Violence*, 36(5), 699–715. <https://doi.org/10.1080/09546553.2023.2189968>



Week 11 – Counter-Terrorism, CVE, and International Responses

Bjørge, T. (2016). "Counter-terrorism as crime prevention: A holistic approach." *Behavioral Sciences of Terrorism and Political Aggression*, 8(1), 25-44.

<https://doi.org/10.1080/19434472.2015.1108352>

De Graaf, B. (2011). *Evaluating Counterterrorism Performance: A Comparative Study*. Routledge.

English, R. (2024). *Does Counter-terrorism Work?* Oxford University Press.

Gielen, A. J. (2019). "Countering violent extremism: A realist review for assessing what works, for whom, in what circumstances, and how?" *Terrorism and Political Violence*, 31(6), 1149-1167. <https://doi.org/10.1080/09546553.2017.1313736>

Katzenstein, P. J. (2003). "Same war: Different views: Germany, Japan, and counterterrorism." *International Organization*, 57(4), 731-760.

<https://doi.org/10.1017/S0020818303574033>

Kundnani, A. and Hayes, B. (2018). *The Globalisation of Countering Violent Extremism Polices: Undermining Human Rights, Instrumentalising Civil Society*. Transnational Institute.

Week 12 – Future Trends and Emerging Challenges

Byman, D. (2022). *Spreading hate: The global rise of white supremacist terrorism*. Oxford University Press.

Cascavilla, G., et al. (2023). Counter-terrorism in cyber–physical spaces: Best practices and technologies from the state of the art. *Information and Software Technology*, 161, 107260. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.infsof.2023.107260>

Farber, S. (2025). The evolving nexus of cybercrime and terrorism: A systematic review of convergence and policy implications. *Security Journal* 38, 29.

<https://doi.org/10.1057/s41284-025-00471-7>

Laqueur, W., & Wall, C. (2018). *The future of terrorism: ISIS, Al-Qaeda, and the Alt-Right*. Thomas Dunne Books.

Lederer, M., Lasso Mena, V., Marquardt, J., Richter, T. A., & Schoppek, D. E. (2024). Radical climate movements—is the hype about “eco-terrorism” analogy, warning or propaganda? *Frontiers in Political Science*, 6, 1421523.

<https://doi.org/10.3389/fpos.2024.1421523>

Malthaner, S., O'Connor, F., & Lindekilde, L. (2024). Scattered Attacks: The Collective Dynamics of Lone-Actor Terrorism. *Perspectives on Politics*, 22(2), 463-480. <https://doi.org/10.1017/S1537592723002852>



Trinity College Dublin

Coláiste na Tríonóide, Baile Átha Cliath

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Assessment Details:

Tutorial Attendance and Discussion Points: 10%

Mid-Term Essay: 40%

Final Exam: 50%