

INTL 4410: Terrorism

Classes: June 5-June 29, 9:15 am - 11:30 am

Final Exam: July 2, 9:15 am - 11:30 am

Caldwell Hall 0203

Summer 2018

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Office Hours: 2:00 - 4:00 pm Tuesdays and other times by appointment

Course Description and Objectives

What motivates a terrorist? When are people likely to rebel? Are counterterrorism or repression efforts successful? This course focuses on the social scientific study of terrorism. We will focus on scientific explanations for rebellion, the rise of terrorist organizations, political and economic explanations for terrorist attacks, and the effects of efforts to combat terrorism. After this class, you will have not only an understanding of the major players and factors influencing terrorism, but a base understanding of the social scientific processes which govern political violence and rebellion more generally. As such, this class is **not** a history class or a class on current events. Though current and historical events will be discussed, your grade will not depend on your rote memorization of these events. Instead, the focus will be on understanding the underlying interests of important actors for international security, the arenas in which these actors interact, and the rules which govern their interactions. This focus on the basic principles will provide you with a rich practical knowledge of the study of terrorism.

We will begin the semester by first defining terrorism and then focusing on the social scientific method and its role in the study of political violence. After this introduction, the class will be divided into four major sections: (1) background theory on collective action, social movements, and political violence, (2) theoretical frameworks for the causes and goals of terrorism, (3) scholarship on how terrorism works and who is targeted by terrorism, and (4) the consequences of terrorism and counterterrorism.

Grading

Your course grade is calculated from the following components:

- 22.5% Test 1
- 22.5% Test 2
- 10% Recommended Reading Presentation 1
- 10% Recommended Reading Presentation 2

- 10% Participation
- 10% Group Presentation on Terrorist Event/Group
- 15% Individual Paper on Terrorist Group

Tests

Each test will be in-class. The tests will consist of both short answer and multiple choice. I will provide a study guide prior to each exam. The tests will not be cumulative but you should retain your basic knowledge of the social science of political violence for the second test.

Recommended Reading Presentations

This course is being held over a one-month summer semester. In this short amount of time, it is impossible for any one person to read everything required to be a terrorist expert. In order to give you access to more terrorism research, we will have two students each class period give short presentations on recommended readings. These presentations should be about 10 minutes long and should cover the following questions:

- (1) What is the research question in this reading?
- (2) What is the answer the author(s) provide to this research question?
- (3) How do the author(s) of this research make their theoretical argument? What are their hypotheses?
- (4) What type of evidence is used to provide a test to the hypotheses?
- (5) How does this reading connect to the assigned reading for today?

Each presenter should provide the class with a 1 page summary of the reading that answers these questions (handed out in class). We will get a schedule together of the reading presentations on the first day of class. A sample summary and a rubric for this assignment are available on the UGA eLearningCommons page for this course.

Group Presentation on a Terrorist Group

On the last class period before the final (June 29th), we will have small group presentations that provide backgrounds on terrorist groups and/or events in the 20th and 21st century. You can choose your own group, between 3-5 people. Each group member should focus on collecting information on one of the following topics:

- (1) Group grievances - Why is this group fighting?
- (2) Group leadership and recruitment - Who is in charge of the group? How does the group get its members?
- (3) Group funding and attention - How does this group get its funds? How does the group get media attention?
- (4) Group attacks - What type of attacks has the group carried out? Why were these attacks carried out?
- (5) Counterterrorism efforts - What efforts have countries taken to stop this group and its activities? Were these efforts successful?

You will combine your research into one 15-20 minute powerpoint/visual presentation to be given to your classmates on June 29th. A rubric for this assignment is available on the UGA eLearningCommons page for this course.

Individual Paper on a Terrorist Group

For the portion of the group presentation that you were responsible for (ie group grievances, group leadership, group funding, group attacks, or counterterrorism efforts), you will turn in a 5-10 page paper where you outline the information you have found on this topic and how your findings relate to the readings we have covered in the course. A rubric for this assignment is available on the UGA eLearningCommons page for this course. This paper is due on July 2nd, emailed to murdie@uga.edu by 5:00 pm.

Participation

I have also allotted 10% of your grade to participation and informed discussion. An upper-level course that relies on the scholarly literature only works if we all have read the readings for each class period and are willing to discuss these readings. As such, I will take attendance every day and will record whether you are willing and able to participate in the course discussion and answer questions about the readings. At certain times throughout the semester, an in-class quiz may be used for that day's participation points. You will be allotted one course absence without penalty for your participation grade. After that, any excused absence will require documentation. If documentation of an excused absence is provided, you will be required to take a make-up quiz (during office hours) to verify your understanding of the materials that you missed.

Your active participation is very important. Always feel free to state your opinions in a way that invites discussion. No outside knowledge of international relations or political science scholarship, of history, or of current events will be necessary for effective class participation. Discussion of other scholarship, history, and current events will certainly be welcome when they are relevant, but **careful reading** of the materials assigned for this course and **concentrated thinking** about the ideas raised in class will be a sufficient basis from which to contribute profitably to class discussion. The first step toward participating in class is attending class and reading the course materials prior to the day they are assigned.

Grading Scale

Your final grade will be calculated on the following scale. Please note that I do not round grades.

- 94 to 100 - A
- 90 to 93 - A-
- 87 to 89 - B+
- 84 to 87 - B
- 80 to 83 - B-
- 77 to 79 - C+
- 74 to 77 - C
- 70 to 73 - C-
- 67 to 69 - D+
- 64 to 67 - D
- 60 to 63 - D-
- 59 and below - F

Useful Information and University Policies

Attendance and Missing Class

I realize you are adults with rich and full lives outside of class. However, as stated above, the participation points for this class require your attendance. Tests and assignments are also taken and/or due in class. Making up any assignment or participation points requires proper documentation.

University Honor Code and Academic Honesty Policy

The following is taken verbatim from <https://curriculumsystems.uga.edu/curriculum/courses/syllabus>:

“As a University of Georgia student, you have agreed to abide by the University’s academic honesty policy, “A Culture of Honesty,” and the Student Honor Code. All academic work must meet the standards described in “A Culture of Honesty” found at: <https://ovpi.uga.edu/academic-honesty/academic-honesty-policy>. Lack of knowledge of the academic honesty policy is not a reasonable explanation for a violation. Questions related to course assignments and the academic honesty policy should be directed to the instructor.”

Changes to the Syllabus Could Occur

The following is taken verbatim from <https://curriculumsystems.uga.edu/curriculum/courses/syllabus>:

“The course syllabus is a general plan for the course; deviations announced to the class by the instructor may be necessary.”

Disability Services

The following is taken verbatim from <https://drc.uga.edu/faculty/sample-access-statements>:

“If you plan to request accommodations for a disability, please register with the Disability Resource Center. They can be reached by visiting Clark Howell Hall, calling 706-542-8719 (voice) or 706-542-8778 (TTY), or by visiting <http://drc.uga.edu>”

The following is taken verbatim from <https://online.uga.edu/documents/ugasyllabusguidelines.pdf>:

“Students with disabilities who require reasonable accommodations in order to participate in course activities or meet course requirements should contact the instructor or designate during regular office hours or by appointment.”

Useful Campus Resources

There are many campus resources that can help you with your academic performance and assist you during the semester. I urge you to check out the Division of Academic Enhancement and the Writing Center.

Some material in this course contains references to violence. You are always welcome to excuse yourself during class for any reason and I urge you to take your mental health seriously. There are campus resources to help.

Course Readings

No textbook is necessary for this class. All of the readings come from academic journal articles and book chapters. These readings can all be found on the eLearningCommons page for this course. I expect you to have completed the readings **before** the day they appear on the syllabus. When doing all of your readings, it works best to identify each reading's research question, theory, hypotheses, empirical analysis, and conclusion. Also, try to identify one or two problems or questions you have with the work. I remember readings best when I've actually taken the time to write out some notes; it might work for you, too. If nothing else, it will definitely help in preparing for the exams.

Class Outline

June 5th: Intro to Course - State of Terrorism.

June 6th: Intro to Social Science and the Study of Political Violence.

***Please note: a computer/phone with access to the internet is helpful for today's class. We will be doing group work using the Global Terrorism Database.**

- **Required Reading**

- Ganor, B. 2002. "Defining Terrorism: Is One Man's Terrorist another Man's Freedom Fighter?" *Policy Practice and Research*. 3(4): 287-304.

- **Recommended Readings**

- Frieden, Jeffrey A., and David A. Lake. 2005. "International Relations as a Social Science: Rigor and Relevance." *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*. 600(1): 136-156.
- Sandler, Todd, and Walter Enders. 2007. "Applying Analytical Methods to Study Terrorism." *International Studies Perspectives* 8(3): 287-302.
- LaFree, Gary, and Laura Dugan. 2007. "Introducing the Global Terrorism Database." *Terrorism and Political Violence* 19(2): 181-204.

June 7th: History of Terrorism & Common Ideologies of Terrorists.

- **Required Reading**

- Shughart II, William F. 2006. "An Analytical History of Terrorism, 1945–2000." *Public Choice* 128(1-2): 7-39.

- **Recommended Readings**

- Masters, Daniel. 2008. "The Origin of Terrorist Threats: Religious, Separatist, or Something Else?." *Terrorism and Political Violence* 20(3): 396-414.
- Piazza, James A. 2009. "Is Islamist Terrorism More Dangerous? An Empirical Study of Group Ideology, Organization, and Goal Structure," *Terrorism and Political Violence* 21(1): 62-88.
- Simon, Jeffrey D. 2008. "The Forgotten Terrorists: Lessons from the History of Terrorism." *Terrorism and Political Violence* 20(2): 195-214.

June 8th: Class Canceled - Dr. Murdie at UCSD for research presentation.

June 11th: Grievances and Mobilization for Violence.

- **Required Reading**

- Van Belle, Douglas A. 1996. "Leadership and Collective Action: the Case of Revolution." *International Studies Quarterly* 40(1): 107-132.

- **Recommended Readings**

- Gurr, Ted. 1968. "A Causal Model of Civil Strife: A Comparative Analysis Using New Indices." *American Political Science Review* 62(4): 1104-1124.
- Rasler, Karen. 1996. "Concessions, Repression, and Political Protest in the Iranian Revolution." *American Sociological Review*. 61(Feb): 132-152.
- Finkel, Steven E. and Edward N. Muller. 1998. "Rational Choice and the Dynamics of Collective Political Action: Evaluating Alternative Models with Panel Data." *American Political Science Review* 92(1):37-49.

June 12th: 3 Terrorism Truisms to Remember and Strategies of Terrorism.

***Please note: a computer/phone with access to the internet is helpful for today's class. We will be doing group work using the Global Terrorism Database.**

- **Required Reading**

- Kydd, Andrew and Barbara Walter. 2006. "Strategies of Terrorism" *International Security*. 31(1): 49-80.

- **Recommended Readings**

- Asal, Victor, and R. Karl Rethemeyer. 2008. "The Nature of the Beast: Terrorist Organizational Characteristics and Organizational Lethality." *Journal of Politics* 70(2): 437-449.
- Conrad, Justin, and James Igoe Walsh. 2014. "International Cooperation, Spoiling, and Transnational Terrorism." *International Interactions* 40(4): 453-476.
- Bloom, Mia M. 2004. "Palestinian Suicide Bombing: Public Support, Market Share, and Outbidding." *Political Science Quarterly* 119(1): 61-88.

June 13th: Causes/Goals of Terrorism 1: Psychological Theories of Terrorism & The Role of Religion.

- **Required Reading**

- Victoroff, Jeff. 2008. "The Mind of the Terrorist: A Review and Critique of Psychological Approaches." *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 49(1): 3-42.

- **Recommended Readings**

- Berman, Eli and David D. Laitin. 2008. "Religion, Terrorism, and Public Goods: Testing the Club Model." *Journal of Public Economics*. 92(10-11): 1942-1967.
- Post, Jerrold M. 2005. "When Hatred is Bred in the Bone: Psycho-cultural Foundations of Contemporary Terrorism." *Political Psychology* 26(4): 615-636.
- Juergensmeyer, Mark. 1997. "Terror Mandated by God." *Terrorism and Political Violence*. 9(2): 16-23.

June 14th: Causes/Goals of Terrorism 2: Poverty & Belonging/Brotherhood.

• Required Reading

- Kruger, Alan B. and Jitka Maleckova. 2003. "Education, Poverty, and Terrorism: Is there a Causal Connection?" *Journal of Economic Perspectives*. 17(4): 119-44.

• Recommended Readings

- Abrahms, Max. 2008. "What Terrorists Really Want: Terrorist Motives and Counterterrorism Strategy." *International Security* 32(4): 78-105.
- Chenoweth, Erica, Nicholas Miller, Elizabeth McClellan, Hillel Frisch, Paul Staniland, and Max Abrahms. 2009. "What Makes Terrorists Tick." *International Security* 33(4): 180-202.
- Piazza, James A. 2006. "Rooted in Poverty?: Terrorism, Poor Economic Development, and Social Cleavages." *Terrorism and Political Violence* 18(1): 159-177.

June 15th: Female Terrorists.

• Required Reading

- Jacques, Karen, and Paul J. Taylor. 2009. "Female Terrorism: A Review." *Terrorism and Political Violence* 21(3): 499-515.

• Recommended Readings

- Nacos, Brigitte L. 2005. "The Portrayal of Female Terrorists in the Media: Similar Framing Patterns in the News Coverage of Women in Politics and in Terrorism." *Studies in Conflict & Terrorism* 28(5): 435-451.
- Jacques, Karen, and Paul J. Taylor. 2013. "Myths and Realities of Female-Perpetrated Terrorism." *Law and Human Behavior* 37(1): 35.
- Speckhard, Anne. 2008. "The Emergence of Female Suicide Terrorists." *Studies in Conflict & Terrorism* 31(11): 995-1023.

June 18th: Suicide Terrorism.

• Required Reading

- Pape, Robert A. 2003. "The Strategic Logic of Suicide Terrorism." *American Political Science Review* 97(3): 343-361.

• Recommended Readings

- Horowitz, Michael. 2010. "Nonstate Actors and the Diffusion of Innovations: The Case of Suicide Terrorism" *International Organization*. 64:33-64.
- Crenshaw, Martha. 2007. "Explaining Suicide Terrorism: A Review Essay." *Security Studies* 16(1): 133-162.
- Abrahms, Max. 2006. "Why Terrorism Does Not Work." *International Security* 31(2): 42-78.

June 19th: Test 1.

June 20th: Terrorism and the Media.

- **Required Reading**

- Bell, Sam R., K. Chad Clay, Amanda Murdie, and James Piazza. 2014. "Opening Yourself Up: The Role of External and Internal Transparency in Terrorism Attacks." *Political Research Quarterly* 67(3): 603-614.

- **Recommended Readings**

- Gadarian, Shana Kushner. 2010. "The Politics of Threat: How Terrorism News Shapes Foreign Policy Attitudes." *Journal of Politics* 72(2): 469-483.
- Savun, Burcu, and Brian J. Phillips. 2009. "Democracy, Foreign Policy, and Terrorism." *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 53(6): 878-904.
- Chenoweth, Erica. 2010. "Democratic Competition and Terrorist Activity." *Journal of Politics* 72(1): 16-30.

June 21st: Terrorists and Money/Sponsorship.

- **Required Reading**

- Byman, Daniel, and Sarah E. Kreps. 2010. "Agents of Destruction? Applying Principal-Agent Analysis to State-Sponsored Terrorism." *International Studies Perspectives* 11(1): 1-18.

- **Recommended Readings**

- Bahney, Benjamin W., Radha K. Iyengar, Patrick B. Johnston, Danielle F. Jung, Jacob N. Shapiro, and Howard J. Shatz. 2013. "Insurgent Compensation: Evidence from Iraq." *American Economic Review* 103(3): 518-522.
- Byman, Daniel. 2005. "Passive Sponsors of Terrorism." *Survival* 47(4): 117-144.
- Baradaran, Shima, Michael Findley, Daniel Nielson, and Jason Sahrman. 2013. "Funding Terror." *University of Pennsylvania Law Review*. 162(3): 477-536.

June 22nd: "New" Forms of Terrorism: CBRN and Cyberterrorism.

- **Required Reading**

- Asal, Victor, Jacob Mauslein, Amanda Murdie, Joseph Young, Ken Cousins, and Chris Bronk. 2016. "Repression, Education, and Politically Motivated Cyberattacks." *Journal of Global Security Studies* 1(3): 235-247.

- **Recommended Readings**

- Gartzke, Erik. 2013. "The Myth of Cyberwar: Bringing War in Cyberspace Back Down to Earth." *International Security* 38(2): 41-73.
- Ivanova, Kate, and Todd Sandler. 2007. "CBRN Attack Perpetrators: An Empirical Study." *Foreign Policy Analysis* 3(4): 273-294.
- Ackerman, Gary A., Victor Asal, Mila Johns, Markus K. Binder, Amanda Murdie, Jeffrey M. Bale, and R. Karl Rethemeyer. 2014. "Anatomizing Chemical and Biological Non-State Adversaries Identifying the Adversary, Final Report." Pages 88-106.

June 25th: Consequences of Terrorism - Psychological & Political.

• Required Reading

- Huddy, Leonie and Stanley Feldman, Theresa Capelos, Colin Provost. 2002. “The Consequences of Terrorism: Disentangling the Effects of Personal and National Threat.” *Political Psychology*, 23(3): 485-509.

• Recommended Readings

- Kam, Cindy D., and Donald R. Kinder. 2007. "Terror and ethnocentrism: Foundations of American Support for the War on Terrorism." *Journal of Politics* 69(2): 320-338.
- Berrebi, Claude and Esteban F. Klor. 2006. “On Terrorism and Electoral Outcomes.” *Journal of Conflict Resolution*. 50(6) 899-925.
- Kibris, Arzu. 2011. "Funerals and Elections: The Effects of Terrorism on Voting Behavior in Turkey." *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 220-247.

June 26th: Counterterrorism Options and Strategy 1 - Harden Targets and Hearts and Minds.

• Required Reading

- Byman, Daniel. 2007. "US Counter-Terrorism Options: A Taxonomy." *Survival* 49(3): 121-150.

• Recommended Readings

- Hoffman, Bruce. 2002. "Rethinking Terrorism and Counterterrorism Since 9/11." *Studies in Conflict and Terrorism* 25(5): 303-316.
- Berman, E., Shapiro, J. N., & Felter, J. H. 2011. “Can Hearts and Minds be Bought? The Economics of Counterinsurgency in Iraq.” *Journal of Political Economy* 119(4): 766-819.
- Bueno de Mesquita, Ethan. 2005. “The Quality of Terror.” *American Journal of Political Science* 49(3):515-530.

June 27th: Counterterrorism Options and Strategy 2 - Human Rights Abuses.

• Required Reading

- Walsh, James I. and James A. Piazza. 2010. “Why Respecting Physical Integrity Rights Reduces Terrorism.” *Comparative Political Studies*. 43(5): 551-557.

• Recommended Readings

- Daxecker, Ursula E., and Michael L. Hess. 2013. "Repression Hurts: Coercive Government Responses and the Demise of Terrorist Campaigns." *British Journal of Political Science* 43 (3): 559-577.
- Hajjar, Lisa. 2009. "Does Torture work? A Sociolegal Assessment of the Practice in Historical and Global Perspective." *Annual Review of Law and Social Science* 5 (2009) 311-345.
- Smith, Megan, and James Igoe Walsh. 2013. "Do Drone Strikes Degrade Al Qaeda? Evidence from Propaganda Output." *Terrorism and Political Violence* 25 (2): 311-327.

June 28th: Counterterrorism Options and Strategy 3 - How Terrorism Ends.

- **Required Reading**

- Barrelle, Kate. 2015. "Pro-Integration: Disengagement from and Life after Extremism." *Behavioral Sciences of Terrorism and Political Aggression* 7(2): 129-142.

- **Recommended Readings**

- Cronin, Audrey Kurth. 2006. "How al-Qaida ends: The Decline and Demise of Terrorist Groups." *International Security* 31(1): 7-48.
- Reinares, Fernando. 2011. "Exit from Terrorism: A Qualitative Empirical Study on Disengagement and Deradicalization Among Members of ETA." *Terrorism and Political Violence* 23(5): 780-803.

June 29th: Group Presentations.

July 2nd: Test 2.