

INTL 4410: Terrorism

University of Georgia

MLC 247

Spring 2024, 1:50-2:40pm, M/W/F

Instructor: Matthew Rains

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Office Hours: Wednesday, 9:30 to 12:00pm, CITS/GLOBIS office

Course Description and Objectives:

In our modern understanding of conflict, terrorism continues to be a primary focus for both academic and policy attention. Large amounts of money are spent by governments and policymakers every year, with the goal of better understanding terrorism and developing new ways to fight it. Despite this, our academic understanding of terrorism remains disjointed, from misaligned definitions to divergent strategies for combating it. In this class, we will examine both perspectives – aiming to develop both scholarly understanding of terrorism and its roots, as well as functional understandings from applied security and conflict studies.

This will not be a class on the history of terrorist movements, nor a course on current events related to terrorism. We will be critically examining what terrorism is, how terrorism manifests through cycles of state violence and resistance, how individuals are recruited into terrorism, the effects of terrorism, and strategies for addressing terrorism.

By the end of this course, you should be able to understand:

1. The problems associated with defining terrorism, and the variety of definitions that are used,
2. The dynamics between state violence and organized dissent, including theories of social movements and collective action,
3. How terrorists are recruited and radicalized,
4. Mainstream effects of terrorism on governance, conflict, and human security,
5. State of the art research on strategies for addressing terrorism.

To accomplish this, we will read a variety of research and other materials about terrorism, synthesize research and current events into reflection papers, and engage in a simulation to immerse you in a fictional peace process.

Recommended Book and Readings:

There is no textbook for this course. All readings will be shared on ELC. Please don't distribute readings to those outside of the class.

Students with Financial or Emotional Hardships

Being a student can be hard. Your lives are changing, and college can be a stressful environment (especially under current circumstances). There is no shame in struggling with this. If you are feeling depressed or otherwise concerned about your mental health, please reach out to UGA's Counseling and Psychiatric Services (CAPS). Their website is <http://uhs.uga.edu/caps/welcome>.

If you are experiencing financial hardships, UGA has a number of services that may help. These include, but are not limited to, food pantries, hygiene closets, school supply closets, provision of professional

clothes, and work-study arrangements. These are free services. A summary of services provided by UGA is here: https://financialhardship.uga.edu/content_page/food-andnecessities.

Mental Health and Wellness Resources:

- If you or someone you know needs assistance, you are encouraged to contact Student Care and Outreach in the Division of Student Affairs at 706-542-7774 or visit <https://sco.uga.edu>. They will help you navigate any difficult circumstances you may be facing by connecting you with the appropriate resources or services.
- UGA has several resources for a student seeking mental health services (<https://www.uhs.uga.edu/bewelluga/bewelluga>) or crisis support (<https://www.uhs.uga.edu/info/emergencies>).
- If you need help managing stress anxiety, relationships, etc., please visit BeWellUGA (<https://www.uhs.uga.edu/bewelluga/bewelluga>) for a list of FREE workshops, classes, mentoring, and health coaching led by licensed clinicians and health educators in the University Health Center.
- Additional resources can be accessed through the UGA App.

Grading:

In my classes, participation is particularly crucial. Thus, your grade will be calculated from the following components:

- **20%** - Active Participation
- **5%** - Attendance
- **30%** - Three non-cumulative exams (10% each)
- **15%** - Simulation Briefing and Reflection
- **20%** - Video/Podcast Project
- **10%** - Article presentations

Participation (20%) and Attendance (5%)

The best way to learn is through debate, discussion and asking questions – all of which require your participation in discussion sections. I expect that for each discussion you have read any assigned material. I run discussions in each class the same way – starting in small groups, and then examining as a class.

Quality, not quantity, will dictate this part of your participation grade. To participate effectively, be sure to attend class prepared: read assigned material, and take notes of key concepts or questions you might have. If we experience continued issues preparing for classes, some of component will be converted to reading quizzes.

Exams (30%, 10% for each)

Lectures and class discussions are intended to supplement, not duplicate, the readings. Exams will draw upon both readings and class material. Each exam is non-cumulative, and will consist of multiple choice, true/false, and short essay questions.

All exams will be on ELC. Rather than make things more stressful through proctoring, each exam will be open note, and available to be started for 72 hours after it has been posted. While exams are open note, they will be timed: you will have two hours to complete the exams once they have been started.

Video/Podcast Project (20%)

During the semester, you will create a video or podcast on a terrorist movement – focusing on its history, activities, and strategies, and how concepts and understandings from our course apply to them. The specific things I will look for:

- A clear outline of the movement, its objectives, and how it developed,
- Current areas of activity – what do they do, where, and why?
- How does state interaction condition the movement? How do governments interact with them,
 - This includes both those combating, and those supporting said movement,
- How can movement demands be addressed, and/or how can security personnel more effectively engage with the movement?
- Incorporation of class concepts into each level.

You will be allowed to work with other students – bearing in mind that the standard will be significantly higher (proportional to the number of partners working on one project).

Guidelines/instructions will be posted on ELC, and we will spend a class session discussing this assignment and clarifying expectations. **If you are confused or need guidance on completing your video or podcast, please reach out over email or come to office hours.**

Article Presentations (10%)

The final piece of your grade will be two article summary presentations you will give. You will be expected to give a short presentation on the readings in-class, discuss the salient points, and develop 5 questions for discussion that day. I will be strictly enforcing a 5-minute time limit for each of these (and would prefer less time), so choosing the information you present carefully will be crucial.

On the first day of class, a sign-up sheet will be distributed. Please choose two articles from anywhere on the schedule, and feel free to sign up with a classmate to work as a team. For each article you sign up for, 5 points will come from your summary, and 5 points will come from your presentation.

Simulation Prep (5%) and Simulation Reflection (10%)

Towards the end of the course, we will engage in a multi-class simulation exercise. Prior to the exercise, you will complete a one-page single spaced policy brief, examining the actor that you have been assigned, their preferences and goals, and their preferred strategies to utilize. You will then use said brief to inform your strategies and actions during the simulation.

You will also complete a two page, double spaced response based on your experience in the exercise, to be uploaded to ELC. This reflection will not be about your own thoughts, nor the process that played out. Instead, you will:

- Explore course themes and concepts that appeared in the simulation,
- Examine how those themes and concepts applied, intuitively or otherwise,
- Critique strategies that hindered peace processes, and offer constructive suggestions for how those hindrances could have been overcome.

Grading Scale

Grades are constructed to reflect the university standards posted at http://bulletin.uga.edu/Bulletin_Files/acad/Grades.html and are summarized below. Grades will be based on how many points you earn according to the following distribution:

A	93-100 points
A-	90-92 points
B+	87-89 points
B	83-86 points
B-	80-82 points
C+	77-79 points
C	73-76 points
C-	70-72 points
D	60-69 points
F	Fewer than 60 points

Academic Honesty

UGA Student Honor Code: "I will be academically honest in all of my academic work and will not tolerate academic dishonesty of others." A Culture of Honesty, the University's policy and procedures for handling cases of suspected dishonesty, can be found at www.uga.edu/ovpi.

The bottom line is simple – do not plagiarize the work of fellow students or other resources. This means that your exams are entirely your own work with no assistance from anyone else; papers are your own work (although suggestions and peer review from others are highly encouraged); and any material drawn from other sources should be properly cited. If you have questions about this, please contact me.

Class Discussion and Debate

Political debates and discussions can become quite heated. This passion is part of what makes the study of politics fun. However, the fun ends where personal attacks and disrespect begin. All students are expected to be courteous and considerate of their classmates. Disrespectful language and personal attacks will not be tolerated.

Changes to the Syllabus

Please be sure to check ELC and your email often – updates may be sent through either. Remember that the course syllabus is a general plan for the course; deviations announced to the class by the instructor may be necessary.

Virtual Office Hours and Responses

My office hours are from 9:30 to 12pm on Wednesdays, or by appointment. I am always open to meeting virtually, so please send me an email if you would like to meet during this timeframe.

Any communication from me will primarily be over email, so check it often. I do my best to answer emails within 24 hours, but may not return emails that quickly in some cases (for instance, an email on Friday may not be answered until Monday).

Preliminary Course Schedule

(Unless specifically noted, assignments are due at 11:59pm on their assigned day.)

Week 1 – Defining Terrorism

- Monday, January 8 – Syllabus Review & How to Read Academic Articles
 - Read the Syllabus
- Wednesday, January 10
 - Read: Richards, Anthony. 2014. "Conceptualizing Terrorism." *Studies in Conflict & Terrorism* 37 (3): 213-236.
 - **Bring Seven Bullet Points**
- Friday, January 12
 - Read: Kydd, Andrew H. and Barbara F. Walter. 2006. "The Strategies of Terrorism." *International Security* 31(1):49-80.

Week 2: Political Violence and Repression

- Monday, January 15 - Martin Luther King Jr. Day – No Class.
- Wednesday, January 17
 - Read: <https://freedomhouse.org/report/transnational-repression/united-states>
 - Read: Jacqueline, H. R. (2016). The strategic use of state repression and political violence. In *Oxford research encyclopedia of politics*.
- Friday, January 19
 - Read: Sullivan, Christopher Michael. 2014. "The (In)effectiveness of Torture for Combating Insurgency." *Journal of Peace Research* 51 (3): 388-404.

Week 3: Motivations: Greed and Grievance

- Monday, January 22
 - Read: Regan, Patrick M., and Daniel Norton. 2005. "Greed, Grievance, and Mobilization in Civil Wars." *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 49 (3): 319-336.
- Wednesday, January 24
 - Read: Chapter 3. Weinstein, Jeremy M. 2007. *Inside Rebellion: The Politics of Insurgent Violence*.
- Friday, January 26
 - Read: Chapter 6. Weinstein, Jeremy M. 2007. *Inside Rebellion: The Politics of Insurgent Violence*.

Week 4 - Motivations: Race, Religion, & Identity

- Monday, January 29
 - Read: Read: Byman, D. (2021). Counterterrorism and modern white supremacy. *Studies in Conflict & Terrorism*, 1-28.
- Wednesday, January 31
 - Read: Gregg, H. S. (2014). Defining and distinguishing secular and religious terrorism. *Perspectives on Terrorism*, 8(2), 36-51.

- Friday, February 2
 - Read: Chenoweth, E. (2010). Democratic competition and terrorist activity. *The Journal of Politics*, 72(1), 16-30.

Week 5 – Motivations: Psychology and Circumstance

- Monday, February 5
 - Read: Atran, S. (2021). Psychology of transnational terrorism and extreme political conflict. *Annual review of psychology*, 72, 471-501.
 - Suggested: Victoroff, J. (2005). The mind of the terrorist: A review and critique of psychological approaches. *Journal of Conflict resolution*, 49(1), 3-42.
- Wednesday, February 7
 - Read: Piazza, James A. 2011. "Poverty, Minority Economic Discrimination, and Domestic Terrorism." *Journal of Peace Research* 48 (3): 339-353.
 - Suggested: Krueger, Alan B., and Jitka Maleckova. 2003. "Education, Poverty and Terrorism: Is there a causal connection?" *Journal of Economic Perspectives* 17 (4): 119-144.
- Friday, February 9 – **Exam 1**

Week 6 – Exploring the State: Motivations for Response

- Monday, February 12
 - Read: Huddy, Leonie, Stanley Feldman, Theresa Capelos, and Colin Provost. 2002. "The Consequences of Terrorism: Disentangling the Effects of Personal and National Threat." *Political Psychology* 23(3):485-510.
- Wednesday, February 14
 - Read: Kam, Cindy D. and Donald R. Kinder. 2007. "Terror and Ethnocentrism: Foundations of American Support for the War on Terrorism." *The Journal of Politics* 69(2):320-338.
- Friday, February 16
 - Read: Carey, S. C. (2010). The use of repression as a response to domestic dissent. *Political Studies*, 58(1), 167-186.

Week 7 – Women in Terrorism & Counterterrorism

- Monday, February 19
 - Read: Ortals, Candice D. and Lori Poloni-Staudinger. 2014. "Women defining terrorism: ethnonationalist, state, and machista terrorism." *Critical Studies on Terrorism* 7(3):336-356.
- Wednesday, February 21
 - Read: Nacos, Brigitte L. 2005. "The Portrayal of Female Terrorists in the Media: Similar Framing Patterns in the News Coverage of Women in Politics and Terrorism." *Studies in Conflict & Terrorism* 28(5):435-451.
- Friday, February 23

- Read: Dyvik, S. L. (2014). Women as 'Practitioners' and 'Targets' Gender and Counterinsurgency in Afghanistan. *International Feminist Journal of Politics*, 16(3), 410-429.

Week 8: Traditional Manifestations of Terrorism

- Monday, February 26
 - Read: Pape, Robert. 2003. "The Strategic Logic of Suicide Terrorism." *American Political Science Review* 97 (3): 343-361.
 - Suggested: Piazza, James A. 2008. "A Supply-Side View of Suicide Terrorism: A Cross-National Study." *Journal of Politics* 70 (1): 28-39.
- Wednesday, February 28
 - Read: Windisch, S., Simi, P., Blee, K., & DeMichele, M. (2018). Understanding the micro-situational dynamics of white supremacist violence in the United States. *Perspectives on Terrorism*, 12(6), 23-37.
- Friday, March 1
 - Hoffman, Aaron M. 2010. "Voice and Silence: Why Groups Take Credit for Acts of Terror." *Journal of Peace Research* 47 (5): 615-626

Week 9

- Monday, March 4 – Spring Break – NO CLASS
- Wednesday, March 6 – Spring Break – NO CLASS
- Friday, March 8 – Spring Break - NO CLASS

Week 10 - Modern Modes of Terrorism

- Monday, March 11 –
 - Read: Mølmen, G. N., & Ravndal, J. A. (2023). Mechanisms of online radicalisation: how the internet affects the radicalisation of extreme-right lone actor terrorists. *Behavioral Sciences of Terrorism and Political Aggression*, 15(4), 463-487.
- Wednesday, March 13 –
 - Read: Spadaro, P. A. 2020. Climate change, environmental terrorism, eco-terrorism and emerging threats. *Journal of Strategic Security*, 13(4), 58-80.
- Friday, March 15 – **Exam 2**

Week 11 – International Dimensions and Sponsorship

- Monday, March 18
 - Read: Byman, Daniel and Sarah E. Kreps. 2010. "Agents of Destruction? Applying Principal-Agent Analysis to State-Sponsored Terrorism." *International Studies Perspectives* 11:1-18.
- Wednesday, March 20

- Read: Zanchetta, B. (2016). Between Cold War Imperatives and State-Sponsored Terrorism: The United States and “Operation Condor”. *Studies in Conflict & Terrorism*, 39(12), 1084-1102.
- Friday, March 22
 - Akins, H. (2021). Delegating repression?: Pro-government militias and domestic terrorism. *Dynamics of Asymmetric Conflict*, 14(1), 72-91.

Week 12 – Counterterrorism pt I

- Monday, March 25
 - Read: Trager, Robert F. and Dessislava P. Zagorcheva. 2006. “Deterring Terrorism: It Can Be Done.” *International Security* 30(3):87-123.
- Wednesday, March 27
 - Read: Byman, Daniel. 2007. “US Counter-terrorism Options: A Taxonomy.” *Survival* 49(3):121-150.
- Friday, March 29
 - Read: 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

Week 13 – Counterterrorism pt. II

- Monday, April 1
 - Read: Ambos, Kai. 2011. “Judicial Creativity at the Special Tribunal for Lebanon: Is There a Crime of Terrorism under International Law?” *Leiden Journal of International Law* 24:655-675.
- Wednesday, April 3
 - Read: Walsh, James I. and James A. Piazza. 2010. “Why Respecting Physical Integrity Rights Reduces Terrorism.” *Comparative Political Studies* 43(5):551-577.
- Friday, April 5
 - Read: Sinai, J., Fuller, J., & Seal, T. (2019). Effectiveness in Counter-Terrorism and Countering Violent Extremism. *Perspectives on Terrorism*, 13(6), 90-108.
 - **Policy Brief – Due at 11:59pm**

Week 14 – Simulation Week I

- Monday, April 8
- Wednesday, April 10
- Friday, April 12

Week 15 – Simulation Week II

- Monday, April 15
- Wednesday, April 17
- Friday, April 19

Week 16 – Simulation Week III

- Monday, April 22
- Wednesday, April 24
- Friday, April 26
 - **Video/Podcast Project – Due at 11:59pm**

Week 17 – Reflection and Send-Off

- Monday, April 29

Final exam – Open from April 30 (Tuesday) 8:00am to May 3 (Friday) 11:59pm.