

## **POLS 370: Terrorism (Contemporary International Problems)**

Spring 2018, CRN: 29375

Instructor: Aaron Gold

Location: HSS-215

Date and Time: MWF 12:20 to 1:10 pm

Office Hours and Location: Monday, 1:30 to 2:30 pm. Howard Baker Center, Room 216

Email: agold2@vols.utk.edu

### **Course Description and Purpose**

This class is an introduction to the scholarly study of terrorism. Each week we will focus on one or more research questions from debates in academia and public policy. We will investigate findings at three different levels of analysis, the individual, group and state, ranging from the reasons why an individual resorts to violence, to a group's goals, strategies and ability to survive, to the relationship between the overall amount of terrorism in state and its regime-type, economy, and strength. Part of studying terrorism is also becoming familiar with terrorism data and trends over time. Students will write a policy memo with historical information and analysis based on theory and data they produce on one terrorist organization. For the latter, students will be given a set of manageable datasets at the incident-level for a number of terrorist organizations, and will have to make decisions about how to present and describe their most important findings.

### **Program-Level Learning Objectives that the Course Supports**

The purpose of the Political Science Undergraduate Program at the University of Tennessee-Knoxville is to increase students' substantive knowledge and understanding of politics and to increase their ability to apply principles and concepts of political science to relevant fields and areas of inquiry.

### **Course Learning Objectives**

By the end of this course, students should be able to: 1) evaluate the state of knowledge on the drivers of terrorist violence; 2) describe the field's main theoretical explanations; 3) analyze raw incident-level terrorism data; and 4) investigate a specific group to consider whether its behavior is explained by a larger theory.

### **Expectations**

Students are expected to attend every class period and be on time. Missing **four or more** classes without an excused absence will result in a zero for your attendance and participation grade, which is fifteen percent of your final grade. Students are expected to read the assigned readings before class and be prepared to discuss them if called on.

### **Required Textbook**

- Hoffman, Bruce. (2006) *Inside Terrorism*. New York: Columbia University Press 2nd Edition.

### **Graded Assignments**

- Midterm: 30%
- Final: 35%
- Policy Memo 20%

- Attendance/Participation 15%

**Midterm and Final Exams (30% and 35%) Midterm exam due: Monday, March 5<sup>th</sup> at 11:59 pm; Final exam due: Friday, May 4<sup>th</sup> at 11:59 pm**

The midterm and final exam will both be take-home essay, open note. Every week has a set of research questions that we will try to answer in class and through the readings. The questions for the midterm and final will come from those questions. The midterm and final will both be a **full four pages** double-spaced. Do not start off your paper with multiple lines for your name, date, class, etc. Put those things in your title page. **Do NOT copy and paste** from the articles and/or PowerPoints. The idea is to demonstrate in clear, concise language that you understand the material. Cite using the author(s)'s last name and year of the publication when describing their argument. Limit the number of small quotes to as few as possible. If you do quote something, cite the author(s), year and page number. Refrain from personal opinions and normative language. I will give you a study guide for the exams. **Every day an exam is late is ten points off.** If your exam is not a full four pages I will take off points. I am very particular about paper formatting to ensure every student is writing the same amount and no one is being cheated. Every paper should have the following:

- Four full pages double-spaced
- Title page
- Times New Roman
- Size 12-point font
- One-inch margins
- Page number (same font)

**Policy Memo (20%) Due: Monday, April 23<sup>rd</sup> at 11:59 pm. For other policy memo due dates see the "Dates" section below right before the schedule**

Students will create a policy memo to a government leader that is 1,200 words long (six pages double-spaced amount) where you will analyze one terrorist group identified by the Global Terrorism Database (GTD). You will use: 1) theory from class; 2) your own research; and, 3) your own analysis of raw data into a clear narrative. The data are incident-level data on one group over time from GTD. The purpose is to identify descriptive knowledge of the group, such as its history, goals, and motivation, but also to consider whether the groups' behavior is explained by one of the theoretical arguments we discuss in class. The memo will have the following sections: 1) background; 2) analysis; 3) recommendation; and 4) (a short) conclusion. In Canvas, there is a detailed description of how to write the policy memo and the grading expectations, as well as a PowerPoint showing you how to manage the data. We will go over how to manage the data and write the memo in detail in class. **Every day the memo or one of the sections/due dates is late is ten points off.**

**Attendance/Participation (15% of your final grade)**

This is mainly a lecture-based class, but you will be called on and asked to participate. You are expected to read the assigned readings and be prepared to discuss them in class. If you miss **FOUR or more classes without an excused absence** you will be given a zero for your attendance grade. This means the highest grade you will be able to receive is an 85. It is your responsibility to come to class and communicate with me if you have an excused absence.

### **Extra Credit (+3 points maximum on your final grade)**

**Extra credit can be turned in anytime, but is due on April 27, 2018, the last day of.** Before you write an extra credit paper please clear the topic with me. Extra credit opportunities include going to school-sponsored programs, lectures, and watching videos of important international leaders on current issues related to terrorism, broadly defined. Terrorism is also in the news. You may write an extra credit paper on an event, issue or situation that has recently occurred. Afterwards, will write **two pages, double-spaced** on your critical reaction. Your extra credit assignments will not be graded its content, but as having been done. Follow the same style format as the exams.

### **Grading Scale**

93.00-99.99	A
90.00-92.99	A-
87.00-89.99	B+
83.00-86.99	B
80.00-82.99	B-
77.00-79.99	C+
73.00-76.99	C
70.00-72.99	C-
67.00-69.99	D+
63.00-66.99	D
60.00-62.99	D-

### **Blackboard and Communication of Announcements**

I will post your grades on Blackboard. It is your responsibility to check your grades periodically in order to keep up with your progress in this class. I will also communicate announcements through Blackboard.

### **Notice on School-Sponsored, Medical, Weather-Related, Family Emergency, or Other Excused Absences**

My personal philosophy, one that I believe very strongly in, is that you should be treated like adults. If something happens and you are not able to make it to class I will be more than happy to work with you; however, you need to communicate with me and keep me informed of your situation. Things happen: you get sick, someone you love passes away, a family member is in need; I consider myself to be very understanding so if you are not able to bring me a note right away, it is okay; just please keep me informed the best you can through email and then later when you are able to, please bring or send me an excused note. If it is a medical note, **please cross out your personal information.** If you bring me an excused note you will be allowed to make up the work that you missed. For long-term situations, I am more than happy to work with you.

### **Policy on Plagiarism and Other Forms of Academic Dishonesty**

Defined in *Hilltopics*, “plagiarism is using the intellectual property or product of someone else without giving proper credit.” I expect every student to live up to the UT Honor Code (as amended in 1995). I have caught instances of plagiarism and cheating before, and I am good at

detecting it. Please do not make the mistake of cheating. The use of studyblue.com (or similar websites) for anything other than sharing notes or blank study guides will be treated as plagiarism. If a completed study guide or an email chain with answers is put online, the class will not have a study guide for the subsequent exam and the poster(s) will be referred to the Dean of Students for suspension or expulsion.

### **Disability Assistance**

Any student who feels that they may need an accommodation based on the impact of a disability should contact me privately to discuss your specific needs. Requests for the use of the Testing Center must be made at least one week prior to the exam. Please contact the Office of Disability Services at 865-974-6087 in 2227 Dunford Hall to coordinate reasonable accommodations for students with documented disabilities.

### **Writing and Class Assistance**

The writing center is an excellent resource for students on campus. I suggest you make an appointment although they do accept walk-ins.

### **The Student's Role in Improving Teaching and Learning through Course Assessment**

At UT, it is our collective responsibility to improve the state of teaching and learning. During the semester, you may be requested to assess aspects of this course either during class or at the completion of the class. You are encouraged to respond to these various forms of assessment as a means of continuing to improve the quality of the UT learning experience.

### **University Civility Statement**

Civility is genuine respect and regard for others: politeness, consideration, tact, good manners, graciousness, cordiality, affability, amiability and courteousness. Civility enhances academic freedom and integrity, and is a prerequisite to the free exchange of ideas and knowledge in the learning community. Our community consists of students, faculty, staff, alumni, and campus visitors. Community members affect each other's well-being and have a shared interest in creating and sustaining an environment where all community members and their points of view are valued and respected. Affirming the value of each member of the university community, the campus asks that all its members adhere to the principles of civility and community adopted by the campus: <http://civility.utk.edu/>.

### **Alteration of this Syllabus**

The instructor reserves the right to revise, alter and/or amend this syllabus, as necessary. Students will be notified by email and/or Blackboard of any such revisions, alterations, and/or amendments.

### **Key Resources for Students**

- Political Science Department Website: <http://web.utk.edu/~polisci/>
- Academic Planning: <http://www.utk.edu/advising>
- Arts and Sciences Advising Services: <http://arts.utk.edu/advising/>
- Student Success Center: <http://studentsuccess.utk.edu>
- Undergraduate and Graduate Catalogs: <http://catalog.utk.edu>
- Hilltopics: <http://dos.utk.edu>

- Course Timetable: [https://bannerssb.utk.edu/kbanpr/bwckschd.p\\_disp\\_dyn\\_sched](https://bannerssb.utk.edu/kbanpr/bwckschd.p_disp_dyn_sched)
- Library: <http://www.lib.utk.edu>
- Career Services: <http://career.utk.edu>

### **Dates**

Wednesday, January 10<sup>th</sup>

**Wednesday, February 7<sup>th</sup> at 11:59 pm**

Monday, January 15<sup>th</sup>

Monday, February 12<sup>th</sup>

Monday, February 19<sup>th</sup>

**Monday, March 5<sup>th</sup> at 11:59 pm**

Monday, March 12<sup>th</sup>

Wednesday, March 14<sup>th</sup>

Friday, March 16<sup>th</sup>

**Friday March 23<sup>rd</sup> at 11:59 pm**

Friday, March 30<sup>th</sup>

Wednesday, April 4<sup>th</sup>

Friday, April 6<sup>th</sup>

**Monday, April 9<sup>th</sup> at 11:59 pm**

Friday, April 13<sup>th</sup>

Friday, April 20<sup>th</sup>

**Friday, April 23<sup>rd</sup> at 11:59 pm**

Friday, April 27<sup>th</sup>

**Friday, May 4<sup>th</sup> at 11:59 pm**

First day of class

**Policy memo: name of group, list of sources and (rough draft of) graph due**

No class – MLK Day

Receive midterm exam study guide

Receive midterm exam

**Midterm exam due**

No class – Spring Break

No class – Spring Break

No class – Spring Break

**Policy memo: background section due**

No class – Spring Recess

No class – ISA Conference

No class – ISA Conference

**Policy memo: analysis section due**

Receive final exam study guide

Receive final exam

**Policy memo due**

Last day of class

Last day to turn in extra credit (at 11:59 pm)

**Final exam due**

## Course Schedule and Reading Assignments

### **Week 1: Introduction to the course and review of the syllabus**

January 10<sup>th</sup>

- No readings

### **Week 2: Definition and typology**

January 12<sup>th</sup> and 17<sup>th</sup>

Research questions: What is terrorism? How should we think about terrorism?

- Hoffman, Chapter 1
- Philips, Brian J. (2015). What is a Terrorist Group? Conceptual Issues and Empirical Implications. *Terrorism and Political Violence* 27: 225-242.
- Sandler, Todd. (2014) Terrorism and Counterterrorism: An Overview. *Oxford Economic Papers*.

### **Monday, January 15<sup>th</sup> – No class because of MLK Day**

### **Week 3: Historical introduction**

January 19<sup>th</sup> and 22<sup>nd</sup>

Research questions: What are the historical trends? What are the underlying and direct causes of terrorism in the today's world?

- Hoffman, Chapter 2
- David C. Rapoport. (2004) "The Four Waves of Modern Terrorism," in Audrey Kurth Cronin and James M. Ludes (eds). *Attacking Terrorism: Elements of a Grand Strategy*, 46-73.
- Shughart II, William F. (2006) An analytical history of terrorism, 1945–2000." *Public Choice* 128(1-2): 7-39.
- Martha Crenshaw. (1981) The Causes of Terrorism. *Comparative Politics* 13(4): 379-399

### **Week 4: Theory-building and data analysis**

January 24<sup>th</sup>, 26<sup>th</sup> and 29<sup>th</sup>

Research questions: How should we understand the world (ontology) and evaluate scientific progress (epistemology) when it comes to understanding the causes of terrorism? How we do manage and present raw terrorism data?

- Bueno de Mesquita (1985) Toward a Scientific Understanding of International Conflict: A Personal View." *International Studies Quarterly* 29(2): 121-136.
- PowerPoint "How to Build a Pivot Table"

### **Week 5: Strategies, goals and logic**

January 31<sup>st</sup>, February 2<sup>nd</sup> and 5<sup>th</sup>

Research questions: What strategies do terrorists engage in? How is suicide terrorism different? Is terrorism a rational action?

- Hoffman, Chapters 4 and 5
- Kydd, Andrew H., and Barbara F. Walter. (2006) The Strategies of Terrorism. *International Security* 31:49-80.
- Pape, Robert A. (2003) The Strategic Logic of Suicide Terrorism. *The American Political Science Review* 97:343-61.
- Lake, David A. (2002). Rational extremism: Understanding terrorism in the twenty-first century. *Dialogue IO*, 15-29.

**Wednesday, February 7<sup>th</sup> at 11:59 pm – Policy memo: name of group, list of sources and (rough draft of) graph due**

**Week 6: Individual-level explanations**

February 7<sup>th</sup>, 9<sup>th</sup> and 12<sup>th</sup>

Research questions: How do the different models of relative deprivation lead to political violence? What kinds of individuals are more likely to seek admission and acceptance in organizations? What are the psychological explanations of terrorism? What are some of the reasons why Americans have been radicalized?

- Gurr, Ted Robert.
- Benmelech, Efraim, Claude Berrebi, and Esteban F. Klor. (2012) Economic conditions and the quality of suicide terrorism. *The Journal of Politics* 74(1): 113-128.
- Victoroff, Jeff. (2005) The Mind of the Terrorist: A Review and Critique of Psychological Approaches. *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 49(3): 3–42.
- National Consortium for the Study of Terrorism and Responses to Terrorism (START) project (2017). Final Report: Empirical Assessment of Domestic Radicalization (EADR)

**Week 7: Group-level explanations**

February 14<sup>th</sup> 16<sup>th</sup> and 19<sup>th</sup>

Research questions: What group-level characteristics explain terrorist violence? What kinds of terrorist groups are popular?

- Asal, Victor, and Rethemeyer, R. Karl (2008) The nature of the beast: Organizational structures and the lethality of terrorist attacks. *The Journal of Politics*, 70(2): 437-449.
- Tokdemir, Efe, and Seden Akcinaroglu. (2016) Reputation of Terror Groups Dataset: Measuring popularity of terror groups. *Journal of Peace Research* 53(2): 268-277.

**Week 8: Durability and demise**

February 21<sup>st</sup>, 23<sup>rd</sup> and 26<sup>th</sup>

Research questions: Why do terrorist organizations endure? What are the different ways that terrorism ends? What explains the end of terrorist organizations or campaigns?

- Phillips, Brian J. (2014) Terrorist group cooperation and longevity. *International Studies Quarterly*, 58(2): 336-347.
- Acosta, Benjamin. (2014) Live to win another day: Why many militant organizations survive yet few succeed. *Studies in Conflict & Terrorism*, 37(2): 135-161.

- Cronin, Audrey K. (2009). *How Terrorism Ends: Understanding the Decline and Demise of Terrorist Campaigns*. Princeton University Press.

**Monday, March 5<sup>th</sup> at 11:59 pm – MIDTERM DUE (covering weeks 1 to 7)**

**Week 9: Discrimination**

February 28<sup>th</sup>, March 2<sup>nd</sup> and 5<sup>th</sup>

Research questions: why does discrimination lead to terrorism? What types of discrimination are more likely to lead to terrorism and why?

- Piazza, James A. (2012) Types of Minority Discrimination and Terrorism. *Conflict Management and Peace Science* 29: 521-46.
- Palmer, David S. The Revolutionary Terrorism of Peru's Shining Path. In *Terrorism in Context*.
- Khatami, Siamak (1997) Between class and nation: Ideology and radical Basque ethno-nationalism. *Studies in Conflict & Terrorism* 20(4): 395-417
- Townsend, Charles The Culture of Paramilitarism in Ireland. In *Terrorism in Context*.
- Nandi, Proshanta K. (1996) Socio-political context of Sikh militancy in India. *Journal of Asian and African Studies* 31(3-4): 178-196

**March 12<sup>th</sup> to 16<sup>th</sup> – No class because of Spring Recess**

**Week 10: Democracy**

March 7<sup>th</sup>, 9<sup>th</sup> and 19<sup>th</sup>

Research questions: Why is democracy positively related to terrorism? Why is democracy negatively related to terrorism?

- Hoffman, Chapters 6 and 7.
- Erica Chenoweth. (2010) Democratic Competition and Terrorist Activity. *Journal of Politics*. 72(1): 16–30.
- Schmid A. (1992) Terrorism and Democracy. *Terrorism and Political Violence Volume* 4(4): 15-23
- Eyerman J. (1998) Terrorism and Democratic States: Soft Targets or Accessible Systems. *International Interactions* 24(2): 151–170.
- Li, Quan. (2005) Does Democracy Promote or Reduce Transnational Terrorist Incidents? *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 49(2): 278-97.
- Extra: Ghatak, Sambuddha, Aaron Gold, and Brandon Prins (2017) Domestic Terrorism in Democratic State: Understanding and Addressing Minority Grievances. *Journal of Conflict Resolution*.

**Friday, March 23<sup>rd</sup> at 11:59 pm – Policy memo: background section due**

**Week 11: Autocracy**

March 21<sup>st</sup>, 23<sup>rd</sup> and 26<sup>th</sup>

Research question: Why does terrorism occur in autocracies?



- Aksoy, Deniz, David B. Carter, and Joseph Wright. (2012) Terrorism in Dictatorships. *The Journal of Politics* 74:810-26.
- Wilson, Matthew C., and James A. Piazza. (2013) Autocracies and Terrorism: Conditioning Effects of Authoritarian Regime Type on Terrorist Attacks. *American Journal of Political Science* 57:941-55.

**Friday, March 30<sup>th</sup> – No class because of Spring Break**

**Wednesday, April 4<sup>th</sup> and Friday 6<sup>th</sup> – No class because of the ISA conference**

**Monday, April 9<sup>th</sup> at 11:59 pm – Policy memo: analysis section due**

**Week 12: Civil war**

March 28<sup>th</sup>, April 2<sup>nd</sup> and 9<sup>th</sup>

Research questions: Why do rebels use terrorist violence during civil war? Is terrorism a successful strategy during civil war?

- Stanton, Jessica A. (2013) Terrorism in the context of civil war. *The Journal of Politics*, 75(4): 1009-1022.
- Polo, Sara MT, and Kristian Skrede Gleditsch (2016). Twisting arms and sending messages: Terrorist tactics in civil war. *Journal of Peace Research* 53(6): 815-829.
- Fortna, Virginia P. (2015) Do Terrorists Win? Rebels' Use of Terrorism and Civil War Outcomes. *International Organization*, 69(3): 519-556.
- Thomas, Jakana. (2014). Rewarding bad behavior: How governments respond to terrorism in civil war. *American Journal of Political Science*, 58(4): 804-818.

**Week 13: Development and globalization**

April 11<sup>th</sup>, 13<sup>th</sup> and 16<sup>th</sup>

Research questions: Do poverty and economic development cause terrorism? Does immigration lead to more terrorism?

- Piazza, James A. (2006) Rooted in Poverty? Terrorism, Poor Economic Development, and Social Cleavages. *Terrorism and Political Violence* 18: 159-77.
- Burgoon, Brian (2006) On Welfare and Terror: Social Welfare Policies and Political-Economic Roots of Terrorism. *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 50(4): 176-203.
- Li, Quan & Drew Schaub (2004) Economic Globalization and Transnational Terrorism: A Pooled Time-Series Analysis. *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 48(2): 230-58.
- Bove, Vincenzo, and Tobias Böhmelt. (2016) Does immigration induce terrorism? *The Journal of Politics* 78(2): 572-588.
- Extra: Ghatak, Sambuddha, and Aaron Gold. (2015) Development, Discrimination, and Domestic Terrorism: Looking Beyond a Linear Relationship. *Conflict Management and Peace Science*. 1-22.

**Week 14: State weakness**

April 18<sup>th</sup>, 20<sup>th</sup> and 23<sup>rd</sup>

Research questions: Research questions: What is a weak state? Why do weak states facilitate terrorism? Why do strong states facilitate terrorist groups?

- Rotberg, Robert I. (2004) Failed States, Collapsed States, Weak States: Causes and Indicators (ch.1) in *When States Fail*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.
- Lai, Brian. (2007). Draining the swamp: An empirical examination of the production of international terrorism, 1968–1998. *Conflict Management and Peace Science* 24 (4): 297-310.
- Piazza, James A. 2008. Incubators of terror: Do failed and failing states promote transnational terrorism? *International Studies Quarterly*. 52(3): 468-488.
- Newman, Edward (2007) Weak States, State Failure, and Terrorism. *Terrorism and Political Violence*. 19(4): 463-488.

### **Week 15: Transnational terrorism (internationalization)**

April 25<sup>th</sup> and 26<sup>th</sup>

Research questions: What are the sources of transnational terrorism? Do some interstate relations help explain transnational terrorism? What are the causes of state-sponsorship of terrorism?

- Hoffman, Chapter 3
- Findley, Michael G., James A. Piazza, and Joseph K. Young. (2012) Games Rivals Play: Terrorism in International Rivalries. *The Journal of Politics* 74: 235-48.
- Plümper, Thomas, and Eric Neumayer. (2010) The Friend of My Enemy Is My Enemy: International Alliances and International Terrorism. *European Journal of Political Research* 49: 75-96.
- Byman, Daniel. (2005) *Deadly Connections: States That Sponsor Terrorism*. Cambridge University Press.

**Friday, May 4<sup>th</sup> at 11:59 pm – FINAL EXAM DUE**