

Introduction to Terrorism
POLSCI 232-01
Fall 2016

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Course Website: Sakai	

Course Overview

This course focuses on the nature of subnational terrorist organizations and government responses to them. It aims to provide the tools necessary to become educated consumers of news in a post-9/11 world, absent the typical polemics, through the careful analysis of different aspects of terrorism: its historical, social, cultural, economic, political, and religious context; the determinants of terrorism at the individual and state level; the organizational and financial structure of terrorist groups; the available weapons and tactics of subnational terrorist organizations; mobilization and recruitment within terror networks; and methods of counterterrorism. We will also briefly discuss different methods employed in the academic study of terrorism.

The course will be split into two parts. In the first, we will assess theories of terrorism and their empirical support, delving into numerous aspects of the tactic. We'll start by discussing the definition of terrorism and some of the ways in which it is studied. Then we will break it down into its component pieces, each of which will occupy its own unit. We'll discuss terrorism at the individual, group, and state levels, including motivations as diverse as psychology, political institutions, economics, and religion. Though I will open most classes with a lecture—some brief, some longer—I expect that we will very quickly transition to discussion. The study of terrorism is still very much a new endeavor and there is much that is not known, implying lots of room for us to search for answers. We will also on two occasions engage in simulations designed to help you get a feel for the real decisions being made by both terrorist groups and their prospective targets. Finally, there will be a pair of midterms designed to test understanding of the theories we will have discussed.

Having developed theories to understand terrorism, we will do two things in the second part: discuss the methods by which terrorist groups are fought and apply both theories and counterterror methods to an array of terror organizations throughout history. In the latter case you will take on the role of intelligence analysts, as each of you will be given a terrorist organization to report upon to the rest of the class via both paper and presentation, and you will subsequently help to lead discussion on that group. The goal of this part is not only to provide you with a solid background in historical terrorism to place contemporary terrorism into context, but also to illustrate practical application to specific groups of the theories we discussed earlier. This part of the course will culminate in a paper in which you will act in the role of an intelligence analyst, dissecting a subnational terrorist organization in order both to assess the organization for the target state's head of intelligence, and to provide counterterror strategies for minimizing its impact.

Course Requirements

1. **Participation (20%):** Decisions made regarding terrorism tend to have wide-reaching effects, and it is important to be able to express oneself clearly and objectively when discussing it. Accordingly, regular participation is vital and will be graded accordingly. To improve civility when discussing this sensitive subject, all comments will be kept as scholarly in nature as possible. Further, before coming to class, I expect that you will have read the required readings for that week and be ready with questions to discuss. During the presentation weeks, I expect that you will have read the papers distributed by your classmates and familiarized yourself with the group being discussed on your own before coming to class

as well.

To minimize the likelihood that discussion becomes dominated by a handful of voices, depriving you of your classmates' perspectives and insights, participation will be graded in two parts. Three-quarters of your participation grade will be formed from your contributions to an online forum, hosted on the course's Sakai website. Posts will be expected (and assessed) weekly. These posts should briefly: (i) illustrate understanding of the material, building off points made in class, and (ii) explore the substantive relevance of the material to current geopolitical issues. Each post should be no more than two paragraphs. The remaining one-quarter of your participation grade will arise from open class discussion.

2. **Midterm exams (30%, 15% each):** There will be two take-home midterm exams during the first part of the course. They will be a mix of short answer and essay. Dates these are assigned and due are listed on the class schedule.
3. **Historical Event Paper/Presentation (25%):** At about the one-third point in the semester all students will be assigned (via a combination of choice and lottery) to a group to report on a subnational terrorist organization. Each member of the group will be responsible for writing up a 5-10 page report, double spaced, on the assigned topic. These reports must be distributed to the entire class by noon at least two days before the class session during which we will discuss the organization in question. The reports should be your own work, not a group consensus. On the day of discussion each group will give a 30-35 minute presentation. While the groups do not need to meet (though they of course can), they will arrange among themselves to divvy up presentation duties so that each member conveys a roughly equal amount of information. After the presentation the group will field questions and lead discussion. Grades will be given equally to the paper and the presentation, and a template for what is required for each one will be provided on the course website. Part of the presentation grade will be based on the ability of the class to describe the salient features of the group after the presentation. Because you will be scheduled well in advance to present on a specific day, there will be no extensions for this assignment.
4. **Policy Memo (25%):** You will choose a subnational terrorist organization and write a policy memo phrased for the head of intelligence of the targeted state. This memo will provide a brief summary of the situation and your proposal for policy in the region going forward. *This memo must make use of the analyses discussed during the course.* It must be between 10 and 15 pages (double-spaced), not including a title, references, or other supporting pages. This policy memo should follow guidelines that will be posted on the course website, and will be graded in terms of how well it satisfies the assignment as well as the quality of the writing (i.e., it should be written formally, with proper spelling and grammar). The due date and time for the memos are listed on the class schedule, though they may be turned in earlier. There will be no extensions on the final policy memo.
5. **Extra Credit Option (2%):** In addition to these graded assignments, I encourage you to participate in the political science experimental subject pool. You will need to participate in 2 hours of Political Science Research Pool (PSRP) studies over the course of the semester to receive a 2% extra credit toward your final grade. As an additional incentive, participating in the PSRP will enter you into a \$50 Amazon gift card lottery. More information about this option is available at: <http://www.duke.edu/web/psrp>. If you want to participate, you can register at: <http://duke-psrp.sona-systems.com>. I have posted a handout with more information on the course website. Please note that neither I nor the TA of this class has any role in the administration of the PSRP. We only receive a record at the end of the class as to who has participated. All questions regarding the PSRP should be directed solely to dukepsrp@gmail.com.

Readings

There are no required books for the class. Readings can be found either on the course website or via Duke Library's website. There are also several recommended books that will be on reserve. While not required, we will in some cases read selections from them, and should you go on in your studies of terrorism they may prove useful. You may find one of them particularly useful for this class, though: Crenshaw, Martha. (1995). *Terrorism in Context*. Penn State University Press. This book provides excellent background and insight into several cases of historical terrorism, and many of you may want to make use of it when preparing your historical event paper and presentation. Doing so is not required, however.

Other recommended books:

- Enders, Walter, and Todd Sandler. (2012). *The Political Economy of Terrorism*. New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Hoffman, Bruce. 2006. *Inside Terrorism*. New York: Columbia University Press.
- Juergensmeyer, Mark. 2000. *Terror in the Mind of God*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Ross, Jeffrey Ian. 2006. *Political Terrorism: An Interdisciplinary Approach*. New York: Peter Lang.
- Sageman, Marc. 2004. *Understanding Terror Networks*. Philadelphia: Penn University Press.
- The 9/11 Commission Report. 2011. New York: Norton.

Class Schedule

T Aug 30: Definition

Timothy Garton Ash, "Is there a Good Terrorist?" [New York Review of Books](http://www.nybooks.com/articles/14860), November 29, 2001. (<http://www.nybooks.com/articles/14860>)

Bruce Hoffman, "Defining Terrorism" (course website), pp. 13-44.

Ross, Jeffrey, "Introducing Oppositional Terrorism" (course website). pp. 1-27.

Th Sep 1: Studying Terrorism I

Stohl, Michael, 1983, "Demystifying Terrorism: The Myths and Realities of Contemporary Political Terrorism," (course website). pp. 1-19.

Young, Joseph and Michael G. Findley. 2011. "Problems and Pitfalls of Terrorism Research." *International Studies Review*. 13(3): 411-431

T Sep 6: Studying Terrorism II

Horgan, John. 2011. "Interviewing the Terrorists: Reflections on Fieldwork and Implications for Psychological Research." *Behavioral Sciences of Terrorism and Political Aggression* 4(3): 195-211.

Sandler, Todd and Daniel Arce. 2003. "Terrorism and Game Theory." *Simulation & Gaming* 34(3): 319-337.

Th Sep 8: Causes and Motivations I

Martha Crenshaw, 2002, "The Logic of Terrorism: Terrorist Behavior as a Product of Strategic Choice" (course website) pp. 54-66.

Jeffrey Ian Ross, "Chapter Three: Exploring the Causes" (course website) pp. 77-91.

T Sep 13: Causes and Motivations II

Max Abrahms. 2008. "What Terrorists Really Want." *International Security* 32(4): 78-105.

Chenoweth, Erica, Nicholas Miller, and Elizabeth McClellan. 2009. "What Makes Terrorists Tick (A Response to Abrahms)" *International Security* 33(4): 180-202.

Th Sep 15: Psychology and Religion

Mark Juergensmeyer. (2001) *Terror in the Mind of God*. University of California Press. Chapters 1 and 11 (course website).

Jeff Victoroff. 2005. "The Mind of a Terrorist: A Review and Critique of Psychological Approaches." *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 49(1): 3-42.

T Sep 20: Organizational Challenges Overview

Jacob N. Shapiro, "The Challenges of Organizing Terror: A Theoretical Framework for Analysis," in *Combating Terrorism Center: Harmony and Disharmony Report* (course website), pp. 11-24.

Alan Cullison, "Inside Al-Qaeda's Hard Drive," at (<http://www.theatlantic.com/doc/200409/cullison>).

Harmony Documents: "Al-Qa'ida Goals and Structure" and "Employment Contract" (course website).

Twomey, "Staff Report" (course website).

Th Sep 22: Weapons and Tactics I: Strategic Overview

Andrew H. Kydd and Barbara F. Walter. 2006. "The Strategies of Terrorism," *International Security* Vol. 31, No. 1, pp. 49-80.

Jessica A. Stanton. 2013. "Terrorism in the Context of Civil War." *Journal of Politics* 75(4): 1009-1022.

T Sep 27: Weapons and Tactics II: Psychological Warfare and the Media

Boaz Ganor, "Terror as a Strategy of Psychological Warfare," (on course website).

Brigitte L. Nacos, "Terrorism as Breaking News: Attack on America," *Political Science Quarterly*, Vol 118, No. 1, pp. 23-52.

Th Sep 29: Simulation I: Hijacking and Hostage Taking

Midterm I handed out.

Enders and Sandler, pp. 160-187.

T Oct 4: Weapons and Tactics III: The Suicide Bomber

Midterm I due by 10 am.

Scott Atran. 2003. The Genesis of Suicide Terrorism. *Science* 299(5612): 1534-1539.

Mia M. Bloom. 2004. "Palestinian Suicide Bombing: Public Support, Market Share, and Outbidding," *Political Science Quarterly* 119 (1):61-88.

Robert Pape. 2003. "The Strategic Logic of Suicide Terrorism," *American Political Science Review*. 343-361.

Th Oct 6: Weapons and Tactics IV: WMDs

CIA, "Terrorist CBRN: Materials and Effects," at (https://www.cia.gov/library/reports/general-reports-1/terrorist_cbrn/terrorist_CBRN.htm).

John Parachini, "Putting WMD Terrorism into Perspective" (course website).

Walter Laqueur, "Postmodern Terrorism," in Charles W. Kegley, Jr., *The New Global Terrorism: Characteristics, Causes, Controls*, 2nd edition, 2003, Prentice Hall, pp. 151-159. (course website)

T Oct 11: Fall Break (No Class)

Th Oct 13: Democracy, Autocracy, and Terrorism

Chenoweth, Erica. 2013. "Terrorism and Democracy." *Annual Review of Political Science* 16: 355-378.

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(4): 941-955.

T Oct 18: Public Support and Public Reaction

Berrebi, Claude and Esteban F. Klor. 2008. "Are Voters Sensitive to Terrorism?" *American Political Science Review* 102(3).

Shapiro, Jacob N. and C. Christine Fair. 2010. "Why Support Islamic Militancy? Evidence from Pakistan." *International Security* 34: 79-118.

Th Oct 20: Mobilization and Recruitment I: Who Joins?

Alan B. Krueger and Jitka Maleckova, 2003, "Education, Poverty, and Terrorism: Is There a Causal Connection?" *Journal of Economic Perspectives* 17 (4):119-144.

Bueno de Mesquita, Ethan. 2005. "The Quality of Terror." *American Journal of Political Science* 49(3):515-530.

T Oct 25: Mobilization and Recruitment II: Jihadi Networks

Ami Pedahzur and Arie Perliger. 2006. "The Changing Nature of Suicide Attacks: A Social Network Perspective." *Social Forces* 84(4): 1987-2008.

Marc Sageman. 2004. "Social Networks and the Jihad," in *Understanding Terror Networks*, University of Pennsylvania Press, pp. 137-173 (course website).

Th Oct 27: Mobilization and Recruitment III: Jihadi Speech (Guest Lecture)

No Reading.

T Nov 1: Terrorist Financing and State Sponsorship

Benjamin W. Bahney, 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: Papers & Proceedings* 103(3): 518-522.

Matthew A. Levitt, "The Political Economy of Middle East Terrorism," *Middle East Review of International Affairs*, Vol. 6, No. 4 (December, 2002), pp. 49-65 (course website).

State Sponsors of Terrorism Overview, pp. 88-90 in Department of State, Country Reports on Terrorism, 2004 (<http://www.state.gov/documents/organization/45322.pdf>).

Paul Wilkinson, "Can a State Be Terrorist?" *International Affairs* (Summer 1981), 467-472 (course website).

Th Nov 3: Simulation II: Terror vs. Counterterror

Midterm II handed out.

Loch Johnson, "Strategic Intelligence: the Weakest Link in the War against Terrorism," in Charles W. Kegley, Jr., *The New Global Terrorism: Characteristics, Causes, Controls*, 2nd edition, 2003, Prentice Hall, pp. 239-252. (on course website)

Paul R. Pillar, "Counterterrorism after Al Qaeda," *The Washington Quarterly* (Summer 2004), pp. 101-113 (course website).

T Nov 8: Counter-Terror I: Strategic Behavior

Midterm II due by 10 am.

Arce, Daniel and Todd Sandler. 2005. "Counterterrorism: A Game-Theoretic Analysis," *Journal of Conflict Resolution*, 183-200.

Berman, Eli, Joseph H. Felter, and Jacob N. Shapiro. 2011. "Can Hearts and Minds Be Bought? The Economics of Counterinsurgency in Iraq." *Journal of Political Economy* 119: 766-819.

Th Nov 10: Counter-Terror II: Exploiting Organizational Vulnerabilities

Joseph Felter et al., "Organizational Vulnerabilities and Recommendations to Exploit Them," in Combating Terrorism Center: Harmony and Disharmony Report (course website), pp. 40-55.

Jacob N Shapiro and David A Siegel. 2007. "Underfunding in Terrorist Organizations," *International Studies Quarterly* 51, pp. 405-429.

T Nov 15: Counter-Terror III: Breaking Networks

Jenna Jordan. 2014. "Attacking the Leader, Missing the Mark: Why Terrorist Groups Survive Decapitation Strikes." *International Security* 38(4): 7-38.

David A. Siegel. 2011. "When Does Repression Work?: Collective Action Under the Threat of Violence." *Journal of Politics* 73 (4): 993-1010.

Th Nov 17: Historical Group Presentations I (Red Brigades, Shining Path)

Martha Crenshaw, "Introduction: Thoughts on Relating Terrorism to Historical Contexts" (course website) pp. 3-24.

T Nov 22: NO CLASS (Happy Thanksgiving!)

Th Nov 24: NO CLASS (Happy Thanksgiving!)

T Nov 29: Historical Group Presentations II (ETA, IRA)

Th Dec 1: Historical Group Presentations III (FLN, Hezbollah)

T Dec 6: Historical Group Presentations IV (Hamas, Tamil Tigers)

Th Dec 8: Historical Group Presentations V (Boko Haram, Al-Shabaab)

T Dec 13: Policy Memos Due by 11:59 pm