

**Political Science 5210: Terrorists and Insurgents  
Spring 2015**

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Class Time and Location:  
W 4:30-7:10  
MUR 227

Office Hours  
MWF: 9:30-10:20;  
TTH: 1:00-3:00

**Course Description:**

This course focuses on an emerging field in political science – terrorism and insurgency – and particularly concentrates on research questions that have, up to this time, remained largely overlooked. For us, this means a focus on topics such as radicalization, organizational structure and governance, factionalization, competition, and target choice. Our readings provide an array of viewpoints for why these behaviors and outcomes occur. Along with this diversity of explanations, the readings also employ a wide variety of methodologies – formal modeling, quantitative analyses, and case studies. This course will also focus on how we study this emerging field in a quantitative manner, and from time to time we will discuss some of the existing data sources on terrorism. Hopefully, this class will provide a framework that allows you to develop your own future research agenda and interests.

Because this a graduate seminar, classes are geared around intensive discussion of the readings. Consequently, it is important that you critically engage both the theoretical and empirical aspects of the readings. In addition, a graduate course implies that you have an interest in the field above that of undergraduates – that being said, the work and the expectations are increased. Your preparedness for class, participation, and work should reflect more than just a basic consumption of the material.

**Required Readings:**

O'Neill, Bard. 2005. *Insurgency & Terrorism: From Revolution to Apocalypse*. Dulles, VA: Potomac Books

Race, Jeffrey. 1978. *War Comes to Long An: Revolutionary Conflict in a Vietnamese Province*. Berkeley: University of California Press.

Shapiro, Jacob N. 2013. *The Terrorist's Dilemma*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.

Weinstein, Jeremy. 2007. *Inside Rebellion: The Politics of Insurgent Violence*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Articles in the course outline are available on JSTOR, Google Scholar, etc. Readings that are not available through these sources or are not part of assigned books are posted to our D2L page at [oc.okstate.edu](http://oc.okstate.edu). I also reserve the right to change reading (articles, not books) at my discretion. If that does occur, I will provide ample warning.

## Course Requirements and Grading:

<u>Assignment</u>	<u>Grade Weight</u>	<u>Due Date</u>
Participation	20%	-
Discussion Paper & Leadership	40% (10% per paper)	Various
Research Proposal	40%	Various

**Participation:** Each student is expected to attend class, complete all required readings, and *significantly contribute* to discussion each week. Significant contribution includes being prepared for each course with thoughtful comments and questions based on the readings, as well as thoughtful ideas for additional research. Participation (and not merely attendance) is essential for your success in this class.

**Discussion Papers and Leadership:** You will write 4 discussion papers (4-5 pages). We will determine who is writing for each week in the first class meeting. Students who are assigned a discussion paper for each day are also charged with leading discussion. This means discussing main ideas and points of contention. *This is not to be a recitation of what you have read but a way to provoke discussion amongst your fellow classmates.* Your ability to distill the readings, raise issues, and engender debate will form the basis of the grade. If there is no discussion, I will direct it and I will call upon people. If my intervention is required, your grade will be negatively affected.

*Discussion papers should not be a simple summary of what you have read. Instead, they should be a critical response to the work.* You may focus on one reading or on the collective whole. Approaches can include:

- 1) criticisms and suggestions for improvement in the theory, methods, or conclusions of specific papers
- 2) extensions or research questions that come from the readings
- 3) theoretical or methodological inconsistencies between articles from the same week or from previous weeks.

Documents that may help (including one that I used in grad school) will be handed out during the first class and posted to D2L. Of course, this is not an exhaustive list of what you can write about. If you have any questions about what you wish to write, please let me know.

In addition to the paper, students will also provide three questions to be discussed by the class. The papers and questions should be posted to the D2L dropbox by 9:00pm on the Monday prior to our class meeting. Students not writing for the week should still read and be ready to discuss the points and the questions raised by the discussion papers.

**Research Proposal.** You will write a 20 page empirical research proposal on a topic of your choice that relates to the literature discussed in class. This project will be due on the 8<sup>th</sup> of May. The purpose of this proposal is to provide you with the experience of producing graduate level research as well as to (potentially) provide the basis for your future academic research and interests. Each proposal has to follow the pattern of all standard political science work:

- 1.) A statement of the research question.
- 2.) A review of pertinent and existing literature connected to the research question.
- 3.) Your theoretical argument.
- 4.) A set of hypotheses that logically follow from the theoretical argument.
- 5.) A discussion of how you would set about evaluating your hypotheses, the data set you would use, and the variables you will consider.
- 6.) A conclusion about your work's relevance to the existing literature on the topic and, more broadly, to the study of international security.

In order to help you, I have established several dates by which I would like to see certain elements of your research proposal. These are due prior to class. I will not grade the individual components (with the exception of the presentation). Instead, this is to allow you plenty of time to complete the project and for me to provide you with feedback:

- February 18<sup>th</sup>: A one to two page detailing your research topic and question. Academic journals (or the works cited by the authors read) are good places to start looking for ideas.
- March 11<sup>th</sup>: An annotated bibliography with at least 10 sources
- April 22<sup>nd</sup>: A 10 page first draft. In this, I would like some elements of the components stated above (research question, literature review, theory, and hypotheses). At this point, a discussion of methods and a conclusion is not needed.
- May 8<sup>th</sup>: Project due by 5:00pm (Email to me). In your paper, you should address questions and comments that I have raised.

**Note:**

*Incomplete Policy* – University Policy states that “a student must satisfactorily complete the *majority* of course work, and average ‘D’ or better on work to date, but has been ‘unavoidably prevented from completing the remaining work of the course’”.

Please feel free to see me if you have any questions or concerns. Problems and concerns about grades are easier to solve early in the semester than late.

**Course Outline:**

**Week 1 (January 14, 2015) – Introduction**

**Week 2 (January 21, 2015) - Elements of Insurgency**

Kalyvas , Stathis N. 2001. ‘New’ and ‘Old’ Civil Wars: A Valid Distinction? *World Politics* 54(1): 99-118.

Moghadam, Assaf, Ronit Berger, and Polina Belikova. 2014. Say Terrorist, Think Insurgent: Labeling and Analyzing Contemporary Terrorist Actors. *Perspectives on Terrorism* 8(5) [[LINK](#)]

O’Neill, Bard. 2005. *Insurgency & Terrorism: From Revolution to Apocalypse*. Dulles, VA: Potomac Books, Chapters 1-3.

Tharoor, Shashi. 1999. The Future of Civil Conflict. *World Policy Journal* 16(1): 1-11

### **Week 3 (January 28, 2015) – The Environment of Insurgency**

Ganguly, Sumit. 1996. Explaining the Kashmir Insurgency: Political Mobilization and Institutional Decay. *International Security* 21(2): 76-107.

Kalyvas, Stathis N. and Laia Balcells, "International System and Technologies of Rebellion: How the End of the Cold War Shaped Internal Conflict," *American Political Science Review* 104(3): 415-429.

O'Neill, Bard. 2005. *Insurgency & Terrorism: From Revolution to Apocalypse*. Dulles, VA: Potomac Books, Chapter 4-5.

Race, Jeffrey. 1978. *War Comes to Long An: Revolutionary Conflict in a Vietnamese Province*. Berkeley: University of California Press, Chapter 1.

### **Week 4 (February 4, 2015) – Becoming an Insurgent**

Berman, Eli, Michael Callen, Joseph H. Felter, and Jacob N. Shapiro. 2011. Do Working Men Rebel? Insurgency and Unemployment in Afghanistan, Iraq, and the Philippines. *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 55(4): 496-528.

Humphreys, Macartan and Jeremy M. Weinstein. 2008. Who Fights? The Determinants of Participation in Civil War. *American Journal of Political Science* 52 (2): 436-455.

Staniland, Paul. 2012. Organizing Insurgency: Networks, Resources, and Rebellion in South Asia. *International Security* 37(1): 142-177.

Weinstein, Jeremy. 2007. *Inside Rebellion: The Politics of Insurgent Violence*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. Chapters 1 & 3.

### **Week 5 (February 11, 2015) – Sustaining the Organization**

Lilja, Jannie. 2009. Trapping Constituents or Winning Hearts and Minds? Rebel Strategies to Attain Constituent Support in Sri Lanka. *Terrorism and Political Violence* 21(2): 306-326.

O'Neill, Bard. 2005. *Insurgency & Terrorism: From Revolution to Apocalypse*. Dulles, VA: Potomac Books, Chapter 7.

Ross, Michael L. 2004. How Do Natural Resources Influence Civil War? Evidence from Thirteen Cases. *International Organization* 58 (Winter 2004): 35-67.

Weinstein, Jeremy. 2007. *Inside Rebellion: The Politics of Insurgent Violence*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. Chapters 4-5.

### **Week 6 (February 18, 2015) – Cohesion and Fragmentation**

Bakke, Kristin M., Kathleen Gallagher Cunningham, and Lee J.M. Seymour. 2012. A Plague of Initials: Fragmentation, Cohesion, and Infighting in Civil Wars. *Perspective on Politics* 10(2): 265-283.

Kenny, Paul. 2010. Structural Integrity and Cohesion in Insurgent Organizations: Evidence from Protracted Conflicts in Ireland and Burma. *International Studies Review* 12(4): 533-555.

Staniland, Paul. 2012. Organizing Insurgency: Networks, Resources, and Rebellion in South Asia. *International Security* 37(1): 142-177.

Weinstein, Jeremy. 2007. *Inside Rebellion: The Politics of Insurgent Violence*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. Chapter 7.

### **Week 7 (February 25, 2015) – Insurgent Strategies & Tactics**

Balcells, Laia. 2010. Rivalry and Revenge: Violence against Civilians in Conventional Civil Wars. *International Studies Quarterly* 54(2): 291-313.

Lyall, Jason. 2009. Does Indiscriminate Violence Incite Insurgent Attacks? Evidence from Chechnya. *Journal of Conflict Resolution*, 53 (3): 331-362.

Race, Jeffrey. 1978. *War Comes to Long An: Revolutionary Conflict in a Vietnamese Province*. Berkeley: University of California Press, Chapter 3.

Weinstein, Jeremy. 2007. *Inside Rebellion: The Politics of Insurgent Violence*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. Chapter 6.

### **Week 8 (March 4, 2015) – Elements of Terrorism**

Abrahms, Max. 2008. What Terrorists Really Want: Terrorist Motives and Counterterrorism Strategy. *International Security* 32(4): 78-105

Sageman, Marc. 2014. The Stagnation in Terrorism Research. *Terrorism and Political Violence* 26(4): 565-580.

OR

Sandler, Todd. 2014. The Analytical Study of Terrorism: Taking Stock. *Journal of Peace Research* 51(2): 257-271.

Toros, Harmonie. 2008. Terrorists, Scholars, and Ordinary People: Confronting Terrorism Studies with Field Experiences. *Critical Studies on Terrorism* 1(2): 279-292.

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

### **Week 9 (March 11, 2015) – The Environment of Terrorism**

Brooks, Risa. 2009. Researching Democracy and Terrorism: How Political Access Affects Militant Activity. *Security Studies* 18(4): 756-788.

Crenshaw, Martha. 1981. The Causes of Terrorism. *Comparative Politics* 13(4): 379-399.

Piazza, James A. 2006. Rooted in Poverty?: Terrorism, Poor Economic Development, and Social Cleavages. *Terrorism and Political Violence* 18(1): 159-177.

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.

**Week 10 (March 18, 2015) – Spring Break – No Class**

**Week 11 (March 25, 2015) – Becoming a Terrorist**

Hegghammer, Thomas. 2013. The Recruiter's Dilemma: Signaling and Terrorist Recruitment Tactics. *Journal of Peace Research* 50(1): 3-16.

Lee, Alexander. 2011. Who Becomes a Terrorist? Poverty, Education, and the Origins of Political Violence. *World Politics* 63(2): 203-245.

Post, Jerrold, Ehud Sprinzak, and Laurita Denny. 2003. The Terrorists in Their Own Words: Interviews with 35 Incarcerated Middle Eastern Terrorists. *Terrorism and Political Violence* 15(1): 171-184.

Shapiro, Jacob N. 2013. *The Terrorist's Dilemma*. Princeton: Princeton University Press. Chapters 1-5.

**Week 12 (April 1, 2015) – Sustaining the Organization**

Joose, Paul. 2007. Leaderless Resistance and Ideological Inclusion: The Case of the Earth Liberation Front. *Terrorism and Political Violence* 19(3): 351-368.

Shapiro, Jacob N. 2013. *The Terrorist's Dilemma*. Princeton: Princeton University Press. Chapters 6-9.

Zelinsky, Aaron, and Martin Shubik. 2009. Research Note: Terrorist Groups as Business Firms: A New Typological Framework. *Terrorism and Political Violence* 21(2): 327-336.

**Week 13 (April 8, 2015) – Cohesion and Fragmentation**

Crenshaw, Martha. 1985. An Organizational Approach to the Analysis of Political Terrorism. *Orbis* 29(3): 465-489.

Oots, Kent. 1989. Organizational Perspectives on the Formation and Disintegration of Terrorist Groups. *Terrorism* 12(3): 139-152

Nemeth, Stephen. 2014. The Effect of Competition on Terrorist Group Operations. *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 58(2):336-362.

Phillips, Brian J. 2015. Enemies with Benefits? Violent Rivalry and Terrorist Group Longevity. *Journal of Peace Research* 52 (1):62-75.

**Week 14 (April 15, 2015) – Terrorist Strategies & Tactics**

Asal, Victor and R. Karl Rethemeyer. 2008. Dilettantes, Ideologues, and the Weak: Terrorists Who Don't Kill. *Conflict Management and Peace Science* 25(3): 244-263.

Jackson, Brian and David Frelinger. 2008. Rifling Through the Terrorists' Arsenal: Exploring Groups' Weapon Choices and Technology Strategies. *Studies in Conflict and Terrorism* 31(7): 583-604.

Juergensmeyer, Mark. 1997. Terror Mandated by God. *Terrorism and Political Violence* 9(2): 16-23

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

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.

### **Week 15 (April 22, 2015) – Counterinsurgency**

Downes, Alexander. 2007. Draining the Sea by Filling the Graves: Investigating the Effectiveness of Indiscriminate Violence as a Counterinsurgency Strategy. *Civil Wars* 9(4): 420-444.

Lyall, Jason. 2010. Are Coethnics More Effective Counterinsurgents? Evidence from the Second Chechen War. *American Political Science Review* 104(1): 1-20.

OR

Lyall, Jason, and Isaiah Wilson III. 2009. Rage against the Machines: Explaining Outcomes in Counterinsurgency Wars. *International Organization* 63(1): 67-106.

O'Neill, Bard. 2005. *Insurgency & Terrorism: From Revolution to Apocalypse*. Dulles, VA: Potomac Books. Chapter 8.

Race, Jeffrey. 1978. *War Comes to Long An: Revolutionary Conflict in a Vietnamese Province*. Berkeley: University of California Press. Chapters 4-5.

### **Week 16 (April 29, 2015) – Counterterrorism**

Bapat, Navin A. 2011. Transnational Terrorism, US Military Aid, and the Incentive to Misrepresent. *Journal of Peace Research* 48(3): 303-318.

Cronin, Audrey K. 2006. How Al Qaida Ends: The Decline and Demise of Terrorist Groups. *International Security* 31(1): 7-48.

Horgan, John. 2008. Deradicalization or Disengagement? A Process in Need of Clarity and a Counterterrorism Initiative in Need of Evaluation. *Perspectives on Terrorism* 2(4). [\[LINK\]](#)

Price, Bryan. 2012. Targeting Top Terrorists: How Leadership Decapitation Contributes to Counterterrorism. *International Security* 36(4): 9-46.