

**Political Science 814: Terrorism and Transnational Security**  
**Fall 2011**

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Office Hours:

M, T, W 9-11:30

Or by Appointment

Time and Location:

W 7:05-9:55

WA 230

**Course Description:**

This course focuses on a critical security issue – terrorism. We will discuss the theories and motivations that underlie international and domestic terrorism. More specifically, we will seek to understand why a person chooses to commit terrorist acts, why organizations arise and decline, and the efficacy of counterterrorism efforts. Our readings will provide a range of explanations and a range of methodologies - quantitative analyses, formal modeling, and case study approaches. We will also talk about how we study this emerging field in a quantitative manner – most weeks we will end class with a discussion of one of the existing data sources on terrorism. This focus on both theory and data should provide a solid background that allows you to develop your own research agenda and interests.

This is a graduate seminar and as such, classes are geared around discussion of the readings. As an emerging field, there is a lack of consensus over what motivates these activities and processes. 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 undergrads – that being said, both 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.

**Readings:**

The following readings are required for the course:

Alexander, Yonah, ed. 2006. *Counterterrorism Strategies: Successes and Failures of Six Nations*. Washington, D.C.: Potomac Books.

Chaliand, Gerard and Arnaud Blin, eds. 2007. *The History of Terrorism: From Antiquity to Al-Qaeda*. Berkeley: University of California Press.

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

Hoffman, Bruce. 2006. *Inside Terrorism*. New York: Columbia University Press

Articles presented in the course outline are available on JSTOR. Readings that are not available via JSTOR or are not part of assigned books are posted to k-state online. I also reserve the right to change reading (articles, not books) at my discretion.

**Course Requirements:**

**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 potential ideas for your own research projects. In addition, each week a few students will sign up to lead discussion. These individuals will write discussion papers and questions before the class, and will play a significant role in directing and shaping discussion. If there is no discussion, I will direct it and I will call upon people. Participation (and not merely attendance) is essential for your success in this class. This comprises 20% of your grade.

**Discussion Papers and Leadership.** You will write 4 discussion papers (3-4 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.

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; or 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 k-state online. 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 sent via email to the rest of the class and the instructor by 4:00pm on the Sunday 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.

The discussion paper, questions, and leadership during the class period will comprise 40% of your grade (10% for each discussion).

**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 9<sup>th</sup> of December. 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. This is 40% of your grade.

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, only provide comments. This is to allow you plenty of time to complete the project and for me to provide you with feedback:

**October 5<sup>th</sup>:** A one to two sentence statement of your specific research question. Academic journals (or the works cited by the authors read) are good places to start looking for ideas.

**October 19<sup>th</sup>:** An annotated bibliography with at least 10 sources

**November 16<sup>th</sup>:** A 5 page statement of your theoretical argument and your hypotheses. Make sure to provide some background, discuss your theory, and present the hypotheses.

**December 9<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:**

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

**University Policies:**

**Academic Honesty**

The following is taken verbatim from <http://www.k-state.edu/honor/faculty/syllabusstate.htm>:

Kansas State University has an Honor & Integrity System based on personal integrity which is presumed to be sufficient assurance in academic matters one's work is performed honestly and without unauthorized assistance. Undergraduate and graduate students, by registration, acknowledge the jurisdiction of the Honor & Integrity System. The policies and procedures of the Honor System apply to all full and part-time students enrolled in undergraduate and graduate courses on-campus, off-campus, and via distance learning.

A component vital to the Honor & Integrity System is the inclusion of the [Honor Pledge](#) which applies to all assignments, examinations, or other course work undertaken by students. The Honor Pledge is implied, *whether or not* it is stated: "**On my honor, as a student, I have neither given nor received unauthorized aid on this academic work.**"

The default in this class is that ALL work will be accomplished individually, UNLESS my permission is given in advance of an assignment/quiz/exam/take-home exam/final. If you are in doubt, please ask

A grade of **XF** can result from a breach of academic honesty. The F indicates failure in the course; the X indicates the reason is an Honor Pledge violation.

For more information, visit the Honor & Integrity System home web page at: <http://www.ksu.edu/honor>

### **Classroom Conduct**

The following is taken verbatim from <http://www.k-state.edu/provost/resources/teaching/course.htm>:

“All student activities in the University, including this course, are governed by the Student Judicial Conduct Code as outlined in the Student Governing Association By Laws, Article VI, Section 3, number 2. Students who engage in behavior that disrupts the learning environment may be asked to leave the class.”

### **Disability Services**

The following is taken verbatim from <http://www.k-state.edu/provost/resources/teaching/course.htm>:

“Any student with a disability who needs a classroom accommodation, access to technology or other academic assistance in this course should contact Disability Support Services ([dss@k-state.edu](mailto:dss@k-state.edu)) and/or the instructor. DSS serves students with a wide range of disabilities including, but not limited to, physical disabilities, sensory impairments, learning disabilities, attention deficit disorder, depression, and anxiety.”

### **Course Outline**

#### ***Week 1 (August 24, 2011) – Review Syllabus***

#### ***Week 2 (August 31, 2011) – APSA Conference – No Class***

I recommend that you read these for some background:

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

Hoffman, Bruce. 2006. “The Modern Terrorist Mindset: Tactics, Targets, Tradecraft, and Technologies,” in *Inside Terrorism*. New York: Columbia University Press.

Part I In *The History of Terrorism: From Antiquity to Al-Qaeda*, eds. Chaliand, Gerard and Arnaud Blin. Berkeley: University of California Press.

#### ***Week 3 (September 7, 2011): Defining Terrorism***

Claridge, David. 1996. State Terrorism? Applying a Definitional Model. *Terrorism and Political Violence* 8(3): 47-63.

Dedeoglu, Beril. 2003. Bermuda Triangle: Comparing Official Definitions of Terrorist Activity. *Terrorism and Political Violence* 15(3): 81-110.

Ganor, Boaz. 2002. Defining Terrorism: Is One Man's Terrorist Another Man's Freedom Fighter? *Police Practice & Research* 3(4): 287-304.

Hoffman, Bruce. 2006. "Defining Terrorism," in *Inside Terrorism*. New York: Columbia University Press.

Tilly, Charles. 2004. Terror, Terrorism, Terrorists. *Sociological Theory* 22(1): 5-13.

*Data Feature- Global Terrorism Dataset (GTD)*. Available at: <http://www.start.umd.edu/gtd/>

#### **Week 4 (September 14, 2011): Researching Terrorism**

Merari, Ariel. 1991. Academic Research and Government Policy on Terrorism. *Terrorism and Political Violence* 3(1): 88-102.

Silke, Andrew. 2001. The Devil You Know: Continuing Problems with Research on Terrorism. 13(4): 1-14.

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

Weinberg, Leonard, Ami Pedahzur, and Sivan Hirsch-Hoeffler. 2004. The Challenges of Conceptualizing Terrorism. *Terrorism and Political Violence* 16(4): 777-794.

Young, Joseph and Michael Findley. Forthcoming. Promises and Pitfalls of Terrorism Research. *International Studies Review*

*Data Feature – International Terrorism: Attributes of Terrorist Events (ITERATE)*. Available on k-state online

#### **Week 5 (September 21, 2011): Causes of Terrorism – Economic Factors**

Abadie, Alberto. 2005. Poverty, Political Freedom, and the Roots of Terrorism. *American Economic Review* 95(4): 50-56.

Blomberg, Stephen, Gregory Hess, and Akila Weerapana. 2004. Economic Conditions and Terrorism. *European Journal of Political Economy* 20(2): 463-478.

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

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

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

*Data Feature – RAND Database of Worldwide Terrorism Incidents (RDWTI)*. Available at: <http://www.rand.org/nsrd/projects/terrorism-incidents.html>

#### **Week 6 (September 28, 2011): Causes of Terrorism – Political Factors**

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

Hoffman, Bruce. 2006. "The End of Empire," in *Inside Terrorism*. New York: Columbia University Press.

Li, Quan. 2005. Does Democracy Promote or Reduce Transnational Terrorism Incidents? *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 49(2): 278-297.

Mason, T. David and Dale Krane. 1989. The Political Economy of Death Squads: Toward a Theory of the Impact of State-Sanctioned Terror. *International Studies Quarterly* 33(2): 175-198.

Data Feature – *Terrorism in Western Europe: Events Data (TWEED)*. Available at: <http://folk.uib.no/sspje/tweed.htm>

**Week 7 (October 5, 2011): Causes of Terrorism – Psychological/Sociological Factors**

Bates, Robert, Avner Greif and Smita Singh. 2002. Organizing Violence. *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 46(5): 599-628.

De La Roche, Roberta. 2001. Why is Collective Violence Collective? *Sociological Theory* 19(2): 126-144.

Kruglanski, Arie and Shira Fishman. 2006. The Psychology of Terrorism: 'Syndrome' Versus 'Tool' Perspectives. *Terrorism and Political Violence* 18(2): 193-215.

Post, Jerrold. 1998. "Terrorist Psycho-Logic: Terrorist Behavior as a Product of Psychological Forces." In *Origins of Terrorism*, ed. Walter Reich. Washington D.C.: Woodrow Wilson Center Press.

Turk, Austin. 2004. Sociology of Terrorism. *Annual Review of Sociology*. 30: 271-286.

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

**Week 8 (October 12, 2011): Religious Terrorism**

Berman, Eli and David Laitin. Religion, Terrorism, and Public Goods: Testing the Club Model. *Journal of Public Economics* 92(10-11): 1942-1967.

Enders, Walter and Todd Sandler. 2000. Is Transnational Terrorism Becoming More Threatening? A Time Series Investigation. *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 44(3): 307-332

Migaux, Phillippe. 2007. "Al Qaeda." In *The History of Terrorism: From Antiquity to Al-Qaeda*, eds. Chaliand, Gerard and Arnaud Blin. Berkeley: University of California Press.

Migaux, Phillippe. 2007. "The Roots of Islamic Radicalism." In *The History of Terrorism: From Antiquity to Al-Qaeda*, eds. Chaliand, Gerard and Arnaud Blin. Berkeley: University of California Press.

Rapoport, David. 1984. Fear and Trembling: Terrorism in Three Religious Traditions. *American Political Science Review* 78(3): 658-677.

Data Feature – *Terrorist Organizational Profiles (TOPs)*. Available at: [http://www.start.umd.edu/start/data\\_collections/tops/](http://www.start.umd.edu/start/data_collections/tops/)

### **Week 9 (October 19, 2011) - Suicide Terrorism**

Atran, Scott. 2003. Genesis of Suicide Terrorism. *Science* 299(7):1534-1539.

Géré, François. 2007. "Suicide Operations: Between War and Terrorism." In *The History of Terrorism: From Antiquity to Al-Qaeda*, eds. Chaliand, Gerard and Arnaud Blin. Berkeley: University of California Press.

Hoffman, Bruce. 2006. "Suicide Terrorism," in *Inside Terrorism*. New York: Columbia University Press.

Hoffman, Bruce and Gordon McCormick. 2004. "Terrorism, Signaling, and Suicide Attacks," *Studies in Conflict & Terrorism*, no.27(4): 243-281.

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

Data Feature – Big Allied and Dangerous Dataset (BAAD). Available at:

[http://www.albany.edu/pvc/current\\_projects.shtml](http://www.albany.edu/pvc/current_projects.shtml)

### **Week 10 (October 26, 2011) - Targeting**

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

Drake, CJM. 1993. The Role of Ideology in Terrorists' Target Selection. *Terrorism and Political Violence* 5(4): 253-265.

Goodwin, Jeff. 2006. A Theory of Categorical Terrorism. *Social Forces* 84(4): 2027-2046.

Libicki, Martin, Peter Chalk, and Melanie Sisson. 2007. *Exploring Terrorist Targeting Preferences*. Santa Monica: RAND Corporation. Chapters 2-3. Available at: [http://www.rand.org/content/dam/rand/pubs/monographs/2007/RAND\\_MG483.pdf](http://www.rand.org/content/dam/rand/pubs/monographs/2007/RAND_MG483.pdf)

Data Feature – Chicago Project on Security and Terrorism (CPOST). Available

at: <http://cpost.uchicago.edu/index.ph>

### **Week 11 (November 2, 2011) - The Internationalization of Terror**

Bapat, Navin. 2007. The Internationalization of Terrorist Campaigns. *Conflict Management and Peace Science* 24(4): 265-280.

Moore, Cerwyn and Paul Tumelty. 2008. Foreign Fighters and the Case of Chechnya: A Critical Assessment. *Studies in Conflict and Terrorism* 31(5): 412-433.

Piazza, James. 2008. Incubators of Terror: Do Failed and Failing States Promote Transnational Terrorism? *International Studies Quarterly* 52(3): 469-488.

Takeyh, Ray and Nikolas Gvosdev. 2002. Do Terrorist Networks Need a Home? *The Washington Quarterly* 25(3): 97-108.

Data Feature – Minorities at Risk Organizational Behavior (MAROB). Available

at: <http://www.cidcm.umd.edu/mar/data.asp#maro>

**Week 12 (November 9, 2011) – Inside Terrorist Organizations**

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

Asal, Victor. 2008. The Nature of the Beast: Organizational Structures and the Lethality of Terrorist Attacks. *Journal of Politics* 70(2): 437-449

Chai, Sun-Ki. 1993. An Organizational Economics Theory of Antigovernment Violence. *Comparative Politics* 26(1):99-110.

Shapiro, Jacob and David Siegel. 2007. Underfunding in Terrorist Organizations. *International Studies Quarterly* 51(2): 405–429.

Data Feature - Worldwide Incidents Tracking System (WITS). Available at:  
<http://wits.nctc.gov/>

**Week 13 (November 16, 2011) – Insurgency**

Hoffman, Bruce. 2009. Insurgency and Counterinsurgency in Iraq. *Studies in Conflict and Terrorism* 29(2): 103-121.

Jones, Seth. 2008. The Rise of Afghanistan’s Insurgency: State Failure and Jihad. *International Security* 32(4): 7-40.

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

Merari, Ariel. 2007. “Terrorism as a Strategy of Insurgency.” In *The History of Terrorism: From Antiquity to Al-Qaeda*, eds. Chaliand, Gerard and Arnaud Blin. Berkeley: University of California Press.

Wood, Reed. 2010. Rebel Capability and Strategic Violence Against Civilians. *Journal of Peace Research* 47(5): 601-614.

**Week 14 (November 23, 2011) – Thanksgiving Break – No Class**

**Week 15 (November 30, 2011) – How Terrorist Groups End**

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

**Week 16 (December 7, 2011) – How States Respond**

Alexander, Yonah, ed. 2006. *Counterterrorism Strategies: Successes and Failures of Six Nations*. Washington, D.C.: Potomac Books.

Hoffman, Bruce. 2009. A Counterterrorism Strategy for the Obama Administration. *Terrorism and Political Violence* 21(3): 359-377