Political Science 814: Terrorism and Transnational Security
Spring 2012

Prof. Stephen Nemeth   Office Hours: Time and Location:

106 Leasure Hall   M, T, W 10:00-11:00   W 7:05-9:55

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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:

Arquilla, John and David Ronfeldt. 2001. Networks and Netwars: The Future of Terror, Crime, and
    Militancy. Santa Monica: RAND Corporation.

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

Enders, Walter and Todd Sandler. 2011. *The Political Economy of Terrorism*. Cambridge: Cambridge
    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 and 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 Tuesday 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 8th 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. 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 (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 29th**: 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.

> **March 21st**: An annotated bibliography with at least 10 sources

> **April 18th**: A statement of your theoretical argument and your hypotheses. Provide a couple of paragraphs to explain your theory and a few sentences to explain the hypotheses.

> **May 8th**: 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) 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 (January 18, 2012) – Review Syllabus

Week 2 (January 25, 2012) – Researching Terrorism

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

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

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

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

Enders, Walter and Todd Sandler. 2011. "Statistical Studies and the Dynamics of Terrorist Behavior," in *The Political Economy of Terrorism*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

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

Week 3 (February 1, 2012): Economic Causes of Terrorism

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

Li, Quan, and Drew Schaub. 2004. Economic Globalization and Transnational Terrorism: A Pooled Time-Series Analysis. *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 48(2): 230-58.

Burgoon, Brian. 2006. On Welfare and Terror: Social Welfare Policies and Political-Economic Roots of Terrorism. *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 50 (2): 176-203.

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

Shafiq, M. Najeeb and Abdulkader Sinno. 2010. Education, Income, and Support for Suicide Bombings: Evidence from Six Muslim Countries. *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 54(1): 146-178.

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

Week 4 (February 8, 2012): Political Causes of Terrorism

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

Rasler, Karen. 1996. Concessions, Repression, and Political Protest in the Iranian Revolution. *American Sociological Review* 61(1): 132-152.

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.

Enders, Walter and Todd Sandler. 2011. "The Dilemma of Liberal Democracies," in *The Political Economy of Terrorism*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

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

Week 5 (February 15, 2012): Psychological/Sociological Causes of Terrorism

White, Robert. 1989. From Peaceful Protest to Guerrilla War: Micromobilization of the Provisional Irish Republican Army. *American Journal of Sociology* 94(6): 1277-1302.

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

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.

Lester, David, Bijou Yang, and Mark Lindsay. 2004. Suicide Bombers: Are Psychological Profiles Possible? *Studies in Conflict and Terrorism* 27(4): 283-95.

Horgan, John. 2008. From Profiles to Pathways and Roots to Routes: Perspectives from Psychology on Radicalization into Terrorism. *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science* 618:(1): 80-94.

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

Week 6 (February 22, 2012): Religious Terrorism

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

Hoffman, Bruce. 1995. 'Holy Terror': The Implications of Terrorism Motivated by a Religious Imperative. *Studies in Conflict and Terrorism* 18(4): 271-284.

Fox, Jonathan. 1997. The Salience of Religious Issues in Ethnic Conflicts: A Large-N Study. *Nationalism and Ethnic Politics* 3(3): 1-19.

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

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

Data Feature – Terrorist Organizational Profiles (TOPs). Available at:
   http://www.start.umd.edu/start/data_collections/tops/

Week 7 (February 29, 2012): Ethnic Terrorism

Byman, Daniel. 1998. The Logic of Ethnic Terrorism. *Studies in Conflict and Terrorism* 21(2): 149-169.

Vanhanen, Tatu. 1999. Domestic Ethnic Conflict and Ethnic Nepotism: A Comparative Analysis. *Journal of Peace Research* 36(1): 55-73.

Basuchoudhary, Atin and William Shugart. 2010. On Ethnic Conflict and the Origins of Transnational Terrorism. *Defence and Peace Economics* 21(1): 65-87.

Cederman, Lars-Erik, Andreas Wimmer, and Brian Min. 2010. Why Do Ethnic Groups Rebel? New Data and Analysis. *World Politics* 62(1): 87-119.

Data Feature – Big Allied and Dangerous Dataset (BAAD). Available at:
   http://www.albany.edu/pvc/current_projects.shtml

Week 8 (March 7, 2012): Understanding Terrorist Operations

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

Jackson, Brian. 2005. "The Provisional Irish Republican Army," in Jackson, Brian, John Baker, Kim Cragin, John Parachini, Horacio Trujillo, and Peter Chalk (eds.) *Aptitude for Destruction, Volume 2: Case Studies of Organizational Learning in Five Terrorist Groups*. Santa Monica: RAND Corporation. Available at: http://www.rand.org/pubs/monographs/2005/RAND_MG332.pdf

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

Quillen, Chris. 2002. A Historical Analysis of Mass Casualty Bombers. *Studies in Conflict and Terrorism* 25(2): 279-292.

Hoffman, Bruce. 2006. "The Modern Terrorist Mind-set: Tactics, Targets, Tradecraft, and Technologies," in *Inside Terrorism.*   New York: Columbia University Press.

*Data Feature – Chicago Project on Security and Terrorism (CPOST). Available
at:* http://cpost.uchicago.edu/index.p

Week 9 (March 14, 2012) - The Internationalization of Terror

Hoffman, Bruce. 2006. "The Internationalization of Terrorism," in *Inside Terrorism.*   New York: Columbia 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. 2008. Incubators of Terror: Do Failed and Failing States Promote Transnational Terrorism? *International Studies Quarterly* 52(3): 469-488.

Tønnesson, Truls. 2008. Training on a Battlefield: Iraq as a Training Ground for Global Jihadis. *Terrorism and Political Violence* 20(4): 543-562.

Stenersen, Anne. 2011. Al Qaeda's Foot Soldiers: A Study of the Biographies of Foreign Fighters Killed in Afghanistan and Pakistan Between 2002 and 2006. *Studies in Conflict and Terrorism* 34(3): 171-198.

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

Week 10 (March 21, 2012) – Spring Break – No Class

Week 11 (March 28, 2012) - Inside Terrorist Organizations

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

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

Clauset, Aaron and Kristian Gleditsch. 2011. The Developmental Dynamics of Terrorist Organizations. Unpublished Manuscript.

Enders, Walter and Todd Sandler. 2011. "Terrorist Groups and their Organization," in *The Political Economy of Terrorism*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

*Data Feature – Minorities at Risk Organizational Behavior (MAROB). Available
at:* http://www.cidcm.umd.edu/mar/data.asp#marob

Week 12 (April 4, 2012) – Insurgency

Merari, Ariel. 1993. Terrorism as a Strategy of Insurgency. *Terrorism and Political Violence* 5(4): 213–251.

Kalyvas, Stathis and Matthew Kocher. 2007. How 'Free' is Free Riding in Civil Wars: Violence, Insurgency, and the Collective Action Problem. *World Politics* 59(2): 177-216.

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

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

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

Week 13 (April 11, 2012) – MPSA Conference – No Class

Week 14 (April 18, 2012) – The Evolution of Militancy

Arquilla, John and David Ronfeldt. 2001. Networks and Netwars: The Future of Terror, Crime, and Militancy. Santa Monica: RAND Corporation.

Week 15 (April 25, 2012) – Counterterrorism

Miller, Reuben. 1993. Negotiating with Terrorists: A Comparative Analysis of Three Cases. *Terrorism and Political Violence* 5(3): 78-105.

Brophy-Baermann, Bryan and John Conybeare. 1994. Retaliating Against Terrorism: Rational Expectations and the Optimality of Rules Versus Discretion. *American Journal of Political Science* 38(1): 196-210.

Farley, Jonathan. 2003. Breaking Al Qaeda Cells: A Mathematical Analysis of Counterterrorism Operations (A Guide for Risk Assessment and Decision Making). *Studies in Conflict and Terrorism* 26(6): 399-411.

Jordan, Jenna. 2009. When Heads Roll: Assessing the Effectiveness of Leadership Decapitation. *Security Studies* 18(4) 719-755.

Enders, Walter and Todd Sandler. 2011. "International Cooperation: Dilemma and Inhibitors," in *The Political Economy of Terrorism*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Week 16 (May 2, 2012) – How Terrorist Groups End

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