

Pol Sc 2004: Terrorism, Insurgency, and Counterterrorism

Spring 2015

MWF 1-1:50pm, Middlebush Hall 212

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Course Description

Welcome to PS 2004: Terrorism, Insurgency, and Counterterrorism. This course will help orient students with the various theories and methods for studying different forms of political violence. This course is rooted in the study of international relations, although we will take some components of comparative politics to understand collective action. Rather than focusing on specific terrorist acts or organizations, we will aim to study the root of these actions, as well as governments' efforts to prevent and end terrorism (which includes the delicate balance between security and liberty). By the end of this course, students should be able to understand the major theories of studying terrorism, how political science has contributed to this knowledge, and how to think critically about these topics in the future.

The topics of this course can roughly be divided into three sections. The first section of this course will discuss basic understandings of collective action, which will orient students with how and when individuals will work as a unit for political change. We will then apply this basic foundation into more specific psychological and economic theories of terrorism. The second section will explore the tactics and targets of terrorist actions. This section will also explore more of the nuances of terrorist organizations and how states aim to protect themselves. The final section will investigate other forms of political violence, including civil wars, insurgency, and counterinsurgency strategies. The end of the course will tie all of this knowledge together by applying these theories in practice. We will also discuss the future of terrorism research and some of the dynamics that complicate these studies.

Grades

Students' grades will be comprised of two parts. The first part is made up of three exams (two during the semester and a final), with each exam worth 30% of the student's final grade. The exams are not cumulative; instead they will test only new material that fits within the three parts of the course outlined above. Keep in mind that while these are not cumulative tests, there are some foundational items that will be studied more closely in the beginning of the course that we will build upon in the remainder of the course.

The second part of students' grades are quizzes and assignments, which will comprise 10% of the final grade. I do not keep attendance in this class. Instead, and in order to evaluate your progress in the course, I will have quizzes and assignments throughout the semester that will test your knowledge of the material (both of the readings and lecture). In order to perform well on these assessments, students should attend lecture regularly and read all required materials. Readings will be assigned each week, and it is the responsibility of the student to read these materials *before* each lecture.

No curve will be given in this course; the grade you earn is the grade you receive. I will use the following grading scale in this course:

Grading Scale:

A+ =	97.0 - 100
A =	93.0 - 96.9
A- =	90.0 - 92.9
B+ =	87.0 - 89.9
B =	83.0 - 86.9
B- =	80.0 - 82.9
C+ =	77.0 - 79.9
C =	73.0 - 76.9
C- =	70.0 - 72.9
D+ =	67.0 - 69.9
D =	63.0 - 66.9
D- =	60.0 - 62.9
F =	0 - 59.9

Readings:

There is no assigned textbook for the course. Instead, I will provide book chapters and articles for you to read. Some of these readings will be scholarly articles from academic journals. For these materials, I will provide a link for you to download these readings under the “Course Content” section of Blackboard. These readings are available to students under subscriptions from the University, and therefore, the student must be on campus (or on a VPN) in order to access these readings. Other times, the required readings are book chapters. I will have these materials on loan from the library so that you can complete these readings. While I plan to have all of these readings available immediately for the course, some changes might be necessary, but any and all changes will be announced via class and email. A more detailed description of the reading requirement for this course will be discussed in detail on the first day of class.

The following texts are available for this course at the library:

1. Booth, Ken and Tim Dunne, eds. 2002. *Worlds in Collision: Terror and the Future of Global Order*. Palgrave MacMillan.
2. Crenshaw, Martha. 1983. *Terrorism, Legitimacy, and Power: The Consequences of Political Violence*. Wesleyan University Press: Middletown, CT.
3. Henderson, Harry. 2001. *Library in a Book: Terrorism*. Facts on File, Inc.
4. Jackson, Richard, Marie Breen Smyth, and Jeroen Gunning, eds. 2009. *Critical Terrorism Studies: A New Research Agenda*. Routledge: London and New York.
5. Junaid, Shahwar. 2005. *Terrorism and Global Power Systems*. Oxford University Press.
6. Kaplan, Abraham and Gabriel Weimann. 2011. *Freedom and Terror: Reason and Unreason in Politics*. Routledge: London and New York.
7. Silke, Andrew, ed. 2003. *Terrorists, Victims, and Society: Psychological Perspectives on Terrorism and its Consequences*. Wiley: UK.
8. Whittaker, David J., ed. 2001. *The Terrorism Reader*. Routledge: London and New York.
9. Wilkinson, Paul. 2006. *Terrorism versus Democracy: The Liberal State Response*, 2nd ed. Routledge: London and New York.
10. Wittig, Timothy. 2011. *Understanding Terrorist Finance*. Palgrave MacMillan.

11. Wolf, John B. 1989. *Antiterrorist Initiatives*. Plenum Press: London and New York.
12. Zafirovski, Milan and Daniel G. Rodeheaver. 2013. *Modernity and Terrorism: From Anti-Modernity to Modern Global Terror*. Brill: Leiden and Boston.

It is important to note that the readings are to supplement the lectures, and therefore, they are not identical to the lectures. It is the responsibility of the student to read all of the necessary materials as well as to attend each lecture. Both the readings and lecture are fair game for exams and quizzes.

Blackboard:

Communications for this course will be conducted via Blackboard and University email. Links and descriptions of the readings will be made available under the “Course Content” section of the Blackboard site for this course. Each student should ensure that they have access to these materials and are able to receive and send emails through their student account.

Other Considerations:

1. **Classroom Conduct:** Students are to be respectful of both other students and the instructor. To be respectful of others, please refrain from talking or whispering during class time. Any inappropriate or disruptive behavior by a student may result in the student being asked to leave the classroom. Be respectful of one another and each others’ ideas.

Laptop Policy: While it is preferred that students take written notes, laptops and tablets are allowed during class. I ask that students that do use these items refrain from surfing the internet, sending emails, or any other actions that are disruptive to other students. Students that do not abide by this policy will be asked to turn off their electronics and possibly to leave the classroom. No cell phone use is permitted during class. This includes texting.

2. **Academic Dishonesty:** Any form of plagiarism or cheating will not be tolerated in this course. When using ideas, writings, and presentations of others, proper citation must be given. Be respectful of the work of others and give appropriate credit where credit is due. Plagiarism is a very serious offense and will be treated as such. As such, all work should be original to this class and to the individual. Students caught cheating or plagiarizing will not only receive a zero for the assignment, but an **“F” in the course** as well, with further administrative measures taken as needed. If you have any doubts about plagiarism, paraphrasing, quoting, collaboration, or any other form of cheating, consult me immediately. For other questions and reference, please see the University’s academic integrity website, <http://academicintegrity.missouri.edu/>

3. **Students with Disabilities: ADA** Any student disabilities, both physical or mental health related, that interfere with the student’s ability to perform in this course should be taken to me immediately.

“If disability related accommodations are necessary (for example, a note taker, extended time on exams, captioning), please register with the MU Disability Center, S5 Memorial Union, (573) 882-4696, and then notify me of your eligibility for reasonable accommodations” (provost.missouri.edu).

4. **Intellectual Pluralism:** “The University community welcomes intellectual diversity and respects student rights. Students who have questions or concerns regarding the atmosphere in this class (including respect for diverse opinions) may contact the departmental chair or divisional director; the director of the Office of Students Rights and Responsibilities; the MU Equity Office, or equity@missouri.edu” (provost.missouri.edu).

Students will have the opportunity to anonymously evaluate the instructor at the end of the course.

5. **Executive Order #38, Academic Inquiry, Course Discussion and Privacy:** “University of Missouri System Executive Order No. 38 lays out principles regarding the sanctity of classroom discussions at the university. The policy is described fully in Section 200.015 of the Collected Rules and Regulations. In this class, students may not make audio or video recordings of course activity, except students permitted to record as an accommodation under section 240.040 of Collected Rules. All other students who record and/or distribute audio or video recordings of class activity are subject to discipline in accordance with provisions of section 200.020 of the Collected Rules and Regulations of the University of Missouri pertaining to student conduct matters. Those students who are permitted to record are not permitted to redistribute audio or video recordings or statements or comments from the course to individuals who are not students in the course without the express permission of the faculty member and of any students who are recorded. Students found to have violated this policy are subject to discipline in accordance with provisions of section 200.020 of the Collected Rules and Regulations of the University of Missouri pertaining to student conduct matters.” (provost.missouri.edu)

Students are prohibited from selling notes or being paid for taking notes by any person or commercial firm without the express written permission of the instructor. Do not engage in any of the websites or companies that sell or distribute notes. This will be considered a form of academic dishonesty, and further administrative actions will be pursued if necessary.

Make-up Exams/Absences:

Attendance is not taken for this course. Instead there will be quizzes and assignments that will be completed throughout the semester. While attendance on these days is mandatory in order to receive a grade, unforeseen emergencies do occur. **Two** of the lowest quiz grades will be dropped at the end of the semester, and this can include any absences in which the student has not completed a quiz. In other words, if you are not here for the quiz, you will receive a zero for that quiz, but your lowest two quiz grades will be dropped. If a longer term emergency occurs, and arrangements need to be made, they will be done on a case by case basis.

For exam absences, documentation must be provided as promptly as is humanly possible so that an alternative date can be scheduled between the student and myself. Keep in mind that alternative/make-up exams may be of a different format than the original exam provided on test day. Without appropriate documentation, the student will receive a **zero** for the exam. **No exceptions.**

Weekly Schedule:

Week 1: January 19-January 23: Introduction to Course

- Purpose: We will discuss how to look beyond singular events to the pattern of behaviors that help us understand terrorism as a concept that can be studied scientifically. We will also explore different definitions of terrorism and how to think about terrorism in this course.
- **Reading:**
 - Links to various definitions of terrorism will be made available
 - Whittaker Ch. 1 “Definition of Terrorism”

Week 2: January 26-January 30: Collective Action

- Purpose: What is collective action? What is relative deprivation? We will connect basic theories of collective behavior as the foundation of understanding terrorism.

- In addition to the main topic of the week, we will take time to discuss how to read political science articles. What should you get out of the readings? How to target the important points.
 - We will be using the following journal article as an example of what to look for when reading these types of papers:
Lichbach, Mark Irving. 1994. “What Makes Rational Peasants Revolutionary: Dilemma, Paradox, and Irony in Peasant Collective Action.” *World Politics* 46: 383-418.
- **Reading:** Tarrow, Ch. 1 “Contentious Politics and Social Movements”
 - Tarrow, Sidney. 2008. *Power in Movement: Social Movements and Contentious Politics*, 2nd Ed. Cambridge University Press.
- **Recommended Reading:**
 - Henderson Ch. 1 “Introduction to Terrorism”
 - Crenshaw Ch. 1 “Introduction: Reflections on the Effects of Terrorism”

Week 3: February 2-February 6: Collective Action, con’t

- Purpose: Putting the “science” in political science. We will discuss different scientific methods to studying political phenomena including: qualitative and quantitative research. One method of understanding is Game Theory. We will discuss two games: the Exit, Voice, and Loyalty Game and the Tipping Point Model—When will people work together for revolution?
- **Reading:**
 - Pages from Clark, Golder, and Golder. pp. 50-72, 74.
 - * Clark, William Roberts, Matt Golder, and Sona Nadenichek Golder. 2013. *Principles of Comparative Politics*, 2nd Ed. CQ Press: Los Angeles.
 - Wilkinson Ch. 2 “The Emergence of Modern Terrorism”
 - Jackson et al., eds. Ch. 9 “Social Movement Theory and the Study of Terrorism”

Week 4: February 9-February 13: Psychological Approaches

- Purpose: To understand psychological understandings of why individuals engage in terrorism.
- **Reading:** Victoroff, Jeff. 2008. “The Mind of the Terrorist: A Review and Critique of Psychological Approaches.” *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 49(1): 3-42.
- **Recommended Reading:** Silke Ch. 6 “Leaving Terrorism Behind: An Individual Perspective”

Week 5: February 16-February 20: Economic Theories of Terrorism

- Purpose: Following the theme of last week, we will discuss an alternative approach to understanding terrorist acts. This time we will look at issues of education leading to terrorism in addition to how terrorist groups fund themselves.
- **Reading:**
 - Collier, Paul and Daniel Norton. 2005. “Greed, Grievance, and Mobilization in Civil Wars.” *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 49(3): 319-336.
 - Kruger, Alan B. and Jitka Maleckova. 2003. “Education, Poverty and Terrorism: Is there a Casual Connection?” *Journal of Economic Perspectives* 17(4): 119-144.
- **Exam I in Class Friday, February 20**

Week 6: February 23-February 27: Targets of Terrorism and Effectiveness

- Purpose: This week will explore where terrorism is most likely to occur and why. We will also discuss whether or not terrorist acts are effective in garnering political concessions.
- **Reading:**
 - Abrahms, Max. 2006. “Why Terrorism does not Work.” *International Security* 31(2): 42-78.
 - Wilkinson “Hostage-Taking, Sieges, and Problems of Response.”

Week 7: March 2-March 6: Suicide Terrorism

- Purpose: Suicide terrorism is becoming a larger focal point in the media as of late. What is different about suicide terrorism, and can we apply our general theories of terrorism to understand suicide terrorism?
- **Reading:**
 - Crenshaw, Martha. 2007. “Explaining Suicide Terrorism: A Review Essay.” *Security Studies* 16(1): 133-162.
 - Silke Ch. 5 “The Psychology of Suicidal Terrorism”
- **Recommended Reading:** Bloom, Mia M. 2004. “Palestinian Suicide Bombing: Public Support, Market Share, and Outbidding.” *Political Science Quarterly* 119(Spring): 61-88.

Week 8: March 9-March 13: Religion

- Purpose: We will explore the role of religion in terrorism. How is religion exploited to recruit individuals? How does the dynamic of religion make studying terrorism more difficult?
- **Reading:**
 - Juergensmeyer, Mark. 1997. “Terror Mandated by God.” *Terrorism and Political Violence* 9(2): 16-23.
 - Gunning, Jeroen and Richard Jackson. 2011. “What’s so ‘religious’ about ‘religious terrorism’?” *Critical Studies on Terrorism* 4(3): 369-388.

Week 9: March 16-March 20: The Media

- Purpose: Understanding the role of the media in conditioning the connection between terrorist and civilian populations.
- **Reading:**
 - Weimann, Gabriel. 2014. “New Terrorism and New Media.” *Wilson Center: Research Series, Vol. 2*
 - Wilkinson “The Media and Terrorism”

Week 10: March 23-March 27:

- **Spring Break—No Class!**

Week 11: March 30-April 3: Counterterrorism

- Purpose: Understand how states combat terrorism, what the strategies are, and whether or not they are successful.
- Reading:
 - Bueno de Mesquita, Ethan. 2005. "Conciliation, Counterterrorism, and Patterns of Terrorist Violence." *International Organization* 59: 145-176.
 - Whittaker Ch. 17 "Counterterrorism: Ethical and Legal Considerations"

Week 12: April 6-April 10: Surveillance

- Purpose: What is the balance between protecting security and respecting liberty and privacy?
- Reading:
 - Junaid Ch. 4 "Terrorism: States and Human Rights"
 - Kaplan and Weimann Ch. 12 "In Defense of Freedom"
- Exam II in Class Friday, April 10

Week 13: April 13-April 17: Civil Wars

- Purpose: Aside from Terrorism, there are other forms of political violence. We will begin to transfer into other areas starting with civil wars. What are they? Do they ever get truly resolved?
- Reading:
 - Lake, David. 2003. "International Relations Theory and Internal Conflict." *International Studies Review* 5(3): 81-89.
 - Hegre, Håvard. 2004. "The Duration and Termination of Civil War." *Journal of Peace Research* 41(3): 243-252.
- Recommended Reading:
 - Buhaug, Halvard, Scott Gates, and Päivi Lujala. 2009. "Geography, Rebel Capacity, and the Duration of Civil Conflict." *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 53(4): 544-569.

Week 14: April 20-April 24: Insurgency

- Purpose: What is insurgency? How has it evolved in the age of globalization?
- Reading:
 - Fearon, James and David Laitin. 2003. "Ethnicity, Insurgency, and Civil War." *American Political Science Review* 97(1): 75-90.
 - Wilkinson "Terrorism, Insurgency, and Asymmetrical Conflict"

Week 15: April 27-May 1: Counterinsurgency Strategies

- Purpose: How do states battle insurgents? Are these methods successful? How do you achieve long-term peace in post-conflict states? We will explore/critique some of the counterinsurgency efforts in Afghanistan to understand the nuances of the strategy.
- Reading:
 - RAND Report on Counterinsurgency efforts in Afghanistan

Week 16: May 4-May 8: The Future of Terrorism Research

- Purpose: This will be a concluding week that will incorporate our understanding of terrorism and how it applies to the current 'War on Terror.' We will also look at the future of political science research on terrorism, including critical approaches that include gender and more nuanced studies of psychology, among other topics.
- **Reading:**
 - Jackson et al., eds. "Contemporary Terrorism Studies: Issues in Research"
 - Jackson et al., eds. Ch. 12 "Critical Terrorism Studies: Framing a New Research Agenda"
- **Recommended Reading:**
 - Jackson Ch. 10 "Bringing Gender to Critical Terrorism Studies"

Final Exam—Thursday, May 14, 2015, from 10am-12pm in normal lecture room