

PSC/IR 273
The Politics of Terrorism
Fall 2022
10:25-11:15am Wednesdays and Fridays

Alexander Lee

Instructor:

Email: alexander.mark.lee@rochester.edu

Office: Harkness Hall 327

Office Hours: Wednesday 1:30-3:30 or by appointment

Course Goals:

Over the past century, terrorism has become a common feature of world politics, enabling small groups of individuals to have a disproportionate influence on the politics of both developed and underdeveloped countries. This course explores some of the fundamental questions of terrorism: Why individuals join terrorist groups, why terrorist groups adopt certain tactics such as suicide bombing, how terrorist groups organize themselves, and what counterterrorism strategies are effective? It aims to develop critical thinking about these basic questions, knowledge of the details of a few selected cases, and give students experience constructing social-scientific arguments.

Textbooks:

Burleigh, Michael. *Blood and Rage: A Cultural History of Terrorism*. New York: HarperCollins, 2010.

Hoffman, Bruce (2017). *Inside Terrorism* (2nd ed). New York: Columbia University Press.

Grading:

Class Participation — 20% (15% WI)

Midterm — 20% (15% WI)

Data Exercise — 30% (25% WI)

Final — 30% (20% WI)

Paper: 25% (WI Only)

Course Policies:

Academic honesty: Students and faculty at the University must agree to adhere to high standards of academic honesty in all of the work that we do. First-year students read and sign an academic honesty policy statement to indicate that they understand the general principles upon which our work is based. The College Board on Academic Honesty website gives further information on our policies and procedures: www.rochester.edu/college/honesty

In this course the following additional requirements are in effect:

You are encouraged to discuss course readings and assignments with your fellow students. However, all written work must be done independently and not in collaboration with another. In order to make appropriate help available for your essays, I encourage you to consult with me and with the College Writing, Speaking and Argument Program. The term research paper will require citations and “Works Cited” consistently following a well-known citation format.

Unexcused late work will be penalized a whole letter grade, and an additional letter grade for every additional 24 hours of lateness. Plagiarism or cheating will be treated seriously and reported to the Board of Academic Honesty.

Course Requirements:

Attendance and Reading: Students will be graded on their attendance and participation in discussion classes, indicated in individual weeks. Note that there will be alternative discussion sections on Mondays in Harkness 112, the dates for which are given in [brackets].

Midterm: A midterm exam will ask students to identify and explain key concepts from the first weeks of the course.

Final: A final exam will ask students to identify and explain key concepts from the last eight (8) weeks of the course, and write essays on themes covering the whole of the course material.

Data Exercise: Students will be expected to produce an essay of between 1500 and 2000 words that identifies a question or puzzle concerning terrorism, develops a hypothesis about its solution, relates the question and answer to the course readings, and provides statistical evidence to support the hypothesis. The statistical evidence should be drawn from the Lone Wolf Terrorism Dataset: <https://www.icpsr.umich.edu/web/ICPSR/studies/36107#> Additional details on the Data exercise will be explained in class on September 28th.

Writing Intensive Students: WI students must complete all course requirements noted above, and in addition write a twenty-page research paper on a topic related to the course material. The topic must be approved orally by the TA by October 7th, and a rough draft of the first two pages turned in by November 11th. The paper itself is due on the last day of class, and will be worth 25% of the final grade.

Credits: This course follows the College credit hour policy for three credit courses. This course meets twice weekly for 1.25 hours per week. The course also includes independent out-of-class assignments one hour per week. In this course, students will complete the enriched independent project using readings and other class materials. These activities include the data exercise.

Readings

Week 1: Introduction

Introduction: August 31st

Week 2-3: Definitions

Lecture: September 2nd

Discussion: September 7th [September 5th]

Readings:

Hoffman, Bruce (2017). "Defining Terrorism" (Chapter 1). In *Inside Terrorism*. New York: Columbia University Press.

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

Sageman, Marc. "The Stagnation in Terrorism Research." *Terrorism and Political Violence* 26, no. 4 (2014): 565-580.

McCauley, Clark and Sophia Moskalenko. "Some Things We Think We've Learned Since 9/11:" A Commentary on Marc Sageman's 'The Stagnation in Terrorism Research.'" *Terrorism and Political Violence* 26, no. 4 (2014): 601-606.

Weeks 3: The History of Terrorism

Lecture: September 9th

Readings:

Hoffman, Bruce (2017). *Inside Terrorism*, New York: Columbia University Press, Chapters 2-3.

David C. Rapoport, "The Four Waves of Modern Terrorism," in Audrey Kurth Cronin and James M. Ludes, Eds., *Attacking Terrorism: Elements of a Grand Strategy*, pp. 46-73.

Week 4: The Red Army Faction

Lecture: September 14th

Readings:

Burleigh, Michael. *Blood and Rage: A Cultural History of Terrorism*. New York: HarperCollins, 2009. P.221-267.

Watch "The Baader Meinhof Complex. Use library DVD, Amazon Rental or <https://watch.plex.tv/movie/the-baader-meinhof->

[complex?autoplay=1&utm_content=6165c8b51e0ab919ee649ed4&utm_medium=deep-link&utm_source=iva-catalog](https://www.iva-catalog.com/complex?autoplay=1&utm_content=6165c8b51e0ab919ee649ed4&utm_medium=deep-link&utm_source=iva-catalog)

Week 5: Black September/The IRA

Black September Lecture: September 21st

IRA Lecture: September 23rd

Readings:

Burleigh, Michael. *Blood and Rage: A Cultural History of Terrorism*. New York: HarperCollins, 2009. P. 152-188, 287-345.

Bergman, Ronen. *Rise and Kill First: The Secret History of Israel's Targeted Assassinations*. Hachette UK, 2018. P136-155, 175-183.

Bosi, Lorenzo. "Explaining pathways to armed activism in the Provisional Irish Republican Army, 1969–1972." *Social Science History* 36.3 (2012): 347-390.

Week 6/7: The Collective Causes of Terrorism

Lecture on Statistical Data and the Data Exercise: September 28th

Lecture: September 30th

Discussion: October 5th [October 3rd]

Midterm: October 7th

Readings:

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

Klotzbücher, Valentin, Tim Krieger, and Daniel Meierrieks. "Class warfare: Political exclusion of the poor and the roots of social-revolutionary terrorism, 1860-1950." (2021).

Forrester, Andrew C., et al. "Do immigrants import terrorism?." *Journal of Economic Behavior & Organization* 166 (2019): 529-543.

Hendrix, Cullen S., and Joseph K. Young. "State capacity and terrorism: A two-dimensional approach." *Security Studies* 23.2 (2014): 329-363.

Week 8: The Individual Causes of Terrorism

Lecture: October 12th

Discussion: October 14th [October 17th]

Readings:

Krueger, Alan B., and Jitka Maleckova. "Education, Poverty and Terrorism: Is there a causal connection?." *The Journal of Economic Perspectives* 17.4 (2003): 119-144.

Lee, Alexander. "Who Becomes a Terrorist?: Poverty, Education, and the Origins of Political Violence." *World Politics* 63.02 (2011): 203-245.

Gambetta, Diego, and Steffen Hertog. "Engineers of Jihad." (2007).

Thayer, Bradley A. and Valerie M. Hudson. "Sex and the Shaheed: Insights from the Life Sciences on Islamic Suicide Terrorism." *International Security* 34, no. 4 (Spring 2010): 37-62.

Week 9: "Islamic" Terrorism

Lecture: October 19th

Readings:

The 9/11 Commission Report (2004). New York: W. W. Norton, 47-70; 145-173; 215-253.

Lawrence, Bruce (2005). *Messages to the World: The Statements of Osama Bin Laden*. London: Verso, 23-30; 58-62.

Roy, Olivier. *Jihad and death: The global appeal of Islamic State*. Oxford University Press, 2017. Chapters 1-3

Week 9/10: The Strategies of Terrorist Groups

Lecture: October 21st

Discussion: October 26th [October 46th]

[No Class October 28th]

Readings:

Fortna, Virginia Page. "Do Terrorists Win? Rebels' Use of Terrorism and Civil War Outcomes." *International Organization* 69.3 (2015): 519-556.

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

Thomas, Jakana. "Rewarding bad behavior: How governments respond to terrorism in civil war." *American Journal of Political Science* 58.4 (2014): 804-818.

Clark, Andrew E., Orla Doyle, and Elena Stancanelli. "The impact of terrorism on individual well-being: Evidence from the Boston marathon bombing." *The Economic Journal* 130.631 (2020): 2065-2104.

Week 10/11: Suicide Terrorism

[No Class November 2nd]

Lecture: November 4th

Discussion: November 9th [November 7th]

Readings:

Hoffman, Bruce (2017). *Inside Terrorism*, 3rd ed. New York: Columbia University Press, Chapter Five.

Pape, Robert A. "The strategic logic of suicide terrorism." *American Political Science Review* 97.3 (2003): 343-361.

Ashworth, Scott, et al. "Design, inference, and the strategic logic of suicide terrorism." *American Political Science Review* 102.02 (2008): 269-273.

Brym, Robert J. and Bader Araj. "Are Suicide Bombers Suicidal?" *Studies in Conflict & Terrorism* 35, no. 6 (2012): 432-443.

Week 11: Group Structure

Lecture: November 11th

Readings:

Reynolds, Sean C., and Mohammed M. Hafez. "Social network analysis of German foreign fighters in Syria and Iraq." *Terrorism and Political Violence* 31.4 (2019): 661-686.

Shapiro, Jacob N. and David A. Siegel. "Moral Hazard, Discipline, and the Management of Terrorist Organizations." *World Politics* 64, no. 1 (2012): 39-78.

Hoffman, Bruce (2017).. *Inside Terrorism* (2nded). New York: Columbia University Press, Chapter 8.

Week 12: Homegrown Terrorism

Lecture: November 16th

Discussion: November 18th [November 21st]

Readings:

Bergen, Peter. *United States of Jihad*. New York: Crown, 2015. Chapters 4 and 5.

Hegghammer, Thomas. "Should I stay or should I go? Explaining variation in Western jihadists' choice between domestic and foreign fighting." *American political science review* 107.1 (2013): 1-15.

Reitman, Janet. "Jahar's World." *Rolling Stone*. 17 July 2013.

Gill, Paul, John Horgan, and Paige Deckert. "Bombing Alone: Tracing the Motivations and Antecedent Behaviors of Lone-Actor Terrorists." *Journal of Forensic Sciences* 59, no. 2 (2014): 425-435.

Week 13: Deradicalization

[Thanksgiving: No Class]

Lecture: November 30th

Discussion: December 2nd [December 5th]

Readings:

Stern, Jessica. "Mind over martyr: How to deradicalize Islamist extremists." *Foreign Affairs* (2010): 95-108.

Cragin, Kim, Melissa A. Bradley, Eric Robinson, and Paul S. Steinberg. "What Factors Cause Youth to Reject Violent Extremism?" *RAND Corporation* (2015): 1-20.

Zhou, Zunyou. "Chinese strategy for de-radicalization." *Terrorism and political violence* 31.6 (2019): 1187-1209.

Weeks 14: Counterterrorism

Lecture: December 7th

Discussion: December 9th [December 12th]

Readings:

Kaplan, Robert D. "Hunting the Taliban in Las Vegas." *Atlantic Monthly* 298.2 (2006): 81-83.

Johnston, Patrick B., and Anoop K. Sarbahi. "The impact of US drone strikes on terrorism in Pakistan." *International Studies Quarterly* 60.2 (2016): 203-219.

Mueller, John, and Mark G. Stewart. "Evaluating counterterrorism spending." *The Journal of Economic Perspectives* 28.3 (2014): 237-247.

Bergman, Ronen, and Farnaz Fassihi. "The Scientist and the AI-Assisted, Remote-Control Killing Machine." *The New York Times* (2021).

Zenko, Micah and Amelia Mae Wolf. "Drones Kill More Civilians Than Pilots Do." *Foreign Policy*. (April 25, 2016). <http://foreignpolicy.com/2016/04/25/drones-kill-more-civilians-than-pilots-do/>

Final Exam: As per registrar