

# The Politics of Terrorism

## GVPT 456

### Spring 2018

Prof. Kanisha Bond

Class Times & Location: Tuesday, Thursday 9:30a – 10:45a, Tydings 1114

Office Hours: Tuesday, Thursday 2:00p – 3:00p and by appointment.

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\*\*Use “GVPT456: [subject]” in subject field. Do not email me through ELMS.\*\*

### Course Objectives

Welcome to our study of the politics of terrorism. In this class, we will explore four important questions: 1) What is the meaning of “terrorism”?; 2) What sorts of actors become involved in terrorist activity?; 3) What are the causes of terrorist activity and organization?; and 4) When, why, how and by whom are effective counter-terrorism measures enacted? In addressing these questions, we will focus specifically on challenges and opportunities to the scientific study of terrorism, and proceed with figuring out how best to leverage them for generating new knowledge and/ or better counterterrorism policies.

There is an ever-growing body of academic literature on terrorism as a specific form of political violence. One of my primary goals is to introduce you to the breadth and depth of this research. However, and of course, there still exists ample room for further development. Therefore, the course assignments are designed to develop and challenge your analytical skills, so that you might become better informed consumers and producers of insights into the politics of terrorism.

This is a discussion-intensive, advanced undergraduate seminar. Much of our class time will include collaborative group work and critical discussion of the day’s readings (and/or events). While this is not a course in current events, I expect you to be familiar with contemporary issues in world politics. Even a minimal effort to familiarize yourself with current happenings – in light of the theoretical material covered in class – is likely to greatly increase your returns from this course.

### Course Policies

The policies for this course align with those of the university Office of Undergraduate Studies. For more information, visit [www.ugst.umd.edu/courserelatedpolicies.html](http://www.ugst.umd.edu/courserelatedpolicies.html). **Disrespectful and/or disruptive behavior of any kind will not be tolerated, and may result in a student’s dismissal from class and forfeiture of all credit for the day.**

**Prerequisites:** GVPT 200 or an alternative as approved by me.

**Contact:** I strongly encourage you to drop by my office hours for any clarifications of course policies, explanations of course materials/discussions, or to discuss any other concerns and/or difficulties that you encounter during this course. Be assured that our conversations will be held in the appropriate confidence; I am genuinely interested in each of you getting that most you can out of this class. If you have a scheduling conflict during my usual office hours, do not hesitate to contact me for an appointment at some other time. In all your email correspondence with me, be sure to include GVPT 456: [subject] in the subject field. I will occasionally post announcements to the class through ELMS, but I cannot guarantee a timely response to direct emails sent to me through ELMS.

**Electronics:** Place your phone on mute before you come to class. Laptop computers and/or tablets will be allowed in this class provided that they are being used for classroom participation only. Abuses of this privilege may result in all electronic devices being disallowed for all students in the course, to be executed at my discretion. All other technological devices – including MP3 devices, smartphones, phones, gaming devices, etc. – are prohibited in this class. You may be dismissed from class (including forfeiture of all associated credit) for violating this policy.

**Copyright:** The lectures I deliver in this class and the course materials I create and distribute are protected by federal copyright law as my original works. My lectures are delivered from written lectures in order to ensure copyright protection. You are permitted to take notes of my lectures and use course materials only for your personal use in this course. You may not record, reproduce, or distribute my lectures/notes/materials for any commercial purpose and in any format (audio, photo, video, or written) without my written consent. Persons who sell or distribute copies or modified copies of my course materials, possess commercial copies of my notes (i.e., Terpnotes), or assist another person or entity in selling or distributing those materials may be considered in violation of the University Code of Student Conduct.

**Academic Integrity:** I, along with the Department of Government and Politics, the College of Behavioral and Social Sciences and the University, take violations of academic dishonesty very seriously. Observing honesty in one's work, words, ideas, and actions is a principle to which all participants in this class are required to subscribe. All course work by students is to be done on an individual basis unless I clearly state that an alternative is acceptable. Any reference materials used in the preparation of any assignment must be explicitly cited. Students uncertain about proper citation are responsible for checking with me. If laptops, MP3 devices, smart phones, phones, gaming devices, etc. are seen and/or used as an assignment is in progress (including exams), the assignment will be collected from the student immediately and scored as 0.

Lying to the instructor or purposely misleading any University of Maryland administrator shall also constitute a violation of academic integrity. All University of Maryland students are bound by the University Code of Academic Integrity and by your participation in this class you assume

responsibility for honoring the prescriptions and proscriptions therein. Refer to <http://www.shc.umd.edu/SHC/HonorPledgeUse.aspx> for additional information.

**Accessibility:** If you have a documented disability, anticipate needing any type of accommodation in this course, or have questions/concerns about access, please tell me as soon as possible. Reasonable accommodations will be made for all students with disabilities, but it is your responsibility to inform me early in the term. I strongly encourage you to register any disability with the Accessibility and Disability Service (ADS). For major graded events, only written ADS documentation of the accommodation will be considered; any accommodations must be arranged well in advance. This documentation must be current for this semester and it must be presented by the Schedule Adjustment deadline. It is your responsibility to discuss accommodation options for taking exams, etc. with me, and for providing me with the appropriate paperwork to schedule alternative test-taking arrangements. Please do not present me with accommodation documentation from your doctor.

**Absences:** Makeups for pre-scheduled exams or quizzes will be given only in case of a documented emergency or excused absence. There will be no makeups for missed in-class assignments/activities or pop quizzes under any circumstances. You should make all reasonable attempts to let me know of circumstances that may impact your class attendance in advance. It is your responsibility to provide detailed contact information for me to obtain corroborating evidence from any appropriate third party, if necessary. In accordance with university policy, I will automatically excuse one one-day illness-related absence with receipt of a self-signed note from you. This does not apply to days where we have a Major Scheduled Grading Event. Use the self-signed note form distributed by the University at [http://www.health.umd.edu/sites/default/files/Medical\\_attestation\\_5-2016.pdf](http://www.health.umd.edu/sites/default/files/Medical_attestation_5-2016.pdf).

All requests for excused absence must contain an acknowledgement that the information is true and correct and that providing false information is prohibited under the Code of Student Conduct.

### **Grading**

Exam 1: 35%

Exam 2: 35%

Film responses: 15%

Prompt responses: 10%

Active participation: 5%

**Exams:** You will complete two in-class exams in this course. The first exam will be held on **Tuesday, March 13**. The second exam will be held on **Thursday, April 26**. They will not be cumulative, and are designed to demonstrate (1) how well you understand the material from the readings and our class discussions, and (2) your ability to analyze and critique arguments. All exams must be written in blue or black ink; I will not grade exams written in pencil or any other color ink than blue or black.

Film response papers: You are required to hand in three written responses (3-4 pages each) to the films on our syllabus. These papers are not to be film summaries. Rather, they are meant to engage your ability to synthesize and critique the material in the film in light of our course materials. For example, you might identify discuss how the film delves further into a key definition or dynamic that we discussed in class (or not), address unanswered questions, or highlights something new that you hadn't yet considered. The due dates are noted in course schedule.

Prompted response assignments: You will write five written responses (1-1 ½ pages each) to a variety of prompts distributed to you through ELMS. The questions for your consideration are designed to help you learn how to develop new research questions, and to explore the scientific study of terrorism in practice. The due dates are noted in the course schedule.

Active participation: Our class time will include discussions of the day's readings and/or activities, along with some collaborative group work and brief lectures. It is your responsibility to read carefully the assigned readings before coming to class, to attend and participate in all class meetings, to write and turn in written assignments on time and in the appropriate format, and to take exams as scheduled. You should do your best to understand the material as it is presented and to form critical evaluations of it. There also may be (1) occasional quizzes and/or (2) short assignments to be completed in class for extra credit.

Readings and Course Materials: There are no required texts for this course. Our reading list includes scholarly articles and book chapters, as well as some news articles, op-eds, or other popular media. In most cases you will be able to download the readings directly from the class ELMS site or access them online; occasionally I may distribute them during class. You should come to class prepared to discuss the items listed under each day. It is your responsibility to bring all readings to class with you on the day for which they were assigned.

Some of the material presented will be technically and theoretically challenging (e.g., some of the scholarly articles utilize formal mathematical modeling and/or advanced statistics). I do not expect any of you to have any background in advanced political research methods and, in most cases, my main concern is not in the technical details. Rather, my goal is for you to develop an intuitive understanding of the central arguments and conclusions and for you to be able to explain them.

This schedule is subject to change; updated versions will be distributed through ELMS as needed.

## **Course Schedule**

### **January 25: Introductions.**

- (1) **Discussion of Short Assignment #1 (Part 1)**

### **January 30: Defining Terrorism.**

- (1) **Discussion of Short Assignment #1 (Part 2)**

- (2) Bruce Hoffman. 2006. "Defining Terrorism," Ch. 1 of *Inside Terrorism* (Columbia UP), pp. 1-41;
- (3) Tamara Makarenko. 2004. "The Crime-Terror Continuum: Tracing the Interplay between Transnational Organised Crime and Terrorism," *Global Crime* 6(1): 129-145.
- (4) Walter Enders and Todd Sandler. 2005. "After 9/11: Is It All Different Now?" *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 49(2): 259-277;
- (5) Ignacio Sánchez-Cuenca and Luis de la Calle. 2009. "Domestic Terrorism: The Hidden Side of Political Violence." *Annual Review of Political Science* 12: 31-49.

### **February 1: No class meeting.**

### **February 6: Combining Theory and Evidence for Scientific Study.**

- (1) Jeffrey Ian Ross. 2004. "Taking Stock of Research Methods and Analysis on Oppositional Political Terrorism," *The American Sociologist* 35(2): 26-37.
- (2) Robert Pape, Keven Ruby and Vincent Bauer. 2014. "Government data exaggerate the increase in terrorist attacks." *Monkey Cage (Washington Post)*, July 21. Available at [https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/monkey-cage/wp/2014/07/21/government-data-exaggerate-the-increase-in-terrorist-attacks/?utm\\_term=.12aef370d542](https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/monkey-cage/wp/2014/07/21/government-data-exaggerate-the-increase-in-terrorist-attacks/?utm_term=.12aef370d542)
- (3) Global Terrorism Database Senior Staff. 2014. "The challenges of collecting terrorism data." *Monkey Cage (Washington Post)*, August 6. Available at [https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/monkey-cage/wp/2014/08/06/the-challenges-of-collecting-terrorism-data/?utm\\_term=.2747749d5a13](https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/monkey-cage/wp/2014/08/06/the-challenges-of-collecting-terrorism-data/?utm_term=.2747749d5a13)
- (4) Robert Pape, Keven Ruby, Vincent Bauer and Gentry Jenkins. 2014. "How to Fix the Flaws in the Global Terrorism Database and why it matters." *Monkey Cage (Washington Post)*, August 11. Available at [https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/monkey-cage/wp/2014/08/11/how-to-fix-the-flaws-in-the-global-terrorism-database-and-why-it-matters/?utm\\_term=.0d2a047d1018](https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/monkey-cage/wp/2014/08/11/how-to-fix-the-flaws-in-the-global-terrorism-database-and-why-it-matters/?utm_term=.0d2a047d1018)

### **February 8: Where Does Terrorism Come From?**

- (1) **Discussion of Short Assignment #2**
- (2) Martha Crenshaw. 2000. "The Psychology of Terrorism: An Agenda for the 21<sup>st</sup> Century," *Political Psychology* 21(2): 405-420.
- (3) James D. Fearon. 1995. "Rationalist explanations for war," *International Organization* 49(3): 379-414.
- (4) David Lake. 2002. "Rational extremism: Understanding Terrorism in the Twenty-first Century," *Dialog-IO*: **15-21 only**.

### **February 13: Terrorism Strategies and Tactics**

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

### **February 15: No Class Meeting**

- (1) Upload Short Assignment #3 to ELMS by 10:45 am.

### **February 20: Encouraging Participation I**

- (1) Mancur Olson. 1965. Logic of Collective Action. Read argument summary at <https://www.thoughtco.com/the-logic-of-collective-action-1146238>

### **February 22: Encouraging Participation II**

- (1) Scott Atran. 2003. "Genesis of Suicide Terrorism," *Science* 299: 1534-1439;
- (2) Laura Huey. 2015. "This is Not Your Mother's Terrorism: Social Media, Online Radicalization and the Practice of Political Jamming," *Journal of Terrorism Research* 6(2): 1-16.

### **February 27: Women, Children, and Terrorism**

- (1) Karla J. Cunningham. 2003. "Cross-Regional Trends in Female Terrorism," *Studies in Conflict and Terrorism* 26(3): 171-195;
- (2) Kathleen M. Blee. 2005. "Women and Organized Racial Terrorism in the United States," *Studies in Conflict and Terrorism* 28(5): 421-433;
- (3) \*\*Mia Bloom and John Horgan. 2015. "The Rise of the Child Terrorist," *Foreign Affairs* (February 9).

### **March 1: Film: *Human Weapon* (No Class Meeting)**

- (1) No class meeting. Film is available for streaming through ELMS>Online Course Reserves.

### **March 6: Film Discussion: *Human Weapon***

- (2) Hand in Response Paper #1.

### **March 13: EXAM 1**

### **March 15: No Class Meeting**

- (2) Upload Short Assignment #4 to ELMS by 10:45 am.

### **March 20-22: No Class Meeting - Spring Break!**

### **March 27: Counterterrorism Goals & Challenges**

- (1) David Lake. 2002. "Rational extremism: Understanding Terrorism in the Twenty-first Century," *Dialog-IO*: 21-29;
- (2) Audrey Kurth Cronin. 2006. "How al-Qaida Ends: The Decline and Demise of Terrorist Groups," *International Security* 31(1): 7-48.
- (3) Audrey Kurth Cronin. 2015. "ISIS Is Not a Terrorist Group," *Foreign Affairs* (March/April): 87-98.

### **March 29: Negotiation**

(1) **Discussion of Short Assignment #5.**

- (2) Barbara F. Walter. 1997. "The Critical Barrier to Civil War Settlement," *International Organization* 51(3): 335-364.
- (3) Peter R. Neumann. 2007. "Negotiating with Terrorists," *Foreign Affairs* 86(1): 128-138.

**April 3: Homeland Security vs. Collective Counterterrorism**

- (1) Jonathan Stevenson. 2003. "How Europe and America Defend Themselves," *Foreign Affairs* 82(2): 75-90.
- (2) Todd Sandler. 2005. "Collective versus unilateral responses to terrorism," *Public Choice* 124: 75-93.

**April 5: Global and Regional Counterterrorism Infrastructure**

- (1) Monika Heupel. 2007. "Adapting to Transnational Terrorism: The UN Security Council's Evolving Approach to Terrorism," *Security Dialogue* 38: 477-499.
- (2) Rik Coolsaet. 2010. "EU counterterrorism strategy: value added or chimera?" *International Affairs* 86(4): 857-873.

**April 10: State- and Nation-Building as Counterterrorism**

- (1) Sebastian Mallaby. 2002. "The Reluctant Imperialist: Terrorism, Failed States, and the Case for American Empire," *Foreign Affairs* 81(2): 2-7.
- (2) Quan Li. 2005. "Does Democracy Promote or Reduce Transnational Terrorist Incidents?" *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 49(2): 278-297.

**April 12: Proxy War as Counterterrorism**

- (1) Benjamin Valentino, Paul K. Huth and Dylan Balch-Lindsay. 2004. "Draining the Sea: Mass Killing and Guerrilla Warfare," *International Organization* 58: 375-407;
- (2) Bill Rolston. 2005. "An effective mask for terror?: Democracy, death squads and Northern Ireland," *Crime, Law & Social Change* 44: 181-203.

**April 17: Terrorism, Counterterrorism, and the Media**

- (1) Maura Conway and Lisa McInerney. 2012. "What's love got to do with it? Framing 'JihadJane' in the US Press," *Media, War, and Conflict* 5(1): 6-21.
- (2) Steven M. Chermak and Jeffrey Gruenewald. 2006. "The Media's Coverage of Domestic Terrorism," *Justice Quarterly* 23(4): 428-461.

**April 19: Film: *State of Fear, The Truth about Terrorism* (No Class Meeting)**

- (1) No class meeting. Film is available for streaming through ELMS>Online Course Reserves.

**April 24: Film Discussion: *State of Fear, The Truth about Terrorism***

- (1) Hand in Response Paper #2.

**April 26: EXAM 2**

**May 1: Film: *If a Tree Falls: A Story of the Earth Liberation Front* (No Class Meeting)**

(2) No class meeting. Film is available for streaming through ELMS>Online Course Reserves.

**May 3: Film Discussion: *If a Tree Falls: A Story of the Earth Liberation Front***

(2) Hand in Response Paper #3.

**May 8: Changing Motives vs. Changing Pathways vs. Changing Behaviors**

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

a. Various authors. 2009. "Correspondence: What Makes Terrorists Tick?" *International Security* 33(4): 180-202.

(2) Jerome P. Bjelopera. 2012. "Countering Violent Extremism in the United States." United States Congressional Research Service: CRS Report for Congress (May 31).

(3) Peter R. Neumann. 2013. "Options and Strategies for Countering Online Radicalization in the United States," *Studies in Conflict & Terrorism* 36(6): 431-459.

**May 10: TBD.**