INR 4084
Politics of International Terrorism
Fall 2016

Instructor: Andrew Boutton

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Office Hours: WR 3:00-4:00

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Time: TR 12:00 - 1:15

Place: CB 1, rm. 318

TA: Zlatin Mitkov

Overview

Concern about terrorism is a relatively recent development for US officials and citizens, having increased significantly since the early 1970s (and particularly since the September 11 attacks). However, for many countries around the world, terrorism has been a persistent security concern—even a fact of daily life—for much of the past 150 years, and probably longer. Today, there are perhaps only a handful of countries for which terrorism is not a factor in one form or another. In many others, terrorist groups conduct decades-long campaigns, hold and govern territory, and often kill thousands of people in the process.

We will begin this course by discussing what exactly constitutes terrorism, as the definition has become heavily politicized and is often a point of contention. We will then discuss the history and evolution of terrorism over time. Then, we will move from individual- and group-level motivations for terrorism to a variety of issues including state sponsorship the effect of terrorism on politics. We will finish by covering counterterrorism strategies and some contemporary cases of terrorism.

This is an upper-level course, and thus will be both reading- and writing-intensive. You should be prepared to keep up with the reading and written assignments throughout the semester. In addition, stories and events related to terrorism are in the news on a daily basis, and we'll discuss many of them directly in class. Therefore, I strongly suggest that you keep up with current international events as well. This will put you in a better position to do well on exams and quizzes, and also to earn participation points in class. A good place to start is the *World* section of the New York Times website, but please ask me if you're interested in additional recommendations.

Objectives

This is not a history class, or even one about current events. The overarching goal of this class is to develop broad knowledge about general patterns and regularities of terrorism, and then be able to apply them to specific cases. Specifically, by the end of the course, you should be able to:

1. Define terrorism, and distinguish it from murder, guerrilla warfare, and other forms of violence

2. Evaluate empirical terrorism research
3. Identify the motivations for and the effects of terrorism
4. Discuss the relative merits and drawbacks of different counterterrorism tools
5. Communicate and think critically about abstract ideas

Materials

You will need to acquire the following books for this class:

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

Paul R. Pillar. 2001. *Terrorism and US Foreign Policy* Washington DC: Brookings University Press.

They are in stock at university bookstores, but you may be able to find them for less on Amazon. Regardless of where you get them, do so quickly. The remainder of the readings will consist of academic articles, selections from books, or online newspapers. Links to some of them are found in the PDF of the syllabus, and I'll make the others available to you via Webcourses.

Grading:

This class will consist of three different types of assignments: exams (2), short papers (3), and quizzes (5). These are explained in more detail below. The value of each assignment varies, but the total value of all assignments is 550 points. Thus, your final grade is based directly upon how many of the 550 points you earn throughout the semester.

Exams: 150 points (2 @ 75 points each)

There will be two in-class exams over the course of the semester: one mid-term and one final. They will consist of two sections. The identification section will present a list of 10-12 terms and concepts, of which you will choose 8-10 to explain. The concept should be correctly explained and then briefly applied to an actual example from the readings or from current events. The short-essay section will consist of 3-5 questions, from which you will choose 2-3 to answer. The format for the two exams will be identical. All material on the exams will come directly from the assigned readings, lectures, and in-class discussions, so those who attend class regularly and keep up with the reading will have the most success. The first exam will cover the first half of the class (roughly), while the final will cover the rest.

Short papers: 300 points (3 @ 100 points each)

You will write three (3) short (i.e., +/- 1,500 words each) papers over the course of semester on a terrorist (or non-terrorist) campaign of your choosing. Each paper will apply a different concept covered in class to the topic you choose. For instance, your first paper may examine the motivations or goals of a particular terrorist campaign (i.e., "Why did Terrorist Group X choose to use terrorism?" Or, "Why did individuals join Terrorist Group X?"). Your second paper may look at how Terrorist Group X's presence in Country Y affected Country Y's politics, and your third paper might investigate Country Y's counterterrorism efforts against TGX. You may choose whatever topics you'd like, but you turn them in roughly in the same order that we cover them in class. I will discuss the papers in more detail in class.

Due dates for the three short papers:

- September 29
- November 10
- December 1

Please follow the Chicago Manual of Style's citation guide when citing sources.

Quizzes: 100 points (5 @ 20 points each)

There will be a total of five (5) quizzes throughout the semester that will be given in-class and without prior warning. These will typically consist of 2-4 short-answer questions taken directly from the reading assigned for that class day. Thus, you should read the assigned material, carefully, *before* the start of each class period. Each quiz will be worth 20 points.

Letter grade	Points
A	94-100
A-	90-93
B+	87-89
B	83-86
B-	80-82
C+	77-79
C	73-76
C-	70-72
D+	67-69
D	63-66
D-	60-62
F	<59

Attendance

As this is a relatively large class, I will not take attendance, and there is no direct penalty for being absent from class. However, lectures and class discussions will not be strictly from the assigned reading, and we will often venture outside the readings during class. It is your responsibility to catch up on what you missed if you do not come to class on a particular day. Furthermore, not attending class will affect your ability to 1) take quizzes; and 2) participate in class (see below). Not doing any or all of these things will have a negative impact on your final grade in some way.

Participation points & extra credit

Participation is not part of the 450 points needed for your final grade. In other words, you will not be penalized even if you choose to sit in silence during class discussions for the entire semester. However, you will be able to earn up to 50 bonus points simply by participating regularly, consistently, and thoughtfully in class discussions. This means asking and/or answering questions, commenting on the readings or some recent news story, or responding to a classmate's comment or question. These bonus points will be added

onto your final grade. There are no hard and fast rules, **but as a rough point of reference, someone wishing to earn the full 50 points should participate about once per class period.** I'm good with names and faces, and will keep track of this throughout the semester.

While non-participation will not be penalized *per se*, both you and your classmates will almost certainly get more out of this class if you participate actively in class discussions. We will be dealing with some abstract and, at times, intense subject matter, and the quality of your experience this semester will depend almost entirely on how much you engage in this class.

Late work

You may submit late work without a university excuse up to four (4) days after the due date, but with a **15% deduction per day from your grade** on that assignment. I will not accept anything beyond four days past the deadline.

Make-up policy

If you are unable to take an exam due to an emergency or a university-approved scheduling conflict, you must let me know as soon as possible and provide the relevant documentation. I will try to be as accommodating as possible for students with legitimate conflicts, but as a general rule, I will only consider allowing make-up exams if you contact me ahead of time (email is fine). Make-up exams should be taken within one (1) week of the original exam date, and will not be given before the exam date.

Grade rounding

Final grades will be rounded up to the nearest whole number if and only if the grade is within 0.5 points of the next highest whole number. For example, a grade of 89.5 will be rounded to 90, but a grade of 89.49 will not be. There will be no discussion on this point. I realize this may be frustrating in some cases, but you are all adults, and the line must be drawn somewhere. One additional consequence of my participation policy (discussed above) is that I will not entertain ***any*** end-of-semester requests for extra credit or for grades to be rounded up.

Plagiarism

The penalty for plagiarism and "cheating" of any kind may vary, but as a general rule, plagiarism will result in a 0 for the assignment and may result in an F for the entire class, depending on the severity of the case. Particularly egregious instances may be referred to the Office of Student Conduct if further action is needed. Despite what some students seem to think, plagiarism is quite easy to detect. Fortunately, it is easily avoidable by following citing your sources correctly. For this class, please follow the Chicago Manual of Style's citation guide.

Email

I am generally available via email to answer questions about the class, readings, or assignments. You can email me directly at (Andrew.Boutton@ucf.edu) or get in touch via the email feature in Webcourses. ***If you email me directly, please put the course number in the subject line***. The TA for the course, Zlatin Mitkov will also be able to answer questions that pertain specifically to grading. I will make every effort to respond to emails within 48 hours of receiving them..

Course Schedule:[1]

August 23: Course intro

August 25: Defining terrorism

- Hoffman, Ch 1
- Pillar, pp 12-29

August 30: Historical background I

- Matthew Shugart. 2006 "An analytical history of terrorism" *Public Choice*, 128
- David Rapoport. 2004 "The four waves of modern terrorism"

September 1: Historical background II

- John Mueller. 2000. "The banality of 'ethnic war'" *International Security*, 25(1)

September 6: Motivations I

- Martha Crenshaw. 1981 "The causes of terrorism" *Comparative Politics*, 13(4)
- Pillar, pp 30-33

September 8: Motivations II: Religion

- Hoffman, Ch 4 & 5

September 13: Motivations III: Economic

- Yuri Zhukov. 2016. "Trading hard hats for combat helmets: The economics of rebellion in eastern Ukraine" *Journal of Comparative Economics*, 44

September 15: Motivations IV: Political & social

- Güneş Murat Tezcür. 2016. "Ordinary people, extraordinary risks: Participation in an ethnic rebellion." *American Political Science Review*, 110(2) content...

September 20: Strategies of terrorism

- David Lake. 2002. "Rational extremism: Understanding terrorism in the 21st century" *Dialog-IO*
- Kydd, Andrew, and Barbara Walter. 2006. "Strategies of terrorism" International Security, 31(1)

September 22: Terrorist groups I

- Brian Phillips. "What is a terrorist group? Conceptual issues and empirical implications" *Terrorism and Political Violence* 27

September 27: Terrorist groups II

- Pillar, Ch 5
- Hoffman pp 240-252

[1]The reading assignments are subject to change slightly. I will make you aware of any changes well in advance.

September 29: Political effects of terrorism

- *****Short paper # 1 due in class!!*****
- Aksoy, Carter, & Wright. 2015. "Terrorism and the fate of dictators" *World Politics*

October 4: Political effects of terrorism II

- Berrebi & Klor. 2008 "Are voters sensitive to terrorism? Direct evidence from the Israeli electorate" *American Political Science Review*
- Anna Getmansky & Thomas Zeitzoff. "Divide and conquer: the long-term political effects of terrorism"

October 6: Terrorism & the media

- Hoffman Ch 6 & 7
- Daniel Kahneman. 2013. *Thinking Fast and Slow* (selection)
- John Mueller. 2006. *Overblown: How Politicians and the Terrorism Industry Inflate National Security Threats, and Why We Believe Them* (selection)

October 11: Does terrorism work?

October 13: Terrorism, failed states, & safe havens

- Ray Takeyh & Nikolas Gvosdev. 2002. "Do terrorist networks need a home?" *The Washington Quarterly*

October 18: Exam 1

October 20: TBD

- No assigned reading

October 25: Terrorists as rulers

- Paul Staniland, 2012 "States, insurgents, and wartime political orders"

October 27: State sponsorship I

- Pillar, Ch 6

November 1: State sponsorship II

- *Secret Pakistan*

November 3: Counterterrorism I

- *****Short paper # 2 due in class!!*****
- Pillar, Ch 4 & 6-8

November 8: Counterterrorism II: Drones

- Reading TBD
- Vice News: *The Taliban in Pakistan*

November 10: Counterterrorism III: Foreign aid

- Boutton, "Of terrorism and revenue: Why foreign aid increases terrorism in personalist regimes"

November 15: Counterterrorism IV: Israel

- No assigned reading

November 17: Afghanistan War (2001)

- Reading TBD

November 22: Iraq war (2003)

- Reading TBD

November 24: Thanksgiving

- No class

November 29: Revolutions in the Middle East

- Timur Kuran. 1991. "Now out of never: The element of surprise in the East European revolution of 1989" *World Politics*, 44(1)
- TBD

December 1: Islamic State

- *****Short paper # 3 due in class!!*****
- Reading TBD

December 6: Final exam (1:00-3:50 PM)

University Writing Center

The University Writing Center (UWC) is a free resource for UCF undergraduates and graduates. At the UWC, a trained writing consultant will work individually with you on anything you are writing (in or out of class), at any point in the writing process from brainstorming to editing. Appointments are recommended, but not required. For more information or to make an appointment, visit the UWC website, stop by MOD 608, or call 407.823.2197.

University Policies

Academic Conduct Policy Academic dishonesty in any form will not be tolerated. If you are uncertain as to what constitutes academic dishonesty, please consult The Golden Rule, the University of Central Florida's Student Handbook for further details. As in all University courses, The Golden Rule Rules of Conduct will be applied. Violations of these rules will result in a record of the infraction being placed in your file and receiving a zero on the work in question AT A MINIMUM. At the instructor's discretion, you may also receive a failing grade for the course. Confirmation of such incidents can also result in expulsion from the University

Note to students with disabilities:
The University of Central Florida is committed to providing reasonable accommodations for all persons with disabilities. This syllabus is available in alternate formats upon request. Students who need accommodations must be registered with Student Disability Services, Ferrell Commons Room 185, Phone: (407) 823-2371, TTY/TDD only phone (407) 823-2116, before requesting accommodations from the professor.