INR 4084
Politics of International Terrorism
Fall 2023

Instructor: Andrew Boutton

Office: 302 Howard Phillips Hall

Office Hours: Wednesday & Thursday, 3-5pm

Email: andrew.boutton@ucf.edu

Time: TR 1:30 - 2:45

Place: HS 1, rm. 107

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, political violence 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, violent groups conduct decades-long campaigns, often killing thousands of people in the process. But many also hold and govern territory, establish institutions, and provide social services more efficiently than any government could hope to.

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 political violence on politics, and the provision of public services by terrorist/insurgent groups. 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 course 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. Critically engage with the concept of terrorism, addressing the question of who or what makes a terrorist and why the specific definition matters.
2. Understand the psychological and strategic aspects undergirding the use of terrorism as a violent political tactic.
3. Grasp the linkages between the use of terrorism and various other political dynamics, such as economic performance, regime type, civil war, state instability, and repression.
4. Examine the nuanced public response to terrorism, including the role of the media, and the way in which preexisting beliefs condition political attitudes and voting in terrorism's wake.
5. Appreciate the difficult challenges democracies face in fighting terrorism; grappling with how to balance issues of human rights, civil liberties, openness, and respect for life and protect national security and reducing terrorist violence.
6. Recognize emerging threats from terrorism and develop informed views regarding potential strategies or policies states can pursue to mitigate these threats, while still preserving or upholding other important values and goals.
7. Read and understand the basics of quantitative and qualitative research design, data collection, and research findings.

Materials

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

> Chenoweth, Erica, and Pauline Moore. 2018. *The Politics of Terror*. New York: Oxford University Press

It is in stock at university bookstores, but you may be able to find it for less online. The remainder of the readings will consist of academic articles, selections from books, or online newspapers. I'll make any ancillary readings available to you via Webcourses.

Grading:

The overall grade for this class will consist of three different categories of assignment: short written assignments, in-class participation, and final paper. These are explained in more detail below. The value of each assignment varies, but the total value of all assignments is 1,000 points. Thus, your final grade is based directly upon how many of the 1,000 points you earn throughout the semester.

Substantive assignments: 200 points (4 @ 50 points each)

Each student will submit a total of four (4) short response papers. There will be two types of response papers:

1. **Film response papers:** During this semester, we will watch three (3) films/documentaries, each related to a different aspect of terrorism & political violence. After watching each film, students will write a short (i.e., +/- 1,500 words each) paper that responds to the prompts provided by the instructor. Students will select two (2) of the films and submit a response paper for each of them.

2. **In-class case study presentations:** During select class meetings, we will devote 15-20 minutes to case study presentations about an ongoing or historic violent campaign. Students will give these presentations in pairs; each student will select two (2) dates on which to present. The content of the presentation will vary depending on the case, but should generally cover proximate and historic causes, political goals and motivations of the actors, government responses, current status, and any other factors specific to the case that presenters feel their classmates should know about. More details about this assignment will be made available in class.

Final project: 300 points

The final for this class will be an individual project. I'll provide more details about format later in the course. The final project is due on Monday, December 5 on Webcourses.

Participation: 300 points

The course will be conducted as a seminar in which student participation is central. In fact, the quality of your experience in the class is, in part, dependent on your active, in-class engagement with the material alongside your classmates. It is therefore important that you come to class prepared each week, having read the readings carefully and being prepared to discuss them. As such, each student will receive a participation grade made up of two components:

1. **Attendance:** All students are expected to regularly attend class. If you need to miss a class due to a university-approved reason, please let me know ahead of time and we can plan for anything you will miss.

2. **In-class participation:** Students are expected to ask/answer questions in class and be actively involved in group activities and discussions. If you are concerned about your ability to actively speak in class dialogues, please come talk to me early in the semester.

The table below shows the thresholds I will use for letter grades:

Letter grade	Percentage (out of 1,000 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

Late work

You may submit late work without a university excuse up to five (5) days after the due date, but with a **20% deduction per day from your grade** on that assignment. I will not accept anything beyond five 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 [mark "D" on the syllabus quiz] 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.

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 via the email feature in Webcourses. ***If you email me directly, please put the course number in the subject line***. I will make every effort to respond to emails within 48 hours of receiving them.

Course Schedule:[1]

August 22: *Course intro*

August 24: *What is terrorism and who are the terrorists?*

- Chenoweth & Moore Ch 1; pp 201-202; box 7.3 on pg. 214
- Moghadam, Berger, & Beliakova. 2014. "Say terrorist, think insurgent: Labeling and analyzing contemporary terrorist actors" Perspectives on Terrorism, 8(5)
- D'Orazio & Salehyan "Who is a terrorist?" International Interactions, 44(6): 1017-1039
- Ganor, Boaz. 2002. "Defining terrorism: Is one man's terrorist another man's freedom fighter?." Police Practice and Research 3(4): 287-304.

August 29: *Origins of contemporary terrorism & the "War on Terror"*

- Hoffman, Bruce. Inside Terrorism. Columbia University Press, 2006. Chapter 2: Origins of Contemporary Terrorism.
- Rapoport, David C. 2004. "Four waves of modern terrorism"
- OPTIONAL: Shugart, William. 2006. "An analytical history of terrorism" Public Choice, 128(1)
- Crenshaw & LaFree, *Countering Terrorism*, Ch 2.
- Byman, Daniel. 2019. "It's hard to commemorate 9/11 if you don't understand it." Foreign Policy.
- Bapat, Navin. 2021. "The end of the 'War on Terror'" Political Violence at a Glance. August 23

August 31: *NO CLASS*

September 5: *Strategic explanations*

- Chenoweth & Moore, Ch 2

September 7: *Strategies of terrorism*

- Kydd, Andrew H., and Barbara F. Walter. 2006. "The strategies of terrorism." International Security, 31(1): 49-80.

September 12: *Organizational explanations*

- Chenoweth & Moore, Ch 3

September 14: *Internal politics of armed groups*

- Evan Perkoski. 2019. "Internal politics and the fragmentation of armed groups." International Studies Quarterly, 63(4): 876-889.

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

September 19: *Psychological explanations*

- Chenoweth & Moore Ch. 4
- OPTIONAL: Victoroff, Jeff. 2005. "The mind of the terrorist: A review and critique of psychological approaches." Journal of Conflict Resolution 49(1): 3-42

September 21:

- Bacon & Zeitzoff "False dichotomy: How both psychology and strategic incentives influence terrorist groups and violent social movements" Working paper.

September 26: *Ideological explanations*

- Chenoweth & Moore Ch. 5

September 28: *Radicalization*

- In-class documentary: *If a Tree Falls*

October 3: *Structural explanations*

- Chenoweth & Moore Ch. 6

October 5: *Preconditions and precipitants*

- Crenshaw, Martha. 1981. "The causes of terrorism" Comparative Politics 13(4): 379-399.

October 10: *Critical explanations*

- Chenoweth & Moore, Ch. 7

October 12: *No class*

October 17: *Tactics & target selection*

- Chenoweth & Moore, Ch. 8 & 9

October 19: *Suicide terrorism*

- Pape-Ashworth exchange:
  * Robert Pape. 2003. "The strategic logic of suicide terrorism" American Political Science Review, 97(3).
  * Scott Ashworth, Joshua Clinton, Adam Meirowitz, and Kristopher Ramsay. 2008. "Design, inference, and the strategic logic of suicide terrorism" American Political Science Review, 102(2)
  * Robert Pape. 2008 "Methods and findings in the study of suicide terrorism" American Political Science Review, 102(2).
  * Ashworth et al, "Design, inference, and the strategic logic of suicide terrorism: A rejoinder"

October 24: *Terrorism & public services*

- Chenoweth & Moore Ch. 10

October 26: *Rebel governance*

- Stewart, Megan. 2018. "Civil war as state-making: Strategic governance in civil war" International Organization
- Loyle, Cyanne. 2020. "Rebel justice during civil war" Journal of Conflict Resolution, 65(1).

October 31: *State sponsorship of terrorism*

- Chenoweth & Moore, Ch 11
- OPTIONAL: Byman, Daniel. 2022. "Understanding, and misunderstanding, state sponsorship of terrorism" Studies in Conflict and Terrorism, 45(12)
- OPTIONAL: Bapat, Navin. 2012. "Understanding state sponsorship of militant groups." British Journal of Political Science, 42(1): 1-29.

November 2: *Algerian war of independence*

- In-class documentary: *Battle of Algiers*

November 7: *Gender & terrorism*

- Chenoweth & Moore, Ch 12

November 9: *Gender & terrorism, part 2*

No class meeting

- Wood, Reed M and Thomas, Jakana. 2017. "Women on the front line: Rebel group ideology and women's participation in violent rebellion." Journal of Peace Research, 54 (1). pp. 31-46

November 14: *Counterterrorism*

- Chenoweth & Moore, Ch 13
- OPTIONAL: Schwartz, Fuhrmann, & Horowitz. 2022. "Do armed drones counter terrorism, or are they counterproductive? Evidence from eighteen countries" International Studies Quarterly, 66(3)

November 16: *Counterterrorism in Israel*

- In-class documentary: *The Gatekeepers*

November 21 & 23: *NO CLASS*

November 28: *Politics of counterterrorism*

- Chenoweth & Moore, Ch 14

November 30: *Is the threat of terrorism overblown?*

- TBD

Academic Integrity

Students should familiarize themselves with the UCF Rules of Conduct. According to Section 1, "Academic Misconduct," students are prohibited from engaging in

1. Unauthorized assistance: Using or attempting to use unauthorized materials, information or study aids in any academic exercise unless specifically authorized by the instructor of record. The unauthorized possession of examination or course-related material also constitutes cheating.
2. Communication to another through written, visual, electronic, or oral means: The presentation of material which has not been studied or learned, but rather was obtained through someone else's efforts and used as part of an examination, course assignment, or project.
3. Commercial Use of Academic Material: Selling of course material to another person, student, and/or uploading course material to a third-party vendor without authorization or without the express written permission of the university and the instructor. Course materials include but are not limited to class notes, instructor's PowerPoints, course syllabi, tests, quizzes, labs, instruction sheets, homework, study guides, handouts, etc.
4. Falsifying or misrepresenting the student's own academic work.
5. Plagiarism: Using or appropriating another's work without any indication of the source, thereby attempting to convey the impression that such work is the student's own.
6. Multiple Submissions: Submitting the same academic work for credit more than once without the express written permission of the instructor.
7. Helping another violate academic behavior standards.
8. Soliciting assistance with academic coursework and/or degree requirements.

Responses to Academic Dishonesty, Plagiarism, or Cheating

Students should also familiarize themselves with the procedures for academic misconduct in UCF's student handbook, the Golden Rule. UCF faculty members have a responsibility for students' education and the value of a UCF degree, and so seek to prevent unethical behavior and respond to academic misconduct when necessary. Penalties for violating rules, policies, and instructions within this course can range from a zero on the exercise to an "F" letter grade in the course. In addition, an Academic Misconduct report could be filed with the Office of Student Conduct, which could lead to disciplinary warning, disciplinary probation, or deferred suspension or separation from the University through suspension, dismissal, or expulsion with the addition of a "Z" designation on one's transcript.

Being found in violation of academic conduct standards could result in a student having to disclose such behavior on a graduate school application, being removed from a leadership position within a student organization, the recipient of scholarships, participation in University activities such as study abroad, internships, etc.

Let's avoid all of this by demonstrating values of honesty, trust, and integrity. No grade is worth compromising your integrity and moving your moral compass. Stay true to doing the right thing: take the zero, not a shortcut.

Course Accessibility Statement

The University of Central Florida is committed to providing access and inclusion for all persons with disabilities. Students with disabilities who need access to course content due to course design limitations should contact the professor as soon as possible. Students should also connect with Student Accessibility Services (SAS) (Ferrell Commons 185, sas@ucf.edu, phone 407-823-2371). For students connected with SAS, a Course Accessibility Letter may be created and sent to professors, which informs faculty of potential course access and accommodations that might be necessary and reasonable. Determining reasonable access and accommodations requires consideration of the course design, course learning objectives and the individual academic and course barriers experienced by the student. Further conversation with SAS, faculty and the student may be warranted to ensure an accessible course experience.

Campus Safety

Emergencies on campus are rare, but if one should arise during class, everyone needs to work together. Students should be aware of their surroundings and familiar with some basic safety and security concepts.

- In case of an emergency, dial 911 for assistance.
- Every UCF classroom contains an emergency procedure guide posted on a wall near the door. Students should make a note of the guide's physical location and review the online version here.
- Students should know the evacuation routes from each of their classrooms and have a plan for finding safety in case of an emergency.
- If there is a medical emergency during class, students may need to access a first-aid kit or AED (Automated External Defibrillator). To learn where those are located, see here.
- To stay informed about emergency situations, students can sign up to receive UCF text alerts by going to www.getrave.com/login/ucf and logging in. On the "My Account" tab, fill out the information, including email address and cell phone number.
- Students with special needs related to emergency situations should speak with their instructors outside of class.
- To learn about how to manage an active-shooter situation on campus or elsewhere, consider viewing this video.

Campus Safety Statement for Students in Online-Only Courses

Though most emergency situations are primarily relevant to courses that meet in person, such incidents can also impact online students, either when they are on or near campus to participate in other courses or activities or when their course work is affected by off-campus emergencies. The following policies apply to courses in online modalities.

- To stay informed about emergency situations, students can sign up to receive UCF text alerts by going to www.getrave.com/login/ucf and logging in. On the "My Account" tab, fill out the information, including email address and cell phone number.
- Students with special needs related to emergency situations should speak with their instructors outside of class.

Deployed Active Duty Military Students

Students who are deployed active duty military and/or National Guard personnel and require accommodation should contact their instructors as soon as possible after the semester begins and/or after they receive notification of deployment to make related arrangements.

Make-Up Assignments for Authorized University Events or Co-curricular Activities

Students who represent the university in an authorized event or activity (for example, student-athletes) and who are unable to meet a course deadline due to a conflict with that event must provide the instructor with documentation in advance to arrange a make-up. No penalty will be applied. For more information, see the UCF policy here.

Religious Observances

Students must notify their instructor in advance if they intend to miss class for a religious observance. For more information, see the UCF policy here.

Title IX Policy

Title IX prohibits sex discrimination, including sexual misconduct, sexual violence, sexual harassment, and retaliation. If you or someone you know has been harassed or assaulted, you can find resources available to support the victim, including confidential resources and information concerning reporting options here and here.

University Writing Center

The University Writing Center (UWC) offers writing support to students from first-year to graduate in every discipline. Tutors provide help at every stage of the writing process, including understanding assignments, researching, drafting, revising, incorporating sources, and learning to proofread and edit. The UWC's purpose is not merely to fix or edit papers, but to teach writing strategies that can be applied to any writing situation. Consultations are available for individuals and small groups. You may schedule a 45-minute appointment by clicking the Success Resources tab on Webcourses, calling the UWC at 407-823-2197, or through the UWC website. The UWC seeks graduate and undergraduate tutors from all majors. To learn more about becoming a writing tutor, please contact us.