INR 6137-DW60: Politics and Terrorism
Summer Term D 2024

Instructor: Thomas M. Dolan
Course Mode: ONLINE—asynchronous
Office Hours: Tuesday, 1-3 PM and by appointment
Contact: thomas.dolan@ucf.edu and 407-823-6447
Enrollment Requirement: Graduate Standing or C.I.

**Between 3 June and 22 June I will be leading an undergraduate study abroad trip in Western Europe. All meetings with students during that period will be arranged as appointments and conducted remotely. I will still be available and active in the course during this time.*

Catalog Description:
Examines terrorism, including its strategic logics, contemporary methodologies, political roots, and the problems of counter-terrorism.

Goals:

- To familiarize students to the contemporary social science literature on terrorism
- To improve students' abilities to discuss and evaluate research on terrorism
- To improve students' abilities to theorize about and test hypotheses about terrorism
- *Note that advocacy of personally held political or policy positions is not a course goal, and will not be part of discussion in the course.*

General Course Expectations

Reading
Students should complete all readings by no later than Monday of each week. As this is a graduate course, you are expected to grasp the core elements (question, theory, findings, and weaknesses) of each article through your own reading, and then further develop that knowledge through your participation in the online discussions. You should expect to be challenged by the nature and content of some of the readings, and you should plan enough time to complete them. (As this is a shortened term course, the reading schedule is aggressive.) If you encounter difficulties with the readings, please contact the instructor: there is an art to reading academic articles. If you are unfamiliar with how to interpret regression analysis, you are also encouraged to contact the instructor for advice, since many of the articles will use it. Only readings that are not available through library databases are provided for you in the files section.

Weekly Assignments.

Students will participate each week in the course in several different ways: papers, constructive comments on other students' papers, readings presentations, and questions about the readings. This participation is students' main interaction with each other and foundational to the course. Students should set aside sufficient time, at the right times, to participate effectively in these weekly activities. Students are evaluated on the quality of their participation. They should plan to demonstrate a clear understanding of the readings; ask thoughtful questions; make genuinely useful, constructive comments (i.e., critical but not cruel) on others' papers; and articulate thoughtful, interesting arguments.

Research
Each student will write a research design or "conventional wisdom" paper, due 5 July. A research design is, in essence, the first part of a research paper, and is appropriate for people whose course of study involves training to become political science researchers. It defines your research question, the dependent variable, reviews relevant literature, presents a theory (or at least a well-explained theoretical intuition) and a hypothesis, and then explains how you would test they hypothesis. When you explain how you would text your hypothesis, you need to be specific about the methods you would use, how you would operationalize your variables, and the sources you would use for your information/data. You should plan to have your question approved by your instructor no later than the end of the third week of class. Your discussion of relevant literature should include relevant readings from the courses but also at least non-required peer-reviewed academic journal articles or books. The conventional wisdom paper is more appropriate for students who will be consumers of political science research. It is focused on using peer-reviewed political science research to better understand and draw conclusions about commonly held beliefs about terrorism, responses to terrorism, and counter-terrorism. It should rely on academic political science publications (peer-reviewed journal articles and books published by university presses), some (but not all) of which may be listed on the syllabus.

Assignments:

Serve as an Article Presenter: 10%

- Create and post by 23:59 on the Saturday before your week begins a narrated slide presentation (e.g. powerpoint) lasting not more than 5 minutes which describes the question, place in the literature, theory, methods, and findings of an assigned reading and appropriately critiques the article. Please note that it can take a while for powerpoint to save the video file combining voice and slides. For technical assistance (for powerpoint) see https://goo.gl/PC6Sbp
- Respond to all questions posed by fellow students by 23:59 on Monday (if fewer than 6 are posted contact instructor). Responses due 23:59 on Wednesday.

Group Presentation on a Terror Group: 10%

- The presentation should involve an 8-minute narrated powerpoint, written analytical discussion, and presentation of other relevant media (video clips,

images, documents, poetry, etc.). The presentation will be posted by 11:59 (AM) on 15 June.

- Each group will field questions from other students about the group.
- Each group will submit a description of what each individual did to the instructor. If there are clear discrepancies in effort, those who contributed less will lose points.

Weekly Papers: 3% per paper, 1 paper per week excluding group presentation week (totaling 8 Papers) = 24%

With the exception of the first week, by 23:59 on Monday, each student will post two 400 word papers per week, in response to the posted prompts. One of these papers will be turned in for grading by 9:00 AM on Fridays. [The other paper is factored into the participation grade.] Students should use the comments they receive on their papers to identify the stronger paper, and take advantage of those comments improve the paper—the final version, turned in for grading, should be a substantial revision of the draft that they posted on Monday.

• During the first week, each student will be responsible for posting (by 23:59 on Thursday only one paper, which will be submitted for grading by 23:59 on Saturday.

• While students will be able to see other students' papers after their initial posts, they should take care to not duplicate others' papers.

Weekly Participation: 2% per week, with the lowest week dropped = 16%

With the exception of the first week, and the group presentations week, each student is responsible for asking one question about two different readings by Monday at 23:59 and posting two constructive comments on other students' papers (both comments cannot be made in response to papers addressing the same prompt) by Wednesday at 23:59. During the first week, students will be responsible for making one critical, constructive comment on other students' papers. During Group Presentation week, each student will ask questions on at least 2 other group's presentations. The lowest weekly participation grade will be dropped.

- Participation is graded in terms of the aggregate quality and timeliness of posted questions, prompts, and papers.
- Note that students are expected to make follow-up comments in response to questions.

Term Paper, 15 Pages: 30%, Due 5 July at 23:59. Submit online. Do one of the following:

A. **Research Design,** Design a research project on terrorism, complete with clear question, 4 page literature review referencing at least 15 peer-reviewed articles, 5 page theoretical discussion, specific and falsifiable hypotheses, and clear statements of operational definitions, evidence sources and method of analysis. *Political science graduate students will find this option better suited to their curricular needs.*

B. **Conventional Wisdom Paper**. Identify a claim often made about terrorism or counter-terrorism about which significant research has been published by social scientists in academic articles and books published by university presses. [Demonstrate that people make this claim using references to it in

newspapers of record like the New York Times or Washington Post within the last three years.] Use this research (at least 15 peer-reviewed papers) to draw conclusions about the truth—or falsity—of this claim.

Weekly Deadlines

Week 1

Sunday	Monday	Tuesday	Wednesday	Thursday	Friday	Saturday
				23:59: Post Paper Draft 23:59: Sign up for article presentations, presentation group	23:59 Comment on 2 other students' papers	23:59: Submit paper for grading ********** 23:59 Week 2 Article Presenters post presentations

Weeks 2, 3 ,4, 5, 7, 8,9

Sunday	Monday	Tuesday	Wednesday	Thursday	Friday	Saturday
	23:59: Post 2 Paper Drafts 23:59 Post 3 questions to presenters		23:59: Post comments on 3 students' papers 23:59: Presenters post answers to questions		9:00 (AM): Submit 1 paper for grading	23:59: Next week Article Presenters post presentations ********** *23:59 on 12 June: Groups Post Presentations*

Week 6 (Group Presentation Week)

Sunday	Monday	Tuesday	Wednesday	Thursday	Friday	Saturday
(presentation was posted the day before, by 23:59 on 15 June)	23:59: Post questions to 3 other groups		23:59: Groups respond to questions			23:59: Week 7 Article Presenters post presentations

Miscellaneous Course Policies

Grades

A 93 or better	High-quality professional work
A- 90-92.99	Professional work
B+ 88-89.99	Good work but not quite professional-level work; contains clear weaknesses
B 83-86.99	Quality is acceptable, but has serious weaknesses
B- 80-82.99	Quality is marginally acceptable
C 70-79.99	Quality is problematic
D 60-69.99	Quality is not acceptable for graduate work
F 59.99 or below	Fail

Note that in graduate courses, a C is considered to be an unsatisfactory grade.

Late Papers
Papers are to be turned in by the date/time they are due. If you foresee problems in meeting a particular deadline, please inform the instructor as soon as possible to request an extension. Discussion posts can be made in advance, but can only be made after due date/times by permission of the instructor. Posts made after due dates without explicit permission may receive less credit.

Academic Integrity
As reflected in the UCF creed, integrity and scholarship are core values that should guide our conduct and decisions as members of the UCF community. Plagiarism and cheating contradict these values, and so are very serious academic offenses. Penalties can include a failing grade in an assignment or in the course, suspension or expulsion from the university, and/or a "Z Designation" on a student's official transcript indicating academic dishonesty, where the final grade for this course will be preceded by the letter Z. For more information about the Z Designation, see http://goldenrule.sdes.ucf.edu/zgrade. For more information about UCF's Rules of Conduct, see http://www.osc.sdes.ucf.edu/.

Changes to the Syllabus
In the event that there is a need for there to be any changes to the syllabus, an announcement will be placed on webcourses. Significant changes will also be announced by emails.

Relevant UCF Policies

Accessibility

Course Accessibility Statement
The University of Central Florida is committed to providing access and inclusion for all persons with disabilities. This syllabus is available in alternate formats upon request. Students with disabilities who need specific access in this course, such as accommodations, should contact the professor as soon as possible to discuss various access options. Students should also connect with Student Accessibility Services (Ferrell Commons, 7F, Room 185, sas@ucf.edu, phone (407) 823-2371). Through Student Accessibility Services, a Course Accessibility Letter may be created and sent to professors, which informs faculty of potential access and accommodations that might be reasonable.

Accommodations for Students with Military Obligations
Students who serve in the US military [defined as individuals on active duty in the US military OR individuals who have received training, activation, or deployment orders associated with service in either the US military reserves or the National Guard] may receive accommodations when unexpected military obligations interfere with the timely completion of assignments/participation in discussions, etc.

Campus Safety
Emergencies on campus are **rare**. Still, everyone should be aware of their surroundings and familiar with basic safety and security concepts. Students may ensure that they are informed about situations on campus by signing up for UCF text alerts via my.ucf.edu. The locations of campus first aid equipment can be found at http://www.ehs.ucf.edu/workplacesafety.html. UCF's emergency guide is available at http://emergency.ucf.edu/emergency_guide.html. Students who feel that they have experienced abuse or harassment may wish to consult https://letsbeclear.ucf.edu/ or UCF victim services https://www.ucf.edu/services/s/victim-services/. Students who feel that they may be in danger should contact UCF Police (Emergencies 911, Non-Emergencies (407) 823-5555).

Readings
*Almost all readings are recent journal articles. Students should use library resources to locate published journal articles. Selections from books, etc. that are not otherwise available will be posted in the files section.

Module 1: What is Terrorism? (16-21 May)

1. Charles Tilly, 2004, "Terror, Terrorism, Terrorists," *Sociological Theory*, 22:1.
2. Tuncer Beyribey, Terrorism as a Conceptual Site for Power Struggles. *European Journal of International Relations*, 2023.
3. Bart Schuurman, End of the Lone Wolf. *Studies in Conflict and Terrorism*, 2018
4. Chia-yi Lee and Yasutaka Tominaga. The Determinants of Terror Listing, *Journal of Conflict Resolution*, 2024.

Module 2: Strategy and Logic of Terrorism (21-27 May)

1. Andrew Kydd and Barbara F. Walter, "The Strategies of Terrorism," *International Security*, Summer 2006.
2. Virginia Page Fortna, 2015. "Do Terrorists Win?" Rebels' Use of Terrorism and Civil War Outcomes," *International Organization*, 69:3
3. Cullen Hendrix and Joseph Young, 2014. "State Capacity and Terrorism," *Security Studies*, 23:2, 329-63.
4. David Carter. Provocation and the Strategy of Terrorist and Guerilla Attacks. *International Organization*, 2016. 70:1.
5. Max Abrahms. 2012. "The Political Effectiveness of Terrorism Revisited," *Comparative Political Studies*, 45:3, 366-393

Module 3: Origins of Terrorism and Terrorists (28 May–3 June)

1. J. Kavanagh, "Selection, Availability, and Opportunity: The Conditional Effect of Poverty on Terrorist Group Participation," *Journal of Conflict Resolution*, 2011.
2. Miles Armaly, David Buckley, and Adam Enders, Christian Nationalism and Political Violence*, Political Behavior*, 2022.
3. S. Cottee and Hayward, "Terrorist (E)motives: The Existential Attractions of Terrorism," *Studies in Conflict and Terrorism*, 2011
4. Michael Jensen et al. Choosing Where to Fight. *Journal of Conflict Resolution*, 2024.
5. Jakana Thomas and Kanisha Bond. 2015. "Women's' Participation in Violent Political Organizations," *American Political Science Review*, 109:3.
6. Khaled Fattah and K. M. Fierke. 2009. "A Clash of Emotions: The Politics of Humiliation and Political Violence in the Middle East," *European Journal of International Relations*, 15:1, 67-93
7. Jori Breslaski and Brandon Ives. Killing for God? Factional Violence on the Transnational Stage. *Journal of Conflict Resolution*, 63:3, 2019,
8. Pete Simi and Steven Windisch, Why Radicalization Fails. *Terrorism and Political Violence*, 2020.

Module 4: Terror Organizations (4-10 June)

1. Martha Crenshaw, "Theories of Terrorism: Instrumental and Organizational Approaches," *Journal of Strategic Studies*, 1987.
2. Abrahms, Max, and Philip B. K. Potter, "Explaining Terrorism: Leadership Deficits and Militant Group Tactics," *International Organization*, Vol. 69, No. 2 (Spring 2015), pp. 311–342.
3. Lidsay Heger, Danielle Jung, and Wendy Wong, "Organizing for Resistance: How Group Structure Impacts the Character of Violence," *Terrorism and Political Violence*, 2012.
4. Christopher Blair et al. Honor Among Theives. *International Organization.* 2021.

5. Kaitlyn Robinson and Iris Malone, Militant Splinter Groups and the Use of Violence, *Journal of Conflict Resolution*, 2024.
6. Arie Perliger, Gabriel Koehler-Derrick and Mai Pedahzur, "The Gap Between Participation and Violence," *International Studies Quarterly*. 2016, 60:2.

Module 5: Tactics, Techniques, and Practices (11-17 June)

1. Michael Horowitz, Evan Perkoski, and Philip Potter, Tactical Diversity in Militant Violence. *International Organization*, 2018, 72:1.
2. Michael Horowitz, "Non-State Actors and the Diffusion of Innovations: The Case of Suicide Terrorism" *International Organization*, 64:1 (Winter 2010), pp. 33-64.
3. Brian Philips. Deadlier in the US? On Lone Wolves, Terrorist Groups, and Attack Lethality, *Terrorism and Political Violence*, 2017.
4. Ido Levy and Abdi Yusuf, How Do Terrorist Organizations Make Money? *Studies in Conflict and Terrorism*, 2021
5. Michael J. Reese, Kevin Ruby, and Robert Pape. Days of Action or Restraint? How the Islamic Calendar Impacts Violence. *American Political Science Review*, 2017, 111:3.
6. James Piazza and Michael Soules. Terror after the Caliphate : The Effect of ISIS Loss of Control over Population Centers on Patterns of Global Terrorism. *Security Studies* 2022.

Module 6: Specific Terror Groups (18-24 June)

Group Presentations on Particular Terror Groups. Presentations must be posted by Saturday, 13 June at 23:59.

Module 7: Target Responses to Terrorism (25 June-1 July)

1. Mirya Holman, Jennifer Merolla, and Elizabeth Zechmeister, The Curious Case of Teresa May and the Public did not Rally. *American Political Science Review*, 2022.
2. Ryan Shandler et al. Cyber Terrorism and Public Support for Retaliation, *British Journal of Political Science*, 2022
3. Anna Getmansky and Thomas Zeitzoff, 2014. "Terrorism and Voting: the Effect of Rocket Threat on Voting in Isreali Elections," *American Political Science Review*, 108:3.
4. Kerstin Fisk, Jennifer Merolla, Jennifer Ramos. Emotions, Terrorist Threat, and Drones. *Journal of Conflict Resolution*, 2019, 63:4.
5. Amelie Godefroidt. How Terrorism Does (and Does Not) Affect Citizens' Political Attitudes. *American Journal of Political Science*, 2023.
6. Robin Wagner-Pacifici, 1996. *The Moro Morality Play*, Chicago: University of Chicago Press, Selected chapters (in "files")

Module 8: Counter-terrorism (2 July-8 July) **Term Paper Due 8 July**

1. Ursala Dazecker and Michael Hess. 2012. "Repression Hurts: Coercive Government Responses and the Demise of Terrorist Campaigns," *British Journal of Political Science*, 43: 559-77.
2. Erik Dahl, "The Plots that Failed: Intelligence Lessons Learned from Unsuccessful Terrorist Attacks Against the US," *Studies in Conflict and Terrorism*, 2011.
3. Brian Blakenship. When do States Take the Bait? State Capacity and the Provocation Logic of Terrorism. *Journal of Conflict Resolution*, 2018, 62:2.
4. Patrick B. Johnston and Anoop K. Sarbahi. "The Impact of US Drone Strikes on Terrorism in Pakistan" *International Studies Quarterly*, 60:2, 203-219
5. Jenna Jordan, "Attacking the Leader, Missing the Mark: Why Terrorist Groups Survive Decapitation Strikes," *International Security* 38:4, 7-38.
6. Sheena Chestnut Greitens, Myunghee Lee, and Emir Yazici, Counterterrorism and Preventive Repression: China's Changing Strategy in Xinjiang, *International Security* 2020 44:3, 9-47.

Module 9: Ending Terrorism (9 -15 July)

1. Neumann, Peter R.(2005) 'The bullet and the ballot box: The case of the IRA ', *Journal of Strategic Studies*, 28: 6
2. R. Alonso, "Why Do Terrorists Stop?" Analyzing Why ETA Members Abandon or Continue with Terrorism," *Studies in Conflict and Terrorism*, 2011.
3. Mary Beth Altier, Emma Boyle, Neil Shortland and John Horgan. Why They Leave: An Analysis of Terrorist Disengagement Events from 87 Autobiographical Accounts. *Security Studies*, 2017, 26:2.
4. Rachel Schmidt. Contesting the Fighter Identity: Framing, Desertion, and Gender in Columbia. *International Studies Quarterly.* 2020.
5. Tamar Mitts. Countering Violent Extremism and Radical Rhetoric. *International Organization*. 2021.