



# POL 358: Terrorism and Political Violence Around the World

Spring 2020 / TTh 3:00–4:15pm / Bomberger 228

Dr. Johannes Karreth

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Virtual student hours: daily by appointment ([calendly.com/jkarreth\\_ursinus](http://calendly.com/jkarreth_ursinus)). Email: [jkarreth@ursinus.edu](mailto:jkarreth@ursinus.edu)

Course website: <http://www.jkarreth.net/pol358-s20.html>

This is the emergency syllabus for our move to remote learning during COVID-19.

**Important: your physical and mental health during this challenging time take priority. If you are dealing with illness, sick family members, unreliable internet, increased anxiety, childcare challenges, or any other issue, then please let me know and we will work out accommodations so that you can still reach all the goals of this course.**

## Course adjustments for remote learning

Following our virtual discussion on March 19, we are making the following adjustments:

### Materials

All readings are already available on Canvas.

### Class format

We use the following format for classes:

- Each class day (see syllabus below) has an assigned topic and materials (readings, videos, etc.). You can do your coursework and contributions when you have time, but try to finish it by the end of a class day.
- For the rest of the semester, we stop the reflections before each class. Instead, you will annotate and discuss readings in advance of the class day. We are using a digital platform for this (details to follow).
- On class day, you can participate in two ways:
  1. Respond to discussion questions on the discussion board during the day.

- 2. Join a virtual meeting (Canvas conference or Zoom) **from 3:00-3:45pm on class days** and respond to the same discussion questions as on the board, but in real time. I will rotate between breakout groups.
- Later in the semester, we will use two films that are part of the Ursinus International Film Festival as discussion material. You will be able to access these films online. More details to follow.
- Research projects continue, with feedback via Canvas and individual virtual meetings with me each week.

## Student hours

You can meet with me daily via phone or videochat; please find my available times at [calendly.com/jkarreth\\_ursinus](https://calendly.com/jkarreth_ursinus) and my contact details on Canvas. *I would like to speak, at least briefly, to each student individually at least once per week. This is part of your participation grade.*

## Assignments

**In-class participation (10% of your course grade)** Instead of participating, your participation will be graded based on:

- Responding to discussion questions on the discussion board during the day. For credit, the responses must move the discussion forward (no “I agree with the poster above.”), **or**
- Joining a breakout group in a virtual meeting (Canvas conference or Zoom) and responding to the same discussion questions as on the board, but in real time.

**Reading reflections (10% of your course grade)** Instead reflections, you will be annotating readings before class days. We are using a digital platform for this (details to follow). Your grades for reflections for the semester is based on the reflections submitted so far plus the annotations you’re doing for the rest of the semester.

**Research project (50% of your course grade)** The research project continues with adjusted deadlines. You receive feedback from me on Canvas and we will discuss your progress in our virtual meeting each week. The remaining article presentations will be given via recorded video-lectures; information on this tool will be provided on Canvas.

**Final exam (15% of your course grade)** The final exam will be converted to an alternative take-home exam that you can complete using all the materials available to you (with proper citation). You will have 48 hours to complete it during a defined time period around the assigned exam day. More details to follow.

## Other concerns

- It is most important to me that you know that I’m available to talk about class or other concerns each day for the rest of the semester. My contact details are on Canvas.
- To share any quick news items relevant to terrorism & political violence, any questions, pictures of your pets, news items, etc., we are using a GroupMe group chat.
- If you face immediate needs, please know that the Bear2Bear Student Emergency Fund continues to support students. Ask me for more information.
- We will continue to use deadlines for assignments, and I ask you to do classwork for the day on which it is assigned. However, I understand that circumstances may lead some students to be unable to complete work on time. We will discuss the need to accommodate late work or flexible deadlines in our individual virtual meetings each week.

## Course description

Welcome to POL 358, an advanced undergraduate seminar on terrorism and political violence! While wars between countries have become comparatively rare, violence in different forms, including threats and acts of terrorism, is a persistent part of politics in the United States and other countries in different world regions, different income groups, and different cultural contexts. In this course, we will use social-scientific tools to better understand types, possible causes, consequences, and responses to terrorism and political violence in different contexts.

## Learning goals

Upon successfully completing this seminar, participants should be able to:

- Have acquired a substantive knowledge and conceptual understanding of:
  - how scholars classify different types of political violence
  - empirical trends in political violence and terrorism across in Western and non-Western countries
  - major social-scientific explanations for political violence and terrorism at the level of the individual, group, and state
- Think critically about:
  - the origins and consequences of discourse in the realm of political violence
  - the representation of perpetrators and victims of political violence in different countries and cultural settings
  - the trade-offs linked to different counterterrorism policies
- Use research skills in the form of:
  - concepts, theories, and analytical tools from social science to analyze political violence and terrorism
  - analyzing empirical data to describe and evaluate trends in political violence and terrorism around the globe
  - exploring an empirical research question in the format of a full research paper

This course is designated as fulfilling the **Global Interconnections** core designation. It addresses the “GN” learning goals by specifically considering the perspective of non-Western groups and governments as targets and perpetrators of terrorism and political violence. Assignments highlight the different experience of victims (and perpetrators) of political violence who are typically underreported in Western media, but are also far from homogeneous (e.g. the use of political violence by Marxist groups in Latin America vs. religious groups in Southeast Asia). Assigned readings include non-Western voices throughout the course.

## Materials

No textbook is assigned for the class. All required and suggested readings (articles and book chapters/excerpts) will be posted on Canvas. Students should download them at the beginning of the semester. Use a reference management tool such as Zotero to organize readings these readings for your research projects.

## My role as instructor

I am looking forward to getting to know you and sharing my passion for political science research with you. Your success is important to me. I ask that you please schedule an individual meeting with me within the first two weeks of class (no later than Thursday, February 6) so that I can learn more about you and your interests related to this seminar.

## Requirements and assignments

This course is **reading and labor intensive**. Most of your time outside the classroom will be spent reading, thinking about the class material, and preparing coursework. It is imperative that you plan your schedule to allow yourself adequate time to complete the readings ahead of class time. At the same time, however, you should not necessarily try to read every word and you may need to skim longer readings. Skimming is an important skill to learn (if you haven't already) that will allow you to identify the main points in the texts efficiently. I provide tips on how to skim and how to take notes on Canvas.

POL 358 is also a **discussion-based course** that demands your regular attendance and full participation. You need to come to class ready and willing to discuss the readings and the issues that they raise. You will be expected not only to share your opinions with others but also to demonstrate that you have read and thought about the assigned texts. Quality participation also involves engaging with your classmates, listening carefully and critically to the views that they express. It can be especially challenging for some people to participate in large class discussions; if this applies to you, please come talk to me about strategies for becoming more comfortable speaking in class.

### Attendance & preparation (required to pass this course)

In keeping with a strong liberal arts tradition that encourages active learning and complete participation in the education process, Ursinus College expects students to attend class. Not attending class will result in a failing grade.

#### What you should know about this class

This is a highly interactive and fast-paced course. **You need to schedule at least 10<sup>a</sup> hours per week outside the classroom on this class for readings, assignments, and class preparation.** This course also requires you to complete varying tasks each week. You will need to plan ahead and make time for your classwork in your regular schedule. **Check Canvas every weekday for deadlines and assignments.** The 10 hours per week spent on this course outside the classroom are also required to complete the work needed for a four-credit course at Ursinus College.

<sup>a</sup>The number of 10 hours per week is based on the specifics of assignments and reading load for this course; I calculated it using the *Course Workload Estimator* from Rice University's Center for Teaching Excellence.

**Safety valve:** you can miss two class meetings **for any reason (no questions asked)** without an explanation, and it will not affect your grade. Save these for illness, emergencies, and planned absences. Three absences reduce your overall course grade by a half-letter grade. Four or more absences result in a failing grade. For the purpose of your grade, there is no difference between "excused" and "unexcused" absences. **If you experience a significant health problem or other issue** that may prevent you from performing adequately in your academic work and/or attending class for more than one day, notify the Ursinus Institute for Student Success to request accommodations for this course. Contact the Director of Disability Services, Dr. Dolly Singley, at [dsingley@ursinus.edu](mailto:dsingley@ursinus.edu) or 610-409-3472.

### 1. In-class participation (10% of your course grade)

You as a student are the most important part of this seminar; your active participation in a civil manner is necessary to succeed in this course. Participation is graded based on (1) your contributions in class and (2) short informal writing assignments in class. Grades are based on the rubric below:

- No credit: No spoken contributions to class at all.
- Partial credit: Minimal participation; submits in-class writing assignments and may talk once or twice per class to answer a question or state a viewpoint; does not actively contribute to the developing of dialogue or encourage more in-depth reflection.
- Full credit: involves doing work to make class discussions more collaborative and constructive, as well as encouraging others to participate by posing interesting questions and identifying key areas of variation or agreement.

**Safety valve:** You may choose to not participate on a day (or be absent that day) without penalty for two days without losing any points.

## 2. Reading reflections (10% of your course grade)

On the night before each class meeting, students are required to submit short reflections on that day's assigned reading, based on questions posted on Canvas.

**Safety valve:** I will drop your lowest two grades and calculate your overall test grade as the average of your best remaining reflection grades.

## 3. Midterm and final exams (30% of your course grade)

The exams test your command of the course materials. The midterm exam is closed-book and taken during a class period. The final exam is taken during the exam period assigned by the Registrar's office.

## 5. Research project (50% of your course grade)

The research project is the core component of your work in this seminar. In it, you will analyze at least two cases of political actors using violence for a political purpose. The project comes in several steps:

1. **Region essay** (500 words). For this essay, sign up for a region of the world (based on the UN's M49 codes for intermediate regions; see Canvas for more detail) to focus on for your subsequent research. In the essay, you should provide a brief summary that describes why you choose the specific region. That is, explain why you are curious about the region. What about the region is interesting to you? What are the features about the region that are similar across countries? Which features seem to be different? This is a short essay designed to help you focus on an area of the world in which you will later analyze political violence. You will use this region to guide your selection of cases and data in the case comparison assignments (part 1 and part 2) and the visualization assignment. (10% of your course grade)
2. **Case comparison: Origins** (1500-2000 words). In this part of the project, you first select **two separate political groups** using political violence. In most cases, these groups will be in two separate countries. You describe and explain how each group came to use violence as a tool of political competition. Use the theories and arguments encountered in class to inform your explanations. (10% of your course grade)
3. **Case comparison: Responses and Impact** (1500-2000 words). Here, you continue research on your two cases by describing and explaining how other actors (the state, civilians, international actors) have responded to each group's use of political violence. You also analyze the impact of violence on the groups' ability to reach their respective goals. Use the theories and arguments encountered in class to inform your explanations. (10% of your course grade)
4. **Presentation** In April, you will give a short overview of your research to the class. This presentation should highlight your key findings and allow other students to compare their research to yours.
5. **Visualization** To illustrate your research, you produce a visualization of each group's major activities (or other relevant events) – either across time or space. You will receive training in tools such as TimelineJS or StorymapsJS to create these visualizations. (10% of your course grade)
6. **Policy brief** In this final assignment, you produce a two-page handout structured to inform a policymaker (e.g. a legislator or a bureaucrat) about your research on **one** of your two cases. Summarize your prior assignments (especially the two case comparisons) in a way that an intelligent, but busy reader can follow along. Dedicate about one-third of this assignment to summarizing the "lessons learned" from this case for other cases in the region or elsewhere. An example of a lesson learned is: what does this case tell us about the role of female participants in violent political organizations? (10% of your course grade)

## Grading

Rubrics for all assignments are posted on Canvas. The course grade consists of the components below, sums to 100, and converts into letter grades as stated below.

In-class participation	10%				
Reading reflections	10%				
Research project	(50%)	A	100 - 93.0	C+	79.999 - 77.0
Region essay	10%	A-	92.999 - 90.0	C	76.999 - 73.0
Case comparison: Origins	10%	B+	89.999 - 87.0	C-	72.999 - 70.0
Case comparison: Responses and Impact	10%	B	86.999 - 83.0	D+	69.999 - 67.0
Presentation	required	B-	82.999 - 80.0	D	66.999 - 63.0
Visualization	10%			D-	62.999 - 60.0
Policy brief	10%			F	59.999 - 0
Midterm exam	15%				
Final exam	15%				

**Late assignments.** All written assignments (short assignments, data analysis assignment, paper) are due at 9pm on their due date unless otherwise noted. The individual assignment grade (out of 100) will drop by 5 points for every calendar day the assignment is submitted after the due date.

## Course policies and resources

**Disability accommodations.** Ursinus College is committed to ensuring equal access and providing reasonable accommodations for students with disabilities. At the beginning of each semester, qualifying students must arrange for accommodations through the Ursinus Institute for Student Success in the lower level of Wismer. If you have any questions, contact the Director of Disability Services, Dr. Dolly Singley, at [dsingley@ursinus.edu](mailto:dsingley@ursinus.edu) or 610-409-3472.

Additional resources regarding dining accommodations, medical leave of absence and service animal policies, and campus safety are posted at <https://www.ursinus.edu/offices/ursinus-institute/students-with-disabilities/>.

**Religious observance.** I will make every effort to accommodate religious observances and obligations. Please bring any possible conflicts with deadlines or assignments to my attention at the beginning of the semester.

**Names.** Course rosters are provided to the instructor with the student's legal name, but I will gladly honor your request to address you by your preferred name or gender pronoun. Please advise me of your preference early in the semester so that I may make appropriate changes to my records. Please be patient with me as I learn all students' names and pronouns. I encourage you to correct me when/if I make a mistake (i.e., call you by the wrong name/pronoun or mispronounce your name).

**Classroom interactions.** In this class, we will work to promote an environment where everyone feels safe and welcome, even during uncomfortable conversations. The topics we will address can be political, personal, controversial, and provocative. As we explore these ideas, every voice in the room has something of value to contribute to group discussion. Because the group will represent a diversity of individual beliefs, backgrounds, and experiences, every participant must show respect for all others. You are encouraged to not only take advantage of opportunities to express your own ideas, but also to learn from the information and ideas shared by other students. Participation is crucial to the success of this classroom experience. Your insights, questions and comments will be useful not only to yourself and to your instructor, but to your fellow students as well. Remember that all ideas need to be well founded in class readings, and/or research in a civil and academic manner. *Note: email me an image of a sloth by the end of Thursday, January 23, to earn one bonus point on the first reading reflection of the semester.*

**Academic honesty.** All students at Ursinus College are responsible for knowing and adhering to the academic integrity policy of our institution. Please familiarize yourself with this policy at <https://www.ursinus.edu/student-life/handbook/academic-policies/academic-honesty/>. Violations of this policy may include: cheating, plagiarism, aid of academic dishonesty, fabrication, lying, bribery, and threatening behavior. The policy also prohibits submitting material that you previously submitted in another course. If you are involved in plagiarism, the penalty will be failure in the course and you will be reported to the College. In this one regard there are no second chances. If you are not sure if something violates standards—ask. If you are not sure whether to cite or not to cite—cite.

**Emergencies and absences.** Missing a deadline results in penalties as specified above, regardless of the reason for absence or late submission. However, please take advantage of the **safety valves** noted above.

**Electronic devices in the classroom.** Laptops and tablets are allowed for note-taking only. Studies have shown that "laptop use is negatively associated with student learning and it poses a distraction to fellow students."<sup>1,2,3</sup> If we as a group decide that electronic devices have a negative effect on class discussion, we will discuss alternative accommodations. Cell phones must be stored away and silenced during class.

<sup>1</sup>Fried, Carrie B. 2008. "In-Class Laptop Use and Its Effects on Student Learning." *Computers and Education* 50: 906-914.

<sup>2</sup>Carter, Susan P., Kyle Greenberg, and Michael Walker. 2016. "The Impact of Computer Usage on Academic Performance: Evidence from a Randomized Trial at the United States Military Academy." *SEI Discussion Paper #2016.02*. (<https://goo.gl/7SxH1m>)

<sup>3</sup>Dynarski, Susan M. 2017. "For better learning in college lectures, lay down the laptop and pick up a pen." *Brookings Institution Report*. (<http://brook.gs/2hKV7gk>).

**Digital Access and Equality** Digital devices are essential for success in college. In this course, you need digital devices to access readings, complete and submit assignments, complete online quizzes, and to coordinate with other students regarding group projects. I recognize that some students are unable to afford the cost of purchasing digital devices and that other students rely on older, more problem-prone devices that frequently break down or become unusable. I also recognize that those technology problems can be a significant source of stress for students. Given those challenges, I encourage students to contact me if they experience a technology-related problem that interferes with their work in this course. This will enable me to assist students in accessing support.

I also encourage students to be aware of the many technology-related resources that Ursinus College provides, including:

- Free on-campus wireless internet (Wifi) access through the “Ursinus Secure” network.
- Free software (including Microsoft Office) for download and for cloud-based use.
- Free unlimited, secure online storage through OneDrive (a great way to back up files automatically).
- Free support with issues related to Ursinus technology (e.g., email, Canvas, Wifi, printing, device setup, etc.).
- Free in-person tech support at Tech Support at the IT support desk in the Myrin Library.
- Students may borrow laptops for specific use from Tech Support.<sup>4</sup>

**Basic needs security** If you are facing challenges securing food or housing and believe this may affect your performance in this course, please notify me if you are comfortable in doing so. This will enable me to provide any resources that I may possess. Please also be aware of the Bear2Bear fund, which has been established by donors to the college and provides special grants to support students facing temporary financial hardship as a result of an emergency or crisis situation (up to \$5000 per year).

**Support with writing assignments** Whenever you want some extra support with a writing (or speaking) assignment, for this class or any other, please visit my student hours and connect with the Center for Writing and Speaking, [www.ursinus.edu/offices/center-for-writing-and-speaking/](http://www.ursinus.edu/offices/center-for-writing-and-speaking/). The Center is staffed by trained peer tutors who can help you at any stage of the writing process. You can go to them to ask about your ideas early in the process, while you are still brainstorming; you can go when you have a rough draft; or you can go when you are almost finished revising. It is a very good idea to have a smart and sympathetic reader look over your paper before handing it in! Make an appointment at <https://ursinus.mywconline.net>. You can also email them with any questions at [cws@ursinus.edu](mailto:cws@ursinus.edu).

**Extra credit events** Throughout the semester, I will post a small number of extra credit opportunities on Canvas. Extra credit will be added to a student’s in-class participation grade.

## Acknowledgments

This syllabus and course incorporate ideas from materials shared by Victor Asal, Erica Chenoweth, Christopher Fariss, Michael Findley, Xochitl Shuru, Carly Wayne, and Joseph Young.

<sup>4</sup>Parts of this statement are borrowed from <https://scatter.wordpress.com/2018/12/03/the-new-digital-divide-on-college-campuses/>.



## Schedule

This schedule will be updated prior and during the semester. Please visit <http://www.jkarreth.net/pol358-s20.html> for the most recent information on deadlines and readings.

For each day, the syllabus lists required readings. You need to take notes on those readings and bring these notes to class. Additional background literature is intended to serve as useful starting points for research papers, or for general interest. You should skim at least one of the background readings for each day and be prepared to say a few words about it in class.

**R** lists the **required** reading to complete before today's class. Required readings are posted on Canvas under "Files."

**S** lists a **suggested** additional (but not required) reading for today's topic.

**C** lists a **country** or **case** highlighted in today's class. Keep good notes on these for the midterm and final exams.

**A** lists a special class **activity** for today's meeting.

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### Introduction

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#### Day 1 (Thursday, January 23)

What are terrorism and political violence, and why do people care about definitions?

**R** Chapter 1 in Chenoweth, Erica and Moore, Pauline. 2018. *The Politics of Terror*. New York, NY: Oxford University Press.

**S** Arafat, Yasser. 1974. "Speech by Yasser Arafat at the United Nations General ASsembly, New York." *United Nations General Assembly Twenty-Ninth Session Official Records*.

**S** Gladstone, Rick. 2018. "What Is Terrorism? Attacks in Canada and Belgium Reflect Uncertain Definition." *New York Times*, May 31. URL: <https://nyti.ms/2LMZxhY>.

**S** Weinberg, Leonard, Pedahzur, Ami, and Hirsch-Hoefler, Sivan. 2004. "The challenges of conceptualizing terrorism." *Terrorism and Political Violence* 16 (4): 777–794.

**S** Hoffman, Bruce. "Defining Terrorism", Chapter 1 in Hoffman, Bruce. 2006. *Inside Terrorism*. New York, NY: Columbia University Press.

**S** Hoff, Connor and Kertzer, Joshua D. 2018. "How The Public Defines Terrorism." *American Journal of Political Science* 62 (1): 55–71.

**A** Definitions

**A** Vignettes of terrorist attacks

(Time permitting) How do we talk about terrorism and political violence? Do words matter?

**S** Byman, Daniel. 2019. "It's hard to commemorate 9/11 if you don't understand it." *Foreign Policy*. URL: <https://go.ursinus.edu/iDYsCd>.

**S** Moore, Will H. 2015. "Tilting at a windmill? The conceptual problem in contemporary peace science." *Conflict Management and Peace Science* 32 (4): 356–369.

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

**S** Young, Joseph K. and Findley, Michael G. 2011. "Promise and pitfalls of terrorism research." *International Studies Review* 13 (3): 411–431.

**S** Erlenbusch, Verena. 2014. "How (not) to study terrorism." *Critical Review of International Social and Political Philosophy* 17 (4): 470–491.

- S Hitchen, Jamie. 2017. "How do we talk about rebel groups?" *Africa As A Country*. Online at <http://africasacountry.com/2017/03/how-do-we-talk-about-rebel-groups/>.
- C Right-wing terrorism in Germany
- C The September 11, 2001 attacks

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***Why terrorism? Explaining why groups use violence***

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### **Day 2 (Tuesday, January 28)**

Strategic explanations: (when) is political violence rational?

- R** Crenshaw, Martha. 1981. "The Causes of Terrorism." *Comparative Politics* 13 (4): 379–399.
- R** Lake, David A. 2002. "Rational extremism: Understanding terrorism in the twenty-first century." *Dialogue–International Organization* 1 (1): 15–28.
- S** Kydd, Andrew H. and Walter, Barbara F. 2006. "The Strategies of Terrorism," *International Security* 31 (1): 49–80.
- S** Moghadam, Assaf. 2003. "Palestinian suicide terrorism in the second intifada: Motivations and organizational aspects." *Studies in Conflict and Terrorism* 26 (2): 65–92.
- S** Caplan, Bryan. 2006. "Terrorism: The relevance of the rational choice model." *Public Choice* 128 (1): 91–107.
- A** Introduction to data on violent political events
- A** Brainstorming on region essays

### **Day 3 (Thursday, January 30)**

Organizational explanations: what makes violent political organizations tick?

- R** Biberman, Yelena and Zahid, Farhan. 2016. "Why terrorists target children: Outbidding, desperation, and extremism in the Peshawar and Beslan school massacres." *Terrorism and Political Violence*.
- S** Asal, Victor and Rethemeyer, R. Karl. 2008. "The Nature of the Beast: Organizational Structures and the Lethality of Terrorist Attacks." *Journal of Politics* 70 (2): 437–449.
- S** Moghadam, Assaf. 2013. "How al Qaeda innovates." *Security Studies* 22 (3): 466–497.
- S** Zirakzadeh, Cyrus Ernesto. 2002. "From revolutionary dreams to organizational fragmentation: Disputes over violence within eta and sendero luminoso." *Terrorism and Political Violence* 14 (4): 66–92.
- S** Mampilly, Zachariah. 2011. *Rebel Rulers: Insurgent Governance and Civilian Life during War*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press.
- S** Chapters 1 and 2 in Shapiro, Jacob N. 2013. *The Terrorist's Dilemma: Managing violent covert organizations*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press (on Canvas).
- S** Berti, Benedetta. 2016. "Rebel politics and the state: between conflict and post-conflict, resistance and co-existence." *Civil Wars* 18 (2): 118–136.
- S** Heger, Lindsay, Jung, Danielle, and Wong, Wendy H. 2012. "Organizing for Resistance: How Group Structure Impacts the Character of Violence." *Terrorism and Political Violence* 24 (5): 743–768.
- S** Pearlman, Wendy. 2009. "Spoiling inside and out: Internal political contestation and the Middle East peace process." *International Security* 33 (3): 79–109.
- C** Pakistan
- C** Russia
- A** Reading scholarly work effectively

### Day 4 (Tuesday, February 4)

Psychological explanations: are some people more prone to using violence for political ends?

- R** Victoroff, Jeff. 2005. "The Mind of the Terrorist: A Review and Critique of Psychological Approaches." *The Journal of Conflict Resolution* 49 (1): 3–42.
- S** Horgan, John G. 2019. "Psychological Approaches to the Study of Terrorism." In *The Oxford Handbook of Terrorism*, ed. by Chenoweth, Erica et al. Oxford University Press.
- S** Crenshaw, Martha. 2000. "The psychology of terrorism: An agenda for the 21st century." *Political Psychology* 21 (2): 405–420.
- S** Thayer, Bradley A. and Hudson, Valerie M. 2010. "Sex and the Shaheed : Insights from the Life Sciences on Islamic Suicide Terrorism." *International Security* 34 (4): 37–62.
- S** Post, Jerrold, Sprinzak, Ehud, and Denny, Laurita. 2003. "The terrorists in their own words: Interviews with 35 incarcerated Middle Eastern terrorists." *Terrorism and Political Violence* 15 (1): 171–184.

### Day 5 (Thursday, February 6)

Ideological explanations: Political, Nationalist, and Religious terrorism

- R** Juergensmeyer, Mark. 2003. "Religion as a Cause of Terrorism." in *The Roots of Terrorism*, pp. 133-144. New York: Routledge.
- R** Piazza, James A. 2017b. "The determinants of domestic right-wing terrorism in the USA: Economic grievance, societal change and political resentment." *Conflict Management and Peace Science* 34 (1): 52–80.
- S** Pratt, Douglas. 2010. "Religion and Terrorism: Christian Fundamentalism and Extremism." *Terrorism and Political Violence* 22 (3): 438–456.
- S** Piazza, James A. 2009. "Is Islamist Terrorism More Dangerous? An Empirical Study of Group Ideology, Organization, and Goal Structure." *Terrorism and Political Violence* 21 (1): 62–88.
- S** Hegghammer, Thomas. 2010. "The Rise of Muslim Foreign Fighters: Islam and the Globalization of Jihad." *International Security* 35 (3): 53–94.
- S** Della Porta, Donatella. 1988. "Recruitment processes in clandestine political organizations." *International Social Movement Research* 1:155–169.

### Day 6 (Tuesday, February 11)

Structural and economic explanations: do grievances lead to violence?

- R** Krueger, Alan. 2007. "What Makes a Terrorist." *The American*. November 7. Online at <https://go.ursinus.edu/F3tK1A>.
- S** United Nations Development Programme. 2017. "Journey to Extremism in Africa: Drivers, Incentives, and the Tipping Point for Recruitment."
- S** Blomberg, S. Brock, Hess, Gregory D., and Weerapana, Akila. 2004. "Economic conditions and terrorism." *European Journal of Political Economy* 20 (2): 463–478.
- S** Cronin, Audrey Kurth. 2002. "Behind the Curve: Globalization and International Terrorism." *International Security* 27 (3): 30–58.
- S** Piazza, James A. 2008. "Incubators of Terror: Do Failed and Failing States Promote Transnational Terrorism?" *International Studies Quarterly* 52 (3): 469–488.
- S** Lee, Alexander. 2011. "Who Becomes a Terrorist?: Poverty, Education, and the Origins of Political Violence." *World Politics* 63 (2): 203–245.
- S** Adamson, Fiona B. 2006. "Crossing Borders: International Migration and National Security." *International Security* 31 (1): 165–199.

**S** Bove, Vincenzo and Böhmelt, Tobias. 2016. "Does Immigration Induce Terrorism?" *Journal of Politics* 78 (2): 572–588.

**A** Research focus: theories, microfoundations, and hypotheses

### **Day 7 (Thursday, February 13)**

Critical approaches to terrorism studies

**R** Blakeley, Ruth. 2007. "Bringing the state back into terrorism studies." *European Political Science* 6 (3): 228–235.

**R** Erlenbusch, Verena. 2014. "How (not) to study terrorism." *Critical Review of International Social and Political Philosophy* 17 (4): 470–491.

**A** Research focus: Comparing different explanations for political violence

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**Types and features of political violence**

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### Day 8 (Tuesday, February 18)

Suicide terrorism

- R** Chapter 4 in Bloom, Mia M. 2005. *Dying to Kill: The Allure of Suicide Terror*. New York: Columbia University Press.
- R** Crenshaw, Martha. 2007. "Explaining suicide terrorism: A review essay." *Security Studies* 16 (1): 133–162.
- S** Pape, Robert A. 2003. "The strategic logic of suicide terrorism." *American Political Science Review* 97 (3): 343–361.
- S** Ashworth, Scott et al. 2008. "Design, inference, and the strategic logic of suicide terrorism." *American Political Science Review* 102 (2): 269–273.
- S** Horowitz, Michael C. 2010. "Nonstate Actors and the Diffusion of Innovations: The Case of Suicide Terrorism." *International Organization* 64 (1): 33–64.
- S** Searcey, Dionne. 2017. "Boko Haram strapped suicide bombs to them. Somehow these teenage girls survived." *New York Times*, October 25. Online at <https://goo.gl/7UTcHr>.
- C** Boko Haram

### Tech day (Thursday, February 20)

Workshop on visualization tools for research projects, led by Christine Iannicelli and a DLA fellow

- Bring laptops and your region essay

### Day 9 (Tuesday, February 25)

Cooperation and competition between violent groups

- R** Horowitz, Michael C. 2010. "Nonstate Actors and the Diffusion of Innovations: The Case of Suicide Terrorism." *International Organization* 64 (1): 33–64.
- R** Rose, Max and Ali H. Soufan. 2020. "We Once Fought Jihadists. Now We Battle White Supremacists." *New York Times*, February 11. URL: <https://nyti.ms/2UIV0bP>.
- S** Bloom, Mia M. 2004. "Palestinian Suicide Bombing: Public Support, Market Share, and Outbidding." *Political Science Quarterly* 119 (1): 61–88.
- A** Best practices for case comparisons

### Day 10 (Thursday, February 27)

Violent groups as service providers?

- R** Flanigan, Shawn Teresa. 2008. "Nonprofit Service Provision by Insurgent Organizations: The Cases of Hizballah and the Tamil Tigers." *Studies in Conflict & Terrorism* 31 (6): 499–519.
- S** Stewart, Megan A. 2018. "Civil War as State-Making: Strategic Governance in Civil War." *International Organization* 72 (1): 205–226.
- C** Hizballah
- C** Tamil Tigers

**Day 11 (Tuesday, March 3)**

Terrorism by the state, and state sponsored terror

- R** Davenport, Christian. 2012. "When democracies kill: Reflections from the US, India, and Northern Ireland." *International Area Studies Review* 15 (1): 3–20.
- S** Byman, Daniel and Kreps, Sarah E. 2010. "Agents of Destruction? Applying Principal-Agent Analysis to State-Sponsored Terrorism." *International Studies Perspectives* 11 (1): 1–18.
- S** Blakeley, Ruth. 2007. "Bringing the state back into terrorism studies." *European Political Science* 6 (3): 228–235.
- S** Johnston, Patrick B. and Sarbahi, Anoop K. 2016. "The Impact of US Drone Strikes on Terrorism in Pakistan." *International Studies Quarterly*.

**Day 12 (Thursday, March 5)**

Midterm exam

**Spring break (Tuesday, March 10)**

**Spring break (Thursday, March 12)**

**Extended spring break due to COVID-19 (Tuesday, March 17)**

**Extended spring break due to COVID-19 (Thursday, March 19)**

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**How states respond: Counterterrorism**

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### Day 13 (Tuesday, March 24)

Counterterrorism tools: social, psychological, legal, and military approaches

- R** Chapter 13 in Chenoweth, Erica and Moore, Pauline. 2018. *The Politics of Terror*. New York, NY: Oxford University Press.
- S** Jordan, Jenna. 2014. "Attacking the Leader, Missing the Mark: Why Terrorist Groups Survive Decapitation Strikes." *International Security* 38 (4): 7–38.
- S** Horgan, John et al. 2017. "Walking away: the disengagement and de-radicalization of a violent right-wing extremist." *Behavioral Sciences of Terrorism and Political Aggression* 9 (2): 63–77.
- S** Smith, Megan and Walsh, James Igoe. 2013. "Do Drone Strikes Degrade Al Qaeda? Evidence From Propaganda Output." *Terrorism and Political Violence* 25 (2): 311–327.
- S** Altier, Mary Beth et al. 2017. "Why They Leave: An Analysis of Terrorist Disengagement Events from Eighty-seven Autobiographical Accounts." *Security Studies* 26 (2): 305–332.
- S** Basra, Rajan, Peter R. Neumann, and Claudia Brunner. 2016. "Criminal Pasts, Terrorist Futures: European Jihadists and the New Crime-Terror Nexus." London: International Centre for the Study of Radicalisation and Political Violence.
- S** Cronin, Audrey Kurth. 2006. "How al-Qaida ends: The decline and demise of terrorist groups." *International Security* 31 (1): 7–48.
- S** Staniland, Paul. 2017. "Whither ISIS? Insights from Insurgent Responses to Decline." *The Washington Quarterly* 40 (3): 29–43.

### Day 14 (Thursday, March 26)

Counterterrorism and democracy: Is there a trade-off between human rights & civil liberties and security?

- R** Piazza, James A. 2017a. "Repression and Terrorism: A Cross-National Empirical Analysis of Types of Repression and Domestic Terrorism." *Terrorism and Political Violence* 29 (1): 102–118.
- R** Daxecker, Ursula. 2017. "Dirty Hands." *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 61 (6): 1261–1289.
- S** Daxecker, Ursula E. and Hess, Michael L. 2013. "Repression Hurts: Coercive Government Responses and the Demise of Terrorist Campaigns." *British Journal of Political Science* 43 (3): 559–577.
- S** Rasler, Karen. 1996. "Concessions, Repression, and Political Protest in the Iranian Revolution." *American Sociological Review* 61 (1): 132–152.
- S** Shor, Eran et al. 2018. "Counterterrorist Legislation and Respect for Civil Liberties: An Inevitable Collision?" *Studies in Conflict & Terrorism* 41 (5): 339–364.

### Day 15 (Tuesday, March 31)

Counterterrorism in non-Western contexts

- R** Omelicheva, Mariya Y. 2009. "Russia's counterterrorism policy: Variations on an Imperial theme." *Perspectives on Terrorism* 3 (1): 3–10.
- R** Whitaker, Beth Elise. 2010. "Compliance among weak states: Africa and the counter-terrorism regime." *Review of International Studies* 36 (3): 639–662.



- R** Al-Kadi, Alia and Vale, Gina. 2020. "Local voices against violence: women challenging extremism in Iraq and Syria." *Conflict, Security & Development*.
- S** Boyle, Michael J., ed. 2019. *Non-Western Responses to Terrorism*. Manchester: Manchester University Press.
- C** Russia
- C** Kenya
- C** Uganda
- C** Tanzania

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**People and political violence**

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### Day 16 (Thursday, April 2)

Discussion of the film *Asier ETA biok* (Spain, 2013).

- Assignments on Canvas

### Day 17 (Tuesday, April 7)

Women and political violence

- R** Bloom, Mia. 2011. "Bombshells: Women and Terror." *Gender Issues* 28 (1): 1–21.
- R** Abatan, Ella Jeannine. 2018. "The role of women in West Africa's violent extremist groups." *Institute for Security Studies Brief*.
- S** Thomas, Jakana L. and Bond, Kanisha D. 2015. "Women's Participation in Violent Political Organizations." *American Political Science Review* 109 (3): 488–506.
- S** Henshaw, Alexis Leanna. 2016. "Where Women Rebel." *International Feminist Journal of Politics* 18 (1): 39–60.
- S** Wood, Reed M. and Thomas, Jakana. 2017. "Women on the frontline." *Journal of Peace Research* 54 (1): 31–46.
- S** Nilsson, Marco. Forthcoming. "Muslim Mothers in Ground Combat Against the Islamic State." *Armed Forces & Society*.
- S** Berrebi, Claude and Ostwald, Jordan. 2016. "Terrorism and the Labor Force: Evidence of an Effect on Female Labor Force Participation and the Labor Gender Gap." *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 60 (1): 32–60.
- S** Loken, Meredith and Zelenz, Anna. Forthcoming. "Explaining Extremism: Western Women in Daesh." *European Journal of International Security*.
- S** Krystalli, Roxanne. 2016. "The Colombian Peace Agreement has a big emphasis on the lives of women. Here's why." *Washington Post*, August 19. Online at <https://goo.gl/QpWwCB>.
- S** Searcey, Dionne. 2020. "They Ordered Her to Be a Suicide Bomber. She Had Another Idea." *New York Times*, March 13. Online at <https://nyti.ms/2U4Y0IG>.

### Day 18 (Thursday, April 9)

Radicalization, recruitment, and de-radicalization

- R** McCauley, Clark and Moskalenko, Sophia. 2008. "Mechanisms of Political Radicalization: Pathways Toward Terrorism." *Terrorism and Political Violence* 20 (3): 415–433.
- R** New York Times Editorial Board. 2018. "The New Radicalization of the Internet". November 24. URL: <https://nyti.ms/2DIeoZm>.
- S** Morris, Andrea Michelle. 2020. "Who Wants to Be a Suicide Bomber? Evidence from Islamic State Recruits." *International Studies Quarterly*.
- S** Bloom, Mia and Daymon, Chelsea. 2018. "Assessing the Future Threat: ISIS's Virtual Caliphate." *Orbis* 62 (3): 372–388.
- S** Mitts, Tamar. 2019. "Terrorism and the Rise of Right-Wing Content in Israeli Books." *International Organization* 73 (1): 203–224.
- S** Horgan, John et al. 2017. "Walking away: the disengagement and de-radicalization of a violent right-wing extremist." *Behavioral Sciences of Terrorism and Political Aggression* 9 (2): 63–77.

- S Guhl, Jakob, Julia Ebner, and Jan Rau. 2020. "The Online Ecosystem of the German Far-Right." Institute for Strategic Dialogue Report. URL: <https://go.ursinus.edu/gr2r5a>.
- S United Nations Development Programme. 2017. "Journey to Extremism in Africa: Drivers, Incentives, and the Tipping Point for Recruitment." URL: <https://go.ursinus.edu/UnhAWY>.
- S START. 2018. "The Use of Social Media by United States Extremists" University of Maryland. URL: .

### **Day 19 (Tuesday, April 14)**

Interventions to curb support for political violence

- R Tesfaye, B., McDougal, T., Maclin, B., and Blum, A. 2018. "If youth are given the chance: Effects of education and civic engagement on Somali youth support for political violence." Washington, DC: Mercy Corps.
- R Scrivens, Ryan et al. 2019. "Combating Violent Extremism: Voices of Former Right-Wing Extremists." *Studies in Conflict & Terrorism*.

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**Public responses to political violence**

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### Day 20 (Thursday, April 16)

Political violence and the media

- R** Chapters 14 and 16 in Nacos, Brigitte L. 2016. *Terrorism and Counterterrorism*. New York, NY: Routledge.
- S** Kearns, Erin M., Betus, Allison E., and Lemieux, Anthony F. 2019. "Why Do Some Terrorist Attacks Receive More Media Attention Than Others?" *Justice Quarterly* 36 (6): 985–1022.
- S** Kearns, Erin M., Betus, Allison E., and Lemieux, Anthony F. 2020. "When Data Do Not Matter: Exploring Public Perceptions of Terrorism." *Studies in Conflict & Terrorism*.
- S** Arva, Bryan, Muhammed Idris, and Fouad Pervez. 2017. "Almost all news coverage of the Barcelona attack mentioned terrorism. Very little coverage of Charlottesville did." *Washington Post*, August 31. Online at <https://goo.gl/oUYzBP>.

### Day 21 (Tuesday, April 21)

Discussion of the film *NN* (Peru, 2014).

- Assignments on Canvas

### Day 22 (Thursday, April 23)

Attitudes and anxiety: individual responses to political violence

- R** Gadarian, Shana Kushner. 2010. "The Politics of Threat: How Terrorism News Shapes Foreign Policy Attitudes." *Journal of Politics* 72 (2): 469–483.
- S** Merolla, Jennifer L. and Zechmeister, Elizabeth J. 2009. "Terrorist Threat, Leadership, and the Vote: Evidence from Three Experiments." *Political Behavior* 31 (4): 575–601.
- S** Vasilopoulos, Pavlos. Forthcoming. "Terrorist events, emotional reactions, and political participation: the 2015 Paris attacks." *West European Politics*.
- S** Dolan, Thomas M. and Ilderton, Nathan. 2017. "Scared into Demanding Action: The Effects of the Perceived Threat from Terrorism on Policy Salience." *Polity* 49 (2): 245–269.
- S** Mueller, John and Stewart, Mark G. 2012. "The Terrorism Delusion: America's Overwrought Response to September 11." *International Security* 37 (1): 81–110.
- S** Gilligan, Michael J., Pasquale, Benjamin J., and Samii, Cyrus. 2014. "Civil War and Social Cohesion: Lab-in-the-Field Evidence from Nepal." *American Journal of Political Science* 58 (3): 604–619.
- S** Krause, Volker and Otenyo, Eric E. 2005. "Terrorism and the Kenyan Public." *Studies in Conflict & Terrorism* 28 (2): 99–112.
- S** Peffley, Mark, Hutchison, Marc L., and Shamir, Michal. 2015. "The Impact of Persistent Terrorism on Political Tolerance: Israel, 1980 to 2011." *American Political Science Review* 109, no. 4 (04): 817–832.
- S** Lupu, Noam and Peisakhin, Leonid. Forthcoming. "The Legacy of Political Violence across Generations." *American Journal of Political Science*.
- S** Christensen, Dag Arne and Aars, Jacob. 2017. "The 22 July Terrorist Attacks in Norway: Impact on Public Attitudes towards Counterterrorist Authorities." *Scandinavian Political Studies* 40 (3): 312–329.
- S** Fair, C. Christine et al. Forthcoming. "Relative Poverty, Perceived Violence, and Support for Militant Politics: Evidence from Pakistan." *Political Science Research and Methods*.

**Research day (Tuesday, April 28)**

Use this time to work on your visualization and/or policy brief.

**Day 23 (Thursday, April 30)**

Can political violence sway elections?

- R** Berrebi, Claude and Klor, Esteban F. 2008. "Are Voters Sensitive to Terrorism? Direct Evidence from the Israeli Electorate." *American Political Science Review* 102 (03): 279–301.
- S** Getmansky, Anna and Zeitzoff, Thomas. 2014. "Terrorism and Voting: The Effect of Rocket Threat on Voting in Israeli Elections." *American Political Science Review* 108, no. 3 (03): 588–604.
- S** Kibris, Arzu. 2011. "Funerals and elections: The effects of terrorism on voting behavior in Turkey." *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 55 (2): 220–247.

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**Synthesis and conclusions**

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**Day 24 (Tuesday, May 5)**

New technologies and targeted killings

- R Weimann, Gabriel. 2005. "Cyberterrorism: The sum of all fears?" *Studies in Conflict & Terrorism* 28 (2): 129–149.
- R Cronin, Audrey Kurth. 2013. "Why drones fail: when tactics drive strategy." *Foreign Affairs* 92:44.

**Day 25 (Wednesday, May 6)**

Current politics of counterterrorism: the Afghanistan papers

- R The Afghanistan Papers, A Secret History of the Afghanistan War. <https://go.ursinus.edu/42VpUY>

**Exam Day (Date and time TBD)**

Final exam