Introduction to Terrorism
POLSCI 232-01
Fall 2023

Prof. David A. Siegel	Office: 293 Gross Hall
Time: MW 3:05-4:20 pm, Gross 103	E-mail: david.siegel@duke.edu
Office Hours: MW 10-11 am by Zoom (https://duke.zoom.us/j/97220235508), or by appt.	Course Website: Sakai
TA: Stephanie Wright	TA e-mail: stephanie.wright118@duke.edu

Course Overview

This course focuses on the nature of subnational terrorist organizations and government responses to them. It aims to provide the tools necessary to become educated consumers of news, absent the typical polemics, through the careful analysis of different aspects of terrorism: its historical, social, cultural, economic, political, and religious context; the determinants of terrorism at the individual and state level; the organizational and financial structure of terrorist groups; the available weapons and tactics of subnational terrorist organizations; mobilization and recruitment within terror networks; and methods of counterterrorism. We will also briefly discuss different methods employed in the academic study of terrorism.

The course comprises two parallel tracks. In the first track, which will occupy all but the last few class sessions, we will assess theories of terrorism and their empirical support, delving into numerous aspects of the tactic. We'll start by discussing the definition of terrorism and some of the ways in which it is studied. Then we will break it down into its component pieces. We'll discuss terrorism at the individual, group, and state levels, including motivations as diverse as psychology, political institutions, economics, and religion. Having done that, we will discuss the methods by which terrorist groups are fought. Class will include lectures, discussion, and active simulations designed to help you get a feel for the real decisions being made by both terrorist groups and their prospective targets. Weekly short class responses as well as two take-home midterm exams will provide assessment for this first track.

In the second track, you will apply what you are learning in the first track. You will have two options for how to do that, and you will choose which option you want during the first week of class. The first option invites you to delve deeper into a particular terrorist group of your choice, acting in the role of intelligence analyst. You will: research your chosen group over the course of the semester; put together a presentation on the group for the class, which you will present to the class during its last few weeks; and write a policy memo dissecting the group in order to assess the organization for the target state's head of intelligence and provide counterterror strategies for minimizing its impact. The goal of this option is to illustrate practical application to specific groups of the theories we discuss in class. Though anyone can choose this option, those with interests in groups operating outside the United States and those who enjoy working on their own may prefer it.

The second option involves partnering with the *Invent 2 Prevent (I2P)* program. Those choosing this option will form a team that will work together throughout the semester. The goal of the team will be to create, field, and analyze a product, tool, or initiative intended to help prevent terrorism and targeted violence within the United States. Early in the semester, those on the team will get access to resources and a project brief, as well as make contact with a client representative. Over the next month, the team will put together its proposal and check in with the client. If the proposal receives an okay, the team will receive a budget to implement the proposal. That implementation and an analysis of its impact must occur by the end of class, and documentation must be provided to the client by the date specified on the project brief. The client will judge all teams (multiple

universities will be taking part) and the top three finalists will travel to Washington DC to present to DHS leadership. In addition to the documentation required by the client, team members must also: presentation their proposal and its expected impact to the class; and write a memo detailing their individual contributions to the team and how they drew from what we covered in class in making those contributions. Team members will be assessed on their own contributions to the program as well as on their own part of the presentation and on their memo, not on the level of success of the team's proposal. Though anyone can choose this option, those with interests in groups operating within the United States and those who enjoy working in groups or who desire experience satisfying client requests in the security space may prefer it.

Course Requirements

1. **Class Responses (10%):** Given present circumstances, I think it is important to be flexible. Thus, while I hope we will engage in substantial in-class discussions, I will not be assessing in-class participation for a grade. Instead, at the end of each week I will ask you to provide a one to two paragraph summary of your thoughts relating to the class. That can include thoughts on readings, in-class activities including simulations, and/or your work that week on whichever option you will have chosen for the second track. Each week, you will receive a 1 if the summary is well-thought-out, a ½ if it is cursory, and a 0 if you do not submit a summary. I will drop the lowest week's grade in producing a final class response grade.

2. **Midterm exams (40%, 20% each):** There will be two take-home midterm exams. They will be a mix of short answer and essay. Dates these are assigned and due are listed on the class schedule. Though the exams are take-home, I include information on the Procedure for Testing Accommodations should anyone want to make use of it.

    This class will use the Testing Center to provide testing accommodations to undergraduates registered with and approved by the Student Disability Access Office (SDAO). The center operates by appointment only and appointments must be made at least 7 consecutive days in advance, but please schedule your appointments as far in advance as possible. You will not be able to make an appointment until you have submitted a Semester Request with the SDAO and it has been approved. So, if you have not done so already, promptly submit a Semester Request to the SDAO in order to make your appointment in time. For instructions on how to register with SDAO, visit their website at https://access.duke.edu/requests. For instructions on how to make an appointment at the Testing Center, visit their website at https://testingcenter.duke.edu.

3. **Presentation (25%):** Regardless of which option you choose for the second track of the class (see above), you will be presenting your work to the class at some point. Under both options, you will turn in your presentation after giving it and you will be assessed on the basis of that presentation. For the first option, guidelines for what must be included in the presentation can be found on Sakai under the Resources tab. For the second option, the team must fairly divvy up responsibilities for the presentation among team members so that each person has a roughly equal chance to speak. Ideally, that distribution would mirror individual efforts on the team.

4. **Policy Memo (25%):** Under both options, you must turn in a memo. The due date and time for the memos are listed on the class schedule, though they may be turned in earlier. There will be no extensions on the final policy memo. Under both options, *this memo must make use of the analyses discussed during the course*. For the first option, that memo should be between 8 and 10 pages (double-spaced), not including a title, references, or other supporting pages. This policy memo should follow guidelines that will be posted on Sakai, and it will be graded in terms of how well it satisfies the assignment. For the second option, this policy memo need be only 2-3 pages and will detail your individual contributions to the team and how you drew from what we covered in class in making those contributions.

Readings

There are no required books for the class. Readings can found either on the course website or via Duke Library's website. All class readings are listed in the class schedule that follows, and I expect you to do them before class. We will be discussing material that goes beyond the readings in class as well.

Class Schedule

M Aug 28:   Definition

Hoffman, Bruce. 2006. "Defining Terrorism" (course website), pp. 13-44.

Huff, Connor and Joshua D. Kertzer. 2018. "How the Public Defines Terrorism." *American Journal of Political Science* 62(1): 55-71.

W Aug 30:   Studying Terrorism I

Crenshaw, Martha. 2014. "Terrorism Research: The Record." *International Interactions* 40(4): 556-567.

Young, Joseph and Michael G. Findley. 2011. "Problems and Pitfalls of Terrorism Research." *International Studies Review*. 13(3): 411-431

W Sep 6:   Studying Terrorism II

Horgan, John. 2011. "Interviewing the Terrorists: Reflections on Fieldwork and Implications for Psychological Research." *Behavioral Sciences of Terrorism and Political Aggression* 4(3): 195-211.

Sandler, Todd and Daniel Arce. 2003. "Terrorism and Game Theory." *Simulation & Gaming* 34(3): 319-337.

M Sep 11:   Causes and Motivations I

Crenshaw, Martha. 2002, "The Logic of Terrorism: Terrorist Behavior as a Product of Strategic Choice" (course website) pp. 54-66.

Ross, Jeffrey Ian. 2007. "Chapter Three: Exploring the Causes" (course website) pp. 77-91.

W Sep 13:   Causes and Motivations II

Max Abrahms. 2008. "What Terrorists Really Want." *International Security* 32(4): 78-105.

Chenoweth, Erica, Nicholas Miller, and Elizabeth McClellan. 2009. "What Makes Terrorists Tick (A Response to Abrahms)" *International Security* 33(4): 180-202.

M Sep 18:   Psychology and Religion

Mark Juergensmeyer. (2001) *Terror in the Mind of God*. University of California Press. Chapters 1 and 11 (course website).

Jeff Victoroff. 2005. "The Mind of a Terrorist: A Review and Critique of Psychological Approaches." *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 49(1): 3-42.

W Sep 20: **Organizational Challenges Overview**

Jacob N. Shapiro, "The Challenges of Organizing Terror: A Theoretical Framework for Analysis," in Combating Terrorism Center: Harmony and Disharmony Report (course website), pp. 11-24.

Alan Cullison, "Inside Al-Qaeda's Hard Drive," at (http://www.theatlantic.com/doc/200409/cullison).

Harmony Documents: "Al-Qa'ida Goals and Structure" and "Employment Contract" (course website).

Twomey, "Staff Report" (course website).

M Sep 25: **Weapons and Tactics I: Strategic Overview**

Andrew H. Kydd and Barbara F. Walter. 2006. "The Strategies of Terrorism," *International Security* Vol. 31, No. 1, pp. 49-80.

Jessica A. Stanton. 2013. "Terrorism in the Context of Civil War." *Journal of Politics* 75(4): 1009-1022.

W Sep 27: **Weapons and Tactics II: Psychological Warfare and the Media**

Feick, Lukas, Karsten Donnay, and Katherine T. McCabe. 2021. "The Subconscious Effect of Subtle Media Bias on Perceptions of Terrorism." *American Politics Research*, 49 (3), 313–318.

Mitts, Tamar, Gregoire Phillips, and Barbara F. Walter. 2022. "Studying the Impact of ISIS Propaganda Campaigns." *Journal of Politics* 84 (2): 1220-1225.

M Oct 2: **Simulation I: Hijacking and Hostage Taking**

W Oct 4: **Weapons and Tactics III: The Suicide Bomber**

Midterm I handed out.

Mia M. Bloom. 2004. "Palestinian Suicide Bombing: Public Support, Market Share, and Outbidding," *Political Science Quarterly* 119 (1):61-88.

Crenshaw, Martha. 2007. "Explaining Suicide Terrorism: A Review Essay." *Security Studies* 16 (1): 133-162.

Robert Pape. 2003. "The Strategic Logic of Suicide Terrorism," *American Political Science Review*. 343-361.

M Oct 9: **Weapons and Tactics IV: WMDs**

CIA, "Terrorist CBRN: Materials and Effects." (course website).

Walter Laqueur, "Postmodern Terrorism," in Charles W. Kegley, Jr., *The New Global Terrorism: Characteristics, Causes, Controls,* 2nd edition, 2003, Prentice Hall, pp. 151-159. (course website)

John Parachini, "Putting WMD Terrorism into Perspective" (course website).

W Oct 11:   Democracy, Autocracy, and Terrorism

Midterm I due in to Sakai by 3 pm.

Aksoy, Deniz and David B. Carter. 2014. "Electoral Institutions and the Emergence of Terrorist Groups." *British Journal of Political Science* 44(1): 181-204.

Wilson, Matthew C. and James A. Piazza. 2013. "Autocracies and Terrorism: Conditioning Effects of Authoritarian Regime Type on Terrorist Attacks." *American Journal of Political Science* 57(4): 941-955.

M Oct 16:   Fall Break (No Class)

W Oct 18:   Public Support and Public Reaction I

Balcells, Laia and Torrats-Espinosa, Gerard. 2018. "Using a Natural Experiment to Estimate the Electoral Consequences of Terrorist Attacks." *Proceedings of the National Academy of Sciences* 115 (42): 10624-10629.

Shapiro, Jacob N. and C. Christine Fair. 2010. "Why Support Islamic Militancy? Evidence from Pakistan." *International Security* 34: 79-118.

M Oct 23:   Public Support and Public Reaction II

Kearns, Erin M. 2021. "When to Take Credit for Terrorism? A Cross-National Examination of Claims and Attributions'" *Terrorism and Political Violence* 33 (1): 164-193.

Wayne, Carly N. 2022. "Terrified or Enraged? Emotional Micro-Foundations of Public Responses to Terror." *Working Paper* (on course website).

W Oct 25:   Mobilization and Recruitment I: Who Joins?

Kavanagh, Jennifer. 2011. "Selection, Availability, and Opportunity: The Conditional Effect of Poverty of Terrorist Group Participation.'" *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 55 (2): 106-132.

Thomas, Jakana L. and Kanisha D. Bond. 2015. "Women's Participation in Violent Political Organizations.'" *American Political Science Review* 109 (3): 488-506.

M Oct 30:   Mobilization and Recruitment II: Networks

Parkinson, Sarah Elizabeth. 2013. "Organizing Rebellion: Rethinking High-Risk Mobilization and Social Networks in War." *American Political Science Review* 107(3): 418-432.

Reynolds, Sean C. and Mohammed M. Hafez. 2019. "Social Network Analysis of German Foreign Fighters in Syria and Iraq." *Terrorism and Political Violence*, 31 (4): 661-686.

W Nov 1:   Terrorist Financing and State Sponsorship

Ahmad, Aisha. 2014. "The Security Bazaar: Business Interests and Islamist Power in Civil War Somalia." *International Security* 39 (3): 89-117.

Benjamin W. Bahney, Radha K. Iyengar, Patrick B. Johnston, Danielle F. Jung, Jacob N. Shapiro, and Howard J. Shatz. 2013. "Insurgent Compensation: Evidence from Iraq." *American Economic Review: Papers & Proceedings* 103(3): 518-522.

FATF Recommendations at https://www.fatf-gafi.org/publications/fatfrecommendations/documents/fatf-recommendations.html.

Wilkinson, Paul. 1981. "Can a State Be Terrorist?" *International Affairs* (Summer 1981), 467-472 (course website).

M Nov 6:   Simulation II: Terror vs. Counterterror

W Nov 8:   Counter-Terror I: Strategic Behavior

Arce, Daniel and Todd Sandler. 2005. "Counterterrorism: A Game-Theoretic Analysis," *Journal of Conflict Resolution*, 183-200.

Dugan, Laura and Erica Chenoweth. 2012. "Moving Beyond Deterrence: The Effectiveness of Raising the Benefits of Abstaining from Terrorism in Israel." *American Sociological Review* 77(3): 597-624.

M Nov 13:   Counter-Terror II: Exploiting Organizational Vulnerabilities

Midterm II handed out.

Foster, Margaret J and David A Siegel. 2019. "Pink Slips from the Underground: Changes in Terror Leadership." *International Studies Quarterly* 63(2): 231-243.

Jacob N Shapiro and David A Siegel. 2007. "Underfunding in Terrorist Organizations," *International Studies Quarterly* 51, pp. 405-429.

W Nov 15:   Counter-Terror III: Breaking Networks

Jenna Jordan. 2014. "Attacking the Leader, Missing the Mark: Why Terrorist Groups Survive Decapitation Strikes." *International Security* 38(4): 7-38.

David A. Siegel. 2011. "When Does Repression Work?: Collective Action Under the Threat of Violence." *Journal of Politics* 73 (4): 993-1010.

M Nov 17:   NO CLASS (Happy Thanksgiving!)

Midterm II due in to Sakai by 3 pm.

W Nov 22:   NO CLASS (Happy Thanksgiving!)

M Nov 27:   **Presentations and Group Work**

W Nov 29:   **Presentations and Group Work**

M Dec 4:   **Presentations and Group Work**

W Dec 6:   **Presentations and Group Work**

M Dec 11:   **Policy Memos Due by 11:59 pm**

A Note on Writing

As your exams and memos are supposed to satisfy academic standards, it is important that all students be familiar with standard requirements for source citation and use. The university offers several resources to aid students with this, which may be found at these links: https://library.duke.edu/research/citing, https://library.duke.edu/research/plagiarism, and https://twp.duke.edu/twp-writing-studio/resources-students/sources.

It may be tempting to use the help of an AI such as ChatGPT on class assignments. However, in addition to detracting from your own learning, doing so comes at a substantial risk: such AIs are known to mischaracterize the academic literature, sometimes even fabricating articles, or the content of real articles. As all assignments are tied closely to course readings, your responses could end up substantially inaccurate.

The Academic Resource Center
The Academic Resource Center (ARC) offers free services to all students during their undergraduate careers at Duke. Services include Learning Consultations, Peer Tutoring, Learning Communities, ADHD/LD Coaching, Outreach Workshops, GRE/MCAT Prep, Study Connect, and more. Because learning is a process unique to every individual, we work with each student to discover and develop their own academic strategy for success at Duke. Contact the ARC to schedule an appointment. Undergraduates in any year, studying any discipline can benefit!

CONTACT INFO:
arc.duke.edu
theARC@duke.edu
919-684-5917
211 Academic Advising Center Building, East Campus – behind Marketplace.