

# **Politics of Counter-Terrorism**

## **Political Science 486S**

### **Spring 2017 Wednesday TU 219 5:50-8:50 PM**

Instructor: Jeremy Matthew Berkowitz

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Office Hours: Thursday 2:30-4:30 LNG 77 and by appointment

#### **Course Description**

In recent decades, terrorism, or political violence against civilians by non-state actors, has become one of the most significant security concerns both within the United States as well as abroad. Although there is broad consensus on the belief that terrorism should be reduced or prevented, there is wide variance in proposals on how counter-terrorism should be conducted. This course is intended to offer students an in-depth introduction to the strategic and political considerations of counter-terrorism. Students will examine common approaches to counter-terrorism efforts, the success rates and costs of different methods, and how counter-terrorism policies are viewed and supported in political systems. Since debates on counter-terrorism policies are not isolated to the United States, students will be given exposure to counter-terrorism politics in a variety of other countries, encouraging them to consider global perspectives on this sensitive topic.

**This Course Satisfies the G (Global Interdependencies), N (Social Sciences) and W (Writing) General Education Requirements, as well as the Upper-level Requirement for the International Relations Concentration.**

#### **Course Readings**

The required readings for this class include both books and articles. The various books required for the course are available at the campus bookstore as well as online. If available, a library copy of the books will be held at the Reserve Desk in Bartle Library (those books held on reserve are marked with **R** in the section on course assignments). All journal articles assigned are available through the Binghamton University library webpage.

Cronin, Audrey. 2009. How Terrorism Ends: Understanding the Decline and Demise of Terrorist Campaigns. Princeton University Press. ISBN: 978-0-691-15239-4

Hoffman, Bruce. 2006. Inside Terrorism: Revised and Expanded Edition. Columbia University Press. ISBN: 978-0-231-12699-1

Hoffman, Bruce and Fernando Reinares. 2014. The Evolution of the Global Terrorism Threat: From 9/11 to Osama Bin Laden's Death. Columbia University Press. ISBN: 978-0-231-16899-1

#### **Course Objectives and Components**

**1) Participation:** This class is a senior seminar, and students are expected to fully comprehend each week's readings and actively participate in class. Each week a group of academic readings will be

assigned. Students will be expected to have completed all of the readings prior to the beginning of class each week, and be able to engage with the material on a substantive level during in-class discussion. In addition, each student will be expected to act as discussion leader for one week of class, writing a series of discussion questions/topics and acting as moderator during that period of time. This level of participation is intended to provide students with experience in graduate-level discourse on academic topics, as well as to encourage discussion leaders to think critically about their selected topic and moderate between opposing viewpoints.

**30 Percent of overall grade**

**2) Response Papers:** You will be required to turn in a total of two (2) four to five page papers (11 or 12 point font, double-spaced) over the course of the class in response to the non-case study readings assigned during a given week. The response papers will be due before midnight on the Friday of the week you are responding to. I recommend that you focus on responding to one to two of the readings assigned during a week, although I expect your responses to show awareness of the various topics covered throughout the week and earlier in the class. The weeks each student will submit response papers will be decided in the first week of class, based on number of students and individual interests.

**You will be required to turn the Papers in via the relevant Turn-it-in assignment on Blackboard, as well as E-mail me a copy in either Microsoft Word or PDF format.** These papers *are not* exclusively summaries of the articles or descriptions of the arguments, but will instead provide analysis of the strengths and weaknesses of these arguments, and/or suggest a related extension to the topic (examples would include theoretical or empirical suggestions on how to improve these analyses, or ideas for further research). I will return comments on these papers via private e-mail Monday of the next week.

**20 Percent of overall grade**

**3) Case Study Analysis:** You will be required to turn in one (1) two to three page case study analysis (11 or 12 point font, double-spaced) over the course of the class and present your analysis to the class. The case study analysis will be due before midnight on the Friday of the week you are analyzing. Each week, one of the assigned readings will be an empirical case study of a terrorist attack or counter-terrorism effort, which the student will briefly summarize and connect to the theories discussed in other articles assigned that week. The week each student will analyze a case study will be decided in the first week of class, based on the number of students and individual interests, but will not overlap with discussion leadership for that student. **You will be required to turn the Case Study Analysis in via the relevant Turn-it-in assignment on Blackboard, as well as E-mail me a copy in either Microsoft Word or PDF format.** These analyses and presentations *are not* exclusively summaries of the case study, but will instead connect the case study to the other articles, and examine how this empirical example relates to the theoretical arguments presented in the other articles. I will return comments on these papers via private e-mail Monday of the next week.

**10 Percent of overall grade**

**4) Research Paper Proposal:** You will be required to turn in a brief (one page double spaced) Proposal for your Research Paper by the beginning of class on March 22<sup>nd</sup>. This Proposal should detail a question you wish to investigate relating to Politics of Counter-Terrorism as well as a brief explanation for how you plan to research and determine an answer to your question. This will be extremely useful to you in preparing for your Final Paper. **You will be required to turn the Final Paper Proposal in via the relevant Turn-it-in assignment on Blackboard, as well as E-mail me a copy in either Microsoft Word or PDF format.** I will return comments on these papers via private e-mail during the next week.

## 5 Percent of overall grade

**5) Research Paper:** You will be required to turn in a Research Paper before Midnight on the final day of Class (May 3<sup>rd</sup>). The paper is required to be between fifteen (15) and twenty (20) pages long, at least 11 point font, double spaced, and conform to university standards of grammar, citation, and other compositional requirements. **You will be required to turn the Final Paper in via the relevant Turn-it-in assignment on Blackboard, as well as E-mail me a copy in either Microsoft Word or PDF format.** The Research Paper must present a research question relating to the broad field of Politics of Counter-Terrorism, discuss relevant literature, and answer this question in some empirically viable way. Case studies, formal modeling, and statistical analysis are all valid forms of empirical testing, although the techniques behind formal modeling and statistical analysis will not be taught in this class, and I do not encourage students to attempt these if they have not had prior training and experience. Students are strongly encouraged to use Binghamton University's digital book and journal collections, as well as other academically valid sources obtained outside of University facilities, in collecting literature and answering their question. A vital step to completing this research project is writing a serious and well-thought out Research Paper Proposal. Discussing your paper with me in person during office hours is strongly encouraged.

## 35 Percent of overall grade

**Please Note:** Due to the often-times sensitive and emotional content matter of a class on conflict, I strongly encourage students to be aware of and sensitive towards each other's personal experiences and opinions on the subject. If at any time you feel uncomfortable with the direct of the discussion, either inform the class or send me a private message. Any statements or actions that occur in class that violate the Student Conduct Code will result in the appropriate response from me and the University.

## Grading

Letter Grades will be determined as follows:

A = 93 and above	B = 83-86	C = 73-76	F = 59.9 and below
A- = 90-92.9	B- = 80-82.9	C- = 70-72.9	
B+ = 87-89.9	C+ = 77 – 79.9	D = 60-69.9	

## Academic Honesty

All students are expected to adhere to the highest standards of academic honesty and integrity and will be held to the code of conduct established in the Binghamton University Rules of Conduct and Academic Honesty Policy. Ignorance of the relevant rules pertaining to academic honesty is not a justifiable excuse. If you have not, please review these rules through [Binghamton.edu](http://Binghamton.edu) if you have any questions, and complete the library's tutorial on Academic Honesty that is available through the Library tab on your Blackboard home page.

## Disability Related Equal Access Accommodation Statement

Students wishing to request academic accommodations to insure their equitable access and participation in this course should notify the instructor by the second week of class. Authorizations from Services for Students with Disabilities (SSD) are generally required. We encourage you to contact SSD at (607) 777-2686 to schedule an appointment with the Director or Learning Disabilities Specialist. Their website ([www.binghamton.edu/ssd](http://www.binghamton.edu/ssd)) includes information regarding their Disability Documentation Guidelines. The office is located in UU – 119.

# Assignments

## Session 1: Introduction (January 18<sup>th</sup>)

Please read through the syllabus carefully and come to class with any questions you might have

## Session 2: Theories of Terrorism Part 1 (January 25<sup>th</sup>)

Readings: Abrahms, Max. 2008. "What Terrorists Really Want: Terrorist Motives and Counterterrorism Strategies." *International Security*, Vol. 32: 78-105.

Hoffman. Inside Terrorism Chapters 1-2 .

Kydd, Andrew and Barbara Walter. 2006. "The Strategies of Terrorism." *International Security*, Vol. 31 (1): 49-80.

Case Study: The Evolution of the Global Terrorist Threat Introduction and Chapter 1

## Session 3: Theories of Terrorism Part 2 (February 1<sup>st</sup>)

Readings: Hoffman. Inside Terrorism Chapters 3-4.

LaFree, Gary and Laura Dugan. 2007. "Introducing the Global Terrorism Database." *Terrorism and Political Violence*, Vol. 19.

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

Case Study: The Evolution of the Global Terrorist Threat Chapter 7

## Session 4: Strategies of Counter-Terrorism (February 8<sup>th</sup>)

Readings: Cronin. How Terrorism Ends Introduction, Chapters 1-6

Case Study: Byman, Daniel. 2007. "US Counter-Terrorism Options: A Taxonomy." *Survival*, Vol. 39 (3): 121-150.

## Session 5: The Effectiveness of Counter-Terrorism (February 15<sup>th</sup>)

Readings:

Bapat, Navin. 2011. "Transnational terrorism, US Military aid, and the incentive to misrepresent." *Journal of Peace Research*, Vol. 48 (3): 303-318.

LaFree, Gary, Laura Dugan, and Raven Korte. 2009. "The Impact of British Counterterrorist Strategies on Political Violence in Northern Ireland: Comparing Deterrence and Backlash Models." *Criminology*, Vol. 47, pp. 501-530.

Miller, Gregory D. 2007. "Confronting Terrorisms: Group Motivation and Successful State Policies," *Terrorism and Political Violence*, 19(3): 331-350

Case Study: How Terrorism Ends, Chapter 7

## Session 6: International Studies Association Annual Conference/No Class (February 22<sup>nd</sup>)

Movie Assignment:

Watch One of the Below Options:

PBS Option: NOVA. 2016. "15 Years of Terror"

<http://www.pbs.org/video/2365836519/>

Netflix Option: Farouky and McEvoy. 2015. "Tell Spring Not to Come This Year."

<https://www.netflix.com/watch/80064296?trackId=13465851&tctx=9%2C1%2C4b6997c8-c331-4a3b-8214-24e1d01173c6-5114559>

## Session 7: Politics of Counter-Terrorism (March 1<sup>st</sup>)

Readings: Byman, Daniel. 2006. "Remaking Alliances for the War on Terrorism." *The Journal of Strategic Studies*, Vol. 29 (5): 767-811.

Chenoweth, Erica. 2010. "Democratic Competition and Terrorist Activity," *Journal of Politics*, Vol. 72 (1): pp. 16-30.

Seung-Whan Choi. 2010. "Fighting Terrorism through the Rule of Law?" *Journal of Conflict Resolution*, Vol. 54, no. 6 (December): pp. 940-966.

Case Study: Ignacio Lago and José Ramón Montero. 2006. "The 2004 Election in Spain: Terrorism, Accountability, and Voting," *Taiwan Journal of Democracy*, Vol. 2: 13-36.

### **Session 8: Counter-Insurgency as Counter-Terrorism (March 8<sup>th</sup>)**

Readings: Findley, Michael, and Joseph Young. 2011. "Terrorism and Civil War: A Spatial and Temporal Approach to a Conceptual Problem." *Perspectives on Politics* 10(2): 285–305.

Flanigan, Shawn. 2008. "Nonprofit Service Provision by Insurgent Organizations: The Cases of Hizaballah and the Tamil Tigers." *Studies in Conflict and Terrorism*, Vol. 31: 499-519.

Lyall, Jason and Isaiah Wilson. 2009. "Rage Against the Machines: Explaining Outcomes in Counterinsurgency Wars." *International Organization*, Vol. 63 (1): 67-106.

Case Study: The Evolution of the Global Terrorist Threat Chapter 18

### **Session 9: State Sponsorship of Terrorism (March 15<sup>th</sup>)**

Readings: Berkowitz, Jeremy. 2017. "Delegating Terror: Principal-Agent Based Decision-Making in State Sponsorship of Terrorism." Forthcoming.

Byman, Daniel. 2005. "Passive Sponsors of Terrorism." *Survival: Global Politics and Strategy*, Vol. 47 (4): 117-144.

Byman, Daniel and Sarah Kreps. 2010. "Agents of Destruction? Applying Principal-Agent Analysis to State-Sponsored Terrorism." *International Studies Perspectives* Vol. 11: 1-18.

Case Study: The Evolution of the Global Terrorist Threat Chapter 24

### **Research Paper Proposal Due**

### **Session 10: Signaling in Terrorism and Counter-Terrorism (March 22<sup>nd</sup>)**

Readings: Bloom, Mia. 2004. "Outbidding, Market Share, and Palestinian Suicide Bombing," *Political Science Quarterly*, Vol. 119, No. 1, pp. 61-88.

Hoffman. Inside Terrorism Chapters 6-7.

Heghammer, Thomas. 2013. "The Recruiter's Dilemma: Signaling and Terrorist Recruitment Tactics." *Journal of Peace Research* 50(1): 316.

Case Study: The Evolution of the Global Terrorist Threat Chapter 17

### **Session 11: Social Network Analysis and Counter-Terrorism (March 29<sup>th</sup>)**

Readings: Desmaris, Bruce and Skyler Cranmer. 2011. "Forecasting the Locational Dynamics of Transnational Terrorism: A Network Analytic Approach." *European Intelligence and Security Informatics Conference*.

Price, Bryan C. 2012. "Targeting Top Terrorists: How Leadership Decapitation Contributes to Counterterrorism," *International Security*, 36(4): pp. 946.

Ressler, Steve. 2006. *Social Network Analysis as an Approach to Combating Terrorism: Past, Present, and Future Research*. Homeland Security Affairs.

Case Study: The Evolution of the Global Terrorist Threat Chapter 5

### **Session 12: The Human Impacts of Counter-Terrorism (April 5<sup>th</sup>)**

Readings: David, Darren and Brian Silver. 2004. "Civil Liberties vs. Security: Public Opinion in the Context of the Terrorist Attacks on America." *American Journal of Political Science*, Vol. 48 (1): 28-46.

Piazza, James and James Walsh. 2009. "Transnational Terror and Human Rights." *International Studies Quarterly*, Vol. 53 (1): 125-148.

Walsh, James and James Piazza, 2010. "Why Respecting Physical Integrity Rights Reduces Terrorism," *Comparative Political Studies*, 43(5):551-577

Case Study: The Evolution of the Global Terrorist Threat Chapter 25

### **April 12<sup>th</sup> – Spring Break, No Classes**

#### **Session 13: International Norms and Counter-Terrorism (April 19<sup>th</sup>)**

Readings: Monar, Jorg. 2007. "Common Threat and Common Response? The European Union's Counter-Terrorism Strategy and its Problems." *Government and Opposition* Vol. 42 (3): 292-313.

Sandler, Todd. 2003. "Collective Action and Transnational Terrorism," *World Economy*, Vol. 26, No. 6, pp. 779-802.

Zussman, Asaf and Noam Zussman. 2006. "Assassinations: Evaluating the Effectiveness of an Israeli Counterterrorism Policy Using Stock Market Data." *Journal of Economic Perspectives*, Vol. 20: 193-206.

Case Study: The Evolution of the Global Terrorist Threat Chapter 9

#### **Session 14: The Future of Counter-Terrorism (April 26<sup>th</sup>)**

Readings: Inside Terrorism Chapter 9

Striegler, Jason-Leigh. 2013. "Early Detection of the Lone Wolf: Advancement of Counter-terrorism Investigations with an Absence or Abundance of Information and Intelligence." *Journal of Policing, Intelligence, and Counter Terrorism*, Vol. 8 (1): 35-53.

The Evolution of the Global Terrorist Threat Conclusion

Case Study: Cronin, Audrey. 2015. "ISIS is Not a Terrorist Group: Why Counterterrorism Won't Stop the Latest Jihadist Threat." *Foreign Affairs*, March.

### **Session 15: May 3<sup>rd</sup> – Last Day of Class**

**Final Paper Due, Midnight**