

# POLI/PWAD 444 - Seminar on Terrorism Spring 2016

**Instructor:** Navin Bapat, 304 Hamilton Hall, 919.962.1438, email: bapat@unc.edu.

**Time and Location:** T R 11-12.15.

**Office Hours:** T R 2.30-4.30 or by appt.

**Introduction:** The attack on 9/11 in the U.S. represents the defining terrorist attack to Americans, but in most parts of the world, terrorism has long been part of politics. The structure of the course is as follows. We will begin by examining what motivates individuals to consider violence against each other. We will then discuss how individuals organize to protect their political interests and eventually move to violent tactics, such as terrorism. We will discuss the types of tactics used by violent groups as well as the response of the state. We will then move to the study of collapsed states, where problems of terrorism have grown to very large proportions. Finally, we will discuss the international implications of political violence as well as possibilities for conflict resolution.

Though the theories of violence introduced in this course are very general and abstract, the purpose of the course is to use these theories to explain cases of terrorism and the problems terrorism causes in the real world. For us to do so, you must be familiar with current crises affecting the world and the key actors in each of these crises. **I therefore expect you to be keeping up with current events. This is required as part of the course.** Quick news sources can be found on the web, such as the New York Times, NPR, or Al Jazeera English. Finally, I would like to stress that this is a challenging course and the material presented will be difficult. My goal is for us to explore the theoretical explanations of violence and apply these to real world cases. Many of the theoretical arguments utilize formal mathematical modeling and/or advanced statistics. However, I do not expect any of you to have any background in either formal modeling or statistics. My main concern is not in the technical details, but that you develop an intuitive understanding of the central arguments and can explain them verbally. I therefore expect you to struggle with the material, but in the end, you should be able to use the arguments to understand real world cases and concepts.

**Grading:** Your final grade in the course will be determined as follows:

Position Papers	2 @ 35% each
First Exam	15%
Second Exam	15%

- 1. Position Paper #1:** You will be asked to write two position papers based on what has been covered in class. These papers should be about 6-8 pages in length, double-spaced. These essays are designed to draw from what we know from our analyses of terrorism in order to inform policy. For this particular paper, you will pick a terrorist group you are interested in (either a historical group or an active one). You will then briefly introduce the group, describe its background, and identify the dispute it has with the government it is fighting. You should then identify how the group overcomes the collective action problem, what type of violence it is using and why, and how effective it has been in its conflict with the government. You should then conclude by discussing whether or not you believe that a negotiated settlement can be reached with this group. You will need to obtain outside sources, such as books or journal articles, to adequately discuss the dynamics of your group. **This paper will be due February 23.** A hard copy of the paper should be handed to me in class.
- 2. Position Paper #2:** The format of this position paper will be identical to the first one - 6-8 pages in length, double spaced. However, this paper should focus on analyzing a conflict versus a terrorist organization. However, in this position paper, you will be asked to choose a current or historical civil war for analysis. For example, you may focus your analysis on an older conflict such as the Mexican Revolution, a more contemporary one such as the Balkans, or an ongoing one such as Afghanistan or Iraq. First, briefly introduce the conflict's background and history, along with the key actors.

Second, identify the central commitment problem that needs to be resolved for the conflict to end. Third, identify whether or not this conflict has internationalized, and how international forces are either helping to stop the conflict or prolonging it. Be sure to use course concepts to discuss why. Finally, discuss the possibilities for a peaceful resolution to the conflict. Is the conflict likely to reach a negotiated settlement? Or is the conflict likely to continue for the foreseeable future? If you are researching a historical conflict, discuss why the conflict ended as it did. **Your second paper will be due April 19.** As with the first paper, a hard copy should be handed to me in class. Failure to turn in either paper on time will result in a one letter grade penalty for each day that it is late, including weekends and holidays. The only exception to this is in the case of documented emergencies, in which case, I will need to see written documentation.

3. **First and Second Exams:** You will be given two exams during the semester. There will be 22 multiple choice questions on the exam, of which you will pick 20 to answer (5 pts. each). **The first exam will be on February 25, the second exam will be on the day of the final exam, which is April 29 at 12.00 pm.**

**Required Reading:** The remaining readings are articles drawn from scholarly journals and books. I have posted the readings on the course's Sakai website. The powerpoint presentation will also be posted here for the day's lecture. I encourage you to check the website often for updates.

## Course Schedule and Reading List

**January 12. Introduction.**

**January 14. Studying Terrorism - Methodology and Patterns.** John Horgan. 2008. From Profiles to *Pathways* and Roots to *Routes*: Perspectives from Psychology on Radicalization into Terrorism. *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science* 618(1): 80-94; David Lake. 2002. Rational Extremism: Understanding Terrorism in the Twenty First Century. *International Organization* 56(1): 15-29.

**January 19. Motivations for Terrorism.** James Fearon & David Laitin. 2000. Violence and the Social Construction of Ethnic Identity. *International Organization* 54(4): 845-877.

**January 21. Problems in Forming Groups.** Scott Atran. 2003. The Genesis of Suicide Terrorism. *Science* 299(5612): 1534-1539; Mancur Olson. 1965. *The Logic of Collective Action*. Read article at: [http://economics.about.com/cs/macroeconomics/a/logic\\_of\\_action.htm](http://economics.about.com/cs/macroeconomics/a/logic_of_action.htm).

**January 26. The Internal Dynamics of Terrorist Organizations.** Combatting Terrorism Center. *Harmony and Disharmony: Exploiting al Qaeda's Organizational Vulnerabilities*. pp. 1-55.

**January 28. The State's Response.** Laura Dugan and Erica Chenoweth. 2012. Moving Beyond Deterrence: The Effectiveness of Raising the Expected Utility of Abstaining from Terrorism in Israel. *American Sociological Review* 77(4): 597-624.

**February 2. Terrorism and the Logic of Violence.** Stathis N. Kalyvas. 2006. *The Logic of Violence in Civil War*.

**February 4. Film.** *Syria's Second Front*.

**February 9. Escalation.** Robert Powell. 2006. War as a Commitment Problem. *International Organization* 60(1); Navin Bapat. 2005. Insurgency and the Opening of Peace Processes. *Journal of Peace Research* 42(6): 699-717.

**February 11: Negotiation.** Ethan Bueno de Mesquita. 2005. Conciliation, Counter-terrorism, and Patterns of Terrorist Violence. *International Organization* 59: 145-176.

**February 16. Negotiation II. The Problem of Splinters.** Rebecca Best and Navin Bapat. 2013. Insurgency and the Internal Commitment Problem. *Working Paper*.

**February 18. Film.** *Hunting Boko Haram.*

**February 23. Review. Paper #1 Due!**

**February 25. First Exam.**

**March 1. Civil Wars.** James Fearon & David Laitin. 2003. Ethnicity, Insurgency, and Civil War. *American Political Science Review* 97(1): 75-90.

**March 3. Internationalization.** Navin Bapat. 2007. The Internationalization of Terrorist Campaigns. *Conflict Management and Peace Science* 24(4): 265-280.

**March 8. State Sponsorship of Terrorism.** David Carter. A Blessing or a Curse? State Support for Terrorist Groups. *International Organization* 66(1): 129-151.

**March 10. Fighting Transnational Terrorism.** Navin Bapat. 2010. Transnational Terrorism, U.S. Military Aid, and the Incentive to Misrepresent. *Journal of Peace Research* 48(3): 303-318.

**March 22. Terrorism and International Conflict I.** Navin Bapat and Sean Ziegler. 2016. Transnational Terrorism, Dynamic Commitment Problems, and Military Conflict. *American Journal of Political Science*, forthcoming.

**March 24. Terrorism and International Conflict II.** Navin Bapat, Luis de la Calle, Kaisa Hinkkainen, & Elena McClean. 2016. Economic Sanctions, Transnational Terrorism, and the Incentive to Misrepresent. *Journal of Politics*, forthcoming.

**March 29. Post Conflict Conditions.** Hazem Ghobarah, Paul Huth, & Bruce Russett. 2004. The Post-War Public Health Effects of Civil Conflict. *Social Science and Medicine* 59(4): 869.

**March 31. Film.** *Losing Iraq.*

**April 5. Peacemaking and the Problem of Re-occurrence.** V. Paige Fortna. 2004. Does Peacekeeping Keep Peace? International Intervention and the Duration of Peace After Civil War. *International Studies Quarterly* 48: 269-292.

**April 7. Film.** *The Peacekeepers.*

**April 12. Rebuilding through Investment.** Noam Argov and Navin Bapat. 2014. Terrorism and the Consolidation of African States. *Working Paper.*

**April 14. U.S. Foreign Policy and Transnational Terrorism.** No Reading Assignment.

**April 19. The Future of the War on Terror.** No Reading Assignment. **Paper #2 Due.**

**April 21. Complexities in Terrorism Research.** No Reading Assignment.

**April 26. Review.** *Second Exam on April 29 @ 12 pm.*

**Note on Disabilities.** If you anticipate needing any type of accommodation in this course or have questions about physical access, please inform me as soon as possible. I am happy to do whatever I can to ensure that you have a productive and rewarding class. It is the student's responsibility to inform the instructor early in the term. Do not wait until just before an exam or another due date to decide you want to inform the instructor of a learning disability; any accommodations for disabilities must be arranged well in advance.

**CAROLINA**   
**F1RSTS**