

# **Colloquium on Political Violence and Terrorism**

Political Science BC 3055  
Spring 2013  
Tuesdays 10:10am-12:00 noon

## **Prof. Kimberly Marten**

Harriman Institute office (2012/13): IAB 1214  
Office Hours: Tuesdays 3-5pm, and by appointment  
Tel: 212-854-6213  
Email: km2225@columbia.edu

### **COURSE DESCRIPTION AND OBJECTIVES**

What causes acts of non-state political violence and terrorism? Is all political violence caused by the same factors, or is terrorism different? Can governments take effective action to prevent or counter the threat of terrorism, or are we all doomed to live in insecurity?

This course examines these problems through the lenses of both social science theories and in-depth historical case studies. The course's primary goals are to use the problems of non-state political violence and terrorism to develop students' ability to analyze and critique competing cause-and-effect arguments, and to pose their own causal arguments based on independent research of the existing secondary-source literature. The course is designed to prepare Barnard political science majors for the capstone research experience.

### **STUDENT LEARNING OUTCOMES**

Students who complete this course successfully will be able to:

- Demonstrate knowledge of social science and policy debates about political violence, terrorism, and counterterrorism.
- Demonstrate factual knowledge of selected historical and current cases where these debates are reflected in real-world events.
- Read critically to assess the explanatory value of competing perspectives and theories.
- Apply contending theories from the social science literature to analyze, compare, and evaluate selected historical and current events, in class discussions and written assignments.
- Synthesize facts and arguments across cases in order to reason critically and argue creatively in class discussions and written assignments.
- Independently design, research, and write a substantial paper of 25-30 pages that explores and takes a stance on a significant debate in the social science literature on non-state political violence, terrorism, or counterterrorism policy.

## **COURSE REQUIREMENTS**

Students are **expected to participate regularly in class discussions**, and to demonstrate through this participation that they have completed the assigned readings before class is held.

**By 9am each Monday morning before our Tuesday class**, each student will **post a very brief response** to the assigned readings (if there are multiple readings, choose the one that seems most important or interesting to you, *or* discuss a debate between two authors—do *not* try to summarize everything) on the Columbia Courseworks discussion page. The response should first provide a very concise, one- or two-sentence summary of the major argument that the author wished to convey. It should then raise one or more critical points about that argument, and conclude with a question that the student would like to have discussed in class the next day. Students are expected to have looked at each other's postings before class, and to come prepared to talk about the issues that are raised in them. **The regularity and quality (NOT length!) of email postings will be included in the student's course participation grade.**

**Twice** during the semester, each student will also write a **5-page essay on the assigned weekly reading**, due at the start of class on the assigned day. At the start of the semester, each student will have the chance to choose two assigned topics off the syllabus.

Students will also write a **major research paper of 25-30 pages** on a topic chosen in consultation with Prof. Marten. The final paper will be due at 5pm on the last day of Barnard classes, **Monday, May 6**. Students will turn in a carefully written, well thought-out **topic statement** (1-2 pages) that involves answering a causal question for this longer paper by 5pm on Friday March 1, and an **annotated draft bibliography** (of at least 12 high-quality secondary sources) for this paper by 5pm on Friday, March 29. On **April 16**, class will meet in Prof. Marten's Harriman Institute office instead of our normal classroom. Students will meet in groups of four for a half-hour period. Each student will bring a 3-page outline to go over with Prof. Marten individually, with groups assigned by topic similarity, in hopes that students can learn from each other's progress on the paper.

### **Evaluation**

Participation (including email postings and in-class discussion) that reflects independent engagement with the assigned readings: 20%

Two short review papers: 10% each (20% total)

Major research paper: (60% total)

Topic statement: 10% (due March 1)

Annotated bibliography: 10% (due March 29)

Detailed, 3-page outline: graded +, √, -, or 0, folded into the final paper grade (due April 16)

Final paper: 40% (due May 6)

Late turn-ins will be heavily penalized, except in the case of illness or family emergency. Students who must miss a class session should consult with Prof. Marten about writing a one-page response to the assigned readings as a substitute for participation that day.

Please note: all written assignments are to be turned in electronically via Columbia Courseworks. All uploaded files must be in either Word or PDF format.

### **BARNARD HONOR CODE**

All assignments in this class are to be completed in accordance with the Barnard Honor Code. Students affirm that all work turned in is their own, and that they have fully and accurately cited every written source, including web-based sources and unpublished sources, used in their writing. Students are encouraged to consult with each other to get feedback as they are writing their major research papers, but no collaboration is allowed when writing the short papers on the assigned readings.

### **REQUIRED READINGS**

Each of the books has been ordered at Book Culture, 536 West 112th Street. Each has also been put on reserve at the Barnard College Library. In addition to the required readings from books, there are a large number of online sources that are required reading.

**Berman**, Eli. *Radical, Religious, and Violent: The New Economics of Terrorism* (Cambridge: MIT Press, 2009).

**Juergensmeyer**, Mark. *Terror in the Mind of God: The Global Rise of Religious Violence*, 3<sup>rd</sup> ed. (Berkeley: Univ. of California Press, 2003).

**Krueger**, Alan B. *What Makes a Terrorist: Economics and the Roots of Terrorism*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2007.

**Pape**, Robert A. *Dying to Win: The Strategic Logic of Suicide Terrorism* (New York: Random House, 2005).

## COURSE SCHEDULE

### **January 22. Introduction: defining terms and thinking about causes.**

(Students will be contacted by Prof. Marten before the start of the semester, and asked to read these items before our first class.)

#### **Articles, available from Columbia Library Web:**

Charles Tilly, "Terror, Terrorism, Terrorists," *Sociological Theory* 22, no. 1 (Mar. 2004): 5-13.

Leonard Weinberg, Ami Pedahzur, and Sivan Hirsch-Hoefler, "The Challenges of Conceptualizing Terrorism," *Terrorism and Political Violence* 16, no. 4 (2004): 777-94.

## **PART I: SETTING THE THEORETICAL BASELINE**

### **January 29: What social scientists think they know about the causes of terrorism.**

**Krueger:** entire. Krueger is a professor at Princeton and is currently Obama's Chairman of the U.S. Council of Economic Advisors. He has completed the most thorough large-N statistical study of the relationship between economics, education, and terrorist acts, and his work is supported by the findings of many other scholars.

Suggested additional reading:

#### **Available through Columbia Library Web:**

Alexander Lee, "Who Becomes a Terrorist? Poverty, Education, and the Origins of Political Violence," *World Politics* 63, no. 2 (April 2011): 203-45. This article focuses on terrorism in the province of Bengal in the Indian empire in the early 20<sup>th</sup> century—indicating that Krueger's relationships hold true before our current era.

### **February 5. Overcoming the collective action problem, part 1: community support and communal pressure in violent rebellion.**

#### **Article, available from Columbia Library Web:**

James S. Coleman, "Free Riders and Zealots: The Role of Social Networks," *Sociological Theory* 6, no. 1 (Spring 1988): 52-57.

#### **Book chapter, available through Columbia online reserves:**

Roger D. Petersen, "Mechanisms and Process," chapter 2 of *Resistance and Rebellion: Lessons from Eastern Europe* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2001), pp. 32-79.

**Dissertation**, available from Columbia Library Web through Proquest Dissertations and Theses database:

Alexandra Scacco, *Who Riots? Explaining Individual Participation in Ethnic Violence*, Columbia University Political Science Ph.D. (2010), chapters 1, 4, and 6 (pp. 1-24, 116-171, 215-222).

### **February 12. Overcoming the collective action problem, part 2: grievance vs. incentives in violent rebellion.**

**Please note:** these articles are HARD. They are also key for understanding an important set of current analytic approaches to the problem of political violence. Please

ignore sections that you don't understand, but please don't give up. Try to understand the key arguments that each article makes.

**Articles, available from Columbia Library Web:**

Paul Collier and Anke Hoeffler, "Greed and Grievance in Civil War," *Oxford Economics Papers* 56, no. 4 (2004): 563-95.

Stathis N. Kalyvas and Matthew Adam Kocher, "How 'Free' Is Free Riding in Civil Wars? Violence, Insurgency, and the Collective Action Problem," *World Politics* 59 (January 2007): 177-216.

Macartan Humphreys and Jeremy M. Weinstein, "Who Fights? The Determinants of Participation in Civil War," *American Journal of Political Science* 52, no. 2 (April 2008): 436-55.

**PART II: CAUSES OF TERRORISM**

**February 19: The political goals of leaders of terrorist acts: external and internal audiences.**

**Articles, available from the Columbia Library Web:**

Andrew H. Kydd and Barbara F. Walter, "The Strategies of Terrorism," *International Security* 31, no. 1 (Summer 2006): 49-80.

Wendy Pearlman, "Spoiling Inside and Out: International Political Contestation and the Middle East Peace Process," *International Security* 33, no. 2 (Winter 2008/9): 79-109.

**February 26: Terrorism and religion part 1: prophesy and theater.**

**Juergensmeyer:** chapters 1-7, 10. First read chapter one (pp. 3-15) and his sections on terrorism as theater (ch. 7, pp. 121-47), and on gender and terrorism (ch. 10, pp. 190-218). Then read chapters 2-6 (pp. 19-118), looking for evidence of his theoretical themes in his case studies.

**March 5: Terrorism and religion part 2: sacrifice, service and defection.**

**Berman:** chapters 1-7 (pp. 1-208).

**March 12: The special case of suicide bombers.**

**Pape:** entire. Prof. Marten will start class today by summarizing a range of scholarly critiques that have been leveled against Pape, and we will spend the rest of the session debating Pape's methods and results.

**March 19: Spring break, no class meeting.**

**March 26. Women and acts of terrorism: does gender matter?**

**Articles, available from Columbia library web:**

Lindsey A. O'Rourke, "What's Special about Female Suicide Terrorism?" *Security Studies* 18, no. 4 (2009): 681-718.

**Websource:**

Anna Speckhard and Khapta Akhmedova, "Black Widows: The Chechen Female Suicide Terrorists," and Arjuna Gunawardena, "Female Black Tigers: A Different Breed

of Cat? [Sri Lanka]" both in *Female Suicide Bombers: Dying for Equality?* ed. Yoram Schweitzer, Memorandum 84 of the Jaffee Center for Strategic Studies, Tel Aviv University, August 2006, pp. 63-90, available at [www.inss.org.il/upload/\(FILE\)1188302013.pdf](http://www.inss.org.il/upload/(FILE)1188302013.pdf)

### **PART III: COUNTERTERRORIST METHODS**

#### **April 2. Leadership decapitation.**

##### **Articles, available from Columbia library web:**

Bryan C. Price, "Targeting Top Terrorists: How Leadership Decapitation Contributes to Counterterrorism," *and*

Patrick B. Johnston, "Does Decapitation Work? Assessing the Effectiveness of Leadership Targeting in Counterinsurgency Campaigns," *both in International Security* 36, no. 4 (Spring 2012): 9-79.

Peter Bergen and Katherine Tiedemann, "Washington's Phantom War: The Effects of the U.S. Drone Program in Pakistan," *Foreign Affairs* 90, no. 4 (July/Aug. 2011): 12-18.

##### **Websites:**

Jenna Jordan, review of Price and Johnston articles, H-Diplo/ISSF partnership, 2012 no. 6 (October 24, 2012), <http://www.h-net.org/~diplo/ISSF/PDF/ISSF-AR15.pdf>

#### **April 9. Interrogation and detention.**

##### **Articles, available from the Columbia Library Web:**

Emilie M. Hafner-Burton and Jacob N. Shapiro, "Tortured Relations: Human Rights Abuses and Counterterrorism Cooperation," *PS Political Science and Politics* 43, no. 3 (July 2010): 415-19.

Bruce Hoffman, "A Nasty Business," *Atlantic Monthly* 289, no. 1 (Jan. 2002): 49-52.

Ali Soufan, "My Tortured Decision," *New York Times*, April 23, 2009.

Scott Shane, "Two U.S. Architects of Harsh Tactics in 9/11's Wake," *New York Times*, Aug. 12, 2009.

Mark Bowden, "The Dark Art of Interrogation," *The Atlantic Monthly* 292, no. 3 (Oct. 2003): 51-76.

Glenn Frankel, "Prison Tactics a Longtime Dilemma for Israel," *Washington Post*, June 16, 2004.

**April 16. Individual meetings with Prof. Marten in her Harriman Institute office, IAB 1214, to discuss paper progress. 3-page paper outline due during office discussion today; please bring in two copies, one for yourself and one for Prof. Marten.**

#### **April 23. "Turning" Collaborators**

##### **Articles, available from the Columbia Library Web:**

Hillel Cohen and Ron Dudai, "Human Rights Dilemmas in Using Informers to Combat Terrorism: The Israeli-Palestinian Case," *Terrorism and Political Violence* 17, no. 1-2 (2005): 229-43.

**Book chapter, on e-reserves:**

Kimberly Marten, "Chechnya: The Sovereignty of Ramzan Kadyrov," chapter 5 from *Warlords: Strong-Arm Brokers in Weak States* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2012).

**April 30. The End of Al Qaeda?**

**Articles, available from Columbia Library Web:**

Audrey Kurth Cronin, "How Al Qaida Ends: The Decline and Demise of Terrorist Groups," *International Security* 31, no. 1 (2006): 7-48.

Leah Farrall, "How Al Qaeda Works: What the Organization's Subsidiaries Say about Its Strength," *Foreign Affairs* 90, no. 2 (March/April 2011): 128-38.