

## **Theory and Politics of Terrorism**

**CRIM 475-004 – Spring 2019**

Robinson B208, Friday, 01:30 PM to 04:10 PM

**Instructor:** Suleyman Ozeren, Ph.D.

**Email** : [sozeren@gmu.edu](mailto:sozeren@gmu.edu) **Twitter** : [@docsozeren](https://twitter.com/docsozeren)

### **Office Hours and Meetings**

I can meet with the students at Robinson Hall before and after the class. Please email me if you have any questions or issues you need to discuss. I respond to emails normally in 24 hours. Also, I can meet with students at Enterprise Hall 3rd Floor CLS Office by appointment.

### **Registration and Enrollment:**

Students are responsible for verifying their registration and enrollment in the classes. Please go to <https://registrar.gmu.edu/calendars/spring-2019/> for important dates regarding registration and enrollment. The last day to add this class is **Jan 29, 2019**. The last day to drop this class is **February 12, 2019**.

### **COURSE DESCRIPTION**

This course “explores origins of terrorism, tracing development from early states to a modern mode of conflict and presents national, regional, and global perspectives.” Throughout the semester we will examine the concept, history, and causes of terrorism; typologies; nexus between criminal enterprises and terrorism; the media, gender roles, technology and terrorism; and counterterrorism strategies. We will analyze case studies from different countries to build a comprehensive understanding of the various social, political, psychological, and economic drivers of terrorism.

The conflicts in different parts of the world, such as Syria, Iraq, Somalia, and Nigeria paved the way for the rise of jihadist groups and networks, the influx of foreign fighters, and non-traditional alliances between state and non-state actors. We will explore the nature of terrorist groups, including al Qaeda and Islamic State and their affiliates, groups like the Iran’s Islamic Revolutionary Guard Corps, Quds Force and others. We will analyze the impact of these conflicts and terrorist groups on the United States. The U.S. has implemented different strategies and tactics to counter terrorism which we will examine in great detail.

Examples of the questions that we will tackle during this course include, but are not limited, to the following: Why do individuals join a terrorist group? How do terrorist groups learn and how do they survive? What are the fundamental characteristics of effective counterterrorism policies and strategies? While we concentrate on the theoretical framework and politics of terrorism, we will address additional questions as they arise.

## **COURSE OBJECTIVES**

The course objectives include:

- Introduce students to the historical, political, and social context of terrorism
- Familiarize students with the academic literature and debate on terrorism
- Analyze different terrorist groups and their ideologies and agendas
- Assess the linkages between conflicts, proxy wars and the emergence and survival of terrorist groups and jihadist networks
- Examine counterterrorism strategies with a special focus on U.S.

## **GRADING COMPONENTS**

Exams.....	40%
Research Paper .....	20%
Presentation.....	15%
Discussion Board.....	12%
Class Attendance and Participation	13%
<i>Extra Credit (Optional).....</i>	<i>(4 points)</i>

## **GRADING SCALE**

The grading for this course is as follows:

A+	97-100%	C+	77-79%
A	93-96%	C	73-76%
A-	90-92%	C-	70-72%
B+	87-89%	D	60-69%
B	83-86%	F	0-59%
B-	80-82%		

## **REQUIRED TEXTBOOKS:**

1. Martin. G. (2018). *Understanding Terrorism: Challenges, Perspective, and Issues* (6<sup>th</sup> Edition). Los Angeles, CA: Sage Publications.
2. You will find additional reading material (e.g., articles, reports) in the supplemental reading list which will be posted on Blackboard.

## **COURSE REQUIREMENTS AND EXPECTATIONS**

### **Exams 40%**

Students will take **one midterm exam (20%)** and one **final exam (20%)**. Both will have multiple-choice and/or true-false questions. The exam questions will be based on the required textbook and lectures. Make-up exams are allowed with a documented, verifiable medical excusal or emergency excusal on the day of the exam.

### **Research Paper 20%**

You will write a research paper on a case study involving a terrorist organization. You may choose a group from the syllabus or from other sources (i.e., [the U.S. State Department's Designated Foreign Terrorist Organizations List](#)). You are to analyze not only the group you chose but also the counterterrorism strategies and policies developed to eliminate the group. The first section of the paper will describe the terrorist organization in terms of its ideology, aim, tactics, area of activities, recruitment, propaganda, financing, and any other pertinent information. The second section of the paper will examine the countermeasures taken not only by the government of the country in which the terrorist group operates but also international organizations.

The paper should include at least five scholarly citations, be five to six pages long (not including cover page and list of references), and typed double-spaced in 12-point Times New Roman font. Be sure to follow APA formatting and citation guidelines. Be sure also to include "*CRIM 475 Sec 004 Research Paper*" in the subject heading.

### **Presentation 15 %**

You will make an oral presentation on your research paper. Each student will be allotted a **maximum of 10 minutes** to ensure that all students have time to make their presentation during the class period. At the end of each presentation, classmates will be allowed to ask questions, provide a feedback, or make other comments. You are encouraged to use visuals and/or audiovisuals for a more effective presentation and to engage your classmates with activities and questions that allow for structured and fruitful discussions.

### **Discussion Board 12 %**

You are expected to attend the discussion board three times during the semester. I will post **four topics/questions** on discussion board after the class. The due dates for the responses to the discussion topics are You will find the due dates for the Discussion Topics in the Course Schedule. You are expected to think and write critically and broadly rather than in a structured and memorized way. In one sense, there is no right answer or wrong answers—only your answer. However, you can use what you have learned in the course to support your argument. Your answers should not exceed 250 words.

## **Attendance and Participation 13 %**

### *Class Attendance*

Class attendance is required, and attendance will be taken at the beginning of each class period. Missing more than one week of classes will result in a reduced grade and/or failed grade. You should inform me of your absence before class for the absence to be considered as excused. Illness and religious holidays are excused absences. A doctor's note may be required in some cases.

### *In-Class Participation*

To utilize student-centered approach there will be in-class activities, including **group discussions, and think-pair-share-report**. You are expected to participate in *class and small-group discussions* by sharing your ideas and arguments. Critical thinking and multiple perspectives are highly valued during class participation. Your ideas, perspectives, and experiences provide a valuable contribution to the course dialogue and are essential for meeting the requirement for class participation.

### ***Extra Credit (Optional)***

You may write two reflection papers for *an extra credit (4 points)*. The reflection papers will be **1-2 pages** and typed double-spaced in 12-point Times New Roman font. A reflection paper is not a summary; rather, it should include **your** perspective, ideas, and critique about the reading. The due date for the reflection paper is on the course schedule. You may choose one of the articles in the supplemental readings list for your reflection paper. Be sure to include "*CRIM 475-004 Extra Credit Reflection Paper*" in the subject heading.

## ***LATE WORK POLICY***

Requests for a deadline extension or a grade of incomplete must be made in writing 24 hours before the assignment is due. Requests will be granted for a legitimate reason, such as family emergency and illness.

## ***UNIVERSITY SERVICES***

If you have a documented learning disability or other condition that may affect your academic performance, you should:

1. Make sure this documentation is on file with the Office of Disability Services (SUB I, Rm. 222; 993-2474; [www.gmu.edu/student/drc](http://www.gmu.edu/student/drc)) to determine the accommodations you need; and
2. Talk with me to discuss your accommodation needs. By GMU policy, instructors cannot make any accommodations for students without certification from ODS on the existence of a disability and the specific accommodations needed.

If you feel you need to improve your writing skills, seek assistance from the University Writing Center (<http://writingcenter.gmu.edu/>). You will be expected to write academically for this class despite any linguistic deficits you have, so take full advantage of this service to earn good grades.

If you are in personal distress, you can also get help from Counseling and Psychological Services (<http://www.gmu.edu/departments/csdc/>). Class topics may engender anxiety or challenge world views and the counseling services are there to help.

### ***HONOR CODE POLICY***

George Mason University has an Honor Code, which requires all members of this community to maintain the highest standards of academic honesty and integrity. Cheating, plagiarism, lying, and stealing are all prohibited. Please consult the Student Handbook for a full definition of these terms. All violations of the Honor Code will be reported to the Honor Committee.

Violations include, but are not limited to the following:

Cheating includes any “willful giving or receiving of an unauthorized, unfair, dishonest, or unscrupulous advantage in academic work over other students,” by any means whatsoever, or the attempt to do so. Examples: Copying off another student; using notes during a closed-book exam; obtaining an assignment ahead of time from a student who took the class a previous semester; turning in the same work in more than one class (without prior authorization from all professors concerned).

Plagiarism includes “presenting as one’s own the works, the work, or the opinions of someone else without proper acknowledgement” or “borrowing the sequence of ideas, the arrangement of material, or the pattern of thought of someone else without proper acknowledgement.” Examples: getting your paper off the Internet; cutting and pasting paragraphs from other authors into your paper; turning in a paper that was written by somebody else; buying a paper; taking a written piece from someone else but rewording it so that it looks different.

Lying includes “the willful and knowledgeable telling of an untruth, as well as any form of deceit, attempted deceit, or fraud in an oral or written statement relating to academic work.” Examples: lying to faculty member by saying you were sick when you were not; falsely claiming a death in the family or a personal emergency; falsifying any official documentation.

Stealing encompasses “taking or appropriating without the permission to do so, and with the intent to keep or to make use of wrongfully, property belonging to any member of the George Mason University community or any property located on the University campus.” Examples: stealing exams or paper assignments from the professor for the purposes of cheating; selling notes you take in class to an individual or a business.

### ***BAD WEATHER AND OTHER EMERGENCIES***

Call GMU’s closing line at (703) 993-1000 to see if classes are cancelled due to weather. You can also register for Mason’s emergency alert system at <https://alert.gmu.edu>. If I should have to cancel a class due to a personal emergency, I will make every attempt to e-mail you ASAP at your GMU email address.

### ***PRIVACY POLICY***

Please respect the privacy of any students who may disclose personal information in the class. This means we do not gossip about others’ opinions or personal status outside of class, whether or not we agree with their opinions. Please also respect everyone’s right to freely choose whether to disclose or not disclose personal information.

## COURSE SCHEDULE

DATE	TOPIC / READINGS	ASSIGNMENTS DUE
<b>Jan 25</b>	Introduction & Course Review <i>Terrorism: First Impressions</i> (Martin Ch. 1)	
<b>Feb 1</b>	Nature of the Beast: <i>Defining Terrorism</i> (Martin Ch. 2)	
<b>Feb 8</b>	The Causes of Terrorism <i>Recruitment &amp; The Process of Radicalization</i> (Martin Ch. 3) <b>Case Study: How Do Terrorist Groups Survive?</b>	<i>Discussion Topic# 1 Due</i>
<b>Feb 15</b>	Tactics, Targets, & Decision Making The Role of the Media (Martin Ch. 10) & (Martin Ch. 11)	<i>Topic Selection for the Presentation &amp; Research Paper Due</i>
<b>Feb 22</b>	Terrorism by the State State-Sponsored Terrorism (Martin Ch.4)	
<b>Mar 1</b>	Terrorism by Dissidents (Martin Ch.5)	<i>Discussion Topic# 2 Due</i>
<b>Mar 8</b>	<b>Midterm Exam</b>	
<b>March 15</b>	<b>No Class – Spring Break</b>	
<b>Mar 22</b>	Terrorism from the Left and Right (Martin Ch.7)	
<b>Mar 29</b>	Violence in the Name of the Faith <i>Salafi-jihadist Networks</i> (Martin Ch.6)	<i>Discussion Topic# 3 Due</i>
<b>Apr 5</b>	Terrorist Spillovers: International Terrorism <i>Conflicts, Trends, and Implications</i> (Martin Ch.8) <b>Case Study: Post ISIS Era? The regional and global implications</b>	<i>Presentations: Group 1</i>
<b>Apr 12</b>	Emerging Environments in Terrorism	<i>Discussion Topic# 4 Due</i>

	Gender-Selective Political Violence and Criminal Dissident Terrorism (Martin Ch.9)	<i>Presentations: Group 2</i>
<b>Apr 19</b>	Terrorism in the United States (Martin Ch.12)	<i>Presentations: Group 3</i>  <i>(Optional) Reflection Paper Due</i>
<b>Apr 26</b>	Counterterrorism & Homeland Security (Martin Ch.13) & (Martin Ch. 14) <b>Case Study: The State and Non-State Actors in Counterterrorism</b>	<i>Presentations: Group 4</i>  <b>Research Paper Due</b>
<b>May 03</b>	The Future of Terrorism (Martin Ch. 15) <i>Final Exam Review</i>	<i>Presentations: Group 5</i>
<b>May 10</b>	<b>FINAL EXAM</b>	

### **SUPPLEMENTAL READING LIST**

*The articles and reports in the supplemental reading list will be posted on Blackboard.*

#### **Jan 25 & Feb 1      Historical and Conceptual Backgroundn**

- Rapoport, D. (2004), "The Four Waves of Modern Terrorism"
- Weinberg *et al* (2004). "The Challenges of Conceptualizing Terrorism"
- Parker, T., & Sitter, N. (2016). "The Four Horsemen of Terrorism: It's Not Waves, It's Strains"
- Douglas, R. (2014). What is terrorism?
- Tilly, C. (2004). "Terror, Terrorism, Terrorists"
- Tucker, David (2001). "What's New about the New Terrorism...?"

#### **Feb 8              The Causes of Terrorism - Recruitment & The Process of Radicalization**

- Smith, A. (2018). "How Radicalization to Terrorism Occurs in the United States"
- Özeren S, Sever M, Yilmaz K, & Sözer A. (2014). "Whom Do They Recruit?"
- Turk, A. (2004). Sociology of Terrorism. Annual Review of Sociology, 30, 271-286.
- Bloom, M. (2017). Constructing Expertise: Terrorist Recruitment and "Talent Spotting"
- Kruglanski, et al (2014). "The Psychology of Radicalization and Deradicalization"

**Feb 15            Tactics, Targets, Decision Making, & The Role of the Media**

- Ozeren, S., Hekim, H. Elmas, M.S., & Canbegi, H.I. (2018). "An Analysis of ISIS Propaganda and Recruitment Activities..."
- Horgan, J. (2008). From Profiles to Pathways and Roots to Routes: Perspectives from Psychology on Radicalization into Terrorism.
- Jacob N. Shapiro. (2012). "Terrorist Decision-Making: Insights from Economics and Political Science" Kettle, L., & Mumford, A. (2017). "Terrorist Learning: A New Analytical Framework"
- Pape, R. (2003). "The Strategic Logic of Suicide Terrorism"
- Beckett, C. (2016). Fanning the Flames: Reporting Terror In A Networked World.

**Feb 22            Terrorism by the State, State-Sponsored Terrorism**

- Freeman, M. (2011). "The Sources of Terrorist Financing: Theory and Typology"
- John Otis. (2014). "The FARC and Colombia's Illegal Drug Trade"
- Rafati, N. (2017). "Iran's Revolutionary Guards: Readying Strength"
- Daher, J. (2016). "Hezbollah and Revolutionary Processes in the Middle East and North Africa"
- Weinberg, D. A. (2017). "Qatar and Terror Finance"
- Levitt, M., & Ross, D. (2006). "State support for Hamas'

**Mar 01            Terrorism by Dissidents**

- Sanchez-Cuenca, I. (2007). "The Dynamics of Nationalist Terrorism: ETA and the IRA"
- Nieto, W. A. S. (2008). "A war of attrition: Sri Lanka and the Tamil Tigers"
- Javier Martín-Peña & Susan Opatow (2011). "The Legitimization of Political Violence: A Case Study of ETA in the Basque Country"

**Mar 22            Terrorism from the Left and Right**

- Palmer, D. (1986). "Rebellion in Rural Peru: The Origins and Evolution of Sendero Luminoso"
- Ron, J. (2001). "Ideology in Context: Explaining Sendero Luminoso's Tactical Escalation"
- "The FARC peace process – ushering in a new chapter in Colombia's history of

crime and violence?"

**Mar 29      Violence in the Name of the Faith**

- Bergen, P., Sterman, D., Ford, A., & Sims, A. (2018). "Jihadist Terrorism 17 Years After 9/11: A Threat Assessment"
- Stenersen, A. (2017). "Thirty Years after its Foundation – Where is al-Qaeda Going?"
- Adelaja, et al., (2018). 'A Boko Haram Case Study'
- Maiangwa, et al. (2012). "Baptism by Fire": Boko Haram and the Reign of Terror in Nigeria"
- International Crisis Group. (2018). "Al-Shabaab Five Years after Westgate"
- Hegghammer, T. (2013). "Should I Stay or Should I Go...?"

**Apr 05      Terrorist Spillovers: International Terrorism**

- Kagan et al. (2016) "Al Qaeda and ISIS: Existential Threats to the US and Europe"
- Zelin, A. (2014). "The War Between ISIS and Al Qaeda For Supremacy of the Global Jihadist Movement"
- Barber, V. (2015). "The Evolution of al Qaeda's Global Network and al Qaeda Core's Position..."
- Dalton, M. (2017). "Defeating Terrorism in Syria: A New Way Forward. CSIS"
- Barrett, R. (2017). "Beyond The Caliphate: Foreign Fighters And The Threat Of Returnees"
- M.J. Kirdar. (2011). "Al Qaeda in Iraq"

**Apr 12      Emerging Terrorist Environments**

- Spencer, A. N. (2016). "The Hidden Face of Terrorism: An Analysis of the Women in Islamic State"
- Zelinsky, A., & Shubik, M. (2013). "Terrorist Groups as Business Firms..."
- Mahmut Cengiz and Suleyman Ozeren (2018) "The Evolution of the PKK Terrorist Organization into a Criminal Enterprise"
- Jonsson, M., & Cornell, S. (2007). "Countering Terrorist Financing: Lessons From Europe"
- Anderson, T. (1993). "Terrorism and Censorship: The Media in Chains"
- Nowrasteh, A. (2016). "Terrorism and Immigration A Risk Analysis"

**Apr 19      Terrorism in the United States**

- Bjelopera, J. P. (2017). Domestic Terrorism: An Overview
- Bergen, P., Hoffman, B., & Tiedemann, K. (2011). "Assessing the Jihadist Terrorist Threat to America and American Interests"
- Keenan, Ck. K. (2014). "Behind the Doors of White Supremacy"
- Vertigans, S. (2007). "Beyond the Fringe? Radicalization within the American Far-Right,"
- Guilmartin, E. K.. (2005). "Rejection of Political Institutions by Right-Wing Extremists in the U.S."
- Brooks, R. (2011). Muslim "Homegrown" Terrorism in the United States: How Serious Is the Threat?"

**Apr 26      Counterterrorism & Homeland Security**

- Clarke, P. C., Grill, B., & Dunigan, M. (2013). "Paths to Victory: Lessons from Modern Insurgencies"
- Byman, D. (2015). "Beyond Counterterrorism Washington Needs a Real Middle East Policy"
- Price, B. (2012). "Targeting Top Terrorists:"
- Gause, G. (2005). Can democracy stop terrorism?
- National Strategy for Counterterrorism of the United States of America. (2018).
- Policy Center. (2017). Defeating Terrorists, Not Terrorism: Assessing U.S. Counterterrorism Policy from 9/11 to ISIS (Executive Summary)
- Mckenzie, R. (2017). "Countering Violent Extremism in America"
- Innes, M. (2006). "Policing Uncertainty: Countering Terror through Community Intelligence and Democratic Policing"

**May 03      The Future of Terrorism**

- Hoffman, B. (2017). "The Evolving Threat and Effective Counterterrorism Strategies"
- Ellis, P. E. (2015). "Lone Wolf Terrorism and Weapons of Mass Destruction: An Examination of Capabilities and Countermeasures"
- Crenshaw, M., & LaFree, G. (2017). "Moving Forward"

- Shelley, L. (2006). "Trafficking in Nuclear Materials: Criminals and Terrorists"
- Ozeren, S. (2009). "Cyberterrorism and Cybercrime: Vulnerabilities and International Cooperation"