

**The Challenges of Terrorism**  
**INTA 3103/8803**

Georgia Institute of Technology  
Fall 2023

**Dr. Jenna Jordan**

**Course Information**

Tuesday and Thursday: 9:30-10:45

**Contact Information**

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Office: Habersham 153

Office Hours: Wednesday 11-12:30 and by appointment

**Course Description**

This course will explore the history, causes, and responses to domestic and international terrorism. Students will be introduced to the major theoretical approaches to studying terrorism. The course will be structured around six main topics: (1) Definitional issues (2) Causes/Explanations (3) Suicide terrorism (4) Groups dynamics (5) al Qaeda and ISIS, and (6) Counterterrorism Strategies.

**Course Requirements**

- Class participation: 10%

Students are expected to actively participate in discussion and have the completed the assigned readings prior to class. Course grades and value derived are directly proportional to student attendance, reading, and engaged participation. The participation grade, which will reflect your regular, thoughtful, informed participation in class discussion, it will be impossible to earn full participation marks while not attending class *and* participating routinely. I will call on students regularly during class discussions as well as solicit questions and perspectives based on the reading materials throughout. If I get the sense that students are not reading and learning the assigned material, I will resort to pop quizzes that will count as part of the participation grade.

- Midterm: 25%

This will be an in-class, closed book exam. The exam will be a combination of short answer and essay questions. **October 3, 2023**

- Op-Ed 15%

Students will write an op-ed on a current policy problem related to terrorism or counterterrorism. Students should draw on empirical research and course materials to support their analysis. References must be included but do not count against the word limit. The op-ed should be approximately 750-1000 words in length, excluding endnotes or footnotes. Op-eds will be evaluated on the basis of persuasiveness, use of the course material and readings, clarity, bibliographic thoroughness, and organization. **Due: November 9, 2023 by 5:00pm (submit electronically via canvas)**

- Simulation 20%

Students will participate in an in-class simulation. Students will be assigned to teams and will engage in a path game which is a competitive exercise performed by students organized into teams in which the participants attempt to fashion domestic and international policies while negotiating treaties and agreements amongst all teams involved. Teams will be expected to submit a paper of no more than 6 pages (double spaced with 12 point font) and will prepare a presentation of the simulation on the final day of class. The presentation should include a slide deck and should be approximately 15 minutes.

- Final Exam (Undergraduate only): 30%

The final exam will be an open-book take home exam. You will receive the exam questions on the last day of class.

- Research paper (Graduate only): 30%

Graduate students will complete a 20 page research paper. Topics will be chosen in consultation with Dr. Jordan. A short proposal (1 page) is due by **October 17, 2023**, including an initial bibliography of sources you plan to consult.

Your final grade will be assigned as a letter grade according to the following scale:

A 90-100%  
B 80-89%  
C 70-79%  
D 60-69%  
F 0-59%

### **Subject to Change Statement**

The syllabus and course schedule may be subject to change. Changes will be communicated via email and/or Canvas announcement tool. It is the responsibility of students to check email messages and course announcements to stay current in their online courses.

## **Late Work**

Late assignments will lose a full grade for each day after the deadline. There are only two exceptions to the late-assignment policy: illness or family emergency. If either of these circumstances applies, you must provide *written documentation* (such as a doctor's note if you are ill), **and** you must communicate with me *before the assignment is due* (i.e., emailing me on the morning the assignment is due and saying you are sick is not acceptable for avoiding a penalty). I am willing to accommodate documented requests, but you must communicate with me *before* the assignment is due.

## **Academic Integrity**

Georgia Tech aims to cultivate a community based on trust, academic integrity, and honor. Students are expected to act according to the highest ethical standards. All students enrolled at Georgia Tech, and all its campuses, are to perform their academic work according to standards set by faculty members, departments, schools and colleges of the university; and cheating and plagiarism constitute fraudulent misrepresentation for which no credit can be given and for which appropriate sanctions are warranted and will be applied. For information on Georgia Tech's Academic Honor Code, please visit <http://www.catalog.gatech.edu/policies/honor-code/> or Academic Honor Code.

Any student suspected of cheating or plagiarizing on a quiz, exam, or assignment will be reported to the Office of Student Integrity, who will investigate the incident and identify the appropriate penalty for violations.

## **Accommodations for Students with Disabilities**

If you are a student with learning needs that require special accommodation, contact the Office of Disability Services at (404)894-2563 or <http://disabilityservices.gatech.edu/>, as soon as possible, to make an appointment to discuss your special needs and to obtain an accommodations letter. Please also e-mail me as soon as possible in order to set up a time to discuss your learning needs.

## **Student-Faculty Expectations Agreement**

At Georgia Tech we believe that it is important to strive for an atmosphere of mutual respect, acknowledgement, and responsibility between faculty members and the student body. See <http://www.catalog.gatech.edu/rules/22/> for an articulation of some basic expectation that you can have of me and that I have of you. In the end, simple respect for knowledge, hard work, and cordial interactions will help build the environment we seek. Therefore, I encourage you to remain committed to the ideals of Georgia Tech while in this class.

## **University Use of Electronic Email**

A university-assigned student e-mail account is the official university means of communication with all students at Georgia Institute of Technology. Students are responsible for all information sent to them via their university-assigned e-mail account. If a student chooses to forward information in

their university e-mail account, he or she is responsible for all information, including attachments, sent to any other e-mail account. To stay current with university information, students are expected to check their official university e-mail account and other electronic communications on a frequent and consistent basis. Recognizing that some communications may be time-critical, the university recommends that electronic communications be checked minimally twice a week.

**\*Very important:** Make sure your email is set up to receive announcements through Canvas.

### **CARE Center, Counseling Center, Stamps Health Services, and the Student Center**

These uncertain times can be difficult, and many students may need help in dealing with stress and mental health. The CARE Center and the Counseling Center, and Stamps Health Services will offer both in-person and virtual appointments. Face-to-face appointments will require wearing a face covering and social distancing, with exceptions for medical examinations. Student Center services and operations are available on the Student Center website. For more information on these and other student services, contact the Vice President and Dean of Students or the Division of Student Life.

### **Learning outcomes:**

Students will be able to demonstrate knowledge of theories of international relations and apply them in analyzing events and outcomes in world affairs.

Students will be able to demonstrate knowledge of principal contemporary global challenges in the field of international security

## Week 1

August 22: Introduction

August 24: Defining Terrorism

*What is terrorism? How should we define it? How and why should we study it*

- Phillips, Brian J. "What Is a Terrorist Group? Conceptual Issues and Empirical Implications," *Terrorism and Political Violence* 27.2 (2015): 225-42.
- Connor Huff and Joshua D. Kertzer, "How the Public Defines Terrorism," *American Journal of Political Science*, Vol. 62, No. 1 (January 2018), pp. 55-71.

### Additional Reading

- Charles Tilly, "Terror, Terrorism, and Terrorists," *Sociological Theory* (2004)

## Week 2

August 29: Historical Context

*Is terrorism a new phenomenon? What makes it new or modern?*

- Martha Crenshaw, "Thoughts on Relating Terrorism to Historical Context," in Crenshaw, ed. *Terrorism in Context*, Ch. 1.
- David C. Rapoport, "The Four Waves of Modern Terrorism" In *Terrorism Studies: A Reader*, eds. John Horgan and Kurt Braddock (Abingdon: Routledge, 2008), 43.

### Additional Reading

- Brian Phillips, "Do 90 Percent of Terrorist Groups Last Less than a Year? Updating the Conventional Wisdom" *Terrorism and Political Violence* (2018).
- Marc Sageman, "The Stagnation in Terrorism Research," *Terrorism and Political Violence* *Terrorism* 26:4 (2014), p. 565-580

August 31: Strategic Explanations I

- Martha Crenshaw, "The logic of terrorism: Terrorist behavior as a product of strategic choice," in Walter Reich, ed. *Origins of Terrorism*, Ch.1 T-square.
- Barbara Walter and Andrew Kydd, "Strategies of Terrorism," *International Security*, Vol. 31, No. 1 (Summer 2006), pp. 49-80.

### Week 3

#### September 5: Strategic Explanations II

- Max Abrahms, “Why Terrorism Does Not Work,” *International Security*, Vol. 31, No. 2 (Fall 2006), pp. 42-78.
- Virginia Page Fortna, “Do Terrorists Win? Rebels' Use of Terrorism and Civil War Outcomes,” *International Organization*, Vol. 69, No. 3 (Summer 2015), pp. 519-556.

#### September 7: Psychological Approaches I

- John Horgan, “From Profiles and Pathways and Roots to Routes: Perspectives from Psychology on Radicalization into Terrorism,” *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, Vol. 618, no. 1 (July 2008), pp. 80-94.
- Jeff Victoroff, “The Mind of the Terrorist: A Review and Critique of Psychological Approaches,” *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 49:1 (2005), 3-42

### Week 4

#### September 12: Psychological Approaches II

- Jerrold Post, “Terrorist Psycho-logic: Terrorist behavior as a product of psychological forces,” in Reich, *Origins of Terrorism*, chapter 2
- Arie W. Kruglanski, Michele J. Gelfand, Jocelyn J. Belanger, Anna Sheveland, Malkanthi Hettiarachchi, and Rohan Gunaratna, “The Psychology of Radicalization and Deradicalization: How Significance Quest Impacts Violent Extremism,” *Political Psychology*, Vol. 35, No. 1 (2014), pp. 69-93.

#### Additional Reading:

- Jerrold M. Post, Ehud Sprinzak, and Laurita M. Denny, “The terrorists in their own words: Interviews with thirty-five incarcerated Middle Eastern terrorists,” *Terrorism and Political Violence* 15:1 (2003): 171-84.
- Jeff Victoroff, “The Mind of the Terrorist: A Review and Critique of Psychological Approaches,” *Journal of Conflict Resolution*, Vol. 49, No. 1 (2005), pp. 3-42.

#### September 14: Organizational Theories

- Martha Crenshaw, “Causes of Terrorism: Instrumental and Organizational Approaches,” in David Rapoport, ed., *Inside Terrorist Organizations*, revised edition (London: Routledge, 2001), pp. 13-31.

- Krause, Peter. "The Structure of Success: How the Internal Distribution of Power Drives Armed Group Behavior and National Movement Effectiveness." *International Security* 38, no. 3 (Winter 2013/14): pp. 72-117

Additional Reading:

- Wendy Pearlman, "Spoiling Inside and Out: Internal Political Contestation and the Middle East Peace Process," *International Security*, Vol. 33, No. 3 (Winter 2008/09), pp. 79–109.
- Colin P. Clarke, "Using the McKinsey 7S Framework to Assess Al-Qaeda Over Three Decades: Lessons for the Future," ICCT Research Paper (December 2019)

**Week 5**

September 19: Structural Explanations

- James A. Piazza, "Incubators of Terror: Do Failed and Failing States Promote Transnational Terrorism?" *International Studies Quarterly*, Vol. 52 (2008), pp. 469- 488. (SKIM)
- Jeffrey Ian Ross, "The Structural Causes of Oppositional Political Terrorism: Towards A Causal Model," *Journal of Peace Research*, Vol. 30, No. 3 (1993), pp. 317-329.

Additional Reading

- Krueger, Alan B., and Jitka Maleckova. 2003. "Education, Poverty, and Terrorism: Is There a Causal Connection?" *Journal of Economic Perspectives* 17(4):119–44.  
<http://www.krueger.princeton.edu/terrorism2.pdf>.
- Khusrav Gaibulloev, James A. Piazza, and Todd Sandler, "Regime Types and Terrorism," *International Organization*, Vol. 71, No. 3 (Summer 2017), pp. 491-522.

September 21: Ideological Explanations

- Gary Ackerman and Michael Burnbaum, "Towards a Definition of Terrorist Ideology," *Terrorism and Political Violence* (April 2019)
- Graeme Wood, "What ISIS Really Wants," *The Atlantic*, March 2015. Web.  
<http://www.theatlantic.com/features/archive/2015/02/what-isis-reallywants/384980/>
- Justin Conrad and Daniel Milton, "Unpacking the Connection Between Terror and Islam," *Studies in Conflict and Terrorism*, Vol. 36, No. 4 (2013), pp. 215-236.

Additional Reading

- James A. Piazza, "Is Islamist Terrorism More Dangerous? An Empirical Study of Group Ideology, Organization, and Goal Structure," *Terrorism and Political Violence*, Vol. 21, No. 1 (January 2009), pp. 62-88.
- People of Shining Path (BBC documentary, 1992), <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=-HnH-MguELU>

## Week 6

September 26: Radicalization, Recruitment, Deradicalization

- Julie Chernov Hwang, "The Disengagement of Indonesian Jihadists: Understanding the Pathways." *Terrorism and Political Violence*. July 2015, p.1-19.
- M. Taylor and J. Horgan. (2006). "A Conceptual Framework for Understanding the Development of the Terrorist," *Terrorism & Political Violence*
- *The Battle of Algiers* (on-line and through the library)

### Additional Reading:

- Thomas Hegghammer, "The Recruiter's Dilemma: Signaling and Terrorist Recruitment Tactics," *Journal of Peace Research*, p. 1-16
- Donatella Della Porta, "Recruitment Processes in Clandestine Political Organizations: Italian Left Wing Terrorism." *International Social Movements Research*

September 28: **New Left Groups**

*Who are the "New Left" Groups? Where did they come from? Why did they rise and fall? What are some of the similarities and differences? Are any of them still around?*

- Hans Josef Horchem "The Decline of the Red Army Faction," *Terrorism and Political Violence* 3:2 (1991)
- *The Weather Underground* (2002)
- BBC Documentary, *Baader Meinhof Gang*
- *The Black Panthers: Vanguard of the Revolution*,  
<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=EukEII7plo4>
- Leila Khaled (in her own words), Maxist-Leninism& PFLP:  
[https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=1tvdB65S\\_dQ](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=1tvdB65S_dQ)
- PFLP Ghassan Kanafani, Richard Carleton interview,  
[https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=3h\\_drCmG2iM](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=3h_drCmG2iM)

## Week 7

October 3: Midterm

October 5: Foreign Fighters

- Thomas Hegghammer, "The Rise of Muslim Foreign Fighters," *International Security* 35:3 (Winter 2010/11 ) [http://www.mitpressjournals.org/doi/pdf/10.1162/ISEC\\_a\\_00023](http://www.mitpressjournals.org/doi/pdf/10.1162/ISEC_a_00023)
- David Malet, 2010. "Why Foreign Fighters? Historical Perspectives and Solutions." *Orbis* 54(1): 97–11.4



- Dan Byman, “Road Warriors: Foreign Fighters in the Armies of Jihad,” May 10, 2019. Brookings

Additional Reading:

- Thomas Hegghammer, “Should I Stay or Should I Go? Explaining Variation in Western Jihadists’ Choice Between Domestic and Foreign Fighting,” *American Political Science Review*, Vol. 107, No. 1 (February 2013), pp. 1-15.
- Efraim Benmelech & Esteban Klor, “What Explains the Flow of Foreign Fighters to ISIS?” *Terrorism and Political Violence* (2018)

**Week 8**

October 10: No class – Fall Break

October 12: Suicide Terrorism

- Robert A. Pape, “The Strategic Logic of Suicide Terrorism,” *American Political Science Review*, Vol. 97, No. 3 (August 2003), pp. 343-361.
- Mia M. Bloom, “Outbidding, Market Share, and Palestinian Suicide Bombing,” *Political Science Quarterly*, Vol. 119, No. 1 (2004), pp. 61-88

Additional Reading:

- Assaf Moghadam, “Motives for Martyrdom: Al-Qaida, Salafi Jihad, and the Spread of Suicide Attacks,” *International Security*, Vol. 33, No. 3 (Winter 2008/2009), pp. 46-78.
- Michael C. Horowitz, “Nonstate Actors and the Diffusion of Innovations: The Case of Suicide Terrorism,” *International Organization*, Vol. 64, No. 1 (Winter 2010), pp. 33-64.

**WEEK 9**

October 17: New trends in Terrorism: Lone wolf and home-grown terrorism

*What is a lone wolf? How should we understand this type of terrorism? What are incels? Are incels terrorists? What is home-grown terrorism? Why are all these trends important?*

- Daniel Byman, “How to Hunt a Lone Wolf: Countering Terrorists Who Act on Their Own,” *Brookings*, February 14, 2017. Web. <https://www.brookings.edu/opinions/how-to-hunt-a-lone-wolf-countering-terrorists-who-act-on-their-own/>
- Lonewolf podcast, Boaz Ganor and Bruce Hoffman (~16min), August 3, 2017: <https://www.stitcher.com/podcast/the-washington-institute/near-east-policycast/e/51015750>
- Barak Mendelsohn, “ISIS Lone Wolf Strategy: How the West Should Respond,” *Foreign Affairs* Snapshot, August 25, 2016, <https://www.foreignaffairs.com/articles/2016-08-25/isis-lone-wolf-strategy>

- “Is Europe safe from 'lone wolf' terrorism?” Euronews on the Frontline (2012): <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=xBP9ybA8bm8>
- Jason Burke, “The Myth of the Lone Wolf Terrorist.” *The Guardian*, March 30, 2017. Web. <https://www.theguardian.com/news/2017/mar/30/myth-lone-wolf-terrorist>

#### October 19: Terrorist Financing

- Financing Terrorism, Jessica Davis, Part 1 and Part 2 Marieke de Goede (<https://www.uu.nl/en/research/institutions-for-open-societies/security-in-open-societies-sos/podcast-series-terrorism-and-political-violence>)
- Ellie Maruyama and Kelsey Hallahan, “Following the Money: A Primer on Terrorist Financing” CNAS <https://www.cnas.org/publications/reports/following-the-money-1>
- Matthew Levitt, “Attacking Hezbollah’s Financial Network: Policy Options,” Testimony submitted to the Committee on Foreign Affairs, U.S. House of Representatives, June 8, 2017, <http://docs.house.gov/meetings/FA/FA00/20170608/106094/HHRG-115-FA00-Wstate-LevittM-20170608.pdf>
- Majid Rafizadeh, “In First, Hezbollah’s Nasrallah Confirms All Financial Support Comes from Iran,” *Al Arabiya English*, June 25, 2016. <https://english.alarabiya.net/en/2016/06/25/In-first-Hezbollah-s-Nasrallah-confirms-all-financial-support-comes-from-Iran.html>
- Aaron Brantly, “Financing Terror Bit by Bit,” *CTC Sentinel*, 7:10 (October 2014) <https://ctc.usma.edu/financing-terror-bit-by-bit/>

#### **Week 10**

#### October 24: Women and Terrorism

Guest lecture – Dr. Mia Bloom

- Jamille Bigio and Rachel Vogelstein, “Women and Terrorism,” Council on Foreign Relations, Discussion Paper (May 2019).
- Bloom, M. Women and Terrorism. *Oxford Research Encyclopedia of Politics*. <https://oxfordre.com/politics/view/10.1093/acrefore/9780190228637.001.0001/acrefore-9780190228637-e-124>.
- Simon Cottee and Mia Bloom, “The Myth of the Female Suicide Bomber,” *The Atlantic* September 8, 2017 <https://www.theatlantic.com/international/archive/2017/09/isis-female-suicide-bomber/539172/>
- Mia Bloom, “Female Suicide Bombers: A Global Trend” 136:1 (Winter 2007) p 94-102
- Amira Jadoon, Julia Maria Lodoen, Charmaine Noelle Willis, and Nakissa Puneh Jahanbani (2020) Breaking the Glass Ceiling? Female Participation in Militant Organizations in Islamic State Affiliates in Southeast Asia, *Terrorism and Political Violence*, DOI: [1080/09546553.2020.1838904](https://doi.org/10.1080/09546553.2020.1838904)

### Additional Reading

- Carla Cunningham, "Countering Female Terrorism," in *Terrorism Studies*. John Horgan and Kurt Braddock. London. Routledge. P 439-444
- Lindsay A. O'Rourke, "What's Special about Female Suicide Terrorism?" *Security Studies*, Vol. 18, No. 4 (December 2009), pp. 681-718
- Mia Bloom, "Death *Becomes* Her: Women, Occupation, and Terrorist Mobilization," *PS: Political Science and Politics*, Vol. 43, no. 3 (June 2010), pp. 445-450.

October 26: Movie

### Week 12

October 31: Movie

November 2: Counterterrorism

- Jenna Jordan, Margaret E. Kosal, and Lawrence Rubin, "The Strategic Illogic of Counterterrorism Policy," *The Washington Quarterly*, Vol. 39, No. 4 (Winter 2017), pp. 181-192.
- Asfandiyar Mir, "What Explains Counterterrorism Effectiveness? Evidence from the U.S. Drone War in Pakistan," *International Security*, Vol. 43, No. 2 (Fall 2018), pp. 45-83.
- Dafna Rand and Rebecca Wolfe, "Start Small to Stop ISIS," *Foreign Policy*, December 11, 2018. <https://foreignpolicy.com/2018/12/11/start-small-to-stop-the-next-isis/>.
- Podcast: Book talk with Martha Crenshaw: <https://www.uu.nl/en/research/institutions-for-open-societies/security-in-open-societies-sos/podcast-series-terrorism-and-political-violence>

### Week 13

November 7: Decapitation

- Jordan, Jenna (2014) *Attacking the Leader, Missing the Mark: Why Terrorist Groups Survive Decapitation Strikes*. *International Security* 38(4): 7-38.
- Patrick Johnston, "Does Decapitation Work? Assessing the Effectiveness of Leadership Targeting in Counterinsurgency Campaigns." *International Security*, 36(4):47-79, Spring 2012.
- Bryan C. Price. "Targeting Top Terrorists: How Leadership Decapitation Contributes to Counterterrorism." *International Security* 4, no. 36 (Spring 2012): 9-46

## November 9: State Sponsorship – **Oped Due**

- Sarah Kreps and Daniel Byman, “Agents of Destruction? Applying Principal- Agent Analysis to State Sponsorship of Terrorism,” *International Studies Perspectives*, Vol. 11, no. 1 (February 2010), pp. 1-18.
- Daniel Byman, “Russia is a State Sponsor of Terrorism – But Don’t Treat It That Way,” *Lawfare*, April 30, 2018. Web. <https://www.lawfareblog.com/russia-is- state-sponsor- terrorism-but-dont-treat-that-way>
- Daniel Byman, “Passive Support for Terrorism,” *Survival*, Vol. 47, No. 4 (2005).

## **Week 14**

### November 14: The Rise of ISIS and al Qaeda

- Daniel Byman, Chapter 4, 8
- Hoffman, 282-295
- Frontline: “The Rise of ISIS”  
<https://www.pbs.org/video/frontline>

#### Additional Reading

- Vice News, “The Spread of the Caliphate” Parts 1-5.
- Gregory Gause, *International Relations of the Persian Gulf*, 136-183

### November 16: How Terrorism Ends

- Audrey Cronin, “How al-Qaeda Ends: The Decline and Demise of Terrorist Groups,” *International Security* (Summer 2006)
- Robin Wright, “Sixteen Years After 9/11, How Does Terrorism End?” *The New Yorker*, September 10, 2017. <https://www.newyorker.com/news/news-desk/how-does-terrorism-end>
- Seth Jones and Martin Libicki, “How Terrorist Groups End” RAND 2008. SKIM

## **Week 15**

### November 21: Non-Violent Protest

- Chenoweth, Erica, and Maria J. Stephan. *Why Civil Resistance Works : The Strategic Logic of Nonviolent Conflict*. New York: Columbia University Press, 2011. Chs 1-2.

### November 23: No class - Thanksgiving

**Week 16**

November 28: Simulation

November 30: Simulation

**Week 17**

December 5: Simulation – Presentations and Wrap-up