

**Central European University, Budapest, Hungary**

**MA Course, Winter Semester 2020**

## **POLS 5179**

### **Terrorism: A Comparative Politics Perspective**

#### **Instructor**

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#### **Classes**

Tuesdays, 15.30-17.10 (room to be announced).

#### **Office hours**

TBA.

#### **Credits**

2 CEU credits, 4 ECTS credits.

#### **Course description**

Traditionally, terrorism studies has been part of Security Studies and International Relations, even though the majority of terrorist incidents is domestic, not transnational. The implication is that knowledge of political systems is highly relevant for those interested in terrorism. This course introduces students to the Comparative Politics of terrorism. It conceptualizes terrorists and terrorist groups as actors whose actions should be understood within the context of a country's political system. The guiding question is: Can political institutions tame the threat of terrorism? To answer this question, most weeks will examine the relationship between terrorism and a particular type of political institution or regime.

### **Course requirements**

In selecting the reading, an effort has been made to keep the course accessible to students from a broad range of programs. Only four studies (marked with an \* in the schedule) contain quantitative analysis and no prior knowledge of statistics or quantitative research methods is required. Students are expected to be present at all seminars and to come prepared. If you are unable to attend class, you should notify the instructor via e-mail prior to the session.

### **Assessment**

- Four reflections (10% each, 40% total)
- One in-class exercise (10%)
- Active seminar participation (10%)
- Research paper (40%)

Each student writes four “reflections” of 500 words maximum, everything included. In this note, the student reflects on the strengths and weaknesses of one of the mandatory readings for that week. Each reflection should contain the following elements: 1) a summary of the argument and evidence in the publication; 2) a reflection on the strengths and weaknesses of the analysis (theory, methods, data, conclusions); 3) an outlook or agenda for future research on the topic. Reflections are due the day before class (so, on Sunday 24.00) and should be uploaded on the course E-learning website. Reflections can be submitted for all weeks except weeks 1, 8, and 12. It is possible to submit an additional, fifth, reflection. In that case, the grades for the four best reflections count.

The in-class exercise in week 8 is described there.

The final paper is an individual, original, research paper on a particular aspect of terrorism. The word limit is 1,500, everything included. The due date will be determined in consultation with the class.

Active class participation is expected and graded. Some tips: participate regularly, make informed contributions, focus on the main points, formulate clearly, respond to others in the discussion, and demonstrate critical engagement.

Please note that for all assessments, late submission and violation of the word or time limit will result in a lower grade. All written work should be uploaded on Turnitin and will be checked for plagiarism.

### **Reading material**

All the course material is available in electronic form. The syllabus contains the required reading. Additional reading is suggested on a week-by-week basis.

### **Learning outcomes**

At the end of the course the student should be able to:

- Understand the specific challenges posed by terrorism to open societies and democratic states;
- Reflect critically on the concept of terrorism;
- Understand the causes, conditions, and consequences of terrorism;
- Make an informed choice of political institutions that help to prevent, mitigate, or end terrorism;
- Summarize arguments, assess evidence, and formulate an opinion;
- Communicate effectively their informed opinion on the topics covered in class.

## Course schedule

### Week 1 Introduction: What is Terrorism?

The introductory session aims to clarify the concept of terrorism.

Reading:

Anthony Richards (2014) Conceptualizing Terrorism, *Studies in Conflict & Terrorism* 37(3): 213-236.

Connor Huff and Joshua Kertzer (2018) How the Public Defines Terrorism, *American Journal of Political Science* 62(1): 55-71.

### Week 2 Theories of Terrorism

This week provides an overview of theories of terrorism.

Richard Jackson, Lee Jarvis, Jeroen Gunning and Marie Breen Smyth (2011) *Terrorism: A Critical Introduction*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 9-28 (Chapter 1: The Orthodox Study of Terrorism).

Martha Crenshaw (2019) Constructing the Field of Terrorism in Erica Chenoweth, Richard English, Andreas Gofas, and Stathis Kalyvas (eds.) *The Oxford Handbook of Terrorism*, available online at DOI: 10.1093/oxfordhb/9780198732914.013.41.

### Week 3 Research on Terrorism

This session provides an up-to-date overview of research on terrorism.

Reading:

Bart Schuurman (2019) Topics in Terrorism Research: Reviewing Trends and Gaps, 2007-2016, *Critical Studies on Terrorism* 12(3): 463-480.

\*Tim Krieger and Daniel Meierrieks (2011) What Causes Terrorism? *Public Choice* 147: 3-27.

### Week 4 Data on Terrorism

This week introduces students to the largest publicly available data set on terrorism, allowing us to get familiar with the main trends and patterns.

Reading:

Gary LaFree, Laura Dugan and Erin Miller (2015) *Putting Terrorism in Context: Lessons from the Global Terrorism Database*. Abingdon: Routledge, 12-26 (Chapter 2: The Creation of the Global Terrorism Database).

John Mueller and Mark Stewart (forthcoming): Terrorism and Bathtubs: Comparing and Assessing the Risks, *Terrorism and Political Violence*, online first at DOI: 10.1080/09546553.2018.1530662.

### Week 5 Terrorism and Democracy

Are (new) democracies more vulnerable to terrorism and if so, why?

Reading:

Kara Kingma, Bryan Cramer and Erica Chenoweth (2015) Regime Type and Terrorist Attacks, in Robert Scott and Stephen Koselyn (eds.) *Emerging Trends in the Social and Behavioral Sciences*. Chichester: John Wiley & Sons, 1-14.

Amichai Magen (2018) Fighting Terrorism: The Democracy Advantage, *Journal of Democracy* 29(1): 111-125.

### Week 6 Terrorism and Consensus Democracy

There is a lot of evidence that consensus democracies are “kinder and gentler”. Are they also less prone to terrorism? The evidence is contested.

Reading:

Bogaards, Matthijs (forthcoming) Kinder, Gentler, Safer? A Re-examination of the Relationship between Consensus Democracy and Domestic Terrorism, *Studies in Conflict & Terrorism*, online first at: <https://doi.org/10.1080/1057610X.2018.1507312>.

Qvortrup, Matt (forthcoming) The Logic of Domestic Terrorism Revisited: A Response to a Critic, *Studies in Conflict & Terrorism*, online first at: <https://doi.org/10.1080/1057610X.2018.1529376>.

Bogaards, Matthijs (forthcoming) Coding, Concessions, Conclusions: A Reply to Matt Qvortrup, *Studies in Conflict & Terrorism*, online first at: <https://doi.org/10.1080/1057610X.2018.1529375>.

### **Week 7 Terrorism and Consociational Democracy**

Consociational democracy is the most inclusive type of democracy. What is its record with respect to ending terrorist violence? We examine the evidence with the help of two prominent cases.

Reading:

Rogelio Alonso (2004) Pathways Out of Terrorism in Northern Ireland and the Basque Country: The Misrepresentation of the Irish Model, *Terrorism and Political Violence* 16(4): 695-713.

Günther Pallaver and Manuel Fasser (2012) Reconciliation Following Terrorism in South Tyrol: A Successful Story of Peacemaking by Consociational Democracy and Power Sharing, in Judith Renner and Alexander Spencer (eds.) *Reconciliation After Terrorism: Strategy, Possibility, or Absurdity?* London: Routledge, 23 pages.

### **Week 8 Terrorism and Power Sharing**

How are grievances organized, represented, and accommodated in national political systems? Does inclusion help to prevent or terminate terrorism?

Reading:

\* Sambuddha Ghatak (2016) Challenging the State: Effect of Minority Discrimination, Economic Globalization, and Political Openness on Domestic Terrorism, *International Interactions* 42(1): 56-80.

\*James Piazza (2017) Repression and Terrorism: A Cross-National Empirical Analysis of Types of Repression and Domestic Terrorism, *Terrorism and Political Violence* 29(1): 102-118.

### **Week 9 Terrorism and Political Parties**

For this week, each student will read a chapter from Anisseh Van Engeland and Rachael Rudolph's edited volume "From Terrorism to Politics" (London: Routledge, 2016). This book contains ten case studies of terrorist groups that transformed into political parties. Students present their cases in class and through a discussion and comparison we will try to identify patterns and draw lessons about the relationship between terrorism and political parties.

### **Week 10 Terrorism and the Electoral System**

While there seems to be a relationship between the type of electoral system and the degree of domestic terrorism, recent studies suggest that this effect may be limited to only some types of terrorism.

Reading:

\*Deniz Aksoy and David Carter (2014) Electoral Institutions and the Emergence of Terrorist Groups, *British Journal of Political Science* 44(1): 181-204.

Matt Qvortrup (2015) T-Test for Terrorism: Did the Introduction of Proportional Representation Reduce the Terrorist Threat? A Time-Series Case Study of Algeria and Northern Ireland, *Studies in Conflict & Terrorism* 38(4): 293-304.

### **Week 11 Terrorism and Territory**

The literature on post-conflict societies has identified territorial autonomy as an important form of power sharing in the process of peace building. However, even though a sizeable share of terrorism is local and ethnic, terrorism studies have tended to neglect the importance of the territorial organization of power in a state.

Reading:

Steven Radil and Jaume Castan Pinos (2019): Reexamining the Four Waves of Modern Terrorism: A Territorial Interpretation, *Studies in Conflict & Terrorism*, online first at DOI: 10.1080/1057610X.2019.1657310.

Richard English (2019) Nationalism and Terrorism, in Erica Chenoweth, Richard English, Andreas Gofas, and Stathis Kalyvas (eds.) *The Oxford Handbook of Terrorism*, available online at DOI: 10.1093/oxfordhb/9780198732914.013.15.

### **Week 12 Counterterrorism and Type of Democracy**

Democracies differ in the way they deal with terrorists and terrorist threats. Can type of democracy explain these differences? My paper is a first attempt to answer this question. There will be no regular class this week, as the paper will be presented in the context of a seminar organized by the Conflict and Security Research Group at CEU.

Reading:

Bogaards, Matthijs (2019) *Kinder and Gentler, Also to Terrorists? Consensus Democracy and Counterterrorism Policies*, work-in-progress.