

Stanford, 23 March 2006

An Analytical and Comparative Approach to Terrorism

Soc 109/209

Spring Quarter 2006

M, W 1.15-2.30

Instructor Dr Eva M Meyersson Milgrom
Green Earth and Science Bldg, Room 124

Course Description

In this class we develop a multidisciplinary perspective on the terrorism phenomenon, weaving together strands of thoughts from the social sciences including psychology, sociology, political science and economics. We will compare terror organizations/movements/networks across institutions, places and times, assessing their motives, tactics, financing, and organization. We will devote special attention to groups using the tactics of suicide bombing. Finally we will pursue an inventory of how terrorism is captured by film and literature.

The course explores theoretical and empirical accounts of the sources of terrorism. In comparing terrorism now and then we will draw as much on the differences as the similarities concerning causes and organization. Finally we will uncover the micro mechanisms in order to understand the historical macro level outcomes.

The course is structured around explanations and descriptions of supply of and demand for terrorism, and covers aspects such as: leadership, tactics, organization, mobilization and recruitment, finance, competition, cycle of violence.

Class session consist of lecture, guest lectures and individuals and group assignments. Some required activities are schedule in the evenings between 5.00-6.30 or 7.00-9.00 pm.

Invited guest lectures and other participants are: Professors John Taylor and David Laitin Stanford University, Doctoral students Jacob Shapiro Pol Sci, and David Siegel GSB Stanford University, Professor Kahlid Medani Visiting CISAC Stanford University, and McGill University, Play writer Karen Sunde.

Course Requirement

Book Reviews 15%

1 Review of film 5%

Term paper 50%/ Exam (depending on # of Students)

Class Participation 35%

Course Material

The course will draw insights from films, plays and literature from research and fiction.

The Readings are divided between required readings found in the course reader at the bookstore, and recommended readings found on the web/courseworks/library.

Required Movies shown at the following dates

Women of Hezbollah by Maher Abi-Samra 2000, in class

The Battle of Alger by Gillo Pontecorvo 1965, 5.00-7.30 pm

Paradise Now by Hany Abu-Assad 2005, 5.00-6.30 pm

Required Fiction

Reporting from Ramallah by Amira Hass 2003

The Demons/Possessed/Devils by Fyodor Dostojevsky

Required Play

Report/review of Stage Reading/ "A Script in Hand Performance"

Play writer Karen Sunde's IN A KINGDOM BY THE SEA -- set in Lebanon, and based on actual terrorist incidents shown at Auditorium to be announced May 24 at 7.30 pm

Office Hours

Office hours Mondays 3.00-4.00 pm or according to appointment

Introduction

1. Session Wednesday April 5. A Brief History on Terrorism

Recommended Readings

Andrew Sinclair An anatomy of Terror A history of Terrorism London: Mcmillan 2003

2. Session Monday 10 of April. Concepts, Definition and Statistical Trends

Required Readings

- *Misunderstanding Terrorisms by Krueger Alan B and Laitin David D., Foreign Affairs 00157120 Sept Oct 2004 vol 83 issue 5.*
- *How Can We Make Sense of Suicide Missions? Diego Gambetta from Making Sense of Suicide Missions Ed Diego Gambetta Oxford University Press 2005*
- *A New Threat of Terror in the Western: Hemisphere by Jeremy M Weinstein SAIS REVIEW vol XXIII no.1 Winter-Spring 2003*

Recommended readings

Patterns of Transnational Terrorism 1970 1999 by Walter Enders and Todd Sandler unpublished paper October 2001.

After 9/11: Is it All Different Now? By Walter Enders and Todd Sandler unpublished paper Sept 2004

Handouts: (Statistics from Robert Pape ch 10)

3. Session Wednesday 12 of April. Cycle of Violence and Competition for Souls

Required Readings

- *The Cycle of violence? David Jaeger and M Daniele Paserman unpublished manuscript 2006.*
- *International Terrorism and the World System by Albert J Bergesen and Omar Lizardo. Sociological Theory March 2004 vol 22 no 1 pp38-52.*
- *Palestinians 1981-2003 Luca Ricolfi from Diego Gambetta ed Making Sense of Suicide Missions Oxford University Press 2004*

Recommended Readings

Decomposing Violence: political murder in Colombia 1946-1999 Jurgen Brauer Alejandro Gomez-Sorzano, Sankar Sethuraman. European Journal of Political Economy vol 20 2004 447-461
Political and Militant Wings within Dissident Movements and Organizations by Kevin Siqueira. Journal of conflict Resolution Vol 49 No2 April 2005 pp218-236.

4. Session Monday 17 of April. **Student assignment Cases of Terrorism I.**

5. Session Wednesday 19 of April. Cost and Consequences of Terrorism

Required Readings

- *Is the Transnational Terrorism Becoming More Threatening? By Walter Enders and Todd Sandler. Working Paper No. 01.02.06 University of Alabama Economics, Finance and Legal Studies. University of Alabama.*
- *Terrorism and The world Economy by Alberto Abadie and Javier Gardeazabal October 2005, unpublished paper*

Recommended Readings

The Macro economic consequences of Terrorism S. Brock Blomberg, Gregory D. Hess, Athanasios Orphanides. Journal of Monetary Economics 51 2004 1007-1032
The Economic Costs of Conflict: A Case Study of the Basque Country by Alberto Abadie, Javier Gardeazabal The American Economic Review, vol. 93 No. 1 Mar 2003 pp 113-132

6. Session 24 of April. A Panel discussion of the films “the Battle of Alger” and “Parades Now”.

Theoretical Frameworks for terrorism

7. Session 26 of April. Poverty, Political Freedom and the Strategic Logic of Terrorism

Required Readings

- *Terror, Terrorism, Terrorist* by Charles Tilly, *Sociological Theory* 22:1 March 2004
- pp. 5-13.
- *Kto Kogo? A Cross-country Study of the Origins and Targets of Terrorism* by Alan B Krueger and David D. Laitin nov 11 NBER working paper
- *Poverty, Political Freedom, and the Roots of Terrorism* Alberto Abadie working paper 10859 NBER pp.1-15.

Recommended Readings

Does Democracy Promote or Reduce Transnational Terrorist Incidents by Quan Li in *Journal of Conflict Resolution* vol 49 no 2 April 2005 pp. 278 -297.

8. Session Monday 1 of May. Collective Actions and Cults. Guest lecture: David Siegel GSB Stanford University

Required Readings

- *Explaining Terrorism: The contribution of Collective Action Theory* Anthony Oberschall *Sociological Theory* 22:1 pp. 26-37, March 2004
- *The Market for Martyrs* Laurence R Iannaccone 2004 unpublished manuscript pp.1-10
- *The Interpersonal Influence systems and Organized Suicides of Deaths cults* by Noah Freidkin 2004 unpublished manuscript pp. 1-10.

Recommended Readings

Collective Action and Transnational Terrorism Todd Sandler Oxford: Blackwell Publishing LTD 2003 pp779-802

Resources Mobilization Theory and the Study of Social Movements J Craig Jenkins *Annual Review of sociology* 1983 9. 527-553 (also in social distance)

When does repression work? Collective Behavior under the threat of violence. David Siegal unpublished manuscript

The Economics of Caste and of the Rat Race and Other Woeful Tales by George Akerlof *The quarterly Journal of Economics*, vol 90 no 4 nov 1976 pp 599-617

9. Session Wednesday 3 of May. Wealth Chocks and Social Distance

Required Readings

- *Identity Social Distance and Palestinian Support for the Roadmap*, unpublished paper by Guillermina Jasso and Eva M Meyersson Milgrom
- *Economic Shocks and Civil conflict: An Instrumental Variables Approach* Edward Miguel and Shanker Satyanath and Ernest Sergenti. *Journal of Political Economy* 2004 vol 112 no 4. pp. 725-753.

- *Economic conditions and Terrorism* S Brock Blombert Gregory D Hess Akila Weerapana unpublished paper

Recommended Readings

Economic Globalization and Transnational Terrorism a Pooled time series analysis by Quan Li and Drew Schaub in Journal of Conflict Resolution vol 48 No 2 April 2004 230-258.

10. Session Monday 8 of May. The Mind of a Terrorist, Motivation and Beliefs.

Required Readings

- *Motivations and beliefs in suicide missions* Jon Elster in Diego Gambetta in *Making Sense of suicide missions* Oxford 2004.
- *The Moral Logic and Growth of Suicide Terrorism* by Scott Atran. *The Washington Quarterly* spring 2006 pp 127-147
- *The Mind of the Terrorist. A Review and Critique of Psychological Approaches* Jeff Victoroff. *Journal of conflict Resolution* vol 49 No 1 Feb 2005 3-42.

Recommended Readings

Individual Motivations, The group process, and Organizational Strategies in Suicide Terrorism Arie Kruganlsi and Agnieszka Golec. 2004 unpublished manuscript
Palestinian Suicide Terrorism in the Second Intifada: Motivations and Organizational Aspects by Assaf Moghadam in *Studies in Conflict and Terrorism* 26:65-92, 2003. ?

Hand outs by Atran

11. Session Wednesday 10 of April. Women and Hezbollah, a Panel Discussion

Required reading

- *Women as Terrorists* in pp 157- 190 *Terrorism in Perspective* by Pamala L. Griset /Sue Mahan London: Sage Publications

12. Session Monday 15 of May. **Student assignment, Cases of Terrorism II.**

The Industrial Organization of Terrorism

13. Session Wednesday 17 of May. The Leadership and Quality of Members

Required Readings

- *Hezbollah's command Leadership: its structure, decision-making and relationship with Iranian Clergy and Institutions* by Magnus Ranstrop. *Terrorism and Political Violence* vol 6 no 3 Autumn 1994 pp. 303-339 Published by Frank Cass, London

- *Hamas Internal Structure pp 173-174 in The Palestinian Hamas. Vision Violence and Coexistence by Shaul Mishal and Avraham Sela. Columbia University Press NY 2000*
- *The Quality of Terror by Ethan Bueno de Mesquita unpublished paper*
- *Education, Poverty and Terrorism: Is There a Causal Connection by Alan B Krueger and Jitka Malecokva. Journal of Economic Perspectives vol 17 no 4 fall 2003 pp 119-144.*

Recommended Readings

Prisons and the Education of Terrorists Ian M Cutherbertson

14. Session Monday 22 of May. No class see session 15

15. *Day Session* Wednesday 24 of May Organization and Networks. Guest lecture: Jacob Shapiro Pol Sci Stanford University.

Required readings

- *Chapter 8 Suicide Terrorist Organizations Around the globe 126-170 in Dying to Win the Strategic Logic of Suicide Terrorism by Robert A Pape 2005.*
- *Social Networks and the Jihad Marc Sageman chapter five pp 137-174in Understanding Terror Networks. University of Pennsylvania Press 2004*

Recommended readings

Mapping Jihadist Terrorism in Spain by Javier Jordan and Nicola Horsburgh in Studies in Conflict and Terrorism 28: 169-191, 2005.

The Greedy Terrorist: A rational-Choice Perspective on Terrorist Organizations Inefficiencies and vulnerabilities by Jacob Shapiro in Strategic Insights, vol IV Issue 1 Jan 2005.

Harmony and disharmony Exploiting Al-Qa'ida's Organizational Vulnerabilities Feb 14 2006 unpublished manuscript

Evening Session Wednesday 24 of May. **A Staged Play Reading by Karen Sunde.**

16. Session Wednesday 31 of May. Financing. Guests: Professor John Taylor Hoover and Department of Economics and Professor David Laitin Pol. Sci. Stanford University

Required readings

- *Terror incorporated chapters 5 pp 65-80 in Terror incorporated tracing the dollars behind the terror networks by Loretta Napoleoni, Seven stories press New York*
- *Chapter 15 Terror's Balance of Payments pp 171-181, State-Shell Economics chapter 16 pp. 183-208. from Terror Incorporate by Loretta Napoleoni 2005.*

- *Underfunding in Terrorist Organizations* by Jacob N Shapiro and David Siegel unpublished paper

17. Session Monday 5 of June. Recruitment. Guest speaker: Visiting Professor Khalid Medani CISAC, Islamic Studies at McGill University.

Required Readings

- *Joining the Jihad Chapter 4 in Understanding Terror Networks* Marc Sageman University of Pennsylvania Press Philadelphia pp. 99-136
- *The Mosque Network chapter 11 in Loretta Napoleoni Terror incorporated NY Seven Stories Press pp 133-140*

Recommended Paper

Resources and the Information Problem in Rebel Recruitment by Jeremy M Weinstein Oct 2004 unpublished paper.

18. Session Wednesday 7 of June. Tactics

Required Readings

- *Rational Martyrs vs Hard Targets: Evidence on the Tactical use of Suicide Attacks* by Eli Berman and David D. Laitin. unpublished manuscript NBER
- *Ethnicity Insurgency and Civil War* by James D Fearon and David D. Laitin in *American Political Science Review* vol 97 no 1 Feb 2003 pp. 75-90.
- *The strategic logic of suicide* American Robert A Pape. *Political Science Review* vol 97 no 3 August 2003 pp 1-19

Recommended Readings

Chapters 3-5 in Robert Pape 27-78