

GOV 360N: Terrorism and Counterterrorism, Spring 2013

Department of Government, University of Texas at Austin

1 Instructor Information

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2 Course Overview, Format, and Objectives

This course introduces the topic of terrorism and addresses the core ideas in studies of terrorism. We examine in detail the primary causes of terrorist acts committed both by opposition and government forces as well as counterterrorist measures taken by states and international organizations. We also focus on common misunderstandings of terrorism, such as the idea that terrorism is a group ideology or group characteristic rather than a political act. Further, we move beyond a narrow focus on Islamic terrorism, which seems to dominate the public discourse, and consider many varieties of terrorism over time and throughout the world.

The course will enable students to develop an understanding of what terrorism is, what its causes are, and how it can be addressed. In addition to considering various theoretical approaches, we will discuss a number of instances of terrorist acts and campaigns. A research paper on a terrorist campaign of your choice will allow you to gain an even deeper perspective on terrorist behavior. These activities and assignments should help you (1) gain a knowledge of countries and violence, theoretically and factually, (2) write professional research papers, (3) communicate effectively in oral presentations, and (4) think critically, analytically, and synthetically.

I hope that our sessions will be engaging, informative, and participatory. I eschew a strict lecture format. Instead, we will engage in a variety of activities including lectures, personal writing exercises, partner and group work, class discussions, video clips, demonstrations, problem-solving activities, and other critical thinking exercises. I value and will solicit your input on class activities both at the beginning of the semester as well as around midterm. I will make every reasonable effort to incorporate these ideas in the classroom.

3 Requirements**3.1 Required Readings**

Three books are required for purchase, but other articles will be placed on blackboard and you will also be responsible for them. Please note that I will alter the readings from time to time including adding, dropping, and reorganizing. I will give you advance notice when this is to take place.

Martin, Gus. 2006. *Understanding Terrorism: Challenges, Perspectives, and Issues*. 3rd ed. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications.

Hoffman, Bruce. 2006. *Inside Terrorism*. 2nd ed. New York: Columbia University Press.

Gottlieb, Stuart. (Ed.) 2010. *Debating Terrorism and Counterterrorism: Conflicting Perspectives on Causes, Contexts, and Responses*. Washington, DC: CQ Press.

You should also plan to follow world news on a regular basis by reading, for examples, the *BBC* or *New York Times*.

3.2 Attendance and Participation

Attendance and participation are worth 10% of your grade.

I expect all students to attend class regularly. On many days, we will spend a few minutes writing about various topics from the text or lecture. Frequently, you will hand in these writings for credit. These writing activities will enable us to think critically and they will also guide some of our discussion. I also encourage you to ask questions and make germane comments *at any time* during class. Furthermore, please finish the assigned readings *by the date* they appear in the syllabus. Read critically and be prepared to comment on the readings in class.

Your attendance and participation grade will be based extensively on “Readings Emails”. For each class session, each of you is required to submit a short email of two paragraphs (750 words or less). You must send the email before midnight on the Monday and Wednesday before we meet in class on Tuesday and Thursday to discuss the relevant reading. The first paragraph should synthesize the main arguments from the readings as well as the main findings.

The second paragraph needs to lay out some specific questions or anecdotes connecting to policy or to your germane personal experiences. Samples of questions you could ask or answer include: What in this reading could you affect through a job or otherwise? What are the most interesting ideas based on your personal experiences? What stories from terrorist campaigns does this most resonate with? What did you expect most or least and why? What advice would you give to a policymaker after having read this piece? Any other questions making personal or policy connections should be fine.

I will provide feedback on how you are doing on the emails at a few points in the semester, but a far better way to have them evaluated is to print them, bring them to class, and use them as the basis for our discussions. In addition to enriching our discussions, they are a great way for us to prepare for class — they help me see which points came across well and which did not and need emphasis. Finally, they are also a chance to explore ideas without the pressure of expanding them into full papers, though it is likely that great papers may well get their start as smart emails.

You should submit emails for each reading assignment every day that readings are assigned in the syllabus, though each student can skip one email without penalty. You should feel free to discuss the readings together before composing the emails. Collaboration and discussion is encouraged. However, you will be graded on your independence of thought in your analysis, so copying each other’s work will be penalized severely. Please engage the readings thoughtfully, critique them, ask questions of them, suggest new directions. Note that for the second paragraph I am not after a “right answer”. Rather I would like to see that you are reflecting on the readings and applying them in some way.

Important Note: I receive many emails in a given day, and I will need you to help us sort yours out of the mix. In the email’s subject line, please type “GOV 360N: ” followed by the last name(s) of the author(s) so that I can better keep track of your emails. If you do not do this, I may inadvertently fail to give you credit for your email. Do not put anything else in the

subject line. That way, if you need to email me regarding something else, I won't mistake it for an assignment email. In other words, please have a subject line that reads like this: "GOV 360N: Smith, Doe"

In sum: Send your reading email before each class to me **AND** our TA with the subject line "GOV 360N: Author". For any other class inquiries, just email me or the TA as needed with a normal subject line (i.e., no need for the GOV 360N tag).

3.3 Assignments

Students are required to complete two writing assignments. A brief summary of the assignments appears here, but please see the details for all three in the Appendix. I strongly encourage you to submit a rough draft of your paper(s) at least one week prior to the due date(s). Josiah and I are happy to provide initial feedback on the direction of the paper if you get it to us far enough in advance. If you turn in any rough draft less than a week in advance, we will most likely not look at it.

1st Writing Assignment: The first writing assignment requires you to examine some data on terrorism to understand trends over time as well as some important, but under appreciated, facts about terrorism. This paper can be no more than 5 pages in length. The assignment is worth 10% of your grade.

2nd Writing Assignment: For this assignment, you will write a group research paper that researches a specific question about terrorism. The final paper will be no more than 15 pages (of text) and your grade will be based on a proposal, a rough draft, a final draft, and an oral presentation. The assignment is worth 30% of your final grade. Because this is a group paper, part of your grade will come from peer evaluation and my own assessment of your contribution to the project. You will need to send a peer evaluation for each stage of the assignment to the TA.

3.4 Exams

The midterm and final exams account for 50% of your final grade (20% for the midterm and 30% for the final). Both exams will consist of multiple choice and short and long essays. Closer to the exam dates, I will hand out more detailed information about preparing for, and taking, the exams.

3.5 Schedule of Important Dates

Date	Assignment	Time	% of Grade
Jan 22	Email about syllabus		Req.
Feb 7	Choose Research Question		Req.
Feb 19	Assignment 1		10%
Feb 28	Midterm Exam	In Class	20%
Mar 19	2-3 page proposal		Req.
Apr 11	Draft of Assignment 2		Req.
May 3	Assignment 2		30%
May 8	Final Exam	9:00-12:00	30%
	Attendance/Participation	Class/Email	10%

4 Course Policies

4.1 Make-up Exams and Assignments

No make-up exams or quizzes will be given unless either prior consent is obtained from the instructor or a valid excuse is obtained according to university guidelines. I will consent to give makeup exams only in the case of a documented emergency or some other commensurate event.

Papers arriving late (i.e., later than 5 minutes into the class period) will be subject to a 1/3 grade reduction. For each successive late day, your grade will be reduced by 1/3 each day (i.e., an *A* will be lowered to an *A-* on the first day late, an *A-* to a *B+* on the second day late, and so on).

4.2 Assignment of Grades

Grades are assigned on the following scale: *A* = 94–100; *A-* = 90–93; *B+* = 87–89; *B* = 84–86; *B-* = 80–83;...*F* = 63 or lower. If you have a complaint about how your exam (or paper) was graded, I am happy to take a second look. You must type a formal appeal addressing the problem and explain clearly what you originally wrote, why you wrote it, and how you think your original response correctly answered the original question. Additionally, you must turn in the original exam (or paper) along with your typed appeal.

4.3 Online Resources

The syllabus, all grades, paper topics, lecture outlines, and more will be posted on blackboard. Although the lecture outlines will be posted here, do not assume that this exempts you from taking notes in class. The outlines will facilitate your note taking, but will not provide sufficient detail from which to study for exams.

4.4 Academic Integrity

UT students should seek to be totally honest in their dealings with others. They should complete their own work and be evaluated based upon that work. They should avoid academic dishonesty and misconduct in all its forms, including plagiarism, fabrication or falsification, cheating, and other academic misconduct. Students are expected not only to be honest but also to assist other students in fulfilling their commitment to be honest.

While students should make a general commitment to proper academic conduct, there are still specific skills most students need to master over time in order to correctly cite sources, especially in the age of the internet, as well as deal with the stress and strain of college life without resorting to cheating. Please know that as your professor I will notice instances of cheating on exams or plagiarizing on papers.

Writing submitted for credit at UT must consist of the student's own ideas presented in sentences and paragraphs of his or her own construction. The work of other writers or speakers may be included when appropriate (as in a research paper or book review), but such material must support the student's own work (not substitute for it) and must be clearly identified by appropriate introduction and punctuation and by footnoting or other standard referencing.

The substitution of another person's work for the student's own or the inclusion of another person's work without adequate acknowledgment (whether done intentionally or not) is known as plagiarism. It is a violation of academic, ethical, and legal standards and can result in a

failing grade not only for the paper but also for the course in which the paper is written. In extreme cases, it can justify expulsion from the University. Because of the seriousness of the possible consequences, students who wonder if their papers are within these guidelines should visit a writing lab or consult a faculty member who specializes in the teaching of writing or who specializes in the subject discussed in the paper. Useful books to consult on the topic include the current *Harbrace College Handbook*, the *MLA Handbook*, and James D. Lester's *Writing Research Papers*.

Please also see the University Honor Code site for more information at:
<http://registrar.utexas.edu/catalogs/gi09-10/ch01/index.html>.

4.5 Classroom Civility

Regrettably, a handful of students occasionally demonstrate insensitivity to other students and to instructors by disrupting classes unnecessarily. Arriving late for class, reading newspapers in class, packing up bags prior to the end of class, and cell phone use are all disruptive activities.

Browsing the internet, checking email, and playing games on laptops are also inappropriate in class because you should be listening and participating. Certainly, taking notes on a laptop is appropriate, but do not waste your time or mine by getting distracted by other activities on the web. In calculating the attendance and participation grades I will take into account whether you spent your time engaged in the discussion/lecture or whether you were distracted with other activities.

Moreover, I will not tolerate incivility of one opinion to another. It is exciting and healthy to exchange a diversity of opinions, but in no case should anyone demean another because of his or her viewpoint. If you have any questions about what classroom civility entails, please contact me.

4.6 Syllabus

Each of you needs to email the TA by Jan 22 to let us know that you have read through the syllabus and that you understand all that is required of you. Also, readings for this course may be changed on an ad hoc basis. For the most part this will not happen, but if so, I will give as much notice as possible. I will likely assign short conflict summaries on a regular basis so that we can discuss specific civil wars in class.

4.7 Other Policies

Access: The University of Texas at Austin is committed to providing a working and learning atmosphere that reasonably accommodates qualified persons with disabilities. If you have any disability which may impair your ability to complete this course successfully, please contact the Division of Diversity and Community Engagement, Services for Students with Disabilities, 471-6259, <http://www.utexas.edu/diversity/ddce/ssd/>.

Religious Holidays: By UT Austin policy, you must notify me of your pending absence at least fourteen days prior to the date of observance of a religious holy day. If you must miss a class, an examination, a work assignment, or a project in order to observe a religious holy day, you will be given an opportunity to complete the missed work within a reasonable time after the absence.

Emergencies: Please also see the following recommendations regarding emergency evacuation from the Office of Campus Safety and Security, 512-471-5767, <http://www.utexas.edu/safety/>.

1. Occupants of buildings on The University of Texas at Austin campus are required to evacuate buildings when a fire alarm is activated. Alarm activation or announcement requires exiting and assembling outside. 2. Familiarize yourself with all exit doors of each classroom and building you may occupy. Remember that the nearest exit door may not be the one you used when entering the building. 3. Students requiring assistance in evacuation shall inform their instructor in writing during the first week of class. 4. In the event of an evacuation, follow the instruction of faculty or class instructors. 5. Do not re-enter a building unless given instructions by the following: Austin Fire Department, The University of Texas at Austin Police Department, or Fire Prevention Services office. 6. Behavior Concerns Advice Line (BCAL): 512-232-5050. 7. Link to information regarding emergency evacuation routes and emergency procedures can be found at: www.utexas.edu/emergency.

5 Tentative Course and Reading Schedule

5.1 Jan 15: Syllabus and Introduction

5.2 Jan 17, 22: Defining / Conceptualizing Terrorism

- Martin: Pg 1–22; 35–59
- Hoffman: 1–3; 20–41
- Schmid & Jongman 2008: 1–38 (skim)
- Nisbett 2002: all
- Definition simulation

5.3 Jan 24: History of Terrorism

- Martin: Pg 23–29
- Hoffman: 3–20; 43–80
- Rapaport 2004: 46–73
- Gottlieb: Chp 1; 1–33
- Loehle 1990: all

5.4 Jan 29, Feb 31 Rational, Psychological, Sociological, Biological Theories

- Martin: Pg 63–81
- Kydd and Walter, 2006: 49–79
- Thayer and Hudson, 2010: 37–62
- Victoroff 2005: 3–42
- Varian 2002: all
- Writing Workshop

5.5 Feb 5, 7: Specific Causes of Terrorism (Democracy, Poverty, Security)

- Crenshaw 1981: 379–399
- Findley and Young, 2011a: 357–378
- Gottlieb: Chp 2: 34–66
- Eubank and Weinberg 2001: 155–164
- Writing Workshop

5.6 Feb 12, 14: Rightist/Reactionary & Leftist/Revolutionary Terrorism

- Martin: Chp 7
- Schonteich, 2004: 757–776
- Durham, 2003: 96–111
- Crenshaw, 1972: 383–396
- McClintock, 1984: 48–84

5.7 Feb 19, 21, 26: Religious & Nationalist Terrorism

- Martin: Chp 6
- Hoffman, Chp 4: 81–130
- Byman, 1998: 149–169
- Gottlieb: Chp 4: 100–130
- King 1998: 59–63
- Writing Workshop

5.8 Feb 28: Midterm Exam**5.9 Mar 5, 7: State (-Sponsored) Terrorism**

- Martin: Chp 4
- Claridge, 1996: 47–63
- Wilkinson, 1981: 467–472
- Piazza and Walsh, 2010: 551–577 (skim)
- Writing Workshop

5.10 Mar 19, 21: Terrorism and Civil War

- Martin: Chp 5
- Sambanis, 2008: 1–49
- Merari, 1993: 213–251
- Findley and Young, 2012
- Begin hostage crisis simulation

5.11 Mar 26, 28: Organization, Tactics, and Targets

- Martin: Chp 10
- Hoffman, Chp 5: 131–171
- Horowitz, 2010: 33–64 (skim)
- Bloom, 2005: 76–100 (skim)
- Sanderson, 2004: 49–61 (skim)
- Gottlieb: Chp 5; 131–165 (skim)
- Gottlieb: Chp 6; 166–200
- Hostage crisis simulation
- Writing Workshop

5.12 Apr 2, 4: Paradise Now**5.13 Apr 9, 11, 16: Counterterrorism**

- Martin: Chps 13
- Abrahms, 2006: 42–78
- Gottlieb: Chp 8; 235–271
- Gottlieb: Chp 11; 336–369
- Writing Workshop
- Counterterrorism simulation

5.14 Apr 18, 23: Future of Terrorism

- Martin: Chp 14
- Hoffman, Chp 9: 257–295
- USIP report, 1999: 1–11
- Betts, 1998: 1–8
- Gottlieb: Chp 12; 370–395
- Counterterrorism simulation finish

5.15 Apr 25, 30, May 2: Group Research Paper Presentations

5.16 May 3: Final Papers (Assignment 2) Due

5.17 Final Exam — Weds, May 8, 9:00–12:00

References

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- [2] Betts, Richard. 1998. "The New Threat of Mass Destruction." *Foreign Affairs* January/February 1998: 1–8.
- [3] Bloom, Mia. 2005. *Dying to Kill: The Allure of Suicide Terror*. New York: Columbia University Press. Pp. 76–100.
- [4] Byman, Daniel. 1998. "The Logic of Ethnic Terrorism" *Studies in Conflict and Terrorism* 21(2): 149–169.
- [5] Claridge, David. 1996. "State Terrorism? Applying a Definitional Model" *Terrorism and Political Violence* 8(3): 47–63.
- [6] Crenshaw, Martha. 1972. "The Concept of Revolutionary Terrorism" *The Journal of Conflict Resolution* 26(3): 383–396.
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- [8] Durham, Martin. 2003. "The American Far Right and 9/11" *Terrorism and Political Violence* 15(2): 96–111.
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- [10] Eubank, William, and Leonard Weinberg. 2001. "Terrorism and Democracy: Perpetrators and Victims." 13(1): 155–164.
- [11] Findley, Michael, and Joseph Young. 2011a. "Terrorism, Democracy, and Credible Commitments." *International Studies Quarterly* 55(2): 357–378.
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- [15] King, Charles. 1998. "Battling the Six Evil Geniuses of Essay Writing." *PS: Political Science and Politics* March. 59–63.
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- [17] Loehle, Craig. 1990. "A Guide to Increased Creativity in Research: Inspiration or Perspiration?" *Bioscience* 40(2): 123–129.

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- [20] McClintock, Cynthia. 1984. "Why Peasants Rebel: The Case of Peru's Sendero Luminoso" *World Politics* 37: 48–84.
- [21] Nisbett, Richard. 2002. "The Anticreativity Letters: Advice From a Senior Tempter to a Junior Tempter." Accessible online at: <http://www-personal.umich.edu/nisbett/anticreat.pdf>
- [22] Piazza, James, and James Walsh. 2010. "Why Respecting Physical Integrity Rights Reduces Terrorism." *Comparative Political Studies* 43(5): 551-577.
- [23] Rapaport, David. 2004. "The Four Waves of Modern Terrorism." In Audrey Kurth Cronin & James Ludes (Eds) *Attacking Terrorism: Elements of a Grand Strategy*. Pp. 46–73. Washington D.C.: Georgetown University Press.
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- [25] Sanderson, Thomas. 2004. "Transnational Terror and Organized Crime: Blurring the Lines." *SAIS Review* 24(1): 49–61.
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- [28] Thayer, Bradley, and Valerie Hudson. 2010. "Sex and the Shaheed." *International Security* 34(4): 37–62.
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- [32] Wilkinson, Paul. 1981. "Can A State Be 'Terrorist'?" *International Affairs* 57(3): 467–472.

A Tentative Paper Assignments

In what follows, I describe the assignments that you will need to complete for this course. Note that these may change somewhat, but I will give you advance notice. Before you work on each assignment, I will hand out any updates to clarify things that might be unclear in this version.

The purpose of providing this now is so that you get a good sense of where we are going. I will also give other handouts throughout the semester on guidelines for writing and giving oral presentations. All papers need to be turned in by the beginning of class on the date they are due. I do not care what citation style you use, just be consistent and accurate. You need to upload each paper and assignment to blackboard rather than submitting a hard copy.

B Assignment 1: Trends in Terrorism

For this assignment, you need to conduct some research on current trends in terrorism. To do this, you need to use a data set and do some very basic data analysis on global terrorism. I will post the data set on Blackboard. For the assignment, you need to obtain the following information from the data:

1. How is terrorism defined and measured in the data set?
2. How many terrorist events are there (total) in each data set?
3. Which country (countries) have the fewest events; which have the most; and what is the average?
4. What is the average number of deaths per terrorist event?
5. What is the most common terrorist target?

Once you obtain these specific pieces of information, then I would like you to learn three other trends about terrorism in the world. You can choose other trends yourself, so long as they are not isolated facts.

Please write a 5 page (max; double-spaced) paper that reports the results of your data searches both in brief tables as well as in the text. You should talk about each result and discuss what you thought about the trend prior to seeing the data, what your impressions are now that you have examined the trends, and why you think the trend exists. Finally, please identify three possible research questions that you could address with this dataset.

The assignment is worth 10% of your final grade and is due on Feb 19.

C Assignment 2: Research Paper on Terrorism

C.1 Objective

As students of Political Science, there is often a strong emphasis on “consuming” knowledge that already exists. This is important. Equally important, however, we should learn to “produce” knowledge. For this assignment, you will work together in a group to write a paper addressing a specific research question on terrorism that will help you understand terrorism better and produce knowledge for the terrorism research and policy communities. I expect that papers completed for this class will be strong initial work for potential conference papers, honors theses, student journal publications, or writing samples for graduate school.

Because of time constraints, your research papers will be shorter than standard article-length research that appears in journals. I will help you choose manageable research questions that will allow you to focus on researching specific empirical material. One of the easiest approaches

that I will encourage you to adopt is to carry out new empirical analysis on an existing research question. In other words, you might choose a research question for which strong theory already exists, but then test the question using a new data set or case studies. For example, a paper could address whether increasing education makes terrorism less likely. Existing research finds little support for this hypothesis. But existing research relies on a very limited spatial and temporal domain. Thus, a research paper could expand the set of cases or extend the time-period under consideration to understand whether past research is correct.

To provide some initial direction on possible projects, here are some topics/questions that could be examined more carefully:

- Are “democratizing” countries more prone to terrorism?
- Does terrorism often induce genocidal violence?
- Does terrorism precede and encourage civil war onset?
- Are political leaders more likely to be voted out of office as terrorism increases?
- How do terrorist acts diffuse within countries?
- As the number of displaced people increases in a country, does terrorism also increase?
- Is transnational terrorism more brutal/lethal than domestic terrorism? Why?
- Does paramilitary violence increase as oppositional terror increases?
- Does inequality (as opposed to poverty alone) make terrorism more likely?
- Does torture increase or decrease future terrorism?

C.2 TA and Faculty Consultation

Each of you should meet with the TA before February 5 to finalize your research question and to discuss writing strategies. I would also like to meet with each group early in the semester to go over your topic. We will also have writing workshops in class to help you with the research and writing process.

C.3 Proposal, Rough, and Final Drafts

A 2–3 page proposal is due on March 19 that summarizes the proposed paper as well as your initial progress. A polished, preliminary draft of the full paper will be due on April 11. Because we need to have presentations from April 25–May 2, the strict penalty (outlined above) will be enforced. All assignments should be turned in through Blackboard. The final paper is due on May 3 by the beginning of class. It should be no more than 15 pages in length (text; longer with title/references), formatted consistently, written and proofread well, easy to read, should have a polished appearance, and contain extensive citations. For the proposal, rough draft, and final draft, each of you needs to send a peer evaluation to the TA.

C.4 Oral Presentation

The last three days of class will be devoted to oral presentations of your research findings. You will have eight minutes to present. If you go over the eight minutes, I will penalize you. After the presentation, I expect the class to engage the research with questions, comments, critiques, etc. The presentation days should be some of the most lively and interesting of the semester. Use good presentation skills: be clear, be focused, be simple, and use overheads or visuals (carefully).

C.5 Grade Assignment and Schedule

The components of the research paper will be weighted as follows: final draft = 50%, rough draft = 25%, presentation = 15%, proposal=10%. To summarize, you need to complete the following:

1. You should meet with TA by January Feb 5
2. You need to choose your research question by Feb 7
3. A 2–3 page proposal is due on Mar 19
4. A polished, preliminary draft of the full paper is due on Apr 11
5. Presentations will occur from April 25–May 2
6. The final paper is due on May 3

C.6 Paper Format

The paper should be no more than 15 pages of double-spaced text plus a title page and references. Please note that the final research paper should be structured as follows.

1. Title Page (with Abstract)
2. Introduction (2 pages)
3. Literature Review (2 pages)
4. Theory (3 pages)
5. Research Design (2 pages)
6. Empirical Analysis (5 pages)
7. Conclusion (1 page)
8. References