

Poli 142L: Terrorism and Insurgency

University of California San Diego

Winter 2025

Course Information:

Lectures: M/W/F 3:00-3:50PM, PETER 110

Instructor:

Wendy Wagner, wwagner@ucsd.edu

Office Hours: Friday 11:00AM-1:00PM, SSB 447

Teaching Assistants:

Removed.

Course Description & Objectives:

Who are terrorists? What motivates them to organize and use covert violence? Are terrorists simply insurgents by another name? Terrorism and insurgency are common forms of contemporary warfare. The study of terrorism is often isolated from broader studies of insurgency and armed conflict. This course explores the strategic logic of terrorist violence, exposes students to varieties of terrorism, and common and evolving explanations for terrorism. It is the primary goal of this course to lead students to their own understanding of theories and primary evidence regarding the causes, conduct, and consequences of terrorism, both domestic and transnational, and to understand terrorism as a strategic tool in broader insurgencies. Developing an understanding of terrorist motivations and logic is essential to relate to broader approaches to counterterrorism and counterinsurgency. Students can then evaluate the effectiveness and appropriateness of countermeasures.

Students are exposed to academic literature in political science, sociology and criminology. The readings are designed to provide students with a solid foundation in terrorism research, introduce major works on the topics, and develop students' ability to understand the approaches and findings of social science research. At the same time, students are encouraged to think about the scope conditions for these theories and findings and challenge their assumptions. The assignments are

designed to enable students to analyze cases of terrorist incidents and counterterrorism strategies by relating the introduced theories to real world scenarios.

Course Requirements

Grade Breakdown:

Participation – 10 %

Midterm – 15 %

Final Exam – 25 %

Policy Analysis Paper Part 1 – 15 %

Policy Analysis Paper Part 2 – 25 %

Peer Review – 10 %

(Resubmission – 40 %)

Exams:

Exams test you on knowledge acquired through the weekly lectures and your understanding of the assigned reading/viewing materials. Both the mid-term and final exam include multiple choice and short answer questions. The midterm will take 50 min and is completed during class session. The final exam is cumulative, will take 90 min, and is scheduled per the registrar's office for March 19th at 3:00-4:30PM.

Assignments:

Assignments are designed to encourage growth and improvement. You will complete a strategy analysis in parts. Choosing one of three possible incidents of terrorist violence, you will (1) submit an introduction and background component of your analysis. In this first component, discuss the incident, provide background on the perpetrators, their motivations and strategic incentives, and discuss the government response. You will receive feedback on this submission that you are expected to integrate in your second assignment. In your second assignment, you will include revised version of part 1 and (2) discuss possible counterterrorism policies, their appropriateness and expectations for their effectiveness and why ultimately the strategy taken was chosen by the government.

You will receive feedback on your submission AND provide feedback yourself to ONE other student in the class. In this peer feedback, critique your peer's application of theories from class and the logic of their deductions. This peer feedback is graded based on completion (8 points) and quality of your feedback in both depths and critical reflection (2 points). Finally, you have an opportunity to integrate the instructor and peer feedback into your analysis and resubmit the assignment. Resubmission is not required. If you are satisfied with the grades you received in part 1 and part 2 of your assignment, you do not have to resubmit. But if you see potential for improvement, you can significantly better your final grade.

Regrading:

Regrading requests should not be necessary as the assignments are designed to encourage growth and improvement. This is built into the structure of the course itself. Note that you will have an opportunity to improve your grade by resubmitting your assignment at the end of the course – only your better grade counts for your final grade.

Should you still desire to request regrading by the instructor, follow this process: No later than 7 days after the release of the grade for the assignment (or within 2 days of the release of the grade for the final assignment), submit your regrade request by email to the professor along with a 1 page written statement about how and why your grade should be adjusted, and providing suggestions for the new grade.

Attendance:

In this class, attendance will be taken via iClicker participation. You are not missing more than 3 lectures unexcused. This does not include non-attendance due to valid reasons for which you have previously notified the instructor - at least 24 hours in advance.

You participate during class using the iClicker mobile app. Make sure you have registered on iClicker by the second lecture on Wednesday February 8th, have installed the iClicker app and joined the course: Terrorism and Insurgency

Discussion Board:

We will use the discussion board on Canvas as a valuable resource throughout the quarter. Please pose any general organizational questions or substantive discussion questions on the respective boards. TAs will respond to your questions there in a

timely fashion and students are expected to review first the syllabus document and previous discussion questions before posing a new question or emailing your TAs.

Quizzes & LockDown Browser:

All in-class exams, including the midterm and final exam utilize the LockDown Browser in Canvas or via the LockDown Browser App for tablets. When you attempt a Canvas quiz demanding LockDown Browser for the first time, you will be prompted with instructions on how to enable this feature. Complete the #FinAid quiz to commence academic activity for financial aid and take care of the LockDown feature right away. If LockDown Browser is not ready for use on your device during the Midterm Exam, the time needed to set it up will be deducted from your exam time or you will need to take the exam on paper instead! Learn more about LockDown Browser here:

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=XuX8WoeAycs>Links to an external site.

Overview of Classes

	Date	Topic	Important Information
Week 1	Mon, Jan 6th	Introduction	
	Wed, Jan 8th	Making Inferences about Terrorism	
	Fri, Jan 10th	Definitions & Concepts	
Week 2	Mon, Jan 13th	The Waves vs Strains	
	Wed, Jan 15th	Strategic Logic of Terrorism	
	Fri, Jan 17th	What Terrorists Really Want	
Week 3	Mon, Jan 20th	Country-Level Factors	
	Wed, Jan 22nd	Organizational-Level Factors	
	Fri, Jan 24th	Individual-Level Factors	
Week 4	Mon, Jan 27th	Transnational Terrorism & Global Terrorist Movements	
	Wed, Jan 29th	Deep Dive: 9/11 and Paris Attacks	
	Fri, Jan 31st	Far-Right Terrorist Threat	
Week 5	Mon, Feb 3rd	Deep Dive: Atomwaffen and Oath Keepers	

	Wed, Feb 5th		Midterm exam (in-class)
	Fri, Feb 7th	Lone Wolf Terrorism, Incels (other societal threats)	
Week 6	Mon, Feb 10th	Counterterrorism Policy and Strategy	
	Wed, Feb 12th	The Global War on Terror	Assignment 1 is due
	Fri, Feb 14th		
Week 7	Mon, Feb 17th	Targeting Root Causes	
	Wed, Feb 19th	Counterterrorism, Media and Digital Age	
	Fri, Feb 21st	Ethical Considerations in Counterterrorism	
Week 8	Mon, Feb 24th	Terrorism, Civil War, and Insurgency	
	Wed, Feb 26th	Logic of Violence in Civil War	Assignment 2 is due
	Fri, Feb 28th	Insurgent Strategies and Terrorism	
Week 9	Mon, Mar 3rd		No class
	Wed, Mar 5th	How the Weak Win Wars	Peer feedback is due
	Fri, Mar 7th	External Actors in Terrorism and Proxy War	
Week 10	Mon, Mar 10th	COIN vs. traditional military operations	
	Wed, Mar 12th	The challenge of legitimacy	
	Fri, Mar 14th	COIN Failures	Resubmission is due
	Wed, Mar 19th		Final exam

Learning Objectives and Readings

Mon, Jan 6th **Introduction**

What are the ways in which terrorism manifests? How do we study terrorism?

Wed, Jan 8th **Generating Inferences about Terrorism**

How do we relate individual incidents of terrorist violence to generalizable? How can we organize theories and findings related to terrorism?

- Jenkins (2001). "Terrorism and Beyond: a 21st Century Perspective." Studies in Conflict and Terrorism, 24(5).

- Sandler (2014). “The analytical study of terrorism: Taking stock.” *Journal of Peace Research*, 51(2).
- Optional: Blaug (1975). “Kuhn versus Lakatos, or paradigms versus research programmes in the history of economics.” *HOPE* 7(4). Pages 399-410 only!

Fri, Jan 10th **Definitions & Concepts**

Why and when are certain forms of violence characterized as terrorism? What are common perpetrators and modes of terrorist violence? How do scholars and policy makers differentiate between domestic and foreign terrorist threats? Is this distinction useful?

- Saul (2019). “Defining Terrorism: A Conceptual Minefield.” *The Oxford Handbook of Terrorism*.
- Berger Hobson and Moghadam (2024). “Terrorism, Guerrilla, and the Labeling of Militant Groups.” *Terrorism and Political Violence*, 36(4).

Week 2: The Logic of Terrorism

Mon, Jan 13th **The Waves vs Strains Approach** (manifestations and trends)

Has terrorist violence changed throughout history? Can we understand patterns of terrorist violence better as waves or strains?

- Parker and Sitter (2016). “The Four Horsemen of Terrorism: It’s Not Waves, It’s Strains.” *Terrorism and Political Violence*, 28(2).

Wed, Jan 15th **Strategic Logic of Terrorism**

What does terrorism seek to achieve? How can an act of terrorism help perpetrators achieve their goals?

- Kydd and Walter (2006). “The Strategies of Terrorism.” *International Security*, 31(1).

Fri, Jan 17th **What Terrorists Really Want**

If terrorism often does not achieve desired outcomes, is it irrational? Does the logic of terrorism imply that actors must claim credit?

- Abrams (2008). “What Terrorists Really Want: Terrorist Motives and Counterterrorism Strategy.” *International Security*, 32(4).
- Abrahms and Conrad (2017). “The Strategic Logic of Credit Claiming: A New Theory of Anonymous Terrorist Attacks.” *Security Studies* 26(2).

Week 3: Explanations for Terrorism

Mon, Jan 20th Country-Level Determinants

Are some countries more prone to terrorism? Why would democracies be more likely targets of terrorism, or are they? Examples: ETA in Spain, IRA in Ireland, Boko Haram in Nigeria

- Chenoweth (2013). "Terrorism and Democracy." Annual Review of Political Science, 16.
- Findley and Young (2011). "Terrorism, Democracy, and Credible Commitments." International Studies Quarterly, 55(2).
- Watch: Vice (2016), Nigeria Fighting Boko Haram

Wed, Jan 22nd Organizational-Level Determinants

Why are some armed organizations more prone to using terrorism? What features increase their violent potential and choice of violent tactics? Examples: Al-Qaeda and ISIS Affiliates

- Acosta (2016). "Dying for survival: Why militant organizations continue to conduct suicide attacks." Journal of Peace Research.
- Bacon (2018). "Is the Enemy of My Enemy My Friend? How Terrorist Groups Select Partners." Security Studies, 3.

Fri, Jan 24th Individual-Level Determinants

What psychological theories help us understand individual level motivation to join violent groups or commit violent acts? Why do people participate in terrorism, especially suicide terrorism?

- Horgan (2019). "Psychological Approaches to the Study of Terrorism." The Oxford Handbook of Terrorism.
- Dingley and Mollica (2007). "The Human Body as a Terrorist Weapon: Hunger Strikes and Suicide Bombers." Studies in Conflict and Terrorism, 30(6).

Week 4: Manifestations of Terrorism I

Mon, Jan 27th Transnational Terrorism & Global Terrorist Movements

What motivates perpetrators to attack targets abroad? What makes certain movements more threatening than others? What role does extremist ideology play?

Wed, Jan 29th Deep Dive: 9/11 and Paris Attacks

- Osama Bin Laden's Letter to America: Transcript in Full
- Muro (2015). "Why did ISIS Target France?" Barcelona Center for International Affairs. <https://www.cidob.org/en/publications/why-did-isis-target-france>
- Harman (2015). After Paris: An American Strategy. Wilson Center. <https://www.wilsoncenter.org/article/after-paris-american-strategy>

Fri, Jan 31st **Far-Right Terrorism**

Are far-right armed groups domestic or transnational perpetrators? What motivates far-right groups and is their threat growing? Example: Andres Breivik

- Chermak, DeMichele, Gruenewald, Jensen, Lewis, and Lopez (2024). What NIJ Research Tells us About Domestic Terrorism. National Institute of Justice.
- Crenshaw (2021). “Will failed insurrection lead to terrorism in the United States?” Violence 2(2).
- Center for Strategic and International Studies (2018). “**The Rise of Far-Right Extremism in the United States.**” CSIS Briefs. <https://www.csis.org/analysis/rise-far-right-extremism-united-states>

Week 5: Manifestations of Terrorism II

Mon, Feb 3rd **Deep Dive: Atomwaffen Division and Oath Keepers**

- Lokay, Robinson and Crenshaw (2021). “The Oath Keepers.” Dynamics of Asymmetric Conflict, 14:2.
- Watch: Frontline (2020), Documenting Hate: New American Nazis, <https://www.pbs.org/wgbh/frontline/documentary/documenting-hate-new-american-nazis/>

Wed, Feb 5th **Midterm Exam (in-class)**

Make sure that you can access LockDown Browser. If you do not have LockDown Browser ready at the beginning of the exam, you will lose valuable time or will have to take the exam separately on paper.

Fri, Feb 7th **Lone Wolf Terrorism**

What motivates solo actors to commit terrorism? What are the implications of lone wolf terrorism for domestic counterterrorism strategies? Examples: UNA Bomber, new threats from Incels?

- Gill, Horgan, and Deckert (2014). “Bombing Alone: Tracing the Motivations and Antecedent Behaviors of Lone-Actor Terrorists.” Journal of Forensic Sciences, 59(2)
- Bloom (2022). “The First Incel? The Legacy of Marc Lepine.”

Week 6: Counterterrorism I

Mon, Feb 10th **Counterterrorism Policy and Strategy**

- Crenshaw (2001). “Counterterrorism Policy and the Political Process.” Studies in Conflict and Terrorism, 24(5).
- Cronin (2009). How Terrorism Ends. Chapter 7.

- Crenshaw and LaFree (2017). “Overresponding to Rare Events the Problem of Uncommon Threats with Irreversible Consequences.” Countering Terrorism, Brookings Institute Press.

Wed, Feb 12th **Global War on Terror**

- Hatemi and McDermott (2024). “How the United States lost the “forever war”.” Journal of Strategic Studies.
- Jordan (2014). “Attacking the Leader, Missing the Mark: Why Terrorist Groups Survive Decapitation Strikes.” International Security, 38(4).
- Optional: Piazza (2008). “Incubators of Terror: Do Failed and Failing States Promote Transnational Terrorism?” International Studies Quarterly, 52(3). And: Gaibulloev, Piazza, and Sandler (2024). “Do Failed or Weak States Favor Resident Terrorist Groups’ Survival?” Journal of Conflict Resolution, 68(5).

Fri, Feb 14th **Make-up Class**

Week 7: Counterterrorism II

Mon, Feb 17th **Counterterrorism – Counterextremism?**

Can terrorism be prevented? Should counterterrorism target the root causes or deter violence?

- Karabegovic and Metodieva (2016). “Deradicalization of Foreign Fighters and the Agency of Diaspora.” Nordic Journal of Migration Research.
- Vice (2018). Former Neo-Nazis Tell Us How They Finally Left the Movement. <https://www.vice.com/en/article/former-neo-nazis-told-us-how-they-finally-left-the-movement/>

Wed, Feb 19th **Terrorism and the Media; Counterterrorism in the Digital Age**

What does counterterrorism and counter-radicalization in the digital age look like?

- Weimann (2004). “www.terror.net How Modern Terrorism Uses the Internet.” USIP Special Report.
- Conway (2017). “Determining the Role of the Internet in Violent Extremism and Terrorism: Six Suggestions for Progressing Research.” Studies in Conflict and Terrorism, 40(1).
- Watch: Vice News. “RIGHT WING STARS (Official Clip) | VICE | Season 3”. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=FJMi67cSeWk>

Fri, Feb 21st **The Future of Counterterrorism**

What is the trade-off between an effective counterterrorism strategy and ethical considerations and civil liberty? How do we balance it?

Week 8: Insurgency & Terrorism

Mon, Feb 24th Terrorism, Civil War, and Insurgency

What explains insurgent strategic choices? Is it possible and useful to differentiate between terrorism and other forms of violence in civil wars?

- Stanton (2019). "Terrorism, Civil War, and Insurgency." The Oxford Handbook of Terrorism.
- Findley and Young (2012). "Terrorism and Civil War: A Spatial and Temporal Approach to a Conceptual Problem." Perspectives on Politics, 10(2).

Wed, Feb 26th Logic of Violence in Civil War

When are civilians more likely to be harmed in civil war? What makes actors more likely to target civilians indiscriminately?

- Kalyvas (2006). The Logic of Violence in Civil War. Introduction and Chapter 6.

Fri, Feb 28th Insurgent Strategies and Terrorism

- Thomas (2014). "Rewarding Bad Behavior: How Governments Respond to Terrorism in Civil War." American Journal of Political Science 58(4).
- Fortna (2015). "Do Terrorists Win? Rebels' Use of Terrorism and Civil War Outcomes." International Organization, 69(3).

Week 9: Terrorism in Civil Wars

Mon, Mar 3rd No Class.

Please use this time to complete the Peer Feedback assignment!

Wed, Mar 5th How the Weak Win Wars

Is terrorism exclusively a strategy of the weak? What do weak terrorists hope to achieve – and does that make sense?

- Hendrix and Young (2014). "State Capacity and Terrorism: A two-dimensional approach." Security Studies, 23(2).

Fri, Mar 7th Terrorism and Internationalized Conflicts

What role do international rivalries between states play in fostering terrorism? How do external sponsors shape conflicts? Examples: Iranian proxies, Soviet intervention in Afghanistan, U.S. support for rebels in Nicaragua

- Listen: Podcast "From Hezbollah to the Houthis—Understanding Iran's Proxy Network." Modern War Institute at West Point. 02/06/2024. <https://mwi.westpoint.edu/mwi-podcast-from-hezbollah-to-the-houthis-understanding-irans-proxy-network/>

Week 10: Counterinsurgency Strategies

Mon, Mar 10th COIN vs. traditional military operations

How does COIN differ from conventional military operations? Focus on hearts and minds, intelligence, and legal frameworks. Example: U.S. COIN in Iraq

- U.S. Army/Marines Field Manual, Insurgencies and Countering Insurgencies, Introduction and Chapter 1.
- Shapiro and Siegel (2015). "Coordination and security: How mobile communications affect insurgency." *Journal of Peace Research*, 52(3).

Wed, Mar 12th Challenge of Legitimacy

Why do countries intervene in conflicts abroad? How do governments maintain or lose support in COIN operations? Example: U.S. drone strikes in Pakistan and Afghanistan

- Findley and Young (2007). "Fighting Fire with Fire? How (Not) to Neutralize an Insurgency." *Civil Wars*, 9(4).
- Watch: Vice, Children of the Drone

Fri, Mar 14th COIN Failures

When do COIN operations backfire? What can we learn from COIN failures?

- Mason (2021). "COIN Doctrine is Wrong." *The US Army War College Quarterly: Parameters*, 51(2).
- Lyall and Wilson (2009). "Rage Against the Machines: Explaining Outcomes in Counterinsurgency Wars." *International Organization*, 63(1).

Policies

Class Contract

To foster the best possible working and learning environment, we want to engage with one another in upholding key values such as honesty, transparency, respect, and integrity. Both students and instructor agree to:

- Uphold honesty as academic and personal value and to participate in this class with an honest interest, and to commit to do the work expected of you and to receive honest feedback and evaluation from the instructor
- As instructor to communicate expectations and criteria for evaluation, and as student to be transparent about individual areas of struggle and discontent
- Be mutually respectful, both between students and instructor in recognition of the dynamic imposed by the context, and for students to engage with each other in a respectful discourse even in face of disagreement

- To fulfill the class requirements with integrity and uphold the values for engagement in this class, even in face of struggle or adversity

We affirm everyone's right to dignity and strive to maintain a climate of justice marked by mutual respect for each other, value the cultural diversity of USD because it enriches our lives and the University, and we reject acts of discrimination based on race, ethnicity, sex, gender identity, age, disability, sexual orientation, religion, and political beliefs, and we will confront and appropriately respond to such acts. We acknowledge that our society carries historical and divisive biases based on race, ethnicity, sex, gender identity, age, disability, sexual orientation, religion, and political beliefs. Therefore, we seek to foster understanding and tolerance among individuals and groups, and we promote awareness through education and constructive strategies for resolving conflict.

In this class, we are committed to the highest standards of civility and decency toward all. We are committed to promoting and supporting a community where all people can work and learn together in an atmosphere free of abusive or demeaning treatment.

Inclusive Classroom Statement & Resources

I am fully committed to creating a learning environment that supports diversity of thought, perspectives, experiences, and identities. I urge each of you to contribute your unique perspectives to discussions of course questions, themes, and materials so that we can learn from them, and from each other. If you should ever feel excluded, or unable to fully participate in class for any reason, please let me know, or you may also submit anonymous written feedback to your Undergraduate Advisor. Additional resources to support equity, diversity, and inclusion in our classroom, and beyond, may be found here:

Office of Equity, Diversity, and Inclusion: <https://diversity.ucsd.edu/> 858.822.3542 – diversity@ucsd.edu – <https://students.ucsd.edu/student-life/diversity/index.html>

I respect that every one of us may face individual challenges while pursuing an education. Please, do not hesitate to contact me with individual concerns that might affect your performance in this class and your ability to learn. Here are some additional resources:

For concerns about food and housing: <https://basicneeds.ucsd.edu/>

For transfer students: <https://transferstudents.ucsd.edu/resources/index.html>

For international students: <https://ispo.ucsd.edu/>

For students with dependents: <https://students.ucsd.edu/well-being/wellness-resources/studentparents/> and also <https://parents.ucsd.edu/>

For students with disabilities (seen or unseen): <https://osd.ucsd.edu/>

Academic Integrity

All University policies regarding academic integrity apply to this course. Academic dishonesty includes, but is not limited to, cheating, plagiarizing, fabricating of information or citations,

facilitating acts of academic dishonesty by others, submitting work of another person or work previously used without informing the instructor, or tampering with the academic work of other students. For any material or ideas obtained from other sources, a reference must be given. Direct quotes from any source must be identified as such. Students who are found to be dishonest will receive academic sanctions and will be reported to the Dean. All course work by students is to be done on an individual basis unless the professor states unambiguously that an alternative is acceptable. Any reference materials used in the preparation of any assignment must be explicitly cited. More information on academic integrity and procedures followed for violation can be found at: <https://academicintegrity.ucsd.edu/>

Accessibility

Students requesting accommodation for this course due to a disability must provide a current Authorization for Accommodation (AFA) letter issued by the Office for Students with Disabilities. You are required to discuss accommodation arrangements with instructors and OSD liaisons in the department well in advance of any exams or assignments. The OSD Liaison for the Department of Political Science is Zain Sharifi; please connect with her via the Virtual Advising Center as soon as possible. I will be glad to meet with you privately during my office hours to discuss your special needs.

Discrimination on the basis of race, color, national origin, religion, sex, gender, gender identity, gender expression, pregnancy (including pregnancy, childbirth, and medical conditions related to pregnancy or childbirth), physical or mental disability, medical condition, genetic information, ancestry, marital status, age, sexual orientation, citizenship, or service in the uniformed services (including membership, application for membership, performance of service, application for service, or obligation for service in the uniformed services will not be tolerated. Retaliation against any person who complains about discrimination is also prohibited. If students have questions about student-related nondiscrimination policies or concerns about possible discrimination or harassment, they should contact the Office for the Prevention of Harassment & Discrimination (OPHD) at (858) 534-8298, ophd@ucsd.edu, or reportbias.ucsd.edu.

Religious Accommodation

It is the policy of the university to make reasonable efforts to accommodate students having bona fide religious conflicts with scheduled examinations by providing alternative times or methods to take such examinations. If a student anticipates that a scheduled examination will occur at a time at which his or her religious beliefs prohibit participation in the examination, the student must submit to the instructor a statement describing the nature of the religious conflict and specifying the days and times of conflict.

For final examinations, the statement must be submitted no later than the end of the second week of instruction of the quarter. For all other examinations, the statement must be submitted to the instructor as soon as possible after a particular examination date is scheduled. If a conflict with the student's religious beliefs does exist, I will attempt to provide an alternative, equitable examination that does not create undue hardship for the instructor or for the other students in the class. Please see the EPC Policies on Religious Accommodation, Final Exams, Midterm Exams:

<https://senate.ucsd.edu/operating-procedures/educational-policies/courses/epc-policies-on-courses/policy-exams-including-midterms-final-exams-and-religious-accommodations-for-exams/>

Additional Resources

- CARE at the Sexual Assault Resource Center: <https://care.ucsd.edu/>
- Counseling and Psychological Services (CAPS): <https://caps.ucsd.edu/>
- UCSD Basic Needs: <https://basicneeds.ucsd.edu/>
- Writing Hub: <https://writinghub.ucsd.edu/>
- Supplemental Instruction: <https://aah.ucsd.edu/supplemental-instruction/index.html>
- Tutoring: <https://aah.ucsd.edu/content-tutoring/index.html>
- Community Centers: <https://students.ucsd.edu/student-life/diversity/index.html>