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ABSTRACT

Using cross-national data from the ITERATE, Minorities at Risk, and World Development Indicators datasets, this paper investigates the relationship between colonial history, modernization, political regime, fertility and transnational ethnic terrorism. Drawing on prior research in terrorism, postcolonial studies and ethnic conflict, this paper will contribute to the understanding of violent ethnic conflict and terror in order to inform public policy and the “war on terror.” Using negative binomial and zero-inflated Poisson regression analysis of a sample of 60 countries from 1968-2002, results suggest that analyses of terrorism should be deconstructed based upon the target of the attacks, distinguishing between attacks against civilians (terrorism) and attacks against political targets (guerrilla war). Analyses demonstrate that the two have separate and distinct causal processes. Findings suggest that former colonies are expected to produce more acts of ethnoseparatist terrorism, even in situations of ethnic assimilation. Economic and political modernization and high fertility are demonstrated to increase both ethnoseparatist terrorism and guerrilla attacks. Ethnolinguistic assimilation and the presence of co-ethnics across international borders are found to have an ameliorative effect on the number of terrorist and guerrilla attacks. Results suggest long-lasting divisive effects of colonial control, as well as the processes of modernization and democratization as contributors to violent ethnic conflict.
I would like to acknowledge and thank everyone who has supported and inspired me during my studies.

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INTRODUCTION

Contemporary terrorism has become an increasingly global and deadly phenomenon. Since the advent of modern international terrorism in 1968, terrorism has become increasingly prevalent and fatalities have increased exponentially (Hoffman 2005). Terrorists now utilize advances in communication, technology and transportation in order to intimidate and threaten the global community (Enders & Sandler 2002; Juergensmeyer 2003). Despite media and scholarly attention, however, the causes of the phenomenon remain ambiguous and difficult to discern. Various governmental agencies such as the Federal Bureau of Investigation, Department of Defense, and Department of Homeland Security have adopted divergent definitions of terrorism, further confounding the issue. Scholars have proven equally unable to compile an adequate definition. Researchers have outlined over 100 definitions of the term¹, often concluding that the endeavor is fruitless (Laquer 1977; Schmid et al. 1984). Despite the debate and unclear nature of the term, the study of terrorism has flourished since 2001, although much work is yet required if we are to understand the causes of the phenomenon.

Ethnic identities are traditionally seen as facilitating or conducive to the generation of violence. Over the past several decades, ethnic conflict has become the dominant form of political violence, constituting the majority of civil wars (Fearon &

¹ Alex Schmid examined 109 definitions of terrorism in order to create an acceptable and comprehensive definition, only to concede that the “search was still on” (Schmid, 1984).
Laitin 2003; Gurr 2000; Sambanis 2000; 2001; Wimmer Cederman & Min; 2010).

Between 1945 and 1999, roughly 122 civil wars occurring in 73 states killed an estimated 16.2 million people (Fearon & Laitin 2003). Of the 122 civil wars identified by Fearon and Laitin, 74 were characterized as ethnic and 11 as “mixed or ambiguous.” While Gurr (2000) indicates that the number of violent ethnic conflicts fell moderately during the 1990s (from 115 to 95), Wimmer et al. (2010) indicate that 110 of 214 armed conflicts between 1946 and 2005 were ethnic and 59 were secessionist, the majority of which were also ethnic. In their study, ethnic wars accounted for almost 75% of wars in the period after the Cold War. Sambanis (2000) identifies 125 civil wars from 1944 to 1999, characterizing 80 as ethnic or religious. In a later study, 600 war observations in a sample of 818 were ethnic or religious, with 77 ethnic wars beginning between 1960 and 1999 (Sambanis 2001). While the number of violent ethnic conflicts varies depending on the source, it is clear that ethnic conflicts comprise a great share of the violent conflicts across the globe. Furthermore, most of the conflicts in the post-Cold War period involve non-state armed groups which are often defined by ethnicity, often straddling state boundaries. This gives many ethnic conflicts a distinctly regional dynamic (Wolf 2006).

Scholars have long recognized the importance of colonial history in determining the cultural and political trajectory of nations, nonetheless, no empirical, cross-national research has explored the potential relationship between colonialism and terrorism. The vast majority of borders of colonized states were assigned arbitrarily with little to no consideration for traditional residents, with many nations inheriting borders imposed by colonial rulers. Borders were often drawn that both separated traditional ethnic groups
and enclosed competing groups within a nation (Ratner 1996). Conflict over secession and self-determination has arisen in many postcolonial nations, resulting in extended and often far-reaching campaigns of violence, civil war, and terror. Utilizing annual counts of incidents of transnational ethnoseparatist terrorism I will investigate the relationship between colonial legacy and instances of ethnoseparatist terrorism within nations. I expect that nations that experienced colonial rule are more likely to experience acts of transnational ethnoseparatist terror after independence.

Modernization and strain theorists posit that economic development increases conflict as societies in transition experience disorganization and an upheaval of traditional values and behavioral norms. During this transition, individuals relocate to urban centers and experience anomic conditions due to the dissolution of the family, religion, and ethnic identities. During urbanization, individuals from different ethnicities and religions come into close contact, often for the first time. Urbanization, by bringing previously isolated groups into contact, serves to enhance the salience of ethnic markers rather than decrease them (Blau 1977; Olzak 1983). This study will evaluate the proposition that economic modernization increases ethnic terrorism. It is expected that societies in transition will experience more ethnoseparatist terrorism.

The role of political regime on terrorism will also be evaluated. Scholars have investigated the relationship between terrorism and democracy, finding that democracies have a linear relationship with terrorism, with increased democracy increasing terrorism (Eubank & Weinberg 1994; 2001). Other scholars have found a more complex, curvilinear effect of regime type, with semi-democratic states experiencing more
terrorism than autocracies or fully democratic states (Robison Crenshaw and Jenkins 2006; Kurrid-Klitgaard Justesen and Klemmensen 2006). It is expected that nations at intermediary levels of democracy experience more ethnoseparatist attacks.

The effect of ethnic composition is also evaluated, measuring the effect of ethnolinguistic integration and the presence of ethnic kin across international boundaries. Ethnic assimilation is expected to decrease terrorism as linguistic homogeneity can increase interactions between an ethnically diverse population, which can serve to increase cross-cutting ties between groups (Crenshaw and Robison 2010). The presence of ethnic kin across international boundaries is also expected to have an ameliorative effect on ethnic terrorism, with ethnic kin providing an escape route for co-ethnics experiencing violence and discrimination. Additionally, the youth bulge theory of conflict will be explored with the expectation that high fertility states will experience more ethnic terrorism as large youth populations face challenges attaining resources that make marriage and mobility possible. This study should advance the understanding of the causes of terrorism in hopes of providing policy makers with improved knowledge of the deadly phenomenon. Furthermore, the current study will advance the theoretical explanation of terrorism and ethnic conflict, with a novel focus on the causes of ethnic terrorism specifically.
CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK

Ethnic Conflict

Since the end of the Cold War scholars have investigated the causes and detrimental effects of ethnopolitical conflict. Researchers cite the end of the Cold War, ethnic fractionalization, polarization and modernization as major contributors to a rise in ethnic conflict. Fearon and Laitin (2003) however, show that the number of civil wars has not increased since the Cold War, but that the cause of the apparent increase in conflict has been an accumulation of lingering conflicts over the period. Social disorganization and strain theorists argue that rapid social change (such as industrialization and economic growth) promote political conflict. Societies in transition experience disorganization and an upheaval of traditional values and behavioral norms. During this transition, many individuals relocate to urban centers and experience anomic conditions due to the dissolution of the family, religion, and ethnic identities.

During this relocation to urban centers, individuals from different ethnicities and religions come into contact for the first time. Urbanization often brings previously isolated groups into contact, which can enhance the salience of ethnic markers rather than decrease them (Blau 1977; Olzk 1983). While learning to navigate new and more diverse urban settings, ethnic and religious groups compete for scarce resources such as employment. These social upsets create conflict and political violence, as some groups
will oppose change and transition and resort to violence while clinging to traditional values and identities. Blau (1977) notes that urbanization concentrates diverse groups into large cities, which increases the opportunities for and probability of conflict between different groups. Maintaining that “urbanization is a catalyst for social relations” (Blau 1977 p. 258), Blau argues that just as urbanization promotes more intense and diverse social life, it also promotes conflict of all kinds.

During the Cold War, scholars argued that modernization would initiate a decline in the salience of ethnicity as allegiances to larger communities (the nation-state) developed in its place. Modernization theory claims that as economic and political interaction increased, the growth of communication networks would break down traditional identities with ethnic kin groups and replace them with loyalties to larger communities (Collier et al. 2001; Gurr 1994). Despite these predictions, there has been no such decline in ethnic conflicts, indicating individuals have yet to discard traditional social identities. On the contrary, ethnic conflicts have become more important factors in international relations over the last 20 years (Wolf, 2006). The conflictual modernization family of theories developed due to this perceived theoretical failure (Newman 1991). During industrialization, destabilizing effects on traditional domestic institutions and individuals generate ethnic conflict. As such, mass political conflicts are the result of the destabilization of traditional social order by endogenous processes, specifically rapid economic growth and the modernization of traditional social institutions.

During the industrial transition, ethnic groups will come to compete in the labor market for the first time. Individuals will cling to ethnicity as competition for resources
increases and experience anomic conditions in which traditional values and behaviors are in decline. Due to increased access to political, economic, and social resources, ethnic mobilization may occur. Eventually, as industrialization and urbanization stabilize ethnic identities and loyalties will decrease in salience as individuals are integrated into the new social structure. However, we have not seen the shift in loyalties, as ethnic conflict remains intense in many parts of the developing world. This realization has led to a renewed interest in ethnic conflict, as researchers attempt to explain ongoing deadly ethnic violence. Additionally, around the world, individuals utilize their ethnic identities to enhance their social capital. Shared ethnic markers encourage in-group relationships and ethnic networks are a source of social capital. Networks provide social structures that enhance economic, organization and mobilization through informational flows and norms. Co-ethnics can therefore capitalize on the availability of ethnic networks to enhance their social capital. Family and friendship networks, associations and organizations facilitate the growth of social capital as individuals utilize them to enhance their social positions (Aldrich and Waldinger 1990; Blau 1977; Crenshaw and Robison 2010; Waldinger 1994).

Scholars such as Fearon and Laitin argue that ethnic conflict and civil wars emerge where governments are weak and rebels have ample opportunity to hide from troops (rough terrain) while recruiting unemployed men (Fearon and Laitin 1999; 2003). Similarly, Collier et al. argue that civil wars are most likely where rebellion is most economically feasible (lootable resources make organizing and sustaining a rebel organization possible), rather than where actors are motivated by inequality and social
marginalization (Collier et al. 2004). While some scholars stress the importance of economic factors in conflict, others, such as Sambanis (2001), argue that ethnically heterogeneous states are more likely to experience ethnic conflict because shared ethnicity decreases the cost of collective action associated with mobilizing rebels. Clearly, the literature on ethnic heterogeneity and conflict is divided. Furthermore, the literature on political violence does not find consistent evidence for the importance of ethnic heterogeneity in the explanation of conflict.

Ellingsen (2000) argues that ethnicity has remained salient despite the dominance of the state as the major unit of social organization. The state encounters legitimacy issues when attempting to organize a multiethnic populace, as ethnic identities mostly do not coincide with territorial boundaries. This problem is exacerbated when, as in the case of Africa, extreme heterogeneity is coupled with inherited colonial boundaries. Ethnic groups, rather than obeying the state, are interested in protecting their rights within existing states or establishing their own state. However, the majority of states are both ethnically heterogeneous and have a colonial history and yet do not experience violent ethnic conflict. Thus the presence of a multiethnic populace and colonial history alone cannot explain burgeoning ethnic conflicts, as heterogeneity and colonial history are common throughout the world.

Blau (1977; 1984), operating on the assumption that ingroup interactions are more prevalent that outgroup interactions, argues that heterogeneity decreases social integration to a point, but that extreme heterogeneity does not serve to decrease integration. Blau argues that as groups grow larger in size, interaction between groups
will also increase. Thus increased heterogeneity (the number of groups and the
distribution of the population into those groups) increases intergroup relationships. Blau
notes that “the greater the heterogeneity, the greater are the chances that fortuitous social
contacts involve members of different groups” (Blau 1977 pg. 80). Conflict between
groups, as a form of social interaction, will also increase along with increased
heterogeneity. While a great number of these “fortuitous social contacts” may well be
harmonious, such as intergroup marriage and friendship, the author believes that they are
equally likely to be conflictual.

The author maintains that the same conditions that increase peaceful intergroup
interactions also make conflict between members of different groups more likely, since
both depend on the opportunity for social contact. As such, as heterogeneity increases
(either the number of groups or the distribution of people into those groups changes) from
low to moderate levels, intergroup conflict heightens as groups perceive that their
interests are seriously threatened. In Blau’s framework, the size of ethnic groups is a
determinant of perceived threat, with larger minority groups posing a greater threat to
majority groups. Extreme heterogeneity, however, weakens barriers to intergroup social
interactions because complex societies require groups to set aside ingroup preferences as
“extensive associations with persons who have different backgrounds and experiences are
likely to make people more tolerant” (Blau 1977 pg. 22). Thus moderate ethnic
heterogeneity (a few groups or a moderately sized majority) will increase conflict, but
with more ethnic groups competing conflict will decrease as social interactions between
the groups will necessarily increase, eroding ingroup preferences and prejudices.
As Ellingsen (2000) illustrates, both the political regime and socioeconomic status of a nation must also be accounted for in explaining ethnopolitical conflict. Like Blau, she argues that ethnic heterogeneity has an inverted U-shape relationship with conflict, suggesting that when the largest ethnic group is either very small or very large, ethnic conflict is less likely (Ellingsen 2000). Accordingly, states with extreme heterogeneity or near homogeneity (one large ethnic group) are expected to produce less ethnic conflict than those that have larger ethnic minority groups. The effects of ethnic heterogeneity however, play a secondary role to political regime and the socioeconomic conditions within a nation. Democracies, especially affluent democracies, are far less likely to experience ethnic conflict than other regime structures. Thus, while ethnic heterogeneity can be expected to increase ethnic conflicts, democratization and economic growth may serve to “alleviate ethnic tension” (Ellingsen 2000).

Accordingly, Mousseau (2001) finds that ethnic heterogeneity is not associated with increased violence except under certain political conditions. The author suggests that an interactive effect of ethnic heterogeneity and political and economic factors is more realistic, as the effects of ethnic divisions are conditional upon the political and economic conditions of the state. Similar to Ellingsen, Mousseau finds that ethnic heterogeneity alone does not contribute to political violence. Rather, ethnic heterogeneity is associated with increased political violence only in young democracies that lack mature institutions (such as Nigeria and the Sudan). Mousseau argues that is the case because democratization is associated with increased uncertainty of the conditions of ethnic groups. As such, the process of democratization may increase levels of political
violence in heterogeneous states as young democracies lack the resources and political culture to accommodate ethnic grievances (Mosseau 2001). Economic development has an inverted U-shaped impact on political violence regardless of ethnic conditions, suggesting that increased economic development will decrease political violence, but that developing nations are most likely to experience political violence during this transition (Mosseau 2001). Thus, economic development and democratization (maturity) are expected to decrease political violence, and ethnic divisions are secondary and conditional. Fearon and Laitin (2003) argue that weak central governments (characterized by low per capita income) render insurgency more feasible and attractive due to the inability of the local government to control insurgents.

Investigating the effects of ethnic heterogeneity on economic performance and civil war, Collier, Honahan and Moene (2001) find that ethnic heterogeneity may not be as detrimental as scholars have argued. Similar to Ellingsen, Collier et al. find that fractionalization (many small groups) actually serves to discourage civil war. In contrast to Ellingsen’s findings on ethnic conflict, ethnic dominance seems to increase the chances of civil war. Dominance is also damaging to economic growth, with societies characterized by ethnic dominance growing more slowly than those which are fractionalized or homogenous (Collier et al. 2001; Crenshaw and Robison 2010b). This indicates that ethnic diversity is most damaging when it takes the form of ethnic dominance. Dominance is problematic when an ethnic group maintains a permanent majority and victimizes minorities, increasing the risk of rebellion. Rebellion is less
likely in fractionalized societies because to effectively form a rebellion, members must maintain cohesion, which is less likely to occur in fractionalized settings.

Similar to Ellingsen, Collier et al. argue that the effects of multiethnicity are also dependent on the political structure of the country, with the effects on economic growth varying based on whether the state is a democracy or a dictatorship. The authors conclude that ethnic fractionalization is not inherently problematic (unless you are a dictator), while ethnic dominance can be. Ethnically fractionalized states are no less likely to experience economic growth, and not more likely to experience civil war, as mobilization and sustained support are more difficult within a fragmented populace. States characterized by ethnic dominance, however, are more prone to conflict and predatory behavior (Collier et al. 2001). Similarly, Wimmer, Cederman and Min (2009) argue that armed rebellions are more likely when a state excludes large proportions of the population due to ethnicity. Infighting is more likely when ethnic elites share governmental power, and engage in competitive rivalry. Finally, rebellion and infighting are most likely when segments of the population have a history of direct rule by the center.

Ethnic heterogeneity alone does not explain armed rebellion, but the configuration of ethnic politics creates conditions that generate rebellion. Wimmer et al. argue that ethnicity does not matter due to a natural tendency to favor one’s kin, nor because of primordial attachments to identity, or because it provides political organizations lower-cost mobilization. Ethnicity matters when there is incentive to gain political legitimacy by favoring co-ethnics when distributing public goods and positions.
of power (Wimmer et al. 2009). Thus, states that are characterized by ethnic favoritism (most likely poor states with weak civil societies) are more problematic than states that are merely ethnically heterogeneous. Furthermore, states with a colonial past are significantly more likely to experience secessionist conflicts by both power holding and excluded groups, suggesting that segments of the population are accustomed to self-rule, under indirect colonialism, and likely to resent the shift to direct rule by the modern nation-state. The authors understate the role of ethnicity, concluding that ethnicity itself does not matter, but is problematic as an “organizational tool through which people struggle to gain access to state power” (Wimmer et al. 2009 pg. 335).

Some scholars argue that ethnic heterogeneity is detrimental through decreased social integration, political tolerance, and participation in civil society. Anderson and Paskeviciute (2006) find that linguistic heterogeneity significantly decreases interpersonal trust. Moreover, heterogeneity matters little in democracies, but in non-democratic regimes it has negative effects on citizenship behavior which could serve to mitigate conflict towards peaceful cooperation. The authors conclude that while heterogeneity may have politicizing or mobilizing effects, alone it does not necessarily increase conflict (Anderson and Paskeviciute 2006). Gibson and Gouws (2000) argue that strong group identities (such as ethnicity) obstruct open political competition through increased political intolerance. In their analysis of South Africans, they find that stronger and more developed group identities are associated with greater intergroup apathy, perceived threat, and intolerance. These attitudes can effect democratization and exacerbate conflict between ethnic groups. This finding indicates that it is not identity
alone, nor simply the presence of heterogeneity, but the attitudes that may arise with social identities that cause intolerance and encourage conflict. Thus intergroup competition and strong group identities inhibit prospects for political tolerance and civil society that may mitigate conflict (Gibson and Gouws 2000).

Sambanis (2001) argues that not all civil wars are comparable, illustrating that identity (ethnic or religious) and non-identity wars should be analyzed separately. There are substantive differences between identity wars and non-identity wars, which often have distinct causes. Sambanis finds that democracy is negatively associated with ethnic civil wars. In contrast to Ellingsen (2000) and Mousseau (2001), however, Sambanis finds a positive association between ethnic heterogeneity and the onset of ethnic civil war (Sambanis 2001). This discrepancy, however, is most likely due to the disaggregation of conflict into ethnic and non-ethnic, which other studies have failed to do. The author argues that political factors (namely democracy) are more robust determinants of ethnic civil war because ethnicity is more closely linked to political rather than economic issues. The protection of ethnic identity is more closely associated with the protection of political rights and support of democratic institutions than with economic gain. This is evident in the fact that some of the most intense and prolonged ethnic conflicts occur in countries with relatively high standards of living such as Israel, Northern Ireland, Yugoslavia and Cyprus (Sambanis 2001).

Sambanis (2001) argues that identity wars are predominantly caused by political grievances rather than economic factors, and are less likely to occur in democratic states. He finds that ethnic heterogeneity is a significant predictor of ethnic civil wars, while
economic and political factors are equally (although only moderately) important. Both increased economic development and increased democracy have roughly equally negative effects on non-identity civil war onset (Sambanis 2001). This finding suggests that economic modernization theories of ethnic conflict may underestimate the importance of political climate in determining political violence.

Using the Minorities at Risk data, Bonneuil and Auriat (2000) investigate the diversity of ethnic conflicts in relation to economic and political factors. The authors compare minority groups in terms of their patterns of conflict and how conflicts are associated with political and socioeconomic factors. Discrimination is found to have varying effects on conflict, depending on the form of discrimination employed. Discrimination based on income, education, and access to positions of power is associated with war, while discrimination based upon social customs (ethnic dress, marriage patterns, family structure) is not clearly linked to escalation of conflict. This suggests that researchers should distinguish between types of discrimination, and that protest is most likely to turn to war when autonomy, income, and access to higher education and positions of power are at risk. Furthermore, protracted violent ethnic conflict is less likely to develop in democratic states, with Western democracies “associated with nonviolent protest mixed with outbursts of political banditry and terrorism” (Bonneuil and Auriat 2000 pg. 576).

The authors outline a ‘hierarchy of importance’ in the escalation of conflict, arguing the (decreasing) importance of mobilization, discrimination, migration stress, religion, and repression in the escalation of conflict from protest to war (Bonneuil and
This suggests that structural inequality in combination with historical ethnic cleavages provide a mobilization structure for conflict. Their findings correspond to those of Ellingsen (2000) and Collier et al. (2001) in suggesting conflicts be situated within the political and economic climates in which they arise.

Scholars such as Fearon and Laitin (1999; 2003) see the roots of conflict and insurgency as mainly economic, not political. They find that ethnicity has no explanatory power as a determinant of conflict. What they find is important, however, is the opportunity for rebellion. Fearon and Laitin (2003) argue that it is not ethnic grievances or ethnic differences that fuel conflict, but rather, the opportunity to rebel. Conditions that favor insurgency, namely poverty, political instability, rough terrains and large populations, are most notable in explaining civil war. Democracy is argued to be inconsequential when economic factors are controlled. Similar to resource mobilization theory in social movement research, Fearon, Laitin and Collier stress the importance of resources and the opportunity for insurgency. Grievances are less important, as grievances are seen as necessary but insufficient in the mobilization of insurgency, while resources are required to mount an insurgency. Thus economic development should decrease civil conflict, as rebellion is a rational decision determined by financial viability and the potential material benefits of rebellion. (Fearon & Laitin 1999; 2003). According to Collier (2001), ethnic fractionalization matters only as a proxy for the coordination costs of rebellion, as greater ethnic fragmentation increases the costs of coordinating and mobilizing a rebellion. These studies, however, do not disaggregate the different types of rebellion, assuming that each type (identity and non-identity) has the same cause.
Sambanis (2001) illustrates that aggregation is problematic, leaving the utility of the previous studies questionable.

These studies suggest that ethnic divisions are secondary and dependent upon the economic and political conditions within a country. Ethnic divisions are foundational for violent ethnic conflict, but are not themselves a trigger for violence. Democracies and developed countries seem to be less likely to experience political conflict regardless of ethnic divisions (Collier et al 2004; Ellingsen 2000; Moussa 2001). The effect of ethnic heterogeneity on conflict remains ambiguous, however, and should be investigated further. The studies above consider only ethnic or linguistic heterogeneity together. Furthermore, several of these studies used outdated measures of heterogeneity. Alesina et al. (2003) demonstrate that commonly used measures of fractionalization, such as ELF, confound the effects of ethnic and linguistic fractionalization. It is possible however, to evaluate how the assimilation of ethnic groups linguistically affects the occurrence of ethnic conflict. Ethnolinguistic assimilation can be estimated by utilizing both ethnic and linguistic fractionalization measures, allowing for a more nuanced understanding of the effects of heterogeneity and a more accurate measure of the socially relevant heterogeneity of a population. While a population may be ethnically diverse, it may also be unified linguistically. Linguistic homogeneity may serve to unify an otherwise diverse population through increased communication and intergroup relationships. Thus linguistic assimilation, or the unification of an ethnically diverse population, will decrease ethnic conflict (Crenshaw and Robison 2010b).
Hypothesis 1: Countries marked by ethnic assimilation are less likely to experience ethnic terrorism.

Studies of ethnic conflict need to be integrated into the terrorism literature, (see below) in order to study acts of ethnoseparatist terrorism.

Colonialism and Ethnic Conflict

Postcolonial scholars of all disciplines have extensively argued the long-lasting deleterious effects of colonial control on colonized states. Many researchers have argued that violent ethnic conflict is one of the many negative side effects of colonial control (Blanton et al. 2001; Lange et al. 2003; Lange and Dawson 2009; Ratner 1996). This study links the findings of postcolonial scholars of ethnic conflict with ethnic terrorism.

Ratner (1996) discusses the principle and application of *uti possidetis* and results of postcolonial border formation on former colonies and the international community. *Uti possidetis* “provides that states emerging from decolonization shall presumptively inherit the colonial administrative borders that they held at the time of independence” (Ratner 1996 p. 590). The principle of *uti possidetis* was utilized in the decolonization of Latin America, Africa, Yugoslavia, the former Soviet Union and Czechoslovakia (Ratner 1996). The reliance on *uti possidetis* exacerbates issues of ethnic conflict as populations are separated from traditional ethnic kin and left feeling unsatisfied and unsure of their status in new states. The problem is further complicated when national boundaries are
drawn around competing ethnic groups, leaving newborn nations ripe for ethnic strife, secessionist movements and terror.

The practice of uti possidetis was initially useful for both colonial powers and newly independent states, however. It allowed for a speedy decolonization process and more streamlined transfer of power from colonial administrators to indigenous officials. The practice permitted colonial powers a quick withdraw, without the challenge of establishing or overseeing border changes. It also allowed newly independent states to avoid worries of initial border disputes both internally and externally. The practice and use of uti possidetis eliminated the possibility of delayed independence due to border reformation and border disputes, and was meant to bring former colonies stability while experiencing a power transition.

Arguing that colonial boundaries were often drawn with little knowledge of or consideration of the indigenous people involved, Ratner insists that colonial boundaries were drawn to reduce conflict between the colonial powers. When decolonization occurred, rather than restructuring borders to resolve past injustices, colonial borders were maintained in the sake of speedy decolonization in many countries. The author argues against the use of uti possidetis, which became a ‘customary norm’ requiring newly independent states to inherit colonial administrative borders unless the colonial powers or international decision makers (the U.N.) mandated otherwise (Ratner 1996).

Blanton et al. address the relationship between colonial style and postcolonial ethnic conflict within African nations. The authors argue that due to the imposition of formal territorial boundaries, one of the “most profound legacies of the colonial period
has been ethnic conflict” (Blanton et al. 2001 pg. 473). Similar to Ratner, the authors assert that national boundaries were drawn with no consideration of the ethnic and cultural distribution of the indigenous peoples. After inheriting their colonial borders, they were then transformed into some of the most ethnically fragmented nations in the world. Though the postcolonial boundaries gained international legitimacy, in many instances they did not garner the same reaction domestically. Many African nations were confronted with secessionist ideology, and the possibility of irredentist wars. During colonization, colonial powers disrupted and undermined traditional patterns of power and social organization. In order to maintain control and ensure resource productivity, colonizers often picked ‘favorite’ ethnic groups upon which to bestow power and privilege, upsetting traditional structures and pitting ethnic groups in competition for crucial resources within the state.

The history of the ethnic conflict in Rwanda and Burundi illustrate the divisive and conflict generating strategies of colonizers. In both countries, the Hutu and the Tutsi have been killing each other for decades. Prior to the arrival of Europeans, however, the Hutu and Tutsi lived peacefully and interdependently. In pre-colonial Rwanda and Burundi, the Hutu and Tutsi lived harmoniously in a clan system which allowed members of different ethnic groups to live together in small hill villages. The groups developed a patron-client relationship in which the Hutu promised to serve the Tutsi mwami (king) in return for protection and support. Though there were class distinctions between the two groups, the distinctions were much less important than clan or patrilineal affiliations, and intermarriage was common. In fact, a Hutu that acquired several head of cattle would
henceforth become a Tutsi. Thus, in pre-colonial Rwanda and Burundi, the categories of Hutu and Tutsi were far more fluid than they were to become during colonization (Twagilimana 2007; Wolf 2006).

Upon arrival in Central Africa, Europeans were surprised to find a highly organized and politically sophisticated society. Europeans automatically assumed that the Tutsi overlords had European ancestry and possessed superior intelligence which they exercised to maintain control over the Hutu and pygmy Twa (Prunier 1995). Europeans described the Tutsi as “tall (also with sharp nose and light skin), intelligent, shrewd, proud, reserved, arrogant, and powerful, among other characteristics, and definitely born to rule over the short (with wide nose and dark skin), noisy, subservient and fearful Hutu. As for the marginal Twa, they were compared to apes in the forests” (Twagilimana 2007 p. xliv). Thus, at the outset of German colonization in late 19th century, the “born to rule” Tutsi were elevated at the expense of the Hutu. The Germans, and the Belgians after them, assumed the Tutsi to be superior, and what few positions in the colonial administration and Catholic Church available to natives were given almost exclusively to sons of Tutsi chiefs (Chua 2003; Prunier 1995).

After Belgium gained control of the Ruanda-Urundi in 1922, and for the 40 years of Belgian rule, the antagonistic relationship between the Hutu and Tutsi escalated. Belgian officials bestowed the Tutsi with power and characterized the Hutu as less intelligent, even though generations of intermarriage had made it difficult to impossible to tell the groups apart. During the 1920s, the colonial administration mandated all citizens carry identification cards that indicated whether they were Hutu or Tutsi, further
institutionalizing and solidifying the distinction between the two groups. The Tutsi minority was almost exclusively provided with education and civil service positions, greatly exacerbating ethnic tensions in Ruanda-Urundi.

After gaining independence in 1962, ethnic tensions between the Tutsi and Hutu spilled over in both nations, leading to bloody coups and civil wars in both countries, and massive genocide in Rwanda. Prunier (1995) aptly states that through “the objective political and administrative decisions of the colonial authorities favouring one group over the other, we can begin to see how a very dangerous social bomb was almost absent-mindedly manufactured” (1995 pg. 8). After decades of coups and military skirmishes, Burundi experienced a civil war between 1993 and 2005, killing an estimated 300,000 people. In Rwanda, an estimated 800,000 Tutsi and moderate Hutu were killed by the Hutu army between April and July of 1994, after the extremist Hutu Power movement sparked a systematic extermination of the Tutsi and all that opposed the killings (Chua 2003; Twagilimana 2007; Wolf 2006). Through the exaggeration of ethnic divisions and the practice of ethnic favoritism, the Belgians and Germans before them greatly exacerbated, if not created, ethnic conflict in Rwanda and Burundi. Where once peaceful and integrated ethnic groups lived harmoniously, ethnic tensions and discrimination overflowed to violence and genocide, leading generations of Hutu and Tutsi to kill one another.

Despite similar colonial histories, Blanton et al. (2001) argue that the uneven form and distribution of ethnic conflict in Africa is due to the differential colonial styles of the English and French. The authors find that the structural configuration of ethnic groups
within postcolonial Africa is largely a function of the style of colonial administration of Britain and France. They find that former British colonies experience more frequent and intense ethnic conflict due to Britain’s indirect style of rule which left traditional patterns of social organization intact (Blanton et al. 2001; Lange, Mahoney & vom Hau 2006; Lange & Dawson 2009). Due to the social organization of former British colonies, ethnic minorities were able to utilize traditional structures and institutions to mobilize and act upon their grievances. The British purposely cultivated conflict between ethnic groups in order to prevent the groups from coalescing to challenge British control, as seen in the military and police dominance of the Tiv in post-independence Nigeria. Often, the British would choose an ethnic minority for political rule, serving to foster conflict and resentment amongst the diverse populace (Blanton et al. 2001; Young 1994).

The French on the other hand dismantled traditional social institutions and left no avenue for ethnic minorities to challenge postcolonial powers. The French were known for forcing assimilation into French culture, including the use of the French language, education, and administration modeled after France, as seen in the forced assimilation of Africans in Senegal and Algeria. Thus the different styles of colonial rule contributed to differences in ethnic stratification and ethnic conflict that later emerged in the postcolonial states. Blanton et al. fail to investigate the difference between colonial styles of the Portuguese or Belgian however, making the study less valuable in investigating the effect of colonial history of all states and terrorism in Africa, much less across the globe (Blanton et al. 2001). While the study is an invaluable addition to
postcolonial studies of ethnic conflict, the sample can and should be expanded to include non-African former colonies to investigate whether this is solely an African phenomenon.

Few scholars have investigated the role of colonialism and border formation on ethnic conflict. Ratner (1996), Blanton et al. (2001), and Lange and Dawson (2009) provide invaluable investigations into the relationship between colonialism, border formation, and violent conflict. The studies find that due to haphazard national boundary formation, ethnic conflicts have been exacerbated as populations are separated from traditional ethnic kin, or combined with competing groups, leaving newborn nations ripe for ethnic strife, secessionist movements, and violence (Ratner 1996). Furthermore, the different styles of colonial rule (British v. French) contribute to differences in ethnic stratification and conflict that later emerged from former colonial nations (Blanton et al. 2001). The authors also illustrate a link between colonial control and intercommunal conflict. This should directly relate to ethnic terrorism as a form of violent intercommunal conflict. These scholars have found that colonialism is highly related to low-level violent ethnic conflict (Lange & Dawson 2009), illustrating the need for scholars of terrorism to investigate the possible link between the colonial status of a nation and ethnic terrorism that emerges after independence. Although Lange and Dawson (2009) find that colonialism is not related to major conflict, the relationship between colonialism and terrorism should be investigated. Accordingly, I expect that former colonies are more likely to experience acts of ethnoseparatist terrorism than non-colonies, due to a prolonged experience of destabilization and disintegration.
Hypothesis 2: Former colonies are more likely to suffer acts of transnational ethnic terrorism.

Terrorism

Economic Perspectives

Many scholars and political commentators argue that poverty can lead to terrorism by breeding resentment, desperation, and support for political extremism. Since September 11, 2001, national and international policymakers have focused on poverty and poor economic development as determinants of political violence. In November 2001, numerous heads of state addressed the UN General Assembly insisting that the crisis of international terrorism should be addressed along with issues of poverty, inequality, and underdevelopment, suggesting that peripheral nations with high unemployment and economic stagnation are “fertile grounds on which terrorist seeds can flourish” (Piazza 2006 pg.160). Accordingly, many researchers have attempted to discover “root causes” of terrorism in the modern world. Academics such as Burgoon (2006), Krueger and Malecová (2003), Li and Schaub (2004) and Newman (2006) have investigated whether poverty, education, economic globalization and state welfare spending encourage or deter terrorism. However, several studies are beset with methodological and theoretical flaws, rendering their conclusions and contributions questionable.
Burgoon argues that social welfare policies that are instituted to relieve impoverished citizens will discourage acts of terrorism. He finds that “more generous social welfare policies will tend to reduce terrorism… countries with more generous welfare policies can be expected… to suffer less transnational terrorism and total terrorism on their soil, and have fewer of their citizens perpetrate terrorism” (Burgoon 2006 pg. 197). However, Burgoon does not explicitly model inequality or poverty, two major components of the root causes perspective. Burgoon instead relies only on government spending to test the utility of the perspective. In their replication of Burgoon, Crenshaw, Robison and Jenkins (2010) find that the evidence that Burgoon provides is ‘quite fragile’ and that political and ideological factors may be more important in determining the amount of terrorism that a nation generates.

Reliance on rational choice theory, sampling issues, and a lack of robust findings call into question results on the effects of economic factors on transnational terrorism. In their study of economic globalization and the frequency of transnational terrorism incidents, Li and Schaub (2004) find that the economic development of a nation reduces the number of terrorist actions in a nation. This provides for the optimistic view that globalization can have “an indirect negative effect of transnational terrorism” (pg. 245). The authors conclude that promoting economic development and reducing poverty should be an important component of the current war on terrorism in that economic globalization is a partial solution to transnational terrorism. However, modernization and strain theory claims that economic development to a point serves to increase conflict through the deterioration of traditional values and social systems. Political violence and terrorism are
expected to heighten at intermediate levels of economic modernization. During development, urbanization and the decline of traditional value systems breed discontent that translates into collective action. Disorganization is expected as societies transition from forms that display social cohesion to modern forms which are characterized by social interdependence. As countries complete the modernization process however, individuals will be reintegrated into the new social system (often characterized by decreased inequality and increased social interdependence) decreasing discontent and violence. Thus economic development is expected to have an inverted U-shaped effect on terrorism, increasing to intermediate levels of economic development but decreasing thereafter (Robison, Crenshaw & Jenkins 2006).

In contrast to the findings of Li & Schaub (2004), in their study of known terrorists, Krueger and Malecová (2003 pg. 141) find “little direct connection between poverty or education and participation in terrorism.” Like Crenshaw (1981), they find that members of Hezbollah and Palestinian suicide bombers are more likely to come from economically advantaged families and possess relatively high levels of educational attainment. Krueger and Malecová find that a state’s income level is also unrelated to the number of terrorists generated from that nation. Better economic conditions and higher levels of education are positively related to popular support for terrorism, however. The authors argue that individuals from privileged and educated backgrounds are more likely to support terrorism because they are also more likely to be politically engaged. Support for violent attacks does not decrease among those with higher education and living standards, indicating that neither poverty nor education has a direct, causal impact on
terrorism. They conclude that terrorism is more accurately a response to political conditions and feelings of indignity and frustration, and most likely not a result of economic conditions in the nation of origin (Krueger and Malecová 2003).

Studies focusing on the causes of Islamic terror find that Muslim groups attack either Islamic nations where moderate and secular states are perceived as puppets for the West, or in Western nations where there are Islamic communities for them to recruit or seek sanctuary. Bravo and Dias (2006) find some support for deprivation models, illustrating that the largest number of attacks from 1997-2004 occurred in less developed nations with non-democratic governments, low literacy rates, and low international trade dependence (Bravo & Dias 2006). Testas finds that repression, education, and the presence of civil war significantly affect terrorism in majority Muslim nations. Like Krueger and Malecová, he demonstrates that education has a significant positive effect on terrorism, arguing that higher educational attainment among a population encourages support for and participation in acts of terrorism. Paralleling Krueger and Malecová (2003) Testas argues that terrorist organizations may prefer to employ educated individuals due to skill level, accounting for the relationship between education and terrorism. Furthermore, educated individuals are more likely to participate in terrorism because they are more likely to be politically involved.

Robison et al. find that religious diversity has a significant, curvilinear effect on Islamic terrorism. Their findings indicate that Islamic terrorism increases as Muslim religious dominance grows, then decreases when Muslims comprise more than 70 percent of the population (Robison et al. 2006). This provides some support for Blau’s (1977;
theory of heterogeneity which predicts that conflict will increase at moderate levels of heterogeneity, followed by a decline in conflictual interactions at high levels of homogeneity. Thus as groups decline in relative size, conflict between groups will increase to a point, after which it will decline.

Newman (2006) argues that terrorists may be responding to social conditions, regardless of their own economic and social situations. Corroborating Krueger and Malecová (2003), he maintains that the root causes thesis does not apply to, nor can explain the leadership of a terrorist organization, and that most terrorists are neither poor nor uneducated. Newman stresses that support for terrorist organizations is imperative for mobilization, and conditions such as poverty and poor education on the national level may be significant factors in the process despite individual background. He finds however, that absolute indicators of economic well-being do not appear to be adequate predictors of terror. Furthermore, the root causes explanation does not come close to providing for a general explanation of both terrorism and terrorist organizations. Despite the lack of substantial evidence in support of the root causes hypotheses, Newman (2006 pg. 770) concludes that they constitute a fruitful focus in counterterrorism policies.

Despite repeated investigations, the role of economic development in terrorism has not been clearly outlined, and when subjected to replication has provided little fruitful explanation of the phenomena (Crenshaw et al. 2008; Kurrild-Klitgaard et al. 2006). Studies have yet to reach a conclusion on the role of economic factors in the causes of modern terrorism. Modernization and strain theories illustrate that economic development can have a positive relationship with conflict and terrorism. Societies
undergoing economic growth experience disorganization and an upheaval of traditional values and behavioral norms. Social disorganization and rapid social change create conflict and political violence, as some groups will oppose change and transition and may resort to violence to defend traditional values and identities. As Hawdon and Ryan argue, terrorists are more likely to operate in social settings in which there is little informal and formal social control, and heterogeneity disrupts relational networks. These areas have little informal social control, integration and interaction between citizens, lending terrorists freedom to hide without arousing suspicion (Hawdon & Ryan 2009).

Accordingly, I expect that economic development of nations will affect ethnic terrorism, with countries at intermediate levels of development more likely to experience ethnic terrorism.

Hypothesis 3: Countries with intermediate income levels are more likely to experience acts of ethnoreparatist terrorism than countries at low or high income levels.

Political Structure Perspectives

Other social scientists argue that political structures are causally related to international and transnational terrorism. Eubank and Weinberg (1994) investigate the relationship between democracy and the presence of terrorist organizations. The authors find that the likelihood of terrorist groups existing within democracies was 3.5 times greater than in nondemocratic states, indicating that terrorist groups tend to appear in
nations with democratic regimes. Further, they find that democracies that experience interruptions in political order are more likely to harbor terrorist organizations. Eubank and Weinberg also find that terrorist organizations are more likely to appear in nations with a higher level of protests, politically motivated strikes, and riots (Eubank & Weinberg 1994).

In a later study, the authors reinvestigate the relationship between terrorism and democracy. Utilizing the ITERATE data set, Eubank and Weinberg investigate the possibility that the number of terrorist attacks produced by and occurring in a nation are related to the level of democracy. Similar to the earlier study, the authors find that during the 1980s, terrorist events occurred much more frequently in democratic nations. Terrorist violence was also more common in stable democracies, with the least amount of attacks occurring in absolutist states. They find that both perpetrators and victims of terrorism are more likely to be residents of nations with stable democracies. They argue that some aspects of the dynamics of democracies make the use of terrorism attractive and accessible for citizens. The authors conclude that democracies make it possible for “dissident groups of all sizes and shapes to wage campaigns of terrorist violence on behalf of whatever goals they seek to achieve” (Eubank and Weinberg 2001 pg. 163). Unfortunately, Eubank and Weinberg use a limited (1980-1987) and outdated sample for their analysis, limiting the generalizability of their results.

Eubank and Weinberg (1994; 2001) argue that the relationship between democracy and terrorism can be explained by the relative freedom of citizens in democratic states to mobilize and commit acts of terrorism. This postulation may be
overly simplistic, however. Surely, restraints on law enforcement, executive power and political rights of citizens make it easier for fringe organizations to operate within democratic states, but unlike their findings, the relationship may not be linear. Fully autocratic and fully democratic states may both serve to decrease terrorist actions. Autocratic states can crush dissidence, while democratic states may deter terrorism through political inclusion. Semi-autocratic or semi-democratic states may encourage terrorism through a combination of openness that creates opportunities for mobilization while lacking the power to repress or restrict citizen’s political actions, suggesting a curvilinear effect (Robison, et al. 2006).

Kurrild-Klitgaard et al. investigate the relationship between economic and political freedom and transnational terrorism. They find no statistically significant relationship between economic freedom of a nation and the amount of transnational terrorism that it experiences, stating that “explanations of terror with reference to relative or absolute deprivation have little to support them” (Kurrild-Klitgaard et al. 2006 pg. 303). Their results show that the level of democracy has a complex relationship with transnational terrorist events that occur in a nation. Specifically, they find that democracy will encourage terrorism up to a point, followed by a significant decrease in terrorism. This again suggests that nations at intermediary levels of democratization are more likely to experience terrorism than fully autocratic or democratic states. Furthermore, nations in political transition are then more likely to experience terrorism. Civil liberties are found to be negatively associated with transnational terrorism, while there is no indication that a nation’s economic conditions or religious composition have a
significant impact on the probability that a transnational terrorist attack will stem from the nation (Kurrild-Klitgaard et al. 2006). In contrast, in their study of Islamic and leftist terror, Robison et al. found a positive effect of political rights, but no consistent effect of civil rights on Islamic and leftist terrorism (Robison, et al. 2006).

In her study of the Middle East and Northern Africa (MENA), Wiest (2007) discusses an intriguing relationship between human rights mobilization and Islamist terror. Wiest notes that in the 1990s, Arab nations experienced an increase in terrorist attacks carried out by Muslim militants against governments, foreign targets, and civilians. She observes that these increases in terrorism occurred where foreign occupation and war prompted violence by non-combatants, and also in nations where Islamists fought against secular governments and western influence. Soon after, governments in the MENA region countered with the suppression of civil and political rights of their citizens. Evoking Rapaport’s wave theory (Rapaport 2002) Wiest also notes that there have been waves of terror in which Salafi terror represents a distinct wave. Interestingly, Wiest (2007 pg. 141) argues that “transnational terrorism and transnational human rights share some of the same structural sources. The global diffusion of world culture empowers human rights activists and collective actors using violent tactics to present bold challenges to states, though their means of doing so differ dramatically.”

Furthermore, she argues that in the MENA region, militant Islam emerged in nations during times of liberalization and political reform. She finds that the frequency of attacks of transnational terrorism in MENA correlates with political liberalization.
Nations that underwent liberalization and enacted constitutional reform experienced the highest frequency of incidents of transnational terrorism. It was during this time period that states justified the suppression of civil rights with the threat of terrorism. Wiest maintains that “state repression of Islamic organizations fueled militancy, leading to more widespread use of terrorist tactics in many countries” (Wiest 2007 pg. 154).

Democratic countries may also be more vulnerable to terrorist actions due to freedom of the press. Terrorists rely on extensive publicity and media coverage to transmit their message and incite fear amongst their target populations. Terrorism is a form of theater, and the media provides the stage (Hoffman 2006; Juergensmeyer 2003; Pape 2003). Without media coverage, the impact of terrorism is severely limited, hampering the goal of terrorist organizations to induce fear and change in a population that is much larger than their immediate victims. Without media coverage, terrorists are unable to spread fear or gain political leverage in order to encourage political change, in effect rendering their endeavor pointless. The press effectively provides itself as a force multiplier for terrorists. In non-democratic societies in which media is state regulated, coverage of terrorism can be controlled, making the state a less attractive target. In states with free press, terrorism is highly publicized and is utilized by the press for its potential to incite fear and public attention, leading to disproportionate coverage and viewership of acts of terrorism. Freedom of the press in democratic nations makes democracies very attractive targets for terrorists whose goal it is to incite fear in a population (Hoffman 2006).
Scholars have found that regime structure is highly related to terrorism, illustrating the need for measures of regime type in analyses of terrorism. In accordance with prior studies, I expect that the type of governance system will influence the amount of ethnic terrorism in a nation. Specifically, nations that exhibit intermediary levels of democracy (neither fully autocratic nor fully democratic) are expected to suffer more acts of ethnic terrorism than those that score lower (autocracy) or higher (democracy).

**Hypothesis 4:** Semi-democratic or semi-autocratic regime structures encourage ethnic terrorism. Fully autocratic and democratic regimes produce fewer acts of ethnoseparatist terrorism than those with mixed regime structures.

Despite increased academic attention garnered by terrorism in recent years, no empirical studies have investigated the link between colonialism, economic and political development and ethnic terrorism. The current study attempts to bridge the gap between the study of terrorism, ethnic conflict and postcolonial studies by attempting to explain how colonialism and modernization exacerbate issues of ethnic fractionalization and conflict, thereby leading to transnational ethnic terrorism.
THE CURRENT STUDY

Terrorism has taken on a more deadly and resonant form in the past several decades, increasing not only in the amount of damage caused, but in attention that it garners from political and media outlets (Hoffman 2005). With the current war on terrorism, it is increasingly important to understand the underlying causes of this deadly trend. Of growing importance in the war on terror however, is understanding religious and ethnic terrorism, which have become the most common and deadly forms of terrorism in the contemporary world (Juergensmeyer 2003). With a sample of 60 less-developed countries collected from the ITERATE data set, the current study will investigate the effect of colonial history, ethnic composition, development, regime type, and fertility on ethnoseparatist terrorism attacks.

Due to the interest in the temporal nature of colonialism and the use of yearly counts in the dependent variables, I constructed pooled time-series models. In order to evaluate modernization theory as an explanation of terrorism, country-level economic control variables will be included in the models. To evaluate the role of ethnic heterogeneity and dispersion on terrorism, measures of ethnic dispersion and assimilation are also incorporated. To evaluate the possibility that the type of governance system affects the prevalence of terrorism, measures of regime type are also included as an explanatory variable. Despite continual debate on the nature of the term terrorism, the
study of the phenomenon has flourished since 2001, with an immense amount of work remaining to be done. This study proposes a modest step in that direction. If the findings are significant, and proposed factors are noteworthy predictors of transnational terrorism, this study has several implications. Economic growth and rushed globalization are a primary focus for foreign policy and terrorism prevention (Piazza 2006). If economic conditions are found to be less significant than political and historical factors, then promoting economic growth and globalization in order to combat terrorism may not be the most fruitful approach. Alternatively, if modernization and economic growth significantly contribute to ethnic terrorism, the promotion of economic growth as a counter-terrorism policy may serve to exacerbate the issue.

Furthermore, knowledge on the causes of ethnic terrorism is imperative in informing counter-terrorism efforts. By focusing on the causes of terrorism it allows policy makers to target preventative efforts and aid to those countries most likely to produce and harbor terrorists. Empirical studies are therefore exceedingly important for the international community in knowing how to target and distribute resources and counter-terrorism efforts. If former colonies in fact experience more terrorism than non-colonies, counter-terrorism efforts and resources can be targeted to those nations most at risk.
DATA AND METHODS

Data on incidents of transnational ethnic terrorism are collected from the ITERATE (International Terrorism: Attributes of Terrorist Events)\(^2\) data set. ITERATE is a widely known database in the study of contemporary terrorism and is extensively used in the academic study of the causes and consequences of terrorism. The project has gone through four waves and quantifies data on the attributes of transnational terrorist organizations, their international activities, the nationality of the attackers, and the nations they target. ITERATE is collected based upon intelligence and international news reports covering incidents of international and transnational terrorism.

ITERATE defines international/transnational terrorism as:

“the use of threat of use of anxiety-inducing, extra-normal violence for political purposes, by an individual or group whether acting for or in opposition to established governmental authority, when action is intended to influence the attitudes and behavior of a target group wider than the immediate victims and when, through the nationality or foreign ties of its perpetrators, its location, the nature of institutional or human victims, or mechanics of its resolution, its ramifications transcend national boundaries” (Mickolus et al. 2003; 2).

Mickolus et al. also distinguish between international and transnational terrorism. International terrorism is characterized as “carried out by individuals or groups controlled by a sovereign state.” Transnational terrorism, in contrast, is conceptualized as “carried out by basically autonomous nonstate actors, whether or not they enjoy some degree of support from sympathetic states” (Mickolus et al. 2003; 2).

\(^2\) Initial waves of ITERATE are publicly available through the Inter-Consortium for Political and Social Research, Box 1248, Ann Arbor, Michigan, 48106.
Thus ITERATE distinguishes between state (international) and more clandestine (transnational) forms of terrorism. For the purposes of the current research, state terrorism will not be analyzed. Incidents of state terrorism are likely quite different in the causes, perpetrators and mechanisms involved, and analyzing both may confuse the causal processes. Furthermore, I have selected only incidents of violent attacks in the data. While ITERATE includes both threats and hoaxes of terrorism, threats and hoaxes are likely quantifiably different from attacks actually carried out. Arguably, a large number of terrorist threats and hoaxes are perpetrated by individuals never committed to nor able to execute them. If hoaxes and threats were included in the analysis it may serve to marginally increase the number of cases, but possibly confound results of the causes of actual violent attacks.

The current study will analyze both ethnoseparatist attacks against civilians and political targets. Crenshaw and Robison (2010a) illustrate the need to separate actors from actions in order to obtain taxonomic clarity. The authors demonstrate that the most accurate focus is on the characteristics of the target, as the target of an attack best indicates the purpose. They argue that attacks against political targets are more appropriately characterized as guerrilla attacks, while attacks against civilians are traditional terrorist acts. Accordingly, terrorist attacks and political (guerrilla) attacks will be analyzed separately, in order to determine if there are distinct causal processes. Robison et al. (2006) code ITERATE data based on the ideology of the
attacker. For the purposes of this study, attacks coded as ethnoseparatist in nature will be analyzed.

Transnational ethnoseparatist terrorism is such action employed in the name of a de-territorialized ethnic group, often for the express purposes of seizing some socio-spatial domain and claiming it as a homeland with their group expressing the sole hegemony over that domain. So-called terrorists of this motivation typically arise from an ethnic group that harbors significant grievances against the major political power that dominates and polices them (commonly a separate ethnic group). These grievances are various but often include limited access to shared political, economic and social resources that the political power group dominates and sometimes extends to the right of the group to express cultural and linguistic autonomy and self-direction in education, media and other cultural institutions within its socio-spatial domain (Grinshpan Stephens & Jenkins 2010 pg 2).

Measures of transnational ethnoseparatist terrorism and guerilla attacks will be employed separately as dependent variables in order to test whether the models are actually explaining ethnic terrorism or guerrilla warfare (Crenshaw and Robison 2010).

Ethnic group-level data has been collected from the Minorities at Risk dataset (henceforth MAR). MAR documents various group characteristics useful for the purposes of this study. In particular, MAR measures ethnic groups’ spatial separation (across national boundaries and separation from traditional ethnic kin groups). A summary measure of ethnic group dispersion was created for each nation available in the MAR dataset (Minorities at Risk 2003). The variable measures the number of ethnic groups in a nation that have kin groups across international boundaries, giving each nation a composite score as a proxy indicator of ethnic dispersion. For example, a nation which

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3 The Minorities at Risk dataset is publicly available through the Center for International Development and Conflict Management located at the University of Maryland. http://www.cidcm.umd.edu/mar/data.asp
has five ethnic groups residing within its borders and only one group has kin across international boundaries would receive a score of 1.

The question from the original data base is as follows:

GC10  Transnational dispersion-kindred groups  56

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Value</th>
<th>Label</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td>The group has no close kindred across an international border</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
| 2.    | The group has close kindred across a border which does not adjoin its regional base  
|       | (cases which do not have regional bases are coded here)                |
| 3.    | The group has no close kindred in countries which adjoin its regional base |
| 4.    | The group has close kindred in one country which adjoins its regional base |
| 5.    | The group has close kindred in more than one country which adjoins its regional base |

For each group in the MAR dataset, a variable was coded based on GC10. If a group was coded as 1 or 3 in GC10, the group was scored as 0, indicating that it has no international kin. Groups coded as 2, 4 or 5 were scored as 1, indicating that the group has international kin. Groups were then aggregated to the country level, providing a measure of the number of groups with transborder kin for each country. Due to the established relationship between colonial border formation and ethnic separation and forced integration (Blanton et al. 2001; Lange and Dawson 2009) these measures in combination with measures of colonial history will attempt to capture the dynamics of colonialism, border formation and ethnic conflict that may lead to ethnic terrorism.

In addition to the measure of ethnic dispersion, a measure of ethnic assimilation was constructed using Alesina et al.’s (2003) measures of ethnic and linguistic heterogeneity. Ethnolinguistic assimilation measures the number of linguistic groups subtracted from the number of ethnic groups for each country. This gives a rough estimate of assimilation of ethnic groups on a national level. For those countries with
more language groups than ethnic groups (for example, India), assimilation was set at 0. If a country has fewer linguistic groups than ethnic groups it suggests that ethnic groups have undergone cultural assimilation, and are unified by a national language. Linguistic homogeneity can increase interactions between an ethnically diverse population, which can also serve to increase cross-cutting ties between groups (Crenshaw and Robison 2010b).

Dichotomous variables were constructed in order to measure the colonial history of nations coded as 1 if a nation was a colony or dependency after 1900, and 0 if not. Nations with a colonial experience that terminated before 1900 were coded as non-colonies for the current study. Aside from the colonizers themselves, only a few large (China and Iran), isolated (Nepal), or fortunate (Thailand and Ethiopia) countries avoided colonization (Young 1994). Many former colonies gained independence before 1900, however, including the United States and much of Latin America. Analyzing only colonies after 1900 serves both to introduce variation into the independent variable and separate the effects of more recent colonialism. Many nations gained independence far before others, while most of Africa and parts of Asia have much more recent experiences with colonial control. Furthermore, the process of ethnic amalgamation and development in the former colonies of Latin America are much different than those in other regions. In Latin America and most of the New World class and color are more salient social markers than ethnicity. In these countries, generations of independence have inevitably led to ethnic amalgamation. Thus, in order to properly model the effect of colonial history
on ethnic tensions, those countries that gained independence prior to 1900 will be classified as non-colonies.

In addition to the variables obtained from the ITERATE and MAR datasets, country-level factors were obtained from various data sources. Economic development, measured as real gross domestic product per capita, or gross domestic product adjusted for changes in inflation and buying power, was obtained from the World Bank World Development Indicators (2004). Real GDP per capita is modeled as both a logged and polynomial term, to control for a curvilinear pattern with ethnic terrorism. Mesquida and Wiener (1996) find that the proportion of males ages 15-29 is consistently (and positively) correlated with the level of collective aggression in a country. They argue that collective violence is much more likely when resources needed to attract a spouse are insufficient, and violence develops as an attempt to gain unattainable resources (Mesquida and Wiener 1996). Urdal (2006) demonstrates that youth bulges not only increase the opportunities for youth to mobilize, but also increase motives for political violence. Like Collier (2001), Urdal (2006) finds that the existence of a large pool of youth is a factor that lowers the cost of recruitment as the opportunity cost for youth mobilization is generally low. He finds that youth bulges significantly increase the risk of low intensity armed conflict.

Terrorism, as definition, is low intensity violence, as it is sporadic, rarely exceeds casualties of over 1,000, and is not traditionally used in the context of state war. Urdal analyzes the effects of youth bulges on a wide variety of conflicts, including terrorism. He finds that while youth bulges are not significantly associated with civil wars, they
significantly affect the onset of smaller, low intensity violent conflicts, including terrorism. This finding illustrates the relevance of youth bulges as a predictor or terrorism, as youth bulges seem to have more utility in explaining low level conflicts. The author concludes that youth bulges increase the opportunities for violence through an overabundant supply of young males with low opportunity costs. Furthermore, youth bulges provide stronger motivation for violence and terrorism as young males are more likely to experience unemployment. Similarly, Cincotta et al. (2003) find that countries with more than 40% young adults in the adult population are 2.3 times more likely to experience an outbreak of civil conflict.

Several countries that recently experienced conflict also experienced a youth bulge. Countries such as Algeria, Angola, Liberia, Rwanda and Burundi, Sri Lanka and Uganda experienced youth bulges prior to the outbreak of violence (Cincotta et al. 2003). In addition, much of Africa and several Middle Eastern nations are also experiencing youth bulges, illustrating the need to empirically evaluate the theory. Unfortunately, the use of the age dependency ratio to evaluate youth bulge theory severely limits the sample size. Instead, measures of the total fertility rate were included in the analyses. To test the argument that a youth bulge creates an overabundance of young unmarried males with no economic, political, and marital opportunities, measures of the total fertility rate for countries used in the analysis are also adopted from the World Bank (2004).

To allow for the possibility that the type of governance system affects the prevalence of terrorism, measures of regime type obtained from the Polity IV data set (Marshall and Jaggers 2003) are included. Political democracy is commonly used in
cross-national social research and ranges from -10 (autocratic) to 10 (consolidated democracy). A constant of eleven was added to all observations in order to create all-positive numbers, which range from 1 (autocracy) to 21 (consolidated democracy). Researchers have noted the curvilinear relationship between regime type and terrorism. Fully autocratic and fully democratic states are able to deter terrorism through repression (autocracies) and political inclusion (democracies). Terrorism is then most likely to occur in semi-democratic regimes (Kurrild-Klitgaard et al. 2006). Accordingly, regime type is modeled as a polynomial term in order to capture the potentially curvilinear relationship with ethnic terrorism.

The dependent variables of interest are annual counts of attacks per country, requiring count-response models. Zero-inflated models (Poisson or negative binomial regression) properly fit data with large numbers of zero counts. Zero-inflated models change the structure of the equation, allowing zeros (no ethnoseparatist attacks in a country-year) to be produced through two distinct processes. The models estimate two equations, one equation predicting the not always zero group, which can be zero by chance, and the other equation predicting the always zero group (countries with no chance of an attack) using a logistic regression. Inflation terms are needed in order to estimate zero-inflated models. The inflation terms are variables that determine zero counts in the dependent variables, and should significantly predict the zero counts in the data (Hilbe 2007; Long 1997; Long and Freese 2006).

4 76 percent of the sample scored below 19 on the political democracy scale. Only 11 countries included in the sample scored above 19.
Ethnic homogeneity, measured as the largest ethnic groups’ percentage of the total population, cubed, taken from the World Christian Encyclopedia (Barrett 1982) is utilized as the inflation term in the zero-inflated Poisson terrorism models. When the majority group is very small, comprising less than 20 percent of the population, the effect of terrorism is negative. Intense pluralism, as noted by Blau (1977), decreases intergroup conflict as intergroup interactions increase. As the majority ethnic group increases in size up to 80 percent of the population, however, the effect on terrorism is positive. Dualism and competition between ethnic groups increase when the majority group is of moderate size, creating intercommunal conflict. As the majority group reaches a critical size, above 80 percent of the population, there is ethnic hegemony in the state, reducing conflict. When the largest group is hegemonic, it is more powerful and intergroup conflict will decrease (Blau 1977).

Ethnic homogeneity, as discussed by Blau (1977), is useful in explaining ethnic conflict. Ethnicity is only salient as a social marker in the presence of ethnic heterogeneity. Ethnic terrorism is extremely unlikely in ethnically homogenous societies simply because ethnicity is not relevant in social life. Thus societies in which the largest ethnic group makes up a very large share of the population are unlikely to experience ethnic terrorism. When the largest group makes up a smaller proportion of the population, however, ethnicity can be divisive. Blau maintains that conflict between groups is most likely in moderate levels of fractionalization, as interactions between groups increase and groups perceive others as threats to their interests. Extreme heterogeneity, however, decreases the chances for intergroup conflict because it weakens
barriers to intergroup interactions, decreasing ingroup preferences and prejudices (Blau 1977). As such, ethnic terrorism is least likely at low and high levels of ethnic heterogeneity, effectively capturing zero counts in the dependent variable with a cubed term.

In addition to the variables described above, an interaction term was constructed in order to measure the interactive effects of colonial history and ethnic assimilation. An interaction of colonial history and ethnic assimilation is included in order to explore the effect of colonization on terrorism in ethnically assimilated states. If colonial history is still divisive even in ethnically assimilated states, it speaks to the lasting deteriorative effects of colonial control. In models of both terrorism and guerrilla attacks, a one-year lagged dependent variable is included to correct for serial autocorrelation. Moreover, a country which experiences terrorism in one year may be more likely to experience terrorism in the next. This occurs due to the likelihood of terrorist campaigns, and also as terrorist groups seek to take advantage of media and political attention garnered by previous attacks (Crenshaw and Robison 2010a). Operationalization and descriptive statistics of all variables are presented below. See footnote for a list of countries included in the analyses.  

5 Countries included in analyses: Afghanistan, Albania, Angola, Argentina, Azerbaijan, Bangladesh, Bolivia, Brazil, Cambodia, Chile, China, Colombia, Congo, Costa Rica, Côte d'Ivoire, Croatia, Dominican Republic, Ecuador, Eritrea, Georgia, Guatemala, Honduras, Hungary, India, Indonesia, Iran, Iraq, Jordan, Kenya, Kyrgyzstan, Lebanon, Liberia, Lithuania, Malaysia, Mexico, Morocco, Nicaragua, Nigeria, Pakistan, Panama, Paraguay, Peru, Philippines, Romania, Saudi Arabia, South Africa, Sri Lanka, Sudan, Syria, Tajikistan, Thailand, Togo, Turkey, Uganda, Ukraine, Uzbekistan, Former Yugoslavia, Zaire, Zambia, Zimbabwe.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Variable</th>
<th>Measurement</th>
<th>Source</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Dependent Variables</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ethnoseparatist Attacks on Civilians</td>
<td>Number Ethnoseparatist Terrorist Attacks on Civilians By Target Nation</td>
<td>ITERATE, 2003</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ethnoseparatist Attacks on Government</td>
<td>Number Ethnoseparatist Terrorist Attacks on the Government by Target Nation</td>
<td>ITERATE, 2003</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Independent Variables</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Colonial History</td>
<td>Former colony or dependency after 1900 (0=No, 1=Yes)</td>
<td>Robison, 2007</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ethnic</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ethnic Group Dispersion</td>
<td>Kindred groups' transnational dispersion, Number of ethnic groups with transborder kin</td>
<td>Minorities At Risk, 2002</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ethnic Assimilation</td>
<td>Number of ethnic groups - number of languages</td>
<td>Alesina et al., 2003</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Economic and Political</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GDP per capita</td>
<td>Natural Log GDP per Capita</td>
<td>World Bank, 2004</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Regime Type</td>
<td>Institutionalized democracy index- point scale (1-21)</td>
<td>Polity IV, 2000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Demographic</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fertility</td>
<td>Total Fertility Rate</td>
<td>World Bank, 2004</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 1. Operationalization of all Variables
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Mean</th>
<th>S.D.</th>
<th>N</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Dependent Variables</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ethnic Attacks Against Civilians</td>
<td>0.197</td>
<td>0.736</td>
<td>1806</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ethnic Attacks Against Government</td>
<td>0.132</td>
<td>0.542</td>
<td>1806</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Independent Variables</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Colonial History After 1900(^a)</td>
<td>0.744</td>
<td>0.435</td>
<td>7698</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ethnic Dispersion</td>
<td>2.248</td>
<td>1.870</td>
<td>4150</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ethnic Assimilation</td>
<td>0.111</td>
<td>0.193</td>
<td>3740</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Colonial History*Ethnic Assimilation</td>
<td>0.059</td>
<td>0.160</td>
<td>3740</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Control Variables</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Natural Log GDP per capita</td>
<td>7.828</td>
<td>0.926</td>
<td>3531</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Natural Log GDP per capita Squared</td>
<td>62.14</td>
<td>14.76</td>
<td>3531</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Regime Type</td>
<td>9.092</td>
<td>6.587</td>
<td>4144</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Regime Type Squared</td>
<td>126.05</td>
<td>145.66</td>
<td>4144</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fertility</td>
<td>4.783</td>
<td>1.877</td>
<td>3390</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\(^a\) 1=Former Colony

**Table 2. Descriptive Statistics of all Variable**
Analytical Strategy

I use a pooled time-series design to examine the dynamics contributing to the number of transnational ethnic attacks. Both transnational terrorist attacks and guerrilla attacks are measured as yearly counts of incidents per nation. Count variables are often treated as continuous and linear regression techniques are applied. However, the use of linear regression for count variables results in inefficient, inconsistent and biased estimates (Long 1997). Since the dependent variables of interest are count measures, count response models should be used over OLS regression techniques in order to accurately model the data. Count data are not normally distributed, and as such, are not well estimated in OLS regression models. Count models attempt to explain the number of events, and are fundamentally heteroskedastic and skewed. Poisson regression (PRM) models are the standard used to model count data, unfortunately, the Poisson distribution assumes equidispersion of the variance and mean, which is only rarely found in data (Hilbe 2007).

PRM models underfit the amount of dispersion in the outcomes. Data that have a greater variance than mean are termed “overdispersed.” Negative binomial regression has become the standard method utilized to model overdispersed data (Hilbe 2007). Negative binomial (NBR) models address the failure of PRM by adding an additional parameter, $a$, which reflects unobserved heterogeneity between observations. The $a$ parameter allows for overdispersion of the data, permitting for better model fit (Hilbe 2007; Long 1997; Long and Freese 2006). Estimates of NBR models are similar to those resulting from PR models, however, PRM models display larger z-values, inefficient estimates, and
downwardly biased standard errors when analyzing overdispersed data (Long 1997; Long and Freese 2006).

Due to the rare nature of acts of terrorism, the data possess an excessive number of zero counts (i.e. zero-inflated). Poisson and negative binomial distributions assume an expected number of zero counts for a given mean value. When the data possess a high number of zero counts, it exceeds the expected number of the model, thus violating the assumptions of both models. Such overdispersion can result in underestimated standard errors and inflated significance in models and must be accounted for when modeling count data. In response, statisticians developed the zero-inflated regression models, zero-inflated Poisson (ZIP) and zero-inflated negative binomial (ZINB), which are often utilized for modeling count data with excessive zeros (Hilbe 2007).

Zero-inflated models change the mean structure of the equation, allowing the zeros (no ethnoseparatist attacks in a country-year) to be generated by two distinctive processes. As such, zero-inflated models assume that there are two latent (unobserved) groups from which zero counts come, both an always-zero group (countries with no chance of ethnic attacks), and a not-always-zero group (countries which are zero by chance). This structure allows for unobserved heterogeneity as countries are both allowed, and expected, to possess no attacks per country-year by both chance (not always zero), and a lack of potential for attacks (always zero). Accordingly, zero-inflated models estimate two equations, one equation predicting the counts of the not always zero group, using the ZINB or ZIP equation, while the always zero group is modeled using the binary logistic regression model (Hilbe 2007, Long 1997, Long and Freese 2006).
Several tests were performed in order to determine the proper model fit. Overdispersion and goodness of fit tests outlined by Long and Freese (2006) were utilized in order to determine the appropriate models. For the dependent variable measuring terrorist attacks against political targets (guerrilla attacks), both a likelihood ratio test of \( a \) and a Vuong test indicated that negative binomial regression was preferred over standard Poisson regression.

Long and Freese note that “in general, the ZIP and ZINB models fail to converge more often that other count models” (2006 pg. 402). This failure was experienced repeatedly when modeling guerrilla attacks. Both ZIP and ZINB models were attempted, however the models failed to converge after 16,000 iterations, indicating that convergence was not achievable using zero-inflated models. Thus, guerrilla attacks are estimated using standard negative binomial regression models with robust standard errors clustered by country to account for correlation within country observations.

For models estimating terrorist attacks against civilians, the Vuong test indicated that zero-inflated models are preferred over standard negative binomial or Poisson regression. When examining test and fit statistics detailed by Long and Freese (2006), the fit of PRM, NBR, ZIP and ZINB were compared using both AIC and BIC statistics. These tests also indicate that zero-inflated models were preferred over standard models, as both ZIP and ZINB consistently fit better than PRM or NBR. When comparing the zero-inflated models, the tests indicate that ZINB is not preferred over ZIP. A likelihood ratio test comparing ZIP to ZINB resulted in a value of .714, with a probability of .199, indicating that ZINB does not significantly improve the fit over ZIP.
Both the BIC and AIC statistics suggest that ZIP is preferred over ZINB in goodness of fit. Long and Freese (2006) suggest the use of zero-inflated Poisson instead of zero-inflated negative binomial where possible to avoid overfitting the data. Accordingly, zero-inflated Poisson models were estimated for terrorist attacks against civilian targets, while negative binomial regression was used to model attacks against political targets.
RESULTS

*Ethnoseparatist Guerrilla Attacks*

Table 3 displays results of the negative binominal regression models of guerrilla attacks, or terrorist attacks against political targets. Equation one introduces the lagged dependent variable, attacks target, and the exogenous colonial history term. Equation one illustrates the importance of the lagged dependent variable. The lagged dependent variable is highly significant and positive in all models, suggesting that countries which experience terrorism the year before are significantly more likely to experience terrorism in the next year. Colonial history is positive but insignificant in equations one through four. However, this effect changes direction with the inclusion of an interaction with ethnolinguistic assimilation in equation five, which will be discussed in more detail below.

Measures of ethnic composition are introduced in model two. Ethnic assimilation is consistently negative throughout all models, although it is insignificant until the inclusion of measures of economic development in equation three. Equations three through four indicate that countries with increased ethnic assimilation (fewer language groups than ethnic groups) produce around 1.5 fewer ethnoseparatist attacks per country-year than those with less linguistic assimilation. This suggests that linguistic integration decreases the saliency of ethnicity as a social marker and source of conflict at the state level. Contrary to expectations, the effect of transnational ethnic kin is negative but not
significant in any model, suggesting that alone there is no effect of the presence of international ethnic kin groups on the number of guerrilla attacks per country-year.

Measures of economic development (GDP) and the total fertility rate are introduced in equation three. Economic development has a significant curvilinear effect on guerrilla attacks. At moderate levels of economic development countries experience more guerrilla attacks, with an increase in economic development expected to coincide with an 11 to 12 attack increase per country-year. Higher levels of economic development result in fewer guerrilla attacks, as indicated by the negative coefficient of the curvilinear term. The inflection point is $2,440 per person, after which guerrilla attacks will decrease. Both the linear and polynomial terms are significant in all models, suggesting that development is a robust predictor of the number of guerrilla attacks per country-year. The total fertility rate is highly significant in equation three, decreasing slightly in significance with the inclusion of regime type in model four. Fertility remains significant and positive throughout all models, suggesting that countries characterized by high fertility, or those experiencing a youth bulge, produce significantly more guerrilla attacks per country-year than those with lower fertility rates. This is consistent with the findings of the strong effect of demographic factors on conflict (Urdal 2006).

Next I introduce political regime in equation four. Contrary to hypothesis three, regime type is insignificant in model four, and only weakly significant (.1 level) and positive in the full model, with an increase in the democracy index only associated with a .04 increase in the number of guerilla attacks per country-year. This suggests that democracies are only slightly more likely to experience guerrilla attacks than autocracies.

---

6 A polynomial term of political regime was included in earlier models, and found to be insignificant.
The linear relationship between regime type and guerrilla attacks is consistent with Eubank and Weinberg (1994; 2001), who suggest that democracies experience and produce more attacks due to the relative freedom of citizens and press and their vulnerability as potential targets, while countries with autocratic leadership are able to deter and prevent terrorist campaigns through brute force.

To allow for the possibility that the effect of colonial history varies based upon the ethnolinguistic unification of the society, I include an interaction between colonial history and assimilation. Model five introduces the interaction term, which is significant and positive. The positive and significant interaction term suggests that former colonies, even in environments of ethnic assimilation, are expected to produce more ethnoseparatist guerrilla attacks than non-colonies. This suggests that there are lasting deleterious effects of colonialism that contribute to ethnic guerrilla attacks even when ethnic groups are more unified linguistically. This effect indicates that former colonies do not receive the complete benefits of linguistic assimilation because the colonizers often altered traditional ethnic relationships and power structures. As a result, even if there is a common language unifying a diverse population, former colonies are still more likely to endure ethnic strife that escalates to terrorism against political targets.
### Table 3. Negative Binomial Regression Models of the Determinants of Ethnoseparatist Guerrilla Attacks 1968-2002

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Dependent Variable Ethnoseparatist Guerrilla Attacks</th>
<th>Equation 1</th>
<th>Equation 2</th>
<th>Equation 3</th>
<th>Equation 4</th>
<th>Equation 5</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Ethnoseparatist Guerrilla Lag</td>
<td>0.504***</td>
<td>0.490***</td>
<td>0.350***</td>
<td>0.370***</td>
<td>0.364***</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(0.100)</td>
<td>(0.098)</td>
<td>(0.102)</td>
<td>(0.098)</td>
<td>(0.098)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Colonial history</td>
<td>0.512</td>
<td>0.356</td>
<td>0.111</td>
<td>0.272</td>
<td>-0.107</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(0.401)</td>
<td>(0.412)</td>
<td>(0.362)</td>
<td>(0.376)</td>
<td>(0.395)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Assimilation</td>
<td>-1.507</td>
<td>-1.554*</td>
<td>-1.627*</td>
<td>-2.942***</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(1.020)</td>
<td>(0.743)</td>
<td>(0.782)</td>
<td>(0.895)</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>International ethnic kin</td>
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<td>-0.029</td>
<td>-0.024</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(0.086)</td>
<td>(0.072)</td>
<td>(0.070)</td>
<td>(0.062)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Real per capita income logged</td>
<td>12.22*</td>
<td>11.53*</td>
<td>11.41*</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(5.216)</td>
<td>(5.103)</td>
<td>(4.932)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Real per capita income logged²</td>
<td>-0.778*</td>
<td>-0.728*</td>
<td>-0.729*</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(0.322)</td>
<td>(0.314)</td>
<td>(0.305)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fertility</td>
<td>0.352***</td>
<td>0.433*</td>
<td>0.407**</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(0.107)</td>
<td>(0.148)</td>
<td>(0.141)</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Polity Index</td>
<td>0.036</td>
<td>0.025</td>
<td>0.045 †</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(0.025)</td>
<td>(0.026)</td>
<td>(0.026)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Colonial History*Assimilation</td>
<td>2.901*</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(1.312)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Observations (n)</td>
<td>756</td>
<td>756</td>
<td>756</td>
<td>756</td>
<td>756</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

NOTE: Coefficients and standard errors are reported in parentheses.

† p<.10  *p<.05  **p<.01  ***p<.001
**Ethnoseparatist Terrorist Attacks**

Results from zero-inflated Poisson regression models of terrorist attacks against civilians are presented in Table 4. Equation one introduces the lagged dependent variable and measure of colonial history after 1900. The lagged dependent variable, attacktarget, is highly significant and positive in all models. This suggests that countries that experienced a terrorist attack in the previous year are much more likely to experience an attack the next year. Colonial history is significant and positive in equation one, indicating that countries which were colonies after 1900 experience more ethnoseparatist terrorist attacks per country-year than those who were not colonies, or countries which experienced independence prior to 1900. However, the effect is no longer significant with the inclusion of measures of ethnic composition in equation two.

Equation two introduces country-level measures of ethnic composition. Ethnolinguistic assimilation is consistently significant and negative across all models. Equations two through four suggest that countries in which there is more linguistic assimilation (fewer language groups than ethnic groups) will experience between four and five fewer ethnoseparatist attacks per country-year. Similar to the models of guerrilla attacks, this suggests that processes of linguistic unification alleviate ethnic tensions and decrease the salience of ethnicity as a potential source of social conflict. The presence of transnational ethnic kin is also significant and negative across all models. The presence of ethnic kin across international borders may have an ameliorative effect on ethnic tensions. Ethnic kin in other countries may provide an escape route when ethnic tensions escalate to violence between groups. Those groups with kin may migrate across state
boundaries and unite with international kin groups in the presence of discrimination and violence, thus decreasing tensions and violence in their home state. This effect is significant across all models, suggesting that countries with groups that have ethnic kin across national borders produce significantly less terrorism than those that do not have kin across borders. The negative effect of international kin suggests the practice of uti possidetis, which separated ethnic kin groups by national boundaries, opened escape routes for coethnics facing harsh conditions in their home states. This suggests a previously unknown positive effect of the colonial practice of splitting ethnic groups.

Measures of economic development and fertility are introduced in equation three. As hypothesized by modernization theory, development has a curvilinear effect on terrorism. Moderate levels of economic development generate more attacks, between six and seven attacks per country-year, while higher levels of development result in fewer terrorist attacks. The inflection point is $2,981, after which ethnic terrorist attacks will decrease. This effect is consistent across all models, demonstrating that development is a robust determinant of the number of terrorist attacks. Fertility is consistently positive and significant, suggesting that increased fertility increases terrorist attacks against civilians. Countries characterized by high fertility, or those experiencing a youth bulge, consistently experience more ethnoseparatist terrorist attacks per country-year. This finding is consistent with Urdal (2003) who finds that youth bulges are significant predictors of low-intensity violence such as terrorism.

Equation four introduces the curvilinear term of regime type. As hypothesized, regime type has a curvilinear effect on terrorism. Semi-autocratic and semi-democratic
regime structures experience more ethnoseparatist terrorist attacks. Democratization therefore, encourages ethnoseparatist attacks to a point, after which attacks will decline. The inflection point is 8.3 in the democracy index, after which ethnic terrorist attacks will decrease. This finding is consistent with terrorism literature (Kurrid-Klitgaard et al. 2006; Robison et al. 2006) which suggest a curvilinear relationship between terrorism and regime type. The effect of regime type on terrorism is significant across models, suggesting that regime type is a robust predictor of ethnoseparatist terrorism.

Model five introduces the interaction term between colonial history and ethnic assimilation. The positive and significant interaction term indicates that former colonies, even in countries with some degree of linguistic unification, are expected to experience more acts of ethnic terrorism. This, in combination with the findings on guerrilla attacks, suggests that there are long lasting deleterious effects of colonialism which contribute to both ethnic guerrilla and terrorism attacks, even when ethnic groups are unified linguistically. This effect illustrates that states which were colonies after 1900 do not receive the full benefits of linguistic assimilation because colonial powers altered the traditional ethnic relationships and power structures between ethnic groups. As a result, even when an ethnically diverse former colony is unified linguistically, it may still endure ethnic strife.

The cubed inflation terms of the size of the largest ethnic group are significant at the .05 level, and consistent with Blau’s (1977; 1982) theory of heterogeneity. The effect is negative when the largest ethnic group is small or very large, suggesting that attacks are most likely at moderate levels of heterogeneity. Ethnicity is less salient and divisive.
in extreme heterogeneity or homogeneity. Consistent with both Blau (1977; 1982) and Ellingsen (2000), the inflation terms suggest an inverted-U shaped relationship with ethnic terrorism with attacks least likely when the largest ethnic group is either very small or very large.
### Table 4. Zero-Inflated Poisson Models of the Determinants of Ethnoseparatist Terrorism 1968-2002

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Dependent Variable Ethnoseparatist Terrorist Attacks</th>
<th>Equation 1</th>
<th>Equation 2</th>
<th>Equation 3</th>
<th>Equation 4</th>
<th>Equation 5</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Ethnoseparatist Terrorism Lag</td>
<td>0.359***</td>
<td>0.319***</td>
<td>0.314***</td>
<td>0.287 ***</td>
<td>0.298***</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(0.075)</td>
<td>(0.081)</td>
<td>(0.068)</td>
<td>(0.069)</td>
<td>(0.070)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Colonial history after 1900</td>
<td>0.765**</td>
<td>0.275</td>
<td>0.255</td>
<td>0.321</td>
<td>0.073</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(0.246)</td>
<td>(0.267)</td>
<td>(0.286)</td>
<td>(0.303)</td>
<td>(0.818)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Assimilation</td>
<td>-4.458**</td>
<td>-4.726***</td>
<td>-5.578***</td>
<td>-7.351***</td>
<td>-7.351***</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(1.164)</td>
<td>(1.138)</td>
<td>(1.249)</td>
<td>(1.808)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Transnational ethnic kin</td>
<td>-0.121 †</td>
<td>-0.131 †</td>
<td>-0.229**</td>
<td>-0.233**</td>
<td>-0.233**</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(0.069)</td>
<td>(0.069)</td>
<td>(0.075)</td>
<td>(0.074)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Real per capita income logged</td>
<td>6.727 †</td>
<td>7.610*</td>
<td>6.865 †</td>
<td>6.865 †</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(3.679)</td>
<td>(3.740)</td>
<td>(3.842)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Real per capita income logged²</td>
<td>-0.416 †</td>
<td>-0.472*</td>
<td>-0.417 †</td>
<td>-0.417 †</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(0.230)</td>
<td>(0.234)</td>
<td>(0.240)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fertility</td>
<td>0.123 †</td>
<td>0.222*</td>
<td>0.214*</td>
<td>0.214*</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(0.071)</td>
<td>(0.090)</td>
<td>(0.090)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Polity Index</td>
<td>-0.183*</td>
<td>-0.189*</td>
<td>0.011*</td>
<td>0.011*</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(0.089)</td>
<td>(0.090)</td>
<td>(0.004)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Polity Index²</td>
<td>0.011*</td>
<td>0.011**</td>
<td>5.049*</td>
<td>5.049*</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(0.004)</td>
<td>(0.004)</td>
<td>(2.493)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Colonial History*Assimilation</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Observations (n)</td>
<td>699</td>
<td>699</td>
<td>699</td>
<td>699</td>
<td>699</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

NOTE: Coefficients and standard errors are reported in parentheses

† p<.10   *p<.05   **p<.01   ***p<.001
A comparison of models between guerrilla and terrorism attacks suggests differences in the causes of attacks against political and civilian targets. The effect of colonial history after 1900 is highly significant in initial models of ethnoseparatist terrorism, whereas it is not significant in the models of guerrilla attacks. Furthermore, the main effect of colonial history in the full model of guerrilla attacks is negative, while it is positive in the full model of terrorist attacks. This difference suggests a differential effect of colonialism on attacks on political targets, with the main effect of colonialism net of other factors actually decreasing the number of guerrilla attacks, but increasing the number of terrorist attacks per country-year. This effect, while interesting, is not statistically significant but remains an intriguing difference between the models.

Ethnolinguistic assimilation is a more robust predictor of ethnoseparatist terrorism than guerrilla attacks. Assimilation is only moderately significant until the full model of guerrilla attacks, yet highly significant in all terrorism models, suggesting that linguistic assimilation may be more influential in deterring attacks against civilians than against political targets. Furthermore, the presence of transnational ethnic kin is insignificant in all models of guerrilla attacks, but significant in all models of terrorism. These discrepancies illustrate significant differences in the effects of dynamics of ethnic composition on attacks against civilians and political targets, suggesting the need for decomposition of the type of attack in future research.

The effects of economic development and fertility are similar and comparable across both types of attacks, though fertility seems to be a more significant predictor of guerrilla attacks than terrorism attacks. This could be an effect of the inflated
significance of standard count models in comparison to zero-inflated models. Economic development has a curvilinear relationship with both guerrilla and terrorist attacks, with moderate levels of economic development producing more attacks than low or high levels of development. Fertility has a consistently positive effect on both guerrilla and terrorism models, indicating that high fertility states experience more terrorism than states with low fertility rates. The effect of regime type is drastically different, however. While regime type is only weakly significant and linear in guerrilla models, it is significant and curvilinear in terrorism models. It seems that autocracies are able to deter guerrilla campaigns against them, while more democratic states cannot. Democracies, through the freedom afforded to their citizens and the press cannot crush dissidence without significant backlash, and as such are much more attractive targets for potential terrorists (Eubank & Weinberg 1997; 2001; Hoffman 2006; Juergensmeyer 2003; Pape 2003).

The relationship is not so simple when predicting terrorist attacks against civilians. The significant curvilinear relationship demonstrated in Table 4 suggests that semi-autocratic and semi-democratic regimes experience more terrorism than more stable democracies. Semi-autocratic and democratic states are more fragile and less capable of counter-terrorism efforts that may curb terrorist efforts. Semi-autocracies are not as capable as autocracies at crushing dissidence, while semi-democracies are more fragile and less free, increasing grievances among citizens over their relative lack of freedoms. This finding is at odds with the linear finding of guerrilla models, and suggests that the dynamics of political influence on attacks against civilians are distinct. Both fully autocratic and more established democratic states are found to experience fewer
ethnoseparatist terrorist attacks.

The effect of the interaction of colonial history and assimilation is consistent across both types of attacks, indicating that despite ethnic assimilation under a common language, former colonies have a more difficult time than non-colonies, or colonies that gained independence prior to 1900. When predicting ethnic terrorism or guerrilla attacks, former colonies are expected to produce significantly more attacks despite ethnic assimilation. This effect is particularly troubling, as many heterogeneous states are also former colonies which gained independence as late as the 1960, as is the case in much of Africa. We may anticipate former colonies to continue to experience ethnic terrorism and guerrilla campaigns despite processes and integrative effects of ethnic assimilation.
DISCUSSION

This study demonstrates the importance of colonial history, development, ethnic composition and political structure on ethnic terrorism. I have illustrated the long-lasting negative effects of colonialism even in situations of ethnic amalgamation. Countries with a history of colonial control after 1900 are expected to produce more ethnic terrorist attacks even when ethnic groups are more assimilated linguistically. This finding is especially important since many colonies achieved independence in the mid-1900s. This suggests that even as ethnic groups assimilate under a national language, which in other environments may lead to ethnic cooperation, heterogeneous former colonies after 1900 fare far worse than others.

Scholars have long debated the effect of ethnic heterogeneity on conflict at the state level (Collier et al. 2001; 2003; Ellingsen 2000; Mousseau 2001; Wimmer et al. 2009). The current study illustrates that the effect of heterogeneity can be ameliorated by the process of ethnolinguistic assimilation. Linguistic homogeneity can serve to increase intergroup interactions and decrease social distance between groups. Assimilation of ethnic groups linguistically decreases the saliency of ethnicity as a social marker and source of conflict, and the process of linguistic unification can alleviate ethnic tensions and decrease the potential for ethnic terrorism. International ethnic kin groups, or international ethnic dispersion, also ameliorate ethnic terrorism. Kin networks across national borders may provide an escape route for co-ethnics facing discrimination and
violence, decreasing ethnic tensions and terrorism in their home state. Results provide support for modernization theory, which suggests that economic development to a point encourages ethnic violence due to destabilization of traditional identities and power structures. Economic development is shown to have a curvilinear relationship with both terrorism and guerrilla attacks, suggesting that countries at intermediate levels of development can be expected to experience more attacks as citizens experience anomie and strain. Youth bulge theories of political conflict are also supported, suggesting that countries with higher fertility rates are expected to experience more terrorist and guerrilla attacks. Demographic theories of social conflict receive strong support, illustrating that large youth cohorts have a powerful impact on conflict generation. Analyses also provide support for Crenshaw & Robison (2010a) who suggest the differentiation between pure terrorism (attacks against civilians) and guerrilla attacks (attacks against political targets). The models suggest important differences in the causal patterns of terrorist attacks against civilians and guerrilla attacks against political targets.

As suggested by scholars (Kurrild-Klitgaard 2006; Robison et al. 2006), regime type has a curvilinear relationship with ethnic terrorism. Semi-autocratic and semi-democratic states experience more ethnic terrorism, as they have neither an autocracy’s brute force capabilities, nor democracy’s pacifying political freedoms and legitimate political outlets. Autocracies, through their capability to crush dissidence, are less susceptible to terrorist attacks. Kurild-Klitgaard et al. (2006) suggest that when regimes are weak, oppositional groups will capitalize and attack. Democratic states, however, are able to mollify dissidence through political inclusion and freedoms, which alleviates
potential for terrorism. This effect holds only for ethnoseparatist attacks against civilians however. The relationship between regime type and guerrilla attacks is only moderately significant and linear. Democracies encourage attacks against political targets, suggesting that political freedoms, and freedom of the press make attacks against political targets more attractive and feasible than in autocratic states.

The current study contributes to the study of ethnic conflict and terrorism. It suggests that countries with a colonial past, at moderate levels of economic development, high fertility, or moderate levels of democratization are more susceptible to ethnic terrorism. The study has several implications for counter-terrorism efforts. Economic growth, rushed democratization and globalization are primary focuses for foreign policy and terrorism prevention (Piazza 2006). However, consistent with modernization theory, this study shows that countries at intermediate levels of economic development are more likely to experience terrorism. This suggests that countries undergoing economic development are also increasing the likelihood that they will experience ethnoseparatist terrorist or guerilla attacks. Thus rushed economic development in problem nations is likely to increase terrorism on the outset. This effect will likely decline as economic development progresses and stabilizes, and countries recover from the disruptions of initial economic development.

Democratization, also a key focus of terrorism prevention efforts, is likewise shown to increase ethnoseparatist attacks. Semi-autocratic and semi-democratic regimes are more likely to experience ethnoseparatist terrorism, suggesting that initial democratization will increase attacks. Fully democratic states are less likely to
experience attacks against civilians, indicating that a focus on the democratization of targeted states may initially serve to increase terrorism within its borders. Democratization linearly increases attacks against political targets, however, suggesting that while democracies are less likely to experience pure terrorism, they are more likely to have attacks against governmental targets. This suggests a trade-off effect of democratization, with democratic governments decreasing the likelihood that citizens will be attacked, yet increasing the likelihood their officials, structures or installments will experience ethnic attacks. This has strong implications for current counter-terrorism policy. The international community’s focus on economic development and democratization may actually serve to increase ethnic terrorism and guerilla attacks in some settings. Ethnic conflict and terrorism creates instability, refugees, and conditions in which political violence can fester. Conflicts at times spill over into other states, creating additional instability and strife regionally (Wolf 2006). This makes the understanding of the causes of ethnic conflict, particularly terrorism, crucial for the international community and academic community alike.
REFERENCES


