

Russia's Wild Wild South: Two Tales of Economic Woes, Political Corruption and Spreading
Insurgent Violence in Ingushetia and Dagestan

By

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Abstract

The Northern Caucasus has been a troubled region for the Russian Federation for nearly two decades. In the 1990s, two wars took place in Chechnya and violence spread into the neighboring republics of Ingushetia and Dagestan. Since the end of the second Chechen conflict in 2002, blossoming insurgencies have begun in both republics, threatening the stability of the entire Northern Caucasus. This study analyzes the origins of the insurgencies using the contemporary scholarly findings on internal conflict as they relate to the two republics. Economic conditions, political repression, factors related to diverse ethnic makeup of the republics, as well as the spillover effect are examined in the study to address the spread of insurgent violence within Ingushetia and Dagestan in an attempt to assist in the development of better government policies.

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Introduction

In 2010, “the number of terror acts committed in the Northern Caucasus Federal District (NCFD) went up by 100 percent... As a result of such attacks, 218 persons were lost and 536 more were wounded,” stated Ivan Sydoruk, Deputy General Public Prosecutor of Russia (Marzoeva, 2010). The NCFD referred to by Mr. Sydoruk in his statement encompasses the following federal units of Russia: Chechnya, Ingushetia, Dagestan, Karachaevo-Cherkessia, Kabardino-Balkaria, Stavropol Kray, Krasnodar Kray, Adygeya and North Ossetia. However, estimates of the magnitude of violence in the NCFD vary across different sources due to the difficulties with obtaining data on casualties within the region as well as differences in the estimation methods (Musaev, 2010). O’Loughlin and Witmer (2010), for example, gathered a total of 14,177 violent events within the Northern Caucasus republics from 1999-2007. The region has seen a very serious uptick in violence over the last two decades and many believe that the problem is only getting worse.

This research seeks to explain the proliferation of violence throughout the Northern Caucasus. More specifically, the question I ask in this thesis is as follows, what are the factors that contribute to the spread of violence in the Northern Caucasus? The goals of this research are to identify conditions that favor the spread of violence in the region and to conjecture about how this knowledge can be used in devising and implementing effective policies for the NCFD region as a whole, or within its respective republics. Very little research has focused on explaining violence in other republics within the region, unless this violence has been somehow related to the two Chechen conflicts. Furthermore, most research on political violence has been carried out at either the federal level or at the level of the individual subjects of the federation, usually, Chechnya, at the expense of the regional lens of analysis and regional context. The importance

of this research cannot be understated for the academic community. The sheer number of casualties from violent attacks, displaced persons due to political instability, economic difficulties and the possibility of further spread of violence into other territories call for a systematic analysis of the factors contributing to the spread of violence in the North Caucasus.

The spread of insurgent violence will be analyzed using an empirical case study of the republics Dagestan and Ingushetia. The study of these two republics will determine if the violence has been the result of the spillover of conflict from one conflict zone (Chechnya) to others or whether the violence is the result of different factors within each republic respectively. To accomplish this, I begin with a review of the existing literature on insurgency and conflict that will provide basis for defining the key concepts used in the study and deriving tentative explanations to the puzzle identified above. Next, I discuss the research design and methods of the study as well as its hypotheses. The following four sections will test the economic, political, ethnic and spillover hypotheses. The economic and political sections will focus on the time period of 2001-2008. Meanwhile, the ethnicity and spillover sections will intermix historical perspectives with contemporary information up to 2008. In conclusion, the final section will discuss the implications of the study, the limitations of the research and prospects for future studies.

Existing Social Explanations of Civil Wars and Insurgencies

The scholarly literature on the factors for insurgent warfare and the “spillover” effects of such conflict is both robust and intricate. Insurgents, or insurgent groups, are rebellious forces that do not possess the international personality of a rebel belligerent (Glahn & Taulbee, 2010). This part of the thesis focuses on the discussion of the explanations of such warfare suggested in

the scholarship on insurgencies and civil wars. Insurgencies combat state forces using guerilla and terror tactics because they have smaller numbers, lower financial capital and they are attempting to defeat a better funded and heavily armed national force (Galula, 1964). A straightforward and operational reasoning as to why certain groups *choose* insurgency as an outlet for expressing their discontent is that these groups are weaker, cheaper and are unbound by the institutional responsibilities of a government (1964). The literature on the subject identifies a wide variety of sources of the group's discontent leading to an insurgency that can be generally classified into three clusters (these categories are not exhaustive). Scholars believe that an insurgency is the result of socio-economic, socio-political and ethnic factors. This is to the discussion of these factors that I will turn next.

Socio-Economic Conditions for Instability

. Material incentives and economic inequality are identified as two potential root economic factors for an insurgency. Although, economic factors for insurgencies are extremely diverse, each factor can be operationalized at either the state or individual level. Paul Collier, in his scholarly works and his book *The Bottom Billion*, has noted the link between guerilla movements, internal conflict and “loot-seeking” at the individual level (Collier & Hoeffler, 1999; Collier, 2007). He is not the only scholar to recognize the link between movable (production, funds, etc.) and immovable (mines, oil, etc.) assets and the opposing forces trying to obtain them (Bansal, 2008; Boix, 2008). However, his seminal work gave rise to an economic explanation of internal armed conflict connecting it to a feeling of opportunism by rebel or insurgent forces who seek economic gains (Collier & Hoeffler, 2004). A country's population, both wealthy as well as poor, has an equal desire to control scarce or limited resources for personal and communal benefit, which could lead to direct conflict (Boix, 2008). Ultimately,

financial incentives and a rebellion's costs are believed to be primary variables for both groups in Collier's work, with grievances being statistically negligible in his research (Collier & Hoeffler, 2004; Collier, 2007). "But the grievances that motivate rebels may be substantially disconnected from the large social concerns of inequality, political rights, and ethnic or religious identity " (Collier & Hoeffler, 2004). War profiteering, as some would argue, is not the prime motivation for internal armed conflict and the true origins of this conflict lies in the financial conditions of the country as a whole.

Poverty and conditions surrounding the economic environment of a region are referred to as being a leading grievance for insurgents. A correlation between income levels and "revolutionary events" does exist and appears to be inversely related (Boix, 2008). However, separating the "objective" measures of poverty from the real, or perceived, inequalities of an economic system that depend on a variety of ideational factors and values would be inaccurate according to the literature. The income inequalities of certain regions may breed discontent among local populations, thus fueling the potential for internal rebellion (Muller & Seligson, 1987). Similarly, poverty stemming from economic isolationism or deprivation breeds grievances against the more prosperous parties (Bansal, 2008). Again, poverty is not a determining variable of an insurgency movement but the economic and social issues stemming from poverty increase the likelihood of an insurgency. For example, governments or other intervening forces can perpetuate inequality by promoting, or are perceived as promoting, exploitative economic policies that deprive local populations of natural resources, human capital and the public services much like in Balochistan or Iraq (2008).

Iraq is one such country that has witnessed the increase in the economically disadvantaged due to the removal of the previous ruling power (Hashim, 2006). The country's

fiscal health and industrial infrastructure suffered as a result of US-led military operation contributing to the loss in publicly funded services such as law and order, which has also contributed to the unemployment of the country (2006). Government institutions in relatively wealthy countries seek to provide assistance to the citizens of its country in the form of employment, higher incomes and societal security. If the government cannot provide for the citizens then they have broken the contract between a government and its people. In Iraq, the loss of economic privilege and opportunity because of the coalition's occupation has had a serious "material and psychological" impact on segments of the Iraqi population which has helped create a population that was willing to give material and personal support to an insurgency movement (2006). Many of the men that joined the insurgency were members of the former Ba'th party and military officers whom lost their salaries and were forced to make meager livings elsewhere (2006). This proved to be an embarrassment to many members of the community and fomented feelings of revenge (2006). The Iraqi government and coalition forces could no longer care for the people, thus individuals began joining the insurgency movement for a paycheck. This also indicates that countries with ailing economies also tend to be weaker states that cannot provide basic tangible (water, electricity, forms of media, military, etc.) and intangible (law and order, social services, etc.) support for their citizens (Collier, 2007).

Furthermore, the degradation of local bureaucracy and weakening of the state institutions will "play into the hands of the insurgency" (Gaula, 1964). Collier and Hoeffler (2004) believe that well-funded and competent governments are better equipped to prevent an insurgency. This is especially the case when government bureaucracies fail to maintain or implement outlets for substantial development among young (15-24) males (Collier & Hoeffler, 1999). This lack of development allows for the process of politics to be shaped by ideology, resources and identity

(Hashim, 2006). In the presence of a political vacuum or political instability these forces take the place of the government's original social support.

Political Conditions for Insurgent Violence

The social support provided by governments cannot be separated from the political atmosphere from which they originate. "Most of the insurgencies are an outcome of a deep dissatisfaction and disappointment with the given political and social reality" (Javed, 2010, p. 8). This political opposition can arise out of colonial occupation, the existing social order, or the ruling government system (2010). Politically motivated groups or individuals often feel alienated by failed or corrupted practices of the state or state officials. This leads to a very real sense of marginalization within a group or groups who wish to address their grievance or grievances through the implementation of insurgency as a platform to address their perceived injustices (Muller & Seligson, 1987; Hashim, 2006, Javed, 2010). This explanation appears to conflict with Collier's assessment of loot seeking in war versus grievances, however, grievances alone do not cause conflict and instead breed conditions for conflict. Egypt is one such secular country "in which Islamist groups have been marginalized in the political process" (Fielding & Shortland, 2010). Without delving too deep into the history of the Egyptian insurgency, a correlation can be found between the onset of political violence, political repression and opposing spectrums of government systems (Muller & Seligson, 1987; Fielding & Shortland, 2010).

Insurgency, after all, is a form of organized political violence and local political climates should be weighed accordingly. The extremes of the political spectrum "democratic" and "repressive" regimes have a propensity to prevent dissident groups from ever forming because of their conflict resolution capabilities (Muller & Seligson, 1987). Extremely repressive regimes

can effectively quell any form of opposition through decreed restrictions and “open” societies allow for opposition to be heard, which makes the benefits of seeking violent means of redress impractical, each decrease the likelihood of overt violent dissent (1987). As stated above, quasi-democratic governments or transitioning democracies suffer the effects of political violence more frequently due to the propensity of discontented members of society (1987). This is a tenuous balance between the government and society because of potential reactionary policies (mass arrests, invade religious sights, home invasions, group removal from political discourse, etc.) that prove divisive for certain portions of the population (Fielding & Shortland, 2010).

Ethnic Divisions as a Factor of Violence

Ethnic divisions can be considered one of the more contentious topics while discussing the causes of an insurgency. “If many post-1945 civil wars have been ‘ethnic or ‘nationalist’ as these terms are usually understood, then even more have been fought as insurgencies” (Fearon & Laitin, 2003). However, academics contest the direct role of ethnicity as it relates to internal conflict (Fearon & Laitin, 2003; Collier, 2001). Collier’s research indicates that ethnicity or religiously connected ethnicity performs more of a complimentary pattern to internal conflict rather than causing the conflict itself (Collier, 2001). Similarly, Fearon and Laitin (2003) research indicates that a “greater degree” of ethnic diversity does not increase the likelihood of civil war on its own. Rather, ethnic conflict, in conjunction with mitigating factors, is believed to be both economic and political in origin (Figueiredo & Weingast, 1999). Quantitative studies focusing on these links have statistically concluded that the ethnic factor within civil conflict is a nearly irrelevant variable (Lyall, 2008).

“Qualitative studies, however, have largely drawn the opposite conclusion, arguing that ethnic cleavages determine the nature of insurgent violence” (Lyall, 2008). Studies have shown that civil wars involving indigenous populations last longer than other related “regime unrest” (Buhaug & Gleitsch, 2008). The potential marginalization of indigenous or other ethnic groups within societies has a tendency to spread discord throughout the very fabric of the social structure (Fielding & Shortland, 2010). This marginalization can arise from, previously mentioned, pseudo-democratic structures and heavy-handed counter-insurgency tactics (2010). Members of disgruntled groups may ultimately come to the conclusion that violence is needed to publicly promote a political cause (2010). Also, the leader of such ethnic groups is a large contributor, as the potential leader of ethnic identity, to the promotion of such means of redress (Hashim, 2006; Figuerido & Weingast, 1999).

Ethnic identity, or ethnic membership, “facilitates group formation” leading to potential ethnic cleavages within a government (Mishali-Ram, 2008). This is witnessed in the lack of government formation within Afghanistan and the Sunni “identity crisis” within Iraq (Hashim, 2006; Mishali-Ram, 2008). An ethnic identity is hard to quantify and is an intangible factor, but it is considered key to understanding the underlying motivations of the Iraqi insurgency (Hashim, 2006). Likewise, a crisis in identity for the Balochistani people within Balochistan is considered a contributing factor for government resentment in the region (Bansal, 2008). Foreign occupation, refugee migration and deep ideological divisions are believed to contribute to the “identity crisis” of some ethnic insurgencies (Bansal, 2008; Mishali-Ram, 2008; Hashim, 2006).

Spillover of Conflict

The rise in internal armed conflict after the end of World War II has both shocked and puzzled academia for the better part of a century. One puzzling aspect of internal wars is whether or not they have a significant spillover effect into neighboring areas. One reasoning as to why conflict *appears* to be contagious is that the “spatial clustering” of conflicts often is a result of the inherent similarities within a given region (Buhaug & Gleditsch, 2008). Regime type, economic similarities and ethnic cohesion contribute to the spillover effect, but only a combination of these factors seems to explain the spatial clustering (2008). “Moreover, we find that contagion effects are primarily associated with separatist conflicts” (2008). This is possibly due to transnational ethnic ties and their contribution to the group’s agenda (2008). ‘Spatial clustering’ may contribute to the appearance of conflict as a contagion, but the economic impact on the surrounding region is hard to deny.

“Both the death rate and the duration of the conflict influence the extent of the negative neighbor spillovers on short-run growth” (Murdoch & Sandler, 2002). Murdoch and Sandler (2002) emphasize the fact that a nation “must” establish faster economic growth in order for it to recover from the negative effects and to prevent regional spillover. Landlocked countries and countries with “longer contiguous borders with nations at war” are particularly prone to the economic consequences of the conflict (Collier, 2007; Murdoch & Sandler, 2002). Similar studies have been done to address the financial and social impact of refugees on insurgency movements but have found a minimal correlation (Leenders, 2008).

A Brief History of the Northern Caucasus

The Persians, Mongols, Ottomans, Savavids and Russians have all shared, historically, similar confrontations with the peoples of the Northern Caucasus. The Caucasus region is

considered the gateway between the Near East and the Eurasian steppe and was considered irresistible to the predominant empires of the passing centuries (Ware and Kisriev 2010). The last great empire to extend their territorial ambitions Southward was imperial Russia. Russia claimed territorial control over the region of the North Caucasus in the early 1800's.

The amount of territorial "control" Russia exercised over the mountain clans was another matter all together. Highland raiders often sought to loot or destroy Russian convoys moving throughout the region, however "by 1818 there was a widespread revolt against the ruthless tactics of the Russian... General Aleksey Petrovich Yermolov (Ware and Kisriev 2010, p.15)." Although, the revolt originated from Russia's policies of implementing nontraditional autocratic administrative structures that were not consistent with the customs of the mountain clan structure (2010). The Russians sought policies that divided the people of the North Caucasus along artificial ethnic distinctions, all the while promoting a policy of systematic resettlement to the Northern plains (Ware and Kisriev 2010, Stone 2006). The division of the populations also meant the establishment of a local aristocracy to promote Russian interests, but the new aristocracy created discontentment among the local populations due to increasing amounts of political repression and economic inequalities (Ware and Kisriev 2010). This led to the formation of a new Sufi ideology, which emphasized "liberation and self-determination" (2010, p.17). The North Caucasus remained in a state of rebellion for a large part of the 19th century, but the Russian Empire found limited success by maintaining military rule over the region until the rise of the Soviet Union.

In the early 20th century, the Soviet Union was busy consolidating power after the Russian Civil War. For the exception of multi-ethnic Dagestan, the North Caucasus region was divided, into eight republics and districts, along "national" lines due to economic, administrative

and security concerns (Ware and Kisriev 2010). The establishment of ethnic identity in the region was due to Soviet programs for cultural development and the implementation of ethno-national organizations (2010). The most traumatic event for the peoples of the North Caucasus, under Soviet rule, was at the outbreak of WWII. An estimated 2.05 million people were removed from their native homelands in the Northern Caucasus and the instituted policy of “toponomic repression” eliminated historical elements of cultural heritage, such as names of towns and cultural artifacts (Polian 2004). Boundary lines were, again, artificially redrawn and new, Russian names were given to towns and other ethnic landmarks (2004). The policy was introduced to deal with the “traitorous” races that fought for Germany in WWII, but the fact of the matter is that many of these deportations occurred while members of these ethnicities had been fighting for the Soviet Union (Thus combating the notion of historically defiant ethnicities; Polian 2004). In the early 1950’s and 1990’s, the ethnicities affected by the deportations (Chechens, Ingushetians, Kalmyks, Karachai, Balkars) were allowed to return to their homeland. This return combined with the collapse of the Soviet Union set the stage for an increase in hostilities that has lasted until the present.

When the Soviet Union collapsed, the economy, social/ideological structure and the military of Russia collapsed. Indeed, the collapse of the three vital structures was inevitable because of their intimate intertwining in Soviet ideology (Odom 1998). When the collapse occurred, an ideological/power vacuum swept through the states of the Soviet Union and threatened to destabilize the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic (RSFSR). In the North Caucasus, the effects of the tsarist and soviet ethnic distinctions, combined with the continual redefinition of administrative boundaries, created serious problems for the newly established Russian Federation (Hunter 2004; Ware and Kisriev 2010). “Various ethnic groups of the

RSFSR began asserting claims of national and cultural self-determination,” which also included ethnic Russian regions as well (Hunter 2004; p. 213). However, the most notorious instance of self-determination was the declaration of sovereignty by the Chechen Republic of Ichkeria.

Following the Chechen declaration of independence in 1993, two Chechen Wars erupted both differing in causality, ferocity and regional impact. The chronological events of the First Chechen war are a litany of horrors that will not be delved into in this analysis, but four conclusions can be drawn from the war: 1) The death of civilians allowed for the Chechen insurgency to fight an effective information war; 2) The accidental deaths and murder of civilians drove the Chechens (i.e. Shamil Basayev in the Buddyonovsk hospital) to seek extremist measures to achieve their objective of independence; 3) Widespread corruption permitted the insurgency to gather weapons and ammunition from the Russian army; 4) Though not every Chechen supported independence or President Dudayev, they feared the Russians most of all (Gall & de Waal, 1998). The Second Chechen War, later re-labeled as the counterterrorism operation, has been described as a continuation of the first, though largely amplified with greater regional consequences. Likewise, the conclusions that are drawn from the first war are considered identifiers for the greater spread of insurgent conflict in the Northern Caucasus as a whole.

The literature that exists on the diffusion of violence from Chechnya to the broader Northern Caucasus often contain a very broad geopolitical analysis (Vendina, Belozarov & Gustafson, 2007). Also, the analyses often focus on the broader impact of the Chechen Wars, and its aftermath, on the region as a whole, rather than analyzing the individual republics and how their socio-political or economic conditions contributed to the escalation of violence. The summaries that are given for the individual autonomous regions are often referenced as footnotes

or general comments rather than comprehensive studies of the internal environment in which the conflict is taking place. A more thorough investigation into the socio-political, socio-economic and ethnic environments of the republics of Dagestan or Ingushetia will hopefully shed light on the perpetuation of violence of the Northern Caucasus.

Speculation exists as to whether or not the insurgencies in the territories bordering Chechnya are the consequences of spillover of violence from the Chechen republic or whether the Chechen wars merely served as a catalyst for the underlying social issues of the individual republics to explode into political violence (Vendina, Belozarov, & Gustafson, 2007; O'Loughlin, 2010). Below, I lay out a research design to carry out an assessment of the impact of three groups of underlying factors: (1) ethnic and religious divisions; (2) political conditions; and (3) economic factors (particularly, economic degradation) on the rise of insurgent violence in the NCFD. I will also test for the possibility of spillover effect of the conflict from Chechnya.

Research Design and Methodologys

Time Frame

The time frame of the case study will primarily cover statistics and events up to the year 2008. The economic and political sections will focus on the time period of 2001-2008. Meanwhile, the ethnicity and spillover sections will intertwine historical perspectives with contemporary information up to 2008. The complexity of both ethnicity and spillover sections requires historical background on the subject matter as well as events occurring during and after the Second Chechen conflict, to assist in the understanding of a conflict, which has persisted to the present.

Defining "Violence"

Important conceptual definitions frame the research of the spreading violence in the Northern Caucasus. The general definition of “violence” does not differentiate between common criminality and organized social and political violence. Therefore, violence will be defined as actions involving the use of force or threats to use force by insurgents that is directed toward civilian and military targets, such as the public, their property, businesses, industrial enterprises, military personnel, military installations, political figures, and others, in an attempt to enact a political action/reaction by the government (O’Loughlin & Witmer, 2010, Kulikov, 2003). The definition, as it is used in this paper, also distances itself from conventional forms of criminality. The examples of violent actions, or the use of force, will reference assassinations, bombings (suicide bombings, mines, grenades, etc.), ambushes, and hostage taking, among others (Kulikov, 2003). The term terrorism will not be used in this study because current definitions of terrorism lack consensus, thus detracting from the research, and is also much narrower than the types of violence committed by insurgents.

For that purpose, the Russian definition of terrorism and terrorist acts will not be used in the research because of their inherent ambiguity in addressing the violence in the Northern Caucasus. However, there is a need to reference the Russian definition of terrorism to present the Russian legal conception of insurgent violence in the Northern Caucasus. The Russian legal definition of terrorism is:

The ideology of violence and the practice of influencing the decision making of state bodies, local municipal bodies or international organizations, involving intimidation of the population and (or) other forms of illegal violent actions (Bridge, 2009 p.14).

Also, the definition of terrorist acts is:

The commission of an explosion, arson or other actions, intimidating the population and creating the danger of death of people, causing considerable property damage or an attack of heavy consequences, with the aim of influencing the decision making of agencies of

power or international organizations, and also threatening the commission of the activity in that aim (Bridge, 2009 p.18).

The Russian definitions of terrorism and terrorist actions distract from the research by classifying violence directed toward military personnel and “other.” The broad scope and potential application of the law may be abused for the purposes of constraining the freedom of media and political repression (Omelicheva, 2009). Thus, for the purposes of this research, the proposed definition of violence will be used instead of the Russian definition of terrorism and terrorist acts.

Also, the scholarly works on the spread of violence in the Northern Caucasus tend to use the terms of civil war/rebellion and insurgency interchangeably (Sagramoso, 2007; Fearon & Laitin, 2003; O’Loughlin & Witmer, 2010). Scholars of law, Glahn and Taulbee have noted, “a rebellion that has not yet achieved the standing of a belligerent community is said to be in a state of insurgency” (2010 p. 161). The Russian government has never politically referred to the rebels/terrorists/bandits as a “traditional” belligerent community, thus internationally the conflict in Chechnya can never be referred to as a civil war, though it showed the traditional indicators of civil war such as an organized resistance that possessed territorial control (Grau & Kipp, 2000). Rather, the Chechen republic can be referred to as being in a state of insurgency since 1994. Insurgencies are kin to irregular guerilla warfare, which consist of limited territorial control, with the added components of informational/psychological operations and relatively weaker forces (Hoffman, 2006). They are also offensive in nature and are fueled by ethnic and religious ties with political objectives being their primary motivation (Javed, 2010). This distinction may appear to “split hairs,” but it helps better frame the regional issue as a potential spread in insurgency related violence.

Verifying the data on the magnitude of insurgent violence in the republics is a very difficult task. This is due to the lack of systematic evidence on attacks, the difficulty in determining reliable sources of data that report violent events and counts of actors/factions involved in the fighting. Therefore, Tables 1 and 2 consist of both independently researched instances of insurgent violence (gathered from The Caucasian Knot and KavkazCenter) and data from the Global Terrorism Database (GTD). Both forms of data are used to show the trends in violent insurgent actions. The research design section of this study establishes an appropriate definition for violence in an attempt to differentiate between acts of insurgent violence and other criminal forms of violence. The GTD data does not provide a perfect match for the definition and limits the ability of representing an accurate portrayal of violence in the republics. However, every attempt was made, while collecting the data, to fit each event within the defined criteria for violence.

Table 1. Insurgent Violent Actions in Dagestan

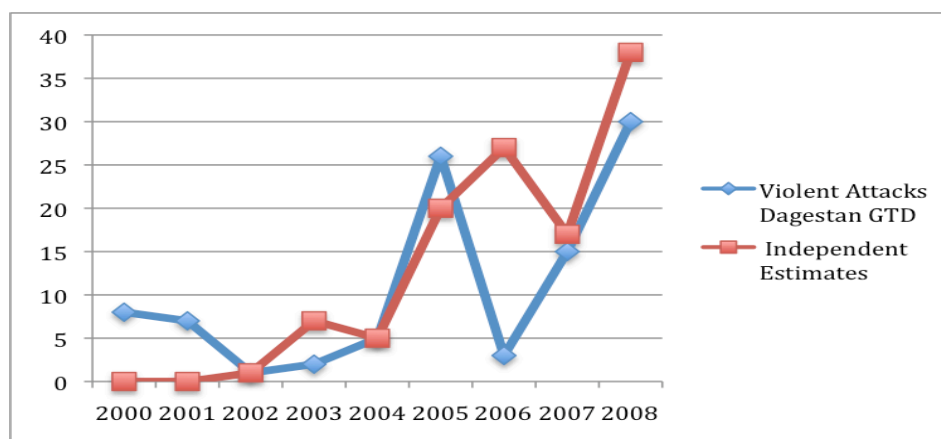
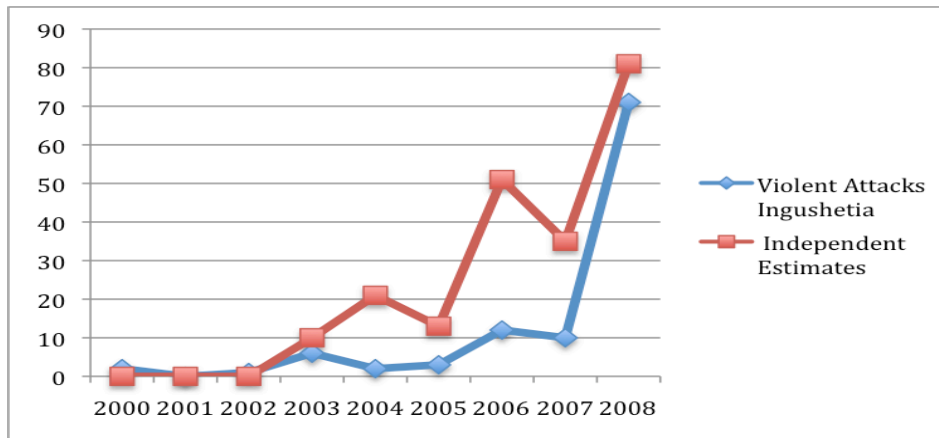


Table 2. Insurgent Violent Actions in Ingushetia



Definitions and Operationalization of the Explanatory Factors of Violence

An economic hypothesis of violence postulates that the growing levels of economic inequality in these republics determine the spread of violence committed by insurgent forces in Dagestan and Ingushetia.

The existing data on budgets, rates of inequality, standards of living in separate territorial units within the federation, as well as federal financial assistance to republics is either inaccessible or unreliable. Republics, themselves, rarely makes the data public. Thus, determining the impact of economic inequality on insurgent violence in Dagestan and Ingushetia will be a challenge. This is not to say that the research is impossible, but rather that a combination of sources will be required to paint an accurate picture of the economic realities of people living within the republics.

I will identify the levels of social and economic disparity through systematic analysis of reports published by NGOs, IGOs and selective Russian government's documents. In addition, the World Bank, the United Nations and the International Monetary Fund will be used as the primary sources of information. The documents from these organizations will be used to measure the employment rates, government aid and the growth in average wages for workers.

Also, due to unreliable and/or non-specific information regarding the Dagestani and Ingushetian economic sectors, supplemental regional secondary sources will assist in the determination of economic inequality in the republics (i.e. national and regional news publications). Each source of information will be assessed against the time frame established in the beginning of the section.

According to the “political grievance and political repression hypothesis”, the Russian government has allowed for the spread of the insurgency movement by restraint of political processes in Dagestan and Ingushetia.

Political repression is ambiguous at best, but it is believed to be a leading indicator in the increase of internal armed conflict, according to the reviewed literature. Determining the availability or quality of political participation is often difficult to quantify. Also, the third hypothesis is aimed at assessing political restrictions that may or may not extend from both beyond and within Dagestan and Ingushetia.

Political repression can be measured by assessing the extent and magnitude of punitive extra-judicial measures (i.e. crackdowns, mass arrests and social restrictions) and the lack of freedom of assembly (i.e. group involvement in governance and protests). The best way to measure these factors is to compile primary and secondary accounts from online publications, government documents and NGO’s. Freedom House, Memorial, the U.S. State Departments Human Rights Report and the Caucasian Knot are examples of the sources to be used. The events described in the publications will be placed against the temporal backdrop of 2002 to 2008 with comparisons in insurgent violence represented.

According to the “ethnicity hypothesis”, insurgent violence in Dagestanis and Ingushetians are ethno-political. It is driven by the exclusion of certain ethnic groups from the political processes in the republics and religious radicalization of ethnic minorities....

This hypothesis is aimed at assessing the impact of the current ethnic social identity in the region by measuring the historical migration and religious structures of Dagestan and Ingushetia. “Ethnicity” or “ethnic based conflict” has already been studied thoroughly, but they cannot be effectively understood without their historical development. A simple assessment as to the number of ethnicities or religious groups within Dagestan and Ingushetia will not adequately demonstrate a correlation between ethnicity and violence. Rather, insight into the historical movements (i.e. migration and displacement) of peoples and the progression of radical Islamist identification, in tandem, will either verify or invalidate the proposed hypothesis of the ethnic contribution to the violence.

Measuring both historical movements and radical Islamist identification from 1990 to 2008 are required so as to address the recent developments in the republics. A variety of sources will be used to assess the proposed units of measure. Existing historical and statistical accounts (currently gathering data) will be used to appraise migration/displacement and the radicalization of Islam in relation to insurgent violence from 2002 to 2008.

Regional Spillover

A “spillover hypothesis” of conflict postulates that violence in Dagestan and Ingushetia is a direct consequence of violence that has been taking place in Chechnya due to the similarities in economic and political conditions, as well as the presence of the same ethnic groups in all territories.

Studies on the nature of internal armed conflict spillover often focus on the concepts of contagion and diffusion. Rather than classifying the events unfolding in the North Caucasus as a spreading disease (contagion), this study attempts to represent the conflict as a diffusion of structural similarities (economic conditions, political repression, ethnicity/religion) in the republics, which share a correlation with the increasing levels of insurgency related violent events. Determining if an occurrence of conflict spillover from Chechnya to the surrounding republics exists, requires a balanced analysis of Dagestan and Ingushetia.

Hypotheses 1-3 test the scholarly notions as to origins of the spreading insurgent violence within each republic. Drawing on the verification or rejection of the proposed hypotheses, the determination of violence may be viewed in the light of having similar or dissimilar origins that may or may not extend from the Chechen conflicts. Therefore, the concluding comparison between Dagestan and Ingushetia will determine the validity of the proposed hypothesis.

Selection of Cases

The goal of the proposed research is to determine attributive factors for the spread in violence (as depicted in the above definition) in the Northern Caucasus by studying the republics of Dagestan and Ingushetia. The selection of these two separate republics is because of their close relation and proximity to Chechnya. Also, the analysis of socio-political, socio-economic and ethnic factors within these republics will help to shape a comprehensive understanding of insurgent violence in the NCFD outside of the often cited Chechen conflict (Collier & Hoeffler, 2004; Sagramoso, 2007; Buhaug & Gledisch, 2008; Muller & Seligson, 1987; Fearon & Laitin, 2003). This research will add to the existing literature by assessing the factors that contribute to

insurgent violence, as they relate to Dagestan and Ingushetia, while utilizing the dominant approaches to internal conflict and insurgency research.

The question of the widening reach of violence in the Northern Caucasus has generally relied upon a broad blanketed analysis of economic, geographic, and political approaches. Limited data sets, conflicting reports, and the intricacies of various conflicting parties in the Northern Caucasus limits a researcher's abilities to effectively tackle the topic (O'Loughlin & Witmer, 2010). Nonetheless, every conflict is unique in its own way and should be analyzed according to their regional context.

Economics and Insurgent Violence

Dagestan

The economic hypothesis stated in the research design will reveal that an inverse relationship exists between economic decline/stagnation and the propensity for internal armed conflict. The Republic of Dagestan's (Республика Дагестан) economy, which is primarily comprised of oil and natural gas production, raw materials, textile production, food processing and agriculture, has been marred by economic decline or stagnation for the past two decades (Roshchin, 2006). In the early part of the decade, Russia's Prime Minister, Vladimir Putin, stated that the most important factor for the rehabilitation of Dagestan is an increase in federal funding and the creation of jobs (Facts on File World News Digest, 2004). This belief assumes the idea that an economic "turnaround" for the republic would reduce the areas level of insurgent involvement and activity. However, toward the middle of the decade the Jamestown Foundation (2007) stated that the federal government subsidizes 80% of Dagestan's economy and the economy has had little internal development.

The economic data analyzed from 2001- 2008 indicates mixed support for this hypothesis. Primarily, basic socioeconomic data for the three million people of Dagestan statistical accounts published by Interfax and Rosstat (Russian Federal Service of State Statistics) underline the changing trends within the republic (Isaev, 2010). The data collected for this research utilized a variety of sources including Interfax (a provider of breaking business, political and general news) and Rosstat (Russian Federation Federal State Statistics Service) statistical analyses, as well as newspaper reports from leading politicians commenting on the economic conditions in Dagestan. Average wage per worker rates, unemployment level, the registered unemployment level and other non-quantifiable factors reveal the level of economic change within the region.

The subsistence living rate within the Russian Federation is 1817 RUB (62.66 USD); this is considered the poverty line. On average, workers within Dagestan saw wages increase from an estimated 1731 RUB (59.68 USD) a month in 2001 to an estimated 8579 RUB (295.87 USD) a month in 2009, so that an average worker monthly wage increased by 496% within 8 years. From 1999-2001, the Dagestani economy was ravaged by the Chechen incursion of 1999, but as large-scale military operations were ending, individual salaries were on the rise. This may be due to the fact that the large-scale military operations were winding down and the Second Chechen War transitioned into a more general, Caucasus wide, counter terrorism operation from 2002 onward. In general, this supports scholarly research that regional economies affected by regional conflict have a tendency to rebound quickly after hostilities have ended, but the wage increases prove to be misleading in this case (Murdoch & Sandler, 2002).

Accurate statistics on unemployment from 2001-2006 are extremely difficult to find, but Interfax statistics of the registered unemployed from 2001 to 2005 indicated that roughly 2-3%

of the population was registered as unemployed. Gordon M. Hahn (2007), a senior researcher for the Center for Terrorism and Intelligence Studies, records that the true number of unemployed from this time frame may never be known but estimates that the number ranges from 20-40% of the economically active population (the population who is capable of providing labor and services). This number leaves anywhere from 17-37% of the population unaccounted for in the economy of Dagestan for the given dates. The official unemployment rate given for the region in 2008 (Table 4, all dates correspond to the previous year) was 16%. This percentage, if accurate, represents a significant decrease in the unemployed over the course of the decade, but this improvement should not overshadow the fact that this unemployment rate represents nearly 500,000 individuals.

Then again, the official Russian Federation statistics are “flawed because of the enormous unofficial income that does not show up in official records” (Twickel, 2008). President Mukhu Aliev of Dagestan himself has been quoted as believing that 70% of the republic’s economy operates within the black and grey economies (Crisis Group, 2008). The unemployed of Dagestan, as well as some of the employed, are major contributors to the black market economy. Quantifying the number of people involved in black market dealings is nearly impossible to do. Certain individuals, as well as the companies they work for, make payments and salaries unofficially in order to avoid taxes (2008). This behavior is limited to the wealthy individual elite who already have the advantages of economic opportunities (2008). Political corruption, in this case, would appear to be the foremost driver of the unregulated economy, which in turn hampers further economic growth for the republic.

Corruption aside, the decrease in unemployment and the rapid growth in the average workers monthly salary should, in theory, decrease the likelihood for further insurgent conflict.

This is not the case, however. The Dagestani insurgency has actually increased in prominence, if not in its relative capabilities, over the course of the last decade. The unemployment level and the republic's slow economic growth directly relates to the rise of insurgent violence in Dagestan.

Table 3. Selected Statistical Indicators of Dagestan's economic Development Reported by Interfax.

Dagestan	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005
Average Wage Per worker (Including Social Payments in RUB)	1731.8	2029.4	2610.8	*	3285
Subsistence level per capita as % of previous year	123.5	151.8	133	*	114.1
Unemployed persons seeking work Through unemployment services (‘000 people)	48.9	55.1	53.5	*	56.2
Of Which Registered Unemployed (‘000 people)	48.2	54.2	53	*	55.1
Number of Unemployed Eligible for Unemployment Benefits (‘000 people)	34.8	40.9	42.6	*	48.6
Demand for Workers reported by Companies (people)	1363	947	686	*	744
Real Monetary Income as % of previous year	102	109	98	146.6	173.5
Disposable Cash Income	1044.2	1955.4	2230.7	3234.9	6194.7
Per Capita Consumer Expenditure in RUR	534.1	1306.4	1497.6	2184.2	5149.8
Cash Incomes	120	123.3	110.3	157.7	191.5
Per Capita Consumer Expenditure as % of previous year	120.9	134.4	121.2	144	235.8

Table 4. Selected Statistical Indicators of Dagestan's Economic Development Reported by Rosstat.

Dagestan (indicators in value terms, as percentage of the corresponding period of previous year)	2006	Oct. 2007	Nov. 2008	Oct. 2009
Real Money Income of Population	*	119.5	115.6	110.3
Real Monthly accrued Wages	*	118.7	112.3	106.7
Real Fixed Monthly Pensions	*	101.7	112.4	110
Socio Economic Indicators				
Population in Person increase or decrease	*	-1663	14430	14747
Number of unemployed per thousand persons	*	29	237.7	140.3
Unemployment percent of economically active pop.	*	14	18.7	16.3
Average per capita monthly money income of pop. (RUB)	*	4183.3	8908.5	11232.3
Avg. monthly nominal accrued wages, RUB	*	6088.8	7035.5	8579.6

Ingushetia

The Republic of Ingushetia (Республика Ингуше́тия) has a population density nearly $\frac{1}{4}$ the size of Dagestan's, about 500,000 individuals. Also like the Dagestani economy, the Ingushetian economy is based off of the agricultural, manufacturing and energy based industries. Oil and timber are the primary commodities of the republic, but simply having these abundant

resources has not assisted in the development of a stable economy for the people of Ingushetia (Kommersant, 2004). Again, as with the Republic of Dagestan, an inverse correlation can be seen between the growing insurgent threat and economic instability. However, the Ingushetian economy has proven to be less stable in comparison to Dagestan.

The wages and incomes of the working population should provide an adequate marker for the living standards of Ingushetians. The average monthly wages of workers in Ingushetia saw a general increase of nearly 3,350 RUB (115 USD) per month from 2001-2005 (Table 5). Though an average increase in worker's salaries were declared, in 2004 the Ingush Prime Minister Timur Mogushkov stated that he believed 90% of the republic's population lived under the national minimum subsistence level of 1,817 RUB (64 USD) per month (Maisigov, 2004). This statement and the official statistics are conflicting with each other but the official statistics include social payments made to wage earners. Also, even though the poverty line in Ingushetia is far below that of the rest of Russia during this period the two poorest regions, Dagestan and Ingushetia, were still growing (Balyasny, 2004). "Growing" appears to refer to the increase in consumer expenditures and investments, which are contested.

However, the end of the decade marked a decrease in the per capita income for the population. In 2009, the per capita income of individuals declined by nearly 520 RUB (18 USD) from 2007, which is roughly a 9% decrease in income per month (Table 6). The per capita average had increased to 5123 RUB (177 USD) over the course of the decade, although social benefits were still required for nearly half of the population in 2006 prior to the decrease in wages according to Ingushetia's President Murat Zyazikov (Itar-Tass, 2006). This should mean that the official per capita income averages do not reflect the income of the entire population. Rather, the per capita average reflects the growth of the Ingushetian economy as a whole and

does not reflect the fluctuation in population that is poverty stricken and/or unemployed. The unemployment rate within Ingushetia is the most telling of the dire economic situation the republic has faced over the course of the decade.

This disparity is seen in the unemployment level of Ingushetia from 2001-2009. The number of unemployed, both registered and unregistered, is representative of the situation in which Ingushetia finds itself. The registered unemployment rate during the 2001-2005 periods averaged 4.75% (Table 5). This, however, is only the legally registered unemployment rate and the actual unemployment rate was estimated at nearly 80% in this period (The Economist, 2005). Chechnya is the only republic with a comparable unemployment rate, which underlines the mutual economic hardship shared by the republics that was caused by the Second Chechen Conflict (2005). The official unemployment statistics for Ingushetia in 2009 indicate a 50% unemployment rate for the economically active population (Table 6). The Rosstat statistics for the 2007-2009 intervals show an average increase in unemployment toward the end of the decade, but the statistics appear to conflict with other estimates declaring 58%, which lead Russian politicians to believe that drastic measures need to be implemented to curb the problem (Table 6; Fuller, 2009). The employment conditions have remained dismal over the course of the decade, even with a 30% decline in unemployment and a rise in per capita income.

The growth of Ingushetia's economy is among the slowest in the Russian Federation and the unemployment rate is the lowest according to *The Moscow Times* (Osipovich, 2008). This also offers the insight that the average gains for individuals are lopsided creating an economic atmosphere of unequal wealth distribution within and among the Russian Federation's republics (Balyasny, 2004; Osipovich, 2008). A strong and vibrant black market economy, coupled with rampant corruption, has been associated with the failing economic situation in Ingushetia.

Though these numbers cannot be directly quantified, their very real effects have attributed to the stagnation of the Ingushetian economy, which will be discussed in a later section. Nonetheless, the stagnation of the republic's economy has created an atmosphere of economic desperation that directly relates to the level of insurgent violence in the region.

Table 5. Selected Statistical Indicators of Ingushetia's Economic Development Reported by Interfax.

Ingushetia	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005
Average Wage Per worker (Incl Social Payments in RUR)	1695.8	3462.6	4252.8	*	5048.5
Subsistence level per capita as % of previous year	126.6	142.9	131.2	*	142.7
Unemployed persons seeking work Through unemployment services	10	15.8	22.1	*	49.5
Of Which Registered Unemployed	8.6	13.8	20.2	*	44.6
Number of Unemployed Eligible for Unemployment Benefits	8.1	12.8	19.2	*	42.8
Demand for Workers reported by Companies	19	142	107	*	94
Real Monetary Income	142	72.8	119.4	115.7	104.1
Disposable Cash Income as % of previous year	781.4	1026.5	1283.6	1702.1	2053.2
Per Capita Consumer Expenditure in rubles	420.7	407.8	392.8	508	613.4
Cash Incomes	195.7	86.2	140.8	121.3	120.6
Per Capita Consumer Expenditure as %	319.2	62	99.5	89.8	120.7

Table 6. Selected Statistical Indicators of Ingushetia's Economic Development Reported by Rosstat.

Ingushetia (indicators in value terms, as percentage of the corresponding period of previous year)	2006	2007	2008	2009
Real Money Income of Population	*	125.4	154.5	79.8
Real Monthly accrued Wages	*	106.1	105.4	101.4
Real Fixed Monthly Pensions	*	106	108.9	113.4
Socioeconomic Indicators				
Population in Person increase or decrease	*	17846	3584	3469
Number of unemployed per thousand persons	*	250	75.6	122.4
Unemployment percent of economically active pop.	*	21	45	50.1
Average per capita monthly money income of pop.	*	5991.4	5817.3	5123.1
Avg. monthly nominal accrued wages,	*	4623.1	9063	10386.2

Table 7. Russia Yearly Inflation Rate Provided by www.indexmundi.com

Year	Inflation, average consumer prices	Percent Change
2001	21.461	3.30%
2002	15.783	-26.46%
2003	13.666	-13.41%
2004	10.887	-20.34%
2005	12.683	16.50%
2006	9.679	-23.69%

2007	9.007	-6.94%
2008	14.108	56.63%
2009	11.654	-17.39%

Political Openness, Corruption and Press Freedom in the Russian Federation

Over the course of the past decade, Russia's openness and press freedoms were precipitously downgraded. In 2000-2001, Russia was considered partly free sweeping anti-corruption, tax code and other legal reforms that then President Vladimir Putin began implementing (Freedom House, 2002). Nonetheless, political openness and equality were already besieged at this point, with Freedom House (2002) citing "serious irregularities" in his election efforts. When elected, Putin's political battles revolved around combating the influence of Russia's oligarchs, which was seen as an attempt (and a success) at increasing the centralization of both political control and the judiciary (2002). The Freedom House Country Reports declared that the Russian Federation was "not free" for the remainder of the decade on the basis that political and judicial corruption was rampant, citing selective enforcement of anti-corruption legislation and "illegal detentions" in the Northern Caucasus (2003-2009). Indeed, Transparency International (2003-2007, 2009) indicated that Russia's rankings among the most corrupt countries corrected only slightly, showing little signs of correction in the near term. Among the polled population of Russia, the police and public officials were believed to be among the most susceptible to corruption, with a 63% rating (Transparency International, 2009).

Press freedoms in the country were downgraded from "partly free" in 2001 to "not free" for the rest of the decade (Freedom House, 2002-2009). According to Freedom House's *Freedom of the Press* reports (2002-2009), the accessibility of independent media outlets

dropped and politically influenced information censorship experienced a sweeping rise. Among the most contentious issues was the censorship of “human rights abuses in the Northern Caucasus, government corruption, organized crime... and police torture” (2008). These issues are among the most pressing abuses in the republics of Dagestan and Ingushetia.

These are important macro-scale indicators of political oppression in Russia as a whole and set the framework for addressing the same issues in the two republics. Due to the lack of regional statistics on political openness, press freedoms and corruption, secondary sources provide the best outlet for identifying the multiplicity of political and judicial infractions and their severity. The absence of statistical data for analysis does not hamper the research, owed in large part to the sheer number of reports made by NGOs and news sources on the subject.

Dagestan

The fall of the Soviet Union allowed Dagestan with an opportunity to create a democratic republic on the basis of multi-ethnic power sharing. A brief overview of this system will shed light on the contemporary problems of the republic. The “new” elites created after the collapse bestowed material and financial wealth upon individuals as a source of legitimacy and power, which was not unlike many other regions of the former Soviet Union (Ware and Kisriev 2010). Nearly 200 clans entered the political climate through this mad power grab, but political mobilization within the republic required the consolidation of ethnicities through various “ethnoparties” (2010). Yet the smaller ethnicities in the republic were often resentful of the larger power wielding ethnicities (Avars, Dargins, Kumyks, Lezgins) but during the political shift of the 1990s, the multi-ethnic Dagestan created a multi-tiered power structure to combat this resentment. A power sharing political system was set in place by the Constitution of Dagestan

and the republic possessed a “relatively” pluralistic society with guaranteed freedom of the press and electoral freedom (2010). This system eventually eroded away when Russia sought a policy of recentralization toward Moscow and resentment began to build in the republic.

Currently, Dagestan’s political and law enforcement structures can be loosely compared to America’s Wild West of the late 1800s. Abductions, forced detentions, extrajudicial executions and violent actions taken toward journalists and lawyers by police are just some of the weekly events citizens of Dagestan have endured. However, the majority of primary and secondary articles address statistics and events regarding human rights and armed insurgent actions within Chechnya prior to 2003 rather than the region as a whole or its other republics. Undeniably, scholars, journalists and politicians viewed the events unfolding in Chechnya through the lens of “the here and now.” Thus, limited analyses and commentary exists regarding corruption and political oppression within Dagestan prior to the initiation of counter-insurgency operations in 2002. Measuring the effects of the greater abuses of political leaders and their control structures (i.e. police, laws) from 2002-2009 is the most effective way of identifying variable links for insurgent violence in these regions. Evaluating alleged security service abuses, press freedoms and forms of political corruption can do this.

Electoral fraud and other political abuses are emblematic of the institutional structures of Dagestan. Dagestan is a republic of particular concern because numerous reports of electoral fraud are cited by NGOs, journalists and foreign government documents (U.S. Department of State, 2002-2008; Caucasian Knot, 2007; Vatchagaev, 2007a). In specific instances, the Committee of the Communist Party of the Russian Federation, Union of Right-Wing Forces and electoral observers claim that major electoral fraud marred the 2007 and 2008 elections (Caucasian Knot, 2007; Caucasian Knot, 2008). With electoral fraud being a major staple point

for the republic, the citizens of Dagestan are unable to elect a leader independent of internal cronyism. Also, the appointment of the republic's attorney general, the judges, the head of the local FSB division and the republic's minister of Internal Affairs are all appointed by Moscow (Vatchagaev, 2007a). This represents a concerning disconnect between the republic, the federal government and the people of Dagestan.

One such element of joint cooperation, however, is the utilization of interior ministry forces and other Russian security services. Throughout the 2000s, security services conducted "antiterrorism operations" that subjected the population of Dagestan to illegal detentions, torture and summary executions (Memorial, 2007). Abductions, or forced disappearances as they are also known, are among the most familiar abuses perpetrated by security forces within the region, as is seen in both Ingushetia and Chechnya. The U.S. Department of State's *Country Report on Human Rights* outlined the progression of abductions and disappearances over the course of the decade. The 2002 report indicated that criminal groups were behind the growing number of abductions, financial and political gain being among the primary motivations (U.S. Department of State, 2002). Memorial contradicts this report by pointing to the abductions, detentions and forced confessions of suspected rebel collaborators during the Dagestan campaigns of 1999 to 2001 (Memorial, 2007). The contradiction aside, the security services increasingly became a leading factor in the spread of insurgent violence within Dagestan. The *Human Rights Reports* (2007) do not reference any further abductions or disappearances until 2007, in which they marked a notable increase of 22 disappearances in Dagestan. However, the NGO Mothers of Dagestan reported 21 disappearances in 2006, which hardly proves a dramatic shift in disappearances (2007). Furthermore, the disappearances in 2008 and 2009 were 11 and 31 respectively (U.S. State Department, 2008, 2009).

Curiously, abductions and disappearances within Dagestan appear to be relatively less commonplace when compared to the population and situation in Ingushetia. A possible answer for these findings is that the security forces, as presumed perpetrators, have switched their tactics following the release of suspected rebel collaborators in 2002, in which the collaborators began to “shoot dead ‘by the list’ the security forces that had tortured them” (Memorial, 2007). Also, Memorial (2007) indicates that the security services have become more organized and their actions methodically planned, so as not to bring attention to them. On a regional scale, Amnesty International (2009) has reported that nearly 5,000 people have disappeared across the North Caucasus from 1999 to 2008, although all cases may not be accounted for. Further exploratory research will be needed to determine the true extent of the disappearance situation in Dagestan, but existing reports tell a tale of increasing violence perpetrated by law enforcement officials that began to spin out of control following the end of the second conflict.

Recently, protests took place in Makhachkala (the capital of Dagestan) where citizens are condemning, not only abductions, but the increasing violence in the region (Memorial, 2010). A press release for the event stated, “Dagestan is losing its men. During the latest month around 50 people from both sides were killed... But we condemn strongly the growing lawlessness of power structures. We demand from power structures to keep the law” (Memorial, 2010 p.1). Though this event did not take place during the study, the frustration expressed by the Dagestani people did not occur overnight. The feelings of frustration and hopelessness have come from the lawlessness of both militants and authorities. The unemployed and downtrodden youth of Dagestan appear to be the most affected by this source of frustration. Meetings of Dagestan’s Interior Ministry reiterate the impact of the conflict on youth by stressing the importance of protecting Dagestani youth from extremist jammats (Vatchagev, 2009). “Shariat Jamaat has

little difficulty recruiting young Dagestanis who are unemployed, traumatized by cruelty endured in jail and motivated by propaganda promoting jihad and armed resistance” (Crisis Group, 2008). Thus, the replenishing of jammat ranks is easily facilitated by Dagestan’s economic situation and the politically grounded anti-insurgency operations conducted by the security forces (2009).

Ingushetia

In 2008, the owner of www.ingusheia.ru (a human rights whistleblower for Ingushetia), Magomed Yevloyev was shot in the head after being arrested by local Ingushetian authorities (The Economist, 2008). The authorities claimed that Yevloyev resisted arrest and reached for the officer’s firearm, a claim that is refuted by people who knew him (BBC, 2008). Yevloyev was an outspoken critic of the Ingush President Zyazikov, as well as the president’s security services (2008). In the months leading up to his death, Yevloyev began a campaign that sought to uncover electoral fraud in the previous years parliamentary elections (The Economist, 2008). This story is only one of many for Ingushetia and it is one that encompasses all the republic’s socio-political issues such as electoral fraud, abduction, extrajudicial execution and media suppression.

The suppression of Ingush electoral freedoms over the last decade was revealing of the condition of Ingushetia as a whole. A “handpicked” Moscow candidate, Murat Zyazikov, replaced popular Ingush President, Ruslan Aushev, in the 2002 elections (The Jamestown Foundation, 2008). The replacement is believed to have stemmed from Aushev’s refusal to allow Ingushetia to be dragged into the Second Chechen War militarily; others believe that Aushev was too unmanageable for Moscow (The Economist, 2008). Either way, the 2002 elections within the republic were the last because the then President Vladimir Putin had

abolished regional elections in 2004, thus depriving the Ingush citizens of the opportunity to elect a true Ingushetian representative (2008). Again, one of the only opportunities for free and fair elections was the contested Duma elections of 2007 in which it is claimed that 28% of the officially claimed 98% of participant voters, stated that they never participated in the elections (BBC, 2007; Leonova, 2008; Fuller, 2008). Also, similar accusations were presented in the 2008 presidential elections of Dimitry Medvedev (Leonova, 2008; Fuller, 2008). However, writers at The Economist noted that “Ingushetia has traditionally been loyal to Moscow,” (2008) despite the injustices suffered in the republic.

Ingushetia was not the only member of the Russian federation with evidence of voter fraud and electoral misconduct but the greater impact of the fraud created the atmosphere for a bolstering of insurgent support. Due to Zyazikov’s political appointment via Moscow, he was wholly reliant on the federal structure of Putin’s Russia. Vladimir Putin forced President Zyazikov to resign in 2008 when the situation in Ingushetia sharply devolved into what “resembled a civil war,” citing a general dissatisfaction with his job performance (The Economist, 2008; Vatchagaev, 2008a). Indeed, citizens of Ingushetia felt that Zyazikov was deliberately misleading the Kremlin about the security situation in Ingushetia, which had allowed the insurgency to gain ground (Fuller, 2007). Likewise, leaders of other republics were noted as saying that they did not wish to hear “Zyazikov fairy tales” when discussing economic and security issues (BBC, 2008). Whether an individual considers this political ignorance or arrogance is subject to dispute, but the fact remains that the deterioration of the security situation within Ingushetia was crumbling from the time of Zyazikov’s election/appointment. Since 2002, the violence within Ingushetia increased steadily questioning the stability and implementation of law and order from security services.

Highlighting the gravity of the security situation, the citizens of Ingushetia have seen an increase in abductions and disappearances from 2004 to 2009. In the early 2000s, rebels were believed to be the primary perpetrators of abductions and kidnapping in attempts to obtain ransom to fund their operations (U.S. Department of State, 2002, 2003). The state of affairs changed in 2004 when the FSB (Federal Security Services, Федеральная служба безопасности) and Ingushetian Interior Ministry Forces began partaking in similar activities, though they were not seeking ransom (U.S. Department of State, 2004). Rather, they were primarily focused on finding insurgents and rebel bandits hiding among the civilian population. The 2004 U.S. State Department's *Country Report on Human Rights* indicated, "human rights groups estimated that several dozen individuals had disappeared in Ingushetia" (2005).

As the decade progressed, 33 people were abducted and 10 were declared "disappeared" (abductions refer to those people who were taken against their will; disappearances refer to the numbers of people abducted and never found) in Ingushetia in 2005 (U.S. Department of State, 2005). A slight increase can be noted in 2006 when 35 people were abducted and 5 disappeared and a total of 22 disappearances in 2007 (U.S. Department of State, 2006, 2007). The noted level of abductions is not referenced in the U.S. State Departments *Country Reports on Human Rights* after 2004, but abductions and abuses by security forces were strongly referenced during this period (2007). Amnesty International (2007) has recorded the total number of disappeared persons as 179 between 2002-2007. According to the U.S. State Department (2009), the NGO MASHR (MAIIP, Autonomous Non-profit Organization of Ingushetia) recorded a total of 234 disappearances in 2009. This number is almost fantastical in the sense that the numbers of disappearances in one year surpassed those of the previous eight. "Today, we can say that the

large accumulation of military men led to the increasing facts of human rights violations and worsening criminogenic situation in Ingushetia” (MASHr p. 8).

The assumption by MASHr does not appear to occur without merit. In the State Department’s Country Reports the citation of the abuses of military forces are readily apparent with supporting literature. “Night raids,” “zachistka” operations or anti-terrorism operations have ostracized the civilian population in Ingushetia. However, there are no definitive explanations as to the origins of disappearances and abductions by individuals of the federal and internal forces. Nonetheless, a significant number of abducted persons have been found within the custody of these forces, which has led to the speculation of both torture and extrajudicial execution as a form of punishment (U.S. Department of State, 2004-2009).

Currently, MASHr’s website (www.mashr.org) lists the number of disappeared persons as 196. This number appears to clash with the official U.S. State Departments numbers, but the number is still significant nonetheless. In 2004, a notable upsurge in suspicious homicides began taking place and the republic, in general, saw an increase in deaths where “unknown assailants” were blamed (Table 8). 2004, as an outlier, is due to the fact that Ingushetian rebels, or militant extremists, managed to conduct successful territorial operations over the cities of Nazran and Karabulak (Memorial, 2007). An increase in anti-terrorism operations preceded the 2004 militant attacks and was the beginning of Russia’s prolonged counter terrorism operations resembling those in Chechnya. The Kremlin dispatched military personnel to Ingushetia in an attempt to combat the increasing insurgent threat. Also, 2004 marked the end of large-scale operations for the militant forces and instead created the beginning of drawn out guerilla operations (2007). 2004 aside, the general upward trend for murders by “unknown assailants” has increased dramatically. The answer for the trend lays in the fact that Russian security forces

increased their engagement in “mop up” and counter-insurgency operations (Memorial, 2009, 2007). Memorial (2007) states that militant activity increased in the republic after the escalation of these measures by state law enforcement officials.

Table 8. Ingushetian Unknown Assailant Murder Statistics provided by MASHR

Year	Deaths
2002	25
2003	26
2004	174
2005	61
2006	96
2007	124
2008	212
2009	304

Ethnicity and Violence in the Republics

Dagestan

The study of the ethnic impact on insurgent violence within Dagestan suggests little correlation between their relationships, though the subject adds to the value of the study as a whole. Dagestan is one of the most ethnically diverse republics in the Northern Caucasus, which makes the study of this republic vital to the ethnicity hypothesis. The three largest ethnicities in Dagestan are the Avars, Lezgins and Kumyks, with the Avars being the largest ethnic group in the republic (MAR, 2009). No single ethnicity comprises a resounding majority of the republic, and dozens of ethnicities compete for their inclusion in the political and economic processes (Dzutsev, 2009). Levels of ethnic militant activity, group inclusion in political processes and religious radicalization among the population are used to measure the impact of ethnicity on the spread of insurgent violence within Dagestan.

According to the Jamestown Foundation's Mairbek Vatchagaev (2007a), the region is marred by interethnic conflict, and Dagestan is no exception. Dagestani leaders present their republic as a successful cohesion of interethnic relationships for Moscow's benefit (2007a). The report also indicates that the republic suffers from many afflictions and ethnic grievances are just one of many factors that led to the republic's destabilization. However, this conflicts with the data that the Minorities at Risk Project (MAR) have collected on the "at risk" populations in Russia.

As was stated in the introduction of this section, the Avars are the largest ethnicity in the region and they "remain the most powerful ethnic group politically and economically" (MAR, 2009 p.1). Though they remain a relative powerhouse in the republic, the Avars maintain their status among the remaining ethnicities because of their willingness to concede to the demands of other ethnic groups, which exemplifies their belief that ethnic unity and stability is best for the republic (2009). The Lezgins are another Dagestani ethnicity that shares the desire for ethnic unity, though Lezgins do not share the same level of economic and political power (In 2006, the unofficial Lezgin unemployment rate was 80%; 2009). The desire for unity between Dagestanis is an attempt to prevent Dagestan from turning into another Chechnya (2009). Compromise and other peaceful resolutions to disputes are the goals of both Avars and Lezgins, with MAR stating that zero instances of politically motivated violence or protest occurred among the populations (2009).

Curiously, the Kumyk population of Dagestan has engaged in violent conflicts over the course of the study, though relatively few cases were reported (MAR, 2009). Nonetheless, MAR reports that the population harbors "especially strong anti-Russian sentiments," due in large part to historical resistance movements (2009). The validity of such historical claims is not addressed

in this study, but the maintenance of a strong ethnic identity is regarded as the underlying factor for the enmity (2009). Also, MAR believes that the resulting violent clashes against state authority have possibly come from Kumyks joining militant Islamic organizations (2009). Overall, the most contentious topic for ethnicity studies is the relationship between ethnic groups and religion.

The three ethnicities of Dagestan that are addressed in this study are religiously identified as Sunni Islam (MAR, 2009). Indeed, the Muslim faith is deeply seeded in the culture of Dagestanis, but the rising tide of Islamic extremism in the republic began to take root after the second conflict in 1996 (Hunter, 2004). Militant fighters returned from the conflicts in Chechnya and began recruiting in their local communities (Hunter, 2004; Crisis Group, 2008). The process was aided by the continued frustration regarding both corruption in politics and the stagnation of the republic's economy (2004). In 1999, with the rising fear of radical Islamic elements coming from Chechnya and the following incursion into Dagestan, an "anti-Wahhabi" law was introduced (Crisis Group, 2008). Wahhabism, or sometimes referred to as Salafism, is a form of Islam that is considered both radical and heretical because of its religious teachings and practices (globalsecurity, 2011). In any case, the law does not provide for a definition of a Wahhabi, which has left it open to interpretation by both political parties and law enforcement personnel (Crisis Group, 2008; Vatchagaev, 2007b). The unofficial policy at this time was to "identify and hunt down overly pious youth" (2008). This policy essentially freed the hands of the counter-terrorism and security service personnel to detain, interrogate or question individuals they branded as Wahhabi. The law and continued statements by insurgent groups suggests that religion provides a pan-Islamist unifying factor in the face of both economic and political disparity.

The youth of Dagestan, regardless of ethnic self-identification, are particularly susceptible to joining the ranks of the Dagestani Jamaat “Shariat,” or Shariat Jamaat (the official title of the Dagestani insurgency). The ranks of the jamaat are replenished with the Avar, Lak, Kumyk and Dargin ethnicities, which adhere to Sunni Islam (Vatchagaev, 2007b). A possible reason for the exclusion of certain ethnicities from the ranks of the jamaats is the “paid for” clan loyalty by the Kremlin (KavkazCenter, 2009a). Also, this research does not attempt to say that Muslims caused the insurgency in Dagestan; rather some Dagestani youth have turned to Salafi and Wahhabi teachings as “a form of protest against Russian Policies in Dagestan” (Vatchagaev, 2007b p.1). Many of the young men who join the jamaats lived through the events and aftermath of the first and second Chechen wars, events that possibly fueled their animosity (KavkazCenter, 2009a).

Furthermore, the education level of recruits is not an adequate factor for their recruitment or individual acceptance of militant behavior. The KavkazCenter (2007a) indicates that highly educated youth, college and graduate students, from independently wealthy families have joined the ranks of militant organizations in Dagestan. According to Badrudin Shakhuradov, the chief of the ministry’s Criminal Investigations Department indicated that the majority of the youth joining these movements “either could not or did not want to find a normal role in society” (KavkazCenter, 2007a p.1). This study points toward the former as the more likely answer.

Ingushetia

When compared to its neighboring republic, Dagestan, Ingushetia is a relatively homogenous republic, with an estimated 79% of the total population in 2006 (MAR, 2009). With relative ethnic cohesion, the republic should remain detached, or at least ethnically

removed, from the increasing insurgent violence in Ingushetia. Also, the Ingush leaders have, historically, remained loyal to Moscow while maintaining close ties with the Chechen republic, which has created a tentative balance of interests within Ingush society (2009). Studying ethnicity as possible factor for violence in Ingushetia requires historical analysis, intermingled with levels of ethnic militant activity, group inclusion in political processes and religious radicalization.

The Ingush and Chechens enjoy a close relationship because each are closely related ethnically, linguistically and culturally (MAR, 2009). The relevancy of their close ethnic ties is questionable; however, their shared history gives them each a shared, yet imbalanced, experience with the Stalin era deportations. In the process, boundary lines were artificially redrawn and policy was introduced to deal with the “traitorous” races that were believed to have fought against the Soviet Union in WWII. Tens of thousands of ethnic Chechens and Ingushetians were removed from the then Chechen-Ingush Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic, and the Ingush subsequently lost the Prigorodny district to North Ossetia (Polian, 2004). The ethnicities affected by the deportations were eventually allowed to return to their homeland, however deep resentment still exists (2004). When the whole of Russia celebrates Fatherland Defender Day on February 23, the Ingush mourn the anniversary of the deportations, indicating a deep collective memory (KavkazCenter, 2009).

In 1992, a conflict erupted between the Ingush and North Ossetians over the Ingush’s ancestral lands in the Prigorodny district (Dzutsev, 2009b). A clear ethnic dispute originating from Soviet geographic and ethnographic manipulation that was “resolved” recently in 2007 (2009b). The conflict ended with little societal satisfaction, and low intensity conflict persisted for the better part of two decades (2009b). According to the Jamestown Foundation’s Valery

Dzutsev, Ingush President Yunus-Bek Yevkurov stated “that violence in the republic was rooted in the unresolved Ingush-Ossetian territorial dispute” (referring to the continuing low intensity conflict of the 2000s; 2009b p.1). This statement represents the conflict as purely territorial dispute with ethnic undertones, thus combating the belief that ethnic violence is wholly responsible for the problems plaguing the republic.

The former president did not adequately address the overall problem of Ingushetia, as was stated in earlier chapters. More simply, problems facing the Republic of Ingushetia are more intricate. The Minorities at Risk Project (2009) specifies that acts of extreme political discrimination have been directed toward the Ingush ethnicity. The only comparable ethnicity MAR categorizes with the same discrimination is the neighboring Chechens (2009). This further corroborates the broader economic and political sections above. Though reiterating the situation in Ingushetia is not intended here, many scholars and Russian officials obscure the extreme ethno-political divisions from within Ingushetia (Vachagaev, 2007c). Two extreme political partitions are found from within the Ingush ethnicity, each having similar goals. The ethnic rift is concentrated in the means by which they achieve their desired political objectives.

Both the International Institute for Strategic Studies (2008) and The Jamestown Foundation (2007), differentiate between the two extremes by indentifying non-violent and violent forms of political protest. Before President Zyazikov was fired, both militant and non-militant Ingush organizations sought the removal of him as president (IISS, 2008; Vachagaev, 2007). The non-militant Ingush organizations, NGOs, civic activists and human rights groups sought to express their discontent with local leaders appointed by Moscow and the broader political corruption of clan based politics (IISS, 2008). Meanwhile, radical Islamist militant

organizations, such as the Ingush Jamaat, not only sought the removal of Zyazikov, but possessed broader religious aspirations for the future of Ingushetia (Vachagaev, 2007).

Existing reports often conflict when assessing the number of fighters in the Ingush jamaat (IISS, 2008; KavkazCenter, 2009b; Vachagaev, 2007). However, “the jamaat is predominantly composed of ethnic Ingush, though it may include members from other ethnic groups including Chechens, Ossetians, Kabardins and Balkars” (Vachagaev, 2007 p.4). Also, the number of jamaat sympathizers appears to outweigh the number of actual radical fighters (IISS, 2008). “Mosque members” (Vachagaev, 2007) are the largest in number for the jamaat and are not usually prepared to perform combat operations. The apparent union between the fighters is a religious relationship, much like in Dagestan. MARs (2009) study states that the resounding majority of Ingushetians are Sunnis, but conflicting reports state that the majority of Muslims in Ingushetia adhere to the Sufi branch of Islam and that those members of the insurgency adhere to Salafism (Vachagaev, 2009a). Regardless of religious adherence, Islam has provided a unifying element against the kafirs (infidels), Christian Ossetians and Russians.

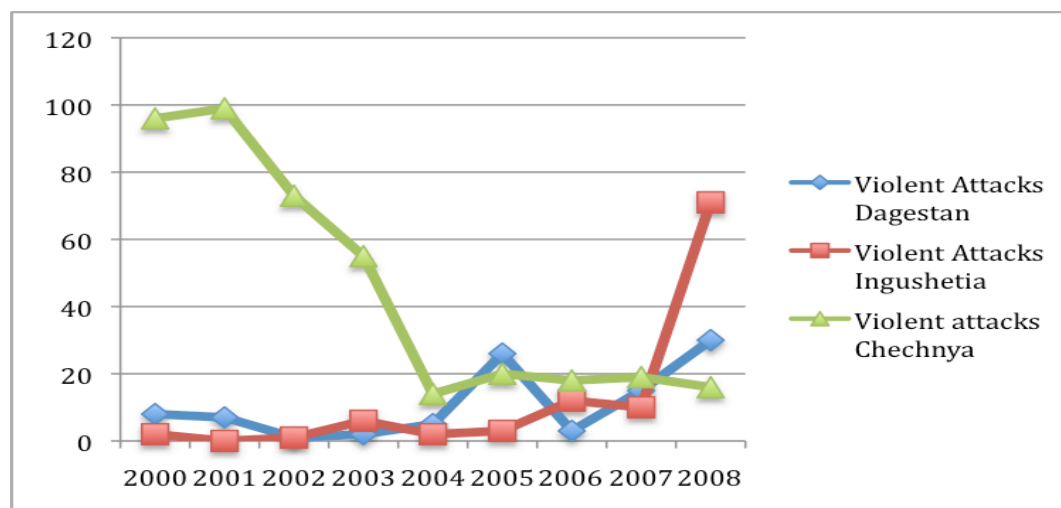
A quasi ethno-religious-nationalism has developed within Ingushetia as a result of the populations backlash against the insurgency. Leading members of the Ingush Jamaat have called for unification, out of necessity, of Sufi and Salafi sects because of their shared enemy in Russia (Vachagaev, 2009a). Unfortunately, the youth of Ingushetia are particularly susceptible to such influences due to low levels of political and economic opportunity, and their childhoods spent in a conflict zone (2009a). Some believe the Ingush intelligentsia is largely to blame for glorifying the conflicts in North Ossetia and Chechnya and that an ideological war has gripped the Ingush youth, resulting in the continuing insurgency (KavkazCenter, 2009c). Meanwhile, others believe

“many young men, especially those whose relatives were abducted and disappeared, have flocked to join the ranks of the Chechen resistance...” (KavkazCenter, 2007a p.1).

The study has indicated that the organization of the Ingush Jamaat is loosely based on ethnic heritage and rather closely represented by ideological foundation. The shared history of the Ingush people represents only a portion of the Ingush identity. Rather, the continued political and judicial harassment has continued to dissolution and unify the people, especially the youth, of Ingushetia (Vatchagaev, 2010).

Conflict Spillover from Chechnya

Table 9. Global Terrorism Database



Dagestan

The previous sections have identified the extremely complicated economic, political and ethnic state of affairs within Dagestan. The process of identifying a “spillover” effect must utilize information gained by these sections to discern the nature of the ongoing violence, which will either prove or disprove the hypothesis. This study proposes that journalists and some

scholars have inaccurately concluded that the conflicts in Chechnya have caused the violence plaguing the region over the past decade. To underscore this point, Dagestan's level of insurgent activity was almost non-existent at the beginning of the decade, but a notable increase in insurgent violence is seen in the decade from 2004 onward (Table 9). This is significant because the level of insurgent violence in Dagestan began to out pace that of Chechnya.

The economy of Chechnya came to a screeching halt during the second conflict and so did the economy of neighboring Dagestan. Dagestan's economy suffered from a general decline in worker income and a staggering unemployment rate, but as the decade continued the economy managed to improve (Table 3; Table 4). According to the first hypothesis, this should mean that the levels of insurgent violence should not have risen. However, this improvement may be misleading due to the general slow growth and continual unemployment rate of nearly 17% in 2009 (Table 4).

The gradual improvement in the economy may account for the relative inconsistency in insurgent attacks over the decade as well, meaning that a portion of the population may have participated in the economy and removed themselves from participating in the insurgency (Table 1). Nonetheless, the insurgency continues to increase operations throughout the republic according to the data. This points to a secondary structural factor contributing to insurgent violence in Dagestan, which appears to stem from a sense of deep-rooted alienation from the political establishments. Unlike Ingushetia, multi-ethnic Dagestan possessed a degree of ethnic and political stability after the fall of the Soviet Union, which was effectively dissolved with the bureaucratic reforms of the early 2000s that eliminated the rotating chair of Dagestan's executive (Ware and Kisriev 2010). The new system had replaced, "the unique democratic system that the Dagestanis had innovated in their 1994 constitution in order to accommodate their ethnic

heterogeneity and their ancient traditions” (2010, p. 203). Not surprisingly, the Dagestanis were also able to avoid protracted conflict within their republic before the new system, unlike their neighbors (2010).

As economic decline prevailed in the early 2000s, so did the corruption and cronyism of the new bureaucratic system. Mass protests began to take shape but were suppressed with a “brutality previously unprecedented in Dagestan” (Ware and Kisriev, 2010 p. 205). As the population began losing faith in their “democratic” system, insurgent attacks began to increase in the republic and the people of Dagestan began to see the recentralization of Dagestan under the leadership of the federal center as beneficial (2010). However, as a part of stabilizing the republic, the FSB, interior ministry personnel and even Kadyrov’s (appointed President of Chechnya) forces began conducting counter insurgency operations, abductions, forced disappearances and extrajudicial executions in the republic with impunity (KavkazCenter, 2007d; Panin, 2005; Human Rights Report, 2002-2009). In any case, such operations have only created “an indignant, angry backlash... directed solely at the Russian armed forces (Vatchagaev, 2007b). The retaliations following such attacks have only served to further destabilize the republic by pushing the youth into confrontations with the security forces (KavkazCenter, 2007d; KavkazCenter, 2009d). The security forces are not solely to blame for the spreading conflict in Dagestan. In truth, the political structure within the republic embodied an atmosphere of ethno-political isolationism and severe civilian distrust in local politicians. Furthermore, Dagestan’s structural instability assisted in the radicalization of the disaffected youth that was/is supported by Islamist extremists in the republic.

The conflict in Chechnya did not physically or structurally “spillover” into Dagestan, rather Chechnya, and the events following the counter terrorism operations, should rather be

considered as a conflict of ideological solidification for the Chechen resistance. Thus, the continuing conflict in Dagestan has differing root causes of instability. Also, the Republic of Dagestan possessed extremist elements prior to the second war, and Dagestan's insurgency is the most active from 2004 to 2008 after the policy transformation of the early 2000s. The origins of the Dagestani jamaat exists within an ideological framework that evolved from the collapse of the Soviet Union and the introduction of radical Islamic elements into the social climate, but the *insurgency movement* evolved from a spillover of the Russian policy of recentralization, economic collapse and anti-terror/anti-insurgency operations from security services. Thus, the spillover of violent conflict has evolved out of failed social and politicized security policies from both the Kremlin and the republic's leaders.

Ingushetia

Ingushetia is the smallest republic in the North Caucasus, both geographically and in population (HRW, 2008). An assessment of the spillover effect in Ingushetia is inevitably more complicated due to the fact that, among the republics of the North Caucasus, Ingushetia shares the closest relationship with Chechnya. The shared history of the two republics does not directly contribute to spillover of insurgent violence. Although the insurgency in Ingushetia can trace their origins to Chechnya, the violence within Ingushetia did not begin to dramatically rise until 2004 according to Table 1 and the violence did not spike in the republic until the end of the decade, in 2007 and 2008 (Table 1 and Table 9). The data underscores the importance of other structural factors within Ingushetia that are removed from events in Chechnya, which fostered an insurgency movement.

The Ingush insurgency, or the Ingush jamaat, can locate their organizational genesis in the first Chechen conflict (Vatchagaev, 2007c). The original jamaat was comprised of ethnic Ingush living within the city of Grozny during the first assaults of 1994, and their movement did not cross into the Republic of Ingushetia until the assault on Grozny in 1999 (2007c). The jamaat carried out very few operations in Ingushetia during and after the second conflict in Chechnya. Fast-forward to the present and scholars will note that the security situation in Ingushetia has only deteriorated, but this deterioration has coincided with the other numerous problems the republic faces.

Ingushetia, when compared to the neighboring republics, has the worst economic climate. The economy grew subtly in consumer expenditures and investments during the 2000s but the apparent inequitable distribution of wealth and the staggering unemployment rate remain the republic's two biggest economic obstacles (Table 6). These are two obstacles that are all too common to many of Russia's republics. Also, Ingushetia has suffered from these problems since the collapse of the Soviet Union and the insurgency only recently became highly active toward the end of the 2000s (Table 2; Table 9). The apparent inactivity of the Ingush jamaat during the period immediately following the end of the Chechen conflict leads one to believe that the roots of the insurgency are related to other structural factors in the republic.

The rise in insurgent violence from 2003 to 2008 coincides with the broader political/security situations going on in the republic. Beginning in 2002, a myriad of political reforms swept through Ingushetia effectively limiting political pluralism. As with Dagestan, a policy of recentralization toward Moscow was established and the leaders of the republic were supposedly chosen for their "manageability," a policy which is, historically, not uncommon in Russia (The Economist, 2008). The civilian population eventually began voicing their general

dissatisfaction with President Zyazikov but others chose more radical means. During this time the security situation within Ingushetia began to disintegrate as the political establishment tried to wrangle a growing insurgency. An increasing number of security operations within the republic were believed to be the answer the growing threat. However, as the operations continued the number of disappeared and murdered persons began to rise at an alarming rate (www.mashr.org). Quite possibly, these operations, coupled with the republics deplorable economic conditions, compelled the youth of Ingushetia to join the radical jamaats (BBC, 2005; Kalinina, 2009; KavkazCenter, 2007b).

As an example of this radicalization, the insurgents that comprise the increasing attacks are primarily youthful Ingush, intermixed with other ethnicities from the republic (Vatchagaev, 2007c). The insurgency has transcended ethnic and kinship ties within the republic by utilizing the increasing marginalization of the youth. Thus, the Ingush jamaat remained a separate entity from the Chechen resistance because of this and they were rather considered just a single component of the greater “Caucasian resistance movement,”(2007c). In fact, in the early 2000s the Ingush and Chechen forces coordinated their movements and attacks (2007c). The most famous of which was the Nazran offensive of 2004, led by resistance leader and Chechen, Shamil Basaev (HRW, 2008). The young Ingush men, led by Basaev, targeted “police and security facilities in which some 80 people died” (KavkazCenter, 2007a p.1).

Though blaming the Chechen conflict, and the Chechen rebels, as the chief instigators for the Ingush insurgency is inaccurate. Thus, added elements such as the Russian and Chechen anti-terror/insurgency operations, the unbalanced political affairs of the republic and poor economic conditions of the republic have created the conditions conducive for militant actions. Chechnya, Dagestan and Ingushetia, sharing many of the same structural faults, have only

appeared to develop insurgencies in conjunction, but the more likely explanation is that their structural similarities have helped foster insurgency movements with analogous goals.

Conclusion

Summary

Given the increasing number of insurgent attacks within the Northern Caucasus and the declaration of the Caucasus Emirate by insurgent leaders, the purpose of this study was to identify an association of factors for the increase in insurgent violence in the Northern Caucasus (KavkazCenter, 2007e). More specifically, a case study of Ingushetia and Dagestan was used to discover underlying factors that bred the conditions for the developing insurgencies. The economic atmosphere, political repression, ethnic connections and the spillover of conflict within the two republics were tested to assess their impact on growing insurgent violence.

The study was structured to develop a comparative narrative between Ingushetia and Dagestan. The analysis of these factors sought to establish a relationship with the growing insurgent violence in the republics. This study indicates that the insurgency movements gripping the republics have occurred because of a combination of factors. However, each factor has affected the republics in a different way, both in severity and timing, so that the origins of the insurgencies of Dagestan and Ingushetia are unique to each republic.

Implications and Discussion

Insurgent attacks plague the Russian Federation and continue to persist after the two Chechen conflicts subsided, leading to inquiry about why insurgent violence was occurring in Ingushetia and Dagestan, which are removed from the previous conflict zone, with relative

frequency and lethality. Journalists and scholars continually stated that the attacks were caused by the increasing destabilization of the entire Northern Caucasus. The majority of the research on the subject focuses on the impact of Chechnya on the neighboring republics, with limited inclusion of the societal conditions within the republics. This research developed an interdisciplinary approach to identify an association behind the insurgent violence and economics, politics, ethnicity studies and conflict.

An examination of the insurgencies within each republic revealed subtle differences as to the origin and the context of their apparent proliferation. In examining the economic situation of both republics, the economic section provides strong support for the proposed hypothesis. The analysis relied on the yearly statistical rates for unemployment, average wage increases and the estimated level of societal involvement in the black economy. Also, the study focused on the economic conditions from 2001-2008, but there is no information to indicate that the republics' economic situations were better prior to the outbreak of hostilities in Chechnya. Inside the Russian Federation, Ingushetia and Dagestan are two of the most economically disadvantaged republics, although, Ingushetia is by far the most disadvantaged due to a fluctuating unemployment rate and the decreasing average income rate toward the end of the decade. In comparison, Dagestan has experienced levels of growth, though slow, in the employment sector coupled with comparatively higher rates of income.

The comparison of economic statistics reveals that Dagestan and Ingushetia each have a serious problem. These economic conditions do little to support the youthful population and further push them to search for other sources of support and stability. Much emphasis is placed on the black economy within the republics, but evaluating levels economic activity in this sector is difficult, though the black market is considered a source of income for the economically

disadvantaged. Insurgent groups in the republics are known to kidnap individuals and demand ransom (State Department, 2002-2009), but little definitive evidence exists that supports greed as a motivation for militant actions.

Instead, this analysis identifies that an inverse relationship exists between economic opportunities (employment)/advantages (income) and the spread of insurgent violence. The spread of the violence should be considered more accurately as a spread of insurgent recruitment through the economic disenfranchisement. Through higher recruitment, the insurgencies are able to conduct a broader scale of operations throughout the Caucasus and into Russia proper. In attempts to control this disenfranchisement, the Kremlin has subsidized large portions of the republics' populations and government institutions. Indeed, when the global economic crisis hit Russia, the Kremlin was forced to cut the republics of the Northern Caucasus budgets by nearly 20% according to the KavkazCenter (2009). An increase in military forces was implemented during the same time, indicating the preparation of potential conflicts resulting from the decrease in local funding (2009).

The effect of political repression is also disproportionate in the republics, with Ingushetia facing the highest level of political restrictiveness or at least the greatest impact on the society. Besides the obvious economic disappointments over which President Zyazikov resided, the increasing restrictiveness of political discourse has effectively galvanized the population to resist Russian influences, their supported leaders and security services. The Ingushetian security services further exacerbate the situation by employing tactics that have led to the disappearance, and apparent deaths, of many civilians. The youth of the republic are particularly susceptible to this atmosphere of fear. In this regard, Dagestan has suffered a similar fate to Ingushetia.

In Dagestan, the electoral processes of both judicial and political services were dictated from Moscow. Electoral freedoms are restricted within Dagestan, but the main concern of the Dagestani public is the increase in disappearances, abductions and deaths apparently made by security services similar to Ingushetia (reports indicate both Russian Federal troops and Ingushetian internal forces). Societal abuses perpetrated by the security services possess a deeply polarizing effect on the populations of both Ingushetia and Dagestan.

Compared to Russia as a whole, the two republics suffered from extreme political repression, but the most notable difference is the application of controlled (or out of control) violence directed against the population. Thus, according to the research, the issue of restricted electoral freedom, as a grievance, cannot be considered as a leading factor for the spread of insurgent violence. Rather, the use of violent and repressive tactics by the security services and the government have created conditions for an ongoing conflict with the people of Dagestan and Ingushetia, irrespective of perceived ethnic divisions.

The populations of Ingushetia and Dagestan are markedly different with their ethnic makeup. Ingushetia is a fairly homogenous republic in comparison to the multiethnic Dagestan; thus the two republics disprove the claim that ethnicity has an impact on spreading insurgent violence. The multiethnic composition of Dagestan has forced each ethnicity within to cooperate for the collective good. The ethnic makeup of each republic and the resulting insurgencies do not share any definitive link. The jamaats are intermixed with ethnicities from the entire North Caucasus, suggesting that other unifying factors are at work.

The Dagestani and Ingush jamaats have evolved out of what appears to be separate ideological and radically religious divides among the populations fueled by social abuses and

economic stagnation. Furthermore, each group may intermingle with the surrounding organizations through tacit or explicit arrangements, but the insurgencies of each republic maintain a relatively close relationship with the territory, in which they reside, representing a portion of the greater “Caucasian resistance” from foreign (Russian) domination, or so they claim. Undoubtedly, the situation in Ingushetia is the most extreme, with the insurgency possessing freedom of movement and relative acceptance from the populace (Vatchagaev 2009b). As a result, insurgents maintain a form of authoritative legitimacy in the republic, unlike the Dagestani jamaat. As a result, the Ingush jamaat conducts some of the most aggressive operations.

Finally, many scholars profess that a spillover from conflict in Chechnya caused the spreading insurgencies. The case study gives mixed support for this hypothesis. The two republics already had existing radical or militant elements within the republics prior to the outbreak of the second Chechen conflict. The fact that the spread of the insurgencies occurred three years after the fall of Grozny is very telling. The second Chechen conflict, and, more specifically the rebel’s participation in the conflict, did not directly attribute to the spillover that is indicated in scholarly and journalistic accounts.

The elements of the Chechen conflict that truly spilled over into the neighboring republics occurred primarily in the form of antiterrorism and anti-insurgency operations. The operations occurred at the end of large-scale combat operations in Chechnya and continued to spread into the interiors of the neighboring republics. Indeed, portions of the resistance fled into the neighboring republics, but in the process of pursuing the insurgents, the security services alienated the citizens of the republics. Both Ingushetian and Dagestani insurgent groups

had/have differing ideological and religious motives for engaging in militant operations but are united in their struggle against the Russian Federation and the regimes supporting the Kremlin.

The rise and spread of the insurgent violence is the result of a combination of factors. The implications for the findings of each section show the complex mixture these factors emanating from the republic, regional and federal levels. The insurgencies of Ingushetia and Dagestan would not have occurred without some combination of both economic decline and political repression. However, these two elements alone *would not* have created conditions for the insurgency to blossom. In addition, the inclusion of supplementary *stressors* such as the inclusion of federal and internal ministry forces executing antiterrorism and anti-insurgency operations estranged an already downtrodden public, contributing to the proliferation of the insurgencies.

Limitations

The study of insurgent violence in the Northern Caucasus is an extremely challenging topic with many components to study, necessitating an interdisciplinary approach that incorporates both established scholarly research and the facts surrounding the topic of insurgent violence within Ingushetia and Dagestan. The study attempted to explain the spreading insurgent violence, but holes still remain within the research that deserve closer scrutiny.

The study employed a variety of disciplines, including economics, political science, ethnographic studies and conflict studies. Interdisciplinary studies are complicated due to the mixture of disciplines and the significant amount of crossover among some of the topics. This research tried to emphasize this crossover to present a more holistic portrayal of the events

taking place in the two republics, but more detailed analysis of anyone of these disciplines could yield new knowledge.

Also, identifying accurate data was difficult for two reasons. The first reason is that the material gathered for the research had to be evaluated for reliability. Information coming from either the Russian Federation or insurgent websites is inherently subject to biases beyond the control of this researcher. On the same note, conflicting reports as to the severity of attacks, economic statistics and restrictiveness of political structures were a continuing battle throughout the research.

The second reason is that this research did not include many Russian language documents limiting the choices of materials. As many Russian language sources were excluded, Western bias on the subject matter was continual throughout the study. However, the materials outside of the Russian Federation, including NGOs and journalistic accounts were credible, perhaps more so than potentially inaccurate reports from the Russian Federation, which has already been discussed.

Suggestions for Future Research

This research suggests many implications for future study and contributes to scholarly knowledge in multiple disciplines including political science, military history, peace and conflict studies, economics and ethnicity studies. Furthermore, the case study will benefit government agencies and NGOs by assisting in the development of future policies. Conclusions drawn in this study stated that a strong correlation exists between the failing economies of Ingushetia and Dagestan and their politically repressed societies. Further studies need to assist in the confirmation that a relationship between the two does exist. However, further research also needs

to evaluate the conclusion that added aggravating factors (i.e. armed action by the state) led to the development of an insurgency.

Also, this study lightly addressed the effects of religion, ideology and nationalism on the insurgencies in the Northern Caucasus. In the material, the insurgents appear to differ in their conceptualization of success and their motivations for resisting the Russian Federation. The majority of materials emphasize the reports of leading members of the insurgency instead of the low level fighters. Understanding their motivations would lead to better federal and republic-based policies on youth and community dynamics in Ingushetia and Dagestan, as well as the Northern Caucasus region as a whole.

This research also possesses implications for the future security of the Russian Federation. Some believe Russia's problems in the North Caucasus are isolated and the events of the region have no resemblance to other regions. This is true, however, political corruption is noted as a major problem within the country as a whole and the global financial crisis dealt a severe blow to Russia's economy. Research opportunities exist in examining the relationship between the economic and political conditions on Russia's other peripheries to assess their variable impact on the populations residing within.

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