Modern Insurgency and the Islamic State

Week 1: Foundations and Mobilization

Michael Allen

Department of Political Science

Boise State University

Overview

- Week 1
  - Foundations and mobilization

- Week 2
  - Strategy, tactics, and implications

- Week 3
  - Reactions, effects, and prospects

Today

- Background on the Islamic State
  - History
  - Formation
  - IS will be a case to understand our theories

- The different explanations for civil conflict
  - Grievance model
  - Greed model
  - Opportunity model
  - Synthesize these: Mobilization

- Questions and/or discussion
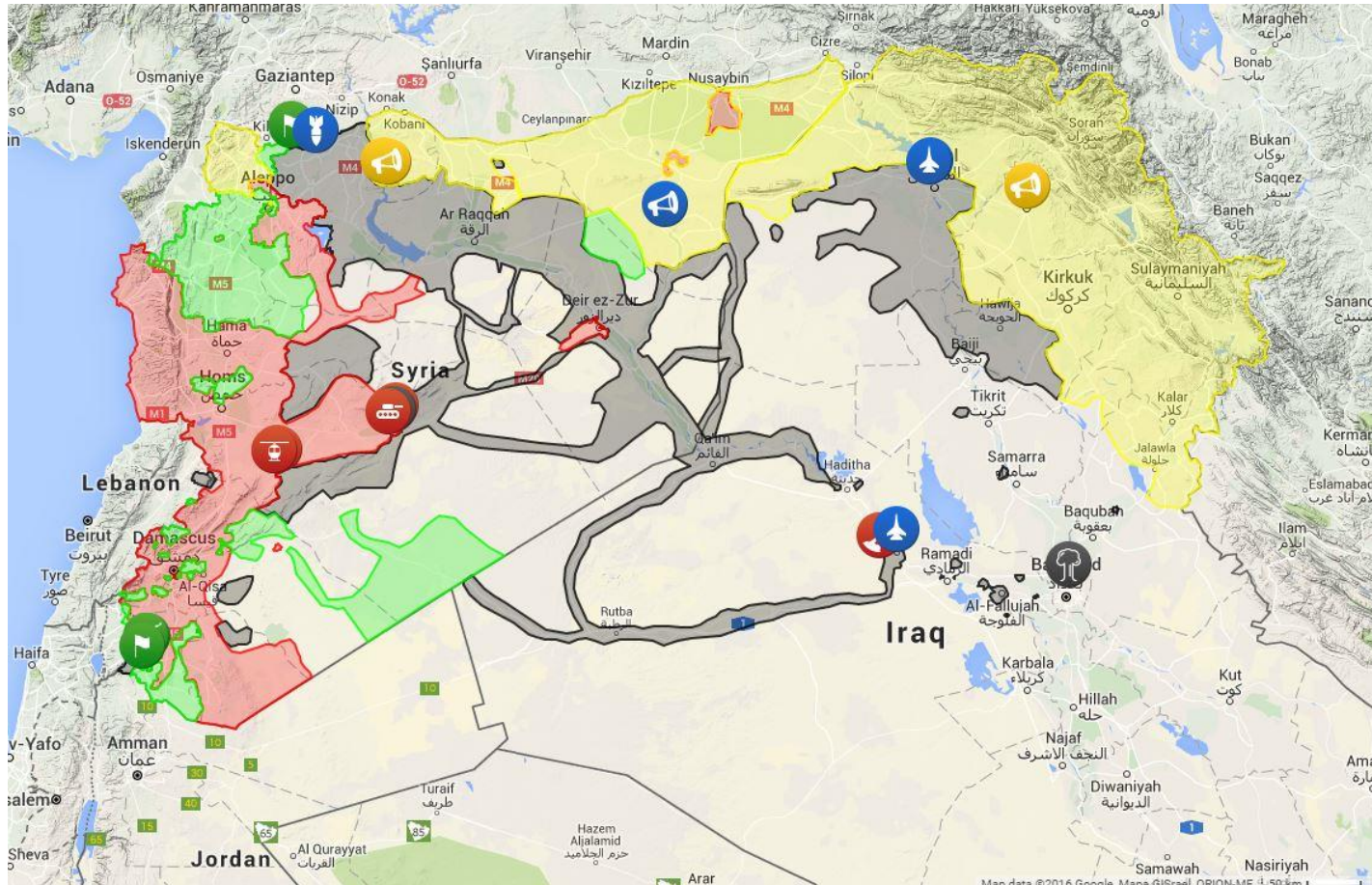
Background and History
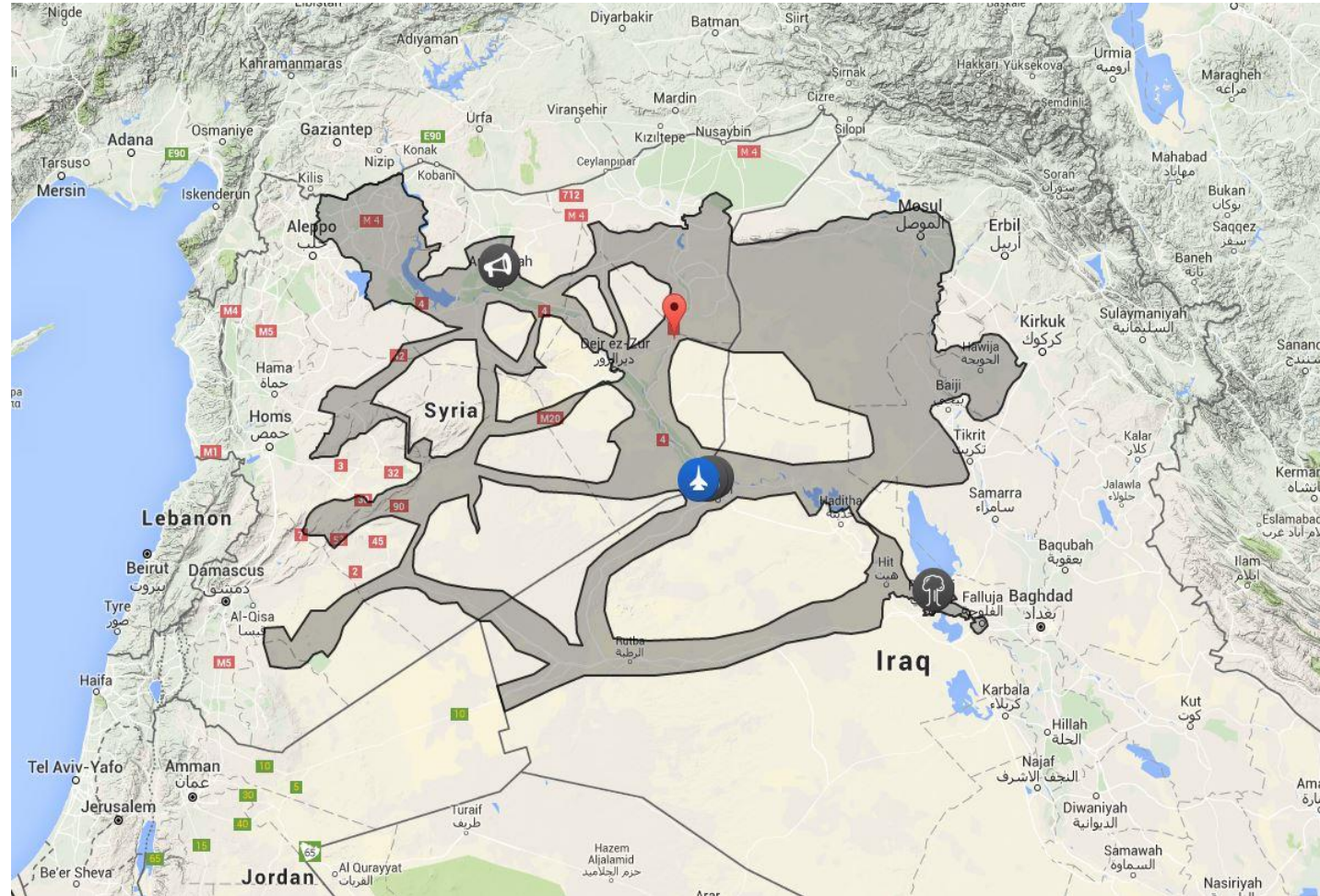
Background and History

Map Credit:
LiveUAMap.com
January 6th, 2016

Territory held 4/3/2016

LiveUAMap.com April 3rd, 2016

Background and History
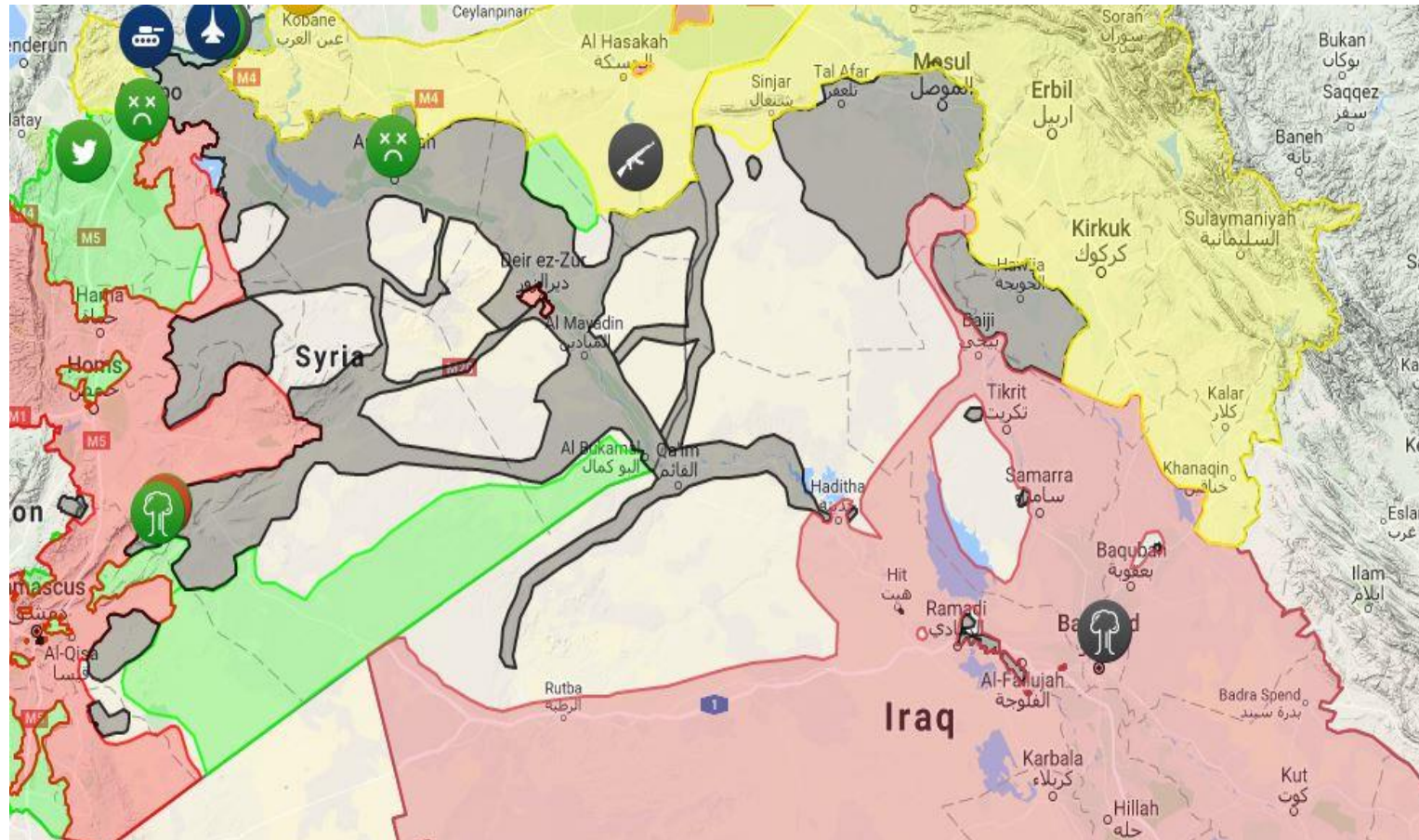
Map Credit:
LiveUAMap.com
September 9th,
2016

Names

- Islamic State of Iraq (ISI)

- Islamic State of Iraq and Syria (ISIS)

- Islamic State of Iraq and al-Sham (ISIS)

- Islamic State of Iraq and the Levant (ISIL)

- Islamic State (IS)

- ad-Dawlah al-Islāmiyah fī 'l-ʿIrāq wa-sh-Shām (Daesh)

Background to ISIS

- Early beginnings in 1999

- Socialist Baathist state
  - Pan-Arab union
  - Anti-Salafist
    - 1970s – organizing illegal
    - 1980s – tacit acceptance
    - 1990s – loyalty pledges

- US invasion
  - Several failures by the US
  - Disbanding the military
  - 2003 - Army of the People of the Sunna and Communal Solidarity

Abu Musab al-Zarqawi, source: *Wikipedia*

Background to the Islamic State

- 2004 – al-Qaeda in Iraq
  - Led by Abu Musab al-Zarqawi

- Coalitional success

- Islamic state?
  - Zarqawi killed June 2006

- Abu Ayyub al-Masri takes over
  - 2010 US raids eliminate Masri and other leader (Abu Umar)

- Baghdadi gains control (Islamic State council vote, 9-2)

al-Baghdadi -William McCants, *Brookings Institute,* "The Believer"

William McCants, Brookings Institute, "The Believer"

DETAINEE PERSONNEL RECORD

For use of this form, see AR 190-8; the proponent agency is ODCSPER.

CARD I	1. INTERMENT SERIAL No.(1-15) US9IZ-157911CI	2. NAME *(Last, First, M) (AKA)* AWAD/AL BADRY, IBRAHIM AWAD IBRAHIM	3. RANK (35-37) -

4. ENEMY SVC NO. (38-46) 26944	5. TYPE (47)	6. DATE OF CAPTURE (48-53) 2004/02/04	7. DATE OF BIRTH (54-59) exemption (b) (6)

8. NATIONALITY (60-61) IRAQ	9. EDUCATION (62)	10. RELIGION (63-64) SUNNI-ISLAM	11. MARSTA (65)	12. PW CAMP UIC WPXHAA	13. PW PROCESS DT 2004/02/04

CARD II	14. Sex (14) Male	15. LANGUAGE I (15-16)	16. LANGUAGE II (17-18) ARABIC-IRAQ

17. PHYSICAL CONDITION (19) GOOD	18. PW CAMP LOCATION (20-22)	19. ENEMY UNIT (23-24)

20. ARM OF SVC (35) -	21. MOSC (36-39)	22. CIVILLIAN OCCUPATION (40-45) ADMINISTRATIVE WORK (SECRETARY)	23. UIC-CAPTURE UNIT (46-51) CF

24. CORPS AREA OF CAPTURE	25. PLACE OF CAPTURE ANBAR FALLUJAH	26. POWER SERVED IRAQ	27. PLACE OF BIRTH FALLUJAH, GV IRAQ

28. ADDRESS TO WHICH MAIL FOR PW MAY BE SENT

29. FATHER/STEPFATHER exemption (b) (6)

30. MOTHER'S MAIDEN NAME exemption (b) (6)

31. PERMANENT HOME ADDRESS OF PW

32. NAME, ADDRESS, AND RELATIONSHIP OF PERSON TO BE INFORMED OF CAPTURE exemption (b) (6)

33. OTHER PARTICULARS FROM ID CARD

34. DISTINGUISHING MARKS

THE ABOVE LIST OF IMPOUNDED ITEMS IS CORRECT

36. REMARKS

37. PHOTO

Frontal | Right Profile | No Photo Available

38. PREPARED BY (Individual and Unit) exemption (b) (6)

39. SIGNATURE

40. DATE PREPARED 11/17/2014

41. PLACE

DA FORM 4237-R, AUG   EDITION OF MAY 82 IS OBSOLETE

Background to ISIS

- Up until 2010, IS is in Iraq

- 2011, bin Laden killed, al-Zawahiri

- Syria
  - Protests in 2011, government crackdown, rebels escalate
  - Start operations in 2011
    - al-Nusra Front
  - 2013
    - Split between Nusra Front/IS
  - 2014
    - Split between IS/al-Qaeda
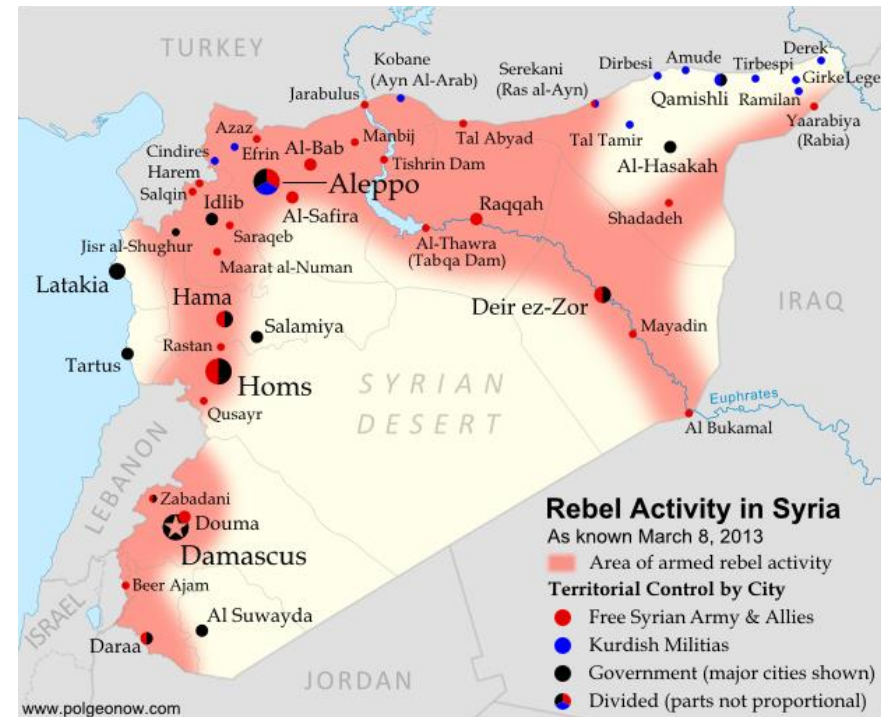
Source: *Political Geography Now*

Religious Background

- The Islamic State
  - Sunni
  - Salafist Branch (Wahhabism)
    - Salafism, 9th century origins, 10th century identity
    - Muhammad ibn Abd al-Wahhab (Saudi origin, 18th century)
    - Conservative and fundamentalist
    - Not all Salafists are jihadists
      - Estimated to be .5% of all Muslims (Commins 2006)

- Opposed to Secular and Shiite control
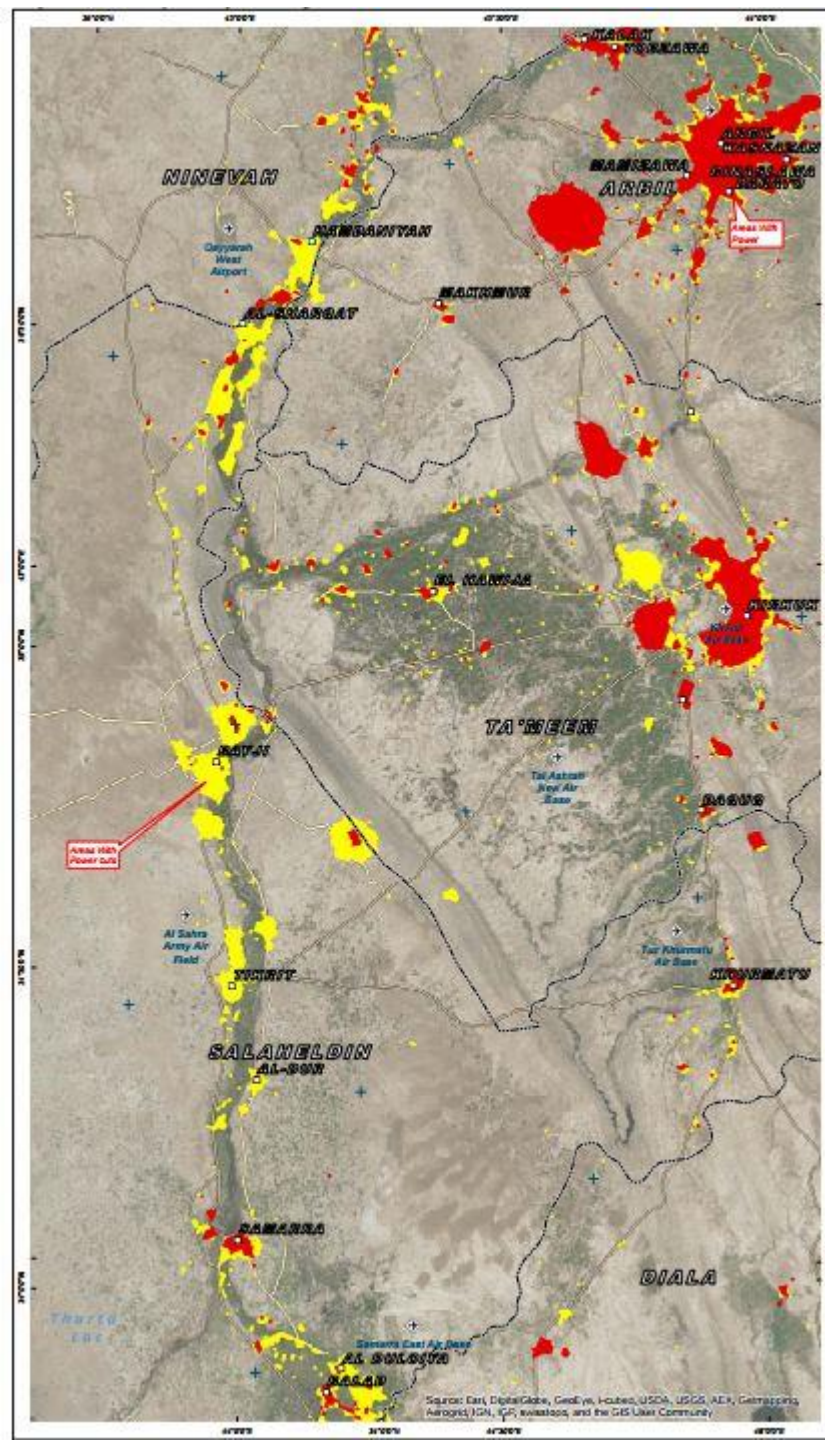 - Iraq- Shiite majority
  - Syria - secular state with Shiite leader

Foundations to Insurgency

The Big Question

How do you convince an individual to risk everything, including their life, for a cause?

Grievances

- Economic Deprivation

- Relative Deprivation

- Political Deprivation

- Systemic Oppression

UNOSAT, August 2014

IS Grievances

- ISIS propaganda video (November 2015)

- In their words: Face to face with Islamic State, *BBC News*, *June 7th, 2015*

- Strategy and grievances: Joint Chiefs Chair General Martin Dempsey: Islamic State Fighting Because of 'Grievances'

	Person 2	
	Cooperate	Defect
Person 1 Cooperate	3,3	1,4
Defect	4,1	2,2

Prisoner's Dilemma

- Background

- Game theory

- Problem: How do we get people to cooperate?

- Describes several phenomena

Everyone Else

		Rebel	Don't Rebel
Individual Rebel	*Rebel*	Success	Failure
	Don't Rebel	Success	Failure

Greed

- Territory

  - Taxation

  - Resources

- Foreign Aid

WHERE ISIS GETS ITS OIL

NORTHERN OILFIELDS AND REFINERY UNDER ISIS CONTROL
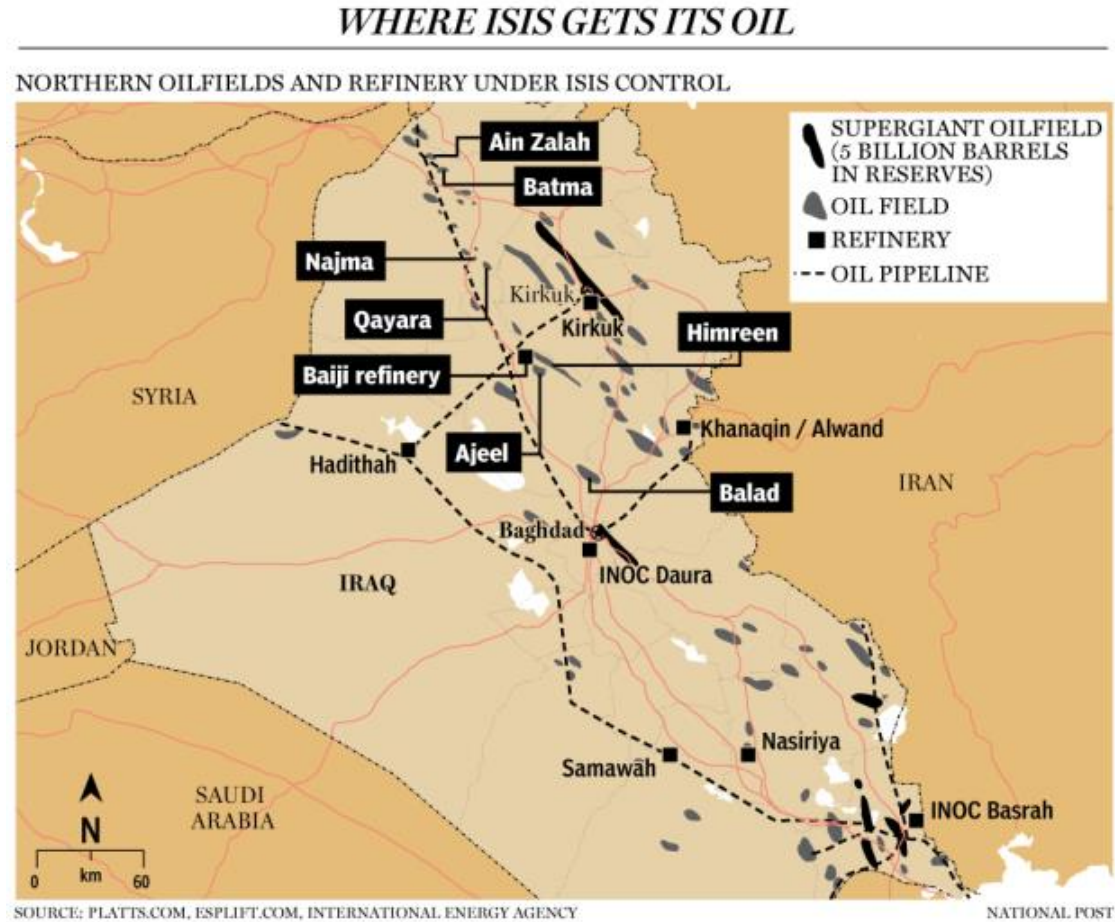
Individual Fighters

- Reports of $1,000 a month
  - Perhaps lower now (75% cut)

- Recruitment benefits

- Individual power/empowerment

- Wives
  - Austrian teenagers

- Slaves
  - Women/children trafficking

Daily Mail, January 29th, 2015

The Opportunity Model

- Political elites separate from economic elite

- Social order

- Characteristics of the state
  - Mismatch in state responsiveness
  - Economic change and modernization
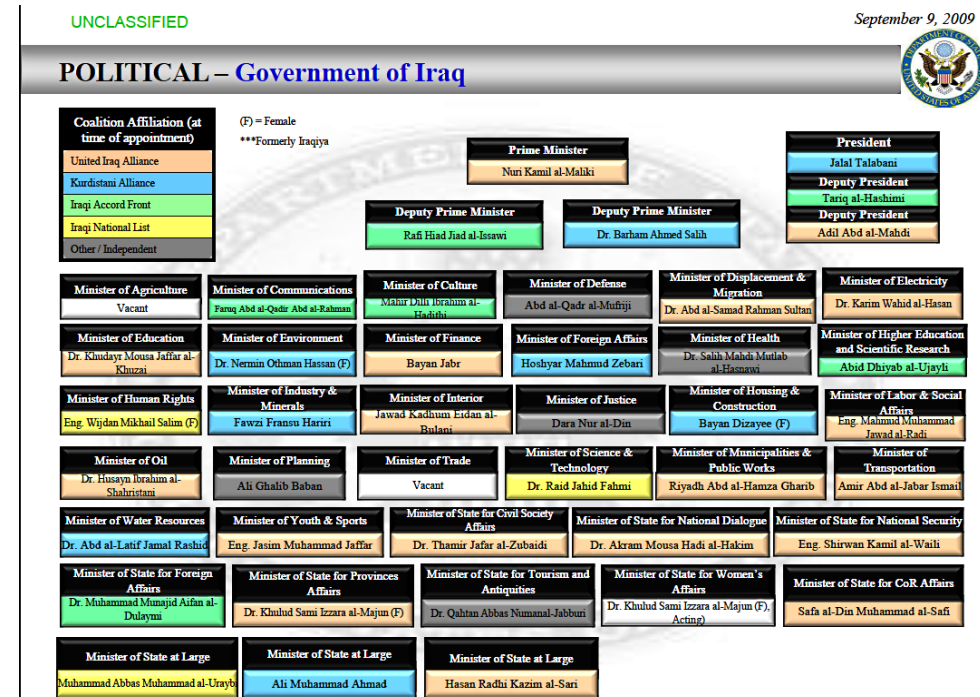
Iraqi government structure as of September 2009, *Wikipedia*

Washington Post, "Foreign Fighters flow to Syria", October 30th, 2014; updated January 27th, 2015

Empirical Correlates

- Difficult terrain

- Large populations

- Ethnic fractionalization

- Previous insurgency

- Ongoing insurgency

- Political instability

- Regime type

- Lootable resources

Conclusions

- How do civil conflicts form
  - Multiple factors coming together
  - Grievances and opportunity facilitate greed
  - Mobilization

- Next Week
  - Strategy and tactics
  - Why statehood?
  - Why terrorism?

The Islamic state destroying the temple of Baal Shamin, *Daily Mail, August 30th, 2015*

Questions and Answers