

Hunting for Huntington's Evidence



An Empirical Reassessment of
The Clash of Civilizations Theory

John D. Shindelar – Bemidji State University
Senior Thesis-2013
Dr. Patrick Donnay- Advisor



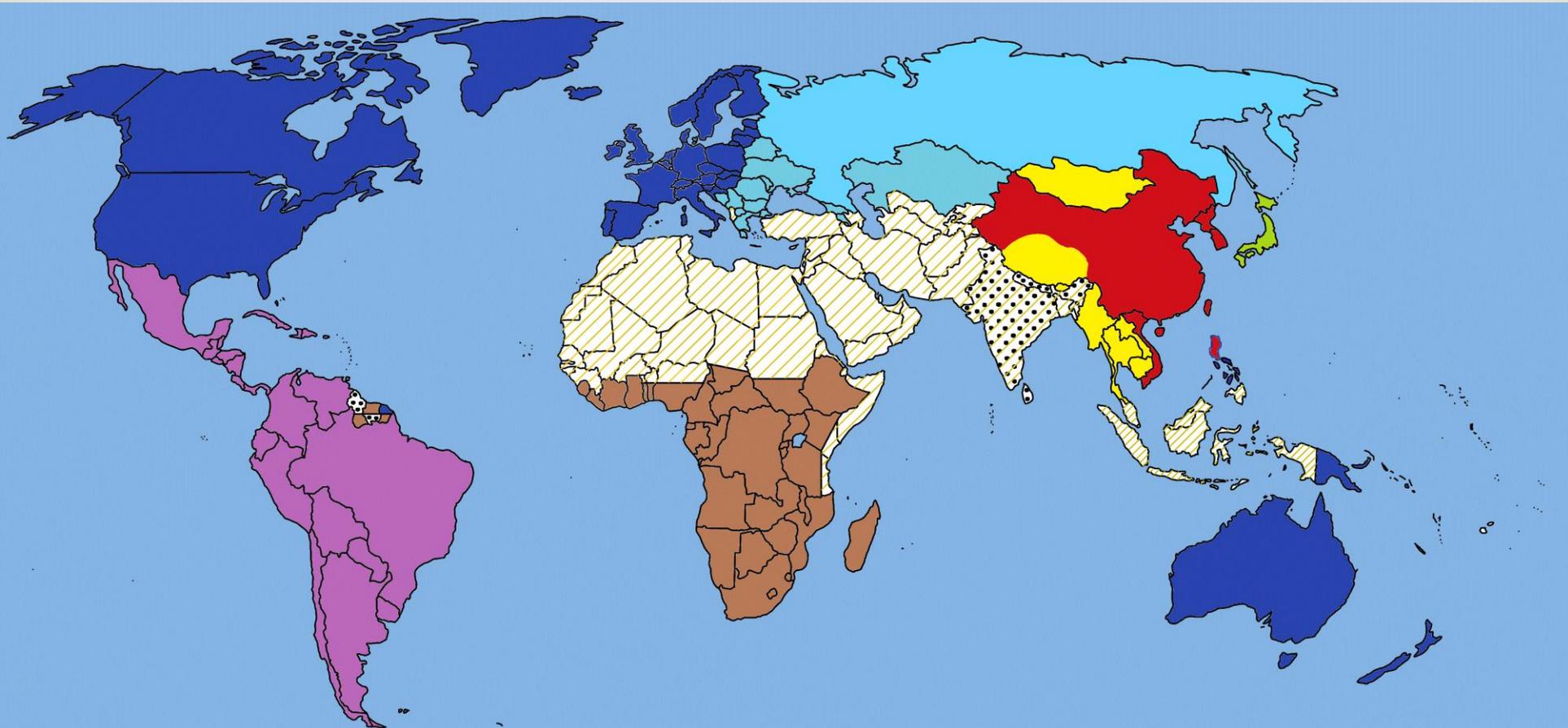
“Peace is not absence of conflict, it is the ability to handle conflict by peaceful means. “



-President Ronald Reagan

Topic

Clash of Civilizations Theory



Importance



- ❧ Conflict Theory is a highly debated topic and much research is done to understand it and how it has developed.
- ❧ Understanding conflict, helps world leaders in avoiding and ending conflict more efficiently.
- ❧ I want a job in either military or intelligence analysis.

Literature Review



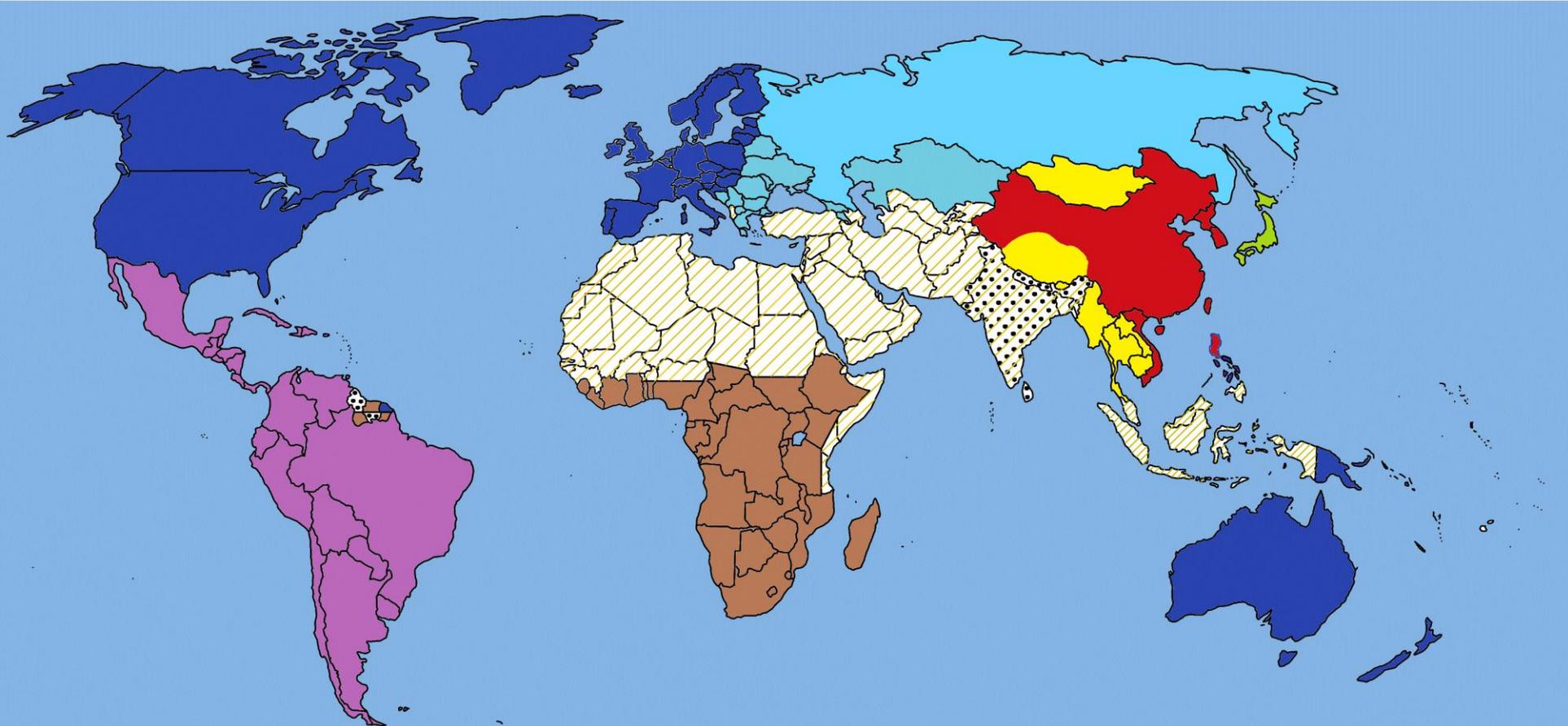
Starting with the Theory:

Samuel Huntington (1993)
*The Clash of Civilizations,
Foreign Affairs*

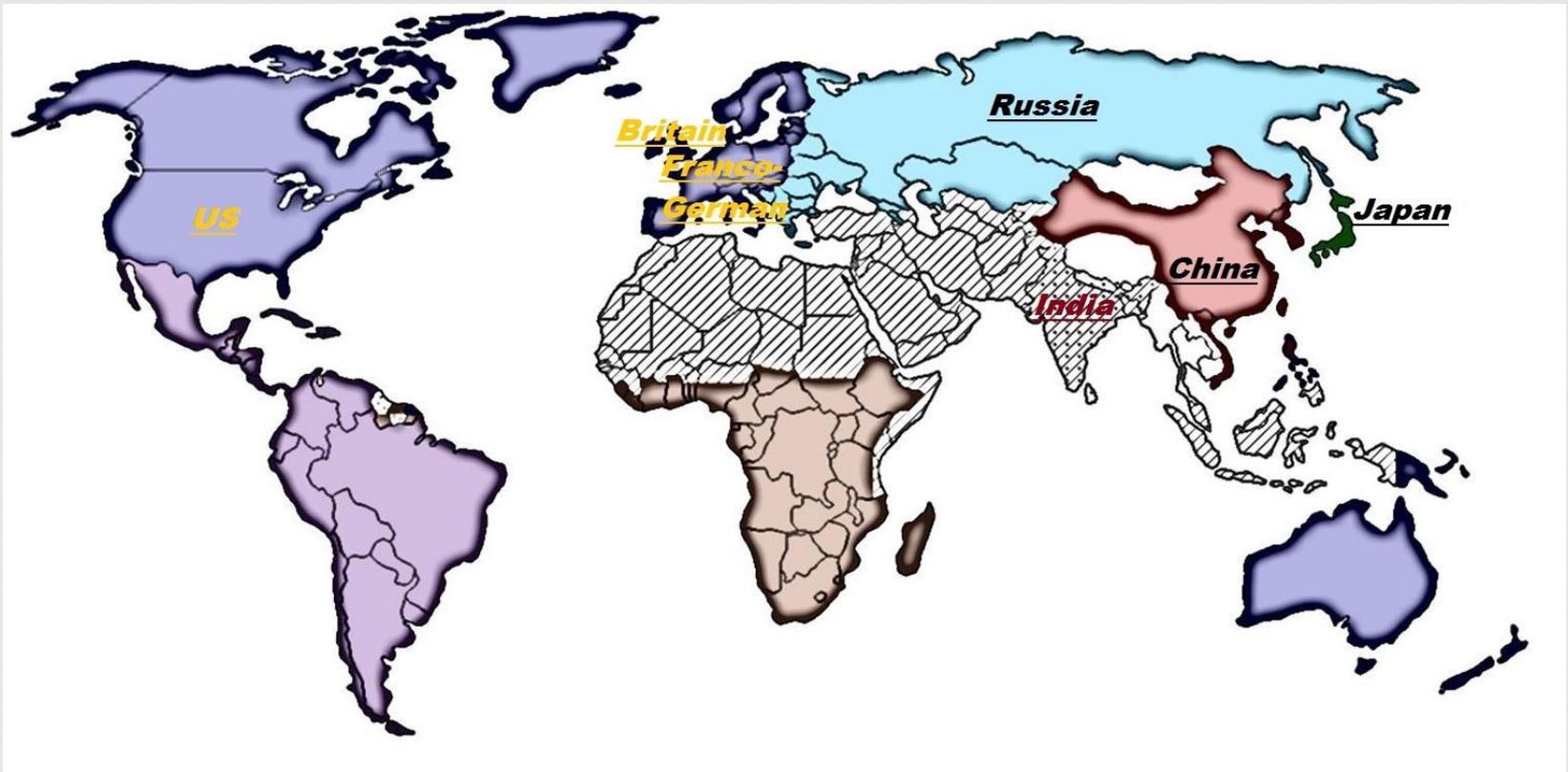


“...” (1996) *The Clash of Civilizations and Remaking of the New World Order*

Clash of Civilizations Theory



Core States



Previous Challenges to Theory:



- ☞ Henderson and Tucker (2001)- The Clash of Civilizations and international conflict, *International Studies Quarterly*
- ☞ Russett, Oneal, and Cox (2000) - Clash of Civilizations, or realism and liberalism déjà vu?, *Journal of Peace Research*

Most Recent



- ❧ Giacomo Chiozza (2002) - Is there a Clash of Civilizations? 1946-97, *Journal of Peace Research*
- ❧ Jonathan Fox (2002) - Clash of Civilizations and ethnic minorities, *British Journal of Political Science*
- ❧ Jonathan Fox (2003) - Clash of Civilizations and state failure, *Australian Journal of Political Science*

Hypothesis



Research Question: Does the Clash of Civilizational Theory have empirical support?

- ❧ In a comparison of crisis, those which are civilizational clashes will not be significantly more intense.
- ❧ In a comparison of crisis, those which are civilizational clashes will not significantly occur more than regular crisis.
- ❧ In a comparison of crisis actors, the United States will be involved significantly more than any other nation.

Data



International Crisis Behavior Dataset (U of

Maryland) 10th version

Post Cold-War era



Analysis



Table #1

Cross Tabulation: Conflict as Incident of Civilizational Clash or not and Intensity of Violence

Intensity of Violence	Civilizational Clash	
	No	Yes
No Violence	34.6% (10)	31.7% (13)
Minor Clashes	34.5% (10)	26.8% (11)
Serious Clashes	27.6% (8)	24.4% (10)
Full Scale War	3.4% (1)	17.1% (7)
Total	100%	100%

Chi-Square	3.198	
P-Value	.362	
Cramer's V	.214	Approx. Sig.: .362
N	70	



Table #2

Cross-tabulation: Core State Involvement and Civilizational Clash Conflict

Civilizational Clash	Core State Involvement	
	No	Yes
No	54.5% (24)	19.2% (5)
Yes	45.5% (20)	80.8% (21)
Total	100%	100%

Chi- Square	8.399	
P-Value	.004	
Phi	.346	Approx. Sig.: .004
N	70	



TABLE #3

Cross-tabulation: Fault Line Conflicts and Intensity of Violence

Intensity of Violence	Fault-Line Conflicts	
	No	Yes
No Violence	37.5% (18)	22.7% (5)
Minor Clashes	29.2% (14)	31.8% (7)
Serious Clashes	27.1% (13)	22.7% (5)
Full Scale War	6.2% (3)	22.7% (5)
Total	100%	100%

Chi-Square	4.732	
P-Value	.192	
Cramer's V	.260	Approx. Sig.: .192
N	70	



Table #4

Cross-tabulation: U.S. Involvement and Civilizational Clash

Content of U.S. Involvement	Civilizational Clash	
	No	Yes
No Involvement	41.4% (12)	0.0% (0)
Low Involvement	41.4% (12)	56.1 (23)
Semi Military-Covert	13.8% (4)	19.5% (8)
Direct Military Involvement	3.4% (1)	24.4% (10)
Total	100%	100%

Chi-Square	22.766	
P-Value	.000	
Cramer's V	.570	Approx. Sig.: .000
N	70	

Conclusion



❧ Evidence Found for:

❧ Core State

❧ US Involvement

❧ Not Supported:

❧ Fault Lines

❧ Civilizational Clash Intensity

References



- ❧ Anonymous. (2003). What life is like in Chechnya under the Russian occupation- the realities of today's Chechnya. *Central Asian Survey*, 22(4), 459-464.
- ❧ Arutiunov, S. (2012). Ethnicity in the Caucasus: Ethnic Relations and Quasi-Ethnic Conflicts, by S.A. Arutiunov. Retrieved 3 22, 2012, from *Circassian World*: <http://www.circassianworld.com/new/north-caucasus/1175-ethnic-conflicts-caucasus.html>
- ❧ Bieber, F. (n.d.). The Conflict in former Yugoslavia as a Fault Line War. *Balkanologie*. Retrieved October 3, 2012, from balkanologie.revues.org/index283.html
- ❧ Bowker, M. (2004). Russia and Chechnya: the issue of secession. *Nations and Nationalism*, 10(4), 461–478.
- ❧ Brecher, M., & Wilkenfeld, J. (1997). *A study of crisis*. Ann Arbor: The University of Michigan Press.
- ❧ Campana, A. (2007, Feb 3). The Massive Deportation of the Chechen People: How and why Chechens were Deported. Retrieved 3 24, 2012, from *Online Encyclopidia of Mass Violence*: <http://www.massviolence.org/the-massive-deportation-of-the-chechen-people-how-and-why>
- ❧ Chiozza, G. (2002, Spring). Is there a clash of civilizations? Evidence from patterns of International conflict involvement, 1946-97. *Journal of Peace Research*, 39, 711-734.
- ❧ CIA World Factbook: Russia. (n.d.). Retrieved 3 24, 2012, from *CIA World Factbook*: <https://www.cia.gov/library/publications/the-world-factbook/geos/rs.html>
- ❧ Dmitriï Trenin, A. V. (2004). *Russia's restless frontier: the Chechnya factor in post-Soviet Russia*. Baltimore: Carnigie Endowment for International Peace.
- ❧ Draganova, D. (2005). Peace or Perpetual War in Chechnya? *Peace Review*, 17(2-3), 315-321.
- ❧ Fox, J. (2002). Ethnic Minorities and the Clash of Civilizations: A Quantitative Analysis of Huntington's Thesis. *British Journal of Political Science*, 32, 415-434.
- ❧ Fox, J. (2003). State Failure and the Clash of Civilizations: An Examination of the Magnitude and Extent of Domestic Civilizational Conflict from 1950 ti 1996. *Australian Journal of Political Science*, 38(2), 195-213.
- ❧ Gulistan, G. (2001). The Kurdish conflict in Turkey- (not) a subject for the OSCE? *Helsinki Monitor*, 12, 7-20.
- ❧ Gurses, M. (2010). Partition, Democracy, and Turkey's Kurdish Minority. *Nationalism and Ethic Politics*, 16(3-4), 337-353.



- ❧ Henderson, E. A. (2001). Clear and Present Strangers: The Clash of Civilizations and International Conflict. *International Studies Quarterly*, 45(2), 317-338.
- ❧ Hendrickson, H. (2003). Book Summary of *The Clash of Civilizations and the Remaking of World Order* by Samuel P. Huntington. (Conflict Research Consortium) Retrieved 3 22, 2012, from Beyond Interactability.org: <http://beyondintractability.colorado.edu/booksummary/10741/>
- ❧ Hughes, J. (2001). Chechnya: the cause of a protracted post Soviet conflict . London: LSE Research Online.
- ❧ Huntington, S. P. (1993). The Clash of Civilizations? *Foreign Affairs*, 72, 22-49.
- ❧ Huntington, S. (2000). Reply to Russett, Oneal, and Cox. *Journal of Peace Research*, 37(5), 609-610.
- ❧ Kaloudis, S. (2007). The Institutional Design of Russian Federalism: A Comparative Study of Three Republics; Tatarstan, Dagestan, and Chechnya. *Demokratizatsiya (Washington, D.C.)*, 15(1), 139.
- ❧ Lapidus, G. (1998). Contested Sovereignty: The Tragedy of Chechnya. *International Security*, 23(1), 5-49.
- ❧ Matveeva, A. (2007). Chechnya: Dynamics of War and Peace. *Problems of Post-Communism*, 3-17. Neumayer, E., & Plumper, T. (2009). International Terrorism and the Clash of Civilizations. *British Journal of Political Science*, 39, 711-734.
- ❧ Nichol, J. (2000). Chechnya Conflict: Recent Developments. Congressional Research Service.
- ❧ Omae, K. (1995). *The end of the nation state: the rise of regional economies*. New York: Free Press.
- ❧ Oneal, J., & Russett, B. (2000). A Response to Huntington. *Journal of Peace Research*, 37(5), 611-612.
- ❧ Russett, B., Oneal, J., & Cox, M. (2000). Clash of Civilizations, or Realism and Liberalism Deja Vu? Some Evidence. *Journal of Peace Research*, 37(5), 583-608.
- ❧ Saatci, M. (2002). Nation-states and ethnic boundaries: modern Turkish identity and Turkish-Kurdish conflict. *Nations and Nationalism*, 8(s4), 549-564.
- ❧ Stepanov, V. (2000). Ethnic Tensions and separatism in Russia. *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, 26(2), 305.
- ❧ Waal, T. (2003). A journalist reflects on the two wars in Chechnya. *Central Asian Survey*, 22(4), 465-468.
- ❧ Wilkenfeld, J., Brecher, M., Hewitt, J., Beardsley, K., & Eralp, P. (n.d.). CIDCM | ICB | Data | Collections. CIDCM | Center for International Development and Conflict Management. Retrieved October 5, 2012, from <http://www.cidcm.umd.edu/icb/data/>

The End...



Any
Questions?