

**«Copying and Learning from Outsiders?  
Assessing Diffusion from Transnational  
Insurgents in the Chechen Wars»**

**by**

**Kristin M. Bakke**

**MVZ489  
Anna Kosenko  
UČO: 454888**

# Introductation I

**Aim:** to research **diffusion mechanisms** through which transnational insurgents affect domestic challengers to the state, based on empirical analysis of the Chechen wars.

## **Areas of interest:**

- intrastate conflicts (Chechen war model)
- social movements
- transnationalism
- correlation between domestic and transnational insurgents.

# Introduction II

## Hypothesis I:

*-transnational and domestic non-state actors can equally influence the intrastate conflict.*

## Hypothesis II:

*-participation of transnational insurgents in an intrastate conflict can radically change not only the process, but also the main goal of this conflict.*

## Literature = research base:

-Nye, Joseph S., and Robert O. Keohane “Transnational Relations and World Politics: An Introduction.”

-Malet, David “The More Irregular the Service’: Transnational Identity Communities and the Foreign Fighter.”

-Risse-Kappen, Thomas. 1995. “Bringing Transnational Relations Back In: Introduction.”

# Transnational insurgents, who they are ?

They are «non-state actors that for either rational or material reasons opt to participate in an intrastate conflict outside their own home country, siding with the challenger to the state» (David Malet).

## Interaction Formula

**unfavorable balance of power + fragmented domestic movement = coalitions**  
**between domestic and transnational fighters.**



ethnic affinity



ideological bonds



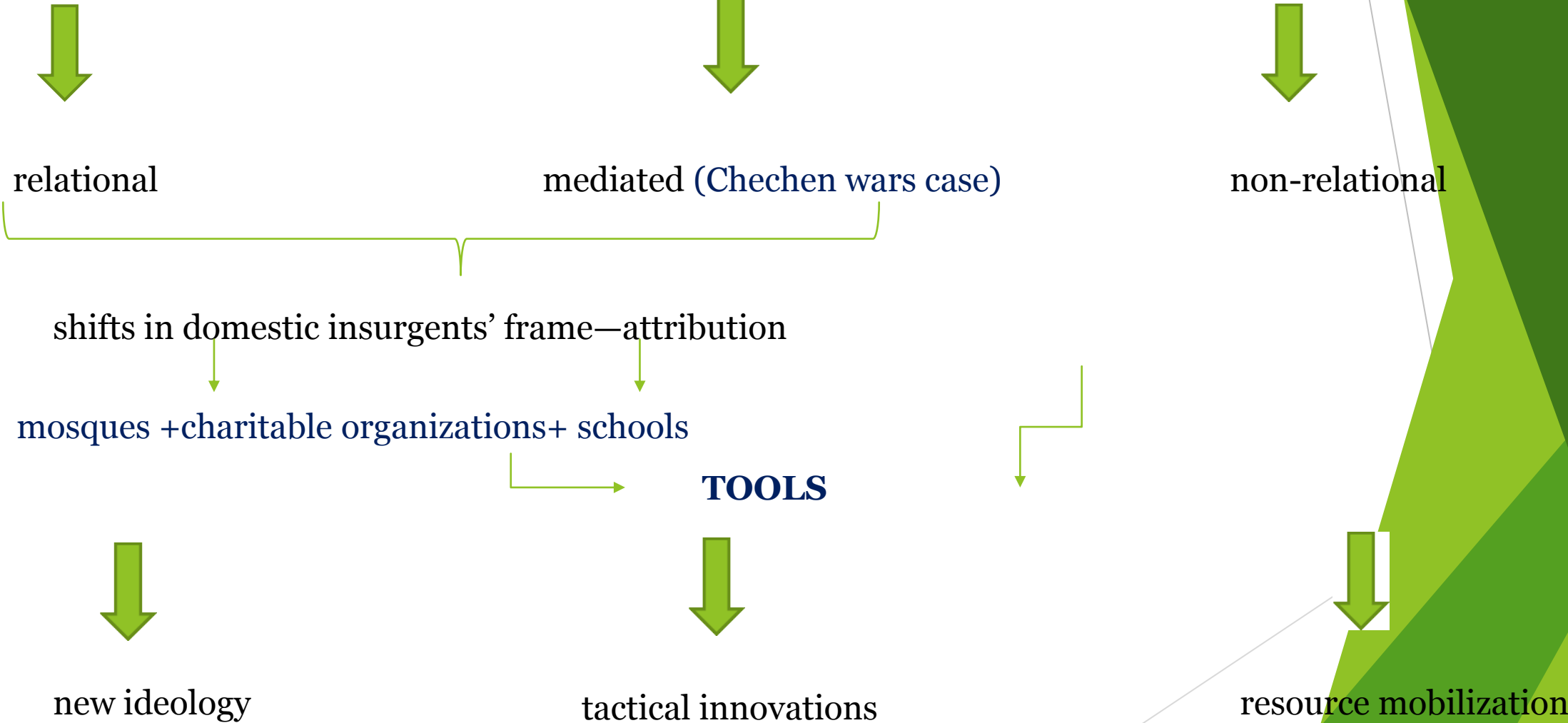
manipulation of such ties



**location in a bad neighborhood + weak state + traits of the transnational actors +  
domestic balance of power + cohesiveness of the domestic insurgent movement**

# Diffusion mechanism

How transnational insurgents affect domestic ones?



# Shifts in Framing

**Framing of conflict = actors define what they are fighting for and who they are fighting against**



relational diffusion

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mediated diffusion

new contributors

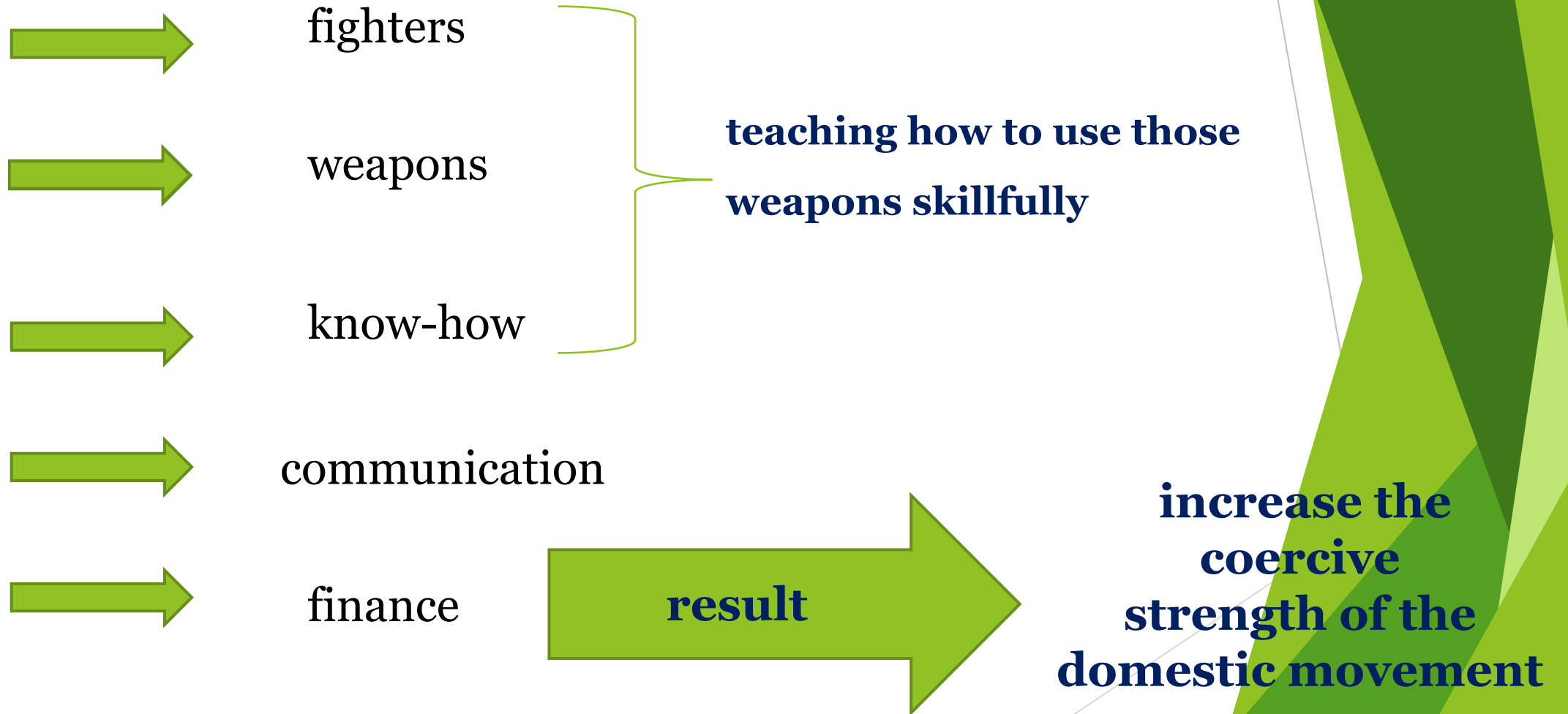
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**transnational insurgents engender learning or emulation of new frames**

# Tactical innovations

- more radical tone;
- new ideas about morally accepted or effective and efficient forms of (collective) action;
- tactics that go beyond the laws of war=killing of civilians, torture, hostage-taking, degrading treatment, and extra-judicial executions.

# Resource Mobilization





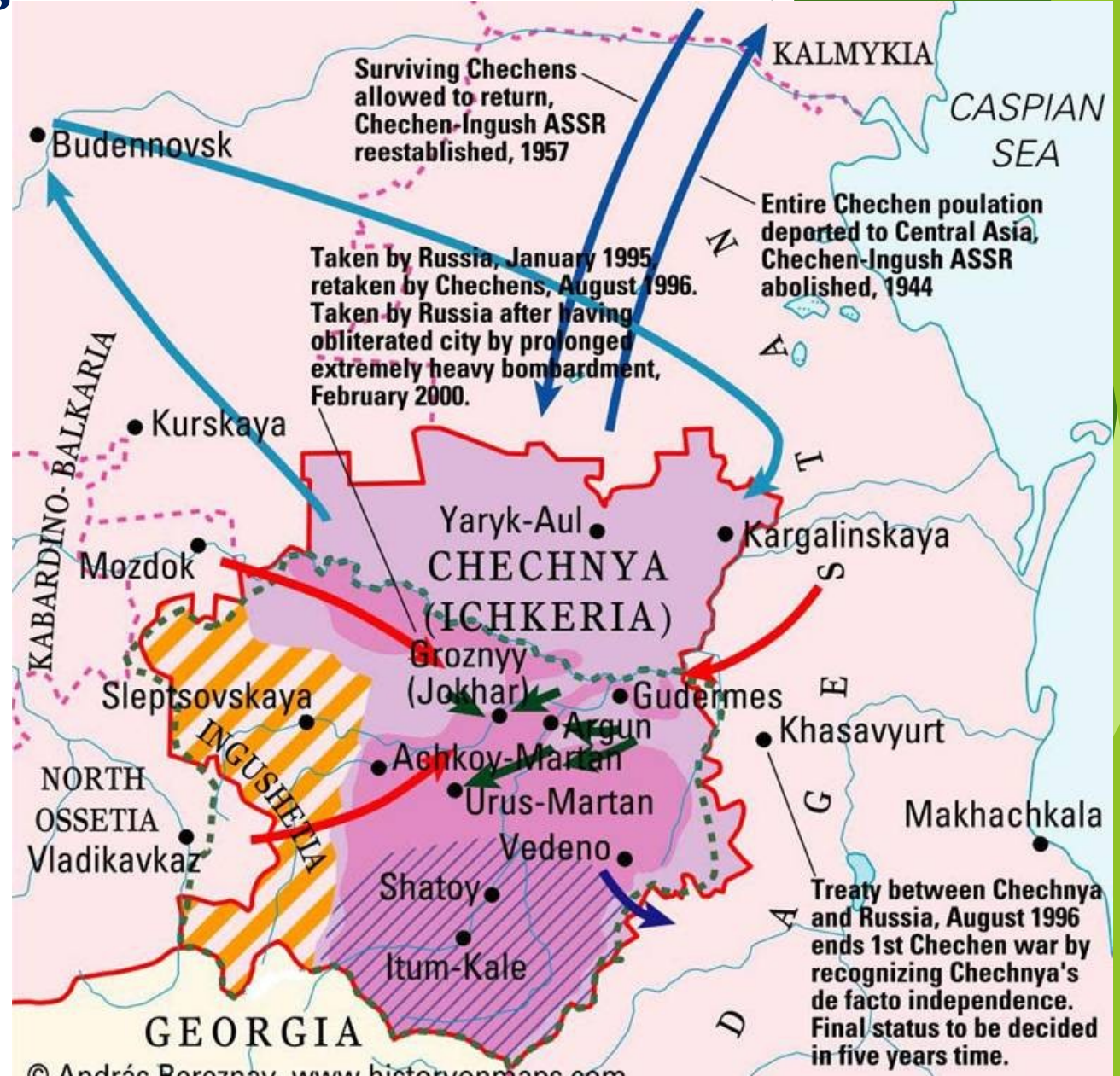
# Transnational Insurgents in the Chechen Wars I

## Research Design:

task=to examine Chechnya's conflict with the Russian federal government over time = investigate the mechanisms that create variation across processes of domestic mobilization.

the key question=framing process

**How it was in Chechen wars?**



# Transnational Insurgents in the Chechen Wars II

## Who they are?

-Emir Ibn Al-Khattab  
(Saudi Arabia) + unit of  
eight Afghan-Arab  
fighters;

-Sheikh Ali Fathi  
al-Shishani (broker);

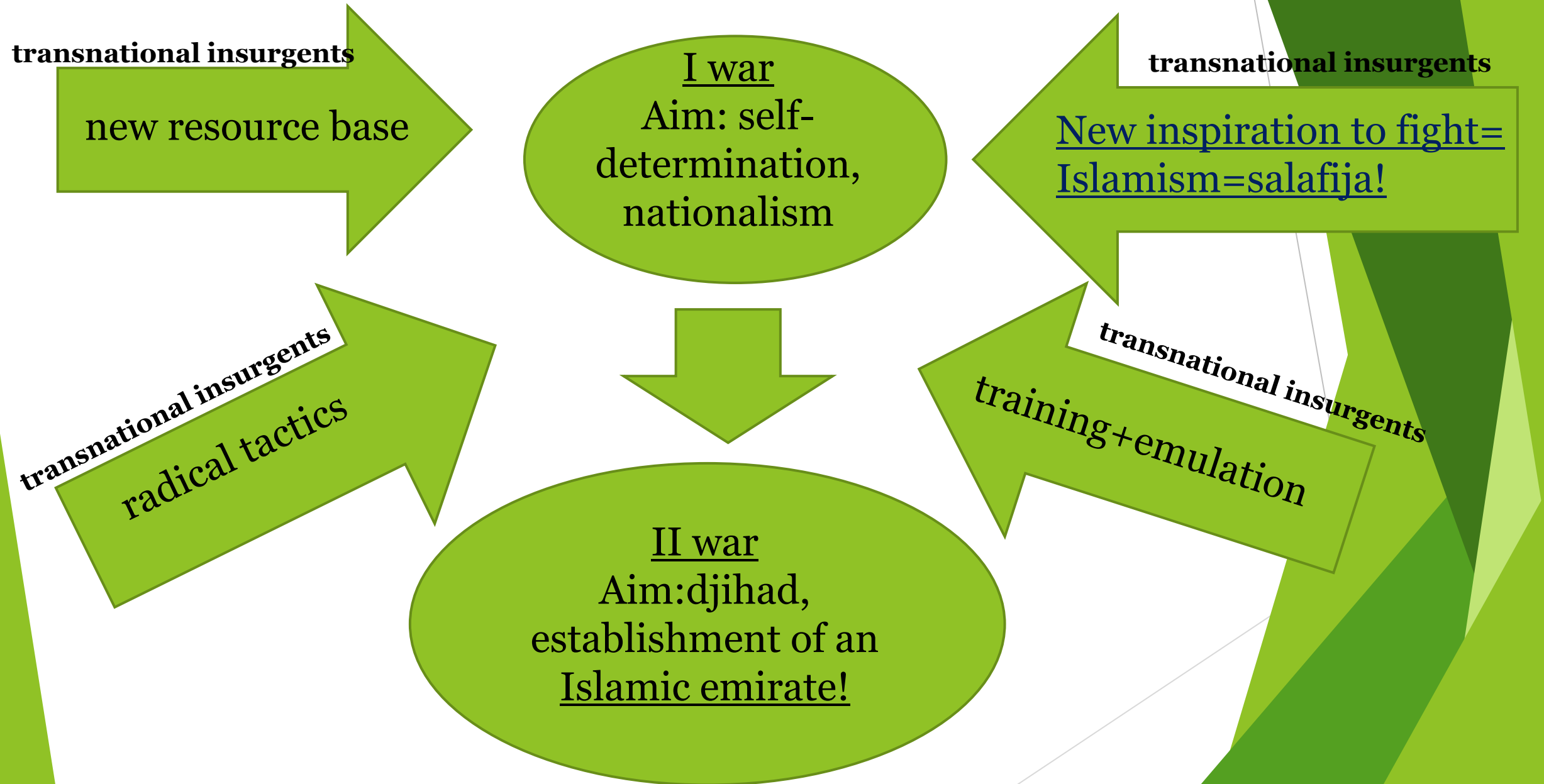
-Arabs from the Middle  
East, North Africa,  
Turkey, Pakistan and  
from Central Asia.

## What they brought?

- tactical innovations=suicide terrorism + kidnapping;
- substantial funding;
- advanced weapons
- propaganda=new ideology = radical Islam=salafia+jihad;

**Totally new scales of the conflict**

# Framing Effect in Chechen Wars



## Conclusions:

- **transnational insurgents can affect a domestic movement's framing of goals, tactical innovation, and resource mobilization through both relational and mediated diffusion.**



# Critical reflection

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- sufficiently informative;
- overall understandable;
- meticulous analysis;
- filled with statistical data and interviews.

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- not clear structure=difficult to follow;
- disrupted presentation logic;
- frequent repeats.

## No answers?

- 1.At what stage of the war does the diffusion of transnational insurgents happen?
- 2.What is the motivation for transnational insurgents?
- 3.Why does the legitimate authority of the state let this diffusion happen?

**Thank you for attention!**

**Questions?**