

ABSTRACT

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TERRORISM AND POLITICAL VIOLENCE
IN SOUTH AFRICA.

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In this dissertation, I examined the relationship between two socio-legal and two political macro level reforms in South Africa on levels of anti-apartheid, separatist and unknown terrorism and fatalities. These reforms were the repeal of the pass laws, the repeal of the race classification system, the legalization of formerly outlawed political parties and the first democratic election. The results suggest that socio-legal reforms were associated with temporary increases from separatist and unknown groups. As for the political reforms, the election was associated with decreases in unknown terrorist attacks and fatalities from all three group types. Recognizing the potential for violence from groups losing power is critical to developing effective counter-terrorism strategies, particularly when transitioning from authoritarian to more democratic governance structures.

THE IMPACT OF MACRO LEVEL GRIEVANCE RESOLUTION ON
TERRORISM AND POLITICAL VIOLENCE IN SOUTH AFRICA

By

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Dedication

This dissertation is dedicated to my mother, Emily Jean Van Brakle. Although she passed away before I completed the work, she was never far from my thoughts.

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Chapter 1: Introduction

Statement of the Problem

Governments implement different strategies to decrease levels of terrorism and political violence within their countries. Much of the counter-terrorism research has focused on police, military and deterrence based counter-terrorist measures (Brophy-Baermann and Conybeare, 1994; Cauley and Im, 1988). For example, intervention analysis has been used to examine the impact of a variety of anti-terrorism practices, including increasing security of targets such as airports (Landes, 1978; Enders, Sandler and Cauley, 1990; Dugan, LaFree and Piquero, 2005), air raids (Prunckun, Jr. and Mohr, 1996), political assassinations (O'Brien, 1998), and the Global War on Terror (Sheehan, 2009). Fewer studies have examined the impact of policy changes in the macro level structure on levels of terrorism and political violence (Bachmann and Honke, 2009; Smith, 2000). This is not surprising, considering that much of the research is conducted in nations with democratic or non-authoritarian political structures.

Recent events in Northern Africa and the Middle East demonstrate how quickly changes can occur in the political, economic and social structures of previously authoritarian regimes and some have suggested that the Arab Spring may result in the rise of extremism as countries struggle to rebuild their societies in a more democratic manner (Mudd, 2011; Wilner, 2011). Smart (2005) argues that containment strategies that do not address underlying or root causes of terrorism may do more harm than good, making it necessary to examine the impact of

socioeconomic and politically oriented strategies. This is particularly true in cases where long-standing, identifiable grievances are present. Furthermore, terrorist violence is political in nature, and it is inappropriate to discount the impact of changes on the macro level structure in increasing or decreasing terrorism.

In considering the changes that are taking place in newly developing democracies, an important question arises: what happens to levels of terrorism when the basis for conflict is resolved through macro level changes that result in a redistribution of power from one dominant group to society as a whole? In this dissertation, I address this question and seek to contribute to the literature on counter-terrorism interventions by exploring the relationship between macro level political and social changes on levels of terrorist attacks and fatalities from terrorism during South Africa's transition to democracy.

Overview of the Present Study

Using time series intervention analysis, I examined the relationship between four political and socio-legal interventions on levels of terrorism in South Africa between 1970 and 2010. I relied on insights from theories of intergroup conflict to provide the context for my analysis. According to the power threat hypothesis, the dominant group in society generates inter-group conflict by suppressing less powerful groups that are perceived as trying to increase their share of power (Blalock, 1967). As these subordinate groups make gains in the economic and political spheres, the state and/or members of the dominant group may engage in acts of discrimination and violence to maintain their privileged position. In the case of apartheid era South Africa, the dominant group was the Afrikaner National Party (NP), which came to

power in 1948 and officially implemented the apartheid system. The preservation of the Afrikaner ethnic identity was tied to racial purity, which is why the apartheid system focused so heavily on racial categorization. While apartheid policies were primarily designed to serve the interests of the Afrikaners, white South Africans of all backgrounds benefited from the system by virtue of their skin color. The apartheid era government generated conflict by suppressing non-whites through a system where rights and privileges were disturbed along racial lines, especially the black Africans who bore the brunt of the negative characteristics of the apartheid system.¹

I also use insights from Marsh and Szayna's (2000) process model for anticipating ethnic conflict. According to the model, ethnicity is a social construct that can be used for the purposes of collective action and mobilization. The conceptual framework for the model requires one to consider whether there is social strife that can manifest into actual violence between ethnic groups (Tellis, Szayna and Winnefeld, 1997). The macro level changes in social structure in South Africa that opened previously restricted access to the political, social and economic realms based on ethnic identity and racial categorization resulted in inter-group conflict. The conflict morphed into a struggle between politically mobilized groups who wished to continue maintaining the primacy of ethnic identity and the racial classification system in the face of sweeping changes in the social structure such as the end of apartheid and the first democratic election and those who wanted to develop a society

¹Although the Indian and mixed-race populations were an important part of the ethnic/racial groups in South Africa, I focus on the dynamic between the white and black populations. Previous research has identified intergroup conflict between the blacks and whites as the dominant ethnically-based conflict in South Africa (Marsh and Szayna, 2000). Furthermore, I examine acts of terrorism and no Indian or mixed-race terrorist groups are identified in the data.

in which neither ethnicity nor race had a role in determining access to resources (Adam, 1995).

Relevance of the Present Study

South Africa continues to be relevant to studies of terrorism in general and analyses of intergroup terrorism in particular. Indeed, South Africa was an intensely fractured society with seemingly insurmountable divisions along ethnic, racial, social, political, and economic lines; yet, the country evolved from an oligarchy (Hanf, Weiland and Vierdag 1981) to a multiracial and ethnic democracy, thus far avoiding economic disaster, civil war and mass emigration of whites. The country is often cited as a model for change that can be applied to other nations experiencing conflict, such as Israel and Iraq. There is no denying that the transformation was quite remarkable (Athiemoolam, 2003); however, South Africa experienced significant levels of terrorist violence, particularly during the period of transition, and it would be a mistake to ignore this, especially when using South Africa as an exemplar for conflict resolution.

Much of the previous research on grievances and political violence has been conducted at the cross-national level and has been cross-sectional (Decker, Galan, Johnson, and Wilson, 2010; see LaFree, Morris and Dugan, 2010; Piazza, 2008). Previous research has also primarily examined the onset and increase in terrorism, rather than the decline of or desistance from terrorism (Sheehan, 2009). The present research improves upon past studies by focusing on a specific country using time series data on terrorism. It also focuses on interventions that were based on negotiations between the government and the oppositional forces (Cronin, 2008). In

this study, I conceptualize the macro level changes in socio-legal and political structures as interventions, contributing to the research on quantitative studies of counter-terrorism measures and complimenting the qualitative work that has been conducted on South Africa (Marsha and Syzana, 2000).

Because this is a case study of one specific country, it is necessary to explore the historical origins of the conflict and the associated grievances it produced. This is especially true because I argue that ethnicity was the driving force underlying the apartheid system, which may be controversial for some. It is, therefore, important to explain the meaning of ethnicity as used in this dissertation, to distinguish it from race, and to explain how race served as a proxy for ethnicity in the implementation of the apartheid system. Consequently, in the remainder of this chapter, I distinguish between the concepts of race and ethnicity. I then provide a historical overview of the development of ethnicity in South Africa, focusing on the origin and mobilization of the Afrikaner ethnic identity. I then discuss the development of conflict along ethnic lines in South Africa, elucidating the manner in which the Afrikaner National Party used ethnicity and race to implement apartheid. I conclude with an overview of the forthcoming chapters.

Distinguishing between Race and Ethnicity

The case of South Africa serves as an important example of the fluid nature of ethnicity and also the significance of race as an organizing feature of ethnic identity. One could argue that the violence in South Africa was the result of racial rather than ethnic issues. Indeed, the parlance of apartheid suggests the primacy of race through

the categorization of the populace as 'black', 'white' 'coloured' and 'Asian' (Omond, 1986:24). I agree with Marsh and Szayna (2000) and Horowitz (1985; 2000), who argue that race is a social construct that is subsumed by ethnicity, and that ethnic domination was the foundation of the apartheid state in South Africa. Ignoring the role of ethnicity makes any analysis of South Africa incomplete. As Bloom (2008) noted, unlike the United States, the racial conflict in South Africa was complicated by ethnicity and that understanding the dynamic of the apartheid system requires a recognition and understanding of the Afrikaner ethnic identity. Murray and Simeon (2007) argued that successful resolution of the South African conflict hinged on the ability of the government to address long-standing grievances and accommodate ethnic interests while creating a civic society in which access to resources was no longer based on ethnic identity.

Chaves and Guido-DiBrito (1999) distinguish between racial and ethnic identity: both concepts are socially constructed, although, racial identity has some basis in biology and physical characteristics. Some take a primordialist view of race, believing that it is grounded in biology and that individuals are born into a specific racial category based on their genetic makeup, physical appearance and characteristics (Spickard, 1992). In most contemporary societies, skin color is the main physical characteristic used to identify an individual's race (O'Hearn, 1998). Ethnic identity relates to one's identification with members of a community or subset of society that has a common history, origin, and culture and that shares the same traditions, beliefs, values, morals, and behaviors (Ott, 1989).

Eller (2006) argues that ethnicity is a complex concept. He points out that ethnicity is indeed a social construct and a subjective notion that is not stable. Consequently, perceptions of ethnicity can change over time and across groups depending upon present conditions or circumstances. Additionally, ethnicity is based on comparisons made between or among groups. Indeed, without the aspect of comparison, the concept of ethnicity would be fairly meaningless. Finally, he argues that ethnicity is a process whereby groups that vary on dimensions such as size, class and geographic location form a common identity.

Mare (1993) defines ethnicity along three dimensions: culture, common origin/history, and sense of belonging. Culture refers to the outward manifestations of ethnicity such as style of dress, symbols, language, religion, and values. These elements come to define who may or may not be a member of the ethnic group and can vary in importance over time. He also argues that physical characteristics such as skin color can be used as a cultural symbol of ethnicity. This is particularly true in the case of South Africa, where skin color came to signify a hierarchy of access to economic and political resources and served as an important identifier of the apartheid system. A common or shared history is also an integral component of ethnicity particularly because the past is connected to the present life and identity of the ethnic group. The destiny of the group is often tied to past experiences. Mare (1993) states that the past serves multiple functions, including legitimating the group, creating boundaries of the group and enabling action or mobilization. Finally, the sense of belonging to an ethnic group establishes an in-group out-group mentality where group identity is confirmed and maintained.

Importantly, ethnicity is often connected to a sense of superiority or supremacy over other groups. Ethnicity can be a positive source of pride and is not intrinsically a source of tension or conflict (Bourouh, 2007; McRae, 1997). It is the politicization of ethnicity that can lead to clashes between groups. The approach in this dissertation is that ethnicity is not a stagnant, pre-defined characteristic in the primordialist tradition (Smith, 2000); rather, it is a dynamic, changeable phenomenon that can be manipulated and mobilized to serve political purposes. Furthermore, race can become an important part of ethnic identity, especially insofar as physical characteristics such as skin color serve as the basis for determining ethnicity. In South Africa, race and ethnicity were intertwined, with race serving as one of the primary indicators of the Afrikaner ethnic identity. As will be discussed below, the preservation of white racial purity was one of the pillars of Afrikaner society.

Ethnicity in South Africa

Afrikanerdom: Early Development of the Afrikaner Identity

Many discussions of South African apartheid begin with the election of the Afrikaner National Party in 1948; however, to truly obtain a full understanding of the roots of the ethnic struggles and the implementation of the apartheid system, one must go back much further into the history of South Africa and the Afrikaner people (Hexam, 1980; Patterson, 1957). European settler history in South Africa began in 1652, with the establishment of a way station by the Dutch East India Company in the city of Cape Town (Stokes, 1981). The Europeans brought their ideas of racial

hierarchy with them to South Africa (Vestergaard, 2001). Originally, nine men from Dutch and German descent settled in the area in order to provide the ships en route to the East Indies with provisions (Patterson, 1957). The early Cape inhabitants encountered the San and the Khoi Khoi, a pastoral people who became domestic servants to the settlers (Romero, 2004), and were also the ancestors of the segment of the population known as the Coloureds. According to Patterson (1957) these early settlers were not particularly hostile to the native populations; however, the arrival of French Huguenots in the year 1688 signaled the beginning of a more aggressive approach to frontier life in the Cape and beyond. These settlers were very hard working farmers, or Boers as they came to be called, held a deeply rooted belief in Calvinism, and strongly rejected the values of Europe. Part of their reason for leaving Europe was to escape religious persecution and to enjoy the freedom of worshipping according to their own values.

These settlers were a fiercely independent group with a strong desire for freedom to pursue their interests. Eventually, they began to refer to themselves as Afrikaners instead of Europeans and developed their own language, known as Afrikaans, and they held a very distinct worldview with regard to the land and the native Africans and eventually came to be known as Boers, the Afrikaans word for farmer. (du Toit, 1983). Stokes (1981: 68) identified the fundamentals of Afrikaner society which “constituted the *lekker lewe* (the good life)”: Calvinism, the Afrikaans language, limited governmental authority, racial purity, white domination, and farming. Thus, they arrived in South Africa with a deeply ingrained aversion to intermarriage with the indigenous Africans or freed slaves (de Beers, 2007). Under

these circumstances, racial tolerance and assimilation were never possible. There is some dispute as to what form of Calvinism influenced the Dutch Reformed Church and provided the Afrikaners with the religious justification for their treatment of the indigenous Africans (du Toit, 1983; Hexham, 1980); however, the core beliefs of the religious underpinning of apartheid are not in dispute (Stokes, 1975).

According to Dubow (1992: 217) the Afrikaners believed God to be “the Great Divider” who separated not only earthly elements such as light from dark and day from night, but also separated people of different nations. They viewed themselves as God’s chosen people with a divine mission to be a shining beacon of civilization in the Dark Continent, comparing their plight to that of the Israelites in the Old Testament. Indeed, the physical characteristics of the Africans were an integral part of the religion and ideology that eventually supported the racial system of apartheid. As Patterson (1958:9) aptly notes, “...Christian society acquired a hierarchy of pigmentation” where equality between black and white would never be in Church or State. Thus, the connection between the Afrikaner ethnic identity and race were established early on and became more important as the Afrikaners faced the British.

The Influence of the British on Afrikaner Hegemony

After the bankruptcy of the Dutch East India Company, the British moved into Southern Africa and established themselves as the main governing body of the Cape, taking over permanent control in 1806 (Stokes, 1975). The addition of indentured servants from India in the 1860’s led to an increase in ethnic and racial diversity in

Southern Africa (Beinart and Dubow, 1995). Despite the fact that the British were white, the Afrikaners saw themselves as separate from both the British and the indigenous Africans, demonstrating that for them, ethnic identity trumped racial identity (Dubow, 1992). To the Afrikaners, the British government represented a corrupt institution that threatened the very freedom they had worked so hard to obtain. The British did two main things that had a profound effect on the Boers of the Cape: they attempted to exert government authority over them and they began granting greater rights to the non-white population (Patterson, 1958).

For example, Ordinance 50 of 1828 gave all non-white free persons the same legal status and economic freedom as whites and abolished slavery in 1834 (Malherbe, 1997). Rather than tolerate these changes, the Afrikaners embarked on the “Great Trek” (Omond, 1986), which took place between 1835 and early 1840’s (Patterson, 1957). During this time, approximately 12,000 men, women and children packed up their belongings and moved further eastward into Southern Africa (Stokes, 1975). During the Trek, they encountered the Bantu peoples who were moving south in search of hunting grounds. This resulted in numerous clashes between the two groups. Eventually, the Afrikaners established the Orange Free State and the Transvaal, also called the South Africa Republic, as two Boer Republics where they were free to farm the land and adhere to their religious, ethnic and racial principles of white purity (Meredith, 2007). The British officially recognized these two Republics through the 1852 Sand River Convention and 1854 Bloemfontein Convention.

For a time, the British tolerated the two independent Boer Republics; however, due to the potential economic and political threat posed by the Afrikaners,

the British government attempted to annex their lands in order to create a confederation of states in South Africa in 1875. Eventually, war broke out between the Boers and the British in 1880. The Boers were successful in repelling the British forces and a tentative peace was established through the Pretoria Convention of 1881 and the London Convention of 1884, which granted the Transvaal independence. Subsequently, as a protective strategy, the Transvaal government entered into an alliance with the Orange Free State government in 1897 (Meredith, 2007). The discovery of gold in the Transvaal in 1886 and diamonds in 1889 elevated the Afrikaner Republics from farming states to a more serious economic threat to the British. In 1899, the Second Boer War began between the two Republics and the British Army. This time, the British successfully defeated the Boers and annexed the Orange Free State and the Transvaal in 1900, with the formal surrender occurring in 1902 (Meredith, 2007).

Legal, Social and Political Precursors to Apartheid in the Union of South Africa

The Union of South Africa was subsequently established in 1910 (Khalfani and Zuberi, 2001) and consisted four colonies: Cape, Natal, Orange Free State, and Transvaal. Many of the legal, social and political precursors to apartheid were codified in law after the establishment of the Union. As they moved in and through southern Africa, European settlers had expected the indigenous population to succumb to diseases, as had happened in other colonies (Dubow and Beinart, 1995). The native Africans, however, had already been exposed to many of the diseases and continued to survive despite the arrival of the Europeans (Fredrickson, 1981). Thus,

non-whites in Southern Africa always outnumbered the white population, which presented a major problem: how could they maintain superiority and white dominance while controlling the large population of Africans? Part of the solution lay in the very nature of pre-colonial Southern African society (Beinart, 1995). The existence of tribes and chiefdoms provided the South African government with a framework within which to create arrangements that they could use to exploit the labor pool and maintain control over the population:

“The solution lie in the physical separation of the races in terms of living arrangements. The ideal...of allowing the white and black races each to develop their own natural lines, the policy pursued should aim steadily at the separation of the two races: into different areas...by a well-conceived set of laws” (Legassick, 1972/3: 53).

The South African government enacted the Native Land Act in 1913, a policy that led to the creation reserves to which thousands of Africans were relocated. According to Beinart (1995), the native Africans were moved to these areas, in part, to support the migrant labor force that worked in the diamond and gold mines. The exact role of the Africans in this system has been a source of dispute, with some arguing that the arrangements were forced on the population by the State (Wolpe, 2003). Without the cooperation of some members of the African population, especially the tribal leaders, the policies of the government would likely have been impossible to carry out. Beinart (1995) notes that tribal chiefs were compensated for their roles in maintaining local control within the reserves and argues that

“[c]hiefdom may be seen as the final piece in this complex jigsaw of social control in that it provided the means for bolstering rural attachments and ethnic identities” (Beinart, 1995: 179).

Additional legislation ensured the subjugation of the non-white population. In 1923, the government enacted the Natives (Urban Areas) Act, which was another mechanism through which separate areas were designated for blacks and the access of blacks to white areas was restricted (Mitchell, 2008). Furthermore, the South African government limited access to employment with the Mine and Works Act of Union Parliament of 1911 and the Colour Bar Act of 1926, both of which gave preferential treatment to whites for jobs (Frederickson, 1981). In the political arena, the native Africans faced total disenfranchisement save for the Cape Colony, where African, Asian and Coloured males could qualify to vote (Horrell, 1982) at the time the Union of South Africa was established. Indeed, the peace treaty between the British and the Boers contained an important clause that prevented blacks from serving as member of the South African Parliament (Norval, 1990). Dugard (1978) reports that by 1909 only 5 percent of Africans and 10 percent of the Coloured population in the Cape were allowed to vote. In 1959, all Africans were removed from the election rolls with the enactment of the Promotion of Bantu Self-Government Act, and Asian and Coloured men lost the right to vote in the Cape in 1970 (Horrell, 1982).

Mobilization of the Afrikaner Ethnicity (1910-1948)

After the establishment of the Union, the Afrikaners found themselves in a troubling position. They were essentially subjects of the British Empire and faced the

possibility of assimilation, which to them was abhorrent (see Mitchell, 2008). The language of the Empire was English, which meant that the Afrikaans speaking citizens were limited in employment and access to political power (O'Meara, 1977). As discussed above, the Afrikaner ethnic identity was linked to racial purity and cultural preservation, making the presence of non-whites a threat to the very existence of *Afrikanerdom* (Moodie, 1975). Thus, "genetic mixing and cultural diffusion that were seen as the natural concomitant of intergroup contact would erode unity and identity among the *volk*, thus undermining its God-given mission" (Price, 1991: 14).

The mobilization of the Afrikaner identity began as a movement to restore the pride and dignity of the Afrikaner population in the wake of the devastating defeats of the Boer Wars (Omond, 1986). Other contributing factors included the rapid industrialization and attendant decline in rural farming, which forced poor Afrikaners to seek employment in urban areas (Vestergaard, 2001). In response to these challenges and crises, Afrikaners began to organize themselves (Knecht, 2008). A small group of Afrikaans speaking men formed the Afrikaner Broederbond in 1918. The Broederbond was a secret society meant to influence the inner workings of the South African government in favor of the Afrikaner population (O'Meara, 1977). The Constitution of the Broederbond is infused with the rhetoric of ethnicity:

"Built on 'a Christian-national foundation' with its motto 'Be strong', the Bond's constitutional aims were three-fold: 'to effect an healthy and progressive unity between all Afrikaners who strive for the welfare of the Afrikaner nation; the stimulation of Afrikaner national consciousness and the inculcation of love for its language, religion, tradition, country and people;

and the promotion of all the interests of the Afrikaner nation’.” (O’Meara, 1977: 165).

The importance of the Broederbond cannot be understated, as many of the apartheid-era prime ministers and the majority of cabinet members since 1948 have belonged to the organization (O’Meara, 1977). This secret society played an instrumental role in securing the election for the National Party by mediating with other Afrikaner political parties, by elucidating the apartheid ideology, by promoting the cultural and language traditions of the Afrikaner *volk*, and perhaps, most importantly, by propagating fear of the black population as an economic threat. The phrase “ ‘*swart gevaar*’ ” or ‘black danger’ became an effective election slogan for the National Party (Knecht, 2008: 54).

The Apartheid Apparatus

After the 1948 election and the success of the Afrikaners, apartheid began to take shape within South Africa. The term apartheid literally means ‘apart-ness’ (Omond, 1986:11) and the program of apartheid was presented by the National Party as a means to allow for the separate development of the different ethnic groups in the country by respecting cultural, religious, and language traditions. Others of course, ascribe a more sinister motive for the development of the apartheid state. Mitchell (2008:52) notes that “[s]eparate development was in essence to get the country out of interracial mixing, by allocating the different races to territorial distinctiveness...” To that end, the white South African government consolidated its power by passing a variety of laws that relegated the black population to 10 areas, called Bantustans

(Omond, 1986). These Bantustans were designated homelands for blacks and a program of forced relocation was undertaken in order to move millions of blacks to these areas (Beck, 2000). Ethnic identities were assigned to each Bantustan, based on the idea that the ethnic groups would develop according to their own capacities and eventually become independent political bodies (Mitchell, 2008). Racial categorization served as an important identifier for ethnicity and reinforced the Afrikaner ideal of racial purity.

The goal of the apartheid system in general and the segregation laws in particular was the complete and total separation of the races (Price, 1991). Segregation laws were an attempt to solve two ongoing major problems facing the apartheid government. First, the white population was a numerical minority, representing only 7% of the population, which put it at a significant risk of loss of power. Second, the two groups were economically interdependent: the continuing reliance on non-whites for a cheap supply of labor and the non-whites relied on the white population for access to much needed work (Beck, 2000).

Other laws included the Prohibition of Mixed Marriages Act (1949), the Group Areas Act (1950), and the Population Registration Act (1950) (Omond, 1985). The Mixed Marriages Act prohibited interracial marriages; the Group Areas Act allowed the government to move inhabitants to new locations based on their race, and the Population Registration Act required each person to be classified by race on a national registry. The government established a Race Classification Board in order to determine the race of individuals in borderline cases (Beck, 2000). Anyone unable to produce a passbook on demand risked being jailed or fined. The Reservation of

Separate Amenities Act of 1953 legalized segregation in South Africa (Beck, 2000). Many of the laws passed during the next two decades were designed to repress dissent among the population and to enforce the apartheid system.

Promoting Ethnicity within the Bantustans

The Bantu Self-Government Act of 1959 established 10 homelands, which are listed in Table 1, and was based on the Native Land Act of 1913 (Mitchell, 2008). Ethnicity served as the foundation for the homeland system and each had its own governing body with chief ministers, legislatures, and cabinets. By creating ethnically based homelands, the apartheid government rejected the idea that South Africa was a multiracial and ethnic society and that the native Africans were entitled to any rights or privileges from the South African government (Zegeye, 2001). In this way, the apartheid government was “able to use the very deprivation and dispossession which it imposed on the Africans to ‘reinvent’ ethnic differences” (Szeftel, 1994: 193). Table 1 lists the bantustans with the ethnicity attached to each homeland. In total, these areas consisted of 13% of the land in South Africa, yet were set aside for 75% of the population.

Table 1: List of Bantustan Homelands and Ethnic Affiliation

Homeland	Ethnicity
Transkei	Xhosa
Bophuthatswana	Tswana
Venda	Venda
Ciskei	Xhosa
Gazankulu	Tsonga
KaNdwane	Swazi
KwaNdebele	Ndebele
KwaZulu	Zulu
Lebowa	Northern Sotho or Pedi
QwaQwa	Southern Sotho

The Zulu Ethnic Identity

Although there were numerous ethnic identities within the black African population, the Zulus stand out as a group that was able to mobilize ethnic identity during apartheid era South Africa (Mitchell, 2008; Szeftel, 1994). The history of the Zulu kingdom played an important role for both the apartheid government and the leaders of the KwaZulu Bantustan. According to Deflem (1999), Zulu Kingdom history starts in the early 19th century, with the rule of Dingiswayo, the Chief of a Nguni-speaking Bantu group named Mthethwa located in southeastern Africa. During Dingiswayo's reign, which lasted from 1808 to 1818, he consolidated a number of surrounding chiefdoms in order to end the constant warfare among them. His main contribution was the restructuring of the military, which he transformed from a kinship organization to an age-based one with less reliance on lineage. Among the conquered chiefdoms were the Zulus, whose leader, Shaka, eventually reorganized the Zulus in the same way as Dingiswayo had reorganized the Mthethwa. After the

death of Dingisway in 1818, Shaka murdered his heir, gained control of the Mthethwa forces and integrated them within the Zulu regiments. Shaka subsequently declared himself to be the ruler of the Zulu Kingdom. Shaka used brutality and terror to expand his influence and bring the other chiefdoms under his control until his assassination in 1828.

The British and the Boers had intermittent contact with the Zulu Kingdom during this time; however, the might of the Zulu army served as a deterrent for invasion until the late 19th century (Deflem, 1999). A number of successors to Shaka ruled the Zulu Kingdom until the 1873, when the British crowned Cetshwayo, the heir of Mpande who had ruled the Kingdom for thirty years. This coronation, however, was a mere formality, as the British attempted to force Cetshwayo to demilitarize, allow missionaries to preach to the population, and to stop the practice of execution. The Zulu king refused to meet the demands of the British, which resulted in the Anglo-Zulu War of 1879, and by 1897, the once mighty Zulu Kingdom had become a protectorate of the British and eventually a part of Natal (Deflem, 1999).

The apartheid government used the history of the Zulus and other groups to legitimate the segregationist policies. The Zulus, however, were able to co-opt and mobilize the identity for political purposes. The establishment of Inkatha as a cultural organization in 1922 marked the beginning of the process of political mobilization (Mitchell, 2008). The Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP) emerged in 1975 as a political organization for the Zulu people and initially worked with the African National Congress (ANC) on matters of apartheid. In fact, Chief Mangosothu Buthelezi, the

leader of IFP had previously been a member of the ANC; however, sought to maintain the primacy of ethnicity in South Africa and split with the ANC in 1979 (Adam, 1995). A bitter rivalry developed between the two groups as they fought for control of the Zulu homeland. The Chief and members of IFP sought to maintain the primacy of ethnic identity during the transition to democracy, putting them at odds with the ANC.

The African National Congress and Opposition to Apartheid

One of the most recognizable groups to emerge in South Africa was the African National Congress (ANC), which began as the South African Native National Congress in 1912 (Norval, 1990). The ANC began as a non-violent social movement that protested the apartheid system with passive resistance methods and civil disobedience. In 1960, during a protest against the pass laws poliices the police opened fire on a crowd of people, killing 69 (Beck, 2000). This incident became known as the Sharpeville Massacre, and shortly after it occurred, the government officially banned resistance organizations such as the African National Congress and the Pan-Africanist Congress. A state of emergency was also declared, during which thousands of people were arrested and detained (Zune, 1999). As a result of the massacre, the ANC created an armed wing known as *Umkhonto we Sizwe* (The Spear of the Nation) during the 1960's and began to engage in acts of political violence against the South African government (Norval, 1990).

The government acted swiftly and imprisoned or exiled the ANC leadership, including arresting the future president of the country, Nelson Mandela, who in fact

was from the Xhosa tribe (Mandela, 1995). Mandela and his colleagues' trial began on October 9, 1963 and ended on June 11, 1964 when they were sentenced to life imprisonment for organizing resistance to the government. The arrest, imprisonment and exile of resistance leaders ended the initial phase of violent resistance. It was not until the 1970's and 1980's that there was a re-emergence of violent actions in protest of apartheid. The ANC completely rejected the notion of a government based on ethnic or racial identity (Adam, 1995). Instead, they advocated for a nation based on individual rights regardless of origin or identity.

Summary and Overview of the Forthcoming Chapters

In this Chapter, I introduced the theoretical basis of my dissertation and provided an overview of the historical context within which I conduct my analyses. This historical overview is necessary in order to demonstrate the importance of ethnicity in South Africa.

In Chapter 2, I discuss the theoretical concepts that form the basis of my arguments. Chapter 3 is a review of the literature on the theories of intergroup and interethnic conflict. In Chapter 4, I present the current focus of the study and explain my hypotheses and make predictions. In Chapter 5, I present the data and the methodology that I utilize in order to test my hypotheses. Chapter 6 contains the results of my analyses. Finally, in Chapter 7, I provide a discussion of the results and the policy implications of the study.

Chapter 2: Theoretical Conceptualizations

Overview

In this Chapter, I review the theoretical concepts that provide the foundation for the present study. First, I discuss the concept of terrorism and describe the relationship between ethnicity and terrorism. I then review concepts from the literature on intergroup and interethnic conflict. Finally, I provide a discussion of ethnic conflict in South Africa.

The Concept of Terrorism

When it comes to terrorism, there is no standard definition. For example, Schmid (2005) pointed out that even within United States, government agencies, until recently, had no consensus on defining terrorism. For example, the Federal Bureau of Investigation (1999) has defined terrorism as “the unlawful use, or threatened use, of force or violence by a group or individual ... committed against persons or property to intimidate or coerce a government, the civilian population, or any segment thereof, in furtherance of political or social objective.” The US Department of Defense (2000) has defined terrorism as “the calculated use of violence or threat of violence to inculcate fear; intended to coerce or to intimidate governments or societies in the pursuit of goals are generally political, religious or ideological.” Finally, the US State Department (1984) has defined terrorism as “premeditated, politically motivated violence perpetrated against noncombatant targets by subnational groups or clandestine agents, usually intended to influence an audience.”

The data that I analyze are from the Global Terrorism Database (GTD), which was created by the National Center for the Study of Terrorism and Responses to Terrorist (START) located at the University of Maryland (UMD). Early GTD data were collected by Pinkerton Global Intelligence Service (PGIS), a private company that provided risk information to businesses by gathering detailed event level information on terrorist incidents from a number of sources, including wire services, newspapers, and U.S. State Department reports (LaFree and Dugan, 2007). PGIS used the U.S. military definition of terrorism: “[t]he threatened or actual use of illegal force and violence to attain a political, economic, religious, or social goal through fear, coercion or intimidation” (LaFree and Dugan, 2007: 184). This definition is relatively inclusive and was applied to all data included in this analysis. The GTD will be described more fully in the Data and Methodology section below.

A critical question that inevitably arises in this research is whether the violence in South Africa was terrorism or a liberation struggle. Because I am examining political violence within a specific historical context – the apartheid era in South Africa - it is appropriate to define much of the violence during this time frame as terrorist violence. Furthermore, the African National Congress (ANC) was designated a terrorist organization by the South African government and the United State government during the 1970’s and 1980’s (Hall, 2008). In fact, Nelson Mandela, the former president of South Africa, and other high profile members of the ANC remained on the United States Terrorist Watchlist until June 2008 when President Bush signed a bill removing them (Barnes, 2008). During the time frame of the analysis, the ANC and other organizations involved in terrorism and political

violence fit the definition I am using because they were non-state actors using violence to attain political, economic and social goals. Finally, the broad definition of the GTD allows me to examine the violence in South Africa regardless of whether it is considered to be terrorism or a liberation struggle.

Ethnic Conflict and Terrorism

Ethnicity and Conflict

Put in simple terms, ethnicity refers to ‘the characterization or quality of an ethnic group’ (Mann, 1983:114). One of the primary characteristics of ethnic groups is the presence of exclusion. In other words, ethnic groups justify their existence, in part, through purposeful exclusion and social comparison (Mare, 1993). This is not necessarily a negative characteristic and can have many positive functions in terms of fostering group solidarity. Indeed, ethnicity is not in itself a political construct; however, because ethnicity is by definition an exclusionary construct, it is vulnerable to manipulation and politicization that can result in violence by and against ethnic groups.

According to Fearon (2004:2) “[e]thnicity is *politicized* when political coalitions are organized along ethnic lines, or when access to political or economic benefits depends on ethnicity.” Race may become an important feature when it is connected to ethnicity, as was the case in South Africa. In addition to access to political and economic resources, territory is another resource that can contribute to the politicization of ethnicity. Mare (1993) states that territory can stimulate ethno-political mobilization in two critical ways: by becoming an important symbol of

identity or by establishing the actual physical or geographical boundaries of ethnic groups. Territory that has been the subject of dispute between rival ethnic groups can bridge these two aspects, particularly “when a mythology of space, of holy territory, of the land on which and for which blood has been spilt, strengthen claims for a physically bounded area” (Mare, 1993: 44).

The role of ethnicity in generating conflict in contemporary societies has been a source of debate within the social sciences. According to Horowitz (1985; 2000), many ongoing conflicts in the world are driven by ethnic struggles. Bergmann and Crutchfield (2009) argue that ethnic conflicts are a persistent feature of many contemporary societies, most of which have heterogeneous populations that compete for resources. Fearon (2004) suggests that violence associated with ethnicity can trigger extreme and swift polarization along ethnic lines even in societies where ethnicity previously had not been politicized.

On the other hand, Mueller (2000:43) contends that ethnically based conflict has been largely exaggerated and is as “banal” as other forms of violence. Indeed, he questions the very concept of ‘ethnic warfare’, stating that “...insofar as it is taken to imply a war of all against all and neighbor against neighbor...ethnic war essentially does not exist” (Mueller, 2000:42-43). Similarly, Gilley (2004) maintains that the theoretical and empirical evidence of ethnic conflict is weak and warns against its use in the field of conflict studies. The surge in conflict after dissolution of the Soviet Union during the 1990s in former Eastern Bloc countries has prompted researchers to argue that long held animosities by opposing ethnic groups ignited a firestorm of ethnically based violence (Volkon, 1997). In his analysis of the violence in Croatia,

Bosnia and Rwanda, Mueller (2000) concluded that ethnicity played only a minor role in those conflicts. He attributes the violence to political elites who worked to mobilize and recruit relatively small groups of criminals and gangs who carried out the violence.

Byman (1998) argues that ethnic conflicts often result in the rise of terrorist violence between groups struggling for power, particularly as nations transition to democratic societies. Stepanova (2008) contends that the majority of nationalist struggles do not involve all-encompassing violence; rather, these types of conflicts involve only a small portion of the population. Her line of reasoning is similar to that of Mueller (2000) in that the focus is on smaller groups of individuals who are mobilized. Rather than focusing on large-scale societal conflict, I focus on a specific form of violence – ethnically-justified terrorism. This is in line with Mueller (2000), in the sense that I focus on violence perpetrated by ethnically affiliated groups rather than large-scale interethnic conflict.

Ethnicity and Terrorism

Ethnic terrorism, also referred to as ethno-nationalism or separatism, has been the subject of study for decades. Lefebvre (2003) notes that ethnic terrorism came to prominence in the 1960s and 70s as a tactic used by ethno-nationalist groups during the colonial and post-colonial eras. She argues that groups such as the Irgun in Israel and the *Front de liberation nationale* (FLN) in Algeria embarked on violent campaigns to bring attention to their causes and that by 1978, the number of ethnic terrorist groups rose from 3 to 30 (LeFebvre, 2003). Ethnic terrorism can compromise the authority of the state by challenging its territorial boundaries and by

calling into question its legitimacy (Pokalova, 2010). Byman's (1998: 151)

definition of ethnic terrorism encapsulates the characteristics of this type of violence:

Ethnic terrorism can be defined as deliberate violence by a subnational group to advance its cause. Such violence usually focuses either on the creation of a separate state or on the elevation of the status of one communal group over others. Designed to foster identity as well as to advance standard political goals, ethnic terrorism is often directed against symbolic targets. Unlike other terrorists, ethnic terrorists often have a built-in audience among their own communal groups.

These features of ethnic terrorism make it particularly difficult to deal with.

In fact, Byman (1998) argues that ethnic terrorism is separate and distinct from other forms of terrorism because ethnic terrorists use violence not only to create fear, but also to enhance mutual bonds within their specific community and to garner support from the wider community. This is troubling because acts of terror may become a source of ethnic pride, regardless of whether they succeed or fail and ethnic terrorists have access to an audience with which it has much in common through a shared history. Additionally, ethnic terrorist acts may be viewed as acts of rebellion against a repressive government rather than as random acts of violence, providing some semblance of legitimacy to terrorist acts. The refusal to assimilate or become subordinate to other groups is a classic feature of ethnic terrorism and separatism (LeFebvre, 2003).

The goals of ethnic terrorists are purportedly different from those of other types of terrorists such as those mobilized around leftist or religious causes (Byman, 1998). Ethnic terrorists basically focus on the needs of their particular group, rather than the interests of the entire population. Additionally, membership in the ethnic group is often limited to those individuals who share similar traits, history characteristics, customs, language, etc., unlike a religious group where membership is based on a system of beliefs. Byman (1998) further argues that one of the mistakes that governments make in dealing with ethnic terrorists is ignoring motives and solely focusing on the targets or audience of terrorist attacks. Ethnic terrorist motives can vary considerably from the desire for a new regime, to the quest for a separate state or simply recognition of the existence of a particular ethnic group.

Countering ethnic terrorism presents a major challenge to governments (Strmiska, 2001). Indeed, retaliation by the government against ethnic terrorists may lead to radicalization on the part of members of the ethnic group. This is particularly true when governments respond in a heavy-handed manner to more moderate groups in the rival ethnic community. This can have a two-pronged effect. It may motivate members of the moderate group to become violent and it can cut off potential allies in the fight against terrorism. DeVotta (2009) uses the case of the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam (LTTE) to demonstrate the deleterious effects of counterterrorism strategies can have on a nation. In the case of majority Sinhalese led Sri Lanka, their forceful tactics led to the defeat of LTTE; however, the result suppression of individual rights and freedoms and the development of a militarized style government. Alienating moderate groups may not be in the best interests of a

government fighting separatist terrorism. As Byman (1998) notes, moderate groups can be a source of intelligence on more radical or violent groups and alliances with these moderate groups can encourage them to engage in policing the behavior of extremist groups. Additionally, holding elections and engaging in power sharing agreements with moderate groups may also be an effective counterterrorism strategy.

Theories of Intergroup Conflict

Overview

Political scientists have extensively elaborated on the relationship between grievances and terrorism, much more so than criminologists. Gurr's (1968; 1970) work on relative deprivation essentially set the stage for developing the current understanding of the impact of grievances on violence. In this case, grievances are conceptualized in terms of economic disparity. According to Gurr (1970), value expectations represent the essential goods and conditions of life to which people feel they are rightly entitled. Value capabilities represent their assessment of what they actually possess. If people evaluate their value expectation and capabilities and conclude that there is a discrepancy, they may react with discontent or frustration based on a perception of relative deprivation. Thus, the perception of a discrepancy induces anger and increases the likelihood of an aggressive response.

Other models of political violence that include grievances have been articulated. For example, Ross (1993) proposed a causal model of political terrorism with grievances as an important variable. Borrowing from Crenshaw (1981), he argued that grievances result from coercion, oppression, discrimination, or repression that is usually perpetrated against some identifiable subgroup within a population. He

identified seven categories into which grievances could be divided: political, ethnic, social, religious, racial, economic and legal. Grievances that fester can lead to collective action, including terrorism and political violence. Ross (1993) predicts that the greater the number of grievances, the greater the amount of terrorism.

Gurr and Moore (1997) proposed a model of ethno-political conflict in which they identify four main concepts: rebellion, repression, mobilization, and grievances. Rebellion involves the use of violent actions taken by ethnic organizations on behalf of the ethnic population. Repression consists of the actions taken by the state against the ethnic group. Mobilization refers to the ability of an ethnic group to obtain and maintain support for collective action. Grievances are defined as “widely shared dissatisfaction among group members about their cultural, political, and/or economic standing vis a vis dominant groups” (Gurr and Moore, 1997:1081).

Studies and research in criminology also provide a foundation for understanding the nature and dynamics of inter-group conflict. Much of the previous work has focused on race relations within the United States. Because the apartheid system was built upon the ideal of racial dominance, which supported the Afrikaner ethnic identity and concern with the preservation of white purity, it is appropriate to look at these studies to contextualize the conflict in South Africa.

Power Threat Hypothesis

Blalock (1967) articulated a theory of intergroup relations that is largely based on power distribution and focuses on the relationship between blacks and whites in the United States and forms the foundation for contemporary studies of interracial violence. He argued that the most powerful group in society generates intergroup

conflict by suppressing minority groups that attempt or are perceived to attempt to increase their share of power. In applying power threat theory in the United States, Blalock focused on race and argued that as the size of the black population increases, whites perceive this as a threat to their economic and political power and respond by engaging in discrimination in order to maintain dominant status. Thus, there are two dimensions to threat theory: the economy and the polity.

Competition between whites and blacks for economic resources such as jobs may increase discrimination and generate intergroup conflict (D'Alessio et al., 2002; Blalock, 1967). In this case, structural changes may result in direct competition for employment between the two races that can trigger a perception by whites that blacks will replace them in the labor market (Jacobs and Wood, 1999). For example, in the pre-civil rights United States, blacks were treated as second-class citizens, and had unequal status under the law. With the passage and enforcement of civil rights legislation, blacks have been better able to obtain access to the skills and education necessary to compete with whites in the labor market (Farley, 1984). Because there are a finite number of jobs, and blacks are able to compete for and possibly obtain those jobs, some whites will ultimately lose out in the job market (Jacobs and Wood, 1999). Hence, whites facing the threat of economic loss may be motivated to commit acts of discrimination to maintain their position.

In terms of the political structure, Blalock (1967), proposed a relationship between discrimination and black political mobilization. Specifically, individual and institutionalized acts of discrimination by whites against blacks increase and attempts at social control grow more intense as the political power of blacks increases. This

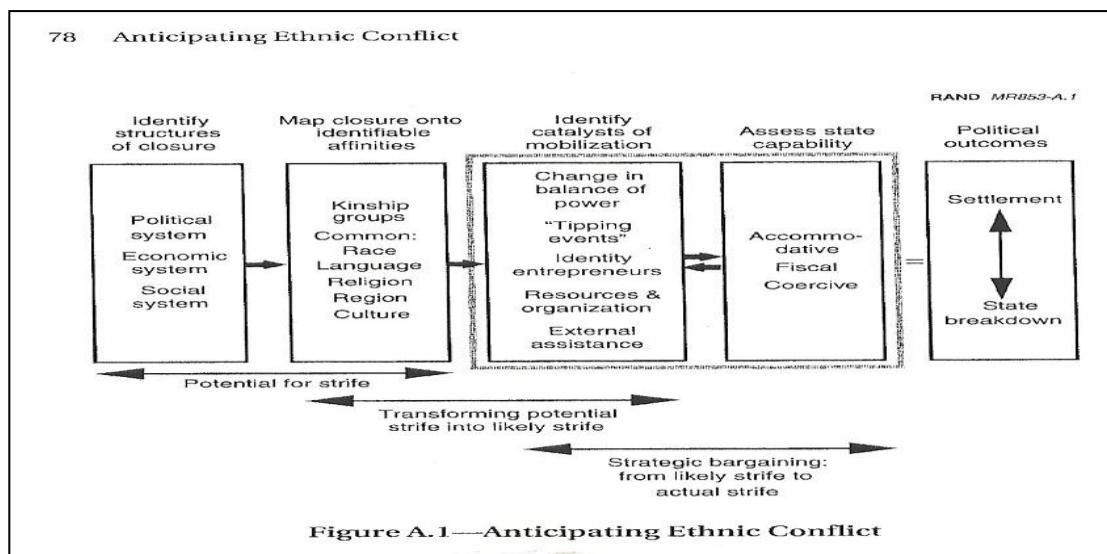
continues until the black population numerically surpasses the white population, thereby becoming the majority; however, it is not enough to simply be a majority. Blacks must also effectively engage in political mobilization. This means that if the black population is unable to mobilize or utilize resources effectively, it will not be capable of challenging the status quo. Thus, it may be the case that even where the black population represents a numerical majority, as in South Africa, it may nonetheless remain in a subordinate position (Blalock, 1967). Presumably, when blacks have accrued sufficient political power, white elites will seek to accommodate to their demands (Stolzenberg, D'Alessio and Eitle, 2004). Indeed, Wilson (1987) argues that there has been a shift in the struggle among racial groups in the United States, away from economic inequality to the political sphere, particularly at the local or municipal level and suggests that class-based conflict may be replacing race-based conflicts (Jacobs and Wood, 1999; Parker and McCall, 1999; King and Brustein, 2006).

Process Model for Anticipating Ethnic Conflict

Figure 1 depicts the process model for anticipating ethnic conflict, which was developed by researchers at RAND (Tellis, Szanya and Winnefeld, 1997:1). The model is useful for understanding the occurrence of ethnic conflict. The starting point is the belief that ethnicity is a social construct that can be used for the purposes of collective action and mobilization. Three questions provide the conceptual framework for the model: 1) What is the potential for societal strife; 2) What is required for potential social strife to transform into likely strife; and 3) How does

likely strife eventually disintegrate into actual strife? (Tellis, Szayna and Winnefeld, 1997). Figure 1 provides a graphical representation of the conceptual model. In terms of evaluating the potential for social strife, one must examine closure in the political, social and economic spheres, and then understand the basis of closure. This entails identifying the lines along which access to resources is determined within the social, economic and political sectors of a particular society.

Figure 1: Process Model for Anticipating Ethnic Conflict



Closure, in the Weberian tradition, refers to “the process of subordination whereby one group monopolizes advantages by closing off opportunities to another group” (Murphy, 1988:8). Ascertaining which groups are among the privileged and which groups are most deprived can provide important insight into to the potential of these groups to engage in conflict (Marsh and Szayna, 2000). Another aspect of closure is the ease with which members of subgroups can access the macro level

structures within society. Greater access allows groups to engage in non-violent forms of protest and allows governments the option of exercising nonviolent means to make policy changes.

Tellis, Szayna and Winnefeld, (1997) point out that the likelihood or potential for violent conflict does not mean that conflict will occur. In order for the actual violence to occur, there needs to be a catalyst, a proposition that is in contrast to relative deprivation arguments, which predict that revolutions are the result of spontaneous action on the part of the oppressed masses (Gurr, 1968; Davies, 1962). There are five types of catalysts that may lead to mobilization of ethnic groups, shifting potential strife to likely strife. As Figure 1 demonstrates, these catalysts are change in the balance of power, 'tipping events', identify entrepreneurs, resources and organization, and external assistance (Tellis, Szayna and Winnefeld, 1997:42-52).

Tipping events are very public occurrences that can solidify and reinforce group identity, such as forcing the relocation of a group or an incident of mass violence against a particular group. The concept of identity entrepreneurs refers to individuals who become leaders of a group and serve as instigators of mobilization. They provide the leadership necessary to organize resistance. Resources and organization are tied into the work of identity entrepreneurs. Resources are necessary in order to enable members of the group to carry out activities to further their cause and leadership is required to maintain structure. Finally, access to foreign support is an important catalyst for transforming potential strife. A group that may attain support from foreign states can increase their base of resources.

Dramatic changes in power structure of a society can set the stage for likely strife and the more immediate these changes are, the greater the risk of conflict. Additionally, if the changes threaten the balance of power in favor of oppressed groups, this can serve as a motivator and increase expectations on the part of these groups. The privileged groups facing the loss of power may also mobilize; however, there is some evidence which suggests that groups facing the imminent loss of power may be more likely to accept changes and engage in accommodation in order to avoid greater losses (Kahneman and Tversky, 1979).

The next step is to assess the capability of the State to prevent conflict and this involves understanding its accommodative capacity, fiscal, capability and coercive capability. The accommodative capability refers to the inclusiveness and responsiveness of the state to address grievances of the general population. In other words, one must examine how much access groups have to the political structure in order make changes in the government. Fiscal capability refers to the financial health of a state in terms of economic growth. Finally, coercive capability refers to the ability of the state to utilize military and police resources to suppress opposition groups and the willingness of the state to actually use these resources. As Figure 1 demonstrates, the political outcomes range from settlement to state breakdown. Strategic bargaining may forestall conflict if the government is in a position to maintain control of the mobilized ethnic groups or is willing to negotiate a political settlement. If this fails, then the result can be complete state breakdown.

Summary

In this Chapter, I identified the definition of terrorism that guides the present research. I also discussed the concept of ethnic terrorism, which is the category of terrorism that I am examining. I reviewed the theoretical concepts that will be applied below to the South African case. In the next chapter, I review the relevant empirical literature on theories of intergroup and interethnic conflict.

Chapter 3: Review of the Literature

Overview

In this Chapter, I provide a review of the literature on intergroup and interethnic conflict. First, I review studies of Blalock's power threat hypothesis and conclude with studies on the application of the process model for anticipating ethnic conflict. Much of the research on intergroup violence has focused on race relations in the United States, and is relevant to the study of conflict in South Africa. Although the apartheid system was developed to protect the Afrikaner ethnic identity, it was race and a codified system of racial classification that served as the main tool used to determine access to rights, privileges and resources.

Empirical tests of power threat theory

Earlier studies of intergroup violence from the power threat perspective focused on the study of lynchings (Beck and Tolnay, 1990; Olzak, 1990; Phillips, 1986) and race riots (Olzak, Shanahan, and McEneaney, 1996). These studies focus on the relationship between two concepts: minority percentage and acts of discrimination. The prediction is that as minority percentage rises, acts of discrimination against the minority group should increase (Blalock, 1956). As previously stated, Blalock identified two dimensions of power threat: economic and political. These two types of threats were hard to disentangle because they tend to occur together, making it difficult to test the power threat hypotheses. Blalock (1967) did, however, identify a number of types of discrimination that are likely due to

political rather than economic threats. These types of discriminatory acts include restricting the political rights of the subordinate group, using segregation, and holding a threat-oriented ideology (Blalock, 1967: 159). These types of acts were present in both the United States before the civil rights movement and in South Africa during apartheid.

Based on Blalock's theoretical conceptualization, Tolnay, Beck, and Massey (1989: 607) identified a fourth form of discrimination in Blalock's work: ritualistic or symbolic types of violence such as lynching. According to this modification of Blalock's theory, locations where blacks represent a large proportion of the population should have a higher frequency of lynchings. Several studies have been conducted study the impact of lynching as a tactic to subdue minority threat.

Lynching, by its sheer brutality and public nature, became a mechanism of social control used to maintain white domination, particularly in the southern United States. According to the NAACP, 3,290 people were lynched between 1889 and 1931 and 85% of those victims were black (Tolnay, Beck and Massey, 1989; NAACP, 1919, 1929-32). Although Blalock (1967) declined to include an analysis of lynching in his work due to an inability to find an adequate methodology or appropriate data, other researchers have worked to identify variables and methods that could be used to examine Blalock's predictions with regard to lynchings. Reed (1972) calculated a lynching rate for counties in the state of Mississippi from 1889-1930. His findings confirmed Blalock's prediction of a positive relationship between percent black and lynching. Indeed, counties with greater than an 80% black population had significantly higher rates of lynching.

Building on earlier work, Corzine, Creech and Corzine (1983) examined lynching throughout the South between 1889 and 1931. Their research included controls for a number of socioeconomic variables and was conducted at two levels. Specifically, they examined their hypotheses on data for all southern US states and then examined a separate analysis of the deep south and the upper south. They found a positive relationship between minority percentage and discrimination in the southern states and the deep south states, but found no relationship in the upper southern states. Tolnay, Beck and Massey (1989) questioned the results of Reed (1972) and Corzine, Creech and Corzine (1983), as well as the validity of the power threat hypothesis. They identified a number of methodological issues, including problems with the lynching index, the use of outliers and the truncation of part of the sample. In their reanalysis of the data, Tolnay, Beck and Massey (1989) determined that the results did not support the power threat hypothesis. More recent research has focused on other forms of intergroup violence, such as hate crimes and interracial robberies and homicides.

Empirical Tests of Intergroup Violence

Race and intergroup violence

Green, Strolovitch and Wong (1998) examined racially based hate crimes in New York City. They found an association between the proportion of minorities in a community and reports of hate crimes specifically in historically white neighborhoods. Within integrated neighborhoods, reported hate crimes decreased as greater numbers of non-whites moved into the neighborhoods. They failed to find

any association between economic indicators of power threat and hate crimes. Jacobs and Wood (1999) examined the influence of economic and political conflict on interracial homicides at the city level. They generated hypotheses from three perspectives, including Blalock's power threat hypothesis. Specifically, they proposed that conflict and competition would occur within two spheres – the economy and the polity. In terms of economic competition, they predicted that in cities where there is more competition between blacks and whites for jobs, there will be more interracial homicides. They included measures of black and white unemployment rates in order to generate interracial competition variables and measures of total unemployment. For political competition, the authors predicted that cities with a black mayor would have higher rates of whites killing blacks, but lower rates of blacks killing whites. They reason that in cases where blacks attain enough political capital to elect a black mayor, this will result in blacks feeling more empowered. Whites, on the other hand, will feel a loss of power and react through increased violence against blacks.

The results indicated that increases in economic competition between blacks and whites led to increased interracial homicides. Specifically, whites were more likely to kill blacks in cities with greater economic competition. In terms of political competition, they found that whites were more likely to kill blacks in cities with a black mayor. Additionally, there were fewer killings of whites by blacks in cities with a black mayor. The findings suggest that in cities with a black mayor, whites are responding to the threat posed by increased political power attained by blacks and

that is was important to consider the impact of political and economic competition on interracial killings.

Parker and McCall (1999) studied the impact of structural characteristics on black and white homicide rates. They examined whether economic deprivation, job accessibility and racial inequality were related to black and white victim and offender rates of homicide. They also looked at whether structural conditions had an impact on inter- and intraracial patterns of homicide within neighborhoods. Thus, the authors rely on race relations research to supplement traditional structural theories that attempt to explain inter and intraracial crime rates. In order to provide context for their arguments, Parker and McCall discuss the structural changes that have taken place in the United States in terms of labor market opportunities. Relying on Wilson (1987), the authors note that changes in the economic sector have resulted in the loss of many manufacturing jobs in minority communities, increasing poverty levels and resulting in isolation from additional economic opportunities.

They begin their theoretical discussion with a review of strain and relative deprivation theories, which posit that crime is but one reaction to the feelings of injustice generated by blocked or limited opportunities. Because minorities are more likely to exist in the lower class strata of society, they are expected to have a higher potential for experiencing relative deprivation, which may result in violence. They point out that previous research on inequality and homicide has demonstrated no relationship between inequality and black homicide rates, but that there is a positive effect on white homicide rates, which is contrary to the expected results. The authors identify two ways in which labor market changes can result in hostility within and

between groups. The first is job accessibility. The impact of labor market changes have effects on both whites and blacks and may generate strain and conflict within these groups as competition for jobs increases. Between-group competition can result as more whites strive for low-skilled jobs, which were traditionally held by blacks. As competition grows, blacks become increasingly viewed or perceived as a threat to whites, thereby increasing their hostility toward blacks and the potential for white interracial violence.

They also reviewed another structural theory, social disorganization theory. Social disorganization theorists argue that certain features compromise the ability of communities to maintain social order (Shaw and McKay, 1942; Bursik, 1988). In the United States, many urban areas exhibit high levels of poverty, ethnic heterogeneity and residential mobility—all characteristics of social disorganization. Parker and McCall identify racial segregation as being related to social disorganization theory because it reflects increasing disparities between blacks and whites, as well as the intolerance of whites to living with or near blacks. Increased racial segregation decreases opportunities for blacks and whites to associate, which limits black interracial homicides against whites. However, because of the nature of racial segregation, there will be greater rates of black intraracial homicides.

In order to test their hypotheses, they used data on US cities that had a population of over 100,000 in 1990 as well as data from the Federal Bureau of Investigation's Uniform Crime Reports and Comparative Homicide Files from the Supplementary Homicide Reports. They found that economic deprivation had a significant effect on black intraracial killings, but no effect on black interracial

killings. Economic deprivation also had a significant effect on both white inter- and intraracial homicides. For local opportunity structure, they found that job accessibility decreased black rates of intraracial homicide, but increased black interracial killings. For whites, as the job opportunity structure weakened, there was an increase in white inter and intraracial killings. Racial inequality was found to increase black intraracial killings but did not affect the other categories of homicide. The authors conclude that race relations literature is indeed complementary to criminological structural theories when examining inter and intra group violence. They also demonstrated the importance of considering the role of residential segregation in levels of violence.

Stolzenberg, Eitle, and D'Alessio (2002) assessed the impact of black economic and political threats on violent inter and intraracial crimes. They point out that previous research on interracial violence has focused on relatively rare events such as lynchings and hate crimes and that the data used to test hypotheses has been dated or inadequate. In order to correct these deficiencies, they utilized county level National Incident-Based Reporting System data from the state of South Carolina, which allowed them to capture race specific information for each offense. They also built upon previous work by examining a wider range of offenses, including assault, rape and robberies.

Similar to the previous studies, the authors predicted black political mobilization would increase white on black crime and decrease black on white crime. Similarly they predicted that increased economic conditions would increase white on black crime and reduce black on white crime. They found modest support for an

association between economic competition and white on black crime. The other hypotheses were not supported, which the authors interpreted as calling into question the predictive ability of power threat theory for explaining inter and intraracial crime.

McCall and Parker (2005) pointed out that many studies of homicide are cross sectional, which fails to account for the potentially dynamic impact of deprivation on racially disaggregated homicide rates. They corrected this deficiency by applying a longitudinal design to the study of interracial homicide, which allowed them to consider macro level economic and social changes over time between 1980 and 1990. The authors hypothesized that, as the black population increased, so would the probability of white interracial killings. They also predicted that, as labor force competition increased, there would be an increase in interracial killings. Finally, they posited that labor force competition would be associated with an increase in black interracial killings.

Rather than using rates of interracial homicide, the authors used count data. A major methodological challenge in studying interracial homicide is the rarity of the events, so they used Poisson regression to estimate parameters – a method well suited to studying rare events. They found support for the power threat hypothesis of increased minority population association with increased white interracial killings. Additionally, they found that labor force competition had a significant impact on black interracial homicides. As opportunities in the workforce for blacks decreased compared to whites, there was an increase in the killing of whites by blacks. No such relationship was found for white interracial homicides over time.

Race, ethnicity and intergroup violence

The changing population dynamics in the United States has prompted researchers to consider ethnicity in the application of power threat, focusing of the Hispanic population (Market, 2010). Holmes, Smith, Frang and Munoz (2008) studied the distribution of policing resources in large Southwestern cities, which tend to have a higher Hispanic population. Using insights from both minority threat and rational choice literature, they hypothesized that variables associated with the Hispanic population would be related to the distribution of policing resources. Their findings suggested a complex relationship between ethnic identity/race and class. Specifically, percent Hispanic was negatively related to police expenditures, contrary to the predictions of minority threat. They also highlighted the importance of making within-ethnic distinctions of Hispanics to account for the influence of class.

Traditional measures of threat and the use of interventions

Recent work on the power threat hypothesis has called into question the validity of using percent minority and economic factors to examine power threat. For example, King and Brustein (2006) proposed a political threat model to account for levels of intergroup violence. The main prediction of this model is that violence against minority groups will increase as the strength of political parties associated with that group increases. Building on Blalock's (1967) model, the authors argued that the strength of minority group political movements is a potential trigger for intergroup violence and that this variable is a stronger predictor than minority group size or economic conditions. Specifically, as minority groups make significant gains

in obtaining social, political and economic power , there may be an increase in acts of violence committed against this group. They examined violence against the Jewish population in Germany during World War II, using gross domestic product as a measure of economic conditions and the size of the Jewish population as a measure of group size. They also included a measure of electoral success of the leftist party to represent the political interests of the Jewish people. They found that the strength of the political movement associated with interests of the Jewish population predicted anti-Semitic violence, independent of economic conditions and minority group size.

Chamlin (2009) applied time series analysis to the study of the power threat hypothesis. He, too, questioned the relevance of minority percentage and income inequality to power threat, as used in traditional research on the topic. In his work, he pointed out that conflict theorists attribute insidious motives on the part of an elite group that has the power to direct resource, such as crime control expenditures. Indeed, previous research has identified crime control policies as an example of the ability of those in power to regulate less powerful minority groups through the implementation of coercive policing practices (Liska, 1992). Thus, police resources are purportedly used to protect the interests of the dominant group (Kent and Jacobs, 2005).

In his research, Chamlin (2009) points out that the previous findings of relationships between percent minority and crime control policies may be interpreted as supporting structural functionalism or power threat theory. He argues that the problem is that these variables represent indirect tests of the power threat hypothesis because they do not measure an actual interpower threat. To that end, he conducted

an intervention analysis of the 2001 race riot that took place in Cincinnati, Ohio. The riot was the result of protests from the black community to the shooting of an unarmed black teenager. His outcome measure was the number of robbery arrests between 1996 and 2000. He predicted that as a result of the riots, arrests for robberies would increase because policing resources would be shifted to crimes that were most likely to be committed against whites by blacks. The results indicated that robbery arrests of blacks did indeed significantly increase after the riots, even controlling for robbery offenses during that time period.

Summary

The results of previous studies of inter and intraracial violence and crime indicate mixed support for power threat theory. Greater support has been found for the relationship between economic competition and interracial violence, particularly white on black violence (McCall and Parker, 2005; Stolzenberg et al., 2002; Jacobs and Wood, 1999; Parker and McCall, 1999). There has been limited support for the influence of political competition and interracial violence (King and Brustein, 2007; Jacobs and Wood, 1999). According to Chamlin (2009), studies of power threat could benefit from the utilization of longitudinal studies that employ measures of direct threat rather than the indirect tests that have been previously conducted. For the present study, these theories provide context for the analysis. I examine both political and socio-legal interventions. Blalock (1967) originally focused on the mobilization of state power to suppress minorities. Subsequent research has focused on conflict and violence between members of society. The changes in South Africa

represented a threat to white domination, setting the stage for intergroup conflict.

The process model was developed to identify the mechanisms that transform likely conflict into actual conflict.

Application of the Process Model for Anticipating Ethnic Conflict

In the case of apartheid-era South Africa, the government sought to protect the Afrikaner ethnic identity and maintain white domination. Racial purity was linked to the Afrikaner ethnicity and the government used racial categorization as a way to identify white and nonwhite groups and used that as the mechanism for distributing access to resources. South Africa was facing a number of challenges both internal and external, which made sustaining the apartheid system increasingly difficult and threatened the balance of power. According to Marsh and Szayna (2000), these challenges included a decrease in the white population and a continuing increase in the black population, the process of decolonization throughout Africa, a major shift in the South African economy, the international political pressures in the form of sanctions and isolation, and the end of communism.

Two major tipping events in South Africa were the creation of a new constitution in 1983 and the infamous Rubicon speech given by then President Botha in 1985. These two events essentially reaffirmed the apartheid state and sought to maintain the status quo for the black population. Botha's Rubicon speech was particularly disappointing to many black South Africans, who expected the government to become more inclusive of the non-white population. Instead, President Botha spoke of his continued support for the government's apartheid

policies. In terms of leadership, Nelson Mandela continued to be the symbol of the evils of apartheid and he continued to inspire anti-apartheid advocates from prison. In terms of organization and resources, the ANC emerged as the foremost anti-apartheid movement and had extensive ties to external support from sympathizers.

South Africa had a complex system in that, although there were democratic structures in place, they were largely reserved for and designed in the interest of the white population. The state remained exclusive and unresponsive to the needs of the non-white populations, especially the black population. The fiscal capability of South Africa was reasonably strong; however, the apartheid system was increasingly expensive to maintain. Finally, the coercive capability of South Africa was extensive and the State was more than willing to utilize the military and police resources to suppress challengers to the apartheid government.

In their analysis of South Africa, Marsh and Szayna (2000) conclude that in spite of many challenges, there was a relatively peaceful negotiation and transfer of power in South Africa during between 1985 and 1989. While it is true that South Africa succeeded in making the transition to a democratic state with no official restrictions based on ethnicity or race, there was indeed a significant amount of violence that took place during the transition. The present research improves on the qualitative nature of the application of process model to South Africa by applying quantitative methods to examine the relationship between actual trends in terrorist violence and important socio-legal and political changes.

Summary

In this Chapter, I reviewed Blalock's power threat hypothesis and the process model for anticipating ethnic conflict in order to provide a context for examining terrorist violence in South Africa. Framing the conflict in terms of ethnicity allows for a more comprehensive understanding of the challenges faced by both the South African government and those who sought to change it. This is not to say that race was unimportant. Indeed, the creators of apartheid relied extensively on race and racial dominance to justify, implement and maintain the system. In the next Chapter, I describe the interventions that I selected and the hypotheses that I tested.

Chapter 4: Present Focus

Overview

One of the limitations of the present study is the lack of previous quantitative analyses of the impact of socio-legal and/or political interventions on levels of terrorism. Consequently, I conducted an analysis of several policy changes that occurred during South Africa's transition to democracy in order to identify those most likely to be associated with changes in terrorism, relying on the theoretical concepts I described in the previous chapter. I specifically focus on the apartheid legislation that was implemented by the National Party after the 1948 elections, and subsequently repealed during the transition to democracy. Terrorist violence came from three group types: anti-apartheid; separatist; and unknown. The anti-apartheid and separatist attacks were committed by groups either fighting against the government or groups that supported the apartheid system. Unknown groups also committed attacks; however, it is not clear whether these attacks came from anti-apartheid or separatist groups.

After identifying a number of legislative reforms, I chose two socio-legal and two political reforms for analysis. The rationale for the selection will be discussed below. As previously mentioned, both types of reforms have been linked to inter-group violence in the power threat hypothesis (Blalock, 1967) and the process model (Marsh and Syzana, 2000). The socio-legal reforms are the repeal of the pass laws and the repeal of the race classification laws. The political reforms are the

announcement of the legalization of formerly outlawed political parties/release of Nelson Mandela and the first democratic election. Before describing the interventions, I provide an overview of previous intervention analyses of terrorism. I then review each intervention in detail and provide the hypotheses I developed based on each intervention.

Previous Analyses of Political Interventions and Terrorism

Enders, Sandler and Cauley (1990) used interrupted time series analysis to examine the impact of several counter-terrorist interventions, including the 1977 UN Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of Crimes Against Internationally Protected Persons Including Diplomatic Agents and UN resolutions against General Assembly and Security Council Hostage taking (1985) and aerial hijacking (1969-1970). They also examined the impact of metal detectors and 1986 US raid against Libya. The results indicated that only the UN resolution against aerial hijackings supporting the use of metal detectors had both a short and long term impact on decreasing the total number of hijackings.

Smith (2000) conducted a cross-national study of the relationship between liberal policies and democracy on levels of ethnic conflict in Africa. Ethnic conflict was operationalized as a five-point scale of intensity from no ethnic conflict to civil war with a substantial ethnic component. He hypothesized that liberal policies, such as the restoration of civil rights and freedom from oppressive practices, were associated with increases in ethnic conflict. He also hypothesized that democratization will be associated with decreases in ethnic conflict. Thus, one could

expect a rise in ethnic clashes as authoritarian governments institute reforms, but that the appearance of democratic institutions would eventually decrease overall ethnic conflict. The results suggested that liberal policies were associated with lower levels of ethnic conflict and that the implementation of democratic institutions had no statistically significant influence on ethnic conflict. The findings of the analysis challenged the assumption that instituting liberal reforms and transitioning to democratic structures would result in widespread conflict, an argument that has been made to forestall the implementation of greater political rights (van de Walle, 1994).

Barros (2003) included a measure of governing structure in his study of terrorist acts committed by Euskadi Ta Askatasuna (ETA) in Spain. He used time series analysis to examine whether having a socialist party in power had an impact on levels of terrorism and found that the hard line policies of the socialist party increased assassinations. He concluded that policies should include consideration of both deterrence and political solutions. He also argued that when terrorists lack access to legitimate means to address their grievances, they are more likely to adopt violent strategies and that banning political expression may lead to increases in terrorism.

Researchers have also examined the impact of development programs designed to prevent terrorism in other countries. Cragin and Chalk (2004) reviewed socio-economic development programs implemented in Israel, the Philippines and the United Kingdom that were designed, in part, to prevent the reoccurrence of terrorism. In their research, they defined development as “a process whereby the real per capita income of a country increases over a long period of time while simultaneously

poverty is reduced and inequality in society is generally diminished—or at least not increased.” (Cragin and Chalk, 2004: 2; Martinussen, 1997).

They defined terrorism as the use or threat of violence for the purpose of political change. In a qualitative analysis, they found that social and economic policies had the potential to impact the reoccurrence of terrorist violence in particular ways. Specifically, policies that provided resources to expand a middle class lessened the pool of terrorist recruits and prevented the development of terrorist safe havens. Importantly, they found that social and economic policies that were inadequately funded had that potential to increase support for terrorism by inflating expectations. They concluded that economic and social improvement policies are an important component in a comprehensive approach to combating terrorism and political violence.

The present research improves on these previous studies in a number of important ways. First, rather than examining general terrorism or ethnic conflict, I consider specific instances of ethnic terrorism committed by and against ethnically opposed groups. I also focus on explicit macro level reforms that signified changes from an ethnically based oligarchy to an inclusive democracy. These interventions may be viewed as actual threats to the existing power structure (Chamlin, 2009). In line with Smith (2000), I focus on liberal policies - the reforms that ended restrictions on movement and ended the system of racial classification - and democratic institutions - legitimation of political parties and the first democratic election. Finally, I apply quantitative methods to examine my hypotheses, complimenting the existing

qualitative work that has been conducted. In the following sections, I provide my rationale for the interventions.

Rationale for Selected Socio-Legal Reforms

Table 2 contains a list of the major socio-legal reforms that took place in South Africa before and during the transition to democracy. These reforms include the repeal of the pass laws, the laws prohibiting marriage and sexual relations between whites and other races, the race classification law, the residential segregation law, and the public segregation law. Taken together, these regulations established the legal framework of the apartheid system. The underlying purpose of apartheid was to protect Afrikaner ethnic identity by regulating the interactions between whites and other races in order to ensure racial purity and white domination. The apartheid laws regulated the movement of non-whites through the pass laws by controlling the locations and lengths of time non-whites could spend in white areas. The prohibition against marriages and sexual relations between non-whites was meant to curtail race mixing, which would have diluted the purity of the white population. The racial segregation laws limited contact between the races in housing and public places. Implementing this system required a process of identification, which was accomplished by systematic racial classification.

Table 2.1: Apartheid Socio-legal Legislation

Legislation	Effect	Date Legislation Repealed
The Natives (Abolition of Passes and Coordination of Documents) Act No. 67 of 1952	Generally referred to as the pass laws. The legislation required all black persons over the age of 16 in all provinces to carry identification with them at all times.	Repealed by the Identification Act No. 72 of 1986.
The Prohibition of Mixed Marriages Act No. 55 of 1949	Prohibited marriages between white people and people of other races.	Repealed by the Sexual Offences Act No. 23 of 1957 and the Immorality and Prohibition of Mixed Marriages Amendment Act No. 72 of 1985.
The Immorality Amendment Act No. 21 of 1950	Prohibited adultery, attempted adultery or related immoral acts between whites and blacks.	Repealed by the Immorality and Prohibition of Mixed Marriages Amendment Act No. 72 of 1985.
The Population Registration Act No. 30 of 1950	Required identification and registration from birth as one of four distinct racial groups: White, Bantu (Black African), Coloured and other.	Repealed by the Population Registration Act Repeal Act No. 114 of 1991.
The Group Areas Act No. 41 of 1950	Created different residential areas for different races.	Superseded by the Group Areas Acts No. 77 of 1957 and No. 36 of 1966 and repealed by the Abolition of Racially Based Land Measures Act No. 108 of 1991.
The Reservation of Separate Amenities Act No. 49 of 1953	Forced segregation in all public amenities, public buildings and public transport with the aim of eliminating contact between whites and other races.	Repealed by the Discriminatory Legislation Regarding Public Amenities Appeal Act No. 100 of 1990.

I selected the repeal of the pass laws and the repeal of the race classification system as the two most critical reforms. The repeal of legislation regarding the prohibition of marriages and sexual relations between whites and other races had a limited impact, much more so than the repeal of pass laws or race classification laws. Mixed marriages represented a very low percentage of marriages in South Africa, even after the repeal of these laws. Jaynes (2007) reports that mixed marriages accounted for less than 2% of marriages in any given year between 1987 and 1990.

Prior to the enactment of the laws, there were reportedly 75 mixed race marriages compared to 28,000 white marriages (Glucksmann, 2010). In contrast, the pass laws affected millions of non-whites, especially native Africans, who were forced to contend with pass regulations on a daily basis. According to Savage (1986), 17,745,000 Africans were arrested or prosecuted for violating the pass laws in South Africa between 1916 and 1984.

The repeal of the residential and public segregation laws would also have had a limited impact. By the time of the repeal of these laws, segregation had become the norm and the majority of native Africans lacked the economic means to overcome segregated housing arrangements in particular. Horne (1991) noted that South Africa had essentially transition from *de jure* to *de facto* apartheid and that repealing race-based laws was not sufficient to end inequality because whites maintained economic privilege. Consequently, the threat to whites posed by the repeal of these laws was limited in scope.

The repeal of the pass laws, on the other hand, posed a greater threat because these laws regulated the movement of non-whites in and out of urban areas and provided the authorities with a means to arrest and detain those not in compliance (Ross, 2005). Without these laws, the prospect of non-whites moving freely in and out of formerly restricted areas would be perceived as a substantial threat to whites (Blalock, 1967). The Population Registration Act provided the foundation for the other apartheid laws, such as the segregation restrictions, because it protected racial purity (Eddings, 1991), reinforced the Afrikaner ethnic identity and determined the quality of life for South Africans. Additionally, the race classification law was the last

of the most restrictive apartheid era laws to be abolished (Kraft, 1991). In the next two sections, I describe the interventions and my predictions.

Repeal of Pass Laws – July 1, 1986

Pass laws have a long history in South Africa, with the first appearance of the pass system occurring in 1760 in the Cape where slaves were required to carry documentation in order to travel (Ross, 2005; Omond, 1986; Savage, 1986; Frankel, 1979). The National Party codified apartheid era pass laws in 1952 under the Blacks (Abolition of Passes and Co-ordination of Documents) Act No. 67. Prior to the passage of the Act, the pass laws differed within each province. The newly enacted legislation required all black Africans to be issued reference books in all provinces (Omond, 1986).

The South African government relied on pass laws to regulate the movement of black Africans and to ensure the availability of a cheap supply of much needed labor to the white population, as well as to the farms and mining operations (Ross, 2005; Savage, 1986; Frankel, 1979). Black Africans over the age of 16 were required to carry identification books at all times and could not be in areas designated for white South Africans for more than 72 hours without special permission (Omond, 1986). They were required to present the identification book at any time to an authorized official, and those who violated pass laws were subject to fines and/or imprisonment (Savage, 1986).

The abolition of a system that had been in place for over 200 years was a dramatic turn of events. This reform meant that blacks could move into formerly white only areas and raised the possibility of economic competition with whites for

jobs, creating a significant shift in the balance of power (Blalock, 1967). A more practical reason for choosing this intervention is that the native Africans were no longer required to carry the passbook. In fact, burning passbooks became an important form of protest for anti-apartheid groups. Figure 2 shows Nelson Mandela burning his passbook in protest of the pass laws in 1960.

Figure 2: Photograph of Nelson Mandela burning his pass book



Figure 5.16 Page 237 Nelson Mandela burning his pass, 1960. Photograph by Eli Weinberg. EW14-4-1. UWC. Robben Island Museum Mayibuye Archives

There was an important symbolic aspect to being able to discard the hated passbooks. The South African government did issue identity documents to all citizens, leading President Botha, in 1985, to point out that even he had to carry such a document, suggesting that the system of passes operated equally among the races (Omond, 1986). However, the records of arrest indicated that between 1975 and 1985, 637, 584 Africans were prosecuted for not carrying their reference books, 2 Coloureds were prosecuted, and no Whites or Indians were prosecuted during that

time (Omond, 1986). Pass laws were a continual source of discontent that subjected black Africans to unemployment, squatting, and severe economic exploitation (Frankel, 1979). The passive resistance campaigns in the 1950's were demonstrations against the pass laws. These protests resulted in the Sharpeville Massacre in March 1960, where South African Police fired on an unarmed crowd, resulting in 69 fatalities (Ross, 2005). The pass laws became a significant burden not only to the black population, but also to the South African government, which devoted an enormous amount of resources to maintaining the system (Ross, 2005; Beck, 2000). Additionally, the pass law system became increasingly unpopular within South Africa and in the international community, prompting the government to officially abolish the system and begin a process of 'orderly urbanization' (Ogura, 1996; Battersby, 1988:1).

According to the process model for anticipating ethnic conflict, the repeal of the pass laws signified an opening of closure based on ethnicity in the social and potentially the economic sectors of society (Marsh and Szayna, 2000), representing a direct threat to the power held by South African whites (Blalock, 1967). This reform also occurred earlier in the process of transition, before anyone was clear of the direction in which the government would advance in terms of the process of democratization. From a power threat perspective, the repeal of the pass laws increased the perception of threat to whites in South Africa by increasing the potential for encounters with non-whites, creating greater opportunities for negative social interaction. The repeal of the pass laws also presented an economic threat to whites, as blacks had greater opportunities to compete for jobs without being hampered by

the constant threat of presenting passbooks to the authorities to justify their presence in white areas.

Hypothesis 1a: The abolition of pass laws will be associated with a decrease in anti-apartheid terrorist attacks

Hypothesis 1b: The abolition of pass laws will be associated with a decrease in anti-apartheid terrorist fatalities

Hypothesis 1c: The abolition of pass laws will be associated with an increase in separatist terrorist attacks

Hypothesis 1d: The abolition of pass laws will be associated with an increase in separatist terrorist fatalities

Repeal of the Race Classification Law June 17, 1991

Similar to pass laws, the race classification system implemented during the apartheid period had roots in the colonial system that preceded the establishment of the Union of South Africa and was based on the desire of the white government to maintain control over both the white non-white populations (Khalfani and Zuberi, 2001; Posel, 2001; Beck, 2000). The National Party codified race classification in the Population Registration Act of 1950, legislation aimed at preserving the racial purity of the Afrikaners by clearly establishing the racial identity of each citizen (Posel, 2001). The Act required each person in South Africa to be classified into one of three categories to be recorded in a national registry (Christopher, 2002). The three categories were White, Coloured and Native.² For purposes of the Act, the following definitions applied:

² Population Registration Act No. 30 of 1950, Section 5(1)

A white person is one who in appearance is, or who is generally accepted as, a white person, but does not include a person who, although in appearance is obviously a white person, is generally accepted as a coloured person. Section 1(xv)

A “native” is a person who is in fact or is generally accepted as a member of any aboriginal race or tribe of Africa. Section 1(x)

A coloured person is a person who is not a white person nor a native. Section 1(iii)

The Native and Coloured identities contained subcategories for other populations such as Asians and Indians. Of course whites were assigned the task of determining to which race a person belonged. The determination was based on physical characteristics, such as skin color, hair texture, nose shape, and lip size. For example, if a person’s hair could be successfully wrapped around a pencil, this person was considered non-white (Posel, 2001). Barbers were called as expert witnesses in such cases. The government established a Race Classification Appeal Board in order to establish the race of individuals in borderline cases. Beck (2000) described the case of Sandra Laing, a female who schoolmates believed was mixed race, in spite of the fact that her family had been classified as White Afrikaners. The Board reclassified Ms. Laing as Coloured, upon which she was expelled from school and treated as an outcast. Thus, the process of racial classification was at times arbitrary, relying on the subjective judgments of those in positions of power (Posel, 2001).

The repeal of the race classification law was the final step in a 17 month program undertaken by President DeKlerk and signaled the beginning of negotiations

for a new constitution (Kraft, 1991). The removal of racial classification system was an attempt to eliminate the discrimination and bias that were essential to the apartheid system (Khalfani and Zuberi, 2001). According to the process model, the repeal of this law signified an end to closure based on racial categorization for non-whites (Marsh and Szyana, 2000); however, for whites, it represented an end to white privilege and further threatened the white power structure (Blalock, 1967). In fact, all the parliamentary members of the right wing of the National Party voted against abolishing the law (Kraft, 1991), demonstrating that Afrikaner resistance to white privilege continued, despite the changes taking place in the country. From a power threat perspective, the end of the system of privilege based on racial identity directly threatened the status of whites as the dominant group (Blalock, 1967).

Hypothesis 2a: The abolition of race classification laws will be associated with a decrease in anti-apartheid terrorist attacks

Hypothesis 2b: The abolition of race classification laws will be associated with a decrease in anti-apartheid terrorist fatalities

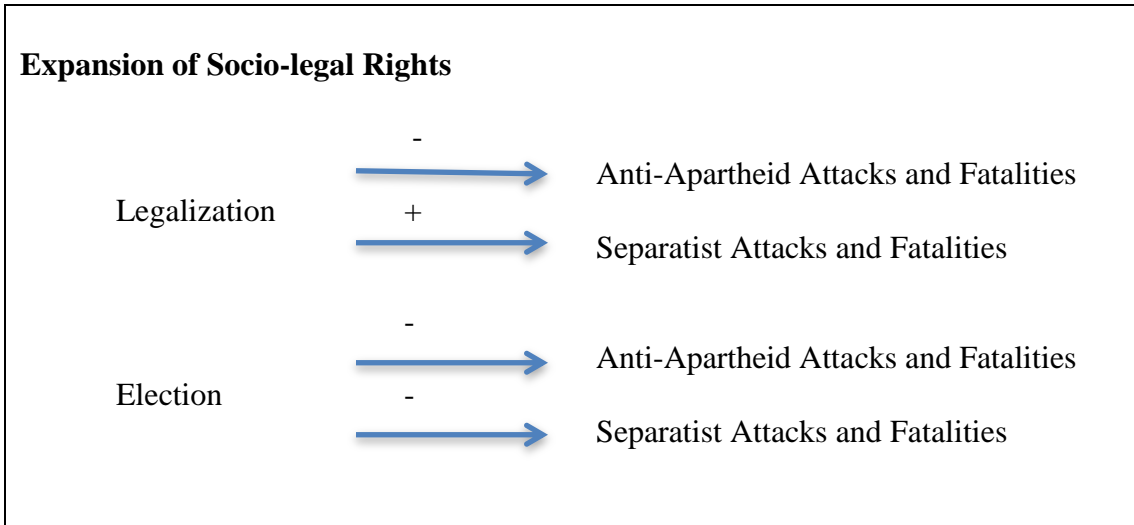
Hypothesis 2c: The abolition of race classification laws will be associated with an increase in separatist terrorist attacks

Hypothesis 2d: The abolition of race classification laws will be associated with an increase in separatist terrorist fatalities

Figure 3 is a visual illustration of the above listed hypotheses for the socio-legal interventions. I list the interventions and the time series, and indicate whether I expect the series to increase or decrease in relation to the intervention. I expect that anti-apartheid attacks and fatalities should decrease overall in relation to the repeal of the pass laws and the race classification law. Separatist attacks and fatalities should

increase in relation to these interventions, as they represent important threats to the apartheid system and white privilege. I declined to make predictions for the unknown attacks and fatalities because I am unclear as to the source of these attacks.

Figure 3: Model for socio-legal interventions



Rationale for Selected Political Reforms

Table 2.2 contains a list of the major political legislation enacted during the apartheid era that was repealed. Native Africans faced political alienation for decades. The ban on oppositional political organizations and on communism in particular prevented non-whites from legally organizing against the apartheid government. As discussed in chapter 1, members of the black population were moved to bantustans or homelands based on their ethnic identity. The apartheid government regarded these homelands as separate political bodies. The effect of the homeland legislation was the complete disenfranchisement of native Africans from voting rights in South Africa. Additionally, native Africans lost citizenship in South Africa and all the rights and privileges associated with being a citizen.

The government outlawed oppositional groups in 1960, making it impossible for anti-apartheid groups to express grievances through legal means. Marsh and Szayna (2000) identify closure in the political sector as one of the indicators of potential conflict. Similarly, Blalock (1967) identified the restriction of political rights as a mechanism of repression used by the dominant group in the power threat theory. Without access to political resources, groups may opt for violent means to seek redress for their concerns. The mechanisms of political disenfranchisement were repealed in a piecemeal fashion. It was not until the actual vote that real change took place. Even the Electoral Act, passed in January of 1994, which set out the process of elections had as much of an impact as the actual election. The 1994 elections signified the beginning of majority rule in South Africa, rather than a step in preparation for the transition to democracy. The right to vote is one of the fundamental elements of a democratic society (Dhami, 2005). Dahl (1998) argues that all adult citizens of a state should have both equal and effective opportunity to make a contribution to the political agenda and also to vote on such matters. On April 26-29th, 1994 South Africa staged its first democratic election, in which all citizens could vote, regardless of their racial or ethnic identity (Alvarez-Rivera, 2006).

Table 2.2: Apartheid Era Political Legislation

Legislation	Effect	Date Legislation Repealed
The Separate Representation of Voters Act No. 46 of 1951 Separate Representation of Voters Amendment Act No. 30 of 1956	Removed Coloureds and Asians from the common voters' roll in the Cape and placed them on a communal roll. Africans in the Cape had already been removed from the common roll in 1936	The Electoral Act, 202 of 1993, was promulgated on 14 January 1994 and it set out the basic rules for national and provincial elections, which were held on April 26-29, 1994
The Bantu Authorities Act No. 68 of 1951	Established the black homelands and regional authorities and provided greater self-government in the homelands.	Repealed by the Black Communities Development Act No. 4 of 1984.
The Separate Representation of Voters Amendment Act No. 50 of 1968	Formed the Coloured Persons Representative Council with forty elected members and twenty nominated members. The	Repealed by the Republic of South Africa Constitution Act No. 110 of 1983.
The Bantu Homelands Citizenship Act (National States Citizenship Act) No. 26 of 1970	Formed the Coloured Persons Representative Council with forty elected members and twenty nominated members. The	Repealed by the Constitution of the Republic of South Africa Act No. 200 of 1993.
The Suppression of Communism Act No. 44 of 1950	Outlawed communism and the Community Party in South Africa.	Repealed by the Internal Security and Intimidation Amendment Act No. 138 of 1991.
The Prohibition of Political Interference Act No. 51 of 1968	Forbade political parties with a racially mixed membership.	Repealed by the Constitutional Affairs Amendment Act No. 104 of 1986.
The Unlawful Organisations Act No. 34 of 1960	Declared organizations perceived as threatening public safety unlawful. The ANC and the PAC were immediately declared unlawful. Repealed by the Internal Security Act No. 74 of 1982; however, the ban on political organizations remained in effect.	On February 2, 1990, President F.W. DeKlerk unbanned these organizations under the authority of the 1983 South African Constitution.

Legalization of Outlawed Political Parties/ Release of Nelson Mandela
Announced – February 2, 1990

Two important events or catalysts occurred on February 2, 1990: then South African president, FW DeKlerk, announced that a number of political prisoners, including Nelson Mandela, were to be granted unconditional release from prison (Charney, 1999) and that the 30-year ban on political opposition groups, such as the ANC, was lifted. While the release of Nelson Mandela was expected, the legalization of the political parties came as a complete surprise to nearly everyone (Usborne, 2010). This announcement signaled the end of the apartheid system and the beginning of the process of democratization in South Africa and represented a direct threat to the political dominance of the white minority government. In fact, shortly after the speech, the right wing segment of the National Party and other reactionary groups such as the Conservative Party called for a no confidence vote against DeKlerk and swore revenge upon him. “In far-off Pretoria and the Afrikaans heartland in the Orange Free State, there would be rallies where demonstrators chanted ‘Hang de Klerk, hang Mandela’ and for good measure, in case they felt left out, ‘hang the Jews’ (Usborne, 2010:5).

Granting access to non-whites to the political process represented a major threat to the white population. The threat of the loss of political power and the end of white dominance in the political sphere elicited extreme reactions from the many Afrikaners and their representatives in parliament, which is in line with Blalock’s (1967) power threat hypothesis: groups facing the loss of power will resort to act of discrimination and violence in order to maintain their privileged position. The

change in the balance of power is one of the indicators of transforming potential conflict into likely conflict in the process model. As Marsh and Szayna (2000) point out, the group facing a loss of status may mobilize and resort to violence in order to prevent the challenging groups from gaining power.

Hypothesis 3a: Legalization political parties will be associated with a decrease in anti-apartheid terrorist attacks

Hypothesis 3b: Legalization political parties will be associated with a decrease in anti-apartheid terrorist fatalities

Hypothesis 3c: Legalization political parties will be associated with an increase in separatist terrorist attacks

Hypothesis 3d: Legalization political parties will be associated with an increase in separatist terrorist fatalities

First Democratic Election – April 26-29, 1994

By holding the first democratic election in which all eligible members of the South African population could vote, regardless of race, the South African government resolved a major political grievance and this was a significant policy change in the closure of the political system. Indeed, as Marsh and Szayna (2000) point out, the ability of the government to accommodate challenges by opposition groups is key to preventing potential ethnic conflict into likely ethnic conflict. As Smith (2000) argued, the establishment of democratic structures should help to resolve ethnic conflict by providing groups with access to political institutions that address grievances. This would mean that all groups would rely less on violent tactics to achieve their goals. Within Blalock's (1967) power threat hypothesis is the

prediction that once minority groups are able to assert their rights within the political arena, attacks against them should cease. The first democratic election signified the successful mobilization and resolution of long-standing grievances on the part of anti-apartheid groups. More importantly, the political system in South Africa, which was dramatically out of balance, finally reached a point of equilibrium in the sense that the numerical minority no longer ruled over the numerical majority. That combined with open access for all to the democratic structures would decrease reliance on violence (Smith, 2000).

Hypothesis 4a: The first democratic election will be associated with a decrease in anti-apartheid terrorist attacks

Hypothesis 4b: The first democratic election will be associated with a decrease in anti-apartheid terrorist fatalities

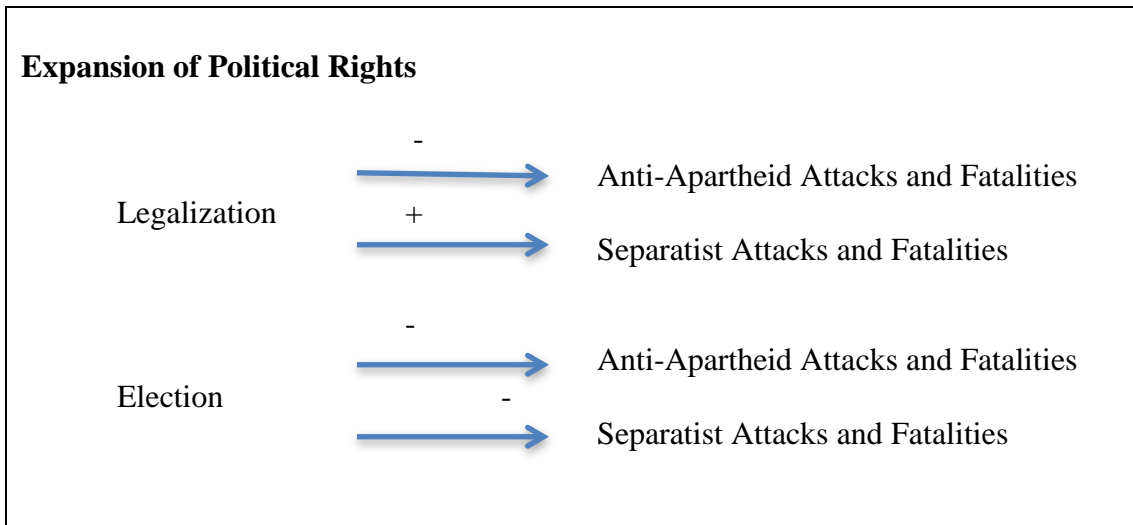
Hypothesis 4c: The first democratic election will be associated with a decrease in separatist terrorist attacks

Hypothesis 4d: The first democratic election will be associated with a decrease in separatist terrorist fatalities

Figure 4 is a visual illustration of the above listed hypotheses for the political interventions. I list both interventions and the time series, and indicate whether I expect the series to increase or decrease in relation to the intervention. Similar to the socio-legal interventions, anti-apartheid attacks and fatalities should decrease. Separatist attacks and fatalities should increase for the legalization intervention, but should decrease in relation to the election intervention. I predict a decrease for this intervention because after the establishment of stable political structures, groups should rely less on violence and more on the political process to resolve grievances. I

again decline to make a prediction for the unknown attacks and fatalities for the political interventions since I am unsure as to the source of these incidents.

Figure 4: Model for political hypotheses



Conclusions

In this Chapter, I reviewed selected social and political reforms that brought about major changes in the power structure of South Africa. I also developed hypotheses for each intervention. Anti-apartheid attacks and fatalities are expected to decrease overall. Separatist attacks are expected to increase prior to the election. After the election, separatist attacks and fatalities should also decrease. In the next Chapter, I review the data and methodology that I used to test these hypotheses.

Chapter 5: Data and Methodology

Overview

In this dissertation, I test the relationship between four major reforms and terrorist attacks and fatalities from attacks committed by anti-apartheid, separatist and unknown terrorist groups. In Chapter 4, I provided a review of the hypotheses that I test in the study. In this Chapter, I describe the data sources, variables of interest, and the analytic method I used in the study.

Data

Background of the Global Terrorism Database

The Global Terrorism Database (GTD) is currently the most comprehensive unclassified event data based on terrorist attacks around the world. As noted in Chapter 2, the Pinkerton Global Intelligence Service (PGIS) collected the original data upon which the GTD is based. PGIS defined terrorism as “[t]he threatened or actual use of illegal force and violence to attain a political, economic, religious, or social goal through fear, coercion or intimidation” (LaFree and Dugan, 2007: 184). Specially trained coders searched for and identified acts of terrorism for PGIS worldwide between 1970 and 1997, resulting in the collection of over 67,000 attacks (Dugan, LaFree, Cragin, and Kasupski, 2008). Coders specifically excluded acts of criminality, violence resulting from conflicts between military/armed forces, and acts undertaken directly by governments (LaFree and Dugan, 2007). These data included

incident level information on terrorist incidents from a variety of open sources, such as wire services, newspapers, and U.S. State Department reports (LaFree and Dugan, 2007).

PGIS data files were provided in hardcopy form to researchers at the University of Maryland (UMD) in 2001 (LaFree and Dugan, 2007). With funding from the National Institute of Justice, researchers at UMD subsequently created a computerized set of the data with the assistance of trained coders who verified the incidents through 1997, a process that was finished in December of 2005. In 2006, researchers from the University of Maryland Center for the Study of Terrorism and Responses to Terrorism (START) acquired additional funding from the Department of Homeland Security Human Factors-Behavioral Science Division to collect data on terrorist incidents that occurred after 1997 for inclusion in the GTD. A rigorous process was developed to maintain the integrity of the original PGIS data, and efforts were undertaken to update the selection criteria for the collection of the additional data. The new data collection extended the data through March 2008 (LaFree, 2010), and an updated version of the GTD was released in March 2009. Most recently, START worked with the Institute for the Study of Violent Groups (ISVG) at New Haven University to extend terrorism data collection for the GTD through 2010. The GTD data used for this dissertation were downloaded on January 2, 2012 and include cases from 1970 to 2010.

Database Strengths and Limitations

As with all datasets, the GTD does have some strengths and limitations. Two important strengths of the GTD data are (1) they were not collected by a government agency, which limits the potential for politically-based influence in the selection of events; and (2) they include both international and domestic acts of terrorism (LaFree, 2010). This second point is especially important in the case of South Africa, where virtually all modern terrorism has been domestic in that it was committed by groups within the country against the South African government as opposed to other nations or governments. Another strength is that the data are periodically updated and verified to ensure that the most accurate information is available. The case of South Africa demonstrates the value of this approach. After the transition to democracy, greater and more detailed information on terrorist events became available from a variety of sources, including the South Africa Truth and Reconciliation Commission and numerous books and articles that have been written about apartheid era South Africa.

One weakness of the GTD is that data from the year 1993 are missing (Lee, 2008). These data were lost by PGIS in an office move and have never been fully recovered. These missing data present a challenge to the analysis of the South Africa data because a tremendous amount of terrorism occurred during this year. In fact, the year 1993 accounted for the highest number of attacks and fatalities in the dataset. Conducting analyses with missing data can lead to misleading results or may produce bias in the estimates. One option is to leave the missing data out of the analyses. Another option is to impute data using statistical software. In the present case,

imputing the data with methods such as linear interpolation or the mean of nearby points would result in undercounting the number of attacks and fatalities. The marginals or totals for the year 1993 are known for terrorist attacks and fatalities in South Africa; however, I am conducting a semi-annual analysis, which limits my ability to use these totals, especially since I further break down the data by source type. In order to overcome the limitation in the best manner possible, I calculated the 1993 data by adding the total number of attacks or fatalities 1992 and 1994 for each series and divided by two³. I then applied these data points to the 1993 half years for attacks and fatalities. This method should bring provide a more realistic estimate of the missing data. I also ran models with and without the 1993 data and compare the results

Another weakness of the GTD is that like all unclassified event databases, it contains a large number of anonymous/unknown attacks. This presents a major problem for my analysis because I partition the data in categories depending on the source of the attack. Attributing attacks to the wrong source would artificially increase or decrease the number of attacks or fatalities from a particular group, introducing bias. Because of the dynamics of terrorism in South Africa, I examine the unknown cases separately. I provide a more detailed discussion of the reasons for the separate analysis below.

Another potential weakness is the differences in data collection. The data from 1970 to 1997 were collected by PGIS at the time of each event; whereas, the

³ For example, in 1992 there were a total of 31 anti-apartheid attacks and in 1994, there were a total of 17 attacks. I added these two totals together and obtained 48 attacks for the two years combined. I divided 48 by two, leaving 24 incidents for the first half of 1993 and 24 attacks for the second half of 1993.

data from 1998 to the present were and are being assembled by researchers at the University of Maryland. Because the post-1997 data are being collected retrospectively, they are likely to be underestimated, which means that the apparent decreases in terrorism after may actually reflect differences in data collection, rather than actual decreases in terrorist activity.

Updating the GTD

One of the goals of START is to continually update and verify the cases included in the GTD. To that end, researchers regularly investigate other open sources for additional data that may be incorporated into the GTD. While working for the START Center, I discovered another source of data on terrorism in South Africa that came from a submission made to the South Africa Truth and Reconciliation Commission (Commission). The Commission was established in 1995 to investigate human rights abuses in apartheid-era South Africa. The Report, titled *Further Submissions and Responses by the African National Congress to Questions raised by the Commission for Truth and Reconciliation*, is a collection of terrorist attacks compiled from published news reports and Annual Surveys of the South Africa Institute for Race Relations (SAIRR) and was submitted to the Commission in May 1997 (*List of MK Operations*, 1997).

According to the Report (1997), there was not enough specific information about attacks committed during the 1960s and early 1970s; therefore, the actual data entered into the GTD begins on November 30, 1976. The last incident in the Report occurred in November 1989. One of the major obstacles to collecting any information from the apartheid era in South Africa was the government's censorship policy,

which no doubt made it more difficult to locate accurate reporting of all political events, including those involving terrorist attacks. This may explain why the original PGIS data collection team did not identify many of the attacks. The information collected in the Report (1997) came from domestic sources within South Africa where there was greater information available from local publications. PGIS data were typically collected from national and international news sources (LaFree and Dugan, 2007), making it more difficult for the original coders to locate attacks that were only reported in local news sources.

Combining the GTD and the TRC data

Combining these additional cases with the GTD raised important challenges. The biggest difficulty was the lack of a definition of terrorism in the Report (1997), which made it hard to determine which of the incidents described qualified as terrorism given the definition used by the GTD. The incidents listed in the Report (1997) include acts of illegal violence and, similar to the GTD, the information was collected from open sources including newspapers and SAIRR Annual Reports. Additionally, the types of incidents captured in the Report (1997) include a wide variety of targets, such as police, military, economic, government, and business institutions. Another important aspect of these incidents is that they were not collected by any government agency, although they were collected for submission to the Truth and Reconciliation Commission. The benefit of this fact is that the Commission encouraged the utmost honesty in all submissions in order to fulfill its mandate of uncovering political violence during apartheid South Africa.

Another challenge was that a number of the incidents were listed as unknown, meaning that no group claimed or was held responsible for the attack. This, however, is not an unusual situation in terrorism datasets (Hoffman, 2008). Studies of terrorism show that a relatively high percent of all incidents are never claimed by any group (B. Hoffman, 1997; Rapoport, 1997). A report by RAND published in 1985 revealed that between 1980 and 1982, 60 percent of international terrorist incidents were unclaimed and that nearly 40 percent of such incidents in the 1970s were unclaimed. LaFree, Dugan, Fogg, and Scott (2006) found that approximately 50 percent of the cases in the Global Terrorism Database were attributed to a particular group. In the present study, 51.4% of the data contained an unknown group name. I included these unknown incidents into the final dataset. I provide a more detailed discussion of unknown/anonymous attacks in South Africa in the discussion below.

The incidents in the Report (1997) were organized chronologically and to varying degrees included information on the date, type of attack, target, location of the attack, the number of wounded, and the number of casualties. I identified a total of 551 incidents for inclusion in the GTD. The next step was to determine the number, if any, of duplicate cases in the GTD. Table 4 shows the breakdown of data prior to the addition of the TRC data. The original GTD contained 202 incidents that were committed by the ANC and 1125 incidents committed by unknown groups. After doing extensive comparisons between the two data sets, I identified 102 incidents that were already present in the GTD; therefore, I excluded these cases, leaving a total of 449 additional cases. Of the duplicate cases, 36 were ANC incidents, 63 were unknown incidents and 3 were from 'other' terrorist groups.

Following the guidelines of the GTD manual for entering information in the database, the author and two researchers from START entered these data into the GTD in 2007. Of the 449 cases added to the GTD, the ANC committed 398 and unknown groups committed 51.

Table 4.1: Incidents in the GTD, TRC, Combined Data, and Duplicate Cases

Group	GTD	TRC	Combined	Duplicates
African National Congress	202	398	600	36
Unknown	1125	51	1176	63
Other Groups	145	0	145	3
Total	1472	449	1921	102

Determining Ethnic Affiliation

Determining ethnicity is an important endeavor for this dissertation. The main goal of the analysis is to determine whether levels of ethically based terrorism changed as different macro level policy changes were put into place. Unfortunately, there were many instances where an incident was not attributed to a particular group, making it difficult to determine whether an anti-apartheid or separatist group committed the attack. Hoffman (1997) points out that one of the prevalent beliefs about terrorism is that groups who engage in this form of violence seek attention and publicity for their acts. Some theories of terrorism contain the proposition that the purpose of an act of terrorism is to influence the public, presumably through media attention (Bergesen and Lizardo, 2004; US State Department, cited in Hoffman, 1998). Hoffman (2004) argues that terrorist groups claim credit for acts for a number of reasons, including 1) advertising their movement and/or cause; 2) making a

specific demand; 3) maintaining a base of support or sympathy; and 4) maintaining membership in the organization or recruiting new members.

According to Hoffman (2004), terrorist groups may decline to claim responsibility for specific acts due to fear of retaliation by the state or concern of backlash from the supporting base. Despite the fact that there has not been an extensive amount of research on anonymous and unattributed terrorism, it is not unusual for terrorists to not claim or seek credit for their acts. Hoffman (1999) argues that the failure to claim credit for terrorist acts is a reflection of overall changes in more recent terrorism. He points out that in the past, particularly during the 1970's and 1980's, terrorists would often issue communiqués in which they would take credit for attacks and offer lengthy explanations. A number of high profile terrorist attacks have gone unclaimed, leading Hoffman (1999) to suggest that this may be a function of lethality or that groups may not feel the need to explain their actions to a larger audience.

Stepanova (2008) observed that when there is widespread violence occurring in a country it can be difficult to differentiate criminal acts from ethnic violence and terrorism. This is likely to be true during intense periods of conflict, such as the situation in South Africa during the transition to democracy. Anti-apartheid groups such as the ANC had less of an incentive to claim acts of terrorism, particularly because they officially denounced terrorist tactics in 1990. Their motivation for continuing to engage in terrorist tactics during the transition to democracy would be due to uncertainty surrounding the future of negotiations. Additionally, there was a well-documented struggle between the separatist group, Inkatha Freedom Party, and

the ANC, and a number of attacks in during the transition were committed by the ANC against IFP. Furthermore, if they continued to claim attacks, they would damage their credibility during the negotiations. Separatist forces also had reason to avoid claiming responsibility for attacks, inasmuch as they too were interested in preserving a place in the new government.

Although it is possible to employ strategies to attribute attacks to particular groups (Cohen, Jenkins and Kellen, 1985), I chose to conduct a separate analysis of the unknown cases. This is because there are some indications that a “third force” was active during the transition to apartheid and is responsible for a significant number of the unknown attacks (Melander, 2002; Zulu,1992). According to the Truth and Reconciliation Commission South Africa Report (2003), the term third force refers to an organized group of elite government-affiliated individuals who conducted random attacks against the civilian population during the transition to democracy. If a third force was at work, this could have important policy implications for governments in transition. Failure to reign in the rouge actors within state agencies could compromise negotiations and decrease the legitimacy of the emerging, reformed government.

Indeed, a wave of violence during the early 1990s resulted in thousands of deaths and injuries from violence perpetrated in KwaZulu, Natal and the Pretoria-Witwatersrand-Vereeniging Transvaal region. Some of these deaths were attributed to the conflict between the ANC and the IFP; however, the perpetrators of many more incidents were never identified. Evidence of an alliance between the members of the

South African Police and members of IFP suggested that another layer of violence was taking place.

The Human Rights Watch, Africa Watch (1991) reported that the South African Police force and the KwaZulu Police force collaborated against ANC supporters. Their activities included assisting in attacks, transporting IFP supporters to areas inhabited by ANC members, and refusing to assist ANC supporters who were under attack. Furthermore, the government of South Africa did little to curb these abuses despite the evidence presented to them of complicity by the security forces (Human Rights Watch, 1993). Thus, unknown attacks are an important component of the analysis that will be analyzed separately. If these unknown attacks are the work of a 'third force' then they may represent a form of state-sponsored terrorism (Blalock, 1967). Furthermore, the government never officially confirmed the existence of a third force and did not take responsibility for the attacks, thus, I am reluctant to state definitively whether these attacks were solely from a third force. Of course, it may be the case that these incidents are a combination of anonymous attacks committed by anti-apartheid, separatist groups, and third force groups. Without greater information, it is impossible to determine the actual source of the data; however, an analysis of these incidents may be able to provide some insight into the dynamics of unknown terrorism and perhaps their source.

Thanks to the richness of the GTD dataset, I had access to information on terrorist attacks, which I used to partition the data into anti-apartheid and separatist attacks. The TRC data also included information in some cases that allowed me to determine whether a terrorist attack was committed by an anti-apartheid or separatist

group, although the majority of the TRC cases were committed by the ANC. In cases where the group name was unknown, I conducted additional research on the incidents in order to categorize the attack. One of the benefits of the passage of time in South Africa is that additional literature such as books and reports has become available regarding terrorist incidents that took place during the apartheid era. The activities of the Commission added to this information because it allowed individuals who participated in political violence to submit detailed accounts of their involvement in terrorist acts. Many of those attacks, however, were committed by unknown or anonymous groups and, to my knowledge, no one had actually used the confessions to identify unclaimed terrorist attacks. In the next sections, I describe the steps I took to determine the source of the incidents.

Anti-Apartheid Attacks

The first step was to categorize attacks clearly committed by anti-apartheid groups identified in the GTD. As demonstrated in Table 2, the majority of anti-apartheid attacks were committed by the ANC. Although the ANC officially denounced violent tactics in 1989, its members continued to engage in terrorist acts through the 1990s. I categorized these attacks as anti-apartheid attacks because this group was engaged in conflict against the apartheid South African government. I also coded attacks committed by other oppositional groups as anti-apartheid attacks.

Table 4.2: Anti-apartheid groups and attack frequency

Group Name	Frequency	Percent
African National Congress (South Africa)	600	96.6%
Azania People's Organization (AZAPO)	3	0.5%
Black Nationalists	4	0.6%
Pan Africanist Congress (PAC)	3	0.5%
South African Liberation Support Cadre (SALSC)	3	0.5%
South-West Africa People's Organization (SWAPO)	5	0.8%
Urban Guerrillas	2	0.3%
Xhosa Tribal Workers	1	0.2%

The next step was to categorize anonymous attacks as anti-apartheid. Anti-apartheid groups such as the ANC had less of an incentive to claim acts of terrorism during the transition to democracy, particularly because they officially denounced terrorist tactics in 1990. Furthermore, if they continued to claim attacks, they would damage their credibility during the negotiations. I reviewed each unknown case individually, examining the target, tactic, weapon, and year of the attack. As noted in Table 3, I added in a total of 48 additional cases to the anti-apartheid attacks. The majority of the attacks coded as anti-apartheid were those committed against Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP) by the ANC. Additional incidents include attacks against political and government targets. The majority of these attacks occurred prior to 1990, the time when the ANC and other anti-apartheid groups were most active. The addition of these 48 cases resulted in a total of 669 anti-apartheid incidents.

Table 4.3: Unknown cases that were attributed to anti-apartheid forces

Category	Freq .	Percent	Description
IFP	22	45.8%	Attacks committed against IFP political figures, transportation, party meetings, members, headquarters, funerals, supporters, rallies, and homesteads; Attacks against rival separatist group
Political	12	25.0%	Attacks against apartheid government members, including prime minister, president, and pre-1990 election targets
Government	4	8.3%	Homeland consulate, government based political parties, Consulates viewed as supporting apartheid government
Business	3	6.3%	Whites only affiliated businesses, IFP supported business
Police	3	6.3%	Residence of police supporting apartheid government
AWB	1	2.1%	Attack against opposing pro-apartheid terrorist group
Civilian	1	2.1%	Whites only housing
Railway	1	2.1%	Transportation target sabotage
School	1	2.1%	Afrikaans school School of Afrikaner students

Separatist Attacks

My approach to categorizing separatist attacks was the same as that for the anti-apartheid attacks. I began by selecting all the cases that were committed by identifiable separatist groups. Table 4 lists the name and frequency of the attacks committed by recognized separatist groups in the GTD. An identifiable separatist group committed a total 93 attacks during the time frame of the study. The majority of these groups committed one attack. The IFP was responsible for most of the incidents separatist attacks of those where a group name was listed. Many of the groups that appeared were Afrikaner affiliated groups.

Table 4.4: Separatist groups and attack frequency

Group Name	Frequency	Percent
Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP)	48	51.6%
White Extremists	12	12.9%
White Wolves	9	9.7%
Right-Wing Extremists	5	5.4%
Afrikaner Resistance Movement (AWB)	5	5.4%
Boere Aanvals Troepe (BAT)	3	3.2%
Wit Kommando	1	1.1%
White Liberation Army	1	1.1%
United Democratic Front (UDF)	1	1.1%
Rival Zulu Group, name not stated	1	1.1%
Orde Boerevolk	1	1.1%
Nazi Boerestat Party	1	1.1%
Mozambique National Resistance Movement (MNR)	1	1.1%
Individual affiliated with separatist group	1	1.1%
Civil Cooperation Bureau	1	1.1%
Boer Sentries	1	1.1%
Boer Republikeinse Leer	1	1.1%

Separatist forces also had reason to avoid claiming responsibility for attacks, inasmuch as they too were interested in preserving a place in the new government. They also would have less of an incentive to claim responsibility if their actions were undertaken as part of the ‘third force’ activities that were supposedly taking place during the early 1990s. According to the Human Rights Watch (1993), the tactics utilized by the third force were designed to generate fear and to destabilize the transition to democracy. They identified numerous accounts of attacks on commuters using trains, buses and taxis. These attacks also involved armed men indiscriminately opening fire on unarmed civilians and dramatically increased during the early 1990s.

I reviewed each unknown case individually to determine how it should be categorized, examining the target, tactic, weapon, and year of the attack. Table 5 contains the category, frequency and description of the attacks that I attributed to separatist groups. The majority of the cases that were added include attacks against transportation targets, the ANC and political targets. I added in a total of 201 cases to the separatist attacks.

Table 4.5: Unknown cases that were attributed to separatist forces

Category	Freq	Percent	Description
Commuter	51	25%	Commuters on trains, buses, taxis, in train stations, at taxi stands Commuter attacks were attributed if the occurred from 1990 forward, involved firearms, and were attacks persons waiting for transportation
ANC	37	18%	Individual members of the ANC, residences of members, offices of members, relatives of members, meetings of members, vehicles carrying members Attacks against ANC targets, any year, any method, any weapon
Political	32	16%	Residences of black and liberal political figures, offices of politicians, Attacks against political targets
Civilian	17	8%	Indiscriminant attacks on pedestrians Attacks against civilians after 1990,
Activist	16	8%	Anti-apartheid activists, participants in peace rallies Attacks against activists
Election	14	7%	Election workers, candidates, monitors, workers at polling stations Attacks against polling places, election personnel, election candidates, after 1990
NP	10	5%	Offices of the National Party, residences of Party members Attacks against the National Party, after 1985
Railway	9	4%	Railway lines, railway personnel Attacks against railway targets from 1990 forward, explosives
Union	8	4%	Offices of labor unions, labor organizer Attacks against unions
Funeral	5	2%	Funeral vigils, funeral processions Attacks against civilians during funerals, after 1990, involving firearms
News	2	1%	News professional, news broadcast facility Criticism of segregation policies
Police	1	0%	Police professional attacked by security forces according to TRC Confession of separatist and former Vlakplaas commander Eugene DeKock

Unknown Terrorist Attacks in Perspective

There were a total of 958 unknown/unclaimed attacks in the data. One of the goals of the analysis is to gain a better understanding of the source of the unknown attacks. One way of doing this is to compare the trends and patterns of unknown attacks with anti-apartheid and separatist attacks and fatalities. In order to put these data in context, I include three graphs to compare these unknown incidents with anti-apartheid and separatist attacks by target, attack and weapon type. Figure 5 demonstrates that the targets of unknown attacks include civilian, police, business, and transportation targets. Anti-apartheid groups were more likely to attack police, government and business targets. Separatist attacks were committed mostly against civilian, transportation and oppositional political targets (ANC).

Figure 5: Comparison of Unknown, Separatist and Anti-Apartheid Attacks by Target Type

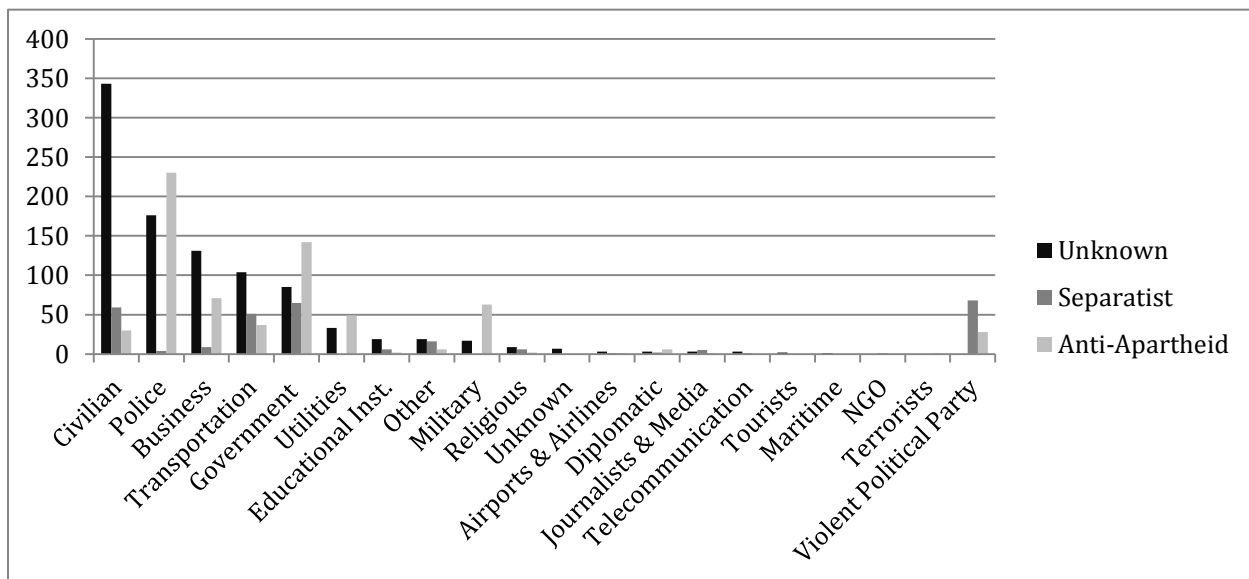
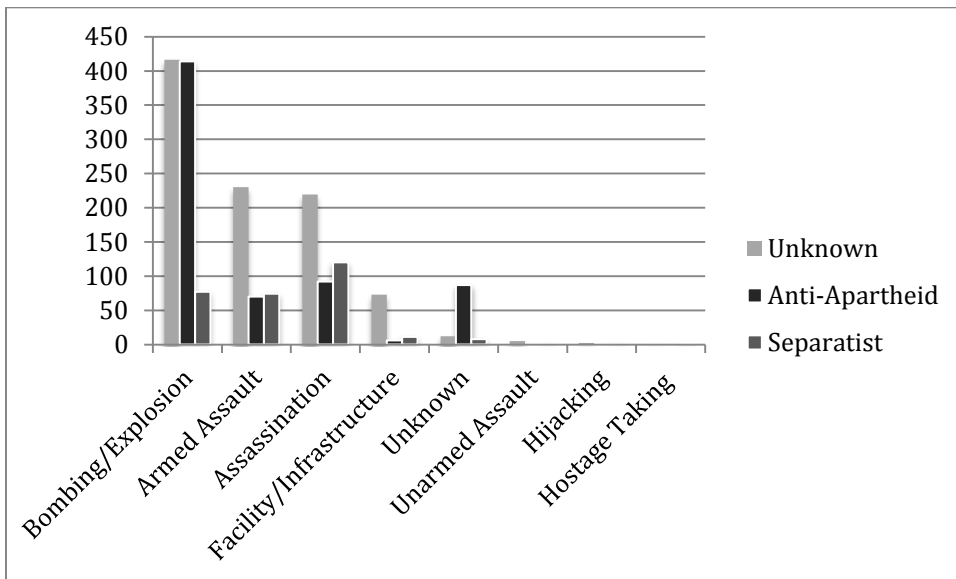


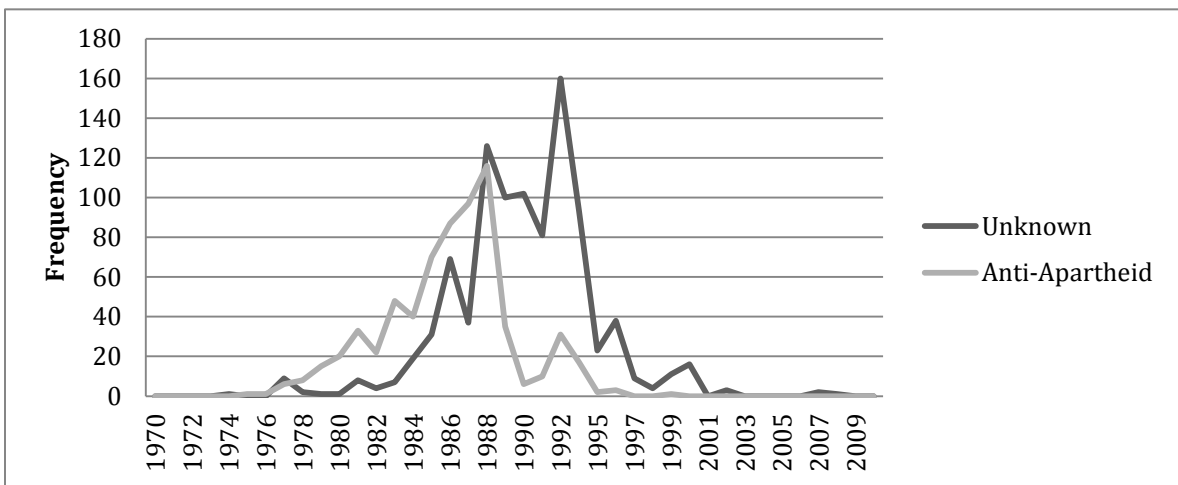
Figure 6 shows the method of attack used by anti-apartheid, separatist and unknown groups. Anti-apartheid groups were more likely to use bombs and explosives; whereas, pro-apartheid groups tended to rely on assassinations and armed assaults. This difference is likely a reflection of the differences in target selection. Anti-apartheid groups were more likely to perpetrate attacks against non-civilian targets, such as the police, government and military targets and the ANC, in particular, initially focused its campaign on structures rather than people. Unknown groups relied more on assassinations and armed assaults. Unknown groups used bombings to a much less degree than anti-apartheid and separatist groups.

Figure 6: Comparison of Unknown, Separatist and Anti-Apartheid Attacks by Attack Type



According to Figure 7, unknown and anti-apartheid attacks appear to increase around the same time frame; however by 1988, anti-apartheid attacks begin to drop off. Unknown attacks begin to drop off slightly during this time, but by 1991, they begin to increase again. There is a slight increase in anti-apartheid incidents between 1990 and 1994, but this increase is not as dramatic as the unknown incidents. Additionally, the unknown incidents are much higher overall and last longer than the anti-apartheid incidents.

Figure 7: Comparison of Unknown and Anti-Apartheid Incidents



The trends in Figure 7 above and Figure 8 below are comparable. Unknown and anti-apartheid fatalities begin to increase in the early 1980s; however, the unknown fatalities are more intermittent and less lethal prior to 1990 when compared to anti-apartheid fatalities. Again, there is a temporary decrease in anti-apartheid fatalities, with another increase occurring between 1990 and 1994. Unknown

fatalities, on the other hand, increase dramatically from 1990 and begin to decline rapidly after 1994. Unknown attacks were more lethal than anti-apartheid attacks.

Figure 8: Comparison of Unknown and Anti-Apartheid Fatalities

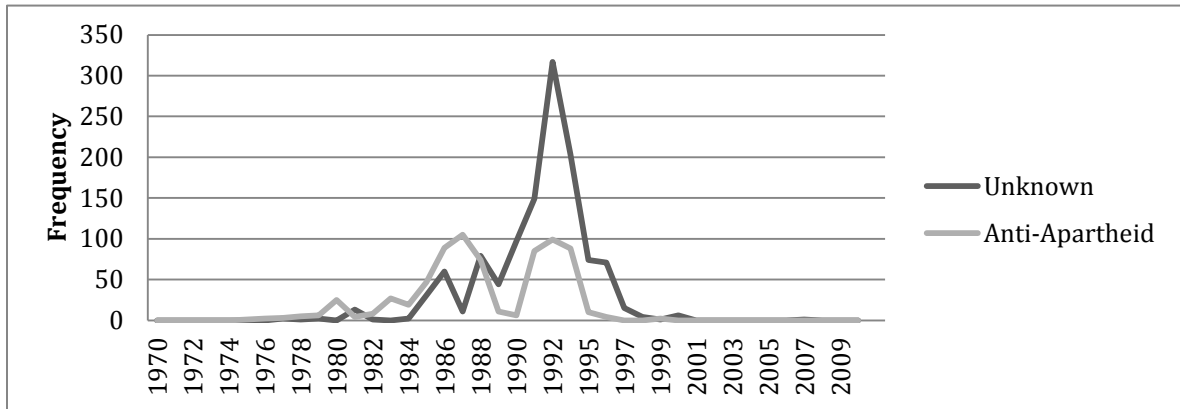


Figure 9 is a comparison of unknown and separatist incidents. The unknown incidents begin to rise earlier than the separatist attacks, which begin to increase around 1989. Unknown attacks begin to increase in the mid 1980s. After 1990, however, the separatist attacks and unknown attacks appear to have a similar trajectory, although there are fewer incidents committed by separatist forces. Separatist incidents drop off earlier than the unknown incidents.

Figure 9: Comparison of Unknown and Separatist Incidents

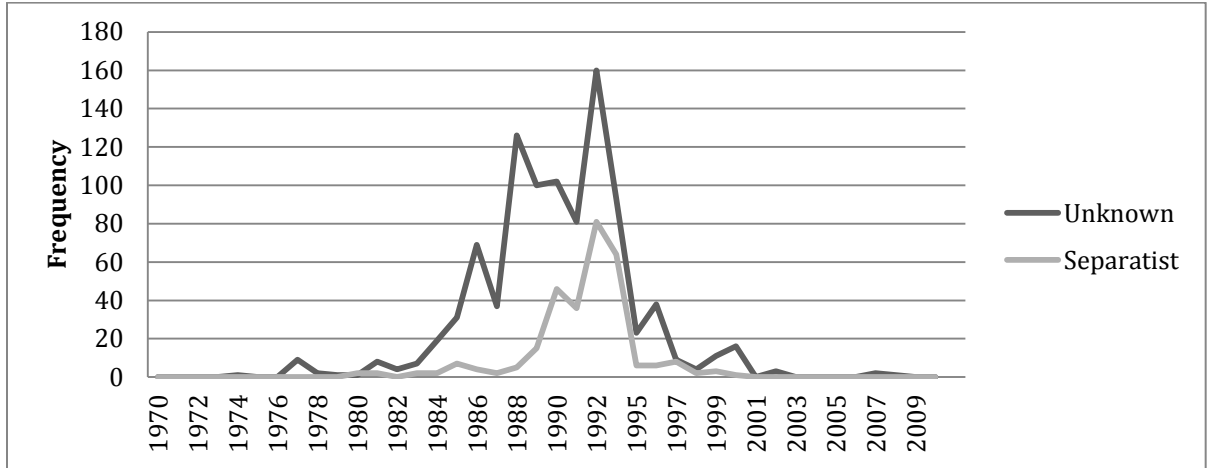
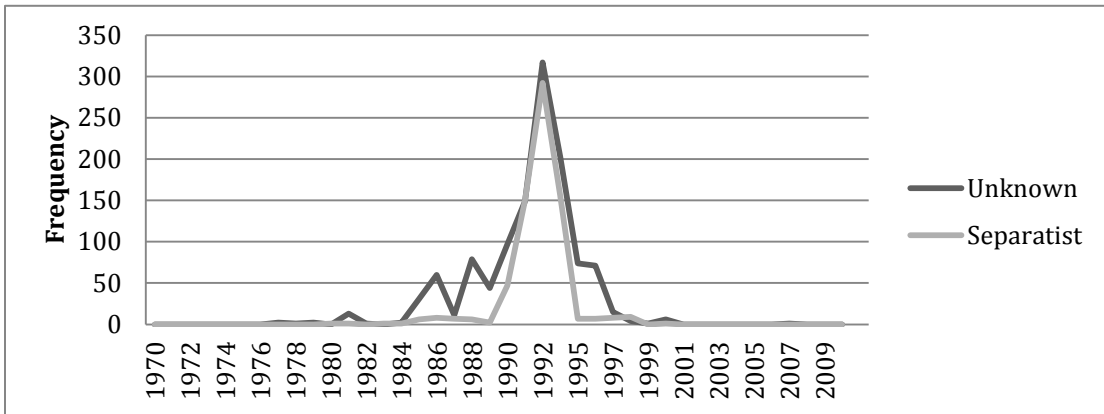


Figure 10 is a comparison of separated and unknown fatalities. The trajectories of these two series' are visually more similar than the comparison of unknown fatalities and anti-apartheid fatalities. Based on this visual inspection, it appears that unknown cases prior to 1990 are more similar to anti-apartheid cases and that after 1990, unknown cases are more similar to separatist cases.

Figure 10: Comparison of Unknown and Separatist Fatalities



The tables above show that there is quite a bit of overlap among the groups in terms of target and attack type and trends over time; however, there are some interesting differences. Unknown groups were overwhelmingly responsible for attacks against civilian targets, while anti-apartheid groups focused more on police, government and military targets. The selection of targets by anti-apartheid groups resulted in fewer deaths overall, compared to both separatist and unknown groups. Thus, the lethality of separatist and unknown attacks was higher. Figure 10 is quite compelling. The trends in fatalities for unknown and separatist groups are very similar between 1990 and 1995, suggesting the presence or activity of third force operatives. If this were the case, then it would serve as an example of state actors engaged in terrorism against the population. It is difficult to support this assertion without further information on the incidents. Indeed, it is possible that the unknown incidents are a combination of state-sponsored violence, anti-apartheid violence, separatist violence, and general violence.

Choice of Time Interval and Time Span

The time span of the data is from 1970-2010. Although these dates are based on data availability, the time frame captures the onset and decline of terrorist violence in South Africa during the transition from apartheid to democracy. The choice of time intervals is an important issue in time series analysis and can be difficult when dealing with terrorism (Sheehan, 2009). Time series analysis requires sequential units of observation evenly spaced over time, i.e. yearly, quarterly, monthly, weekly, daily, etc. Terrorism is not a continuous phenomenon; therefore, it is possible to have several time intervals with no observations. Creating shorter intervals may increase the number of observations, but may produce bias in the estimates because there are not enough pre-and post-intervention observations to capture trends or seasonality in the data (Cook and Campbell, 1979).

I ran exploratory analyses for monthly, quarterly, semi-annual, and yearly time intervals. The monthly and quarterly data proved difficult to model, due to the high number of zeros, especially at the beginning of the time series. The semi-annual and yearly data, however, were adequate and provided enough pre and post intervention observations within each time interval to conduct quantitative analyses.

Variables

The *dependent variables* that I use in this dissertation include known anti-apartheid attacks, known anti-apartheid fatalities, known separatist attacks, known separatist fatalities, unknown attacks, and unknown fatalities. As noted above, known anti-apartheid attacks/fatalities are those known to be committed by

oppositional terrorist groups against the apartheid government. Separatist attacks/fatalities are those known to have been committed by groups attempting to maintain an ethnically centered government. Unknown attacks/fatalities are those that were not attributed to any particular group. I include measures of the annual and semi-annual frequencies in relation to the selected interventions. I also analyze fatalities to explore the lethality of ethnic terrorism in South Africa.

The *intervention variables* include the month and year during which the four major legal and political events described above occurred. As previously discussed, I examine two socio-legal interventions and two political interventions. The two socio-legal interventions are the repeal of pass laws, which occurred in the second half of 1986 and the repeal of the race classification system, which occurred in first half of 1991. The political interventions are the legalization of oppositional political parties/release of Nelson Mandela, which occurred in the first half of 1990, and the first democratic election, which was held in the first half of 1994. The interventions are dummy coded so that 1 specifies the half-year when the intervention occurred and 0 indicates that the intervention had not yet occurred when modeling permanent changes. In the case of a temporary intervention, the dummy code is 1 while the intervention is in effect and 0 when it is not.

I also included *control variables* in my analysis to account for the possibility that other macro level indicators influenced levels of terrorism and fatalities from terrorism. The control variables I have chosen are the annual homicide rate, annual population growth, annual GDP growth, and annual inflation. I also included a dummy variable to control for differences in data collection.

Controlling for homicide is important in research on South Africa, a nation that has one of the highest homicide rates in the world (McCafferty, 2003). The finding of a relationship between crime and collective action has been mixed. The relevance to the present study is that terrorism has been identified as form of collective action (Alimi, 2006), and during the period under investigation, the homicide rate increased along with terrorism. Researchers have previously examined links between crime and collective action. Tilly, Tilly, and Tilly (1975) found that collective action and crime varied independently in Germany, France and Italy between 1830 and 1930. In another cross national comparison, Gurr (1976) observed that crime waves had a tendency to occur during times when there were high levels of civil disorder in London, Stockholm, Calcutta, and New South Wales. LaFree and Drass (1997) argue that a complicated relationship exists between collective action and crime. They propose a “jump start hypothesis” where crime and collective action have an asymmetrical relationship: they begin to increase at the same time, but then collective action decreases at a much faster rate than crime. It is important to note that I am not specifically examining the relationship between terrorism and homicide in my analysis, I added the homicide rate variable into the analysis to control for its possible influence on levels of terrorism. I acquired annual homicide data collected by the South African Police Services on homicides from 1970 – 2010 (South African Police Services, 2010; McCafferty, 2003).

I obtained data on the three additional variables from the World Bank (2012) World Development Indicators Database spanning 1970-2010. Population has been a key variable of interest in the study of inequality and crime. Rapid population growth

has been associated with increased inequality and increased crime rates, as larger numbers of people compete for the same finite economic resources (Crenshaw, Ameen, and Christenson, 1997). The population growth variable measures the annual percentage of changes in the population. Economic indicators have also been associated with political stability (Aisen and Veiga, 2006); thus, I include two economic variables in the analysis. Inflation is a measure of the overall increase in prices during a particular period and has been linked to crime. Previous research suggests that increases in inflation reduce the capacity of a community to exert formal and informal control over deviant behavior (LaFree and Drass, 1996; Hibbs, 1973). GDP growth also has a relationship to decreases in poverty (2006). I use GDP growth as a measure of the annual increase or decrease in gross domestic product.

Methodology

Unit of Analysis

The unit of analysis is semi-annual (6 month) time intervals. The method I have chosen to analyze the data is time series intervention analysis. Specifically, I use time series intervention regression techniques to examine the relationship between the selected time series' and interventions. This method is a quasi-experimental design that has been applied to longitudinal data in order to examine the impact of interventions on time series data (Box and Tiao, 1975; Campbell and Stanley, 1963) in a variety of contexts including the impact of seatbelt legislation on deaths from auto accidents (Bhattachargya, 1979), the effect of anti drinking and driving advertisements on traffic accidents (Murry, Stam and Lastovicka, 1993), the relationship between the Cincinnati Riot of 2001 and robbery arrests (2009), the impact of the Global War on Terrorism and levels of worldwide terrorist activity (Sheehan, 2009). In interrupted time series analysis, the time prior to the intervention represents the control group, while the time period after the intervention represents the experimental group (Berk, Sorenson, Weib, and Upchurch, 2003).

ARIMA methods correct a major problem with ordinary least squares (OLS) regression of time series data (McDowell, McCleary, Meidinger, and Hay, 1980). With time series data, the assumption of non-autocorrelation may be violated because observations that occur closely in time may be correlated with one another. For example, crime rates in one period may be related to crime rates in subsequent periods. Importantly, the parameter estimates are not incorrect per se, because in the long run, the regression equation will not over or underestimate those parameters

(Ostrom, 1979:21), resulting in unbiased parameter estimates that do not systematically differ from population parameter estimates. However, conducting statistical significance tests may be problematic when serial correlation is not modeled or accounted for in the regression equation. ARIMA techniques correct the potential for problematic residuals by modeling the underlying structure of the time series (Sheehan, 2009; Box & Jenkins, 1970).

In my analysis, I used Eviews 7 (2000-2012) software to examine the data. Traditional ARIMA modeling involves a univariate analysis of the dependent variable. Because I include control variables in the analysis, the ARIMA models actually become ARMAX models and require that I include the covariates when building the (p,d,q) models.

$$y_t = \beta x_t + \phi_1 y_{t-1} + \dots + \phi_p y_{t-p} - \theta_1 z_{t-1} - \dots - \theta_q z_{t-q} + z_t$$

Y_t = the time series

β = coefficient

X_t = covariate at time t

p = autoregressive parameter

Φ = coefficient

q = moving average parameter

Θ = coefficient

Z_t = white noise process

I evaluated each model for stationarity and, if necessary, differenced the series to remove drift and trend and then ran OLS regressions of each time series with the independent variables and a constant included. Some of the series were not stationary

after differencing, so I logged the dependent variable to achieve stationarity (Cook and Campbell, 1979: 288). I then examined each series to determine whether serial correlation was present. If serial correlation was present, I selected the appropriate number of AR parameters. I also examined the series for the presence of moving averages. As noted above, data were missing for the year 1993. Eviews (2000-2012) uses listwise deletion to deal with missing data, which has no impact on developing autoregressive models; however, Eviews requires a continuous data set when testing for moving averages.

As described above, I calculated the total number of attacks for 1992 and 1994 and the divided by 2 in order to obtain the number of attacks at the half-yearly level for anti-apartheid, separatist and unknown attacks and fatalities for 1993. In order to determine whether the models required MA parameters. I ran models with and without the imputed data and compared the results. I used diagnostic tests to ensure that the ARMAX models were white noise. Specifically, I examined three indicators of serial correlation: the Durbin Watson statistic, the correleogram of the residuals and the Breush-Godfrey LM Serial Correlation Test (LM Test). Finally, I added in the intervention variables to each model to test for relationships.

Types of Interventions

Prior to including an intervention into a time series model, one must ascertain the onset and duration of the intervention. Onset refers to whether the intervention is gradual or abrupt, while duration indicates whether the intervention is temporary or permanent. As noted in Table 7, there are four forms that an intervention can take:

abrupt permanent, abrupt temporary, gradual permanent, and gradual temporary. Gradual temporary interventions are difficult to model and are rarely used.

Table 4.6: Possible Intervention Forms

	Permanent Duration	Temporary Duration
Abrupt Onset	Abrupt Permanent (<i>Step Function</i>)	Abrupt Temporary (<i>Pulse Function</i>)
Gradual Onset	Gradual Permanent	Gradual Temporary (Difficult to Model)

The transfer function model for the abrupt, permanent change is $Y_t = \omega I_t + \text{Noise}$, where ω is the parameter or coefficient used to interpret the magnitude of the change and I is the intervention variable (intervention at time t) (Cook and Campbell, 1979). When an abrupt, permanent change occurs, the time series shifts in level from pre-treatment to post-treatment phase (McDowall et al., 1980). The intervention variable is a dummy coded variable that is equal to 0 prior to the intervention and equal to 1 after the intervention. The transfer function for the gradual, permanent change is created by adding the lag of the dependent variable to the right hand side of the equation, changing the model to: $Y_t = \delta Y_{t-1} + \omega I_t + \text{noise}$. The lagged dependent variable = δ and represents the rate at which the change in the post-intervention observations occurs (Cook and Campbell, 1979). A rapid change is indicated by a smaller δ ; whereas, a δ that is closer to 1 indicates a more gradual impact.

The transfer function for the abrupt, temporary change is created by redefining I_t as a pulse function, $Y_t = \delta Y_{t-1} + \omega P_t + \text{noise}$ (McDowell et al., 1980). In this case, the intervention variable, P_t is = 0 during the pre-intervention phase, then = 1 at the occurrence of the intervention, and then subsequently = 0. In this case, the δ also indicates the rate of change in the time series. Cook and Campbell (1979:265) refers to this type of effect as a “decaying spike” in that the intervention has a dramatic effect at the time of the intervention, but then steadily fades until the series reaches the pre-intervention level. The selection of the appropriate form of the intervention should be based on theoretical grounds or is done through rival hypotheses testing (Cook and Campbell, 1979), although it is possible to test all three intervention forms functions in the analysis. In this dissertation, I ran models for all three transfer functions to determine which is optimal in the final analysis.

Table 4.7: Error structure of ARMAX models for time series

Annual	ARMAX Model
Anti-Apartheid	(1,2,0)
Anti-Apartheid Fatalities	log(2,0,0)
Separatist	(0,1,1)
Separatist Fatalities	log(2,0,0)
Unknown	(1,2,0)
Unknown Fatalities	(1,2,0)

Time Series Limitations

It is important to note that there are some weaknesses to the design of time series because there is no control group, no random assignment, and one cannot show

a causal relationship between the intervention and changes in the series under investigation. Another major problem is the potential impact of history. However, time series regression allows one to conduct a quasi-experimental analysis of system level changes (West, Biesanz and Pitts, 2000) by taking the trend of the series into account prior to the intervention.

Reliability or consistency in the measurement of the data is of prime concern with time series data, which often comes from archival sources. Inconsistent measurement presents a threat to validity, which refers to the extent to which an instrument measures what it is supposed to measure. This issue was present in the collection of the GTD data, where data from 1970 to 1997 were collected prospectively and data collected after 1998 were collected retrospectively. Unreliability can be due to either error or systematic bias. This issue is particularly relevant to terrorism datasets that are often generated from information gathered from news and media sources. Indeed, LaFree and Dugan (2007) point out that the vast majority of terrorism studies are conducted using secondary data. Proper training of coders reduces the threat of inconsistent data measurement (Sheehan, 2009). As noted earlier in this chapter, coders who received specialized training collected the original GTD data. Researchers at UMD undertook efforts to ensure that rigorous data collection procedures were used. They developed a codebook, held trainings for coders, and employed procedures for continuous verification of the data.

One of the potential problems with reliability in the present research was the exclusion of terrorist events that were missed. As previously noted, collection of the original GTD data relied on national and international news and media sources, which

may explain why a number of incidents in South Africa were missing. Without access to domestic and local sources of news within South Africa, particularly during the time of apartheid, when censorship was strictly enforced, it would have been difficult for the original PGIS team to obtain information on many terrorist attacks. Additionally, as described above, I was able to identify attacks as either anti-apartheid or separatist in some cases by gathering additional information and considering the date of the attack, suggesting systematic undercounting in the collection of the data. The addition of the terrorist incidents from the Truth and Reconciliation Report actually addresses one of the main concerns of reliability because the Report revealed a number of incidents that had not been captured in the GTD. Adding in these incidents strengthens the reliability and validity of the data by addressing possible selection bias. I further explain this in the following section on validity.

Validity

As noted above, validity refers to the degree to which an instrument measures the phenomenon it is supposed to measure (Jaeger, 1990). Two types of validity are important for terrorism research: internal and external (Sheehan, 2009). Internal validity refers to the determination of causality between an independent and dependent variable: does X cause Y? For the present study, internal validity refers to a causal relationship between a selected intervention and a selected outcome variable. It is important to bear in mind that I am not testing causality in this research; time series intervention analysis can only test for relationships or associations between the intervention and the outcome variable of interest.

Some of the main threats to internal validity are selection bias, diffusion and history (Shadish, Cook and Campbell, 2002). Selection bias occurs when there is systematic exclusion of data. As noted above, the inclusion of the TRC data address selection bias to some degree by supplementing the GTD with missing information on terrorist attacks. Diffusion refers to the rate at which the intervention spreads through to the population. If the diffusion is gradual, there may be a delayed effect of the intervention. The nature of the interventions that I selected suggests rapid diffusion because they were widely reported and had a direct and immediate impact on the socio-legal and political structures in South Africa. History refers to the possibility that some other event or events that occurred between the pretest and posttest which may have exerted an influence on the results (Cook and Campbell, 1979).

Indeed, during the transition to democracy in South Africa, a number of sweeping changes were taking place. It may be that the repeal of the segregation laws or the announcement of the election served as triggers for terrorism increases and decreases. Controlling for history is possible in randomized experiments; however, in quasi-experiments the ability to control history is limited. While I could not include every intervention in my analysis, I used theory to inform my selection of interventions.

External validity refers to the generalizability of the research to other contexts and/or populations. Because this is a case study of domestic terrorism in one country in Africa, generalizability is limited. However, this does not mean that important insights cannot be gained from this research. Additionally, because South Africa has been touted as a successful model for other nations experiencing conflict, it is

important to determine to what extent the events in South Africa can be replicated in other nations.

Time Series Analysis using hazard modeling

In a recent article, Dugan (2011) highlighted additional weaknesses of time series intervention analysis. She noted that problems can arise when interventions occur closely in time, making it difficult to disentangle the intervention effects. I faced this issue in the present research because three of the interventions occur within a four- year period. Consequently, I ran each intervention separately and then ran full models for each series with all four interventions included. Another issue is that collapsing data into time intervals may compromise temporal ordering and may conceal variation in terrorist incidents. If terrorist events occur prior to the intervention within the time interval, these incidents will be treated as if they actually occurred after the implementation of the intervention.

While there is no magic bullet to deal with these difficulties, she recommended that lagging the intervention may ameliorate the problem of temporal ordering. In the present study, this issue came up for my interventions because I used six-month time intervals, which are relatively wide. For the pass law repeal, the intervention occurred on July 1, 1986, which was the beginning of the second half of that year, so no incidents were included prior to the intervention. Similarly, the legalization intervention occurred early in the first half of 1990, on February 2nd. Three incidents occurred prior to this date, while 80 incidents occurred after the intervention, suggesting that this is not an issue. Consequently, I chose not to lag the

interventions. The race classification intervention was more problematic. This intervention occurred on June 17, 1991. Forty-five incidents occurred prior to the intervention and one occurred after. For the election intervention, which occurred on April 26, 1994, there were 113 incidents prior to the election and 34 that occurred after the intervention.

I ran models with both non-lagged and lagged interventions for the race classification and pass law interventions, meaning that I ran the data with the intervention occurring in the subsequent six month time interval.

For the issue of collapsing the data, Dugan (2010) recommends using series hazard modeling, a technique that uses Cox proportional hazard modeling. This method uses the characteristics of past events to estimate the changes in the risk of subsequent events.

Conclusion

In this Chapter, I provided a description of the data and methodology that I used to test my hypotheses. As described above, I used ARMAX techniques to model the series' of terrorist attacks and fatalities in South Africa. I then examined the association between changes in the series over time with six macro level interventions. In the next Chapter, I present the results of the analyses.

Chapter 6: Results

Overview

In this Chapter, I provide a review of the data. Because I am dealing with time series data, I also describe trends in terrorist activity during the study period. I then provide the results of my analyses.

Trends in Terrorist Activity

Figure 11 depicts the semi-annual terrorist attacks in South Africa from 1970 through 2010. According to the graph, unknown attacks account for the majority of attacks. Anti-apartheid attacks steadily increase from the early 1980s through 1988 when they peak and drop off quickly. There is a slight rise in anti-apartheid attacks between 1991 and 1994. Separatist attacks do not begin to increase until the early 1990s, with three distinctive peaks. These attacks drop off quickly after 1994.

Figure 11 Semi-Annual Terrorist Attacks in South Africa (1970-2010)

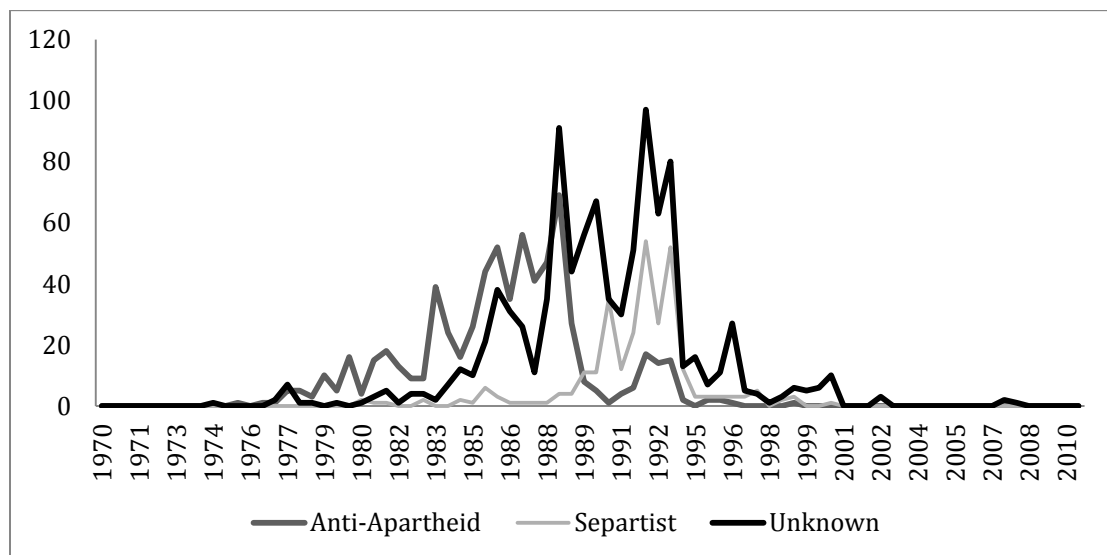
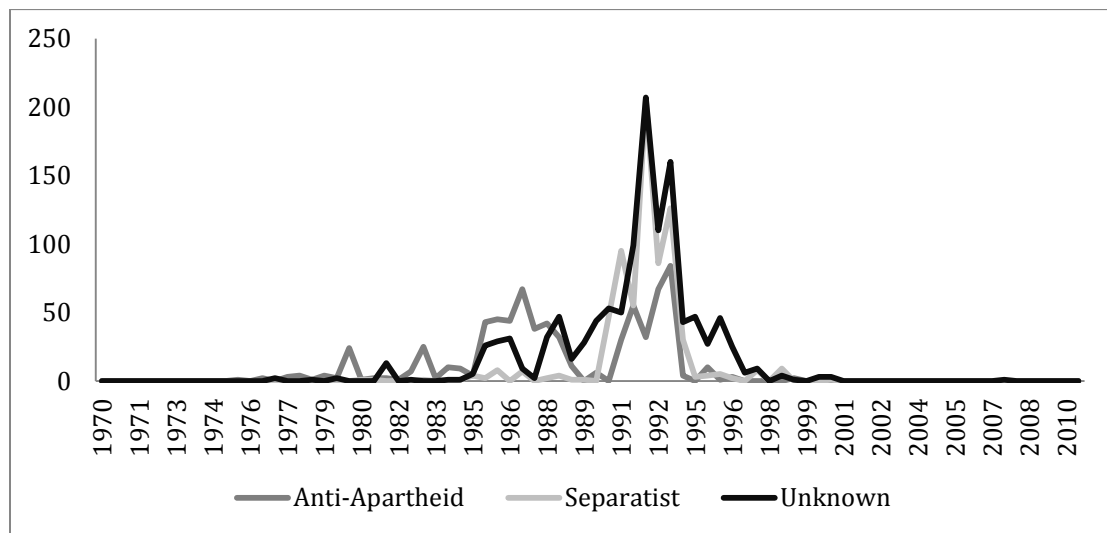


Figure 12 depicts semi-annual fatalities resulting from terrorist attacks in South Africa from 1970 through 2010. The fatalities are an indication of the lethality of the attacks, and as previously mentioned, ethnic terrorist attacks are predicted to be more lethal than other types of attacks (Byman, 1998). Prior to 1990, attacks were less lethal, and anti-apartheid attacks were less lethal overall, with fewer fatalities compared to unknown and separatist attacks. Separatist and unknown attacks were more lethal and both increased dramatically between 1990 and 1994. As with the incidents, fatalities began to drop off in 1994 for all three types of groups.

Figure 12: Semi-Annual Fatalities from Terrorist Attacks in South Africa (1970-2010)



Description of Data

Table 8 contains the descriptive statistics for the dependent variables, control variables and intervention variables. Unknown forces were responsible for the

majority of the attacks and fatalities from attacks. Separatist groups committed fewer terrorist attacks, but attacks by separatist groups were more much more lethal in comparison to the number of attacks. It is important to note that there are no measures of inequality in the data; however, I was able to include some macro level economic measures in the models. The control variables include the annual homicide rate, inflation, GDP growth and population growth. I also included the intervention variables for both the step and pulse functions, as described in the previous chapter.

Table 6.1: Descriptive statistics for dependent, independent and control variables (n=80)

	Mean	Median	Max.	Min.	Std. Dev.
<i>Semi-Annual Series</i>					
Anti-Apartheid Incidents	8.36	0.5	69	0	15.1
Separatist Incidents	3.73	0.1	54	0	9.9
Unknown Incidents	11.97	1.5	97	0	21.86
Anti-Apartheid Fatalities	9.05	0.1	84	0	18.23
Separatist Fatalities	8.94	0.1	206	0	30.78
Unknown Fatalities	14.86	0.1	207	0	34.62
<i>Control Variables</i>					
Annual Homicide Rate	37.68	34	65.1	21.6	11.99
Annual Inflation	9.93	10.30	18.65	1.39	4.25
Annual GDP Growth	2.67	2.98	6.62	-2.14	2.39
Annual Population Growth	2.03	2.2	2.6	0.96	0.51
Data Collection Differences	0.31	.00	1	0	.47
<i>Intervention Variables</i>					
Pass Law Step	0.60	1	1	0	0.50
Pass Law Pulse	0.03	0	1	0	0.16
Legalization Step	0.48	0	1	0	0.51
Legalization Pulse	0.03	0	1	0	0.16
Race Classification Step	0.50	0.5	1	0	0.51
Race Classification Pulse	0.03	0	1	0	0.16
Election Step	0.43	0	1	0	0.50
Election Pulse	0.03	0	1	0	0.16

Table 6.2 contains basic descriptive information on the intervention variables, including the number of pre and post intervention half-years.

Table 6.2: Intervention Observation Periods

Intervention	Date	Pre-Intervention Observations	Post-Intervention Observations
Pass Law	July 1, 1986	49	31
Race Classification	June 17, 1991	40	40
Legalization	February 2, 1990	38	42
Election	April 26, 1994	46	34

Results of intervention models

In this section, I describe the results of the analyses.⁴ My predictions for the anti-apartheid attacks and fatalities and the separatist attacks and fatalities were one-tailed tests; consequently, I adjusted the p-values to reflect this in the tables. As mentioned above, some of the series required logging to achieve stationarity (Cook and Campbell, 1979). The coefficients for the logged series may be interpreted as percent changes (Sheehan, 2009).

Table 6.3 contains the results for the anti-apartheid attacks. The results indicated that none of the interventions were associated with levels of anti-apartheid attacks. Table 6.4 contains the results for the anti-apartheid fatalities. The election intervention was associated with an abrupt, permanent decrease in anti-apartheid

⁴ I ran models for all the series with the 1993 data. The results for the models with the 1993 data included were comparable to the results without the data. The one exception was for the separatist fatalities. In the model with the legalization intervention, the results indicated an increase associated with the intervention. However, the significant finding for the intervention disappeared in the full model with the 1993 data. I did, however, leave the 1993 data in the separatist attack model because the ARMAX type required a moving average parameter and Eviews requires a continuous series in order to calculate MA models.

fatalities (-4.23, $p < .05$). For the control variables, population growth was associated with an increase in anti-apartheid fatalities in the model 1 (1.78, $p < .05$). In the full model, the significant results remained for the election intervention (-3.52, $p < .05$) and the results for the control variables were non significant.

Table 6.5 contains the results for separatist incidents. None of the results were significant in the individual models. For the full model, the legalization of political parties was associated with an increase in separatist attacks (13.39, $p < .05$). For the control variables, the homicide rate was associated with a decrease in separatist attacks (-.43, $p < .01$).

Table 6.6 depicts the results for separatist fatalities. The race classification intervention is associated with an abrupt, temporary increase in fatalities from separatist attacks (2.90, $p < .05$; $\delta = .03^{**}$). The small value of the δ parameter indicates that the increase happened quickly. The inflation variable is also positive and significant (.14, $p < .01$). Additionally, the election intervention is associated with an abrupt, permanent decrease in fatalities from separatist attacks (-5.17, $p < .01$). The homicide rate is also significant (.12, $p < .01$). In the full model, the results for race classification and the election intervention remain significant, (3.71, $p < .01$) and (-4.83, $p < .001$), respectively.

In Table 6.7, the results of the unknown attacks are listed. For the pass law intervention, the results indicate that the repeal was associated with a gradual, permanent increase in unknown attacks (14.43, $p < .05$; $\delta = .64^{**}$). The large δ parameter suggests that the decline occurred relatively slowly. The election intervention was associated with an abrupt, permanent decrease in attacks from

unknown groups (-38.88, $p < .05$). In the full model, the results remain consistent, with pass laws associated with a significant increase in unknown attacks (33.45, $p < .00$) and the election associated with a decrease in unknown attacks (-54.29, $p < .01$).

Table 6.8 indicates that the election was associated with an abrupt, permanent decrease in fatalities from unknown groups (-65.09, $p < .05$). There was an increase in the homicide rate in relation to the intervention (2.01, $p < .05$). For the full model, the race classification intervention was associated with an increase in fatalities from unknown groups (63.07, $p < .01$). The election intervention was associated with a decrease in unknown fatalities (-115.80, $p < .001$). Additionally, the homicide rate increased in relation to the intervention (1.99, $p < .01$).

Table 6.3: Results for Anti-Apartheid Attacks, Coefficient Estimates and (SE), ARMAX (1,2,0)

Variables	Prediction	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3	Model 4	Model 5
<u>Interventions</u>						
Pass Laws	-	-7.22 (9.17)				-7.58 (10.14)
Race Classification	-		-0.08 (7.46)			3.18 (9.05)
Legalization	-			-1.45 (9.28)		-.62 (10.29)
Election	-				-5.84 (13.34)	-8.76 (17.22)
<u>Control Variables</u>						
GDP Growth	-	-.01 .57	.00 (.58)	-0.02 (.59)	0.02 (.58)	.02 (.59)
Population Growth	+	6.31 (6.21)	7.74 (5.82)	7.35 (6.11)	6.25 (6.53)	4.80 (7.30)
Inflation	+	.23 (.63)	.47 (.62)	0.44 (.62)	0.27 (.71)	.03 (.73)
Homicide Rate	-	-.24 (.37)	-.35 (.33)	-0.31 (.39)	-0.25 (.38)	-.15 (.46)
Post-97 Collection	-	-.07 (.69)	-.13 (.71)	-0.12 (.71)	-0.06 (.72)	-.00 (.71)
Transfer Function	(1,2,0)	Abrupt, Permanent	Abrupt, Permanent	Abrupt, Permanent	Abrupt, Permanent	Abrupt, Permanent

*p <0.05; **p <0.01; ***p <.001, all tests are one-tailed

Table 6.4: Results for Anti-Apartheid Fatalities, Coefficient Estimates and (SE), ARMAX ln(2,0,0)

Variables	Prediction	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3	Model 4	Model 5
<u>Interventions</u>						
Pass Laws	-	1.48 (.87)				1.39 (.85)
Race Classification	-		.45 (1.40)			3.42 (1.13)
Legalization	-			2.41 (1.43)		-.17 (1.32)
Election	-				-4.23* (2.39)	-3.52* (1.53)
Lag Fatalities: Delta			0.05 (.01)	0.05 (.01)		
<u>Control Variables</u>						
GDP Growth	-	-0.01 (.57)	-0.02 (.08)	-0.02 (.08)	0.02 (.08)	.03 (.08)
Population Growth	+	1.78* (.71)	1.04 (.55)	1.03 (.52)	0.01 (1.05)	1.56 (.76)
Inflation	+	0.19 (.08)	0.18 (.08)	0.17 (.07)	-0.03 (.11)	.15 (.09)
Homicide Rate	-	-0.03 (.03)	0.00 (.03)	0.00 (.03)	-0.02 (.06)	-.07 (.05)
Post-97 Collection	-	-0.13 (.15)	-0.11 (.14)	-.10 (.14)	0.02 (.14)	.08 (.14)
Transfer Function		Abrupt, Permanent	Abrupt, Temporary	Abrupt, Temporary	Abrupt, Permanent	Abrupt, Permanent

*p <0.05; **p <0.01; ***p <.001, all tests are one-tailed

Table 6.5: Results for Separatist Attacks, Coefficient Estimates and (SE), ARMAX(0,1,1)

Variables	Prediction	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3	Model 4	Model 5
<u>Interventions</u>						
Pass Laws	+	-6.89 (9.36)				2.37 (.215)
Race Classification	+		6.93 (4.09)			-2.31 (5.28)
Legalization	+			4.98 (9.25)		13.39** (5.86)
Election	-				-7.75 (4.23)	-6.19 (3.34)
Lag		(-.14) (.09)		-.13 (.09)		
<u>Control Variables</u>						
GDP Growth	-	-0.70 (.41)	-0.33 (.40)	-0.67 (.41)	-0.51 (.38)	.08 (.35)
Population Growth	+	-1.32 (2.18)	1.81 (2.51)	-1.16 (2.18)	-2.94 (2.30)	4.17 (2.36)
Inflation	+	-.07 (.31)	-.05 (.26)	-.00 (.31)	-0.34 (.29)	-.43 (.24)
Homicide Rate	-	-0.08 (.09)	-0.36 (.14)	-0.09 (.09)	.02 (.12)	-.43 (.14)**
Post-97 Collection	-	-0.23 (.90)	-.18 (.86)	.19 (.90)	0.79 (.93)	.48 (.83)
Transfer Function		Abrupt, Temporary	Abrupt, Permanent	Abrupt, Temporary	Abrupt, Permanent	Abrupt, Permanent

*p <0.05; **p <0.01; ***p<.001, all tests are one-tailed

Table 6.6: Results for Separatist Fatalities, Coefficient Estimates and (SE), ARMAX ln(2,0,0)

Variables	Prediction	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3	Model 4	Model 5
<u>Interventions</u>						
Pass Laws	+	.93 (.91)				.64 (.70)
Race Classification	+		2.90* (1.43)			3.71** (1.09)
Legalization	+			2.05 (1.25)		.45 (1.26)
Election	-				-2.46* (1.41)	-4.83** (1.04)
Delta			.03** (.01)			
<u>Control Variables</u>						
GDP Growth	-	-0.06 (.08)	-0.05 (.08)	-0.01 (.09)	-0.11 (.08)	.00 (.08)
Population Growth	+	1.15 (.74)	0.72 (.53)	1.64 (.86)	-0.20 (.70)	.73 (.67)
Inflation	+	0.13 (.08)	0.14* (.07)*	0.16 (.09)	0.12 (.09)	.16 (.07)
Homicide Rate	-	0.05 (.04)	0.06 (.54)	0.02 (.04)	0.12** (.04)	.09* (.04)
Post-97 Collection	-	-0.08 (.14)	-0.08 (.02)	-0.09 (.14)	-0.03 (.15)	-.10 (.14)
Transfer Function		Abrupt, Permanent	Abrupt, Temporary	Abrupt, Permanent	Abrupt, Permanent	Abrupt, Permanent

*p <0.05; **p <0.01; ***p <0.001, all tests are one-tailed

Table 6.7: Results for Unknown Attacks, Coefficient Estimates and (SE), ARMAX (1,2,0)

Variables	Prediction	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3	Model 4	Model 5
<u>Interventions</u>						
Pass Laws	-	14.43* (6.26)				33.45** (6.68)
Race Classification	-		-6.20 (14.24)			6.93 (12.07)
Legalization	-			9.56 (14.77)		4.36 (13.48)
Election	-				-38.88* (18.60)	-54.29** (9.92)
Delta		.64** (.14)	.83 (.11)			
<u>Control Variables</u>						
GDP Growth	-	-0.16 (.62)	-0.18 (.64)	0.45 (.96)	-0.09 (.94)	.01 (.85)
Population Growth	+	5.51 (4.05)	-0.07 (3.43)	12.12 (10.59)	-4.75 (9.53)	.21 (6.75)
Inflation	+	0.63 (.56)	0.54 (.56)	0.20 (1.07)	-0.52 (1.09)	.68 (.68)
Homicide Rate	-	-0.31 (.20)	0.02 (.16)	0.26 (.49)	0.68 (.60)	.75 (.39)
Post-97 Collection	-	-0.95 (1.28)	-0.37 (1.30)	-0.11 (1.16)	0.27 (1.19)	-.31 (1.39)
Transfer Function		Gradual, Permanent	Abrupt, Temporary	Abrupt, Permanent	Abrupt, Permanent	Abrupt, Permanent

*p <0.05; **p <0.01; ***p<.001, all tests are one-tailed

Table 6.8: Results for Unknown Fatalities, Coefficient Estimates and (SE), ARMAX (1,2,0)

Variables	Prediction	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3	Model 4	Model 5
<u>Interventions</u>						
Pass Laws	-	27.35 (13.59)				15.01 (10.87)
Race Classification	-		-1.08 (20.43)			63.07** (19.09)
Legalization	-			9.74 (23.49)		6.52 (21.73)
Election	-				-65.09* (22.54)	-115.80** (15.78)
<u>Control Variables</u>						
GDP Growth	-	-1.68 (1.40)	-0.14 (1.48)	-0.03 (1.51)	-1.86 (1.36)	-0.22 (1.36)
Population Growth	+	9.16 (10.93)	8.43 (16.99)	11.67 (17.40)	-20.16 (11.71)	-8.42 (10.73)
Inflation	+	1.60 (1.29)	-0.58 (1.65)	-0.29 (1.67)	0.04 (1.41)	1.14 (1.08)
Homicide Rate	-	-0.25 (.62)	1.06 (.74)	0.89 (.80)	2.01* (.72)	1.99** (.62)
Post-97 Collection	-	-1.12 (1.87)	-0.04 (1.81)	-0.13 (1.81)	0.14 (1.91)	-0.86 (2.26)
Transfer Function		Abrupt, Permanent	Abrupt, Temporary	Abrupt, Permanent	Abrupt, Permanent	Abrupt, Permanent

*p <0.05; **p <0.01; ***p<.001, all tests are one-tailed

Summary

Although I am not able to establish a direct causal connection between the interventions and levels of terrorism, I believe that the results of the analysis provide important insight into the dynamics of terrorism in South Africa. One of the benefits of using ARMAX models in regression time series analysis is that the model identification process takes into account systematic processes that may confound the influence of the intervention by taking into account trends in the data (Pridemore, Chamlin and Cochran, 2007). The results generally support the hypotheses. Separatist attacks increased in relation to the legalization of oppositional political parties and fatalities from separatist attacks increased in relation to the repeal of the race classification law. Unknown attacks increased in relation to the repeal of the pass laws and fatalities from unknown attacks increased in relation to the race classification intervention. For the election intervention, anti-apartheid attacks and separatist attacks were not significant; however anti-apartheid and separatist fatalities and unknown attacks and fatalities all showed significant decreases in relation to the intervention. These results will be discussed on greater detail in the next chapter.

Chapter 7: Discussion

Overview

I began this dissertation by arguing that the South African government generated intergroup conflict through the implementation of the apartheid system, which was in essence based on ethnic privilege. In this chapter, I discuss the findings of my analyses. I also discuss the implications of my findings and will highlight some important limitations in this research. I then discuss the policy implications of my findings and discuss future directions for research.

Findings

There were dire predictions that the extreme right and separatist forces would persist in terrorism even after the elections (Southern, 2008). This, however, did not occur. Despite the surge in unknown and separatist terrorism during the transition to democracy, violence quickly decreased according to the data after the election. The results of the analysis tend to support the Smith (2000), who argued that the implementation and establishment of democratic institutions could lead to decreases in ethnic conflict. The democratic election in South Africa was associated with significant decreases in terrorist violence from unknown groups and decreases in fatalities for anti-apartheid, separatist and unknown groups studied in this dissertation. These findings suggest that once legitimate democratic structures are in place, reliance on terrorist violence decreases because groups with grievances have access to political institutions to address their issues.

Additionally, Marsh and Szayna (2000) argue, governments may engage in accommodative strategies and bargaining to protect their status as changes occur in the power structure. In South Africa, whites were, for the most part, able to maintain their privileged status even after the transition to democracy. Although it is not possible to say for certain whether the unknown attacks were committed by separatist groups or a third force, the results suggest that the unknown attacks are more similar to separatist incidents than to anti-apartheid incidents. Thus, as predicted by power threat theory (Blalock, 1967), when a dominant group faces a loss of power, members of that group may engage in acts of violence against the subordinate group. However, as the formerly subordinate group are able to mobilize effectively and achieve sufficient political power, attacks against them should decrease.

Theoretical Implications

The theoretical implications of this research are limited because I did not directly test any theory. Rather, I derived insights from theories of intergroup relations to develop my hypotheses. One of the potential theoretical implications has to do with the two traditional measures of threat that have been used in previous analyses in the power threat hypothesis (Blalock, 1967). These measures are minority population size and economic conditions. Chamlin (2009) points out that it may be more useful to add in direct measures of intergroup threat in a time series design in order to determine whether policies and procedures change in response to the threat.

Another theoretical implication of this research lies in the value of considering ethnicity in research on intergroup dynamics. In particular, assessing the role of

ethnicity may be important in the United States as it continues to respond to the growing population of Hispanics (Etile and Taylor, 2008). Holmes et al. (2008) argue that research on minority threat has relied too heavily on race, and that more focus should be placed on ethnic distinctions. As Market (2008) has noted, Hispanics may face discrimination in the United States due to the perception that they are in the country illegally and that they are reluctant to give up their native language.

This research may have theoretical implications concerning the role of grievances in generating conflict and terrorism. The findings of this research suggest that grievances do matter and that inequality in the polity may be more important than inequality in the socio-legal realm. Although the laws have been changes, black South Africans continue to face high levels of economic inequality, yet terrorist violence has virtually disappeared. New grievances have been generated on the part of the Afrikaners who lost power; however, they have access to the political system in order to address their grievances (Southern, 2008).

Limitations

There are important limitations to the present research that must be discussed. First, this analysis only examines whether there is an association between the interventions and levels of terrorism; consequently, I am unable to say that the interventions caused any of the decreases or increases in attacks or fatalities. Additionally, the theories that I discuss are not actually being tested; rather, they are used to provide important contextual information to the analysis and provide a framework for considering the interventions.

Another limitation is the presence of a large number of unknown terrorist attacks in the data, which limits my ability to say for certain whether anti-apartheid or separatist groups committed the attacks. The results of the analysis suggest that these incidents are a combination of the two, with the unknown anti-apartheid incidents occurring prior to 1990 and the unknown separatist incidents occurring after 1990. Finally, the research design was a quasi-experimental analysis, which means that I did not have the ability to control for the impact of other factors on levels of terrorism.

Policy Implications

This research suggests that grievances do have a role in terrorist violence, which challenges one of the main beliefs about terrorism (LaFree, 2008). It is important to note that resolving grievances in favor of one group may trigger grievances by other groups that feel threatened by changes, particularly when grievances are based on ascribed characteristics such as ethnicity or race. de Mequita (2005) suggests that increases in violence after the implementation of significant government reforms may be the result of a rift between those who hold moderate and extremist views. In other words, moderate groups are more likely to accept concessions by the government, while those holding extremist views work to undermine the process of negotiations (Kydd and Walter, 2002). One of the benefits to the government is that former terrorists who adopt more moderate views can become a resource by assisting government forces in countering extremist terrorists (de Mequita, 2005).

In South Africa, terrorist violence dramatically increased between 1990 and 1994, during the transition to democracy and much of this violence was committed by unknown and separatist groups. The evidence of a third force uncovered by the Truth and Reconciliation Commission suggests that, although the government did not officially sanction these activities, it took on a passive role in dealing with the violence. Thus, another policy implication is that sources from within the government, particularly security forces, may become a source of non-sanctioned violence from rogue agents. Efforts should be made to assess the level of disagreement on the part of agency members with the policy changes to ensure that they do not become part of a campaign to undermine negotiations. Swift and deliberate action to confront these sources of violence is imperative to preserve the legitimacy of the government during times of transition. One of the problems with South Africa was the government's reluctance to deal with the security forces that were identified early on by the Human Rights Watch (1991) as a source of terrorist violence.

The results of this research suggest that resolving political grievances may be more imperative to decreasing terrorism than resolving inequality based grievances. If governments plan to make changes in a slow, incremental fashion, they may need to shift resources to counter-terrorism efforts to address the potential surge in violence as expectations rise. On the other hand, they may want to consider making meaningful political changes on a more accelerated basis, which could stave off increases in violence, (Smith, 2000). Managing the expectations of the population is

a critical component and providing a timeline of changes could help in preventing unrealistic demands on the part of opposing parties.

An important policy question is whether the case of South Africa is applicable to other nations. There are a number of factors that limit the relevance of South Africa to other conflicts (Athiemoolam, 2003). First, the population dynamic was in favor of the black majority. Also, the economic interdependence of the white and black populations made resolving issues paramount to the economic survival of the state. A major benefit for South Africa was that it already had democratic structures in place, although access was unequally distributed, which provided a context within which negotiations could take place between the government and opposing forces. Perhaps most importantly, white South Africans did not lose their economic status as a result of the changes.

Many nations facing terrorism are not comparable. For example, Israel has encountered enormous challenges in dealing with terrorist violence and some make comparisons to South Africa, going so far as to characterize Israel's policy toward the Palestinians as apartheid (Carter, 2007). The population dynamics, lack of economic interdependence, religious differences, and involvement of third parties in the negotiations make it difficult for the parties in the Israeli-Palestinian conflict to be resolved in a manner similar to that of South Africa (Adam, 2002).

South Africa's greatest contribution comes from its approach to addressing ethnic status. The fear of the Afrikaners was that the new government would exact revenge for years of oppression by structuring society in favor of non-whites. Rather than doing this, the democratic government engaged in political accommodation and

included constitutional recognition of ethnic differences (Szeftel, 1994). In this way, leaders were able to preserve and reinforce the value of ethnicity without using it as a means for distributing access to rights and privileges (Murray and Simeon, 2010). One of the more interesting developments that addressed Afrikaner fears was the creation of Orania in 1990, as an all-white, Afrikaner community recognized and sanctioned by the government (Meyer, 2011). The death of Eugene Terreblanche, leader of the Afrikaner Resistance Movement (AWB), at the hands of itinerant black farmworkers in 2010 renewed fears of terrorism by Afrikaner separatists (Flanagan, 2010). Concerns of ethnic related violence have not disappeared from South Africa and most likely never will.

Future Directions

Future studies should consider socio-legal and political interventions as part of counter-terrorist initiatives in other nations facing terrorism. Additional research on ethnic terrorism should be conducted in order to gain a more complete understanding of this form of intergroup conflict. An in depth analysis of the confessions from the Truth and Reconciliation Commission should also be conducted. These confessions not only provide important details of terrorist incidents, they also provide insight into the rationale for attacks committed by groups and individuals.

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