

THE PENNSYLVANIA STATE UNIVERSITY
SCHREYER HONORS COLLEGE

DEPARTMENT OF POLITICAL SCIENCE

TERRORIST ATTACKS AND VOTING TURNOUT IN AFGHANISTAN

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SPRING 2015

A thesis
submitted in partial fulfillment
of the requirements
for a baccalaureate degree
in Political Science
with honors in Political Science

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ABSTRACT

Since the start of the US-Afghan War in late 2001, one major goal of the US has been to transition Afghanistan into a democracy. Thus, one of the major obstacles to democratization in Afghanistan have been the terrorist attacks carried out by the Taliban during its presidential elections. The Taliban has targeted Afghanistan's presidential elections because they oppose the implementation of democracy by the western states that overthrew their regime. In this study, I examine the relationship between the frequency and magnitude of terrorist attacks carried out by the Taliban and voter turnout in Afghanistan's 2004 and 2009 presidential elections. This thesis uses both a bivariate regression and multivariate regression analysis to test 3 hypothesis. My main dependent variable is voter turnout and my independent variables are the frequency of terrorist attacks and the amount of people who died in these attacks. I will also be controlling for several demographic, political, and social factors. Furthermore, both the bivariate regression and multivariate regression support my initial hypothesis suggesting a negative relationship between terrorist attacks and voter turnout in Afghanistan.

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ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I would like to thank my thesis advisor, Dr Henderson, for his support, encouragement, and unwavering patience. I would also like to thank Dr. Berkman, Dr. Casper and Dr. Lowery for their guidance and support throughout this process.

Chapter 1

Introduction

The Al-Qaeda attacks against the U-S in 2001(aka 9/11) led the Bush Administration to adopt a counter-terrorism strategy, which it labeled the “Global War on Terror” (GWOT). The initial target of the GWOT was the Central Asian country of Afghanistan, which was ruled by an Islamist dictatorship, the Taliban, which harbored Al-Qaeda leaders including those associated with the 9/11 attacks. In the event, NATO invoked Article 5 of its fifty-two year old treaty, which provides for collective defense by member states in the case of an attack on any NATO member, for its first time in its history. The US and its allies then initiated the US-Afghan War which has been ongoing for more then a decade. The US and its allies succeeded in overthrowing the Taliban, which had sponsored Al-Qaeda, and eventually killed Osama Bin Laden, the Al-Qaeda leader and mastermind of the 9/11 attacks. In addition, the US has assisted in the economic, social and political reconstruction of the country. One important aspect of the reconstruction of Afghanistan has been assistance with implementing some of the first democratic elections in the country’s history. These elections are viewed as necessary to promote democracy in a transformed Afghanistan, which is a primary goal of the US mission in Afghanistan, and is also viewed as a powerful prophylactic to ensure against the reemergence of the Taliban dictatorship and its possible support of terrorist groups that might attack the US and its allies in the future (Barfield 2012).

Afghanistan is a developing democracy that has faced many obstacles in its attempts to hold presidential elections. Given the absence of democracy in the country’s history, there are very

few extant institutions of civil society that might be used to support the initiatives that the US and its allies were attempting to implement to transition the country to a more representative government. Beyond the development of such institutions, there were even more direct threats to democratization efforts in Afghanistan: the remnants of the Taliban, itself, and its allies in and around Afghanistan who not openly opposed democratization, but were intent on using terrorist attacks to prevent democratic elections from taking place. Thus, one of the major obstacles to democratization in Afghanistan were the terrorist attacks carried out by the Taliban during its presidential elections. In this study, I examine the relationship between the frequency and magnitude of terrorist attacks carried out by the Taliban and voter turnout in Afghan presidential elections.

My thesis is that there is a negative relationship between the incidence of terrorist attacks and voter turnout in presidential elections, controlling for other factors. To test this proposition, I analyze the incidence of terrorist attacks (n= 287) carried out by the Taliban in each of Afghanistan's 34 provinces prior to scheduled presidential elections in 2004 and 2009. The results from my thesis contribute to the literature in several ways. First, it contributes to our understanding of political processes in Afghanistan; and specifically, on how the elections in a democratizing, war-torn, and conflict prone Central Asian state such as Afghanistan, are being affected by terrorism. Second, given the importance of democratization as a focus of interest, in general, in political science, and the emergent significance of terrorism in studies of conflict processes, as well as the centrality of Afghanistan in the historic events of 2001 and thereafter, the findings from my study also provide insights for both the literature that is concerned with democratization in states, as well as the conflict processes literature that focuses on terrorism. Third, the findings from my thesis contributes to the specific literature on terrorism and voter

turnout. Research on democratization in Afghanistan has been rare because the country has been autocratic since its independence, and much of the research on terrorism in Afghanistan has been focused mainly on its relationship to external factors (such as international war, and the GWOT) rather than on issues such as voter turnout, which is my focus. Moreover, my findings challenge those of several earlier studies, which found that terrorist attacks motivate people to go out and vote—thus, increasing voter turnout; but this is not consistent with what I find for post-2001 Afghanistan. In addition, other theorists have hypothesized that voting turnout is less affected by terrorist attacks and is more the result of economic or social factors. Controlling for such factors, I find a significant relationship between terrorist attacks and voter turnout, so my results challenge those of these studies as well.

Given that the relationship between terrorism and elections is embedded in the broader discussion of the effects of internal conflict on voter turnout, my thesis begins with a brief review of the academic literature on internal conflict and voter turnout in elections in democracies, in general, and then turns to a discussion of terrorism, specifically, as a form of internal conflict, and the way in which it is assumed to affect voter turnout in developed as well as underdeveloped democratic systems. Next, I will discuss several perspectives on the putative relationship(s) between terrorism and voter turnout in Afghanistan, which inform my theory. Following that, I will derive three hypotheses from my theory and discuss the research design utilized in my study. I will then present and discuss the findings from my data analysis. Lastly I will discuss the research and policy implications of my findings.

Chapter 2

Literature Review

Terrorism and Voter Turnout

Terrorism may be viewed as the use of armed violence by states or non-state actors against non-combatants in order to achieve a political or military objective. Understood in this way, terrorism has been evident in the relations within and between states for centuries. More than any other single event, the 9/11 attacks made terrorism a central issues among political scientist. Not surprisingly, research on terrorism has increased dramatically in the decade following 9/11. In slightly more than a decade since 9/11, this research on terrorism has focused on its origins, as well as the ways that it can be prevented and defeated.

A related literature has focused on the relationship between terrorism and a range of outcomes. One of the more interesting outcomes that this literature has addressed is democratization. That is, this branch of the terrorism literature is concerned with the impact of terrorism on democratization, in particular, elections and voter turnout. While the literature is more limited, the literature on voter turnout is voluminous (Almond and Verba 1963; Jackman1987: Jackman and Miller 1995; Pacek *et al.* 2009; Pacek and Radcliff 1995: Powell 1980, 1986; Feddersen and Sandroni 2006; Klor and Winter 2008; Li and Majumdar 2006). These studies focus on myriad factors such as economic, cultural, and political factors that are assumed to influence voter turnout; but they have rarely examined the role of terrorism in voter turnout. Moreover, given that major sites of recent terrorist violence have been authoritarian regimes which have rarely if ever held elections, a focus on the role of terrorism in electoral

violence has been even more rare.

In the post 9/11 era, Afghanistan has been both a hub of international terrorism and a state struggling to develop democratic institutions. A key element of the development of democratic institutions is citizen participation in regularly held elections. Afghanistan, in particular, offers an interesting case for those interested in how terrorism affects democratization. To understand this relationship, it's important to closely examine the unique context of Afghanistan and the interplay of the various forces and factors that are influencing both the terrorism that the country continues to be afflicted with and the democracy that so many of its citizens continue to struggle to build.

When the US invaded Afghanistan in late 2001, its goal was to overthrow the Taliban leadership, destroy Al-Qaeda's ability to conduct terrorist operations from that country- and capture its leader, Osama bin-Laden, and to help the insurgent Northern Alliance (to which the US was allied) to come to power in a more representative regime that would govern the country. A key element in the latter objective was to transition the country from its long standing autocracy into a democratic state. Underlying the latter was the assumption that democracies would be less likely to generate terrorism or to harbor terrorist organizations.

In contrast, several studies have found that democracy does not necessarily reduce the likelihood of terrorism. In fact, several studies have found a positive relationship between the level of democracy in a state and the state's likelihood of experiencing terrorism. For example, Lutz and Lutz (2010) found that democracies are constrained in how they deal with internal violence, while authoritarian regimes are less constrained in how they deal with internal violence. As a result, democratic institutions are more effective in channeling discontent through established representative institutions and are also limited in their use of repression against their

civilians. In contrast, authoritarian regimes may use more repressive measures in dealing with domestic unrest; and recognizing this, potential insurrectionists or insurgents knowing that they face greater potential repression in authoritarian regimes are more likely to be deterred from initiating internal violence in authoritarian regimes as opposed to in democratic regimes. For example, authoritarian governments are able to use much greater levels and types of repression when dealing with terrorist groups such as kidnapping, torture, assassination, or threatening families of suspects. In democracies, however, there are restrictions on the use of torture, violation of personal integrity rights and the rights of even convicted terrorist from “cruel and unusual punishment”. States undergoing democratic transitions are often in a middle ground between fully authoritarian and fully democratic regimes with respect to the level of repression they are likely to use when facing internal conflict.

This argument is related to Fein’s (1995) thesis that the most repressive regimes are those with intermediate levels of democracy (i.e. semi-democracies or anocracies), which was supported by the empirical findings of Regan and Henderson (2002) for 91 least developed countries (LDCs). The greater susceptibility of transitioning semi-democracies or anocracies to repression may be due to their lack of development of democratic institutions on the one hand and police, prison, and military forces on the other hand. For example, the democratization of Iraq has witnessed high levels of internal conflict and terrorism as the state attempts to move from its previous authoritarianism to more representative government. It is these “transitioning” situations that are often viewed as contributing to both internal violence and terrorist activity. This perspective is also rooted in the view that violence is often a common result of the democratization process, which is an enduring argument in political science (e.g. Cohen et al 1981).

Interestingly, recent studies have found that even developed democracies are not immune to domestic violence. For example, Hehir (2007) found that developed democracies are likely to experience internal violence and terrorism. Drawing on data from 68 countries from 1998 to 2007, he finds that terrorist activity is higher in democracies than in non democracies. Hehir's findings demonstrate that democratic government is not a panacea against terrorism. In fact, Hehir notes that five of the world's most developed democracies—the U.S, UK, France, Spain and Italy—have all experienced high levels of terrorist activity. The greater incidence of terrorist attacks in democracies may be associated with the instruments of democratic government, itself: elections. In fact, Newman's (2013) study of terrorist attacks across 177 countries from 2000-2005 (n = 5,537) finds that terrorists often target elections. Specifically, she finds a positive and statistically significant relationship between elections and the incidence of terrorist attacks. In light of these findings, it's not surprising that democracies are more likely to incur terrorist attacks, since terrorists seem to specifically target elections, which are more likely to occur in democratic states. This dovetails with Hehir's conclusion that although non-democratic countries such as, Saudi Arabia, Burma and Uzbekistan have suffered from terrorist attacks, developed democracies experience even higher levels of terrorist violence (Hehir 2007).

In contrast to Hehir's (2007) finding, Robbins and Murray (2013) find that terrorist attacks prior to an election are associated with increased voter turnout. Specifically, they find that pre-election terrorist attacks are associated with a 2.1 % increase in voter turnout. Their cross-national study draws on data from 51 countries, which is less than the number of countries in Hehir's (2007) study (n=68), but includes observations from 1975 and 2007, which represent more than two decades of additional observations in comparison to Hehir's study. Robbins and Murray's (2013) findings appear to support their view that terrorist attacks may contribute to a

sense of solidarity among citizens who unite on the basis of responding to what they view as an attempt to restrict their freedom—in this case, their freedom to elect their political leaders. In addition, Balí (2007) applies Robbins and Murray's (2013) thesis that terrorist attacks increase voter turnout to the specific case of the terrorist bombings of trains in Madrid in YEAR, which took place just prior to the country's parliamentary elections. Al Qaeda targeted Spain as a result of that country's support for the US war in Iraq. Nevertheless, three days after the attack, which killed 190 of people, Spaniards voted in their parliamentary elections at a greater rate than had been expected prior to the attacks. In this way, Al Qaeda's attacks had not deterred Spaniards from going to the polls, but, consistent with the findings of Robbins and Murray (2013), they seem to have encouraged a larger voter turnout.

Given these contrasting findings on the relationship between terrorist attacks and voter turnout, it seems that Hehir's (2007) thesis is more likely to obtain in Afghanistan than that of Robbins and Murray (2013) for two main reasons. First, the Taliban has targeted Afghanistan's presidential elections because they oppose the implementation of democracy by the Western states that overthrew their regime. This is evident in the following graphs, which depict the frequency of terrorist attacks carried out by the Taliban in 2004 and 2009, respectively. Both graphs show an increased number of terrorist attacks during the month of the presidential election. During the 2009 presidential election, these attacks reached their highest level for the entire year (Global Terrorism Database 2013).

Figure 1: Terrorist Attacks during Afghanistan's 2004 Presidential Election

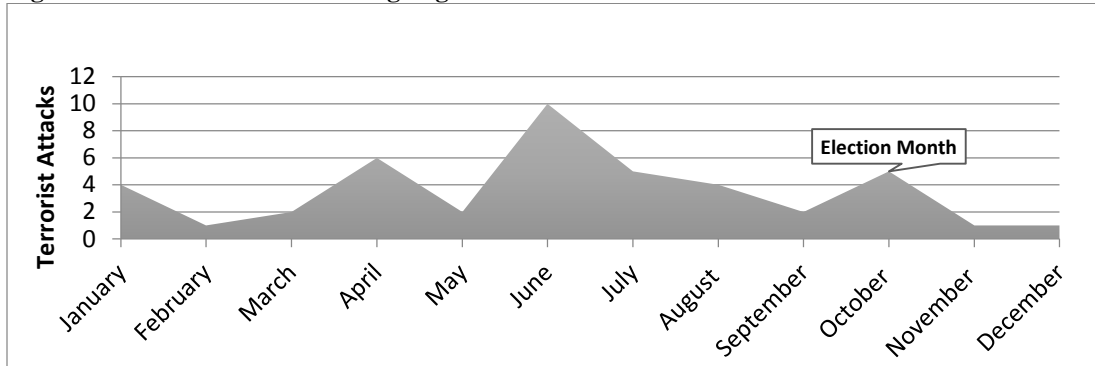
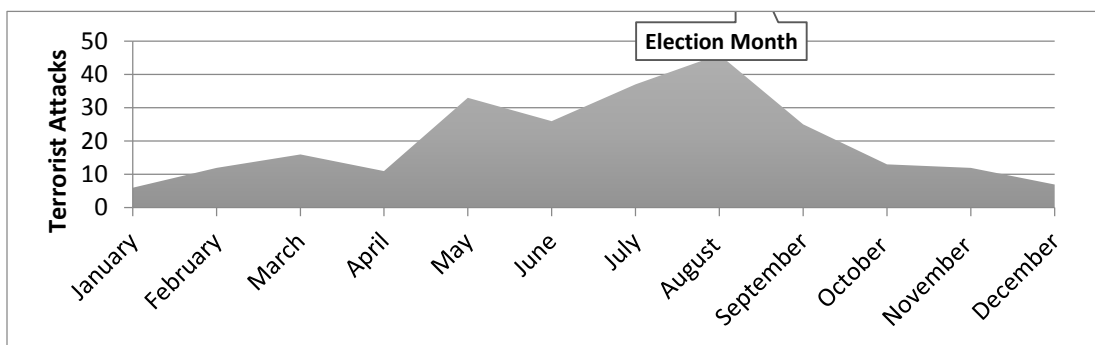


Figure 2: Terrorist Attacks during Afghanistan's 2009 Presidential Election



Second, Afghan citizens, themselves, are concerned at the inability of their post-Taliban government to provide security, in general, and even more so at polling stations that have been targets or are likely targets of terrorist attacks. The latter is largely a reflection of the failed state status of Afghanistan; and one aspect of failed statehood is the failed state's inability to provide services such as law enforcement to its citizens. In combination, these two forces contribute to the increased likelihood that Afghan citizens would be less likely to turn out to vote in their elections. In light of these two factors, I expect—following Hehir (2007)—a negative relationship between terrorist attacks and voter turnout in Afghanistan's elections.

My thesis contributes to the literature in two ways. First, the finding of a negative relationship between terrorist attacks and voting turnout in Afghanistan's elections challenges earlier studies such as Robbins and Murray (2007) and Balí (2007), which found a positive relationship between terrorist attacks and voter turnout. It implicitly supports those studies such as Hehir (2007), Lutz and Lutz (2010), Newman (2013), which found that democratic and/or democratizing states are more prone to terrorist attacks, and partly because elections, themselves, are often the preferred targets of terrorists. Secondly, the results show how processes in individual states such as Afghanistan can challenge prominent arguments derived from cross-sectional analysis, which suggests the importance of research designs that focus on individual states to both inform and supplement large-N cross-sectional analyses.

Taliban Terrorist Attacks in Afghanistan

The US-Afghan War that began in late 2001 overthrew the Taliban, which had governed Afghanistan as a repressive religious regime that had harbored Al Qaeda in its borders. The Taliban began as a predominately Pashtun movement based out of Quetta, Pakistan. Under the leadership of supreme commander Mullah Mohammed Omar Mujahid, the Taliban has maintained a strong presence in the south and east regions of Afghanistan (Taliban 2008). Nevertheless, the Taliban even out of power has continued to influence events in Afghanistan. In fact, the Taliban is the leading terrorist network in country. The Taliban has two major goals, one short term and one longer term: (1) to regain control of the government of Afghanistan, and (2) to establish an Islamic caliphate that stretches beyond Afghanistan into Central Asia and beyond (PCCS 2007). In pursuit of these objectives it has sought to organize beyond its original Pashtun base, thus it has recently began recruiting among Afghanistan's Uzbek, Turkmen and

Tajik ethnic groups (Giustozzi 2010). Removed from power, its strategy of choice has been mainly to utilize terrorist attacks to destabilize the nascent democracy that the US and its Afghan allies—and enemies of the Taliban, the Northern Alliance, have attempted to establish in the country. A major focus of these terrorist attacks are the voting sites where Afghan citizens are attempting for the first time to exercise their democratic rights.

Terrorism may be defined as the use of violence or the threat of violence by a state or non-state actor against non-combatants in pursuit of political objectives. Terrorism often targets non-combatants in such a way as to influence a wider audience of potential targets and supporters, but mostly to influence the political leadership whose practices and/or policies the terrorists oppose (Lutz 2007). Many analysts argue that terrorism is not simply the strategy of choice of relatively weak actors against militarily stronger ones during larger armed conflicts (e.g. civil wars or international wars)—that is, its not simply used by groups who could not militarily overpower their rivals, but it also results from broader political, economic, and social factors, as well.

For example, terrorism may be a particular practice in states with certain regime types, as discussed above. In this way, democracies, anocracies, or autocracies may be more or less susceptible to terrorism as a result of their internal political dynamics and their patterns of repression contracted with their ability to channel the political mobilization in their states. Among the most prominent economic factors that are associated with terrorism, poverty is often implicated. The prominent social factors that are thought to generate terrorism are ethnic and religious competition and discrimination in a state. These political, economic, and social factors that give rise to terrorism may converge in “failed states”, which share these characteristics.

Afghanistan is among the most prominent failed states, therefore, its record of terrorism is not surprising. Thus, an analysis of the specific relationship between the central characteristic of democratization—elections, and its main mechanism, voter turnout, and terrorist activity in a “failed state” such as Afghanistan is timely. Further, analyzing this relationship while controlling for potentially mitigating political, economic, and social factors is also important.

Chapter 3

Theory and Hypothesis

My thesis focuses on the relationship between terrorist attacks and voter turnout. Specifically, it examines the relationship between the terrorist attacks carried out by the Taliban prior to Afghanistan's 2004 and 2009 presidential elections and the subsequent voter turnout in these elections. Although some previous studies have found a positive relationship between terrorist attacks prior to an election and voter turnout (e.g. Balí 2007, Robbins and Murray 2013), as noted above, I expect the relationship to be reversed in Afghanistan for two main reasons: the Taliban has specifically targeted elections in Afghanistan as a Western imposition; and the post-Taliban government's inability to provide security to its citizens may increase their fear of attack and deter them from attempting to vote. The resultant negative relationship between terrorist attacks and voter turnout in Afghanistan's elections is captured in my initial hypothesis:

(1) *The greater the frequency of terrorist attacks before an election, the lower the voter turnout for the election.*

The negative relationship between terrorist attacks and voter turnout should not be limited to the "frequency" of these attacks, but should be evident in their "magnitude" as well. That is, while the former captures the number of attacks, the latter focuses on the extent of the attacks, mainly the number of people killed or injured by the attack. I expect that even single attacks that have a large number of casualties will also reduce the number of voters willing to turn out for elections. Therefore, my second hypothesis is that

(2) *The greater the magnitude of terrorist attacks before an election, the lower the voter turnout for the election.*

Given the logic of the first two hypotheses, it follows that in combination, the frequency and magnitude of terrorists attacks should also decrease the number of voters willing to turn out for elections. Therefore, my third hypothesis is that

- (3) *The greater the frequency and magnitude of terrorist attacks before an election, the lower the voter turnout for the election.*

Chapter 4 Research Design

Dependent Variable

The dependent variable of this study is voter turnout (*Turnout*) in an Afghan presidential election. *Turnout* is measured as the number of people that cast a vote during the 2004 or 2009 presidential elections. Voting data is taken from the Afghanistan Election Data (AED), which compiles data on voter turnout in all of Afghanistan's elections at both the national and provincial level, as well as the number of votes received by candidates by province for the 2009 election. The AED does not provide the number of votes received by every candidate by province for the 2004 election; therefore, these data are supplemented with those from the Independent Commission of Afghanistan (IEC), which provides data for the 2004 elections. Additional data are from the Institute for Democracy and Electoral Assistance Database (IDEA), which provides data on voter turnout, and invalid voting.

Independent Variable

The main independent variables, the frequency (*FreqAttack*) and magnitude (*MagAttack*) of terrorist attacks, are measured by the number of attacks carried out by the Taliban in each province and the number of deaths resulting from these attacks, respectively. Data on both *FreqAttack* and *MagAttack* are from the Global Terrorism Database (GTD). The GTD is the most comprehensive public database on terrorist events occurring in the world. It includes data on terrorist attacks from 1970-2013, which includes more than 125,000 attacks. The GTD defines a terrorist attack as a violent act outside of the context of legitimate warfare that is aimed at obtaining a political, economic, religious, or social goal, in which the aim is to coerce,

intimidate, or convey some message to a larger audience beyond the immediate victims (Global Terrorism Database 2013).

Control Variables

The analyses controls for several demographic, political, and social factors. The first demographic control variable, ethnicity of presidential candidates (*Ethnic*), is defined as the ethnic group of the presidential candidate. It is a binary variable that takes the value of 1 for observations when a presidential candidate represents the ethnic group of the majority of the population living in the province and 0 if otherwise. Ethnicity data are from AED and IEC. Due to insufficient variance in this variable, it was not included in the statistical models but is discussed in Table 3.¹ The second demographic variable, population (*Pop*), is measured as the number of people living in each province at the time of the election. These data are from the Central Statistic Organization (CSO) 2004 and 2009. The CSO provides data for the number of people living in Afghanistan's 34 provinces for every year since 2004. The political control variable, the level of voting fraud (*Fraud*), is measured as the number of invalid votes cast in each province. Voting fraud data are from AED and IDEA. Some polling stations had their votes rejected due to extensive voter fraud, which reduced the number of votes eventually tallied. The social control variable, the level of adult literacy (*Literate*), is measured as the percentage of adult literacy by province according to the Knoema database (2013).

I estimate the relationships among these variables using *Stata 13*. The analysis focuses on Afghanistan's 34 provinces during its 2004 and 2009 presidential elections. Due to a lack of data available for the country's 2014 election, this presidential election will not be included. This

¹ See Table 3: Ethnicity of Presidential Candidates and Voter Turnout in Afghanistan's 2004 and 2009 Presidential Elections

datum is anticipated to be available in the summer of 2015.

Chapter 5 Data Analysis & Findings

Findings

Table 1 reports findings from my bivariate regression models (i.e. models 1 and 3) and multivariate regression models (i.e. models 2,4 and 5). My variables are coded by the changes seen in my variables between 2004 and 2009 and effectively differencing them. *FreqAttack* is negatively correlated with *Turnout* and also significant across both the bivariate regression model (i.e. model 1) and the multivariate regression models (i.e. model 2 and 5). These 3 models show strong support for my first hypothesis. *MagAttack* is also both negatively correlated with *Turnout* and also shows significance but only when tested in a bivariate regression model (i.e. model 3). This relationship changes once the control variables are included (i.e model 4 and 5) giving no support for my second hypothesis. *Pop* is negatively correlated with voter turnout across all multivariate models and is also significant. Both *Fraud* and *Literate* are positively correlated with voter turnout but are insignificant across all models. Lastly, when all variables are included in a model (i.e. model 5), *FreqAttacks* remains negatively correlated and significant with *Turnout* but *MaqAttacks* does not. This model affirms that the frequency of terrorist attacks is more important than the number of people killed. Thus my third hypothesis is not supported.

Table 1: Effects of the Frequency and Magnitude of Terrorist Attacks on Voting Turnout in Presidential Elections in Afghanistan in 2004, 2009

		DV: Turnout									
		Model 1		Model 2		Model 3		Model 4		Model 5	
FreqAttack		-4486.08	**	-4418.24	**	--		--		-5508.56	**
		1745.40		188.55						2594.45	
		-2.57		-2.34						-2.12	
MagAttack		--		--		-940.72	**	-554.18		420.72	
						457.89		528.14		677.992	
						-2.05		-1.05		0.62	
Pop		--		-0.253	**	--		-0.265	**	-0.277	**
				0.115				0.129		0.123	
				-2.2				-2.04		-2.26	
Fraud		--		1.878		--		3.661		2.673	
				4.092				4.558		4.329	
				0.46				0.8		0.62	
Literate		--		187379		--		125033		211995.	
				148273				158310		155032.	
				1.26				0.79		1.37	
N		34		34		34		34		34	
R- Sq		0.17		0.34		0.12		0.24		0.35	

One Tailed Test: *p< .10, **p<.05

Standard errors and t-values are below the coefficients.

Table 2 reports findings from the Global Terrorism Database (2013) and the Afghanistan Election Data (2014). This table supports my first hypothesis showing the relationship between *FreqAttacks* and *Turnout* in the 34 provinces during the country's 2004 and 2009 presidential elections. 23 out of the 34 provinces saw an increase in *FreqAttacks* and a decrease in *Turnout* during the 2009 election compared to the 2004 election. Seven other provinces had little change in *FreqAttacks* or no change at all. Further, 4 out of 34 provinces show a positive relationship between *FreqAttacks* and *Turnout*.

Table 2: Terrorist Attacks and Voter Turnout in Presidential Elections in Afghanistan in 2004,
2009

Province	Turnout 09	Turnout 04	Diff. Turnout	FreqAttacks 09	FreqAttacks 04
Badakhshan	232,485	241,547	-9,062	1	0
Badghis	126,348	175,880	-49,532	3	1
Baghlan	175,993	215,421	-197,828	5	0
Balkh	297,557	388,453	-90,896	0	0
Bamyan	125,208	134,128	-8,920	0	0
Daykundi	148,915	164,283	-15,368	0	0
Farah	90,334	121,997	-31,643	11	1
Faryab	221,793	320,371	-98,578	0	0
Ghazni	291,956	461,839	-169,883	8	0
Ghor	279,611	209,369	-70,242	2	0
Hilmand	134,804	294,086	-159,282	12	1
Hirat	435,803	601,227	-165,424	10	0
Jawzjan	115,669	177,879	62,210	4	0
Kabul	527,685	638,267	-110,582	12	8
Kandahar	252,866	312,576	-59,710	24	8
Kapisa	64,670	99,461	-34,791	4	0
Khost	116,261	216,149	-99,888	26	0
Kunar	117,319	105,994	11,325	10	0
Kunduz	93,334	283,987	-190,653	18	0
Laghman	103,865	82,626	21,239	5	2
Logar	51,909	76,599	-24,690	6	0
Maydan Wardak	66,998	127,654	-60,656	4	0
Nangarhar	369,456	448,391	-78,935	8	3
Nimroz	53,812	39,363	14,449	5	1
Nuristan	64,593	47,152	17,441	1	0
Paktika	212,405	268,238	-55,833	11	1
Paktya	229,660	231,915	-2,255	9	0
Panjsher	44,850	47,750	-2,900	0	1
Parwan	102,775	130,196	-27,421	2	0
Samangan	113,462	116,881	-3,419	2	0
Sari Pul	119,219	144,352	-25,133	0	0
Takhar	233,363	294,306	-60,943	0	0
Uruzgan	32,080	61,540	-29,460	5	2
Zabul	15,700	30,874	-15,174	7	6

Chapter 6

Conclusion

In this study, I examined the relationship between the frequency and magnitude of terrorist attacks carried out by the Taliban and voter turnout in Afghanistan's 2004 and 2009 presidential elections. After performing both a bivariate regression model and multivariate regression model with *Turnout* as my dependent variable and *FreqAttacks*, *MagAttacks*, *Pop*, *Fraud* and *Literate* as my independent variables, my first hypothesis was supported. These findings show that terrorist attacks carried out prior to a presidential election in Afghanistan does have a negative relationship on voter turnout. These results reflect one of the major obstacles the US and its allies have had to face to transition Afghanistan into a democracy. Moreover, we learned that it is not the magnitude of an attack that influences lower voter turnout but the attack itself. Further, my second and third hypothesis were not supported. These findings clearly indicate that when promoting democracy in a state with internal conflict, we must first eliminate the internal conflict before a stable democracy can flourish.

I encountered one major limitation in this thesis. The amount of provincial level data available for Afghanistan's presidential election was limited. For example, there was insufficient data on the amount of government security available in each polling station on election day. This information could be used to determine if there is a relationship between the amount of security at these polling stations and the number of citizens who come out to voted. Second, my population variable is in fluxed due to lack of data providing the number of people eligible to vote. Furthermore, this thesis could be later expanded with data on the frequency of terrorist attacks carried out by the Taliban in 2014. Including the 2014 election would add more variance

to the study and perhaps develop more accurate findings.

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Chapter 8 Appendix

Table 3 draws data from the Independent Commission (2004) and the Afghanistan Election Database (2014). This table reports the ethnicity of presidential candidates during the 2004 and 2009 presidential elections. *Ethnic* is excluded from the model because of the insufficient amount of variance. Only 3 out of 34 provinces showed variance. I propose when the ethnic makeup of the majority of the population in a province is not represented, voter turnout will decrease in that province. Faryab and Sari Pul both support my proposition showing a positive relationship between *Ethnic* and *Turnout*. Kapisa was the third province who experienced change but reported a negative relationship between *Ethnic* and *Turnout*.

Table 3: Ethnicity of Presidential Candidates and Voter Turnout in Afghanistan's 2004 and 2009 Presidential Elections

Province	Ethnic 2004	Ethnic 2009	Turnout 2004	Turnout 2009
Badakhshan	1	1	241,547	232,485
Badghis	1	1	175,880	126,348
Baghlan	1	1	215,421	175,993
Balkh	1	1	388,453	297,557
Bamyan	1	1	134,128	125,208
Daykundi	1	1	164,283	148,915
Farah	1	1	121,997	90,334
Faryab	1	0	320,371	221,793
Ghazni	1	1	461,839	291,956
Ghor	1	1	209,369	279,611
Hilmand	1	1	294,086	134,804
Hirat	1	1	601,227	435,803
Jawzjan	0	0	177,879	115,669
Kabul	1	1	638,267	527,685
Kandahar	1	1	312,576	252,866
Kapisa	0	1	99,461	64,670
Khost	1	1	216,149	116,261
Kunar	1	1	105,994	117,319
Kunduz	1	1	283,987	93,334
Laghman	1	1	82,626	103,865
Logar	1	1	76,599	51,909
Maydan Wardak	1	1	127,654	66,998
Nangarhar	1	1	448,391	369,456
Nimroz	0	0	39,363	53,812
Nuristan	1	1	47,152	64,593
Paktika	1	1	268,238	212,405
Paktya	1	1	231,915	229,660
Panjsher	1	1	47,750	44,850
Parwan	1	1	130,196	102,775
Samangan	1	1	116,881	113,462
Sari Pul	1	0	144,352	119,219
Takhar	1	1	294,306	233,363
Uruzgan	1	1	61,540	32,080
Zabul	1	1	30,874	15,700

Academic Vita

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The Pennsylvania State University- University Park, Pennsylvania

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- Schreyer Honors College
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Leasing Consultant

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- Prepared and reviewed legal documents for clients

Lambda Theta Alpha Latin Sorority, Inc.

Executive Board Position: President April 2014- Present

- Represent the chapter in civic and professional association on the local, state and national level
- Monitor and delegate all executive board members as well as all sisters in the area
- Coordinate community service events working close with The Woman's Coalition against Domestic Violence

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