

## Societies

A society is an autonomous population whose members are subject to the same political authority, occupy a common territory, and have a common culture, and a sense of shared identity.<sup>1</sup> A society is not easily created or destroyed, but it is possible to do so through genocide or war. A society usually has a dominant culture, but can also have a vast number of secondary cultures.<sup>2</sup> Different societies may share similar cultures, such as Canada and the US.

Understanding the societies in the AO allows counterinsurgency forces to achieve objectives and develop support for the force. Commanders must also consider societies outside the AO whose actions, opinions, or political influence can affect the mission.

## Social Structure

Each society is composed of both social structure and culture. Social structure refers to the “relations between groups of persons within a system of groups.”<sup>3</sup> Social structure is persistent over time, meaning that it is regular and continuous despite disturbances, and the relation between the parts holds steady even as groups expand or contract.<sup>4</sup> In an army, for example, the structure consists of the arrangement into groups, such as divisions, regiments, companies, etc., and the arrangement into ranks, such as general, colonels, majors, etc.<sup>5</sup> In a society, the social structure may include institutions, organization, social statuses and roles, elite networks, caste and class structures, ethnic groups, and tribal and other kinship-based groups. In sum, social structure involves the arrangement of the parts that constitute society, the organization of social positions, and the distribution of people within those positions.<sup>6</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Michael S. Bassis, Richard J. Gelles, Ann Levine, *Sociology: An Introduction*, McGraw-Hill, 1991, p. 581.

<sup>2</sup> On the concept of hegemony and cultural dominance, see Antonio Gramsci, *Selections from the Prison Notebooks*, Lawrence and Wishart, 1971.

<sup>3</sup> E.E. Eyans-Pritchard, *The Nuer: A Description of the Modes of Livelihood and Political Institutions of a Nilotic People*, Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1940, p. 262

<sup>4</sup> “In the concept of social structure, the qualities recognized are primarily those of persistence, continuity, form, and pervasiveness...” Raymond Firth, “Some Principles of Social Organization,” *The Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland*, vol. 85, no. 1 & 2, 1955, p. 2.

<sup>5</sup> A. R. Radcliffe-Brown, “Social Structure,” from *Method in Social Anthropology*, Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1958, pp. 1-12. Reprinted in Paul A. Erickson and Liam D. Murphy, *Readings for a History of Anthropological Theory*, New York: Broadview Press, 2001, p. 199.

<sup>6</sup> A. R. Radcliffe-Brown, “Social Structure,” from *Method in Social Anthropology*, Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1958, pp. 1-12. Reprinted in Paul A. Erickson

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To facilitate counterinsurgency operations, the most common roles, statuses, and institutions within the society must be identified. Individuals in any given society interact as members of their social positions, referred to as a status.<sup>7</sup> Statuses may be achieved by meeting certain criteria, or may be ascribed by birth.<sup>8</sup> Statuses are often reciprocal, such as that of parent and child, or husband and wife.<sup>9</sup> Every status carries a cluster of expected behaviors, such as how a person in that status is expected to think, feel, and act, as well as expectations about how they should be treated by others. Thus, in American society parents have the obligation to feed their children and the right to discipline them. Violation of a role prescribed by a given status, such as failing to feed one's children, will result in social disapproval.<sup>10</sup>

The standard of conduct for social roles is known as a 'social norm.'<sup>11</sup> Unlike a statistical norm, which is the central tendency of a distribution of what most people do, a social norm is what people are expected to do or should do, rather than what people actually do. Understanding roles, statuses, and norms within an area of operations can clarify and provide guidance to counterinsurgency forces about expected behavior.

Most societies associate particular statuses with particular social groups, such as family, lineage, ethnicity, or religion.<sup>12</sup> A group is generally defined as two or more people regularly interacting "on the basis of shared expectations of each others' behavior,"<sup>13</sup> who have interrelated statuses and roles.<sup>14</sup>

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and Liam D. Murphy, *Readings for a History of Anthropological Theory*, New York: Broadview Press, 2001

<sup>7</sup> Frederick L. Bates, "Position, Role, and Status: A Reformulation of Concepts," *Social Forces*, vol. 34, no. 4, May 1956, pp. 313-321.

<sup>8</sup> Ralph Linton, *The Study of Man*, New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts, 1936, pp. 115-131.

<sup>9</sup> Ralph Linton, "A Neglected Aspect of Social Organization," *The American Journal of Sociology*, vol. 45, no. 6, May, 1940, pp. 870-886; Gottfried Lang, "The Concepts of Status and Role in Anthropology: Their Definition and Use," *The American Catholic Sociological Review*, vol. 17, no. 3, Oct. 1956, pp. 206-218.

<sup>10</sup> Robert Lavenda and Emily Schultz, *Core Concepts in Anthropology*, 2<sup>nd</sup> edition, Boston: McGraw Hill, 2002, p. 85.

<sup>11</sup> For a review, see Lionel J. Neiman and James W. Hughes, "The Problem of the Concept of Role-A Re-Survey of the Literature," *Social Forces*, vol. 30, no. 2, Dec. 1951, pp. 141-149.

<sup>12</sup> Robert Lavenda and Emily Schultz, *Core Concepts in Anthropology*, 2<sup>nd</sup> edition, Boston: McGraw Hill, 2002, p. 86.

<sup>13</sup> Ian Robertson, *Sociology*, New York: Worth Publishers, 1987, p. 92.

<sup>14</sup> Thomas J. Sullivan, Kenrick S. Thompson, *Sociology: Concepts, Issues, and Applications*, 1984, p. 53; citing Robert Bierstedt, *Social Order*, 1974.

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In an area of operations, the social structure may include racial groups, ethnic groups, religious groups and/or tribal groups. A race is a human group that defines itself and/or is defined by other groups as different by virtue of innate and immutable physical characteristics.<sup>15</sup> Biologically, there is no such thing as race among human beings; race is a social category.<sup>16</sup> An ethnic group is a human community whose learned cultural practices, language, history, ancestry, or religion, distinguish them from others.<sup>17</sup> Members of ethnic groups see themselves as different from other groups in a society, and are seen by those others to be so in return.<sup>18</sup> Religious groups may be sub-sets of larger ethnic groups, such as Whabbist Sunni Arabs, or religious groups may have members from many different ethnicities, such as the Bahai faith. Within the anthropological literature, a tribe is generally defined as “an autonomous, genealogically structured group in which the rights of individuals are largely determined by their membership in corporate descent groups, such as lineages”<sup>19</sup> Tribes are essentially adaptive social networks, organized by extended kinship and descent, with common needs for physical and economic security.<sup>20</sup>

Understanding the composition of groups in the area of operations is of vital importance for counterinsurgency operations, especially because the adversary may organize around racial, ethnic, religious, or tribal groups. Furthermore, tensions or hostilities between groups in an area of operations may destabilize a society and provide opportunities for insurgent control. Commanders should identify powerful groups both inside and outside of their area of

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<sup>15</sup> Pierre L. van den Berghe, *Race and Racism: A Comparative Perspective*, New York: John Wiley and Sons, Inc., 1967, p. 9.

<sup>16</sup> Steven Rose, Leon J. Kamin and R.C. Lewontin, *Not in Our Genes: Biology, Ideology and Human Nature*, Pantheon Books, 1985.

<sup>17</sup> Patterson has argued that racial and ethnic identities are used as tools for political and social mobilization. Orlando Patterson, “Context and Choice in Ethnic Allegiance: A Theoretical Framework and Caribbean Case Study” in Glazer and Moynihan, *Ethnicity: Theory and Experience*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1975.

<sup>18</sup> Anthony Giddens, *Sociology*, Cambridge: Polity Press, 1993, p. 252-253.

<sup>19</sup> K. Brown, “A Few Reflections on ‘Tribe’ and ‘State’ in Twentieth-Century Morocco,” in Faleh Jabbar and H. Dawod, eds., *Tribes and Power: Nationalism and Ethnicity in the Middle East*. London: Saqi, 2001, pp. 205-214. The term tribe is also used to refer to “a kinship group, an extended family, or a coalition of related families. It may refer to the elite family from whom some larger confederation gets its name, to a cultural, ethnic, or other non-familial social group, or to conquest movements of pastoral people without regard for the internal basis of cohesion.” Ira M. Lapidus, “Tribes and State Formation in Islamic History,” pp. 25-47 in P.S. Khoury and J. Kostiner, eds. *Tribes and State Formation in the Middle East*, Berkeley: University of California Press, 1990, p. 26.

<sup>20</sup> On tribal collective self-defense in Iraq, see Faleh Jabar, “Sheikhs and Ideologies: Deconstruction and Reconstruction of Tribes under Patrimonial Totalitarianism in Iraq, 1968-1998,” in *Tribes and Power: Nationalism and Ethnicity in the Middle East*, ed. Faleh Jabar and Hosham Dawod, London: Saqi, 2003, p. 73.

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operations, identify how their activities may affect military operations, how they affect the local populace, identify their interests, and identify the role they play in influencing local perceptions.

Networks, which are a series of direct and indirect ties from one actor to a collection of others, may be an important element within a social structure.<sup>21</sup> Networks can have many purposes: economic, criminal, and emotional. In a network analysis both the structure of the network and the types of interactions between network actors should be considered.<sup>22</sup>

Groups engaged in patterned activity to complete a common task are called institutions.<sup>23</sup> Thus, the educational institutions bring together groups and individuals whose statuses and roles concern teaching and learning. Military institutions bring together groups and individuals whose statuses and roles concern defense and security. Institutions are the basic building blocks of societies, are continuous through many generations, and continue to exist even when the individuals that compose them are replaced.<sup>24</sup>

Organizations, both formal and informal, are institutions that have bounded membership, defined goals, established operations, fixed facilities or meeting places, and a means of financial or logistic support. In an area of operations, organizations may control, direct, restrain, or regulate the local populace. Thus, commanders should identify influential organizations both inside and outside of their area of operations, identify how their activities

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<sup>21</sup> Michael Davern, "Social Networks And Economic Sociology: A Proposed Research Agenda For More Complete Social Science," *American Journal of Economics and Sociology*, July 1997.

<sup>22</sup> See J.C. Mitchell, "Networks, Norms and Institutions," in J. Boissevain and J.C. Mitchell, (eds.). *Networks Analysis: Studies In Human Interaction*, London: Moulton and Company, 1973.

<sup>23</sup> Malinowski defined institutions as "a group of people united for the purpose of a simple or complex activity..." Bronislaw Malinowski, *The Dynamics of Culture Change: An Inquiry into Race Relations in Africa*, edited by Phyllis M. Kaberry, New Haven: Yale University, 1945 (reprinted 1961), p. 50. On the other hand, Radcliffe-Brown defines institutions as "an established or socially recognized system of norms or patterns of conduct referring to some aspect of social life." A. R. Radcliffe-Brown, "Social Structure," from *Method in Social Anthropology*, Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1958, pp. 1-12. Reprinted in Paul A. Erickson and Liam D. Murphy, *Readings for a History of Anthropological Theory*, New York: Broadview Press, 2001, p. 202. Radcliffe-Brown defines social organization as "the arrangement of activities of two or more person which are adjusted to give a united combined activity." P. 199.

<sup>24</sup> On structural continuity, see A. R. Radcliffe-Brown, "Social Structure," from *Method in Social Anthropology*, Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1958, pp. 1-12. Reprinted in Paul A. Erickson and Liam D. Murphy, *Readings for a History of Anthropological Theory*, New York: Broadview Press, 2001, p. 203.

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may affect military operations, how they affect the local populace, whose interests they fulfill, and what role they play in influencing local perceptions.

Planners can generally group these organizations into communicating organizations, religious organizations, economic organizations, governance organizations, and social organizations. Communicating organizations have the power to influence a population's perceptions. Religious organizations regulate norms, restrain or empower activities, reaffirm worldviews, and provide social support. A religious organization differs from a religious group: whereas a religious group is a general category, such as Christian, a religious organization is a specific community, such as the Episcopal Church. Economic organizations provide employment, help regulate and stabilize monetary flow, assist in development and create social networks. Social institutions, such as schools, civil society groups, and sports teams, provide support to the population, create social networks, and can influence ideologies.

## **Culture**

In order to facilitate counterinsurgency operations, both the social structure and the culture must be fully understood. Whereas social structure (groups, institutions, organizations) is the totality of relationships between groups, institutions, and individuals within a society, culture (ideas, norms, rituals, codes of behavior) provides the meaning to individuals within the society. For example, families are a core institutional building block of social structure, found universally. However, marital monogamy, expectations of a certain number of children, and willingness to live with in-laws are all matters of culture, and are highly variable in different societies. Social structure can be thought of as a skeleton, and culture is like the meat on the bones. The two are mutually dependent and reinforcing, and a change in one results in a change in the other.<sup>25</sup>

Once the social structure has been thoroughly mapped out, counterinsurgency forces should identify and analyze the culture of the society as a whole, and of each major group within the society.

Culture is “web of meaning” shared by members of a particular society or group within a society.<sup>26</sup> Culture is a taken for granted, patterned, arbitrary system of shared beliefs, values,

<sup>25</sup> According to classical anthropological theory, change in one segment of the system results in corresponding changes in other segments of the society. See Bronislaw Malinowski, *A Scientific Theory of Culture*, Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1944, pp. 74-84; Robert K. Merton, *Social Theory and Social Structure*, Glencoe, Illinois: The Free Press, 1949.

<sup>26</sup> According to Clifford Geertz, understanding “culture” is an interpretive art: “man is an animal suspended in webs of significance he himself has spun, I take culture to be those webs, and the analysis of it to be therefore not an experimental science in search of law but an interpretive one in search of meaning.” Clifford Geertz, *Interpretation of Cultures*, New York, Basic Books, 1973, p. 5. “Culture” is the key

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customs, behaviors, and artifacts that the members of society use to cope with their world and with one another, that can change over time, and that are transmitted from generation to generation through learning and social interaction.<sup>27</sup>

Culture might also be described as an operational code that is valid for an entire group of people.<sup>28</sup> Culture conditions the individual's range of action and ideas, including what to do (and what not to do), how to do it (or not do it), whom to do it with (or whom not to do it with), and under what circumstances the "rules" shift and change. Culture influences how people make judgments about what is right and wrong, assess what is important and unimportant, categorize things and deal with things that do not fit into existing categories. As a rule system, culture is flexible in practice. For example, the kinship system of the Yanomamo, an Amazonian Indian tribe, requires that individuals marry their cross cousin. However, the definition of cross cousin is frequently changed to make people eligible for marriage.<sup>29</sup>

Individuals may be members of many different cultures at the same time, forming complex cultural composites.<sup>30</sup> Each group or organization to which the individual belongs influences the attitudes, perceptions, values, and norms that an individual holds.<sup>31</sup> Attitudes are affinities for, and aversions to groups, objects, persons, and objects.<sup>32</sup> Perception is the process by which an individual selects, evaluates and organizes stimuli from the external environment.<sup>33</sup> A value is an enduring belief that a specific mode of conduct or end-state of existence is personally or socially preferable to an opposite or converse mode of conduct or end-state of existence.<sup>34</sup> Individuals do not unquestioningly absorb all the values of the groups to which they belong, but accept some and reject others. The values of each culture to which individuals simultaneously belong are often in conflict: religious values may conflict with generational values; gender values with organizational practices.<sup>35</sup>

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epistemological concept of anthropology, but there is no agreement as to the meaning of the term.

<sup>27</sup> D.G. Bates & E. Plog, *Cultural Anthropology*, 3rd ed, New York: McGraw Hill, 1990, p. 28.

<sup>28</sup> Nathan Leites, *The Operational Code of the Politburo*, NY: McGraw-Hill, 1953.

<sup>29</sup> Napoleon Chagnon, *Yanomamö: The Fierce People*, Holt, Rinehart and Winston, New York, 1968, p. 65.

<sup>30</sup> Susan Schneider and Jean-Louis Barsoux, *Managing Across Cultures*, Hemel Hempstead: Prentice Hall, 1997, p. 176.

<sup>31</sup> Marshall Singer, *Intercultural Communication*, Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Simon and Shuster, 1987, chapter one.

<sup>32</sup> Daryl J. Bem, *Beliefs Attitudes and Human Affairs*, Brooks/Cole, 1970.

<sup>33</sup> Marshall Singer, *Intercultural Communication*, Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Simon and Shuster, 1987, p. 35.

<sup>34</sup> Milton Rokeach, *The Nature of Human Values*, New York: Free Press, 1973, p. 5.

<sup>35</sup> Geert Hofstede, *Cultures and Organizations: Software of the Mind*, Maidenhead: McGraw-Hill, 1991, p. 10.



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The totality of the perceptions, attitudes, values, and identities that an individual holds – and the ranking of importance – are a belief system.<sup>36</sup> Religions, ideologies, and all types of ‘isms’ are all belief systems. The belief system acts as a filter for new information: it is the lens through which people perceive the world. Beliefs can be central, intermediate, or peripheral.<sup>37</sup> Central beliefs are unstated, taken for granted, resistant to change, and not consciously considered views of the world. No attempt should be made to change the central beliefs of a culture, as this may result in unintended second- and third- order consequences. Beliefs in the intermediate region are predicated on reference to authority figures or authoritative texts. Thus, intermediate beliefs can be influenced through co-optation of the opinion leaders in the AOR. From intermediate beliefs flow peripheral beliefs, which are open to debate, consciously considered, and easiest to change. For example, peripheral beliefs about birth control, the New Deal, or the theory of sexual repression derive from beliefs about the Catholic Church, Roosevelt, or Sigmund Freud respectively.<sup>38</sup> Understanding the belief systems of various groups in an area of operations will allow counterinsurgency forces to more effectively influence the population.

Cultural forms are the concrete expression of the meanings, norms, and belief systems shared by members of a particular culture.<sup>39</sup> Cultural forms, such as rituals, symbols and narratives, are the medium for communicating ideologies, values, and norms that influence thought and behavior.<sup>40</sup> Each culture will construct or invent its own cultural forms, through which cultural meanings are transmitted and reproduced. Counterinsurgency forces can decode the belief systems of a culture by observing and analyzing its cultural forms.

The most important cultural form for counterinsurgency forces to understand is the narrative. A cultural narrative is a story recounted in the form of a causally linked set of events that explains an event in group’s history, but which also expresses values, character, or self-identity of the group.<sup>41</sup> For example, the narrative of the Boston Tea Party in 1773, where

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<sup>36</sup> Marshall Singer, *Intercultural Communication*, Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Simon and Shuster, 1987, p. 10.

<sup>37</sup> Milton Rokeach, *The Open and Closed Mind: Investigations into the Nature of Belief Systems and Personality Systems*, New York: Basic Books, 1960, p. 43.

<sup>38</sup> Milton Rokeach, *The Open and Closed Mind: Investigations into the Nature of Belief Systems and Personality Systems*, New York: Basic Books, 1960, p. 47.

<sup>39</sup> H.M. Trice and J. M. Beyer, “Studying Organizational Cultures Through Rites and Ceremonials,” *Academy of Management Review*, vol. 9, 1984, pp. 653-669.

<sup>40</sup> H.M. Trice and J. M. Beyer, “Studying Organizational Cultures Through Rites and Ceremonials,” *Academy of Management Review*, vol. 9, 1984, pp. 653-669.

<sup>41</sup> Narrative theory (“narratology”) has been used in psychoanalysis, see Paul Ricoeur, “Life in Quest of Narrative,” in D. Wood, ed., *On Paul Ricoeur: Narrative and Interpretation*, London: Routledge, 1991. Narrative has also been used to understand the construction of ethnohistory. See W. Labov, “Some Further Steps in Narrative Analysis,” *Journal of Narrative and Life History*, no. 7, 1997. Narrative has

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Sam Adams and the Sons of Liberty dumped five tons of tea in the Boston Harbor as a protest against unfair British taxation, provides an explanation of how and why the Revolutionary War began. This narrative also tells Americans something about themselves each time they hear the story: that fairness, independence, and justice are worth fighting for. As this example indicates, narratives may not conform to historical facts, or they may drastically simplify facts to more clearly express basic cultural values. Narratives are central to the representation of identity, particularly the collective identity of groups such as religions, nations, and cultures.<sup>42</sup> Stories about a community's history provide models of "how actions and consequences are linked" and are often the basis for strategies, actions, and interpretation of the intentions of other actors.<sup>43</sup> "Narrative is the discourse structure in which human action receives its form and through which it is meaningful."<sup>44</sup> Narratives are the means through which ideologies are expressed and absorbed by individuals in a society. By listening to narratives, counterinsurgency forces can identify the basic core values of the society.

Other cultural forms include ritual and symbols. Ritual is "a stereotyped sequence of activities involving gestures, words, and objects, performed in a sequestered place, and designed to influence preternatural entities or forces on behalf of the actors' goals and interests."<sup>45</sup> A symbol is the smallest unit of cultural meaning, and is filled with a vast amount of information that can be decoded by a knowledgeable observer.<sup>46</sup> Symbols can be objects, activities, words, relationships, events, gestures, or spatial units.<sup>47</sup> Institutions and organizations often use cultural symbols to amass political power or to generate resistance against external groups. Careful attention should be paid to the meaning of the common symbols, and how various groups in the AOR use them.

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also been used to explore history. Hayden V. White, *Content of the Form: Narrative Discourse and Historical Representation*, Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1987.

<sup>42</sup> On the narrative of Al Qaeda, see Michael Vlahos, *Terror's Mask: Insurgency Within Islam*, Occasional Paper, Joint Warfare Analysis Department, Applied Physics Laboratory, Johns Hopkins University, May 2002.

<sup>43</sup> D. E. Polkinghorne, *Narrative Knowing and the Human Sciences*, New York: State University of New York Press, 1988 p. 135.

<sup>44</sup> D. E. Polkinghorne, *Narrative Knowing and the Human Sciences*, New York: State University of New York Press, 1988 p. 135.

<sup>45</sup> Victor Turner, "Symbols in African Ritual," *Symbolic Anthropology: A Reader In The Study Of Symbols And Meanings*, edited by J. L. Dolgin, D. S. Kemnitzer and D. M. Schneider, New York: Columbia University Press, 1977, p. 183; see also Sherry B. Ortner, "On Key Symbols," *American Anthropologist*, New Series, Vol. 75, No. 5, Oct. 1973, pp. 1338-1346.

<sup>46</sup> Victor Turner, *The Drums Of Affliction A Study Of Religious Processes Among the Ndembu of Zambia*, Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1968, p. 1-2.

<sup>47</sup> Victor Turner, *The Forest of Symbols: Aspects of Ndembu Ritual*, Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1967, p. 19.



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## Power and Authority

Once the social structure has been mapped and the culture is understood, counterinsurgency forces must understand how power is apportioned and used within a society. Understanding power is the key to manipulating the interests of groups within the society.

There may be many power holders in a society, both formal and informal. Understanding the formal political system (including central governments, local governments, political interest groups, political parties, unions, government agencies and regional and international political bodies) is necessary but not sufficient for counterinsurgency operations. Informal power holders are often more important for counterinsurgency operations, and may include ethno-religious groups, social elites, or religious figures.

There are three major forms of power in a society: coercive force, social capital, and authority. The power of coercion is the ability to compel a person through threat of harm or by use of physical force. Many groups in an area of operations may possess coercive force, in the form of paramilitary units, militias, police forces, or security officers. Counterinsurgency forces must be aware of these groups, and understand the social role these coercive units play in the local political arena.

Social capital refers to the power of individuals and groups to utilize social networks of reciprocity and exchange to accomplish their goals.<sup>48</sup> In many non-Western societies, patron-client relationships are an important form of social capital.<sup>49</sup> In a patronage system, an individual in a powerful position provides goods, services, security or other resources to followers in exchange for political support or loyalty, thereby amassing power. Counterinsurgency forces must identify, where possible, which groups and individuals have social capital and how they attract and maintain followers.

Authority is power attached to positions “justified by the beliefs of the voluntarily obedient.”<sup>50</sup> There are three primary types of authority: 1. Rational-legal authority, which is grounded in law and contract, codified in impersonal rules, and commonly found in developed, capitalist societies. 2. Charismatic authority, which is exercised by leaders who

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<sup>48</sup> Pierre Bourdieu distinguishes between economic capital, cultural capital and social capital. He defines social capital as “the aggregate of the actual or potential resources which are linked to possession of a durable network of more or less institutionalized relationships of mutual acquaintance and recognition.” Pierre Bourdieu, “The Forms of Capital,” in the *Handbook for Theory and Research for the Sociology of Education*, edited by J.G. Richardson, 1986, p. 248.

<sup>49</sup> See, for example, Robert B. Cunningham and Yasin K. Sarayrah, *Wasta: The Hidden Force in Middle Eastern Society*. Westport, Conn.: Praeger, 1993.

<sup>50</sup> C. Wright Mills, *The Sociological Imagination*, London: Oxford University Press, 1959, p. 41.

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develop allegiance among their followers because of their unique, individual charismatic appeal, whether ethical, religious, political, or social. 3. Traditional authority, which is usually invested in a hereditary line or in a particular office by a higher power.<sup>51</sup> Traditional authority, which relies on the precedent of history, is the most common type of authority in non-Western societies. “Traditional authority is based on a claim by the leaders, and a belief on the part of the followers, that there is virtue in the sanctity of age-old rules and powers”.<sup>52</sup> In particular, tribal and religious forms of organization rely heavily on traditional authority. Traditional authority figures often wield enough power, especially in rural areas, to single-handedly drive an insurgency.<sup>53</sup> Understanding the types of authority at work in the formal and informal political system of the AO will help counterinsurgency forces identify the agents of influence who can help or hinder the completion of objectives.

## **Economy**

To conduct effective operations, counterinsurgency forces must understand how individuals and groups within a social system satisfy their economic interests through the production, distribution and consumption of goods and services. There are many varieties of economic systems including market economies, planned economies, and traditional economies.

Economic systems can be formal or informal, or a mixture of both. In many areas of operations, the informal economy will play a central role in people’s daily lives. Those groups that are able to provide their members with economic resources through an informal economy (whether smuggling, black market activities, barter or exchange) will gain followers and amass considerable political power. Counterinsurgency forces must therefore be aware of the local informal economy and evaluate the role played by various groups and individuals in the economy.

The economic system within an AO may be adversely affected by military operations, and this may effect the population’s perception of the government. Military operations may destroy or damage production systems such as factories, and can clog, destroy, or damage distribution mechanisms such as rail lines, pipelines, roadways, and bridges. This can cause resentment among the population. On the other hand, restoration of production and distribution systems can energize the economy, create jobs and growth, and positively

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<sup>51</sup> Max Weber, 'Politik als Beruf,' originally a speech at Munich University, 1918. Available at: <http://www2.pfeiffer.edu/~lridener/DSS/Weber/polvoc.html>. Republished in Max Weber, *From Max Weber: Essays in Sociology*, H. H. Gerth and C. Wright Mills eds., 1946. See also: Lewis A. Coser, *Masters of Sociological Thought: Ideas in Historical and Social Context*, New York: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, 1977.

<sup>52</sup> George Ritzer, *Sociological Theory*, New York: McGraw-Hill, p. 132.

<sup>53</sup> See, for example, Karl D. Jackson, “Post-Colonial Rebellion and Counter-Insurgency in Southeast Asia” in *Governments and Rebellions in Southeast Asia*, ed., Chandran Jesrun, Singapore: Institute of Southeast Asian Studies, 1985.

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influence local perceptions. The creation of jobs and sustainable industries with the area of operations can favorably influence the population in a short period of time.<sup>54</sup>

Economic information relevant to military operations can include common forms of employment, large employers, monopolies of economic sectors and resources by various groups and individuals, distribution systems, markets, and desirable consumer goods. Understanding sources of insurgent financial support is also important. When commanders can identify and influence sources of adversarial financial support, they can degrade their adversary's ability to recruit and provide resources.

### **Interests**

After mapping the social structure, evaluating the culture of the society as a whole and that of each group within the society, identifying the political system both formal and informal, and charting the local economic system both formal and informal, counterinsurgency forces should consider how to use the capabilities at their disposal to reduce support for insurgents and gain support for the legitimate government.

To accomplish this task, counterinsurgency forces must understand the population's *interests*, meaning the core motivations that drive behavior, such as physical security, economic wellbeing, and social identity. Understanding a population's interests will illuminate the various opportunities available to a commander to meet or frustrate those interests with the capabilities at his or her disposal.

During an insurgency or any period of political instability, the primary interest of the civilian population is physical security for themselves and their families.<sup>55</sup> When government forces fail to provide security, or threaten the security of civilians, the civilian population will be much more likely to seek alternative security guarantees from insurgents, militias, or other armed groups.<sup>56</sup> This process can drive an insurgency. When government forces provide

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<sup>54</sup> The Portuguese experience in Angola provides one such example. See Malyn Newitt, *Portugal in Africa: The Last Hundred Years*, London: C. Hurst & Co., 1981; John P. Cann, *Counterinsurgency in Africa: The Portuguese Way of War, 1961-1974*, Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press, 1997.

<sup>55</sup> See, for example, John W. Burton, "The History of International Conflict Resolution," in Edward Azar and John W. Burton, eds, *International Conflict Resolution: Theory and Practice*, Boulder: Wheatsheaf Books, 1986, p. 51.

<sup>56</sup> When a state fails to provide security, an alternative security guarantee may be gained through a criminal association, often associated with increasing levels of violence. Christopher Louise, "The Social Impacts of Light Weapons Availability and Proliferation," *The Journal of Humanitarian Assistance*, September 1995. Available on-line at: <http://www.jha.ac/articles/a004.htm>. For a full discussion of the concept of human security see United Nations Development Programme, "New Dimensions of Human Security," *Human Development Report 1994*, New York: Oxford University Press, 1994, pp. 22-46.

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physical security, civilians will be more likely to support the government against the insurgents.<sup>57</sup> This process can derail an insurgency.

Other interests of a population include that which is necessary to sustain life, such as, food, water, clothing, shelter, and medical treatment. Stabilizing a populace requires meeting all these essential needs. Populations pursue these needs until they are met, at any cost and from any source. If an adversary source provides for the populace's needs, the populace will support that source. This may impede mission accomplishment. If the government provides that which is necessary to sustain life, the population will be more likely to support the government. This can expedite mission accomplishment.

Another interest of the civilian population is political participation. Many insurgencies begin because certain groups within the society perceive that they have been denied political rights. In order to satisfy their political interests, groups will use pre-existing cultural narratives and symbols to mobilize for political action.<sup>58</sup> Very often, they will coalesce around traditional or charismatic authority figures.

During times of instability when the government cannot function, the groups and organizations to which an individual belongs will provide physical security, economic resources, and political identity. Counterinsurgency forces should therefore identify the

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<sup>57</sup> The primary role of military forces in a counterinsurgency should be the provision of security to civilians. As Charles Simpson pointed out in regard to the role of U.S. Army Special Forces in Vietnam: "the motivation that produces the only real long-lasting effect is not likely to be an ideology, but the elemental consideration of survival. Peasants will support [the guerrillas] . . . if they are convinced that failure to do so will result in death or brutal punishment. They will support the government if and when they are convinced that it *offers them a better life*, and it can and will protect them against the [guerrillas] . . . forever." Charles Simpson, *Inside the Green Berets: The First Thirty Years*, Novato, Calif.: Presidio Press, 1982, p. 62. See also Andrew Krepinevich, "How to Win in Iraq," *Foreign Affairs*, volume 84, no. 5. Available at: [www.foreignaffairs.org/20050901faessay84508/andrew-f-krepinevich-jr/how-to-win-in-iraq.html](http://www.foreignaffairs.org/20050901faessay84508/andrew-f-krepinevich-jr/how-to-win-in-iraq.html).

<sup>58</sup> See, for example on Vietnam: Brian Michael Jenkins, *Why the North Vietnamese Will Keep Fighting*, Santa Monica, CA: RAND, P-4395-1, 1972; Peter A. DeCaro, "Ho Chi Minh's Rhetoric for Revolution," *American Communication Journal*, vol. 3, no. 3, June 2000. Available at: <http://acjournal.org/holdings/vol3/Iss3/spec1/decaro.html>. On Iran: Manochehr Dorraj, "Symbolic and Utilitarian Political Value of a Tradition: Martyrdom in the Iranian Political Culture," *The Review of Politics*, vol. 59, no. 3, Summer 1997, pp. 489-521; Jill Diane Swenson, "Martyrdom: Mytho-Cathexis and the Mobilization of the Masses in the Iranian Revolution," *Ethos*, Vol. 13, No. 2, Summer 1985, pp. 121-149. On China: George T. Crane, "Collective Identity, Symbolic Mobilization, and Student Protest in Nanjing, China, 1988-1989," *Comparative Politics*, Vol. 26, No. 4, July 1994, pp. 395-413.

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interests of each group in the area of operations: who provides them with physical security? Who provides them with economic and social resources? What narratives mobilize political action within the group? Who are their traditional or charismatic authority figures? What are their grievances?

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