Peace and Conflict
in Inter-Group Relations

by
Agnes Katalin Koos

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Approval

Name:	**Agnes Katalin Koos**
Degree:	**Doctor of Philosophy (Political Science)**
Title of Thesis:	***Peace and Conflict in Inter-Group Relations***

Examining Committee:

Chair: James Busumtwi-Sam, Associate Professor

Michael Howard
Senior Supervisor
Professor

David Laycock
Supervisor
Professor

Paul Warwick
Supervisor
Professor

Cindy Patton
Internal Examiner
Professor
Department of Sociology and Anthropology

Antje Ellermann
External Examiner
Associate Professor, Department of Political Science
University of British Columbia

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Abstract

The dissertation aims to contribute to the explanation of internal inter-group conflict, more narrowly of the conflict between majority and minority communal groups. It develops arguments that suggest the importance of inter-group economic inequality in bringing about inter-group hostility, and works toward providing empirical support for this causal connection by primarily relying on a large-N cross-national research design. This design culminates in multivariate regression models. Because of data availability issues, the task of addressing multiple potential determinants of the inter-group conflict advocated in the literature has been implemented by involving three datasets, of which two serve group-level analyses and one confines itself to the country level. The datasets are compilations of previous scholarly work, mainly based on the Ethnic Power Relations, Minorities at Risk (MAR), and Quality of Government data, with the addition of some new measurements, such as the main explanatory variable, economic inequality. Findings from all three datasets support the impact of horizontal economic inequality on inter-group hostility, measured either as group grievance or violent conflict. This double measurement of the inter-group conflict, as grievance and as violence, answers an intuition that not all low-to-medium strength hostility is doomed to develop into violent conflict. In fortunate conditions, the issues can be solved, or compromises may be reached without turning to violence. A large number of variables in the regression models operationalize constellations that influence the evolution of conflicts toward either peaceful solutions or armed collision. In general, the models provide support for previous expectations promoted in the literature regarding the beneficial impact of democracy and political equality of the groups, but also for the adverse impact of the opportunities for insurrection. Some institutional variables have been defined in ways that they allow for distinguishing between the outcomes of two brands of policies recommended for heterogeneous societies, as advised by Lijphart and Horowitz. Further benefits from the project include the construction of an almost complete list of communal groups worldwide, with 860 groups, which usefully contextualizes MAR's selection of 282 minority groups. Data also allowed for comparing the causes of communal and social conflicts.

Keywords: Communal groups; minority groups; inter-group hostility; inter-group economic inequality

Acknowledgements

Table of Contents

List of Tables

List of Figures

List of Acronyms

ACHPR	African Commission on Human and Peoples' Rights
CONIS	Conflict database of the University of Heidelberg (previously KOSIMO)
DPI	Database of Political Institutions (by a World Bank Research Group)
DSH	Demographic and Health Surveys (of USAID)
EPR	Ethnic Power Relations (dataset)
FSI	Failed States Index (database of the Fund for Peace)
GPI	Global Peace Index (database of the Vision for Humanity)
ILO	International Labour Organization
IPD	Institutional Profiles Database (by the French Government)
ISSP	International Social Survey Programme
IWGIA	International Work Group for Indigenous Affairs
MAR	Minorities at Risk (dataset)
MICS	Multiple Indicator Cluster Surveys (of UNICEF)
MRG	Minority Rights Groups International
Norris	Pippa Norris's Democracy Indicators (datasets)
PRIO	Peace Research Institute Oslo (Norway)
QOG	Quality of Government (dataset, University of Gothenburg, Sweden)
SOWIP	State of the World's Indigenous Peoples (UN-DESA publication series)
UCDP	Uppsala Conflict Data Program
UN WDI	World Development Indicators (UN database)
UNESCO DME	UNESCO's Deprivation and Marginalization in Education dataset
WDM	World Directory of Minorities (of MRG)
WVS	World Values Survey series

Chapter 1.

Introduction

Liberal democracy assumes that large groups of humans are unitary and cohesive enough so that all segments of the population, including the least advantaged, feel part of it, and accept rule in name of the majority as legitimate. Though the expectation of unity and cohesion has often proved deceptive in practice, the ideology that primarily fuels it has withstood several centuries. For nationalism, unity and cohesion are both fact and moral ideal, and the self-governing public cannot be but a linguistically and culturally unitary ethnic group, and the only viable - and legitimate - form of polity is the sovereign nation-state.

The first salient European counter-example actually predated the formation of this nationalistic ideal. The cantons of Switzerland came together in a viable – and expanding, rather than disintegrating - state despite multiple cleavages along ethnic, linguistic, and religious lines. More generally, but maybe less obviously, the necessity of homogenization has been negated by the everyday life of hundreds of ethnic and other communal groups living side-by-side for decades, sometimes for centuries, with "others," without any significant violent episode between them.[1] Yet intergroup conflict happens – it happens as inter-state and as intra-state war, it happens as armed conflict, as inter-communal violence, as group rivalry for resources, as discriminative practices, as segregation, and finally, increasingly often, it happens as political struggle carried out within the frames of democratic politics.

The relations among communal groups are at the very core of all political thinking. On the one hand, wars – either inter- or intra-state wars – are the most destructive phenomena that political scientists may aspire to avert or contain with their advice. On

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[1] As Fearon and Laitin (1996) emphatically claimed: inter-group peace is a more general pattern than conflict.

the other hand, the existence of multiple ethnic, racial, religious, linguistic, and cultural groups (that is to say, communal groups) within the boundaries of a state raises uncomfortable questions about the fundamentals of our approach to the state, its governance, its sovereignty, and its legitimacy criteria.

Today more than one quarter of the world's population live in states that are not "their" nation-state, in which they do not belong to the most numerous ethnicity providing the plurality or majority of that state. The indigenous populations (or first settlers of any area) are small minorities everywhere, except in Bolivia, and most of the time very poor and sometimes severely oppressed. Outside Europe, not even the more numerous second settlers (such as the Hindus, Malays, Arabs, and Bantus) had much say in determining the boundaries of the state in which they have had to live. All African and South/South-East Asian boundaries were traced by the European colonial great powers, without much regard for ethnic and other communal lines. In North America, the French and Spanish early colonizers had to succumb to the weapons and money of new waves of English-speaking immigrants.

By the twenty-first century, the Herderian congruence of ethnicity and polity, or of the ethnie and its fatherland, turned out to be an ideal that cannot be meaningfully pursued. Yet, the political imagination is still fettered by the normative implications of the concept. Maybe most importantly, democracy is imagined as based on one *demos* in one state; we have trouble imagining – let alone designing, as in the case of the European Union - multiple *demoi* within multi-level polities. Other normative implications concern things such as sovereignty and nation-building. In the last decades it turned out that sovereignty can be "pooled", as in the EU; it can be "morally lost," as in Indonesia, Serbia, and Sudan; and it also can be, less dramatically, "devolved," as in the United Kingdom. We have also learned to look with suspicion at the nation-building exercises of third world rulers such as the Myanmar junta, but cannot deny the advantages of having (at least) a generally spoken *lingua franca* in a state, and we think that a handful of common values are necessary for the practice of good governance.

Central to all these considerations is our understanding about what makes people with different communal features peacefully co-exist and cooperate toward mutual benefits, versus to aim at separation, sever ties and define others as enemy, rather than partner? We have a number of theories trying to explain the grip of communal identities on our minds, but also have a number of theories pointing out that even the most cher-

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ished parochial identities, such as ethnicity and religion, are subject to change. Conquered peoples and victors came together in new nations; new religions were born and acquired millions of followers - sometimes losing them again, as in the process of Reformation and counter-Reformation.

When are people ready to include "others" in an extended sense of "we," and when do they refuse to accept "others" as equally valuable human beings with equal entitlements to economic, social, and political resources? When are they ready to make concessions for peace, learn languages, tolerate rituals, and when do they expect the other party only to compromise? Is there anything like peaceful assimilation/ integration of minorities or are all minorities doomed to irredentism with their centrifugal aspirations curbed only by force?

For the external observer -- and large-N studies cannot help adopting a distant stance to their cases -- all the above-mentioned phenomena of tolerance versus intolerance, expanding versus contracting we-consciousness, and integration versus segregation, can be boiled down to the simple opposition between peaceful co-existence and conflict, as these are the manifest, behavioral consequences of all psychic events.[2] Because of a further methodological limitation of observational studies, which are much less equipped to answer causal claims than experimental studies, the prudent formulation of my research question is: "when do we have peace, and when do we have conflict?" Yet to the extent to which regression models allow for deterministic claims, I would like to detect the ways in which violent conflict can be avoided.

As a matter of fact, most political science research on this subject thus far has been aimed at explaining the occurrence of conflict, and mainly of violent conflict between groups. Only one widely known paper targeted the explanation of inter-group peace, yet, in small communities that are both minorities in a democratic state (Fearon & Laitin 1996). I think that the fascinatingly wide gamut of relationship patterns among communal groups defined by ethnic, tribal, racial, linguistic, caste, and religious group markers can be conceived as on a scale from active, cooperative peace to implacable

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[2] Before the spread of scientific opinion polls, and the development of the content analytic tools capable to analyze enormous amounts of raw material to tap into the common psyche, a positivistic epistemology expected social sciences to rely on manifest behavior only. Though the reservations toward opinion-poll and content analysis based research have substantially subsided, a preference toward "hard," statistical or experimental data is still around.

violence. I also believe that this variation can be studied as a social fact, and other social facts may be sought to explain it. This does not mean that I expect the same basic factors to account for the whole variation in all details; but there are a few general factors whose impact comes through beyond the confusing effect of more specific determinants such as the groups' cultural distance, the number of minorities in a state, and even the strategies favored by the group leaders in any particular historical moment. The main issue of interest is what induces a move toward the violent end of the scale, as opposed to moves toward its peaceful and cooperating end.

Conflict prevention and resolution has become a booming specialized field in the last decades, a development helped by the increasing authority of the international community to intervene in warring and war-threatened areas. At its highest levels, this is related to constitutional design practices, that is, to changing the rules of the game in which the communal groups have to interact. Much less spectacularly, considerations of communal co-existence have driven the decisions of urban planners for a long period, in terms of segregation versus integration, suburbanization, slum redevelopment, and housing policies.

There is, then, a dense practice committed, at least partly, in the name of political science, aimed at fixing intergroup relations, but we cannot say that we have a coherent theory of inter-communal relations. There is also some axiological tension in the field on basic issues such as state sovereignty versus human rights, achieving peace versus achieving justice,[3] universalism versus multiculturalism, and fostering integration versus fostering autonomy. More clear-sightedness in the factual domain may help us solve our ethical puzzles. Despite the importance of these ethical issues, this dissertation strives to stay as close to the facts, as possible, and does not aim at passing judgments.

This introductory chapter offers an overview of the topics and methods covered in the two theoretical and four empirical chapters of the dissertation. The basic design is the simplest possible: I forward some hypotheses about inter-group relations, and attempt to support them with cross-national large-N data. Presentation of the hypotheses in Chapter 3 is preceded by a literature review in Chapter 2. And the empirical support is presented in three distinct chapters (5 through 7), because my analyses involve three

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[3] The common normative ideal of the profession has always been intra-state peace, except for the case of unequal groups. When subordinate groups face dominant groups, the ideal of immutable peace is challenged and it may be surpassed by the ideal of emancipation.

distinct datasets. As an additional feature, one of the three datasets, the result of a prolonged data collection effort bringing about a number of new measures necessary for my project, is depicted in a separate chapter, the fourth.

Theoretical Background (Chapter 2)

The literature on the relationships among communal groups defined by ethnic, tribal, racial, linguistic, caste, and religious group markers is scattered across several fields and subfields of social science, and the discourses embedded in different disciplinary contexts resist synthesizing into a well outlined consistent theory. On the contrary, they rely on different notions of group, in which the salience of features and behavioral patterns is highly variable. For instance, while psychology tends to be interested in processes of group formation and a wide gamut of inter-group relations, political science focuses on groups outlined by ascriptive characteristics, and almost exclusively on violent conflict. My objects of study are the groups of relevance to political science, large, "imaginary," going much beyond the face-to-face relationships, and based on socially inherited features, from which exit is not impossible, but comes at a price. On the other hand, my perspective on the relationships among groups follows the diachronic approach of social psychology, and involves inter-group inequality issues specific to some brands of sociology and development economics. Four areas of study have contributed to the understanding of communal group dynamics informing this work.[4]

The first area to be mentioned here and reviewed in Chapter 2 is the social psychology of intergroup relations. This field is clearly dominated by two paradigms, which have kept their influence for decades: those of Allport (1954; 1979) and of Tajfel (1974). I will focus on formulating the implications of these paradigms for my topic, while relying on more recent publications about the relations between communal groups (such as

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[4] I do not want to downplay the impact of personal experience in the formation of my hypotheses. Psychologically, it is not excluded that I was selectively looking at theories that helped me to link two very salient features of the post-communist world where I hail from. The 1990s were characterized, on the one hand, by a sharp decline of the general living standards with only a tiny elite managing to strike much richer than they were, and an appalling burst of nationalist sentiments, heavily targeting the Roma. Three case examples in Chapter 3 will try to shed light on how the connection between economic inequality and inter-group hostility plays out in real contemporaneous settings.

Hogg 2006) and diversity issues (such as Moghaddam, Taylor, and Wright 2003). Social psychology contributes several essential claims to the explanation of inter-group hostility. First, in the spirit of Allport's paradigm, disappearance of prejudice cannot be expected except in conditions of inter-personal contacts within equality. Second, as derivable from the Tajfel theses (and supported by the so-called functional school of Sherif, as well), in-group favoritism may be overcome only with the effacement of the group markers (such as when two groups ally themselves in a common enterprise) or their sinking into irrelevance (such as the loss of interest in each other's religion in secular developed states). The existence or perception of unfairness and inequality hardens group boundaries, and in "ranked" societies, where life trajectories of people from different communal groups systematically end at different hierarchy levels, specific group ideology creation and social strategies have been revealed. Advantaged groups tend to elaborate self-legitimating mythologies, as exposed by Mary Jackman (1996), for instance. Stephen Wright has highlighted an armory of conflict-avoiding strategies on the side of the disadvantaged groups (e.g. Wright and Taylor 2003). Yet other authors show when and how the conflict-avoiding strategies collapse and give way to violent clashes (Hogg 2006).

The second discipline of interest is cross-national political science research, targeting the explanation of violent conflicts. This research surged after the end of the Cold War, focused on ethnic or ethnicized civil wars, and prompted by the observation that after the Second World War, internal wars have become more frequent than inter-state wars. The dependent variable for this research typically comes from data collection projects such as the Correlates of War Intrastate War data, and the Uppsala Conflict Data Project (UCDP), which tend to classify armed conflicts according to their strength, based on the number of battle deaths. The distinction between kinds of conflict is less emphatic in these, the UCDP-PRIO[5] data, for instance, confine to a dichotomy between types of incompatibility, called conflict over territory (which involve communal issues) and conflict over government (which, on the other hand, may also have communal overtones, such as in Africa). There are an impressive number of case studies and multiple case studies belonging to this brand of literature, but its most typical achievements are the quantitative "epidemiological" type studies, for instance quantitative works by James Fearon, David Laitin, Jose Garcia Montalvo, Marta Reynal-Querol, Paul Collier and Anke Hoef-

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[5]   The UCDP data has been merged with the Peace Research Institute Oslo (PRIO) data.

fler. The large-N methodology has a number of positive consequences, as the authors refer to each other's work, sum up previous results, and continuously test each other's hypotheses and findings. The field seems to be geared toward bringing about a common paradigm for explaining violent conflict. Most explanations allow for multi-causality, in which the country's development level, certain features of its institutional structure, as well as the communal group structure and history, together with the opportunities of the minority groups to mobilize, all have an impact on the occurrence of group conflicts. On the controversial side, the utilitarian explanations informing the regression models, which are often rooted in distinctly individualist rational choice outlooks, tend to collide with more communitarian-holistic perspectives.

The third brand of literature pertinent to my topic studies nations, nationalism, and minority-majority relationships in nation-states. A still- persisting schism between constructivist approaches promoting a civic nationalist tradition, and perennialist-primoridalist ones promoting ethno-cultural nationalism, emerged as early as the 18th century. The latter was preponderant in Europe in the 19th century, while the 20th, main-ly its second half, was more typified by a modernist-constructivist take. Work by Modern-ists, such as Bendix (1964), functionalists such as Deutsch (1953) and Haas (1986), and also by constructivists such as Anderson (1983) and Gellner (1983, 1999), situated na-tion-formation as a historical process paralleling the evolution of capitalism, and it was typically qualitative, theoretical, interdisciplinary, and case study based. The other im-portant focus of this problem area, at least of its share within political science, has been the implications of communal heterogeneity. At the heart of this inquiry are minority-majority relations turned violent, though interest is not confined to them. On the contrary, if we want to distinguish between the second brand of literature defined above, and the third kind, then it is a broader, sociological outlook typifying the third, which does not sacrifice detail and complexity for the elegance of the hypothesis, to be called upon. For instance, the Minorities at Risk (MAR) project also aims at finding the causes of ethno-political violent conflict. Yet the dataset is much richer than a collection of a number of potential explanatory factors, and it allows researchers to address questions other than "why and when do they fight each other with violent means?" And there are, indeed, meaningful and important alternative questions asked about the minority-majority rela-tionships, which do not involve inter-group violence. For instance, there is the question of whether diversity lowers social capital and the provision of common goods (Alesina &

La Ferrara 2000, Baldwin & Huber 2010), or whether it jeopardizes the country's economic performance (Collier 2001, Montalvo & Reynald-Querol 2005). Three relatively recent books that have importantly contributed to the expansion of my theoretical horizon about communal coexistence - Chua 2002, Meerman 2009, and Stewart 2008, - can be classified with this literature.

The fourth area of interest is that of policies. There are a large number of state actions or non-actions, at all hierarchy levels, which impact the co-existence of communal groups. The pertinent literature clusters around four main issues:

(i) Constitutional designs that prevent deadly ethnic conflicts. The two main perspectives can be labeled as "integrationist" (Horowitz) and "power sharing" (Lijphart). The big divide between these opposite recommendations seems to lie in their assumptions about the nature of ethnic identity and its relationships with other identity forms. The main tools to regulate intergroup relations are the definition of the state as national or multi-ethnic, official languages, state secularism, federalism, pillarization, decentralization, the electoral system, and cultural-educational policies.

(ii) Opposition to, versus support for political mobilizing along communal lines, which involves concerns with the politics of identity, intersectionality, and affirmative action. Closest to my topic, it has witnessed a serious controversy about the role of ethnic parties, about whether these exacerbate inter-group cleavages or help to solve social malfunctions? A rational choice tradition going back to Rabushka & Shepsle (1972) tends to blame ethnic parties for inter-group hostility and violence, while newer research, such as Ishiyama (2009), points out the lack of evidence for these claims.

(iii) The institutions and policies pertinent to majority-minority relationship can be said to pursue one of three ideals – though mixed solutions are also possible. The basic policy ideals to choose from are assimilation (e.g. France), civic patriotism (e.g. the US), and multiculturalism (e.g. Canada). In general, ethno-cultural assimilation is not regarded as a legitimate political goal any longer, and civic patriotisms have long been accused of false universalism, imposing assimilation to a dominant (such as white Anglo-Saxon) culture. Multiculturalism seems to be the intuitively most appealing ideal, but some skepticism can be raised with regard to a diverse population's ability to self-govern, that is, about the compatibility of democracy and diversity. (These concerns have received momentum with regard to the "ever closer union" of the European peoples.)

(iv) Defending the vulnerable groups against discrimination and abuse is a debated issue. According to generally accepted norms, a legitimate state cannot discriminate against any group, in any of its functions and services. It is less consensual whether the state ought to intervene to protect the victims against discrimination by other groups. Advanced welfare states tend to implement laws targeting equal hiring practices, and they may intervene to prevent housing segregation. Effective anti-hate speech legislation is often opposed in the name of free speech, but there are such laws in place in several countries.

More radical solutions aim at redressing the negative conditions attached to the definition of certain groups in order to crush the prejudice that leads to discrimination.

Chapter 2 elaborates on the presentation of these fields of thought with a focus on their portraying the determinants of inter-group relations, particularly minority-majority relations. The lessons from previous scholarly work are presented in Chapter 3, which formulates my hypotheses, and also the research designs meant to answer the need to control for most factors that were previously found to affect inter-communal relations.

Hypotheses and Research Design (Chapter 3)

1 Hypotheses

Political science's cross-national studies focused on the causes of intra-state violent conflict tend to come together in a common paradigm that allows for the impact of several determinants and is dominated by a methodology relying on multiple regression. My own inquiry is designed to be compatible with this research tradition, and the methodology of empirical support for claims does closely follow the technique of regression modeling. From this perspective, my main contribution to the existing literature is to provide evidence of the statistically and substantially significant impact of inter-group economic inequality on inter-group hostility and violence.

Yet the theorization that led me to believe in this impact, sometimes referred to as the EI-PC nexus (Lichbach 1989[6]), does not completely fit the mold of the preponderantly utilitarian reasoning with which other determinants of the intra-state conflict have been hypothesized and subsequently - in general - supported.

First, I do not think that it is possible to explain the occurrence of violence on its own, independently of the explanation of inter-group relations in general. In my vision, violence is the endpoint of a sinuously evolving relationship, which is influenced by both the interaction between groups and certain external circumstances, such as the country's developmental level and international embedment. On the implementation side, this assumption has led to increased concern with the explanatory variables conveying in-

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[6] "EI-PC nexus" stands for the expression "economic inequality breeds political conflict."

formation about the groups, as well as more concern with the dependent variables' measuring inter-communal, rather than social, tensions.[7]

Second, I believe, and hope, that not all intergroup disputes, and not all conflictual relations lead to violence, as some intergroup issues may be solved in relatively peaceful ways within the limits of everyday politics. That is, certain social constellations inescapably breed inter-group discord, expressed in words and action, but often, the accumulating tension and hostility can be diverted from discharging into violence. On the implementation side, this has led to a two-stage analysis of the data. In my group-level analyses, I used the Minorities at Risk dataset's "grievances" measure as indicator of a low-to-intermediate hostility level, and the presence of conflict recorded in the CONIS[8], and UCDP-PRIO datasets as indicator of high level of hostility.

Third, I believe in the consequentiality of group consciousness for interpreting the social world, passing judgments on it, and getting involved in political action. My main objection against the individualist utilitarian explanations is not that people are not egoist, but that they tend to be "collective egoist." That is, they make their choices not exclusively along the cost-benefit analysis of what is good for them personally. Cost-benefit balances set in terms of "we," and "our loss and our gain," as opposed to " my loss and my gain," govern a great proportion of social choices. This "we" may be a family, an institution, a country, and, obviously, a communal group, as well. On the implementation side, my basic explanatory model of inter-group hostility takes group consciousness into account as an important, though mediating factor of inter-group hostility. Because of the unavailability of measures, group consciousness is not included among the regression predictors, but a number of measurable objective facts, which may plausibly be assumed to affect it, are included in the models, most notably the measures of inter-group inequality, and of past inter-group conflicts.

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[7] In country-level data, communal and social types of conflict are not always clearly distinguished, and I had to find ways to estimate the extent to which my dependent variables contain types of social conflict such as anti-autocracy riots and labor union movements. Otherwise, class warfare may also be conceptualized as inter-group hostility and the subordinated group's organization for political action, but this work intends to confine to the study of relationships between groups delimited by communal group markers.

[8] "Conflict Information System," previously COSIMO or KOSIMO, a project of the University of Heidelberg, http://www.hiik.de/en/kosimo/kosimo2.html.

Group inequality is the main explanatory variable, the impact of which I intend to support in this work. Since I do not believe that communal groups are simply doomed to fight each other, not even that the group membership is always very salient for everybody, I have had to look for reasons for which belonging to a group becomes salient for either the in-group or the out-group. My contention is that difference, or otherness, which is not related to status inequality, is much less likely to become a socially salient group marker than a difference, or otherness coupled with status inequality. Gender is salient, claim the feminists, because it is a hierarchy. Why did skin color become socially and politically consequential, while eye color, or the body height did not (except, maybe, in Rwanda)? Or why is religion an important group marker in Syria, while it is not in the US any longer?

My literature review focuses on segments of the scholarship in various disciplines, which converge on the idea that animosity is much more likely between unequal groups, than between groups whose life chances do not differ in obvious ways even if they are separated by communal group markers. Tajfel's paradigm within social psychology, or the sociology and development economy work included in the Stewart 2008 volume, may be the examples par excellence for this. Within political science, two relatively recent projects come closest to my theorization and empirical endeavors. The Minorities at Risk project started in the 1980s, and resulted in a number of publications. Especially noteworthy among these are the works of Ted Gurr. Gurr (1993) adopts a multi-causal and sequenced explanation of inter-group violence, which includes "collective disadvantage" as one of the main explanatory factors. This really comes close to my explanation about the relevance of group inequalities, but empirically, Gurr and his colleagues operationalized the "group collective disadvantage" with their variables for deliberate discrimination from the part of the majorities, rather than with measures for factual economic, political, and cultural gaps between the groups. In contrast, I have worked on showing that economic inequality that occurred because of any reason, leads to hostility. Besides theoretical reasons, a number of concrete cases, of which three are

briefly presented in Chapter 3,[9] support the consequentiality of inequality *per se* on inter-group relations.

The impact of political inequality on inter-group conflict has received substantial support lately due to the work of successive teams headed by Cederman, who created a dataset called Ethnic Power Relations (EPR), and explored the consequences of political inequality on inter-group relations in a number of well-known papers. Since this side of the story is so well documented, originally I did not intend to use the Cederman power status variables in my own regressions, but planned on tracing back the impact of political inequality onto the institutions that may empower minorities, such as democracy, proportional representation, and regional autonomy. However, the political inequality variable performed much more convincingly in the group-level regression models than the institutional variables, which may be attributed to both its being a more immediate determinant of group consciousness and to level-of-measurement issues,[10] and I decided to report a few models that include an ordinal political power scale owed to the EPR project, as well.

This way, what I may call my main hypothesis, is related to the impact of the inter-group economic inequality on group relations. I claim that the existence of horizontal economic inequality leads to the emergence of inter-group hostility.[11] I would refrain from speculating about the comparative importance of types of inequality to inter-group relations. Economic and political inequalities, in the ways in which they are measured in my models, seem to have quasi-equal impact on grievances and conflict. I am aware that there are other dimensions along which inequality between groups may be consequential, as well, but I am not able to rigorously account for them in regression models. Legal inequality, such as slavery, is fortunately almost absent in today's world, but there are social cleavages which are captured only along their manifestation in the considered di-

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[9] The case examples refer to the Roma in East Europe, African Cubans (Meerman 2009), and the Chinese diaspora in South-East Asia (Chua 2002). The condition of the first two groups has worsened because of more liberal economic policies having been adopted by the countries, without any malicious intent toward these minorities. A number of advantaged minorities is resented by the majority population though the minority could obviously not cause the economic backwardness of the majority.

[10] The Cederman measurements are taken on group-level, and the institutional variables on country-level. In group-level regressions the variables measured at group level have an obvious advantage.

[11] The claim is operationalized in Chapter 3 so that it allows for using measures of both low-to-medium hostility levels (grievances), and high hostility levels (militarized violence).

mensions, for instance, the condition of Dalits in India as economic disadvantage, and of Haratins in Mauritania as both economic and political disadvantage. [12] Further, there are cultural inequalities between minority groups and the state-operating plurality, which may vary both in function of the minority--plurality distance on the communal group marker, and in function of the minority's external connections. For instance, English-speaking Indian citizens are more advantaged in a globalizing world than the Hindi-speaking plurality Indian citizens; and Sunni Syrians may count on substantial external support from other Sunnis against an Alewite state power.[13] I have to admit that I have not discovered a dedicated measure of cultural inequality, and could not directly test for it, though occasionally I involved MAR's measures of cultural restrictions on minorities and of cultural grievances in order to complete my explanations of hostility and conflict. Similarly, the testing of the impact of external support (from kindred, foreign state, and NGOs) is confined to models built with the MAR data in Chapter 6.

My theory about inter-group relations is summarized in a flowchart in Chapter 3, which highlights the categories of determinants that have to be taken into consideration. It also illustrates my assumption that the step from low-to-medium intensity hostility (as measured by grievances) to violent conflict is conditioned and not necessary. The groups of determinants included in the model are: inter-group economic inequality, group consciousness (which, operationalized for tests, becomes a cluster of group characteristics and features of the country's group structure), development level, international influences, and the country's institutional structure.

The hypotheses about the impact of diverse factors are developed with regard to this flowchart, but also answering the need to include in the regression models all explanatory variables advocated in the literature thus far. For example, we know that – or there is an emerging consensus about the fact that – a country's institutional structure has an impact on the probability of violent conflict. Different authors single out different

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[12]   Victims of human trafficking and enslaving cannot be accounted for here; their plight is result of criminal activity, not sanctioned by the law of any country.

[13]   Support from kindred is the first that comes to mind when inventorying a minority group's external support, but actually, it is not the only one kind. External support for certain minorities may come from great powers on other grounds than ethnic relatedness, as well. History produced a plethora of examples of states patronizing a minority of others so that they weaken a rival. No wonder, the external support of a minority triggers the worst impulses of majorities even if the minority-protection moves are driven by ideals, and not the material or political interests of the intervening states (such as in East Timor, and Kosovo).

features of this complex. Gurr's (1993) focus is on state repressiveness, which means that democracy lowers the possibility of violence, while Reynal-Querol (2005) claims that it is only the inclusive democratic practices whose effect is significant. Fearon & Laitin (2003) focus on government effectiveness as an impediment to violence, while some of their other variables, also expressing the assumption that the opportunities for insurrection increase the chances of violence, such as an economy with a large proportion of unemployed young males, and of rural population, may be conceptualized as institutional variables in the larger sense of the word. A special perspective onto the impact of institutions is represented by the Cederman et al. ranking of ethnic groups as being in power versus excluded from power, and in this sense my own inter-group inequality measure is institutional, as well, but I preferred mentioning it in a separate category. The hypotheses thus cluster in six categories:

(i) inter-group (horizontal) economic inequality,

(ii) group features and the country's group structure,

(iii) the country's development or modernization level,

(iv) international environment,

(v) the country's institutional system,

(vi) opportunity for insurrection.

The single most important hypothesis to test is the first one mentioned above. I claim that inter-group economic inequality increases inter-group hostility and the likelihood of violent conflict, and in all three empirical chapters, with three different datasets, and three different measurements of the inter-group inequality, the regression models aim to demonstrate this impact.

Group and group structure features must be controlled for, and there are a large number of features of interest. The size, or possibly more correctly, the proportion of a group is supposed to increase the probability of conflict (Garcia-Montalvo & Reynal-Querol 2005, Posner 2004), while fractionalization has turned out to have a curvilinear impact (as first hypothesized by Horowitz). Group concentration has an impact on both autonomy demands and the opportunity to organize. The strongest effect in this group may be expected from the history of the groups: past violent episodes make present and future violence more likely. Yet, there are no theoretically salient conflicting standpoints in the literature about the impact of distance on the group markers (such as language,

ethnicity, race, caste), nor have strong impacts been found previously, and I have also refrained from forwarding hypotheses with regard to these.

The impact of development levels and modernization is a complex issue, which involves the "foundational debate" of the nationalism and ethnicity studies between perennialist (or primordialist) standpoints versus modernist (or constructivist) theories. The most optimistic Modernists (Inglehart may be taken for a descendant of these) expect economic progress to completely strip people of their parochial ties. More realistic theorists confine their optimism to the fact that development lessens the occurrence of violence, and some of them have worked on designing modern democratic states that may prevent ethnic conflict either by integrationist policies, which penalize politicizing along communal lines as a danger to institutional stability (Horowitz 1985), or power-sharing policies, which enable communal groups to negotiate their co-existence from quasi-equal political positions (Lijphart 1977). Assessment of the impact of development is hindered by its inter-connectedness with a large number of features which all may affect inter-group relations, such as the association of wealth with democracy in cross-national perspective. Other connections between development and communal relations may be traced through industrialization-urbanization to declining isolation of the groups (or, increasing diversity and diminishing group concentration), conscious efforts toward homogenizing dialects, and effacing the importance of tribes. Further, there are some phenomena associated with, but probably not caused by modernization. Ethnic and linguistic fractionalization is much higher in the Third World than in the developed countries, and the proportion of pluralities is much larger in Europe than in Africa, for instance. Subsequently, while it is difficult to attribute any unique pattern to the impact of development as such, it is absolutely necessary to control for development levels in our models. Empirical work tends to show that violence is lower in more developed countries; thus, this is my hypothesis in this regard, as well.

Two arguments in the literature are at variance with this claim, but both are confined to some special conditions. Too rapid economic growth that destabilizes the traditional rural social systems before replacing them with new forms of social and political control may lead to more violence, as claimed by Huntington (1968) and Scott (1976), for instance. And importation of free market arrangements by developing countries with unsolved ethnic tensions, mainly in the presence of an economically advantaged minority, is also detrimental to social peace, as claimed by Chua (2002). I contend that this lat-

ter claim is more appropriately addressed within the frames of the next category of explanatory variables, involving the impact of the international environment. Within this problematic, foreign support to minority groups is conceptualized as contributing to their increased political activism, though not necessarily to violent activism only. And the impacts of globalization can be studied, relatively meticulously, due to the existence of a tripartite measure accounting for three different aspects of globalization: economic, social, and political.[14] We have reasons to hypothesize that a socially and politically more internationalized country is less likely to experience severe communal intolerance and sustained hostility grounded in parochial affiliations. The impact of economic globalization, on the other side, may be taken for antagonistic, to do justice to Chua, and also because there is evidence that in countries adopting the Washington-consensus type economic openness, economic inequality has grown.[15]

The country's institutional system is another complex of factors that emerges in all explanations of social violence, but different features of it may be, and have been, selected as explanatory principles by different authors. As for the formal political institutions, the explanations focus on two dimensions: "inclusiveness" and "repressiveness." Inclusiveness is easier to conceptualize. In an inclusive political regime, minorities are neither discriminated against nor oppressed, and can improve their lot through political activity in everyday peaceful democratic ways, so do not have to turn to violence in pursuit of their group goals. The concept may be variously operationalized as lack of political discrimination (as in MAR), as the presence of a proportional representation electoral system (Reynal-Querol 2005), or as inclusion of the ethnic group in power (Cederman et al.), while "simple" democracy is obviously a baseline condition for peaceful interest protection of any kind. The real challenge here is adequately capturing all dimensions of the group political inclusion: their representation in the national legislature, executive, and judiciary, and also degrees of group autonomy, territorial and functional.

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[14]   The KOF Index of Globalization, http://globalization.kof.ethz.ch/

[15]   Actually, there is proof only for the increase of the vertical (inter-individual) economic inequality as consequence of neoliberal ("orthodox") economic policies. We do not have cross-national measurements of the dynamics of inter-group (horizontal) economic inequality. As a general rule, however, in societies experiencing economic gaps between communal groups, these gaps increase when the inter-individual inequality, as measured by Gini, increases.

The impact of state repressiveness, on the other hand, is more controversial, and there are inherent issues with its conceptualization and operationalization. A *prima facie* interpretation is that a strong state able to retaliate for lawbreaking deters lawbreakers. A diverging opinion is that state terror invites a fight for freedom, and people rebel against autocrats in the name of freedom, as such. A third claim is that when certain groups suffer in a society, and fail to obtain remedy in peaceful ways, they rebel against the power in place even if it is perceived as being strong. All three assumptions may be supported with theoretical and empirical arguments, and the possibility of designing an *experimentum crucis* is deeply reduced by some level-of-analysis problems. Democracy is a country-level variable, and a country may be generally democratic while some groups are and feel excluded from power. Exertion of repressiveness may also target certain communal groups specifically; thus the relationship between state repressiveness and inter-group hostility may look different on different levels of analysis.

Taking into consideration the availability of measurements, as well, I formulated and tested hypotheses claiming that inclusiveness reduces the likelihood of violent conflict by offering alternate ways to minorities to promote their group goals, while government effectiveness tends to deter violence.

The last cluster of explanatory variables to be considered is what I labeled the "opportunity for insurrection" cluster, and has most famously been advocated by Fearon & Laitin (2003). Strictly speaking, it is about a cost-benefit balance of insurrection. Factors that increase the price of conducting armed insurgencies against the power in place, such as a strong and effective state apparatus, are taken for reducing the incentives of the "political entrepreneurs" to initiate violence, while a number of other factors, such as large rural areas, and large proportion of unemployed young males, reduce the costs and increase the incentives of the "political entrepreneurs" to embark on a violent course. While there is no doubt that these cost-benefit balances contribute to the absence or presence of violent conflict, there are disputes about who count as the subjects involved in decision-making, and to what extent these balances influence them. Obviously, the "push" effect is larger on "political entrepreneurs" than on communal groups with serious grievances, whose aim is to get remedies for their plight and naturally prefer peaceful means when available at all. If aggrieved groups take the decision, rather than Machiavellian elites, we should find grievances having more impact on choices, than the "opportunity for insurrection" variables. Subsequently, my expectations with regard to the

determinants belonging to this group do not differ from those of Fearon &Laitin's (2003) with regard to the significance and the direction of these impacts; but I think that they are weaker than the impact of the factors expressing the status of communal groups within their county, and affecting the formulation of grievances.

2 Research Design

The basic research design underlying this work is simple and straightforward. It banks on putting all the above-mentioned explanatory variables in cross-national multivariate regression models and studying the statistical and substantive importance of the coefficients. The implementation, however, has become much more complicated.

First, there has been no readily available dataset that would contain all the explanatory and dependent variables involved in the project. I have endeavored to make the best use of the best available data collection, the Minorities at Risk (MAR), which contains 282 minority groups, but have built up a larger dataset containing more than 700 minority groups for more comprehensive group-level analyses. The template for this extension has been provided by the Ethnic Power Relations (EPR) dataset, which also includes measures of political inequality, and of past inter-group conflict.

Second, inter-group relations can be studied on two levels of analysis: on the level of individual units, and on the level of the whole of which they are parts, in this case, at the country-level. The fact that most data for the cross-national study of group relations are available only for minority-majority relations, and are missing for the horizontal minority-minority relations, emphasized the importance of a country-level approach. Majorities or pluralities may use the whole state to shape their relationship with the minorities. Subsequently, of the three datasets explored in this work, two are formulated on group level, and one on country level.

Third, my explanation of the occurrence of violent conflict involves (at least) two stages. My contention is that communal groups are not doomed to hate and fight each other. Inter-group hostility, including minority-majority hostility, emerges in specific and specifiable circumstances, which also influence its intensity. On the basis of a group's awareness of reasons to be angry with the out-group (which in the case of minority groups means formulating grievances), a course of action is taken, one expected to be most likely to fix the problems at the smallest cost to the group. The basic choice is between peaceful and violent political activity. Subsequently, I have first built models that

explain the emergence of grievances, and second, models that explain the occurrence of violence on the basis of grievances. To harmonize my models with those commonly used in the cross-national study of violent conflict, I have also tested a third type of regression model, which traces violence back to the causes of grievance. (These are labeled "omnibus" models in the empirical chapters.)

Fourth, the number of dependent variables further multiplied because of practical reasons. I had to use different sets of dependent variables for the analyses at different levels. As for the group level, grievances of the minority groups are dependably measured by MAR, but along three different dimensions: economic, political, and cultural. They cannot be combined in one indicator, because their correlations are below 0.7. My group-level measure for violent conflict is an adaptation of conflict data from CONIS and UCDP-PRIO, and I was confronted with the dilemma of whether to use a simple dichotomic measure of presence/absence of violence, or try to incorporate information about the intensity of the conflict from my sources. I chose both, which obviously led to more dependent variables and more models to run and report. As for the country-level dataset, I had usable measurements of conflict from different sources for different time spans, which doubled my tests, and I was fortunate enough to discover data that distinguish between communal and social conflict; thus I tried to find the differences among their *explanans*.

Fifth, because of the pervasiveness of missing data I had to resort to a technique of multiple imputations. This method is recommended to correct for possible biases caused by list wise deletion in regression models.[16] I used the method in Chapter 7 with my country-level dataset to make up for missing data on the control variable measuring the proportion of unemployed young males, and in Chapter 6 with the MAR data, here with the intent to extend several variables available for the 282 MAR groups only to all 727minority groups included in my larger group-level sample. Since I opted for reporting results from both the original dataset and the imputed data, the application of the method involved an extension of the respective chapters.

These five design-related features contributed to the analytic work becoming more complex and considerably longer than most regression-based quantitative re-

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[16] Within political science, G.King is the strongest advocate of the method. Together with a team of statisticians, he produced an easy-to-handle software to impute data in lacunar datasets (Amelia II).

search. In addition, I have had to face the challenge, quite typical for the social sciences, that important explanatory variables to be used are highly associated with each other, reducing each other's regression coefficients and significance measures.[17] This made me experiment with a number of parallel measurements. Further, in the regression models run on group-level datasets, I still needed a few country-level variables, such as democracy, proportional representation, and government effectiveness. The conservative way to deal with such cases is to build multi-level models, and attempts to address this need brought about an additional number of regression models. Finally, the definition of minority group, and the delimitation of the groups included in analyses, has not always been clear-cut and straightforward. I chose to build the regression models in each chapter with the same groups or group clusters, such as historical minorities in Chapter 5, and historical minorities, but also new immigrants and small pluralities in Chapter 6. Some additional data presentation, however, such as frequencies and bivariate relationships, is extended onto most groups included in the datasets.

Data (Chapter 4, Parts of Chapter 6 and 7)

The analyses presented in chapters 5 through Seven rely on an extensive data collection work, which resulted in three datasets to explore, two group-level and one country-level datasets. My main contribution has been to compile: I have copied together data from various sources in the same spreadsheet. Yet occasionally, I merged, split, and recoded variables, calculated percentages and averages, and did small-scale imputation with interpolation or regression values. All changes that I made to pre-existing measurements are accurately documented. On the one hand, each dataset comes with a Codebook; and on the other hand, each of them has a "data collection" version, as different from the "operational" version. I call "operational" the datasheets which include

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[17]   Regression models are supposed to weed out spurious causal explanations by reducing the impact of the false predictor in the presence of the real predictor. Yet most social phenomena are over-determined in the sense that any predictor of several that we use in a model may influence the outcome on its own, independently of the impact of others. (That is, none of them is "false," but given the association between them, they may falsify each other.) For instance, both development level and government effectiveness may reduce violence, but they are correlated, and their measurable impact in multi-variate models is smaller when they are both in the same model.

only information that can be fed into SPSS software, and has been effectively fed into it – these are what the literature refers to as replication data, as well. The data collection sheet contains comments related to certain variables and variable values, and the input ("raw material") variables from which a more synthetic measure, or a measure more suitable for analyses, were calculated. For instance, data on internally displaced persons has been averaged across a number of measurements, and then made proportional to the size of the country's population – the data collection sheet includes six "internally displaced" variables, while the operational or replication data includes only one, the last calculated version. Beyond compiled and cleaned data, the datasets contain two variables, technically variable groups, which are essentially new contributions to the previously available measurements.

First and foremost, I created a group-level measure of inter-group economic inequality, relying on official statistics and scientific survey data as raw material. After defining the communal groups of interest in each country, I looked for data that typified their comparative economic standing. My preference has been for official statistics, such as disaggregated income data, data on household net worth, and disaggregated educational statistics. Practically, though, most of my primary data has come from two large-sample cross-national survey projects, carried out by USAID and by UNICEF, called Demographic Health Survey (DHS) and Multiple Indicator Cluster Survey (MICS) series, respectively. In addition, I have collected demographic data from scientific opinion surveys relying on nationally representative sampling, such as the International Social Survey Programme (ISSP), the World Value Surveys (WVS), and certain regional Barometers, including the Afrobarometer, and the Asian Barometer, for instance. All this information characterizing the comparative economic standing of the groups came in different units of measurement. Most helpfully, MICS classified respondents on a "Wealth Quintile" ordinal scale, that is, the respondents were assigned to one of five wealth categories based on their empirically observed possessions, such as land, house, animals, bonds and shares, and so on. In countries in which MICS has also recorded the ethnic or other communal belonging of importance – unfortunately, this has not happened in every case - a Wealth Quintile Index (WQI) value for each group could be simply calcu-

lated. The group's position on the WQI became my main inter-group inequality measure (named INEQ_1).[18]

Since there was a large number of countries for which the raw material characterizing the groups' comparative position has been available in diverging kinds of measurements only, I had to work out conversion rules between the WQI and these later. For instance, as the World Value Surveys use a 10-point scale to classify the income of the respondents, this had to be collapsed for "translation." For converting the group educational achievement, or life expectancy, into WQI, I used the cases where both measurements were available, as Rosetta stones. I have to admit that this work could not be done by applying very strict rules because of crosscutting complexities. For instance, the same educational (mainly female) levels tend to be associated with higher wealth levels in Muslim, than in Christian populations. Ultimately, though, the whole "data collection dataset" has been made available for public scrutiny, which displays both the "raw material" data point and the subsequently assigned WQI value. Further validity tests of my inequality data consist in comparing these variables to anything similar in the literature. Unfortunately, there are only three similar measures, and because of specific issues, none of them can be taken for a perfect standard. On the group level, MAR has a variable intended to measure the minority's economic disadvantage brought about by the majority's hostile activity, called "economic discrimination" (ECDIS). Though not meant to be a measure of inter-group economic inequality, as such, it captures much of it. Across 282 common cases, MAR's ECDIS variable is correlated with my INEQ_1 at -0.452, and with my INEQ_2, at 0.440. Other measures of inequality exist on the country-level only, and I had to calculate the standard deviation of my INEQ_1 values for each country in order to compare my variable with those. Obviously, this collection of standard errors is not a perfect conversion of the information contained in the group-level indicator, but still results in considerable, statistically significant correlation coefficients with the two comparable measures. Baldwin &Huber (2010) calculated a horizontal inequality measure for 46 states, and the Fund for Peace created a Failed States Index, with measurements

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[18] Additional inter-group inequality indicators were developed from this basic one. First, INEQ_2 measures the distance of each minority group from the majority on the WQI (INEQ_1) scale. INEQ_3 transforms all minority-majority distances into positive values, instead of accounting with minus values for advantaged minorities. Finally, INEQ_4 scales these distances to the country's GINI (vertical or inter-individual inequality) index.

available since 2005 through 2011, for a steadily expanding number of states, which contains a component measuring inequality, or uneven development, of the groups composing each country. [19]

My second variable was born out of necessity, because of the lack of similar measurements to use in my models. It is a measure of group autonomy, to be added to the cluster of political institutions characterizing each country. It makes use of a number of decentralization indicators included in the Database of Political Institutions and Quality of Government datasets. Four existing decentralization measures were averaged into a single decentralization index measure. The more labor-intensive and less formalized part of the work was to look up to what extent each country's administrative subdivisions follow the settlement patterns of the communal groups. Once this congruence was classified on a 5-point ordinal scale, I could multiply it with the decentralization index, obtaining a measurement of the extent to which countries allow for self-governance of their regionally concentrated minorities. The only data source against which I may test my measures is, again, the Minorities at Risk.[20] MAR has dedicated group-level variables for both group concentration and group autonomy – but for 282 groups only, not for 727 eligible groups. Across the 282 common cases, MAR's group autonomy dummy is correlated with my corresponding measure (the interaction term of decentralization and settlement patterns) at 0.377. Historically, this endeavor of measuring the congruence of the settlement patterns with the administrative divisions, and then accounting for the autonomy of the units, grew out from an idea of designing an *experimentum crucis* to choose between the policy proposals of Horowitz (integrationist proposal: design admin-

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[19]   The correlation coefficients for the 2006 round of the Failed States inequality measure are 0.269 with my Standard Deviation of INEQ_1 (across 142 cases), and 0.562 with the Baldwin& Huber measure (across 45 cases). Further, my St.Dev_INEQ measure is correlated at 0.450 with the Baldwin &Huber measure, across 46 cases. Further analyses in Chapter 7 show that the St.Dev_INEQ indicator is more narrowly focused on measuring inter-group inequality only, while the other two incorporate more vertical inequality, as well.

[20]   EPR also has a dummy for group regional autonomy, but lacks a measure of group concentration. It does not seem to make good sense to use the autonomy indicator in models without controlling for group regional concentration. On the one hand, the value of autonomy for the group hinges on the need for it (on whether they are regionally concentrated, or not), and on the other hand, conflict between regionally concentrated communal groups is more likely than conflict between dispersed and interspersed communal groups. This impact of the regional concentration persists through new and incomplete autonomy arrangements, thus the conflict-mitigating impact of the autonomy cannot come through when we do not consider the concentration in itself and our autonomy measure is too coarsely ground, not gradual.

istrative units that cross-cut the ethnic settlement patterns) and Lijphart (power-sharing proposal: design administrative units congruent with the ethnic settlement patterns, and give them maximum autonomy).[21]

The dependent variables used in-group level analyses are specially modified versions of pre-existing indicators. A triad of economic, political and cultural grievances was imported from MAR, and left unchanged for the 282 MAR groups. Since MAR's selection criteria is to include minorities whose co-existence with their majorities is problematic, all other groups in my extended sample were assigned "no grievance" value by default, with a handful of exceptions, thoroughly documented in the codebook.[22] The indicators of conflict have been imported from the CONIS and UCDP-PRIO datasets. These two complement each other in the sense that all severely violent conflicts recorded in UCDP-PRIO are mentioned in CONIS, but this latter has a large number of lower intensity conflicts, as well, and classifies conflicts on a five-point ordinal scale. For each communal group in my dataset, I looked up whether they have been involved in any conflict recorded in these datasets between 2005 and 2010. I considered only inter-group conflicts, and those fought between the state plurality and a minority group. After identifying the conflicts, three measures have been formulated, a dummy and two interval variables.[23]

I named my group-level datasets EPR_MAR_EXT and MAR_EPR_MI. The names intend to make it clear that they rely on the Ethnic Power Relations (EPR) and

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[21]　Also, first I worked on implementing it on the level of federal units. I measured the degree of federalism, and the congruence of the federal states with the communal settlement patterns; but this variable turned out to be less useful for the analyses conducted within the frames of this work, because of the relatively small proportion of federal states.

[22]　Reason to override the "no grievance" rule was a "discriminated" status of the group in EPR, borderline size coupled with obvious group disadvantages, and inconsistency within MAR (no grievance, but recorded conflicts).

[23]　One is a dummy indicating whether the group had any conflict recorded in CONIS for the respective years. The second is an interval variable averaging the CONIS assessments for five years. Finally, the third relies on a little more complex mathematical formula, which incorporates the overall length of the conflict, and whether it is mentioned in UCDP-PRIO.

Minorities at Risk (MAR) datasets,[24] though they include additional groups, as well. These come from my third basic source, the World Directory of Minorities published and maintained by the Minority Rights Group International (MRG). This NGO has collected and disseminated the largest quantity of information on minorities, but their knowledge is available in discursive, encyclopedia-like format only, not as a formalized database. During the preparation of my EPR_MAR_EXT dataset, the template of countries and groups included in EPR was completed with groups and countries listed in the World Directory. The quantitative thresholds set by MAR were obeyed: I included only countries above 500,000 people, and groups above 100,000 people or 1% of the population. Though the application of this rule led to dropping a few small groups from EPR, I had to add many more, and finally EPR_MAR_EXT contained 329 groups for which I had to assign values on two basic EPR variables, concerning the power status and past violent episodes. In this case, the imputation was manual and empirically based: I looked up the facts, again, mainly in the MRG database.

Since this group-level dataset, the EPR_MAR_EXT is the most complex of the three; its creation and main features are presented in detail in a dedicated chapter, Chapter 4, while the analyses conducted with it are summarized in Chapter 5. Chapter 6 contains both a brief description of the features of MAR_EPR_MI, and the presentation of the analyses, and the same is true of Chapter 7, dealing with the country-level dataset. This latter concatenates well-known standard measures of development, political institutions, and country globalization level taken from United Nations-affiliated sources and scholarly compilations (such as the Quality of Government data, for instance), with data obtained from think tanks of increasing prestige and reputation, particularly the Vision for Humanity (creator of the Global Peace Index series), and Fund for Peace (creator of the Failed States Index series).

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[24] More information on the "parent" datasets is included in Chapter 4. The order of their name reverses in the second case because this latter is a dataset specially designed to explore a few measurements which are only available from MAR. Since MAR data exists for 282 groups only, this dataset has been subjected to a multiple imputation procedure ("MI") during analyses. The suffix at the end of EPR_MAR_EXT, from "extended", refers to the fact that some variables contained by MAR and EPR have been extended to cover all communal groups included in the dataset. For instance, all EPR_MAR_EXT groups were coded on the MAR grievance variables, under the above-mentioned condition that non-MAR groups were assigned the value of "no grievance." Two EPR measures were extended onto all groups included in EPR_MAR_EXT, which also allows for the calculation of a number of derived EPR variables.

Data Analysis (Chapters 5, 6, and 7)

The apex of this research project is the running of regression models that confirm or refute the impact of my advocated explanatory variable in the presence of a number of other variables. From the perspective of this testing, all other variables are probably rightly labeled "controls" -- my inter-group inequality measures have had to prove their potential by competing against the influence of other predictors. From the perspective of an accumulating knowledge base about the evolution of inter-group hostility, and occurrence of violence, however, the other variables are co-determinants, or co-predictors, and we cannot have a more important research task than accounting for them all so that we maximize the explanatory power of our models. Since I believe that inter-group relations are multi-causal phenomena, and even over-determined by a very large number of co-predictors, my models pursued to include all variables promoted in the literature, but I often experimented with parallel measurements that helped to reduce the danger of collinearity.

The results of the regression analyses are summarized in the concluding chapter. Yet, I cannot help reporting, here too, that the statistical significance of the impact of inter-group economic inequality has been corroborated by data, on both the group-level and country level, and by using any of the three applicable measures, my own INEQ series, MAR's ECDIS variable, and the Fund for Peace's "Uneven Development" index. The strength of the impact is subject to interpretation, and practically hinges on comparisons with the impact of other predictors in the same models. As a general pattern, the impact of horizontal economic inequality appears stronger on grievances than on violent conflict, and stronger at country-level than at group level. Wherever possible, I endeavored to report standardized coefficients from ordinary least squares models, for an immediate glimpse at the strength of each coefficient.[25]

The other predictor to which I have paid special attention is group autonomy, mainly as measured with my own variable. Evidently, I am interested in the impact of all

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[25] The other important value, which I was able to report from all models, is the significance of the coefficients, given in p-value, which specifies the possibility of the null hypothesis that the impact does not exist in the real population. This can also be taken for a more rudimentary measure of strength, a predictor with the p-value of 0.000 is certainly much stronger than a predictor with a p-value of 0.045, though the latter is still statistically significant at the most conventional alpha=0.05 level.

indicators of political inequality, measuring either the fact of or the potential for it, but a measure that can distinguish between the Horowitzian and Lijphartian projects has been of particular concern to me. I have had to realize that even if the impact of inter-group economic inequality garners serious scholarly support, the chances of improving societies by consciously reducing group inequalities are not encouraging. Compared to this hard task of closing economic gaps, changing the political institutions to reduce the probability of inter-communal conflict is a more promising path. Yet, here the highly controversial issue of integrationism versus power sharing still ensnares us. I would say that my analyses do justice to Lijphart; but my data and methods are not ideal for securing strong support for his proposal. On the one hand, all available group concentration and autonomy measures have serious limitations; on the other, the federalism-related measures could not be used in my research design, which is geared toward maximizing the number of cases.[26]

Even if the regression models were the most important analytical task to achieve, some simpler analyses, such as frequencies, group means, and correlations, have provided valuable, and sometimes surprising, background information on communal group issues and our ways to study it.

First, my EPR_MAR_EXT dataset, which contains data on communal groups in 155 countries, collectively comprising 97.5% of the world's population, allows for estimates of the minority and immigrant populations worldwide, and depending on the definition of minority, this share may reach more than 45% of the overall population included in the dataset.[27] Some basic trends typifying their condition, such as being poorer and politically less empowered than their majorities (or pluralities) may also be mapped. Closer analysis sheds light on the ambivalence of development's impact on minority populations; it cannot be sustained that modernization has improved their position relative to their pluralities.

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[26] The proportion of federal states is small enough to render the interaction term of interest ("federalism index" multiplied by "federalism along ethnic lines") almost identical with the federalism index itself.

[27] If we take the largest group in each country for plurality, and count as minority only people who do not belong to these pluralities, their percentage is 34.9. If we count as minority everybody who belongs to communal groups smaller than 50% of the population, the result is 45.6%.

A different type of secondary benefit from my research is related to the possibility of comparing data across different datasets, particularly the whole MAR dataset, which can be contextualized. Framed in EPR_MAR_EXT, which contains 727 minority groups versus MAR's 282, it is possible to study which types of groups were more likely to be included in MAR, and we may get a better grip on what is commonly referred to as its selection bias. Further, a number of parallel measurements could be tested against each other, to start with the very basics, the group number and group proportion estimates from different sources contained serious discrepancies. This particular problem was addressed at the empirical, data collection level (considering more factual data, from even more sources), while other convergences and incongruences were measured in order to select variables for the models, or simply, to increase confidence in their validity.

I have also had the opportunity to run a few comparative analyses about the causes of peaceful protest activities, as compared to the causes of violent rebellions, based on the MAR data, and to compare the causes of communal conflict with the causes of social conflict, based on data borrowed from the Institutional Profiles Database, supported by the French government and included among the sources of the World Bank Institute's worldwide governance indicators. This opportunity contributed to a better outlining of the impact of types of inequality: as expected, horizontal economic inequality has a great role in shaping inter-communal conflict, while vertical economic inequality (Gini) is a predictor of social conflict.

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I would like to conclude this introduction by addressing a few questions that certainly arise with regard to any research project, and which concern three essential features of the work: the importance of the research question, the novelty of the approach, and the feasibility of a conclusive answer.

Minority issues have been an under-researched field within academe, and general awareness of the size of minority population worldwide, as well as of their special needs and problems, is minimal. Since non-majorities are almost half of the world's population, we may imagine a research infrastructure approaching the size of that of women's studies to be a fair share for minority studies. And like in women's studies, the interest in relations between in-groups and out-groups should not stop at explaining violent, militarized conflicts. In-group biases and inter-group hostility bring about much

more social injustice and human suffering than that expressed in the number of battle deaths from organized violence.

My approach is relatively novel in political science quantitative research because I have endeavored to apply a psychology and sociology-inspired perspective about the gradual and step-wise unfolding of hostility in inter-group relations. Gurr and his colleagues also tend to see inter-group relations as processes, but they do not share the belief in the impact of horizontal inequality, as such. The role of inter-group inequality in shaping inter-group relations has been strongly promoted by theorists outside the political science domain, particularly the authors of the Stewart 2008 volume. The first well-known political science paper expressly referring to this theory of horizontal inequalities was published in November 2011. Yet, the authors of this paper, Cederman and colleagues, have not had the empirical tools to test the theory on a really comprehensive worldwide sample. I managed to get reasonably useful measurements of inter-group (horizontal) economic inequality on both group-level and country-level for more than 95% of the world's population, and to build regression models, with all expectable control variables, which support the impact of horizontal inequality.

This is also an answer to the feasibility question. A large number of previous trials to support the impact of economic inequality on violent conflict failed because they lacked good quality data. Reliable factual information on economic inequality is harder to obtain than information on other economic facts, such as growth rates, economic globalization, and so on. But conceptual issues – not distinguishing between vertical and horizontal inequality, and looking at the impact of vertical[28] inequality, rather than at the impact of horizontal inequality – have also contributed to the weak performance of economic inequality in previous regression models. Wide-scale data collection on inter-group economic inequality was unimaginable before the publication of the DHS and MICS survey series. Official statistics fall much too short from providing these data in most countries, while the opinion poll-type scholarly surveys typically under-sample minorities, and in countries with smaller minority groups, the number of minority respondents may be unusably small even if they were correctly, that is, proportionally, sampled. As for the country-level measurements, the Fund for Peace's initiative of publishing their

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[28] Vertical inequality refers to the inter-individual or inter-household inequality, as measured by the Gini index(es).

Failed States Index has also been conditioned on technical and scientific advances, in this case, on the evolution and improvement of content analytic work.

Thus, as a final word to this chapter, I owe deeply felt thanks to the creators of all my data sources and I hope that I made good use of their work.

Chapter 2.

Literature Review

Introduction:
The Theoretical Background of the Argument

The literature on the relationships among communal groups defined by ethnic, tribal, racial, linguistic, caste, and religious group markers is scattered across several fields and subfields of social science. Currently, we do not have an interdisciplinary summary of these contributions, let alone a synthetic theory or central paradigm of the subject matter.

We do have discipline and sub-discipline-confined summaries, and occasionally, an evolving paradigm of the sub-field, such as a growing consensus of political scientists about the factors that may come into play when studying the causes of violent ethnic conflict. This chapter aims at outlining these common points in each discipline, while embedding the findings in the ongoing scholarly disputes. At the end of the enterprise, I hope to get the big, interdisciplinary, picture, as well.

I think that the argument cannot be confined only to the narrowly drawn political science debates. Violent conflict, the most conspicuous outcome of stressful group relationships, is a *par excellence* political phenomenon. Yet, political science is not the most versed in the study of the everyday features and trends of inter-group relations. These have traditionally been the objects of sociology and social psychology. Further, it seems that political science has been so skeptical about the impact of economic inequality on

inter-group relations because the links between the two are beyond its – narrowly de-
fined -- disciplinary boundaries[29].

The most complete, but (sub)discipline-constricted review of the claims related to
the impact of economic inequality on inter-group relations, is dated from 1989. The au-
thor, Mark Lichbach, labeled the issue the "EI-PC nexus" (the thesis that economic ine-
quality leads to political conflict), and concluded that this EI-PC nexus was an unsup-
ported myth of the profession. Lichbach highlighted the problem that the notions had
been operationalized in very different ways by different authors, and he found that the
"fatal flaw of statistical models of the EI-PC nexus" is the "lack of theory and explana-
tion," more specifically, "[these] approaches are found to be deficient because they have
not illuminated the assumptions and reasoning that explain how and why inequality pro-
duces conflict" (p.434). His analysis suggests that, on the one hand, the links between
the condition of inequality and political mobilization are not elaborated on, and on the
other, the scholars endorsing the EI-PC nexus do not take the Olson and Hardin-type
arguments about the difficulties of collective action seriously.

Actually, in 1989 there were already explanations of the inter-group "EI-PC nex-
us," just that they were formulated in social psychology, not in political science. Other
reasons for advocating this nexus were promoted in the sociological literature, which
resulted, for instance, in the book edited by Stewartin 2008.

A main point that we have to make is that critics of the "EI-PC nexus" do not dis-
tinguish between inter-individual and inter-group economic inequality. [30] The branch of
sociological literature that is most interested in them, uses the labels "vertical inequality"
versus "horizontal inequality" to refer to the two types. The vertical type is measured with
the Gini indexes, and it is completely blind toward any other feature than the economic
position – thus quite unsuitable to compare the economic standing of groups, though
high Gini is often associated with high inter-group inequality. Those who expect EI to

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[29] There seems to be a sub-disciplinary fragmentation issue, as well, at the root of this neglect.
     Political psychology asks questions about the evolution of inter-group relations, and the US
     minority research has relied on, and contributed to, this literature. Yet, psychological
     explanations going beyond the plain rational choice (RCT) assumptions are very rare in the
     cross-national political science literature (comparative politics and international relations).
[30] Fearon & Laitin 2003 included inequality among the potential factors of violent conflict,
     namely, they included a Gini index as a control variable. This failed to turn up as significant,
     thus justifying the authors' express skepticism toward it.

lead to PC, expect this to happen when the economic standing of two or more groups is perceived as being unequal.

Once we focus on group inequality instead of vertical inequality, we are not left without theories explaining the linkage between the condition of inequality and conflictual outcomes. But a clarifying caveat may be necessary. My focus here, and the focus of those reproached by Lichbach for believing in the EI-PC nexus, have been on the relationships between communal groups. Thus "PC" has meant inter-group struggle. I do not intend to make assumptions about "pure" class struggle in this work, which may occur as a result of increasing vertical inequality, even in communally homogenous populations. Yet, the Marxist classics have always emphasized the role of class consciousness in the workers' movement. The poor are not expected to politically mobilize only because they are poor. They are expected to mobilize following the realization that they are unjustly poor: that there is a group with ostensibly different features (such as ownership of the means of production), which gets richer as others get poorer. It is the notion of exploitation that makes Marxism "revolutionary," that is, politically mobilizing. All great religions are egalitarian, and aim at the fair distribution of earthly goods, but most of them eschew support to political mobilization of the poor. Compared to Marxism, two elements are missing: defining poor and rich as two large groups with antithetical interests, and appeal to group consciousness. On the contrary, religions tend to ontologize and exogenize the unequal distribution of wealth as given by God, and emphasize the community of everyone with the same faith. They also like to picture society as gravitating toward a large middle class, an ideal shared with the liberal ideology. There is, then, in ideologies, a strong association between group-ness and group consciousness, on the one hand, and political mobilization and political strife, on the other. The existence of "ranked" communal groups in a society means overlapping communal and economic cleavages, and may be expected to be more mobilizing than the economic cleavage on its own. But my research question concerns the other side of the issue, it asks whether the economic cleavage makes the communal cleavages deeper and harder to overcome.[31]

[31] I also allow for the perverse effect that a communal group marker hardened by economic distance becomes more consequential for group behavior than the economic distance in itself, that is, the idea that communal difference hinders the collective action of the poor. But I do not intend to complicate my research design with these concerns here. I will confine to arguing for the impact of economic inequality on communal group behavior.

1 Social Psychology

The quest for answers will start from the area which is farthest from the standard cross-national political science literature, that is, from the social psychology of intergroup relations. After outlining the two dominant paradigms of the field, which have kept their influence for decades, those of Allport (1954; 1979) and of Tajfel (1974), I will formulate their implications for my topic. I will build on the work of a number of scholars who focused on the relations between communal groups (such as Hogg 2006) and on diversity issues (such as Moghaddam, Taylor, and Wright 2003). Social psychology contributes several essential claims to the explanation of inter-group hostility. First, in the spirit of Allport's paradigm, disappearance of prejudice cannot be expected except in conditions of inter-personal contacts within equality. Second, as derivable from the Tajfel theses, in-group favoritism may be overcome only with the effacement of the group markers (such as when two groups ally themselves in a common enterprise) or their sinking into irrelevance (such as the loss of interest in each other's religion in secular developed states). Further, some mechanisms of group ideology creation have been revealed. On the side of the more advantaged groups, these are self-legitimating mythologies, as exposed by Mary Jackman (1996), for instance. On the side of the disadvantaged groups, an armory of conflict-avoiding strategies has been highlighted by Stephen Wright (e.g. Wright and Taylor 2003). Yet other authors show when and how the conflict-avoiding strategies collapse and give way to violent clashes (Hogg 2006). The claims of social psychology are valued because it is an above-average positivistic discipline among the generally soft-methodology social science areas. Its evidence has solid foundations in experiments and scientific opinion surveys.

2 Political Science I

The next area of inquiry is the cross-national political science research, in pursuit of explaining violent conflicts. This research surged after the end of the Cold war, focused on ethnic or ethnicized civil wars, and prompted by the observation that after the second world war, internal wars have become more frequent than inter-state wars. Data, such as those pieced together by the Uppsala Conflict Data Project, show one more important trend of violence. Armed conflicts over territory, which involve communal issues,

have become more frequent than armed conflicts over government.[32] In addition, in many parts of the world, mainly in Africa, even the "government-related" conflicts have strong communal – ethnic, tribal, religious – overtones. This brand of literature includes a plethora of case studies and multiple case studies, but its most typical achievements are the quantitative "epidemiological" type studies. The commonality underlying these quantitative works by James Fearon, David Laitin, Marta Reynal-Querol, Paul Collier and Anke Hoeffler, and certain case studies, such as by Daniel N. Posner, and Laitin, is their basically utilitarian (rational choice theory or RCT) outlook. Utilitarian explanations are useful and even indispensable for social science, but they have a few limitations that have to be addressed. Beyond the individualist outlook, they tend to exogenize the preferences, and may give up the Durkheimian search for the social causes of social phenomena. They may also involve unfounded and untenable assumptions about human choices, such as, in our case, the idea that elites (the "political entrepreneurs") and masses (the "followers") are very differently affected by group-identity issues. Yet, this area of inquiry can be credited with seriously cooperating in bringing about a common paradigm for explaining violent conflict, the authors refer to each other's work, sum up the findings, and are, in general, tolerant and positive toward each other's empirically supported findings. In this view, the occurrence of violent conflicts is multi-causal, and the list of factors contributing to them open to new additions. We may speak about an emerging consensus that the country's development level, certain features of its institutional structure, as well as the communal group structure and the history of this latter, together with the opportunities of the minority groups to mobilize, all have an impact on the occurrence of group conflicts. My own model and hypotheses will partake in this "*acquis communautaire*," as well, with the details specified in the next chapter.

3 Sociological Outlook

The third brand of literature pertinent to this topic studies nations, nationalism, and minority-majority relationships in nation-states. This latter is a sub-class of communal group relations, in general, but a very important and the politically most consequential sub-class. Ideologies of nations and their states can be traced back to the 18th centu-

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[32] "Government" and "territory" are the labels that the UCDP uses for distinguishing between "types of incompatibility".

ry Enlightenment, the French Revolution and J.G. von Herder, originating, on the one hand, a civic nationalist tradition, and on the other, a perennialist-primoridalist one. Most typical for the 19th century was a romantic Herderian approach to national issues, while the 20th century, mainly its second half, is more typified by a modernist-constructivist take. Modernization theory, faced, for instance, with the problem of arbitrary colonial frontiers in the Third World, studied the phenomenon of "nation-building" as corollary of the economic and social modernization process, and subject to policy choices. Moderni-zation theorists, such as Bendix, Deutsch, and Haas, promoted functionalist and con-structivist perspectives on nation and nationalism. Constructivism is inherent to the work of B. Anderson and E. Gellner, as well, who independently of each other, published their seminal books in the same year (1983). This literature typically situates nation-formation as a historical process paralleling the evolution of capitalism, and national loyalty as a social construct answering both rational expectations of simplified community admin-istration in conditions of unitary language, culture, and market, and less well-grounded expectations of equality within the national boundaries.

Classic work on nations and nationalism is typically qualitative, theoretical and case-study based. It is also interdisciplinary, and affiliated with specific research pro-grams in different disciplines. In political science, it is less the nationalism studies *per se*, but nationalism's relationships with other loyalties and ideologies, which have become progressive research projects. For instance, the Deutsch and Haas conjectures about the possibility of post-national loyalties, which furthered the insights of Mitrany, inspired the policies binging about the European Union. The other important focus of political sci-ence is the implications of communal heterogeneity, studied from many angles. Most typically, there is a sustained interest in minority-majority relations, and their impact on political stability, the degree and type of democracy.

The above- mentioned quantitative studies aiming at the explanation of violent conflict may be conceptualized as a sub-field of this larger issue area, but I prefer to classify here work with more interdisciplinary, and predominantly sociological, outlook, going beyond the explanation of violent conflict alone. The Minorities at Risk (MAR) pro-ject may illustrate this classification dilemma. The ultimate goal of Gurr, the founding fa-ther of the project, seems to have been to find the causes of ethnopolitical violent con-flict. Yet, he did not streamline the data collection to a small number of potential explanatory factors. By design, the MAR data allow for full-fledged ethnographical sur-

veys of the minority condition, including the nature and depth of group markers, and the history of the group relations, as well as for cross-country and cross-region comparisons of (anti-) minority policies and minority mobilization. As a rule of thumb, I would classify works involving communal group relations, but answering questions other than "why and when do they fight each other with violent means?" with this group.

There are, for instance, studies that focus on other aspects of communal co-existence, than violent conflict. It has been documented, for instance, that types of diversity may lower the social capital in communities, and lead to less investment in public goods provision (Alesina & La Ferrara 2000, Baldwin & Huber 2010). Further, there are studies that aim at explaining the occurrence of violent conflict, but are not written by political scientists, or do not use quantitative methods, or neither (Stewart 2008). And it happens that the "EI-PC nexus" is taken for granted, and what is studied are the conditions within which PC leads to either backlash against the markets, or backlash against democracy, or state failure (Chua 2002).

This brand of literature involves some normative ideas. The two generally accepted ideals seem to be, on the one hand, avoidance of violent conflict, and on the other, making the legitimacy of the state dependent on its fair treatment of all citizens. A third normative concern is related to the observation that types of heterogeneity may lower public goods provision, but evidence is accumulating that not diversity as such, but only the presence of economically unequal communal groups has this effect.

4 Political Science II

Normative concerns are even stronger in the fourth domain to review, consisting of the policies related to intergroup relations. The above mentioned two ideals are consensually supported in this area, as well. Yet, this relative normative agreement – concerning, but confined to, the basics -- is not enough to eliminate dispute about practical solutions, and diverging, even antithetical expert advice in certain cases.

I think that the literature pertinent to the domestic regulation of inter-group relations can be grouped around four main issues:

The two dominant perspectives can be labeled as "integrationist" (Horowitz) and "power sharing" (Lijphart), and these two visions have diametrically opposed advice on how the state should interfere with the inter-group relations. The integrationist project aims at de-emphasizing the importance and reducing the political usability of communal

group markers, thus it suggests tracing federal and administrative boundaries that cross-cut the communal settlement patterns, and electoral systems that reward inter-group co-operation. The power sharing project aims at the political emancipation of minorities, and suggests federalism and decentralization along communal lines, and electoral systems that concentrate the voting power of minorities, so that they have representatives of their own in the decision- making bodies at all levels. As to date, we do not have decisive evidence about which project is better at avoiding violence. The case studies are quite balanced on the two sides, while the large-N findings seem to do justice to Lijphart, rather than to Horowitz.

In the US and several Western countries, identity movements are taken for movements pursuing political goals on behalf of certain disadvantaged social groups, such as women or communal minorities. An upsurge of women and minority mobilizing took place beginning with the 1960s in the Western world, and in the 1970s, the related literature cohered into specific research programs, such as women's studies, black studies, and other minority studies. Yet, more accurately, mobilization around any social identity-forming trait is "identity politics," thus majority ethnic and religious mobilization should not be excluded, and these may not be as welcomed as the movements targeting emancipation of the disadvantaged. In the domain of ethnicity, a salient issue is whether ethnic mobilization, mainly the creation of ethnic parties, exacerbates inter-group cleavages or helps to solve social malfunctions? Recent empirical work on this issue (Ishiyama 2009, Basedau & Moroff 2011) did not find support for the claim that ethnic parties cause or exacerbate ethnic conflicts, which makes the prohibition of ethnic or religious parties unjustified.

Institutions and policies pertinent to majority-minority relationship can be said to pursue one of three ideals – though mixed solutions are also possible. The basic policy ideals to choose from are assimilation (typically exemplified with France), civic patriotism (such as in the US), and multiculturalism (e.g. in Canada).

This policy domain includes concerns with hate speech and affirmative action, and it keeps being hotly debated. Yet, the opponents of either hate speech regulation or affirmative action do not frame or anchor their arguments in the topic of regulating inter-group relations. In both cases, they approach the issue from the ideal of a liberal (individualist) democracy.

Below, I proceed with my attempt to give an account of what each of these areas tells us about the evolution of inter-group relationships. I will try to find the golden middle between the empathetic rendition of each field's particular perspectives and a homogenizing terminology that highlights each field's contribution to the same issue of interest: the determinants of inter-group relations, particularly minority-majority relations.

Social Psychology: Explaining Intergroup Behavior

Intergroup relations are an increasingly important, expanding research area within social psychology. This assessment has been reached by the psychologists themselves. After a few previous reviews of the status of group research within the social psychological research agenda, covering issues such as attitudes, pro-social and anti-social behavior, persuasion, interpersonal relationships, language, communication, and so on, in 2008 de Moura et al. published an updated account of the field's evolution trends. They aimed at establishing the contribution and impact of group-related research to social psychology, and used statistical analysis of journal articles to get the numbers.

The authors surveyed two groups of journals, a larger group of "relevant journals," and a more exclusive group of "principal journals," both of them for the period 1935-2007. In the case of relevant journals, 16.49% of all articles were concerned with group/intergroup processes. The trend has been clearly increasing, from near-zero in the mid-1930s to above 30% at the end of the 1990s. The percentage of articles concerned with group/intergroup processes was even higher, 19.34% in principal journals.

Further, de Moura et al. set out to examine the impact of group-related research. They selected the ten top-cited papers from each principal social psychology journal over a period of 10 years (1998–2007). They found that "the total number of 'top ten' citation articles was 881, and 310 of these were about groups—35.2% (ranging from 13.9–53.8%)." Further, the 310 group-related research articles were coded for three general categories of research: intergroup, intragroup, and social cognition, which showed that 210 high impact research papers were on intergroup relations, 152 on social cognition, and 37 on intragroup processes, with a non-exclusive classification that allowed for multiple topic assignment. The authors conclude that "these findings demonstrate the health and major contributions of research into group processes and intergroup relations to social psychology as a whole."

With regard to the 176 high-impact articles on intergroup relations (exclusively), the authors identified a few recurring topics. Twenty of them (11%) were in the area of intergroup contact, and fifteen (8.5%) about intergroup conflict. There were 112 articles from the social identity perspective, while stereotyping was the next most frequent topic area, with $N = 90$.[33] In parallel, their review of the keywords evidences that the top five keywords over the past 10 years were intergroup, intergroup-relations, prejudice, social identity, and stereotyp(ing).

These latter findings are important because the topics and keywords are telling proofs that two classic paradigms, of Allport and of Tajfel, keep dominating the intergroup research within social psychology. Concerns with stereotyping, prejudice, and contact make up the core of the Allport theory, while Tajfel's theory is most often referred to as "social identity theory" (SIT). We may wonder to which extent are these paradigms rival, and to which extent do they complement each other, seeking answers on two different levels, with Allport focusing on individuals, while Tajfel, on social environments?

There are, however, some important commonalities of the two perspectives. First, both paradigms are set to explain behavior, even wicked, discriminative and murderous behavior, not as unique events determined by a window of opportunity opened to evil, or by some people's bad nature, but as extreme results of everyday, normal psychological processes. At the end of this intellectual trend of "banalizing evil," there is, for instance, Moshman's 2007 paper, claiming that "genocide… is not so much a crime of hate as a crime of identity.. Dichotomization enables dehumanization, which in turn enables destruction…To recognize that genocide is rooted in identity, then, is to recognize that the potential perpetrators of genocide include all of us, individually and in our countless collectivities."

A second commonality of the two perspectives, also buttressing their scientific value, is their focus on operationalized and/or operationalizable features of the intergroup behavior. Intergroup conflict (tension, or hostility) is operationalized with discriminative behavior and prejudices against each other, which are, in principle, measurable,

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[33] Because of non-exclusive, double and multiple classifications, percentage sums may go over 100. Otherwise, further topics that were covered in the high impact articles included $N = 17$ on social influence, $N = 15$ on essentialism and/or entitativity, $N = 8$ on group performance, decision making, or productivity, $N = 7$ on social dilemmas, $N = 5$ on leadership, $N = 3$ on structure or ecology of groups, $N = 3$ on power in groups, and $N = 1$ on conflict within groups.

and vary along a continuum from mild in-group favoritism without negative prejudice toward the outgroup, to the dehumanization (or infra-humanization) of the outgroup, which makes possible their killing without moral discomforts or regret.

Of the basic social psychology approaches, Allport's aims at the explanation of prejudice by classifying it as stereotyping, an unavoidable feature of human thinking. Tajfel's explanation of discrimination involves in-group favoritism, which has empirically been shown to be a universal human attitude, unavoidably present in all social situations in which any social group delimited with any kind of group marker exists. Since it seems that the SIT may integrate most of the theses found valid on the individual level, I start with summing up Allport's position on intergroup relations, and will continue with Tajfel's theory and other later intellectual developments in the field.

The contributors to a volume on the after-life of Allport's prejudice theory (Dovidio et al. 2005) expressed some ambivalence about the theory, but reasonably high trust that the therapeutic advice derived from it may work in practice. The ambivalence of the assessments is rooted in Allport's own inconsistency about prejudice. There is some tension between his presentation of prejudice as result of "normal" stereotyping, and his most often used definition of prejudice as "an antipathy based upon a faulty and inflexible generalization." This latter shifts the phenomenon away from the universal cognitive mechanisms toward more idiosyncratic personal traits, and circumstantial motivational influences producing it. While the idea that prejudice is a kind of stereotype seems to enjoy widespread support, its definition as "antipathy" and as "faulty and inflexible generalization" has invited severe critiques. For instance, Eagly & Diekman (2005) point out that not all prejudices express antipathy, e.g., women may be liked, but denied the qualities to be good bosses. Further, prejudices may be relatively accurate with regard to group averages, while they are inaccurate in the concrete context in which someone discriminates because of them. And prejudices may change dramatically, without changing their behavioral consequences, for instance, in the 20th century, US Blacks became discriminated against not because of alleged innate intellectual inferiority, but because of supposed laziness. Yet, the "prejudice is a kind of stereotype" thesis may also be challenged on grounds that it is under-socialized. For instance, Fiske (2005) highlights that

prejudice emerges from an interplay of cognition and social motives.[34] The social environment is highly consequential for someone's adoption of certain prejudices – actually, the impact of both overt and covert constraint may be assumed. In contrast, a great deal of Allport's efforts were directed toward detecting the individual psychic prerequisites of prejudice. Though he admitted the role of such social constraints as parental influence, he was interested in the personality types most prone to foster prejudices. This way he remained open to the criticism of Dovidio, Glick & Rudman (2005), that "Allport overemphasized the role of personality in prejudice, seeing bigots as having weak personalities, as insecure, easily frustrated, and intolerant of ambiguity …" Nevertheless, the search for prejudice-prone personalities has been continued by Allport's followers, and followers of other traditions, as well, leading to results such as Adorno's F scale for measuring authoritarianism, Rokeach's D scale for measuring dogmatism of any extreme, Altemayer's (1981) Right-Wing Authoritarianism (RWA) scale, and Sidanius & Pratto's (1999) Social Dominance Orientation (SDO) scale. All these turned out to be correlated with prejudice-proneness, but the latter two are uncorrelated among themselves, and also unrelated to indices of psychopathology. As Duckitt (2005) presents the situation, there are, at least two personality types with above-average inclination to foster prejudices. On the one hand, the right-wing authoritarian, an insecure traditionalist, who thinks about the world as a very threatening place, in which some out-groups may be especially threatening, hence the RW authoritarian is full of hatred against them. And on the other hand, there is a tough-minded competitor, the social dominance-oriented person, who thinks that the world is a jungle designed for the survival of the fittest, in which certain human groups have to fight each other, thus fosters negativity toward rivals and lower-status groups.

To summarize, the cognitive mechanism of stereotyping explains how the formation of prejudices is possible, but Allport's theory leaves room for a number of arguments about the causes of their formation, as well as for more research about what personality types, in what social circumstances are most likely to form them. Fortunately, the classification of prejudice as a stereotype, despite the lacunae of the theory, was enough to inspire a successful social practice to combat it. This therapeutic side of the

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[34]   "Social sharing among ingroup members – gossip, rumor, opinions, stories, media – contribute to consensus in stereotyped beliefs…Usually, one is less motivated to be accurate about outgroup members and more motivated to share the ingroups' understanding of them." (Fiske 2005)

Allport theory is commonly referred to as "the contact hypothesis." Simply put, if a faulty stereotype can be surpassed with more familiarity with the misunderstood phenomenon, a prejudice may be defeated by personal encounters with people belonging to the out-group, who will turn out to be, guaranteed, very different from the stereotyped image that we foster about them. There is a catch, though. Not all types of contacts are suitable to allow for the stereotyped people's showing off their non-stereotypical and idiosyncratic features. Allport spoke about four criteria for making the contact work toward dismantling prejudices (the "optimal contact conditions"), which were to different degrees implement-ed in subsequent empirical work. Pettigrew and Tropp (2006) conducted a meta-analytic test of the contact theory. They reviewed 515 studies involving 713 samples, and found that "intergroup contact typically reduced intergroup prejudice." Allport's optimal contact conditions were not always necessary for the prejudice to weaken, but where they were present, the positive impact of the contact was more convincing. On the reverse, con-tacts without the Allport conditions may worsen the prejudice (Pettigrew & Tropp 2005).

For the object of this dissertation, the first Allport condition is important. Allport's four conditions for the contact leading to a positive outcome, that is, to weakening the prejudice, are: (i) equal group status (as perceived by both sides in the given situation); (ii) common goals; (iii) intergroup cooperation (the goals need the cooperation of the two groups); and (iv) the support of authorities, law, or custom (that is, the contacts "enjoy the sanction of the community in which they occur"). Pettigrew & Tropp (2006) advocate the idea that "these conditions are best conceptualized as an interrelated bundle rather than as independent factors," and, indeed, it is hard to imagine, for instance, real coop-eration between un-equals[35]. Yet, since my focus is on intergroup inequality issues, here I will confine to highlighting the conclusion, reached by Allport and those working in the intergroup contact paradigm originated by him, that inter-group equality is an important condition of reducing prejudice and improving the inter-group relations.

Henri Tajfel's work on intergroup relations reached maturity in the book chapter published with his student Turner in 1979[36], but the witch-word that brands his theory

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[35]   The game-theoretic definition of cooperation implies symmetrically situated players, while in psychology, Piaget, for instance, included in the definition of cooperative relationships the equality of the participants.
[36]   Tajfel, H. & Turner, J. C. (1979). "An Integrative Theory of Intergroup Conflict."

was first published in 1974.[37] The Tajfel theory is known as social identity theory (SIT), because he spearheaded concerns with the consequentiality of social identifications on human behavior. The behavioral form that his research highlighted and endeavored to explain, is in-group favoritism. Social identity is the explanatory link between social categorization and the emergence of the in-group favoring behavior.

For political science, intergroup relations are a problem when they lead to intergroup violence, or, more rarely, when they lower social capital, and investment in public goods. For social psychology, the group-related problematic is much wider, and it is propelled by the obvious fact that people have different attitudes toward their ingroup than toward people classified as belonging to an out-group. Tajfel's experiments in the 1970s attempted to define the minimum conditions within which this difference of attitudes (operationalized with in-group favoritism) occurs. They found that any arbitrary, accidental group marker introduced by the experimenters, such as the subjects' preference for the green versus the blue color, triggered biased behavior. In subsequent allocation experiments, those belonging to the blue-loving group rewarded other blue-lovers to the detriment of the green-lovers, and vice versa. In-group favoritism is not necessarily coupled with negative sentiments toward the out-group, a point made emphatically by Brewer (1981),[38] but, *de facto*, it is discrimination against the out-group, and it was shown to be associated with more favorable views about the ingroup than about the outgroup, and also, with a more flattering self-image of the group than outsiders have about it. Again, the positive self-image does not necessarily lead to the rejection of out-group people, but it is, for sure, a very likely source of inter-group tensions.

These findings faced social psychology with multiple important questions, starting with the basic one: when do we have groups? What makes people selecting one group

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[37]   Tajfel, H. (1974). "Social identity and intergroup behaviour".

[38]   A large-scale survey of ethnic attitudes in the 1970s, with the participation of M.Brewer, D.Campbell, and LeVine, found that ingroup favoritism was relatively independent of outgroup attitudes. Brewer theorized that emphases on differences are flexible and context dependent, because "this flexibility permits individuals to mobilize different group identities for different purposes" (Brewer 1981, 1999). Parallel research by Jaspars & Warnaen (1982) also confirmed, that "groups do not necessarily evaluate outgroups more negatively than their own group. They do, however, in general have a more positive view of themselves than other groups have of them." The only exception from the rule of flattering self-image was found among disadvantaged minority children, who showed ingroup devaluation and outgroup favoritism, but these changed with changing social landscape in the US (Blacks) and New Zealand (Maori).

marker above many others, as the most relevant in their environment? Why does the in-group favoritism occur? What are the conditions within which in-group favoritism leads to inter-group conflicts, and how can it be exceeded?

Tajfel's work does not really explain the selection of certain group markers, but elaborates on the individual psychic developments leading to the adoption of social identities (social categorization, "accentuation," group identification). He also claimed that in-group favoritism is "determined by the need to preserve or achieve a 'positive group distinctiveness' which in turn serves to protect, enhance, preserve, or achieve a positive social identity for members of the group" (Tajfel 1982),[39] and believed that increase of the salience of group membership increases ingroup favoritism.

Tajfel's positions on a series of social psychology issues were prudently comprehensive. He allowed for the double demarcation of the groups (by external features captured with social categorization and by internalization of the group membership), for two kinds of groups and related social identities (of role, such as bank clerk, and essential, such as ethnicity), and for the necessity to study phenomena on both individual and group levels -- but here he was obviously biased against the individualist methodology.

According to Tajfel, human contacts (or social interaction) can be classified along a continuum from "inter-personal" to 'inter-group." The later endpoint is characterized by (i) the uniformity of ingroup attitudes toward the outgroup; and (ii) increased undifferentiation (uniformity) of the outgroup, which is often described as depersonalization, social stereotyping, dehumanization, or infra-humanization. Tajfel (1982, p.14) tells us that:

"The *antecedents* of these two kinds of uniformity seem to fall into four large classes. They are: (a) social differentials in status, power, rank, privilege, access to re-

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[39] Tajfel's insight in this regard has been confirmed by later research, for instance, a 2007 paper by Hunter et al. tested two related hypotheses. "The first was that *intergroup* discrimination leads to increased self-esteem. The second was that threatened self-esteem (i.e., operationalized here as the extent to which people believe that the ingroup is negatively evaluated by an outgroup) would lead to increased *intergroup* discrimination. Support was found for both hypotheses." A rival theory of the motivation for belonging to a group, called "cognitive uncertainty avoidance (Greenberg et al 1997), claims that the need of validation of world-perceptions, and terror management are also important. "People are more likely to identify with groups when they are faced by self-conceptual uncertainty. When such uncertainty is very high they will seek out totalist groups that are highly orthodox, have simple and consensual prototypes, high entitativity, and strong charismatic leaders, and that engage in extreme forms of intergroup behavior" (Hogg 2006). The attraction of simple, streamlined ideologies on human minds is undeniable – but *de facto*, the ideologies of the extremist groups always flatter their self-image (Ubermensch, Messianism etc).

sources, etc., when the group boundaries are firmly drawn and/or perceived as such …
and when the social organization on which these differentials are based loses its per-
ceived legitimacy and/or stability … (b) intergroup conflict or competition, not necessarily
related to previously existing status differences, as was the case in the work of Sherif
and many other experimental studies to date; (c) movements for change initiated by so-
cial groups….; and (d) individually determined patterns of prejudice which have tended
for a long time to occupy the center of the stage in much of the traditional research on
the subject."

The first and third factor on this list are obviously related. Typically, it is a disad-
vantaged group that initiates social change on its own behalf.[40] With this in mind, the
"antecedents" of inter-group hostility are three: (i) inequality; (ii) Allport's prejudiced per-
sonalities (whose prejudice is expected to be reduced by contacts with the outgroup in
conditions of equality); and (iii) intergroup competition.

With regard to this latter, Tajfel explicitly refers to the work of Sherif in the 1940s,
often branded as representing a "functional" school within the inter-group research pro-
jects. This explains in-group favoritism and out-group discrimination with the functions
that the group biases may serve in achieving social goals. When the two groups are at
competition, internal cohesion, the "team spirit," enhances group performance. On the
opposite side, the group bias may disappear when the two groups pursue a common
goal that needs their cooperation. These claims get firm support in experimental set-
tings, but, unfortunately, it is very hard to apply them to real-life social conditions. In so-
ciety, we have large numbers of potential group markers, both mutually reinforcing and
cross-cutting cleavages, and different ideologies may emerge about who should ally
themselves with whom in cooperative efforts. Even the simplest economic hierarchy of a
communally homogenous developed state may allow the for the middle class's choice to
ally itself with either the upper class, or the lower class. Thus, while for most real-life so-
cial situations the functional explanation cannot be put at work without preliminary as-
sumptions about which group marker is the most salient and which can be overcome
with cooperation, the existence of very sophisticated self-legitimating group ideologies,
going beyond the dichotomous "we are worthy, you are nasty" has been documented.

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[40]   Some social movements such as environment protection, or disarmament, may also militate
       for social change, indeed, but participants of these movements are not classified as
       "outgroup" by others.

The ideologies of the dominant group have always tried to justify and legitimate their social advantages, and in the modern world, the means for this have become more sophisticated. It has been shown that in the end-of-20th-century US the primitive racism of slave-holders was replaced by a "symbolic racism" (e.g. Sears 1993), which targets the policies that would help blacks, and also that dominant classes may use a wider variety of legitimating discourses than simply denigrating the subordinate classes (e.g. Mary Jackman 1996). The new upper-class arsenal contains, for instance, apparently benevolent "paternalistic" prejudices and social practices, such as "the glass ceiling" of which the women complain, as well as promoting the ideology of individualism, while the group inequalities keep reproducing.

Further hurdles to explaining real-life inter-group behavior with intergroup competition consist in the difficulty (i) to consider three or more competitor groups, such as white, black, and Latino candidates for city jobs; (ii) to distinguish between "pure" competition and competition involving status inequality; and (iii) to distinguish between "pure" competition and "rigged" competition (or competition perceived as rigged). When more than two groups compete for scarce resources, an alliance of two against the third is very likely to emerge. Odds are that two groups whose social status is closer to each other's will ally against the third with a more different social position. As Segura and Rodrigues (2006) put it, "cooperation and biracial coalitions are most likely to emerge between two groups of the same status and class."[41] Further, when the playground is not level, or the game is foul, the group biases grow in all involved groups, as it was convincingly shown in experimental settings as early as in the 1970s. "[S]tudies have shown that experimentally induced illegitimacy of intergroup status differentials increases ingroup-favoring bias [in both groups, according to Turner &Brown 1978, while] Cummins & Lockwood 1979 found that in groups of boys who were equitably or inequitably advantaged or disadvantaged in rewards for the quality of their performance, the inequitably

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[41] They refer to results obtained by Giles & Evans 1985. And continue with added details, such as "if the two groups are unbalanced in size or relative political power, the racial or ethnic group with the most representation in city and county government is likely to fare better than the others in terms of public service jobs and other government benefits. Thus, the better-positioned group might reasonably be less than eager to form a coalition (Deutsch 1985; see also Browning et al. 1984, Butler & Murray 1991, Meier & Stewart 1991, Sonenshein 1986, Warren et al. 1986). In fact, they may attempt coalition with whites, and may themselves be attractive to whites as a coalition partner. Such an environment will produce far more interminority competition than cooperation."

disadvantaged groups showed the most ingroup bias …, but the group which had inequitable advantage also showed ingroup bias"(Tajfel 1982).[42]

I would like to emphasize that social psychology tends to equate the "hardening group boundaries" with "increasing group biases." The more salient a group, the stronger the in-group favoritism, and the more stereotypical is our image about the outgroup. We do not get, however, unambiguous answers about when and how a group becomes salient, what makes certain group markers override the salience of others?

Not as if there were no concerns with these issues in the social psychological literature, but this complex subject does not really lend to social psychology's favorite method, the experiment. The discipline reached agreement with regard to the claim that social groups come into being as results of both external and internal factors, where the "external" causes include objective features and outgroup assessments, while the 'internal" causes involve the members self-identification as a group. For instance, as Ahmed et al. 2007 point out, "ethnicity is a dialectical outcome of external and internal assessments (Jenkins 1997; Nagel 1996)." But the *in principle* interplay of the two factors does not mean that they would play out in the same way in all cases. Sometimes the external factors, that is, ascriptive features, have much more role in maintaining the group boundaries, than the members' self-identification, and in other cases, it is exactly inversely, the group exists mainly in virtue of the members' self-identification with it. And the examples for this, provided by the Ahmed et al 2007, cut very close to our concerns about the impact of inequality on group relations.

The authors conducted a representative-sample research in four East European countries, with oversampling certain minorities and poor people. Roma samples were

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[42]   A version of the competition theory was promoted by Bobo, who believes that intergroup competition is represented in the minds of the concerned people as outgroup threat, and they react with hostility, prejudice, and discrimination, to this threat. Beyond his contribution, a larger literature of the threat hypothesis has been unfolding in the recent decades, and the findings were summed up in a meta-analysis written by Riek et al in 2006. They found that across 95 studies, types of intergroup threat tended to have a positive relationship with negative outgroup attitudes. Yet, when they briefly surveyed other factors, as well, the impact of group inequality also emerged. "Status differences between groups also relate to higher levels of threat, such that as the difference in status increases the degree of perceived threat increases (W. G. Stephan et al., 2002). Moreover, outgroup status differentially influences reactions to threat. Cadinu and Reggiori (2002) found that group threat led to stronger devaluation of low status relative to high status outgroups." Yet, the threat-testing studies rarely paid attention to the impact of the status inequality, on the contrary, they often did not record the comparative status of the groups at all.

interviewed in Bulgaria, Hungary, and Romania, while in Romania and Russia, ethnic Hungarian and ethnic Ukrainian samples were also interviewed. The interviewers themselves belonged to the majority in each country (97% of them). Briefly, the majority interviewers tended to classify ethnic Hungarians and Ukrainians as belonging to the majority, despite the respondents' express claim of belonging to the minority. In the case of Roma, inversely, interviewers disregarded the respondents' self-identification as non-Roma, and classified them as Roma. The authors traced back the interviewer classifications to the specifics given by the respondents about themselves in the interview. Data show that self-identification, parents' ethnicities and language use strongly influence interviewer classification in all cases. Yet, in the case of Roma, the economic and demographic variables have a statistically significant effect on classification, as well. Respondents who are poor, live in large households and have low education are more likely to be classified as Roma. The authors conclude that Roma ethnicity has been "racialized," unlike Hungarian or Ukrainian ethnicity; but we may wonder whether "racialized," across a series of social settings, means anything else than "hierarchized," or "status-ized"?

There is accumulating evidence that in developed capitalist countries, a prejudice against the poor, as such, can be detected. It was shown by experimental data[43], and violent episodes in the real life confirmed it, as well. There have been several instances when skinhead groups battered and killed homeless people just because they were poor. Poverty is obviously an external feature, and being poor, an ascriptive group marker – no poor people internalizes it as a group feature which would enhance self-esteem or reduce cognitive uncertainty. Thus no collective action of the poor, as such, can be expected. In general, there is need of an additional group marker along which the poor people mobilize politically: either communal, as in the case of ethnoclasses, or class consciousness.

I would sum up the results of social psychology with a reference to the SIT's minimal group experiments: "when group, then bias." Bias may easily grow into overt, violent confrontation, and group inequality is the most often found cause of hardening group

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[43] Yzerbyt & Corneille 2005 refer to a previous experiment of Yzerbyt et al. 1994. After an ambiguous film about a girl performing scholastic tests, those who were told that she comes from a wealthy family were much more likely to say that she performed well, than those who were told that she comes from a poor family.

markers and increasing hostility. It seems, that, although both dominant and subordinate groups make efforts to avoid overt and disruptive collisions, sometimes inequality yes, breeds intergroup conflict. As Hogg (2006) puts it: "although disadvantaged or stigmatized groups have an impressive armory of protective or avoidant strategies to redirect energy from direct intergroup conflict, this is not always effective. When deprivation is very acute and a recipe for effective social change is available, disadvantaged groups will eagerly challenge the status quo by political means, or through social protest or other collective behaviors including demonstrations, riots, and uprisings."

The role of the unfairness in aggravating group relations is often emphasized, this may be either the unfairness of the established group hierarchy or of some current procedures. Yet, since people want their groups to enhance their self-esteem, the disadvantaged groups are almost always susceptible to ideologies that portray their disadvantage as unfair – actually, the inverse situation, the resignation to disadvantage is in need of explanation, as in the case of "simply poor."[44]

Social psychology also speaks about the ways in which group confrontation (the salience of the group markers and the group biases) can be reduced. The therapeutic advice typically aims at manipulating the group-ness. According to SIT, in-group favoritism can be altered with de-categorization or re-categorization. De-categorization, seeing another human being as an individual, and not as a specimen of a group, is possible when the group boundaries are not deeply entrenched and there are cross-cutting group boundaries. De-categorization is the therapeutic advice of Allport, as well, in the form of contacts within the conditions of equality and cooperation. Cooperation is basis for re-categorization, as well, meaning that a project targeting a common goal pulls the groups together into a supra-ordinated "we"-group.

Practically, people live in social contexts interwoven with groups and group networks. We all have some nested identity complexes, such as the territorial ones (attachment to town, region, country, continent), and familial (attachment to nuclear family, extended family, clan), and several role-related identities, which change over time, such

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[44] For instance, research by Wright, Taylor, and Moghaddam (1990) shows that when members of a disadvantaged group believe that entry to an advantaged group is open, even only slightly open (only a token percentage of people can pass), they shun collective action and instead individually try to gain entry to the advantaged group. Subsequently, the chances of collective action grow when entry to the advantaged group is closed, or it is not sought for, as in the case of communal groups who do not want to assimilate to the advantaged majority.

as student, professional, retired person. Most of the time, we manage to seamlessly navigate all our multiple identities, and the co-existence with others is facilitated by the fact, that most of them share at least one group with us – someone may be of other religion, but in the same town and the same party, like me. The need for a master social identity, that dominates above all others, has not been demonstrated, on the contrary, arguments on behalf of the multilateral personalities, not "too" committed to any special allegiance, abound. Yet, some ideologies, such as nationalism, and religious beliefs, occasionally strive to impose themselves as master identities, and sometimes they manage to do. These are the moments when people disregard all "similar" features of people belonging to a certain out-group, and persecute them because of the only group marker of salience.

Unfortunately, social psychology fails to answer the question of when and why a group marker becomes an exclusionary, that is, a master-identity generating feature. Further, social psychology has never targeted the study of economic inequality's impact on group relations, on the contrary, researchers often have such a blindspot toward this issue, that they don't even record the comparative status of the - real-life - groups that they study (that is, they do not control for this factor).

However, in many of its inquiries, the discipline has repeatedly stumbled across the importance of group inequality, and its impact on group biases and hostile behavior has been recognized, at least in the SIT paradigm. Convergently, the Allport paradigm also takes group equality for a prerequisite of suppressing prejudices.

Political Science I: Explaining Violent Conflict

If social psychology can be reproached for a specific blindspot toward the role of inequality in shaping inter-group relations, despite its oft-reached observation that inequality counts, political science can be reproached for a specific blindspot toward the role of inter-group dynamics in bringing about violent episodes.

One plausible reason for this is the fact that for political science, only one type of intergroup relation is of real relevance: the minority-majority relations. Studies of the relationship of two minorities are very rare, the only one widely known example being Fearon & Laitin (1996), with some subsequent work on the in-group policing strategy suggested by them. Actually, there are a number of valuable publications on minority-

minority relations, but confined to some in-country setting, such as the US cities, and to the periphery of the political science domain, overlapping with either psychology (such as Bobo's threat theory), or sociology, anthropology, applied conflict resolution, and so on.

In this section I focus on the stances of international relations (IR) and comparative politics on intergroup relations. Both disciplines formulate claims that go beyond the boundaries of one state; and both of them have a preference for large-N studies. Yet, the concerns with intergroup conflict are embedded in different contexts, different perspectives in these two fields.

For international relations, the intergroup conflicts of relevance are ethnic conflicts between a minority and a plurality group (Carment & James 1997, Zhu & Blachford 2006). Religious and other communal traits are de-emphasized, as the only state-organizing principle is national (≈ ethnic) self-determination, other group markers cannot legitimate secession. IR became particularly interested in the causes of ethnic strives when they led to dramatic changes of the post-WWII boundaries in Europe, and the international society had to take position, and sometimes military action, with regard to these struggles and the resulting new polities. As for the explanations of violent ethnic conflict within the IR literature, Zhu & Blachford (2006) have reported some agreement, but little accumulative knowledge on the details, and they believed that the 1997 assessments of Carment & James were still valid in 2006: "Agreement exists that some combination of economic, political and psychological factors can explain ethnic conflicts. Consensus, however, ends at that point. The primary antecedents will vary, depending on the case(s) at issue… Alternative interpretations of ethnic conflict focus on class-based reinforcement of ethnic cleavages, relative equality in the size and number of groups within states, unequal resource mobilization among groups, labour market division along ethnic lines, differential activity of elites, and responses to uneven state policies."

Opinions can be said to range from the dominance of psychological factors to the dominance of external social factors, and even the extremes branching out in very distinctive hypotheses. We may classify with the psychological brand both van Evera's (1994) primordialist standpoint (his creed that nationalism is the prime mover of ethnic strives) and the utilitarian take of Fearon & Laitin (2003), according to which the elites' perception of the opportunities for insurgence is the main *explanans* of internal violence.

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The external factors may be, as suggested by the quote above, either economic or political disparities between the groups, or a combination of the two.

But here we have a disciplinary segmentation issue. While IR has forwarded hypotheses about the causes of ethnic strife, the large-N empirical tests of the relevant hypotheses can be said to belong to the comparative politics domain. The reason is that both the dependent variable, violence between communal groups, and the explanatory variables, such as the groups' comparative welfare and political position, or the institutional infrastructure, are measured at country level, or below that. In these research designs, van Evera's *explanans*, nationalism, doesn't really find its place, as it clearly embodies references to an inter-state constellation, such as state-possessing and stateless national group-ness. The relationships with kindred abroad also exceed the country boundaries, these may be taken into account by measuring them at group level, as the Minorities at Risk (MAR) project does it. The logic of the Fearon & Laitin (2003) paper, emphasizing the role of the opportunity in bringing about violent conflict, clearly parallels IR realism's explanation of war, but the empirical test of it follows a comparative politics-design.

Thus disciplinary boundary issues might have contributed to not having nationalism, as such, included in large-N tests. Nationalism is a type of group identity, used, in general, for labeling the group consciousness of the state's plurality group. Minority group consciousness may or may not be branded as nationalism. For instance, van Evera calls them stateless nationalism, and Malcolm X promoted Black nationalism, but the MAR theorists speak about group consciousness or group identity. I think that we gain some conceptual clarity by following this latter tradition. Yet, group consciousness is also missing from the literature's most known large-N studies on the occurrence of intra-state violence, and we do not always get the explanation for this omission. In some cases, it is dropped because of the authors' skepticism about its impact, while other times it is considered an intervening variable, which mediates the impact of farther external factors. As Vorrath and Krebs (2009) put it: "Since the end of the cold war, conflict between ethnic groups has increasingly received academics' attention... However, the role that ethnicity plays in motivating and structuring civil wars remains an unsettled question, particularly due to the fluid nature of ethnic groups and their endogenous development during conflict" (p.1).

That is, the primordialist position championed by van Evera has a strong constructivist opposition of theorists who do not think that ethnic consciousness is "stamped" on us, and believe that its strength and salience, as well as its mobilizing force, hinges on external circumstances. Yet, not all constructivist positions are created equal, and scholars have different views about the degrees to which socio-territorial identities are malleable and shaped by external factors. Primordialism/ perennialism may be taken for one endpoint of the scale, when only century-long impacts are taken for consequential for nationalism. Rational choice utilitarianism is the other endpoint, which assumes the existence of a "rational" elite practically unaffected by group consciousness, deliberately promoting nationalist ideologies in order to benefit from the leadership position of the nationalist movement that they bring about out from scratches, of a politically inert public. In-between the endpoints, the Modernists, such as Bendix and Deutsch, and classics of nationalism, such as Anderson and Gellner, believed that the formation of nationalism was a corollary of historical-scale economic and social changes, namely, the evolution of capitalism. Their time horizon for convincing changes of socio-territorial identities can be said to be measurable with decades, and 1-2 generations. Next, we could mention the MAR theorists' position on group identity. They assume that the plurality's deliberately discriminative policies, such as economic, political, and cultural restrictions on the minority, may lead to inter-communal violence in a matter of a few years. (The minorities are believed to make credible attempts to settle the issues peacefully, before they turn to violence.)

Practically, the large-N cross-national studies, which tested a number of hypotheses about the causes of inter-group conflict, neglected the issue of nationalism and/or group consciousness. The main factors on which they focused were:

(i) the country's group structure;
(ii) the country's institutional structure;
(iii) the group's grievances;
(iv) the group's crave to obtain economic advantages (greed);
(v) the opportunities to conduct an armed insurrection;
(vi) the country's development level.

1 The Country's Group Structure

The country's group structure involves features such as the number and size of the relevant communal groups, and may include some historical facts, such as the number and severity of past conflicts. It is to note that there is some arbitrariness involved in delimiting the "relevant" groups. The communal group markers may be language, religion, caste, ethnicity, tribe, and sometimes region. Language seems a very straightforward indicator of group-ness, and still, there is some uncertainty in language-based classifications. On the one hand, the boundary between dialect and language is blurred, and, to some extent, subject to political manipulation, such as in the case of the Serbian, Croatian, and Montenegrin languages. On the other hand, it happens that not the primary language, but the secondary *lingua franca* gets political relevance, such as in Congo DR, and in Rwanda. With religion, we have to be aware that the distance between two religious groups is not necessarily proportional with the difference of their beliefs: Sunni Muslims in Pakistan are more hostile against Ahmadi Muslims, than Hindus, for instance. Yet, the group marker the most difficult to establish for classification purposes, is ethnicity, when is not, or is only probabilistically associated with language or other clearer group markers. This is the case with the difference between Hutus and Tutsis, for instance, or with heavily Russified Belarus groups. Latino and Asian groups within the US tend to foster national identities, such as Mexican, Cuban, and Japanese, rather than pan-Hispanic and pan-Asian group identities, and the same happens with the Roma in Europe, as well, they often identify with Roma sub-groups, such as Lovari, Beash, and Sinti, rather than with Roma in general. The statistical figures adopted for analyses tend to embody the "ascriptive" perspective of state majorities and outsiders, rather than the voluntary self-identification of the concerned. With all these accounted for, we may be relatively contented with the degree of agreement achieved by researchers in delimiting communal groups in each country.

Actually, studies on the occurrence of violent conflict do not include "raw" group data in their analyses. Some special indicators have been elaborated for capturing the communal features, such as fractionalization and polarization indexes.

The first fractionalization index, the ethno-linguistic fractionalization index (ELF), was calculated by Soviet geographers in the 1960s, and it was updated by the American Philip G. Roeder in 1985. In the early 2000s, three new batteries of fractionalization indexes were published by American researchers, motivated by the goals of focusing on

one type of cleavage only (for instance, Annett 2001 and Alesina 2002 worked out separate ethnic, linguistic, and religious fractionalization indexes), and by the necessity to answer the changed political landscape, that is, changes in state boundaries, and in population figures (Fearon 2003). By definition, the fractionalization index measures the probability that two randomly selected people from a population will belong to the same communal group. It is, thus, a measure of diversity, or heterogeneity, and its first uses in the 2000s tested hypotheses of the type of whether more heterogeneity leads to lower economic performance, and to more political instability. With regard to the latter, Donald Horowitz hypothesized a non-linear, curved pattern in the 1980s, and later empirical work tended to support his insight. For instance, Collier and Hoeffler (1998) found a nonmonotonic relationship between the amount of ethnolinguistic diversity and civil war onset. States with a moderate amount of ethnic diversity were more likely to experience civil war onset, than states with very low and very high fractionalization. Yet, the multivariate tests of the impact of diversity did not show a convincing, consistent impact, which triggered further hypotheses about the ways in which group structure affects group behavior. The three most notable improvements to the original hypothesis were:

(a) the impact of distances along the group markers;

(b) the impact of group polarization;

(c) the indirect impact of diversity.

The first improvement was introduced by Fearon (2003), who made the case for the importance of "ethnic distances" among groups in order to fine-tune the indicators of cultural diversity.[45] The second was introduced by Garcia-Montalvo and Reynal-Querol (2005a). They call polarization index a measure that captures the likelihood that the state plurality faces a large ethnic minority group. Previously Fearon introduced the measure of "proportion of largest minority group," the "RQ" measure (labeled with the name of Reynal-Querol only, as she worked on this previously in 2002) is more complicated, it measures how far a given real distribution is from the bipolar (50:50) distribution. The authors reach the conclusions that:

> [T]he index of ethnic fractionalization does not have a significant effect on the likelihood of conflicts. Therefore, it is unlikely that ethnic fractionalization affects economic development through an increase in the probability of conflicts. This

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[45]   Fearon measured these distances in terms of a tree diagram of the families of languages.

finding, however, does not mean that ethnic diversity has no role in the explanation of civil wars. In fact, ethnic polarization is a significant explanatory variable for the incidence of civil wars if we use the RQ index of polarization. (p. 812)

Last but not least, Blimes 2006 argued that while ethnic fractionalization often fails to have a statistically significant direct impact on violence onset, its indirect effects are measurable. The *in principle* test of the indirect impacts would be to interact diversity with every single explanatory variable that has been found to have an impact. Since this is not really feasible because of colliniarity issues, Blimes confined to a few shared-sample tests to address this issue. He tested, on the other hand, successfully the hypotheses that "in countries with low levels of ethnic cleavage, variables that have been identified as having a direct effect on civil war outcome will have a greater amount of error than in countries with higher levels of ethnic cleavage." That is, the heteroskedacity of the model including a number of significant explanatory variables confirmed the assumption that high fractionalization makes the impact of them more likely.

If the distance on the group markers counts toward the groups' relationships, past conflict, or past successful cooperation may also be deemed to be consequential. Yet, no measure of this latter has been elaborated for large-N use yet, and these features have not been included in large-N models thus far.

2 Institutions

The country's institutional structure counts from a number of perspectives, and for a number of hypotheses. The two most often sought for features are repressiveness and inclusiveness. A repressive state may trigger minority grievance and desperate violent moves (as claimed by Gurr and other MAR theorists), while a state unable to repress centrifuge moves may stimulate insurrection (as claimed by Fearon & Laitin 2003). Democracy may moderate violent minority mobilization against the plurality (Gurr and team), but the impact of certain types of democracy is more readily measurable than that of others. This second claim was made, for instance, by Reynal-Querol (2005), showing that democracies with proportional representation (which is her proxy for "inclusiveness," in the spirit of Lijphart, an electoral system that allows for successful minority political action within the bounds of the constitution) are less prone to violent ethnic strife than democracies with majority or plurality electoral rule. The "moderating effect" of democracy was empirically supported in both cross-national and within-country, cross-region set-

tings, and the insight that in democracies, non-violent forms of minority political action may supplant violent forms, was not infirmed, though it did not receive full support in tests thus far. For instance, Saxton and Benson 2008 found democracy to lower all types of minority mobilization, not only the violent forms of it[46].

The optimistic expectations related to democracy are not the exclusively promoted opinion in the literature, despite being endorsed by a majority of pertinent publications. Counter-claims were formulated, most notably, by Horowitz 1985, and other theorists in the rational choice paradigm, who fear that democracy leads to the "ethnic outbidding" game of the "ethnic entrepreneur" elites. Their policy advice is, then, a type of democracy that prevents mobilization along ethnic lines, including the ban on ethnic and/or religious parties. These policy proposals will be reviewed in the last section of this chapter.

3 Group Grievances

Ostensibly, group grievances are among the immediate stimulating causes of minority political action, including violent forms of it. Without denying their role in exacerbating hostility, some accounts of the inter-group violence treat grievances as pretexts, or manipulated perceptions, rather than serious complaints addressing real-world group disadvantages and injustices done to the group. Most famously, it is the Collier & Hoeffler (2004) paper, which makes the case for "grievance as pretext," and the Fearon & Laitin (2003) paper, which makes the case for "grievance as manipulated."

Yet, those who concur on the real mobilizing force and consequentiality of grievances, still have a hard time to make a comprehensive list of them, to rank-order their importance, and to measure them. The most comprehensive approach is that of the MAR project, which records three types of grievances: economic, political, and cultural. In principle, these answer the restrictions experienced by the minority groups in each field. Yet, the measuring of the severity of grievances is inconceivable without relying on the claims formulated by the minority groups themselves, thus a subjective element is

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[46] "In the present test, though democracy does not appear to make a difference for communities that are currently engaged in contentious politics, it effectively differentiates contending from non-contending communities. In fact, each one-unit increase in democracy (values range from 4 to 7) makes a community on average about 100 times more likely to remain politically quiescent than to engage in either electoral, protest, or rebellious forms of contention."

unavoidably involved. For instance, while it is pretty straightforward, that no group acquiesces voluntarily to being poorer than others, some uncertainty may be around of whether their political action should target wide autonomy or the establishing of an ethnic party, and the types and number of cultural institutions necessary for their cultural survival. Further, in different settings and different times, different types of grievances may be of primary interest for a minority. I think that there is a historical shift from the economic grievances being more salient (as in the least developed countries) toward the cultural demands dominating the agenda (as in the advanced countries). Also, economic disparities used to be much less salient in communist countries, than in capitalist countries, China becoming the sad counter-example with its policy choice of developing the Han-populated coast to the detriment of the minority-populated inner areas.

Out of these three types of grievances, a group of researchers relying on the Ethnic Power Relations (EPR) dataset originated by Cederman & Girardin, have repeatedly demonstrated the impact of the political grievances on ethnic mobilization and occurrence of violence. The idea of political grievance is captured here as "political exclusion," and the conclusion reached by Wimmer, Cederman, and Min (2009), as well as by Cederman, Wimmer, and Min (2010), is that "armed rebellions are more likely to challenge states that exclude large portions of the population on the basis of ethnic background." The authors speak- about a larger written ethnopolitical configuration leading to ethnic violence, within which the impact of several elements is shown to have a statistically significant impact on violence onset. The list includes, besides political exclusion, past conflicts, segmented elites, and regime changes. Beyond the political variables, the country's development level has also been found consequential for the occurrence of violent conflict, while diversity, on its own, did not have negative impacts. From the perspective of my own classification of the causes, this "ethnopolitical configuration" includes elements of all of (a) grievances (the political exclusion), (b) group structure (history of conflicts), and (c) institutions (fragile and autocratic state). Thus while I expect my results to be convergent with the findings of the Cederman group, my variables are slightly differently formulated.[47]

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[47] Yet, since my own dataset relies on the EPR, I may run a model with the "political exclusion" variable in it, supplanting the "political grievance" variable borrowed from the MAR dataset. Obviously, I expect high correlation between these two indicators.

4 Greed

As a metaphor in the title of a highly influent paper, "greed" sounds great, and it seems to be a convincing counterpoint versus "grievance." Yet, at a closer look, the theory around the role of the greed suffers from someconceptual ambiguity, as observed by Korf (2006), for instance. Further, Korf quotes criticisms against the ways in which the factors promoted by Collier & Hoeffler (2004) have been operationalized. Relying on these critical remarks, I will summarize a few issues with the Collier & Hoffler paper.

(a) The authors are right to theorize that "rebellion needs both motive and opportunity," but leave the reader at a disarray of whether greed is an opportunity for grievance-motivated movements to materialize, or a motive in its own right.[48]

(b) The reader may also wonder whether the greed characterizes whole (quasi-ethnic) groups, or the elites only, who then lure the masses into rebellion with an ideology of redressing grievances? I tend to believe that Collier & Hoeffler meant whole groups, and the distinction between elites and followers became emphatic in Fearon & Laitin 2003 only.

(c) The main challenge to similar projects is the normative labeling of some Third World minority rebellions as either "Al Capone-ism" or "Robin Hood-ism." When do we speak about bandit groups against which a poor country cannot protect its population, and when about freedom fighters eager to do social justice? From the point of view of property rights, we tend to classify a group as "bandits" when they want to obtain something to which they cannot form any reasonable claim. Yet, a group forcibly and unjustly excluded from the benefits of a natural resource that their country owns, may raise legitimate claims to those, and their armed fight for this entitlement is "Robin Hoodism," not banditism. From a political point of view, ethnic groups may be deemed to dissociate themselves from pure banditism, while continuing support for Robin Hoodism. In Robin Hoodism, grievance and greed are the same – they can be dissociated in "pure" banditism, only. Further, legitimate rebellions may target redressing serious political and cultural group disadvantages, by capturing economic assets in order to continue their fight – again, we hesitate to call this banditism, and would designate the grievances as causes, and the possibility to capture the assets, an opportunity only.

(d) Last, but not least, a big issue with the Collier & Hoeffler paper is that their "proxies" are very far from validly measuring their concepts. "We consider four objective measures of grievance: ethnic or religious hatred, political repression, political exclusion, and economic inequality" say the authors, and

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[48] Their reasoning seems to parallel that of Skocpol, whose list of causes of social revolution disregarded the grievances of the peasants. Skocpol argued that "peasants always have reasons to rebel," thus she looked for the opportunities of the revolution, and portrayed these as causes.

this sounds great. Yet, ethnic or religious hatred is measured with the fractionalization and polarization indexes, political repression of the groups with general autocracy levels (versus democracy), political exclusion of the groups with the proportion of state's plurality group[49], and group economic inequality, with the individual inequality measure of Gini index. There may be raised questions about the use of the indicator "ratio of primary commodity exports to GDP as a proxy for natural resources and for a component of "greed." – It seems that primary commodity exports are such a good measure of the country development level, that its impact can be taken for granted on the basis of what we know about the impact of this latter.

I think that we should distinguish between banditism, which may try to operate with communal slogans, but regularly fails to get wide communal-group support, and "Robin Hoodism," in which greed cannot conceptually be established as a motive separate from economic grievance. Even if allowing for the possibility that misperceptions of real grievances, and expressly greedy interpretations of a group's entitlements are possible, I think that we may renounce controlling for "greed" as a separate explanatory factor of communal strife, or, more exactly, of minority mobilization against majorities.

5 Opportunities for Insurrection

The importance of opportunities to conduct an armed insurrection has been pointed out by Fearon and Laitin (2003). This paper offers a great summary of the previous literature, it is innovative and well written, and makes a series of highly justified, welcome statements – yet, on the other hand, it makes a few challenging claims, as well. I will use the abstract to make a few comments on the most important claims:

"An influential conventional wisdom holds that civil wars proliferated rapidly with the end of the Cold War and that the root cause of many or most of these has been ethnic and religious antagonisms. We show that the current prevalence of internal war is mainly the result of a steady accumulation of protracted conflicts since the 1950s and 1960s rather than a sudden change associated with a new, post-Cold War international system." We cannot but agree: past conflicts are an important predictor of ongoing or renewing hostility, in both inter-state and intra-state settings. Yet, protracted conflict is hard to be imagined without clear and persisting group boundaries, without essentializ-

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[49] Collier & Hoeffler label "ethnic dominance" the situations when the state plurality is above 45% of the population.

ing the difference between "we" and "them." Odds are that most groups have been made entitative with reference to some communal feature.

"We also find that after controlling for per capita income, more ethnically or religiously diverse countries have been no more likely to experience significant civil violence in this period." We have seen above, in section (i), that diversity is, indeed, a very elusive factor. Sometimes it turns up as significant, and other times it fails to do. Since the developing countries are more diverse than the developed countries, and the impact of the fractionalization measure is curvilinear, the odds are against its turning up in multivariate models. I believe that the prudent conclusion from this test result is that "heterogeneity does not have a strong – or easily measurable - impact," rather than "heterogeneity does not have an impact at all."

"We argue for understanding civil war in this period in terms of insurgency or rural guerrilla warfare, a particular form of military practice that can be harnessed to diverse political agendas. The factors that explain which countries have been at risk for civil war are not their ethnic or religious characteristics but rather the conditions that favor insurgency. These include poverty—which marks financially and bureaucratically weak states and also favors rebel recruitment—political instability, rough terrain, and large populations." Incontestably, the favorable opportunities for conducting armed insurrection will stimulate the choice of this solution. The authors are also right to include the weakness of the state, mountainous terrain, and abundance of unemployed young males among the opportunity variables. I cannot but welcome the addition of these to the models meant to explain violent internal conflicts, and so do even the most committed supporters of the "grievance" theory. Everybody counts on the role of the opportunities, even if these are measured in different ways across different perspectives. I do not concur, though, with downplaying the role of the "motive" variables, which, in this paper, is related to a social ontology that neglects the grip of "group-ness" on human minds, or, maybe more exactly, takes group identity as very easily manipulable by seasoned, coldly calculating elites, who, themselves, come through as completely unaffected by group consciousness. I hope that an analysis that uses, for instance, inter-group inequality instead of the Gini index for measuring the reasons for economic discontent, will do justice to "motives," without necessarily diminishing the impact of opportunities. Further, it seems that we need a more thorough account of the institutions that may offer opportunities for non-violent political action, as well.

6 Development Level

The country's development level is a very likely candidate to have an impact on inter-group relations, but we do not have one well supported theory about its direction and mechanism to affect the group behavior. On the one hand, the impact may be mediated by institutions (e.g. democracy), geography (e.g. ethnic concentration more likely in less developed settings), urbanism, education and so on. On the other hand, there are historical trends to the salience of different communal features, from tribe to nation, and from religion to ethnicity and culture, which affect the formation of group identities themselves, not only the unfolding of the inter-group relations. One robust result found in cross-national empirical test is the decline of the number of violent conflicts as the societies get richer. Yet, the amount of grievances, as coded by MAR, does not always subside with increasing GDP, on the contrary, the amount of cultural grievances, for instance, goes up. Thus the development level has become a variable for which everybody controls routinely, but we fail to have a comprehensive theory to frame its impact.

Finally, I have to admit that the above list of six groups of factors is still not exhaustive for the literature segment concerned. For instance, as a new application of the international relations logic to the sub-national domain, a "domestic-level diversionary theory of war" has been promoted by Tir & Jasinski (2008). The standard diversionary theory claims that a leader facing domestic problems and declining support may spur their popularity by attacking a foreign country. Tir & Jasinski (2008) claim that the same effect may be achieved by the leader with the use of force against a domestic minority. The logic is compelling, but the scheme involves the vilifying of either the foreign country or the domestic minority. That is, the state plurality has to be made very hostile against the respective minority, which won't normally work without emphasizing salient differences between the two groups. I would say that in this case the salient difference can be regarded as much a cause of the violence occurring, as the embattled leader's bid for popularity.

Sociological Outlook:
Nationalism, Identities, and Social Justice

The third brand of literature pertinent to this topic has had the deepest roots in the academic interest, going back to the Enlightenment's disputes with counter- Enlightenment, but it has never become a fashionable sub-disciple attracting substantial research funds, neither did it coalesce in well-outlined paradigms. In addition, it has kept being quite interdisciplinary, even dependent on other disciplines such as history, sociology, and psychology. The issues in focus are state formation, nation and nationalism, and majority-minority relationships.

Nation and nationalism have always been defined with reference to the state, actually, their birth certificate is dated from 1789, when the French people declared its own sovereignty over the first nation-state in a Europe of dynastic powers. This element of equality in sovereign citizenship (referred to as a "horizontal comradeship" by Anderson 1983) has become the hallmark of nationalist thinking, common to both the civic and ethnic versions of it. The type of nationalism (civic or ethnic) is highly consequential to managing the state plurality's relationships with other groups in the country. Yet, on the other hand, the group consciousness of the co-existing smaller communal groups has also become deeply politicized, and the position of these groups in the state has become its main content. "Majority," "plurality", and "minority" are all defined with regard to a certain state. Minorities are very sensitive to institutional and "state-sponsored" discrimination against them, and formulate their political strategies of integration, isolation, secession, or attempts to seize full power, in function of their lot within the given state.

At this point there is an ostensible difference between the attempts of the theorists mentioned above in the section "explaining violent conflict" and those whom I would classify as having a more sociological outlook. The "sociologist" group is reluctant to see minority action as resulting from pre-determined group goals (such as either secession or looting), and allow for the importance of interplay between state action toward minorities and minority strategic goals. Also, the methodological ideal of the latter group is a model that works on both levels: describes the impact of structural features on group action, but explains the links at the level of the individual psychology, as well. The drawback is the fragmentation of the research, leading to more idiographic than nomothetic results, that is, as Chirot & Seligman (2001) have stated in the introductory chapter of an

edited volume on ethnopolitical warfare: "we know a lot about specific cases, that they can be explained in ad hoc ways, but that we lack strong general theories able to explain why such different outcomes occur."

The two peculiar merits of this 2001 volume are (i) a highly knowledgeable summary of the literature on nationalism and ethnic conflict, and (ii) the inspired attempts of extracting information from counter-examples, such as from "major ethnopolitical warfare that stopped short of genocide," and "limited, contained, and partly resolved ethnopolitical warfare." Indeed, our streamlined explanations of violent conflicts often overlook the positive examples of coexistence such as the ethnically and religiously divided Switzerland, the forgotten tensions between the Swede and the Finns, Frisians and Dutch, or the decently handled minority issues in Uruguay, Brazil, Russia and even China (with the exception of the Tibetans and Uighurs).

One of the theoretical summaries, signed by O'Leary, focuses on the most divisive theoretical issues within the nationalism/ ethnicity literature. After outlining the three dominant paradigms of primordialism, modernism, and ethno-continuism (or ethno-symbolism) based on their placement of nationalism in the world-time, O'Leary formulates two questions that widely scatter the standpoints in this field:

- is the salience of nationalism variable across elites and masses?
- is (or when is) nationalism strong, moderate, or weak?

In both issues, there are strong arguments, and widely esteemed theorists on both extremes, and in-between. In general, nationalism (and the corresponding attitude at the level of groups, the minority group consciousness) is taken for more war-provoking than other "isms" or identity-affirming beliefs, and also strong enough to trump other ideologies in certain conditions. Yet, the "certain conditions" is not consensual at all – for a majority of social thinkers, nationalism's powers are related to the period of transition to modernity, and many expect its weakening thereafter. Further, nationalism may be deemed intellectually and ideologically weak, in the sense that it is "always enmeshed with other intellectual and ideological traditions because it lacks a sufficient prescriptive core to survive on its own." As a historical fact, nationalism has happened both to ally itself with, and to fiercely oppose, all of the liberal, socialist, and conservative political platforms across states.

Regarded from the point of view of the scenarios of future evolution, the most inclined to embalm nationalism, is the international relations realist thinking, while many

other traditions allow for post-nationalist developments. Yet, different ideologies have different vision of these latter, such as liberalism predicts a general shift toward individualist cosmopolitanism, Marxism would like to implement a proletarian internationalism, the European Union works toward supranationalism, and several religions would welcome universalism.

O'Leary does not speculate about post-nationalist scenarios in this work, he goes on to describe and classify the policies related to the regulation of national and ethnic differences, in the domestic realm and internationally. His insightful tables will be presented in the next section. Here I would just mention that in O'Leary's view, as an expression of the widely recognized interdisciplinarity of the field, the explanation and justification of this regulation is the work of "political sociologists, political scientists, and political philosophers." The Chirot & Seligman volume itself, which, by the way, was published by the American Psychological Association, goes on to review the contributions of psychology to the explanation of ethnic warfare.

I would continue the list of recent valuable contributions to the general problems of nationalism and minority-majority relations with a paper of Elke Winter (2007), asking the not trivial question of "how does the nation become pluralist?" The empirical observation stimulating this question is that recently some countries have officially abandoned the old nation-state ideal of a homogenous, ethnically melted-together and culturally syncretistic population.

"Nations – whether civic or ethnic – usually overemphasize homogeneity … There are, however, nations that thrive upon 'diversity'. In recent years, Canada, for example, has made a name for itself by emphasizing the cultural and linguistic heterogeneity of its population. Canada was also the first country in which normative pluralism as an essential dimension of Canadian nationhood became officially implemented through policy (1971) and law (1988)."

Winter's answer to the question in the title is that majorities underwrite to multiculturalism when minorities are strong enough to pressure them in recognizing that the majority's cultural practices are not THE universal ones. She refers to, and quotes Joppke, who formulates this idea in a less culture-focused way: minorities may obtain equal economic and fair political position if they are strong enough to renew and promote their demands every day. No doubts that minority political action is the main venue of improving the life of every minority. Yet, majorities may have further reasons for allowing for

minority rights and multiculturalism than succumbing to the pressure of their own minori-
ties. As the fierce assimilationist practices were observed because of the belief that a
"real" nation-state is homogenous, the change of the international public opinion toward
dropping this criterion from the definition of the state, and even prizing diversity, remove
some important incentives of the majority to endeavor in assimilating reluctant minorities.
Also, the booming industry of tourism makes colorful folk traditions such a real asset that
limiting the expression of ethnic particularities is economically disadvantageous.

Winter (2007) also elaborates on the distinction between civic and ethnic nation-
alism, another important issue of nationalism studies. Though she thinks that "both civic
and ethnic dimensions are inherent in all types of nations," allows for significant differ-
ences between types of nationalism, and reviews them from the point of view of their
consequences for majority-minority relationship. Civic nationhood is mostly affiliated with
Tönnies' "Society," while ethnic nationhood is associated with "Community". Civic na-
tions have something "artificial" in their very nature, they see themselves as contract-
based, universalist,[50] individualist, and as a 'daily plebiscite'. They are individualist in two
respects: because individuals are perceived as the primary unit (which precedes chrono-
logically and ontologically the nation), and because the collectivity's goal is often defined
in terms of protecting and maximizing individual liberty. Ethnic nations are, on the other
hand, organicist, particularist, and collectivist. Organicist, because membership in the
nation is not rationally or artificially produced but is determined by 'natural laws' beyond
human control and ratio. Particularist, because nations are conceived of as being cultur-
ally and 'ethnically' unique, having their own distinct character that is worthy of being
cherished and protected, and entitles nations to their own nation-state. Collectivist/
communitarian, because the individuals are conceived of as parts of the nation, their
identities dependent on the nation, and their personalities fully fulfilled only within the
nation. This opposition of civic and ethnic nationalism has often been exemplified with
France versus Germany, and the minority policies of these countries are telling exam-
ples for the consequences of the adopted nation-ideal. In France, immigrants of all eth-
nies and races are easily granted citizenship, and while there are no severe restrictions
on their language or cultural practices, practically they may make a living in France only

[50]   Winter quotes Dumont 1979 to underscore the idea of universality: "The nation is simply the
        vastest empirical approximation of humanity that is accessible at the level of real life
        experience".

if they speak French and follow secularism in the public sphere. In Germany, foreign ethnies faced almost insurmountable hurdles to obtain citizenship until recently, but the communities of guest workers have received cultural and economic support from the state. Thus the goals and means of Maghreb Arabs in France, as compared to the goals and means of Turks in Germany, are necessarily different – another feature for which a comprehensive account of minority mobilization has to account for.[51]

The sociological-anthropological approach to communal conflict has probed some causes beyond those listed in the previous section, and it has come up with further reasons for not trusting simplifying, nomothetic, cross-national dataset-based research. For instance, in a 2011 paper, Marc Howard Ross, best known for his work on the role of culture and cultural symbols in ethnic tensions, and who presents himself as someone who "ha[s] spent most of my effort in recent years studying the dynamics of culture and identity in ethnic conflicts (Ross, 2007, 2009a, 2009b)," reaches the conclusions that:

"Long-term, seemingly intractable, ethnic conflicts such as Northern Ireland, South Africa, Israel–Palestine, Sri Lanka, Kashmir, and virtually all others involve both competing interests and clashing identities (Ross, 2000). How the two are related, how-ever, is not the same in all cases so that sometimes movement toward settlement occurs when the parties begin to bridge their interest differences, but in others—especially those characterized by high distrust, strong existential fears, and mutual denial of the legitimacy of the others' core claims—it turns out to be crucial to address the incompati-ble identities before any progress can be made in settling their substantive interest-based differences" (p.87).

From the perspective of methodology, Ross (2011) also reaches the conclusion that cross-national studies neglecting the idiosyncratic details and the hardly operational-izable symbolic sphere, cannot provide us with the whole picture. Unfortunately, the jux-taposition of results from different types of research is also jeopardized by deep-seated differences, as he concludes in his last section, entitled "can theories and evidence from the macro- and micro-levels be cumulative?'

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[51] A practical issue related to this is the use of demographic statistics. If we rely on country data about citizens only, in Germany there are no sizeable minorities. Yet, if we count the residents, rather than the citizens, then Germany, Switzerland, and the Arab Gulf states come across as hosting large minority populations.

Given the force of arguments for idiographic methods above nomothetic ones, on the one hand, and the strength of skepticism toward cross-national designs in this field of nationalism and ethnicity studies, the launch of the Minorities at Risk (MAR) project was a morally as brave enterprise as intellectually challenging. It was initiated by Ted Gurr in 1983, and it underwent several data collection periods. The database provided empirical support for a large number of publications, most typically for Ted R. Gurr at al.'s 1993 book "Minorities at Risk: A Global View of Ethnopolitical Conflicts." The book depicts an elaborated mechanism, summed up in a flowchart (p. 125), which ties three groups of causes (collective disadvantage, group identity, and repressive control), through opportunities for political mobilization, impact of economic development, and of political institutions, with the outcomes of communal protest and communal rebellion. In addition, the dynamics and diffusion of conflict, and their feedback on group identities, is also considered. To date, this is the most comprehensive model explaining ethnic warfare – practically, it involves all variables promoted in the relevant literature, even if their concrete formulations differ from the ways in which they are spelled out by others.

The dataset itself contains hundreds of variables, result of a careful planning for multi-dimensional tests. Criticisms are generally leveled against the case selection, rather than against the variables. Briefly, it can be said to be a "selection on the dependent variable": only minorities "at risk" are included, which have an above-average chance to get into conflict with their majorities. As the MAR homepage formulates it: "MAR tracks 283 politically-active ethnic groups throughout the world from 1945 to the present -- identifying where they are, what they do, and what happens to them. MAR focuses specifically on ethnopolitical groups, non-state communal groups that have "political significance" in the contemporary world because of their status and political actions. Political significance is determined by the following two criteria: the group collectively suffers, or benefits from, systematic discriminatory treatment vis-a-vis other groups in a society, [and] the group is the basis for political mobilization and collective action in defense or promotion of its self-defined interests." Thus, though 283 is an imposing number, if we want to get information about how a minority-majority relationship gets so tense that the majority discriminates, and the minority mobilizes, and not only about how the already tense relation results in violence, we have to include in our dataset the minority groups omitted by MAR, as well.

Since my theorization comes close to that of the MAR theorists, I would like to mention a difference between our views. Gurr and his colleagues tend to operationalize the "group collective disadvantage" with their variables for deliberate discrimination from the part of the majorities, rather than the measures for factual economic, political, cultural gaps between the groups. No doubt that the two syndromes are closely related, and discrimination maintains and exacerbates inequality. Yet my insight is that horizontal economic inequality, indifferent of its causes, leads to conflict, as it triggers the dominant group's prejudice and discriminative behavior, and envy, a feeling of injustice and mobilization on the other side.

My theoretical reasons for this belief involve the consideration that in the 21st century societies, economic inequality is the strongest group marker, and the more relevant is the group marker, the less chance there is for peaceful co-existence. Yet, the link between inequality and group conflict may be spelled out in several ways, and in the remaining part of this section, I will refer to works that involve this link, and which have been outlined mainly within sociology.

First, I would like to situate the issue within the discipline of sociology, and I will do it with the help of an overview offered by Kourvetaris (2009). The author gave a critical review of the sociological perspectives with regard to "ethnicity, gender and race." Kourvetaris reviewed the main general textbooks in sociology, and reached the conclusion that field is dominated by four main perspectives. One of them is the gender-feminist view, which may produce research at the intersection of gender and race, or gender and ethnicity, but which is not of special importance for delimiting the perspectives directed to the two communal features themselves. These latter perspectives were outlined by Kourvetaris by drawing on Feagin and Feagin's (2003) classification into 'order-integrative' and 'conflict-power' paradigms, but a third was added, labeled 'pluralist-multiculturalist.' Though Kourvetaris's own perspective is determined by his primary familiarity with the US literature on the subject, his typology has an immediate intuitive appeal for cross-national approaches, as well.

(i) The order-integrative paradigm is "an extension of the structural-functionalist paradigm in sociology in general and sociology of ethnicity, race and gender in particular. The emphasis is on integration, stability, function and conformity. This model is close to assimilationist perspectives and their variants of Anglo-conformity, Americanization and melting-pot perspectives, which highlight the gradual attenuation or disappearance of distinct and particularistic ethnic, gender and racial identities in the USA. Furthermore, the order-

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integrative paradigm is often understood to be both the explicit and implicit de facto policy of American institutions: that is, being different is bad while being similar is good."

(ii) The pluralist-multiculturalist paradigm "highlights markers of social differentiation between ethnic and racial groups, such as surnames, religion, traditions and other cultural traits … By convention, the USA has been described as a pluralist society - in Whitman's words: a 'nation of nations' – [though many] argue that assimilation still occurs by various degrees among different ethnic, gender and racial groups beyond the second generation."

Yet, with his eyes at the demographic prognostics for the 21st century, Kourvetaris argues that "the USA will inevitably become more and more multiracial and multicultural." Kourvetaris's presentation does not elaborate on what this paradigm holds about the peacefulness of inter-group relations. The order-integrative paradigm sees inter-group relations as going through a period of tension, but eventually leading to peaceful assimilation. Multiculturalism is assumed by promoters such as Canada as inherently peaceful, but the third world cases of heterogeneity do not play out so peaceful, unfortunately.

(iii) The power-conflict-stratification paradigm "frames successive generations of minority ethnics in contentious power relations," as competing for power against the majority white Anglo-Saxon groups. In addition, "most power-conflict-stratification theories emphasize the economic inequalities between the dominant and the subordinate groups … The perspective posits society as dynamically stratified along important markers of differentiation such as class, power, ethnicity, gender and race."

In Kourvetaris's account, the phenomenon called identity politics belongs to this branch of sociological literature.

It seems that the order-integrative paradigm is beyond its heydays, while the other two are still in ascension. Yet, the pluralist-multiculturalist view, celebrating diversity, flourishes mainly in humanities not involved with politics and policy making. In the areas closer to the political field, the power-conflict-stratification perspective is dominant, as, for instance, the successive reprints of the most popular textbook on the US group relations may illustrate.[52]

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[52] Adalberto Aguirre and Jonathan H. Turner's 2004 book entitled 'American Ethnicity: The Dynamics and Consequences of Discrimination,' which belongs to the power-conflict-stratification type of research, has known seven editions thus far.

This politics-connected literature on ethnic and communal relations may be unified by its general outlook stipulating that the existence of social groups is inherently related to a social hierarchy,[53] but is divided with regard to the intellectual traditions they endorse, as well as to their methodology and research agendas.

I think that three brands of research within the sociological power-conflict-stratification perspective are pertinent to my focus on the EI-PC nexus: (a) the class-struggle inspired research on the consequences of group inequality, as exemplified by the Stewart (2008) volume; (b) new versions of the civil right movements-related identity politics, such as the intersectionality theory; and (c) research on the policy consequences of diversity marked by group inequality.

The authors of the book edited by Stewart in 2008 take the stance that when social groups fight, they fight mainly because of some unequal distribution issue, though circumstances (how a political claim can be carried out in a system) and opportunities (such as external support, or surplus of unemployed young males) may shape the conflict. There is not much elaboration, indeed, on the transmission links, but a few ideas are raised. First and foremost, the group-biased distribution leads to complaints from the part of the subordinate group, the grievances are more and more often expressed, until a group consciousness of unjust deprivation is formed, basis for extended group support for collective action.

A main conceptual tool of the volume is the distinction between horizontal and vertical inequality. This distinction is welcome even if the labels may be opposed on logical and aesthetic grounds, and I also prefer to use "inter-group inequality" for the horizontal kind, and "individual inequality" for the vertical kind, as measured by the Gini index. The authors study a number of horizontal inequalities (HI-s), such as the inequality of political participation and influence, economic inequality, social inequality, and inequality of the cultural status. In their shared vision, inter-group inequalities of different types may have different constellations across countries, with very different political con-

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[53]   In the sense in which "gender is a hierarchy."

sequences. Stewart's summary includes four configurations, which are advanced as research hypotheses to be tested in the volume[54]:

- Serious political conflict is more likely where there are significant political or economic HI-s, or both;
- Political mobilization is especially likely where the political and economic HI-s run in the same direction (cross-cutting cleavages mitigate the problem);
- Lack of cultural recognition and equity, or cultural status HI-s, will be provocative, while cultural inclusion will help sustain peace;
- Political mobilization and conflict are more likely where the HI-s are widening.

The theoretical counter-argument against these hypotheses as formulated, for instance, by Lichbach (1989), but very typical to the rational choice approaches in general, is that the shared social disadvantages don't guarantee the collective action of the disadvantaged. I think that the rational-actor hurdles for collective action weaken proportionally with the hardening of the group boundaries. Group distinctions and boundaries matter much less when people can shift groups in instantaneous and costless ways – the more difficult is the shift, the more relevant are the group characteristics, including the group grievances, for the members. In the conditions of group inequality, at least one of the groups, the subordinate one, is clearly outlined by and in virtue of its deprivation, which makes exit from the group impossible or costly.[55] The relevance of the group also means increased in-group bias, and social groups entrapped in conflictual relations originate demanding moral codes that they impose on members. These moral rules make the contribution to common goals a matter of duty, rather than of - either rational or emotional - choice. It is this element of the group life which is the most subjected to manipulation by political entrepreneurs, and even desperate insurgents. Yet, the "raw material" that solely guarantees their success in igniting widespread violence is a group consciousness formed due to the perception of serious and/or long-term injustices committed against the group.

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[54] The authors allow for the impact of several other factors, such as centralized vs. decentralized state, institutional accommodation of peaceful striving for group goals, "cultural demography" (size, proportion, cohesion, distance of the groups), economy (in backward societies violence is more likely), and dispute over natural resources.

[55] In the terminology of the US group research, a sense of "linked fate" is forming, in which the emancipation of the whole group is seen as a more realistic perspective than the social emancipation of a single member of the group.

Yet, these inferences are dependent on the assumption that there are group markers sharply opposing *two* groups. Both class theories and identity politics have been confined to an account of the opposition of two main groups, while others might have occurred in their explanatory frameworks in peripheral roles only. This theoretical model has had important political consequences, as Hancock (2007) puts it, "the foundational argument for this collective political action now known as identity politics states 'before a group can enter the open society, it must close ranks.' These analyses depend on a logic of 'group solidarity' that has traditionally been interpreted to equate group unity with group uniformity."

Hancock promotes a theory of intersectionality, and outlines it in opposition with the identity politics of the 1960s-1980s. While the "unitary approaches" to a specific identity-forming feature confine their attention to the effects of only one group marker, intersectionality "draws attention to the simultaneous and interacting effects of gender, race, class, sexual orientation, and national origin as categories of difference." From the point of view of the theory, this seems to be a welcome improvement to more simplistic research designs. From the point of view of practice, though, its emphasis on disunity within oppressed groups, its axiom that members of each may - and should - differ in politically significant ways, is unsympathetically sobering. And I think that it fits different identity movements to different degrees. It seems to have the most warmly been welcomed in the feminist movement, where a "third wave" of theorists have been working to point out the differences among women belonging to different ways of life since the 1970s. Intersectionality, however, is less suitable to explain the US African-American political attitudes, where 90% of the voters support the party whose policies are more favorable for them as a group. And it does not really fit the East European ethnic minority movements, either, which typically have a moderate and an extremist wing, but the dissent confines to the tactic, not to the strategy, and there is no ostensible cross-cutting cleavage inducing this distribution of the opinions. Similar moderate/extremist schism has been typical to the workers' movement, as well, even in ethnically and racially homogenous societies. I think that intersectionality may be the most useful in the analysis of the relationship between gender, on the one hand, and communal features, on the other. Communal features themselves tend to obey a hierarchy of salience, for instance, black Hispanics in the US see themselves as Hispanics, and not as Blacks. Finally, from the perspective of intersectionality theory, my search for the links between economic

disparity and inter-group hostility is a kind of intersectional design, a label to which I sub-scribe.

A final brand of research that I would like to mention here as connected to the sociological power-conflict-stratification model, was primarily developed within political science. And originally it just aimed at reviewing the social and policy consequences of communal heterogeneity. A tradition going back to Stuart Mill takes heterogeneity for a risk factor that influences negatively the political life and the economy of a country even in the absence of violent conflicts between the communal groups. In successive empiri-cal tests, researchers tried to establish the impact of diversity on democracy and eco-nomic output, in the cross-national literature this work can be exemplified with Collier (2001) and Montalvo & Reynal-Querol (2005). The consequences-of-diversity topic fuses with the power-conflict-stratification model in Baldwin and Huber (2010), according to which

(i) communal heterogeneity can be shown to have an impact on the choice of distribution policies, as it lowers social capital, provision of common goods, and the community's investment in the public sphere;

(ii) these negative effects can be attributed to one feature of heterogeneity, the between-group economic inequality (BGI).

In the words of the authors themselves:

Which measure of ethnic diversity shows the strongest association with public goods provision? We do not find a robust empirical relationship between either the standard ELF measure or measures of cultural difference and public goods provision. However, the tests do reveal that between-group inequality has a large, robust negative relationship with public goods provision. Countries with higher levels of inequality between groups have lower levels of public goods, a finding that has important implications for understanding the pathways by which ethnic diversity creates governance problems. (p. 645)

These pathways can be traced from the group economic differences, through the diverging policy preferences of the groups, to a polarization of the political standpoints and more contentious politicizing. If, as in the US, the wealthier group has the upper hand in politics, as well, its policy preference of not sharing with others results in "mini-mum state" arrangements.

I would mention that previously Alesina and La Ferrara (2000) found the impact of racial heterogeneity and economic inequality as paralleling each other, each of them having, separately, the same magnitude negative impact on public good provision. That

is, high vertical inequality in communally homogenous communities may also reduce social capital and public good provision, but the impact of horizontal inequality can be expected, and was shown to be in Baldwin & Huber 2010, much more substantial.

Last, but not least, I would like to mention a few authors providing valuable case-studies pertinent to the EI-PC nexus, who do not set out from a certain theory to find empirical support for it, but rather look for the theory explaining the facts at hand. The two most relevant "empiricist" works to list is Amy Chua's 2002 book on economically advantaged minorities, and Meerman's 2009 book on SRELIM, where SRELIM stays for "stigmatized, ranked, ethnic, low-status, involuntary minorities." The common observation of the two books is that inter-group economic inequality leads to serious tension between the groups concerned. The manifestation of the hostility, though, is different in the two cases. Chua describes cases of both institutional restraints on wealthy minorities, and institutionally unpunished private assaults on them. Meerman associates the majority's prejudice and discriminative behavior with the poverty of the minorities. Assaults from the part of the extremists may occur against SRELIM, as well, but the everyday suffering of the low-income minorities is mainly marked by less violent expressions of ruthless hostility.

As for the causal arrows, in the case of the advantaged minorities, it is hard to argue that inter-group hostility has induced the economic gap. The only possible causal connection is from the economic status toward the inter-group hostility, - if there is any, as a skeptic would say. In the case of SRELIM, the arrows may point in both directions, and a MAR theorist would probably emphasize the direction from discrimination toward economic gap. Yet, there is one case among Meerman's five (India's Dalits, Japan's Burakumin, US's Blacks, Bolivia's Aymara and Quechua, and Cuba's Blacks), where ostensibly, the inter-group bias tracks the widening economic gap, and there is no evidence at all that the widening of the economic gap was produced by inter-group hostility. This example, of the Blacks in Cuba, echoes my personal experience about the fate of Roma population in East Europe after the fall of communism. While their integration into the larger society advanced convincingly during the egalitarian times, liberalization of the economy brought about the relative and absolute impoverishment of the most vulnerable groups, and the Roma of East Europe became the poorest groups in their countries. The option for switching to a market economy had nothing to do with the Roma population (or with the Blacks in Cuba), yet, their economic decay has been clearly associated with in-

creasing prejudice and discrimination against them. Violent attacks from the part of extremists are also part of the everydays of the Roma, an experience that has spared Afro-Cubans yet.

Of the two authors mentioned here, Chua endorses the EI-PC nexus, while Meerman thinks in terms of concomitant and mutually reinforcing impacts. Actually, he is interested in the solutions, the emancipation of SRELIM, and the solution may start from overcoming the prejudices of the majority in order that they implement equalizing policies. The policies affecting minorities will be the subject of the next section.

Political Science II:
Preventing Violent Conflicts – The Policies

Most states make conscious attempts to regulate communal heterogeneity, and in general, these are taken for communal or minority policies. In the domestic sphere, these include state measures from complete constitutional engineering (à la Horowitz and Lijphart), through centralization versus decentralization, and assimilation versus multiculturalism, to the regulation or not-regulation of hate speech. This area obviously has a strong normative dimension to it, but solutions often collide even when the goals are identical, because the policy makers' beliefs about the causal connections in this domain are widely scattered. Similarly, the political and policy standpoints for managing communal issues in the inter-state system are controversial, as well, and coalesce in a number of value-laden ideological platforms. These were summed up by O'Leary 2001 in his Table 3.3 (here Table 2.1) as follows:

Table 2.1:   External Strategies for the regulation of Ethnonational Differences
(O'Leary 2011)

Strategic approach to external ethno-national questions	Norms	Goals
Imperialism	No recognition of equals; instrumental external orientations (balance of power)	World empire
Westphalian Statism	States are equals; no interference in others' domestic ethnonational affairs	Interstate world; confederalist world
Westphalian Liberal Individualist Statism	States are equals; no interference in others' domestic ethnonational affairs except to protect fundamental individualist human rights	Confederalist liberal individualism
Westphalian Communitarian Statism	States are equals; no interference in others' domestic ethnonational affairs except to protect pluralism and legitimate group rights	Confederalist communitarianism
Cosmopolitanism	States and nations are undesirable; external interference in states is justified in defense of correct cosmopolitan values (be they liberal, socialist, or theological)	Correct cosmopolis

Though I prefer confining the use of "cosmopolitanism" to the individualist versions of post-national developments, and the worlds targeted by socialism and theologies I would label "internationalist," and "universalist," respectively, in general I agree with O'Leary's table. Yet, the subject of this section is the domestic regulation of communal heterogeneity, not the foreign policies related to them. In principle, the impact of certain foreign policy standpoints (such as the US's isolationalism *versus* interventionism) on far-away ethnonational struggles cannot be excluded,[56] but we do not have either the conceptual tools or the datasets to systematically consider these impacts when we map the factors influencing inter-group hostility and violence.

O'Leary 2001 has forwarded a table summarizing the domestic regulation of ethnonational relations, as well. This makes a fundamental distinction between the strategic goals of ending ethnonational difference (left-side column) versus managing diversity (right-side column).

[56] For instance, Kosovo Albanians have been encouraged by previous Western approval of and even intervention on behalf of secessionism in the Balkans.

Table 2.2: Domestic Strategies for the Regulation of Ethnonational Differences
(O'Leary 2011)

End / eliminate ethnonational difference	Mend / manage ethnonational differences
1. Genocide 　Eliminate people 　*Goal:* ethnic purity	1. Control 　Manage people 　*Goal:* ethnic hierarchy; organize the dominant, 　disorganize the dominated
2. Integration -- Assimilation 　Eliminate relevance of ethnic differences 　*Goal:* eliminate differences from public life - national homogenization	2. Consociation 　Manage people while preserving differences 　*Goal:* ethnic equality and pluralism for the 　consociated (future integration not excluded)
3. Ethnic expulsion 　Eliminate people from territories 　*Goal:* ethnic purity	3. Arbitration 　Manage people impartially 　*Goal:* manage differences to promote 　accommodation or later integration
4. Territorial elimination 　Eliminate people and territory through downsizing or resizing 　*Goal:* greater ethnonational homogenization	4. Territorial management 　Manage people and territories 　*Goal:* ethnic federalism or autonomy, 　equality and diversity for stakeholders

Though some policies listed in the left column have been tolerated and even advised by great powers up until the aftermath of the WWII, during the second half of the 20th century, norms on behalf of the right-side column have strengthened. Genocide and forceful assimilation have never happened with widespread international approval, and 1945 was the last instance when ethnic expulsion (of the Germans from Czechoslovakia and Poland) happened with the support of the international community. Since then, only a few secessions ("territorial elimination") took place with international consent.

Yet, the international public opinion has some preferences even within the right-side possibilities, and "control" is not an option that would be encouraged. On the contrary, there is increasing consensus in the pertinent literature and practice around two principles of domestic regulation of heterogeneity. First, the legitimacy of a state involves treating its citizens impartially, with the sole exception of the positive discrimination of disadvantaged groups. And second, inter-group violent conflict should be avoided, which mandates peace-keeping efforts even with international armed involvement, but preventive measures are naturally preferred.

The "mending and management" of inter-group co-existence should target, then, equalizing the status of the groups, and providing for the prospects of long-term peace.

No political position and policy proposal forwarded in the literature endorses values opposing these ideals. Still, the policy proposals are widely scattered, and, since the values are the same, this may happen because of the beliefs fostered about the dynamics of inter-group relations.

Actually, policy proposals may differ across states, as well, in function of the specific group structures typifying them. O'Leary's "consociation" and "territorial management" in the right-side column fit different countries. Territorial management is an issue to be addressed in countries where minorities live in regional concentration. For countries with territorially not segregated population, the form of consociation called "pillarization" (Lijphart) or "functional autonomy" (Kymlicka), and even everyday party politics that allow for minority parties entering the national legislature, are more suitable. And the policy proposals may differ in function of other state features, mainly development level and experience with democracy.

These latter issues have been considered in the Kymlicka and Opalski 2001 volume, tellingly entitled "Can liberal pluralism be exported?" In an introductory chapter, Kymlicka suggests the adoption of a principle of "ethnocultural justice," admittedly modeled onto the five types of minority groups existing in the developed countries.[57] After fifteen East European ethnic relations-specialists comment on the proposed model, Kymlicka rejoins with further nuancing his policy proposals. He addresses four main concerns of the opponents:

    a. The role of elites in defining and manipulating minority claims. Political entrepreneurs may mobilize around inauthentic claims. Kymlicka thinks that free and fair elections weed out the leaders making "inauthentic" claims.[58]

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[57] All contributors to the volume emphasize that there are types of minorities in East Europe, which are completely missing in the West: the Roma (ethnoclass, whose ancestors immigrated voluntarily), the Baltic Russians (involuntary immigrants), the Crimean Tatars (returning population), also the Russians in some CIS countries, where the Russian language has higher prestige than the "titular" language etc. The real ideal solution, as promoted by Western liberalism, would be the "ethnocultural neutrality" of the state, but since this ideal has never been achieved anywhere, we should settle for the hard-to-define justice, whose content may vary across societies.

[58] I think that this may be expected in a mature democracy, but impoverished and frustrated masses are very susceptible to demagogy and tactics such as scapegoating. Once a demagogue majority-ethnic nationalist party comes into power, it ends democracy, as did Hitler in 1933, and Orban in Hungary since 2010. The expectation of weeding out may best work for minority leadership in an otherwise democratic environment.

b. The issue of "ethnic revenge." Groups having experienced a fate of oppressed minority in a former state-conglomerate turn intolerant majorities in their "own homeland." Again very optimistic, Kymlicka thinks that this will go away with practice in democratization.[59]

c. The relative priority of democratic consolidation *vis-à-vis* minority rights. Actually, this was the way pursued by the Western countries, but they have had strong state apparatuses. Weaker states better make peace with their minorities since the beginning.

d. The appropriateness of territorial autonomy. Kymlicka thinks that the Canadian-type combination of territorial and functional autonomy should be applied in function of the particularities of each country. (That is, more TA for segregated settlement patterns, and more FA for intermingled populations.) He does not agree with the OSCE and some opinions included in this volume which reject TA because of an East European paranoia of secession. This latter is expected to abate in parallel with the sinking salience of nationalisms in general. Maybe more exactly, Kymlicka expects nationalisms becoming increasingly "thinner," that is, more confined to a few civic components, as a result of both (i) immigration and/or incorporating minority cultures, and (ii) pluralization of the majority, such as the US's "WASP" falling apart as a result of women's and gay movements.

Importantly, Kymlicka makes a difference between ethnocultural mobilization and interpersonal relations among people belonging to different communal groups. In his introductory chapter, he states that "there is not a shred of evidence from Western democracies that the achievement of democracy, economic prosperity, and personal tolerance will lead to an abatement of ethnocultural mobilization," and he refers to the events in Quebec, Belgium, and Spain in the 1990s. Yet, Kymlicka also admits that the interpersonal relations among the citizens of these countries have actually been improved over the last decades. Thus the liberal prediction that "once a prosperous democracy was firmly established, both institutionally and in terms of the larger public culture, then the strength and political mobilization of ethnocultural identities would disappear or at least substantially decrease" gets mixed empirical support. I think that we have to carefully distinguish between types and gravity of minority demands in order to get some meaningful patterns. That is, dozens of peaceful demonstrations for a minority-language university, for instance, involve less inter-group hostility than the seizure of a diamond-mine by a group that has been excluded from its benefits previously.

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[59]   I think that not democratization, but the experience of "justice has been done" may turn the new majority less hostile toward the new minorities. And external incentives to handle the minority issues at 21st century standards are highly beneficial, if not outright needed.

A thorough study of the policies regulating communal relations may be imagined as pursuing a systematic cross-country review, and reaching generalizations that may serve as basis for recommendations. If a perfect study of this type has not been achieved yet, it is because of the complexity of the regulation package involved. Thus far I spoke about policies consciously adopted by states to regulate inter-group relations. Yet, many state measures may affect minorities as an unintended consequence. It is hard to imagine, indeed, any law or rule which would *not* affect inter-group relations in certain constellations. The impact of the administrative boundaries, electoral system, and language of education is intuitively clear. Yet, regulations as neutral as of the family issues, or of the workdays, may also become communally sensitive topics in countries with Muslims and Roma, or Jews, respectively. Over the last years, more and more phenomena have been studied for their impact on communal relationships, such as the member states' integration into the European Union (Anagnostou & Triandafyllidou 2007), shift from one-party system to multi-party rule (Posner 2007), and the government's involvement in the economy (Steinberg & Saideman 2008). These latter authors advocate the idea that free market arrangements are more beneficial for ethnic relations than government involvement in the economy. "Our theory of insecurity predicts that free market economies reduce violent ethnic conflict by reducing fear and insecurity. We present statistical analyses, using data from the Minorities at Risk project and the Index of Economic Freedom, showing that government involvement in the economy increases ethnic rebellion." This hypothesis clearly goes against Amy Chua's (2002) claims, but the authors try to reconcile them by admitting that some types of government intervention, namely, "share," or redistribution,[60] have no effect on ethnic peace at all. It is the other type of intervention, labeled "allocation,"[61] which has a significant positive impact on the occurrence of violence (competing and collinear with the impact of the democracy measure). "We conjecture that government allocation is more likely to promote violent competition because it is a more useful rent-seeking tool than is total share" (p.251). Yet, if an ethnic group rebels because the other is in a political position to make important economic decisions benefiting their own group, this can be conceptualized as either re-

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[60] "Share" refers to the "relative sizes of the public and private sectors, and the share of resources that each commands."

[61] "Allocation" refers to "whether resources are distributed according to the market forces of demand and supply or by government decisions."

bellion motivated by political exclusion, or rebellion motivated by economic and political grievance – and a change of the ways in which political power is exerted may be a better solution than dropping the interventionist policies themselves.

A thorough study of the policies affecting communal relations, however, even if identified as unattainable, has been repeatedly attempted because it is badly needed by the everyday practice. A latest bid to a synthesis is the volume edited by Weller & Nobbs (2010), entitled "Political participation of minorities: a commentary on international standards and practice," which embodies a legal outlook to the issues, more exactly, it applies a minority rights perspective. A theoretical introductory part is dedicated to general themes, such as the determinants of ethnic violence, forms of communal domination, and principles of political management of the communal relations, then the book goes on to analyze the pertinent international agreements, such as the European Convention on Human Rights; the Council of Europe Framework Convention on the Protection of National Minorities; the OSCE's Lund Recommendations; and the UN Standards and Practice. As of 2010, the main UN instrument in the field was the 1992 UN Minorities Declaration, which "grants minorities neither group rights to self-determination nor to autonomy. It simply suggests that 'the duties of the State to protect the identity of minorities and to ensure their effective participation might in some cases be best implemented by arrangements for autonomy in regard to religious, linguistic or broader cultural matters.'" By contrast, the 2007 UN Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples (UNDRIP) allows for their territorial autonomy, self-government and even self-determination. Finally, the contributors to the volume survey the venues and guarantees of minority political participation, such as facilitation of representation through the electoral system, power-sharing arrangements, consultative rights, and forms of self-governance. The logic for structuring the issues here is the form of minority participation. More commonly, controversies in the literature follow the logic of the majority legislative activity, and it seems that the literature about diversity policies tends to cluster around four interrelated topics. Though in certain cases it is difficult to trace the boundaries between them, I will have a look at the domestic regulation of the inter-group relations from the below four perspectives:

1 Constitutional designs that prevent deadly ethnic conflicts;
2 Support for minority political mobilization and participation;

3 The policy goals or ideals governing institutions and policies pertinent to majority-minority relationship;

4 Protecting the vulnerable.

1 Constitutional designs that prevent deadly ethnic conflicts

It is not really common in political science to reach full agreement about the tensions ordering the standpoints in a certain issue-domain, but with regard to the constitutional engineering in heterogeneous societies, all authors mention the same two opposing proposals, labeled with the name of their first promoters, Arend Lijphart versus Donald Horowitz, or called "power sharing" (consociational) model versus "integrationist" (liberal) model.[62]

Of the two, the Lijphart proposal was forwarded first, as an explanation for the political stability of some communally heterogeneous developed countries, such as the Netherlands and Belgium. Horowitz's 1985 book on "Ethnic groups in conflict" relied on cases from the developing countries, rather than the developed. This slight difference of perspective has persisted during the subsequent three decades of controversy. Supporters of Lijphart, such as Norris 2008, and Lijphart himself (2000), work on demonstrating that consociational arrangements make up for a "kinder, gentler" democracy worldwide, in all, heterogenous and homogenous societies alike. Supporters of Horowitz work on analyzing cases in which the consociational model has broken down, and they have not had a hard time to find them in the developing world… From a more general, philosophical perspective, this debate seems to be subsumed to the all-encompassing controversy between individualism and communitarianism. After centuries of Western individualist predominance, the liberal-individualist camp may spare efforts of elaborating on their own policy proposals, and concentrate on criticizing the communitarian standpoint. The O'Flynn & Russell (2005) volume aims, as specified in the introduction written by the editors, on taking seriously "the unintended consequences of power sharing," and it looks at how power-sharing

- "perpetuates inter-communal conflict by institutionalising difference at the political level;

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[62] These "camps" are constructed in the same way by scholars on both sides of the aisle, and those in-between, such as the Horowitz-supporter O'Flynn & Russel 2005, Norris 2008 doing justice to Lijphart, and Lemarchand 2007, who is not convinced by any of the two proposals.

- inhibits the transition from conflict management to conflict resolution by encouraging extremism;

- stifles internal diversity and recognition in the name of communal identity and group concerns;

- fails to recognize cross-cutting identities and leaves insufficient space for individual autonomy;"

- [and, as latter added, power-sharing] "faces women with the false choice between women's identity and group coherence."

- In contrast, the "integrative approach … favors incentives for politicians to behave moderately toward (and compromise with) members of groups other than their own," as stated by Horowitz in his Foreword to the volume.

Norris (2007) took the defense of Lijphart, but her dependent variable in the cross-national time-series models is democracy, not the inter-group relations.[63] Yet, she forwards a few spirited arguments on behalf of consociationism's positive impact on the inter-group relations, as well, such as:

- Consociationism's "shared idea is that in divided societies, by providing communal leaders with a stake in the political process, power-sharing institutions and procedures turn opponents into cooperative partners. By contrast, power-concentrating regimes offer community elites a zero-sum game, where losers have fewer incentives to work within the conventional political rules."

- The majoritarian electoral system's logic is alternating or rotating in power, and operating it involves deep-seated trust that the mechanism provides for "once we will be returned into power." In beginner democracies, there is no such trust, thus the promise of alternating does not work. The only solution exuding confidence is simultaneous power-holding. I would add that for communal minorities, the promise of alternating in power does not work and cannot be expected to work at all – as we cannot expect people belonging to an ethnic majority to adopt minority ethnicity overnight.

There are, thus, strong theoretical arguments on both sides, and serious empirical work on both sides, but researchers belonging to the opposing camps often happen to see even the same case in very different light. The O'Flynn & Russell (2005) volume includes a study of Obershall & Palmer claiming that the arrangements "established under the [Good Friday] Agreement are flawed in that they serve to entrench, and have even encouraged, sectarian division." By contrast, Garry (2009) finds, with regard to the

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[63] "The cumulative results reinforce and confirm the advantages of power-sharing institutions which have often been assumed, irrespective of which particular indicators are selected to measure democracy, even with the controls used in the series of multivariate models." (Ch.9, Conclusions)

2007 Assembly election in Northern Ireland, at least in the unionist bloc, "the effective disappearance of the ethno-national conflict cleavage as a determinant of voter choice. This suggests that consociational arrangements have led to both inclusion and moderation, rather than polarisation and 'ethnic outbidding'."

René Lemarchand, who does not seem convinced by either party in this controversy, brings powerful arguments against the epistemological value of case studies in this domain. In a paper published in 2007, he reflects on Rwanda, Burundi, and the Democratic Republic of the Congo, chosen to illustrate a clear failure (Rwanda), a success (Burundi), and a half-failure-half-success (Congo DR) of the power-sharing model. He points out how deep-rooted social processes shape the opportunities for the success of certain institutions, and, that any constitutional engineering may work only where we have a state that can enforce any rule.[64] That is, a failed state cannot be taken for a refutation of either the power-sharing or the integrationist model, whichever was introduced there in the wake of the collapse.

As for the theoretical arguments on the two sides, we cannot predict a fast victory of any of them above the other. The dispute between individualism and communitarianism may be traced back to Locke and Montesquieu, and encompasses all domains of social sciences and humanities. There are a large number of general social ontology issues related, such as whether the society consists of atomic individuals or of groups and social relations, whether people are egoistic competitors or zoon politikon, and whether the affiliations have an impact on the psychic wellbeing of human beings. In this specific domain of inter-group relations, the individualism--communitarianism controversy involves divergent assumptions about the nature of ethnic identity and its relationships with other identity forms. In general, individualist-liberal supporters of the integrationist model regard people's communal identities more superficial and much easier manipula-

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[64] "The argument, in brief, runs as follows. Although power-sharing experiments in Africa have generally failed, this does not necessarily invalidate the case for consociationalism. What it does is to bring to light the obstacles involved in the passage from theory to practice. If properly implemented, and given the 'right' conditions, the Lijphart formula could well provide the best chances for a successful sharing of power among competing groups. But even the most carefully calibrated constitutional engineering can do little to promote peace and stability where the necessary societal conditions are missing. As much as the technicalities of consociationalism, the context is crucial." And: "When the state no longer has the capacity to protect the lives of its citizens, when the security forces unravel under the weight of factional rivalries, when the judicial system collapses, and when the civil service becomes a seedbed of corruption, the prospects for peace through power sharing are all the more problematic."

ble than the power-sharing model's supporters do. From a Horowitzian standpoint, creating a cross-cutting cleavage, such as tracing regional boundaries across ethnic lines, will lead to a new regional identity at competition with the old ethnic identity, and will allow for inter-ethnic cooperation in both regions. From a Lijphartian standpoint, if the same ethnicity is the underdog in both regions, they won't stop fighting either for a region of their own, or for guaranteed political powers in both (that is, either for territorial autonomy, or for consociationism). It seems that the idea of communal justice and its impact on human behavior is a main divider between the two conceptions. Individualists, including O'Flynn, argue that people should be treated as "inherently valuable individuals," rather than members of a group, but most individuals expect others to recognize them in the totality of their communal-cultural particularities, that is, they demand respect as French Canadians or Japanese Peruvians, not as abstract human beings. And, since some group affiliations are part of our social identities, we cannot easily tolerate injustices happening to a group to which we belong. Injustice makes the group boundaries salient, and reconciliation cannot take off before justice has been done. And real cooperation may be imagined between equals only.

Last, but not least, I would mention the tools used to implement either the Lijphartian, or the Horowitzian proposal. The oft-used term of "constitutional engineering" refers to the fact that pursuing any of these ideals needs deep-rooted institutional regulation, of the kind that are generally included in the basic laws of a country, such as the definition of the state as national or multi-ethnic, determining the official languages, and providing for state secularism. Federalism, and types of pillarization are also constitutionally encoded. Determination of sub-national divisions, degrees of decentralization, and some features of the electoral system may or may not be elaborated on in the constitution, but they are very important corollaries of the principles adopted in it, as are the cultural and educational policies, as well, for the inter-group relations. Norris 2008 makes two points, which are consequential for subsequent work with institutional variables. First, the institutional solutions develop and improve over time – we have more choices to implement either the Lijphartian or the Horowitzian project than there were four decades ago. And second, there are four main dimensions of power-sharing ar-

rangements[65]: the electoral system, presidential versus parliamentary executives, federalism and decentralization, and regulation of political communications. The political participation and political power of the minorities regularly hinges on the electoral system and the federal/decentralization arrangements. Dispersed minorities are ostensibly better off with proportional representation and low thresholds of exclusion. Regionally concentrated minorities strive for administrative boundaries along ethnic lines, and extensive decentralization. As for the indigenous peoples, they demand autonomy and self-rule even in conditions of relative dispersion, for smaller communities on smaller pieces of land, and they regularly don't enter everyday party politics but may be granted reserved seats in the legislatures and even in the executive.

2 Support for minority political mobilization and participation

The problems of constitutional engineering have been discussed, in general, with regard to full-scale institutional changes in violence-ravaged countries, with the international community interested in expert advice to secure peace. There are, however, more common and less dramatic policy choices which may deeply affect the minorities. And these choices are essentially made by the country's plurality ethnic (or religious) group. Without very loud or violent protestation from the part of the minorities, the international community refrains from interfering with these policies, though there is more and more work on elaborating detailed international standards for guiding legislation in the communally sensitive areas. The global public opinion can be said to have shifted from a position that allowed for assimilationism euphemized as nation-building to a position favorable to communal self-expression and mobilization.

Beyond the issue of territorial autonomy, which is regularly debated within the Lijphart-versus-Horowitz framework, here the issue is whether the decision-making majority should allow for the formation of parties based on communal features, such as ethnic or religious parties, and/or should co-opt representatives of communal-feature based organizations in the branches of government. And for certain state organs, such as law enforcement, there is also an issue of proportional employment of minorities.

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[65]   Defined here as "providing potential checks on the autonomy and power of the single-party executive."

Allowing for identity-based political mobilization may involve more than majority-minority relationships. Religious parties may include a part of the majority ethnic group, and may represent the majority religion, as the Muslim Brothers in Egypt. There are also ethnic parties of the majority ethnic group, the nationalist parties, such as Le Pen's in France. Other identity-based movements may split both majorities and minorities, such as the women's movement. Thus the controversy of whether identity movements should be welcome in the political arena traditionally focused on more instrumental distribution issues, goes beyond the Lijphart-versus-Horowitz framework, and beyond the international community's minority protecting concerns. Yet, the larger written liberal-individualist tradition is in general uncomfortable with the idea of mobilization around social identities. Identity movements, on the one hand, challenge the universalist claims of the nation-state cultures, and, on the other hand, highlight the segmentation of the society, while liberalism strives to homogenize it. Promoters and opponents of identity politics have been debating basic issues for decades, and agreement is still far, though, in the meantime, both the identity movements themselves, and the arguments against them, have changed. [66]

In the domain of ethnicity, a salient issue is whether ethnic mobilization, mainly the creation of ethnic parties, exacerbates inter-group cleavages or helps solve social malfunctions? The main standpoints started to get outlines in the 1970s. On the one hand, Rabushka and Shepsle (1972) argued that ethnic politicizing leads to conflict (because of a mechanism of "ethnic outbidding," when rival leaders amass popular support by racing to the extreme), while Lijphart's power-sharing schemes have obviously involved political mobilization along ethnic lines. Ishiyama (2009) presents the evolution of the debate up to the 21st century contributions of Chandra (2004), Stroschein (2001),

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[66] A new retrospective of the identity politics movement was published as an edited volume (Alcoff et al. 2006) recently. The introduction portrays the movement as double-faced, involving both practice and theory: "Historically, identity politics has had both an activist and an academic existence. Activists involved in successful social movements, such as the civil rights movement and the women's movement … The idea of identity politics has also been a grounding assumption of the new identity-based scholarly programs [such as] women's studies, black studies, Chicano studies, and other identity-based programs" (p. 2). Within the US context, it seems that both camps, pro- and contra-identity politics camps, are more concerned with their losses than their gains. The Alcoff et al. volume speaks with much bitterness about criticisms of identity politics from both Right and Left. A prominent Right-wing theoretician, Nathan Glazer, at his turn, conceded reluctantly, and with lots of reservations to the fact that "*We Are All Multiculturalists Now.'*

Birnir (2007) and Posner (2004, 2006). Ishiyama himself engages in an empirical analysis of the pertinent data, and does not find support for the claim that ethnic parties cause or exacerbate ethnic conflicts. This finding got further support from Basedau & Moroff (2011), who studied 12 Sub-Saharan countries in order to answer the question of whether the ban on ethnic parties may or may not promote peace. Their conclusion is, simply, that "empirically speaking, hardly any general patterns in the effects of bans can be detected."

Thus, while there is no evidence that either the ethnic parties, or their prohibition, affect the probability of inter-group violence, there is evidence that advanced democratic environments depress inter-group violence. Since advanced consensus democracies do not ban identity-based movements and parties, we have to conclude that allowing for minority political mobilization is beneficial for the inter-group relations. -- Or inversely, that political exclusion of the minorities increases the risk of violence, as Cederman and his co-authors have it.

3 The policy goals or ideals governing institutions and policies pertinent to majority-minority relationship

The institutions and policies pertinent to majority-minority relationship can be said to pursue one of three ideals – though mixed solutions are also possible. The basic policy ideals to choose from are assimilation (e.g. France), civic patriotism (e.g. the US), and multiculturalism (e.g. Canada). A latest nice summary of the pertinent views can be found in Brown (2000), and a review of six early 21st century-books in Joppke (2004). The issue has got lot of limelight in the debates around the emergence of a European identity, as the "thickness" of the common group consciousness is widely believed to be connected to the legitimacy of a polity (Garcia 1993, Jansen 1999). Multiculturalism may be inimical to legitimacy, while civic patriotism (or constitutional patriotism in Habermas's rendition) has to be defended against both false universalist pretensions and anemia in fostering "real" patriotism. A cluster of working papers produced by the ARENA Centre for European Studies gives a good overview of the complex and ramifying dispute (Føllesdal 2000, Fossum 2003a and 2003b, Olsen 2005) which obviously extended onto a much larger segment of the European literature (Delanty 2002, Habermas & Derrida 2003, Bellamy & Castiglione 2004, Herrmann, Risse, & Brewer 2004, Harmsen & Spier-

ing 2005, Risse 2005). Yet, one of the most influential thinkers of the domain is the Canadian Will Kymlicka (1995, 2007).

In the above quoted Kymlicka & Opalski (2001) volume the emphasis was on practical solutions, on whether an arrangement working in a developed Western country may work in less developed environments. Yet, in general, this debate is about values and principles to choose from. It would be nice to be able to design a test for helping the choice among the three basic policy ideals (assimilation, civic-ness, multiculturalism), from the point of view of their impact on inter-group relations. Yet, in this dissertation I will confine to testing the impact of a number of institutional arrangements, without systematically subsuming them under the served policy ideals.

4 Protecting the vulnerable against discrimination and abuse

According to generally accepted norms, a legitimate state cannot discriminate against any group, in any of its functions and services. Further, there is consensus around the fact that a legitimate state should fully protect every citizen against physical, economic, and psychological harm caused by others. But there is no consensus about whether the vulnerable groups should be protected against hate speech, as well. Effective anti-hate speech legislation is often opposed in the name of free speech, and even where such laws are in place, the prosecution of hate crime may be ostensibly uneven and dependent on the demographics of the micro-society. (For instance, King 2008 showed that hate crime prosecutions are fewer in US districts where political conservatism, Christian fundamentalism, and black population size are higher.)

Further, it is less consensual whether the state ought to intervene to protect the victims against discrimination by other groups. Advanced welfare states tend to implement laws targeting equal hiring practices, and they may intervene to prevent housing segregation. Part of these measures, branded as "affirmative action," are also fiercely opposed, such as by US conservatives and individualist-liberals.

More radical solutions aim at redressing the negative conditions attached to the definition of certain groups in order to crush the prejudice that leads to discrimination. In the US socio-psychological literature this idea seems to have first been endorsed by Krech and Crutchfield 1948, who stated that it is not the black skin that leads to prejudice, but the "correlated cues" of poverty, lack of education and low social status. Thus what is important then is to eliminate these "correlated cues." The origins of the idea can

be traced back through Gunnar Myrdal's 1944 work to a social-democratic theoretical tradition, sensitive to the socio-economic differences between groups, which likens the relations between communal groups to relations between classes. A recent adoption of the principle that economic emancipation should be part of combating prejudice and discrimination, is the initiative for Roma integration called "Decade of Roma inclusion 2005-2015," launched by 10 East European countries, now including 11 Eastern countries plus Spain. As their website states, "the Decade focuses on the priority areas of education, employment, health, and housing, and commits governments to take into account the other core issues of poverty, discrimination, and gender mainstreaming." The initiative is institutionally innovative, as well. Except for the indigenous peoples, there have not been international joint ventures to address the plight of an ethnic group, and the public--private cooperation in minority affairs has been a rarity thus far, as well.[67]

Conclusions

The literature on inter-group relations is, euphemistically formulated, interdisciplinary, and critically formulated, fragmented across several fields and sub-fields of social science. The practical output of the inter-group studies, the concrete policy proposals, can be shown to be scattered by the differences of the causal beliefs fostered by the researchers. The normative ideals governing the academia in this field are not polarized, and even tend toward consensus in the major issues, such as rejecting practices of eliminating diversity and hardline assimilationism, but the opposition to positive discrimination on behalf of minorities is still strong.

All major traditions of the quest for the causes of intra-state violence, such as Gurr et al., Stewart (2008), and Fearon & Laitin (2003), suggest that the explanation of inter-group conflict should be multi-causal, and actually, the diverse factors contributing to its occurrence may be intricately and idiosyncratically interrelated. Whichever we think is the main explanatory variable, we have to allow for the impact of the country's economic development level, political institutions, opportunities of the groups for mobilizing,

[67]   "The Decade is an international initiative that brings together governments, intergovernmental and nongovernmental organizations, as well as Romani civil society, to accelerate progress toward improving the welfare of Roma and to review such progress in a transparent and quantifiable way."

and the country's communal group structure (size of the groups, regional concentration, cultural distances, overlapping versus cross-cutting cleavages). In addition, beyond all these externalized-objectified features of the social world, some ideational factors, ideologies and group consciousnesses or identities, may have their impact.

With regard to my own proposal about the role of economic inequality in the explanation of inter-group hostility, the political science standpoints can be summed up as:

- the "EI-PC nexus" has more often been challenged, than endorsed;
- there is no established theory of horizontal economic inequalities as different from vertical economic inequalities;[68]
- the larger topic of inter-group relations is regularly narrowed down to minority-majority relations, mainly in in cross-national studies;
- the deliberate discriminative practices of a group against another are deemed more consequential than the fact of economic inequality, and
- the impact of a number of other factors has successfully been supported[69] while that of economic inequality has a mixed if not predominantly negative record.

In addition, the policy proposals pertinent to managing diversity suffer from a basic theoretical schism that may be referred to with the names of Lijphart and Horowitz. The lack of unitary expert standpoints is painful in a number of issues more distantly connected with this power-sharing versus integrationist controversy, as well, such as multiculturalism, ethnic parties, and regulation of hate speech.

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[68] The first well-known political science paper referring to the role of horizontal economic inequalities in bringing about violent conflict is dated from November 2011. Cederman et al. included this explanatory principle in their paper, so that it completes the impact of the political inequality factor, with express reference to the Stewart 2008 volume.

[69] For instance, convincing proofs have been provided by (i) Montalvo & Reynal-Querol (2002) on behalf of the country's group structure that they call "polarization," and is shown to be a better predictor of conflict than fractionalization as such; (ii) Fearon & Laitin (2003) on behalf of a group of explanatory variables which with they measured the opportunity for insurrection (mountainous terrain, masses of unemployed young males, weak state authority, regional concentration); (iii) Reynal-Querol (2005) on behalf of the regime type, and going beyond the democracy-authoritarianism dichotomy, she tested for the inclusiveness of the political institution, pitting proportional representation against majoritarian arrangements; (iv) Cederman & Girardin (2005) on behalf of what may be referred to as "ethno-political opportunity structures" or "ethnic power relations," and intends to capture the opportunity of minority groups to seek political redress to their grievances in non-violent ways. In a way, most of these hypotheses have been anticipated in Gurr et al. (1993) that tested, successfully, three groups of *explanans*, collective disadvantage, group identity, and repressive control, tracing their impact through opportunities for political mobilization, and not neglecting the impact of economic development, either.

Though I will try to situate my assumptions and my methods in the larger written theoretical environment, the main task of the following chapters is to establish the causal status of inter-group economic inequality, embedded in a model that tries to account for all major explanatory variables promoted in the literature.

From this perspective, the most important conclusions from the literature review are that there is, on the other hand, serious theoretical support for the impact of economic inequality on inter-group relations in the social psychology literature, and there is both theoretical and empirical support for this impact in sociology and development economics.

Chapter 3.

Hypotheses and Model

The previous chapter presented the extensive, but academically fragmented literature on the causes of inter-group hostility and violence. It concluded that there is considerable agreement about the sphere of potential factors leading to hostility, and about the necessity of multi-causal explanations, while part of the literature emphasizes the importance of the idiosyncratic structuring of the factors, as well.

In the domain of political science, inter-group economic inequality has failed to establish itself as a serious *explanans* and an unavoidable control variable thus far. This dissertation tries to piece together the theoretical arguments substantiating the creed that economic inequality breeds inter-group conflict, which was termed the "EI—PC nexus" by Lichbach (1989)[70], and will try to find convincing empirical evidence for this connection, as well, in the next chapters.

Social psychology and sociology are more supportive of the EI—PC nexus, than political science is. Their specific disciplinary focus and conceptual tools allow for a very different framing of this relationship, and I think that these cognitive frames may be profitably applied within political science, as well. The literature review in the previous chapter has shown that sociology makes the distinction between inter-group (horizontal) and inter-individual (vertical) inequality, which facilitates the application of social psychology's findings about group markers and group dynamics to the issue. Simply put, concern with inter-group disparity, as a group marker, refocuses political science's old conjecture about the impact of economic inequality from poverty-induced rebellions onto group competition issues. Class-based theories speak about the fight of the poor against the rich, and typically, they expect all poor people, without regard to their communal features, to join in - as the "workers of the world, unite" call has it. Yet, if unequal economic

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[70] "Economic inequality breeds political conflict."

status is fused with easily noticeable communal group markers, poor people may fight other poor people who are perceived to belong to a communal group with a different *average* wealth. The pure utilitarian logic is diverted by a group stereotyping logic. In the light of what we know about the spell of group loyalties on our minds, and our predilection for acting upon "satisficing" pieces of information, not complete knowledge, this is not an anomaly, but rather the norm for the *zoon politikon*.[71]

Since the theoretical arguments of social psychology and sociology have previously been presented, this chapter will focus on sharpening the claims and framing them into a broader model explaining the occurrence of inter-group hostility and inter-group violence.

Yet, before setting up the model and embarking on the large-N cross-national empirical test of it, I would like to refer to three contemporaneouscases that support my assumptions. The amount of violence involved in these is much below their qualifying for inclusion in the Uppsala Conflict Database (or UCDP-PRIO database), but nevertheless, they are about inter-group hostility that brings about human suffering and fatalities. It is very likely, that social psychology and sociology have grown more welcoming toward the EI—PC hypothesis because they study phenomena that normally remain under the radar of the political science explanations of violent conflict of scale. These cases of low-intensity violence may reveal more about the microcosmic mechanisms of increasing hostility, than fully-fledged group conflicts where the group boundaries have already stiffened to impermeable. I hope that the selected cases will convincingly illustrate that economic inequality is consequential for inter-group relations, and I also count on their guidance with regard to delimiting the circumstances within which inter-group violence occurs. That is, a number of concrete cases may help to select the control variables for my model. Of the three cases, one is based on personal experience, and two are cases reported in the literature, which have received confirmation from a number of concurrent observations. Two concern minorities who have become significantly poorer than their majorities, and their relative pauperization was accompanied by increasing animosity against them. One is the case of a successful advantaged minority, which has become the target of either discriminative economic policies or popular hatred, or both. That is,

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[71] Herbert Simon's bounded rationality, and the prospect theory of Kahneman & Tversky seem to reinforce this opinion.

the three stories are about the Roma in East Europe, the Blacks in Cuba, and the Chinese diaspora in South-East Asia.

Three Cases Supporting the EI-PC Nexus

1 Roma in East Europe

Most East European countries have significant percentages of Roma population, up to an estimated 7-10% in Romania, Hungary, Bulgaria, and Slovakia[72]. Official population figures regularly promote much smaller numbers of Roma than scholarly estimates. On the one hand, Roma are hard to find during censuses, many of them lacking stable and visible accommodations within the official residential areas, and on the other hand, large proportions of Roma declare themselves as belonging to other groups than Roma. Their reasons to do so are probably mixed. Fear from extremists can be expected to play a large role, but real identity crises may be another. During communism, Roma were expected to assimilate, and the assimilation policies offered, uncontestably, real chances for getting ahead in the society.

We can and should distinguish between integration and assimilation, as policies toward minority communal groups. Integration is the ideal of a multicultural society, which does not want to erase the cultural differences among the constituent groups, but aims at assuring their economic and political equality. Assimilationist countries impose cultural homogeneity, and political equality in these polities is defined in individualist terms, not as the equality of groups. Most assimilationisms, such as in France, are blind toward the group economic inequality issue. This was not the case with the communist assimilationism. To their credit, they promised not only political, but economic equality too, to those who played by the rules of the regime.

The Roma started from very disadvantaged positions at the end of the Second World War, devastated by the Nazi genocide, as well, in addition to their historically marginalized status. For centuries, they were denied personal freedom in the countries

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[72] An extensive book has been published in English by Barany, Zoltan D. (2002), which includes a plethora of statistical and historical information on this issue. I use the term Roma for both the singular and the plural form of the demonym, as in the Romani language Roma is plural. But I have met the "Romas" version, as well.

where they immigrated during the Middle Ages, and in the Romanian principalities, for instance, they were set legally free after 1854 only. In Central and West Europe they often suffered from bloody pogroms and forcible sedentarization; in the Balkan areas under direct Ottoman rule, they fell in a second-class category of "infidels." Without any property in real estate, either land to cultivate, or house to dwell in, they lived on seasonal agricultural work, migrant artisanship, and occasional musical performance. With the turmoil of wars behind, and the rigid communist administration strengthening, the Roma lost both the opportunity to freely move and camp in unsupervised countryside, and their sources of revenue – except for music. What the communist state could offer to them, in exchange, was free education, cheap housing, and stable workplace in developing industries. Since education and work needed the use of the official language, and housing meant sedentarization, all these came as a strong assimilationist package. On the positive side, they helped large masses out of poverty, and, obviously, there were no restrictions on the use of the Roma languages in private life, while Roma music was widely accepted by the population and promoted by the states' official cultural policies.

Before the fall of communism, Roma presence at any level of the social hierarchy was nothing unusual. There were large numbers of educated Roma in higher-level intellectual positions, at universities, state and party apparatus, and in the arts. Significant amount of inter-marriage also happened, contributing to a vanishing Gipsy group consciousness. As an East European specificity, Roma sometimes tended to assimilate to another minority group, not to the state majority. For instance, in Romania, Hungarian school classes usually had a few Roma students, as well, whose family spoke Hungarian at home, rather than Romanian or Romany.

Yet, the social integration of the Roma was far from complete in 1989. Though most of them had regular paid jobs (in Hungary, for instance, an estimated 70%), they were overrepresented in the lowest qualified jobs, and their educational attainment, as well as health records, were much lower than that of other groups.

In the economic domain, the fall of communism meant the collapse of the previous economic structures, and a decade-long recession, the economies getting back to their pre-transition output levels in the new century only. The first to be shut down were the communist-era industrial giants, which employed the most unskilled labor. Urban unemployment soared, forcing out many people from the cheap communal housing and pushing them toward the countryside where plots of land became available from the dis-

banding of the communist-era cooperatives. Yet, the Roma were not among those who could prove any entitlement to plots of land. Most of them had a choice between the life of urban paupers and rural ghetto dwellers.

Unfortunately, the "most of them" is not exaggerated. We have both national and international data on the life of Roma, which support this claim.

In the 2000s, the UNDP conducted two waves of research on East European Roma, the results of which are publicly available at http://vulnerability.undp.sk/.

The situation typical for most of the countries taking part in the survey (including former Yugoslavia and Albania) is that reflected in Table_3.1 on Bulgaria and Romania:

Table 3.1:   Economic situation of Roma in Bulgaria and Romania

Roma population	Bulgaria	Romania
Below $4.30 (PPP) per day poverty line		
Income-based poverty rate	49	67
Expenditure-based poverty rate	46	66
Below national poverty lines		
Income-based poverty rate	70	63
Expenditure-based poverty rate	69	62
Share of population not having access to		
essential drugs	75	77
secure housing	33	29
improved sanitation	81	88
improved water source	10	68

The UNDP results on Hungary are, unfortunately, underestimating the poverty of the Roma:

Table 3.2:   Economic situation of Roma in the Czech Republic and Hungary

Roma population	Czech Republic	Hungary
Below $11 (PPP) per day poverty line		
Income-based poverty rate	25	
Expenditure-based poverty rate	45	
Below $4.30 (PPP) per day poverty line		
Income-based poverty rate		8
Expenditure-based poverty rate		9
Share of population not having access to		
essential drugs	27	74
secure housing	14	36
improved sanitation	10	46
improved water source	8	34

In these countries the rates below the national poverty line were not recorded, and in Hungary the lower international threshold of $4.30 was applied instead of the $11 threshold applied in the Czech Republic. For sure, the material standing of Roma is better in the Czech Republic, than in Hungary. In Hungary, the below-$4.3 per day is the deep poverty level, not the "total poverty" category.

It seems that the "access to improved sanitation" indicator comes closest to the experienced poverty. Two Hungarian researchers conducted a three-country survey based on random samples of Roma and Non-Roma in 2000, following a previous round of similar surveys carried out by them in 1988.[73] In all three countries, poverty increased during these years, for Non-Roma too, but much more for Roma. Table_3.3 below summarizes their findings from the two rounds. In Hungary, the most well-off country of the three, 16% of Roma classified themselves as poor or very poor in 1988, and 49.5% classified themselves as poor and very poor in 2000.

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[73]   Ladányi János & Szelényi Iván 2002: "Romas and poor in Hungary, Romania, and Bulgaria", *Szociológiai Szemle* [Sociological Review] 2002/4. 72–94.

Table 3.3:   Economic situation of Roma compared to that of non-Roma

Country	Year	Sample	Very poor (%)	Poor (%)	Not poor (%)	Total (#)
Bulgaria	1988	Non Roma	1.3	6.6	92.1	808
		Roma	15.0	23.6	61.4	435
	2000	Non Roma	13.4	38.4	48.2	901
		Roma	66.7	27.3	6.0	557
Hungary	1988	Non Roma	2.3	3.3	94.4	871
		Roma	7.4	8.6	84.0	428
	2000	Non Roma	6.1	11.3	82.6	902
		Roma	21.4	28.1	50.5	459
Romania	1988	Non Roma	4.8	12.7	82.5	825
		Roma	16.7	17.1	66.2	294
	2000	Non Roma	15.5	27.5	57.0	997
		Roma	51.7	23.0	23.3	397

Though the East European economies came out of the prolonged recession and reached the pre-transition GDPs in the early 2000s, the poverty rates have not really subsided, and they definitely did not in the case of Roma. In general, accession to the EU and sporadic periods of leftist governing mitigated both poverty of and expression of hostility toward Roma, but this later spiraled out from any state control. The everyday experience of the Roma became one of discrimination and persecution. In 2008, the Human Rights First advocacy group dedicated a special edition to hate crimes against Roma[74], which speaks about widespread popular hostility and governmental inactivity toward or complicity with prejudiced attacks on Roma:

"Roma, like members of other visible minorities, routinely suffer assaults in city streets and other public places as they travel to and from homes, workplaces, and mar-kets. … These widespread patterns of violence are sometimes directed both at causing immediate harm to Roma—without distinction between adults, the elderly, and small children—and physically eradicating the presence of Roma in towns and cities in several European countries. …The principal reports of harassment against Roma concern abu-sive treatment by agents of governments, [such as] police ill-treatment.-. … The lan-guage of public discourse on Roma in Europe regularly refers to the *expulsion* of Roma, to *evictions,* to the *dismantling* of settlements, to the *destruction* of Roma homes and

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[74]   Violence against Roma and Sinti: 2008 Hate Crime Survey,
http://www.humanrightsfirst.org/wp-content/uploads/pdf/fd-080924-roma-web.pdf

communities, to wholesale *incarceration*, or the *deportation* of Roma as a national objec-tive. … Popular language concerning Roma is also rife with terms reflecting stereotypes portraying Roma as *untrustworthy*, *dishonest*, *dirty*, *lazy*, *violent*, and often as *criminals*, *thieves*, or *kidnappers."*

If express violence is occasionally (but, unfortunately, more and more often) claiming the lives of some Roma, discrimination is the silent killer that prevents Roma from breaking the vicious circle of poverty. Out of two equally poor and similarly educat-ed people, the Roma are always less likely to find housing outside the ghettos, and less likely to find long-term employment, than the non-Roma.

In addition, their average educational attainment is clearly inferior to the non-Roma averages. The UNDP survey compared Roma to people belonging to the majority "living in the proximity of the Roma." In general, this means poorer segments of the ma-jority population; but exceptions may be suspected, for instance in case of the city-dweller Roma. The neighborhoods where they live may be close to well-established neighborhoods – though in East Europe an oft-used solution in these cases has been to erect a wall between the two segments of the town. Table_3.4 summarizes the findings of the UNDP survey relative to the education attainment of Roma as compared to the education of majority population living in their close proximity:

Table 3.4:   Education of Roma compared to that of non-Roma

Population above 6 years	Roma versus majority population living in proximity to Roma	
	No education beyond 4yrs primary	More than high-school
Albania	70 vs 14 %	0 vs 18 %
Bulgaria	44 vs 7 %	0 vs 16 %
Bosnia & Herzegovina	65 vs 14 %	0 vs 18 %
Croatia	49 vs 16 %	1 vs 21 %
Hungary	26 vs 12 %	1 vs 8 %
Kosovo	58 vs 21 %	0 vs 8 %
Macedonia	43 vs 15 %	0 vs 16 %
Montenegro	71 vs 8 %	0 vs 26 %
Romania	62 vs 24 %	0 vs 12 %
Serbia	46 vs 12 %	2 vs 26 %

The "No education beyond 4 yrs primary" includes cases of no schooling at all, and, as an increasing problem, years completed in special schools for the mentally

handicapped. This is probably the most pervasive form of school segregation in East Europe, though other forms practically unknown in the communist times, have also developed. There are private schools without Roma students, as they cannot pay the tuition. There are schools in better-off neighborhoods unavailable for the Roma living far away, and the schoolbus has not been institutionalized in East Europe. And there are the "special schools" with substantially reduced curriculum, where the Roma are heavily overrepresented and the majorities underrepresented. In 2007, in a high profile court case against the Czech Republic, the Open Society Institute supporting the eighteen applicants before the European Court of Human Rights[75], highlighted the reality of ethnicity based school segregation based on convincing statistics. According to these, in 1999, in the Czech city of Ostrava:

- "Over half of Roma children were placed in 'special schools.'
- Over half of the students in 'special schools' were Roma.
- Any randomly chosen Roma child was more than 27 times more likely to be placed in a 'special school' than a non-Roma child."

Even where Roma children managed to avoid the trap of placement in 'special schools,' they were most often enrolled in substandard and predominantly Roma urban ghetto schools."

Though the decision of the European Court of Human Rights was favorable to Roma, the school segregation is not over in East Europe, and in certain countries, the problem may be still aggravating. The fully integrated education would need much more than the tolerant predisposition of the majority. Most Roma children start the school from a disadvantaged position, for instance, with little proficiency in the majority language. Their regular attendance is jeopardized by lack of clothes and means of transportation, as well as by health issues. As they repeat classes and become older than their class-

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[75] http://www.soros.org/initiatives/justice/litigation/czechrepublic, D.H. and Others v. Czech Republic

mates, their hostility toward school and teachers may take violent expressions. And the girls often quit their studies to give birth in their early teens.[76]

We fail to really quantify the amount of hostility against Roma in order to draw a historical trajectory of it. For sure, indiscriminate hate attacks on Roma families have not happened under the communist rule. School segregation was minimal, as there were no private schools, and the communist state did not like to invest in "special schools" – preferred to include everybody in the regular ones, which seemed a cheaper solution. Intergroup relations were smoother also because the "lazy" and "criminal" stereotypes could not take hold on minds – the Roma lifestyle was much closer to that of the majority: they held jobs, and had legal incomes.

The authorities in the East European countries are often accused of fostering prejudice and acting prejudicially against Roma. What is less known is that they are often accused by their own majority for not protecting the interests of those for whom the co-existence with Roma has become very difficult. Yet, the success of extremist movements and parties is often rooted in this type of discontent. The debates around Sears' term of *symbolic racism* in the US literature show how hard is to distinguish between rejecting someone for their skin color, and rejecting someone for their irritating behavior. Living on welfare is certainly something irritating all taxpayers, mainly those who make little money themselves, too; and this is often increased with petty, but constantly recurring thefts, and sending their children sick and dirty to school.[77]

Officials in East Europe seem to be caught between the legitimate ideals of anti-discrimination, and the fact that a large number of majority complaints against Roma cannot be dismissed as false and racist. To their credit, they have realized that the way out is closing the economic gap between majorities and the Roma – while simultaneously maintaining the anti-discrimination standards. In 2005, Bulgaria, Croatia, the Czech Republic, Hungary, Macedonia, Montenegro, Romania, Serbia, and Slovakia signed a

[76] There is an ongoing dispute around the fact of whether the early-age marriages are a cultural feature of the ethnic group to be preserved, or a feature of the "culture of poverty," both as result of loose social control and as means of obtaining more welfare money. For sure, the age for marriage and childbirth is strongly correlated with the overall wellbeing of the human groups. With rising welfare, the number of births per woman decrease, while her age at first pregnancy increase from themselves, without any constraint added.

[77] Violent crime was neither typical nor typically attributed to Roma until the last 10-15 years, but lately the number of victims of alcohol-fueled quarrels, robberies, and burglaries turning violent, is on rise.

joint declaration launching the Decade of Roma Inclusion: 2005-2015.[78] (Albania joined the initiative in 2008.) Progress is supervised by DecadeWatch, and the initiative's website acknowledges the support from a long list of institutions, such as The World Bank, UNDP, UNICEF, Council of Europe, a number of Roma organizations and the Open Society Foundation.

But the way to economic emancipation of the Roma will be long and hard; 2015 cannot be its end, by any measure, but, at most, a promising beginning. As of 2011, two of every three Hungarians think that there is a "big tension" between Hungarians and Roma (68% of the respondents, as compared to 52% believing that there is a big tension between poor and rich).[79]

2 Blacks in Cuba

This story was brought into the light of scholarly investigation by Jacob Meerman, in a book published in 2009[80]. The book elaborates on the concept of *stigmatized, ranked, ethnic, low-status, involuntary minorities (SRELIM)*, and African Cubans are one example of five such groups surveyed in the book. The other four are India's Dalits, the US Blacks, Japan's Burakumin, and Bolivia's Aymara and Quechua. Meerman emphasizes that they are involuntary minorities. On the one hand, they did not want to come into contact with what is now their majority: their ancestors were either conquered or enslaved against their will. On the other hand, today they would like to blend in in the larger society, but this is very hard.

The book's sixth chapter is entitled: "The Afro-Cuban story: a brief success." It claims that between 1959 and 1989, the Afro-Cubans achieved complete parity with whites with regard to education, job status and income, the only one differentiating aspect remaining was their higher deviance levels. We may take for granted that the education levels were high indeed, a 1997 standardized tests conducted by pan-American and UNESCO organs showed Cuban students being much better at both mathematical

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[78] http://www.romadecade.org/decade_watch
[79] TARKI Omnibusz 2011.
[80] Socio-economic mobility and low-status minorities: slow roads to progress

and linguistic skills than their peers from 12 other Latin American countries.[81] Meerman's explanation of how the racial gap was so smoothly closing within a few decades involves a historical account. Blacks in Catholic countries were not "dehumanized" so much as in the US, actually they were in ascension before Castro came into power. They supported the revolution and the fast communist-style economic growth helped them achieving parity with the lighter color Cubans. The state promoted color-blindness ("ni clase, ni raza"), and the state's ways changed the folkways, informal private discrimination was reduced to imperceptible by 1990.

Yet, since 1991, when Cuba embarked on a liberalizing course, the gap has been opening up again. The reason lies in the existence of some hidden social advantages of whites, which passed unnoticed before liberalization, but have become highly consequential later. For instance, white citizens were allocated community housing in more desirable neighborhoods than their black counterparts. When it came about opening a shop or renting out the extra living space, the better placed real estate brought much more revenue for whites than for blacks. Whites also tend to have more overseas connections, relatives and friends, who could help them in several ways, with remittances, and capital to establish and run a business. With the opening gap, the almost-completely absent stigmatization of Afro-Cubans as lazy and prone to addiction made a comeback. There is, also, new evidence for discriminating against the Afro-Cubans in employment and education.

Their workplace disadvantages come from the sectoral particularities of the Cuban economy. In the traditional industrial sectors, developed under communist rule, Blacks achieved parity. Yet, in the newly emerging service sectors, in tourism and foreign trade, whites have obtained the higher echelons and more profitable jobs: "blacks and mestizos are overrepresented among professionals and technicians in the traditional sector and underrepresented in the emergent sector and among managers, which suggests that their low presence in these sectors is not due to lack of skills" (Espina Prieto

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[81] Willms & Somers 2001 state that "one of the most prominent findings of the First Report was the remarkable success of Cuba: its average test scores were about two standard deviations above the Regional mean in both reading and mathematics" (p.411). The cross-national test was applied in Argentina, Bolivia, Brazil, Colombia, Costa Rica, Cuba, Chile, Honduras, Mexico, Paraguay, Peru, the Dominican Republic, and Venezuela, and entailed testing over 50,000 grade 3 and 4 pupils. This test is sometimes referred to as PEIC-UNESCO (Primer Estudio Internacional Comparativo) and other times as LLECE (Laboratorio Latinoamericano de Evaluacion de la Calidad de la Educacion) test.

et al. 2010). Also, "in tourism, blacks and mestizos are concentrated in internal support jobs that do not bring them into direct contact with tourists," that is, they do not get tips, which in services are a very substantial part of the realized revenue. Here the workings of either prejudice, or in-group favoritism can clearly be seen. The decision makers favoring whites for direct-contact jobs are either convinced that tourists prefer being attended by white people, or simply reward their own nieces and the friends' nieces with the most coveted jobs such as tourist guide and stewardess, for instance.

Discrimination in education is harder to support with hard statistical data, since the pure school enrollment figures may be misleading. Beyond enrollment, it is the quality of the education and the market value of the diplomas that make the difference. But the overall tertiary enrollment reveals some group disparities. It has been shown that in 2004, whites were clearly overrepresented in the day-time higher education. The admission rate of the white test-takers was 70% as compared to 51% of the black test takers, and 57% of the Mestizo test takers.[82] At its turn, the gap in the admission test performance may be explained with the quality of the high schools attended previously, and the family support.

Actually, there has already been a relatively extended sociological literature on the changing racial relations in Cuba, in both English and Spanish. I have relied here on English-language sources, such as the Meerman book, a couple of English publications of Cuban scholars, and an electronically available synopsis of Esteban Morales Domínguez, written to his book of 2008[83], which highlights the lack of publications on race in Cuba for the last 45 years, but also draws attention to the increasing scholarly and popular interest in it over the last few years.

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[82]   Rodrigo Espina Prieto: "The racial perspective in equity studies in Cuba," Seminar paper, UNDP/IPC, Brasilia, January 2007. Not meant for circulation, but the data is credited to González, Niuva (2006). *Familia, racialidad y educación.* Trabajo de Diploma, Departamento de Sociología, Universidad de La Habana (Inédito) – and it is convergent with survey results from Espina Prieto et al. 2010, whose subjects claimed that admission to university is harder for blacks.

[83]   Challenges of the racial problem in Cuba, published by the Casa de la Fundación Don Fernando Ortiz, the Introduction is posted at http://etnocuba.ucr.edu/?p=143.

3 Chinese Diaspora in South-East Asia

Amy Chua's 2002 book has been a statement against the creed informing the policies promoted by the US since the 1970s, *"the assumption that markets and democracy go hand in hand."* Uniquely in this book, this assumption is challenged on purely empirical grounds, not in the name of a rival social theory, such as Marxism, Third Worldism, or Keynesianism, which have not ceased criticizing it for decades. Chua pulls together hundreds of empirical facts with the intent to show the failure of the free-marketeer doctrine in ethnically heterogeneous countries – and the rough reality is that all of the developing world is ethnically heterogeneous. Of the communal heterogeneity cases, Chua is interested in those in which an advantaged minority is economically definitely better placed than the country's majority or plurality population, which may control the politics in fully democratic conditions. She marshals examples for this combination from all continents (except West Europe and North America), but her personal experience lies with the case of Chinese diaspora in South-East Asia. Below there are two excerpts summing up Chua's main thesis:

"The point, rather, is this. In the numerous countries around the world that have pervasive poverty and a market-dominant minority, democracy and markets— at least in the form in which they are currently being promoted— can proceed only in deep tension with each other. "

"When free market democracy is pursued in the presence of a market-dominant minority, the almost invariable result is backlash. This backlash typically takes one of three forms. The first is a backlash against markets, targeting the market-dominant minority's wealth. The second is a backlash against democracy by forces favorable to the market-dominant minority. The third is violence, sometimes genocidal, directed against the market-dominant minority itself."

I think Chua is right that market liberalization in the presence of a highly market-advantaged minority may have only the three outcomes portrayed above. Yet, I do not completely agree with the way she conceptualizes democracy. Here as in most parts of her book, democracy is equal with "free market democracy," that is, only democracy that promotes economic free-marketeer orthodoxy (à la Reagan and Thatcher) are considered democracy. Yet, Chua's argument includes the claim that West Europe and North America followed other development paths than those that they want to impose on the Third World now. This past definitely includes egalitarian and equalizing economic poli-

cies (land-reform, Marxism, social democracy, Keynesianism). Should we claim that the US during the New Deal or Sweden in the second half of the 20th century were not democratic?

Applying a more general notion of democracy, and also assuming that in a democratic state the economic policies will serve the majority, the three outcomes described by Chua can be formulated as:

(i) Democracy triumphs, the country's ethnic plurality or majority implements equalizing economic policies, and ends the minority's market-dominance.

(ii) Democracy fails, the country's market-dominant minority imposes a plutocratic rule.

(iii) The state fails, state authorities cannot stop violence against the market-dominant minority.

There are, obviously, some overlapping and intermediate cases, as all the above processes take time to unfold. When democracy is established but slow in transferring market positions from the advantaged minority toward the majority, pogroms and crime against the former may still occur. One possible happy ending is when the dominant minority blends in the majority, as it has happened, for instance, in Thailand. Policies aiming at equalizing the groups' material standing may greatly precipitate this.

Unfortunately, a collusion of the assimilated market-dominant minority with the majority elite may as well lead to plutocratic rule as the machinations of an unassimilated market-dominant minority on its own. In the first case, however, the issue can be conceptualized in simple class-struggle ideologies, no ethnic/communal overtones are necessarily emerging.

Yet the existence of a market-advantaged, or simply, rich, minority, invites ethnic/communal hostility in all parts of the world, not only in poor developing countries. We do not see this today in West Europe, but it was only 78 years ago, that the most murderous genocide of all times took off with the – democratic! - election of Hitler into power.

We still fail to realize how deep the poverty of the majority, and how wide the wealth gap between the groups have to be in order to trigger inter-group violence. Peter Glick, in his "Choice of Scapegoats"[84], seems confident enough that the scholarship's findings about the mechanism of scapegoating explain pogroms and genocide against

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[84]   In Dovidio et al. 2005.

"successful" minorities, but notices that lethal hostility may outlast the conditions that originally induced them. The Holocaust stretched on for 15 years, much beyond after Hitler put, first, margarine, and later (after conquering a few West European countries) butter, on the table of the Germans. And the genocide continued after the victory over the French, as well.

Glick's account of social psychology's explanation of aggression against "successful" minorities (such as Armenians and Tutsies, besides the Jews) emphasizes that scapegoating occurs (i) when the aggressor group suffers a frustration/trauma as a group; (ii) when the aggressor group experiences severe life conditions and relative deprivation; (iii) when the scapegoated group is perceived as powerful and malevolent, that is, some power to harm the aggressor group can be believably attributed to them, besides their intention to do so.

These conditions seem to go farther than the "simple" economic gap emphasized in Chua's account. Yet, Chua also warns the reader, that it is not poverty alone that turns the poor majorities against wealthy minorities. "Poverty by itself does not make people kill. To poverty must be added indignity, hopelessness, and grievance" (Chua 2002, Introduction).

Unfortunately, poverty in unequal societies invites and generates indignity and hopelessness by itself. Being poor among the wealthy is a life-long experience of inferiority, if not outright humiliation, for everybody except the monks and nuns choosing poverty on purpose. Belonging to the middle class and being inferior to the upper class is tolerable only because there are others inferior to the middle class… As for hopelessness, people in the developing countries are much less optimistic about the power of market to generate well-being and make the wealth trickle down, than the Americans are, for instance. The developing countries have a long record of opposing the Washington Consensus packages, because they don't trust "free" markets to make them catch up with the wealthier. Typically, they place their hopes in political action, domestic and international, rather than in the Invisible Hand, to improve their lot, even if the scope of political action is limited in the presence of hegemonic powers. As for the developed world, there were series of rebellions, revolutions, civil wars, and centuries of labor movement enforcing those equalizing measures that make them "welfare states" today.

4 The Commonalities

In all three cases above, inter-ethnic tensions are associated with economic inequality between the groups. The distance between them may be either on behalf of the majority or to their detriment, the tension invariably occurs.

The aim of this dissertation is to support that the co-variance of the two phenomena expresses a causal relationship between them. From this perspective, the case of the advantaged minority is the simplest. We either admit that inequality causes the inter-group hostility, or deny the existence of the latter; in no way can hostility cause inter-group inequality. Disadvantaged minorities, however, may become poorer due to the hostility of the majority, as actualized in discriminative policies and behavior. Here the causal arrows may run both ways, in addition to the third possibility of denying the existence of inter-group hostility. This latter happens when (i) political science does not pay attention to low intensity hostility at all; (ii) takes "grievances" for either greed or manipulated group consciousness (Collier & Hoeffler 2004, Fearon & Laitin 2003); and (iii) expects group grievances to disappear with the creation of cross-cutting identities (Horowitz 1985). Within the limits of the reasonably feasible, my research design aims at addressing these concerns by (i) formulating the dependent variables to have measures of lower intensity hostility, as well; (ii) controlling for the "manipulated group consciousness" hypothesis; (iii) comparing the impact of the power-sharing and Horowitzian institutions. I do not deny the possibility that majority hostile behavior worsens the condition of the minority, but my emphasis will be on highlighting the strength of the other sense impact, from economic inequality to inter-group hostility.[85]

The last possible causal explanation would be that a third omitted factor causes both inequality and hostility. We would be very happy to have an overarching explanation of what causes economic inequality between groups! Unfortunately, such a unique explanation does not exist and cannot exist. For diverse groups around the world, there are different factors contributing to their relative poverty, and most of them are of a really

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[85] There are no serious reasons to conduct a full-fledged comparison of the two directions of impact, such as with a technique of simultaneous equations. A number of historical and theoretical reasons buttress the absolute dominance of the "from inequality toward hostility" direction above the opposite. Empirically, MAR's ECDIS variable codes 31 groups out of the 762 in the MAR_EPR_MI dataset as suffering from economically oppressive policies, and most cases can be shown to exacerbate pre-existing economic gaps, rather than to create them.

big, historical scale. There is, for instance, the lack of industrial development in most of the world in the 16th century, when Europe started its expansion. Colonialism aggravated the inherited economic disparity of whole continents, while conquest, slavery and colonial politics brought about deep differences of wealth and status of the communal groups in most countries. On a smaller scale, regions within the same country might have experienced different development rates and paths, as result of natural endowments and catastrophes, exposure to foreign conquests, or presence of social capital, as suggested by Putnam. Finally, on the basis of pre-existing smaller differences in resources, unleashed market conditions may induce polarization of wealth, an effect denied by market fundamentalists, but endorsed by all brands of non-orthodox economics.

Beyond the association of economic inequality and inter-group hostility, the three case examples may reveal some further details of this relationship, and guide the selection of the control variables, as well.

The comparison of Roma and Afro-Cubans may also suggest that the magnitude of inter-group hostility co-varies with the economic distance between the groups, that is, the larger the economic gap, the more hostility there is. The cases of Roma and of Chinese show that the occurrence of murderous impulses against other groups does not necessarily need such a historical-scale national trauma, as those suffered by Turks and Germans at the conclusion of the First World War. Nor do they need an economic depression as deep as the one experienced by Germany in 1929-1933. Actually, inter-group hostility may develop even in conditions when the economy, generally speaking, is not in a downward spiral or serious trouble, but inequality is experienced as increasing. However unfortunate this may be for the real-world developments, methodologically it is good news, as it absolves us from controlling for "national traumas." The various circumstances in which the inter-group tension occurs include a number of continents, countries with very different historical trajectories, and groups with different status on the indigenous--immigrant scale[86].

The kind and the degree of the distance between the groups in these three cases, however, do not cover the whole possible spectrum. On the one hand, there is racial, but no linguistic, or cultural difference between Afro-Cubans and Cubans. On the other

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[86] Blacks in Cuba are at parity with whites on this scale, while the Roma are many-century old immigrants, and the Chinese relatively new immigrants.

hand, there is both racial, and cultural difference between Chinese and the Filipinos and Malays. Roma are situated in-between, they are racially different, but culturally half-assimilated to their majorities. Other possible combinations are, for instance, cultural difference without racial difference, and even discrimination and hatred without definite racial, linguistic, or religious group markers, such as in the case of Japan's Burakumin, and Rwanda's Tutsis. Yet the variation that exists on these communal measures in the three cases does not indicate any strong impact of the "group structure" indicators, which, hopefully, may simplify the analyses.

I believe that the examples above reinforce the hopes that a cross-national, world-wide analysis of the minority-majority relations is able to highlight the impact of a few factors, even if each individual case is governed by idiosyncratic causal complexes.

The Explanatory Model

Though scholars of inter-group conflict diverge in their choice of the main explanatory variable, they greatly concur about the sphere of determinants that should be taken into consideration. We may find the same basic concerns in the work of the MAR theorists, of the utilitarian approach of Fearon & Laitin, and of the sociologist and economist contributors of the volume edited by Stewart. With the sole exception of economic inequality, whose impact is admitted by some and denied by others, researchers agree that the country's developmental level and institutions, the group structure and history, as well as the international circumstances, all have an impact on the inter-group relations.

These concerns come together in the flowchart-model represented in Figure 3.1.

Figure 3.1:   Factors explaining minority attitudes and behavior I

Factors explaining minority attitudes and behavior (1)

*"Protest" and "rebellion" in this chart are used approximately in the sense in which they occur in the MAR database, as well. "Protest" includes all non-violent forms of political action, from peaceful demonstrations through ethnic party politics to, say, road blockages. "Rebellion" means violent means, during which physical clashes with other groups occur.

The chart highlights an important choice I have had to make in order to make the hypotheses testable. Social psychology and sociology tend to speak about communal groups without reference to their position as majority or minority in a nation-state. Political science speaks, almost exclusively, about minority-majority relationships. And data for cross-national empirical tests exists only for minority-majority relationships.

When we substitute the minority-majority relations to inter-group relations, we restrict the sphere of potential group-dyads, but automatically control for an important variable, the political inequality. (At least at the simplest dichotomic level – this distance can be further refined by introducing either institutional variables of democracy, inclusiveness, and power-sharing, or the comparative power rank of the groups, as in the EPR data.) Further, when our dependent variable is violent conflict, the minority-minority hori-

zontal relationships are not really relevant. Practically, violence between two small minorities can be expected to be put down by state authority, while in case of sizeable minorities at fight, the alliance of the plurality with one of them is very likely to occur, which transforms the problem into the basic minority-majority issue.

Thus, although my basic insight about the impact of economic inequality comes from theories with a more general outlook, Figure_1 is focused on minority-majority relationships. This is obvious from my putting into the model's center the "articulation of grievances," which is meaningful only in the context when one group may use the state authority against the other (in case of power-wise symmetrical groups, this would be the articulation of reasons for group hostility). And the two basic options of acting upon the grievances, "protest" and "rebellion," are terms borrowed from the MAR vocabulary.

Yet, I would like to point out my divergence from the previous scholarship in this regard. A large part of the literature seems to assume that the tactics of peaceful "protest" are doomed to grow into violent "rebellions."[87] My contention is that in the more developed parts of the world, most minority political participation is meant to stay within the frames of democratic political strife and does not carry larger chance of reverting to violence than political strife along class and other economic issues (such as the US civil war on slavery, for instance). And I hope that a move in the opposite direction is also possible: that the warriors may be brought back to negotiating their coexistence. This may become feasible, indeed, when the international community intervenes and mediates between the parties. The bifurcating, double arrow from the bloc of institutions to the formulation of grievances and beyond, intends to visualize the complexity of the institutional impacts. Some features of the institutional structure, for instance lost autonomy, and political discrimination, are determinants of the grievance, as such. Other features, for instance inclusive democracy, which allows for the efficacious political participation of the minorities, will have an impact on the tactics that a minority chooses when it seeks redress to their grievances. The larger written institutional structure includes features such as government effectiveness, and economic and social policies, a sizeable number of factors that can be taken for influencing either the grievances, or the choice of the tactics, or both. The same can be said about the impact of the international environment.

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[87] This is, for instance, the basic argument for banning ethnic and religious parties. Other consequences of this belief are certain variables constructed in the way that "protest" becomes a lower stage of "rebellion."

Social globalization, for instance, which fosters a cosmopolitan outlook of the population, is likely to reduce inter-group hostility, that is, to affect the grievance levels. Yet, the availability of foreign military aid to rebel groups will increase the temptation of choosing violent solutions to redress their plight.

Since this chart shows the dynamic of intergroup relations from the point of view of the minority only, it does not capture my belief that economic inequality has an impact through modifying the attitudes of both parties to the relationship toward each other. Actually, my contention and my explanation for the mechanism of impact of economic inequality, is to trace it both ways. Minorities react to the fact of inequality with the feeling that an injustice is happening. In majorities, inequality triggers a vicious circle of finding legitimating myths for their privileges, blaming the subordinate group, developing prejudices, and discriminating, which worsens the situation of the minority, who become even poorer with all the negative corollaries of this situation, including substance abuse and crime.

Also, the model is better at explaining the typical case when the minority is poorer. In case of the much rarer situation of advantaged minorities, it is the majority feeling frustrated, and acting upon this frustration. When they have a safe grip on political power, they use state authority to level the economic conditions, through nationalization, land reform, positive discrimination on behalf of the poorer majority, and so on. When their own political ideology does not allow for market-contrary measures, or their foreign allies or relations with international lenders do not allow for them, the popular frustration often leads to pogroms, widespread discrimination, unpunished and "undetected" crimes against the wealthy minority, as experienced by whites in Zimbabwe and the Chinese in diaspora. In these cases it is not the economic inequality *per se*, but the persecutions suffered at the hand of the frustrated majority, that will become the object of minority grievances, transmitted by the group history and institutional variables.

Lastly, group consciousness is a very important intervening variable, but I cannot rely on it in the empirical work. It is impossible to get data on the hostility levels of each group. Thus my actual regression models have to skip the link of group consciousness, with the result that the factors impacting group consciousness will become direct explanatory variables. By dropping group consciousness from the model, the feedback from mobilization back to articulating grievances can be traced through the history of group relations, as in Figure 3.2.

Figure 3.2:   Factors explaining minority attitudes and behaviour II

Factors explaining minority attitudes and behavior (2)

economic inequality

international environment

mobilization for protest*

...country's group structure and its history

ARTICULATING GRIEVANCES

mobilization for rebellion*

institutions

country developmental level

*"Protest" and "rebellion" in this chart are used approximately in the sense in which they occur in the MAR database, as well. "Protest" includes all non-violent forms of political action, from peaceful demonstrations through ethnic party politics to, say, road blockages. "Rebellion" means violent means, during which physical clashes with other groups occur.

Models are, obviously, simplifying. They simplify both the real-world processes, and the scholarly claims about them. In the case of this model, for instance, despite the full agreement that development levels have an impact on inter-group conflict, there are controversies about the ways and direction of this impact. I will proceed below to explicate and sharpen my assumptions related to these impacts, and operationalize them in testable hypotheses.

The Explanatory Variables and Hypotheses

1 Economic Inequality

My basic conjecture stipulates the impact of economic inequality on inter-group relations and inter-group conflict. The direction of the impact is unambiguous: the larger the welfare gap between the groups, the more hostile and conflictual is their relationship.

There are, however, impediments to sharpening this conjecture into a testable hypothesis. We cannot measure hostility levels, as such, in large-N samples. Most of the pertinent cross-national literature works with violent inter-group conflict, as their dependent variable, though violent conflicts are neither necessary nor proportionate expressions of inter-group hostility. On the positive side, we may hope that certain inter-group issues are solved in relatively peaceful ways, that is, the accumulating tension and hostility can be diverted from discharging into violence. On the other, much less positive side, severe oppression may impede or delay the rebellion of the minority. Certain idiosyncratic conditions may have the same effect, such as the geographical dispersion of the minority, their fresh immigrant status, cross-cutting cleavages, and internal discord.

I assume that economic inequality always leads to tension and hostility between groups, but will lead to express violence only probabilistically, within certain particular circumstances. The application of the "ceteris paribus" clause is nothing unusual in the literature, this is why we use a large number of control variables. But besides relying on control variables, I would also experiment with a dependent variable that is closer to "tension and hostility," than violent conflict.

Operationalized for tests, the hypothesis doubles itself so that it allows for the use of two types of dependent variables:

- **H1a** Economic inequality between groups increases the likelihood and intensity of violent conflict between them; and
- **H1b** Inter-group economic inequality increases the number and severity of the grievances forwarded by minorities.

I would sum up the reasons for believing in this "EI-PC" nexus starting from social psychology's Tajfel paradigm, which claims that the continuing salience of groupness is a source of tension in itself. In our modern world, economic inequality is a very powerful group marker, and the more unequal the groups are, the more closed, "barricaded," impermeable they are toward each other. In the language of the political science

methodology, this is a constructivist claim, which endogenizes the sheer existence of the groups within the study of their relationships. Inter-group violence is likely when we have well outlined groups without common grounds and without cooperative tasks – but when do we have well outlined groups without common grounds and without cooperative tasks within the same state? What makes a group stick out in a society? Why is the group membership salient for its members, and why is it salient for the outgroup?

My assumption is that a main reason for the groups being salient is that they are parts of a social hierarchy, in the sense in which gender is considered to be a hierarchy. When we speak of majorities and minorities, the underlying political power hierarchy is obvious. Yet, economic inequality may be at least as consequential, as political inequality. Unequal status of any kind hardens the group boundaries, prevents interaction, cooperation, and blending together. The walls are erected from both sides: the better placed group originates legitimizing mythologies and prejudices, while the disadvantaged one fosters grievances and imposes a moral code of hostility on their members.

Beyond political inequality, studied, for instance, by Cederman et al, and the economic inequality of which impact I intend to prove here, there are several other forms of inter-group inequality, for which I won't be able to control within the frames of this project. The two most significant seem to be social inequality, which mars the life of India's Dalits and Mauritania's Haratins, and cultural inequalities, which affect almost all minority groups to some extent.[88]

A number of other sources supporting the assumption of the EI-PC nexus are (i) Stewart (2008), which makes a very clear distinction between horizontal and vertical economic inequality; (ii) work of the MAR group, which highlights the importance of group comparative disadvantages; and (iii) case studies by Chua (2002) and Meerman (2009), which show the strong association between inter-group economic gaps and inter-group hostility.

2 Development Level and Modernization

In cross-national studies we cannot imagine empirical tests without controlling for the countries' relative wealth and well-being. Yet, in the case of inter-group hostility and

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[88] Legal inequality, such as slavery, is almost completely missing from today's world, except for expressly illegal forms, result of human trafficking and other criminal activities.

violence, we do not have clear expectations related to the impact of the development indicators. The absence of a well-coalesced dominant paradigm of the field allows for a number of hypotheses free-floating around the issue, and even for some antithetical predictions. As an empirical generalization, we may claim that in the most developed countries, inter-group violence is much rarer, than in the developing world. Yet, the most developed countries are also the most homogenous, and the most democratic, features that are much more likely to reduce violence levels than higher GDP on its own. Plus, industrialization reduces the geographical concentration of the minority groups, hindering their mobilization.

The roots of the disarray in this domain may be traced back to the debate between perennialist (or primordialist) theorists claiming that ethnicities are unchanging attributes stamped on us for good, and the modernist (constructivist) theorists claiming that the scope and importance of national entities are social artifacts, particularly of the capitalist modernization,[89] and all socio-territorial identities are historically changing. While the 19th century was typified by the nationalist mobilization of majorities, since the WWII we may speak about the strengthening of the post-national[90] loyalties, in an increasingly globalized world.

Policy choices are deeply affected by beliefs about the changeability of the socio-territorial consciousness, for instance, we may define a continuum from Dahl and Inglehart, who think that economic progress will automatically strip people of their parochial ties, through Horowitz, who intends to facilitate the communal groups' melting together with political arrangements that reward inter-ethnic cooperation and punish politicizing along communal lines, to Lijphart, who is the least optimistic about the possibility that inter-communal disputes will get solved from themselves, and suggests power-sharing schemes, which enable communal groups to negotiate their co-existence from quasi-equal political positions.

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[89] As in Hobsbawn 1992, and A. Marx 1996, 1998.

[90] There are diverse hypotheses about how the social-territorial identities may develop after the era of nationalism. One scenario is cosmopolitanism, but the possibility of a supra-national identity layer, thus the formation of multi-level territorial allegiances, was also contemplated (e.g. Medrano and Gutiérrez 2001). Further, regional allegiations may completely overwrite national loyalties as part of the "federalization of Europe" scenario, in the Spinnelli tradition. The typical cosmopolitanization-believers are the developmentalists: Inglehart, Welzel, Pippa Norris. I would refer to Inglehart & Welzel 2005, 2009, and Pippa & Inglehart 2009.

It seems that a majority of theorists expects development to reduce the salience of communal ties and levels of inter-group hostility, but there have been a number of opposing claims forwarded, as well, which refer to certain particular social and historical circumstances within which modernization fails to improve the inter-group relations. Such conditions were highlighted by Huntington (1968: too rapid modernization), Scott (1976: collapse of rural social structures without being replaced by new forms of social control and solidarity), Gurr (1971: certain groups remain excluded from the benefits of modernization), and Chua (2002: imposition of individualist free-marketeer policies in developing countries with unsolved group inequality problems).

As of today, there is no overarching theory linking development and intergroup relations, and we may wonder whether it is possible at all. Modernization processes may be deemed to affect group relations in diverse, often antithetical ways, such as:

(i) Geographical concentration versus urban rivalries. In pre-industrial societies, communal groups tend to cluster together geographically and have most of their interactions among themselves, rarely interfering with other groups. This reduces chances of both syncretizing and conflict. Urbanization involves "melting together," but also some rivalry for jobs, housing, and education.

(ii) Tolerance versus rivalry in education. Education leads to more tolerant attitudes, but longer schooling involves issues about who pays for it and who controls the language and content of public education.

(iii) Nation-building versus globalization. As a matter of fact, most of the globalization affects the already developed countries only, which went through their nation-building era by the 20th century. The countries that have become independent after the WWII, still have to work a lot on approaching the nation-state ideal, promoted by the developed, and generally approved of by the developing countries. These latter, then, may be assumed to be exposed to nation-building and globalization simultaneously, a mixture of which impact on ethnic relations is incalculable.

(iii) Pacifying democracy versus Westernist democratization. Democratic institutions allow certain conflicts to be played out in peaceful ways. But some developing countries resist West-imposed democratization because this comes with the imposition of individualist free-marketeer capitalism. This latter may be opposed either on mercantilist grounds (such as in the Asian tigers), or on Marxist or Keynesian grounds, which also involve the idea that unleashed markets prevent the application of equalizing policies that would assure the long-term ethnic peace.

I think that our solution to the problem of accounting for the impact of such an elusive determinant is to take apart as many of its component factors as possible. I intend to include measures of group concentration, urbanism, globalization, and democra-

121

cy in my models. In order to control for development level, I intend to use the simplest country wealth (GPD/cap, GNI/cap) and population well-being indicators (HDI, life expectancy). With regard to the impact of these, my predictions for the two dependent variables are different.

- **H2.a** More well-being in a country reduces the likelihood of violent conflict. This converges with our empirical observations, though those may be an artifact of the confounding factors, mainly of democracy. On utilitarian grounds, however, we may expect people to venture in violence when they have little to lose, and the goods absolutely necessary to their survival are in very short supply.

- **H2.b** More well-being in a country does not reduce the amount of grievances voiced by minorities. This is not a direct impact of the well-being, but an outcome of all corollaries of economic development, such as the isolated evolution of the groups coming to an end, and a general increase of the mass political activity levels. In the fortunate conditions of a healthy democracy, oft-voiced grievances may count on some redress without serious costs or side-effects, what lends a utilitarian support to the hypothesis. And, obviously, a growing pie generally does not impede disputes about the size of the slices.

3 Group Structure and Group History

By a country's group structure I mean the number and relative size of the relevant groups, and also their distances on the group markers such as race, ethnicity, language, and religion. We often refer to it as "diversity" or "heterogeneity," but the usage of these terms varies greatly, and they carry some emotional connotation, as well. The literature tries to capture the features typifying diversity with the concepts of fractionalization, polarization, and group distance.

Fractionalization indexes were the first to be introduced, their history started in 1961 with the Soviet ethno-linguistic fractionalization index (ELF). Today we have a very large number of similar measures, the researchers kept multiplying them in function of the communal group marker of interest to them. The original ELF relied on ethno-linguistic groups; others distinguished between ethnic groups and linguistic groups (e.g. Annett, and Alesina), and religious fractionalization has also been added. As of today, Alesina's triplet (ethnic, linguistic, and religious) covers the most countries and it relies on statistical data contemporaneous with that of Fearon's indexes.

It seems that the relationship between the proportion of minorities, on the one hand, and group relationships, on the other, is not monotonic. When controlling for other factors, highly homogenous and highly fragmented societies seem to experience less

communal conflict than those in which a clear majority (that is, one above half of the overall population) faces one or more sizable minorities. The thesis of non-monotonic relationship was first suggested by Horowitz 1985, and later researchers tried to work out indicators that allow for measuring the structure of fragmentation, not its size only. Fearon (2003) introduced measures for the proportion of plurality and of the largest minority, while Garcia-Montalvo and Reynal-Querol (2005) worked out an index of polarization, and showed it to increase the likelihood of inter-communal conflict.

Based on these results, it is obvious that we have to control for fractionalization, but it makes sense to make predictions only about polarization.

- **H3.1a** The likelihood of violent conflict increases with the relative size of the minority.

This claim incorporates some concerns making up the "opportunity for insurrection" hypothesis advocated by Fearon & Laitin 2003, addressed below in section 3.6. Yet, I think that the behavior of the plurality does indeed contribute to the larger minorities' increased feeling of oppression. Pluralities do not feel comfortable in the presence of large minorities and overstress their efforts to homogenize the population. Thus I expect larger minorities to voice more grievances than smaller minorities:

- **H3.1b** Larger minorities have more grievances.

Other exogenously given factors that may affect the minority-majority relationship are the group markers. Is it the language, the customs, the religion, or the race most effectively separating the groups? Again, there is a consensus that the nature of the difference and the distance of the groups on the feature that separates them (e.g. distance on language) may have an impact on group relations, but there is no unique and overarching theory of what to expect, and little if any empirical support for any salient pattern. Modernization theory, for instance, expects the effacement of all communal differences, but primarily that of religion, thus it expects religious collisions in backward countries only. Some accounts (such as work by Jonathan Fox 2002, 2004) claim that religious clashes are more violent than clashes between ethnic groups.

I do not have a theory to explain why any exogenous group marker should be more important than others in bringing about hostility and violence,[91] and we do not have good comprehensive (world-wide) data to control for the impact of any of them. It is only the MAR dataset containing information about the group markers, for its 282 groups out of more than 700 that would make the full list of minorities to study. Given the lack of any salient theoretical expectation to test, and the difficulty to find the appropriate measurements, I will not control for the group markers and the distance on them.

There are, however, two other group features that are unavoidable in models explaining inter-group relations: group concentration and group history.

The geographical concentration of the groups may count for both the chances and nature of group mobilization. Geographically compact groups have better opportunities to organize for collective action, and their political activity is likely to target territorial autonomy. Geographically dispersed groups have traditionally faced more difficulty to organize themselves, a condition that is increasingly mitigated by the modern gadgets for networking. Yet, their political goals are less predictable, these may range from support for a number of minority cultural institutions, through establishing a minority party, to full-fledged power-sharing along communal lines, such as in the Dutch pillarization.

Geographical concentration does not mean more conflictual relationships *per se*, since isolated groups have less contact and therefore less chance to clash. Geographical concentration, however, is more frequent in the less fortunate parts of the world, where all disputes are more likely to turn violent, and it means an additional vulnerability of the minority, which cannot ever forgive a majority that breaches on their territorial autonomy. The importance of this issue is highlighted by MAR's effort of elaborating an indicator called "lost autonomy."

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[91] In several countries, race seems to be the group marker the most associated with inter-group hostility, but in those countries the racial cleavage is indistinguishably confounded with the economic gap. Asians, who are not typically separated by persisting economic cleavages from the host population, have not had problem with successfully integrating in either the North American or Latin American, or Australian societies, while the indigenous populations and the Africans have had. Among the Asian immigrants to the UK, religion seems to be the group marker with the most predictive power with regard to the chances of integration: Indians and Pakistanis of non-Muslim religions (such as Hindus and Sikhs) seem to blend in seamlessly, while Indians and Pakistanis of Muslim religion still happen to show anti-British hostility.

That is, in my opinion it is not the geographical concentration making the difference, but the majority's tolerance toward the autonomy of such areas and its willingness to evenhandedly help its development. This is partly a group history issue, and partly an institutional one. Practically:

(a) I will control for the group concentration as part of the "opportunity for insurrection" hypotheses tests presented in section 3.6;

(b) I will include a variable capturing past conflicts;

(c) I will include a variable reflecting to what extent the country's administrative boundaries are drawn with respect to minority concentrations, and its interaction term with a decentralization measure.[92]

The reason for (b) are my hypotheses that:

- H3.2a A history of violent conflicts makes further conflicts more likely.
- H3.2b A history of violent conflicts makes minority grievances more likely.

The institutional issue leading to the inclusion of the variables mentioned in (c) is addressed with regard to the impact of the institutions in general, in the following section (3.4).

4 The Country's Institutional System

The three most important features of the institutional system, relevant for the inter-group relations, seem to be efficiency, repressiveness, and inclusiveness. The concerns with these features come from a number of theoretical traditions. State efficiency has mainly been focused on by the proponents of the opportunity for insurrection hypothesis, and I also opt to elaborate on the related hypothesis within the section addressing opportunities (3.6). Repressiveness is a concern of the MAR theorists, and of those working within social conflict perspectives. Inclusiveness became an issue of the ethnic policy debates between the Horowitzian and Lijphartian approaches, and got its cross-national empirical support from Reynal-Querol in 2005.

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[92] This is a country-level measure of group autonomy. formulated to be used with the country-level dataset, but I will also have to use it with the EPR_MAR_EXT data, because of the lack of more appropriate measurement. With the MAR_EPR_MI dataset, I will be able to use MAR's own autonomy measures.

Since the beginning of the scholarly preoccupation with minorities, the repressiveness of the state operated by the majority has seriously been considered as an important factor shaping inter-group relations. We may distinguish, however, between formal and informal majority attitudes toward a minority, and the two may be de-synchronized. It often happens that the state credibly strives to treat all its citizens impartially, but the majority practices discrimination against a minority in education, jobs, and housing, or violent hostility against an advantaged minority[93].

On the flip side, individual majority attitudes toward a minority may be quite tolerant, while the state applies policies that restrict the political, economic, and cultural rights of a minority as a group. This was the experience, for instance, of a number of ethnic minorities in East Europe during communism. The policies of the socialist state were geared toward homogenizing and assimilation, and prevention of civil associations of any kind, but the individual career of persons belonging to minorities was not hindered, and actually often promoted with a quota system applied in the ruling party's and state's leadership positions. I introduced the term "de-synchronized" for these discrepancies, because it seems that time is an important factor here, and ultimately the state's ways and the folkways tend to get more concerted, either on behalf or to the detriment of the minority.

Moving upwards, for instance, in the last two decades have been the Blacks in the US (a state-led upward spiral), and Hungarians in Romania (a popular mood-led spiral), while moving downwards, are the Roma in Hungary, on their way to lose state support at the hands of a rightist government pandering to a strong extreme right movement.

Thus my take on the impact of the phenomenon labeled "repressive control" by the MAR theorists, which is one of their three main groups of causes explaining the occurrence of inter-group violence (out of the triad of collective disadvantage, group identity, and repressive control), is that indeed, higher repression leads to more grievance and more violence. Just that, unfortunately, it may not explain the whole variation in inter-group hostility, and may lack real proportionality with it. Since there are practical impediments to testing the assumption, as well, I will not forward express hypothesis in this

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[93]   In any of the three cases quoted at the beginning of this chapter, hostility against the Roma, Afro-Cubans, or wealthy Chinese, has not been initiated or openly sponsored by the state.

126

regard, but I will control for two forms of state repressiveness. First, in all datasets, I include a democracy measure, which will often be a political terror scale. And second, where possible, that is, in the sixth chapter, I will explore the impact of MAR's specific measures of political and economic discrimination, and of the cultural (religious and language) restrictions - these are the best measures that we have on group-specific repressiveness. Unfortunately, they exist for the 282 MAR groups only, and they may be said to incorporate too much history: that is, to large extent, they measure the result of the restrictive policies, the economic, political, and cultural inequality itself.

Finally, state inclusiveness is a complex and controversial issue. While there is agreement that an inclusive state allows for the wellbeing of the minorities, there is no consensus about what helps minorities flourish in a state which is not their "own." The most often mentioned policy goals are integration and assimilation, while the most relevant policy tools are districting, decentralization, and support for political mobilization along communal lines.

As a policy ideal, integration of the minorities means a majority-minority co-existence in which minorities are not constrained to essentially change their ways of life and identity in order to be a prosperous part of the country's population. In contrast, assimilationism offers the prospect of individual prosperity while imposing the majority culture upon minorities. The so-called civic nationalism, which is regularly branded as leaving cultures alone, and requiring the homogenization of the political attitudes only, is very often experienced as assimilationism by the subjected minorities. It seems that the truth comes somewhere at the middle. The US civic nationalism, for instance, has done a decent job in securing secularism, as the religious neutrality of the state, and allows for the pursuit of a large number of cultural traditions, as leisure-time activities. However, this civic nationalism has a hard time to accommodate the basically non-industrial way of life of the Native Americans and Amish, for instance, as well as to duplicate the state language in areas with Hispanic majority.

The constitutional blueprints forwarded by Horowitz, on the one hand, and Lijphart, on the other, target different things, both legitimate and meaningful. Horowitz would like the residents of a country to come together in a color-blind and language-deaf citizenry, the real "horizontal comradeship" of Benedict Anderson, under the aegis of civic nationalism. Lijphart aims at minority-friendly designs, which enable the groups to accommodate to existing state boundaries by devaluing state-ness and empowering sub-

127

national authorities. It is his policies that can be termed "integrative," "inclusive," or maybe "accommodating," though Horowitz also conceives of his own proposals as helping the citizenry integrating into one nation. Yet, the essence of the Horowitzian advice is to prevent minority politicizing along ethnic lines, which curbs the desire of some ethnic entrepreneurs to exacerbate inter-group hostility. Unfortunately, this advice seems to involve the idea that a grievance that is not loudly voiced, does not exist, and also the elitist conception that the "entrepreneurs" are affected by group plights in other ways than the rank-and-file, and have full command of the beliefs of the latter.

For long, researchers have been working on devising tests that would help us choose between the two policy proposals. A number of case studies evidence the superiority of either one or the other, regularly by pointing out flaws in the workings of one prescription in a certain country. Lijphart's "accommodating" policy goals can be operationalized for large-N empirical tests in a number of ways. Reynal-Querol (2005) measured inclusiveness with proportional representation versus plurality electoral system, and she found that "democracy is not enough to deter social conflicts. The level of inclusiveness of the political system is important in explaining the probability of civil wars."

I think that there are at least two aspects of inclusiveness. For geographically concentrated minorities, territorial autonomy is the most important political achievement. For geographically dispersed minorities, the way of having a say in politics goes through political parties, whose success measures their incorporation into the country's political life.[94] Thus I would formulate a hypothesis that takes into account both types of inclusiveness:

- **H4.2a** Political arrangements that allow for more autonomy of the minority and/or more success of the minority parties lead to less inter-group violence.

And, since lack of autonomy and electoral systems that exclude minority parties are grievances on their own, I would add the corresponding hypothesis involving the other dependent variable:

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[94]   The Dutch pillarization goes beyond this solution for dispersed minorities, but it is so unique that in a cross-national dataset it's no point in controlling for that solution. Less elaborate forms of functional autonomy may be more widespread, but we do not have god cross-national data on it.

- **H4.2b** Political arrangements that allow for more autonomy of the minority and/or more success of the minority parties mitigate the severity of minority grievances.

This pair of hypotheses may best justify the need for the double arrow illustrating the impact of the institutions in the flowchart-models (Figures 1 and 2). A minority excluded from the country's political life, which experiences a large political inequality gap, has good reasons to harbor discontentment and hostility, and forward grievances against the state-operating plurality group(s). Yet, political grievances, as any grievance, of any, such as of economic and cultural, type, as well, may lead to peaceful settlement of the issues only in conditions of a democracy that allows for the articulation of the minority demands within the system. Hence, the inclusiveness of the political system is also an opportunity for avoiding violence, in the same sense in which large rural areas and large proportions of unemployed young males increase the probability of a militarized outcome.

5 The International Environment

There are countless ways in which the international environment may affect inter-group relations in a country, but no outstandingly strong impact or generalizable pattern has been detected thus far.

An oft-formulated conjecture is that support from kindred increases the likelihood of violence. Yet, there are cases in which the kindred support is directed toward impeding or mitigating violence (such as Ireland's in the North-Ireland conflict), and there are cases in which unrelated countries and groups support the fight of a minority against their majority, either on humanitarian grounds or as part of a selfish political strategy.

Though I do not deny the possibility that types of external support increase the likelihood of the hostility turning violent, I won't be able to control for all these idiosyncratic influences for all countries and all groups in my sample. I may test the impact of external support on the MAR_EPR_MI dataset only, since MAR is the only source for this rare indicator.

Yet, I am interested in some other influences of the international environment, for which we have dependable data. The single most important phenomenon shaping the interstate system nowadays is globalization. This is, however, a complex phenomenon with diverse facets and aspects, and affecting the states in various, uneven, and possi-

bly antithetical ways. The KOF globalization indicators cover three areas: economic, social, and political interconnectedness. Of these, economic globalization cannot be expected to make the states more minority-friendly, on the contrary, Amy Chua's claim can be operationalized as

"$H_{(Chua)}$: The more economically integrated is a developing country with the global economy, the more hostility we may find there toward their advantaged minorities."

This claim should be tested on a restricted sample containing advantaged minorities only. The small number of such cases hardly allows for including 11-14 control variables, as the full-sample regression models do, and as a further complication, economic globalization is very-very closely associated with the development indicators. This means that in the full-sample modeling economic globalization can be expected to follow the impact pattern of the GDP/capita and life expectancy variables, that is, to lead to less violence, but more grievance. If we found the same pattern in the case of the advantaged minorities, this would not refute the Chua claim, though the full support for it would be more grievance and more violence – in conditions of reasonably full control for a large number of concurrent influences. Subsequently, since the accurate test of this claim would need a digressing from the general research design, I refrain from advancing $H_{(Chua)}$ as a research goal within the frames of this dissertation. Yet, with a lingering suspicion toward the impact of economic globalization, I also refrain from advancing a hypothesis that would attribute positive impact to economic globalization, as I do in the case of social and political globalization.

I think that we may hope that social interdependence and dovish foreign policy contacts have a positive impact on states' behavior toward their minority groups. Social and cultural ties with people in other countries reduce nationalist attitudes and spread a more cosmopolitan – or more internationalist - outlook. The real endorsement of integrative policies by a state is signaled by their ratifying the main treaties of minority right protection. Yet, this is a sign of, not a cause of their minority-friendliness! If we want to single out the impact of the international environment on majority behavior, it is probably the general political globalization the best indicator that we have. The general deference to international norms shows to what extent they internalized the values informing the United Nations system. Thus I would like to test the hypotheses that:

- H5.1 Higher social globalization of a country reduces inter-group hostility.
- H5.2 Higher political globalization of a country reduces inter-group hostility.

In addition, the KOF economic globalization measure will also be included in models when possible without leading to very high collinearity (VIF) values.

6 The Opportunity for Insurrection Hypothesis

Fearon and Laitin (2003) emphasize the role of opportunities in bringing about intra-state violence. Their claim is that ethnic wars do not occur where grievances are the hardest – they occur where there are better opportunities for armed insurgency, such as geographic conditions, large rural areas, state failure, group concentration, lots of unemployed young males, and support from kindred.

I think that these factors are more likely to direct the choice between "protest" and "rebellion", after the grievances have emerged under the impact of other determinants. The divergence between the two standpoints may be tested by comparing the weight of grievances, on the one hand, and the opportunity for insurrection variables, on the other, in bringing about violent conflict.[95] In order to address this issue, I pursue two tracks of hypothesis testing, labeled one-step resolution and two-step (or two-stage) resolution. Practically, in all three parts of the data analysis, I will build both all-inclusive "omnibus" regression models, in which all explanatory variables exogenous to hostility are included to explain violent conflict, and two types of partial models, which substantiate my intuition that a number of exogenous factors influence group grievances, while the occurrence and severity of violence hinges on both the grievance levels, and on a series of opportunities, which facilitate, on the one hand, democratic-peaceful settlement of the differentials, and on the other hand, push the participants toward violent solutions. The basic "opportunity for insurrection" hypothesis is that

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[95] Originally, I was planning on a more sophisticated test of the Fearon &Laitin (2003) claim, in the sense to check on whether the opportunity for insurrection variables have an impact on grievances. This test would have addressed the part of the claim that attributes important consciousness-forming powers to some political entrepreneurs. (The political entrepreneurs, whose choices are, actually, made on grounds of opportunity calculation, are said to be capable of turning the minority group consciousness against their majorities when they want to.) Yet, for a more streamlined research design, and also because of the measurements at hand, I dropped the idea to carry out this test within the frames of this dissertation. As later I will have to confess, the variables with which I could operationalize the opportunity for insurrection hypothesis, were either too lacunar, or could not perform well in an environment marred by high collinearity, or both.

- **H6** A group's opportunities to launch an insurrection increase the likelihood and intensity of inter-group violence.

Yet, we may imagine lots of factors having an impact on the opportunity of rebellion, thus this claim needs a number of measurements to operationalize. Though they are specific to the measurement of "opportunity," most of them may be conceptualized as belonging to one of the explanatory clusters displayed in the flowchart-models, and actually, some of them double themselves as influencing inter-group relations in other ways than increasing the probability of violence, as well.

We can substantiate H6 with a long list of circumstances, but many of them have serious issues that hinder their inclusion in models as "pure" measures of the opportunity for insurrection hypothesis. Table 5 sums up a number of concerns.

Table 3.5:   Issues with the operationalization of the opportunity for insurrection hypothesis

Operationalizing claim	Drawback
Communal groups that have a larger proportion within the population are more likely to rebel	The test of this claim confounds with testing for the polarized group structure, as suggested by Garcia-Montalvo & Reynal-Querol 2005
Communal groups that live in regional concentrations are more likely to rebel	Regional concentration facilitates mobilization, but also brings about specific minority demands for territorial autonomy (that is, increases grievances, as well).
Large rural areas facilitate insurrection	I have reliable measurements for the proportion of rural population, not for areas. And urbanism is a par excellence development indicator, highly correlated with measures such as GDP/cap, and life expectancy.
External support to rebels, such as from kindred, facilitates insurrection	Measurable with the MAR_EPR_MI data only
State effectiveness inhibits proneness to insurrection	There is a dependable measurement of state effectiveness, as part of the Worldwide Governance indicators, but it is highly correlated with development indicators
Large supply of unemployed young males makes insurrection more likely	In principle, this can be measured, but practically, comparable indicators exist only for a reduced number of countries. And a further concern may be the impact of unemployment benefits, where they exist.

In addition, the Fearon and Laitin paper (2003) contained a measurement of the "mountainous terrain," which I cannot reproduce in my datasets. Yet, since the reason for accounting for the adverse geography is its role in hindering or delaying state repression against dispersed groups of rebels, I think that a substantial part of it is captured by the "state effectiveness" indicator.

132

In a final analysis, the opportunity for insurrection hypothesis will be tested in my models with two group-structure variables (group proportion and group concentration), an international-environment indicator (external support, in the MAR_EPR_MI dataset), one specifically institutional (government effectiveness), and two that may be labeled as institutional in the larger sense (proportion of unemployed young male, and of the rural population).

Research Design

The project was set up as a large-N cross-national study that provides empirical support to hypotheses in virtue of the predictors' strength in multivariate regression models. Yet since the beginning there has been some tension between my explanatory model, stipulating a stepwise approach to the explanation of violent conflict, and a truly streamlined modeling, with only one dependent variable. During work, more problems emerged that increased the complexity of the analysis. As already referred to in the introductory chapter, the main issues leading to the multiplication of the regression models have been:

1. Lack of a unitary dataset containing all variables of interest, for comparable number of cases, and time spans. This problem was addressed by involving two different, though partially overlapping group-level datasets, EPR_MAR_EXT and MAR_EPR_MI.

2. A level of analysis issue. Inter-group relations, and specifically violent intra-state conflict, may be studied at both group level and country level. This led to the addition of one more dataset, a purely country-level one.

3. My conjecture about the occurrence of violent conflict involves a process in stages. Thus I defined two types of regression models: (i) causes of inter-group hostility explaining grievances, and (ii) grievances explaining violent conflict. Both types of models have involved, obviously, a large number of controls taken from the predictor categories outlined in the previous section of this chapter. Yet, my findings may be compared to previous scholarly results only if I build comparable regression models, thus I could not spare the (iii) classic "omnibus" models, which connect the causes of hostility with the violent outcome. In addition, as a quick test of the power of my main explanatory variable, I ran (iv) generalized linear models with the inter-group economic inequality measures and the country factor, which is the equivalent of all pertinent country dummies.

4. I have had to use multiple dependent variables, such as grievances on the one hand, and violent conflict, on the other. The group level and the country-

level analyses needed different indicators, and I also had to face the fact that MAR's grievance measures are taken along three different dimensions: economic, political, and cultural, without the possibility to combine them in a common scale.

5. Missing data made me resort to a technique of multiple imputations twice, in Chapter 6 and Seven. In Chapter 6 I attempted to extend several MAR variables from the 282 MAR groups onto 727 minority groups included in my larger group-level sample. In Chapter 7 the data missingness was less pervasive, but the multiple imputation provided much needed values of the unemployed young males variable, and of the measures that – uniquely in the literature – distinguish between conflicts of communal versus social nature.

Further challenges also tended to lead to an overproduction of regression models. I experimented with multi-level (nested) models to address the issue of concatenating group-level and country-level measurements in the same models. Because of high association among predictors and danger of collinearity, I ran trials with several versions of parallel measurements. And occasionally the multiplication of analyses answered the complexities around the definition of minority group.

I tried to bring order to the chaos induced by all these complications, by structuring the three analytical chapters in very similar ways, and the Conclusions include a more technical part that synthetizes information from Chapters 5 through Seven. Actually, I have had to renounce a number of enticing alternate paths of research in order to keep the analyses and their presentation relatively simple and streamlined. For instance, I minimized the number of tests with special sub-samples, and dropped group consciousness from among the explanatory factors.[96]

By the nature of the enterprise, however, I cannot spare the reader a detailed presentation of the datasets with which the regression models have been built. Chapter 4 introduces the largest dataset of the three, named EPR_MAR_EXT.

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[96] Since for many theorists thinking in a communitarian/ holist paradigm, the absence of the explanatory factor won't go unnoticed, the first Appendix to this chapter will briefly address the issue of whether group consciousness should and could have been included in these cross-national analyses.

Chapter 4.

Presentation of the EPR_MAR_EXT Dataset

Introduction: The Basic Design

It is not really common in political science that the presentation of data to analyze takes a full chapter. Quantitative work in this field typically relies on a few widely known and recognized datasets, brought about as the collective venture of a few like-minded scholars, such as the Correlates of War, Polity, Worldwide Governance Indicators, Comparative Manifesto Project, and Freedom House ratings. In the field of the relationship among communal groups, however, there is a serious shortage of quantified and systematized cross-national data.

First of all, there are some special issues with delimiting the groups of relevance within countries. There are a number of communal features which may either cross-cut, or overlap with each other, thus the definition of groups involves some arbitrariness originating in our rank-ordering of the group markers. Importantly, both the populations concerned and the scholars who study them, may develop selective sensitivity toward certain communal traits. For instance, it is widely known that in Switzerland the religious divisions were more important in the beginning, and the salience of ethnicity increased beginning only with the 19th century. An inverse path of evolution, from more salience of ethnicity first, and more salience of religion later, may be attributed to Eritrea.[97] Political science scholarship tends to pay most attention to ethnic group marker, which is the only one taken for legitimizing requests for secession. This bias persists even in face of evidence that religion is more likely to cause violent conflicts (Fox 2004), and that the inclu-

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[97] During the fight for independence from Ethiopia, the ethnic identities (more exactly the anti-Amhara sentiment, unifying all of the Tigrinya, Tigre, Saho, Afar, Bilen, Kunama and Nara groups) seem to have been more decisive, while later the religious identities have so much salience that Eritrea's human rights records are heavily stained with religious persecution.

sion of racial minorities is much harder to achieve than that of ethnic minorities. The two most comprehensive datasets on communal groups worldwide, the Minorities at Risk[98] (MAR) and the Ethnic Power Relations[99] (EPR), both applied a practical criterion to define the groups that make their list. MAR was more restrictive, selecting the groups (i) which are minorities, and (ii) whose relationship with the majority-dominated government has already turned problematic. EPR included groups with political representation, that is, groups about which certain political organizations claimed to represent them (in or outside the government), but confined its concerns to the citizen population. In contrast, the Minority Rights Group International (MRG)'s directory of minorities looks at (i) residents, rather than citizens; (ii) lists all minority groups, not only those with political representation; and (iii) is equally interested in ethnic, linguistic, religious, regional, and, sometimes, caste or tribal group markers.[100] Yet, on the flip side, the MRG data is predominantly qualitative, hard to be accurately sorted into the cells of a spreadsheet.

As for my intentions, I would like to avoid the pitfalls of focusing on the politically relevant groups only, and I endorse MRG's sociologically more sensitive way to account for the whole 100% of the population, including groups that do not have distinct voices in politics. Yet, I rely on EPR's scaffolding of – predominantly – ethnic group composition of each country, and I complete it with – predominantly – ethnic groups mentioned by MRG, which typically have little, or no political representation of their own.

Another conceptual issue to address is the level of analysis. While intuitively we think that group relationships are best measured at group level, a number of group-related phenomena have convincingly been measured at country level, as well. Possibly the best known examples are the group composition measures, the fractionalization, and polarization indexes.[101] Approximately a third of the EPR variables are country-level measures. For instance, on the basis of defining the ethnic groups excluded from power, the authors were able to determine the proportion of population excluded from power in

[98] http://www.cidcm.umd.edu/mar/
[99] Lars-Erik Cederman; Brian Min; Andreas Wimmer, 2009-05-01, "Ethnic Power Relations dataset", http://hdl.handle.net/1902.1/11796 UNF:5:k4xxXC2ASI204QZ4jqvUrQ== V1 [Version]
[100] MRG does not attempt to hierarchize these, but some may emerge as particularly salient based on the historical narrative and the presentation of "current issues." These later focus -- analogously to the MAR selection criteria -- on communal conflicts that bring about human suffering: violence, discrimination, internal or external displacement, and social injustice.
[101] And these also reveal the difficulty of choosing among communal group-markers, since we have a number of ethnic, linguistic, religious, and ethno-linguistic fractionalization indexes.

each country, the ratio of included versus excluded, and so on. MAR provides data on groups involved in violent conflicts; other datasets, such as the Global Peace Index (of the Vision for Humanity), and Failed States Index (of the Fund for Peace) classify countries on the basis of their domestic peacefulness or bellicosity. I think that the existence of an association between two variables, and the non-spuriousness of the impact of one on the other, that is, the persistence of the impact in the presence of controls, can be tested on both group level and country level.[102] The mechanism of the causal impact, however, is likely to be demonstrable on the lower level only. The dataset to be presented here and analyzed in the next chapter, is basically group-level, in the sense that most variables pertinent to the inter-group relationships are measured on the level of communal groups. It contains, however, country-level variables derived from group-level measurements (analogous to EPR's measure for the politically excluded population), and some developmental and institutional variables, which have originally been measured on country level.

A last theoretical issue to be mentioned right in the beginning has to do with the term, "minority." Actually, it seems that within the scholarly community there is more consensus about who are the minorities, than among the concerned people themselves. Not as if scholars would always agree, but they more often do than not. In the case of countries with clear majorities, such as Sweden or Italy, the delimitation of the groups is largely converging in sources such as Fearon 2003 and the MRG. Differences may emerge, on the other hand, with regard to countries composed of several smaller groups, without a clear majority, and where either alliances or a certain group's closeness on the group markers may result in capricious shifts between plurality and minority status. For instance, in Ivory Coast, EPR's "Northerners (Mande and Voltaic/Gur)" group is the plurality, with 27%, while the "Baule" have 14%, and "Other Akans" (e.g., Agni, and Ebrie) carry 18%. Yet, the Baule, an Akan group, and other Akans, are no more different from each other than ethnic groups making up the "Northerners." If we collapsed the "Baule" and "Other Akan" categories, we would get a group of 32%, trumping the Northerners' bid for the plurality position.

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[102] And this "can" seems to originate an "ought." I will try to test the hypothesized relationships on both levels, the country-level analysis following in Chapter 7.

Closeness on the group marker, however, may bring some uncertainty of the classification on its own, even in conditions of clear majority in the state. There are, for instance, some regional identities which occasionally may become politically very emphatic, but their salience may also vanish fast, such as the Lombardian in Italy, and Moravian in the Czech Republic. The strengthening of sub-national identities in Europe over the past couple of decades was an unexpected phenomenon that was diametrically opposed to what has happened in the most fortunate parts of Africa, such as Mali, Zambia, and Botswana, where reasonably cohesive national populations have come about out of tribal segmentation.

The point that I need to make here is that lay people may hold a very different notion of "minority" than scholars. In political science, in everyday politics, and in mass media, too, the term minority designates a group of people who, as measured along a communal group marker, differ from the largest group in a country. There is also a consensus that ethnicity and language are such communal group markers. Yet, according to scientific opinion surveys, such as the European Social Surveys, most Catalans in Spain, and Frisians in the Netherlands, do not classify themselves as "minority." That is, when asked whether they belong to a "minority group in this country," they give negative answer, but when asked about their language at home, they do not hesitate to admit that they speak something other than the majority language. They have an identity as, say, Catalans, but do not classify Catalans as a minority of Spain. It seems that in Spain, it is the immigrant Africans, and possibly the Gypsies, taken for "minority" by the population concerned, and this pattern of "racializing" minorities is quite widespread in West Europe. The same does not happen in East Europe. The ethnic and ethno-linguistic minorities to the east of Hungary have well-developed and politically consequential minority consciousness, with the sole exception of Vlahs in Greece, who have officially stated that they do not seek recognition as a minority from the state.

I think that the concerned people's self-definition as a group (or group consciousness) has to maximally be taken into consideration, but their self-classification as a minority or non-minority can be overridden by the plain, universally applicable principle that differences on a communal group marker create groups of various sizes. The largest group is labeled "plurality," and the smaller ones are labeled "minority." The objective criteria for delimiting groups along the communal group markers are: (i) language use at home or native/first language; (ii) self-declared ethnic, tribal, and religious affiliation; (iii)

self-declared regional consciousness, or self-declared relevance of the regional identity (such as in the case of Lombards and Moravians); and (iv) racial and caste belonging. Unfortunately, in the case of these latter we cannot say that it is the self-declared identity that only counts. In some societies, skin color may be consequential for someone's social position even in the absence of a racial self-identification, which, otherwise, almost always occurs, with the exception of people of mixed heritage, who may experience some identity crisis, mainly in racially more permissive societies. In the US, for instance, where the "one drop" rule was the law of the land, people of mixed descent were expected to develop non-white identity, and I am not sure whether we may speak of this in past tense.

Practically, the diversity data circulated by the most authoritative sources, UN Statistics, and CIA World Factbook, primarily come from censuses, in which communal features are recorded on the basis of the subjects' self-declaration. The same is true for most scientific surveys, from the USAID's Demographic and Health Surveys to Inglehart's World Value Surveys, they all rely on self-identifications. Yet, in France and some former French colonies, there is a ban on asking about ethnicity,[103] and in these countries ethnic diversity is estimated from language and/or religious diversity. Other censuses may neglect either the language question, or the religious question,[104] which creates a need for independent expert estimates. The linguistic diversity of the world is continuously monitored by Ethnologue, and religious movements, such as the missionary group around the Joshua Project, piece together very detailed information about the faiths pursued in each country, broken down to small-group level. Obviously, all these sources have their specific issues to be aware of, and try to correct for. We may never be sure that we really capture the accurate group composition figures. The typical error of the censuses is the "omitted variable," failure to ask about a socially salient fact, but under- and over-estimations may also occur. For instance, the size of the Roma population is typically underestimated in censuses, while the size of the majority is often boosted by

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[103] Versions of this ban may occur in several other countries, without French influence, as well. In Austria, for instance, the ethnic roots of the newly naturalized citizens are not registered anymore, which makes difficult the estimation of the fresh immigrant population (e.g. the number of naturalized Turks).

[104] This is most typical for some Arabic countries, where the religion of the respondents is not asked, or, not asked in detail, which makes Sunni, Shi'a, and followers of other branches of Islam undistinguishable. Yet,a question on religious denomination may be missing in countries in which it does not really have relevance anymore, such as the US.

not allowing for choices that would outline some minority, for example, India's census on religion does not allow for the "nonbeliever, atheist" option.

Since the comprehensive and accurate datasets on communal groups that I dream about have not existed, I embarked on seriously modifying the existing datasets for my purposes. MAR has an unequalled wealth of variables, but a restricted number of cases, which are not randomly drawn from the sampling universe. MAR includes only the groups whose relationship with their majority has already gone sour, thus offers a biased sample of minority groups worldwide. The Ethnic Power Relations (EPR) dataset has a much larger coverage of minority (and majority) groups, but has fewer variables that I can use in my models. The idea of combining them emerged immediately and naturally, but the implementation of the project turned out to be far from unproblematic, and the addition of a number of new groups emerged as imperative in order to approximate the standard of completeness that we may find in the MRG database.

After obtaining the final list of groups, I worked on adding my main explanatory variable, the inter-group (horizontal) inequality, by collecting disaggregated economic data from a large number of sources. My group-level dataset received its final form after I assigned values on a number of EPR and MAR variables to the newly added groups, and imported data on communal conflict from the CONIS[105] and UCDP/PRIO datasets. In the last step, I added country-level variables, such as aggregated economic, developmental, and institutional measures, and calculated a few derived measures, such as the group inequality measure scaled according to the country's Gini-index.

This chapter aims at detailing the sources of my data, and explaining the choices that I had to make. It is complete with the dataset itself, and with the Codebook serving it.

Physically, I put together a group-level dataset that tries to illustrate the sources of every data point – this is what I call the "data collection dataset." Its plain version, with the elimination of comments and parallelisms, is the "operational dataset," to be fed into the statistical software for analysis.

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[105] CONIS is the abbreviation of Conflict Information System, a database that previously was known as Cosimo or Kosimo, maintained by the Heidelberg Institute for International Conflict Research (HIIK) in the Department of Political Science, University of Heidelberg. They have been publishing annual "Conflict Barometers" since 1992.

The presentation of the dataset will follow the chronology of work, and will focus on issues that are doomed to remain disputable. The topics of the following sections will be:

1. The merger of the parent datasets and addition of new groups;
2. Adding my inter-group inequality measure (INEQ);
3. Assigning values to the new groups on certain EPR and MAR variables;
4. Adding CONIS and UCDP/PRIO data;
5. Adding country-level data and computing a few indexes.

Step 1.
Merging EPR and MAR, Expanding the List of Groups

EPR is a historical-longitudinal dataset covering the years 1946 through 2005, while the MAR newest release is confined to the years 2004-2006. I set up my data collection datasheet for the period 1999-2006. Though my sympathies lie with a time-series design, I could not reasonably count on acquiring inequality data for more than one point in time in the 21st century, for various years in various countries. I opted for the 8-year span for being able to accurately document the provenience of every datum which is included in the dataset to be analyzed. The target year is 2005. I think that most variables involved in the project, such as group numbers, proportions, grievances, and inequality, have a warranty of at least five years in normal conditions.[106] The simplest solution for data analysis is to take into consideration one year only, either 2004 or 2005, with a preference for the later. Technically it is easy and legitimate to include both, but substantively it does not make much sense, since there is no significant variation on the variables, both the EPR, and the MAR values show very little variation from one year to the other.

Another choice I had to make was about the size of the countries and groups to be taken into consideration. In this regard I follow MAR, and my data is limited to countries with at least 500,000 people in 2005, and groups of at least 100,000 people or at

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[106] Non-normal conditions are cases of genocide, pressuring communal groups into exile, large-scale land reform, nationalizations, and so on. These are events that make the headlines, thus in principle I should not fail to adequately incorporate them in the dataset.

least 1% of the population of their country. This means that a few small groups – about 50 -- included in EPR have been dropped, but new countries and new groups had to be added.

Technically, in a first step I cut back the EPR to the interval 1999-2005, and this short version was copied together in an Excel file with the MAR 2003-2006 data, resulting in a datasheet with 8 years for each communal group and more than 200 variables wide. Two types of problems were encountered here: conflicting information about the number and proportion of the groups; and different group names, or different constitution of the communal groups within a certain country.[107]

1 Different group size estimates

Since smaller differences of 1-5% between the EPR and MAR estimates were the rule rather than the exception, I dropped the first plausible idea to halve the difference between them for my own use. Instead, I ventured in inviting a third authoritative opinion, the Minority Rights Group International's (MRG) accounts. Occasionally, this helped me to choose on the basis of its concrete references to census data or credible survey estimates. But it often happened that MRG did not dare to give a concrete number, and allowed for a range of values, which again, left me with the duty to pick up the most likely estimate. Work with the MRG data also resulted in adding a number of groups to the EPR list, and leaving me with the task to assign values on some EPR variables to them.[108]

Neither MAR, nor EPR aimed at listing all groups in a country, but I pursued completeness, thus the proportions not adding up to 100% have seriously challenged me. The EPR numbers for Australia, for instance, were 2% Aboriginal and 84% White. What to do with the 14% difference up to 100? It is believed that there are some 7% of Asian origin, and a few percent of mixed origin, as well. But should I create a new group for Asians, for instance, when the Asian group seems smoothly and unproblematically blending in the Australian mainstream, and it is only the indigenous people who are eco-

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[107] It also happened that EPR conflicted with itself, that is, it had two versions of the group configuration in Eritrea, one religious (Christians and Muslims), and one ethnic (Afar, Bedawi, Bilen etc groups).

[108] It is mainly the very disadvantaged groups missing from EPR, such as the Roma, and new immigrant groups. EPR did not include non-citizens.

nomically, socially, and politically distinct? Yet, if I do not create new groups for Asians and for those of mixed heritage, I have to re-baptize the category into "non-indigenous" and increase their proportion to 97%, which may not be well covered by the EPR variables conceived for 84% Whites. And this example is from a country where we have a reasonably good overview of the population! Unfortunately, in the case of many, mainly African and Asian countries, I have been unable to bridge the difference between the numbers given to known groups and the total. For instance, in Benin, EPR lists 4 ethnic group(cluster)s to a total of 81.5%. From MRG data and two surveys that I consulted for this country (DHS and Afrobarometer) I got convincing evidence for the existence of approximately 4% of Peulh (Fulani). This group was included in my datasheet, but I am still wondering who are the missing 14.5%?

2 Different group names, or different constitution of the communal groups within a certain country

Different names *per se*, mean only some additional work for the compiler to identify the synonyms. Yet, sometimes the different names refer to diverging construction of the group. Most typically, there have been differences between my sources in regards of tracing the boundaries between races. "Black" is sometimes "African and Mulatto and African/Amerindian," other times more strictly African only. Similar problems occurred at the boundaries between whites, Mestizos, and Indigenous Amerindians.

Unfortunately, it often happens that EPR and MAR demarcate the groups differently.

For instance, in Bolivia, EPR speaks about 23% Aymara, 37% Quechua, and 3.2% "Guarani and other Eastern indigenous groups." MAR speaks about 50% Indigenous Highland Peoples, and 5% Indigenous Lowland Peoples. As for the SOWIP,[109] it gives its estimates about the comparative disadvantages of the indigenous people for all three groups taken together. I think that in cases of "simple" disaggregation, when one dataset uses a common term for what is a group cluster in the other, the solution is to keep the smaller units and allocate the same aggregate-level values to all from the other dataset. There are, though, more complicated cases, as well.

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[109] State of the World's Indigenous Peoples, a UN DESA publication.

In Argentina, the MAR estimate of the indigenous population is 6% (2.3 million), while EPR speaks about 1% (400,000) Quechua only. MRG also speaks about 400,000 Quechua, but this is the minimum number for the Quechua foreigners entering from Bolivia in search of work. Argentina's own indigenous population, composed of some 16-20 groups, among which the Mapuche are the most numerous, is estimated to 1% altogether. Yet, on the one hand, there are another 0.5% declaring their indigenous roots, but not living with indigenous communities. And on the other hand, there are 8% Mestizos in the country, who are not added either to the category "Argentinian" or to that of "Quechua" by EPR, but may contribute to the high percentage given by MAR to indigenous people. In my "data collection" datasheet, I have added separate categories for "Quechua guestworkers" (2%) and "Argentinian other: Mestizos, Asians, Arabs" (12%). Yet, in the operational dataset, I keep only the "Quechua guestworkers" as a separate entry, while the "Argentinian other" comes to be collapsed into the pre-existing "Argentinian" category.

The data collection sheet intends to document all choices that I had to make, and I tried to enhance its navigation with a color coding. The original EPR and MAR data are on black fonts; my additions are on red font. Groups that are included in MAR, but not in EPR, are marked with blue color. I have also used a double heading. The lower header is the variable name, while the upper header refers to the source of the variables. In this first phase I have expanded the dataset in four ways.

(i) I added cases, mainly additional groups in already included countries, but also 30 countries. There are 62 independent states that did not make the EPR country list, of which 32 do not satisfy the criteria to be included in my dataset, either. Most of them are too small, and some do not have any well outlined minority group of above 1%. The rest of 30 countries have entries in my dataset, and 12 of them have minority groups that occur in MAR, as well. The new countries are Bahrain, Bhutan, Burkina Faso, Cyprus, Denmark, Djibouti, Equatorial Guinea, Fiji, Germany, Guyana, Iceland, Ireland, Italy, Korea Republic, Libya, Mauritius, Montenegro, Norway, Oman, Papua New Guinea, Portugal, Quatar, Singapore, Somalia, Suriname, Swaziland, Sweden, Tanzania, United Arab Emirates, and Uruguay.[110] Basic information about the newly added groups, such as size and proportion, was taken from the MRG knowledge base, and this latter also helped me to allocate values on two

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[110] There is a smaller dataset labeled "EPR version 2," which, as of February 2012, contained data on Bahrain, Bhutan, Cyprus, Djibouti, Fiji, and Guyana, but practically on only one variable, the power status. I used this source for the additional cases, as documented in the Codebook and the data collection sheet.

main EPR variables, expressing the power status of the groups, and their past conflicts with each other.

(ii) I imported a variable of country population size from the US Census Bureau website (US_CPOP), which helped me calculate the EPR group sizes on the basis of their proportion estimate.

(iii) I established three columns (variables) for capturing the MRG size and proportion estimates, as well as other important information about the groups. These columns are not meant to be variables, and they are not copied into the operative datasheet.

(iv) I introduced three variables of my own, labeled "My_proportion" (for group proportion), "Minority," and "Minority_type." *My_proportion* is the size of the group that – after consulting a number of sources – I deem to be the most accurate. *Minority* distinguishes between minority and plurality groups, while allowing for a multiple plurality third option. The decision rule was to take the largest citizen group for plurality, and all others for minority. Multiple plurality cases emerged when two or three communal groups occurred aggregated in one of my sources and disaggregated in the other. Yet, another way to distinguish between minorities and pluralities is to take for minority all groups in a country that are below the 50% threshold. I think that both decision rules are legitimate and defensible.[111] *Minority_type* replicates the plurality (p) and multiple plurality (m_p) values, but the minority groups are further classified as historical, new immigrant (after WWII), non-citizen, and secessionist groups. Secessionist minorities are those who live in *de facto* separated regions but without the plurality's consent for separation (e.g. Turkish Cypriots, and Transnistrians), or (ii) without the terms of separation being settled between minority and plurality (e.g. Palestinians in the West Bank and Gaza).

I think that these distinctions are important, and that there are real conceptual and methodological challenges to lumping together non-citizens and new citizens, or migrant workers and immigrants, as minorities. On the one hand, the interest protection activity of newcomers is strictly circumscribed as compared to that of old, citizen minorities, even in democracies. For instance, the fact that both Germany and France are democracies does not mean that Turks in Germany can act in the same ways as citizen Arabs in France – let alone the choices available to Bretons or Occitans in France. On the other hand, economic inequality affects guestworkers and immigrants in other ways than the in-born population. The former typically come from poorer countries, and compare their condition not only with that of the host country nationals, but also with what they left behind. It is rather the second and third generation only who start feeling that their group's disadvantage is a social injustice.

[111] My INEQ_2, INEQ_3 and INEQ_4 variables are calculated with reference to a clear plurality (or multiple plurality) in a state.

In the next step, I worked on collecting and recording information on the inter-group economic inequality.

Step 2.
Adding the Group Inequality Variable

This seems to have been the lion's share and the heart of the data preparation work. I believe that previous trials to empirically support the claim that economic inequality breeds political conflict (that is, the EI-PC nexus), have only failed because of poor data.

Unfortunately, using first-rate inequality data is not an act of good intentions and diligence from the part of the researcher. Everybody who has worked with country inequality data, quintile income shares, poverty ratios and Gini indexes, knows that they are much harder to get than any other economic index, such as GDP, industrialization measures, competitiveness calculations and so on. And still, measures of "vertical inequality", which measures the economic distance between individuals (or families) making up the society without regard to the group segmentation of the societies, is more readily available than measures comparing the welfare of the communal groups. The only dataset that had a measure of "economic difference" (ECDIFF) was a previous edition of MAR, while the newest has only a measure of "economic discrimination" (ECDIS).

The reasons for not having measures of horizontal inequality are various, and "simple" neglect is only one of many. Some countries oppose collecting data on the race, ethnicity, or religion of the population on ideological grounds, claiming that the importance of an over-arching national identity should override these accidental traits. Often, the lack of data is related to trials of manipulating the statistical figures. In a world under the spell of nation-state ideologies, ruling elites have a visceral attraction toward denying the existence of salient minorities, downsizing their official figures, and creating as much illusion of homogeneity as possible. (Still more humane than *de facto* getting rid of minorities, through genocide, expulsion, forced assimilation and so on!).

Also, it often happens that the information is diligently collected in censuses, micro-censuses and official surveys, but the national statistical office does not pay attention to preparing the cross-tabulations which make the material standing of the communal groups visible. As far as I know, the strongest push thus far to change this practice

and make public the disaggregated economic measures, has come from IWGIA and was endorsed by the UN Permanent Forum of Indigenous Peoples, on behalf of the indigenous communities. My case with China may show a new dimension of the issue. On the official website of the Statistics Bureau, I could not access any economic or educational data disaggregated along minority group lines. Yet, an institution hosted by the University of Michigan, called "Chinadataonline," has had some minority*education cross-tabs, based on the 2005 Chinese official 1% microcensus - just that they charge a fee for accessing their treasures.

The case for most countries is that there is no officially collected statistical data available for comparing the economic standing of the communal groups, not even with proxies such as educational attainment, health condition, and life expectancy. My project would have been doomed without the possibility of relying on surveys.

Surveys come in many types and flavors, such as:

1. Official surveys, carried out by the national statistical offices, on large representative samples. For instance, many countries have periodic, institutionalized Household Income and Expenditure Surveys. (In my accounts of sources of information, these surveys are classified with other official statistical – national or international – data.)

2. Large-sample living conditions surveys. The first of these were initiated in third world countries by USAID in the 1980s. The surveys were meant to support charity work, to help channel aid where it was most needed. The flagship survey series is called Demographic and Health Surveys (DHS), but the same institution carries out malaria- and HIV-surveys, too. DHS-s are focused on health and reproductive health issues, record the educational level of the respondents, and take measurements of the household possessions (living arrangements, animal stock, land), on the basis of which the households are classified in 5 wealth quintiles. A very similar survey series is UNICEF's Multiple Indicator Cluster Survey (MICS), also recording educational attainment and wealth quintiles, with less emphasis on health conditions. Yet, none of these series has really targeted comparing ethnic groups within countries. Most surveys resulted in published Reports, but only accidentally do these mention any inter-group difference, and these accidental comparisons may not include all groups of interest. For my purpose, the Reports have not been useful at all – I needed the complete datasets to mine out the information of interest to me.[112] Fortunately, in 2006 UNESCO had the bright idea to put together a compilation of educational data from previous DHS-s and MICS-s.

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[112] The datasets are available with permission only. MICS is more generous, with one request I got access to the whole 3rd round of surveys. USAID expects separate requests of permission for each geographic country-group, and has a higher proportion of restricted data, which are not accessible at all.

This dataset was a kind of backbone of my enterprise, though UNESCO also often neglected to give disaggregation along ethnic or language lines, and I had to go to the original sources to get them.

3. Group-centered regional surveys of living conditions carried out under the aegis of international organizations. I have used two of these, for the Roma, and for the indigenous peoples. In the 2000s, UNDP conducted a two-wave survey series on the conditions of Roma in 12 Central-East European countries. The reports, and part of the data are freely available on a website hosted in Slovakia. In 2009, the International Labour Organization (ILO) published the conclusions of a research project carried out together with the African Commission on Human and Peoples' Rights (ACHPR).[113] The project aimed at detecting and showing up the legal practices that further the indigenous peoples' disadvantages, rather than measuring these disadvantages in themselves. Yet, a few statements, for instance, the claim that the health condition of the indigenous peoples is inferior to that of the non-indigenous peoples in all 24 countries studied, can be used as rules of thumb in comparing the groups. Some individual country reports are also available, I have used the one on Eritrea. There is a similar publication by the UN Department of Economic and Social Affairs, more exactly by the Permanent Forum on Indigenous Issues, "State of the World's Indigenous Peoples" (SOWIP), which I move in a next category of data-source because technically it is not a survey (in the sense of relying on fieldwork specially carried out for this publication). There is, on the other hand, a survey that concerns only one country, but seems to fit this category. In 2009, the ACHPR and IWGIA published a "Report of the African Commission's Working Group on Indigenous Populations/Communities," making public the results of a research and information visit to Libya in August 2005, where they studied the conditions of the Amazigh (Tuareg, Berber) population. With some hesitation, I would mention here the reports and other publications of the UN High Commissioners on Refugees and on Human Rights. Though dependable and authoritative sources, and providing a plethora of background information on the life conditions of certain groups, they are not really suitable sources for quantitative comparisons.

4. Opinion surveys. For this project, I used them in a very unusual way. I dealt with the demographics of the respondents only, such as race, ethnicity, religion, and language, cross- tabulated with income and/or education levels. Opinion surveys use much smaller samples than the above mentioned DHS and MICS, but specialists are pretty confident that when they are properly done, they are really representative of the whole population. Unfortunately, with smaller minority groups, it often happens that no representative gets in the sample; and it is really a great leap of faith to believe that, say, one Sorb picked up in a Germany-wide sample, is the average Sorb in all regards: ed-

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[113] Overview report of the research project by the International Labour Organization and the African Commission on Human and Peoples' Rights on the constitutional and legislative protection of the rights of indigenous peoples in 24 African countries / International Labour Office. – Geneva, ILO, 2009.

ucation, income, ideology – I wonder what his/her gender should be? I admit that very small minority samples are not the really dependable data. In general, I would not rely on information conveyed by samples below 20, with the exception of cases when two or more independent surveys concurred on the basic trends. (I took two separate waves of the same survey series as satisfying this criterion.) The opinion surveys that I used were the World Value Surveys, the International Survey Series Programme's 2003 round on National Identities and a number of regional Barometers. I was able to use the surveys that asked about one or more of the race, ethnicity, language, and religion of the respondents. I have not ventured in trying the Eurobarometers, for instance, because I know from previous experience that they neglect these questions. So do the Arab Barometer surveys, with the sole exception of the Lebanese survey. On the positive side, I was very lucky with the Afrobarometer, which systematically recorded all four of the above traits in most cases. Besides the 4 regional Barometer series (African Barometer, Arab Barometer, Asian Barometer and Latinobarometro), I was fortunate enough to be able to consult opinion survey data on Afghanistan collected by a research team commissioned by the Asia Foundation.

Further, a few compilations of data have helped me greatly. These are sources maintained by either international organizations or NGOs with global reach, and provide information collected by country or area specialists from various sources.

I have already mentioned the Minority Rights Group International, which has a hard copy publication called "World Directory of Minorities," but more comfortably for my purposes, maintains a website where we can search for either countries or groups. Another NGO, the International Work Group for Indigenous Affairs (IWGIA), publishes widely on "The Indigenous World," and also maintains a website for easy access to their knowledge base. I think that the UN/DESA publication "State of the World's Indigenous Peoples" (SOWIP) can be best labeled as a "compilation," too. And I do not think that there is anything pejorative in this term when applied to a publication that pulls together statistical and survey information from dozens of countries to give an accurate picture of the disadvantages suffered by aboriginal peoples. Finally, I have also used the US Library of Congress Country Studies series (http://www.loc.gov/rr/frd/), and, occasionally, the websites of certain minority groups (such as of the Buraku in Japan, Dom/Roma in Iran). More idiosyncratic sources were Amy Chua's 2002 book on advantaged minorities (such as the

Chinese diaspora in Asia and the Pacific) and, for instance, the website of the Bougainville Copper Inc. mining firm on clarifying the situation in Papua New Guinea.[114]

The sources used for each country are summed up, in Word format, in the Appendix attached to this chapter, and are included in the Excel-format Codebook accompanying my EPR_MAR_EXT dataset. (All sources are mentioned, with the sole exception of MRG, because it has some information about all countries and all minority groups – that is, I have used it for each country and each group.)

Out of these sources, I managed to mine out several indicators of inter-group inequality. I recorded 16 educational, and 13 economic indicators, plus two that involve health conditions, as well (life expectancy and HDI). Please find the list in Table_4.1 in a tabulated form:

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[114] The mine was the single main cause of the Bougainvillean separatist movement, and its closure, then re-opening, tightly interwoven with the evolution of the majority-minority relationships.

Table 4.1:   Indicators of inter-group economic inequality

Educational indicators:	
mo_literacy_A	Women literacy rate (from the UNESCO DME file)
eduyears_17_22_A	Average number of years of schooling pop 17-22 (from the UNESCO DME file)
eduyears_23_27_A	Average number of years of schooling pop 23-27 (from the UNESCO DME file)
Illiteracy%	Rate of illiterate people
Primary_compl%	Rate of those who completed primary education
High_sch_compl%	Rate of those who completed secondary education
<=4 sch_yrs	Rate of those with less than primary education
>12 sch_yrs	Rate of those with more than secondary education
Edu_yrs_17+	Average number of years of schooling pop above 17 years
Sch_yrs 15+	Average number of years of schooling pop above 15 years
ED3a (MICS 6-point scale)	Average educational attainment on a scale used by MICS in certain countries
Educ.att_1-10	Average educational attainment on a scale used by Afrobarometer
Educ.att_ 0-6	Average educational attainment on scales used by other surveys
Economic indicators	
Wealth_Quintile_Index	Average on the Wealth Index Quintile value of the households
Wealth	Household wealth (assets) assessments (e.g. in the UK)
Pisa_ESCS	Average on the Pisa tests economic and social classification of the students
Poverty%	Rate of the poor (below a certain poverty line)
Income_gap	Difference between the average (or median) incomes of the groups
Consumption_gap	Difference between the average (or median) expenditures or consumption
Unemployment%	Rate of unemployed people
WVS_income	Average on the 10-point income scale used by the WVSs
ISSP_income	Average of the family incomes recorded by the ISSP surveys
ISSP_self-placement	Average of the respondents self-placement on a 10-point material well-being scale
Niveaux_vie	Disposable income in euros
GDP_subnational	GDP/cap (mostly in PPP) of certain sub-national regions
Development_small_area	Regional development index based on several economic indicators
Health and composite indicators	
Life_expectancy	Life expectancy at birth in certain sub-national regions
HDI_subnational	HDI calculated for certain sub-national regions

Note: A series of mo_literacy_B, eduyears_17_22_B and eduyears_23_27_B was used along the series ending in "A." They measure the same things as the "A" series, but at "B" I entered values for a different definition of the group. If "A" was according to ethnicity, "B" was according to language or region

The next task was to make these indicators comparable by converting them into a unique inequality scale. First I considered working out a replica of the older MAR versions' ECDIFF indicator. Yet, the existence of the Wealth Quintile Index (WQI) in DHS and MICS suggested a different method that led to a slightly different result.

Since I had the "real" WQI in a number of countries, I decided to include an inequality measure that simply spells out the position of the groups on this WQI scale. I only made a slight modification of the original values: I brought them to the closest value divisible with 0.25. Instead of a fully continuous scale between 1 and 5, I set up a 17-point scale:

| 1 | 1.25 | 1.5 | 1.75 | 2 | 2.25 | 2.5 | 2.75 | 3 | 3.25 | 3.5 | 3.75 | 4 | 4.25 | 4.5 | 4.75 | 5 |

This measure I labeled "INEQ_1." And I included a second inequality measure (INEQ_2), which is closer to being a replica of the ECDIFF indicator. As a conceptual difference from INEQ_1, this involves determining, in each country, who is the majority group, and who are the minorities. This may be controversial in certain cases, because of various reasons.

First, a large number of countries do not have a clear majority, but are composed of a number of groups, where the largest may not exceed 20%. Answering this situation, I set up two categories for the communal groups: plurality and minority. The INEQ_2 indicator records the distance of each minority from the plurality, defined as the group with the largest proportion in the population.[115] There are three issues with this approach:

- Groups in the developing countries, and mainly in Africa, are often fluid coalitions of tribal groups. One group that today is the plurality, may split by tomorrow, and another two or more groups may come together in a unitary cluster. Fortunately, I focus my analysis on such a short time span when the groups can be taken for reasonably well outlined.

- The most numerous group may not be the politically most significant, and the one that traditionally controls the state. Mainly in Africa, political power has long been possessed by small elite groups such as whites, American Liberians, Tutsis, etc. Yet, our political ideals and sense of social justice say that these are anomalies. The norm is or should be that the most numerous groups have the most voice in politics, too. And there is, undeniably, a historical trend toward this condition. The current salient examples of ruling minorities are in the Arab world, rather than in Africa. The most typical example is Bahrain, where a Shi'a majority has been ruled for centuries by a Sunni dynasty.

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[115] Technically, I coded the poorer-than-the-plurality groups with positive values, and the wealthier-than-the-plurality groups with negative values. One unit of INEQ_2 scale difference is equal with a 0.5 WQI distance, thus the maximum distance between two groups may be 8 units. (In the data collection sheet the negative values are preceded by an "x" placeholder, as my Excel may go berserk from cells whose content starts with the minus sign.)

- In other Gulf Arab countries, the "ruling elite" problem has a special dimension to it: citizenship. That is, the largest group is that of non-nationals. There are 58% Palestinians in Jordan versus 40% Jordanian Arabs; there are 75% non-citizen guestworkers in Qatar versus 25% citizens; there are 80% foreigners in the United Arab Emirates versus 18% national Sunnis; and there are 35% Palestinian Arabs in Israel versus 24% Ashkenazim Jews, if we take, as it is *de facto*, the Israel-occupied Palestinian Territories for part of Israel. My solution was to take for plurality the largest citizen group, and non-citizen groups, however large, are coded "minority."[116]

Once the INEQ_1 variable was worked out and the plurality/minority classification decided, the INEQ_2 coding has become easy. But allocating the INEQ_1 values raised issues of converting educational and health data into WQI estimates. This part of the work was greatly helped by a number of countries in which I had the WQI measurements in parallel with other indicators. Table_4.2 shows a sample of equivalences, which served as guides for my conversion activity – I would call this my "Rosetta Stone." Unfortunately, these Rosetta Stone cases allow for probabilistic conversion rules only. They have not led to absolutely rigorous equivalences. The value of an education year, as expressed in WQI values, ranges from 0.25 to 1. There are a number of idiosyncratic factors that influence the relationships among the features of interest. For instance, in the case of Muslims, lower education values may be associated with a certain WQI score, than in the case of non-Muslims. In countries with national health service, better life expectancy and general health indicators may be associated with a certain WQI score, than in countries with fully market-based health care systems. All these impacts are uncharted territory, and I was left with the responsibility to pick up a unique value within the interval determined by the stochastic conversion rules. My choices can be scrutinized in the data collection sheet, which contains both the original datapoint and my value allocation based on it.

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[116] In Israel, since Palestinians living in the West Bank and Gaza are not really citizens of Israel, the Ashkenazim Jews were coded as plurality.

Table 4.2:   Sample list of measurement equivalences

Poverty rates (UNDP, UN_ESA):
    In Macedonia: 33 vs 7% is 2 units on the WQI scale
    In Montenegro: 27 vs 1% is 1.75 units on the WQI scale
One education year in the adult population:
    In Bangladesh: approx. 0.25 on the WQI scale (agegroup)
    In Bosnia-Herzegovina: approx 0.5 on the WQI scale (agegroup)
    In Cameroon: approx 1.00 on the WQI scale (agegroup)
    In Cote d'Ivoire: approx. 0.25 on the WQI scale (agegroup)
    In Macedonia: approx. 0.75 on the WQI scale (agegroup)
    In Montenegro[117]: approx 0.75 on the WQI scale (agegroup)
    In Sierra Leone: approx 0.50 on the WQI scale (agegroup)
    In Vietnam: approx 0.50 on the WQI scale (agegroup)
    In Laos: approx 1.00 on the WQI scale (population above 17 yrs)
    In Uzbekistan: approx 1.00 on the WQI scale (population above 15 yrs)
Illiteracy rate (IWGIA):
    In Vietnam: 3% literacy vs 90% is 2.5 on the WQI scale
% below primary (or <4yrs of school):
    In Macedonia: 43 vs 15% is 2 on the WQI scale
    In Montenegro: 71 vs 8% is 1.75 on the WQI scale
% above secondary (>12yrs of school):
    In Macedonia: 0 vs 16% is 2 on the WQI scale
    In Montenegro: 0 vs 26% is 1.75 on the WQI scale

Some further randomness of the conversions comes from the fact that I had to work, as the DHS and MICS did, with quintiles – as opposed to using more fine-ground intervals, such as deciles or percentages. In the case of quintiles, the upper category may be very heterogeneous, consisting of 19% of the population who are only imperceptibly slightly richer than the rest of 80%, and of 1% who are *extremely* rich. Thus I also took into account the country specific distribution of the indicators (e.g. average schooling, minimum, maximum education) besides applying the average value inferable from the above examples. I hope that most of my coding is reasonably adequate; but there are cases where I have long hesitated before making my choices.

On the one hand, it happened that my data contained slight inconsistencies which allowed for different coding. With an example personally affecting me as a Hungarian, the condition of Hungarians in Romania and in Slovakia allowed for coding either

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[117] Based on the relation between Montenegrins and Serbs. When Muslim populations are involved, the education gap for the same WQI scale distance may be much larger, because Muslims are less willing to invest in the education of women. In Montenegro, woman literacy for the preponderantly Muslim Albanians and Bosniaks is 75 and 73%, respectively, while among Christians and atheists it is 89%.

equality or slight difference (0.25 on the WQI scale).[118] I chose, finally, the values less favorable for Hungarians on the basis of the general rule that it is always harder for minorities to maintain their living standards than it is for the majorities. Whatever is their condition, it takes them more effort to maintain it, as they incur extra costs.

On the other hand, I was seriously disturbed by cases when the "traditional" economic patterns were disrupted for the period studied and I am afraid that these cases may weaken the support for my main hypothesis. For instance, for the period 2003-2006, I had to code Bougainvilleans in Papua New Guinea as equal with the rest of the population, as the copper mine in Bougainvillea, the cause of a long secession war, was closed down. It is also the case of the Russians "in the near abroad" and of whites in Zimbabwe, that their relative wealth, which, according to my hypothesis, motivated animosity against them, mostly dissipated after more than a decade of adverse policies (in the CIS), or land expropriations (in Zimbabwe).

The INEQ_2 indicator is the best replica of MAR's ECDIFF that I could achieve, and I hope that it may become a useful tool for mapping the relative wealth status of minorities worldwide. Yet, my basic hypothesis about the impact of economic inequality is basically symmetrical: I think that the wealth gap induces animosity in both cases, be the minorities either richer or poorer than the majority. This means that my main explanatory variable is, in fact, INEQ_3, a measure in which the distances of the advantaged minorities occur not with a minus, but with a plus sign.

A last issue that I had to address with the creation of a new INEQ variable is the fact that the economic distances between the lowest and the highest quintile are not the same in each country. The Gini indexes, which express the distance between the poorest and the wealthiest in cross-national comparison, have been used to synthesize information from the inter-group and the vertical inequality measurements. Technically, Gini was multiplied by my variable measuring the economic distance of each minority

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[118] In Romania, the life expectancy values suggested equality, the education data slight disadvantage. In Slovakia, regional data suggested slight advantage, ISSP survey results suggested equality.

group from the country's plurality, in absolute values, and the resulting variable, substantially INEQ_3 scaled to Gini, has been labeled INEQ_4.[119]

Yet, before implementing this step, which involved adding country-level measurements to EPR_MAR_EXT, I worked on adding more group-level data.

Step 3. Assigning Values
to the New Groups on Certain EPR and MAR Variables

The basic version of EPR is the first, which can be obtained from the Harvard dataverse, labeled "EPR_groupyear_v.1.1". The authors of the dataset have not ceased making improvements to it, but the new developments go beyond a simple group-year-political status spreadsheet. The Swiss ETHZ has established a data portal called "GROWup" (http://www.icr.ethz.ch/data), which, as of February 2012, offered:

(i) a geographically referenced version of EPR (GeoEPR-ETH Version 2.0);

(ii) a short completion to EPR v1, called EPR v2; and

(iii) a dataset called ACD2EPR Docking Version 1.2, which is said to link the conflicts recorded in ACD v.4-2010 to the groups listed in EPR v.2.0. The codebook attached to this, called "GROW[up] Research Front-End Documentation, RFE Release 1.0," compiled by Philipp Hunziker in November 2011, highlights the existence of a new variable, computed from the simple nominal [power-]status variable that occurs in EPR v.1. The nominal scale is transformed into an ordinal, and is being labeled "pwrrank." Its description states that "higher values correspond to more powerful groups, i.e. variable ranges from 1 (Discriminated) to 7 (Monopoly), whereas Regional Autonomy and Separatist Autonomy are both assigned the value 3." Since this transformation is very useful for analyses, I decided to compute the analogous ordinal measure for my groups, as well.

Yet, previously I had to assign values on some basic EPR variables. I estimated that the three EPR variables the most useful for my purposes are the [*power-]status*

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[119] Since the plurality groups are coded 0 in INEQ_3, the INEQ_4 variable does not carry information about the vertical inequality typifying the majority group, and in this sense INEQ_4 is not a full-fledged interaction term of vertical and horizontal inequalities. Thus I have also computed the INEQ_3*Gini interaction term by adding 1 to all INEQ_3 values and multiplying with Gini afterwards. I expected this latter variable, INEQ_5, to save me the separate use of Gini in certain models. However, the country-level analysis has evidenced that horizontal and vertical inequality have different impact patterns, horizontal inequality affecting communal conflicts, while vertical inequality affecting social conflicts, thus their interaction term is torn between opposite tendencies.

(string), *warhist* (War_history), and *gpeaceyrs* (Group_peace_years). From *status*, a number of other variables, such as *Stat* (numeric), *Egip* (ethnic group in power), and *Excluded* (ethnic group excluded from power) can immediately be computed, besides the *Pwrrank* (Power_rank).

A total of 324 new groups were added to the 733 original EPR groups. Of the 324, 71 have been groups contained by MAR 2004-2006, while others were included in EPR_MAR_EXT based on MRG data.

As already mentioned, EPR neglected the non-citizen groups, and small, weak groups without significant political representation also tended to remain below its radar. Yet, a number of groups, mainly the MAR groups, had to be added because of the different definition of certain groups in the two sources. For instance, in Canada, EPR has one common entry for "French speakers," while MAR distinguishes between "Quebecois" and "French Canadians." This means two groups added, but, in the final version of my dataset, I have to drop the collapsed category of "French speakers," thus the real lengthening of the group list is one, only.

In the case of these partly overlapping groups, the values on the *status, warhist*, and *gpeaceyrs* measures were simply copied from the corresponding EPR v1.1 measures. In a number of other cases, such as Bahrain, Butan, Fiji, and Guyana, I could rely on EPR v.2, at least for determining the [Power_]*status*. For all other cases, I mainly relied on MRG summaries, but obviously, the MAR accounts have also been of great help, where they existed. The sources used for assigning values are referred to in the codebook (its sheet labeled "EPR completing"). There is a separate column to mark whether the group is included in the MAR database or not. Some value allocations based on trivia, such as "discriminated" for Roma, and "no war" for non-citizen groups, are marked "general."

In a first step, I have just tried to emulate the EPR's value assignment on *status, warhist*, and *gpeaceyrs* measures. In a second step, I transformed the [power_]status variable in an ordinal scale, following the suggestions found in the GROWup. The scale values are: 1= Discriminated; 2= Powerless and Non-citizen; 3= Regional Autonomy, Separatist Autonomy, and Irrelevant; 4= Junior partner; 5= Senior partner; 6= Dominant; and 7= Monopoly.

The *war_history* and *group_peace_years* measures have not perfectly been suitable for my purposes. I wanted to include a variable summarizing the history of the

groups (whether they experienced high animosity, violence against each other in the past, or not). The problem with the EPR measures is their very accuracy. EPR counts the conflict episodes since 1946, but for newer states, such as for Latvia, from 1992 only, and for new immigrant groups, such as Israel's Russians, since the 1980s. Thus some post-1946 conflicts, which happened within the frames of another state formation, do not show up in the accounts, and the number of violent episodes is not comparable across groups, since they do not refer to the same time interval. The years of peace are incomparable, as well, because of the same concerns. I think that the best available solution is to take the ratio of the two measures: *war_history* divided by *group_peace_years* (and multiplied by 100, to spare decimals) should give a comparable measure of conflictual past (Past_violence), though the problem of the newly created states which experienced violence between groups before breaking free, still persists. Most typically, this is the problem of the former colonies. The small groups of whites living in Swaziland or Zimbabwe are obviously coded with "0" violent episodes; yet, the populations concerned have not forgotten the ordeals of colonialism and liberation war. Any correction to Past_violence in this sense could be done only manually, on a case-by-case basis, bringing about Past_violence2, with the corrections documented in the Codebook.

The completions made to the MAR data have been simpler. I have needed the MAR grievance indicators as my dependent variables for measuring inter-group animosity below the violent conflict level. MAR included three types of grievance measures: political, economic, and cultural grievances, all three conceived as ordinal scales. For my purposes, a unique measure of grievance would have been more advantageous, but the three types cannot be combined in a unique ordinal scale because of too low correlation values among them (maximum 0.59). Thus I created a simple dummy for marking the presence of a grievance of any type and any strength during the three years included in the newest MAR dataset, named "any_grievance_in_MAR", and proceeded to allocate values on all four grievance indicators (any_grievance, political_grievance, economic_grievance, cultural_grievance) to all groups. For the groups included in MAR, I have used the original values unchanged. For the groups not included in MAR, which otherwise would have satisfied the MAR size criteria (above 100,000 members, or above 1% of the population of a country with a population of more than 500,000), the default value

is 0, that is, no grievance, on all three variables. I diverged from this rule in only five cases:

(i) Groups classified by EPR as "discriminated" received "1" on the political grievance measure;

(ii) Groups classified by EPR as "separatist autonomy" received "4" on the political grievance measure;

(iii) In countries whose population is not convincingly above 500,000,[120] or in the case of groups not convincingly above 100,000 members, or above 1% of the population of a country, thus in cases in which MAR could have refrained from including the group because of the size threshold, I assigned the values which seemed the most plausible based on other sources, primarily MRG. Ultimately, there was only one such case added: the Inuits (Greenlanders) of Denmark.

(iv) Two (clan) groups in Somalia, torn by internal conflict, were not assigned values on the grievance indicators.

(v) Since no human enterprise and no dataset is fully immune to error, I devised a method to check on the comprehensiveness of the MAR grievance indicators by testing (i) the internal cohesiveness of the MAR data, and (ii) their compatibility with another conflict dataset. This resulted in corrections made to 30 cases. (The details are included in the Codebook's "MAR completing" sheet.)

The idea was to test whether MAR has recorded "grievance" in all cases when MAR itself indicates high political mobilization or other expressions of inter-communal tension; and when the CONIS dataset marks the presence of a conflict. Technically, I relied on three dummies:

i. One dummy ("any grievance in MAR") showing "1" when any grievance of any strength exists[121];

ii. One dummy ("any conflict in MAR") showing "1" when MAR detects any of six expressions of conflict[122];

iii. One dummy ("any conflict in CONIS") showing "1" when the CONIS data mark conflict.

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[120] Suriname's 2004 census found 492,829 people there. The UN estimate is that in 2005 Suriname crossed the 500,000 threshold, but the CIA World Factbook lists it with a below-500,000 population. I included Suriname in my dataset, but left out Solomon Islands, which is in a very similar situation, around 500,000 in 2005.

[121] As previously specified, this means a value of 1 of the dummy when any of the 9 entries to the 3 grievances in 3 years - 2004-06 - is different from zero.

[122] I took for expression of live conflict the below MAR codings: live separatism (SEPX >0); group mobilization beyond parties (GOJPA > 2); intercommunal conflict (INTERCON >0); larger protest activity (PROT>2); and rebellion (REB >0).

The theoretical expectation was that

$$\text{any\_grievance\_in\_MAR} \geq \text{any\_conflict\_in\_MAR} \geq \text{any\_conflict\_in\_CONIS}$$

Out of 876 cases, only 68 showed a different pattern (including the two groups with internal issues in Somalia).

I checked on these 68 cases one-by-one, and in 30 cases I decided to change the grievance values from 0 to 1. The reasons are documented in the Codebook. Some corrections seem to have the support of the MAR qualitative summaries. For instance, the quantitative MAR dataset codes the Russians in Turkmenistan without grievance, while the qualitative comments admit that they have experienced very tough times since the early 1990s, and suffered various discrimination policies. Yet, they cannot voice their grievances directly, and their main interest protection mechanism is to ask for the support of the Russian government. And further, since their main defense against oppression is emigration, they are near to dropping out of the monitored-size minority lists completely.

As a final outcome, the "any grievance in MAR" indicator has been doubled with a second version, in which 30 cases have been changed in order to achieve more consistency with other information available. This measure, labeled "any_gr_MAR2", was used in analyses in Chapter 5, as a general grievance measure, along the domain-specific economic, political, and cultural grievance indicators.

Yet, beyond the grievance indicators, I needed measures of communal conflict for my models. EPR's war history is about the past; I was looking for data documenting communal violence in a period succeeding the time span for which I have had measurements of the explanatory variables.

Step 4.
Adding HIIK's CONIS and UCDP/PRIO Armed Conflict Data

The most comprehensive dataset on violent conflicts worldwide is Uppsala University's and PRIO's common venture, officially labeled UCDP/PRIO Armed Conflict Dataset, of which 4th version (Version 4-2010) was the one that I downloaded and used. The UCDP/PRIO defines conflict as: "a contested incompatibility that concerns government and/or territory where the use of armed force between two parties, of which at least

one is the government of a state, results in at least 25 battle-related deaths." It is to be added that the 25 battle-related deaths have to occur per year, in order that a certain year be recorded in UCDP/PRIO. Thus it is only relatively very bloody and militarized conflicts making their way into this dataset. UCDP reacted to this limitation by bringing about a dataset on "Low intensity conflicts," but currently this is available up to the year 2004 only, which does not help in searching for conflicts after 2005.

Fortunately there is an alternative. The Heidelberg Institute for International Conflict Research (HIIK) in the Department of Political Science, University of Heidelberg, has been publishing annual "Conflict Barometers" since 1992, grounded in a database called CONIS (Conflict Information System; its previous name was Cosimo or Kosimo). The violence threshold for inclusion in CONIS is lower than that in UCDP/PRIO. They classify conflicts in five categories, on an ordinal scale of intensity levels: 5 = war; 4 = severe crisis; 3 = crisis; 2 = manifest conflict; 1 = latent conflict. The yearly reports, that is, the Conflict Barometers, are publicly and freely downloadable, thus I could use the Conflict Barometers for the years 2006 through 2010.

The CONIS data give the country, the parties to a conflict, the conflict items, the start date of the conflict, and its intensity on their 5-point scale. I worked on singling out the conflicts pertinent to my inter-group relations-focused project. I selected the conflicts that

(i) involved at least one domestic group (that is, intra-state conflicts).

(ii) were inter-communal as compared with my existing list of groups (that is, intra-communal affairs were neglected).

(iii) can be defined as minority versus power-holding group (that is, fought by a minority excluded from power against a group coded as Junior partner, Senior partner, Dominant, and Monopoly; or fought by a Junior partner against a Senior partner).[123]

Applying these criteria to the UCDP/PRIO dataset, too, we get a sample of UCDP/PRIO cases that are CONIS cases, as well. Or otherwise, the UCDP/PRIO cases are the bloodiest CONIS cases. I worked on assigning one summative CONIS intensity

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[123] Since conditions (ii) and (iii) are difficult to conclude on, in the data collection sheet there are more conflicts included than in the operational. It took me some time to reach a decisions with regard to some of them. The final choices are on black fonts. Also, where a communal group appeared to be involved in more conflicts (supporting two or more militant groups), the intensity indicators of the most violent conflict were included in the operational dataset.

measure to all cases imported in my dataset, and then on a more synthetic intensity measure, which takes into account the UCDP/PRIO data, as well. The first is the 5-year average of the CONIS intensity levels (Conis_intensity), while the second is a more complicated formula, taking into account the length of the conflict, and, with increased weight, the years during which the conflict was so intense that it was recorded in the UCDP/PRIO Armed Conflicts Dataset (Intensity_index).[124]

Step 5.
Adding Country-Level Data and Calculating a Few Indexes

A last important step was merging the group-level dataset with a dataset that contains country-level measurements. This latter was prepared for covering a longer timespan than the group-level data, because of reasons unrelated to the analysis to be done in Chapter 5.[125] That is, my country-level dataset covers the years 1999 through 2010, though most variables are available for a part of these years, only.

The full list of variables included in the country-level dataset, with their sources, is shown here in Appendix 2 in Word format; a more elaborated form of this codebook occurs in the Excel file (Codebook and notes). I collected data on ethnic, linguistic, and religious fractionalization, on economic development level (such as GDP/capita, Human Development Index, life expectancy), on democracy (such as the Freedom House ratings, Fh_ipolity2, and political terror scales[126]), on electoral family, on economic, social and political globalization (known as the KOF measures), on good governance (such as the Worldwide Governance Indicators) and state repressiveness, on the unemployment of young males, as well as on vertical inequality. Most of these measures are meant to serve as control variables in the regression models, but the Gini has also been used for scaling my group-level communal inequality index (that is, for calculating INEQ_4 from

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[124]   The formula is the sum of Conis_intensity (=HIIK average intensity), HIIK years out of 2006-2010/10, HIIK historical years/100, and UCDP years out of 2005-2009.

[125]   They are related to the possibility of an independent, country level test of the EI-PC nexus, based on some newer country-level measurements available for the years after 2006 only. This analysis is presented in Chapter 7.

[126]   These two scales, by Amnesty International and the US State Department, measure the terror exerted by the regime toward its citizens.

INEQ_3). A number of variables, such as the country-level violence indicators (Global Peace Index, Failed States Index) will be dealt with in Chapter 7 only.

A pair of institutional variables that may need explanation are *Communal-_division* and *Communal_sub_division*. For a long period, the profession has been disputing the comparative advantages of the Lijphartian (power-sharing) and Horowitzian (integrative) institutional designs. An institutional feature that could distinguish between the two proposals is decentralization along communal lines versus decentralization cross-cutting the communal lines, which addresses the difference between Lijphart's advocacy of communal power-sharing, and Horowitz's advocacy of communally mixed regions that create new loyalties. My new variables intend to capture the ways in which sub-national administration is done. They measure the degree to which the federal boundaries (Communal_division), on the one hand, and the administrative sub-divisions (Communal_sub_division), on the other, are traced with respect to the settlement patterns of the communal, mainly ethnic, groups. I worked out a 5-point ordinal scale, on which 1 means "no concern for ethnic settlement patterns" (the Horowitzian ideal), and 5 is the full respect for them, such as in the Belgian federalism. This latter can be said to be the Lijphartian ideal, but only when it is paired with high decentralization values, the measurement of which comes in separate Federalism_index and Decentralization_index measures. My federalism measure has been compiled from six federalism measures (four contained in the Quality of Government dataset, two contained in Pippa Norris's Democracy dataset), while the decentralization index has been compiled from five decentralization measures contained in the Database of Political Institutions (DPI) 2011. While my main purpose in the data analytic step is to demonstrate the impact of the INEQ variables on inter-group hostility (measured with grievances, and conflict indicators), testing the impact of the institutions is a theoretically and morally challenging task, without which our picture about the impact of other explanatory variables would not be complete.

Technically, I merged a cleaned and simplified version of the group-level dataset with the country-level dataset, in order to get a dataset easier to handle than the fully annotated data-collection version would have been.

Finally, for the sake of using multiple years in the models, some variables, which in the data collection versions were displayed for the target year 2005 only, such as the group proportion, group size, minority-plurality and minority type classifications, as well

as the INEQ measures, have been extended onto neighboring years, from 2003 to 2007. And two technically necessary variables have been created, the numeric versions of Minority (Minority2) and Minority_type (Minority_type2).

With this, the dataset became ready to be fed into SPSS, and I could embark on the data analysis.

Yet finally, in order to check on the validity of my INEQ values by comparing them to similar measurements elaborated for countries, I have constructed a country-level inter-group inequality measure out of my group-level horizontal inequality measures. For each country, I calculated the standard deviation of the groups' WQI values, as captured by INEQ_1. The resulting country-level variable, "standard deviation of INEQ_1," was tested for correlation with the two measurements of horizontal inequality that we possess. One measure, due to Baldwin & Huber (2010), exists for 46 countries only, and my "St_dev_of_INEQ" is correlated with it at 0.450 across these cases. The other measure has been brought about by the Fund for Peace as a part-indicator of their Failed States index, and it covered 142 countries in 2006. Across these 142 cases, my "St_dev_of_INEQ" is correlated with it at 0.269, while the Baldwin and Huber measure achieved a correlation of 0.562 (across 45 cases). While these associations may not seem to be high, they are certainly highly significant, and Chapter 7 will provide support for the claim that they affect the dependent variables in very similar ways.

On group level, it is only the MAR economic discrimination measure that can be compared with my INEQ measures, and the correlation coefficient between the MAR measure and my INEQ_1 is -0.452, across 282 common cases. Again, the affinity between the measures will be tested through their behavior in regressions. Chapter 6 presents a number of models in which inter-group inequality is measured by either the MAR indicator or my own variable, alternately, toward the same effect.

Chapter 5.

Analyzing the EPR_MAR_EXT Dataset

This chapter aims at exploring the dataset presented in the previous chapter, named EPR_MAR_EXT, and offering basically group-level information about the relationships studied. While the main goal is building regression models with maximum explanatory power, and showing how inter-group economic inequality contributes to this explanatory power, I would like to evidence all important features of the context within which these regression models function. That is, the chapter will unfold through two introductory data analysis sections before arriving at the regression models, and the subsequent discussion and conclusion parts.

The Groups

The dataset includes 876 groups, out of which 16 cannot be included into analyses. These are minority groups in China, all below 1 million people, for which I failed to get data on their economic standing, and subsequently I have not allocated values to them on a number of variables.[127] Of the 860 groups for which I have most essential indicators, 153 are plurality groups, and 4 are multiple pluralities. This also highlights that there are 155 countries in the sample.

The number of minority groups is 703. As Table_5.1 shows, most of them are old, historical minorities, but approximately 10% are newer. Thirty-three groups that migrated into their country of residence after WWII are considered to mostly be citizens

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[127] Their names are Daur, Dongxiang, Gelo, Kirgiz, Lahu, Lisu, Maonan, Mulao, Naxi, Quiang, Salar, Sha, Shui, Tu, Wa, and Xibe. They are part of the EPR data, typically have regional autonomy, and none of them is included in MAR.

there, while thirty-five groups are not.[128] The nine secessionist minorities are all historical dwellers of their land. (They are the Turks in Cyprus, Abkhazians and Ossetians in Georgia, Palestinians in Israel, Transnistrians in Moldova, Saharawis in Morocco, Issaq and Dir in Somalia, and the Southerners in Sudan.)

Table 5.1:   Crosstabulation of the "Minority" and "Minority type" variables

| | Minority or plurality | | | |
	Plurality	Multiple plurality	Minority	Total
Plurality	153	0	0	153
Multiple plurality	0	4	0	4
Historical minority[129]	0	0	626	626
New minority (after WWII)	0	0	33	33
Secessionist minority	0	0	9	9
Non citizen	0	0	35	35
Total	153	4	703	860

Beyond the numbers associated with the groups, there are the individual people, and we may be both surprised by and impressed with the figures evidenced by the data. In 2005, not less than 34.86% of the population belonged to minorities, versus 64.88% belonging to pluralities. I have to admit, however, that I am providing these data for the 155 countries included in my sample, not for the whole world. In exact figures, my sample covers 97.5% of the world's population (more than 6.34 billion people), not the whole 100%, which has been estimated at 6.5 billion in 2005.

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[128] At an even closer look, some of the non-citizen groups struggle to obtain the citizenship of their new country, such as the Turks in Germany, while others are less motivated by getting citizenship than by getting certain citizenship rights extended onto lawful residents, such as the European Union expatriates in Spain, for instance. Yet, I cannot pursue further divisions within groups, the sample size does not allow for them.

[129] For substantial issues, an extended-sense "historical minority" seems to be more useful, which includes, besides this restricted-sense historical minorities, the nine secessionist minorities, and the four multiple pluralities, as well.

	Number of groups	Total people belonging to groups	Percent population	Mean	Standard Deviation
All countries (155)		6,364,692,050	100.00		
Plurality	153	4,129,725,941	64.88	26,991,673	107,194,933
Multiple plurality	4	16,896,789	0.27	4,224,197	2,176,352
Minority	703	2,218,069,319	34.85	3,155,148	10,512,560

Table 5.2:   Population as of 2005

The surprise may be augmented by counting as "real" plurality only those who belong to groups which include more than 50% of the population. As a matter of fact, there are only 104 groups out of the 153 marked as plurality that satisfy this criterion. The number of people making up these 104 groups is 3,464,219,598 versus the 2,900,472,452 people belonging to groups equal or smaller than 50%[130]. This is 54.4 percent versus 45.6 percent: my dataset shows the humanity as being almost evenly shared between people who may think in terms of "*our* nation-state" and people for whom this notion is problematic.[131]

The numbers are important because minorities are thought to be discontented groups almost by default. Indeed, 42% of the historical minorities score 1 on the "Any grievance in MAR" indicator. It happens, however, that there are not only minorities logging grievances, but 17% of the plurality groups as well, and 6.7% of the large, "real" pluralities comprising more than 50% of their country's population, also do. Table_5.3 names the seven large pluralities scoring 1 on the "Any grievance in MAR" indicator, as they are telling examples for the power of the accidental and contingent in history.

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[130] Actually this group includes three numeric pluralities, as well, out of which, though, two are non-citizen groups (foreigners in Qatar and UAE), and one is a new minority (Palestinians in Jordan).

[131] The countries of the European Union and the Community of Independent States are accounted here one-by-one, without reference to the EU or CIS. The possibility of supranationalism, however, adds one more dimension to the argument that nation-states are obsolete (or obsolescent).

Table 5.3:   Plurality groups above-50% of the population with grievances

Plurality groups larger than 50% of the population		Any_grievance MAR			Concrete case
		None	Yes	Total	
EPR power rank ordinal scale	Powerless or Non-citizen	2	1	3	Rwanda Hutus (pol.gr)
	Regional autonomy, Separatist autonomy, or Irrelevant	1	1	2	Bolivia Indigenous Highland Peoples (pol,econ,cult.gr)
	Junior partner	2	0	2	
	Senior partner	24	4	28	Belgium Flemings (cult.gr); Burundi Hutus (pol.gr); Iraq Shi'is (pol.gr);[132] Taiwan Taiwanese (cult.gr)
	Dominant	42	1	43	Fiji Fijians (econ.gr)
	Monopoly	26	0	26	
Total		97	8	104	

The main question we may ask with regard to types of groups is whether any group feature makes the communal groups more likely to have and express grievances. Data suggest that variations of the plurality/minority condition definitely count. Yet, a feature which is very often hypothesized to count toward the existence of hostility and conflict, is the size of the groups. In my sample, neither the size nor the proportion of the minority groups emerges as a serious predictor of grievances in bivariate relationships. Smaller pluralities, on the other hand, are significantly more likely to be grieved than larger pluralities. And one more meaningful pattern emerges from a correlation matrix of the Alesina fractionalization indicators with the grievance indicators. For minority groups, increasing fractionalization is negatively correlated with the amount and severity of grievances, while for pluralities, the pattern is opposite. Pluralities are likely to have more grievances (and conflicts) when the country's fractionalization is higher. Indirectly, this does justice to the polarization hypothesis of Reynal-Querol.[133]

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[132] The Hutus of Burundi and the Shi'a of Iraq reached their power position only recently, and they still harbor complaints and fight for assurances of their new condition.

[133] This assumption cannot very accurately be tested here as I do not have her polarization indexes for my groups. Fearon 2003 introduced the measures of "largest minority" and "proportion of plurality," which may be used as proxies for polarization, and these variables have been replicated in EPR_MAR_EXT, along with a measure of the difference between plurality and largest minority group.

Yet, before any bi- or multivariate analysis of the variables, I would like to give some further details about my cases, the groups. One important issue we have to bear in mind is that numerical majorities are not always the ones that have controlled the state, the power relations are a little more complicated, as Table_5.4 shows this.

Table 5.4:   Group type and Power rank crosstabulation

		Minority type						Total
		Plurality	Multiple plurality	Historical minority	New minority	Secessionist m.	Non-citizen	
EPR power rank ordinal scale	Discriminated	1	0	63	9	0	3	76
	Powerless, Noncitizen	13	0	187	16	0	32	248
	Regional autonomy, Separatist autonomy, Irrelevant	7	0	180	3	9	0	199
	Junior partner	11	3	142	5	0	0	161
	Senior partner	45	1	34	0	0	0	80
	Dominant	47	0	18	0	0	0	65
	Monopoly	29	0	2	0	0	0	31
Total		153	4	626	33	9	35	860

Of the weirdest cases, the discriminated plurality and one of the historical minorities in monopoly position are in Bahrain, while the other monopolist minority is Bhutan's Drupka (Ngalong) Buddhist elite. Despite the exceptions, the table makes it clear that pluralities have a significant edge on the power rank, and their advantages may be highlighted by comparing the group means, as well. Table_5.5 summarizes the groups' position on three measures that may greatly influence their objective and subjective well-being: on the political and economic ladders, as well as on the likelihood that they foster memories of recent violent episodes.

Typically, minorities are poorer than pluralities, and new minorities and non-citizens are poorer than the historical minorities. These trends are mitigated by the existence of a few advantaged minorities, as well as some wealthy expat communities, such as the EU retirees in Spain.

Table 5.5: Differences among types of group with regard to power and wealth

	EPR power rank ordinal scale		Group's Wealth Quintile value		Past violence index	
	N	Mean	N	Mean	N	Mean
Plurality	153	5.24	153	3.14	152	4.80
Multiple plurality	4	4.25	4	3.25	4	0.00
Historical minority	626	2.93	624	2.79	624	7.97
New minority (after WWII)	33	2.12	32	2.55	33	3.84
Secessionist minority	9	3.00	9	2.67	9	80.07
Non citizen	35	1.91	31	2.04	35	0.29
Total/ Average	860	3.28	853	2.81	857	7.66

Table_5.6 aims at visualizing the relationship between wealth and political power positions. In order to produce this table, I have created a dummy separating groups that are above 3, the middle value on the Wealth Quintile Index, and others that are below 3 or are exactly 3[134] Table_5.6 shows that while pluralities are reasonably likely to hold power be they either poor or rich, poor minorities are significantly less likely to be included in government than wealthier minorities. Unfortunately, both inclusion rates are low, but the 45.7% inclusion rate for relatively well-off minorities is much better than the 26.1% inclusion rate for poor historical minorities.

[134] Most really big pluralities take the value 3, this is how the WQ index and my INEQ_1 indicator were defined.

Table 5.6:   Group type and power position crosstabulation

Groups above 3 on the Wealth Quintile Index	Ethnic group in power		Total
	Excluded	In power	
Plurality	4 (6.2%)	61 (93.8%)	65 (100%)
Multiple plurality	0 (0%)	4 (100%)	4 (100%)
Historical minority	100 (54.35)	84 (45.7%)	184 (100%)
New minority (after WWII)	8 (88.9%)	1 (11.1%)	9 (100%)
Secessionist minority	4 (100%0	0 (0%)	4 (100%)
Non citizen	1 (100%)	0 (0%)	1 (100%)
Total	117 (43.8%)	150 (56.2%)	267 (100%)
Groups <= 3 on the Wealth Quintile Index	Excluded	In power	Total
Plurality	13 (14.8%)	75 (85.2%)	88 (100%)
Historical minority	325 (73.9%)	115 (26.1%)	440 (100%)
New minority (after WWII)	19 (82.6%)	4 (17.4%)	23 (100%)
Secessionist minority	5 (100%)	0 (0%)	5 (100%)
Non citizen	30 (100%)	0 (0%)	30 (100%)
Total	392 (66.9%)	194 (33.1%)	586 (100%)

Most theorists expect beneficial effects from cross-cutting cleavages. This is a belief shared by Donald Horowitz, for instance, and the sociologists contributing to the Stewart 2008 volume. I also expect political empowerment to mitigate the frustration caused by economic disadvantages. In general, the groups' position on the political power rank can be shown (as it has been shown previously by Cederman and co-authors) to be highly consequential for their animosity levels expressed in grievances and occurrence of inter-communal conflicts. Yet, my aim is to go a step farther: I would like to have a look at the institutions that may empower minorities. There is, unfortunately, a serious technical hurdle to this task, an artifact that I would call the "modernization paradox effect." In simple bivariate relationships, minorities seem to be politically better off in less developed countries. The EPR-based "power rank" ordinal variable and the "ethnic group in power" (egip) indicator are negatively correlated with indicators such as GDP and life expectancy. Further, the "modernization paradox effect" overspills onto a number of phenomena usually associated with development, such as democracy, proportional representation, and decentralization. Their measures are also negatively correlated with the power status measures, though these negative associations sink into insignificance in partial correlations or multivariate regression models in the presence of a

modernization/ development indicator. The emergence of this "modernization paradox effect" seems to be explained by the facts that there are larger pluralities in more developed countries, which never fail to be the politically strongest, and that there is, on the other hand, a larger proportion of non-citizen and new immigrant groups, which are, almost by definition, powerless.

On the economic side, the "modernization paradox effect" means that minorities tend to get relatively poorer, while pluralities, relatively richer, as the country's GDP increases. The Pearson correlation value between minority wealth quintile index (WQI, or my INEQ_1 variable) and GDP/capita is minus 0.143 across 696 cases in 2005, while the same WQI of the pluralities was correlated with GDP/capita at plus 0.3 (across 153 cases). Economic globalization of the country has the same negative association with the WQI position of minorities (r= --0.1), and both the economic development and globalization measures are positively associated with larger inter-group inequalities. There is here an antithetical trend of inter-group and inter-individual inequalities. The Gini index is known to be curvilinearly associated with the development indicators: it increases at the beginning of the modernization process, and starts to shrink with the establishment of welfare states in the most developed societies. As for my dataset, these antithetical trends are clearly marked by the correlation values between the five inequality measures and a number of development and globalization indicators (Table_5.7).

Table 5.7: Historical trends of horizontal and vertical inequalities[135]

	INEQ_1	INEQ_2	INEQ_3	INEQ_4	INEQ_5	GINI
	Group's WQI value	WQI distance from plurality (+, --)	WQI distance from plurality (+ only)	Group WQI distances (+) scaled to Gini	(Ineq_3 + 1) * Gini interaction term	Gini index
GDP per capita, PPP	-.143	.176				-.353
Life expectancy at birth, female	-.207	.221	.091			-.460
Overall globalization index (KOF)	-.098	.083		-.085	-.126	-.318
Economic globalization idx	-.100	.109			-.101	-.298
Political globalization idx				-.091	-.116	-.209
Social globalization index	-.113	.128			-.117	-.349

[135] All Pearson correlation coefficients reported are significant above the Alpha=0.05 level, those on boldface are significant above 0.01 level, as well.

Modernization also affects the articulation of grievances. While the rate of expression of economic and political grievances is almost even across developmental levels, people in developed countries are significantly more likely to log cultural grievances than their counterparts in less developed countries. Yet, details about the grievances variable are the subject of the next section.

The Variables – Descriptives and Bivariate Relationships

From a purely statistical point of view, violent episodes between communal groups are not really common events. From 2006 through 2009, there were only 52 communal conflicts that made the threshold to be included in the UCDP/PRIO dataset. There were, however, more conflicts of lower intensity included in CONIS, and the frequency of minority grievances recorded by MAR has been even greater. Table_5.8 refers to the relationships between grievances and conflict, while also showing the interconnectedness of different type of grievances.

Table 5.8: Association among the grievance and conflict indicators

		Political grievance	Economic grievance	Cultural grievance	Any grievance in MAR
Economic grievance	Kendall tau-b	0.63			
	Gamma	0.85			
Cultural grievance	Kendall tau-b	0.51	0.59		
	Gamma	0.81	0.87		
Any grievance in MAR	Gamma	1.00	1.00	1.00	
Any conflict in CONIS	Kendall tau-b	0.49	0.36	0.29	0.50
	Gamma	0.82	0.72	0.66	0.93

My effort to use several dependent variables is rooted in the belief that not all lower-level expressions of hostility are doomed to evolve into violent episodes. Since previous research, as well as my data show that violent conflicts are rarer in developed countries, the question of whether there is less lower-level hostility in developed countries than in the less developed, is not trivial. My dataset contains 144 CONIS conflicts, out of which 36 concerned the 282 groups living in the most developed countries (for a

rate of 12.8%), while 108 conflicts happened to the 594 groups in less developed countries (for a rate of 18.18%).[136] Yet, the distribution of grievances is biased to the detriment of the advanced. In developed countries, 33% of the communal groups expressed cultural grievances, as compared to 13% of groups in less developed countries. The rate of political grievances is practically the same in the two groups (33 versus 31%), and the overall incidence of grievances, as measured by the Any_grievance dummy, is also balanced (37.6 versus 35.1%), but in the case of the economic complaints, it is again the advanced countries having more, about 28% versus 19% in the less developed world. Subsequently, the overall pattern is more grievance in developed countries, but less violent conflict; and this means that the developed countries are much more successful in diverting the inter-group tensions from discharging in violence, than the less developed ones.

The next tables, Table_5.9 through Table_5.14, review the bivariate relationships of the main potential explanatory variables with seven dependent variables. These latter include the three MAR ordinal grievance scales (political, economic, and cultural), and a binary indicator showing the presence or absence of any grievance during the years 2004-2006. A second dummy shows the presence or absence of any conflict included in the CONIS dataset for the years 2006-2010. Two further variables aim at quantifying the severity of the CONIS conflict, one intensity measure being based on CONIS information only, while the other taking into account the UCDP/PRIO rankings of those events, as well. Because of the importance of the developmental level, the tables contain references to how certain relationships show up in the file split along the developmental dummy "Female life expectancy above 75 years." The most important distinction included in the table is, however, the distinction between minorities and pluralities. That is, I asked the same correlation values for the whole sample, and later for the sample split along the "Minority" variable, which created three groups: minorities, pluralities, and multiple pluralities.[137] In order to check on the trends, I also obtained two correlation matrixes for the groups created with the variable "Only pluralities above >50% of the population," and for a group of historical minorities in extended sense (that is, including the nine

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[136]   The developmental groups for these tests were defined with reference to the female life expectancy variable, the threshold being at 75 years.

[137]   The tables for this latter are not usable because of the small sample size (4).

174

secessionist and the four multiple plurality groups). I opted for checking on correlations, rather than on other measures of association and/or bivariate regression, which would have been more appropriate for binary and ordinal variables, in order to benefit from the information derived from comparing association measures from split samples (or different groups of observations).

The correlation matrices were limited to year 2005, and all Pearson correlation coefficients reported are above the Alpha=0.05 significance level; those on boldface are above the Alpha=0.01 level.[138] Tables 5.9 through 5.16 refer in their title to the group of explanatory variables to be tested, such as A= economic inequality; B= the country's group structure; C= the country's developmental level and international embedding; D= the communal group's political empowerment level and the country political institutions; E= the group's opportunity for insurrection.

In Table_5.9 the first section tells us that poorer groups, be they either minorities or pluralities, are more likely to have grievances and get into conflict with other groups, than the richer groups are. The correlation coefficients are the strongest with the economic grievances, yet, the other two types of grievances are also affected. In the group of the developed countries, the association between group poverty and grievances, mainly economic grievances, gets stronger, while the association between group poverty and violent conflict disappears, suggesting that in the developed world violence is not a means to address or redress group economic disadvantages.

INEQ_3, 4 and 5 are zero by default for all plurality groups. For the groups for which we have results, minorities and the whole sample, the correlation coefficients tend to get stronger as we measure the inequality as distance from the plurality (INEQ_3), rather than inequality as position on the WQI scale (INEQ_1). Also, the coefficients characterizing the "Historical minority" group are higher than those of the politically more inert new and non-citizen groups. Results from a split sample analysis contrasting correlation coefficients for a more developed and for a less developed country-group show that the association between the inequality measures with the grievance indicators is stronger in the developed countries, while their association with conflict weakens and disappears in the developed group.

[138] The case numbers for the split samples are: 640-703 cases for Minorities; 684-756 cases for groups <50%; 795--876 cases for All groups; 151--153 cases for Pluralities, and 103-104 cases for groups >50%.

Table 5.9:   Bivariate relationships of the dependent variables – Group A

	Political grievance	Economic grievance	Cultural grievance	Any grievance	Any conflict	Conis intensity	Intensity index
INEQ_1: Group average Wealth Quintile value							
Historical minority (mx.639)	-.144	-.225	-.159	-.173	-.101	-.125	-.151
Minority (max.703)	-.111	-.207	-.132	-.141		-.083	-.111
Groups <50% (max.756)	-.123	-.197	-.142	-.145		-.087	-.117
All groups (max. 860)	-.149	-.219	-.159	-.175	-.084	-.105	-.133
Plurality (max.153)							
Group >50% (max.104)	-.229	-.261		-.252			
Development trend: Correlations get higher with grievances (max. -0.323), disappear with conflict							
INEQ_2: Group WQI distance from plurality (+, --)							
Historical minority (mx.639)	.117	.216	.129	.167	.095	.128	.155
Minority (max.703)	.085	.193	.102	.131		.086	.115
Groups <50% (max.756)	.094	.187	.111	.133		.086	.117
All groups (max. 860)	.119	.208	.128	.162	.075	.104	.132
Plurality (max.153), and Group >50% (max.104): No variance on the INEQ measure (coded 0 by default)							
Development trend: Correlations get higher with grievances (max. 0.302), disappear with conflict							
INEQ_3: Group WQI distance from plurality (+ only)							
Historical minority (mx.639)	.168	.214	.164	.195	.105	.118	.149
Minority (max.703)	.126	.189	.124	.149		.083	.113
Groups <50% (max.756)	.143	.180	.143	.154	.072	.086	.118
All groups (max. 860)	.194	.224	.177	.217	.109	.123	.149
Plurality (max.153), and Groups >50% (max.104): No variance on the INEQ measure (coded 0 by default)							
Development trend: Correlations get higher with grievances (max. 0.304), disappear with conflict							
INEQ_4: Group WQI distances (+) scaled to Gini							
Historical minority (mx.639)	.155	.221	.171	.187	.086	.101	.127
Minority (max.703)	.124	.203	.135	.153		.077	.104
Groups <50% (max.756)	.141	.194	.152	.157		.081	.109
All groups (max. 860)	.190	.235	.185	.217	.102	.117	.140
Plurality (max.153), and >50% (max.104): No variance on the INEQ measure (coded 0 by default)							
Development trend: Correlations get higher with grievances (max. 0.353), disappear with conflict							
INEQ_5: Interaction term (INEQ_3 + 1)*Gini							
Historical minority (mx.639)	.138	.217	.160	.173		.080	.106
Minority (max.703)	.113	.201	.125	.143			.087
Groups <50% (max.756)	.129	.194	.142	.149			.092
All groups (max. 860)	.180	.236	.175	.210	.090	.103	.125
Development trend: Correlations get higher with grievances (max. 0.367), disappear with conflict							

The highest correlation coefficient in these series is r=0.367, between INEQ_5 and Economic grievance, in the developed country group (containing 282 cases). In terms of explanatory power, this means an R^2 of 0.135, that is, 13.5% of the variation explained. Overall, the correlation coefficients do not promise that the group inequality measures will explain high percentage of variation, but they point toward a consistently present relationship with meaningful variation across types of groups and developmental levels.

It is also important that the correlation coefficients measure the linear component of some relationships which are obviously not perfectly linear. For instance, the relationship between my ordinal-scale inequality measures and the two binary dependent variables (Any_grievance, Any_conflict), are best expressed by a logit or probit curve, while the two intensity measures are very far from the normal distribution, both peaked and skewed.[139]

The next group of explanatory factors to review contains variables pertinent to group features and the country's group structure. It consists of two sub-groups: three indicators measure group-level features, and six indicators measure country-level features.

The two group-level features that are the most often assumed to influence group behavior are the size and the proportion of the group. Previous research produced mixed evidence for the impact of these, and my results are quite interesting. Group size has practically no effect, and in a cross-national sample putting together countries of very different sizes, such as China and Samoa, this is not really surprising. The surprise comes from the correlation matrix of the group proportion variable. For the whole sample, we get significant negative correlation coefficients between group proportion and the grievance and conflict indicators. That is, as the proportion of the groups increases, they tend to become more contented and more peaceful, which is the exact opposite of what is theoretically expected. The explanation comes from the row of coefficients with plurality groups. It is the plurality groups that get more contented and peaceful as they grow in size! For minorities, we have a lonely positive correlation: the number and intensity of

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[139] A number of right skewed variables have been in absolute need to be transformed before use in regression models, and I produced the logarithmic transformations of the Conis_intensity, Intensity_index,as well as of some economic inequality (Ineq_3, Ineq_4, and Ineq_5) measures.

cultural grievances goes up when the minority groups are larger. Odds are that previous work has often failed to find a positive relationship between group proportion and conflict because in many countries it is very hard to distinguish between plurality and minority groups. Their logics of behavior, however, are understandably contrasting.

The third group-level feature is, actually, a dyadic relationship. I dubbed the variable "Past violence," and it intends to measure the ratio of violent episodes and peace years characterizing the relationship of the group with another (mainly plurality) group in power position. All significant correlation coefficients are in the predicted sense and most of them are of convincing magnitude. The only oddity to remark on is that cultural grievances are much less affected by past violence, than other types of grievance and conflicts. The other element worth commenting on is that there are significant coefficients between past violence and my inequality measures. Theoretically, this strengthens my hypothesis, but practically, it hinders my empirical endeavor to use both factors in the same models.

Table 5.10:   Bivariate relationships of the dependent variables – Group B(i)

	Political grievance	Economic grievance	Cultural grievance	Any grievance	Any conflict	Conis intensity	Intensity index
Group proportion							
Minority (max.703)			.093				
Groups <50% (756)							
All groups (max. 860)	-.180	-.159	-.109	-.206	-.121	-.122	-.119
Plurality (max.153)	-.253	-.326		-.310	-.236	-.246	-.189
Groups >50% (max.104)							
Development trend: Negative correlations in both groups, in the developed stronger with grievances, none w/ conflict							
Past violence							
Minority (max.703)	.399	.214		.257	.385	.443	.570
Groups <50% (756)	.405	.215		.265	.388	.439	.568
All (max. 860)	.402	.217	.069	.283	.384	.434	.558
Plurality (max.153)	.423	.184		.486	.324	.305	.398
Groups >50% (max.104)	.275			.555		.228	.232
Development trend: Same positive correlations everywhere							

Table 5.11:   Bivariate relationships of the dependent variables – Group B(ii)

	Political grievance	Economic grievance	Cultural grievance	Any grievance	Any conflict	Conis intensity	Intensity index
Proportion of country's plurality group (2*2 multiple pluralities merged)							
Minority (max.703)	.118	.095	.162	.125			
Groups <50% (756)	.131	.091	.176	.132			
All groups (max. 860)			.103			-.071	-.075
Plurality (max.153)	-.253	-.326		-.310	-.236	-.246	
Groups >50% (mx.104)							
Proportion of country's largest minority							
Minority (max.703)							
Groups <50% (756)							
All groups (max. 860)							
Plurality (max.153)		.176	.169	.187	.225	.159	
Groups >50% (mx.104)		.291	.273	.300	.250	.219	.195
Difference between plurality and largest minority							
Minority (max.703)	.100		.124	.098			
Groups <50% (756)	.115		.139	.109			
All groups (max. 860)			.070				
Plurality (max.153)	-.249	-.300		-.309	-.231	-.234	-.189
Groups >50% (mx.104)		-.243	-.198	-.230	-.206		
Alesina ethnic fractionalization index							
Minority (max.703)	-.077		-.097	-.099			
Groups <50% (756)	-.087		-.110	-.101			
All groups (max. 860)							
Plurality (max.153)	.230	.303		.270			
Groups >50% (mx.104)		.204					
Alesina linguistic fractionalization index							
Minority (max.703)			-.105	-.103			.091
Groups <50% (756)			-.108	-.095			.089
All groups (max. 860)					.075	.087	.117
Plurality (max.153)		.175	.240		.264	.165	
Groups >50% (mx.104)							
Alesina religious fractionalization index							
Minority (max.703)	-.120	-.085	-.088	-.111	-.110	-.106	-.121
Groups <50% (756)	-.106		-.082	-.077	-.095	-.090	-.108
All groups (max. 860)	-.086		-.068		-.077	-.073	-.091
Plurality (max.153)	.177	.257		.305		.171	
Groups >50% (mx.104)							
Development trend: Correlations disappear in the developed group							

The second part of Table_5.11 contains variables that characterize the country's group structure. The association of these variables with the dependent variables is elu-

sive enough, the significant coefficients emerge and disappear from one type of grievance to the other, and from one conflict measure to the other. Yet, there is a consistent pattern worth noticing. The sign of the association between the country's group structure and the grievance and conflict variables is always opposite for minorities and pluralities. All three types of fractionalization are associated with less grievance and less conflict from the part of the minorities, and with more grievance and more conflict from the part of the pluralities. Similarly, as the country's plurality group, and/or the difference between the plurality and the largest minority increases, pluralities get more peaceful, while the probability of minority grievance and conflict increases. We may expect the reverse when the proportion of the largest minority group increases. In this case, however, the correlation coefficients for minorities fail to emerge as significant, and it's the plurality behavior only that can be characterized as becoming more frustrated, more likely to foster grievances and conflict. None of these associations show obvious historical trends, with the exception of religious fractionalization, which produces significant association measures in the less developed country group, but not in the developed group.

The next group of explanatory factors to consider is of those that describe the country developmental level, but I have collapsed this group with the variables that characterize the country's relationship with the international environment. In this cross-national sample including countries of all developmental levels, the globalization measures come very close to developmental indicators.[140] Table_5.12 contains two developmental measures and the battery of four KOF globalization indexes. One developmental measure is the classic GDP/capita (at PPP). The other is meant to be a proxy of the Human Development Index (HDI), and indeed, this measure of Female life expectancy is correlated with HDI at >0.93. The main reason for not relying on HDI itself is that I could not obtain it for all countries, and for Taiwan, it is missing by default. The selected two developmental measures have been available for all 155 countries in my sample.

The accounts for each independent variable in Table_5.12 are shorter than in the previous tables (5.9 through 5.11), as there was no correlation coefficient emerging as significant in the group of pluralities above 50% of the population. Visibly, the globalization indicators replicate the pattern of the two development indicators, which can be

[140] The correlation between GDP/cap and Female life expectancy, on the one hand, and three of the four globalization indexes is above 0.7 across the whole sample. The exception is political globalization, which is related to GDP and life expectancy at 0.328 and 0.311, only.

summed up in three observations. First, the likelihood of violent conflict goes down with modernization and globalization. Second, the incidence of minority grievances increases with modernization, and it seems that improvement of education and living conditions (as measured with life expectancy, so close to HDI) have more say in this than the increase of GDP on its own. Third, pluralities grow more contented and peaceful with modernization, but this seems to be related to their increasing proportions within the states.

As a fourth important trend, it can be added that it is mainly the cultural grievances which increase with the developmental indicators, actually, they may be the only type of grievance affected by them (as in the case of GDP, economic, and social globalization).

Table 5.12:   Bivariate relationships of the dependent variables – Group C

	Political grievance	Economic grievance	Cultural grievance	Any grievance	Any conflict	Conis intensity	Intensity index
GDP per capita, PPP (constant 2005 international $)							
Minority (max.703)			.079		-.079	-.098	-.102
Groups <50% (756)			.078		-.071	-.090	-.096
All groups (max. 860)					-.079	-.097	-.102
Plurality (max.153)	-.165			-.161			
Life expectancy at birth, female (years)							
Minority (max.703)	.099	.119	.219	.124			
Groups <50% (756)	.099	.103	.225	.112			
All groups (max. 860)			.179				
Plurality (max.153)	-.251	-.260		-.320		-.159	-.184
Overall globalization index (KOF)							
Minority (max.703)			.142				-.096
Groups <50% (756)		.076	.150				-.089
All groups (max. 860)			.118			-.075	-.103
Plurality (max.153)							
Economic globalization index (KOF, with imputed values)							
Minority (max.703)			.126			-.095	-.122
Groups <50% (756)			.131			-.085	-.118
All groups (max. 860)			.100		-.071	-.102	-.131
Plurality (max.153)	-.168						-.163
Political globalization index (KOF)							
Minority (max.703)		.137	.118				
Groups <50% (756)		.135	.124				
All groups (max. 860)		.112	.108				
Plurality (max.153)							
Social globalization index (KOF)							
Minority (max.703)			.138				-.098
Groups <50% (756)			.145				-.095
All groups (max. 860)			.112			-.080	-.109
Plurality (max.153)	-.234	-.161		-.222			
Minority (max.703)	-.223						

The next group of explanatory variables to review is that of institutions.

The first two variables included in Table_5.13, however, are not about institutions, but about the effective power position of the groups, as measured by the EPR da-

182

ta.[141] The following variables tap into the institutional settings that make it possible for minorities to climb the power ladder: democracy (as measured by the Freedom House/imputed Polity variable and by the political terror scale[142]), and proportional electoral system (as measured by the modified Norris scale, and the DPI's proportionality indicator). Of these four institutional variables, the impact of political terror is the strongest, and it is obviously associated with more violence. On the other hand, more democracy seems to be associated with higher levels of grievances of the minority groups. This is, probably, the mixed result of minorities becoming relatively poorer and politically weaker in developed states and their increased opportunity to articulate grievances. The measures of proportional electoral system perform, as expected, in the direction of reducing inter-communal violence. Unfortunately, however, the associations are very weak.

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[141] As repeatedly shown by Cederman and co-authors, groups included in power are more likely to be contented and peaceful. EPR's power rank and "ethnic group in power" indicators are powerful predictors, but, unfortunately, both are strongly correlated with my inequality indicators, with coefficients exceeding 0.3, mainly in the case of minorities.

[142] This may also be conceptualized as measure of state repressiveness.

Table 5.13:   Bivariate relationships of the dependent variables – Group D(i)

	Political grievance	Economic grievance	Cultural grievance	Any grievance	Any conflict	Conis intensity	Intensity index
EPR power rank ordinal scale							
Minority (max.703)		-.137	-.076	-.188			
Groups <50% (756)	-.080	-.133	-.089	-.188			
All groups (max. 860)	-.179	-.206	-.151	-.285	-.098	-.093	-.098
Plurality (max.153)	-.302	-.291		-.343	-.224	-.222	-.221
Groups >50% (m.104)	-.316	-.216	-.228	-.332	-.234	-.271	-.284
Development trend: In less developed group, negative with conflict, in developed, no correlation							
EPR ethnic group in power							
Minority (max.703)	-.084	-.074		-.112			
Groups <50% (756)	-.100	-.073		-.115			
All groups (max. 860)	-.166	-.136	-.086	-.193	-.093	-.088	-.093
Plurality (max.153)	-.224	-.239		-.224			
Groups >50% (m.104)	-.542	-.506	-.314	-.412	-.264	-.351	-.378
Development trend: In less developed group, negative with conflict, in developed, no correlation							
Freedom House ranking with imputed Polity							
Minority (max.703)	.076	.130	.127				
Groups <50% (756)	.078	.129	.133				
All groups (max. 860)		.112	.122				
Plurality (max.153), Groups >50% (max.104): no significant correlation							
Development trend: One +.124 in the developed group							
Political terror scale (from the US State Department)							
Minority (max.703)	.090		-.083		.179	.218	.226
Groups <50% (756)	.093		-.086	.074	.178	.216	.223
All groups (max. 860)	.116			.099	.174	.210	.216
Plurality (max.153)	.258			.211		.163	
Groups >50% (m.104)	.227						
Development trend: Same tendencies (+) in both developmental groups.							
Electoral family (based on Norris)							
Minority (max.703)			.096		-.074		-.075
Groups <50% (756)			.107		-.073		-.073
All groups (max. 860)			.093				-.067
Plurality (max.153), Groups >50% (max.104): no significant correlation							
Proportional electoral system indicator (DPI)							
Minority (max.703)							
Groups <50% (756)			.091				
All groups (max. 860)			.075				
Plurality (max.153)						-.193	
Groups >50% (m.104)							

Table 5.14:   Bivariate relationships of the dependent variables – Group D(ii)

	Political grievance	Economic grievance	Cultural grievance	Any grievance	Any conflict	Conis intensity	Intensity index
Decentralization index of administrative subdivisions							
Minority (max.703)	.076		.082				
Groups <50% (756)	.096		.098				
All groups (max. 860)			.077				
Plurality (max.153)							
Groups >50% (104)							
Development trend: One -+.151 in developed group							
Administrative subdivisions fall along communal lines ("Communal_sub_divisions")							
Minority (max.703)	.085				.137	.161	.179
Groups <50% (756)	.097				.142	.164	.187
All groups (max. 860)	.097				.138	.155	.174
Plurality (max.153)	.168		.198		.185	.161	.196
Groups >50% (104)							
Development trend: Same tendencies (+)							
Interaction term of decentralization index and "Communal_sub_divisions," my autonomy measure							
Minority (max.703)						.076	
Groups <50% (756)	.090				.072	.088	.088
All groups (max. 860)	.070					.075	.074
Plurality (max.153)			.199		.193		.213
Groups >50% (104)							
Development trend: No significant values in any of the developmental groups							

Table_5.14 is dedicated to institutional features meant to capture the impact of territorial autonomy arrangements on the relationship between communal groups.[143] The association between decentralization and grievances is weakly positive, since decentralization itself is development-related. The "Administrative subdivisions fall along communal lines" variable (dubbed "communal_sub_divisions"), which intends to be a proxy for group concentration,[144] produces a series of positive correlation coefficients with the dependent variables. The regional concentration of communal groups has always been

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[143]   I have not included federalism in the presentation of my analyses, as I could not assure a fair test of the impact of federalism along communal lines. Given the relatively small number of federal states, the interaction term could not be distinguished from the federalism indicator itself, which is, otherwise, closely associated with the development indicators.

[144]   More exactly, since it is formulated at country level, it approximates an aggregative measure expressing the average or typical concentration of all groups in a country, which otherwise might be measured as a weighted mean.

considered a factor that increases the opportunity of minorities to organize politically, but we may attribute to it the impact of breeding requests for territorial autonomy, a form of political grievance, as well.

Finally, with both the decentralization index and the concentration proxy being positively associated with the dependent variables, we may expect their interaction term (that is, their product) to show an even stronger positive correlation with the dependent variables, but this does not happen. In the two minority samples, the positive association with grievances is lower in the case of grievances than in any of the component factors, and the association with conflict is substantially lower than in the case of the concentration proxy Communal_sub_divison. This is an effect doing justice to Lijphart, but only against a background condition of unexpected positive correlation between decentralization and elevated inter-group hostility.

Invoking a "modernization paradox effect" again may appear as repeating a mantra, but in this case we may have a look at the details. We assume that the institutions may have a beneficial impact on inter-communal relations because they help minorities achieve political positions they aspire to, and which, in their turn, help minorities achieve the policies most satisfying for them. Measures of the minorities' power positions are readily available from EPR, and their bivariate association with a number of institutional features are included in Table_5.15. "Power rank" is the power status ordinal scale, while "ethnic group in power" (EGIP) is an indicator variable taking the value 1 when the group is represented in the national government.

Table_5.15 tells us that the institutional features may have opposite impact on minority and plurality groups, or may affect one and not the other. Of the 16 institutional measures included in the table, it is only one that happens to have coefficients with the same sign for both minorities and pluralities (shown on red fonts). In the case of the six variables of "good governance" by the World Bank Institute (Kaufmann et al) or more officially, the "World Governance Indicators" (WGI) set, the power of the plurality is positively correlated with the WGI battery, at statistically significant and substantively convincing levels. At lower levels, but still significantly, some components of the WGI battery are negatively correlated with the power position of minorities. Similarly, the measures for the prison population, administrative decentralization, as well as the administrative divisions' congruence with the communal settlement patterns, have coefficients with different sign for minorities and pluralities.

Table 5.15: Relationships between institutions and group power positions

2005 only	Minority		Group <50%		All		Plurality		Group >50%	
	Power rank	EGIP	Power rank	EGIP	Power rank	EGIP	Power rank	EGIP	Power rank	EGIP
FreedomH w/ iPolity		.078				.125	.230	.224		
Political terror AI						-.089	-.184			
Political terror US					-.091	-.100	-.211			
Prison population	-.149	-.209	-.149	-.210	-.084	-.164	.204			
WGI C.Corruption							.231	.220		
WGI Gov.Effectivnss	-.111		-.105				.297	.288		
WGI Polit.Stability					.069		.274	.240		
WGI Rule of Law							.270	.260		
WGI Regulat.Quality	-.119		-.108				.264	.263		
WGI Voice/Account.						.114	.266	.258		
Electoral family	-.141		-.142							
Proport.elect.system		-.102	-.086	-.120						
Federalism index						-.077				
Decentralization idx	-.140	-.217	-.159	-.226	-.093	-.186	.178	.186		
Region.concentration	.081				-.072	-.096	-.170			
Autonomy proxy		-.128		-.130	-.092	-.169				

Results showing that political terror is associated with less power of the pluralities, and that proportional electoral arrangements are associated with less power of the minorities, cry out for a reasonable explanation. This may come from the last two columns of the table. Though the 153 plurality groups produced 20 statistically significant coefficients with the institutional variables, the 104 pluralities above 50% of the population did not produce any. The 104 countries whose pluralities they are, belong almost all in the most developed country group. Once the developmental variation is dropped, the association between institutional variables and power position of pluralities disappears, and this effect is robust in all types of equivalent tests, such as in split sample correlations.

Still, development as such is not the ultimate cause of the "Modernization paradox effect." It is the development level's association with a long series of group structure and institutional features that lead to unexpected results. Development's association with these latter may lack any reasonable causal relationship. We cannot reasonably claim that higher GDP *causes* some countries to have larger plurality groups and less ethnic or religious fractionalization, nor that GDP *causes* minorities to tend to be relatively less wealthy and less powerful in the developed states than in the less developed. The im-

pact of a specific Western evolution path, which has been associated with the creation of homogenous populations, is an account to be considered, but there is no evidence either for the claim that communal homogeneity is a prerequisite of development or for the claim that homogeneity is necessarily produced by development. The issue resembles the complexities around the relationship between development and democracy. Though strongly associated, and impacting each other at the level of each individual country, there is no overarching causal pattern to describe their relationship beyond the empirical generalization that democracies are more likely to survive at higher levels of GDP. Maybe the most palpable developmental impact on communal relations is the dispersion of communal groups as result of industrialization and urbanization. Unfortunately, the strong association of the development level with both group structure issues that influence group behavior, and the institutional frames within which group behavior may be played out, makes the empirical test of the institutional impacts very hard to be carried out.

The last group of explanatory variables to have a look at before embarking on multi-variate analysis is a number of factors actualizing the hypothesis that opportunities for insurrection increase the chances of violent conflict. For one opportunity variable, the strength of the state to control its territory and its population, we have a very decent indicator, the WGI series Government Effectiveness component. In Table_5.16 below, a few weaker, but significant correlation coefficients show that it acts as expected, reduces the likelihood of conflict, and of some grievances. Cultural grievances, on the other hand, are positively correlated with Government Effectiveness – which is probably the result of the fact that the incidence of cultural grievances is higher in the developed countries, than in the less developed.

Table 5.16:   Bivariate relationships of the dependent variables – Group E

	Political grievance	Economic grievance	Cultural grievance	Any grievance	Any conflict	Conis intensity	Intensity index
WGI Government Effectiveness							
Minority (max.703)			.140				
Groups <50% (756)			.145				
All groups (max. 860)			.114			-.076	-.079
Plurality (max.153)	-.195			-.200			
Groups >50% (mx.104)	-.215						
Development trend: Two significant values in the less developed country group (Cult_gr +, Any_gr --)							
Unemployed young males							
Minority (max.703)				.107			
Groups <50% (756)			.102	.126			
All groups (max. 860)			.094	.114			
Plurality (max.153)		.253	.385	.213			
Groups >50% (mx.104)							
Development trend: Significant in the developed group only							
Administrative subdivisions fall along communal lines (regional concentration proxy)							
Minority (max.703)	.085				.137	.161	.179
Groups <50% (756)	.097				.142	.164	.187
All groups (max. 860)	.097				.138	.155	.174
Plurality (max.153)	.168		.198		.185	.161	.196
Groups >50% (mx.104)							
Development trend: Same, positive							

Unfortunately, we cannot be so contented with the other "opportunity" measure, the percentage of unemployed young males. Unemployment data suffer in general from a number of shortcomings, such as distinguishing between registered and unregistered unemployed, between unemployment and under-employment, and disaggregated data for certain population groups is rarely available. I did my best to collect this information, but I failed to obtain it for a number of countries, and currently the dataset contains it for 553 groups out of 860. These were, obviously, rather developed, than undeveloped countries, thus the bivariate analysis shows the unemployed young males measure positively correlated with grievances mainly in the developed group.

A third variable to address the opportunity for insurrection hypothesis is my "Administrative sub-divisions fall along communal lines" measure. I would have liked to include a more established measure of the regional concentration of the groups, such as MAR's variables for concentration and for "group proportion in the regional base," but

these simply do not exist for all groups in my sample. The MAR variables will be used in Chapter 6 with the MAR_EPR_MI dataset. Here and in the country-level dataset (Chapter 7) I rely on the Communal_sub_divisions measure,[145] which has already been included in Table_5.14, and produces a series of significant positive correlation coefficients with the grievance and conflict indicators.

Finally, a fourth variable that can be used to test the opportunity hypothesis is the proportion of rural population. EPR_MAR_EXT contains it in two complementary forms, as percentage of rural, and as percentage of the urban population. Both are highly - above 0.65, - correlated with the development indicators introduced above, and follow the "modernization paradox effect" pattern.[146]

The next section of this chapter will try to build the models that explain the most variation of the dependent variables, and will also try to clarify the specific conditions, mainly institutional conditions, within which the grievances lead to violent conflict.

Regression Models

The substantively most important element to explain about inter-group relations is the occurrence of violence, here operationalized with the variables that express the presence of violent conflict and its intensity (Any_conflict, Conis_intensity, Intensity_index). My contention, however, has been that the factors that make the groups hostile toward each other lead to the articulation of group grievances first, and the group strategy to achieve redress for the plights is later formulated in function of a series of institutional possibilities, including the opportunity for – or, maybe more correctly, the cost-

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[145] Communal_sub_divisions characterizes the extent to which the administrative sub-divisions follow the communal settlement patterns. It is correlated at 0.240 with MAR's group concentration indicator across 284 communal groups. The result should be considered in the light of the fact that my indicator is a country-level measure, while the MAR measures are for communal groups. And the most important cases of divergence – the nine worst outliers from an ordinary least squares regression of the Communal_sub_division on GROUPCON – are cases when the country is characterized, in general, by regionally concentrated communal groups, but some groups are significantly more dispersed than others. The outliers are the Hui (Muslims) in China, Muslims and Scheduled Tribes in India, Baha'is and Christians in Iran, Europeans in Zimbabwe, Foreign Workers in Switzerland, and Roma in Italy and Spain.

[146] MAR_EPR_MI has a measure of the urbanism of each communal group, and in Chapter 6 it will be the preferred urbanism measure to be included in regressions. Also in Chapter 6, two more opportunity for insurrection variables, foreign aid to groups and external military support to groups, are introduced and tested.

benefit analysis of - insurrection. This suggests a two-step analysis of the causal mechanisms: in a first step, I would like to explain the occurrence and severity of grievances, and in a second, the transition from grievance to violent conflict.

With the toolbox of variables at hand, I may make a first inquiry into the impact of a handful of extraordinary important variables without separating the two steps, as well. My dataset contains variables measured at group-level and country-level. The predictors that I may use in the second step – the institutional and opportunity for insurrection variables – are all measured at country level. Thus by controlling for the countries, I control for these variables, as well, besides the country-level variables that affect grievance levels, such as the degree of minority autonomy the state allows for.

I designed this section of the data analytic work so that it articulates explanations from four approaches:

1. Explaining inter-group hostility, while controlling for countries. I intend to show that the impact of inter-group economic inequality may be detected behind the idiosyncratic effects of various country contexts. Thus in a number of models I have included my INEQ measures along the functional equivalent of all country dummies. Afterwards, the next three steps of the regression analysis implement the Przeworski & Teune (1971) epistemological project of substituting individual names with variable names. That is, the country factor is being replaced with a number of variables impersonating the country context with a few salient features of these, such as the developmental level, fractionalization, and inclusive democracy.

2. Explaining grievances with group-level and country-level variables, such as those expressing inter-group inequality, and the country's group structure.

3. Explaining conflict with grievances and a selection of controls, meant to tap on the institutional circumstances and the opportunity for insurrection.

4. "Omnibus" explanations of conflict. These models include the causes of grievance together with the circumstantial and opportunity for insurrection variables, by bypassing grievances themselves.

Unfortunately, all steps involve a mixture of group-level and country-level measurements, whose concatenation in models is not absolutely unproblematic. And a further difficulty to struggle with in these complex regressions is collinearity.

The regression analyses are confined to the subset of historical minorities. The political action of new and non-citizen minorities is much more limited by institutional and

191

opportunity issues, but we may hypothesize that within a few decades they will adopt the behavioral patterns of the older minorities.[147]

1 Explaining Inter-group Hostility (both Grievances and Conflict) with Group-level Variables, while Controlling for Countries

I worked with the SPSS statistical software, and for this task I was mainly relying on the procedure called "Generalized Linear Models" (GENLIN or GLM). Within this procedure, all three model types pertinent to my dependent variables (binary, ordinal, interval) are available, and all take string variables as factors. Given that introducing the country dummies uses up 154 degrees of freedom, and this triples in the case of the interaction terms, in this step I did not restrict the cases to a single year. This increased the maximally available case number to 639*2= 1278 for models with the political grievance measure; and to 639*3=1917 for the two conflict intensity variables.[148]

Originally, I intended to run seven regression models with only two independent variables: the inter-group economic inequality measure and the country factor. The country factor is a variable which in the generalized linear models procedure replaces the totality of country indicators, or otherwise, it is the functional equivalent of 154 country dummies. Yet, in practice, the GENLIN procedure objected to the use of binary and ordinal outcome variables, and it gave good results, without technical issues, only for models with interval dependent variables. These are called by SPSS "linear models." Out of my seven dependent variables, there are two that were originally conceived as interval variables, and the 5-point ordinal political grievance variable may also be used in linear models.

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[147] For instance, the first generation of Hispanics tends to come to the US with relatively random political preferences, quasi-evenly shared between rightist and leftist views. It is in the second and third immigrant generation, that the better known 66:33 asymmetrical political support pattern emerges, which nears the US Blacks' 90:10 distribution on behalf of the Left.

[148] For the first I have had overlapping values for two years (2004, 2005), while for the latter two, values are available for 2003, 2004, and 2005.

Table 5.17: The economic inequality measure in additive models with country effects

	Political grievance	Conis intensity	Intensity index
Model fit information from Generalized Linear Models (linear option)			
Log likelihood	-2899.0	-1748.7	-2458.6
Likelihood Ratio Chi-2	836.8	1293.6	1346.3
Parameter coefficient information from GLM; the significance (p-) value of the predictors			
Inter-group economic inequality (Ineq_3_ln)	.002	.063	.001
Country factor (Statename)	.000	.000	.000

Table_5.17 shows the results from three GENLIN models with the economic inequality variable and the country factor. Here and in all subsequent regression models reported, I use a color coding for highlighting the significance of the regression coefficients. These are given, in all cases, in p-values, which measures the probability of the null hypothesis that the featured impact does not exist in the real population. Thus a p-value below 0.05 means a regression coefficient significant above the alpha=0.05 level, which is the most often reported significance level. I will highlight these coefficients with green.[149] The p-values show the country factor maximally significant, and the inter-group economic inequality measure turns up with convincingly low p-value twice, and only in the case of the Conis intensity measure does it score a second-class significance with a p-value of 0.063. Unfortunately, the GENLIN output does not contain any easily interpretable measure of model strength, and this is unfortunate also for testing my intuition that multi-level models are better than additive models. I think that the fact that the communal groups are nested in their countries should be modeled with multi-level regressions, and I expect these to have more explanatory power than the "additive" models, which do not account for the nested relationship at all.

I have also experimented with increasing the model strength by including three more highly relevant group-level variables besides the inter-group economic inequality. The other three predictors are the measure of political inequality, past violence, and

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[149] Further, I use yellow for significances between alpha=0.05 and alpha=0.1, and pink for coefficients that turn up as significant with the theoretically unexpected sign.

group size. Table_5.18 and Table_5.19 show the results, in two versions: in additive models and in nested models.

In Table_5.18, group proportion turns up as a significant predictor of conflict, but the single strongest group-level *explanans* of inter-group hostility is past violence. Unfortunately, it is correlated with both economic and political inequality, which resulted in a weakening of the measured impact of my economic inequality variable and contributed to preventing the EPR political inequality measure from reaching significance. In addition, political inequality is associated with economic inequality, as well, as shown in a previous section (Table_5.6). Table_5.19 shows presents three nested models, in which the three main group-level predictors are included as interaction terms with the country factor. Visibly, the Log Likelihood values are smaller, and the Likelihood Ratio Chi-Square values are higher in the case of the nested model than in the case of the additive model, which supports the superiority of the nested modeling.

Table 5.18:   Four group-level variables in additive models with country effects

	Political grievance	Conis intensity	Intensity index
Model fit information from Generalized Linear Models (linear option)			
Log likelihood	-1799.8	-899.4	-1273.2
Likelihood Ratio Chi-2	803.0	1045.2	1175.6
Parameter coefficient information from GLM; the significance (p-) value of the predictors			
Inter-group economic inequality (Ineq_3_ln)	.016	.133	.011
Power status ordinal variable	.558	.414	.748
Past violence	.000	.000	.000
Group proportion	.000	.052	.048
Country factor (Statename)	.000	.000	.000

Table 5.19:　　Four group-level variables in nested models with country effects

	Political grievance	Conis intensity	Intensity index
Model fit information from Generalized Linear Models (linear option)			
Log likelihood	-1468.4	-390.4	-756.7
Likelihood Ratio Chi2	1465.8	2063.3	2208.7
Parameter coefficient information from GLM; the significance (p-) value of the predictors			
Country factor * Economic ine-quality (Ineq_3_ln)	.000	.000	.000
Country factor * EPR Power status (Powr_rank)	.000	.000	.000
Country factor * Past violence	.000	.000	.000
Group proportion	.000	.012	.017

I have not included regression coefficients in these tables, as the GENLIN proce-dure does not give summative coefficient estimate for the interaction terms. There are partial coefficients given for each country, such as "[Statename=Belgium]*ineq_3_ln," which is -6.383. Where summative coefficients are given, and they are significant, they all point in the theoretically expected direction. That is, the measures of economic ine-quality, past violence, and group proportion reach significance in the sense of increasing grievance or conflict, while the EPR political inequality variable (Power_rank) turns up as significant with negative sign, which means mitigating the likelihood of grievance or vio-lence.

2 Explaining Grievances with Group-level & Country-level Variables

This section endeavors to explain the emergence of hostility and tension in inter-group relations, which are measured here with the severity of grievances expressed by the minority population. Since the impact of political institutions on the articulation of grievances is mediated by the actual political inequality experienced by minorities, in this step I will use the EPR measures of political inequality, rather than the institutional indi-cators themselves. The explanatory variables to be considered here are partly group-level, and partly country-level measurements, as summed up in Checklist_1.

Checklist_1: Independent variables considered in models explaining minority grievances

Group-level variables		
Inter-group economic inequality	Ineq_3_ln	Ineq_4_ln
Inter-group political inequality (conveying the impact of institutions)	Power status (pwr_rank)	Ethnic group in power
Group proportion	Group proportion	
Group history	Past violence	
Country-level variables		
Country's group structure	Ethnic fractionalization	Linguistic fractionaliz.tn
	Religious fractionalization	
	Proportion of plurality	Largest minority
	Group concentration proxy	
Country development level	GDP/ capita (PPP)	Life expectancy (fem.)
Country international embed-ness		Globalization index
	Economic globalization	
	Political globalization	
	Social globalization	

The variables belonging to each group are arranged in two columns. The pairs displayed next to each other measure very closely related phenomena, and are very highly correlated between themselves, thus I refrained from using them in the same model. Because of widespread interrelatedness among variables, I treated them as alternative measurements of the same entity, to use the one that leads to the best model. Formally, this would have required 6*5 full models to test. I spared, however, tests with the "ethnic group in power" indicator, which is much less sensitive than the "power rank" measurement. I also opted for the ethnic fractionalization index versus the language fractionalization index, and the proportion of the plurality measure versus the proportion of the largest minority, as I had already had a measure of the minority group proportion in my models. Further, I preferred introducing the detailed version of the globalization measures in my models, again, a theoretically driven choice, a preference for the more detailed measurement. What I tested, ultimately, was the choice between female life expectancy and GDP per capita, and also the choice between the simple inter-group economic inequality measure (Ineq_3) and the inter-group inequality measure scaled to Gini (Ineq_4). Ineq_4 is a theoretically superior way to conceptualize inter-group inequalities, but it incorporates the Gini measure which is ostensibly associated with the development indicator, also necessary to the models.

Ultimately, I ran forty (4*5*2) models plus two stepwise modeling tests.[150] The numbers in the parentheses refer to the fact that:

(i) all regression types were run with the four combinations of the two independent variable-pairs for inter-group inequality and development level.

(ii) I have worked with four dependent variables, one binary (Any_grievance) and three ordinal (economic, cultural, and political grievance), but the five-level ordinal political grievance indicator was introduced in a linear ordinary least squares model, as well.

(iii) I ran the models for two time-spans: on the one hand, for 2005 only, which resulted in 624 cases, and for all years available, which led to 1872 cases (2003-2005) for the Any_grievance dummy, and 1248 cases (2004-2005) for the other three grievance measures.

The first observation to highlight is the consistency of the findings. Models with 12 predictors do often behave capriciously in slightly altered conditions. My models were consequent in indicating that:

- Life expectancy is a definitely stronger predictor of grievance than GDP per capita, while the simple economic inequality measure Ineq_3 is slightly stronger than Ineq_4.

- The predictors that turn up as significant in a model confined to 2005, are always significant in the many-year versions, as well, but these latter may allow for more explanatory variables to cross the significance threshold.

- When a predictor turned up as significant, it had the same sign in all models. This suggests that minority grievances of all kinds have a similar set of causes, though certain causes may be more relevant for one type and less relevant for other types. For instance, the religious fractionalization indicator emerges as a significant predictor of cultural grievances, but not of political grievances. The political inequality indicator inversely, is significant in the ordinal regression model explaining political grievances, and insignificant in the model explaining cultural grievances.

- The sign of most indicators is in the theoretically expected direction. Inter-group economic inequality increases the level of grievances, higher position on the power ladder reduces it. Past violence, which seems to be the strongest predictor in these models,

[150] Details of the results are available as SPSS files, or, more collected Excel files. An Excel file was prepared with the most important information from all 40+2 models, here I report on five models only (Table_12).

acts toward boosting grievances, and so do both group sizes. The larger the proportion of a group in a country, the more likely to express grievances, and on the other hand, the larger the plurality group in the country, the more likely that the minorities express grievances. These seem to do justice to the polarization hypothesis, but the fact that there are larger pluralities in the more developed countries, may also contribute to the outcome. The impact of the development measure is positive, that is, there are more grievances in the more developed countries. Five other predictors have turned up as significant in a limited number of models only. Economic globalization has a negative sign in models explaining political grievance and Any_grievance, while the impact of political and social globalization is toward increasing the level of grievances. This comes at odds with what I hypothesized, claiming that economic globalization may increase inter-group hostility, while social and political globalization reduce it. Yet, on the one hand, globalization turned out to be very highly associated with the development indicators, and on the other, in these models I control for what I take to be the transmission link between the impact of economic globalization and increased hostility: I have the variables of horizontal economic inequality in my models, and they are significant. Religious fractionalization contributes to the reduction of cultural, and occasionally, of economic grievances, while ethnic fractionalization increases these, but the results are sensitive to the kind of the development indicator used. (That is, the association between fractionalization and development level has a say in their impact.)

 - The explanatory strength of the models varies around 20%, with the cultural grievances being the less elucidated, followed by the economic grievances, and models explaining political grievance were the strongest.

 Table_5.20 and Table_5.21 report the strongest model in each category, from the series confined to year 2005 (in which less predictors turn up as significant). Yet, before the overview of the results, I would like to make two remarks.

 First, my inter-group economic inequality variable turned up as significant 36 times out of 40, always with the expected sign, and there were only two models explaining political grievance (those confined to 2005), in which the measure scaled to Gini (Ineq_4) failed to reach significance, while the original measure (Ineq_3) did.

 Second, I tested the best two models for redundancy. I asked for a stepwise elimination of the predictors from the binary model explaining Any_grievance, on the one hand, and the OLS model explaining political grievance, on the other. In neither case led

the elimination to a superior model.[151] This shows that all explanatory variables contribute to the models, and the explanation of inter-group hostility is truly multi-causal.

Table 5.20:   Explaining grievance with inter-group inequality and control variables:
The ordinal models

Dependent variable	Economic grievance		Cultural grievance		Political grievance	
Case number	624		622		623	
-2 Log likelihood	830.6		667.5		1225.2	
Cox & Snell Pseudo-R2	.152		.136		.242	
Nagelkerke Preudo-R2	.196		.192		.271	
McFadden Preudo-R2	.110		.119		.123	
Likelihood Ratio Chi-2	102.9		90.7		173.0	
Warnings	Empty cells (66.5%), Pearson Chi-2 <0.05 (but Deviance is 1)		Empty cells (66.6%)		Empty cells (79.9%), Pearson Chi-2 <0.05 (but Deviance is 1)	
	Estimate	Sig.	Estimate	Sig.	Estimate	Sig.
H. economic inequality (Ineq_3)	.741	.000	.636	.005	.409	.024
EPR power status rank	-.272	.005	-.118	.266	-.221	.009
Group proportion	3.192	.010	4.643	.000	3.677	.001
Ethnic fractionalization	1.189	.103	1.716	.032	.142	.825
Religious fractionalization	-.169	.736	-.591	.280	-.245	.586
Proportion of plurality	1.120	.129	1.687	.040	1.592	.015
Past violence	.012	.000	.007	.014	.034	.000
Group concentration proxy	-.526	.260	-.433	.386	-.186	.661
Economic globalization	.002	.942	-.011	.666	-.034	.086
Political globalization	.028	.000	.018	.011	.005	.370
Social globalization	-.013	.464	-.004	.853	.016	.339
Life expectancy (female)	.042	.014	.077	.000	.037	.011

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[151] This was more obvious in the case of the Any_grievance binary logistic model, where the software calculated negative values for the difference in Likelihood Ratio Chi-Square at each step. In the case of the larger sample, it stopped after only two steps in which it discarded the two fractionalization indicators. In the case of the smaller sample, it went further, and it dropped the political globalization, and the group concentration proxy, as well, but the model parameters started to decline after the third step, without having improved in the previous two. The same can be said about the OLS stepwise regression explaining the political grievance. The model R-Square did not improve at all, while the Adjusted R-Square went up from .215 to .217, and even the Adjusted R-Square started to decline after the exclusion of four predictors.

Table_5.20 contains information on the three ordinal models. Though the results seem meaningful and congruent with results from other models, the regression models themselves have some technical issues. There is in each of them a large percentage of empty cells. Unfortunately, the ordinal regression environment is not really hospitable for interval variables, here called "covariates." And there is a well-known problem with calculating the goodness-of-fit indicators when the model contains covariates, rather than factors. SPSS gives two goodness-of-fit indicators, the Pearson Chi-square-t, which is very low in all my ordinal models, and occasionally sinks below the acceptable threshold of 0.05, and the Deviance, which is in all reassuringly high, more often reaching the maximum value of 1 than not. (In the case of my reported models, it is 1.)

Table_5.21 contains a clean, no-warning binary logistic model, and a no-warning ordinary least squares model, which, however, suffers from dangerously high levels of collinearity, in which two predictors (social globalization and economic globalization) barely exceed the 0.05 threshold for VIF tolerance.

Table 5.21:   Explaining grievance with inter-group inequality and control variables
A binary and an OLS model

Dependent variable	Any grievance		Political grievance			
Case number	624		623			
-2 Log likelihood	708.1		Adjusted R-Square = 0.215			
Cox & Snell R2	.203					
Nagelkerke R2	.273					
Predicted %	72.1					
Likelihood Ratio Chi-2	141.5				Collinearity statistics	
	Coeff.	Sig.	St.Coeff.	Sig.	Tol.nce	VIF
H. economic inequality (Ineq_3)	.563	.003	.091	.014	.919	1.088
EPR power status rank	-.386	.000	-.032	.426	.762	1.312
Group proportion	4.351	.001	.111	.005	.802	1.247
Ethnic fractionalization	-.138	.840	.093	.163	.285	3.504
Religious fractionalization	-.104	.826	-.009	.831	.719	1.390
Proportion of plurality	.816	.229	.226	.000	.306	3.271
Past violence	.045	.000	.393	.000	.938	1.066
Group concentration proxy	-.837	.069	.019	.640	.799	1.251
Economic globalization	-.044	.030	-.158	.211	.079	12.680
Political globalization	.007	.221	.046	.278	.705	1.418
Social globalization	.028	.105	.089	.536	.061	16.271
Life expectancy (female)	.029	.058	.153	.025	.273	3.666

The results from the ordinal model and the OLS model to explain political grievance are very similar, with only one difference to be mentioned. The political inequality measure does not turn up as significant in the linear model, though it is significant in the ordinal one. But in Table_5.20 and 5.21 I have included the stricter 2005-confined models only. When we increase the case number, the predictors get better chances to turn up as significant or to show more impact on the dependent variable.[152]

3 Explaining Conflict with Grievances and a Selection of Circumstantial and Opportunity Variables

In this section I would like to find the predictors of violence while controlling for the grievance level. That is, I ask that once the group grievances have been articulated, in which conditions do they lead to violent episodes and when is there a chance to get a peaceful solution? Not unimportantly, I also test whether grievances are significant causes of domestic violence. In the strongest forms of the opportunity for insurrection hypothesis, grievances have no autonomous impact, as they are artifacts of the political entrepreneurs guided by greed or opportunities for making a living out of war.

Checklist_2 summarizes the predictors that may typify the road between grievance and violence. There are, on the one hand, circumstances that push the grievance-harboring groups toward insurrection, and there are, on the other hand, circumstances that make the peaceful political action more attractive. A number of factors have to be taken into consideration either because they facilitate minority political action of any kind (such as larger minority group, and smaller plurality group), or because they are significant determinants of, causing or shaping, actions of any kind (such as country development level). The theoretical list of the factors is relatively simple and straightforward, and their operationalization may rely on previous scholarly work, but the set of concrete variables available falls a little short from what we may deem to be really adequate and complete representation of the theoretical categories. There are a few operationalized concepts for which we do not have good cross-national measurements at all. This is the

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[152] I think this is an honest pursuit, as here we face issues of over-determination, rather than spurious relationships. For instance, development level and the size of the plurality group are not in causal relationship with each other, but they ostensibly co-vary, and both seem to have an impact on grievance levels, seemingly independently from each other. Yet, the truth of "both have an impact" comes through in regression models only after both variables pay some toll for their co-variance.

case of the minority functional autonomy (also called "pillarization"), and the foreign aid to communal groups. The variable for the proportion of unemployed young males does not cover all cases, and the data quality is also challengeable.

In addition, the selection from among a number of parallel and equally valid measurements is not always straightforward, such as the choice among a number of globalization and fractionalization indicators.

Checklist_2: Independent variables explaining inter-group violence

Theoretical concept	Operationalized concept	Instrumentalized concept
Grievance level	Communal grievances	Economic grievance Cultural grievance Political grievance Any_grievance
Opportunity for insurrection (rebellion)	Government effectiveness	WGI Government Effectiveness
	Rural settlements	Proportion of rural population
	Supply of unemployed young males	Proportion of unemployed young males
	Foreign military aid to group	
Opportunity for peaceful political action	Democracy	Freedom House/iPolity2 Political terror scale (US State Dept.)
	Inclusive democracy	Electoral family (based on Norris) Proportional system dummy (from DPI)
	Minority territorial autonomy	Decentralization index * regional con-centration proxy (Commnl_s_divisions)
	Minority functional autonomy	
Country-level controls	Development level	GDP/ capita (PPP) Life expectancy (female)
	Country international embed-ness	KOF Globalization index Economic globalization (KOF) Social globalization (KOF) Political globalization (KOF)
	Plurality proportion and/or minority proportion	Proportion of plurality group
	Fractionalization	Ethnic fractionalization (Alesina) Linguistic fractionalization (Alesina) Religious fractionalization (Alesina)
Group-level con-trols	Group proportion	Group proportion (My_prop)
	Group concentration	Regional concentration proxy (Communal_sub_divisions)
	Foreign aid to group	
	Group organization potential[153]	

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[153] The group organization potential hinges on a number of country and group features that have already been included, such as democracy and group concentration, but may involve idiosyncratic issues that go beyond what can be addressed here, such as cross-cutting divisions (e.g. Sunni and Alevi Kurds), high in-group economic inequality, urbanism and occupational features, choice of exit over voice etc.)

I ran regression models with all three conflict measures available, ordinary least squares models with the "Conis intensity" and "Intensity index" measures, and binary logistic models with the "Any_conflict" variable. All models contained the same 13 predictors, while the 14th, the grievance measure, was alternated: I included the four grievance indicators successively in the explanations. I also tested the time factor. I ran the models for year 2005 only and for all available years, which were again, either 2003-2005 or 2004-2005. This means 24 models (3*4*2) to report on, but actually I ran 21 additional models, as well.

Twenty of the additional models included the measure for unemployed young males, as the 15th predictor, and I decided to have separate models with this indicator because its presence kept slashing the case number to less than half. I compared each model containing this unemployment measure with the corresponding model lacking it, and the presence of the measure meant little if any change in the impact of the other variables, and it definitely not affected the four strongest predictors. The unemployed young male variable itself has never emerged as significant.

The twenty-first model which is not included in the summary presented in Table_13 and Table_14, was the very first that I ran in this series. It included the measure for social globalization, and the SPSS output showed very high collinearity (two VIF values above 10, and the corresponding tolerance levels very close to zero). After I dropped social globalization, the subsequent models have not suffered from high collinearity.

Table 5.22 and 5.23 report on the explanatory strength of the models, while Table_5.24 reviews the impact of the predictors. Again, I would like to emphasize the relative stability – or robustness – of the findings. The variations of the model strength are the same in the two half-tables, and they make good sense. Political grievance, for instance, is a stronger predictor of conflict, than cultural grievance. The sign of the significant coefficients is also stable across the board.

Table 5.22: Strength of the models explaining conflict, sample restricted to year 2005

Dependent Variable	Included grievance predictor	Adjust-ed R2	-2 Log Likeli-hood	Cox & Snell R2	Nagel-kerke R2	Pre-dicted %	Num-ber of cases
Any conflict	Any grievance		402.8	0.296	0.468	84.4	620
	Economic gr.		493.8	0.185	0.292	83.4	620
	Cultural gr.		532.9	0.131	0.207	82.4	618
	Political gr.		415.4	0.282	0.445	86.3	619
Conis intensity	Any grievance	0.278					620
	Economic gr.	0.200					620
	Cultural gr.	0.123					618
	Political gr.	0.336					619
Intensity index	Any grievance	0.292					620
	Economic gr.	0.213					620
	Cultural gr.	0.135					618
	Political gr.	0.358					619

Table 5.23: Strength of the models explaining conflict, including all years available

Dependent Variable	Included grievance predictor	Adjust-ed R2	-2 Log Likeli-hood	Cox & Snell R2	Nagel-kerke R2	Pre-dicted %	Num-ber of cases
Any conflict	Any grievance		2015.5	0.296	0.468	83.5	3105
	Economic gr.		1489.3	0.181	0.287	83.4	1860
	Cultural gr.		1606.5	0.128	0.202	82.1	1856
	Political gr.		1233.1	0.287	0.453	86.3	1856
Conis intensity	Any grievance	0.281					3105
	Economic gr.	0.212					1860
	Cultural gr.	0.133					1856
	Political gr.	0.353					1856
Intensity index	Any grievance	0.303					3105
	Economic gr.	0.224					1860
	Cultural gr.	0.144					1856
	Political gr.	0.374					1856

The explanatory power of the OLS models, as expressed by the adjusted R-Squares, varies from 12.3% to 37.4% of variation explained. The very generous Nagelkerke Pseudo-R-Square measure indicates even higher explanatory power of the binary model (up to 46.8%), but if we take the average of the two Pseudo-R-Square measures, the explanatory potential of the binary model is at parity with that of the OLS models. Table_5.24 details the contribution of the individual predictors to this perfor-mance. Yet, Table_5.22 and 5.23 have already revealed the power of some grievance

indicators. Models with the political grievance indicator may be 20 points stronger than models with the cultural grievance indicator, which tells us that political grievance, on its own, explains more than 20 percent of the variation of the conflict measures. Other three predictors, which never failed to turn up as significant in these models, were the percentage of rural population, the group's regional concentration, and democracy. Table_5.24 shows convincing support for the belief in the political institutions' power to avert violent conflicts. Two of the three institutional variables considered have performed as theoretically expected.[154] The terror scale measure did not falter at all, while the measure for minority regional autonomy was a little better than the table suggests. This latter is listed in the table with a 58.3% performance for the 2005 set of models, but actually there were, besides the 7 models in which it scored p-values below 0.05, four other models in which its p-value was between 0.05 and 0.1. Further, it manages to emerge with negative sign despite the ubiquitous significant and strong positive impact of the group concentration measure, with the help of which it was constructed.

There is relatively less support for the impact of the opportunity for insurrection variables in these models. The only strong predictor is the proportion of rural population. The measure for the proportion of unemployed young males has failed to emerge as significant in the separate models I ran with it, which may be due to the poor quality of the data. Most disturbingly, though, the government effectiveness indicator reaches significance, when it reaches, with the wrong sign. Since in bivariate relations both the government effectiveness and the life expectancy indicators are negatively correlated with violent conflict, it may be the case that there are the stronger rural population and terror scale measures pushing the government effectiveness and life expectancy variables to turn up with the opposite sign. Though the model diagnostics do not show dangerous collinearity effects, the four development-related variables are strongly associated among them. Their correlation matrix contains values between 0.343 and 0.625, as measured across more than 3100 cases.

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[154] Even the Electoral family variable happened to turn up as significant in some of the reduced-case-number models containing the young male unemployed indicator.

Table 5.24: Significance and sign of the predictors in the 24 (plus 20) models studied

Theoretical concept	Instrumentalized concept (number of models)	% significant (models for 2005)	% significant (models for all yrs)	Sign	Reading of the sign
Grievance level	Any grievance (6 models)	100.00	100.00	Positive	more grievance, more conflict
	Economic grievance (6 models)	100.00	100.00	Positive	more grievance, more conflict
	Cultural grievance (6 models)	100.00	100.00	Positive	more grievance, more conflict
	Political grievance (6 models)	100.00	100.00	Positive	more grievance, more conflict
Opportunity for insurrection (rebellion)	WGI Govt. effectiveness	8.30	66.70	Positive	
	Rural population	100.00	100.00	Positive	less urbanized, more conflict
	Unemployed young males (20 models)	0.00	0.00		
Opportunity for peaceful political action	Political terror scale	100.00	100.00	Positive	less democracy, more conflict
	Electoral family	0.00	0.00		
	Minority autonomy proxy (decentr*commnl_s_div)	58.30	100.00	Negative	more autonomy, less conflict
Country-level controls	Life expectancy (female)	0.00	100.00	Positive	
	Economic globalization	0.00	16.67	Positive	economic glob.n increases conflict
	Political globalization	0.00	8.30	Negative	political glob.n reduces conflict
	Proportion of plurality	16.67	66.70	Negative	larger plurality, less conflict
	Ethnic fractionalization	0.00	66.70	Negative	more fraction.tn, less conflict
	Religious fractionalization	0.00	91.67	Negative	more fraction.tn, less conflict
Group-level controls	Group proportion	0.00	0.00		
	Reg. concentration proxy (communal_sub_divisions)	100.00	100.00	Positive	more concentr.n, more conflict

Note: the table gives the percentage of coefficients that turned up as significant above α=0.05 level. The number of models run with each predictor, when not marked otherwise (in parentheses), is 24.

The controls, with the sole exception of the development indicator life expectancy, show up as theoretically expected, when they do. The curvilinear relationship between fractionalization and conflict is captured by the fact that both a larger plurality and more fractionalization may mitigate the likelihood of violent conflict.

Yet, we may not be perfectly happy with the overall performance of the country-level variables used in these models. The models in the first section of this analysis sug-

gested that the countries, when they are introduced as a single factor (replacing 154 dummies), may explain some 40% of the variation in inter-group hostility levels. Grievances may add another 25% to this, which means that these models with R-Square values below 0.4 fail to capture most of the cross-country variation. (We cannot be very happy with the available group-level variables, either, but the models above endeavored in testing the impact of some institutional circumstances measured at country level.)

4 "Omnibus" Explanations of Conflict

In this final section of the regression analysis I would like to build models that explain violent communal conflict while bypassing the grievance indicators, that is, connect the violent outcome with the factors that have an impact on the inter-group behavior directly. Regarded from the point of view of the models in section 3, this means to replace grievances with their causes, such as economic and political inequality, and past violent episodes. There are, unfortunately, a few issues with this project.

First, the control variables selected for accounting for the specific country effects, such as development level, and fractionalization, do not seem to do a good job, they capture very little of the variation explainable with the country context. Other relevant country features may be needed to increase the explanatory potential, such as the vertical economic inequality, exposure to immigration, membership in regional integrations, and so on. The price of inclusion of any new variable is, however, increased risk of collinearity and odd behavior of the weakly significant predictors.

Second, there are some conceptually distinct factors that we cannot measure with empirically distinct indicators. Inter-group political equality means that minorities are fairly and proportionally represented in the political institutions of the country, this is what the EPR's power status ordinal variable (Power_rank) intends to measure. Yet, on country level, we measure inter-group political equality with the institutional *opportunities* for minorities to reach fair representation, and these institutions are identical with those that may divert communal groups from violent ways of action, and make them to pursue peaceful ways of politicizing. Democracy, and mainly proportional representation electoral system, as well as other power-sharing arrangements, are both determinants of - political - grievance levels and frames that shape the communal action once the grievances, of any kind, have been formulated. I hoped that it would not be redundant to in-

clude in the models both the power rank indicator and the institutional variables, but actually, they ostensibly reduced each other's measurable impact.

Third, we have already known that models that conceptualize the groups as nested in their countries outperform simple additive models in explanatory power. On the flipside, the inclusion of a large number of interaction terms to model the relationship between group-level and country-level variables, leads to technically less perfect models, increases the risks of non-normal residuals, collinearity, and heteroskedasticity. In most cases, this leads to a tradeoff between loss of explanatory power and loss of technical validity. Occasionally, however, the difference between group-level and country-level analysis may cut deeper. In my datasets, the vertical inequality measure Gini, a country-level indicator, is positively correlated with country-level measurements of violent conflict. Yet, when it is correlated with the group-level violence indicators, across the 639 historical minorities, it leads to a significant negative coefficient of about -0.1, as if higher Gini reduced conflict proneness. If we select only one group from each country (such as the plurality group), all association between the Gini and the group-level conflict indicators is gone, the coefficients are insignificant. That is, the relationship between a country-level indicator and the group-level indicators is sensitive to the distribution of groups across countries, which is not completely random from the perspective of a number of important variables, such as development levels. There are more and larger historical minority groups in less developed, less democratic, less well governed countries. Vertical inequality is believed to be curvilinearly associated with development: increases at the beginning of modernization, and decreases at the highest levels of postindustrial and democratic development. Communal violence occurs mainly in the least developed settings, where the number of groups is also high. That is, additive models involve the assumption of isomorphism between levels of analysis, such as the creed that the correlation between $X_{group-level}$ & $Y_{group-level}$ is the same as between $X_{country-level}$ & $Y_{country-level}$ – and this is not always the case.

Taking into consideration the possibility of using alternative measurements for a number of predictors, as well, the model fitting in this step is doomed to be a trial and error procedure. I might rely, however, on a few lessons from the previous sections, for instance, to avoid using all three part-indicators of globalization in the same model. Models containing the measurement of young males unemployed have also been run separately. And I left some of the trial-and-error work on the software. The variables

considered to be included in the models are summarized in Checklist_3, and of the parallel measurements I chose the ones in the left column.

Checklist_3: Independent variables explaining inter-group violence

Theoretical concept	Operationalized concept	Instrumentalized concept	
Grievance level's determinants	Violent past	Past violence	
	Inter-group economic inequality	Ineq_3	Ineq_4
	Inter-group political inequality	EPR Power status rank	Ethnic group in power
	Assimilationism, cultural restrictions		
	Informal discrimination & hate crime		
Opportunity for insurrection (rebellion)	Government effectiveness	WGI Gov.t Effectiveness	
	Rural settlements	Rural population	
	Unemployed young males	Unemployed young males	
	Foreign military aid to group		
Opportunity for peaceful political action	Democracy	Political terror scale	Freedom House /iPolity
	Inclusive democracy	Electoral family	Proportional system
	Minority territorial autonomy	Decentralization idx * Cmmnal_s_divisions	
	Minority functional autonomy		
Group-level controls	Group proportion	Group proportion	
	Group concentration	Communal _sub_divisions	
	Foreign aid to group		
	Group organization potential		
Country-level controls	Development level	Life expectancy (female)	GDP /capita (PPP)
	Country international embed-ness		Globalization index
		Economic glob.tion	Social globalization
		Political globalization	
	Plurality proportion and/or minority proportion	Proportion of plurality	
	Communal fractionalization	Ethnic fractionaliz.n	Linguistic fract.n
		Religious fract.n	

I have run two additive models with each of the three conflict variables, the Any_conflict, Conis_intensity, and Intensity_index measures, as dependent variables. The basic models contained 16 predictors, while the second model in each category in-

cluded the unemployed young male measure as the 17th predictor. Models with 16 pre-
dictors had 1848 cases (for the interval 2003-2005), while the models with 17 predictors
had 383 cases only.

During work, though, I experimented with two more dependent variables. The two
conflict intensity measures have had such a skewed distribution, that I calculated their
logarithmic transformations, and these were the variables effectively used in all reported
regression models. In this particular case, however, it turned out that the regression
models with the original, untransformed Conis_intensity and Intensity_index measures
result in significantly higher R-Square values than the models with the transformed, loga-
rithmic version of these measures. The diagnostic tests show the models equally
healthy, thus there is no absolute need for using the logarithmic form. Since this large
difference between the explanatory power of the two models is, indeed, unexpected and
surprising, I start the presentation of the SPSS outputs with a summary of the explanato-
ry power of the five models (Table_5.25):

Table 5.25:   The explanatory power of the main "omnibus" models

Dependent variable	Adjusted R-Square
Intensity_index	0.329
Intensity_index, with logarithmic transformation	0.245
Conis_intensity	0.217
Conis_intensity, with logarithmic transformation	0.198

Any_conflict
        Cox and Snell Pseudo-R-square = 0.160
        Nagelkerke Pseudo R-Square = 0.255
	about 0.200

The significance values of the predictors are virtually identical in the correspond-
ing ordinary least squares (OLS) models, it happens only once that a variable, measur-
ing religious fractionalization, scores a p-value of 0.049 in the model explaining the un-
transformed Intensity index and 0.058 in the model explaining the transformed Intensity
index.

Though I think that a model with a higher R-Square is a better model, and I would
be happier to claim that I may explain 33% of the variation of conflict intensity than 25%,
because of technical validity concerns I continue reporting on models that contained the
logarithmic form of the intensity measures.

The first question that we may ask when seeing a model with 16 predictors, is
whether we really need all of them in the regression, or not. I asked the SPSS software

to perform a backward elimination of the redundant explanatory variables. Table_5.26 gives an overview of how the model strength has been affected by the procedure of dropping a predictor in each step.

Table 5.26: Results of the backward predictor elimination procedure applied to the models with 16 predictors

Elimina-tion step	Dependent Variable: Intensity Index (w/ logarithmic transfor-mation)			Dependent Variable: CONIS Intensity (w/ logarithmic transfor-mation)			Dependent Variable: Any conflict recorded in the CONIS dataset		
	R	R Square	Adj. R^2	R	R-Square	Adj. R^2	2 Log likeli-hood	Cox & Snell Ps. R^2	Nagel-kerke Ps. R^2
1	502	252	245	453	205	198	508.0	160	255
2	501	251	245	453	205	199	508.7	160	255
3	501	251	246	453	205	199	509.7	160	254
4	501	251	246	453	205	200	511.0	159	253
5	501	251	246	453	205	200	512.6	158	252
6	501	251	246	452	204	200	514.0	158	251
7							515.0	157	250
8							517.6	156	248

I think that the third model in Table_5.26, the binary logistic regression explaining Any_conflict offers the simplest reading of the results. The -2 Log likelihood value increases with every predictor dropped, thus the model performance declines with the elimination of any of them. In the OLS models, the increase of the Adjusted R-Square values is only 1-2 points even after the elimination of five predictors. These results suggest that there are no strong reasons for eliminating any of the predictors included in the models on theoretical grounds, even if some of them fail to turn up as statistically significant in these models. The inter-group economic inequality variable Ineq_3_ln was kept in both OLS models all along the elimination procedure, up to the eighth step, where the software stopped because of the sharply declining model parameters. In the binary logistic model, Ineq_3_ln was eliminated in the second step. As Table_5.26 shows, its ab-

sence increased the -2 Log Likelihood by one point, and reduced the Nagelkerke Pseudo-R-Square by one point, thus we cannot claim that its elimination improves the model.

A further modeling issue to address is the additive versus nested combination of the predictors. Since in these models the country effects are represented by the 8 country-level variables, in a nested model the impact of the group-level variables can be mimicked with 32 (8*4 group-level variables) interaction terms.

Practically, unfortunately, a regression model with 40 closely related predictors does not allow for an accurate and fair test of the contribution of each variable. The covariance of the explanatory variables may push some predictors below significance level even if the impact of these latter is real in the sense that their presence is enough to objectively affect the dependent variables.[155]

Table_5.27 and Table_5.28 contain three models each. The first is a simple OLS, with the advantage that we get the explanatory power of them as Adjusted R-Square statistics, and we also have some standardized coefficients (Beta-s) to compare the impact of the predictors. The second model is the same regression performed in the generalized linear models (GENLIN) procedure, which uses maximum likelihood estimation, and gives Wald statistics instead of t-statistics, but calculates the significance of the predictors within two thousandth difference for the 2*16 predictors. We do not get, unfortunately, Pseudo-R-squares from this procedure, the model strength is described with the Log Likelihood and Likelihood Ratio Chi-2 statistics.

The third model reported in the tables is different, and can be performed in the GENLIN procedure only. It is a nested model with interaction terms. Yet, instead of interacting the group level variables with the country-level variables, I inter-acted them with the countries themselves, at least the three group level variables of main interest. In Tables 5.27 and 5.28 these three interaction terms are highlighted with blue color.

This change has dramatically improved the model strength statistics. The Log Likelihood values shrank to less than half, while the Likelihood Ratio Chi-Square statis-

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[155] An example for over-determination in the case of the models reported in Table_5.27 and Table_5.28 is the relationship between the proportion of plurality group and development level. We have good reasons to claim that a larger plurality group inhibits minority violent action, independently of the country development level, but because of the association of larger plurality with the development level, the proportion of plurality measure remains insignificant, while the development indicator life expectancy emerges as highly significant. Their roles have reversed in the third models reported in these tables, in which three group-level variables were replaced with interaction terms.

tics more than tripled. The nested model has obviously much higher explanatory power than the additive model, but, unfortunately, we lack the algorithms to express its strength in simple terms such as percentage of variance explained.[156] Undeniably, most of the improvement comes from the incorporation of the country variation itself in the models; but the results also strengthen the belief that the three group-level variables included in the interaction terms (horizontal economic and political inequality, and past violence), are significant predictors of violent conflict.

Table 5.27:   Explaining violent conflict, as measured by the Intensity Index variable

DV: Intensity index (w/ logarithmic transformation)	OLS additive model		GENLIN additive model		GENLIN nested model	
Case number	1848		1848		1848	
Adjusted R-Square	0.245					
Log Likelihood			-1551.4		-723.5	
Likelihood Ratio Chi-Square			535.4		2191.2	
Predictors	Stndrd. coeff.	Sig	Wald Chi-2	Sig.	Wald Chi-2	Sig.
Horizontal economic inequality (Ineq_3_ln)	.052	.015	6.0	.014		
EPR power status (Power_rank)	.015	.512	0.4	.510		
Past violence	.381	.000	330.2	.000		
Group proportion	.034	.139	2.2	.137	7.4	.006
Ethnic fractionalization	-.015	.709	0.1	.708	0.8	.365
Religious fractionalization	-.046	.058	3.6	.056	4.3	.038
Proportion of plurality	.014	.727	0.1	.726	7.4	.006
Regional concentration proxy	.230	.000	32.3	.000	4.8	.029
Life expectancy (female)	.231	.000	34.9	.000	1.9	.172
Economic globalization	.078	.136	2.2	.134	1.3	.250
Political globalization	.078	.005	7.9	.005	4.2	.040
Political terror scale	.181	.000	39.1	.000	0.0	.974
Electoral family	-.007	.773	0.1	.772	0.3	.584
Minority autonomy proxy	-.270	.000	35.7	.000	4.2	.040
WGI gov.t effectiveness	.038	.392	0.7	.390	1.2	.281
Rural population	.156	.000	24.1	.000	7.0	.008
Ineq_3_ln*Country factor					517.1	.000
Power_rank*Country factor					587.5	.000
Past_violence* Country factor					1095.5	.000

[156]   We may speculate that if the Log Likelihood value of -1551.4 is equal with an Adjusted R-Square of 0.245, then a Log Likelihood value of -723.5 approximates an Adjusted R-Square of 0.525, but I have no knowledge of any statistical theory addressing the issue of such inferences.

Table 5.28: Explaining violent conflict, as measured by the CONIS Intensity variable

DV: Intensity index (logarithmic transformation)	OLS additive model		GENLIN additive model		GENLIN nested model	
Case number	1848		1848		1848	
Adjusted R-Square	0.198					
Log Likelihood			-1179.1		-364.9	
Likelihood Ratio Chi-Square			424.9		2053.2	
Predictors	Stndrd. coeff.	Sig	Wald Chi-2	Sig.	Wald Chi-2	Sig.
Horizontal economic inequality (Ineq_3_ln)	.041	.061	3.6	.059		
EPR power status (Power_rank)	.019	.445	0.6	.443		
Past violence	.330	.000	233.0	.000		
Group proportion	.043	.067	3.4	.066	8.1	.004
Ethnic fractionalization	-.031	.449	0.6	.447	0.9	.332
Religious fractionalization	-.050	.047	4.0	.046	4.1	.042
Proportion of plurality	.000	.995	0.0	.995	10.2	.001
Regional concentration proxy	.197	.000	22.3	.000	3.1	.077
Life expectancy (female)	.219	.000	29.7	.000	1.3	.263
Economic globalization	.109	.041	4.2	.040	1.9	.172
Political globalization	.082	.004	8.3	.004	4.9	.026
Political terror scale	.189	.000	40.1	.000	0.0	.917
Electoral family	-.010	.690	0.2	.689	0.2	.634
Minority autonomy proxy	-.237	.000	25.9	.000	2.4	.124
WGI gov.t effectiveness	.007	.875	0.0	.875	1.4	.243
Rural population	.158	.000	23.4	.000	5.7	.017
Ineq_3_ln*Country factor					566.2	.000
Power_rank*Country factor					695.8	.000
Past_violence* Country factor					833.0	.000

Note: The country variable in itself cannot be included in models (as a "main effect"), because in their presence the software refuses to calculate values for a number of country-level variables.

For the binary ordinal model explaining Any_conflict, no nested GENLIN version could be executed. It was also the model that allowed for the smallest number of predictors to turn up as significant. What was significant in this model, has been significant in the above OLS models, as well, with only one exception. The proportion of plurality scored a significant p-value (0.022) in this model, which did not happen in the OLS models, as it was only in the nested models that the proportion of plurality reached significance.

Finally, I would like to refer to the results from the models in which the measurement of the proportion of unemployed young males has also been included. For all five dependent variables, the case number shrank to 391 with the addition of this variable. It tended to be significant, and to persist during the backward elimination procedures, in the models with the dependent variable Any_conflict and the logarithmic intensity indicators. It was weaker in the models with the untransformed conflict indicators: there it tended to score p-values between 0.05 and 0.1, rather than below-0.05.

Discussion and Conclusions

The size and proportion of the minority populations worldwide sanctions extraordinary interest in the inter-group relations. While the main phenomena to learn about and to avert are violent conflicts, we are little likely to get a good grip on these without a deeper understanding of the dynamics of inter-group hostility, a process subject to a number of influences and their idiosyncratic structuration. Data here have extensively supported that the explanation of inter-group hostility is multi-causal and complex, one salient aspect of the complexity being the interplay between group-level and country-level.

With a possible bias toward the importance of my subject, I would complain about the profession's neglecting to elaborate a series of measurements that could profitably be used for the explanation of conflict in cross-national analysis. It is not only the inter-group economic inequality measure which has been missing from our toolkit. We need measurements of functional autonomy, and better, all-inclusive and detailed measurements of the minority territorial autonomy, of the regional concentration of communal groups, and some other features that have been addressed by MAR, but it elaborated measures for 282 groups only.

These two circumstances are the main excuses for the first statement that I have to make with regard to the results obtained in this chapter. The explanatory power of the regression models is not too high. It seems that the country factor (Statename) explains some 40% of the overall variation of the grievance and conflict measures. The theory-driven selection of a set of group-level and country-level predictors led to models that explain about 20% of the variation of grievance – less of the cultural grievance, and more of the political grievance. The occurrence and intensity of violent conflict can be

explained with the selected group-level and country-level predictors in the range of 12.3% to 37.4%, depending on which grievance indicator is used. Political grievance, on its own, explains more than 25% of the variation of conflict. By tracing direct links from the causes of grievance to the occurrence of violence, as in the "omnibus" models, we can explain 25% of the variation of conflict intensity,[157] when we rely on additive models. Nested models increase the amount of variation explained, but we do not have the tools to plausibly estimate the magnitude of the improvement.

The second observation refers to the consistency of the results. All types of regression models in all four sections of the regression analysis were tested with several versions, and either there were not significant differences, or they made good sense, such as the relative weakness of the models with cultural grievance as compared to models with political grievance. Further, there were relatively few predictors that reached significance with the theoretically unexpected sign, and this has always been related to the modernization cluster.[158] In models with large numbers of associated predictors, which explain multi-causal phenomena subject to several weak influences, it is not uncommon that weaker predictors turn up with the wrong sign as a result of their correlation with a stronger predictor, which manages to keep its expected sign. All together, the models managed to tell a convincing story about the process-like unfolding of inter-group-hostility through grievances to violence, in which most predictors promoted in the literature found their place.

Third, I would like to comment on the performance of the individual predictors in these models, starting with my main explanatory variable. This predictor, the inter-group economic inequality measure showed a consistent and persistent, even if not very strong impact on the dependent variables. The basic version of the variable, Ineq_3 has never failed to turn up as significant above alpha=0.05 level in the explanation of the four grievance variables in the models without the country factor. In the presence of the country factor, the economic inequality measure has been significant above alpha=0.05 in models explaining political grievance, and also in models explaining conflict as measured with the Intensity index variable. In the omnibus models, faced with the strong

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[157]   This may increase to 33% in the technically less perfect model having as dependent variable the untransformed Intensity_index.

[158]   In my models I had several measurements of development, as I could not spare including in the models indicators for development itself, rural population, globalization, and government effectiveness; all of which are further related to the democracy and other variables, as well.

competition from 16 rival predictors, it emerged as significant above alpha=0.05 level in the explanation of the most complex conflict intensity indicator, both the untransformed, and the logarithmic form of it. It scored a little less convincing p-value of about 0.06 in the explanation of the other conflict intensity measure, Conis_intensity, again, in both versions of it. The only additive conflict model in which the economic inequality measure failed to reach a conventional level of significance, was the binary logistic model explaining Any_conflict – but even this model can be shown to be a little stronger when the Ineq_3 variable is included among the predictors. Since the performance of the economic inequality variable varies across the models with the three conflict measures, we may wonder which of the three conflict measures is the most adequate measurement of high level inter-group animosity? As a matter of fact, the correlation matrix of these three variables with the MAR conflict measures shows the Intensity index the strongest associated with the MAR Rebellion indicator, a reason to give primacy to the results suggested by this[159]. - What I hoped to measure with the EPR_MAR_EXT conflict measures, was the type of conflict classified by MAR as rebellion.

Of the group structure/ group relations cluster of variables, the measure for past violence has had the strongest impact, in both the explanation of grievances and explanation of violent conflict. It virtually never failed to turn up as significant, always with positive sign. Next, the group proportion variable has proven its significance in most models, also keeping its positive sign. The hypothesis of a curvilinear relationship between fractionalization and inter-group conflict has received support through a combination of weak negative impact of the fractionalization indicators and some positive impact of the measure expressing the proportion of the plurality group in the country. My proxy variable for the regional concentration of the groups has also emerged as significant in a number of models, always with a positive sign.

Of the institutional variables affecting the choice between peaceful and violent ways, on the one hand, but presumably the grievance levels themselves, as well, the indicator that I used for measuring the democracy levels, the political terror scale, has

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[159] The correlation of of MAR's Rebellion with these measures is 0.599 for Intensity Index, 0.425 for Conis Intensity, and 0.285 for Any_conflict. This gives a very serious edge to Intensity Index above the other two measures. Yet, the other two are also plausible indicators, and even if they show less impact of my INEQ variable, we may be more confident about a finding when it is supported by parallel measurements.

shown significant positive impact in each additive model. The measure of minority territorial autonomy has had almost the same stable and good performance. It was only the variable for the proportional representation electoral system that kept failing to reach significance. Yet the institutional variables in my models had to cope with two kinds of competitor predictors. In the omnibus models I have used the Power_rank measure borrowed from the EPR dataset in parallel with the above three institutional measures (democracy, autonomy, PR system). While the institutions create the opportunity for minorities to climb the power ladder, Power_rank measures the extent to which this has been realized. Other serious competitors of the institutional measures have been those related to the developmental-Modernization complex, such as female life expectancy, rural population, government effectiveness, and the globalization indicators. Because of different reasons, partly, to control for the opportunity-for-insurrection hypothesis, and partly, to control for the impact of the international environment, I have included all these highly correlated variables in my models, and this resulted in some predictors reaching significance with a confusing sign. I think that the problem can be addressed by creating subsets along the development variable, but this group-level focused dataset is not the most suitable for clarifying the relationships among institutional and developmental variables measured on country level. I will elaborate more on the impact of the development level and its correlates in Chapter 7, where I explore a country-level dataset.

Of the predictors belonging to the opportunity-for-insurrection complex, the measure for the rural population has always emerged as significant, always with the right sign. Actually, its strength may be the cause of the failure of the other opportunity measure. The proportion of rural population, conceptualized as a topic-specific Modernization indicator, has substantially contributed to the trouble experienced with this cluster of variables. Unfortunately, the government effectiveness indicator also belongs to this cluster – and subsequently, it has become very often insignificant in my models, also happening to turn up with the wrong sign. The special smaller-N models including the unemployed young male measure showed the little paradox picture that this measure has never emerged as significant when a grievance indicator was in the model, but tended to be significant in the omnibus models without grievance measures. Since there are no significant correlation coefficients between the unemployed young male measure and the grievance indicators, except for a unique r=0.092 with the Any_grievance, which is sig-

nificant at 0.002, the answer seems to involve a more complicated relationship of the unemployment measure with the Modernization and institutional complex[160].

Finally, I would like to highlight the ontological implication of some findings. In some regressions presented here, a number of variables defined at group level showed that their impact may be measured even in the presence of the country factor, and/or in the presence of potent country-level indicators. That is, communal groups exist, and they are causally consequential for their sub-, supra-, and national environments. Yet, the group features whose impact has been considered here and found to persist beyond the country variation, are relational attributes, such as the group proportion, economic and political inequality, and past inter-group hostility.

In this chapter, I have tried to capture the interplay between the group-level and country-level phenomena, but I have often run into technical hurdles. The next chapters will try to correct for two main issues with the above presented analysis. I have not had good measures for the group concentration, for foreign aid to the group, neither for the organization potential of the groups. In Chapter 6, relying on the MAR dataset, I will try to address the impact of these. And on the other hand, as already mentioned, I will try to sort out the issues around the Modernization cluster with the help of a country-level da-taset. Checking on this, however, is not the only reason for involving new datasets and new analyses. My motivation to proceed with a country-level analysis is mainly rooted in the recognition that group-level and country-level results may be divergent, as it is in the case of the correlation between the Gini index and conflict. And we may not be sure that we have really captured the big picture without comparing the results and explaining the discrepancies, where they are.

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[160] The unemployment measure is correlated with the electoral family indicator at a considerable 0.379, and also with the economic globalization at 0.175, and the size of plurality group at 0.120.

Chapter 6.

Analyses Based on MAR_EPR_MI Data

The EPR_MAR_EXT dataset, presented in Chapter 4 and analyzed in Chapter 5, includes the full Minorities at Risk (MAR) dataset, or more exactly, its last version pertinent to years 2004-2006. However, the MAR variables could not fully be included in the analyses run in Chapter 5, because of reasons related to the sample of minority groups surveyed in it. MAR did not include either all minority groups worldwide, or a random, representative sample of it. The criteria for inclusion in MAR have been, on the one hand, size-related, and on the other, related to the status of the minorities in their country. It is this second feature that has been reproached as MAR's "selection bias." By neglecting minority groups that either get on well with their majorities, or are too weak to formulate complaints, MAR prevents inquiries into constellations and factors within which minorities can successfully be integrated in their countries. MAR contains an impressive number of 282 communal groups, but the number of minority groups worldwide, even applying the size limits imposed by MAR,[161] is much higher. EPR_MAR_EXT identified 860 groups, out of which 153 are pluralities. I use the term *plurality* for the largest communal group in each country, and *majority* (or *real majority*) for groups larger than 50% of their country's population. Smaller plurality groups are less likely to have a safe grip on state power, as a coalition of two other groups may easily make them a minority population. MAR covers roughly 40% of all minority groups. Yet, if we distinguish between types of minorities, such as non-citizen versus citizen, historical versus new immigrant,

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[161] MAR considers only countries above 500,000 people, and groups above either 100,000 members, or 1% of the population. These thresholds have been applied to the EPR_MAR_EXT dataset, as well.

and secessionist versus non-seceded, the number of MAR groups in these sub-sets may not be enough for conclusive tests.[162]

Chapter 5 made use of MAR data by exploiting its selection bias. The groups not included in MAR were coded, by default, with a very small number of exceptions, as NOT having grievances. This chapter would like to benefit from the information contained in MAR about two features which have not adequately been addressed in Chapter 5, and for the study of which we lack country-level variables, as well. Both are pertinent to the ability of communal groups to successfully organize and carry out collective action. One is the geographical concentration of the groups, which facilitates their organization, and the other is the external support for them, from kindred groups, state and non-state foreign actors, which may alter their cost-benefit calculations when they make strategic decisions. Technically, Chapter 6 aims at explaining the same dependent variables as Chapter 5 did, by considering a few new explanatory variables which supplant or complement less adequate measurements of group features and international impacts. With slightly changed measurements, the findings related to the impact of my main explanatory variable, the inter-group horizontal inequality, have an opportunity to show their robustness.[163] In addition, MAR has two variables that can be used as complementary dependent variables, with the great advantage that they distinguish between peaceful (Protest) and violent (Rebel) political activism.

In order to bridge the difference between 282 MAR groups and approximately 700 minority groups worldwide, the dataset has had to be submitted to a multiple imputation procedure, carried out with Amelia II. I strived to increase the adequacy of imputation by feeding into the software the maximally possible number of related variables, such as data about the group power status taken from the Ethnic Power Relations (EPR) dataset, conflict data from CONIS, and Alesina's fractionalization indexes. I have also

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[162] I think that there are reasons for distinguishing among types of minorities, and the bulk of the analyses conducted in Chapter 5 were based on 626 historical minorities.

[163] Scientific testing requires the findings to be replicable. Yet, in the case of multivariate regression models, simple re-running of the regression, with the same measurements, does not satisfy all expectations related to replication, which involve obtaining the same results with different cases. Re-running the regressions tests the computational algorithm, but robustness tests (with slightly altered measurements), and validity tests (such as on split samples, and comparing similar measurements), come closer to the methodological ideal of replication.

included a large number of country-level indicators in order to make up for Amelia's blindness toward the fact that the groups are nested in their countries.

The multiple imputation method set some limits on what I could reasonably use of the wealth of variables in MAR. I dropped the idea to test the impact of various group markers, such as ethnicity, race, and language. The variation of these has no relationship with any known variable, thus any value assigned by Amelia could not be considered but as a random number. Fortunately, these group features have never been found to be significant predictors of inter-group relations. It would be helpful to control for them, but we may be confident enough that they do not co-vary with either hostility or violence.

Similarly, predictions about group cohesion, as a determinant of the group's strength of organization for collective action, cannot receive really adequate testing here. Older versions of MAR had a variable to directly measure group cohesion. The 2004-2006 version is restricted to a variable indicating the presence of violent intra-communal conflict, which is a relatively rare phenomenon, occurring in 14% of the cases (that is, in 40 cases out of 282). Since this feature is quite unpredictable from the variables that we have, I gave up considering it in my analyses.

Chapter 6 includes four main parts. First, the presentation of the dataset that is suitable for multiple imputation, followed by a section of bivariate analysis. Third, the basic explanatory models will be run on the original dataset, and finally, the datasets obtained with multiple imputation will be explored.

Preparing EPR_MAR_EXT for Analyses Focused on MAR

The large EPR_MAR_EXT dataset had to be reduced and concentrated in order to be successfully submitted to multiple imputation. Actually, I applied truncating in 3 dimensions: (i) reducing the number of variables, (ii) shrinking the number of cases, and (iii) cutting back on the number of years. The final version of the dataset for the analyses in the chapter has been named MAR_EPR_MI, where MI refers to the method of multiple imputation.

(i)

As for the variable reduction process, MAR itself was cut back to 13 variables, out of which four synthetized information from several original MAR variables, and two were obtained by recoding a complex variable. External support from all three sources

listed by MAR separately (kindred groups, states, and non-state actors), were added as "External_support," and their military support as "External_military_support." Three dummies referring to whether the group is represented in the executive and the legislative of the country have been collapsed in one measure of group representation, and two types of cultural restrictions (on religion and on language) have been collapsed into one "Cultural Restrictions" variable. MAR's original "Group organization for political action" (GOJPA) measure either cannot be used as an ordinal variable, or it suggests that peaceful umbrella and party organizations are doomed to grow into military organization. I created two ordinal measures out of it, one capturing the group's organization toward peaceful political action, and the other its organization toward violent political action, as summarized in Table_6.1.

Table 6.1:   Re-coding MAR's Group Organization for Political Action (GOJPA) variable

MAR Codebook's description of values	GOJPA	GO_Party	GO_Milit
No political movements or organizations represent group interests	0	0	0
Group interests promoted by umbrella organizations	1	1	0
Group interests promoted by conventional political parties or movements	2	2	0
Group interests promoted mainly by conventional movements or parties, but also by militant organizations with limited support	3	0	1
Group interests promoted mainly by militant organizations but also by some conventional organizations	4	0	2
Group interests promoted only by militant organizations	5	0	3

Further, although collapsing information from several variables is my preferred method to reduce the number of variables, I refrained from applying this in case of two seemingly closely related measures, "Group concentration" and "Proportion of group members in regional base," which showed some inconsistency in 37 instances, in the sense that highly concentrated groups were coded as not having a regional base. Thus these two indicators are to be tested separately in models.[164]

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[164]   Another inconsistency discovered during the task of cutting back on variables was that the MAR coders neglected filling in a few values in their AUTPRO variable. This shows the proportion of a communal group living in their autonomous region, and is by default 0 for groups not benefiting of an autonomous area. In 21 cases, when AUTON2, a dummy indicating the existence of autonomous region, was coded 0, the by-default zero on AUTPRO was missing. I filled in these, but did not interfere with the really missing values, that is, with cases when AUTON2 was coded with 1.

Besides the MAR variables, all seven group-level conflict variables used in Chapter 5 have been included in MAR_EPR_MI, along with the group political inequality measure from EPR (Power_rank), and four group economic inequality measures. Several country-level conflict variables were included, and selected measures of country economic development, democracy, decentralization, good governance, and vertical economic inequality. The final number of variables included in MAR_EPR_MI was 61.

<mark>(ii)</mark>

Analyses in this chapter are confined to the study of minority groups, and pluralities have been excluded from the dataset. Yet, not all pluralities. I adopted the rule of eliminating only "real" majorities, that is, plurality groups above 50% of the population. I also think that a plurality is "real" plurality when this fact is reflected in its political position, that is, it has been included in power at least since the first year of my EPR_MAR_EXT dataset, 1999. (Non-incorporated groups relate to state as minorities, not as majorities.) This interpretation of the notion of plurality led to leaving in the sample six above-50% plurality groups, as specified in Table_2.[165]

Table 6.2:   Plurality groups above 50% of the population left in the MAR_EPR_MI dataset

Country	Group	Group proportion (My_prop)	EPR EGIP code[166]	Group included in MAR
Bolivia	Indigenous Highland Peoples	0.60	0	Y
Burundi	Hutus	0.85	0/ 1 since 2002	Y
Iraq	Shi'a Arabs	0.60	0/ 1 since 2003	Y
Niger	Hausa	0.56	0/ 1 since 2000	N
Rwanda	Hutus	0.84	0	Y
Syria	Sunni Arabs	0.54	0	N

I have also deleted 16 minority groups from China, all between 100,000 and 1,000,000 people. China has 55 minority ethnic groups, of which 34 have more than 100,000 members. EPR_MAR_EXT included all 34, plus the majority Hans. All minority

[165] There are further 3 numeric pluralities in the sample, but these have not been coded as pluralities at all, since they are not citizens – it is the foreigners in Jordan (54%), Quatar (75%), and the United Arab Emirates (80%).

[166] EGIP stands for "Ethnic group in power," a variable borrowed from EPR, which runs up untill 2005 (inclusively).

groups are well documented in several aspects, but for the smallest ones is impossible to find data about their comparative economic standing. Politically, groups below 1 million don't have any significant presence in the national government, but are eligible for some regional autonomy. MAR_EPR_MI includes 18 minority groups from China, and I think that this number is sufficient to give adequate weight to the specificities of similar minorities (very small in comparison with their majorities, and suffering from historical neglect, rather than deliberate discrimination).[167]

(iii)

Finally, of the twelve years between 1999-2010, featured in EPR_MAR_EXT, the shorter dataset has only eight. I deleted the years 1999-2002, to spare effort to Amelia; and for the same reason, I have extended a few slowly-changing variables onto 2008, 2009 and 2010. In the case of these, the best guess is constancy. The affected variables are the minority type, group proportion, inter-group economic inequality, and a few variables defined as referring to a certain time span ("Any grievance in 2004-2006," "Any conflict in CONIS 2006-2010," and the intensity indexes calculated for these years).

Since Amelia is recommended for cases when the missingness is random, it is very important to have an image of the extent and direction of biases inherent in MAR. We know that the authors selected, on purpose, minorities whose co-existence with their majorities has become problematic, thus from the perspective of my project, which aims to explain the rise of hostility and occurrence of violence between groups, this is a selection on the dependent variable. We know little if any, however, about to what extent are the explanatory variables affected by the selection bias.

Benefiting from the possibility of comparing the set of MAR groups with a reasonably complete set of all minority groups, I have run a few tests to get a hint about the characteristics of the selection bias.[168] First of all, I checked on the extent to which different types of minorities are represented in MAR. As Table_6.3 shows it, it is non-

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[167] Though the plight of the Tibetans seriously mars China's human rights records, there are only 3 out of the country's 34 above-100,000 minority groups that are included in MAR, for a percentage of below-10. This is below the world average of inclusion in MAR, which comes to 37%. (The Chinese groups in MAR are the Tibetans, the Hui, and the Turkmen/ Uyghurs; all strongly defined by their religion.)

[168] Technically, most of them were done by creating a "Group included in MAR" indicator variable, and checking on its correlations with a number of variables of interest. This indicator variable is not part of the dataset subjected to multiple imputation.

citizens who are relatively neglected; the overall number of multiple plurality groups, which is four only, does not allow for any conclusion with regard to the representativity of MAR.

Table 6.3:   Cross-tabulation of groups in MAR_EPR_MI and in MAR (2005)

	Groups in MAR_EPR_MI	All groups	Groups included in MAR	
			Number	Percentage
Minority type	plurality below 50% of the population	55	21	38.2%
	multiple plurality	4	1	25.0%
	historical minority (incl. secessionist)	635	241	38.0%
	new immigrant group	33	14	42.4%
	non citizen	35	5	14.3%
Total		762	282	37.0%

Above the threshold of 100,000 or 1%, inclusion in MAR is completely independent of the size of the group, and groups that represent a larger proportion of the population are only very slightly more likely to be included (r=0.092), than small-proportion groups. On the other hand, the groups tend to come from countries with larger pluralities. The association between the inclusion in MAR indicator and the proportion of the plurality group (R=0.151) is paralleled by the positive association of the former with the development measure female life expectancy (r=0.105), and weakly significant negative associations with ethnic and linguistic fractionalization. There is, thus, a slight tendency in MAR to select groups from more developed countries, but this cannot be substantiated with all development indicators (the association with GDP/cap, and with the percentage of rural population, for instance, is insignificant).

Further, I inquired about whether selection by MAR has been seriously associated with the political and economic inequality of the groups. Table_6.4 shows the findings. On the right side, the coefficients between my economic inequality variables and the "Selected in MAR" dummy indicate the presence of a weak association. The correlation coefficient between the EPR's power rank variable and presence in MAR is -0.066, with a p-value of 0.070 only. Thus I included in Table_6.4 the whole cross-tabulation of the power status ordinal scale and inclusion in MAR. This shows that only the scale ends, the discriminated and the monopoly groups are disproportionately represented. (And, actually, the overall number of monopoly groups, five, is too small to allow for conclusions.)

Table 6.4:   Inclusion in MAR's association with political and economic inequality (2005)

Cross-tabulation of inclusion in MAR and the group's power rank				Correlations between inclusion in MAR and inter-group economic inequality		
Power status ordinal scale	All groups	MAR groups			Correlation	Significance
		#	%			
1. Discriminated	76	47	61.8%	Ineq_1	-.095	.009
2. Powerless	247	75	30.4%	Ineq_2	.066	.068
3. Regional autonomy/ Irrelevant	198	73	36.9%	Ineq_3	.116	.001
4. Junior Partner	160	59	36.9%	Ineq_4	.119	.001
5. Senior Partner	54	21	38.9%			
6. Dominant	22	7	31.8%			
7. Monopoly	5	0	0.0%	Case number for correlations: 755		
Total	762	282	37.0%			

Note: Calculi restricted to year 2005.

MAR's known bias is, however, toward including groups involved in conflict, and this bias can be measured only with conflict measures independent of MAR. The dataset contains a number of such variables, and Table_6.5 shows the pertinent parts of the correlation matrix. The lower half of the table may be surprising: selection into MAR is not associated with any country-level measure of conflict. It is only associated with the groups' involvement in conflicts to which they are parties. The correlation coefficients around 0.35, across 762 cases, show moderate-to-strong association with the group-level conflict indicators derived from the CONIS and UCDP/PRIO datasets.

Table 6.5: Association between inclusion in MAR and diverse conflict measures (for year 2005)

	Pearson correlation coefficient	Signifi-cance	Number of cases
Group-level conflict measures			
Any conflict in CONIS (of any intensity)	.369	.000	760
Average intensity of conflict in 5 years (2006-2010)	.349	.000	762
Conflict intensity based on both CONIS & UCDP_PRIO	.342	.000	762
Country-level conflict measures			
Refugee population as per 1000 of country of origin	-.023	.531	762
Internally displaced persons as % of population	.039	.281	762
Battle-related deaths	.021	.570	762
Banks Weighted Conflict Index	.058	.109	759
Global Peace Index (highest the worst)			0
Failed State Index (1--120, highest the worst)	-.043	.361	451
FS Group Grievance (1-10, highest the worst)	-.017	.716	451
WGI Political Stability and Lack of Violence	-.064	.077	757

Note: In Table_6.5, and throughout the chapter, I continue using the same color coding than in previous chapters. Coefficients significant above the alpha=0.05 threshold are marked with green. Completely insignificant coefficients are not highlighted, but those with p-values between 0.05 and 0.1, which may be taken for significant above alpha=0.1, are colored with yellow. Pink highlighting is reserved for coefficients that turn up as significant with the theoretically unexpected sign. I hope that this coloring technique facilitates the overview of the results, and I intend to use it for both correlation and regression coefficients, except for the tables in which I do not include insignificant coefficients at all.

The associations between inclusion in MAR and the institutional variables such as democracy, proportional representation, and decentralization are just as elusively weak-or-nothing as the association of inclusion in MAR with the development level. Based on all these relationships, I would conclude that the multiple imputation based on MAR may inflate the strength of the factors that have an impact on the occurrence of conflict in contrast with the inconsequential variables, but we have no reason to think that any of the explanatory variables will get unfair advantage to the detriment of others. Fortunately, my main goal with re-running the explanatory models with MAR data is the inclusion of new explanatory variables, not really to establish a rank order of the determinants.

I am interested, however, in whether the MAR sample is biased toward violent conflict versus conflict carried out with peaceful, democratic political means. The overall

count of groups involved in peaceful actions classified as "Protest" is 138, versus 58, the overall count of groups involved in violent actions classified as "Rebellion." Some groups were not involved in either protest or rebellion (124), and some groups were involved in both (40), which leaves us with 98 groups which protested only and 18 that rioted only in 2005. (The cross-tabulation of the two forms of political activism is included in Table_6.6.) There is no factual data on whether this proportion of more than 5:1 typifies minority behavior worldwide. Yet, we know that the proportion of democracies to autocracies was 6:4 in 1994 (Gleditsch & Ward 1997), and still much below 5:1 in 2005. Since minorities have no real chances to peacefully promote their interests in autocracies, a proportion of Protest-to-Rebellion above the proportion of democracy-to-autocracy challenges the assumption of a selection bias on behalf of Rebellion.

Table 6.6:   Cross-tabulation of two forms of political activism, Protest and Rebellion

REBELLION	PROTEST						Total
	None	Verbal opposition	Symbo-lic resis-tance	Small demon-strations	Medium demon-strations	Large demon-strations	
	0	1	2	3	4	5	
0 None	124	26	8	57	6	1	222
1 Political banditry, sporadic terrorism	10	1	0	16	4	0	31
2 Campaigns of terrorism	0	0	0	2	0	0	2
3 Local rebellions	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
4 Small-scale guerilla acitivity	3	0	0	3	1	0	7
5 Intermediate guerilla activity	5	0	1	2	3	0	11
6 Large-scale guerilla activity	0	1	0	5	1	0	7
7 Civil wars	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Total	142	28	9	85	15	1	280

Note: Calculi restricted to year 2005.

It seems that further cross-tabulations may reinforce the belief that minorities prefer peaceful political action over riots, and in fortunate circumstances they do not contemplate violent means at all. Table_6 shows that out of the 282 groups with grievances, only 104 had some military organization promoting their cause, and 68 of these military

organizations were dominated or counterbalanced by "conventional" (that is, peaceful) political organizations. On the extremes, umbrella organizations do not engage in riots, and military organizations do not engage in peaceful protests. The 133 minority parties organized 62 protest events of all intensities in 2005, while they were involved in only 6 actions qualifying as Rebellion, all of them of the lowest intensity recorded in MAR.[169]

Table 6.7: Cross-tabulation of the "Group organization for political action" (GOJPA) variable with "Protest" and "Rebellion" (2005)

	Group organization for political action						
	None	Um-brella organi-zations	Parties	Mainly convent ven-tional, also militant	Mainly militant, also convent ven-tional	Militant organi-zations	Total
Protest							
0 None	6	27	70	27	5	7	142
1	0	4	15	7	2	0	28
2	0	0	4	4	1	0	9
3	0	8	34	26	17	0	85
4	0	0	8	3	4	0	15
5 Large demonstrations	0	0	1	0	0	0	1
Total	6	39	132	67	29	7	280
Rebellion							
0 None	6	39	127	41	6	4	223
1	0	0	6	16	8	2	32
2	0	0	0	1	1	0	2
4	0	0	0	4	3	0	7
5	0	0	0	4	6	1	11
6 Large-scale guerilla act.y	0	0	0	2	5	0	7
Total	6	39	133	68	29	7	282

[169] That is, not all communal interest-defending action is doomed to lead to violence. These and similar statistics encouraged me to recode MAR's variable for group political action along two different dimensions, organization for party politics (Go_party), on the one hand, and organization for military action (Go_milit), on the other.

Bivariate Relationships

Though bivariate analyses do regularly precede regression analysis, they are not always reported. I think that here they deserve a dedicated section mainly because of the possibility to compare measures from MAR with measures from other datasets, and even with country-level data.

Measurements of social phenomena are always disputable, including even the hardest economic indicators, such as GDP. There is, for instance, GDP measured at current US dollars, on a fixed US dollar parity, and on purchase power, or unadjusted to this latter. The parallel measurements may co-vary to different extents, and they certainly lead to different results in regression models. The maximum for which we may hope in this regard is a convergence of the results.

The variables which describe group features and country features related to the group structure are much less standardized and precise than the economic ones. They are replicable, but only by replicating the whole method of calculating them – different methods are likely to lead to different measures, which may not be, unfortunately, very closely associated among themselves. Table_6.8 and Table_6.9 present the MAR variables' association with other measurements with which they can be reasonably expected to show significant correlations. The tables contain larger sections of the overall correlation matrix, but I highlighted in yellow the areas in which associations are theoretically expected. Only the correlation coefficients are displayed, without case numbers (which comes in the range of 270-282) and the significance values (which is above alpha=0.05 for all coefficients included). Table_6.8 shows that the group power status variables imported from EPR are reasonably well correlated with MAR's measurement of group political representation and political discrimination, but fail to capture the group's autonomy status. MAR's variable for economic discrimination is also reasonably well correlated with my economic inequality measures (Ineq_1 and Ineq_2), and I included the country-level measure derived from Ineq_1, as well, in order to observe the difference between the two levels of analysis. The associations between the MAR conflict indicators (separatism index, Protest, and Rebellion), and the conflict measures based on CONIS and UCDP-PRIO reveal that it is the most complex Intensity_index measure which best captures the violence coded by the MAR team.

231

Table 6.8: Correlation of MAR measures with other group-level measurements (2005)

Other measures	Group representation in gov.t	Group autonomy	Political discrimination	Economic Discrimination	Religious restrictions	Language restrictions	Separatism Index	Protest	Rebellion
Past violence			.139	.129	.128		.212	.162	.621
EPR Power rank	.374		-.469	-.446		-.194			
EPR EGIP	.477		-.356	-.381		-.140			
INEQ_1	.146		-.366	-.453	-.122			-.152	
INEQ_2	-.149		.366	.440	.122				
Standard dev.of Ineq_1			.165	.223					
Political grievance		.339				.133	.782	.382	.313
Economic grievance			.282	.367			.214	.300	
Cultural grievance			.146	.214	.189	.280	.203	.225	
Any grievance (in MAR)			.225	.244	.148	.137	.278	.246	.131
Any conflict (in Conis)		.183			.210		.389	.200	.285
Conis intensity index		.152			.221		.395	.200	.425
Intensity index		.160	.147	.135	.237		.391	.177	.599

Table 6.9: Correlation of MAR measures with selected country-level measurements (2005)

Other measures	Group concentration	Proportion in regional base	Group autonomy	External support to group	Military support to group	Group representation in gov.t	Political discrimination	Economic Discrimination	Religious restrictions	Language restrictions
Decentralization Index		-.162	.318				-.163			
Communal_sub_divisions	.230	.275	.240						.183	
Decentralizat.* Commnl_s_div			.377							-.153
Economic globalization	-.265	-.281		-.121			-.121			
Political globalization				-.160					-.126	-.224
Social globalization	-.258	-.297	.120	-.196						
Freedom H./imputed Polity	-.125	-.190	.121				-.166		-.287	-.204
Political Terror scale (US)	.221	.270		.204	.145					
Electoral family	-.122	-.169							-.237	-.121
House electoral rule (PR)		.140								

Table_6.9 includes lower correlation values than Table_6.8, but this time they are between group-level and country-level measurements. In these conditions, the two above-0.2 coefficients between the MAR group concentration variables and my measure of congruence between settlement patterns and administrative subdivisions, seem to be acceptably high. More importantly, the association between MAR's group autonomy indicator and mine (Decentralization * Communal_sub_division) is a comforting 0.377. On the negative side, a country's globalization is not associated with the possibility that a group receives external help (either from kin, or foreign states, or non-state actors); on the contrary, the two phenomena tend to be negatively correlated. Finally, there is evidence that democracy, as measured by Freedom House/imputed Polity scale, may safeguard minorities from experiencing political discrimination, and restrictions on their religion and language – it is only economic discrimination that is not affected by higher democracy levels. Also, proportional representation may reduce the likelihood of restrictions on religion and language.

The next tables summarize the bivariate relationships between the dependent variables and the explanatory ones, with a special focus on the two types of *explanans* unavailable from sources other than MAR: the group concentration, and the external assistance to minority groups. Yet, there are more variables specific to MAR which may serve either as dependent, or as independent variables. First I aim at explaining the same seven dependent variables as in Chapter 5, with a combination of *explanans* from EPR_MAR_EXT and MAR itself. Afterwards, I will explore the possibility that MAR distinguishes between Protest and Rebellion, and I observe the differences of their determinants.

Table_6.10 and Table_6.11 summarize the correlation coefficients between explanatory variables and nine outcome variables, for 2005. Non-citizen groups were taken out of the sample, both because MAR does not represent them proportionally, and because their political action is constrained. They have to be politically much less active than other groups, which leads to an unnecessary watering down of the impact of all variables of interest. Without non-citizens, the number of groups in the sample is 727, and that of the MAR groups is 277.

The presentation of the correlation coefficients was simplified again, by including only those significant above alpha=0.05. I have set on red fonts the explanatory variables originating in MAR, but included them into the larger groups of predictors defined by

the nature of impact. Table_6.10 comprises the economic inequality measures, and those expressing the reality or the possibility of political inequality. I also included a set of variables from MAR which expresses the degree of discrimination of and restriction on minorities, in four domains: political, economic, religious, and linguistic. Though the formulation of these variables assumes the deliberate oppressive action of the state-operating groups, they do, *de facto*, express the distance between majorities and minorities in the respective areas. A look at Table_6.10 shows that all inequality/oppression variables affect at least one of the conflict measures. The impact of the MAR oppression and my INEQ variables is the strongest and most consistent across several outcome variables, while the country-level institutional measures perform a little weaker. Yet, my country-level autonomy measure (Decentralization * Communal_sub-_divisions) parallels MAR's group-level autonomy measure (AUTON2), and they both seem to increase inter-group hostility. This is hard to understand without the data included in Table_6.11, referring to the groups' regional concentration.

Table 6.10: Significant correlation coefficients between dependent variables and three groups of determinants (2005, citizen groups only)

	Political grievance	Economic grievance	Cultural grievance	Any grievance	Any conflict	CONIS intensity	Intensity index	Protest	Rebellion
Political discrimination (MAR)		.289	.173	.223			.163		
Economic discrimination (MAR)		.369	.235	.242		.130	.150		.123
Religious restrictions (MAR)			.172	.149	.214	.225	.241		
Language restrictions (MAR)	.135		.285	.139					
Cultural restrictions[170] (MAR)	.126		.290	.182	.129	.146	.174		
INEQ_1	-.147	-.217	-.165	-.174	-.089	-.110	-.140	-.158	
INEQ_2	.116	.210	.134	.162	.080	.110	.140	.121	
INEQ_3	.168	.204	.170	.185	.098	.111	.143		
INEQ_4	.160	.214	.176	.183	.083	.098	.127		
EPR Power rank	-.092	-.148	-.107	-.203					
EPR Ethnic group in power (EGIP)	-.115	-.090		-.133					
Group representation in gov.t (M.R)								.128	
Group autonomy (MAR)	.338				.179	.147	.156	.146	
Decentralizat.n* Communl_sub_div	.097				.073	.089	.091		.140
Freedom House/iPolity	.083	.141	.142	.076				.190	
Political terror scale (US)	.081		-.102		.162	.203	.212		.328
WGI Regulatory Quality		.099	.144				-.073	.157	-.154
Electoral family (Norris-based)			.109		-.076		-.075		
Decentralization Index	.107	.080	.102					.179	

Table_6.11 relates some group features and group-structure features to the conflict measures. Group proportion and the size of the largest minority do not affect conflict, and group size is not a weighty predictor of it, either. Larger fractionalization seems to reduce, while larger plurality groups seem to increase, inter-group tension, but we know that these curvilinear relationships are only partly captured by the linear Pearson coeffi-

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[170] This variable is the simple sum of the Religious restrictions and Language restriction values, created with the intent to simplify the regression models. Though MAR was right to distinguish between religious and language discrimination, here I do not need to address the cultural components in so detailed manners.

cients. Past violent episodes do considerably increase the probability of conflict, and as expectable, of rebellion, rather than of protest. And last, but not least, we have the geographical concentration measures in this group of *explanans*. Their impact on conflict is not very strong, but considerable, and definitely higher than the impact of the corresponding autonomy measures. That is, regional concentration of the minorities increases the chance of conflict, including separatist movements and rebellion, but where there are autonomy arrangements in place, the likelihood of violence is smaller.[171]

Further, Table_6.11 shows the impact of two development variables, and the general pattern noticed in Chapter 5 is replicated. On higher development levels, we may have more grievances (expressed, promoted), but there is less violent conflict. MAR's Protest versus Rebellion dichotomy allows for an illustration of the fact that development goes with more protest movements, but fewer riots. This is reinforced by two development-related variables from the "opportunity for insurrection" predictor group. The coefficients on the variable for rural population and government effectiveness are consistently the opposite of each other (and both in the theoretically expected direction). A MAR variable, measuring the urbanism of the minority group performs in consonance. External support to groups, either military or of mixed nature, is associated with higher conflict levels. The surprising information with regard to this group of variables is that the presence of intra-communal conflict is positively associated with measures of inter-communal conflict. This goes against all theoretical expectations, both psychological, claiming that inter-group animosity is associated with intra-group cohesion (Tajfel), and political, claiming, for instance, that wars are the midwives of nations (Raymond Aron), or that rallying around the flag creates the national cohesion necessary for a bad leader to maintain in power (Ostrom, the diversionary theory of war). Yet, MAR codes as intra-communal conflict only incidents involving violence, even if low-intensity violence, such as with knives, between communal antagonists. And violent disputes over pastures, fisheries, or mines, for instance, may occur even if a minority group is very monolithic in

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[171] Since the same does not necessarily apply to the expression and promotion of grievances, we may wonder what causes further minority complaints, once their condition is classifiable as "having autonomy." Unfortunately, a simple dichotomic measure, as AUTON2 of MAR, does not capture everything so important to the minorities: whether the autonomous region is large enough to contain all of them, or is too large to feel in control of it, the depth of the autonomy (the competences typifying it), and also the share of these regions from the federal budget.

its demands toward the majority population. That is, the high correlation between intra-communal violence and inter-communal violence gets an explanation from the fact that both occur in less developed settings.

Table 6.11: Significant correlation coefficients between dependent variables and four groups of determinants (2005, citizen groups only)

	Political grievance	Economic grievance	Cultural grievance	Any grievance	Any conflict	CONIS intensity	Intensity index	Protest	Rebellion
Group proportion									
Group size								.168	.132
Past violence	.392	.200		.268	.376	.426	.552	.159	.620
Ethnic fractionalization (Alesina)	-.099		-.118	-.117					
Linguistic fractionalization (Alesina)	-.092		-.123	-.120					.165
Religious fractionalization (Alesina)	-.124		-.097	-.100	-.108	-.103	-.119		-.163
Proportion of plurality	.141	.092	.181	.149					-.122
Proportion of largest minority									
Difference Plurality– Larg.minority	.124		.142	.124					
Group concentration (MAR)	.292				.128	.163	.169		.130
Proportion in regional base (MAR)	.290		-.163		.200	.197	.214		.221
Communal sub divisions	.094				.133	.157	.183		.228
GDP / capita (PPP)			.109				-.075	.171	-.138
Life expectancy (female)	.123	.127	.249	.135					
External support to group (MAR)	.242	.169		.159		.173	.223		.384
Military support to group (MAR)	.193				.195	.257	.270	.130	.414
Intra-group conflict (MAR)	.270				.200	.248	.254	.168	.394
Group urbanism (MAR)	-.148	-.227			-.129	-.164	-.210		-.158
Proportion of rural population			-.166		.074	.089	.109	-.214	.122
WGI Government Effectiveness		.096	.166					.157	-.139
Unemployed young males (%)			.100	.134					
Group organization (GOJPA, MAR)	.452			.186	.446	.517	.529	.244	.491
GO_Party (organization for protest)	-.294		.156		-.333	-.431	-.433	-.120	-.432
GO_Military (organiz. for rebellion)	.397		-.154		.463	.558	.583	.188	.535

The last three variables in Table_6.11 show the impact of group organization on the dependent variables. The coefficients are impressive, the largest of all explanatory

groups reviewed. The conceptual issue here is whether they are indeed explanatory variables. It is hard if not impossible to distinguish between these levels of political organization and the political action itself. Party is, for instance, defined as an entity that vies for power; and minority military organizations negate the majority's bid to the legitimate monopoly of power by their very existence. Subsequently, I do not intend to use these variables as explanation of hostility or violence; I am more interested in the causes that push a group toward either party-type or military-type organization.

The next sections aim at building efficient explanatory models with these groups of variables. Preference was given to group-level measurements, where possible, and to MAR's own variables.

Regression Models with the Original Dataset

The logic of model building follows the two-step impact mechanism that I explored in Chapter 5. In the beginning, I built a number of models explaining grievance. The next steps involved the explanation of conflict, in two ways: first, by including grievance variables in the model, and second, by tracing grievances back to their causes. These latter regressions are the typical omnibus models of conflict.

Analyses were restricted to the 762 citizen groups. All models could be run either by restricting the sample to one year, or by including several years, but my original dataset has had a built-in limit in this regard. The MAR variables are available for years 2004-2006, while a variable that I included in all models as an important control and was imported from EPR, the measure of past violence, is available for until 2005 only, as its last year. Thus the choice of years was limited to either 2005 only, or to 2004 and 2005. As for the second version, we may be concerned about the presence of serial correlation in the data. I experimented with both versions, and as a general pattern, the model explanatory strength turned out to be almost identical for the two. The estimates of the coefficients showed very little difference, as well. What differed, was the significance value calculated for the predictors, and the models with more cases are more generous in this regard, as they allow for more coefficients to turn up as significant. Since the significance of the predictors in my models is severely diminished by multiple correlations among them, I thought that it was fair to give them more chance by keeping more cases in the model. Yet, in order to address the issue of serial correlation, the models involving

two years were run with robust errors, in SPSS's Generalized Linear Models procedure. The ordinal models in Table_6.12 are presented in the one-year resolution.

Table 6.12:   Types of grievance explained with MAR's oppression and inequality variables

Dependent Variable	Economic grievance		Cultural grievance		Political grievance	
Number of cases	273		272		273	
Cox and Snell Pseudo-R2	.199		.180		.281	
Nagelkerke Pseudo-R2	.224		.210		.295	
McFadden Pseudo-R2	.101		.102		.108	
	Estim.	Sig.	Estim.	Sig.	Estim.	Sig.
Economic discrimination	.625	.000				
Cultural restrictions			.464	.000		
Political discrimination					.157	.070
Group proportion	-3.942	.001	-.591	.624	-1.299	.208
Past violent episodes	.001	.678	-.002	.434	.018	.000
Linguistic Fractionalization	-.007	.991	.450	.487	-.031	.958
Religious Fractionalization	.013	.982	-1.422	.024	-.662	.250
Diff. plurality--largest minority	-.503	.384	.186	.764	.764	.168
Proportion in regional base	.228	.025	-.145	.159	.331	.001
GDP per capita, PPP	.000	.208	.000	.054	.000	.219
Political Terror Scale (US)	-.080	.565	-.349	.016	.020	.881
Group political representation	1.351	.001	.376	.362	.313	.419
Group autonomy	-.247	.479	.331	.362	1.539	.000

Table_6.12 reports three ordinal logit models explaining the three types of grievance recorded in MAR. They include a large set of control variables, selected from the group- and group structure, developmental and institutional predictor groups. The main predictors of interest are the first three, expressing special types of inequality and oppression. All three of these have significant impact on their respective grievance indicators, in the order displayed, economic discrimination having the strongest impact, and political discrimination the weakest. Yet, the strength of the models is different, and the one explaining political grievance seems to be the strongest, though all three models can be classified as explaining around 20% of variation.[172] Remarkably, some control

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[172] The three pseudo-R-squares given by SPSS give quite different values. The Nagelkerke is generous, the McFadden very thrifty. In cases when there is possible to run OLS models as well, such as in the case of the model with Political grievances, the OLS "real" R-square comes closest to the Cox &Snell Pseudo-R2s (in the case of this particular model, for instance, it is 0.236).

variables tend to affect the three types of grievances in different ways. I hope that the green-yellow-pink highlighting makes the review of the findings easier.

Of the variables belonging to the group- and group-structure cluster, linguistic fractionalization, fails to become significant in any model, while religious fractionalization affects cultural grievances only. Past violent episodes increase the likelihood of political grievance, but do not have significant impact on the other two dependent variables. Three predictors happen to turn up with unexpected sign, that is, their impact is the opposite of what was theoretically expected, and two of these are probably related to the "modernization paradox effect." The counter-intuitive findings are:

- economic grievances are more emphatic when the group proportion is smaller,

- groups with more political representation have more grievances.

It seems that grievances are more often formulated and expressed in modernizing settings, due to social transformations facilitating group awareness. In developed countries, minorities are smaller, pluralities are larger, and democratic conditions allow for more group representation. The third variable emerging with an unexpected sign is the group autonomy measure. This, too, may also be related to the "modernization paradox," as autonomy is positively correlated with development indicators such as life expectancy and social globalization, but group concentration issues may also have a part. In the group- and group-structure cluster there is a variable that could be retrieved from MAR only, here called "proportion in regional base." If we look at it across types of grievances, it tells an interesting story. Political and economic grievances increase in the presence of more regional concentration, while cultural grievances do not. It may well be the case that geographically dispersed minority groups tend to militate for cultural, rather than for political or economic rights. Within the model explaining political grievances, autonomy seems to increase the demands, and it is obviously in competition with the impact of political discrimination, also having a significant positive impact on grievances.[173] Yet the main predictor that may serve as a reference to which to compare the impact of the autonomy indicator, is the group concentration measure. This never fails to turn up as significant - and substantively strong, - in the explanation of economic and political

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[173] They are negatively correlated at -0.211. In the imputed datasets they mutually impede each other to reach significance – this is the single most important difference between the original and the imputed models explaining political grievance.

240

grievances, and of the intensity of conflict; and autonomy is the problem of groups with regional concentration.

Of the political institutional structure of the country, the models intend to capture the features with most plausible impact on the attitudes of minority groups. For instance, the political terror scale was selected rather than the Freedom House/iPolity democracy measure because of its cutting closer to how the groups may experience everyday workings of the political sphere. The models show that while more political representation helps articulating more economic grievances, increasing terror silences the cultural demands, but fortunately fails to do the same to economic and political demands, as well.

The next table, Table_6.13, presents variations of the model explaining political grievance, with cases from 2004 and 2005.

Table 6.13:   Robust linear models explaining political grievance

Dependent Variable	Political grievance		Political grievance		Political grievance		Political grievance	
Number of cases	543		543		541		541	
Log Likelihood	-923.888		-920.697		-917.617		-917.132	
[Adj.R^2 of corresponding OLS]	[0.237]				[0.246]		[0.243]	
	B	Sig.	B	Sig.	B	Sig.	B	Sig.
Political discrimination	.071	.096						
Cultural restrictions			.143	.001				
Economic discrimination					.135	.002		
Ineq_3_ln							.334	.003
Group proportion	-.876	.048	-.874	.045	-.789	.081	-.432	.340
Past violent episodes	.007	.000	.007	.000	.007	.000	.007	.000
Linguistic Fractionalization	.140	.551	.033	.887	.215	.362	.224	.349
Religious Fractionalization	-.580	.031	-.510	.052	-.530	.045	-.634	.016
Diff. plurality--largest minority	.695	.001	.525	.016	.743	.001	.810	.000
Proportion in regional base	.266	.000	.244	.000	.271	.000	.277	.000
GDP per capita, PPP_000	.017	.019	.017	.018	.017	.017	.016	.025
Political Terror Scale (US)	.082	.213	.088	.175	.094	.154	.093	.152
Group political representation	.269	.151	.228	.208	.318	.085	.226	.200
Group autonomy	.933	.000	.962	.000	.971	.000	.858	.000

Though calculated with robust standard errors, these models allow for more predictors to show their impact on political grievance, than the previous ordered logit single-

year model, or some other one-year ordinary least squares models.[174] An important message of Table_6.13 is that *economic* discrimination is a powerful predictor of *political* grievance. And it is not because of, or mainly because of, the perceived wrong intention of the discriminating plurality. The last two models in Table_12 show that MAR's economic discrimination variable may be replaced with my economic inequality measure with very little loss of explanatory power.

The next step of this analysis is to explain violent conflict with grievance, in the presence of the opportunity for insurrection variables and the necessary controls.

Table 6.14: Explaining conflict intensity with grievance, opportunity, and control variables

Dependent Variable	Intensity index		Intensity index		Intensity index		Intensity index	
Number of cases	493		491		493		490	
Log Likelihood	-507.81		-489.811		-513.226		-511.159	
[Adj.R-2 of corresp.ng OLS]	[0.288]		[0.333]		[0.272]		[0.271]	
	B	Sig.	B	Sig.	B	Sig.	B	Sig.
Any grievance in MAR	.355	.000						
Political grievance			.154	.000				
Economic grievance					.031	.436		
Cultural grievance							-.021	.627
Group proportion	-.441	.148	-.292	.321	-.399	.191	-.428	.164
Past violent episodes	.006	.000	.005	.000	.006	.000	.006	.000
Linguistic Fractionalization	.245	.103	.235	.097	.211	.151	.196	.172
Religious Fractionalization	-.265	.074	-.177	.221	-.282	.057	-.315	.038
Diff. plurality-largest minority	.227	.106	.135	.322	.256	.068	.249	.078
Proportion in regional base	.065	.022	.012	.666	.065	.025	.061	.036
GDP per capita, PPP_000	-.014	.018	-.015	.017	-.013	.034	-.013	.026
Political Terror Scale (US)	.096	.024	.102	.012	.104	.016	.101	.018
Urban/rural distribution	-.034	.162	-.038	.118	-.039	.127	-.046	.058
WGI Gov.Effectiveness	.273	.000	.261	.000	.280	.000	.294	.000
External military support	.712	.038	.573	.064	.820	.020	.801	.022

Table_6.14 contains four robust linear models which all have the same dependent variable, a measure of the intensity of conflicts included in Conis and UCDP/PRIO.[175] There are four predictors that are consistently significant above alpha=0.05 across the

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[174] I have studied the OLS models for 2005 with the same independent variables, and they are absolutely dominated by two predictors, the measures for past violence and regional concentration. Of the oppression & inequality variables, Economic discrimination and Cultural restriction are significant above Alpha=0.05, while INEQ is significant at 0.1 only (with a p-value of 0.082).

[175] Technically, the logarithmic form was used in the regressions.

models. Past violent episodes increase the likelihood and intensity of violence. Development reduces the likelihood of violence, while political terror breeds more violence, and military support from kindred, foreign states, or non-state actors also boosts it. (External assistance to minority groups in other forms also increases conflict intensity significantly, but not as substantially as military support.) Group concentration is related to more conflict. The challenging finding is the overall significance of the government effectiveness variable – with the theoretically unexpected sign. As a first circumstance to consider, there is a correlation of 0.798 between GDP/cap and government effectiveness, which may explain at least part of this anomaly. Yet, there may be more to it. "Real" government weakness leads to a war of everyone against everyone, the country breaking down in indiscriminate warring factions. Conflicts included in my dataset are between government and a minority group. And the state apparatus that can uphold armed violence against a group, has to have some power, that is, some "government effectiveness." The rational choice explanation of inter-group conflict claims that would-be insurrection leaders embark on a violent course when the state is weak (for instance, Fearon and Laitin 2003). Yet, the grievance explanation of conflict (such as Gurr) claims that when the oppression is intolerable, minorities rebel even against strong states able to exert political terror. This claim gets confirmation by the models above, in which political terror occurs with significant positive coefficients. Finally, it cannot be excluded that the conflict intensity measure, drawing on CONIS, not only on UCDP-PRIO, contains a portion of non-violent conflict, which would be classified by MAR as "Protest", rather than "Rebellion." If we look at separate models explaining these two different types of conflict, government effectiveness has a positive impact on Protest (as expected), and no significant impact on Rebellion.

But before considering models with Protest and Rebellion, I would like to highlight the differences among the impact of different types of grievance. In these models, it is only the political grievance that preserves its significance in the presence of controls. (In bivariate relationships, economic and cultural grievances are also significantly related to conflict intensity.) The differences may be further analyzed by distinguishing between Protest and Rebellion. Models run on these two forms of activism as distinct dependent variables make clear that Protest is predicted by all three types of grievance (political, economic, and cultural), to comparable extent. In contrast, Rebellion is substantially predicted by political grievances only, and some weakly significant impact of the economic

243

grievances may show up in models. Cultural grievances do not seem to result in Rebellion at all.

The last types of models reported here aim at supplanting grievances with their causes, that is, tracing direct links between some causal variables and the conflictual outcome. Previously I tried to explain grievances with MAR's three variables of political discrimination, economic discrimination, and cultural restrictions; thus, these are the main candidates for replacing grievances in the regressions. In addition, I explore the power of my inter-group economic inequality variable. The obstacle to packing all these measures in the same model is the association among them, for instance, political and economic discrimination are correlated at r=0.764. Yet, the association with the cultural restrictions measure is lower, which precludes, on the other hand, their combination into an index. Thus Table_6.15 presents a series of models in which these inequality and oppression variables are included one-by one.

Table 6.15:   Explaining conflict intensity with different types of inequality and oppression

Dependent variable	Intensity index		Intensity index		Intensity index		Intensity index	
Number of cases	492		493		491		491	
Log Likelihood	-511.418		-507.608		-509.641		-507.810	
[Adj.R-2 of corresp.ng OLS]	[0.277]		[0.289]		[0.279]		[0.277]	
	B	Sig.	B	Sig.	B	Sig.	B	Sig.
Polit. discrimination	.046	.048						
Cultural restrictions			.091	.001				
Econ. discrimination					.051	.041		
Ineq_4_ln							.045	.014
Group proportion	-.385	.202	-.405	.181	-.392	.202	-.177	.573
Past violent episodes	.005	.000	.005	.000	.005	.000	.006	.000
Linguistic Fractionalization	.232	.117	.149	.294	.254	.092	.257	.078
Religious Fractionalization	-.219	.149	-.195	.181	-.224	.138	-.258	.088
Diff. plurality-largest minority	.277	.050	.159	.260	.287	.044	.322	.022
Prop. in regional base	.077	.009	.065	.022	.080	.007	.072	.013
GDP per capita, PPP	-.014	.023	-.016	.007	-.014	.021	-.013	.036
Political Terror Scale	.101	.020	.109	.010	.100	.021	.101	.018
Urban/rural distribution	-.038	.115	-.047	.055	-.034	.170	-.041	.091
WGI Governm. Effectiveness	.299	.000	.329	.000	.294	.000	.276	.000
External military support	.836	.017	.899	.014	.826	.016	.823	.014

The models show the convincing impact of past violence, political terror, regional concentration, and external military support, all in the hypothesized direction. The development indicator GDP/cap is significant with a negative sign, thus violence is rarer in de-

veloped countries. It is only the government effectiveness variable that turns up consistently with the unexpected sign. The inequality and oppression variables are all significant when added to the model one-by-one, but thwart each others' measurable impact when added to the model at the same time.[176]

We may wonder how it happens that cultural restrictions and economic inequality outperform political discrimination in the explanation of conflict intensity, when political grievance has been shown to have much important impact on both conflict intensity and rebellion, than economic and cultural grievances? There are two answers to this question, and any combination of the two is plausible, as well. One explanation is what I would call the "crossed impacts," and it is related to the relationships between types of grievances and types of discrimination. Factually, it can be described as a correlation of 0.593 between political grievances and economic grievances, and a correlation of 0.764 between political discrimination and economic discrimination (and continued with some correlations above 0.4 with the cultural aspects). The associations among the three aspects of both discrimination and grievance are so high because (i) some phenomena cannot be neatly classified in one category only, they are multi-faceted; (ii) the problem and the solution may fall in different categories. For instance, demands for the decentralized administration of a minority concentration area may strike us as a political issue; but if the main goal of it is to use the minority language in the local government and run the local school in the minority language, then the community's goal is as much cultural as political. Or, if an economically disadvantaged group fights for getting a larger share from state budget by increasing their representation in the national government, then an economic discrimination issue leads to political grievances.

The other answer is not really an explanation, but reference to a slightly diverging constellation of facts. The imputed models differ to some extent from the models built on the original dataset – and the most notable divergence is that they show a serious impact of the economic and cultural grievances on both conflict intensity and rebellion.

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[176] The usual way to deal with such cases is to build indexes, but in the case of the MAR variables there are some impediments. Political and economic discrimination could be combined, but the measurements of cultural restrictions are not correlated with them above the threshold of 0.7, considered necessary for an index.

Regression Models on the Imputed Datasets

The creators of the multiple imputation Amelia software are very confident about the possibilities of this tool to fill in missing data. They suggest that in case of divergence between the results from the original and the imputed datasets, we should trust the imputed data.

I am a little more skeptical about the powers of Amelia to make up for missingness, and I tend to take for well-supported result only the observations confirmed by both the original and the imputed data. Fortunately, a series of basic findings are the same or very similar in the two types of regression models. Issues where the original and the imputed data do not concur perfectly, I would refer to further analysis.

Actually, my skepticism is not directed against Amelia as such, but I think that the MAR_EPR_MI dataset is a particularly difficult case to be subjected to multiple imputation. The main special issues with it are:

(i) We have original data for only 37% of the groups considered;

(ii) Groups are nested in countries, which practically cannot be modeled in Amelia;

(iii) The association of the MAR variables with out-the-system variables such as country features is relatively low;

(iii) We have original data for 3 years only out of 8 in the MAR_EPR_MI.

I have tried to address these issues by

(i) Asking for six replications, rather than five, to allow for more randomness;

(ii) Packing the file to be replicated with country-level variables;

(iii) Packing the file to be replicated with all available parallel measurements of group political and economic inequality, institutional and conflict variables;

(iv) Running the final models on year 2005 only, for which we have the original measurements for almost all cases included in MAR.

In addition, I have checked on the nature and magnitude of the MAR selection bias, and subsequently I have dropped the non-citizen groups from the analysis. The non-ordinal "Group organization for political action" (GOJPA) measure has been recoded in two new variables of reasonably ordinal nature. The final number of variables introduced in Amelia for multiple imputation was 61, with three identifiers (year, country-

246

and group-name).[177] Besides the MAR variables themselves, the procedure produced much needed imputed values for the variable "unemployed young males," which I could not use with the original dataset because of its dramatically (and selectively) reducing the number of variables. Here it is added to all models involving the "opportunity for insurrection" hypothesis, and in a few trial models that I ran in parallel with and without this variable, its presence did not affect the behavior of other variables.

The logic of model-building followed the same steps as those presented in the previous section; first I explain grievances, then conflict. This latter, in its turn, is explained first with grievances and opportunities, and later with omnibus models bypassing the grievance stage.

With regard to the models explaining grievances, I ran into an unexpected problem which slightly limits the comparability of the models run on the original and the imputed data. My dependent variables of economic, political, and cultural grievances, the same set of variables that I used in Chapter 5, as well, and which has been reasonably complete for all (not only the MAR) groups, still contained some 16 missing values for year 2005. Amelia filled in these with not-integer intermediate values, transforming the ordinal scale into interval scale, which made me use ordinary least square (OLS), rather than ordinal logit models to explain grievance. The originally five-level political grievance variable, which has already been studied with OLS, produced decent residual plots, and so did the economic grievance variable. Yet, the originally three-level cultural grievance did not lead to convincingly healthy OLS models, and subsequently the detailed presentation of the results confines to the economic grievance and political grievance only.

Because of space limits, the tables reporting on the imputed data include the pooled models only. (The Appendix shows some of them one-by-one, and they may also be studied in the Excel sheet where I copied the results from SPSS.) From the pooled models procedure we do not get R-Square values and standardized coefficients. Tables 17 through 20 include, instead, an average of the R-Square values reported for the six

[177] Year was designated as the time-series variable, and group name as cross-sectional variable. The country name remained an unhandled factor. For all variables in need of imputation, I asked the software to consider past and future values of it (otherwise, I set "lags" and "leads," as Amelia calls these), and limited the values to their logical bounds (such as percentages between 0 and 100, the ordinal scale values between the lower and upper threshold values).

imputed models, and simple ordinary least square (OLS) coefficient estimates. In addition, a column shows the p-values, that is, the significance of the coefficients.

The first table in this series, Table_6.16, includes models explaining economic grievance. For easy comparison of the imputed models with the original, I copied this latter in the grid, as well. It makes visible that there are two uncontested predictors of economic grievance: regional concentration and economic inequality or oppression. My own economic inequality predictor is weaker than MAR's ECDIS, but still powerful, and second only to the impact of the past violence in the six imputed models in which it was included. The "modernization paradox" effect, that more political representation means more grievances, is mitigated in the imputed models, and we have, instead, a negative impact of autonomy on grievances. Previously, Chapter 5 reported on models showing that while the regional concentration of communal groups increases the risk of hostility, autonomy reduces it. Those results were obtained with my own variables of "administrative subdivisions fall along communal lines" and its interaction with a decentralization indicator. The same effect is here obtained with a set of different measurements, and hopefully this convergence of the results establishes the validity of the finding.

Table 6.16:   Explaining economic grievance

	Original data (ologit)		POOLED Model (OLS)		POOLED Model (OLS)	
Dependent variable	Economic grievance		Economic grievance		Economic grievance	
Case number	273		727*6		727*6	
Adjusted R-Square	0.199 (Cox&Snell)		0.144 (average)		0.097 (average)	
	Est.	Sig.	Coeff.	Sig.	Coeff.	Sig.
Economic discrimination	0.625	0.000	0.196	0.000		
INEQ_3 (ln)					0.251	0.000
Group proportion	-3.942	0.001	-0.221	0.389	0.077	0.770
Past violence		0.678	0.004	0.000	0.004	0.000
Linguistic fractionalization		0.991	-0.014	0.914	-0.082	0.534
Religious fractionalization		0.982	-0.014	0.913	-0.086	0.473
Diff. Plurality%—L.minority%		0.384	0.203	0.083	0.178	0.140
Proportion in regional base	0.228	0.025	0.092	0.004	0.078	0.017
GDP/ capita (PPP)		0.208	0.000	0.118	0.000	0.188
Political terror scale		0.565	0.004	0.885	0.014	0.637
Group representation in govt.	1.351	0.001	0.296	0.007	0.123	0.245
Group autonomy		0.479	-0.340	0.000	-0.439	0.000

The other important difference between the original and the imputed models is the emergence of past violence as highly significant in the latter. Since past violence has emerged as significant predictor in other models here and in Chapter 5, as well, the imputed models may be closer to the reality than the original model with regard to its impact on economic grievances.

Table_6.17 includes the same predictors as Table_6.16, but the dependent variable is political grievance. Happily, the variance of this can be explained to larger extent with my explanatory variables, the adjusted R-squares reach 0.250. This time my economic inequality variable performs better than MAR's economic discrimination measure, but the strongest predictor of political grievance is history, as measured by the past violence variable. The impact of the regional concentration keeps high, but the unexpected-sign impact of the autonomy arrangements is weaker in the imputed models than in the original.

Table 6.17:   Explaining political grievance

	Original data (Robust linear)		POOLED Model (OLS)		POOLED Model (OLS)	
Dependent variable	Political grievance		Political grievance		Political grievance	
Case number	541		727*6		727*6	
Adjusted R-square			0.225 (average)		0.237 (average)	
	B	Sig.	Coeff.	Sig.	Coeff.	Sig.
Economic discrimination	.135	.002	.113	.018		
INEQ_3 (ln)					.384	.000
Group proportion	-.789	.081	.236	.599	.670	.143
Past violence	.007	.000	.015	.000	.014	.000
Linguistic fractionalization	.215	.362	-.237	.304	-.220	.334
Religious fractionalization	-.530	.045	-.269	.203	-.302	.145
Diff.Plurality—L.minority	.743	.001	.691	.001	.694	.001
Prop. in regional base	.271	.000	.276	.000	.281	.000
GDP/ capita (PPP)	.017	.017	.000	.464	.000	.477
Political terror scale	.094	.154	.050	.336	.050	.324
Group representation in govt.	.318	.085	.102	.593	.009	.959
Group autonomy	.971	.000	.165	.419	.118	.557

The third type of grievance, cultural, cannot satisfactorily be explained with ordinary least square models. The models are weak, the residual histogram is three-peaked, and there is a large number of residuals –approximately 4% of the cases - above 3 standard deviation, though none above 4 standard deviations. Models with the dependent variable economic grievance have had 0-2 outliers, and those with political grievance, 2-4 outliers, all within the 3 to 4 standard deviation band. As for the next models to be presented, the residuals from models with intensity index (or, more exactly, the logarithm of the intensity index,) as their dependent variable are a little peaked, and have some 6 to 9 instances above 3 standard deviations. Since these smaller deviations from the normal are unlikely to influence the results in any systematic way, these models may be considered as basically healthy. Table_6.18 presents results from models explaining conflict intensity, in which the grievance indicators compete against 12 controls. As a difference from the original model, the imputed models include a measure of the proportion of unemployed young male, which seems to have only marginally affected the results.[178] The single most important difference between the original and the imputed models is the convincingly strong impact of all types of grievances (not only of political grievance) on conflict intensity.

Besides grievances, two further variables are consistently strong predictors of violent conflict: past violence and political terror. This latter may leave some room for divergent theorizations. On the one hand, it is an institutional circumstance of carrying out political action: lack of democracy constrains groups interested in change to choose violent, rather than peaceful-parliamentary means. On the other hand, it is a political grievance in itself, sign of, or means of political discrimination, and definitely a reason for turning against the regime in place. Yet, despite some significant association between the terror and grievance measures, here they both manage to turn up significant. In contrast, the group concentration variable fails to become significant in the models that contain political grievance, and only in those.[179] This may be effect of a correlation of 0.292 between the two predictors. Government effectiveness keeps having an impact in the

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[178] In the imputed models, the p-values for the unemployed young males measure oscillate widely between 0.967 and 0.019. Unfortunately, there are no good co-variates for this measure, and Amelia seems to have assigned it widely scattered random values.

[179] In the other two imputed model series, the concentration measure is significant above alpha=0.05 five and five times, and only once does its significance score in the lower band of alpha between 0.1 and 0.05 in each series.

theoretically unexpected direction, but it is substantially weakened as compared to the original model. The last variable that always shows up with significant, even if weakly significant, coefficient values, above the lower threshold of alpha=0.1, is religious fractionalization. The negative sign on it suggests that more religious fractionalization means less violence, and this is good news for an increasingly plural world, even if we are aware that these fractionalization indexes are not linearly associated with most variables in the models.

Table 6.18:   Explaining conflict intensity with grievance and controls

	Original model (Robust)		POOLED Model (OLS)		POOLED Model (OLS)		POOLED Model (OLS)	
Dependent Variable	Intensity index		Intensity index		Intensity index		Intensity index	
Number of cases	493		727*6		727*6		727*6	
Adjusted R-square			0.375 (average)		0.306 (average)		0.286 (average)	
	B	Sig.	Coeff.	Sig.	Coeff.	Sig.	Coeff.	Sig.
Any grievance	.355	.000						
Political grievance			0.190	0.000				
Economic grievance					0.220	0.000		
Cultural grievance							0.220	0.000
Group proportion	-.441	.148	-0.055	0.755	-0.018	0.922	-0.100	0.594
Past violent episodes	.006	.000	0.005	0.000	0.007	0.000	0.008	0.000
Linguistic fractionalization	.245	.103	0.166	0.089	0.145	0.158	0.092	0.374
Religious fractionalization	-.265	.074	-0.162	0.066	-0.211	0.023	-0.189	0.046
Diff. plurality—Lg.minority	.227	.106	0.040	0.663	0.168	0.077	0.105	0.278
Proportion in regional base	.065	.022	0.012	0.593	0.056	0.010	0.062	0.005
GDP per capita, PPP	-.014	.018	0.000	0.289	0.000	0.631	0.000	0.635
Political Terror Scale	.096	.024	0.088	0.000	0.093	0.000	0.104	0.000
Urban /rural distribution	-.034	.162	-0.029	0.133	-0.013	0.544	-0.040	0.082
WGI Gov.Effectiveness	.273	.000	0.120	0.002	0.081	0.051	0.098	0.021
External military support	.712	.038	0.058	0.778	0.083	0.715	-0.124	0.578
Young male unemployed			0.000	0.824	0.002	0.365	0.002	0.312

In a final balance, there have been two predictors in the original models whose impact on the conflict intensity variable have not been confirmed by the imputed model series: the development indicator (GDP/capita), and the external military support. The bivariate analysis, and a number of previous observations, have shown the GDP/capita negatively correlated with conflict intensity, which lends some support to the original

model. In the original model, the effect of the GDP/capita measure comes through despite its significant association with a number of other variables that amassed more strength in the imputed models, primarily the cultural grievance indicator, insignificant in the original model and highly significant in all imputed models. External military support is also correlated with conflict intensity in bivariate relationships (at 0.237), but it has a higher correlation value with the past violence indicator (at 0.391), which keeps significant in the imputed models, seemingly to the detriment of the external military support measure.

Table 6.19: Explaining conflict intensity with economic inequality and controls

	Original model (Robust)		POOLED Model (OLS)		POOLED Model (OLS)	
Dependent Variable	Intensity index		Intensity index		Intensity index	
Case number	491		727*6		727*6	
Adjusted R-square			0.262 (average)		0.259 (average)	
	B.	Sig.	Coeff.	Sig	Coeff.	Sig
Economic discrimination	.051	.041	.047	.038		
Ineq_3_ln					.080	.059
Group proportion	-.392	.202	-.010	.958	.054	.786
Past violent episodes	.005	.000	.008	.000	.008	.000
Linguistic Fractionalization	.254	.092	.124	.244	.115	.277
Religious Fractionalization	-.224	.138	-.210	.029	-.233	.015
Diff. plurality%-larg.minority%	.287	.044	.151	.126	.152	.125
Prop. in regional base	.080	.007	.069	.004	.064	.006
GDP per capita, PPP	-.014	.021	.000	.550	.000	.607
Political Terror Scale	.100	.021	.103	.000	.102	.000
Group urbanism	-.034	.170	-.036	.133	-.038	.104
WGI Gov.t Effectiveness	.294	.000	.122	.004	.113	.009
External military support	.826	.016	-.331	.137	-.336	.133
Unemployed young males			.004	.130	.004	.137

Table_6.19 reports the most complex models in which inequality and oppression variables supplant the grievance indicators. The models' explanatory power is lower this way, and the inequality and oppression variables perform weaker than the grievance variables, but the contribution of the controls to the models is basically the same as in the models presented in Table_6.18. I have run models on the imputed datasets with all inequality/oppression variables. Economic discrimination turned up as the strongest predictor of the four, followed by cultural restrictions and my economic inequality variable, while political dis-

crimination remained the weakest, scoring only two p-values between 0.05 and 0.1, on two imputed datasets. Since my main concerns lie with the impact of economic inequality, there are the models with MAR's economic discrimination (ECDIS) and my inter-group economic inequality (INEQ_3_ln) included in the tables. Compared to the results obtained with the original dataset, it is again the impact of the development indicator GDP/capita and of the external military support that are differently assessed in the model run on the original dataset and the model series run on the imputed datasets. The impact of past violence, political terror, group concentration, and religious fractionalization gets strong support. On the other hand, government effectiveness keeps significant with the unexpected sign.

While the positive sign on the government effectiveness measure can be explained with a combination of collinearity and factual causes, since the conflicts selected into this dataset are all between a group and government, there is no good explanation of why the impact of the external military support became insignificant in the imputed models in Table_6.18 and Table_6.19. Since the most important change of these models as compared to the original models has been the addition of the unemployment variable, the phenomenon is probably related to the relationship between the two. In the original dataset, there is no association between the proportion of unemployed young males and the external military aid, but after large-scale imputation to both variables, this has occurred. In the imputed dataset number five, for instance, the correlation between external military aid and proportion of unemployed young males, as measured for year 2005 and citizen groups only, is 0.105, significant at the 0.01 level.

Discussion and Conclusions

The single most important hurdle of projects related to group behavior in cross-national perspective is data availability. Most of the time we have to realize some limitation of the empirical toolkit to be used.

The MAR data has been widely used, but also widely criticized, its previous versions as well as this latest edition. It is mainly its case selection criteria, that has been targeted, but other features, such as the construction of variables, and even concrete

value assignments, can and have also been challenged.[180] Though my task has been to make the most constructive use of the given knowledge base, I had to face the weaknesses of MAR in order to extend some of its variables onto a representative sample of minority groups worldwide. I think that my EPR_MAR_EXT dataset offered a unique opportunity to review the direction and depth of the MAR selection bias, and also to compare some of its variables with other measurements of the similar phenomena. In addition, the variables imported from EPR_MAR_EXT were also useful for the multiple imputation procedure.

Despite some similarities, and common variables, I would like to emphasize that the dataset explored in Chapter 5 and in this one, are quite different. There is a difference, on the one hand, with regard to observations, and on the other, with regard to variables. Chapter 5 studied historical minorities, while Chapter 6 includes new minorities and relatively smaller pluralities, as well. In Chapter 5, the main explanatory variable was my inter-group economic inequality measure, in Chapter 6, the main explanatory variable is MAR's "economic discrimination" (ECDIS) variable, though most of the time I paralleled the models by showing the impact of my own INEQ measures, as well. The models run in this chapter included MAR's measures for group concentration, and its values for external support to minorities, as main controls of interest, but occasionally, variables of political inequality and institutional features (representation, autonomy, urbanism) have also been imported from the MAR inventory.

These differences are important because the logic of analysis and fortunately the results, as well, are similar in the analyses presented in the two chapters. The research purpose has been to obtain support for three related claims:

(i) that economic inequality leads to inter-group hostility expressed in grievances,

(ii) that grievances increase the probability and intensity of violent conflict, and

(iii) that economic inequality has an impact on violent conflict, which, despite its mediation by grievances, may be directly measured.

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[180] For instance, what justifies that the economic and the cultural grievance variables have three levels, while the political grievance variable has five levels? In addition, strangely, the political grievance variable is practically unrelated to political discrimination, but related to autonomy status and separatist movements. POLDIS is defined with regard to the group's representation in the national government (as EPR's power rank scale), while POLGR is defined with regard to the group's demands for separatism, which makes good sense only in conditions of the existence of a regional base containing most of the group members.

These tasks involved the construction of three types of explanatory models, all of which have been packed with the controls most advocated in the literature. They included measures addressing group features and the country's group structure, the development level, variables pertinent to the group's political status in the country and the institutions that shape the minorities' chances of political success, a measure of the foreign aid to groups, and indicators of the opportunity for insurrection.

Most models reported here have their explanatory power in the range of 20-25%, which is not very high, but still shows some real knowledge about the phenomena. The explanatory variable "economic discrimination" has been significant in most (i) and (iii) type models with which I experimented, and in all of those reported, and its impact has regularly been paralleled by a weaker impact of my own horizontal inequality (INEQ) measure. The only crack in the logical sequence was marked by the failure of the economic grievance variable to be a significant predictor of violent conflict intensity, but only in the model run on the original dataset. In the imputed datasets, economic grievance is a significant predictor of violence, and anyway, economic discrimination predicts not only economic grievance, but political grievance, as well. (This latter, in its turn, has been a significant predictor of conflict intensity in the model run on the original dataset, as well.)

Though economic discrimination (and my inequality measure) is a significant predictor of both grievance and conflict, it is not the strongest of them all. Through all models, original and imputed, the most powerful predictor of inter-group hostility is past violence. This may seem to be a slightly tautological finding; but actually, it does justice to a group-consciousness-based theorizing as opposed to individualist approaches, represented mainly by the rational choice paradigm. The same can be said about the also consistently strong impact of the group concentration measure, though here conceptualization in the terms of the opportunity-for-insurrection framework is also possible. The impact of a third control, the political terror scale, may also allow for divergent conceptualizations, as cause of grievance and as lack of opportunity for peaceful strategies, but does not support the opportunity-for-insurrection hypothesis.

The group- and group-structure measures have been as elusive here as they tended to be in previous scholarly work, as well. Yet, there is a relatively consistent finding emerging from most models: religious fractionalization lowers conflict levels.

The variable for the proportion of unemployed young males does not seem to have been successfully imputed by Amelia. There is too much variance of its perfor-

mance from one imputation to the other. As a final balance, it can be classified as a potential, but not confirmed, predictor of violence.

Last, but not least, there are a few variables that happened to emerge as significant with the theoretically unexpected sign. Most cases of this type can be attributed to idiosyncratic cross-effects of some highly associated variables, but at least one, the measure of government effectiveness, seems to have been misconceptualized. In the utilitarian tradition, I have expected a strong state to deter rebellion; yet, my dependent variable of conflict intensity involves the existence of a strong state. The segregation of the deterrent and the inherent effect of government effectiveness cannot be solved within either the EPR_MAR_EXT or the MAR_EPR_MI datasets. It becomes possible, however, through work with a purely country-level dataset, in which the group-level conflict intensity variable is supplanted with country-level measurements.

The next chapter, Chapter 7, presents and analyzes a country-level dataset. There are serious reasons to believe that our knowledge about social phenomena is not complete without studying them from different perspectives and on different levels of analysis.

Chapter 7.

A Country-Level Analysis

The EPR_MAR_EXT and MAR_EPR_MI datasets, previously introduced and analyzed, contain a number of variables measured on country level, but the analyses in Chapter 5 and 6 relied on groups as units of study. Unfortunately, the amalgamating of group-level and country-level measurements is not without all methodological risks. When we do not address the fact that the groups are nested in their countries, we are likely to lose explanatory power, while the comparative magnitudes of the group-level variables, on the one hand, and the country-level variables, on the other, may turn out to be distorted.

The alternative is to have pure one-level analyses, in this case, for instance, a pure group-level and a pure country-level study. This project faces, however, some problems of its own. The toolbox of available measurements and indicators is not rich enough to allow for running the same regressions, with the same variables, on both levels. For instance, we cannot really imagine a democracy measurement on group level; and some measurements that we can imagine, such as data on employment disaggregated along communal groups, we have failed to implement thus far. Though a handful of countries may have these measures, most of them do not. There is a lot of uncertainty about whether the country-level and the group-level measurements of seemingly same things are the same things, indeed.[181] As for the association among phenomena, there

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[181] An example that brings home the argument is my measurement of inter-group economic inequality. I created a country-level indicator out of my group-level measurement of the groups' Wealth Quintile Index (WQI) values by calculating the standard errors of INEQ_1for each country. Though this country-level measurement expresses the dispersion of the groups on the WQI scale, it does not address my assumption that it is the difference between pluralities and minorities (in both directions), which is highly consequential to social hostility levels, while the minority-minority horizontal relationships are much less likely to have politically relevant outcomes. Important group structure features, such as size of the largest minority, are also missing from the new indicator.

are clear examples for their divergence on different levels of analysis, and all methodology textbooks include warnings about the "ecological fallacy."

Yet, another century-old methodological endeavor is to build bridges between different levels of study, find the causes of any divergence experienced, and formulate laws that explain the transformation of lower-level phenomena into upper-level features, sometimes referred to as "bridge laws".[182] Within the limits of the feasible, I intend to carry out a pure country-level analysis in this chapter, and confront the results from this with the results obtained from the group-level analysis.

I will proceed by presenting my country-level dataset, and then I operationalize the hypotheses with the available country-level measurements. While the main research task is to build regression models that explain the occurrence of communal violence, I would like to address the problem of conflict resolution strategies, as well. With regard to the policy proposals for heterogeneous societies, there is a well-known tension between what may be labeled "power-sharing" and "integrationist" paradigms, commonly referred to as Lijphartian and Horowitzian proposals. I have worked out an indicator that may distinguish between the two constitutional designs, measuring the extent to which minorities benefit from territorial autonomy in a country. Thus the role of institutions in this study is not limited to that of mandatory control variables. The analyses aim at getting more detailed information about the impact of certain types of institutions as compared to the impact of different types. In the last section of the chapter, the findings are discussed by taking into consideration some inconsistencies between the group-level and country-level results.

Presenting the Country-Level Dataset

The research questions for this country level analysis are identical with those targeted in the group-level analysis; thus I set out to collect data on similar phenomena, able to serve as good operationalization of my dependent and independent variables. Data collection is aimed at information about domestic turbulence, the country's group structure, development level, international environment, institutions, and issues of social

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[182] The term may be attributed to Ernst Nagel (1961), and it frequently occurs in studies on reductionism and emergence (or supervenience).

justice. I have used four large-scale compilations, and several primary data sources. In the Codebook attached to my "Country variables all" file, the source of every variable is marked.

1. The four compilations were:

1.1 Quality of Government (QOG)[183] – This collection specializes in institutional data, such as democracy and good governance, but also contains information on development levels, group structure, and history of the countries. It contains all widely used democracy indicators, such as the Freedom House, CIRI, and political terror scale ratings, as well as the World Bank Institute's Worldwide Governance Indicators initiated by Kaufmann et al. in the early 2000s.[184]

1.2 Database of Political Institutions (DPI)[185] – This database is more focused on institutions, and I consulted it for detailed institutional variables such as decentralization index and proportionality.

1.3 Pippa Norris's Democracy Data (Norris)[186] – It has a very broad inventory including institutions as well as development and conflict indicators.

1.4 The World Factbook maintained by the CIA – This source was consulted mainly for information on unemployment and vertical inequality.

2. I start the list of original sources with statistical data from the United Nations [2.1], but actually these can be regarded as, and partly certainly are, compilations, as well. The data provided by the UN are collections of official national data, but they also harmonize and systematize those, while specialized UN organizations, such as the World Bank and the UN University, produce datasets that go beyond the national statistics. I relied on the World Development Indicators (UN WDI 2011) for population numbers, migration and refugee data, and development indicators. For the Gini measures, I

[183] Teorell, J., M. Samanni, S. Holmberg, and Rothstein (2011) The Quality of Government Dataset, version 6 April 2011, University of Gothenburg: The Quality of Government Institute, http://www.qog.pol.gu.se.

[184] The first year for which these indicators were measured is 1996, but they are not commonly included in newer versions of the dataset.

[185] Users of the database are requested to cite it as: "Thorsten Beck, George Clarke, Alberto Groff, Philip Keefer, and Patrick Walsh, 2001. 'New tools in comparative political economy: The Database of Political Institutions.' 15:1, 165-176 (September), *World Bank Economic Review.*" Actually, the database was updated in 2010, and it is available at http://econ.worldbank.org/WBSITE/EXTERNAL/EXTDEC/EXTRESEARCH/0,,contentMDK:20649465~pagePK:64214825~piPK:64214943~theSitePK:469382,00.html.

[186] These data have a Crossnational and a Time-series version, both at their 3rd edition in 2009, available at http://www.hks.harvard.edu/fs/pnorris/Data/Data.htm

consulted the UNU-Wider dataset, and two other UN publications.[187] The UN's World Development Report of 2009 also includes two variables of the UCDP-PRIO database, relating to the type and intensity of armed conflicts in 171 countries. I have used these data in my group-level dataset, in combination with conflict information from the CONIS dataset. The problem with these indicators is that they focus on especially intensive forms of violence, which – fortunately - rarely occur.[188]

Other direct sources of data included in my data collection sheet are listed below. Some of them have been included in the compilations above, as well, but I consulted the original source so that I obtain the freshest data available and occasionally, to make better sense of how those data were obtained, such as in the case of the IPD data.

2.2 KOF Globalization Indicators[189] - The set of globalization indicators consists of three indexes for economic, social, and political globalization, plus a summative index including information of all three. The economic indicator was missing for the largest number of countries, a total of 32, and I created a duplicate of it by imputing 27 values from its regression on the overall globalization index, which has had only 5 countries missing (Iraq, North Korea, Somalia, Taiwan, and Timor-L'este).

2.3 International Centre for Prison Studies Data[190] – I collected data on the proportion of prisoners in national populations in order to measure state repressiveness, but finally these were not included in my analyses. On the one hand, data for several coun-

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[187]   Human Development Report of 2009, and the Gini values used by the UN to correct the HDI according to vertical inequality.

[188]   At country-level, there are 45 countries out of 171 that have values different from zero for any year of the 12 included in the dataset, and several countries experienced high violence in certain years only. Since the explanatory variables, such as GDP, fractionalization, state repressiveness, and inter-group inequality show only small-scale, slow changes over the years taken into consideration, relating them to sudden bursts of violence cannot be expected to accurately capture the relationship between *explanans* and *explanandum*. The UCDP-PRIO data is embedded into the Global Peace Index of the Vision of Humanity think tank.

[189]   The authors ask for referring to these data as: "Dreher, Axel (2006): Does Globalization Affect Growth? Evidence from a new Index of Globalization, *Applied Economics 38*, 10: 1091-1110. Updated in: Dreher, Axel, Noel Gaston and Pim Martens (2008), *Measuring Globalisation – Gauging its Consequences* (New York: Springer)." They are freely downloadable from http://globalization.kof.ethz.ch/.

[190]   Available at http://www.prisonstudies.org/.

tries were missing, and on the other hand, the variable is too correlated with development indicators.[191]

2.4 Institutional Profiles Database (IPD)[192] - This is a database maintained by the French government, containing expert coded indicators. The experts collected and rated information along nine dimensions of social life, one of them being "Social cohesion and mobility," which includes three ordinal variables of high importance for my project: (i) respect for minorities (ethnic, religious, linguistic, etc), (ii) conflicts of an ethnic, religious, regional nature, and (iii) violent social conflicts. Values are available for years 2006-2009, but for 121 countries only. The IPD conflict measures have been incorporated in the World Governance Indicators (WGI), and the Political Stability and Lack of Violence component of these is correlated at 0.739 with the communal conflict estimate of the French experts. (It is also correlated above-0.6 with the Global Peace Index and the Failed States Index.)

2.5 The Global Peace Index (GPI)[193] – This measure of peacefulness/ bellicosity was launched by the Vision of Humanity think tank. It relies on 23 component indicators,[194] which include the military conflict levels together with potential for terrorism, violent demonstrations and violent crime. Some indicators measure the consequences or the remedies against violence, such as the number of displaced people, and funding for UN peacekeeping missions. Though called "peace index", it is coded toward increasing violence levels: the highest value is the least peaceful. The index, initiated by Steven

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[191] Though there are enormous differences between the incarceration rates of countries at comparable development levels, such as the US and Sweden, the general pattern is that poor counties have low incarceration rates, and wealthy countries can afford higher ones. Actually, the registered non-violent crime rates follow the same pattern. That is, the prison population rate is not a good measure of state repressiveness without controlling for crime rates and development, hard tasks when the variable itself is supposed to be a control.

[192] Available at: http://www.cepii.fr/anglaisgraph/bdd/institutions.htm.

[193] Information and data are available at http://www.visionofhumanity.org/.

[194] Number of external and internal conflicts fought; estimated number of deaths from organised conflict (external); number of deaths from organised conflict (internal); level of organized conflict (internal); relations with neighbouring countries; level of perceived criminality in society; number of displaced people as a percentage of the population; political instability; level of disrespect for human rights; potential for terrorist acts; number of homicides per 100,000 people; level of violent crime; likelihood of violent demonstrations; number of jailed population per 100,000 people; number of internal security officers and police 100,000 people; military expenditure as a percentage of GDP; number of armed services personnel per 100,000 people; exports of major conventional weapons per 100,000 people; imports of major conventional weapons per 100,000 people; funding for UN peacekeeping missions; aggregate weighted number of heavy weapons per 100,000 people; ease of access to small arms and light weapons; military capability/sophistication.

Killelea, has been endorsed by Kofi Annan, the Dalai Lama, Desmond Tutu, Martti Ahtisaari, Muhammad Yunus, Jeffrey Sachs, Mary Robinson, and Jimmy Carter, and the specialist teams serving the project, coordinated by the Economist Intelligence Unit, can defend their choices against any professional criticism.

2.6 The Failed States Index (FSI) series – These measures are the work of a Washington-based think tank called Fund for Peace.[195] Though the organization was founded in 1957, the indexes have been published since 2005 only. Technical advancement has been crucial for the elaboration of this index set: it is mainly based on a gigantic content analytic endeavor, involving millions of media feeds each year, carried out by a software dubbed Conflict Assessment Software Tool (CAST). In its early years, the project was led by Pauline H. Baker. The methodological concept behind the creation of the yearly FSI is to add up scores obtained along 12 dimensions deemed to be the most consequential for state failure. For my project, two dimensions are of special importance, called "uneven development," and "(vengeance-seeking) group grievances."

The data collection effort resulted in many more variables than I effectively used in subsequent analyses. I gave up considering variables that turned out to have limited geographic coverage, and opted for alternative measurements, when they were available. For instance, of several fractionalization indexes, I chose those of Alesina, because they were missing for a smaller number of countries (3 to 8), than those of Fearon, for instance. The *lacunae* in the Alesina data were filled in by calculating the corresponding indexes based on my own group composition data.

All my imputations (calculations, extra- and interpolations) are thoroughly documented in the Codebook's "Notes" column. Other changes that I had to make to the imported data are also marked in the Codebook, for instance, the recoding of a variable.[196] Beyond imputations and recoding, though, I have also created new variables, mainly with mathematical, sometimes with more intuitive methods.

1. Data on the number of internally displaced persons, as well as of net migration have been divided by the population number in order to get comparable percentages.

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[195] Their web address is http://www.fundforpeace.org.
[196] Norris used her Electoral_family variable with four levels called 1= majoritarian, 2=mixed, 3=proportional, 4=no competitive elections. I recoded "no competitive elections" into 0, in order to use the variable as an ordinal, rather than nominal measurement.

2. A federalism and a decentralization indicator, both designed as ordinal scales, were created as averages of pre-existing measures. QOG includes four measures of federalism (gtm_unitary, no_ufs, h_f, and iaep_ufs), while Norris includes two (watts2, geering). By also consulting Blume & Lorenz (2008) summary of previous trials to quantify federalism, I chose the values that were congruent with the largest number of previous measurements possible. With the decentralization index, I could rely on pure mathematics to a larger extent, my values are averages of four decentralization measures included in DPI.

3. With the vertical inequality (Gini) and unemployment data, I faced the double challenge of missing values and diverse sources working with different methodologies. As for the Gini index, the UNU-WIDER World Income Inequality Database (WIID) of 2008 has already evidenced the complexities around measuring vertical inequality. Equally legitimate Gini indexes may be calculated from income data and from consumption data, for individuals and for households, from market revenues and from after-state-redistribution revenues. Unfortunately, different methods lead to different results, and the cross-national comparability of Gini indexes obtained with different methods is questionable. Ultimately, I have relied on two Gini index series used by the UN experts in their own calculi, and used further sources in order to fill in values for 26 countries missing from the UN accounts.[197] The unemployment data, of which I needed the disaggregated value of the unemployment of young males, suffer from even more missingness. The only primary data source for cross-national analysis, that is, beyond the national statistics, is the UN, relying on the International Labor Organization (ILO). Of the countries included in my sample, there are fifty-eight for which the 2011 edition of the World Development Indicators does not have any measurement of the unemployed young males between 2001 and 2010. Where there have been any, I extended the value on all years between 2005 and 2010, and for most countries, there have existed more than one measurement available in this year range. I consulted the CIA unemployment data, as well, but in this regard they rely on the UN measures. Unfortunately, the countries with-

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[197]   The resulting Gini indexes are correlated at 0.93 with the Solt Gini_net values, which seem to be the most harmonized Gini index series to date, based on the UNU-Wider VIID. Yet, they are also missing for 19 countries in my sample.
(http://dvn.iq.harvard.edu/dvn/dv/fsolt/faces/study/StudyPage.xhtml?studyId=36908)

out these indicators cannot be taken for a random sample – they are all in the less developed country group. [198]

     4. I have also created a variable from scratch, because I failed to find anything comparable in the toolbox of the profession. I strongly believe in its necessity and usefulness. The purpose was to measure minority autonomy in countries, but in ways that incorporate the necessity for this autonomy, too, in the measure. I started out from a variable meant to measure the regional concentration of communal groups in each country. Its long-form descriptive name is "administrative subdivisions fall along communal lines," and the technical label is "communal_sub_divisions." It addresses the fact that several communal groups, mainly ethnic, tribal, and linguistic groups, live in regional concentrations. This is a settlement pattern typical of pre-industrial settings, and in certain conditions, depending on the size of the groups and the possibilities of geographically balanced development, communal groups may continue to cluster together after the takeoff of modernization, as well. Minorities living in regional concentration tend to ask for territorial autonomy, while the majority responses are various. The minority-friendly answer is to draw the administrative subdivision and electoral district lines in ways that create "minority-majority" units, where the minorities outnumber people belonging to the state majority, and may elect their own subdivision officials and representatives. This is a promising step toward accommodating the minority requests even when the subdivisions do not enjoy much autonomy and the overall number of minority representatives in the national government is small. Yet, decentralization and subsidiarity have become very trendy during the last decades, embraced by majorities because of their inherent value, and decentralization in a country with subdivisions drawn along communal lines offers exactly the autonomy that the minorities are longing for. Recently there has been serious scholarly effort to quantify decentralization, and I calculated a decentralization index based on four pre-existing measures (as presented in para 2). This synthetic indicator of decentralization became the second variable involved in the creation of my new measure capturing minority autonomy,

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[198] The countries without unemployment data for young males are Afghanistan, Angola, Belarus, Botswana, Burkina Faso, Burundi, Cambodia, Cameroon, Cape Verde, Central African Republic, Chad, China, Comoros, Congo DR, Congo Rep, Cote d'Ivoire, Djibouti, Equatorial Guinea, Eritrea, Fiji, Gabon, Gambia, Ghana, Guatemala, Guinea, Guinea-Bissau, Haiti, Iraq, Kenya, Korea (North), Laos, Lesotho, Libya, Malawi, Mali, Mauritania, Montenegro, Mozambique, Myanmar, Nepal, Nigeria, Oman, Papua New Guinea, Rwanda, Sao Tome & Principe, Solomon Islands, Somalia, Sudan, Swaziland, Taiwan, Tajikistan, Timor-Leste, Togo, Turkmenistan, Uganda, Uzbekistan, Yemen, and Zambia.

conceived as the interaction term of the Decentralization Index and the "administrative subdivisions fall along communal lines" variable. I hope that it offers a good country-level measure of the extent to which minorities of a country benefit from autonomy. Because of its novelty, my proxy for regional concentration (the Communal_sub_divisions measure) is rough enough, it was designed as a 5-point ordinal scale. The minimum value of 0 is for countries where the administrative divisions are practically completely blind toward the ethnic (communal) composition of the population, and there are no minority-majority territorial units beyond a few villages (for instance, Algeria, Slovenia, Sweden). The maximum value of 1 is for countries where there are extended areas in which the minority is a majority, and the subdivisions are defined with respect to this (e.g., Belgium and Switzerland). Three in-between values have been allocated to transitional forms, such as 0.25 for Slovakia[199], 0.5 for Chad and Sri Lanka, 0.75 for Nigeria and Spain. The bulk of the work was carried out by comparing the administrative maps of the countries with the language maps retrieved from the Ethnologue website, while trying to place all groups included in my EPR_MAR_EXT on these maps.[200]

The idea of checking on the congruence of settlement patterns and administrative units originally emerged with regard to federalism and federal units (states or provinces). I have created the corresponding five-point ordinal variable (named Communal_divisions), with values between 0 to 1, for federal states. Unfortunately, it turned out not to be very useful in a research whose design involves maximizing the number of states for analyses. The problem is that there are large numbers of unitary states. These either become missing cases, or a composite variable has to be defined, in which unitary states take a value clearly distinguishable from all values that federal states may take on. I have experimented with this solution, but the resulting variable is highly correlated with the federalism indicator itself, and the interaction term of federalism with Communal_division is virtually identical with the federalism component.

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[199] Hungarians tend to live in a certain area of the country, except for those in the capital city and other large cities, but their region of concentration is divided into several counties. Romas of Slovakia do not have a region of concentration.

[200] I failed to find any previous measure of this and did a coding myself based on a comparison of the Ethnologue language maps and the countries' administrative units maps. Though some arbitrariness is obviously involved, I think that the results are reasonably strongly constrained by hard facts – that is, the results are replicable at high inter-rater reliability. From a methodological point of view, this can be classified as an exercise in expert coding.

With all variables considered, including identifier variables, such as year and country-name, the country-level data collection datasheet stretches to 252 variables, and includes 169 countries, all for the time interval 1999-2010. A selection of these variables has been used to add country-level information to the 155 countries included in the EPR_MAR_EXT dataset. For country-level analyses, I also shortened the variable list. The operational dataset to be introduced in the statistical software does not contain, for instance:

- the "raw" variables from which a more synthetic was calculated, such as alternative federalism, decentralization, and Gini measures.

- measurements that were dropped on behalf of alternatives with larger geographical coverage (such as Fearon's ethnic fractionalization on behalf of Alesina's[201], and "employment in agriculture" on behalf of "rural population").

- measurements that were omitted from the final analyses, such as variables pertinent to country history and consciousness values measured with the World Value Surveys.

The operative dataset used for this chapter contains 100 variables. The size of the dataset counts for the application of multiple imputation techniques. Softwares such as Amelia calculate the missing values with reference to all variables existing in the dataset. In general, the more inter-connected variables there are, the better are the estimations, but too many variables may exceed the capacity of the software. Ultimately, though, the dataset introduced in Amelia II had to be cut back to 57 variables, and it took three hours to be processed.[202]

Operationalizing the Assumptions with Country-Level Data

The primary analysis level of a study focused on the relationships among groups should be, obviously, group level. Yet, the relationships among groups are not without consequences for the country as a whole, and the group interactions, such as cooperation

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[201] Across 156 cases existing in my dataset, the Fearon and Alesina ethnic fractionalization indexes are correlated at 0.860. Fearon also has measures for the proportion of plurality and the proportion of largest minority, which are correlated with my own measures, based on EPR_MAR_EXT, at 0.849 (155 cases) and 0.831 (147 cases).

[202] Since I planned on using multiple imputation, I may have to give a reason for my previous small-scale imputations done to certain variables. I needed these filled-in values for the analysis of the original dataset, as I have been reluctant to rely on the imputed datasets only.

versus overt hostility, emerge as the "peacefulness" versus "bellicosity" of the domestic realm. These may seem to be elusive features, but actually, there have been several measurements of them, scientifically sanctioned and effectively used for decision-making. Most variables to be dealt with in this chapter have been designed as country-level measurements, without much concern about how they would look on the group level. Inversely, however, when we try to derive country-level measurements from group-level measurements, certain validity issues emerge. Some "translations" are more straightforward; for instance, when we establish the proportion of the population excluded from power, based on the classification of certain groups as "Excluded", rather than "EGIP" in EPR. From my INEQ_1 variable, which ranks the groups along a five-point Wealth Quintile Index scale, a country-level measure of inter-group (horizontal) inequality can be derived, as the standard deviation of the WQI values in each country. This certainly captures some of the magnitude of horizontal inequalities, but does not address the group structure issues of fractionalization and polarization, which shape the political impact of economic inequality.

Chapter 7 tries to operationalize my assumptions by relying on measurements designed to capture country-level features. Some variables that in Chapter 5 and Six were measured on the group level, such as group grievance and inter-group conflict, inter-group inequality, and group power rank, are replaced with country-level indicators. Others, unfortunately, have no adequate "translations," only proxy measurements. For instance, group proportions are approximated with fractionalization and polarization indicators; and past inter-group violence may be approximated with lagged values of the conflict indicators. My selections of measurements are listed below by using some numbering to facilitate the overview.

1. The dependent variables are meant to capture inter-group animosity and hostility of varying magnitude. There are at least four synthetic indicators created to measure the peacefulness or bellicosity (or conflict-proneness) of societies, all four with the advantage that they include and quantify smaller conflicts, as well, which may not result in battle deaths, but involve violence and cause human suffering.

1.1 The Global Peace Index of the Vision of Humanity is available for a large number of countries, but only after 2007. It is coded toward decreasing peacefulness, thus I would refer to it as "bellicosity measure," as I assume that the two come into a continuum.

1.2 Among the Worldwide Governance Indicators (WGI), which we may attribute either to the World Bank Institute, or more concretely to Kaufmann, Kraay and Mastruzzi, there is one called "Political stability and lack of violence" (WGI Political Stability), meant to measure the extent to which the central authority has a legitimate monopoly on the use of force. Though the methodology of these WGIs has not been made completely public, we know the sources of primary data on which they rely, and they can be replicated with very reasonable convergence.[203]

1.3 The Weighted Conflict Index of Banks, which is a composite measure including assassinations, *coups d'état*, purges, riots, and guerilla warfare, along with demonstrations and strikes. The Norris compilation contains values for the years 1999-2007, but there are several missing entries, mainly for the last year (2007).

1.4 The Failed States Index is supposed to measure the attributes of a failing state, such as loss of the monopoly on the legitimate use of force. Since I intend to use a part-measure of this index as an explanatory variable, I cannot include it as a dependent variable. Yet this Index has one more part-measure of interest, which may serve as an:

1.5 Intermediary dependent variable, or mediating variable, called "(Vengeance-Seeking) Group Grievance." The Fund for Peace elaborated it in order to measure the

> "history of aggrieved communal groups citing injustices of the past, sometimes going back centuries; pattern of atrocities committed with impunity against communal groups; specific groups singled out by state authorities, or by dominant groups, for persecution or repression; institutionalized political exclusion; public scapegoating of groups believed to have acquired wealth, status or power as evidenced in the emergence of 'hate' radio, pamphleteering, and stereotypical or nationalistic political rhetoric; groups aggrieved because they are denied autonomy, self-determination or political independence."[204]

There are several direct measurements of conflict available, such as the number of battle deaths, of refugees and of internally displaced people. Table_7.1 sheds light on

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[203] WGI are the only indicators in this series of four which are coded toward increasing virtuousness of the governance, higher values mean less violence, more government effectiveness, more rule of law etc. The Global Peace, Banks, and Failed States Indexes are all coded toward increasing violence. Yet again, the Institutional Profile Database (IPD), a source of WGI, uses coding toward increasing peacefulness.

[204] Fund for Peace webpage, description of the Failed States indicators, as accessed in 2010-2012. The currently (2013) available label and explanatory text is shorter. Group Grievance includes "pressures and measures related to discrimination, powerlessness, ethnic violence, communal violence, sectarian violence, religious violence."

my reasons to select the first two on the above list as my dependent variables. Both are more strongly correlated with the direct measurements (battle deaths, refugees, and displaced persons), than these three are associated among themselves. And they have more common cases with the Failed States indicators, than the Banks conflict measure. The synthetic Failed States indicator was included in the table in order to check on its validity, and I think that its performance (r above 0.80 with both WGI Political Stability and the Global Peace Index) may convince us about the potentials of content analytic data collection.

Table 7.1: Correlation matrix of main country-level measurements of conflict

	Failed States Index	Global Peace Index	WGI Political Stability	IPD Communal conflict	IPD Social conflict	Banks conflict index	Refugees	Internally displaced	Battle deaths
Global Peace Index	.801 (684)								
WGI Political Stability & Lack of Violence	-.804 (726)	-.885 (542)							
IPD Communal conflicts	-.625 (475)	-.662 (454)	.739 (484)						
IPD Violent social conflicts	-.665 (475)	-.577 (454)	.663 (484)	.504 (484)					
Banks Conflict Index	.311 (382)	.497 (253)	-.481 (1155)	-.466 (238)	-.194 (238)				
Refugee population	.250 (735)	.239 (548)	-.223 (1516)	-.287 (484)	-.237 (484)	.148 (1493)			
Internally displaced persons	.288 (724)	.418 (540)	-.353 (1345)	-.376 (481)	-.173 (481)	.272 (1158)	.267 (1517)		
Battle-related deaths	.181 (560)	.377 (399)	-.277 (1349)	-.326 (365)	-.111 (365)	.313 (1492)	.119 (1692)	.160 (1353)	
UCDP-PRIO Conflict intensity	.343 (558)	.635 (395)	-.542 (1347)	-.501 (363)	-.246 (363)	.557 (1492)	.196 (1689)	.285 (1351)	.471 (1688)

Note: All Pearson correlation coefficients are significant above 0.001, except for two correlations with the IPD Violent social conflicts indicator. The coefficient of this with Battle deaths is significant at alpha=0.035 level, while the coefficient with the Banks conflict index is significant at alpha=0.003. Numbers in parentheses are case numbers, the correlations were calculated across all cases available (from all years available).

Table_7.1 includes two variables that we owe to a group of French experts working for their government, who produce the Institutional Profiles Database, and distinguish

between conflicts of a communal nature (such as ethnic, regional, and religious), on the one hand, and conflicts not involving communal groups, on the other. To date, we have no better measurement to distinguish between these two types of conflict. The UCDP-PRIO classification into conflict "over government" and "over territory" is pertinent to very severe conflicts only, and may miss the communal nature of certain conflicts not involving territory, such as caste emancipation issues, for instance. As for the Global Peace Index and the WGI Political Stability, they are both more strongly related to communal conflicts than to social conflicts. The empirical problem is that the two types of conflict are quite strongly correlated between themselves, at 0.504 across 484 (actually, 4*121) cases. There are, in addition, conceptual problems, as well, around distinguishing between communal and social conflicts. I would adopt the working definition that communal conflicts are those induced and fueled by group grievances. Table_7.2 shows a possibility to check on the "communal content" of violence levels measured with different indicators.

Table 7.2: Correlations of the Fund for Peace's Group Grievance indicators with diverse measures of conflict

	Group Grievance (all years)	Group Grievance (> 2005)	Signifi-cance (all years)	Signifi-cance (> 2005)	# cases (all years)	# cases (after 2005)
Failed States Index	0.85	0.86	0.000	0.000	894	818
Global Peace Index	0.80	0.80	0.000	0.000	684	684
WGI Political Stability &	-0.81	-0.83	0.000	0.000	726	650
IPD Communal conflicts	-0.71	-0.71	0.000	0.000	475	475
IPD Violent social conflicts	-0.58	-0.58	0.000	0.000	475	475
Refugee population	0.24	0.25	0.000	0.000	735	659
Internally displaced persons	0.38	0.39	0.000	0.000	724	648
Battle-related deaths	0.22	0.23	0.000	0.000	560	484
UCDP-PRIO: Conflict intensity	0.42	0.46	0.000	0.000	558	482
Banks Weighted Conflict Index	0.35	0.40	0.000	0.000	382	307
Banks Revolutions	0.31	0.34	0.000	0.000	383	308
Banks Riots	0.26	0.27	0.000	0.000	382	307
Banks Guerrilla Warfare	0.23	0.27	0.000	0.000	383	308
Banks Assassinations	0.19	0.20	0.000	0.001	383	308
Banks Anti-Gov.Demonstrations	0.18	0.19	0.001	0.001	383	308
Banks General Strikes	0.13	0.14	0.010	0.012	383	308
Banks Government Crises	0.13	0.15	0.010	0.009	383	308
Banks Number of Coups d'Etat	0.07	0.09	0.298	0.298	218	143
Banks Purges	0.03	n.a	0.548	n.a	383	308

The Group Grievance indicator is correlated at a convincing -.71 level with the French experts' Communal conflict measure, while it is only slightly more associated with the Social conflict measure than these two IPD indicators are correlated between themselves. Further, its coefficients with the Banks component indicators show stronger association with riots and guerilla warfare, than with strikes and government crises, the strongest association being with "revolutions."[205] The Group Grievance's correlations above-0.8 with the Global Peace Index and the WGI Political Stability scale may reassure us that these variables do not miss the conflicts of communal nature.

2. My explanatory variables cluster in six groups, all of them containing several measurements, with the exception of the main explanatory variable, whose impact I endeavor to prove within the frames of this project.

2.1 Inter-group economic inequality has only one country-level measure of wide geographical coverage. The Failed States Index includes a component called "Uneven Economic Development" (FS_inequality), which is supposed to measure "ethnic, religious, or regional disparities"[206] Because this is a relatively new indicator, not really tested in the literature yet, I compared it to (i) the vertical inequality measure Gini; (ii) the country-level measure generated from my INEQ_1 variable by calculating the standard deviations; and (iii) the inequality measure used by Baldwin &Huber (2010), which exists, unfortunately, for 46 countries, only. Table_3 shows these correlations. Further information about them can be obtained from their correlations with other variables; and there are meaningful differences among them, such as much higher correlations between the grievance and conflict indicators, on the one hand, and the horizontal inequality indicators, on the other, than between the first group and the vertical inequality measure Gini.

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[205] Though I miss the exact definition of the Banks notion of revolution, empirically, among the countries coded as experiencing revolutions in the period 1999-2007, there are countries such as Burundi, Bolivia, Iraq, Israel and Nigeria, where we know that all large-scale mass movements have a communal content.

[206] Fund for Peace webpage, description of FS indicators as displayed in February 2013. The previously posted information (available in 2010-2012) specified that "Group-based inequality, or perceived inequality, in education and economic status; group-based impoverishment as measured by poverty levels, infant mortality rates, educational levels, etc.; rise of communal nationalism based on real or perceived group inequalities."

Table 7.3:   Correlations of the Failed States inequality scale
with other economic inequality measures (2006)

	Failed States Inequality	Standard dev. of INEQ_1	Baldwin & Huber v1	Baldwin & Huber v2	Baldwin & Huber v3
Standard deviation of INEQ_1 values	.269				
(significance)	.001				
(number cases)	142				
Baldwin &Huber horizontal inequality v1	.562	.450			
(significance)	.000	.002			
(number cases)	45	46			
Baldwin &Huber horizontal inequality v2	.547	.426			
(significance)	.000	.003			
(number cases)	45	46			
Baldwin &Huber horizontal inequality v3	.559	.405			
(significance)	.000	.012			
(number cases)	37	38			
My_Gini (based on two UN series)	.452	.126	.520	.478	.579
(significance)	.000	.119	.000	.001	.000
(number cases)	146	155	46	46	38
Gini after state redistribution (Solt)	.545	.395	.580	.579	.639
(significance)	.000	.000	.000	.000	.000
(number cases)	84	84	35	35	29
Gini without state redistribution (Solt)	-.046	.045	-.028	-.065	-.048
(significance)	.681	.684	.874	.710	.803
(number cases)	84	84	35	35	29

Table_7.3 shows the values for year 2006, out of the time span of 2005-2010, for which all eight variables exist. The year selection is important because of the Failed States inequality measure. The correlation between my "Standard deviation of INEQ_1" and the Baldwin & Huber measures is the same for any year in this range, and these indicators' association with the Gini indexes is also close to invariance. In contrast, the Failed States measures coverage expanded from 76 countries in 2005 to 146 countries

in 2006, surging up to 168 countries in 2010, and the data collection method is likely to have undergone a major software overhaul, as well.[207]

Table_7.3 shows decent, reasonably high correlation values among the five horizontal economic inequality measures. Further, the associations of the horizontal inequality measures with the Gini indexes show the same interesting pattern. None of them is significantly associated with the market-income based Gini, but they are significantly associated with the Gini measure after state redistribution took place. Since people are effectively left with the after-redistribution income, group relationships are more likely to be influenced, indeed, by Gini_net, than by Gini_market. Further, the least associated with Gini is my own variable, and this may suggest that it is the least likely to be associated with conflicts other than communal. This can be tested with the IPD data of the French experts. Table_7.4 shows that the vertical inequality indexes have a stronger impact on non-communal violence. The Baldwin &Huber measures are also strongly related to non-communal violence, while the Fund for Peace measure is almost evenly related to the two types. My variable, or more exactly, its country-level manifestation, is maximally selective: it is related to conflicts of communal nature only.

Table 7.4:   The inequality measures' correlation with types of conflict (2006)

	Failed States inequality	Stndrd dev. of INEQ_1	Baldwin & Huber v1	Baldwin & Huber v2	Baldwin & Huber v3	My Gini UN based	Gini Net (Solt)	Gini Market (Solt)
IPD Conflicts of communal nature	-.538	-.241	-.359	-.354	-.388	-.246	-.332	.051
(significance)	.000	.008	.020	.022	.021	.007	.004	.671
(number cases)	115	120	42	42	35	121	72	72
IPD Violent social conflicts	-.593	-.130	-.486	-.424	-.458	-.505	-.583	-.026
(significance)	.000	.157	.001	.005	.006	.000	.000	.827
(number cases)	115	120	42	42	35	121	72	72

The Fund for Peace's group inequality indicator seems to get enough support to serve as a country-level measure of inter-group inequality, mainly for the years after

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[207] It seems that in the first year of its existence, the Failed States Index was produced with a less perfect algorithm, which led to results little correlated with the indexes obtained in the following years. Results from 2006 through 2010 are highly correlated among themselves, and give convincing correlations with other conflict indicators, as well.

2005. Indeed, the only thing we may reproach it for is that it incorporates too much of vertical inequality. But so does the only competitor, the Baldwin & Huber measure.

2.2 The country's group structure is an unavoidable control in a study focused on group relationships. Unfortunately, the country-level toolkit to measure these features is more limited than what we have had on the group level, in the EPR_MAR_EXT and MAR_EPR_MI datasets. There are three fractionalization indexes (ethnic, linguistic, and religious), and two variables pertinent to polarization (the proportion of the largest minority group and of the plurality), as basic measurements. I have not endeavored to obtain certain finer-grained variables, such as the nature of group markers, and distances on them, for all my sample. They exist for a number of countries, but they have not been shown to exert a significant impact on conflicts, and at any rate, the country-level version of these measures loses much of its initial content.[208] The lack of group history variables is more painful, as past violent conflict has been proven to make all types of conflicts more likely in the future. This concern was partly answered, though, by adding lagged values of two conflict variables to the model. Finally, I intend to use my indicator "Administrative subdivisions fall along communal lines" ("Communal sub-divisions") as a proxy for group concentration.

2.3 My basic assumption related to the country developmental level is that violent conflicts are less likely in economically more advanced countries. Yet, this inhibiting effect is probably mostly mediated, mainly through the institutions of democracy, and partly through urbanism impacting geographical concentration, occupational structure, and education. Democracy creates possibilities to express more grievances, but the developmental level is likely to influence the *severity* of grievances and their *salience* for the groups. The Third World's ethnic conflicts are typically clashes about the necessary means of living (either land, or control of state revenues, or both), issues that have a deep existential impact on the participants. Though the claim that groups in more developed countries are less likely to engage in violent conflicts is not controversial in the lit-

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[208] In countries where there are more minority groups, their distances from the plurality should be averaged to get a country-level measure, which is feasible, but the resulting measure fails to address group structure issues, such as whether we have one large minority, or several small minorities differing from each other, as well. As for the qualitative aspect of the group markers like race, ethnicity, and religion, all synthesizing effort is doomed to be confined to typologies, which, for the sake of quantitative analysis should be dissected into a series of indicator variables, such as "country typified partly by racial and partly by religious cleavages."

erature, development level is a very important control for all other potential explanatory factors. Fortunately we have a number of available indicators with wide geographical coverage, such as GDP, Human Development Index, urbanism, education, life expectancy, and Internet use.

2.4 There are several assumptions related to the impacts of the international environment, but in general they are not taken for the main factors, and/or very strong factors determining the relationships among domestic groups. Seemingly, the strongest impacts are expected by those who claim that

- International support to minorities, either from kin states or from the international community, will encourage them to articulate grievances and engage in mobilization. (This is a generally endorsed belief, shared by MAR theorists and advocates of the opportunity for insurrection hypothesis, as well.)

- Western-imposed global norms of solving group conflicts, and mainly the Western ideal of nation-state, induce group conflict in the global South. As a special case we may think of Amy Chua's (2002) argument that the Western blindspot toward group-asymmetrical distribution of wealth may lead to underestimating the risk of ethnic hatred and violence, when advocating free-market policies in the less fortunate parts of the world.

Even in these cases, the international impact adds to, or triggers, pre-existing internal problems, and is not a cause in itself. Other moderate indirect impacts on group relations are expected from the spread of Modernist and post-material values in a globalized world, causing the reduction of parochialism and majority exclusivism, as well as from the norms and power of the international community, which works to smooth away inter-group conflicts.

With the country-level dataset at hand, our possibilities to address the above assumptions are confined to the set of globalization indicators worked out by the Swiss Federal Institute of Technology Zurich (ETH), called KOF indicators. Political and social globalization may be deemed to reduce inter-group conflict, while the expectations related to economic globalization are mixed. Of these, Amy Chua's claim that importation of neoliberal economic and trade policies by states with market-advantaged minorities jeopardizes internal peace can adequately be tested only if we are able to fully control for the development level. As a matter of fact, it is the developed countries that are the

275

most globalized, and they have the smallest minorities, as well. (Thus multiple collinearity impedes adequate testing of the claim.)[209]

2.5 Within the variable group of country institutions, I would like to account for both the effectiveness of the state apparatus and the inclusiveness of the political system. Effectiveness has a very convincing measure, the Worldwide Governance Indicators' "Government Effectiveness" component. Indicators of inclusiveness toward minorities should tap on two main venues in which minorities may be politically successful: (i) having representation in the national government, and (ii) self-governing. The first venue is best served by democracy, and mainly by proportional representation systems. Arrangements supportive of self-governing are federalism along group lines, decentralization along group lines, territorial autonomy for a minority, and functional autonomy (pillarization). The corresponding measurements included in the dataset are the Freedom House/imputed Polity democracy indicator, the Political terror scales, the electoral family scale, and a dummy for a proportional electoral system. Ethnic self-government is operationalized with an interaction term of the decentralization indicator and my "Administrative subdivisions fall along communal lines" variable. Since a measurement of functional autonomy keeps missing from the cross-national toolbox, I have considered introducing a variable that measures the outcome of all institutional arrangements, the political empowerment of minorities. There are two variables that can be considered, none of them covering all countries in the sample. QOG included a few country-level indicators derived from the EPR dataset, such as number of excluded groups, and the proportion of the population excluded from political power. These measures are missing for 20 countries in my sample, and exist for 149, with one entry, for China, in need of correction because of a displaced decimal point. The IPD data has an ordinal variable for "Respect for minorities"; this exists for 121 countries, and is missing for 48 out of 169.

Unfortunately, work with these institutional indicators is complicated by both collinearity issues and missing data. There is a very high correlation between state effectiveness and of democracy, and further, between the democracy indicators and the ordi-

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[209] There is one more measure pertinent to the above concerns, which unfortunately, may not be used in models in which conflict or bellicosity occur only as dependent variables. The Failed States Index has a measure of the "External intervention," assumed to mitigate inter-group violence. Yet, the international community intervenes exactly when conflict is present or clearly imminent. Subsequently, the impact of "External intervention" may be tested only in models where we control for pre-existing inter-group hostility.

nal measure for proportional representation. The interaction term between federalism and "federalism along ethnic lines" indicator is also too much correlated with the federalism indicator itself, and fails to adequately distinguish between countries following Lijphartian (power-sharing) versus Horowitzian (integrative) policies.

2.6 Finally, the opportunity for insurrection hypothesis forwarded by Fearon and Laitin in 2003, claiming that decisions about military action are taken in function of the likelihood of success, and/or of the benefits of insurgency for the organizing political entrepreneurs, may be addressed with variables such as the WGI Government Effectiveness, the group concentration proxy ("administrative subdivisions fall along communal lines"), proportion of rural population, and the proportion of unemployed young males.

Data Analysis and Results

1 Exploratory Analysis

In a first move, I checked on the bivariate relationships between the dependent variables, on the one hand, and the explanatory variables, on the other. For simplicity, I used Pearson correlation coefficients – where these are significant, the simple bivariate regression is significant, as well, and in the same direction.[210]

The correlation matrices are summarized in the Appendix. I have included in the analyses all cases available, from all years.

As in the previous chapters, as well, I looked at the association of the outcome variables with the predictors grouped in the five large explanatory groups (economic inequality, group structure, development and globalization, institutions, and opportunity for insurrection).

The first group of correlations concerned six measures of economic inequality, three horizontal, and three vertical. With the exception of the pre-redistribution Gini index, all inequality measures are convincingly correlated with the conflict indicators, and all in the expected direction: more inequality means more conflict. Further, the horizontal

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[210] The only drawback is that these linear measures do not capture some curvilinear relationships, such as the one between the fractionalization indicators and my dependent variables. Yet, I have not aimed at testing this relationship here, but only at controlling for these important factors.

economic inequality measures are more strongly associated with conflict, than the vertical inequality measures, and the coefficients of the Gini indexes with the IPD communal conflict, on the one hand, and IPD social conflict, on the other, show that the vertical inequality has more impact on social, than on communal conflict. This difference is magnified when we control for a development indicator, such as we calculate partial correlations with the Female Life Expectancy variable as a control. All coefficients between the conflict indicators, on the one hand, and the Gini indexes, on the other, shrink significantly, and those with the IPD Communal Conflict remain significant at alpha=0.04 and 0.02 level only.

When we look at the table with predictors selected from the group structure cluster, is only the religious fractionalization indicator that fails to emerge as significant in relation with the conflict measures. The impact of the proportion measures meets expectations: larger plurality group reduces the likelihood of conflict, while larger minority group increases it. Also, the presence of geographically concentrated minorities increases the risk of violence, and past violence, as measured with lagged conflict indicators, has the same unfortunate impact.

Ethnic and linguistic fractionalization show strong positive association with the incidence of violence. Since the relationship between fractionalization and conflict is deemed to be curvilinear, I studied their scatterplots. When all cases are plotted, it is a cubic, rather than a linear regression line that best captures the relationship – but the line is not inverse U-shaped, either, to do full justice to theory. We may capture the real nature of this relationship only when we control for a confounding factor, the development level. In developed countries violent conflict is rarer than in the less developed, since a part of communal issues gets solved with peaceful political means. Against this background, the fact that developed countries have less fractionalization than the less developed, leads to an overestimation of the pacifying impact of less fractionalization. If we split the countries in two large groups along the development indicator "Female life expectancy above 70 years," we get two convincingly inverse U-shaped regression lines in the developed group, as Figure_7.1 and Figure_7.2 show it. (The WGI Political Stability measure was coded inversely than the Global Peace Index.)

Figure 7.1: Relationship between ethnic fractionalization and conflict I
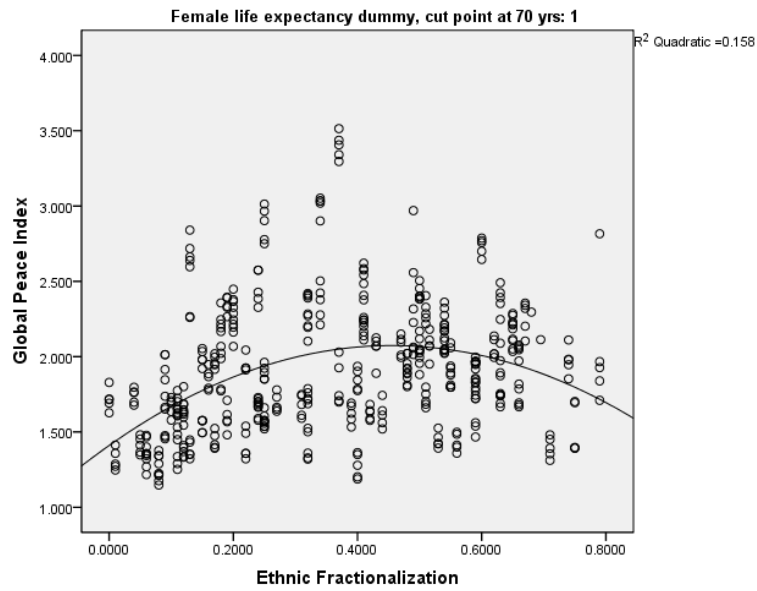
Figure 7.2: Relationship between ethnic fractionalization and conflict II
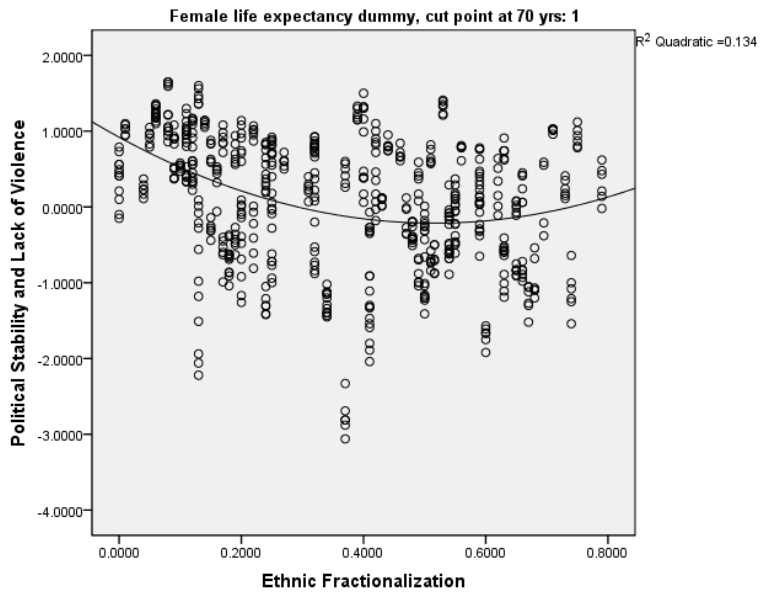
The next explanatory variable group to review contains indicators related to development level and globalization.

As generally expected by previous scholarship, all developmental indicators are associated with lack of violence at convincingly high levels. The associations are higher in the case of the social than in the case of communal conflict. Also, the developmental indicators tend to show lower coefficients with the Group Grievance indicator, than with the conflict indicators; the opposite was true of two horizontal inequality measures.[211] The coefficients of the globalization indicators are magnified by the connection between development level and globalization. Partial correlation coefficients, calculated with controlling for Female life expectancy, are 100-300 points lower than the simple bivariate globalization*conflict coefficients, and political globalization fails to reach significance in relation with three conflict indicators. In both correlation matrices, the bivariate and the partial, economic and social globalization co-vary, they have approximately the same impact on hostility, in the same direction.

Further, I have produced a table on the relationships between conflict and institutions, or, more broadly stated, the factors that express and shape political inequality issues among groups (Table_Appx1d). Some of the variables from this group labeled "institutional" measure the impact of policy outcomes, classified as more or less minority-friendly arrangements. I studied the conflict measures' association with the country-level version of the EPR "excluded groups" variable, and two indicators showing whether ethnicity and religion-based parties are banned. Unfortunately, these variables cover only earlier years in my dataset, which means that they have little if any common cases with most dependent variables, too little to reach dependable conclusions. Ultimately, we only have the correlation coefficients with the WGI Political Stability measure to convey a serious piece of evidence. And this shows that prohibiting communal politicizing increases the likelihood of violent conflict. On the other hand, the IPD "Respect for minorities (ethnic, linguistic, religious, etc)" variable, more optimistically, can be read in the sense that minority-friendly policies reduce the probability of violence. Unfortunately, this variable also exists for a limited number of countries only, though for a more suitable time span:

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[211] This supports the belief that inequality fuels discontentment and hostility, but these fall short from discharging in violence in more developed states. On the other hand, development affects, directly and/or indirectly, the likelihood of violence, while having a more moderate impact on reducing group animosity.

we have it for 121 countries from 2006 to 2009. The convergence of these findings provides important support to those who believe that the best way to prevent communal animosities from escalating into violence is to channel them into the molds of everyday politicizing. Yet, association of two phenomena, without accounting for complex circumstances, is not yet a conclusive argument. A defender of the ban on ethnic and religious parties would argue that it was the already exacerbated communal hostility that led to banning the parties. Unfortunately, I cannot pursue the inclusion of these variables in my regression models, because of the time span and case number limitations.

The narrow-sense institutional variables, such as measuring democracy, proportional representation, and decentralization, cover a larger range of countries. Democracy, as measured by the Freedom House indicator combined with imputed Polity rankings, has a serious impact on more peacefulness, its impact being outshone only by the absence of political terror. The measures of proportional representation are also associated with less violence, if not very strongly, but at least persistently across several measures. These findings provide support for effects shown and studied in previous literature, such as in Reynal-Querol (2005). The study of the impact of autonomy arrangements is less common in the previous literature, and I had to use my own measurement of minority autonomy, conceived as an interaction term. Findings show that while the regional concentration of minorities increases the risk of conflict, decentralization reduces it, and their interaction term becomes insignificant several times. Unfortunately, this is a simplified version of the story. In a more comprehensive approach, we have to account for the country development level, as both regional concentration, and decentralization are associated with it.

A matrix of partial correlations (which include the control Female Life Expectancy besides the institutional and conflict measures, as in Table_Appdx1d Annex) shows that the relationship between regional concentration and conflict is smaller, when we discount the development effects. Most surprisingly, decentralization in itself cannot be claimed to reduce violence. When we control for development level, decentralization is mostly insignificant. That is, if countries with less centralization are more peaceful, it is only because developed countries in general are more peaceful than the less developed. Yet, my minority autonomy measure, the interaction term of regional concentration and decentralization shows the expected association pattern. Regional concentration paired

with decentralization is always less dangerous than regional concentration not allowing for regional and local governance.

The last group of explanatory variables, dubbed "opportunity" group, includes measures of the rural population, government effectiveness, and the proportion of young unemployed males. The above indicator of regional concentration is also an opportunity variable, as well, and we have seen that it is a potent one, even when we control for the development level. Lack of urbanism and of government effectiveness both have strong impact on the likelihood of violence; yet, they are also strongly associated with development indicators, which creates some collinearity issues for subsequent analyses. The unemployed young males variable is not convincingly associated either with the Failed States Index or with the IPD Social Conflicts scale. Yet, this may be the artifact of the missing data; in the case of the other four conflict measures, the percentage of young unemployed males increases the risk of conflict, as predicted.

2 Regression Models with the Original (Collected) Data

The regression analysis includes three types of models. In cross-national studies, the traditional way to engage in the explanation of violent conflict are the omnibus models including all available explanatory variables promoted in the literature. This type of model-building is unavoidable for my results to be comparable with previous achievements. Yet, since I hypothesized a two-stage model, in which the causes of inter-group conflict lead to grievances first, and the grievances lead to violent conflict only in cases when the ways for peaceful solutions are blocked, I will have to test these steps with the corresponding models. These involve models in which the Group Grievance indicator becomes the dependent variable, and then models in which the Group Grievance indicator functions as explanatory variable along a number of institutional measures.

I have had fewer reasons to test the impact of my main explanatory variable against the country factor (or alternately, against country dummies), than in the case of the group-level dataset. I ran, however, a model to explain conflict as measured by WGI Political Stability, with only two explanatory variables: the country factor and the Failed States Index's Uneven Development component (FS_inequality). This fourth type of regression, run in SPSS's Generalized Linear Models procedure, returned the p-value of 0.000 for the horizontal inequality measure. Inter-group economic inequality is therefore an undeniably strong determinant of intra-state conflict, but in order to compare its power

with those of other predictors promoted in the literature, I had to experiment with different kinds of models.

    <mark>2.1</mark> Of the three types of models on which I report here, logically first is the one explaining group grievance. Unfortunately, the country-level dataset is much less equipped for testing the determinants of grievances, than for explaining conflict. We have only one measure of group grievance, the Fund for Peace's indicator. And the best country-level measure of inter-group inequality, of relatively extended coverage, also belongs to the Fund for Peace indicator series. The two are so highly correlated, at r=0.754, that we cannot completely reject the idea that the content-analytic method of the Fund for Peace leads to some blurring together of the two phenomena. Thus, at the price of seriously reducing the number of cases, I built these models with the Baldwin& Huber horizontal inequality measures, and tested my own "standard deviation" variable, as well. As a further complication, there has been a scarcity of measures for the political status of minorities.

    Tables 7.5 and 7.6 summarize findings obtained with the variables at hand.

Table 7.5:   Explaining Group Grievances with the Baldwin &Huber inequality measure

	Model 1		Model 2		Model 3	
Dependent Variable	FS Group Grievances		FS Group Grievances		FS Group Grievances	
Adjusted R-Square	0.587		0.572		0.526	
Case number	229		167		45	
	St.Coeff.	Sig.	St.Coeff.	Sig.	St.Coeff.	Sig.
Baldwin & Huber 2010 1st version	.156	.005	.201	.003	.159	.234
Ethnic Fractionalization	-.393	.000	-.431	.000	-.400	.035
Religious Fractionalization	.196	.000	.164	.007	.149	.229
Proportion of Largest minority	.073	.175	.073	.266	.022	.874
Regional concentration proxy	.193	.000	.199	.001	.172	.187
Banks Conflict Idx lagged average	.352	.000	.316	.000	.350	.008
GDP per capita (PPP)	-.565	.000	-.438	.000	-.488	.061
KOF overall globalization index	-.183	.070	-.229	.064	-.276	.285
IPD Respect for minorities			-.116	.082		
EPR Excluded Population (lag)					.032	.801

Note: Here and in all following regressions presented, I will use the same color coding to facilitate the overview of the findings. The coefficients significant above alpha=0.05 are highlighted with green, by coloring their p-values reported by the software. A number of p-values between 0.05 and 0.01 are highlighted with yellow. The insignificant coefficients are not marked, pink highlights are reserved for coefficients that turn up as significant with the theoretically unexpected sign.

The three models in Table_7.5 achieve considerable above-0.5 Adjusted R-square values, but the case numbers are low. By replacing the IPD's "Respect for Minorities" with the alternate measurement of "Population excluded from power" (a lagged measure from EPR) the case number sinks even deeper, to 45, and the residuals look problematic. The horizontal economic inequality measure scores convincing coefficients in the first two models, and fails to reach significance in Model 3 only. The change can be attributed to the loss of so many cases, rather than to the overriding effect of the last added variable, which also fails to turn up as significant.

Though my group-level INEQ variable was not meant to explain country-level phenomena, I tested its explanatory power in a series of models analogous with the triad above.

Table 7.6: Explaining Group Grievances with my inequality measure adapted to country level

	Model 4		Model 5		Model 6	
Dependent Variable	FS Group Grievances		FS Group Grievances		FS Group Grievances	
Adjusted R-Square	0.574		0.623		0.604	
Case number	748		471		134	
	St.Coeff.	Sig.	St.Coeff.	Sig.	St.Coeff.	Sig.
Standard deviation of INEQ_1 (ln)	.179	.000	.121	.001	.142	.020
Ethnic Fractionalization	-.226	.000	-.207	.000	-.244	.004
Religious Fractionalization	.067	.009	.088	.005	.070	.236
Proportion of Largest minority	.216	.000	.185	.000	.138	.055
Regional concentration proxy	.114	.000	.102	.001	.111	.053
Banks Conflict Idx lagged average	.264	.000	.233	.000	.273	.000
GDP per capita (PPP)	-.303	.000	-.268	.000	-.407	.000
KOF overall globalization index	-.374	.000	-.351	.000	-.274	.007
IPD Respect for minorities			-.182	.000		
EPR Excluded Population (lag)					.107	.088

Using my own horizontal inequality measure preserves a higher case number, and results in slightly higher Adjusted R-Square values. In these only the religious fractionalization measure sinks below the significance level of alpha=0.1, in the Model 6, with the smallest number of cases, and there are two more coefficients above alpha=0.05. The standard deviation of INEQ_1 turns out to be a consistent, if not very strong predictor of group grievance. Other variables that were hypothesized to have an impact on the formation of group grievances, taken from the country group structure, and country development level & globalization clusters, show a convincing impact on the de-

pendent variable, mostly in the predicted direction, which may foster our belief that our knowledge about intra-state conflict is basically accumulative. Given the curvilinear impact of the fractionalization indexes, however, we cannot have very clear expectations with regard to how they behave in linear models. The impact of the institutions here was meant to be measured with the political standing of the minorities, a fact for which we have reasonably good measurements, with the only problem that they are deficient in covering the area and the time for which these models were built.

2.2 In this second section of the regression analysis, I try to explain the occurrence of the conflict when we control for group grievances. I assume that grievances may have several outcomes, essentially depending on a balance of inhibiting and stimulating factors. There are, on the one hand, institutions that may avert violence, and on the other, factors that facilitate the choice of violent ways, such as government ineffectiveness, large rural areas, group concentration, and large numbers of unemployed males, determinants that may be referred to with the abbreviation "opportunity for insurrection" variables. Table_7.7 and Table_7.8 present eight models with these explanatory variables. The difference between the two series is that the Unemployed Young Males measure was included in Models 5 through 8 only, because it reduced the case numbers quite considerably.

Table 7.7:   Explaining conflict with Group Grievance and opportunity variables (1)

	Model 1		Model 2		Model 3		Model 4	
Dependent variable	Global Peace Index		Global Peace Index		WGI Political Stability		WGI Political Stability	
Adjusted R-Square	.766		.676		.794		.730	
Case number	379		518		543		703	
	St.C.ff	Sig.	St.C.ff	Sig.	St.C.ff	Sig.	St.C.ff	Sig.
FS Group Grievance	.407	.000	.646	.000	-.407	.000	-.591	.000
Regional concentration proxy	.161	.014	.242	.000	-.044	.355	-.152	.001
GDP per capita (PPP)	-.008	.854	-.033	.481	.017	.625	.031	.397
KOF globalization index	-.022	.694	-.098	.101	-.065	.139	-.039	.378
Political Terror Scale (US)	.499	.000			-.396	.000		
Freedom H./Imputed Polity			.057	.173			-.033	.280
Electoral family	.030	.295	.000	.993	.008	.719	.045	.052
Decentralization Index	.039	.348	.131	.002	-.046	.165	-.131	.000
Minority autonomy proxy	-.164	.030	-.231	.003	-.003	.963	.096	.089
Rural population	-.126	.001	-.148	.000	.035	.225	.026	.381
WGI Governm.t Effectiveness	-.073	.220	-.219	.000	.264	.000	.366	.000

The four models explain two different dependent variables, and the models with the same dependent variable differ from each other with regard to the democracy measure used. There two powerful predictors in these models, along which others may or may not emerge as significant depending on their correlations with these two and other *explanans* included in the model. The two dominant predictors, which mostly contribute to the high Adjusted R^2 values, are Group Grievance and Political Terror. A group of development-related indicators, including, but not confining to, GDP, globalization index, rural population, and government effectiveness, which are strongly associated, impede each other to reach significance, and their rivalry is mostly solved on behalf of the Government Effectiveness.[212] An analogous phenomenon happens with the political inclusiveness indicators. The Political Terror scale is such a strong predictor, that in its presence all other institutional measurements tend to remain insignificant. By contrast, in models with Freedom House/Imputed Polity as democracy measure, the two inclusiveness measures, Electoral Family and the minority autonomy proxy (Decentralization Index * Communal_sub_divisions), get a chance to show their impact. The positive sign on Electoral Family, when it turns up as significant, means that proportional electoral systems are more successful in averting violent conflict, than plurality systems are. As for regional autonomies, the models show that both the regional concentration of communal groups, and administrative decentralization in itself tend to increase the likelihood of conflict once there are group grievances around. Yet, when decentralization means more autonomy for the communal groups, the accumulating group tensions are slightly less likely to result in violent conflict.

Taken together, the eight models do justice to a number of assumptions about the impact of institutions: democracy in itself, and inclusive democracy in particular, may smooth away violent conflicts. They also do justice to the "opportunity for insurrection" hypotheses; government effectiveness, rural population, and regional concentration of the communal groups have shown a consistent, if not perfect performance across the

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[212] The WGI Government Effectiveness measure is especially strong in models with the dependent variable taken from the same series of indexes (WGI Political Stability). A special affinity between measures belonging to the same battery generally emerges not only because the authors tend to see the respective phenomena as inter-connected, but also because of technical issues such as similar scales.

eight models. The unemployed young male measure has been less convincing, but, unfortunately, this variable is far from perfect.

Table 7.8:   Explaining conflict with Group Grievance and opportunity variables (2)

	Model 5		Model 6		Model 7		Model 8	
Dependent variable	Global Peace Index		Global Peace Index		WGI Political Stability		WGI Political Stability	
Adjusted R-Square	.756		.756		.808		.755	
Case number	284		218		363		472	
	St.Cf	Sig.	St.Cf	Sig.	St.Cf	Sig.	St.Cf	Sig.
FS Group Grievance	.339	.000	.611	.000	-.403	.000	-.576	.000
Regional concentration proxy	.173	.039	.227	.010	-.022	.726	-.090	.141
GDP per capita (PPP)	-.008	.891	-.055	.370	.099	.032	.138	.003
KOF globalization index	-.042	.481	-.116	.078	-.044	.352	-.013	.782
Political Terror Scale (US)	.543	.000			-.357	.000		
Freedom H./Imputed Polity			.029	.571			.009	.801
Electoral family	.015	.678	-.004	.927	.042	.125	.056	.048
Decentralization Index	.043	.343	.129	.011	-.018	.624	-.106	.003
Minority autonomy proxy	-.158	.094	-.190	.059	-.085	.229	-.025	.724
Rural population	-.126	.001	-.148	.000	.111	.000	.129	.000
WGI Governm.t Effectiveness	-.053	.409	-.164	.017	.243	.000	.309	.000
Young male unemployed	.073	.023	.039	.235	-.023	.350	.006	.806

2.3 I ran 14 "omnibus" regression models with my dataset containing collected data, labeled the "original dataset," as a difference from the five datasets obtained with multiple imputation later. The first and probably most important models are included in Table_7.9, while the following Tables_7.10 and 7.11 add additional information to these.

Table_7.9 contains two models with each of the two main dependent variables, the Global Peace Index and the World Governance Indicators' Political Stability and Lack of Violence component. First of all, these models fully support the substantively important impact of the horizontal inequality variable. The control variables were chosen with the intent to maximally represent each predictor group, but within the safety limits dictated by the need to reduce collinearity. For instance, of the three Alesina fractionalization indexes, I included two, and not the third (correlated at above-0.7 with the linguistic fractionalization measure). I also neglected two globalization indexes, which are excessively development-related, and included the political globalization measure only. Of the "opportunity for insurrection" variable group, the proportion of unemployed young

males is missing, and it will be included only in four separate models presented in Table_7.11. With all these precautions, Model 1 and Model 3 were built with 14 predictors each, and the highest VIF value of the predictors did not exceed 9.47 (with a tolerance of 0.106). The models have high explanatory value, and do justice to most hypotheses promoted in the literature, but also suffer from a sign reversal.[213] In Model 1, the Rural Population, while in Model 3, the Life Expectancy variable turns up as significant with the wrong sign. Since the most plausible explanation was multiple collinearity, I re-ran the models without "Life Expectancy." The resulting models (Model 2 and 4) are equally strong, but in Model 2 the wrong sign on the Rural Population persists, even if in a mitigated form, that is, the variable came closer to insignificance. Unfortunately, there are further variables in the model that are highly associated with Rural Population, as well.

In order to probe the depth to which the relationships in the models are influenced by development level, I ran a split-sample analysis of Model 4, with a developed and a less developed country group.[214] There are a number of important differences, such as cases when a predictor is significant in one development group and not significant in the other. Also, the impact of the inter-group inequality variable is considerably higher in the developed country group. Yet, in one case there is a complete reversal of the impact. The interaction variable with which I measured communal autonomy, turns up with negative sign in the less developed group, and with positive sign in the developed group. I do not have a full explanation for the phenomenon, but scatterplots confirm that the relationship between the minority autonomy and the conflict measure is different in the two development groups. There is practically no relationship between them in the less developed group, while there is a significant relationship in the developed group, best captured with a cubic line with $R^2=0.13$. My guess is that the uneven and antithetical distribution of the two component variables making up the interaction term is

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[213] There is one more unexpected sign, we generally expect political globalization to have a moderating effect on conflict, and this is what it shows in bivariate correlations. Yet, in the presence of development indicators, as in a partial correlation controlled by the Female Life Expectancy indicator, the relationship between Political Globalization, on the one hand, and WGI_PS, IPD Communal, and IPD Social, on the other, dissipates completely: the coefficients are not significant. This seems to express the fact that there are several less developed countries with dense international political connections, but with high communal heterogeneity, weak economy and weak state institutions – all which contribute to their conflict-torn-ness. In these models, in which development levels are over-controlled, political globalization seems to be pushed in the role of an "anti-development" indicator.

[214] The filter variable was "Female Life Expectancy" split at the age of 70.

responsible for the difference between country groups. In the less developed group we have a lot of regional concentration and little decentralization, while in the developed group, it is inversely: there is less regional concentration and considerable levels of de-centralization.

Table 7.9:   Explaining violent conflict with inter-group inequality and controls

	Model 1		Model 2		Model 3		Model 4	
Dependent variable	Global Peace Index		Global Peace Index		WGI Political Stability		WGI Political Stability	
Adjusted R2	.677		.678		.736		.735	
Case #	529		529		637		637	
	St.Cf	Sig.	St.Cf	Sig.	St.Cf	Sig.	St.Cf	Sig.
Failed States Inequality (Uneven Development)	.270	.000	.270	.000	-.144	.000	-.145	.000
Linguistic Fractionalization	-.050	.158	-.038	.249	.045	.116	.066	.015
Religious Fractionalization	.062	.033	.067	.020	-.007	.759	.002	.936
Proportion of Largest Minority	-.016	.569	-.015	.597	-.057	.014	-.055	.018
Regional Concentration proxy	.375	.000	.378	.000	-.286	.000	-.281	.000
Banks Conflict Index (lagged)	.352	.000	.352	.000	-.375	.000	-.373	.000
Life expectancy (female)	-.043	.365			-.082	.030		
KOF Political Globalization	.037	.268	.039	.240	-.225	.000	-.220	.000
Freedom H./ imputed Polity	-.111	.006	-.109	.007	.104	.001	.109	.001
Electoral family (Norris-based)	-.019	.520	-.022	.457	.065	.007	.062	.010
Decentralization Index	.044	.316	.038	.379	.041	.259	.025	.474
Minority Autonomy proxy	-.310	.000	-.315	.000	.181	.003	.174	.004
Proportion of Rural Population	-.089	.017	-.074	.026	-.114	.000	-.085	.002
WGI Governm.t Effectiveness	-.312	.000	-.328	.000	.473	.000	.442	.000

Table_7.10 presents work with the two additional dependent variables, which al-low for distinguishing between communal conflict and social conflict. The most important fact about these models is the obviously different impact of a number of explanatory var-iables. Communal conflict and social conflict have different causes, as shown, for in-stance by the fading away of the horizontal inequality measure, as well as of the linguis-tic fractionalization index in Models 9 and 10, which explain social conflict. Since communal and social conflict, as measured by the IPD indicators, are correlated above 0.5 between themselves, we could not expect very clear-cut differences in the impact of the explanatory variables. Of 13 indicators, however, it is only the measure for past con-

flict that affects them in very similar way, and three variables do not have significant impact in either case (political globalization, largest minority, and religious fractionalization, though with a p-value of 0.056 it may be considered significant at alpha=0.1 in Model 8). Electoral Family counts for social conflict, and does not count for communal conflict, while the configuration of the triad of regional concentration/ decentralization/ interaction-of-the-two is different in communal and social conflict models. Unfortunately, the VIF value of the interaction term in these models rises to above 8.7, and that of the regional concentration above 6.4, thus we cannot draw far reaching conclusions from these configurations.

Table 7.10: Explaining violent conflict with inter-group inequality and controls - distinguishing between communal and social conflict

	Model 7		Model 8		Model 9		Model 10	
Dependent variable	IPD Communal Conflict		IPD Communal Conflict		IPD Social Conflict		IPD Social Conflict	
Adjusted R-Square	.497		.479		.555		.535	
Case number	472		472		472		472	
	St.Cf	Sig.	St.Cf	Sig.	St.Cf	Sig.	St.Cf	Sig.
Failed States Inequality (Uneven Development)	-.406	.000	-.394	.000	-.105	.067	-.118	.043
Linguistic Fractionalization	-.258	.000	-.175	.000	.062	.195	-.029	.517
Religious Fractionalization	.032	.431	.077	.056	-.004	.910	-.053	.165
Proportion of Largest Minority	-.046	.239	-.036	.375	.004	.907	-.008	.842
Regional Concentration proxy	-.166	.046	-.152	.072	-.358	.000	-.373	.000
Banks Conflict Index (lagged)	-.296	.000	-.303	.000	-.237	.000	-.229	.000
Life expectancy (female)	-.282	.000			.306	.000		
KOF Political Globalization	-.035	.424	-.023	.613	-.042	.314	-.056	.190
Freedom H./ imputed Polity	-.016	.753	.010	.841	-.079	.105	-.108	.029
Electoral family (Norris-based)	-.012	.758	-.027	.506	.073	.052	.089	.021
Decentralization Index	.241	.000	.201	.001	-.085	.128	-.042	.457
Minority Autonomy proxy	-.007	.942	-.026	.789	.337	.000	.358	.000
Proportion of Rural Population	-.236	.000	-.156	.001	-.118	.014	-.206	.000
WGI Governm.t Effectiveness	-.082	.264	-.196	.005	.232	.001	.356	.000

Note: A new color used in this table to highlight the findings is blue. Social conflict is not expected to be seriously affected by inter-group economic inequality, and the small coefficients do justice to this expectation. Similarly, we do not expect fractionalization to have an impact on social conflict.

Finally, Table_7.11 reports on omnibus models that include the predictor for the proportion of unemployed young males. This variable substantially reduces the case

numbers, and the omissions are not completely random – the least developed countries are overrepresented among those with missing data. Models 11 through 14 do not contradict findings obtained from the models without the unemployment variable, but there is a larger percentage of unexpected coefficient signs. The measure for the unemployment of young males turns up as significant in the predicted sense in the models with the main dependent variables, and it is not significant for explaining communal conflict. Yet, in the fourth model, the unemployment measure produces a surprising positive coefficient with the dependent variable IPD Social Conflict, which is coded toward more peacefulness. Since in the same model, the democracy indicator also takes on an unexpected negative sign, we may suspect some artifact of truncated sample and collinearity at work. Otherwise, it is possible that on certain development levels, autocracies are better at containing social discontent, while they fail to contain communal discontent. But we have no theoretical reason to believe that more unemployed young males in a society – when they are not absorbed by the educational system – lead to more social peace.

Table 7.11:   Explaining violent conflict with inter-group inequality and controls - adding the unemployment variable

	Model 11		Model 12		Model 13		Model 14	
Dependent variable	Global Peace Index		WGI Political Stability		IPD Communal Conflict		IPD Social Conflict	
Adjusted R-Square	.677		.758		.532		.541	
Case number	384		427		353		353	
	St.Cf	Sig.	St.Cf	Sig.	St.Cf	Sig.	St.Cf	Sig.
Failed States Inequality (Uneven Development)	.478	.000	-.264	.000	-.499	.000	-.007	.921
Linguistic Fractionalization	-.016	.676	-.022	.493	-.297	.000	.013	.788
Religious Fractionalization	.140	.000	-.050	.086	.035	.452	.019	.683
Proportion of Largest Minority	-.088	.012	.000	.996	-.035	.434	.071	.113
Regional Concentration proxy	.344	.000	-.229	.001	.055	.599	-.235	.023
Banks Conflict Index (lagged)	.331	.000	-.346	.000	-.241	.000	-.287	.000
Life expectancy (female)	-.042	.397	-.097	.023	-.247	.000	.485	.000
KOF Political Globalization	.091	.016	-.217	.000	-.056	.262	.052	.295
Freedom H./ imputed Polity	-.130	.005	.119	.001	-.053	.361	-.174	.003
Electoral family (Norris-based)	-.003	.940	.087	.003	-.068	.147	.056	.228
Decentralization Index	-.075	.137	.108	.009	.361	.000	-.029	.651
Minority Autonomy proxy	-.219	.023	.085	.267	-.262	.027	.255	.030
Proportion of Rural Population	-.117	.004	-.040	.240	-.213	.000	.053	.341
WGI Governm.t Effectiveness	-.163	.006	.443	.000	-.063	.426	.305	.000
Unemployed young males	.068	.027	-.065	.009	-.064	.108	.146	.000

The regression models presented in sections 2.1 through 2.3 have all supported the impact of inter-group economic inequality on the likelihood of conflict, both in direct "omnibus" models, and in the two-stage modeling, through the articulation of group grievances. In addition, most predictors promoted in the literature have also received some empirical support.

Unfortunately, all regression models presented in sections 2.1 through 2.3 suffered from two issues: (i) high association between the explanatory variables, and (ii) missing cases. While collinearity is an unavoidable problem of social science, in response to which we have a few compensatory techniques, but not a sure method to defend our research, for missing cases there is a generally recommended cure: multiple imputation. In the next section, I will put it to work.

3 Multiple Imputation

I cut back my dataset to 57 variables and introduced it in the Amelia II multiple imputation software.[215] I obtained five imputed datasets, each containing 2,028 cases (169 countries along 12 years, from 1999 to 2010). Since the Failed States index exists from 2006 only, and the Global Peace index from 2007, I ran my "omnibus" models on shorter time frames, to maximize the number of original values of the main dependent variable and the main explanatory variable. The five imputed datasets returned surprisingly similar regression models, which essentially resemble the models based on original data, as well. Out of 116 regression coefficients from the original models only one that was significant above alpha=0.05 in the right direction did not receive confirmation from any imputed model.[216] It has never happened that all 15 predictors have been significant in the same model, but across all models, fourteen out of 15 predictors received empirical support. The exception is a control for the impact of the international environment, the KOF Political Globalization index. Unfortunately, it is highly correlated (r=0.535) with the Government Effectiveness variable, besides its correlations above 0.4 with Life Expectancy and Rural Population. Thus it happens, mainly in models with the dependent variable WGI Political Stability, in which WGI Government Effectiveness is

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[215] Please see description and availability at http://gking.harvard.edu/amelia/.

[216] It involved the Decentralization index, highly associated with the interaction term between decentralization and regional concentration.

extraordinarily strong, that the political globalization measure reaches significance with the wrong sign. I am inclined to believe that this is an artifact of collinearity and the fact that large numbers of poor countries with high heterogeneity and internal strife are members in several international organizations. But we cannot exclude the possibility that this KOF measure focuses too much on formal criteria of political globalization, and less on the real commitments of the leaders to a peaceful world.

Table 7.12:   Explaining conflict as measured by the Global Peace Index

	Model 1		Model 11		POOLED Model	
Dependent variable	Global Peace Index		Global Peace Index		Global Peace Index	
Adjusted R-Square	0.677		0.677		0.652 (average)	
Case number	529		384		676*5 (>2006)	
	St.Cf	Sig.	St.Cf	Sig.	Coeff.	Sig.
Failed States Inequality (Uneven Development)	0.270	0.000	0.478	0.000	.063	.000
Linguistic Fractionalization	-0.050	0.158	-0.016	0.676	-.168	.001
Religious Fractionalization	0.062	0.033	0.140	0.000	.082	.105
Proportion of Largest Minority	-0.016	0.569	-0.088	0.012	-.058	.546
Regional Concentration proxy	0.375	0.000	0.344	0.000	.645	.000
Banks Conflict Index (lagged)	0.352	0.000	0.331	0.000	.000	.000
Life expectancy (female)	-0.043	0.365	-0.042	0.397	-.003	.116
KOF Political Globalization	0.037	0.268	0.091	0.016	.001	.093
Freedom H./ imputed Polity	-0.111	0.006	-0.130	0.005	-.024	.000
Electoral family (Norris-based)	-0.019	0.520	-0.003	0.940	-.018	.171
Decentralization Index	0.044	0.316	-0.075	0.137	.082	.102
Minority Autonomy proxy	-0.310	0.000	-0.219	0.023	-.535	.000
Proportion of Rural Population	-0.089	0.017	-0.117	0.004	-.001	.044
WGI Governm.t Effectiveness	-0.312	0.000	-0.163	0.006	-.123	.000
Unemployed young males			0.068	0.027	.003	.015

Tables 7.12 through 7.15 present the pooled results from the five imputed models side-by-side with the originals. The pooling algorithm does not give R-Square value and standardized coefficients. Thus I included, on the one hand, the average of the five Adjusted R-Square values from the individual imputed models, and the simple slope estimates given for each predictor, displayed near its significance (p-) value. The standardized coefficients for the imputed datasets one-by-one come closer to the values obtained for the original models without the unemployed young males variable than to the coeffi-

cients from the unimputed models containing it. They may be studied in the Appendix, where the five individual imputed models are described with their standardized coefficients and p-values.[217]

Table 7.13:   Explaining conflict as measured by the WGI Political Stability and Lack of Violence scale

	Model 3		Model 12		POOLED Model	
Dependent variable	WGI Political Stability		WGI Political Stability		WGI Political Stability	
Adjusted R-Square	0.736		0.758		0.733 (average)	
Case number	637		427		845*5 (>2005)	
	St.Cf	Sig.	St.Cf	Sig.	Coeff.	Sig.
Failed States Inequality (Uneven Development)	-0.144	0.000	-0.264	0.000	-.080	.000
Linguistic Fractionalization	0.045	0.116	-0.022	0.493	.137	.105
Religious Fractionalization	-0.007	0.759	-0.050	0.086	.011	.895
Proportion of Largest Minority	-0.057	0.014	0.000	0.996	-.420	.009
Regional Concentration proxy	-0.286	0.000	-0.229	0.001	-1.231	.000
Banks Conflict Index (lagged)	-0.375	0.000	-0.346	0.000	.000	.000
Life expectancy (female)	-0.082	0.030	-0.097	0.023	-.005	.084
KOF Political Globalization	-0.225	0.000	-0.217	0.000	-.012	.000
Freedom H./ imputed Polity	0.104	0.001	0.119	0.001	.036	.000
Electoral family (Norris-based)	0.065	0.007	0.087	0.003	.057	.015
Decentralization Index	0.041	0.259	0.108	0.009	.052	.525
Minority Autonomy proxy	0.181	0.003	0.085	0.267	.827	.000
Proportion of Rural Population	-0.114	0.000	-0.040	0.240	-.004	.000
WGI Governm.t Effectiveness	0.473	0.000	0.443	0.000	.431	.000
Unemployed young males			-0.065	0.009	-.004	.120

[217]   At very strict standards, each model should have been tested for collinearity, heteroskedacity, and autoregression in order to stay with the ordinary least squares (the only method that produces standardized coefficients) and not to switch to models with robust errors. I routinely tested for collinearity, and obtained the diagnostic residual plots with each model. The VIF values went high, but not above 10. The residuals were decent; and heteroskedacity and autoregression do not normally occur in really large samples. Models with robust standard errors, which are recommended in cases of untreatable heteroskedacity or autoregression, make it harder for any predictor to reach significance. Yet, having the standardized coefficients displayed, we may decide ourselves whether a coefficient of 0.086, with a p-value of 0.035, for instance, is a substantively convincing finding.

Table 7.14: Explaining conflict as measured by the IPD Communal Conflict measure

	Model 7		Model 13		POOLED Model	
Dependent variable	IPD Communal Conflict		IPD Communal Conflict		IPD Communal Conflict	
Adjusted R-Square	0.497		0.532		0.465 (average)	
Case number	472		353		845*5 (>2005)	
	St.Cf	Sig.	St.Cf	Sig.	Coeff.	Sig.
Failed States Inequality (Uneven Development)	-0.406	0.000	-0.499	0.000	-0.154	0.000
Linguistic Fractionalization	-0.258	0.000	-0.297	0.000	-0.585	0.000
Religious Fractionalization	0.032	0.431	0.035	0.452	0.188	0.120
Proportion of Largest Minority	-0.046	0.239	-0.035	0.434	-0.584	0.023
Regional Concentration proxy	-0.166	0.046	0.055	0.599	-0.503	0.072
Banks Conflict Index (lagged)	-0.296	0.000	-0.241	0.000	0.000	0.000
Life expectancy (female)	-0.282	0.000	-0.247	0.000	-0.018	0.000
KOF Political Globalization	-0.035	0.424	-0.056	0.262	-0.002	0.272
Freedom H./ imputed Polity	-0.016	0.753	-0.053	0.361	-0.005	0.662
Electoral family (Norris-based)	-0.012	0.758	-0.068	0.147	-0.034	0.240
Decentralization Index	0.241	0.000	0.361	0.000	0.502	0.000
Minority Autonomy proxy	-0.007	0.942	-0.262	0.027	-0.078	0.794
Proportion of Rural Population	-0.236	0.000	-0.213	0.000	-0.011	0.000
WGI Governm.t Effectiveness	-0.082	0.264	-0.063	0.426	-0.027	0.612
Unemployed young males			-0.064	0.108	-0.007	0.010

Table 7.15: Explaining conflict as measured by the IPD Social Conflict measure

	Model 9		Model 14		POOLED Model	
Dependent variable	IPD Social Conflict		IPD Social Conflict		IPD Social Conflict	
Adjusted R-Square	0.555		0.541		0.557 (average)	
Case number	472		353		845*5 (>2005)	
	St.Cf	Sig.	St.Cf	Sig.	Coeff.	Sig.
Failed States Inequality (Uneven Development)	-0.105	0.067	-0.007	0.921	-0.044	0.017
Linguistic Fractionalization	0.062	0.195	0.013	0.788	0.113	0.323
Religious Fractionalization	-0.004	0.910	0.019	0.683	0.156	0.136
Proportion of Largest Minority	0.004	0.907	0.071	0.113	0.225	0.261
Regional Concentration proxy	-0.358	0.000	-0.235	0.023	-0.949	0.000
Banks Conflict Index (lagged)	-0.237	0.000	-0.287	0.000	0.000	0.000
Life expectancy (female)	0.306	0.000	0.485	0.000	0.023	0.000
KOF Political Globalization	-0.042	0.314	0.052	0.295	-0.001	0.655
Freedom H./ imputed Polity	-0.079	0.105	-0.174	0.003	-0.020	0.055
Electoral family (Norris-based)	0.073	0.052	0.056	0.228	0.039	0.101
Decentralization Index	-0.085	0.128	-0.029	0.651	-0.125	0.174
Minority Autonomy proxy	0.337	0.000	0.255	0.030	0.775	0.001
Proportion of Rural Population	-0.118	0.014	0.053	0.341	-0.003	0.038
WGI Governm.t Effectiveness	0.232	0.001	0.305	0.000	0.191	0.000
Unemployed young males			0.146	0.000	0.010	0.000

Discussion and Conclusions

I hoped that my models would speak for themselves, and would be convincing. I still feel that they have offered convincing support for my favored hypotheses, but all along the presentation of the findings I endeavored to highlight and contextualize the main relationships and effects. The models show that we are able to explain large proportions of the variation of violent conflict across states. At a closer look, however, even if we have a grip on a number of determinants, the concrete measures used in regression models may falter either because of the complexities of measuring the phenomenon, or because of the dense association network among social phenomena.

In these circumstances, the consistency achieved across models is reasonably high. My main explanatory variable, the inter-group economic inequality, performed flawlessly in all "omnibus" models, run on both the original and the imputed datasets. I think that it undoubtedly established itself as a serious predictor of intra-state conflict, primarily of conflicts of communal nature. Unfortunately, this is not good news for practice. Inter-group inequality is hard to alleviate. Usually it takes a strong redistributive state and a benevolent majority/plurality to redress the relative poverty of minority groups. The emancipation of poorer majorities, on the other hand, takes market-contrary measures. In addition, serious results cannot be expected within the near future, the economic equalizing may take decades and generations.

This fact directs attention to the institutional solutions. What can politics do to alleviate the condition of disadvantaged groups, and channel their political action toward less violent, democratic and parliamentary means? Fortunately, my models have supported the importance of democracy, proportional representation, and communal autonomy, measured as decentralization in conditions of regional concentration of the communal groups. They also supported the hypotheses related to the opportunity of insurrection, of which some, such as government effectiveness, and the proportion of young males, can be classified among the things easier to master than inter-group economic inequality.

Compared to results from the group-level analysis (Chapters 5 and Six), this country-level analysis is more convincing in two important regards: the overall explanatory power (as measured by the Adjusted R-squares), and the impact of the horizontal inequality variable. I think that the difference is mainly attributable to the ways in which we measure conflict. The country-level measurements used here are much more sensitive than the UCDP-PRIO, and even than the CONIS conflict data. On the flipside, the Global Peace Index and the WGI Political Stability mix communal and social conflict in an undistinguishable amalgamate. This does not weaken the validity of the impact of the horizontal inequality measure, on the contrary. Yet, the fusion of the two types of conflict may leave undetected the fact that they have distinct sets of predictors, or more likely, the strength of the individual predictors in the same set is different in the two cases. The variables provided by the Institutional Profiles Database are very helpful in this regard. Unfortunately, the French experts coded only 121 countries, thus we have to rely on artificial imputations to get the picture for all countries.

With all the weakness of the economic inequality and intra-state conflict measures that we have, it is still possible to obtain a consistent story of the relationship between the two phenomena. The key to clear-sightedness is to distinguish between communal conflict and social conflict, on the one hand, and inter-group inequality and inter-individual inequality, on the other. In virtue of the analytical clarity of these distinctions we may sharpen our hypotheses in order to achieve models with higher explanatory power. We should expect horizontal economic inequality to have an impact on communal conflict, and vertical inequality to affect social conflict. The imputed datasets made it possible to study this connection on 676 cases (for years above 2006). I ran twenty (4*5) models similar to those reported in Tables 7.12-7.15 on two imputed datasets. (With a random choice, on the first and the fourth imputed datasets.) All models included 14 predictors identical with those in the previous tables, while the Failed States horizontal inequality variable was exchanged, in turn, with two alternative inter-group, and three vertical inequality measures. Table_7.16 reports the standardized coefficient value and the significance of the inequality measures across the four dependent variables, based on the fourth imputed dataset.[218]

The main pattern is common to the two imputations: the vertical inequality measures are highly significant for the explanation of social conflict, while the horizontal inequality measures are the strongest for the explanation of communal conflict, but also contribute seriously to the strength of the models explaining conflict in general. The failure of the Gini indexes to reach significance in models with "general" conflict measures may have – at least – two plausible explanations. First, it may be that both variables, Global Peace Index as well as WGI Political Stability, measure communal, rather than social conflicts. (This, in its turn, may also accommodate two explanations. First, that our world contains, effectively, more communal, than social conflict; and second, that our data collection tools are biased toward noticing communal, rather than social conflicts.) The second reason for the failure of the Gini measures in explaining "general" conflict is

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[218] If I had used the pooled models, I would not have obtained standardized coefficients for easy comparison. The Imputed models have shown in the previous trials that they are reasonably similar. Here the main difference between results from the two datasets is that my Standard Deviation of INEQ_1 has a little stronger showing in the first imputation (significant at 0.045 in the model with WGI Political Stability, and at 0.000 in the IPD Communal Conflict), while the Gini_market approaches significance with a p-value of 0.091 in the model with WGI Political Stability.

that they are much more correlated with other predictors than the horizontal inequality measures. Thus the vertical inequality's impact is lost in multivariate models to collinearity. And obviously, any combination of the two explanations is plausible, as well.

Table 7.16: The impact of vertical and horizontal inequality in models w/ 15 predictors - results based on Imputed dataset #4, and 676 cases

Dependent variable	Global Peace Index		WGI Political Stability		IPD Communal Conflict		IPD Social Conflict	
	St.Cff	Sig	St.Cff	Sig	St.Cff	Sig	St.Cff	Sig
Inter-group (horizontal) inequality measures								
Baldwin &Huber 2010 v.1	0.242	0.000	-0.122	0.000	-0.174	0.000	-0.095	0.007
Standard Deviation of INEQ_1	0.030	0.288	-0.042	0.068	-0.091	0.007	0.040	0.191
Failed States Inequality	0.252	0.000	-0.147	0.000	-0.303	0.000	-0.109	0.005
Inter-individual (vertical) inequality measures								
My_Gini (based on UN series)	0.005	0.855	0.025	0.306	-0.046	0.215	-0.284	0.000
Gini after redistribution (Solt)	-0.001	0.960	0.001	0.844	-0.042	0.261	-0.299	0.000
Gini w/out redistribution (Solt)	0.013	0.639	-0.016	0.489	0.063	0.061	-0.184	0.000

Of all variable clusters considered in the models, it is the group structure cluster that seems to be the hardest to be assessed on country level. Instead of the actual group size and history of conflict, as well as instead of the group's actual position on the power ladder, we have to be contented with proxies such as fractionalization, proportion of largest minority, lagged conflict indexes, and excluded population. Still, the lagged conflict index and the variable used for measuring regional concentration (Communal sub-divisions), performed very consistently and convincingly across models. The fractionalization and polarization measures were much more capricious, but given their strong association with the development level, we could not reasonably expect them to show consistent patterns in models overstuffed with development-related predictors.

The choice of the political globalization measure to account for the impact of the international environment does not seem to have been very inspired. It obviously does not measure some important features of this environment, such as support to rebel groups, but the main issue with it has become its association with other aspects of state strength, such as government effectiveness. As for the omissions of the globalization

measures, we saw in Chapter 6, that both military and non-military foreign aid, but main-
ly the latter kind of assistance to communal groups contribute significantly to intensifying
conflicts. It is much harder to reasonably and convincingly account for the impact of col-
linearity on results. A number of anti-intuitive findings, such as the theoretically unex-
pected sign on political globalization, may be due to the inter-connectedness of the ex-
planatory variables. We know that in bivariate relationships these do not occur – but we
cannot be sure that the anomalies are all and exclusively artifacts of the models jam-
packed with overlapping predictors.

At the end of this chapter focused on country-level phenomena, we may wonder
how the findings from the two different levels of analysis - and from the three different
datasets - relate to each other. Since the commonalities from the three analytical chap-
ters (5 through Seven) are also the general and generalizable results of the project, this
comparative overview of the findings is included in Chapter 8, as its first, technical sec-
tion.

Chapter 8.

Conclusions and Questions for Further Research

My simple research design has become so complex in the process of implementation that a synthesis of the findings and conclusions from the three empirical chapters seems unavoidable. Thus, I will pull together and contrast results from the group level and country-level analysis, on the one hand, and from the two-stage explanations and the "omnibus" modeling, on the other hand. This synthesis, the "Overview of the Findings," is meant to contextualize the final conclusions and caveats formulated in the second part of the chapter, the "Epilogue." Unfortunately, the first part is still quite technical in nature, relying on four tables reiterating the main regression models, but the second part of the chapter will leave all technicalities, finally, behind.

Overview of the Findings

Since the single most important research task of this dissertation has been to establish the consequentiality of inter-group economic inequality on the evolution of hostility and occurrence of violence, I begin by referring to some findings obtained with the simplest tests of the horizontal inequality measures. In bivariate relationships, measured with Pearson correlations, all of the inter-group inequality measures used, including my own INEQ series, MAR's economic discrimination, and the Fund for Peace Uneven Development indicator, showed significant coefficients, in the expected direction, with either the grievance or the conflict indicators used as dependent variables. Further, the impact of the horizontal economic inequality measures may be shown to persist against the impact of the most serious challenger, the idiosyncrasies of the countries sampled. I have built a few unorthodox models including only an inequality measure and the country factor, which in generalized linear models is the functional equivalent of incorporating

scores of country dummies in ordinary least squares models. The inter-group economic inequality variable turned up as statistically significant against the impact of all country features, or otherwise, against all features characterizing the more than 150 countries included in the samples.

This test of the horizontal inequality confirmed the significance of my INEQ variable with regard to the EPR_MAR_EXT dataset (composed of 155 countries), and of the Fund for Peace Uneven Development (FS_inequality) indicator with regard to the country-level dataset (composed of 169 countries). The significance of the inequality variable in these special models is an argument on behalf of a methodology in pursuit of covering laws, even if these laws are only of a statistical-probabilistic nature, *versus* succumbing to the temptation of more idiographic methods. From the perspective of a social ontology, the measurable causal impact of certain group-level features, of economic inequality as well as of political inequality, and of past inter-group violence, buttresses the importance of communal groups, and their consequentiality for the sub-, supra-, and national environments. As for horizontal economic inequality's rivalry with a number of country-level variables promoted in the literature, such as democratic institutions, and proportion of unemployed young males, its keeping significant against the country dummies means that the horizontal economic inequality should keep its significance in models that would replace ALL country effects with the corresponding variables. It does not mean, however, that the inequality measure surely keeps significant against any group of variables describing a specific selection of country features.[219]

The models with the country factor (or with country dummies) do not answer our interest in the impact of certain phenomena over which we may have some practical degree of political control, and which may thus be consciously altered in order to achieve more peaceful group relations. Political institutions are the first to come to mind as subject to change, but a country's globalization and urbanization parameters may also be influenced over time through policy change. Figure_8.1, which is technically an image,

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[219] In models accounting for all country effects with really adequate variables, the strong impact of some predictors that could interfere with, and reduce the impact of inter-group inequality would be counterbalanced by cross-cutting effects, exactly as they are in the reality represented by the totality of country dummies. For instance, the impact of democracy is offset by the "modernization paradox effect," because in more developed settings, where democracy levels are higher, minorities are smaller, relatively poorer, and less powerful.

but content-wise a table, recapitulates the main "omnibus" models from the three empiri-
cal sections of the work (chapters 5 through 7).

Figure 8.1: Summary of seven "omnibus" models from chapters 5 through 7

	EPR_MAR_ext		MAR_EPR_1		MAR_EPR_2		CNTRY-I.		CNTRY-I		CNTRY-I		CNTRY-I	
Dependent variable	Intsty_idx		Intensity index		Intensity index		Glob.Peace_Idx		WGI_Pol.Stabil.		IPD Communal		IPD Social	
Adjusted R2	.245		[apprx. 0.277]		[apprx. 0.279]		.677		.736		.497		.555	
# cases	1848		491		491		529		637		472		472	
	St.Cf	Sig.	B	Sig.	B	Sig.	St.Cf	Sig.	St.Cf	Sig.	St.Cf	Sig.	St.Cf	Sig.
Inter-group economic inequality														
Ineq_3_ln	.052	.015												
Ineq_4_ln			.045	.014										
MAR econ.discrimination					.051	.041								
FS_Inequality							.270	.000	-.144	.000	-.406	.000	-.105	.067
Group/ group structure														
Group proportion	.034	.139	-.177	.573	-.392	.202								
Ethnic fractionaliztion	-.015	.709												
Linguistic fractionalization			.257	.078	.254	.092	-.050	.158	.045	.116	-.258	.000	.062	.195
Religious fractionalization	-.046	.058	-.258	.088	-.224	.138	.062	.033	-.007	.759	.032	.431	-.004	.910
Proportion of plurality	.014	.727												
Diff. Plurality - L.minority			.322	.022	.287	.044								
Largest minority							-.016	.569	-.057	.014	-.046	.239	.004	.907
Communal_sub_divisions	.230	.000					.375	.000	-.286	.000	-.166	.046	-.358	.000
Prop. in regional base			.072	.013	.080	.007								
Past violence (2)	.381	.000	.006	.000	.005	.000								
Lagged Banks Conflict							.352	.000	-.375	.000	-.296	.000	-.237	.000
Development														
Life expectancy (female)	.231	.000					-.043	.365	-.082	.030	-.282	.000	.306	.000
GDP per capita, PPP			-.013	.036	-.014	.021								
International environment														
Political globalization idx	.078	.005					.037	.268	-.225	.000	-.035	.424	-.042	.314
Ecoomic globalization idx	.078	.136												
External military support			.823	.014	.826	.016								
Institutions														
Power rank ord.scale	.015	.512												
Political terror scale	.181	.000	.101	.018	.100	.021								
Freedom House/iPolity							-.111	.006	.104	.001	-.016	.753	-.079	.105
Electoral family (PR)	-.007	.773					-.019	.520	.065	.007	-.012	.758	.073	.052
Decentralization Idx							.044	.316	.041	.259	.241	.000	-.085	.128
Decentr*Commnl_s_div	-.270	.000					-.310	.000	.181	.003	-.007	.942	.337	.000
Opportunity for insurrection														
Country's rural population	.156	.000					-.089	.017	-.114	.000	-.236	.000	-.118	.014
Group's urbanism			-.041	.091	-.034	.170								
WGI Gov.t Effectiveness	.038	.392	.276	.000	.294	.000	-.312	.000	.473	.000	-.082	.264	.232	.001

The dependent variable in these omnibus models is conflict turning violent. This is clearer in the case of the group-level datasets than in the case of the country-level data. The dependent variable for the group level analysis (Intensity_index) was specially formulated to include cases of hostility exceeding a certain threshold, high enough so

that only a relatively small percentage of the cases score a value different from zero on it. The small variance on the dependent variable (actually used in its logarithmic form in models, to smooth out its being skewed to some extent) results in models with significantly lower explanatory power than the country-level models, which have different types of dependent variables. The Global Peace Index and the Political Stability and Lack of Violence measure (WGI_Pol.Stabil) are more sensitive to lower intensity conflicts within countries, which means that there is virtually no country coded as completely, absolutely peaceful. By taking into account a larger scale of manifestations of inter-group hostility, the explanatory power of the models has increased substantially, up to above 70% of the variation explained with the predictors at hand. As a drawback, these conflict measures did not allow us to distinguish between communal and social conflict, thus two conflict measures from the Institutional Profile Database (IPD) are included in the table. These show that that inter-group economic inequality increases communal conflict very substantially, but has a smaller impact on social conflict. (In addition, other models, which are not reproduced here, showed that vertical inequality, as measured by the Gini index, has an inverse impact pattern: it increases social conflicts substantially, and the communal conflicts to a lesser degree.)

As for the performance of the inter-group economic inequality variables in these basic models, six of seven turned up as statistically significant above alpha=0.05, and the seventh is an example par excellence for the exception reinforcing the rule. The model in which the horizontal inequality measure scores a p-value of only 0.067, is the model explaining social conflict - in which it has not been expected to perform well, because no theory sanctions that. I have to admit, however, that the substantive impact of the inter-group inequality measures in the group-level datasets does not appear strong: the highest standardized coefficient is 0.100. Fortunately, the country-level results present the horizontal inequality variable as not only significant, but also powerful, with a standardized coefficient reaching -0.406, and becoming the single most powerful predictor in the model explaining communal conflict. The difference may be explained with the nature of the dependent variables used in group-level analysis, as compared to the country-level study. My group-level conflict measures have a high threshold for a conflict to be accounted for, and a blindspot toward all hostility below that threshold. The country-level conflict measures are more sensitive toward lower intensity inter-group hostility, as well.

Figure_8.1 lists the predictors of these omnibus models grouped in the catego-ries of explanatory factors specified in my flowchart-models presented in Chapter 3. Out of a number of available measurements, I have used the ones most appropriate to the level of analysis, and by attempting to minimize the co-variance of the predictors. The association between pairs of explanatory variables, and actually, among whole clusters of them, made the analysis more difficult and accounts for a number of anomalies, that is, predictors turning up as significant with the unexpected sign. By reducing the number of variables of the same kind selected for inclusion in models, such as using only two out of three fractionalization indexes, or of four globalization indexes, respectively, I pre-vented a few anomalies, but could not avoid others related to the broad sense develop-ment-modernization complex.[220]

The figure shows the regression coefficients significant above alpha=0.05 high-lighted with green, those with a significance between 0.05 and 0.1 are highlighted with yellow, and the anomalies occur in pink.[221] (Actually, it is the significance values that are colored, not the coefficient values.) This coloring technique may facilitate the observation that, besides inter-group inequality, two factors always turn up as significant: group con-centration and a past marred by serious conflicts. Past violence and its country-level cor-respondent, the lagged version of the Banks conflict index, are the strongest predictors across all models. The impact of the group concentration is also strong, as measured by both MAR's "proportion in regional base" and my country-level "administrative sub-divisions fall along communal settlements" (Communal_sub_divisions) variables.

The next pair of predictors with convincing performance is decentralization and decentralization that follows the communal settlement patterns (Decentraliza-tion*Communal_sub-divisions). These are country-level variables, and they were not in-troduced in models with the MAR_EPR_MI dataset, since this had its own political dis-crimination variable to test. In models containing this pair of variables, at least one of them turned up as significant, in the sense of reducing conflict. This is to be assessed

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[220] In each model, I used only one of the two possible development measures, GDP/cap and Life expectancy. Yet, democracy, economic and social globalization, percentage of rural population, and government effectiveness are highly correlated with both of them, plus, they are related among themselves, as well. Fractionalization and the size of plurality, and further, group concentration and decentralization, are also significantly associated with the development complex, in both the group-level and the country-level dataset.

[221] The only one case when a coefficient is expected to *weaken,* and it does, is marked with blue.

against the backdrop of the all-over significant conflict-increasing impact of regional con-centration. I interpret these models to indicate that the institutional arrangements that allow for more territorial autonomy of the regionally concentrated groups reduce the probability and/or intensity of serious conflict. This does justice to a Lijphartian vision, rather than to that of Horowitz. However, I could not test the impact of federalism along or cross-cutting ethnic lines, and my measure for proportional electoral systems per-formed weakly, though sometimes it turned up as significant with the sign predicted by the Lijphartian theory and by previous tests by Reynal-Querol (2005). In both cases, there were collinearity issues, mainly the association of the available measurements with the Modernization indicator-cluster that prevented adequate testing without significant changes to the basic research design.[222]

One more predictor that performs convincingly in my models is democracy. I have used two measures of it, the Freedom House/imputed Polity scale, and the Political Terror scale of the US State Department. Five models out of seven in Figure_8.1 indi-cate that democracy has a beneficial impact on conflict, that is, it reduces the likelihood of its escalating.[223]

Nothing conclusive can be said about other group- and group-structure features than the already mentioned past violence and group concentration. On the one hand, fractionalization has a curvilinear relationship with conflict, which does not come across accurately in linear regression models, and on the other, the proportion of the plurality group is too much associated with the development level. I think that the inclusion of these measures in models was necessary, but I could not fine-tune my models to get more information about the impact of these variables. The other marginally addressed impact was that of the international environment. Only MAR has variables fully dedicated

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[222] Federalism is related to development, and in addition, the number of federal states is relatively small, which leads to very high correlation between the federalism indicator and the variable of interest "federalism along ethnic lines." (Technically, this latter is an interaction term of the federalism indicator with an index characterizing the congruence between federal boundaries and communal settlement patterns.) The proportional representation measure includes non-democracies as the lowest value of the scale, which makes the variable highly correlated with other democracy measures. The only way to fix this would have been to have all autocracies deleted from the sample when using the proportionality measure; and I was reluctant to do this.

[223] We may wonder why it has not turned up as significant in the IPD models. It seems that the Freedom House/imputed Polity scale is weaker where the rural population, and/or the life expectancy development measures are stronger. Unfortunately for model-building activity, development and democracy are intricately interwoven.

to this impact, as it measures both the non-military and the military assistance to communal groups. Several tests showed that the military assistance affects conflicts more than the overall assistance levels, thus I included the former measure in the models run on the MAR_EPR_MI dataset. The social and economic globalization measures, unfortunately, turned out to be too closely related to the development indicators to permit distinguishing between their impacts, and I refrained from adding them to a number of models. This also means that I had to drop the intention of testing the Chua (2002) claim regarding the too rapid importation of liberal economic and trade policies by countries with market-dominant minorities within the frames of this dissertation.[224]

As a final remark concerning Figure_8.1, the predictor group of "opportunity for insurrection" is actually larger than the three variables listed there, and it is exactly the variables listed off-category that performed convincingly. External aid, mainly military aid to groups, increases the chances and/or intensity of conflict. Group concentration, which makes organization easier, is one of the strongest explanatory variables in these models. The impact of the proportion of unemployed young males, addressed in the individual chapters, and proven to be oscillating between significance and insignificance, cannot be seen in the models in Figure_8.1, as I had to run separate, smaller-number models with this variable. Unfortunately, there are no good unemployment indicators available to cover all countries in my sample, and the multiple imputation procedure left this impact in limbo; in some imputed models the proportion of unemployed young males is significant, in others, it is not.

The "omnibus" models were constructed in order to make my findings comparable with those commonly reported in the literature in which violent conflict is the dependent variable. I have been more interested in building models along the two-step process that best answers my intuition about the evolution of inter-group hostility. Unfortunately, the task turned out to be a little less clear-cut than originally anticipated, and was hindered by some technical challenges. As a result, the two-stage resolution did not lead to convincingly stronger explanatory models of the occurrence of conflict than the omnibus

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[224] This test can be designed as checking the impact of economic globalization on inter-group hostility in the case of the advantaged minority groups, which is a relatively small sample. Convincing support for the Chua claim reinforces the belief that it is the economic distance between groups, rather than the deliberate discriminative practices of a strong majority, which fuels inter-group animosity.

(single-step) approach. Nonetheless, and importantly for my overall argument, the impact of inter-group inequality amasses additional support from these models. Figure 8.2 and Figure 8.3 reiterate a few models explaining grievances from chapters five through seven.

Figure 8.2:   Summary of six models explaining political grievances

	EPR_MAR_EXT (2005)		MAR_EPR_MI (2004-2005)			
Dependent variable	Polit_grievance (ordinal)	Polit_grievance (OLS)	Polit_grievance (robust ml)	Polit_grievance (robust ml)	Polit_grievance (robust ml)	Polit_grievance (ordinal)
Number of cases	623	623	541	541	543	273 (2005)
Log Likelihood			-917.132	-917.617	-923.888	
Adjusted R-square		0.215	[approx. 0.243]	[approx. 0.246]	[approx. 0.237]	
Cox & Snell Pseudo-R2	.242					.281
Nagelkerke Pseudo-R2	.271					.295
	Est.	Sig.	St.Cf.	Sig.	B	Sig.	B	Sig.	B	Sig.	Est.	Sig.
Inequality measures												
Horiz. economic inequality Ineq_3_ln	.409	.024	.091	.014	.334	.003						
MAR Economic discrimination							.135	.002				
MAR Political discrimination									.071	.096	.157	.070
Group- and group structure												
Group proportion	3.677	.001	.111	.005	-.432	.340	-.789	.081	-.876	.048	-1.299	.208
Past violent episodes	.034	.000	.393	.000	.007	.000	.007	.000	.007	.000	.018	.000
Ethnic fractionalization	.142	.825	.093	.163								
Linguistic fractionalization					.224	.349	.215	.362	.140	.551	-.031	.958
Religious fractionalization	-.245	.586	-.009	.831	-.634	.016	-.530	.045	-.580	.031	-.662	.250
Proportion of plurality	1.592	.015	.226	.000								
Difference plurality--minority					.810	.000	.743	.001	.695	.001	.764	.168
Proportion in regional base					.277	.000	.271	.000	.266	.000	.331	.001
Communal_subdivisions	-.186	.661	.019	.640								
Development & International environment												
GDP per capita, PPP					.016	.025	.017	.017	.017	.019	.000	.219
Life expectancy (female)	.037	.011	.153	.025								
KOF economic globalization	-.034	.086	-.158	.211								
KOF political globalization	.005	.370	.046	.278								
KOF social globalization	.016	.339	.089	.536								
Institutions												
EPR power_rank	-.221	.009	-.032	.426								
Political Terror Scale (US)					.093	.152	.094	.154	.082	.213	.020	.881
MAR Group polit.represen.n					.226	.200	.318	.085	.269	.151	.313	.419
MAR Group autonomy					.858	.000	.971	.000	.933	.000	1.539	.000

Figure 8.3: Summary of five models explaining grievances on group-level and country-level

Dependent variable	EPR_MAR_EXT (2005)				MAR_EPR_MI (2005)		CNTRY level (after 2005)			
	Any_grievance (binary)		Econ_grievance (ordinal)		Econ_grievance (ordinal)		FS_Group Grievance		FS_Group Grievance	
Case number	624		624		273		471		167	
Adjusted R2							0.623		0.572	
Cox & Snell Pseudo-R2	.203		.152		.199					
Nagelkerke Pseudo-R2	.273		.196		.224					
Predicted %	72.1									
	Est.	Sig.	Est.	Sig.	Est.	Sig.	St.Cf.	Sig.	St.Cf.	Sig.
Inequality measures										
Horiz. economic inequality Ineq_3_ln	.563	.003	.741	.000						
Economic discrimination					.625	.000				
Standard deviation of INEQ (ln)							.121	.001		
Baldwin & Huber (2010, 1st v.)									.201	.003
Group- & group structure										
Group proportion	4.351	.001	3.192	.010	-3.942	.001				
Past violent episodes	.045	.000	.012	.000	.001	.678				
Lagged Banks conflict Idx							.233	.000	.316	.000
Ethnic fractionalization	-.138	.840	1.189	.103			-.207	.000	-.431	.000
Linguistic fractionalization					-.007	.991				
Religious fractionalization	-.104	.826	-.169	.736	.013	.982	.088	.005	.164	.007
Proportion of plurality	.816	.229	1.120	.129						
Largest minority							.185	.000	.073	.266
Difference plurality--minority					-.503	.384				
Proportion in regional base					.228	.025				
Communal_s_divisions	-.837	.069	-.526	.260			.102	.001	.199	.001
Development & international environment										
GDP per capita, PPP					.000	.208	-.268	.000	-.438	.000
Life expectancy (female)	.029	.058	.042	.014						
KOF globalization index							-.351	.000	-.229	.064
KOF econ.globalization	-.044	.030	.002	.942						
KOF polit.globalization	.007	.221	.028	.000						
KOF social globalization	.028	.105	-.013	.464						
Institutions										
EPR Power_rank scale	-.386	.000	-.272	.005						
Political Terror Scale (US)					-.080	.565				
MAR Group polit.representation					1.351	.001				
MAR Group autonomy					-.247	.479				
IPD Respect for minorities							-.182	.000	-.116	.082

One of the two theoretically most challenging questions in my analysis was how to distinguish between institutional features that affect grievances themselves, and institutional features that affect the choice of strategy? For instance, lack of democracy may be a cause of political discontentment, on the one hand, and lack of opportunity for

peaceful promotion of the group goals, on the other hand. As a compromise solution, these models were built with institutional features that affect communal groups in the most direct ways (their power rank, and autonomy status), and with the Political Terror Scale, rather than the Freedom House/imputed Polity measure of democracy. The other hard decision was related to the country-level analysis. The only country-level measure of group grievance is part of the Fund for Peace Failed States Index indicator group, to which my main country-level measurement of inter-group economic inequality (FS uneven development, or FS_inequality) also belongs. They are correlated above 0.8, and obviously, FS_inequality would have made a super-strong predictor of FS grievance. So strong, that I did not consider it fair to include in my models, and replaced it with less effective, but still potent inter-group inequality measures, such as the country-level measurement derived from my group-level inequality indicators, and a country-level measurement that exists for 46 countries only, taken from Baldwin & Huber (2010).

Technical hurdles emerged because of the ordinal nature of MAR's grievance indicators. There is some consensus in the literature about the fact that ordinal models do not work well with covariates only, they are better suited for use with factors, that is, other ordinal, or binary and nominal variables. Or, here the software had to handle 11-14 covariates, and regularly complained about the high percentage of "empty cells." In the case of the five-level political grievance variable, I usually repeated the models with the ordinary least square procedure, as well, and the results showed some slight discrepancies, as displayed in Figure_8.2, where the first two and the last two models are identical, but one predictor (the EPR power rank, and the political grievance, respectively), is significant above alpha=0.05 in one model and not in the other.

Despite these technical challenges, however, all four versions of the horizontal economic inequality measures used in models explaining grievance showed their ability to have an impact on grievances on both group level and country-level. Of the controls, past conflict and political inequality showed the same constancy across levels of measurement. The country-level measure of past conflict (lagged Banks conflict index) is significant in both models, while the group-level measure (past violence) is insignificant

once out of nine times: at the explanation of economic, not of political grievance.[225] In order to discover the impact of relative political status of the communal groups on political conflict, I used EPR's power rank variable with the EPR_MAR_EXT dataset, and the French experts' coding of state policies toward minorities ("respect for minorities") with the country-level dataset. Both performed convincingly, even if not impeccably. As for the MAR_EPR_MI data, I wanted to use MAR's own variables, and I included MAR's autonomy dummy together with an indicator of political representation from MAR, and the US State Department's political terror scale. In hindsight, it seems that I should have created a more articulated variable for autonomy as a group level variable. The models in Figure_8.2 show autonomy as increasing the amount of political grievances. Fortunately, it is easy to notice that the main boosting impact comes from group concentration ("proportion in the regional base").[226] Without group concentration, there is no need for territorial autonomy. But in the presence of group concentration and in case of a poorly designed autonomy, requests for more comprehensive or deeper autonomy arrangements won't cease. In addition, some countries are more generous with autonomies, than with granting effective and potent political representation to their minorities, and often, autonomy does not exclude political terror.[227]

As for other controls, we cannot really say anything conclusive about the impact of the group proportion and group structure, such as fractionalization and polarization measures. Since they are not linearly related to outcomes, their performance in models built on linear associations is capricious enough. There is, however, an important influence of the development level to be highlighted. In group-level analysis, the development indicators (and a number of factors associated with them, such as democracy and globalization) show a positive impact on grievances: there are more minority complaints

[225] The predictors of different types of grievance are not exactly the same, a point that was made in Chapters Five and Six. Cultural grievance and cultural restrictions, as a measure of cultural inequality, addressed in Chapter 6, have not been included in this summary, as there is no possibility of comparison with other chapters.

[226] MAR's own, group-level group concentration measure is highly significant in all models. My country-level proxy for group concentration ("administrative sub-divisions fall along communal lines") is also highly significant in the country-level models, but fails to reach significance in the group-level model.

[227] Most typically, the communist states have allowed for autonomous areas of their minorities, while deeply interfering with the actual workings of the government there. But in case of complicatedly interspersed settlement patterns, not even a reasonably benevolent central government can impose subdivision boundaries to satisfy all groups involved, such as in the case of the tribal communities in North-East India.

in developed countries than in the less developed. On country level, on the contrary, the development indicator's regression coefficient is negative: it reduces the amount and/or severity of grievances. Taking into account the repeatedly confirmed findings from bivariate and group means analysis, that violence is rarer in developed settings than in less developed, we may interpret this difference starting from the grievance variables' reference to the goals pursued by the minorities. Communal groups may contemplate either peaceful-democratic, or violent solutions to their plight. MAR's grievance indicators used for group-level analysis, and the Fund for Peace's grievance indicator, used in the country-level analysis, are slightly differently formulated. The latter speaks about "vengeance-seeking groups," thus higher values on this variable imply more chance for violent political activity. MAR's economic and cultural grievance variables are coded toward "seeking remedies" for disadvantages, which leaves open the option for democratic solutions. Actually, the idea of asking for state-provided remedies already assumes a certain development level – such as redistributive power of the state; and those who target more education, or better jobs, or more representation in the national government, prepare for peace, not for war.[228]

The second step of my two-stage solution (to explain grievances first, and later violent conflict with grievances), features models with a higher explanatory power than that of the omnibus models – not spectacularly, but convincingly higher. A selection of such models, presented in Figure_8.4, has adjusted R-square values between 0.288 and 0.358 in the case of the group-level models, and between 0.766 and 0.794 in the case of the country-level models. This indicates that grievances are very powerful predictors on both group level and country level. Their standardized coefficients show them to be among the three most powerful predictors in each model, being occasionally eclipsed by the magnitude of the coefficients for past violence, development, and politi-

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[228] Obviously, these were some of the reasons to maintain the idea that the road from minority discontentment to violence should be modeled as a process with sequences. Plenty of evidence shows that the visibility of minorities and their demands on their majorities increase with the advancement of modernization and of democracy. Yet, on the other hand, considerable evidence indicates that communal violence is getting rarer in more developed settings.

cal terror indicators. [229] The strength of the grievances in explaining conflict does justice to the MAR theorists and followers, or more generally, to a communitarian vision, versus individualistic and rational choice-rooted visions. Grievances, as objective ordeals, affect people as members of a group; the articulation of grievances needs a collective group consciousness, while making it known inside and outside of a country, needs collective action. In addition, the other group-level variable scoring the strongest coefficients in my models is the measure of past conflict, which, as a predictor of impending conflict, is also strongly related to the collective selves of people. My hypotheses about the importance of inter-group inequality have been rooted in a belief in the power of social identities; indeed, if we allow for the causal consequentiality of these identities, we cannot spare questions about their formation and about what hardens the group boundaries.

The weakness of these models consists, again, in some theoretical and technical issues. Theoretically it is hard to decide how to handle the variables that from the perspective of this project are neutral controls. No specific hypotheses have been formulated with regard to them, and they are neutral in the debate between communitarian (grievance-supporting) and individualistic (opportunity supporting) visions as well. In the models included in Figure_8.4, these are the group- and group-structure related variables, which I decided to include more in the group-level analyses than in the country-level tests. It was only the measure of regional concentration included in all models, because it is also a type of opportunity measure, it facilitates the organization of the groups. The technical hurdle consisted in high collinearity (VIF) values in the country-level models, as most institutional and opportunity variables are related to the development measures. Occasionally, this also led to the emergence of a predictor with the unexpected sign, such as of the rural population in the model explaining conflict as measured by the Global Peace Index.

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[229] On country level I have had only one grievance measure, from the Fund for Peace. Yet, on group level, I had the three MAR grievances and the synthetic grievance measure. For a comparison across levels, this is the best choice. Further, I included in the sample two models with political grievance, which was the strongest determinant out of the three MAR grievance types, followed by the economic, and last, by the cultural grievances.

Figure 8.4: Summary of six models explaining conflict, with grievances included

	EPR_MAR_ext (2005)				MAR_EPR_mi (2004-2005)				COUNTRY level (after 2006)			
Dependent variable	Intensity_index		Intensity_index		Intensity_index		Intensity_index		Global Peace_Idx		WGI_Polit. Stability	
Case number	620		619		493		491		379		543	
Log Likelihood					-507.81		-489.811					
Adjusted R-square	0.292		0.358		[appx. 0.288]		[appx. 0.333]		.766		.794	
	St.Cff.	Sig.	St.Cff.	Sig.	B	Sig.	B	Sig.	St.Cff.	Sig.	St.Cff.	Sig.
Grievances												
Any_grievance	.464	.000			.355	.000						
Political grievance			.531	.000			.154	.000				
FS Group Grievance									.407	.000	-.407	.000
Group- and group structure												
Group proportion	.001	.979	-.012	.727	-.441	.148	-.292	.321				
Past violent episodes					.006	.000	.005	.000				
Ethnic fractionalization	-.085	.194	-.099	.114								
Linguistic fractionalization					.245	.103	.235	.097				
Religious fractionalization	-.058	.151	-.058	.134	-.265	.074	-.177	.221				
Proportion of plurality	-.108	.092	-.148	.016								
Difference plurality-minority					.227	.106	.135	.322				
Communal_subdivisions	.238	.001	.207	.002					.161	.014	-.044	.355
MAR Proport.in regional base					.065	.022	.012	.666				
Development and international environment												
GDP/capita, PPP					-.014	.018	-.015	.017	-.008	.854	.017	.625
Life expectancy (female)	.080	.229	.099	.117								
KOF globalization index									-.022	.694	-.065	.139
KOF economic globalization	-.001	.994	.067	.417								
KOF political globalization	-.031	.503	-.007	.866								
MAR External military support					.712	.038	.573	.064				
Institutions												
Political Terror Scale (US)	.169	.001	.185	.000	.096	.024	.102	.012	.499	.000	-.396	.000
Electoral family (PR)	-.005	.911	-.006	.876					.030	.295	.008	.719
Decentralization index									.039	.348	-.046	.165
Decentraliz*Commnl_s_div	-.180	.020	-.223	.002					-.164	.030	-.003	.963
Opportunity for insurrection												
MAR Group urbanism					-.034	.162	-.038	.118				
Cntry Rural population	.108	.040	.141	.005					-.126	.001	.035	.225
WGI Govt.Effectiveness	.133	.068	.102	.142	.273	.000	.261	.000	-.073	.220	.264	.000

The testing of the "opportunity for insurrection" hypotheses suffered from a double hindrance in my analyses. On the one hand, I lacked a good measure of the proportion of unemployed young males; on the other hand, two prominent variables, urbanism, and government effectiveness, have been too closely related to the "Modernization cluster." The regressions confirmed the serious impact of external aid onto communal group

behavior, especially of the military aid, and that of the group concentration.[230] On the other side, the impact of grievances on conflict is indisputably strong, as is the impact of political terror. Together they suggest that on the ground of existing grievances, terror does not deter minority political action, but rather pushes it toward violent solutions, as it removes the possibility of democratic problem solving. Of other institutional features, decentralization along communal lines showed its positive, conflict-reducing impact, and it did more convincingly, than "pure" decentralization. This, again, does justice to a Lijphartian, rather than a Horowitzian vision of how to pacify ethnically divided societies.

Epilogue

I hope that the presentation of the regression results from the three parts of the work, based on Figures 8.1 through 8.4, has managed to give a good summary of the most essential findings. My research design was geared toward supporting the effect of horizontal economic inequality on the evolution of inter-group hostility. The regression models developed for this analysis show horizontal economic inequality to be a consistently significant predictor of inter-group hostility, both grievance and violent conflict, and in country-level analysis it may become a really strong determinant.

I have worked with three types of models, of which only those labeled "omnibus" may be rightly compared with previous scholarly work on explaining violent conflict. In these I endeavored to include all predictors advocated in the literature, and my models support the belief that inter-group conflict is a multi-causal phenomenon. The concrete ways in which certain factors have been operationalized have obviously affected the results, and the concrete selections of variables in each model led to idiosyncratic collinearity effects, which resulted in some predictors displaying uneven performance. My omnibus models, however, consistently confirmed the impact of a number of controls taken from diverse categories of predictors, such as clusters operationalizing features of group structure, development level, and institutional opportunities for either peaceful resolution or rebellion.

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[230] This latter, however, may be conceptualized as a factor affecting grievances, as well. Geographically concentrated minorities tend to develop autonomy demands.

But if the omnibus models support the impact of inter-group inequality on violent conflict, they also support that omnibus modeling is not the only way to explain the violent outcome. Inter-group inequality, either economic or political, or cultural, or all combined, may be causally efficient when a group consciousness exists, and group collective action is possible. That is, we have to admit to the existence of groups as social entities with a history of their own and a history of their interaction with other groups in society. This warrants a diachronic approach to the explanation of conflict, and further, when the diachronic approach meets congruent macro-level statistical data, such as the observation that in developed countries there are more grievances, but less violent conflict (or rebellion) than in the less developed countries, we cannot help thinking about inter-group relations in terms of stages or steps.[231]

I think that the two-step modeling of conflict should lead to more variance explained, and I regret that some adverse circumstances rendered the country-level test of this belief inconclusive. Because of validity issues, to avoid putting together two variables belonging to the same index battery, I could not use my best country-level economic inequality variable as a predictor of grievance. There are no simple techniques available to compare the explanatory potential of a one-step modeling with a multiple-step modeling. What I hoped to be able to show was that both models in the two-stage resolution have higher explanatory power than models in the one-stage resolution. Yet, because of the use of the less performing horizontal economic inequality measures, the R-squares of the country-level models explaining grievance remained below the R-squares of the country-level models explaining conflict. The other three comparisons support my methodological vision.

Two additional findings from the regressions concern two debates in the literature. The models show the policy arrangements that substantiate Lijphart's suggestion of power sharing to lower the risk and intensity of violent conflict, while decentralization on its own (while disregarding the ethnic or other communal settlement patterns) does not

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[231] In international relations, Diehl and Goertz managed to account for the impact of long-term rivalries on the likelihood of war without admitting to the impact of the interaction between countries, in a theory that challenges the liberal views involving this latter explanatory principle. On the sub-national level, though, the existence of the groups (the salience of the group markers for both in-group and out-group) needs to be explained, as well, which is not an issue in the case of countries. There is no convincing utilitarian explanation for the persistence of minorities.

have the same effect. The other controversial issue is whether group grievances are stronger predictors of violent conflict than certain circumstances appealing to Machiavellian elites, either as opportunity for insurrection, or as opportunity for looting. This latter hypothesis (of "greed," as suggested by Collier & Hoeffler 1999, 2004) has not been directly addressed in this dissertation, as my contentions are that: (i) certain economically motivated inter-group issues are "Robin Hoodism," rather than outright robbery, and (ii) larger groups of people cannot be beguiled into violence without creating a discourse that legitimizes the greedy action. Thus greed, in order to actualize, has to surface as economic grievance. My models showed economic grievances, legitimate and illegitimate all-together, to have smaller impact on violent conflict than political grievances.[232] The opportunity for insurrection has been tested through a number of variables, and, although I admit to having had some technical issues with its testing, the opportunity for insurrection indicators turned out to be weaker determinants of conflict than the grievance indicators. This finding supports those who have advocated the causal power of grievances, such as the MAR theorists. But it is not really good news for practitioners aiming at averting violent conflict. Group grievances seem to be less influenceable than a number of institutional features that we may deem to be causally consequential for inter-group conflict.

I designed my models to test two kinds of "opportunity" factors: on the one hand, those facilitating militarized action, and on the other, those facilitating the peaceful democratic settlement of the issues. These opportunities for "protest" to curb the attraction of "rebellion" have been measured as the country's democracy level, proportional representation system, and minority territorial autonomy. Two of these, democracy (mainly as absence of terror) and autonomy (mainly as decentralization along communal lines) had a convincingly, if not impeccably consistent performance in my models; proportional representation turned up as significant very rarely. Yet, all institutional variables had a hard time to manifest their potential because of the high association among them, and also between the institutional cluster and the development measures. Despite a number of

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[232] Also, my models show that *de facto* horizontal economic inequality, as well as the economic discrimination coded by the MAR group, have strong impact on both economic and political grievances. And, one more argument against a greed-driven conceptualizing: cultural inequality, that is, cultural restrictions on a minority, lead to cultural grievances that may also be consequential for violent conflict.

technical hurdles, the models allow for the conclusion that grievances count a lot, but the concrete circumstances within which they emerge may shape the outcomes, directing minority political action either toward peaceful or violent-militarized action.

In Chapter 1 I have already referred to the fact that my datasets allowed for obtaining some information in which we may rightly be interested, but have not had the means to get dependable estimates of them thus far. First of all, the size and proportion of minorities worldwide is surprisingly high, and in a large number of countries, the boundaries between plurality and minority groups are very fluid. The EPR_MAR_EXT dataset contains data on communal groups comprising 97.5% of the world's population, 34.9% of who do not belong to the country's plurality communal (ethnic, linguistic, religious, etc) group. Yet another 10.7% of the population included in EPR_MAR_EXT belongs to plurality groups smaller than 50% of their country's population, which, in principle, may be rendered a minority by a coalition of other groups. Compared to their large share of the world's population, minorities, as minorities, do not seem to have received their fair share of academic interest. I think there are many benefits from this dataset compiled from scattered previous research, for instance, it allows for:

- an overview of the size and proportion of the communal groups worldwide.

- creating typologies of communal groups.

- taking stock of what we have, in terms of measurements.

- comparing similar variables from different research projects.

- contextualizing (framing) any communal group-related project.

- facilitating the testing of a few older hypotheses, such as the curvilinear association between fractionalization and peacefulness,[233]and

- facilitating the articulation of new approaches and hypotheses.

As for this latest possibility, my idea that the impact of background conditions on violent conflict should be studied in two steps, received an early support from the statistical fact that in developed countries there are more grievances, but less violent conflict than in the less developed countries. If a country group is better at averting low-to-

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[233] The association between group structure and conflict-proneness has two aspects, we may look at either the impact or fractionalization or that of polarization on inter-group hostility. In both cases, distinguishing between minorities and pluralities, and types of minorities, may evidence much more plausible behavioral patterns than we may have without these distinctions.

medium level hostility from breeding violent clashes than the other, we should search for country features that are responsible for this variation. More generally, this suggests that with the right data at hand, a simple crosstabulation may lead to meaningful new research questions.[234]

Once again, I assert my gratitude to the authors of the data on which I relied and endeavored to put to their best use. Yet, faced with the oft-asked question that if I started it all-over, what I would change, I have a long list.

First, assuming that I would stick with the large-N quantitative design, I might consider either changing individual variables, or changing the flowchart-defined variable clusters, or both.

Two disturbing issues with my variables (beyond collinearity, which has no safe antidote, in any case), were related to the country-level measurement of conflict, on the one hand, and the measurement of minority political empowerment, on the other. The country-level dependent variable that best suited my research was provided by the Institutional Profiles Database (IPD), which distinguished between communal and social conflict. Yet the French experts worked out their indicators for only 121 countries, and I had to rely on the less specific Global Peace Index and the WGI political stability and lack of violence measure, to avoid the sin of list-wise deletion of 48 countries from my sample. A further welcome distinction among types of conflict is between "protest" and "rebellion," as MAR carried it out for group level. The country level measures that expressly focus on "rebellion," that is, on violent conflict, confine their interest to large-scale violence, mainly militarized violence. UCDP-PRIO makes its choices based on battle deaths; yet, battle deaths may not be well associated with the number of refugees, internally displaced people, and victims of pogroms, hate crime, and assassinations. The Global Peace Index and the WGI political stability measure factor in all these, but, on the other hand, they include non-violent forms of social unrest, such as demonstrations and strikes, as well.

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[234] One more little expected finding from my dataset is that Modernization, as such, is not as favorable for minorities as for pluralities. Though a part of the minorities' increasing relative disadvantage in advanced states may be explained with structural issues, such as that they are smaller and that there are more immigrant groups, we cannot detect any large-scale worldwide trend that would suggest that the economic, political and cultural gaps between minorities and pluralities would shrink with Modernization.

As for the political participation of minorities, there are 3 main venues through which they feel empowered: (i) representation in the national government[235]; (ii) territorial autonomy; and, (iii) functional autonomy ("pillarization"). Most data are available for the first type, and less – or less adequate – for the second type, while about the third type we do not have cross-national data at all. Yet, none of the available measures addresses the conceptual problem of incorporating in the measure the minority's need for it. Most obviously, the demands for territorial autonomy and functional autonomy tend to be antithetical: regionally concentrated minorities want territorial autonomy, and are relatively indifferent toward functional autonomy, such as a hierarchy of nation-wide cultural institutions in their language. Regionally dispersed minorities, inversely, want pillarization, not autonomous regions. The problem that I confronted during data analysis was related to the territorial autonomy dummies. Table_8.1 shows why I think that the autonomy dummies, the only measures available in the scholarly literature, have not been suitable for my purposes:

Table 8.1:   Autonomy coding and expectable minority attitude

Fact	MAR and EPR coding	Expected minority attitude
No regional concentration, no autonomy	No autonomy	No grievance
There is regional concentration, no autonomy	No autonomy	Grievance
Some autonomy, not sufficient	Autonomy	Grievance
Some autonomy, felt satisficing	Autonomy	No grievance

The problem is aggravated by the lack of group concentration measures. Only MAR has two measures for it, for the 282 groups included in its 2004-2006 version. For the country-level, I worked out a more nuanced (interval) variable to capture the autonomy level that the states allow for, and used it in models together with my proxy for regional concentration. With a preference for unique synthetic measures, however, I believe that we should create a group-level autonomy measure that fuses the level of need for autonomy with the level of *de facto* autonomy obtained. And the same should be

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[235] This may be extended onto supra-national and inter-national representation, such as in the European Union, but the need for this does not seem to be as strong as the need for the other three venues of political participation.

done for a functional autonomy measure, while even the measure of representation in the national government could be better adjusted to the need for this representation.[236] Further problems arise if we contemplate the possibility of merging the three types of empowerment measures in only one; and if we think about seriously addressing the fact that some minorities may be split along the ideological left-right scale or some more idiosyncratic issue. Unfortunately, there are many respects in which we may plan on improving our tools for measuring minority political status.

Another enticing way to improve the explanatory power of our models is to factor in socio-territorial consciousness(es), either minority or plurality group consciousness, or both. On the minority side, the most important question may be the extent to which the members share the belief in a "linked fate." The corresponding survey question became famous as a strong predictor of African American political behavior.[237] With the multiplication of the international survey projects, the same or similar questions can be asked in a large number of countries. Yet, as for 2012, this has not been implemented, and cross-national survey data on socio-territorial consciousness is very rare. The 2003 edition of the International Social Survey Program (ISSP) on National Identities included an item inquiring about the respondent's attachment to his/her ethnic group, but it was not asked in all participating countries. The World Value Surveys inquire about attachment to nation, and Pippa Norris (2009) built a cosmopolitanism index out of it. Further information, such as about the dominant type of nationalism (such as ethnic or civic) might be very useful additions to our regression models, but their use strictly hinges on their availability – and there is not enough survey data to cover all countries of interest.

This question of 'how much data is enough'? is vexing. How many countries are necessary and sufficient in order to draw world-wide conclusions from the findings? My

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[236] EPR had a value of the political status variable specifying the lack of interest in having communal group-based representation (labeled "irrelevant"), which has been an inspired addition to their categories. (And, otherwise, it included in the sample only groups that have had some political organization representing them.) Yet, a perfect classification should be able to account for facts such as small minorities tend to have collective political representation and umbrella cultural institutions, while others – mainly larger ones – may pursue representation for multiple ideological factions. If the minority is divided, but the national representatives come from one faction only, the grievance levels cannot be expected to subside.

[237] The importance of the belief in "linked fate" (that is, of group consciousness and group solidarity) has been advocated by Katherine Tate, in a number of successive publications on African American politicizing.

choice for the EPR_MAR_EXT was the most conservative, as I aimed at including all countries above 500,000 people that have at least one minority larger than 1%. MAR and EPR set up their selection criteria in functional response to their research purposes, which highlights the fact that the necessary sample size is not the same for all projects. In general, a scientifically sanctioned method is to draw random samples from the totality of independent states, or of states and jurisdictions. A really random sample, from which we do not lose cases because of missing data, should allow for conclusions that are generally valid. Yet my intuition is that with countries, the standard ways in which statistics calculates the minimum samples necessary for reaching given confidence levels, lead to underestimation. Countries differ from each other to a much larger extent than anything else we normally sample, such as bars of chocolate, fish from a pond, and even human beings for an opinion survey. Thus if I were to pursue a new large-N research project, with improved variables, I would strive to have them for at least a random half of all independent states, because of sampling issues. I would also probably opt for near-completeness again because of the need to address collinearity. I think that the single most effective improvement to the ways I built my models would have been to create two country groups, split along a development variable. This speculation about sample size may also suggest that I am not very confident about the possibilities of multiple imputation. Actually, in one regard I completely share the attitude of King and colleagues: use of educated guesses is superior to list-wise deletion. And I am confident about smaller numbers of statistical imputation. But where the correlation between the variables to be imputed and those with which we predict the missing values is low, the software may depart from the real values too much. The underlying ontological reason here is the complexity of the countries, and the idiosyncratic large differences among them. This latter *caveat* is highly justified with regard to communal groups, as well, though they are less complex structures than countries. Unfortunately, in the case of my groups, a specific limitation of the otherwise very useful Amelia software has come into play: it was not designed to accommodate nested data,[238] while my group-level data does not make perfect sense without acknowledging that the groups are nested in their countries.

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[238] Amelia II considers only two string (non-interval) variables, one for the time (in this case, the year measure), and one cross-sectional variable. Other string variables remain "unhandled factors." Thus when the group names are the cross-sectional variable, the country names are completely disregarded by the software.

The level of analysis is one more problem that I have to mention in a series of technical issues with my quantitative research. I am very happy to have had the opportunity to test my hypotheses on both group level and country level. Yet, an important challenge remained in suspension. We often have, and I also had in Chapter 5 and Chapter 6, mixed models that include both group-level and country-level variables. In Chapter 5, I experimented with multi-level models, and I am convinced that addressing the groups' nestedness in their country leads to models with higher explanatory power than simply adding the impacts of the variables from the two levels. The nested models, on the other hand, are harder to interpret and diagnose, and, mainly, they exacerbate the collinearity issues, which are, anyway, very severe in a large proportion of social science models.

At the very end of this work we may wonder whether we have been equipped enough to address my research question – or similar questions, for instance, about the impact of group concentration, or of the cultural distance between groups – with cross-national quantitative methods. Or we are better off applying more qualitative methods, such as a multiple case study design? My *in principle* answer is that as a political science project, my hypothesis has been more suitable for large-N testing than for qualitative tests. The causal links to be traced between inter-group economic inequality and hostility levels are the terrain of social psychology, rather than of political science, even if they have common areas, such as political psychology.

The synthetic answer, which incorporates both theoretical considerations, and practical concerns of feasibility, and the weight of the actually achieved results, is the assessment of the overall value of this work. I am anxiously expecting to get this answer.

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Appendices

Chapter 3's Appendix A:

Group Consciousness

Group consciousness is an important explanatory variable of group relationships and occurrence of violence. The literature has elaborated on several aspects of these impacts, and many of them have also received empirical support. I would refer here to four ways in which group consciousness has been shown to be consequential for my dependent variables.

(a) First and most pertinent to the topic, the strength of the minority identity has been included in analyses conducted by the MAR theorists, and shown to have an impact on the likelihood of violence.

(b) Psychological studies of ethnicity depicted the negative consequences of "barricaded" (exclusivist, impermeable, anti-syncretism) identities on inter-group relations[239].

(c) Majority nationalism is a special type of group consciousness, and the most studied type among all socio-territorial identities. Yet, it rarely happens that the researchers contrast it with the minority group consciousness. The refreshing exception is Elke Winter's 2007 paper, which highlights the difference between the constitution of majority *versus* minority group consciousness, as compared to the constitution of two unranked groups' consciousness (in Sherif's and Tajfel's experiments). The majority group tends to construct its own features as universal,[240] and the nation state as the closest proxy for the unified human society, which leaves minorities without ideological weapons to protect their specificity. I think that this tendency was paramount for the 18th century pioneers of nation-state building (the Americas, France, maybe Britain), and dominant in the 19th century, but claims to universality have seriously been limited for later followers in East European and post-colonial states. A further welcome contribution to the study of majority group consciousness is the distinction between two kinds of nationalism, ethnic and civic, sometimes referred to as "Eastern" and 'Western." The prevalence of one or the other in a state affects the policies toward minorities, as Roger Brubaker's *Citizenship and Nationhood in France and Germany* (1992) argues.

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[239] A theorist of ethnicity, Ken Jowitt, forwarded a historical picture of collective identities, in which ideologically barricaded identities are the most exclusivist. Ethnically barricaded identities may also lead to horrific violence, but they "have a rationale and source of discipline that are more chosen and less derived, more instrumental and strategic, and less metaphysical," and hopefully they are easier to dismantle by changing the payoff from them.

[240] "Majority group members… remain imagined as 'individuals': as neither determined nor even marked by 'race', sex/gender, culture, ethnicity, or…'nature'…Indeed, the cultural specificity of the dominant group is masked, as it is conceived as incarnating the social norm. It is, therefore, represented in universal terms (Guillaumin, 1972; Juteau, 1999)."

(d) Last, but not least, there are concerns with regard to the future of nationalism, and the possibilities of achieving post-national socio-territorial identities. While conceptions about nationalism tend to converge on a few basic features, the post-nationalist consciousness is very diversely imagined by different ideologies and traditions, and actually, they use a number of labels, of which cosmopolitanism is the most widespread. Marxists tend to take the post-national for international, while those socialized to the EU believe in the formation of a supranational identity.

The modernist/ developmentalist school predicts the gradual effacement of all parochial ties, and the World Value Surveys asked about the respondents' loyalty toward the nation state as opposed to their loyalty toward smaller and larger geographical units, such as region, continents, and the whole of the humanity. Thus WVS provides measures of nationalism, and Norris (2009) calculated the "cosmopolitanism index" of the countries that have participated in the WVS series.[241]

All these proposed factors would make useful control variables, but may not be absolutely necessary. In the constructivist paradigm within which I think, the strength and nature of group consciousness is function of social facts. Actually, the works cited in this section also tend to suggest some farther causes beyond the features of and changes in group consciousness. Most typically, for the developmentalists, the cosmopolitan mentality is result of modernization and globalization. MAR also traces a causal arrow from group disadvantage to group identity, and a feedback loop from a group's mobilization to its strength of identity. A nation's preference for civic or ethnic type of nationalism can be related to the task it has had to accomplish to achieve the normative ideal of nationalism, the nation state, that is, to make ethnicity and state congruent. (France had to assimilate various minorities to a unique – so called universal – culture to fill up existing state boundaries with a unitary *demos*. Germany had to unify separate small states to get the boundaries including most ethnic Germans.)

If I had any of these group consciousness indicators available for the whole sample with which I want to work, I would be happy to include them. Yet I do not think that their absence will result in an omitted variable bias of the models that I am able to build.

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[241] The correlation coefficients between these "subjective" measures of globalization/ cosmopolitanism with available objective measures of globalization are reassuringly high, at least on country level. I compared the Norris indexes with the KOF globalization measures. The WVSs provide measures of state secularism, as well, and these also can be shown to co-vary with the objective modernization indicators.

Chapter 3's Appendix B.

Checklist of Hypotheses to Be Tested in the Analytical Parts

Inter-Group Economic Inequality

H1a Economic inequality between groups increases the likelihood and intensity of violent conflict between them; and

H1b Inter-group economic inequality increases the number and severity of the grievances forwarded by minorities.

Development

H2.a More well-being in a country reduces the likelihood of violent conflict.

H2.b More well-being in a country does not reduce the amount of grievances voiced by minorities.

Group Structure

H3.1a The likelihood of violent conflict increases with the relative size of the minority.

H3.1b Larger minorities have more grievances.

H3.2a A history of violent conflicts makes further conflicts more likely.

H3.2b A history of violent conflicts makes minority grievances more likely.

Institutions

H4.2a Political arrangements that allow for more autonomy of the minority and/or more success of the minority parties lead to less inter-group violence.

H4.2b Political arrangements that allow for more autonomy of the minority and/or more success of the minority parties mitigate the severity of minority grievances.

International Environment

H5.1 Higher social globalization of a country reduces inter-group hostility.

H5.2 Higher political globalization of a country reduces inter-group hostility.

Opportunity for Insurrection

H6 A group's opportunities to launch an insurrection increase the likelihood and intensity of inter-group violence.

Chapter 4's Appendix A:

Sources of Information on Inter-Group Inequality

Sources of information on inter-group inequality (1)

States (Not in EPR are yellow)	MAR data available	Information status[242]	UNESCO DME based on	MICS3 availability	DHS other than in DME	Statistics, national & international	UNDP Roma	ILO/ ACHPR 2009	UN ESA SOWIP 2009
Afghanistan	Y			not	not				
Albania	Y		MICS	y	y		x		
Algeria	Y			not				x	
Angola	Y	n/quant.		not	not				
Antigua & B.		small							
Argentina	Y								x
Armenia		No groups	DHS						
Australia	Y					x			
Austria						x			
Azerbaijan	Y		DHS	not					
Bahamas		small							
Bahrain	Y	n/quant.							
Bangladesh	Y		MICS	y	y				
Barbados		small							
Belarus	Y			y					
Belgium						x			
Belize		small	MICS	y					
Benin			DHS						
Bhutan	Y	n/quant.							
Bolivia	Y		DHS	not					x
Bosnia & H.	Y		MICS	y			x		
Botswana	Y				not [?]			x	
Brazil	Y				1996				x
Brunei		small							
Bulgaria	Y					x	x		
Burkina Faso			DHS	y				x	
Burundi	Y	n/quant.	MICS	y	y			x	
Cambodia	Y		DHS						

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[242] Not all countries listed in Table_1a and b are included in EPR_MAR_EXT. They might have been excluded either because of a population below 500,000 people ("small") or because lacking any relevant communal group larger than 1% of the population ("no groups"). Green highlighting marks the fact that I was able to obtain some conclusive piece of information about the economic situation of the communal groups, while yellow highlights mark some lingering concerns with the obtained information.

States (Not in EPR are yellow)	MAR data available	Information status[242]	UNESCO DME based on	MICS3 availability	DHS other than in DME	Statistics, national & international	UNDP Roma	ILO/ ACHPR 2009	UN ESA SOWIP 2009
Cameroon	Y		DHS	y				x	
Canada	Y					x			
Cape_Verde		no groups			y				
Central African R.			MICS	y	y			x	
Chad	Y		DHS					x	
Chile	Y								x
China	Y	n/quant.		not		x			
Colombia	Y		DHS						x
Comoros		no groups			y				
Congo Dem.Rep.	Y		DHS	not				x	
Congo Rep.	Y		DHS					x	
Costa Rica	Y								x
Cote d'Ivoire			DHS	y					
Croatia	Y					x	x		
Cuba			MICS	y					
Cyprus	Y								
Czech Republic	Y						x		
Denmark						x			
Djibouti	Y			y					
Dominica		small							
Dominican Rep.	Y		DHS	not					x
Ecuador	Y				y				x
Egypt	Y		DHS	not				x	
El Salvador	Y				1985				x
Equatorial Guinea		Boobi		not					
Eritrea	Y	n/quant.			not [?]			x	
Estonia	Y?					x			
Ethiopia	Y		DHS	not				x	
Fiji	Y					x			
Finland									
France	Y					x			
Gabon			DHS	not				x	
Gambia			MICS	y					
Georgia	Y		MICS	y					
Germany	Y								
Ghana	Y		DHS	y					
Greece	Y					x			
Grenada		small							
Guatemala	Y		DHS						x
Guinea	Y		DHS	not					
Guinea-Bissau			MICS	y					
Guyana	Y			y	y				x

States (Not in EPR are yellow)	MAR data available	Information status[242]	UNESCO DME based on	MICS3 availability	DHS other than in DME	Statistics, national & international	UNDP Roma	ILO/ ACHPR 2009	UN ESA SOWIP 2009
Haiti		Mulattos	DHS						
Honduras	Y		DHS						x
Hungary	Y						x		
Iceland						x			
India	Y		DHS	not		x			
Indonesia	Y		DHS	not		x			
Iran	Y			not					
Iraq	Y		MICS	y					
Ireland						x			
Israel	Y					x			
Israel-Occupied Palestine T.s	Y			not		x			
Italy	Y	Roma				x			
Jamaica		no groups	MICS	y					
Japan	Y					x			
Jordan	Y		DHS			x			
Kazakhstan	Y		MICS	y	1999	x			
Kenya	Y		DHS	partly				x	
Kiribati		small							
Korea, North		no groups		not					
Korea, South	Y								
Kosovo		too young				x			
Kuwait		n/quant.				x			
Kyrgyzstan	Y		MICS	y	1997				
Laos	Y		MICS	y					
Latvia	Y								
Lebanon	Y			not					
Lesotho		no groups	DHS	not					
Liberia		Americ.-Lib.	DHS	not					
Libya		n/quant.							
Lithuania	Y					x			
Luxembourg		small							
Macedonia	Y		MICS	y			x		
Madagascar	Y		DHS	not					
Malawi			DHS	y					
Malaysia	Y								
Maldives		no groups			y				
Mali	Y		DHS					x	
Malta		small							
Marshall Islands		small							
Mauritania	Y			y	y				
Mauritius						x			

States (Not in EPR are yellow)	MAR data available	Information status[242]	UNESCO DME based on	MICS3 availability	DHS other than in DME	Statistics, national & international	UNDP Roma	ILO/ ACHPR 2009	UN ESA SOWIP 2009
Mexico	Y				1987				x
Micronesia Fed.S.		small							
Moldova	Y				2005	x			
Mongolia			MICS	y					
Montenegro			MICS	y			x		
Morocco	Y		DHS	not				x	
Mozambique			DHS	not					
Myanmar	Y	Indians	MICS						
Namibia	Y		DHS			x			
Nauru		small							
Nepal			DHS	not		x			
Netherlands						x			
New Zealand	Y					x			
Nicaragua	Y		DHS						
Niger	Y		DHS	not				x	
Nigeria	Y		DHS	y				x	
Norway						x			
Oman		n/quant.		not		x			
Pakistan	Y	n/quant.	DHS	not		x			
Palau		small							
Panama	Y			not					x
Papua N.Guinea	Y					x			
Paraguay	Y				y				x
Peru	Y	Asians	DHS						
Philippines	Y		DHS	not					
Poland		Germans				x			
Portugal						x			
Quatar						x			
Romania	Y					x	x		
Russia	Y	Roma,Jews				x			
Rwanda	Y	n/quant.	DHS					x	
Saint Kitts & N.s		small							
Saint Lucia		small							
Saint Vincent& G.		small							
Samoa		no groups			y				
Sao Tome &Pr.		no groups	MICS	not	y				
Saudi Arabia	Y					x			
Senegal	Y		DHS	not					
Sierra Leone	Y		MICS	y	y				
Singapore						x			

States (Not in EPR are yellow)	MAR data available	Information status[242]	UNESCO DME based on	MICS3 availability	DHS other than in DME	Statistics, national & international	UNDP Roma	ILO/ ACHPR 2009	UN ESA SOWIP 2009
Slovakia	Y						x		
Slovenia						x			
Solomon Islands		small				x			
Somalia	Y		MICS	y					
South Africa	Y				1998			x	
Spain	Y	Roma				x			
Sri Lanka	Y				1987				
Sudan	Y			not	1990			x	
Suriname			MICS	y					
Swaziland			DHS	not					
Sweden						x			
Switzerland	Y					x			
Syria	Y	Christians	MICS	y		x			
Taiwan	Y								
Tajikistan	Y		MICS	y					
Tanzania	Y		DHS					x	
Thailand	Y			y	y				
Timor-Leste		no groups			y				
Togo	Y		MICS	y	y				
Tonga		small							
Trinidad & T.			MICS	y	y				
Tunisia		no groups			y				
Turkey	Y		DHS	not		x			
Turkmenistan	Y	n/quant.		not	not [?]	x			
Tuvalu		small							
Uganda	Y		DHS					x	
Ukraine	Y		DHS	y		x			
United Arab E.s		n/quant.				x			
United Kingdom	Y					x			
United States	Y					x			
Uruguay									
Uzbekistan	Y			y	2002				
Vanuatu		no groups		y					
Venezuela	Y		MICS						
Vietnam	Y		DHS	y					
Yemen			MICS	y	1992	x			
Yu_Serbia	Y		MICS	y			x		
Zambia	Y		DHS	not					
Zimbabwe	Y		DHS						

Sources of information on inter-group inequality (2)

States (Not in EPR are yellow)	ISSP 2003	WVS 2005 wave	Afrobarometer 3rd Round	Arab Barometer	Asian Barometer (red= not avail.)	Latinobaro metro 2007	Other survey/ source (abbreviated)
Afghanistan							AsiaFoundat. survey
Albania							
Algeria							
Angola							HR Watch
Antigua & B.							
Argentina		x				x	R.Weiner
Armenia							
Australia	x	x					
Austria	x						
Azerbaijan							
Bahamas							
Bahrain							OHCHR R.'08
Bangladesh					2005		M.Rahman 2003
Barbados						x	
Belarus							
Belgium							
Belize							
Benin			x				
Bhutan							UNHCR
Bolivia						x	
Bosnia & H.							
Botswana			x				
Brazil		x				x	
Brunei							
Bulgaria	x	x					
Burkina Faso		x	x(R4)				
Burundi							
Cambodia					2008		RR Ross 1987
Cameroon							
Canada	x	x					
Cape Verde			x				
Central African R.							
Chad							
Chile		x				x	
China		x			2002,08		
Colombia		x				x	
Comoros							
Congo Dem.Rep.							
Congo Rep.							

States (Not in EPR are yellow)	ISSP 2003	WVS 2005 wave	Afrobarometer 3rd Round	Arab Barometer	Asian Barometer (red= not avail.)	Latinobarometro 2007	Other survey/ source (abbreviated)
Costa Rica						x	
Cote d'Ivoire							
Croatia							
Cuba							J.Meerman 2009, Prieto & Ruiz
Cyprus		x					
Czech Republic	x						
Denmark	x						
Djibouti							
Dominica							
Dominican Rep.						x	
Ecuador						x	
Egypt		x					
El Salvador						x	
Equatorial Guinea							OHCHR Report.
Eritrea							ILO/ACHPR
Estonia							
Ethiopia		x					
Fiji							
Finland	x	x					
France	x	x					
Gabon							
Gambia							
Georgia		x					
Germany	x	x					
Ghana		x	x				
Greece							
Grenada							
Guatemala		x				x	
Guinea							
Guinea-Bissau							
Guyana						x	
Haiti							
Honduras						x	
Hungary	x						
Iceland							
India		x			2005		NFHS-3
Indonesia		x			2006		
Iran		x					Dom advocacy gr.
Iraq		x					
Ireland	x						

States (Not in EPR are yellow)	ISSP 2003	WVS 2005 wave	Afrobarometer 3rd Round	Arab Barometer	Asian Barometer (red= not avail.)	Latinobarometro 2007	Other survey/ source (abbreviated)
Israel	x						Naim Aridi
Israel-Occupied Palestine T.s							UNDP
Italy		x					
Jamaica							
Japan	x	x			2003,07		Buraku advocacy gr.
Jordan		x		x			
Kazakhstan							
Kenya			x				
Kiribati							
Korea, North							
Korea, South	x	x			2003,06		
Kosovo							
Kuwait				x			J.Crystal 1993
Kyrgyzstan							
Laos							
Latvia	x						
Lebanon				x			UNRWA 2006
Lesotho			x				
Liberia			x(R4)				
Libya							ACHPR/IWGIA
Lithuania							
Luxembourg							
Macedonia							
Madagascar			x				
Malawi			x				
Malaysia		x			2007		
Maldives							
Mali		x	x				
Malta							
Marshall Islands							
Mauritania							
Mauritius							
Mexico		x				x	
Micronesia Fed.S.							
Moldova		x					
Mongolia					2002,06		
Montenegro							
Morocco		x					
Mozambique			x				
Myanmar							Amy Chua 2002

States (Not in EPR are yellow)	ISSP 2003	WVS 2005 wave	Afrobarometer 3rd Round	Arab Barometer	Asian Barometer (red= not avail.)	Latinobarometro 2007	Other survey/ source (abbreviated)
Namibia			x				
Nauru							
Nepal					2005		L.Bennett, UNHCR
Netherlands	x	x					
New Zealand	x	x					
Nicaragua						x	
Niger							
Nigeria			x				
Norway	x	x					
Oman							F.Mohamedi 1993
Pakistan					2005		ACHR 2007
Palau							
Panama						x	
Papua N. Guinea							Bougainv.Copper Ltd
Paraguay						x	
Peru		x				x	
Philippines	x				2002,05		Amy Chua 2002
Poland	x	x					
Portugal	x						
Quatar							
Romania		x					
Russia	x	x					
Rwanda		x					
Saint Kitts& Nevis							
Saint Lucia							
Saint Vincent& G.							
Samoa							
Sao Tome &P.							
Saudi Arabia							E.A.Doumato 1992
Senegal			x				
Sierra Leone							
Singapore					2006		
Slovakia	x						
Slovenia	x	x					
Solomon Islands							
Somalia							V.Lehman&Eno'02
South Africa	x	x	x				
Spain	x	x					
Sri Lanka					2005		
Sudan							
Suriname							

States (Not in EPR are yellow)	ISSP 2003	WVS 2005 wave	Afrobarometer 3rd Round	Arab Barometer	Asian Barometer (red= not avail.)	Latinobarometro 2007	Other survey/ source (abbreviated)
Swaziland							Encycl.Britannica
Sweden	x	x					
Switzerland	x	x					
Syria							
Taiwan	x	x			2001,06		
Tajikistan							
Tanzania			x				
Thailand		x			2001,06		
Timor-Leste							
Togo							
Tonga							
Trinidad and T.		x					
Tunisia							
Turkey		x					
Turkmenistan							
Tuvalu							
Uganda			x				
Ukraine		x					
United Arab E.s							Hooglund &Toth'94
United Kingdom		x					
United States	x	x					
Uruguay	x	x				x	
Uzbekistan							
Vanuatu							
Venezuela	x					x	
Vietnam		x			2005		
Yemen				x			
Yu_Serbia		x					
Zambia		x	x				
Zimbabwe			x				

List of Abbreviations and Most Often Used Sources:

MRG: Minority Rights Group International (Does not occur in Table_1, as it has been used with all groups)

EPR: Ethnic Power Relations

MAR: Minorities at Risk

UNESCO DME: UNESCO's Deprivation and Marginalization in Education dataset
http://www.unesco.org/new/fileadmin/MULTIMEDIA/HQ/ED/GMR/html/dme-1.html (downloaded in summer 2010)

MICS: Multiple Indicator Cluster Survey series, by UNICEF

DHS: Demographic and Health Survey series, by USAID

UNDP Roma: see at http://vulnerability.undp.sk/

ILO/ACHPR 2009: Overview report of the research project by the International Labour Organization and the African Commission on Human and Peoples' Rights on the constitutional and legislative protection of the rights of indigenous peoples in 24 African countries / International Labour Office. – Geneva: ILO

UN_DESA SOWIP 2009: State of the World's Indigenous Peoples

ISSP 2003: International Social Survey Programme 2003 Round on National Identities

WVS 2005 wave: World Value Survey series 2005-2006 wave

Regional Barometer series:
Latinobarometro 2007
Afrobarometer R3 (3rd round, in 2005-2006)
Arab Barometer (Only Lebanon was used, from 2007)
Asian Barometer (years available as marked in Table 1)

Asia Foundation: *Survey of the Afghan People* series, 2006-2010.

ILO/ACHPR 2009: Country Report of the Research Project by the International Labour Organization and the African Commission on Human and Peoples' Rights on the constitutional and legislative protection of the rights of indigenous peoples: Eritrea, Geneva: ILO

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Thomas Collelo, ed. 1991: *Angola: A Country Study*. Washington: GPO for the Library of Congress.

Russell R. Ross, ed. 1987: *Cambodia: A Country Study*. Washington: GPO for the Library of Congress

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Buraku Liberation and Human Rights Research Institute 2007: *Fact-Finding Survey of Minority Women in Japan*, 1st Quarterly, 2007 No.143, http://blhrri.org/blhrri_e/news/new143/new143-4.htm

UNRWA 2006: The Situation of Palestine Refugees in South Lebanon

Bennett, Lynn 2005: "Gender, caste and ethnic exclusion in Nepal," World Bank conference paper,
http://siteresources.worldbank.org/INTRANETSOCIALDEVELOPMENT/ Resources/Bennett.rev.pdf

Asian Centre for Human Rights (ACHR) 2007: "Pakistan: The Land of Religious Apartheid and Jackboot Justice**,"** Executive summary and recommendations,
http://www.achrweb.org/Review/2007/179-07.htm

Bougainville Copper Limited: see http://www.bougainvillecopper.com.pg/

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Van Lehman, Dan and Omar Eno 2002: *The Somali Bantu: Their History and Culture*, Center for Applied Linguistics, Cultural Orientation Resource Center, Boston, MA.

Chapter 4's Appendix B: The Country-Level Data

Source	Variable name	Label
General		
QOG	year	
QOG	cname	
QOG	ccodealp_year	3-letter Country Code and Year
Population		
UN WDI 2011 May	population2011	Population, total
UN WDI 2011 May	pop_rural	Rural population (% of total population)
UN WDI 2011 May	pop_urban	Urban population (% of total)
QOG	al_ethnic	Ethnic Fractionalization (Alesina)
QOG	al_language	Linguistic Fractionalization (Alesina)
QOG	al_religion	Religious Fractionalization (Alesina)
WDR 2009	Official_Language	Nr. of nation-wide official languages (regional not included)
UN WDI 2011 May	net_migration	Net migration
Calculated	net_migr_%1yr	Net migration as % population, for 1 year
UN WDI 2011 May	migrant_stock	International migrant stock (% of population)
Conflict/ Stateness		
UN WDI 2011 May	refugee_out	Refugee population by country/ territory of origin, 1999-2009
UN WDI 2011 May clc.	refug_out/1000	Refugee population as / 1000 of country of origin, 1999-2009
UN WDI 2011 May	int_displ_high	Internally displaced persons (number, high estimate)
QOG	wdi_idp	Internally Displaced Persons
WDR 2009	IntDispl	WDR/ UN
UN WDI 2011 May	int_displ_low	Internally displaced persons (number, low estimate)
Calculated	int_displ_av	Internally displaced persons, average of available 4 estimates
Calculated	int_displ_av%	Internally displaced persons (int_displ_av) as % of population
UN WDI 2011 May	battle_deaths	Battle-related deaths (number of people), 1999-2008
Norris/Banks	conflict_idx	Norris/ Weighted Conflict Index (Banks CNTS 2007)
Vision for Humanity	Global_Peace_index	Global Peace Index
Fund for Peace	FS_Index	Failed States Index (1--120, highest the worst)
Fund for Peace	FS_inequality	Failed States Uneven Development
Fund for Peace	FS_group_grievance	Failed States Group Grievance
WGI (bis)	wbgi_pse	Political Stability – Estimate
Federalism/ Centralization		
QOG	gtm_unitary	Unitarism
QOG	no_ufs	Unitary or Federal State (Norris)

[243] Both EPR_MAR_EXT and MAR_EPR_MI have been completed with variables from this list. The full Codebooks, with more detailed information on variables, exist as Excel files.

Source	Variable name	Label
QOG	h_f	Independent Sub-Federal Unit
QOG	iaep_ufs	Unitary or Federal State
Norris	watts2	Type of unitary or federal constitution
Norris	geering	Federalism index (Gerring-Thacker)
Compiled	my_fed_letter	My federalism index, from the six above, letter notation
Compiled	my_fed_nr	My federalism index, number notation
My code	communal_division	Federalism is along communal division
Norris/Schneider	fiscal_dc	Fiscal decentralization 68 nations (Schneider)
Norris/Schneider	admin_dc	Admin decentralization 68 nations (Schneider)
Norris/Schneider	politic_dc	Political decentralization 68 nations (Schneider)
DPI2010	author	Local authorities' authority over taxing, spending &legislating
DPI2010	auton	Any contiguous autonomous regions?
DPI2010	muni	Are municipal governments locally elected?
DPI2010	state	Are state/provincial governments locally elected?
DPI2010	stconst	Are the senate constituencies the states or provinces?
Compilation	decntralization_index	Decentralization Idx (auton, muni, state, stconst average)
My code	communal_sb_divisions	Administrative subdivisions fall along communal lines
Calculated	Decentr*commnal_s_div	Interaction term of the two above
Democracy Level		
QOG	fh_cl	Civil Liberties, 1999-2009
QOG	fh_pr	Political Rights, 1999-2009
QOG	fh_ipolity2	Democracy (Freedom House/Imputed Polity), 1999-2009
QOG	gd_ptsa	Political Terror Scale - Amnesty International, 1999-2008
QOG	gd_ptss	Political Terror Scale - US State Department, 1999-2008
Good Governance And Repressiveness		
QOG	wbgi_cce	Control of Corruption
QOG	wbgi_gee	Government Effectiveness
QOG	wbgi_pse	Political Stability
QOG	wbgi_rle	Rule of Law
QOG	wbgi_rqe	Regulatory Quality
QOG	wbgi_vae	Voice and Accountability
Prison Studies	PP_rate	Prison population per 100,000 population
Proportionality		
QOG	checks_dpi	Number of Veto Players, From DPI 2010 directly
Norris (Modified)	elecfam	Electoral family (after 2005, based on DPI values)
QOG	no_elecfam	Electoral Family (Norris)
DPI2010	pluralty_dpi	Plurality electoral system
DPI2011	pr_dpi	Proportional electoral system
DPI2012	housesys_dpi	In combined systems, majority of house seats is governed by
Development Indicators		
UN HDR 2010	hdi_HDR2010	HDI from HDR 2010 (Table 2)
UN WDI 2011 May	gdp_ppp_cap2	GDP per capita, PPP (constant 2005 international $)
UN WDI 2011 May	gdp_ppp_cap1	GDP per capita, PPP (current international $)
UN WDI 2011 May	lifeexp_total	Life expectancy at birth, total (years)

Source	Variable name	Label
UN WDI 2011 May	lifeexp_female	Life expectancy at birth, female (years)(r>.93 with HDI)
UN WDI 2011 May	lifeexp_male	Life expectancy at birth, male (years)
UN WDI 2011 May	web_users	Internet users (per 100 people) (r>.75 with GDP)
		Other Economic
KOF 2011 (Long v.)	glob_idx	overall globalization index
KOF 2011 (Long v.)	glob_ec	economic globalization index
KOF 2011 (modified)	glob_ec_regr	economic globalization w/ imputations from regression
KOF 2011 (Long v.)	glob_pol	political globalization index
KOF 2011 (Long v.)	glob_soc	social globalization index
UN WDI 2011 May	milit_exp	Military expenditure (% of GDP)
UN WDI 2011 May	soldiers	Armed forces personnel (% of total labor force)
CIA WFctBook 2011	cia_unempl	Total unemployed %
CIA WFctBook 2011	cia_y_unempl	Unemployed total youth of 15-24 yrs %
CIA WFctBook 2011	cia_y_male_unemp	Unemployed young males of 15-24 yrs)
CIA WFctBook 2011	cia_y_fem_uneml	Unemployed young females pf 15-24yrs
Compilation	y_male_unempl	Unemployed young males (w/ extra- &intra-polations)
UN WDI 2011 May	unemp_y_male	Unemployment, youth male (ages 15-24)
UN WDI 2011 May	unempl_male	Unemployment, male (% of male labor force)
UN WDI 2011 May	unempl_total	Unemployment, total (% of total labor force)
QOG	wdi_tdebt_s	Total Debt Service (% of GNI)
QOG	wdi_cgdebt	Central Government Debt (% of GDP)
		Inequality
Compilation	My_GINI	Most likely Gini based on the below two UN-series
UN	Gini 1992-2007	UN Human Development Report 2009
UN	Gini 2000-2010	UN Gini from the HDI adjustment
UNU-WIDER	Unu_wider_gini	Gini calculated from abbreviated UNU-WIDER
QOG	uw_gini	Gini (mean)
QOG	uw_quality	Quality (mean)
QOG	wdi_gini	Gini Index
QOG	utip_ehii	University of Texas Estimated household income inequality
CIA WFctBook	CIA_Gini	CIA World Factbook Gini indexes
GPI	GPI_Gini07_10	Vision of Humanity/ Global Peace Index - Gini idx
QOG	wdi_isl20	Income Share of Lowest 20%
CIA WFctBook	CIA R/P 10%	CIA Rich/Poor 10% ratio based on their D1 and D10
CIA WFctBook	Lowest 10%	Lowest decile's share of GDP
CIA WFctBook	Highest 10%	Highest decile's share of GDP

Chapter 6's Appendix A.

Details of the Imputed Models

Conflict intensity with economic inequality (ECDIS) and controls: Imputed models # 1, 2, and 3

	IMP_1		IMP_2		IMP_3	
Dependent Variable	Intensity index		Intensity index		Intensity index	
Case number	727		727		727	
Adjusted R-square	.264		.267		.264	
	St.Cff.	Sig	St.Cff.	Sig	St.Cff.	Sig
Economic discrimination	.091	.008	.103	.002	.102	.003
Group proportion	-.002	.961	-.005	.898	.004	.907
Past violent episodes	.403	.000	.409	.000	.415	.000
Linguistic Fractionalization	.053	.278	.056	.242	.067	.165
Religious Fractionalization	-.081	.018	-.070	.040	-.075	.029
Diff. plurality-larg.minority	.068	.159	.071	.139	.074	.120
Prop. in regional base	.107	.003	.137	.000	.082	.021
GDP per capita, PPP	-.025	.676	-.043	.463	-.017	.770
Political Terror Scale	.174	.000	.167	.000	.168	.000
Group urbanism	-.090	.019	-.050	.179	-.085	.025
WGI Gov.t Effectiveness	.171	.005	.182	.002	.164	.006
External military support	-.050	.143	-.059	.078	-.056	.098
Young male unemployed	.098	.004	.052	.117	.066	.052

Conflict intensity with economic inequality (ECDIS) and controls: Imputed models # 4, 5, and 6

	IMP_4		IMP_5		IMP_6	
Dependent Variable	Intensity index		Intensity index		Intensity index	
Case number	727		727		727	
Adjusted R-square	.256		.263		.262	
	St.Cff.	Sig	St.Cff.	Sig	St.Cff.	Sig
Economic discrimination	.066	.054	.070	.040	.099	.004
Group proportion	-.002	.958	-.006	.877	.004	.904
Past violent episodes	.416	.000	.413	.000	.417	.000
Linguistic Fractionalization	.057	.240	.051	.291	.067	.167
Religious Fractionalization	-.079	.021	-.074	.032	-.071	.040
Diff. plurality-larg.minority	.073	.133	.077	.110	.084	.079
Prop. in regional base	.103	.004	.121	.001	.104	.004
GDP per capita, PPP	-.038	.515	-.033	.569	-.034	.560
Political Terror Scale	.168	.000	.160	.000	.166	.000
Group urbanism	-.072	.055	-.070	.065	-.036	.333
WGI Govt .Effectiveness	.179	.003	.170	.005	.162	.007
External military support	-.048	.150	-.059	.079	-.042	.207
Young male unemployed	.049	.147	.060	.071	.054	.109

Conflict intensity with economic inequality (INEQ) and controls: Imputed models # 1, 2, and 3

	IMP_1		IMP_2		IMP_3	
Dependent Variable	Intensity index		Intensity index		Intensity index	
Case number	727		727		727	
Adjusted R-square	.260		.261		.258	
	St.Cff.	Sig	St.Cff.	Sig	St.Cff.	Sig
Ineq_3_ln	.061	.076	.065	.058	.064	.062
Group proportion	.006	.877	.007	.841	.010	.789
Past violent episodes	.411	.000	.416	.000	.424	.000
Linguistic Fractionalization	.049	.318	.050	.304	.055	.254
Religious Fractionalization	-.093	.007	-.082	.015	-.080	.019
Diff. plurality-larg.minority	.066	.175	.069	.148	.073	.131
Prop. in regional base	.097	.007	.125	.000	.072	.043
GDP per capita, PPP	-.023	.692	-.036	.542	-.025	.667
Political Terror Scale	.171	.000	.166	.000	.167	.000
Group urbanism	-.095	.014	-.056	.129	-.089	.019
WGI Govt .Effectiveness	.161	.008	.172	.005	.155	.011
External military support	-.053	.122	-.061	.071	-.059	.080
Young male unemployed	.099	.004	.048	.154	.064	.060

Conflict intensity with economic inequality (INEQ) and controls: Imputed models # 4, 5, and 6

	IMP_4		IMP_5		IMP_6	
Dependent Variable	Intensity index		Intensity index		Intensity index	
Case number	727		727		727	
Adjusted R-square	.256		.263		.257	
	St.Cff.	Sig	St.Cff.	Sig	St.Cff.	Sig
Ineq_3_ln	.064	.061	.069	.043	.066	.054
Group proportion	.011	.764	.009	.813	.017	.656
Past violent episodes	.417	.000	.415	.000	.424	.000
Linguistic Fractionalization	.054	.265	.052	.285	.059	.224
Religious Fractionalization	-.081	.017	-.083	.015	-.080	.019
Diff. plurality-larg.minority	.075	.121	.080	.097	.084	.081
Prop. in regional base	.099	.006	.118	.001	.094	.008
GDP per capita, PPP	-.033	.575	-.026	.653	-.030	.605
Political Terror Scale	.164	.000	.160	.000	.166	.000
Group urbanism	-.074	.047	-.071	.061	-.043	.244
WGI Govt .Effectiveness	.164	.007	.156	.010	.148	.014
External military support	-.049	.144	-.057	.092	-.043	.207
Young male unemployed	.048	.156	.061	.069	.058	.090

Chapter 7's Appendix A.

Details of the Bivariate Relationships

Bivariate relationships between dependent variables: economic inequality predictor
(all available years)

	Failed States (FS) Idx	Global Peace Index	WGI Political Stability	IPD Commnal conflicts	IPD Social conflicts	FS Group Grievance
Failed States Inequality ("Uneven Development")	.862	.708	-.680	-.557	-.614	.754
Number of cases	894	684	726	475	475	894
Standard Deviation of INEQ_1 (ln)	.220	.215	-.178	-.259	-.142	.247
Number of cases	832	674	931	480	480	832
Baldwin & Huber 2010 v.1	.468	.536	-.437	-.359	-.486	.376
Number of cases	242	220	276	168	168	242
My_Gini, based on 2 UN series	.369	.341	-.276	-.246	-.505	.227
Number of cases	894	694	1516	484	484	894
Gini after redistribution (Solt)	.551	.636	-.397	-.284	-.603	.436
Number of cases	353	282	925	235	235	353
Gini without redistribution (Solt)	-.141	.012	.139	.095	-.061	-.085
significance	.008	.847	.000	.146	.352	.111
Number of cases	353	282	925	235	235	353

Note: Where significance is not marked, it was given by SPSS as 0.000, with only 2 exceptions (of alpha=0.002 and alpha=0.003). The number of cases for the 2 fractionalization index-es is the same.

Bivariate relationships between dependent variables: group structure measure predictor
(all available years)

Ethnic Fractionalization (Alesina)	.446	.338	-.398	-.289	-.357	.329
Linguistic Fractionalization (Alesina)	.363	.255	-.326	-.400	-.356	.303
Number of cases	894	694	1516	484	484	894
Religious Fractionalization (Alesina)	-.005	-.031	.048	.040	-.034	-.007
significance	.880	.411	.063	.374	.450	.826
Number of cases	894	694	1516	484	484	894
Proportion of plurality group	-.403	-.377	.391	.396	.293	-.358
Number of cases	890	694	1010	484	484	890
Proportion of largest minority	.248	.183	-.213	-.231	-.136	.266
Number of cases	890	694	1010	484	484	890
Difference Plurality – Largest minority	-.384	-.341	.362	.376	.266	-.357
Number of cases	890	694	1010	484	484	890
Regional concentration proxy ("Communal_sub_divisions")	.162	.253	-.277	-.307	-.246	.261
	894	694	1514	484	484	894
Lagged average of Battle Death between 1999 and 2005	.235	.393	-.346	-.251	-.188	.257
	818	694	676	484	484	818
Lagged average of Banks Conflict Index between 1999 and 2005	.359	.516	-.541	-.434	-.329	.446
	810	694	668	484	484	810

Note: Where significance is not marked, it was given by SPSS as 0.000, with only 2 exceptions (of alpha=0.002 and alpha=0.003). The number of cases for the 2 fractionalization indexes is the same.

Bivariate relationships between dependent variables and development, plus globalization measures

	Failed States Index	Global Peace Index	WGI Political Stability	IPD Commnal conflicts	IPD Social conflicts	Failed States Group Grievance
GDP per capita, PPP2	-.780	-.562	.597	.432	.618	-.575
case number	894	694	1516	484	484	894
Life expectancy (female)	-.677	-.500	.511	.366	.625	-.449
case number	894	694	1516	484	484	894
Internet users	-.834	-.610	.571	.445	.618	-.598
case number	894	694	1516	484	484	894
KOF overall globalization indx	-.826	-.602	.602	.418	.661	-.578
case number	872	676	1471	480	480	872
KOF economic globalization	-.822	-.613	.662	.439	.691	-.612
case number	872	676	1471	480	480	872
KOF political globalization	-.501	-.355	.235	.146	.238	-.280
case number	894	689	1507	480	480	894
KOF social globalization	-.833	-.621	.666	.425	.690	-.600
case number	888	685	1498	480	480	888

Note: In all cases where significance is not marked, it was given by SPSS as 0.000, with only one exception, the coefficient between the KOF political globalization and IPD Communal conflicts is significant at alpha=0.001 only.

Partial correlations between dependent variables and three explanatory variables, while controlling for Female Life Expectancy

	Failed States Index	Global Peace Index	WGI Political Stability	IPD Commnal conflicts	IPD Social conflicts	Failed States Group Grievance
Regional concentration proxy ("Communal_sub_divisions"))	.071	.201	-.229	-.270	-.187	.214
	.033	.000	.000	.000	.000	.000
	891	691	1511	481	481	891
Decentralization Index	-.154	.037	-.061	.016	-.113	-.063
	.000	.333	.019	.727	.013	.060
	891	691	1511	481	481	891
Minority autonomy proxy (Decentraliz._idx*Commnl_s_div)	-.022	.127	-.146	-.201	-.125	.123
	.516	.001	.000	.000	.006	.000
	891	691	1512	481	481	891

Note: The p-values of the not significant coefficients are highlighted with light pink, and cases of coefficients turning up with the unexpected sign are highlighted with bright pink.

Bivariate relationships between dependent variables and institutional explanatory variables
(across all years available)

	Failed States Index	Global Peace Index	WGI Political Stability	IPD Commnal conflicts	IPD Social conflicts	Failed States Group Grievance
Population excluded from pol. power	.182		-.381			.133
Significance	.126		.000			.264
case number	72		734			72
Ethnicity Based Banning of Parties	.079		-.107			.094
Significance	.499		.003			.418
case number	76		803			76
Religion Based Banning of Parties	-.126		-.074			-.126
Significance	.278		.035			.277
case number	76		803			76
IPD Respect for minorities	-.554	-.493	.487	.522	.417	-.536
case number	475	454	484	484	484	475
Freedom House/ Imputed Polity	-.647	-.487	.498	.261	.313	-.525
case number	721	538	1511	481	481	721
Political Terror Scale (from US St.D)	.729	.829	-.817	-.594	-.577	.685
case number	557	394	1342	362	362	557
Electoral family (based on Norris)	-.288	-.233	.227	.062	.195	-.231
Significance	.000	.000	.000	.176	.000	.000
case number	894	694	1512	484	484	894
Plurality system indicator (DPI)	.148	.095	-.123	-.060	-.150	.116
Significance	.000	.016	.000	.209	.001	.001
case number	798	637	1326	447	447	798
Proportional system indicator (DPI)	-.264	-.198	.199	.163	.186	-.197
case number	786	632	1290	443	443	786
House seats rule (0=PR, 1=plurality)	.204	.134	-.145	-.112	-.236	.142
Significance	.000	.001	.000	.018	.000	.000
case number	792	632	1312	443	443	792
Regional concentration proxy	.162	.253	-.277	-.307	-.246	.261
case number	894	694	1514	484	484	894
Decentralization Index	-.390	-.183	.170	.169	.186	-.242
case number	894	694	1514	484	484	894
Minority autonomy proxy	-.100	.047	-.061	-.141	-.019	.053
Significance	.003	.213	.017	.002	.671	.111
case number	894	694	1515	484	484	894

Note: In all cases where significance is not marked, it was given by SPSS as 0.000. The p-values of the insignificant coefficients are highlighted with pink. The empty cells mean that there are no common cases of the respective variables in my dataset.

Association between dependent variables and the explanatory variables
expressing opportunity for insurgence

	Failed States Index	Global Peace Index	WGI Political Stability	IPD Commnal conflicts	IPD Social conflicts	Failed States Group Grievance
Proportion of Rural Population	.605	.368	-.431	-.416	-.535	.451
	.000	.000	.000	.000	.000	.000
	894	694	1516	484	484	894
WGI Government Effectiveness	-.893	-.706	.743	.430	.632	-.682
	.000	.000	.000	.000	.000	.000
	726	542	1515	484	484	726
Proportion of Unemployed Young Males	.065	.146	-.149	-.136	.068	.120
	.114	.001	.000	.010	.199	.004
	586	497	556	360	360	586

Chapter 7's Appendix B.

Details of the Imputed Models

Explaining conflict as measured by the Global Peace Index

	Imputed 1		Imputed 2		Imputed 3		Imputed 4		Imputed 5	
Dependent variable	Global Peace I.		Global Peace I.		Global Peace I.		Global Peace I.		Global Peace I.	
Adjusted R-Square	.653		.650		.650		.660		.646	
Case number	676 (>2006)		676 (>2006)		676 (>2006)		676 (>2006)		676 (>2006)	
	St.Cf	Sig.	St.Cf	Sig.	St.Cf	Sig.	St.Cf	Sig.	St.Cf	Sig.
Failed States Inequality	.256	.000	.267	.000	.265	.000	.252	.000	.262	.000
Linguistic Fractionalization	-.107	.001	-.117	.000	-.104	.001	-.117	.000	-.103	.001
Religious Fractionalization	.037	.167	.053	.049	.044	.098	.048	.070	.041	.125
Prop. of Largest Minority	-.016	.519	-.022	.401	-.008	.767	-.012	.634	-.022	.386
Reg.l Concentration proxy	.341	.000	.362	.000	.363	.000	.359	.000	.337	.000
Banks Conflict Index (lag.)	.325	.000	.327	.000	.323	.000	.332	.000	.319	.000
Life expectancy (female)	-.081	.052	-.081	.049	-.072	.085	-.049	.231	-.063	.130
KOF Political Globalization	.047	.131	.078	.011	.052	.092	.063	.038	.048	.120
Freedom H./ imputed Polity	-.169	.000	-.177	.000	-.183	.000	-.173	.000	-.158	.000
Electoral family (Norris-b.)	-.040	.143	-.042	.131	-.032	.247	-.045	.098	-.034	.220
Decentralization Index	.068	.088	.076	.054	.090	.023	.052	.180	.062	.121
Minority Autonomy proxy	-.290	.000	-.313	.000	-.316	.000	-.301	.000	-.278	.000
Prop. of Rural Population	-.058	.084	-.076	.024	-.068	.043	-.069	.035	-.074	.028
WGI Gov.t Effectiveness	-.274	.000	-.278	.000	-.266	.000	-.299	.000	-.294	.000
Unemployed young males	.075	.001	.050	.034	.064	.006	.086	.000	.074	.002

Explaining conflict as measured by the WGI Political Stability scale

Dependent variable	Imputed 1		Imputed 2		Imputed 3		Imputed 4		Imputed 5	
	WGI Polit. Stability		WGI Polit. Stability		WGI Polit. Stability		WGI Polit. Stability		WGI Polit. Stability	
Adjusted R-Square	.726		.726		.744		.741		.726	
Case number	845 (>2005)		845 (>2005)		845 (>2005)		845 (>2005)		845 (>2005)	
	St.Cf	Sig.	St.Cf	Sig.	St.Cf	Sig.	St.Cf	Sig.	St.Cf	Sig.
Failed States Inequality	-.162	.000	-.155	.000	-.146	.000	-.147	.000	-.139	.000
Linguistic Fractionalization	.039	.119	.039	.116	.049	.045	.041	.095	.037	.146
Religious Fractionalization	.009	.677	.000	.987	.006	.778	-.003	.870	.003	.900
Prop. of Largest Minority	-.054	.007	-.051	.012	-.050	.011	-.054	.006	-.055	.007
Reg.l Concentration proxy	-.317	.000	-.313	.000	-.293	.000	-.303	.000	-.308	.000
Banks Conflict Index (lag.)	-.350	.000	-.363	.000	-.369	.000	-.367	.000	-.367	.000
Life expectancy (female)	-.062	.058	-.054	.099	-.047	.144	-.062	.051	-.066	.045
KOF Political Globalization	-.240	.000	-.235	.000	-.233	.000	-.237	.000	-.240	.000
Freedom H./ imputed Polity	.113	.000	.128	.000	.116	.000	.119	.000	.107	.000
Electoral family (Norris-b.)	.063	.004	.044	.041	.061	.004	.054	.011	.059	.007
Decentralization Index	.016	.609	.012	.702	.026	.392	.025	.416	.022	.489
Minority Autonomy proxy	.220	.000	.227	.000	.188	.000	.208	.000	.212	.000
Prop. of Rural Population	-.110	.000	-.094	.000	-.098	.000	-.107	.000	-.100	.000
WGI Gov.t Effectiveness	.439	.000	.443	.000	.456	.000	.454	.000	.464	.000
Unemployed young males	-.060	.001	-.031	.094	-.039	.029	-.043	.018	-.022	.240

Explaining conflict as measured by the IPD Communal Conflict measure

Dependent variable	Imputed 1		Imputed 2		Imputed 3		Imputed 4		Imputed 5	
	IPD Communal Conflict		IPD Communal Conflict		IPD Communal Conflict		IPD Communal Conflict		IPD Communal Conflict	
Adjusted R-Square	.464		.452		.470		.462		.479	
Case number	845 (>2005)		845 (>2005)		845 (>2005)		845 (>2005)		845 (>2005)	
	St.Cf	Sig.	St.Cf	Sig.	St.Cf	Sig.	St.Cf	Sig.	St.Cf	Sig.
Failed States Inequality	-.307	.000	-.319	.000	-.309	.000	-.303	.000	-.342	.000
Linguistic Fractionalization	-.201	.000	-.185	.000	-.191	.000	-.192	.000	-.184	.000
Religious Fractionalization	.065	.028	.053	.078	.055	.062	.051	.087	.031	.292
Prop. of Largest Minority	-.101	.000	-.088	.002	-.089	.002	-.064	.025	-.061	.031
Reg.l Concentration proxy	-.106	.104	-.196	.003	-.131	.043	-.126	.053	-.127	.047
Banks Conflict Index (lag.)	-.277	.000	-.296	.000	-.273	.000	-.287	.000	-.316	.000
Life expectancy (female)	-.222	.000	-.223	.000	-.227	.000	-.213	.000	-.237	.000
KOF Political Globalization	-.055	.104	-.099	.004	-.043	.198	-.037	.278	-.026	.443
Freedom H./ imputed Polity	-.043	.255	-.035	.360	-.007	.842	.004	.919	-.013	.721
Electoral family (Norris-b.)	-.035	.245	-.032	.301	-.033	.276	-.044	.147	-.037	.222
Decentralization Index	.218	.000	.194	.000	.204	.000	.225	.000	.223	.000
Minority Autonomy proxy	-.049	.509	.038	.611	-.045	.538	-.035	.636	-.018	.801
Prop. of Rural Population	-.283	.000	-.252	.000	-.320	.000	-.273	.000	-.285	.000
WGI Gov.t Effectiveness	-.001	.984	-.017	.757	-.053	.319	-.025	.647	-.056	.297
Unemployed young males	-.074	.005	-.080	.002	-.106	.000	-.064	.015	St.Cf	Sig.

Explaining conflict as measured by the IPD Social Conflict measure

Dependent variable	Imputed 1		Imputed 2		Imputed 3		Imputed 4		Imputed 5	
	IPD Social Conflict		IPD Social Conflict		IPD Social Conflict		IPD Social Conflict		IPD Social Conflict	
Adjusted R-Square	.542		.547		.565		.560		.573	
Case number	845 (>2005)		845 (>2005)		845 (>2005)		845 (>2005)		845 (>2005)	
	St.Cf	Sig.	St.Cf	Sig.	St.Cf	Sig.	St.Cf	Sig.	St.Cf	Sig.
Failed States Inequality	-.114	.004	-.120	.003	-.076	.052	-.109	.005	-.099	.011
Linguistic Fractionalization	.004	.908	.041	.202	.067	.034	.042	.190	.055	.081
Religious Fractionalization	.050	.068	.034	.215	.057	.031	.068	.012	.032	.222
Prop. of Largest Minority	.041	.119	.025	.330	.014	.576	.054	.035	.042	.102
Reg.l Concentration proxy	-.297	.000	-.268	.000	-.276	.000	-.311	.000	-.322	.000
Banks Conflict Index (lag.)	-.183	.000	-.186	.000	-.190	.000	-.167	.000	-.201	.000
Life expectancy (female)	.307	.000	.313	.000	.359	.000	.329	.000	.334	.000
KOF Political Globalization	-.047	.138	-.088	.005	.024	.426	-.023	.458	.000	.989
Freedom H./ imputed Polity	-.093	.008	-.074	.034	-.096	.005	-.091	.008	-.048	.154
Electoral family (Norris-b.)	.035	.207	.058	.040	.052	.057	.050	.070	.044	.109
Decentralization Index	-.042	.296	-.050	.212	-.053	.181	-.075	.059	-.082	.037
Minority Autonomy proxy	.240	.000	.220	.001	.228	.001	.271	.000	.272	.000
Prop. of Rural Population	-.068	.047	-.109	.001	-.136	.000	-.082	.015	-.101	.002
WGI Gov.t Effectiveness	.262	.000	.253	.000	.223	.000	.273	.000	.233	.000
Unemployed young males	.136	.000	.142	.000	.117	.000	.143	.000	.120	.000

Chapter 8's Appendix A.

Checklist of the Findings

A. Results of the hypothesis testing, across all three datasets

Support for the impact of various predictors of inter-group hostility

	Supported by regression models
INTER-GROUP ECONOMIC INEQUALITY	
H1a Economic inequality between groups increases the likelihood and intensity of violent conflict between them; and	Yes
H1b Inter-group economic inequality increases the number and severity of the grievances forwarded by minorities.	Yes
DEVELOPMENT	
H2.a More well-being in a country reduces the likelihood of violent conflict.	Yes (not 100%)
H2.b More well-being in a country does not reduce the amount of grievances voiced by minorities.	Yes
GROUP STRUCTURE	
H3.1a The likelihood of violent conflict increases with the relative size of the minority.	Ambiguous
H3.1b Larger minorities have more grievances.	Ambiguous
H3.2a A history of violent conflicts makes further conflicts more likely.	Yes
H3.2b A history of violent conflicts makes minority grievances more likely.	Yes
INSTITUTIONS	
H4.2a Political arrangements that allow for more autonomy of the minority and/or more success of the minority parties lead to less inter-group violence.	Yes
H4.2b Political arrangements that allow for more autonomy of the minority and/or more success of the minority parties mitigate the severity of minority grievances.	Yes
INTERNATIONAL ENVIRONMENT	
H5.1 Higher social globalization of a country reduces inter-group hostility.	Ambiguous
H5.2 Higher political globalization of a country reduces inter-group hostility.	Ambiguous
OPPORTUNITY FOR INSURRECTION	
H6 A group's opportunities to launch an insurrection increase the likelihood and intensity of inter-group violence.	Partial

B. The benefits from the datasets compiled from scattered previous research

The EPR_MAR_EXT dataset contains data on communal groups comprising 97.5% of the world's population, the most extensive list of communal groups thus far, and it allows for:

- an overview of the size and proportion of the communal groups worldwide (34.9% of people worldwide do not belong to the country's plurality communal group, and 45.6% belongs to groups smaller than 50% of their country's population).
- creating typologies of communal groups.
- taking stock of what we have, in terms of measurements.
- comparing similar variables from different research projects.
- contextualizing (framing) any communal group-related project.
- facilitating the testing of a few older hypotheses, such as the curvilinear association between fractionalization and peacefulness, and
- facilitating the articulation of new approaches and hypotheses.

I have also contributed two new measurements of group features, a variable(group) addressing inter-group economic inequality, and a variable(group) addressing minority territorial autonomy.

C. Other methodological and theoretical proceeds

(i) Support for a multi-causal approach to inter-group conflict. My models have consistently confirmed the impact of a number of controls taken from diverse categories of predictors, such as clusters operationalizing inequality, grievance, features of group structure, development level, and institutional opportunities for either peaceful resolution or rebellion.

(ii) Support for a diachronic approach to the explanation of conflict. There is, on the one hand, a well-supported impact of the past violent episodes, and on the other hand, there is a proven possibility to study the unfolding of inter-group hostility as a process in stages.

(iii) Support for policy arrangements that substantiate Lijphart's suggestion of power sharing in order to defuse communal hostility. I have designed variables that may clearly distinguish between the policies promoted by Lijphart versus the liberal-integrative proposals of Horowitz. The regression models supported Lijphart's vision.

Appendix

Supplementary Data Files CD[244]

Description

The Supplementary Data Files contain the replication datasets for the three analytic chapters, that is, they include the EPR_MAR_EXT, MAR_EPR_MI, and the Country-Level data files. Yet the electronic appendix goes beyond providing the strictly necessary replication data because of two reasons.

One is to facilitate the control of the results. The multiple imputation procedure does not produce the same imputed file twice, thus I have included the multiply imputed files that I happened to obtain from the Amelia II software. I have also included a number of Excel files containing copies of the SPSS outputs of some correlation matrices and regressions, many of which are only marginally mentioned in the text of the dissertation.

The other goal served by the CD is to facilitate the improvement of the datasets. For instance, if future researchers pursued correcting my data on Gabon or Myanmar, they should be able to trace my information back to their origins, and confront those sources with alternate information. Traditional replication datasets contain only scarce information about the origins of the information included, typically in their (separate) codebook. My replication datasets also come with codebooks, but in addition, they are doubled with "data collection" versions, which give *in situ* explanation for most datapoints of interest. A number of supplementary files document the preparatory work through which certain indicators were made suitable for inclusion into my datasets, for instance, the selection of country Gini indexes and the derivation of the group-level conflict measures from CONIS and UCDP-PRIO data. These preparatory data files cluster in "group-level" and "country-level" folders. The two basic datasets, on which I relied extensively, EPR and MAR, have an almost unchanged version copied here. The reason for including these "raw" formats is that these older versions may become unavailable as their authors work out improved versions of them.

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[244] Part of the CD data, primarily the replication material, is available via http://www.agneskkoos.net/Pages/Data.aspx

Organization of the data files

The data files are grouped in three clusters. Scheme_1 displays the folder structure of the compact disc.

1. Replication data and basic information

2. Data collection details
    Country level data
    Group level data
        Regional summaries

3. Data analytic work summaries
    Ch5
    Ch6
    Ch7
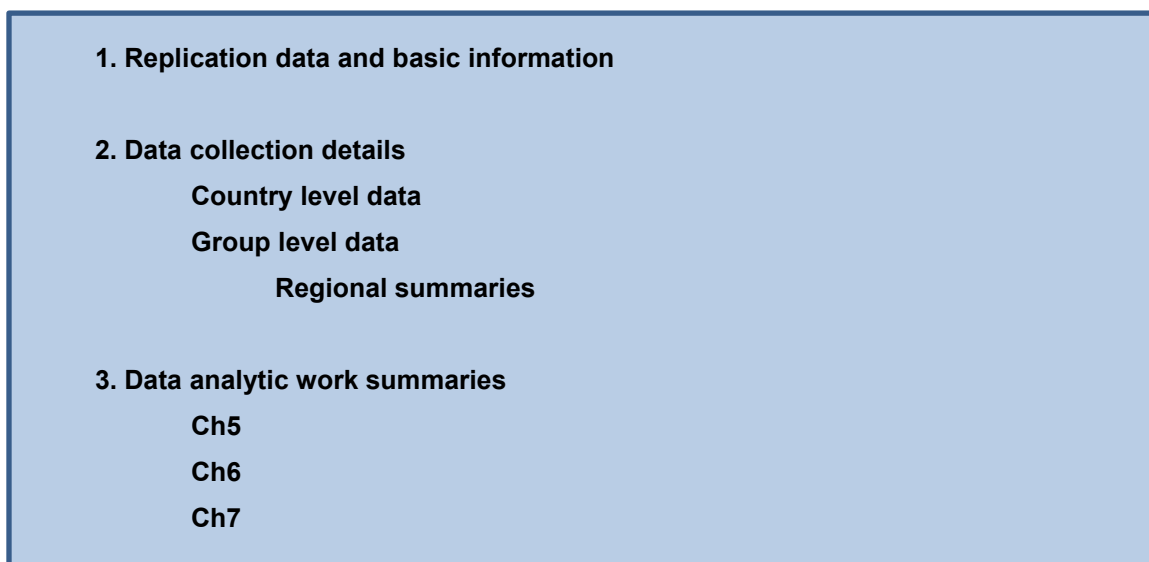
In the first folder, "1. Replication data and basic information," there are twelve files, the basic replication files, their data collection versions, and the multiple imputation-related files.

File	Date	Type	Size
1.1 EPR_MAR_EXT	5/15/2012 5:14 PM	PASW Statistics D...	8,236 KB
1.2 EPR_MAR_EXT data collection sheet	3/18/2013 10:57 AM	Microsoft Excel W...	5,030 KB
1.3 EPR_MAR_EXT codebook and notes	3/18/2013 10:54 AM	Microsoft Excel W...	245 KB
2.1a MAR_EPR_MI	10/24/2012 1:18 PM	PASW Statistics D...	2,491 KB
2.1b MAR_EPR_MI	7/8/2012 10:32 AM	Microsoft Excel W...	4,717 KB
2.2 MAR_EPR_MI_masterfile	7/7/2012 12:39 PM	PASW Statistics D...	1,905 KB
2.3 MAR_EPR_MI IMPUTED data ALL	9/25/2012 3:06 PM	PASW Statistics D...	16,969 KB
3.1a Country_level data file	6/7/2012 12:07 PM	PASW Statistics D...	889 KB
3.1b Country_level data file	6/1/2012 12:51 PM	Microsoft Excel W...	2,590 KB
3.2 Country_level data collection sheet and codebook - ...	3/18/2013 11:10 AM	Microsoft Excel W...	3,122 KB
3.3 Country_level MI master file	6/7/2012 12:44 PM	PASW Statistics D...	621 KB
3.4 Country_level IMPUTED data ALL	9/24/2012 3:50 PM	PASW Statistics D...	4,300 KB

The "Data collection details" folder contains two sub-folders, on country-level data and on group level data.

Country level preparatory data files

Name	Date modified	Type	Size
Baldwin_Huber 2010	4/14/2012 5:13 PM	Microsoft Excel W...	35 KB
DPI 2010	5/26/2011 6:34 PM	Microsoft Excel W...	1,700 KB
F Solt inequality data	4/10/2012 10:22 PM	Microsoft Excel W...	3,323 KB
Failed states idx 2005_10	3/18/2013 12:12 PM	Microsoft Excel 97...	487 KB
Gini	8/8/2011 11:09 AM	Microsoft Excel W...	816 KB
Global peace index	5/28/2011 5:02 PM	Microsoft Excel W...	119 KB
IPD instit profiles database	5/28/2011 6:51 PM	Microsoft Excel 97...	186 KB
KOF global indicators with predicted valu...	3/18/2013 12:25 PM	Microsoft Excel W...	183 KB
QoG_ts_short	5/29/2011 11:32 PM	Microsoft Excel W...	1,721 KB
WDI short w codebook	3/18/2013 12:44 PM	Microsoft Excel W...	832 KB

Group level preparatory data files

Name	Date modified	Type	Size
Regional summaries	3/19/2013 9:16 PM	File folder	
EPR groupyear plus replication info	3/18/2013 4:18 PM	Microsoft Excel W...	17,139 KB
Indigenous data for non_LA countries	3/19/2013 11:38 AM	Microsoft Excel W...	15 KB
MAR 2004 2006 with codebook	3/18/2013 4:21 PM	Microsoft Excel W...	282 KB
UNDP Roma in C_E Europe	3/19/2013 11:36 AM	Microsoft Excel W...	642 KB
UNESCO DME file with DHS and MICS data	3/18/2013 4:34 PM	Microsoft Excel W...	1,563 KB
Violent conflict HIIK UCDP 2005_2010	2/24/2012 6:06 PM	Microsoft Excel W...	43 KB
WVS Surveys	3/18/2013 4:47 PM	Microsoft Excel W...	211 KB

The group level data folder has a sub-folder called "regional summaries," composed of nine Excel files, which present data and calculations grouped along geographical entities such as Africa, CIS countries, and Latin America. Most data are pertinent to the inter-group economic equality issues, but occasionally there is group size and group concentration-related information included, as well.

Finally, the third big folder, "Data analytic work summaries," includes SPSS outputs copied in Excel files for easier overview of the findings. The files are grouped according to the three analytic chapters, and the basic logic of presentation is (1) exploratory and binary results; (2) regressions conducted on the original datasets, and (3) regressions conducted on the imputed datasets.