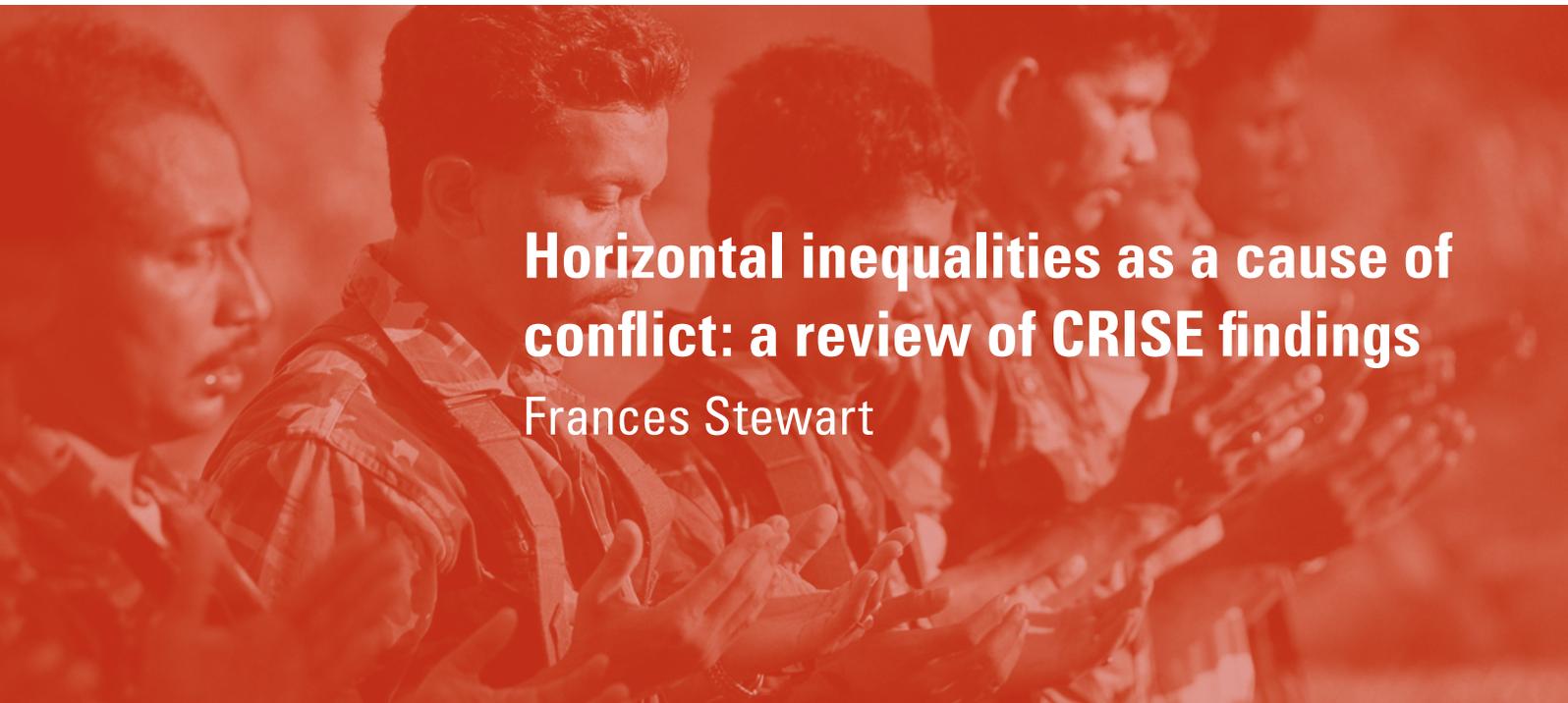




CRISE:

Centre for Research on Inequality,  
Human Security and Ethnicity



**Horizontal inequalities as a cause of  
conflict: a review of CRISE findings**

Frances Stewart

OVERVIEW

# **Horizontal inequalities as a cause of conflict: a review of CRISE findings**

Frances Stewart

OVERVIEW

# Copyright

© Centre for Research on Inequality, Human Security and Ethnicity

The UK Department for International Development (DFID) supports policies, programmes and projects to promote international development. DFID provided funds for this study as part of that objective, but the views and opinions expressed are those of the author(s) alone.

Design and layout: Rick Jones ([rick@studioexile.com](mailto:rick@studioexile.com))

# Contents

<b>Executive summary</b> .....	<b>4</b>
<b>Introduction</b> .....	<b>5</b>
<b>1. Groups, horizontal inequalities and conflicts</b> .....	<b>6</b>
<b>2. The 10 major findings of the CRISE research programme</b> .....	<b>9</b>
<b>3. Policy findings</b> .....	<b>20</b>
3.1 Policies to address economic and social HIs	21
3.2 Policies to address political HIs	22
3.3 Policies to address cultural status inequalities	24
3.4 Two examples of comprehensive policies	25
<b>4. Measurement of HIs</b> .....	<b>29</b>
<b>5. Conclusion and new research requirements</b> .....	<b>32</b>
<b>References</b> .....	<b>34</b>

# Executive summary

The primary objective of the Centre for Research on Inequality, Human Security and Ethnicity (CRISE) is to understand why some multi-ethnic countries are peaceful while others experience violent conflict. CRISE has worked in partnership with local scholars in three regions: Latin America, Southeast Asia and West Africa. In each region, one of the countries studied has avoided serious national conflict while the remainder have experienced severe violent conflict in the recent, or relatively recent, past.

The fundamental conclusion of CRISE research is that the presence of large horizontal inequalities (HIs), or inequalities among salient identity groups, increases the risk of violent conflict. Although HIs often have colonial origins, multiple and reinforcing disadvantages perpetuate them. As a result, they can persist over generations or even centuries. Such inequalities may be economic, social or political or concern cultural status. Violent conflict is most likely to occur in places where economic, social, political and cultural status HIs occur simultaneously, and where some groups are deprived across every dimension. In these situations, both group leaders, who face political exclusion, and their potential followers, who see themselves as treated unequally with respect to assets, jobs and social services, are likely to be motivated to mobilise and possibly engage in violence. Econometric evidence and case studies support these findings.

These findings have important implications for development policy. They suggest that policies to correct economic, social and political HIs and unequal cultural status should be prioritised in multi-ethnic societies—as part of general development policies—especially in post-conflict environments. Moreover, because of the multiple disadvantages faced by particular groups, comprehensive policies are needed to tackle these complex problems.

Policies to tackle HIs can take direct or indirect approaches. Direct approaches specifically target groups through quotas for the allocation of jobs, distribution of assets and educational access, for example. Indirect approaches comprise general policies that have the effect of reducing group disparities, such as anti-discrimination policies, policies to decentralise power, and progressive taxation or regional expenditure policies. Direct approaches are more effective in the short term, but they can entrench identities and raise opposition among groups that do not benefit. If adopted, they should generally be of limited duration.

For the most part, international development policy has neglected HIs. None of the main strategies—poverty reduction, promotion of economic growth or structural adjustment—takes them into account. There is also a dearth of data, particularly at the international level. Discussions on policies in post-conflict settings are beginning to acknowledge the importance of reducing group disparities, but with rare exceptions, this reality has not been integrated into policy in practice. Similarly, political HIs are not taken into account in international advocacy for multiparty democracy and improved governance. Indeed, multiparty democracy in heterogeneous societies can involve acute political HIs and hence elections are sometimes an occasion for violence.

At the national level, in contrast, governments in a number of heterogeneous countries have introduced a range of policies to reduce HIs. Brazil, India, Malaysia, and South Africa are examples.

The main conclusion of the CRISE programme is that HIs increase the risk of violent conflict. It follows that the correction of such HIs should be a major policy aim in *any* multi-ethnic society where HIs are severe. Not only are they needed in countries that have suffered conflict, but they also should be part of development policies generally, both to prevent conflict and to contribute to just and inclusive societies.

# Introduction

Violent conflict in multi-ethnic and multi-religious countries remains a major problem in the world today. From the former Soviet Union and Yugoslavia to the Basque region of Spain and Northern Ireland, from Rwanda to Sudan, from Fiji to Indonesia, numerous bitter, deadly conflicts have been fought along ethnic or religious lines. In addition to the deaths and injuries that result on and off the battlefield, violent organised conflict is also a major cause of underdevelopment and poverty. It reduces economic growth and investment, worsens social service provision and leads to weaker human indicators compared to non-conflict countries (Collier et al., 2003; Stewart, Fitzgerald and Associates, 2001). To make matters worse, the incidence of such violent conflict is highest among the poorest countries of the world. Consequently, those concerned with promoting development and reducing poverty must make prevention of these conflicts a priority.

Fortunately, there is plentiful evidence to show that violent conflict in multi-ethnic societies is not an unavoidable ramification of ethnic difference, an outcome of 'age-old ethnic hatreds' as is popularly suggested, nor of an unavoidable 'clash of civilisations' (Huntington, 1993). Violent conflict within multi-ethnic countries is not inevitable—in fact, most multi-ethnic societies are peaceful (Fearon and Laitin, 1996). The critical question, then, is 'why does ethnic or religious conflict break out in some circumstances and not in others?'

One important hypothesis concerning the causes of violent conflict focuses on the presence of major 'horizontal inequalities' or inequalities among culturally defined groups. This theory is based on the notion that 'when cultural differences coincide with economic and political differences between groups, this can cause deep resentment that may lead to violent struggles' (Stewart and Brown, 2007, p. 222). If it is correct, it presents important policy implications, for development policy generally as well as for policy in conflict-affected countries. The concept of HIs and its relationship with conflict has formed the central hypothesis of the work of CRISE, a DFID-funded centre, based at the University of Oxford, in collaboration with partners in Latin America (Bolivia, Guatemala and Peru), Southeast Asia (Indonesia and Malaysia) and West Africa (Côte d'Ivoire, Ghana and Nigeria). In each region, one of these countries has avoided serious national conflict (Bolivia, Malaysia and Ghana, respectively) while the remainder have experienced severe violent conflict in the recent, or relatively recent, past.

The aim of this paper is to review the main findings and conclusions of CRISE research. It suggests policies, based on the research findings, that could help to reduce the frequency of violent conflict and prevent its recurrence.<sup>1</sup>

The paper is structured as follows: section 1 defines the concept of HIs in more detail and elaborates on their connection with conflict. Section 2 reviews the 10 major findings of CRISE research. Given that the evidence implies that HIs are an important cause of conflict, policies to reduce such inequalities need to be identified and introduced where they are acute. Section 3 identifies relevant policies and discusses some advantages and disadvantages of different approaches. Section 4 briefly looks at data and measurement. Section 5 draws some conclusions and highlights further research needs arising from the work.

<sup>1</sup> For a deeper discussion, see Stewart (2008a). See also the *Working Papers* and *Policy Papers* on the CRISE website, <http://www.crise.ox.ac.uk>; the site also contains details of several special issues of journals and forthcoming books.

# 1

## Groups, horizontal inequalities and conflicts

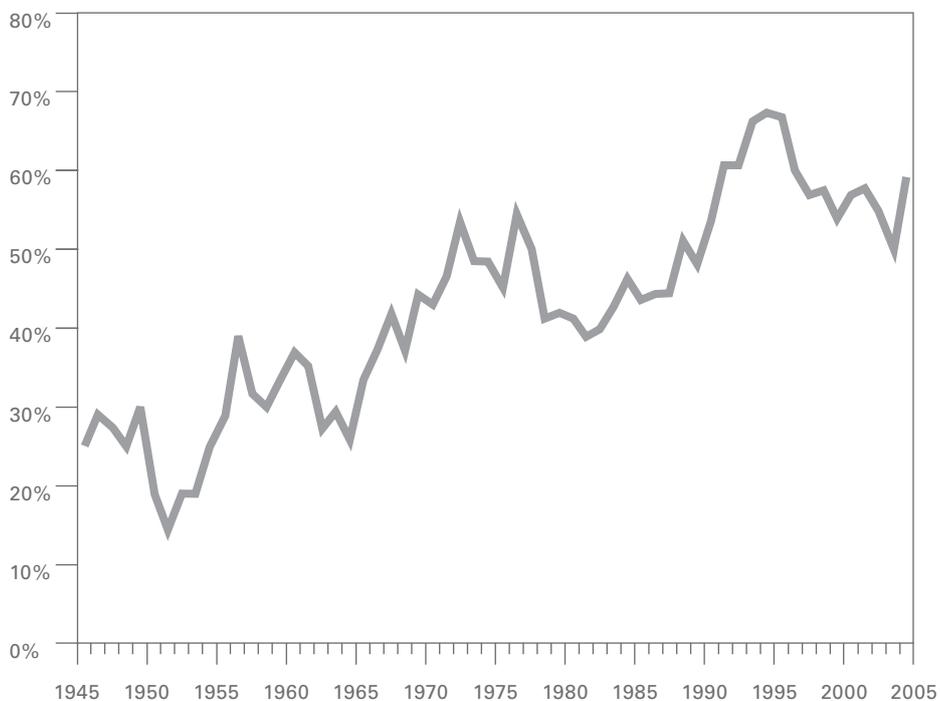
HIs are inequalities among groups of people who share a common identity. Such inequalities have economic, social, political and cultural status dimensions. Horizontal inequality differs from 'vertical' inequality (VI) in that the latter is a measure of inequality among *individuals* or *households*, not *groups*—furthermore, measurement of VI is often confined to income or consumption.

During the Cold War, many conflicts presented themselves as disputes about class or ideology, following the East–West division, with each side supported by the major powers along ideological lines. The identity basis of conflicts has become much more explicit since the end of the Cold War in the early 1990s, as ideological differences have diminished; socialism no longer seems a serious alternative to capitalism and its use as a banner no longer guarantees external financial support. According to the Center for Systematic Peace, 'a virtual cornucopia of these seemingly intractable (and previously "invisible") social identity conflicts [have] exploded onto the world scene and captured the public and policy eyes'.<sup>2</sup> Data on conflict confirm this rise, revealing a major increase in the proportion of all conflicts labelled as 'ethnic': from 15 per cent in 1953 to nearly 60 per cent by 2004 (see Figure 1).

Identity conflicts have also become global, as the divide between Islam and the West has replaced the ideological divisions of the Cold War. The wars in Afghanistan and Iraq and the

**Figure 1** Trends in ethnic conflict as a proportion of total conflict, 1946–2004

Proportion of conflict classified as 'ethnic'



Source: Calculated from M.G. Marshall, 'Major episodes of political violence, 1946–2005 dataset', Centre for Systemic Peace (2006). Downloaded from <http://members.aol.com/cspmgm/warlist.htm> (last accessed 19 December 2006).

<sup>2</sup> See <http://www.systemicpeace.org/conflict.htm>.

Israel–Palestine conflict are clear examples.<sup>3</sup> Today, then, mobilisation by group identity has become the single most important source of violent conflict. This raises a critical question: why does serious violent conflict erupt in some multi-ethnic societies while the majority of groups live together peacefully?

The central hypothesis of CRISE on the relationship between HIs and conflict is that violent mobilisation is more likely when a group that shares a salient identity faces severe inequalities of various kinds.

Such inequalities may be economic, social or political or concern cultural status.

- **Economic HIs** include inequalities in access to and ownership of assets—financial, human, natural resource-based and social. In addition, they comprise inequalities in income levels and employment opportunities, which depend on such assets and the general conditions of the economy.
- **Social HIs** include inequalities in access to a range of services, such as education, health care and housing, as well as in educational and health status.
- **Political HIs** include inequalities in the distribution of political opportunities and power among groups, including control over the presidency, the cabinet, parliamentary assemblies, the bureaucracy, local and regional governments, the army and the police. They also encompass inequalities in people’s capabilities to participate politically and to express their needs.
- **Cultural status HIs** include disparities in the recognition and standing of different groups’ languages, customs, norms and practices.<sup>4</sup>

Any type of horizontal inequality can provide an incentive for political mobilisation, but *political* inequality (especially political exclusion) is most likely to motivate group leaders to instigate a rebellion, as can be seen, for example, in the recent case of Kenya. By contrast, *economic and social* inequalities are more likely to motivate the mass of the population. Cultural status inequalities bind groups together and thereby increase the salience of identity differences.

The relevance of any element depends on whether it is an important source of income or well-being in a particular society. For instance, the distribution of housing (a key source of discord between Catholics and Protestants in Northern Ireland in the 1970s) is likely to be more relevant in an industrialised country than in a country where people still build their own homes. Land, however, is extremely important in places where agriculture accounts for most output and employment, but it becomes less significant as development proceeds. Each type of HI is notable in itself, but most also have wider impacts, affecting other types of inequality. Political power, for example, is both an end and a means, as inequalities in political power often lead to social and economic inequalities. Similarly, there are causal connections between educational access and income: lack of access to education leads to poor economic opportunities, and low income tends to result in poor educational access and achievements in a vicious cycle of deprivation.

Mobilisation along group lines only occurs if people identify strongly with their own group, and if they view others as being different in fundamental respects. As anthropologists emphasise, group boundaries are socially constructed and not innate or primordial. However, because of history, education, and propaganda, often orchestrated by political leaders, people can *perceive* their most salient identities—and those of others—as essential or primordial.<sup>5</sup> As David Turton (1997, p. 82) notes, the ‘very effectiveness [of ethnicity] as a means of advancing group interests depends upon its being seen as “primordial” by those who make claims in its name’. Such ‘essentialisation’ occurs despite the fact that generally, people have multiple identities, and salient group boundaries may change over time in response to events, leadership and opportunities.

There are clear synergies between the concept of HIs and other approaches to understanding inequalities and the dynamics of mobilisation in multi-ethnic countries. For instance,

<sup>3</sup> For a deeper discussion of this aspect, see Stewart (2008b).

<sup>4</sup> Arnim Langer and Graham Brown first introduced the concept of cultural status inequalities. See Langer and Brown (2008).

<sup>5</sup> Social psychologists have explained this as being due to a human tendency to ‘essentialise’. See McCawley (2008).



Charles Tilly's (1998) concept of 'categorical inequalities' describes similar group inequalities. Ted Gurr's (1993) concept of 'relative deprivation' as a cause of minority rebellion represents another similar view. However, the HI hypothesis differs from relative deprivation in its view that the relatively rich, as well as the relatively poor, may initiate conflict. In Burundi, for example, the Tutsis have attacked the poorer Hutus; and the relatively rich area of Biafra initiated the Nigerian Civil War of the late 1960s.<sup>6</sup> Such incidents seem to be motivated by fear that an existing situation is not sustainable without force and that the relative prosperity of the group is, or may be, subject to attack.

<sup>6</sup> See, for instance, Nafziger (1983) and Lemarchand (1996).

# The 10 major findings of the CRISE research programme

# 2

Below are the 10 major findings of the CRISE research programme—including reference to other studies which provide supporting evidence:

## 1. The probability of conflict is higher in areas with greater economic and social HIs

This finding confirms the basic, underlying research hypothesis and is supported by a number of investigations. Østby's (2008) empirical analysis across countries, for 1986–2003, reveals a significant rise in the probability of conflict in countries with severe economic and social HIs. In her models, she defines groups alternatively by ethnicity, religion and region, and finds a significant relation between HIs and the onset of violent conflict for each definition. Economic HIs are measured by average household assets and social HIs by average years of education.

The effect of HIs is quite high: the probability of conflict increases threefold when comparing expected conflict onset when all variables have average values, with a situation where the extent of horizontal inequality of assets among ethnic groups is at the 95<sup>th</sup> percentile. In the case of inter-regional HIs, the probability of conflict increases 2.5 times as HIs rise from the mean value to the 95<sup>th</sup> percentile value.<sup>7</sup>

Other statistical cross-country work that supports this relationship includes Gurr's studies of relative deprivation and conflict (Gurr, 1993; Gurr and Moore 1997) and Barrows' (1976) investigation of Sub-Saharan African countries in the 1960s. Gurr reports a positive relation across countries between minority rebellions and protests and relative deprivation, defined in economic, political and cultural terms. Barrows notes a consistently positive correlation between HIs and political instability across 32 Sub-Saharan African countries in the 1960s, with measures of inequality including share of political power and socioeconomic variables. More recently, Wimmer, Cederman and Min (2009) used global data for 1946–2005 to show that countries with high degrees of political exclusion are more likely to experience violent upheaval.

In addition, intra-country studies demonstrate a positive relationship between the level of HIs and the incidence (or intensity) of conflict. Mancini (2008) uses district-level data to examine the connection between HIs and the incidence of conflict in districts of Indonesia. After controlling for a number of intervening factors, including economic development, ethnic diversity and population size, he finds that horizontal inequality in child mortality rates and its change over time are positively (and significantly) associated with the occurrence of deadly ethno-communal violence. Other measures of HI, in civil service employment, education, landless agricultural labour and unemployment, were also related to incidence of conflict, but the effects were less pronounced than those of child mortality.

The Indonesian results suggest, too, that violent conflict is more likely to occur in areas with relatively low levels of economic development and greater religious polarisation. In contrast, standard measures of (vertical) income inequality as well as other purely demographic indicators of ethnic diversity were found to have no significant impact on the likelihood of communal violence.

<sup>7</sup> See also Østby (2003).

Studies in other conflict-affected countries have shown a relation between HIs and intensity of conflict. In an examination of the Moro rebellion in the southern Philippines, Magdalena (1977) records a strong link between the relative deprivation of Muslims, measured in terms of differential returns to education, and conflict intensity. Murshed and Gates (2005), using a 'gap' measure of human development, note strong econometric support for a relationship between regional deprivation and the intensity of the Maoist rebellion across districts of Nepal. A later study by Do and Iyer (2007) replicates the finding that conflict intensity is related to regional deprivation, although in this case it is measured by the regional poverty rate and the literacy rate. They point out, too, that caste polarisation affects conflict intensity.

Higher levels of horizontal inequality are thus correlated with a higher risk of conflict, but not all violent mobilisation in high HI countries is primarily identity-driven, at least not in terms of the discourse associated with it. This was the case in Guatemala and Peru, where the rebellions were presented in ideological terms. Prominent leaders of the movements came from outside the deprived indigenous groups and were motivated by ideology, not ethnicity (Caumartin, Gray Molina and Thorp, 2008). In these societies 'race/ethnicity' and 'class' are virtually coterminous, that is, they are ethnically 'ranked systems' (Horowitz, 1985, p. 22). In such societies, mobilisation by *class* may alternate with or be a substitute for mobilisation by ethnicity. However, there was a strong ethnic dimension to the conflicts, as evidenced by a willingness among indigenous people to be mobilised against the state and the victimisation—almost genocidal targeting—of indigenous peoples by the non-indigenous-dominated governments. In Guatemala, for example, Francisco Bianchi, a government adviser in the early 1980s, openly declared that 'for the most part the Indians are subversives; and how can one counter this subversion? Obviously by killing the Indians'<sup>8</sup> (cited in CEH, 1999b, p. 182). In Peru, despite the historical policy of suppression of ethnic identity through repression and discrimination, HIs still meant indigenous peasants were vulnerable to the recruitment techniques of Sendero Luminoso (Shining Path), which offered material benefits and used coercion (Thorp, Paredes and Figueroa, forthcoming).

These factors suggest that HI was an underlying element in these conflicts, a proposal confirmed in the Guatemalan case by the commission that investigated the historical origins of the conflict. The Comisión para el Esclarecimiento Histórico stated that the roots of the conflict lay in the 'exclusionary, racist, authoritarian and centralist' characteristics of the Guatemalan state, society and economy (CEH, 1999a, p. 81).

It is important to emphasise that what CRISE (and others) have found is an increased likelihood of conflict as HIs rise. Not all countries with high levels of horizontal inequality experience conflict, though. Indeed the studies of Bolivia and Ghana reveal high economic and social HIs yet both countries have avoided substantial conflict. Consequently, it is essential to examine when high HIs lead to conflict and when they do not. While a few of the studies cited above include an investigation of political HIs, most do not. The nature of political HIs is one variable that determines whether high economic and social HIs generate conflict.

## **2. Conflict is more likely where political, economic and social HIs are consistent. Conflict is less likely when a particular group faces deprivation in one dimension and dominates in another**

In cases where political, economic and social HIs are severe and consistent, both the leadership and the mass of the population in the deprived group(s) have a motive to mobilise. The leadership is motivated by political exclusion (that is, political HIs) and the population by economic and social HIs—leaders can use these inequalities to mobilise people, as illustrated by Côte d'Ivoire. While Félix Houphouët-Boigny was president (1960–93), political inclusion was in effect, despite some large socio-economic HIs on a north–south basis (Langer, 2008), and the country was peaceful. Nonetheless, discontent over socioeconomic deprivation and

<sup>8</sup> 'Por lo tanto los indios son subversivos. ¿Y como combater la subversión? Evidentemente matanda a los indios' (translation in Caumartin, 2005, p. 28).

the absence of equality in the area of cultural status, particularly a lack of recognition of the Muslim religion, was articulated in the *Chartre du Nord* of 1992. The death of Houphouët-Boigny in December 1993 and the end of his regime was followed by explicit political exclusion, with former Prime Minister Alassane Ouattara, a presidential candidate from the north, barred from standing in both the 1995 and 2000 elections. No concessions were made and violent conflict broke out in 2002.

The Nigerian Civil War (1967–70), which resulted in the deaths of hundreds of thousands of people, also illustrates the importance of a coincidence in political and economic incentives and interests in provoking violent conflict. Initially, the Igbos and the Yorubas, the more educated groups, shared many of the high-level posts in the new federation. The coup d'état of 29 July 1966, led by Lieutenant-Colonel Murtala Mohammed, a northerner, resulted in the exclusion of the Igbos from power and established an increasingly anti-Igbo climate. Amidst widespread anti-Igbo sentiment and the subsequent attacks, many Igbos migrated to their home regions in the eastern part of Nigeria and 'became a powerful lobbying group for an independent Biafra, in which they now had a vested economic interest' (Nafziger, 1973, p. 529). Fear that without political power in the Nigerian federation, there would be an increasingly disadvantageous distribution of oil revenues—by then the most important source of government funds—compounded economic and political exclusion. At the same time, the oil revenues promised an independent Biafra relative wealth.

Socioeconomic deprivation tends to produce mass grievances that make mobilisation for opposition and even violence possible. Effective mobilisation, however, depends on both elite and mass participation. Most serious conflicts are organised, rather than being spontaneous, and require strong leadership. The motives of the elite of a group, or its potential leaders, are particularly important, because the elite controls resources (including, sometimes, military assets) and can win support by accentuating common identities, and denigrating the 'other', while heightening perceptions of inter-group inequalities. According to Brass (1997), they play the role of 'conflict entrepreneurs'. In areas where the group's elite holds power, though, they are not likely to encourage or lead a rebellion. This also holds true when members of the elite do not dominate political power but do participate in government, as they can still enjoy the 'perks' of office, including opportunities for personal enrichment and the dispensing of favours to supporters. Consequently, even in the presence of quite sharp economic and social HIs, people are unlikely to initiate violent conflict if their own group leaders are included in political power, and even less so if they are politically dominant.

The experiences of Malaysia, as well as of Nigeria after the civil war, exemplify this. In both countries, the group that was economically impoverished constituted a numerical majority and was politically advantaged. In Malaysia, the *bumiputera* (an umbrella term for indigenous groups in the country) accounts for roughly two-thirds of the population (depending on the precise categorisation), while in Nigeria, the northern peoples are estimated to make up more than 50 per cent of the population.<sup>9</sup> In each country, this numerical advantage has translated into dominance over political power (continuously in Malaysia and for most of the time in Nigeria). Having political power—and the 'pork-barrel' gains this confers—obviously greatly reduces the motives of a group's elite to lead a rebellion. Furthermore, it permits action to be taken to correct other inequalities. In Nigeria, such action has been confined primarily to the political sphere (including the bureaucracy and the army through the Federal Character Principle). In Malaysia, though, systematic action also has occurred in the socioeconomic realm through the New Economic Policy.

At a local level, Ukiwo (2008) has shown the need for consistency of HIs in the socioeconomic and political realms if they are to lead to conflict. Contrasting the experiences of two Nigerian cities—conflict-ridden Warri in Delta State and the more peaceful Calabar in Cross River State—he shows that if economic and social HIs are not high, political exclusion will not be sufficient to provoke conflict. There were political, economic and social HIs in Warri, but in Calabar, although the leaders of certain groups felt excluded and tried to mobilise support, their potential followers believed that they were well treated and were not ready to rise in protest.

<sup>9</sup> Political resistance to censuses in Nigeria casts doubt on all population estimates.

Østby (2008) provides econometric support for the importance of consistency among economic and social HIs and political HIs. She reports that while political exclusion on its own (as an independent variable) does *not* affect the likelihood of conflict, it has a strong interactive with inter-regional asset inequality. That is, asset inequality has a stronger effect in increasing the probability of conflict in the presence of political HIs. Østby also identified a similar effect with regard to educational inequality, although not a statistically significant one.

### **3. Inclusive (or power-sharing) government tends to reduce the likelihood of conflict**

This finding is essentially a development of the previous one: where power is shared, political HIs are lower, hence peace is likely even where there are severe economic and social HIs. When there is genuine power-sharing, no single group dominates politics, but all (major) groups have a real sense of participation in government. Econometric evidence shows that formal power-sharing arrangements reduce the potential for conflict, as argued by Lijphart (1969). For example, Binningsbø (2005) explores the impact of proportional representation (PR) and territorial autonomy within countries, while Reynal-Querol (2002) finds that PR has a positive influence on the reduction of conflict propensity. In the federal context, Bakke and Wibbels (2006) report that 'co-partisanship' between central and sub-national governments, which implies shared political power (at least regionally) and consequently lower political HIs, significantly reduces the chance of conflict.

In CRISE studies, both Bolivia and Ghana have included deprived groups in government. In the case of Ghana, there is an informal tradition in the Fourth Republic that whenever a southerner is president, the vice-president is northern. In Bolivia, informal arrangements have involved the political participation of indigenous representatives for much of recent history, and political participation has made for greater toleration of continued economic and social HIs. Guatemala, Indonesia and Peru, which have each experienced conflict at certain times, practised exclusionary government prior to their conflict periods.

A study of Kenya's political crisis in early 2008 is illustrative. Broadly speaking, stability had been sustained by balancing political power against socioeconomic inequalities in some periods (notably under President Daniel arap Moi), or by inclusive government (during much of Jomo Kenyatta's regime and early in the presidency of Mwai Kibaki). However, when the Kibaki regime became politically exclusive and Kibaki refused to acknowledge electoral defeat in the 2007 elections, the opposition groups reacted violently. The introduction of a more inclusive political regime in early 2008 was an essential step towards stopping the violence (Stewart, 2008c).

It is important to stress the implication of this finding: political cooption of the leadership of disadvantaged minorities by the dominant group is often sufficient to prevent conflict without introducing policies to improve the socioeconomic position of these groups in the short run. This was arguably the case with the Indian population of Malaysia, which is represented in the governing coalition through the Malaysian Indian Congress, but which has received little in the way of targeted developmental aid, despite pockets of acute socioeconomic deprivation (Loh, 2003). Similarly, in Nigeria, while northern political power has helped to prevent major north-south confrontations, the northern part of the country has remained seriously deprived in socioeconomic terms. Of course, it does not follow that this is a satisfactory situation, given that severe HIs are undesirable in themselves, quite apart from their instrumental role in fomenting violent conflict. Moreover, so long as socioeconomic HIs persist, the potential for conflict remains. Nonetheless, political inclusion does appear to play an important part in preventing violence, and it may comprise a significant step towards more inclusive development. This is because ethnic leaders who do not 'deliver' development to their constituency are likely to be challenged in the long term by new leadership contenders more willing to press their group's developmental claims.

## 4. Citizenship can be an important source of political and economic exclusion

Citizenship brings with it a variety of economic and political entitlements, as Gibney (2008) shows. Not only does political participation depend on citizenship, so too do entitlements to a range of economic and social benefits. Exclusion from citizenship is a form of HI in itself and constitutes an important source of inequalities in other realms. For example, non-citizenship may deny people the right to work, to join a union or to receive government assistance. Denial of citizenship is frequently a deliberate political act, taken for an assortment of reasons, as Gibney elucidates. Historically, indigenous groups in Latin American countries were denied citizenship rights of both a political and economic nature. Moreover, in some countries there are, informally at least, local as well as national citizenship rights and sometimes certain groups are denied these rights.

Sources of loss of citizenship rights vary. Migration (legal and illegal) is a common cause, and in some cases, subsequent generations are also debarred from citizenship. Less commonly, states can explicitly revoke citizenship rights, as happened to the Jews in Nazi Germany and to Asians in Uganda. A third way in which citizenship can be lost is when the state itself changes form. Gibney (2008) cites the case of the Roma population, which became stateless when the Czech Republic separated from Slovakia in the 1990s.

At a national level, denial of citizenship has been critical in inciting rebellion in Côte d'Ivoire (Langer, 2008). Similarly, in Nigeria, the settler–indigene distinction has been the source of many local-level conflicts (Bach, 2006; Human Rights Watch, 2006). Denial of citizenship has been a major source of local conflict in Ghana also (see, for example, Tsikata and Seini, 2004; Jönsson, 2006).

Gibney (2008) suggests three principles on which citizenship might be based:

- first, everyone should be a citizen somewhere, and those without citizenship should be accorded it in the country where they are located;
- second, de facto membership of a state should confer the right to citizenship, where de facto membership is defined by contributions and ties to the society; and
- third, an extended period of residence should bestow citizenship rights.

Where any or all of these three principles are breached for significant numbers of people, particularly if they belong to a common ethnic or religious group, denial of citizenship can provoke conflict. Moreover, given the close connection between citizenship and other economic and social benefits (such as the right to work or access to state services or land), exclusion from citizenship also can be a profound cause of other economic and social HIs.

## 5. Unequal cultural recognition among groups is an additional motivation for conflict and cultural 'events' can trigger conflict

Cultural status inequalities can be extremely important.<sup>10</sup> Fundamentally, culture (ethnicity or religion) itself is often the factor that binds people together as a group. Hence the more important it becomes in the way people see themselves and others, the more likely it is that they will mobilise along group lines. Cultural status inequalities can therefore increase the salience of group identity. There are three important elements involved in cultural status: treatment with respect to religion and religious observation; language recognition and use; and respect for ethno-cultural practices. In some countries, notably Ghana, conscious efforts have been made to grant equal recognition across groups with regard to each element. In other countries, there have been periods of explicit cultural discrimination (such as against the use of indigenous languages in Guatemala and Peru) or informal discrimination (such as towards

<sup>10</sup> Explored in Langer and Brown (2008).

non-Christians in Côte d'Ivoire or non-Muslims in Malaysia). Such inequalities make other inequalities (economic, social or political) more powerful as mobilising mechanisms. Moreover, cultural discrimination also weakens political and economic capabilities, thus accentuating these inequalities, with the consequence of cumulative disadvantage.

Culturally discriminating events are also frequently a trigger of riots and even major conflict, as exemplified by the Protestant Orange Order marches in Northern Ireland, language policy in Sri Lanka, and the desecration of religious buildings and sites in India and Palestine. In Malaysia, recent attacks on cultural status—in the form of the destruction of Hindu temples—have led to serious politicisation of this community for the first time (Fenton, 2009).

## 6. Perceptions of HIs affect the likelihood of conflict

People take action because of *perceived* injustices rather than because of measured statistical inequalities of which they might not be aware. Normally, one would expect there to be a relation between perceived and observed inequalities, so the 'objective' HIs are clearly relevant to political action. Yet it is also important to investigate perceptions and their determinants, since leaders, the media and educational institutions can influence discernment of inequality, even when the underlying reality remains unchanged. The results of CRISE perceptions surveys in Ghana and Nigeria illuminate why some identities become more politicised than others (Langer and Ukiwo, 2008). For example, in both countries, the majority of those questioned believed there to be very little difference in educational access according to group, despite records of school attendance showing large differences. This may be because perceptions of difference are based on opportunities at the local level and much of the recorded difference is between regions.

Furthermore, respondents in both Ghana and Nigeria considered their religion to be much more important than their ethnicity in the private sphere (for example, in relation to social interactions, including marriage) but ethnicity to be much more important in the public sphere, in terms of their views on government job and contract allocations. This highlights the importance of maintaining ethnic balance in the political and administrative spheres. In general, Nigerians felt ethnicity to be more important to them than did Ghanaians, both in relation to their own individual identities and, they believed, as a determinant of allocations of government jobs and contracts. At the same time, a significantly greater number of respondents in Ghana than in Nigeria stated that their national identity was important to them. Differences in perceptions of the significance of ethnicity may be because Nigeria has experienced more inter-ethnic conflict than Ghana; they may also help to explain the higher incidence of such conflict.

Investigation of determinants of popular acceptability of violence, using data from the Afrobarometer surveys, confirms that perceptions that the government is unfairly treating group members significantly increase the acceptability of violence (Kirwin and Cho, 2009).

The importance of the role of perceptions in provoking action means that leaders, institutions and policies that influence them can affect the likelihood of political mobilisation. In post-Houphouët-Boigny Côte d'Ivoire, political leaders launched an active campaign to 'market' identities and differences via the media (Akindès, 2007). In Ghana, Kwame Nkrumah, the first post-colonial leader, placed great emphasis on national unity, in contrast to leaders in Nigeria who adopted a much more regional perspective.

Educational institutions are relevant here, too. In Ghana, boarding schools dating back to colonial times have brought together members of the future elite from across the country and have contributed to a national project. These factors may partly account for the finding that Ghanaians valued their national identity more highly than did Nigerians in CRISE surveys.

A variety of actions (including symbolic ones) can influence perceptions. For example, both Houphouët-Boigny and Nkrumah initiated investment programmes in the deprived northern regions with the goal of reducing inequalities. Although they were insufficient to close the gaps,

these measures led people to believe that there was an effort to achieve a fairer distribution of resources. Moreover, the elite in the north benefited particularly from some of the programmes through, for example, the allocation of contracts, reducing their incentive to mobilise their members for group conflict. Post-conflict support for indigenous economic and social programmes in Guatemala, while also too small to make a major difference to the extent of inequality, has changed *perceptions* of inequality, with more people thinking the society is inclusive.

## **7. One reason high value natural resources can lead to conflict is that they create high HIs**

There is a well-established econometric link between the presence of natural resources, such as gas and oil, and the incidence of conflict, but the precise causal mechanisms are disputed (Ross, 2004; Humphreys, 2005). Natural resources encourage increased competition for power among the elite (because of the greater 'spoils' arising from control of the state), but CRISE research suggests that the conflict-inducing potential of natural resources is also often mediated through their impact on horizontal inequalities, and that this can translate into both separatist struggles and local-level conflict (Brown, 2008; Tadjoeeddin, 2007). The discovery of natural resources can generate sharp increases in regional inequality, and where these resources are located in ethnically or religiously distinct regions of a country, separatist conflict may emerge. This is particularly so if the groups are relatively poor or if they feel that they are not benefiting from the exploitation of the resources.

In his analysis of separatist movements in Southeast Asia, Brown (forthcoming) finds that the discovery of natural resources in the Indonesian province of Aceh was a vital development in the transformation of Acehnese discontent. The objective of the rebellion changed from securing local rights to secession from Indonesia altogether. Similarly, Tadjoeeddin (2007) argues that natural resources in Indonesia have created an 'aspiration to inequality' in provinces where they are located. Treisman (1997) contends that natural resources played an important role in stoking ethnic separatist claims in post-communist Russia and the discovery of oil in Sudan has transformed the conflict there.<sup>11</sup> In Bolivia, ongoing disputes over natural resources—forest, gas and land—have polarised society and led to increasingly violent opposition from civic committees and property owners in the lowlands (Gray Molina, 2008).

Policies towards natural resources are the source of a major dilemma, and the cause of much debate in countries such as Indonesia and Nigeria. Do the people in resource-rich regions have some special rights to resources found in those places? If granted, HIs will manifest themselves as the resource-rich regions become far richer than other areas. Alternatively, should the state redistribute the revenues (as, for example, with the INPRES (Instruksi Presiden) programme in Indonesia under President Suharto and the redistributive formula in Nigeria), which will moderate HIs, but may also lead to unrest? Revenue-sharing agreements, which are perceived as fair, are consequently a vital component of peace agreements in locations where high-value natural resources are located.

In addition, natural resources are frequently associated with local-level conflict, as in the Niger Delta region of Nigeria and in many instances in Peru, where mining developments have been linked with conflicts over entitlements. Here, too, the distribution of resources among local groups, or between local groups and companies, is often unequal and can thus feed local-level conflict. Ethnic disputes over control of a gold mine in the Indonesian province of North Maluku also ignited local conflict (Wilson, 2005).

## **8. The nature of the state is a pivotal factor in determining whether serious conflict erupts and persists**

The importance of the state with respect to conflict goes beyond the matter of its inclusiveness, or the lack of it. Key here is its reaction to conflict within a country. Although highly

<sup>11</sup> *Sudan Update* (1999) 'Raising the stakes: oil and conflict in Sudan'. December. <http://www.sudanupdate.org/REPORTS/Oil/Oil.pdf>.



repressive regimes can prevent conflict (for example, the New Order regime in Indonesia was effective in preventing communal conflict in much of the country), an aggressive state can fuel and sustain a conflict. In both Guatemala and Indonesia (in its separatist conflicts), harsh and aggressive state reactions to rebellion sustained conflict for many years, causing deaths on a massive scale and provoking further rebellion. In Guatemala, the state's response to rebellion has been described as 'a campaign of state terror' (Caumartin, 2005, p. 22), with widespread killing, particularly of the indigenous population. In Indonesia, the viciousness of the Indonesian armed forces' response to the original, small-scale Acehese rebellion boosted support for the movement when it re-emerged (Brown, 2008; Kell, 1995).

The CRISE review of separatist conflict in Southeast Asia (Brown, forthcoming) underlines that a major difference between the situation in the Malaysian state of Sabah, where a full-scale separatist movement never developed, and that in other areas, where such movements did, was the Malaysian state's more accommodating stance. Similarly, state handling of disputes in Ghana, and of some local-level conflicts in Indonesia, has dampened a number of conflicts and thwarted others. In contrast, in Nigeria, it seems, state action is often late and one-sided, making conflicts more severe than they need have been, as exemplified by events in the Middle Belt. The government's passive and late response to the emergence of violence between Christians and Muslims on 7 September 2001 in the area of Jos is illustrative. It took the Nigerian military and police forces more than 12 hours to arrive at the scene of the violent conflict and many areas were left without security for the first 24 hours of the crisis (Higazi, 2007). Moreover, the intervention of the security forces was perceived as biased against Muslims, who alleged that police forces had killed innocent people, including women and children (Higazi, 2007).

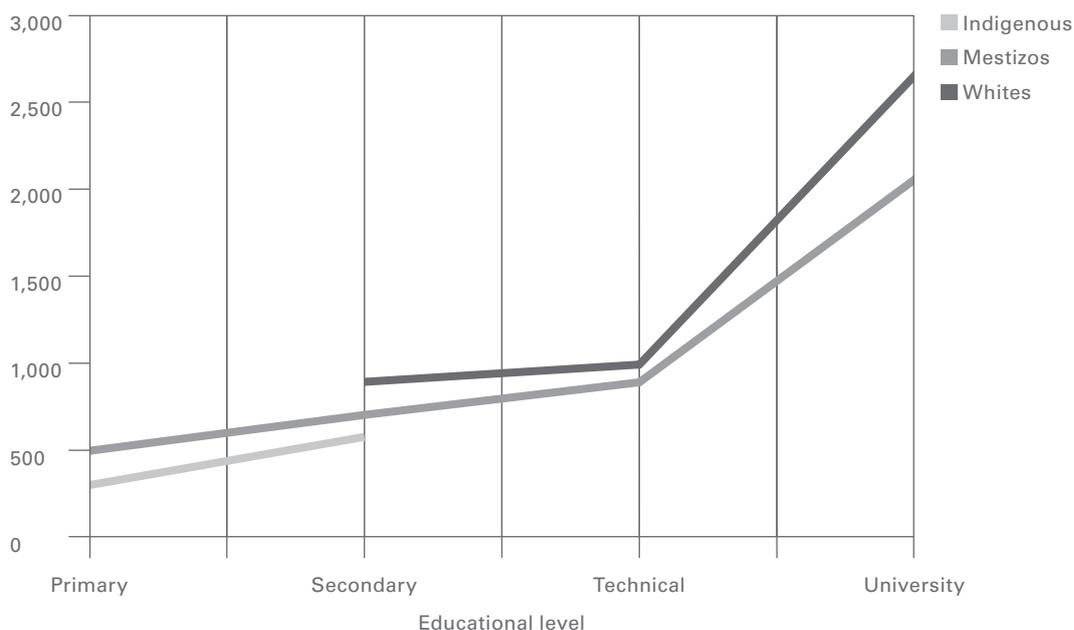
Local institutions are also important in determining the trajectory of violence, as shown by research in Ghana, Indonesia and Nigeria. For instance, Asante (2007) reports how in Ghana a conflict between adherents of the Ga traditional religion and some Christian churches over drumming was prevented from escalating by its handling by local institutions, particularly through the implementation of bylaws of the Accra Metropolitan Authority regulating noise. Many other similar cases exist in Ghana (Tsikata and Seini, 2004). In Jos in 2001, by contrast, local authorities did little to stop the conflict—and indeed, they may have contributed to it—leaving any solution to national forces (Higazi, 2007). Furthermore, in Central Sulawesi in Indonesia, during the national transition to democracy from 1999–2004, civil servants and community leaders mobilised religious identities in a violent conflict in Poso, linked to a broader competition for power in the district government. Security forces did not intervene quickly and in some cases were implicated in the violence. In neighbouring Donggala, though, despite some attempts by elites and politicians to mobilise such identities, customary leaders played a critical role in resolving conflicts as they arose, preventing problems from escalating (Diprose, 2007, 2009).

## **9. Some HIs are very persistent, even lasting for centuries**

Historical analysis of a range of countries (including Bolivia, Brazil, Côte d'Ivoire, Ghana, Guatemala, Nigeria, Peru and the United States) reveals great persistence in HIs, with groups remaining relatively deprived over centuries (Stewart and Langer, 2008; Figueroa, 2008; Guerreiro Osório, 2008). Many HIs originate in the privileging by colonial powers of some groups or regions (or both), but are sustained by myriad ongoing elements. All CRISE studies noted this colonial factor. In the three Latin American countries studied, for example, inequalities were caused by privileged settlers taking the best resources for themselves and sustaining their position through discrimination and unequal access to every type of capital. Post-colonial policies have done little to correct these inequalities. Figueroa (2008) shows that today, indigenous people in Peru have far less access to education than the *mestizo*

**Figure 2** Education returns in Peru

Mean income (Soles/month)



Source: Figueroa (2008).

population, which in turn has less access than do whites. Furthermore, for any particular level of education, the *returns*, in terms of additional income earned because of such education, are significantly lower for the indigenous population than for the *mestizos*, which are again lower than the returns secured by whites (see Figure 2). This is due to a combination of poorer-quality education, poorer social networks and discrimination in employment (Stewart and Langer, 2008; Figueroa, 2008).

In West Africa, regional inequalities were caused in part by geographic and climatic differences, but were made worse by colonial economic policies that favoured the south of each country in terms of economic and social infrastructure. Again, post-colonial policies, including structural adjustment packages, have failed to correct the inequalities. In Malaysia, the colonial 'ethnic division of labour' (Brown, 1997) ensured that Malays remained in subsistence agriculture, while migrant Chinese came to dominate the domestic economy. In Malaysia, though, systematic policies have narrowed the differences.

The persistence of such inequalities is due to cumulative and reinforcing inequalities arising from unequal access to different types of capital, including education, finance, land and social networks. Asymmetries in social capital, in particular, arising from group members having stronger contacts within their group than across groups, have made it almost impossible for some groups to escape these inequalities. This inequality trap is often reinforced by interaction with political and cultural HIs and the effects of prejudice, repression and violence.

However, there are cases of 'catch up', where group differences have been reduced over time. Mostly these are policy-related, where a conscious and systematic effort has been made to correct inequalities, as in Malaysia after 1970. In a few cases, however, groups have succeeded in 'catching up' without government support—Chinese and Vietnamese immigrants in the US are an example of this. Their success seems to be due in part to the selective immigration policy, allowing only the better educated to enter the country, and in part to the culture of work, education and achievement that they brought with them—cultural capital of a type that is typically absent in long-deprived groups. The nature of the interlocking forces that frequently perpetuate HIs over generations implies that comprehensive policies are needed to tackle these complex problems.

## 10. International policies and statistics are too often blind to HIs, although national policies are often more progressive in this respect

The international policy community has paid little attention to HIs. The prime concerns of international donors are poverty reduction and the promotion of economic growth—neither agenda includes HIs. Vertical inequality is beginning to be recognised as a problem (Kanbur and Lustig, 2000; Cornia, 2004; UNDP, 2005; World Bank, 2006) because inequality has risen in the majority of countries in recent years and because high and growing inequality makes poverty reduction more difficult. Nonetheless, VI has not received much serious policy attention, and there is still less focus on HI.

The growth-supporting policies advocated internationally consist mainly of macro policies designed to secure economic stability and openness, and meso policies intended to support economic infrastructure and enhance the role of the market in order to improve efficiency. Poverty reduction policies are mainly derived from the Poverty Reduction Strategy Papers (PRSPs), which concentrate particularly on social sector expenditures and on some special schemes for the poor, such as microcredit. According to one review of PRSPs, 'the participation of minorities or indigenous peoples is either often overlooked or simply regarded as impractical due to their marginalisation' (Booth and Curran, 2005, p. 12). An analysis of the content of PRSPs shows universal inclusion of the 'normal' macro conditions and policies to promote the social sectors. Gender equity is considered in a substantial majority of cases, but protection of ethnic minorities is mentioned in only one-quarter of cases. Countries where ethnic minorities were *not* mentioned include those that are evidently heterogeneous, such as Azerbaijan, Benin, Burkina Faso, Chad, Guyana, Malawi, Mali, Mauritania, Mozambique, Niger, Rwanda, Tanzania and Uganda (Stewart and Wang, 2006).

However, several development agencies recognise the importance of reducing the level of social exclusion and tackling disparities and more attention is beginning to be accorded to HIs in analyses of conflict-prone situations (see, for example, World Bank, 2005; OECD, 2001; DFID, 2005).<sup>12</sup> For instance, DFID argues that:

'If a lasting solution [to conflict] is to be found, exclusion and inequality must be tackled. Purely military action to eliminate those responsible for violence may not work because, so long as inequalities and grievances exist, new leaders will be able to mobilise support' (DFID, 2005, p. 14).

Nevertheless, HIs do not form a systematic part of reporting, and are seldom part of policy discussions, beyond the regional dimension. At the same time, international donors sometimes criticise national policies that explicitly address HIs, such as Malaysia's New Economic Policy, for reducing efficiency.

An important exception is post-conflict Nepal where HIs have been taken seriously in both analysis and policy. DFID's *Fighting Poverty to Build a Safer World* report cites the situation in Nepal as evidence of the need for 'affirmative action programmes and strengthening organisations that represent excluded groups', although the peace-building section of the publication fails to mention inequality (DFID, 2005, p. 10).

At a more political level, many Western governments accord priority to promoting multiparty democracy, but typically ignore political HIs. For the most part, aid donors are not directly concerned with political systems. The emphasis is generally on multiparty democracy and the 'usual' governance reforms, such as accountability and improved transparency. In practice, though, multiparty democracy can lead to exclusionary politics in heterogeneous societies.

The need for power-sharing is acknowledged more frequently in post-conflict societies, such as Bosnia-Herzegovina, Iraq and Lebanon. Wider awareness of the need to reassess the design of democratic systems in multi-ethnic settings is, however, rare.

<sup>12</sup> For instance, the World Bank acknowledges that 'horizontal inequalities may escalate into violence when differences such as ethnicity are politicised to mobilise for political causes' (World Bank, 2005, p. 20). It goes on to state that a list of 'potential responses to conflict factors' includes a response to structural disparities among regions, recommending a focus on systematic redistributive policies (World Bank, 2005, p. 33). According to the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD), '[d]onors need to be politically sensitive about how activities generate benefits or cause poverty, dislocations and inequities between different groups such as returnees and local populations' (OECD, 2001, p. 31). An example given is a community housing project in Sri Lanka that allocated an equal number of houses among Muslim, Sinhalese and Tamil populations, illustrating 'how the standard development criteria (needs-based decision making, efficiency, product-oriented rather than process-oriented approaches) may have to be modified to meet peace-building objectives' (OECD, 2001, p. 31).

A dearth of international statistics on the issue reflects this lack of focus. For example, neither the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) nor the World Bank includes statistics on ethnic, regional or religious HIs in their well-known datasets, although some national-level *Human Development Reports*, such as those on Kosovo and Nepal, provide ethnically or religiously disaggregated data. A notable exception is the Demographic and Health Surveys (supported by the United States Agency for International Development (USAID) and other donors)—covering 77 countries to date. In quite a significant number of cases, these surveys contain ethnic and religious variables, permitting investigation of relationships across countries (Østby, 2008). But they do not cover all countries, and they are not carried out at regular intervals. Furthermore, they do not include political variables or other factors of obvious interest, such as household income.

As far as national policies are concerned, there is much greater awareness of the importance of HIs in many heterogeneous countries, and a range of policies have been implemented (see Section 3). Nonetheless, by no means all culturally diverse countries acknowledge the importance of HIs or take policy action to tackle them. In some cases, this is because, like the policies of international donors that they often adopt, they are blind to these issues, while in other cases, governments are deliberately exclusionary.

Of the countries that CRISE studied in depth, the Latin American nations deliberately introduced exclusionary policies in colonial times, and these policies were continued after independence. More recently, formal policies have been more inclusive, but informally there is a great deal of inequality and little effort to correct it, especially in Guatemala and Peru. Bolivia has been more politically inclusive, but has done much less in economic terms. After the end of the conflict in Guatemala in late 1996, the country began to address some of its acute inequalities, notably in the spheres of culture and education, yet very high levels of inequality remain.

In West Africa, policies have varied over time. Since the end of colonial rule in the region, there have been weak attempts to correct inherited economic and social HIs, but these have been largely offset by macroeconomic policies that have pulled in the opposite direction. On the political front, Ghana has generally adopted informal inclusive policies; Côte d'Ivoire assumed a similar stance for several decades until exclusionary policies were implemented after the demise of Houphouët-Boigny's regime. Nigeria, in contrast, has made a conscious attempt to correct political HIs via the Federal Character Principle (Mustapha, 2007), but it has done little to correct economic and social HIs.

In Southeast Asia, Malaysia has been most explicit, systematic and effective in correcting economic and social HIs. A national coalition government involves all groups in society and thus, although Malays dominate, political HIs have been kept partially in check. In Indonesia, a conscious but limited attempt was made to secure regional equity under Suharto via the INPRES programmes, but political HIs were severe. Since democratisation in 1999, extensive political and fiscal decentralisation has effectively reduced these problems by making the district the main centre of resource allocation. An equalisation formula is also in place to ensure that poorer districts receive a greater proportion of central funds.

In sum, national policies seem to be significantly more progressive in many multiethnic countries than international ones in the area of HIs, but they are rarely comprehensive.

# 3

## Policy findings

The main conclusion of the CRISE research programme is that HIs increase the risk of violent conflict, especially when they are consistent in the economic, social, political and cultural status spheres. It follows, therefore, that policies to correct such inequalities should be prioritised in any multi-ethnic society with severe HIs. Moreover, this is important from the standpoint of efficiency, justice and well-being, as well as for lowering the risk of conflict. Not only are such policies clearly needed in countries that have suffered conflict, but they should also be part of development policies generally: both as a conflict-prevention measure and because they will contribute to a just and inclusive society.

However, one should note three caveats:

- These are not the only policies needed. Wherever possible, they should complement other development policies towards economic growth, employment expansion and poverty reduction; where there are trade-offs, priorities will need to be determined.
- There is no one-size-fits-all approach to HIs. It is essential to understand the nature and extent of HIs in a particular context in order to design appropriate and effective policies, which requires the gathering and analysis of data. In addition, some aspects of HIs and their consequences are context-specific and, clearly, the policies that seek to address them should reflect this fact: what is appropriate in one setting may not be so in a neighbouring country.
- It is important that decision-makers are conscious of and sensitive to the tensions and controversies that might arise following the implementation of policies aimed at redistributing resources among groups. The policies can arouse resentment and opposition among groups that perceive themselves as losing out as a result, while targeting particular groups may entrench perceived differences. Both factors can potentially increase the propensity to mobilise along group lines. One can design policies to lessen these risks, although possibly at the expense of diminishing their effectiveness. Hence, policies need to be introduced with care and sensitivity.

CRISE research has identified three distinct approaches to managing HIs (see Table 1):

- **Direct approaches**—groups are targeted directly through quotas for the allocation of jobs, distribution of assets or educational access, for example. These can be quite effective, even in the short term, but they risk increasing the salience of identity difference and antagonising those who do not benefit from the policy initiative. Implementation of such approaches also presupposes that beneficiary groups are easy to identify.
- **Indirect approaches**—these are general policies that have the effect of reducing group disparities, such as anti-discrimination policies, policies to decentralise power, and progressive taxation or regional expenditure policies. These policies eschew narrow targeting and are less likely to increase the significance of identity, but they may be less effective in reducing HIs.
- **'Integrationist' approaches**—these aim to diminish the salience of group boundaries by, for instance, promoting national identity and shared economic or political activities across groups. These policies are attractive in that they decrease the significance of group boundaries, but they can conceal rather than reduce inequalities.

**Table 1** Approaches to reducing HIs

		Policy approach		
		Direct HI-reducing	Indirect HI-reducing	Integrationist
Dimension	Political	Group quotas; seat reservations; consociational constitution; 'list' PR	Voting system designed to require power-sharing across groups (for instance, two-thirds voting requirements in an assembly); specification of boundaries and seat numbers to ensure adequate representation of all groups; human rights legislation and enforcement	Geographical voting spread requirements; ban on ethnic/religious political parties; requirements that political parties include comprehensive national representation
	Socioeconomic	Quotas for employment or education; special investment or credit programmes for particular groups	Anti-discrimination legislation; progressive taxation; regional development programmes; sectoral support programmes (for example <i>Système de Stabilisation des Recettes d'Exportation – Stabex</i> )	Incentives for cross-group economic activities; requirement that schools are multicultural; promotion of multicultural civic institutions
	Cultural status	Minority language recognition and education; symbolic recognition (for example, public holidays and attendance at state functions)	Freedom of religious observance; no state religion	Civic citizenship education; promotion of an overarching national identity

Source: Stewart, Brown and Langer (2008).

Below are some concrete measures that may contribute to reducing economic, social, political and cultural status inequalities:

### 3.1 Policies to address economic and social HIs

A direct approach to reducing economic and social HIs has been adopted in a number of countries in the North (such as New Zealand, Northern Ireland and the US) and in the South (such as India, Fiji, Malaysia, South Africa and Sri Lanka). Some of the programmes have been introduced by disadvantaged majorities—in Fiji, Malaysia, Namibia, South Africa and Sri Lanka, for example—and some by advantaged majorities *for* disadvantaged minorities—in Brazil, India, and the US, for instance. The latter examples show that group-equalising policies can be implemented even in settings where the political situation appears unfavourable. In some cases, these policies were initiated while conflict was ongoing (Northern Ireland) or following episodes of violent conflict (Malaysia and South Africa). Although there is not sufficient space here to detail all such policies, the following list demonstrates the range of possible direct policies:

#### ■ Assets

- Policies to promote equitable group ownership of land via the redistribution of government-owned land, forcible eviction, purchases and restrictions on ownership (Fiji, Malaysia, Namibia and Zimbabwe).
- Policies towards the terms of privatisation (Fiji).
- Policies towards financial assets, such as bank regulations, subsidisation and restrictions (Malaysia and South Africa).

- Credit allocation (Fiji and Malaysia).
- Preferential training (Brazil and New Zealand).
- Quotas for education (Malaysia, Sri Lanka and the US).
- Public sector infrastructure policies (South Africa).
- Housing policies (Northern Ireland).
- Income and employment
  - Employment policies, including public sector quotas (India, Malaysia and Sri Lanka), and a requirement for balanced employment in the private sector (South Africa).
- Education
  - Quotas for university entrants (Malaysia, Nigeria and Sri Lanka).
  - Language policy to strengthen the position of some groups and weaken that of others in schools and universities (Malaysia and Sri Lanka).
- Health
  - Policies to improve access to health and services in relatively deprived areas (northern Ghana and in relation to the black population in the US).

Indirect policies that may lead to a reduction in economic and social HIs include progressive tax policies and general anti-poverty programmes that, ipso facto, benefit deprived groups relative to privileged ones. Other indirect measures use the legal system, such as for recognition and enforcement of economic and social human rights and for strong and well-enforced anti-discrimination legislation. Where regional disparities overlap with group identities, regional development policies can be a useful way of addressing HIs indirectly, including the regional allocation of fiscal transfers, taxation and expenditures. Yet, in many countries, the regional distribution of infrastructure actually accentuates existing imbalances rather than correcting them.

Integrationist policies aimed at reducing economic and social HIs can include fiscal or other direct economic incentives to encourage inter-group economic activities and engagement. For instance, in Malaysia, from 1970 a share of the capital of companies was apportioned to *bumiputera* shareholders. Educational policies can make an important contribution to integration, by educating children from different groups in the same schools, and by curricula that promote a shared vision of a country's history and future. Other integrationist policies include promoting national activities, such as holidays celebrating common national events, multicultural cultural events and support for national sports teams.

### 3.2 Policies to address political HIs

To tackle political HIs, it is necessary first to conduct a detailed evaluation of the extent to which different groups participate in political decision-making and power. It is essential to recognise that power-sharing does not happen automatically, irrespective of whether a political system is democratic, authoritarian or dictatorial. The major aspects that demand attention in addressing political HIs include: the definition of citizenship; the design of the electoral system and rules governing political competition; and the presence and participation of various groups in key state and non-state political institutions (including central and local governments, the legislature, the judiciary, political parties, security forces and state bureaucracies).

The advantages and disadvantages of direct versus indirect and integrationist approaches have been much debated in the political science literature concerned with the nature of political arrangements in multicultural societies. On the one hand, Arend Lijphart's 'consociationalism', constituting a 'direct' approach, advocates 'grand coalitions' that ensure that all groups be guaranteed some form of access and/or representation in all major political institutions

and arrangements (Lijphart, 1969, 1977). Such an approach was pursued at the end of the war in Bosnia-Herzegovina: the 1995 Dayton Agreement and the cessation of hostilities seem to have been dependent on the adoption of formal consociationalist arrangements. More than a decade on, however, the consequences of these arrangements in terms of effective cross-ethnic political cooperation and wider prospects for reconciliation appear far from entirely positive (Bodruzic, 2008). Donald Horowitz (1985), on the other hand, argues that the key divides in multicultural societies generally will be reflected in political institutions and that the priority in these contexts is to develop mechanisms that reduce incentives for group mobilisation rather than consociational instruments, which, in his view, encourage them. He supports a more indirect approach to securing inclusive political systems.

Electoral mechanisms that are designed to ensure balanced group representation in parliament, government and the executive are an important means of reducing political HIs. Such devices can be direct—for example, Lijphart (1986) has proposed that there should be separate electoral rolls for each group, with seats allocated by group rather than by geographic boundary. Cyprus and New Zealand have implemented such initiatives. An alternative direct mechanism is to create a single electoral roll but to reserve certain seats for particular groups (as in Colombia for indigenous people and in India for scheduled castes) (Van Cott, 2000).

Indirect electoral mechanisms that encourage group balance are also possible. For instance, most forms of PR are likely to achieve a greater degree of group balance than first-past-the-post systems, under which minorities ‘tend to be severely underrepresented or excluded’ (Lijphart, 1986, p. 113). In general, it appears that PR is an effective system to ensure representation of all groups broadly in proportion to their population size, so long as the system has low thresholds for the minimum votes needed to justify election. However, PR may not produce shared power since government composition need not reflect parliamentary composition.

Integrationist policies in the political sphere include policies towards political parties, since they form a critical mediating mechanism through which voter preferences are mobilised and expressed. In multi-ethnic societies, there is a strong tendency for political parties to become ‘ethnic’ as this seems to be an effective way of mobilising votes (Horowitz, 1985). Thus without some constraining influences, political parties can be highly divisive in multicultural societies, with elections sometimes leading to conflict (Snyder, 2000). In Ghana and Nigeria, political parties are required to have representatives throughout the country; given the geographic concentration of ethnic groups, this promotes multi-ethnic parties. The design of the electoral system can also encourage more broad-based coalitional parties, including through the adoption of ‘list’ PR, or a single transferable vote in multi-member districts (adopted, for example, in Ireland and Malta). In addition, restrictions on the nature, the number or even the existence of political parties themselves may be another integrationist policy.

While the rules and regulations of electoral and political party systems are important devices that can help to ensure a basic minimum level of political representation for minorities, they do not guarantee participation in government or secure adequate shares of important jobs in the state bureaucracy or security institutions. The group background of the executive itself—the head of the executive, in particular, but also the cabinet—is of crucial importance for decision-making, especially since in many countries the group that dominates the executive distributes resources in a way that favours its own members. There can be formal or informal provisions for a fair share of political posts at every level, including the head of government, the cabinet, the senior civil service, the military and the police. In many post-conflict societies, formal mechanisms are introduced to ‘share’ the top governmental positions among cultural groups. In Lebanon, for instance, the top three political offices are reserved for members of the three main ethno-religious groups. In Cyprus, Greek Cypriots vote for the president and Turkish Cypriots vote for the vice-president. Power-sharing also can occur over time. In Bosnia-Herzegovina, the chair of the three-member Presidium rotates among the representatives of the Bosnian, Croat and Serb communities. In other settings, however, informal instruments dominate. In Ghana, a country with impressive peaceful cohabitation practices, the issue of power-sharing is addressed informally for the most part.



Diffusion of power can be an important mechanism for tackling political HIs, with federalism or decentralisation serving as means of such diffusion. Where groups are concentrated geographically, a federal constitution can empower groups by granting them control over many areas of decision-making. Decentralisation can contribute to power-sharing in a similar way to federalism. Econometric analysis shows that decentralisation is associated with lower levels of communal and secessionist violence, although this can be offset in part by the growth of regional political parties (Brancati, 2006). Much depends on which powers are accorded to the decentralised units and whether finance has also been devolved. There are many cases of apparent decentralisation with little effective devolution (Crook and Manor, 1998).

In addition, 'supply-side' policies may be needed to improve the political capabilities of groups that have long been excluded politically. Policies to strengthen the ability of groups to function politically (how to build consensus, how to spell out policy positions, how to lobby effectively) are usually implemented best by non-governmental organisations (NGOs); government policy can encourage such roles for NGOs. In addition, many of the policies set out above to help reduce economic and social HIs will also contribute to this political capability (education is the fundamental one).

### 3.3 Policies to address cultural status inequalities

An important distinction between policies towards cultural status inequalities and those towards political or economic and social inequalities is that the latter generally involve some resource *redistribution*, while rectifying cultural status inequalities is often a matter of *recognition*. Relevant policies relate to the three main areas of cultural status:

- religious practices;
- language policy; and
- ethno-cultural practices.

Appropriate policies to achieve cultural status equality across religions depend on the nature of the inequalities—whether they derive, for example, from one religion being officially recognised as a state religion, or from more informal sources of inequality. In general, complete equality is not possible if the state recognises only one 'official' religion. Even in such a context, though, countries can move towards greater equality of status of different religions. Policies to promote equality in religious recognition include:

- ensuring equal opportunities to construct places of worship and burial grounds;
- recognition of religious festivals and, where appropriate, public holidays to commemorate them;
- inclusive laws on marriage and inheritance; and
- representation of all major religions at official state functions.

Language policy raises complex questions. Designating one language as the national language is often seen as a means of promoting a cohesive and overarching national identity and possibly generating economic benefits. However, such an initiative can also cause resentment and generate economic disadvantage among minority-language speakers. Recognition of several languages has been successful in some multilingual societies. In Singapore, for instance, all four widely spoken languages—Malay, Mandarin Chinese, Tamil and English—enjoy 'official' recognition. While government business is conducted in English, Malay is designated the 'national' language and is used on ceremonial occasions (Spolsky, 2004). The education sector is obviously a critical factor in relation to language recognition. Promoting cultural status equality in multilingual countries requires education in more than one language, although the specifics will vary across countries (Watson, 2007). While there are apparent

opportunity costs to teaching more than one language at school, evidence suggests that where pupils are educated in their mother tongue *and* taught a national *lingua franca*, they perform much better at school.

State recognition of, and support for, the cultural practices of different groups is another significant dimension of efforts to address cultural status inequality. One important area in many societies in this regard is customary law practices (Langer and Brown, 2008). Acceptance and recognition of legal plurality can augment access by minorities to legal systems as well as their overall sense of commanding respect. In Nigeria, for instance, the introduction of Islamic *shari'a* in many of the country's northern states has contributed to a feeling of public recognition and acknowledgement among Muslims (Suberu, 2009).

Policies on cultural status inequalities must take into account the particular history and politics of cultural interaction in a country as well as demographic factors. However, it is clear that there are important symbolic steps that states can take to address all of the main issues discussed here, which would increase the visibility and recognition of different cultural groups without generating significant economic costs—although there may be political repercussions. State recognition of and support for religious festivities, informal language-use practices and non-exclusive dress codes are cases in point. Support for the study of different languages and the use of public holidays to acknowledge the cultural importance of different ethnic or religious identities are other relatively low-cost examples of HI-reducing policies in the cultural status dimension.

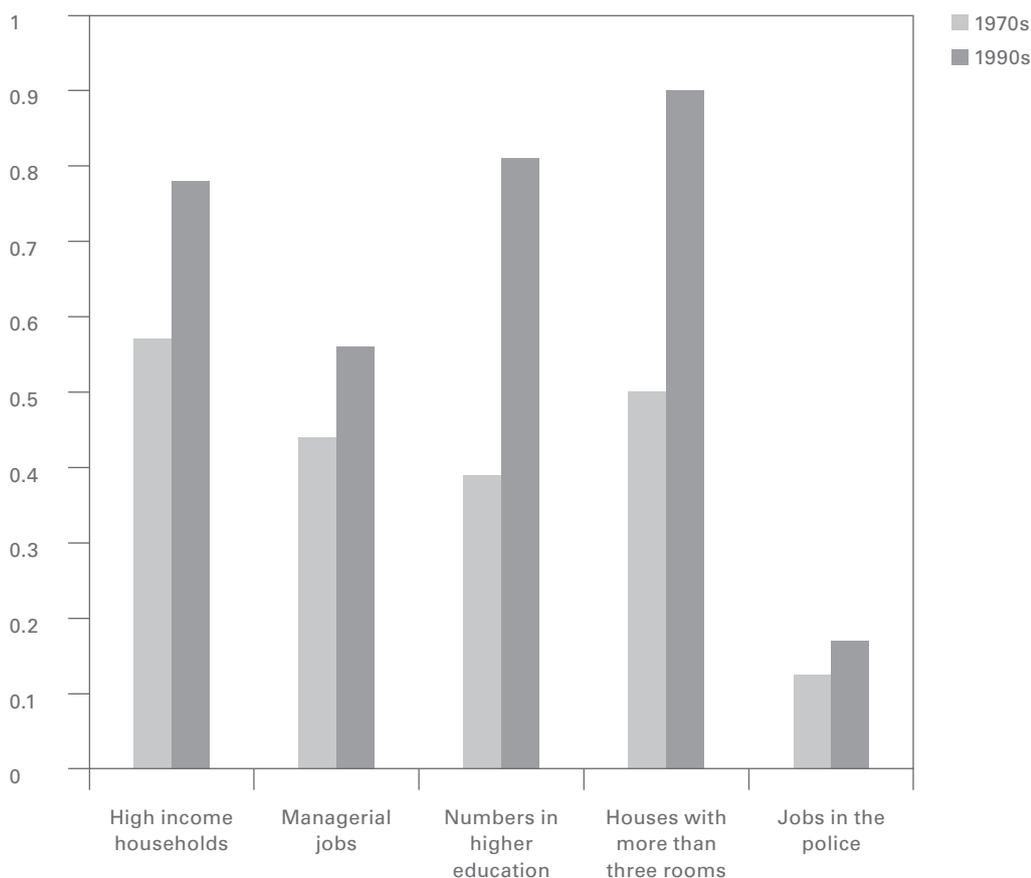
### 3.4 Two examples of comprehensive policies

Two country case studies show how a comprehensive effort can improve economic and social HIs:

- In Malaysia, the New Economic Policy was introduced in 1971 with the aim of reducing inequalities between Malays and Chinese following anti-Chinese riots in 1969 and of securing national unity. This was a two-pronged approach: 'to reduce and eventually eradicate poverty' and 'to accelerate the process of restructuring Malaysian society to correct economic imbalance so as to reduce and eventually eliminate the identification of race with economic function' (Second Malaysian Plan, 1971–75). In addition to a variety of anti-poverty initiatives (rural development, social services), restructuring policies sought to expand the *bumiputera's* share of capital ownership to 30 per cent, allocate 95 per cent of new lands to Malays, institute educational quotas in public institutions in line with population shares, and introduce credit policies favouring Malays, through credit allocations and more favourable interest rates. The ratio of *bumiputera* to Chinese average incomes increased from 0.42 to 0.57 between 1970 and 1999 (with the greatest improvement occurring during the first 10 years of the policy) and the ratio of shared ownership rose from 0.03 to 0.23. In addition, the *bumiputera's* share of registered professionals went from eight per cent to 47 per cent in the same period.
- In Northern Ireland, following centuries of strong discrimination and persistent HIs, a concerted effort was made from the late 1970s to address inequalities through housing policy, education policy and fair employment legislation. The European Union and the government of Great Britain backed the initiative by reserving contracts for firms that did not discriminate. From the late 1970s to the late 1990s, inequality in the share of the population in the high-income category fell, with the ratio of Catholics to Protestants moving from 0.55 to 0.77. Furthermore, the ratio of Catholics to Protestants in higher education rose from 0.39 to 0.81, while the Catholic/Protestant ratio of the proportion of the population in houses with three or more rooms increased from 0.5 to 0.9 (see Figure 3). Inequalities in higher education and in access to basic health services had been eliminated by 2004, although some disadvantage persisted. For example, Protestants were still overrepresented in the 40 largest companies and a higher proportion of Catholics remained on income

**Figure 3** Horizontal inequalities in Northern Ireland

Ratio of Catholic to Protestant



Source: author's calculations derived from Gallagher (1995), Melaugh (1994), Fair Employment Commission (1998) and PPRU (1993).

support. A government survey of 2004 on inequality in health and social care found that Catholics were significantly disadvantaged in each area analysed (McWhirter, 2004). Nevertheless, the large decline in HIs seems likely to have been an important factor in achieving peace in Northern Ireland.

Yet, it is often argued that there are problems with the policies (see, for example, Barry, 2001). It has been suggested that they undermine standards, efficiency and competitiveness, that they worsen intra-group inequality, and that they entrench ethnic boundaries and divisions:

■ **Standards, efficiency and competitiveness.** A common criticism of affirmative action policies is that they reduce standards (in the case of education) and efficiency (in the case of economic affirmative action). In theory, there are reasons for both negative and positive impacts. On the negative side, interference in normal competitive processes is said to prevent the allocation of resources in the most efficient fashion. On the positive side, countering discrimination and giving the whole population equal opportunities is likely to improve efficiency, by permitting greater realisation of potential. Even policies involving 'positive' discrimination towards deprived groups may improve efficiency, by offsetting the deep historic bias against such groups.

There is no significant empirical evidence to suggest that such policies reduce efficiency, although careful evaluations are relatively rare. The most extensive studies of the efficiency impact have focused on US affirmative action towards blacks. Some studies reveal a positive impact; none shows a negative impact (Farley, 1984; Keister, 2000). In Malaysia,

the high economic growth that accompanied affirmative action policies also suggests that they may have had a positive impact.

- **Intra-group inequality.** It is sometimes argued that, while affirmative action and other HI-reducing policies reduce inter-group inequality, they *increase* intra-group inequality. This is not inevitable: it depends on whether the policies mostly extend opportunities and services to lower-income classes within the deprived group(s) (for example, by enhancing unskilled employment, investment in poor regions and primary education) or whether they principally affect upper-income categories (by promoting professional and skilled employment, higher education and asset accumulation among previously deprived groups). Systematic evidence on this is lacking. In the case of Malaysia, intra-group inequality fell during the 1970s when the policies were most effective (Shireen, 1998). In contrast, in South Africa, it seems that intra-black inequality has risen since the introduction of the policies from the mid-1990s (van der Berg and Louw, 2004). Business ‘empowerment’ policies in South Africa, for example, seem mainly to have enriched a black elite.<sup>13</sup> In both cases, of course, many other influences were simultaneously affecting income distribution—such as anti-poverty policies in Malaysia and liberalisation policies in South Africa—so one cannot attribute the changes to the affirmative action policies alone.

The possibility of some adverse impact on efficiency and intra-group equity suggests that one should aim to design HI-reducing policies that, by themselves (or in conjunction with other policies), tend to enhance efficiency and income distribution. From an efficiency perspective, this might mean placing greater emphasis on process reform and subsidies rather than on quotas. From an equity perspective, it means focusing on employment and basic services as well as on infrastructure development in poor regions. It should also be remembered that even if the policies reduce efficiency and worsen intra-group income distribution, these effects need to be weighed against their likely impact in reducing violence, which would itself have a positive effect on growth, efficiency and poverty reduction.

- **Ethnic boundaries and divisions.** Another common argument against affirmative action policies is that they entrench difference, and that they may reinforce negative stereotypes, encouraging the belief that a particular person has progressed only because of his or her ethnicity. Conversely, the fact that members of different groups become closer in status may increase inter-group respect.<sup>14</sup> Among the countries in which CRISE conducted perceptions surveys, cross-ethnic relations appeared to be fewest and views of other groups most negative in Malaysia, which has been most systematic in adopting affirmative action-type policies in the socioeconomic dimension. Yet negative attitudes are strongest in rural areas of Malaysia where policies have been least effective. In Nigeria, too, where there have also been direct policies—this time focused on political power-sharing—ethnicity appears to be relatively strong as a personal identity and in politics. Northern Ireland is another case where ethnicity as a perceived identity remains relatively strong following policies to correct HIs. However, in all three cases—Malaysia, Nigeria and Northern Ireland—peace has been maintained, which might not have been the case in the absence of such policies. This evidence suggests some association between the direct policies and strong ethnic identities, but there is not enough evidence to determine whether the policies caused the stereotypes, or whether, in this rather small sample, the policies were adopted in the societies where inter-group relations were already poor. A larger sample and time-series evidence is needed to answer this question. However, the association points to the need to accompany such direct policies with policies to promote good relations among groups.

In a few cases, it has been suggested that policies to correct HIs have been a factor in actually provoking violence. In Sri Lanka, it has been argued that affirmative action policies towards civil service employment and education were one factor behind the Tamil rebellion—where a sharp shift in access to higher education and civil service employment was adverse to Tamils.

<sup>13</sup> *Financial Times* (2007) ‘Black South Africans grow impatient over pace of change’. 5 January. [http://www.ft.com/cms/s/0/6d8274b8-9cd7-11db-8ec6-0000779e2340.html?nclink\\_check=1](http://www.ft.com/cms/s/0/6d8274b8-9cd7-11db-8ec6-0000779e2340.html?nclink_check=1).

<sup>14</sup> Tests of the well-known ‘contact hypothesis’ show that contact between members of different groups only improves relations when people meet on a basis of rough equality (Hewstone, Rubin and Willis, 2002).

However, these policies were accompanied by severe political exclusion and a worsening of the cultural status of Tamils through the adoption of Sinhala as the official language. This example points to the need for particular care to ensure politically inclusive policies and equality of cultural recognition. It is important to avoid a situation in which adverse policies on political participation and cultural status accompany policies to correct economic and social HIs.

In summary, it is clear that while policies to correct HIs are desirable to maintain peace and security and to generate a just and inclusive society, they need to be introduced sensitively to avoid attracting strong opposition. The Malaysian case also suggests that it is desirable for direct policies to be of limited duration: while the Malaysian policies received national support in the early years, opposition has mounted, as have the corrupt practices associated with their implementation. Indirect policies avoid some of the undesirable consequences of direct policies, but they tend to function more slowly and may be less effective in reducing HIs.

## 4. Measurement of HIs

One reason that relatively little attention has been paid to HIs, in either development analysis generally or in conflict research, is that data are often absent or deficient and there has been limited investigation of the best way of measuring HIs. This is a catch-22 situation, as a major reason for the shortage of data is the lack of focus on group inequality. Consequently, data and measurement have formed an important component of CRISE research (Mancini, Stewart and Brown, 2008; Stewart, Brown and Mancini, 2005).

The first step towards understanding the status and dynamics of HIs in a country is to classify the relevant identity groups: that is, the group boundaries that are important to people, and the boundaries that form the basis of discrimination or favouritism. This raises many problems since multiple identities and their social construction mean that group boundaries are rarely clear-cut. For example, among Roma people in Eastern Europe, 90.8 per cent of those interviewed stated that they 'feel Roma', but only 47.9 per cent reported that they had declared themselves as Roma in the previous census (UNDP, 2002). In Guatemala, 'under certain circumstances an individual can be born indigenous and become Ladino during the course of his or her life' (Caumartin, 2005, p. 8).

An initial in-depth assessment of the history and political economy of the country in question will reveal important group distinctions. Valuable additional insights can be gleaned from available surveys of people's own perceptions of identity distinctions, or such a survey can be implemented. Such surveys enquire as to the importance of different aspects of identity to people themselves as well as which groups they feel are privileged or deprived, and which are favoured or disfavoured by the government. Often it can be useful to adopt a multiple approach, examining a variety of group classifications (for example, ethnic, regional and religious), and seeing where the main inequalities emerge. The categorisation should, in so far as this is possible, be sensitive to people's self-positioning (and how others in society position them). It is also desirable to explore whether adopting different categorisation criteria alters the results. In practice, data deficiencies mean that typically, only rather crude classifications are available. However, once the importance of the issue is acknowledged, multiple classifications may emerge, as they have, for instance, vis-à-vis ethnic classification in the UK census.

Although there is generally a dearth of data, in many countries it is possible to find enough to make estimates of some HIs. Questions about ethnicity or religion appear in some countries' household surveys or censuses. Such variables are included for a larger number of countries covered by the Demographic and Health Surveys. In some countries, data are collected according to language spoken and this can be a proxy for ethnicity if most members of each group speak their own unique language—although this is by no means always the case. Where populations of different ethnicity are concentrated in particular parts of the country, regional data can act as a proxy for ethnic data.

The data just described are confined to socioeconomic variables. CRISE has collected some data on political HIs, and plans to extend this, while the Minorities at Risk Project of the University of Maryland has developed a dataset on most dimensions for countries where it is judged that there are minorities at risk. In addition, the Ethnic Power Relations dataset provides global data on executive level and senior positions for 1945–2009. In short, one can usually draw conclusions on economic and social HIs, often by utilising proxies, but data on the political and cultural status dimensions are more limited.

Measurement of political HIs requires information on the distribution of salient groups across positions in parliament, government and the bureaucracy, among other areas. A key concept here is that of 'relative representation' (Langer, 2005), defined as each group's share of the positions available divided by its share of the population, which is a useful indicator of political HIs. This requires knowledge of the background of the relevant officials or politicians. In a few cases, this information is publicly available (for example, in Nepal—see Brown and Stewart, 2006). Where it is not, however, 'name recognition' techniques may be employable in some contexts to attribute group background (see, for instance, Langer, 2005). As far as cultural status is concerned, a list of relevant features can be drawn up and recognition within each category subsequently ranked, from complete equality to complete exclusion. This may be sufficient to indicate broad cultural status inequalities, or one can derive an overall index from the rankings, which is helpful for cross-country research.

Even with adequate data, there remain problems of how to measure HIs. Two critical issues are:

- how to 'add' them up for a society as a whole when there are more than two groups; and
- how to deal with inequalities in the distribution within each group when summarising the performance of each group.

With regard to the first issue, the population-weighted group coefficient of variance (GCOV) seems to be the most appropriate measure, as it quantifies variance while giving more weight to larger groups.<sup>15</sup> Empirically, it seems that this gauge of group inequality is quite highly correlated with alternative measures. One problem with it is that, where one is concerned with political mobilisation, a somewhat complex measure does not represent the situation people face on a daily basis, and simple contrasts among the salient groups may depict what people experience on the ground more accurately.

The coefficient of variance is normally calculated in relation to the average performance of each group in relation to a particular variable or variables, without allowing for different variances within each group. Yet from a political perspective, how groups compare at different points in the distribution may be relevant. In one case, for example, a group may outperform another uniformly at every income level. In a second case, a group's elite (say, the top five per cent) may enjoy incomes far higher than the elite of the other group, but in the remaining 95 per cent of the distribution the groups have the same income levels. In a third case, both groups may be equal at the top, but the bottom 40 per cent of one group is far poorer than the bottom 40 per cent of the other. A fourth possibility is that one group may have higher income levels at the top of the distribution, but lower income levels at the bottom.

These differences have both political and policy implications. From a political perspective, in the first case, both the elite and the masses of the lower-income group have grievances, a situation that may make rebellion more likely. Malaysia in the 1960s and apartheid South Africa are examples. In the second case, the elite has a grievance but not the rest of the population, perhaps making rebellion less likely. In the third and fourth cases, the fact that the elite in the poorer group has similar (or higher) incomes to the elite in the richer group may make rebellion less likely, despite the income disparities among the lower-income groups, unless the elite feel politically disenfranchised or threatened, in which case they may find it easy to mobilise support among the lower-income groups.

The differences are relevant from a policy perspective, too, as different policies are needed to address inequalities in different parts of the distribution. In the first case, for example, policies are required to augment entrepreneurial and civil service opportunities at the top and to provide basic services and economic opportunities to the masses. In the second case, the focus of efforts to reduce tensions should be on elite opportunities.

To explore these issues, one can compare the whole distribution; but it is also helpful to have aggregate measures that summarise such differences. Our preferred measure for this is the one developed by James Foster, known as a measure of  $\alpha$ -means. This calculates a range of

<sup>15</sup> Weighted GCOV =

$$\frac{1}{\bar{y}} \left( \sum_r p_r (\bar{y}_r - \bar{y})^2 \right)^{\frac{1}{2}}$$

where  $y$  is the value of the variable of interest (such as income or years of education),  $\bar{y}$  is the sample mean for that variable for all members of the population,  $\bar{y}_r$  is the mean for members of group  $r$ , and  $p_r$  is the population share of group  $r$ .

measures of inequality according to the group means for each group at different points of the income distribution, by using parametric means. The value of the parameter,  $\alpha$ , determines how much weight is given to different sections of the distribution. Hence, the estimate of HI varies according to the chosen value of the parameter, and thus shows how HIs vary according to how one values, inter alia, the rich, the poor and the middle of the income distribution.

In addition to 'objective' measures of HIs, it is also helpful to find out how people themselves perceive their situation, since, as noted above, action depends on individuals' perceptions. One would expect a fair amount of correspondence between the actual situation and perceptions, but perceptions can be influenced by leadership and the media, as well as by how visible different groups are to one another. For instance, people in a remote part of the country may have very little idea of how others live, with such knowledge as they have being filtered through the media and migrants' tales. People living side-by-side in an urban setting, however, may be well aware of particular inequalities—such as in obtaining housing or jobs. Because of the importance of perceptions, CRISE has already conducted perceptions surveys in seven countries, and recommends generally that such surveys be conducted periodically in multi-ethnic societies.



## 5. Conclusion and new research requirements

This paper has elucidated the meaning of horizontal inequality, pointing to the multidimensionality of the concept. It has shown that severe HIs can be an important source of conflict, especially where they are consistent across dimensions. While economic and social HIs can create fertile ground for the emergence of conflict and cultural status inequalities act to bind groups together, political HIs provide incentives for leaders to mobilise people for rebellion. Where major HIs exist, abrupt changes in political HIs, or cultural events in which important cultural or religious symbols are attacked, often constitute powerful conflict triggers.

Evidence in this paper supports three propositions:

- conflict is more likely in settings where there are significant political and/or economic HIs;
- political mobilisation is especially likely when HIs are consistent; and
- cultural recognition or status inequalities are also provocative.

Other factors, of course, are also important in determining whether a conflict erupts. One is the nature of the state and its reactions to societal conflicts, another is the role of local institutions in pacifying or exacerbating conflict once it has started, and a third is the presence of natural resources, often working through their impact on HIs.

A major conclusion, however, is that for the most part, especially within the international community, too little attention is paid to HIs, and the policies that are implemented in practice often accentuate them. This is true both for economic policies, such as structural adjustment, and for policies towards governance and the political system. CRISE research on post-conflict situations shows that in such contexts, the impact of socioeconomic policies on HIs are rarely considered, although at the political level, power-sharing agreements are more common (see Langer, Stewart and Venugopal, forthcoming; Stewart and Ohiorhenuan, 2008).

The review of policies revealed a wide range of direct, indirect and integrationist policies to tackle the different dimensions of HIs, but also emphasised the need to introduce such policies sensitively to avoid provoking excessive opposition. What is needed, above all, is national and international recognition of the fact that an inclusive society without acute HIs is essential to create a fair and stable system. Once this is accepted as a critical objective, consensus will be more likely on the precise policies required to achieve it.

The work of CRISE has achieved significant advances in this area, but it has also pointed to further research needs:

1. Work on the long-term drivers of HIs, including the role of historical discrimination, and the inequalities in human, social and cultural capital across groups that ensue. This research would involve micro studies of the inequalities facing different groups and the intergenerational transmission of these inequalities. It would help to identify more effective policies to counter these persistent inequalities.
2. Existing research on HIs has focused on the state both as the object of contestation (whether for control or secession) and as a major actor driving mobilisation. Civil society is a relatively unexplored dimension of HIs, which deserves closer attention. Civil society is likely to play a crucial role in providing, and contesting, a *public understanding* of HIs, which

could contribute to the instigation and escalation of ethnically divisive social mobilisation, or could act as a brake on it. While civil society is often reified as a 'bringing together' phenomenon that is thought to promote democracy and tolerance,<sup>16</sup> it can also be a site of exclusion, intolerance and even oppression (Alexander, 1992; Whitehead, 1997). Inequalities, particularly HIs, do not lead to social mobilisation and conflict unless they are perceived as severe and unjust. While CRISE research on HIs has concentrated on the role of political elites in providing a public interpretation of such inequalities, extending the analysis beyond this core should yield important new insights.

3. Further work in the policy arena, especially:
  - a. More systematic research on policies to counter political HIs, including an appraisal of the short- and long-term advantages and disadvantages of alternative approaches adopted. This research would draw on abundant contemporary and historical experience of different political mechanisms for securing inclusive political systems.
  - b. Research on how to manage natural resources in such a way that they contribute to reducing, rather than increasing, HIs, while recognising the complex political economy of such policies. This work would involve in-depth research in countries with a history of 'good' and 'poor' management.
  - c. Research on reactions to policies to correct HIs, especially the impacts on identities and on relations between communities, with a view to identifying the policies least likely to be conflictual. The research would draw on developments in countries such as Malaysia, Nigeria, Northern Ireland and South Africa, which have considerable experience of affirmative action policies.
  - d. Research on how best to advance the capabilities of groups suffering political HIs to allow them to participate politically and to advance their voice and their level of representation.
4. Research on when and how *particular* identities become the identity around which people mobilise for conflict. Today, religion and ethnicity form two dominant alternative identities often used for political mobilisation. This research would investigate why one is selected rather than another, and whether there are any material consequences associated with the choice in terms of the incidence and severity of conflict (Stewart, 2008b, 2009). It would help to pinpoint signs of impending mobilisation across different identities, and would indicate whether different policies towards conflict prevention would be appropriate according to the nature of the identity adopted.
5. The final area concerns data. The work of CRISE shows that data on HIs are available only in an unsystematic form, and that there is very little on the political and cultural dimensions. Given the importance of HIs in each realm, more systematic data collection is a key priority.

<sup>16</sup> As well as 'communicative action' in the terminology of Jürgen Habermas (1984, 1987).

# References

- Akindès, F. (2007) 'The Marketing of Identities in Cote d'Ivoire'. *CRISE Internal Paper*. Oxford: Centre for Research on Inequality, Human Security and Ethnicity (CRISE), University of Oxford, Oxford.
- Alexander, J.C. (1992). 'Citizen and Enemy as Symbolic Classification: On the Polarizing Discourse of Civil Society'. In M.Fournier and M. Lamont (eds.) *Cultivating Differences: Symbolic Boundaries and the Making of Inequality*. Chicago: Chicago University Press, pp. 289–308.
- Asante, R. (2007) 'Cultural Differences and Political Stability of Ghana'. *CRISE Internal Paper*. Oxford: CRISE, University of Oxford, Oxford.
- Bach, D. (2006). 'Inching Towards a Country Without a State: Prebendalism, Violence and State Betrayal in Nigeria'. In C. Clapham, J. Herbst and G. Mill (eds) *Africa's Big States*. Johannesburg: Wits University Press, pp. 47–79.
- Bakke, K. and E. Wibbels (2006) 'Federalism and Intrastate Struggles: The Role of Diversity and Disparity'. Paper delivered at the CRISE Workshop on *Federalism, Decentralisation and Conflict*, Queen Elizabeth House, Oxford, 5–7 October.
- Barrows, W.L. (1976). 'Ethnic Diversity and Political Instability in Black Africa'. *Comparative Political Studies*, 9(2), pp. 139–170.
- Barry, B.M. (2001) *Culture and Equality: An Egalitarian Critique of Multiculturalism*. Cambridge: Polity Press.
- Binningsbø, H.M. (2005) 'Consociational Democracy and Postconflict Peace: Will Power-sharing Institutions Increase the Probability of Lasting Peace after Civil War?' Paper presented at the 13th National Conference in Political Science, Hurdalsjøen, Norway, 5–7 January.
- Bodruzic, D. (2008) *Civil Society in a Post-Conflict Multiethnic Setting: A Case Study of Bosnia*. Unpublished MPhil Thesis. Oxford: Department of International Development, University of Oxford.
- Booth, D. and Z. Curran (2005) *Aid Instruments and Exclusion*. London: Overseas Development Institute.
- Brancati, D. (2006) 'Decentralization: Fueling the Fire or Dampening the Flames of Ethnic Conflict'. *International Organization*, 60(3), pp. 651–685.
- Brass, P.R. (1997) *Theft of an Idol: Text and Context in the Representation of Collective Violence*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.
- Brown, G.K. (forthcoming) *The Political Economy of Secession: Ethnicity, Inequality, and the State in Southeast Asia and Beyond*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Brown, G.K. (2008) 'Horizontal Inequalities and Separatism in Southeast Asia: A Comparative Perspective'. In F. Stewart (ed.) *Horizontal Inequalities and Conflict: Understanding Group Violence in Multiethnic Societies*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, pp. 252–281.
- Brown, G.K. and F. Stewart (2006) 'The Implications of Horizontal Inequality for Aid'. *CRISE Working Paper*, No. 36. Oxford: CRISE, University of Oxford.
- Brown, I. (1997) *Economic Change in South-East Asia, c.1830–1980*. Kuala Lumpur: Oxford University Press.
- Caumartin, C. (2005) 'Racism, Violence, and Inequality: An Overview of the Guatemalan Case'. *CRISE Working Paper*, No. 11. Oxford: CRISE, University of Oxford.

- Caumartin, C., G. Gray Molina and R. Thorp (2008) 'Inequality, Ethnicity and Political Violence in Latin America: The Cases of Bolivia, Guatemala and Peru'. In F. Stewart (ed.) *Horizontal Inequalities and Conflict: Understanding Group Violence in Multiethnic Societies*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, pp. 227–251.
- CEH (Comisión para el Esclarecimiento Histórico) (1999a) *Guatemala: Memoria del Silencio. Tomo I: Mandato y Procedimiento de Trabajo: Causas y Origenes del Enfrentamiento Armado Interno*. Guatemala City: Oficina de Servicios para Proyectos de las Naciones Unidas (UNOPS). <http://shr.aaas.org/guatemala/ceh/> (last accessed 29 March 2004).
- CEH (Comisión para el Esclarecimiento Histórico) (1999b) *Guatemala: Memoria del Silencio. Tomo III: Las Violaciones de los Derechos Humanos y los Hechos de Violencia*. Guatemala City: Oficina de Servicios para Proyectos de las Naciones Unidas (UNOPS). <http://shr.aaas.org/guatemala/ceh/> (last accessed 29 March 2004).
- Collier, P. et al. (2003) *Breaking the Conflict Trap: Civil War and Development Policy*. Washington, DC: World Bank.
- Cornia, G.A. (ed.) (2004) *Inequality, Growth, and Poverty in an Era of Liberalization and Globalization*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Crook, R.C. and J. Manor (1998) *Democracy and Decentralisation in South Asia and West Africa*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- DFID (Department for International Development) (2005) *Fighting Poverty to Build a Safer World*. London: DFID.
- Diprose, R. (2007) 'Passing on the Challenges or Prescribing Better Management of Diversity: Decentralization, Power-Sharing, and Conflict Dynamics in Central Sulawesi, Indonesia'. *CRISE Working Paper*, No. 38. Oxford: CRISE, University of Oxford.
- Diprose, R. (2009) 'Decentralization, Horizontal Inequalities and Conflict Management in Indonesia'. *Ethnopolitics*, 8(1), pp. 107–134.
- Do, Q.T. and L. Iyer (2007) 'Poverty, Social Divisions and Conflict in Nepal'. *World Bank Policy Research Working Paper*, No. 4228. Washington, DC: World Bank.
- Fair Employment Commission (1998) *Monitoring Report No. 8: A Profile of the Northern Ireland Workforce – Summary of Monitoring Returns 1997*. Belfast: Fair Employment Commission.
- Farley, R. (1984) *Blacks and Whites: Narrowing the Gap?* Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.
- Fearon, J.D. and D.D. Laitin (1996) 'Explaining Interethnic Cooperation'. *American Political Science Review*, 90(4), pp. 715–735.
- Fenton, S. (2009) *Malaysia: A Very Particular Multiculturalism*. Bristol: University of Bristol.
- Figueroa, A. (2008) 'Education, Labour Markets and Inequality in Peru'. *CRISE Working Paper*, No. 48. Oxford: CRISE, University of Oxford.
- Foster, J.E., L.F. Lopez-Calva and M. Szekely (2003) 'Measuring the Distribution of Human Development: Methodology and an Application to Mexico'. *Estudios Sobre Desarrollo Humano*, No. 2003-4. Mexico City: Programa de las Naciones Unidas para el Desarrollo (PNUD).
- Foster, J.E. and M. Szekely (2006) *Is Economic Growth Good for the Poor? Tracking Low Income Using General Means*. Mimeo. Nashville, TN: Vanderbilt University.
- Gallagher, A.M. (1995) *Majority Minority Review 1: Education in a Divided Society*. 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. Coleraine: University of Ulster.
- Gibney, M. (2008) 'Who should be Included? Noncitizens, Conflict and the Constitution of the Citizenry'. In F. Stewart (ed.) *Horizontal Inequalities and Conflict: Understanding Group Violence in Multiethnic Societies*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, pp. 25–40.

- Gray Molina, G. (2008) 'Bolivia's Long and Winding Road'. *Inter-American Dialogue Andean Working Paper*, July. Washington, DC: Inter-American Dialogue (IAD).
- Guerreiro Osório, R. (2008) 'Is All Socioeconomic Inequality among Racial Groups in Brazil Caused by Racial Discrimination?' *International Poverty Centre Working Paper*, No. 43. Brasilia: International Poverty Centre and United Nations Development Programme (UNDP).
- Gurr, T.R. (1993) *Minorities at Risk: A Global View of Ethnopolitical Conflicts*. Washington, DC: United States Institute of Peace Press.
- Gurr, T.R. and W.H. Moore (1997) 'Ethnopolitical Rebellion: A Cross-sectional Analysis of the 1980s with Risk Assessments for the 1990s'. *American Journal of Political Science*, 41(4), pp. 1079–1103.
- Habermas, J. (1984) *The Theory of Communicative Action. Vol. 1: Reason and the Rationalization of Society*. Boston, MA: Beacon Press.
- Habermas, J. (1987) *The Theory of Communicative Action. Vol. 2: Lifeworld and System: A Critique of Functionalist Reason*. Boston, MA: Beacon Press.
- Hewstone, M., M. Rubin and H. Willis (2002) 'Intergroup Bias'. *Annual Review of Psychology*, 53(1), pp. 575–604.
- Higazi, A. (2007) 'Policies and Conflict in Plateau State, Nigeria: Urban Relations in Jos from Colonial Rule to the 2007 Elections'. *Politique Africaine*, 106, pp. 69–91.
- Horowitz, D. (1985) *Ethnic Groups in Conflict*. Berkeley, CA: University of California Press.
- Human Rights Watch (2006) "'They Do Not Own this Place": Government Discrimination against "Non-indigenes" in Nigeria'. <http://www.hrw.org/reports/2006/nigeria0406/index.htm>.
- Humphreys, M. (2005) 'Natural Resources, Conflict and Conflict Resolution: Uncovering the Mechanisms'. *Journal of Conflict Resolution*, 49(4), pp. 508–537.
- Huntington, S.P. (1993) 'The Clash of Civilisations?' *Foreign Affairs*, 72(3), pp. 22–49.
- Jönsson, J. (2006) 'The Overwhelming Minority: Traditional Leadership and Ethnic Conflict in Ghana's Northern Regions'. *CRISE Working Paper*, No. 30. Oxford: CRISE, University of Oxford.
- Kanbur, R. and N. Lustig (2000) 'Why is Inequality Back on the Agenda?' *Proceedings of the Annual World Bank Conference on Development Economics 1999*. Washington, DC: World Bank, pp. 285–306.
- Keister, L.A. (2000) *Wealth in America: Trends in Wealth Inequality*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Kell, T. (1995) *The Roots of Acehnese Rebellion, 1989–1992*. Ithaca, NY: Modern Indonesia Project, Cornell University.
- Kirwin, M. and W. Cho (2009) 'Weak States and Political Violence in Sub-Saharan Africa'. *Afrobarometer Working Papers*, No. 111. [http://www.afrobarometer.org/papers/AfropaperNo111\\_2.pdf](http://www.afrobarometer.org/papers/AfropaperNo111_2.pdf).
- Langer, A. (2005) 'Horizontal Inequalities and Violent Group Mobilisation in Côte d'Ivoire'. *Oxford Development Studies*, 33(1), pp. 25–45.
- Langer, A. (2008) 'When do Horizontal Inequalities Lead to Conflict? Lessons from a Comparative Study of Ghana and Cote d'Ivoire'. In F. Stewart (ed.) *Horizontal Inequalities and Conflict: Understanding Group Violence in Multiethnic Societies*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, pp. 163–189.
- Langer, A. and G.K. Brown (2008) 'Cultural Status Inequalities: An Important Dimension of Group Mobilization'. In F. Stewart (ed.) *Horizontal Inequalities and Conflict: Understanding Group Violence in Multiethnic Societies*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, pp. 41–53.

- Langer, A. and U. Ukiwo (2008) 'Ethnicity, Religion and the State in Ghana and Nigeria: Perceptions from the Street.' In F. Stewart (ed.) *Horizontal Inequalities and Conflict: Understanding Group Violence in Multiethnic Societies*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, pp. 205–226.
- Langer, A., F. Stewart and R. Venugopal (eds.) (forthcoming) *Post-Conflict Reconstruction and Horizontal Inequalities*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Lemarchand, R. (1996) *Burundi: Ethnic Conflict and Genocide*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Lijphart, A. (1969) 'Consociational Democracy'. *World Politics*, 21(2), pp. 207–225.
- Lijphart, A. (1977) *Democracy in Plural Societies: A Comparative Exploration*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press.
- Lijphart, A. (1986) 'Proportionality by Non-PR Methods: Ethnic Representation in Belgium, Cyprus, Lebanon, New Zealand, West Germany, and Zimbabwe'. In Bernard Grofman and Arend Lijphart (eds.) *Electoral Laws and Their Political Consequences*. New York, NY: Agathon Press, pp. 113–123.
- Loh, K.W.F. (2003) 'The Marginalization of the Indian Community in Malaysia'. In J. T. Siegel and A.R. Kahin (eds.) *Southeast Asia Over Three Generations: Essays Presented to Benedict R. O'G. Anderson*. Ithaca, NY: Southeast Asia Programme, Cornell University, pp. 223–243.
- Magdalena, F.V. (1977) 'Intergroup Conflict in the Southern Philippines: An Empirical Analysis'. *Journal of Peace Research*, 14(4), pp. 299–313.
- Mancini, L. (2008) 'Horizontal Inequality and Communal Violence: Evidence from Indonesian Districts'. In F. Stewart (ed.) *Horizontal Inequalities and Conflict: Understanding Group Violence in Multiethnic Societies*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, pp. 106–135.
- Mancini, L., F. Stewart and G.K. Brown (2008) 'Approaches to the Measurement of Horizontal Inequalities'. In F. Stewart (ed.) *Horizontal Inequalities and Conflict: Understanding Group Violence in Multiethnic Societies*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, pp. 85–105.
- Marshall, M.G. (2009) 'Major Episodes of Political Violence, 1946–2009'. <http://www.systemicpeace.org/warlist.htm>.
- McCawley, C. (2008) 'The Political Power of Ethnicity: A Psychological Approach'. *Rethinking Ethnicity and Ethnic Strife: Multidisciplinary Perspectives*. Budapest: Central European University.
- McWhirter, L. (2004) *Equality and Inequalities in Health and Social Care in Northern Ireland: A Statistical Overview*. Belfast: Northern Ireland Department of Health, Social Services and Public Safety.
- Melaugh, M. (1994) *Majority Minority Review 3: Housing and Religion in Northern Ireland*. Coleraine: Centre for the Study of Conflict, University of Ulster.
- Murshed, S. and S. Gates (2005) 'Spatial-Horizontal Inequality and the Maoist Insurgency in Nepal'. *Review of Development Economics*, 9(1), pp. 121–134.
- Mustapha, A.R. (2007) 'Institutionalizing Ethnic Representation. How Effective is the Federal Character Commission in Nigeria?' *CRISE Working Paper*, No. 43. Oxford: CRISE, University of Oxford.
- Nafziger, E.W. (1973) 'The Political Economy of Disintegration in Nigeria'. *Journal of Modern African Studies*, 11(4), pp. 505–536.
- Nafziger, E.W. (1983) *The Economics of Political Instability: The Nigerian-Biafran War*. Boulder, CO: Westview Press.
- OECD (Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development) (2001) *The DAC Guidelines: Helping Prevent Violent Conflict*. Paris: OECD.

- Østby, G. (2003) *Horizontal Inequalities and Civil War: Do Ethnic Group Inequalities Influence the Risk of Domestic Armed Conflict?* Cand. Polit. Thesis. Trondheim: Department of Sociology and Political Science, Norwegian University of Science and Technology.
- Østby, G. (2008) 'Inequalities, the Political Environment and Civil Conflict: Evidence from 55 Developing Countries'. In F. Stewart (ed.) *Horizontal Inequalities and Conflict: Understanding Group Violence in Multiethnic Societies*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, pp. 136–159.
- PPRU (Policy Planning and Research Unit) (1993) *PPRU Monitor, Continuous Household Survey, Religion Report No. 1/93*. Belfast: Department of Finance and Personnel.
- Reynal-Querol, M. (2002) 'Ethnicity, Political Systems, and Civil Wars'. *Journal of Conflict Resolution*, 46(1), pp. 29–54.
- Ross, M.L. (2004) 'What do we know about Natural Resources and Civil War?' *Journal of Peace Research*, 41(3), pp. 337–356.
- Shireen, M.H. (1998) *Income Inequality and Poverty in Malaysia*. Oxford: Rowman and Littlefield.
- Snyder, J. (2000) *From Voting to Violence*. New York, NY: W.W. Norton.
- Spolsky, B. (2004) *Language Policy: Key Topics in Sociolinguistics*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Stewart, F. (2005) 'Policies towards Horizontal Inequalities in Post-Conflict Reconstruction.' *CRISE Working Paper*, No. 7. Oxford: CRISE, University of Oxford.
- Stewart, F. (ed.) (2008a) *Horizontal Inequalities and Conflict: Understanding Group Violence in Multiethnic Societies*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Stewart, F. (2008b) 'Global Aspects and Implications of Horizontal Inequalities: Inequalities Experienced by Muslims Worldwide'. *CRISE Working Paper*, No. 60. Oxford: CRISE, University of Oxford.
- Stewart, F. (2008c) *Note for Discussion: Kenya, Horizontal Inequalities and the Political Disturbances of 2008*. Oxford: CRISE, University of Oxford.
- Stewart, F. (2009) 'Religion Versus Ethnicity as a Source of Mobilisation: Are there Differences?' *CRISE Working Paper*, No. 70. Oxford: CRISE, University of Oxford.
- Stewart, F. and M. Wang (2006) 'Do PRSPs Empower Poor Countries and Disempower the World Bank, or is it the Other Way Round?' In G. Ranis, J. R. Vreeland and S. Kosack (eds.) *Globalization and the Nation State*. London: RoutledgeCurzon, pp. 290–322.
- Stewart, F. and G.K. Brown (2007) 'Motivations for Conflict: Groups and Individuals'. In C.A. Crocker, F.O. Hampson and P. Hall (eds.) *Leashing the Dogs of War: Conflict Management in a Divided World*. Washington, DC: United States Institute of Peace Press, pp. 219–244.
- Stewart, F. and A. Langer (2008) 'Horizontal Inequalities: Explaining Persistence and Change'. In F. Stewart (ed.) *Horizontal Inequalities and Conflict: Understanding Group Violence in Multiethnic Societies*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, pp. 54–82.
- Stewart, F., V. Fitzgerald and Associates (2001) *War and Underdevelopment: Vol. 1: The Economic and Social Consequences of Conflict*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Stewart, F., G.K. Brown and L. Mancini (2005) 'Why Horizontal Inequalities Matter: Some Implications for Measurement'. *CRISE Working Paper*, No. 19. Oxford: CRISE, University of Oxford.
- Stewart, F. and J.F.E. Ohiorhenuan (eds.) (2008) *Post-Conflict Economic Recovery: Enabling Local Ingenuity. Crisis Prevention and Recovery Report 2008*. New York, NY: UNDP.
- Stewart, F., G.K. Brown and A. Langer (2008) 'Policies towards Horizontal Inequalities.' In F. Stewart (ed.) *Horizontal Inequalities and Conflict: Understanding Group Violence in Multiethnic Societies*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, pp. 301–325.

- Suberu, R. (2009) 'Religion and Institutions: Federalism and the Management of Conflicts over Sharia in Nigeria'. *Journal of International Development*, 21(4), pp. 547–560.
- Tadjoeddin, M.Z. (2007) 'A Future Resource Curse in Indonesia: The Political Economy of Natural Resources, Conflict and Development'. *CRISE Working Paper*, No. 48. Oxford: CRISE, University of Oxford.
- Thorp, R., M. Paredes and A. Figueroa (forthcoming) *Persistent Inequality, Political Violence and the Role of Ethnicity in Peru: The Colony to the Year 2000*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Tilly, C. (1998) *Durable Inequality*. Berkeley, CA: University of California Press.
- Treisman, D. (1997) 'Russia's "Ethnic Revival": The Separatist Activism of Regional Leaders in a Postcommunist Order'. *World Politics*, 49(2), pp. 212–249.
- Tsikata, D. and W. Seini (2004) 'Identities, Inequalities and Conflicts in Ghana'. *CRISE Working Paper*, No. 5. Oxford: CRISE, University of Oxford.
- Turton, D. (1997) 'War and Ethnicity: Global Connections and Local Violence in North East Africa and Former Yugoslavia'. *Oxford Development Studies*, 25(1), pp. 77–94.
- Ukiwo, U. (2008) 'Horizontal Inequalities and Ethnic Violence: Evidence from Calabar and Warri, Nigeria'. In F. Stewart (ed.) *Horizontal Inequalities and Conflict: Understanding Group Violence in Multiethnic Societies*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, pp. 190–204.
- UNDP (United Nations Development Programme) (2002) *Avoiding the Dependency Trap*. Bratislava: UNDP.
- UNDP (2005) *Human Development Report 2005: International Cooperation at a Crossroads: Aid, Trade and Security in an Unequal World*. New York, NY: UNDP.
- Van Cott, D.L. (2000) *The Friendly Liquidation of the Past: The Politics of Diversity in Latin America*. Pittsburgh, PA: University of Pittsburgh Press.
- Van der Berg, S. and M. Louw (2004) 'Changing Patterns of South African Income Distribution: Towards Time Series Estimates of Distribution and Poverty'. *South African Journal of Economics*, 72(3), pp. 546–572.
- Watson, K. (2007) 'Language, Education and Ethnicity: Whose Rights will Prevail in an Age of Globalization?' *International Journal of Educational Development*, 27(3), pp. 252–265.
- Whitehead L. (1997) 'Bowling in the bronx: the uncivil interstices between civil and political Society'. *Democratization*, 4(1), pp. 94–114.
- Wilson, C. (2005) 'The Ethnic Origins of Religious War in North Maluku: Indonesia, 1999–2000'. *Indonesia*, 79 (April), pp. 69–91.
- Wimmer, A., L.-E. Cederman and B. Min (2009) 'Ethnic Politics and Armed Conflict: A Configurational Analysis of a New Global Data Set'. *American Sociological Review*, 74 (April), pp. 316–337.
- World Bank (2005) *Toward a Conflict Sensitive Poverty Reduction Strategy: Lessons from a Retrospective Analysis*. Report No. 32587. Washington, DC: World Bank.
- World Bank (2006) *World Development Report 2006: Equity and Development*. Washington, DC: World Bank.



**'... simple inequality between rich and poor is not enough to cause violent conflict. What is highly explosive is ... horizontal inequality: when power and resources are unequally distributed between groups that are also differentiated in other ways – for instance by race, religion or language.'** Kofi Annan

Front cover image © Martin Adler/Panos Pictures

CRISE is a development research centre within the University of Oxford supported by the United Kingdom Department for International Development (DFID). Set up in 2003 under the direction of Professor Frances Stewart, CRISE aims to investigate the relationships between ethnicity, inequality and conflict in order to identify policies that will promote peace.



**Centre for Research on Inequality, Human Security and Ethnicity (CRISE)**  
Oxford Department of International Development (Queen Elizabeth House)  
University of Oxford, 3 Mansfield Road, Oxford OX1 3TB, UK

**T** +44 1865 281810 **F** +44 1865 281801 **W** [www.crise.ox.ac.uk](http://www.crise.ox.ac.uk)