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# Does God Favor The Unequal Allocation Of Resources? A Study Of The Effects Of Religion On Ethnic Conflicts

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DOES GOD FAVOR THE UNEQUAL DISTRIBUTION OF RESOURCES? A STUDY OF  
THE EFFECTS OF RELIGION ON ETHNIC CONFLICTS

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By

Irene Rebeca Mendoza Leyva

2009

To my aunt Coco, who was always a woman of great faith, but who strongly believed that God  
does not favor the unequal allocation of resources

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THE EFFECTS OF RELIGION ON ETHNIC CONFLICTS

By

IRENE REBECA MENDOZA LEYVA, B.A.

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## **ABSTRACT**

Ethnic conflict and religious conflict are two types of conflict that are too often studied as one type of conflict. Additionally, conflicts that involve the fight over resources are today a type of conflict which appears to be on the rise. Additionally, contrary to what some scholars have argued for centuries, religious influence over people's behavior also has continued to rise. Today there is a worrisome landscape in the global landscape, ethnic conflicts are currently ongoing throughout the globe in areas such as Congo, India-Pakistan, Israel-Palestine, Sudan, Sri Lanka, and most notably Iraq. Ethnic conflicts in the past appear to be disastrous as religion becomes part of the conflict equation, and it appears as if the international community has not learned them, as these conflicts have continued to arise. As such, the question arises; does religion exacerbate an ethnic conflict? This study analyzes the relationship between ethnic conflict and religion, particularly the effect religion has on these conflicts. This study examines this question, and tests the following hypothesis: when there is an ethnic conflict between two or more ethnic groups motivated by discriminatory practices and the unequal resource allocation and there are religious divisions between the belligerent parties, these differences will lead the conflict to become exacerbated and more protracted. By utilizing the tenets of Social Identity Theory and Social Dominance Theory this thesis examines four post-World War II ethnic conflicts, the historical background and roots of the ethnic conflicts and provides an analysis of the role of religion in each of the conflict. Although the results of this study provide some supporting evidence for the hypothesis, the need for further research to strengthen the results is needed.



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## **CHAPTER 1: ETHNIC CONFLICT, RESOURCES, AND RELIGION**

### **Introduction**

Conflict is one of the most studied phenomena by scholars; and although there are many theories that have developed around this issue, there is no definite theory about the causes of conflict, how to prevent it, or an ideal way to resolve them. Perhaps the reason for this is the fact that there are many variations of conflict, many causes that lead to conflict, and as such it is more difficult to develop a grand theory which is generalizable to all types of conflict. Additionally, there are also many other factors that may contribute to the exacerbation or the improvement of a conflict. Such intervening variables also make it difficult to develop a universal theory of conflict.

One of the most unrelenting types of conflict throughout history has been ethnic conflict and its presence on the current international landscape today is evident. Currently the ethnic conflicts in Sudan, Congo, India, Sri Lanka, Israel-Palestine, and most notably the ethnic conflict component in Iraq, are examples of the perennial nature of ethnic conflict. Additionally, one of the components that have played a crucial part in some ethnic conflicts is the factor of religion. Religion is a guiding principle for individuals, groups, and states; as such, it has become of critical importance in the current international conflict landscape. This is not a new development and it has never been clear whether religion is a guise for ethnic conflict or whether it is an intervening variable under certain circumstances. As a result, disentangling ethnic and religious conflict is often not an easy task. Many scholars once argued that religion was on the decline, and as such, its influence would fade away. Nonetheless, the opposite appears to be true.

The argument by many scholars that religion was a declining force and was on the verge of vanishing as an influential force dates back to the eighteen century. Scholars such as Voltaire once argued that an “age of enlightenment” would replace superstition and authoritarian religious

order (Fox, 2001). A similar argument was further developed as other scholars argued that the development of ethnic conflict should be attributed to the forces of modernization and the unequal exposure to the economic benefits of modernization that some areas of the world have experienced in combination with a fight over resources. On the other hand, other scholars argue that the underlying reason for ethnic conflicts is the lack of similarity within populations, therefore attributing these conflicts to pluralistic populations and their opposing group goals. More specifically, these scholars argue that in order to avoid these conflicts the ultimate goal should be to construct a homogeneous population and, if possible, grant all ethnic groups statehood (Horowitz, 1985).

Nonetheless, as exemplified by the continued appearance of ethnic conflict, these theories have not been precise. The reality is that the fight for resources due to increasing demand, along with an increasing population continues and will continue. Furthermore, the homogeneous population does not exist; the plurality of a population is today one of the most persistent characteristic of any nation. As a result, whatever the underlying reason for ethnic conflict, the potential for the development of these conflicts in the future is more latent than ever, and attempting to identify and understand the factors that contribute to their development and exacerbation is crucial for the future formulation of a substantive theory of ethnic conflict.

The purpose of this research is to analyze the relationship between ethnic conflict and religion, particularly the effect religion has on these conflicts. This study will be a comparative case study and for its purpose the focus will be on those conflicts which have developed during the post-World War II period. My point of departure is the assertion that most conflicts, including ethnic conflicts, are the result of the unequal allocation of resources, and as a result the belligerent parties seek, by engaging in conflict, for the utility maximization of scarce resources.

As a result of this contention, I ask, what is the effect religion has on ethnic conflicts given that these conflicts' original cause is not religion? Does it have a positive, negative, or null effect? I contend that, in most cases, when an ethnic conflict arises, particularly caused by unequal allocation of resources between the conflicting parties, where in addition there are also religious differences between them, these religious differences will exacerbate the conflict by increasing the violence leading to an increase on the number of casualties. As a result of this contention, I am interested in exploring the behavior/direction these conflicts will take once they have been ignited, as opposed to exploring the cause/presence of them.

## **Literature Review**

### ***Ethnic Conflict and Religion Literature***

Religion has historically been one of the driving forces for conflict, but as mentioned, it was once argued that religion as a motivation for conflict was on the decline (Horowitz, 1985; Fox, 2001, 2002 & 2004). Voltaire once argued that an "age of enlightenment" would replace superstition and authoritarian religious order. Additionally in the nineteenth century theorists such as Auguste Comte, Emil Durkheim, Ferdinand Toennis, Max Weber, and Karl Max argued that the influence of religion was on the decline and was eventually going to disappear (Fox, 2001). However, as exemplified by various behaviors by individuals, groups and even nations, and by an increase in ethnic and religious conflict, the opposite is evident. Religion has failed to fade away as an influential factor and, on the other hand, continues to be one of the most influential guiding forces for many such terrorists groups, such as Al Qaeda, or nations such as Iran.

During the decades of the 1950's and 1960's among scholars arose a theory which posited that the relevancy of ethnicity (and religion) was on the decline, this theory is known as

modernization theory (Fox, 2002). Donald Horowitz is one the most prominent scholars who has significantly studied and developed ethnic conflict theory; in his work, *Ethnic Groups in Conflict* he addresses a variety of theories, one of them modernization theory. As already mentioned, this theory posited that the modernization of the world would reduce the political significance of ethnicity. In other words, it argued that as modernization spread through the globe, things such as economic development, urbanization, growing rates of literacy and education, and advances in science and technology, would lead to the demise of the role of religion in politics (Horowitz, 1985 & Fox, 2002). Along with the development of modernization theory, a similar theory was developed, secularization theory. This theory posits similar arguments; however these arguments deal specifically with religion. Its main argument was that the demise of religion was to be experienced through the process of secularization of the society and the government, replacing religion as a legitimizing tool (Fox, 2002).

Nonetheless, as already discussed, the increase of ethnic conflict and religion as an influence on politics has not decreased and instead has increased, leading to the occurrence many new conflicts and the resurgence of old conflicts, since those claims were made. For example, Ted Gurr has provided extensive strong evidence that ethnicity and religion continue to be factors that are relevant in conflict (Gurr, 1993). As such, there have been a variety of counterarguments to modernization/secularization theories presented, three of them being the most notable ones. First, the argument that there is no resurgence of religion but instead that religion and ethnicity have never ceased to be influential. Second, that these arguments fail to consider the fact that not all areas of the globe are experiencing the same level of modernization and as such the argument is that modernity instead of leading to the demise of religion has led to the resurgence or reinforcement of religion as an influential factor. Third the argument that the

end of the Cold-War contributed to the rise of religious conflict and as a result contributed to the return of religion as an influential factor in society's behavior (Fox, 2002). An additional flaw, linked to the second counterargument, is that it also fails to recognize the appearance of those societies which area modernized but in which there exists the continuance of the unequal allocation of resources among societies caused by discrimination, which may be attributed to the continuance of these conflicts.

In the summer of 1993, an important work relating to the importance of religion on conflict was published; due to its arguments, the article authored by Samuel Huntington, titled *The Clash of Civilizations?*, which he later developed into a book, immediately began spurring controversial reviews and commentaries. In this article Huntington argues that "Conflict between civilizations will be the latest phase in the evolution of conflict in the modern world." In both these works, Huntington argues that with the end of the Cold War and the fall of the Soviet Union, the world "witnessed the beginnings of dramatic changes in peoples' identities and the symbols of those identities," and that "world politics were being reconfigured along cultural lines (Huntington, 1993 & 2003)." He determines that "culture and cultural identities, which at the broadest level are civilization identities, are shaping the patterns of *cohesion, disintegration, and conflict* in the post-Cold War world" (Huntington, 2003). Finally, his main argument is "the fundamental source of conflict" will not be ideological or economic but instead "the dominating source of conflict" will be between nations and groups of different civilizations (Huntington, 1993).

Moreover, another argument that has been presented in regards to ethnic conflict and a possible path to resolving these conflicts is the idea of a homogeneous population. It has been argued by some scholars that population homogeneity within a territory would lead to the halting

of ethnic conflicts. Nonetheless, this argument fails to consider that a homogeneous population is one of the characteristics lacking in most nations. Thus, this argument fails to explain the reason why despite the existence of nations with ethnic diverse populations, the absence of ethnic conflict persists in them. An important work, authored by Stephen Van Evera has helped in the development of some hypothesis of ethnic conflict. He argues that the catalyst motivation for ethnic divergences is those of nationalism and the identities people adopt (Van Evera, 1994). In his article titled, *Hypothesis on Nationalism and War*, Van Evera concludes that nationalism will pose little risk to Western Europe but will pose a large risk to Eastern Europe (Van Evera, 1994). To support this prediction he presents the following evidence, in Western Europe nationalisms are satisfied and diasporas are few and small, whereas in the Eastern part of Europe, there were a number of stateless nationalisms. He as others presents the argument that with the fall of the Soviet Union, there has been a shift in balance of power within nationalisms which have created weaker states successors (Van Vera, 1994).

Additionally, Van Evera, presents four characteristics for the immediate causes of conflict among ethnic groups. First, the more ethnic groups concentrated within a territory seeking statehood the greater the risks for conflict. Second, the more these groups seek diasporas and annexationist strategies for these diasporas, the greater the risk for conflict. Third, the more these groups' goals are hegemonic, the greater the risk for conflict. Fourth, the more oppression of minorities living in stress the greater the risk for conflict (Van Evera, 1994). Furthermore, with relation to boundaries, he argues that the less the international legitimacy of the boundaries of existing/emerging nation-states, the greater the risks. It is here where he suggests; the more closely the boundaries of emerging nation-states follow ethnic boundaries, the smaller the risk. This argument follows the idea of the homogeneous population, however as

mentioned it fails to consider those nations which are peaceful and have ethnically diverse populations.

Jonathan Fox is one of the scholars who has concerned himself to developing research and theories focusing on the importance of religion in conflict. He has published numerous articles and books in which he argues that religion can cause or contribute to conflict in four basic ways. First he argues that religion is used as a tool to understand the world, second he argues that because religion provide rules and standards of behavior these rules can require behavior that causes conflict, third he argues that religious institutions can be utilized as a basis for mobilization, and forth he argues that religion can serve as a source of legitimacy, a point that is supported by Donald Horowitz (Fox, 1999 & 2001 & Horowitz, 1985). Furthermore one of his studies concluded that ethnic issues are more important than religious ones, he establishes that “the causes of conflicts between ethnic groups that are differentiated religiously are more often ethnic than religious; however he concludes that conflicts that are caused by secular reasons, have the potential of transforming into religious conflicts and vice versa (Fox, 2000). In other words, he contends that conflicts may be catalyzed by secular reasons, but can transform to a religious one, and vice versa.

In his work, *The Ethnic-Religious Nexus: The Impact of Religion on Ethnic Conflict*, Fox analyzes the role religion plays in ethnic conflict and develops several important points, placing special attention to religious legitimacy and institutions as facilitators of conflicts that have secular causes. In this work, Fox, recognizes the similarities between religion and ideology, however points out that the difference between the two is its origins. On the one hand, he posits that ideology’s origin can usually be traced back to human thinkers; on the other hand, he posits that religions are believed to have a divine source (Fox, 2000). Furthermore, in this work Fox,



recognizes the overlap that exists between religion and ethnicity, he says, “religion is a potential aspect of ethnicity, making the two hopelessly intertwined in many cases,” and as such also making it more difficult to develop a theory of ethnic conflict and religion (Fox, 2000).

Additionally, it is here where Fox discredits Huntington’s argument of an increase of the clash of civilizations as a result of the end of the Cold War. Instead, Fox establishes that these conflicts may have increased since the 1990’s but are not exclusive of the post-Cold War era. Finally, he concludes that the mix of ethnic nationalism and religion is potentially among the most explosive recipes for conflict. He also concludes that religion has the potential to significantly increase violence of ethnically motivated conflict, and recognizes the importance of religious institutions and legitimacy as facilitators and transformers of these conflicts.

Moreover, Fox had developed a theory of religion and ethnic conflict in his book, *Ethnoreligious conflict in the Late Twentieth Century* based on the theory developed by Ted Gurr. However, in contrast to Gurr, Fox defines ethnoreligious as “conflicts between ethnic groups who are of different religions” (p.144) and his theory places particular attention to grievance formation based on religious discrimination. More specifically, by religious discrimination he refers to “discrimination which is specifically targeted at limiting the religious practices of an ethnic minority, not political, economic or cultural discrimination (p.151).” This basic component of Fox’s theory is opposing to the focus of my study. I focus on secular ethnic conflicts, those who lead to political, economic or cultural discrimination, and the effect religion has on them. Nonetheless, in his theory Fox recognizes the importance of religion as a legitimizing and mobilization force for conflict (p. 152).

Finally, John Esposito is currently one of the leading scholars specializing in religion studies. In his research he has centered on the role of religion and the globalized world, more

particularly he has focused his research on Islam and the West. He is an adamant promoter of the establishment of strong ties among all religions; he particularly mentioned Muslims and Christians. As a result and although these area has been studied extensively, a falsifiable theory has not been able to be achieved. Jonathan Fox, in some of his research makes suggestions to the path one should take in order to develop such theory. Nonetheless, this has thus far not been achieved. Despite the substantive differences in these theories' arguments and claims on ethnic conflict and religion, a common characteristic predominates, in most of the literature a system based on hierarchy, a ranked society, or dominant and subordinate groups are mentioned; in addition to recognizing the important effect religion can potentially have on these conflict.

### ***Social Identity Theory and Social Dominance Theory Literature***

Several psychology theories of intergroup behaviors have been developed in an attempt to understand the development of group based prejudice, discrimination, oppression and hierarchically based societies, its formation and continuance. Of particular importance to my study are Social Identity Theory and Social Dominance Theory, which both discuss the behaviors mentioned above. Social Identity Theory (SDT) is a school of thought which studies intergroup discrimination based on group identification and the behavior that arises from these. This theory establishes that although group formation and concrete conflict of interests, such as resource competition, are certainly sufficient for the emergence of ethnocentrism and group conflict, they are not necessary. Instead this theory establishes that the mere perception of group belonging, leads to ethnocentrism and discrimination which may lead to conflict, therefore establishing this as the necessary condition for intergroup conflict (Tajfel, 1982). The major finding of this theory is that all people seek to achieve a positive social identity, based on in-group/out-group comparison positive evaluations (Tajfel, 1982 & Sidanius, 1998, Ashforth &

Mael, 2004). Additionally, if a group gets a negative self-evaluation, then as an individual seeks to achieve a positive social identity, it is argued by this theory that there are three options, defection, social creativity, and social competition; relevant to this study is the third one, social competition (Tajfel 1982). As stated by Sidanius:

*“the in-group may attempt to achieve positive distinctiveness by direct competition and confrontation with the high-status group. This confrontation will usually manifest itself in competition over material assets or value through collective political action (p. 192).”*

Moreover, Social Dominance Theory (SDT) establishes the importance of group based hierarchy societies and the systematic institutional and individual discrimination as chronic. SDT focuses on both individual and structural factors that contribute to various forms of group oppression. Furthermore, SDT attempts to answer the question of why human societies tend to be organized as group-based hierarchies and further establishes that as group hierarchies, human societies are inherently oppressive (Sidanius, 1998 & Pratto, van Laar & Levin, 2004). Of particular importance from this theory is the assumption that establishes that human social systems are predisposed to form group hierarchies, consisting of at least one hegemonic group on the top and one negative reference group on the bottom. This supports the common characteristics that the literature on ethnic conflicts has; the idea of a group-based or ranked society, with one group being the dominator and the other group being the subordinate, therefore leading to unequal resource distribution. Furthermore, SDT establishes two different social hierarchies, those which are achieved, based on meritocracy, and those which are ascribed, based on one's group membership to primordial groups. SDT argues that those groups at the top will have more access to the means towards achieved hierarchy positions, because these positions are attained thru mobility in a hierarchy that is based for example on access to education, which will be disproportionately accessible to different people based on their primordial group membership (Sidanius, 1998 & Sidanius, Pratto, van Laar, & Levin, 2004).

Furthermore SDT establishes that as a result of the tendency of human societies to be hierarchically group-based, discrimination and oppression against the group at the bottom will continue. “Most notably social dominance theory notes that chronic group-based oppression is driven by systemic institutional and individual discrimination (Sidanius, 1998).” As a result social dominance theory regards institutional discrimination as one of the major forces driving and maintaining the systems of group-based hierarchy. This in turn is translated in continued group-based hierarchy societies and as a result the continuance of discrimination for the less powerful groups. Along with the importance that Jonathan Fox has placed on institutions and the legitimization they may provide for conflict, SDT also places special attention to institutions (to include religious institutions) as “centrally implicated in the establishment and maintenance of group-based social inequality and intergroup discrimination.” Moreover, SDT establishes that both the dominant and the subordinate groups participate in the legitimization of the hierarchical social system. As a result, it is when the subordinate groups stop collaborating in the maintenance of this hierarchy that conflict arises. SDT establishes that when groups feel threatened, particularly dominant groups, by subordinate groups, than discriminatory behavior will develop in an attempt to maintain the status quo (Sidanius, 1998).

As mentioned, conflict has and continues to be one of the most resilient phenomena in the political landscape. Furthermore, ethnic conflict does not appear to be disappearing either. Furthermore, it is obvious by the evidence that religion’s influence has not diminished but increased or at least remained constant. Additionally, the likelihood of religion’s influence to continue is high. As exemplified by the literature there are a variety of theories which offer an explanation and/or a possible solution to the appearance of ethnic conflicts and the influence of religion within these conflicts. Because the homogeneous population does not exist, and because

the influence of religion on these conflict is not diminishing it is important to study this phenomena. There is an imperative need to understand the influence of religion and the role it may play in conflicts, so that a comprehensive and generalizable theory of religion and conflict may be developed. All this in an effort to in the future be able to identify the potential situations in which religion may become involved within a secular motivated conflict, causing its exacerbation. Finally and most importantly, it is also imperative to develop such theory due to the effect these conflicts have on the international world order. In other words all of the most recent ethnic conflicts that have occurred or are still active have had or have the potential to affect the stability of the international world order.

I offer the following explanation to religion and ethnic conflict. I claim that most conflicts, including ethnic conflicts, are the result of the unequal allocation of resources. As a result, I claim that the theories of SIT and SDT complement each other and offer an explanation to the effect religion has on conflict, particularly ethnic conflict. Therefore, the combination of arguments from social identity theory and social dominance theory, render the following explanation to my argument of the effect of religion on ethnic conflict. Ethnic conflict is a result of the nature of societies being hierarchically based and the mere perception of belligerent parties belonging to/being part of a group, in this case an ethnic group. Their end goal is that of maintaining the status quo, hierarchy and the achievement of a positive evaluation for their group. As these theories claim, one of the alternatives groups have if their evaluation is not positive, is social competition, which can constitute conflict between the in-group and out-group. Based on this, religion is an intervening variable, which will influence an individual/actor's behavior towards an out-group. Furthermore, as individual/actor's identify with various groups, religion will be an additional group identification perceived by the belligerent parties, and will

play an important part in the conflict when this religious identity is more salient than any other identity, i.e. ethnic identity.

### **Research Design**

As already established my main argument is that most conflicts, including ethnic conflicts, are the result of the unequal allocation of resources, and as a result the belligerent parties seek, by engaging in conflict, for the utility maximization of scarce resources. As a result, this study will be developed using the explanatory case study design and a comparative case study will be conducted, on cases that have erupted during the post- World War II period. It has been suggested by some scholars that case selection based on dependent variable create the problem of selection bias, this due to the fact that the researcher selects those cases where the outcome is already known. However, due to the nature of my study, the phenomenon I am studying, and the question I am attempting to answer, I will be selecting my cases based on the dependent variable, ethnic conflict. Additionally, case selection will also be based on one of my independent variables, religion; this due to the fact that I am not directly studying a causal relationship, but am studying the importance and effect of an intervening variable. To counterbalance the flaw this selection model creates and in an effort to minimize it, I will also be selection a dummy case, as suggested by Barbara Geddes, as a way to handle the issue. I will select a case where there is ethnic conflict but the intervening variable of religion does not appear to be an active role in the conflict

### ***Theory***

Conflict and ethnic conflict have been studied extensively, and various explanations to this phenomenon have been developed. As previously mentioned, my point of departure is the combination of the arguments presented by two different psychology theories, social identity

theory (SIT) and social dominance theory (SDT). These two approaches, I contend, offer a complimentary argument to the role religion plays on ethnic conflicts. As presented by SDT, societies are inherently based on a hierarchy and it is the attempt of the societal groups, to either maintain or change the status quo of such hierarchy, which leads to conflict between the dominant and the subordinate groups within the society. Additionally, as SIT posits, as people identify with different groups, the salience of these identities, in this case their religious group identity, become key to their behavior in relation to in-group/out-group relationships, potentially leading to an exacerbated conflict when competition and the attempt at maintaining or shifting the status quo between societal groups over resource allocation arises.

As a result, religious group affiliation is a tool utilized to reach the end goal of achieving equal resource allocation based on ethnic affiliation. Furthermore, the belligerent parties are utilizing religion as a motivating weapon to achieving their end. Additionally, because of the inherent nature of societies to be hierarchically organized, the unequal allocation of resources will always be a characteristic of these societies. As a result, the society's structure will only be challenged when the groups within this society, particularly the subordinate group, quits consenting and supporting the status quo and attempts to change this structure by engaging in conflict. Therefore, based on the arguments presented by these theories, when individuals/actors are engaged in conflict, and as the societal groups are attempting to transform the hierarchical order of the society, and as they identify with different groups, the salience and benefit of such groups will determine the influence these identifications have on the conflict.

### ***Definitions***

Let me begin by defining two underlying terms to my study, ethnicity and religion. I define ethnicity as an attribute of one's self, determined by ascribed common ancestry based on

territory, blood lines, family background, or marriage. For defining religion, I borrow the definition developed by Jonathan Fox (2002), who defines religion as having four components. First, religion provides a meaningful framework for understanding the world. Second, religion provides rules and standards of behavior that link individual actions and goals to this meaningful framework. Third, religion links individuals to a greater whole and sometimes provides formal institutions which help to define and organize that whole. Fourth, religion has the ability to legitimize actions and institutions, although not always. Finally, religion also involves a supernatural component, usually a god, which is the role model to follow, and which sets the framework and rule.

Let me continue by defining conflict and ethnic conflict. I define conflict by borrowing the definition of conflict provided by Lewis Coser, “conflict is a struggle in which the aim is to gain objectives and simultaneously neutralize, injure or eliminate rivals” (Coser, 1956). Furthermore, I define ethnic conflict as those conflicts in which the belligerent parties are defined and divided along ethnic lines. An additional concept is exacerbation of conflict, which I define as the intensifying of violence between the belligerent groups. Additionally, I will define resources as constituting of an economic component and political component. The economic components is comprised of income level, educational levels, and any other material good which in turn would advance an individual’s economic status compared to others. The political component is comprised of the ability of a group to advance into those political/governmental positions which control the resources within a government or the ability of a group to influence those who hold those political positions. Additionally, allocation of resources refers to the access a population has to land, water, food, fuel, wealth, education, jobs,



and political power, which can lead to an increase or decrease of resources belonging to an individual or group.

### ***Variables***

As established this study is aimed at determining the effect religion has on the level of exacerbation of an ethnic conflict; as a result the aim is to determine the importance and effect religion identification has on the case studies selected. I will study ethnic conflicts, and I will observe the effect my intervening variable, religion, has on the dependent variable. As such I operationalize conflict, to include ethnic conflict by utilizing the casualties per year threshold offered by the Uppsala Conflict Data Program (UCDP). Although there is great debate when utilizing casualty thresholds to determine whether a conflict exist and whether what number of casualties is needed in order determine violence a conflict, the need to make a determination is inevitable; as such, the UCDP threshold is 25 casualties per year, under this threshold any case of violence is considered to be at least a minor intensity conflict.

Furthermore, to determine a low, medium, and high level of exacerbation, I have designed a casualty's ratio which will aid me in determining the level of exacerbation of a conflict. This ratio is based on my three primary cases and was derived from the following formula:

$$(\text{Total casualties}/\text{total population}) \times 100 \%$$

this formula was applied to each of my primary cases. This scale will aid me as a measurement of level of all conflict; the scale includes three levels, these levels range from low, medium, and high level. As such, I will utilize the number of fatalities relative to the case's population to operationalize my dependent variable, ethnic conflict. This in turn will assist me when

analyzing, the independent and the intervening variables to determine the exacerbation of the conflict the case studies selected.

**TABLE 1: Measuring Level of Conflict**

Level of Conflict Indicator	Casualties Ratio (total pop/casualties)
Low	0 - 0.24%
Medium	0.25 - 0.46%
High	.5 - more

Resource distribution, my independent variable is utilized in order to establish the inequality of resource distribution and the hierarchy of the society being studied. Therefore, this variable is operationalized based on the following characteristics between ethnic groups: income level, education level, professional level, and finally, which group if any has control over governmental structure. Additionally I have developed a scale to determine the level of unequal allocation of resources between ethno-religious groups.

**TABLE 2: Measuring Level of Unequal Allocation of Resources**

Level of Unequal Allocation of Resources	Characteristics of Allocation of Resources
Low	1 – less
Medium	2 out of 4
High	3 - more

My intervening variable, religion, will be measured in order to gauge and determine the importance this variable has on the society being studied, in addition to measuring its effect. As a result, religion is operationalized in four ways; first by religious group's percentage of the population, second by their distribution along the territory, third by the number of religions within the territory, and fourth by determining the level of religious hold. In other words, first between the religious groups, what is the percentage for each religion within the territory? Is there one religion that dominates in percentage, or is the percentage of the religious groups

similar? Second, what is the distribution of the religious groups within the territory, are they separated/segregated within provinces, or are they mixed/integrated within the territory and therefore have the potential to clash/clash more often. Third, how many religious groups are within the territory being studied. The first three characteristics of religion will assist me in demonstrating that it is the level of religious hold and therefore the mere perception of group belonging which matters when it comes to influencing people's behavior and not the number of religions within a territory, the percentage of population between the religious groups, and segregation or integration of ethno-religious groups along the territory.

As mentioned the final measurement of religion will be labeled religious hold. In other words what is the degree to which religious beliefs shape an individual's behavior and what is the degree to which a particular religion is institutionalized in the society? The operationalization of this variable is difficult and beyond the scope of this study as it would require me to conduct field research such as interviews, focus groups, and surveys. In view of this, I utilize a "proxy" measure to gage the level of religious in each of my case studies. I will analyze the institutionalization of religion within the state, in other words is this institutionalization formal or informal within its governmental structure. Does the government have an official religion? Is religion institutionalized within the constitution/government or not? Are there any policies of discrimination/unfairness focused towards a particular religious group? Or are there any policies aimed at favoritisms towards a particular religious group? With this in mind the level of religious hold will only also ranger between low, medium, and high. Low level being that where there is no official religion and where the constitution has a freedom of religion provision and there are no policies of favoritism/discrimination at any governmental level, medium where there is no official religion and/or where the constitution has a freedom of

religion provision, but there are some policies implemented at some governmental level aimed at favoritism/discrimination towards a particular religious group, and high where there is both.

**TABLE 3: Measuring Level of Religious Hold**

Level of Religious Hold	Institutionalization of Religion
Low	Not in Constitution/No Policies
Medium	Not in Constitution/Some Policies
High	Constitution/Policies

### ***Hypothesis***

My hypotheses are the following:

H1: When there is an ethnic conflict between two or more ethnic groups motivated by discriminatory practices and the unequal resource allocation and there are religious divisions between the belligerent parties, these differences will lead the conflict to become exacerbated and more protracted.

H2: When there is an ethnic conflict motivated by discriminatory practices and unequal resource distribution between two or more ethnic groups and there are no religious divisions between the belligerent parties, the conflict will not become as exacerbated and as protracted.

### ***Case Selection & Data Analyzed***

As previously mentioned, this study will be developed using the explanatory case study method by conducting a comparative case study. Also, as previously mentioned, I will focus the selection of my cases on those conflicts that are post-World War II, and to counteract and minimize selection bias due to the selection of cases based on the dependent variable, I will also be selecting a dummy case. Thus, based on these criteria, I have selected my primary cases to be three case studies, the Bosnian War, “The Troubles” of Northern Ireland, and “The Cyprus Problem;” additionally, the Quebecois of Canada will be utilized my dummy case, in other

words, this will be my control case study for the variable of religion and its effects on ethnic conflicts. Although all my primary cases contain a historical background which precedes World War II, the eruption of violence between ethnic groups sparked post-World War II. In all my primary cases, the differences between the ethnic groups became so evident, thus leading to the sparking of the conflicts. Furthermore, in all three cases, the conflicting parties are divided not only by ethnicity but also by religious differences, making an excellent case study to be analyzed closer. In the case of Canada, there is ethnic conflict between groups and although the ethnic groups may also be divided both by ethnic differences and religious differences, the component of religion appears not to play an important role in the conflict, making it an excellent dummy case study to be analyzed closer in order to be able to control for the intervening variable of religion. The study of my cases will be divided into four sections, the introduction, a historical background of the conflict, data analysis of my variables, and the conclusion. As already mentioned, the conflicts selected as my case studies all erupted post-WWII, thus the necessity to look at the historical background of the conflicts is necessary, additionally in the data analysis the period analyzed will only focus on the period in which violence was active between the belligerent groups. This is of particular importance because in the cases of Cyprus and Canada, the disagreements are still active and an agreement has not thus far been achieved, however at the time of the writing of this work, violence was dormant, additionally in the case of Northern Ireland, although an agreement had been reached and “The Troubles” is recognized as an internationally ended conflict, some disagreements between the two ethno-religious groups remain and sporadic events of violence have developed after the 1998 peace agreement.

## **CHAPTER 2: BOSNIA AND HERZEGOVINA AND “THE BOSNIAN WAR”**

### **Introduction**

The conflict in Bosnia and Herzegovina erupted on April 6, 1992, as the Bosnian government declared the country's independence, the international community recognized its legitimacy, and the Bosnian Serbs took the Bosnian capital city of Sarajevo under siege. This conflict, which lasted for three years, can be categorized as the bloodiest conflicts of those which erupted from the disintegrated Federal Republic of Yugoslavia. This conflict involved three different groups divided along ethnic and religious lines, the Serbs, mainly Christian Orthodox, the Croats, mainly Roman Catholic, and the Bosnians, mainly Muslim, all of which engaged in violence against one another. The violence in which the belligerent parties engaged in during this conflict reached a variety of violent practices, one of the most extreme being the practice of ethnic cleansing, seen again for the first time after World War II (WWII). The discovery of these practices by the international community immediately recalled the atrocities committed by the Nazi's during WWII, thus comparisons with WWII begun, as well as attempts to stop the conflict; and although not immediately, this conflict elicited vast international attention by the media and the rest of the international community. After the various agreement attempts, the Dayton agreement was reached and ratified by all the belligerent parties on December 14, 1995, bringing the conflict to a halt.

The presence of ethnic and religious frictions due to different resource allocation along the ethno-religious groups within the territory of Bosnia and Herzegovina had been historical. As a result, the historical background of Bosnia and Herzegovina, and the ethnic relations within its territory cannot be ignored. A look at the history renders important conditions which existed pre-war period within the belligerent groups in the country, which fostered the eruption of this

conflict. This chapter will examine the horrendous events that encompass the conflict within Bosnia and Herzegovina, “The Bosnian War.” First, both historical recount of the country and the historical background of the relations between the ethno-religious groups will be presented. Second, I will present the data analysis of the variables being examined, resources and religion. Third, I will provide the conclusion of the analysis of this conflict in relation to my variables.

### **Historical Background**

Bosnia’s geographical position, coupled with its multiethnic characteristic has positioned it as a strategic territory throughout its history. Previously between the Habsburg Empire and the Ottoman Empire, and later as a neighbor of Serbia and Croatia, its multiethnic and diverse population has posed tremendous problems as empires’ and nation’s ambitions of expansionism have in various cases lead to conflict; the most contemporaneous instance being the Bosnian War. Bosnia and Herzegovina’s historical existence dates back to the Neolithic times<sup>1</sup>, and as a result its control has shifted at various points in time. Furthermore, even though the area’s religion denominations have shifted as a result of the variety of rulers, the relevancy of its historic background begins from the time of the Turkish conquest and once the territory was under the control of the Ottoman Empire.

As a result of the constant multiethnic and religious diversity characteristics, its different ethno-religious groups had enjoyed toleration and co-existence among them previous to the rule of the Ottoman Empire. Furthermore, despite the diversity, the various rulers that passed through Bosnia and Herzegovina had not interfered directly with their government. As a result, Bosnia always enjoyed local governmental control over the territories, despite the fact they belonged to a larger republic or empire. As the Ottoman Empire took control of the country, and

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<sup>1</sup> Although territorial boundaries for Bosnia and Herzegovina have not always been the contemporary borders and have shifted various times.

as it became part of their empire, a new system was implemented, and favoritism based on religious beliefs were established; this era served as the catalyst for the continuous unequal treatment of ethno-religious groups within Bosnia and Herzegovina.

#### *Pre-Ottoman Empire*

Bosnia and Herzegovina's historical accounts trace it back to the Neolithic times; additionally, the territory was not always comprised of its modern borders. Previous to the Ottoman Empire rule, Bosnia and Herzegovina was under a variety of ruling empires. During the early 12th century, in 1137, Bosnia was subjugated territory of the Hungarian Empire, by the middle of the century, in 1167, Bosnia came under Byzantine rule, and by the end of the century, in 1180, Bosnia returned to be under the Hungarian rule. It was not until the second part of the 19<sup>th</sup> century when the modern borders were established, previous to this the border lines fluctuated dependant of the ruler/empire which controlled the territory (Donia & Fine, 1994, p18). This fluctuation of the border lines resulted in a population with diverse religious denominations for modern Bosnia and Herzegovina; originally encompassing both Catholic and Christian Orthodox populations. As noted by Donia & Fine (1994), by the tenth century the majority of the Bosnian territories were "nominally under Rome," and the Hem (modern Herzegovina) was under Constantinople, therefore Christian Orthodox (p. 17). However, before the middle of the 11<sup>th</sup> century, religious toleration remained as a characteristic of Bosnia, despite having experienced missions from Rome and Constantinople.

#### *Ottoman Empire Rule 1482-1878*

Bosnia fell to the Ottoman Empire rule in 1463, followed by Herzegovina's territories in 1482. It was during the rule of the Ottomans that Islam and the Muslim culture was first introduced to this area, and although during the Ottoman rule, Bosnia experienced a prolonged



period of prosperity, continuous wars caused the economic conditions to decline (Donia & Fine, 1994 & Malcolm, 1996). Under the Ottomans, Bosnia was incorporated as an integral province of the empire, allowing it, as with previous foreign rules, to maintain its historical name and its territorial integrity. Despite this unique characteristic, there were major religious and economic changes which were implemented by the Ottomans in this region; the most notable being the introduction of Islam.

When analyzing Bosnia under the Ottoman Empire, it is difficult to separate the distribution of resources from the religious component; access to these resources experienced a shift, and was based on an individual's religious affiliation. Under the Ottomans, a new system was introduced, a millet system. Under this system, all Christian millets were considered second class citizens, while Islamic millets had favored status. It was, under a feudal system that Muslims controlled the land (Oluic, 2007, p. 43.) Additionally, the majority of Bosnian-Muslims were landowners of large estates, tilting the territorial distribution in relation to religion towards Muslims, demonstrating that it was those who subscribed to Islam which was the largest group owning land during this period (Malcolm, 1996).

Although the empire remained relatively 'tolerant' of religious diversity, those who subscribed to the Muslim religion were favored. Previous to the Ottoman rule, the area was mainly populated by subscribers of the Catholic and the Christian faiths, however with the introduction of Islam by the Ottoman Empire, this soon changed. As a result of religious discrimination, and as conversion was favored and rewarded with access to economic and political resources, many converted to the Muslim faith. Conversion meant more benefits for the converts as they shared the ruler's faith and had the potential of becoming part of the ruling elite, and would have the ability to rise high in Turkish society and assume post of importance within

the Ottoman Empire (Oluić, 2007, Rogel, 1998 & Donia & Fine, 1994). Conversion to Islam was particularly popular within those who were part of the higher layers of the Christian Orthodox Church; many opted to convert in exchange for tax exemptions. As established by Steven Oluić (2007), “the appearance of Muslims in Bosnia came from two sources. First...Muslim migrants.....The second, and by far the largest component of Islam in Bosnia, came from the converts (p. 42.).” Oluić also establishes that it was until the 17<sup>th</sup> century, when the majority of the population was Muslim, research conducted by Donia and Fine (1994) and Spasvoski, Živković and Stepić (1995) supports this claim. Moreover, although there were Catholic converts, the Roman Catholic Church was an exception to the millet system, and was favored and protected by imperial decree, which established the Franciscan order in 1463.

#### *Austro-Hungarian Empire 1878-1918*

The acknowledgement of culture differentiation among Croats and Serbs in Bosnia came as a spillover spreading from the west to the east of Europe, during the mid-1830. This led to the recognition of Serbs and Croats as separate nations, and thus different ethnic groups (Oluić, 2007 & Rogel, 1998). By the year 1875, the Ottoman Empire faced the Navasinje revolt initiated by Bosnian Serbs, who wanted to annex themselves to the neighboring Serbia. Although the revolt’s original goal of annexation failed, it was the catalyst for the transfer of Bosnia to Hapsburg control, later known as the Austro-Hungarian Empire, with the signing of the Treaty of Berlin of 1875. The territory was annexed in 1908.

Bosnia was under Austro-Hungarian rule from 1875 to 1918, losing the territory due to the eruption of World War I. Under Austro-Hungarian rule, Bosnia experienced several changes; the structure of resource allocation system and religion tolerance remained almost the same, with only a major shift on the favored group; under the Austro-Hungarian Empire,

Catholics were much favored as the Catholic faith became the official faith of this empire. Muslims still maintained their status and remained to be favored to a lesser extent by the Emperor. During this time period, Bosnian Serbs were still, as with the Ottomans, considered second class citizens, and as such were treated (Oluić, 2007). According to immigration pattern records and as can be observed in Table 1, the Catholic population increased from 18.8% in 1879 to 22.87% by 1910, while the Christian Orthodox and the Muslim population numbers remained relatively the same or decreased respectively (Spasvoski, Živković and Stepić, 1995).

**Table 1: Ethno-religious makeup of Bosnia and Herzegovina, 1879-1910 in percentages**

Year	Orthodox	Muslim	Catholic	Others
1879	42.99	38.75	18.08	0.31
1885	42.76	38.88	19.88	0.47
1895	42.94	34.99	21.31	0.76
1910	43.49	32.25	22.87	1.39

Source: Spasvoski, Živković and Stepić, 1995; University of Belgrade

### *WWI & The Kingdom of Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes 1914-1941*

The continuous discriminatory practices experienced by the Serb population under the Austro-Hungarian rule, led to the assassination of the Archduke Francis Ferdinand and his wife by a Bosnian Serb, Gavrilo Princip, in the year 1914, igniting World War I (WWI). During this period of time, the state of affairs within the Bosnian territory experienced a variety of shifts in relation to resource allocation and religion. The effects of the war were experienced particularly by those of Christian Orthodox denomination, which was the group that suffered the most casualties (Spasvoski, Živković and Stepić, 1995.) Additionally, Serbs were blamed for the assassination of the archduke, which exacerbated relations with the rest of Bosnians. Despite this, many Bosnian Serbs fought with the Austro-Hungarian Empire during the war, but the plunge of the empire was inevitable. When WWI ended, Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes were

united into one national state, creating the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes on December 1, 1918.

Under the new state, power was centered in the Serbian capital of Belgrade, a state set up as a parliamentary monarchy under Serb control. This meant that control of the government was in the hands of Bosnian Serbs, this changed the status of the groups. Despite the numerous casualties and the atrocities experienced by Bosnian Serbs during the war, this ethno-religious group remained the largest group of the population, followed by the Bosnian Muslims, and then by the Bosnian Croats. In contrast to this, Bosnian Muslims remained as the group that owned both the largest estates and the most land. Furthermore, Bosnian Muslims had reached an understanding with the Serbs, which granted them a monopoly over the state's railroad industry and land reform concessions; the 1919 land reform allowed Bosnian Muslims to obtain compensation for expropriated land (Malcolm, 1996, Rogel, 1998 & Oluic, 2007). Furthermore, the Bosnian Muslim leader achieved for the Bosnian borders to remain the same, proving that under the new Bosnian Serb controlled government, Bosnian Muslims still enjoyed great influence. It was the Muslim population of Bosnia and its leadership which had managed to maintain this position by becoming an ally for both Croats and Serbs. As exemplified by this quote of a 1920 a Muslim organization journal which "recommended that Muslims should identify with whichever nation offered them the fairest chance of 'economic development' (Malcolm, 1996)."

In 1929, King Alexander suspended parliament and the constitution, and control became tight, creating a unitary political system, and renaming the state Yugoslavia (Malcolm, 1996, p.168.) The King's attempt was to unite all groups by eliminating any political parties associated with any confessional and ethnic background (Malcolm, 1996 & Oluic, 2007), and therefore

redrew all borders, partitioning it into nine banates, giving four to Bosnia; the Bosnian state was divided for the first time. With these new borders, Bosnian Muslims became the minority in all four banates, and were given the lowest positions in the new government (Malcolm, 1996, p.169.) The assassination of King Alexander by Croat fascists in 1934 and the constant differing views of the Croats and Serbs caused repeated clashes during the royal Yugoslav state which lead to the fall of the first Yugoslav state to Nazi Germany (Malcolm, 1996).

#### *WWII & Tito's Yugoslavia 1941-1992*

As WWII spread throughout Europe, the territories of Yugoslavia were surrounded by 1941 by Nazi Germany forces, facilitated by the Croat Ustaša, a fascist group within Yugoslavia; this group became the controlling party of the government. During the war as with the rest of the Nazi controlled territories the Jewish population was the main target of atrocities; nonetheless, as the Croats came to control the government, they foresaw an opportunity to target their main opponent, the Serbs, as they perceived them as a threat to the accomplishment of their ultimate goal, the annexation of Bosnian territory to Croatia. As a result of this and to diminish the threat of the Serb population, they too became a target of the atrocities of this period. In contrast, the Bosnian Muslims supported the Croat government force, thus as Bosnian Serbs resisted the Croats and drove them out of Bosnian territory, Bosnian Serbs also committed mass murders of Bosnian Muslims. From these resistance groups rose Josip Broz, better known as Tito. Yugoslavia and its territories were liberated on April 6, 1945, by the allied forces; leading to the birth of the new Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (FRY) was born (Malcolm, 1996, Rogel, 1998, & Oluic, 2007).

After the end of World War II, Bosnia-Herzegovina became part of the FRY, and continued to be the most ethnically diverse of the six republics. As part of the FRY, Bosnia-

Herzegovina artificially enjoyed some strategic position and it was viewed as the base of the development of military defense industry and many other strategic programs. Nonetheless, during this period, religion was strongly controlled, and the Bosnian Muslim population was the group that was most suppressed. Although Catholics were also suppressed as well as a result of their participation with the Croat Ustaša government during WWII, the main suppression targeted the Muslim population. On the one hand, Islam was perceived as a religion that involved private beliefs and social practices, and on the other, it was perceived as a backward and Asiatic (Malcolm, 1996). Many Muslims died under Tito's Yugoslavia, and those of Bosnia and Herzegovina suffered in many different ways.

Despite laws that guaranteed freedom of religion within Tito's Yugoslavia, religious repression was still exercised. This repression mainly targeted Bosnian Muslims, particularly it restricted some their religious practices; additionally, the discrimination/repression towards Muslims also focused on repressing them economically and politically. As a result of Bosnia being one of the Yugoslav republics, Bosnian Muslims were thus subject to all the restrictions implemented by the new government. Furthermore, a pattern of emigration developed among Bosnian Serbs who emigrated mostly to Serbia due to the dire economic conditions Bosnia experience; this contributed to a change of majority group, after this Bosnian Muslims became the majority within Bosnia.

The West became economically involved in by the 1950-1960's, resulting in the weakening of repressive practices for Bosnian Muslims; as a result this economical assistance, Tito had to shift his policies towards this group, which improved their religious and political conditions. This shift of policy led to many Bosnian Muslims taking diplomatic posts around Arab states and Indonesia as Tito sought to continue improving his and the FRY relations around

the world; Croats remained under-represented within the Bosnian administration (Malcolm, 1996). Furthermore, Bosnia was very much neglected during this period in terms of allocation of resources, records show that Bosnia suffered economically through the 1960-1970 period; it had the second lowest rate of economic growth of all the republics between the years of 1952-1968, only 4.2% as compared to 6.4% which was the Yugoslav average. Furthermore, as shown in Table 2 Bosnia experience a decline in total amount of investments in fixed between the 1966-1975 periods (Ramet, 2006).

The constitution was rewritten in 1963 and 1974, leading to decentralization of the republic and leading to competition among the FRY republics for resources, the re-strengthening of differences between Croats and Serbs, and the resurgence of competition for Bosnian territory. Furthermore, this also resulted in the continuation of withering economic conditions and growth of discontent among the impoverish population. In 1987 Slobodan Milošević, who controlled the Serbian Communist Party, became the president of the Belgrade League of Communists City Committee, a major shift on the direction FYR took, due to his territorial expansionist ambitions; he was to take FRY to war and launch a vicious campaign against both Croats and Serbs. Under Milošević the FRY collapsed, Bosnia's neighboring states declared independence, and Bosnia-Herzegovina had no other choice but to declare its independence or face partition of its territory between Croatia and the Serbia; this was not to occur without conflict. Bosnia-Herzegovina became independent on April 6, 1992; the same day war broke out (Malcolm, 1996 & Rogel, 1998).

**Table 2: Share of Republics and Autonomous Provinces in Total Investments in Fixed Assets (1966-1975)**

	<b>1966</b>	<b>1969</b>	<b>1972</b>	<b>1975</b>
<b>Developed Republics</b>	60.2	65.0	61.1	63.0
<b>Underdeveloped Republics</b>	14.1	11.0	10.3	9.5

Source: Ramet (2006)

## *The Bosnian War*

War erupted in Bosnia as result of the fall of FRY, the declaration of independence of former FRY states, and as the idea of a “Greater Serbian State” endured and was imprinted in other Serbs within the territories of the FYR; the conflict originally involved violent acts by Bosnian-Serbs against Bosnian-Muslims. As a result of the continuous differences between ethno- religious groups and the ambitions of Serbs and Croats for annexation of Bosnian territory, the conflict evolved into a three front conflict, particularly when the Bosnian-Croats and the Bosnian-Muslims broke their alliance in 1993; this rupture led to a struggle of power between Serbs and Croats over Bosnian territory (Rogel, 1998). On the one hand, Bosnian-Serbs along with Serbia’s President Slobodan Milosevic sought to claim the territory and create an “all Serbian nation,” while at the same time the Bosnian government and president Alija Izetbegović sought to maintain the current borders, and keep the population together. On the other hand, Bosnian Croats and Croat leader Franjo Tudjman, and Bosnian-Croats, intended to claim a territory of Bosnia, and therefore at times supported the atrocities of the Serbs, and engaged in similar practices. After five attempts aimed at halting the conflict and the death toll totaled over 200,000 casualties, the conflict came to an end in 1995 with the signing of the Dayton Peace agreement. This agreement established the partition of Bosnia into two different entities within the same state; previously proposes unsuccessfully; an alliance between Bosnian-Muslims and Bosnian-Croats had to occur again for the agreement to be reached and the conflict ended.

## **Data Analysis**

The control of the Bosnian government was not always in the hands of one particular ethno-religious group, as a result allocation of resources shifted along with power shifts and rulers. These constant shifts of access to resources led to the birth and survival of the



resentments harbored by the three ethno-religious groups. Unlike many conflicts where the dominant and subordinate groups are always constant and therefore systematic discrimination always targets the same group, in Bosnia all three ethno-religious groups experienced the horrors and atrocities of the discriminatory practices against them. During the Bosnian war, the majority of discrimination and atrocities were exercised upon Bosnian-Muslims by the Bosnian Serbs, however Bosnian-Serbs and Bosnian-Croats also engaged in targeted violence against one. As a result of the FRY Serb controlled government previous to the outbreak of war, resource allocation was slightly different than in previous eras; Serbs were highly favored both politically and economically, thus making their invasion and discriminatory practices much easier.

#### *Level of Conflict*

The conflict that erupted within Bosnia and Herzegovina and its casualties are estimated to range between 97,207 and 200,000. Although the official record of the Bosnian War does not offer exact statistics on fatalities, attempts to accurately account for the death have been made by various research centers, such as the Research and Documentation Centre; these efforts offer estimations of the fatalities experienced by the population of Bosnia during the conflict duration. It is estimated by the Research and Documentation Centre (RDC) that the total number of fatalities reached 97,207. Other researchers have estimated that there were a total of 200,000 fatalities related to the war. The RDC recognizes that their efforts to depict the most accurate statistic is not yet accomplished and also cites those researchers whose statistics show 200,000 fatalities (RDC, 2004). Nonetheless, as far as the level of conflict scheme, in the case of Bosnia, when looking at casualties of the conflict only it can be categorized as a reaching the medium level.

### *Allocation of Resources*

As a result of Bosnia's status as part of the FRY at the time war broke out, it is difficult to find specific data on income distribution for Bosnia. Additionally, existing records do not provide information broken down by region or population group for any of the FRY republics. However, the available data allows some conclusion to be drawn upon. The Bosnian economy was highly dependent on the agricultural sector, therefore those owning most of the land can be categorized as better off economically than the rest of the population. Additionally, it can also be concluded that those who managed and played part in the government of the republic of Bosnia, also were better off than the rest of the population. There is some general income data for Bosnia for 1991 and 1992. Per capita income in 1995 compared to the year 1991 fell to \$500 from \$1,900; in the year 1992, Bosnia's unemployment rate was at 17%, and inflation was 117.4%; (Jeffries, 2003). Ian Jeffries (2003) further reports that by 1995 the economy shrank to less than a third than its former level during the war, in addition to the fall of industrial output in 1991 by 16.2%, in 1992 by 25%; in total falling by 95% between the years of 1990 through 1994. Income level data availability is also scarce; in 1991 the overall national product per capita was \$3,200.

### *Control of Government*

Under the FRY the government was highly centralized; this meant that in Bosnia government control was under the Bosnian Serb population. Nonetheless, the rewriting of the constitution in 1963 and 1974, which resulted in decentralization and with the death of Tito in 1980 led to the introduction of a multi-party system in the late 1980's for all republics. Bosnia held its election in November of 1990; the results gave seats to all three ethno-religious groups' political parties, and led a Bosnian Muslim's party candidate to win the presidency, Alija

Izetbegović. Despite the efforts by Izetbegovic to construct a diverse government and maintain a fairly stable republic, under the FRY power and resources were highly centralized, and although the enactment of the 1974 constitution some decentralization occurred, power continued to be centralized in Belgrade and under Serbian control. This leads us to conclude that majority of political posts were held by Serb nationals. As a result it also leads to the conclusion that Bosnian Serbs had better political status and as a result better economic conditions; this due to their ability to hold a political position or to reach out to their ethno-religious counterparts and petition for their intervention in the allocation of resources, leading to discrimination of the rest of the Bosnian population based on ethno-religious affiliation (Malcolm, 1996 & Oluic, 2007).

#### *Income Level, Unemployment & Land Distribution*

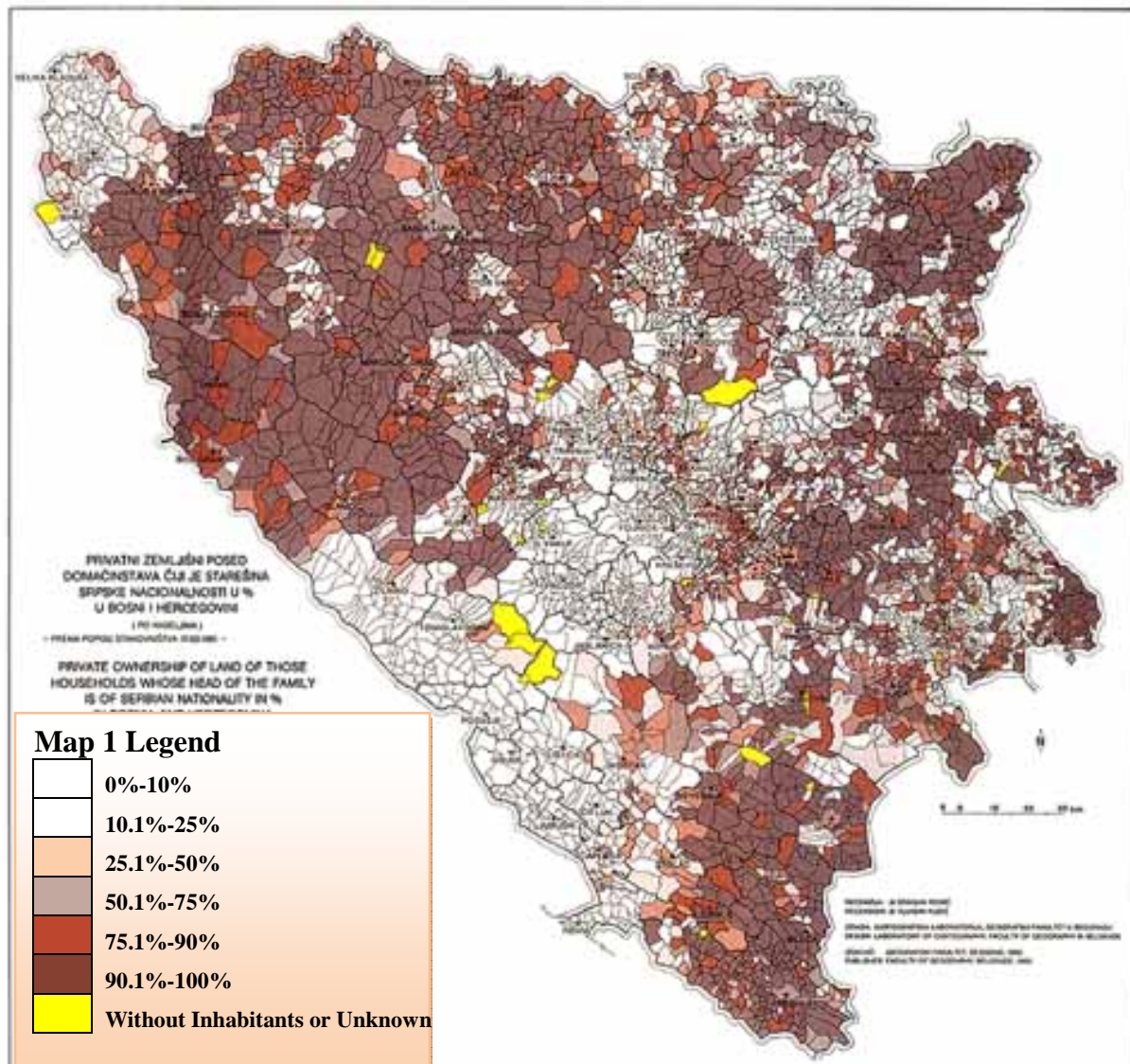
As mentioned the economic indicators of the republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina under the FYR are not broken down by group, the overall national product per capita was \$3,200 in 1991, and the unemployment rate was 28% in the year 1992, up from the previous year by 11%. Furthermore, it was established that under the Ottoman Empire, those who were or accepted Islam would be allowed to become part of the ruling elite because of the shared religion with the ruler (Rogel, 1998). Even while war broke down, the idea of power-sharing among the groups of the population of Bosnia-Herzegovina already existed. The government was multinational; however the president, Alija Izetbegovic, was Muslim; as a result the Bosnian government was labeled as a Muslim government (Rogel, 1995). Nonetheless, his efforts to maintain the multi-ethnicity of the territory were vast, and systematic discrimination against one group to another under his presidency was not the rule (Oluic, 2007).

As a result of the highly centralized government, Bosnia continued to be neglected economically; the record shows that Bosnia and Herzegovina was one of the least developed

republics, Macedonia was the least developed. Growth rate per capita was well below the rest of the republics, education levels were low, only 25% of the population had completed 7 years of grade school and only 1% had some university training (Ramet, 2006). Furthermore, as opposed to previous times when private land ownership was highly concentrated among Bosnian Muslims, in 1981 land was highly concentrated in the hands of Bosnian Serbs, this can be observed in Map 1. Additionally as reported by Spasvoski, Živković and Stepić (1995), in the same year, the Serbian population held 51.4% of the total land of Bosnia, compared to Bosnian-Muslim with 39.5% of the total population owning 37% of the land, and Bosnian-Croats with 18.4% of the total population owning 17.3% of the land in Bosnia and Herzegovina. Therefore concluding that previous to the outbreak of the war, the Bosnian Serbs controlled the FRY government and resources leading to the distribution of the land within the Bosnian republic to be highly concentrated on those of Serb descent. Finally it can further be concluded that the concentrations of the Serb population among the territory were high from Map 2.

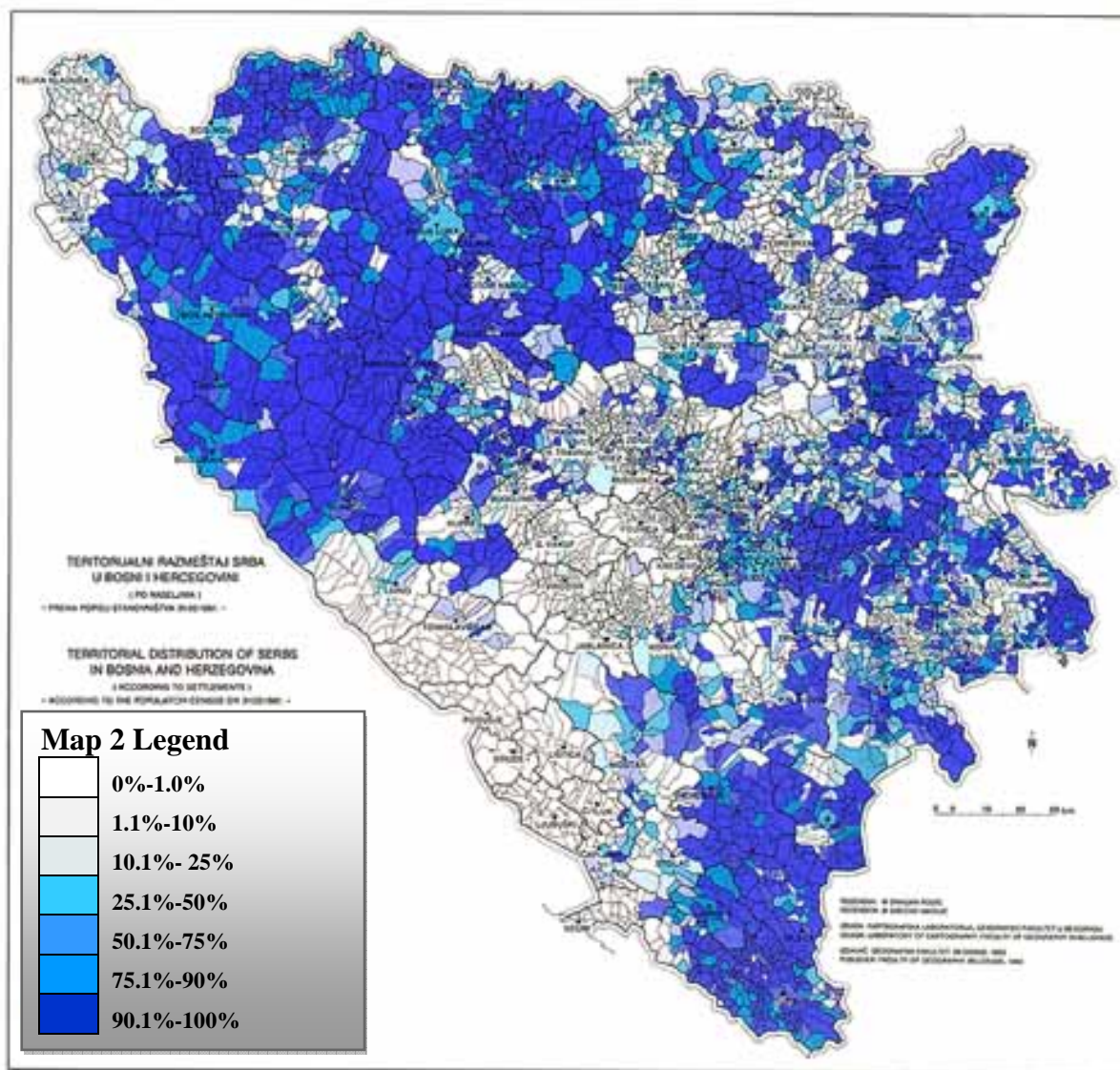
In view of this analysis and based the scheme which was developed to measure the level of unequal allocation of resources between belligerent groups, Bosnia had a high level of unequal allocation of resources as the evidence demonstrates inequality in three areas. The evidence from the Bosnian economy and income level, land ownership records and the status of the control of government at the onset of the conflict, it can be concluded that Bosnian Serbs had better economic conditions in terms of income level and control of government, which may lead one to conclude that they also had higher grade professions. One important characteristic to point out is the fact that in the case of Bosnia, it was the Bosnian Serbs who had better economic conditions; however it is harder to determine if there was a difference between Bosnian Muslims and Bosnian Croats. Some of the evidence leads to the conclusion that the Bosnian Muslims had

better economic conditions compared to Bosnian Croats, as they had more control of land. Nonetheless, a comparison of percentage representation per group allows for the conclusion that it was in fact Bosnian Muslims as a group who were affected by this, as they had the higher population percentage representation but had an overall lower economic status; thus unequal allocation of resources is high.



**Map 1: Private Ownership of Land of Those Households Whose Head of Family is of Serbian Nationality in % in Bosnia and Herzegovina in 1981**

\*Source: Spasvoski, Živković and Stepić, 1995; University of Belgrade



**Map 2: Territorial Distribution of Serbs in Bosnia and Herzegovina in 1981**

Source: Spasvoski, Živković and Stepić, 1995; University of Belgrade

### *Religion*

The population of Bosnia has always been diverse and at the time of the eruption of the conflict this was no different. Additionally as already demonstrated the control of their government changed various times, and as a result, the characteristics and composition of its population also changed various times, and therefore, the percentages per group in relation to the population, distribution of the population along the territory, number of religions among the Bosnian population, and the degree of religious hold fluctuated. In Bosnia there were three



belligerent parties which not only differentiated themselves by identifying with different ethnicities, but also subscribed to different religion denominations; therefore, Serbs were mainly Christian Orthodox, Muslims were mainly Muslim, and Croats were mainly Catholic. The fall to the Ottoman Empire was the defining point for Bosnia as far as religion is concerned because with it came the introduction of the Muslim religion to its territories and as this event disrupted the dynamics of the two previous ethno-religious groups.

Despite the large number of converts during the Ottoman Empire, in Bosnia the dominating group in terms of population percentage, was historically been the Bosnian-Serbs dating back to the pre-Ottoman times, it was not until the 1970's when Bosnian Serbs lost this position to the Bosnian-Muslims, in population percentage; mostly due to emigration trends of Bosnian-Serbs (Spasvoski, Živković and Stepić, 1995). As a result, as the Bosnian war erupted in terms of population percentages the group with the highest percentage was the Bosnian Muslims. In 1991 the population of Bosnia totaled 4.4 million, and the representation of Bosnian Muslims was 43.7% of the population. Furthermore, as can be observed in Table 3, the national composition of the Yugoslav republic saw an increase of Bosnian Muslims, and a decrease of both Bosnian Serbs and Bosnian Croats, between the periods of 1961 thru 1991 (Spasvoski, Živković and Stepić & 1995Rogel, 1998).

**Table 3: Ethno-Religious Makeup of Bosnia and Herzegovina, 1948-1991 in percentages**

Year	Orthodox	Muslim	Catholic	Others
1948	44.3	30.7	23.9	0.8
1953	44.4	31.3	23	0.7
1961	42.9	25.7	21.7	0.6
1971	37.2	32.6	20.6	1.0
1981	32	39.5	18.4	1.8
1991	31.4	43.7	17.3	2.1
1993	31	44	17	N/A

Source: Spasvoski, Živković and Stepić, 1995; University of Belgrade & CIA Factbook, 1993

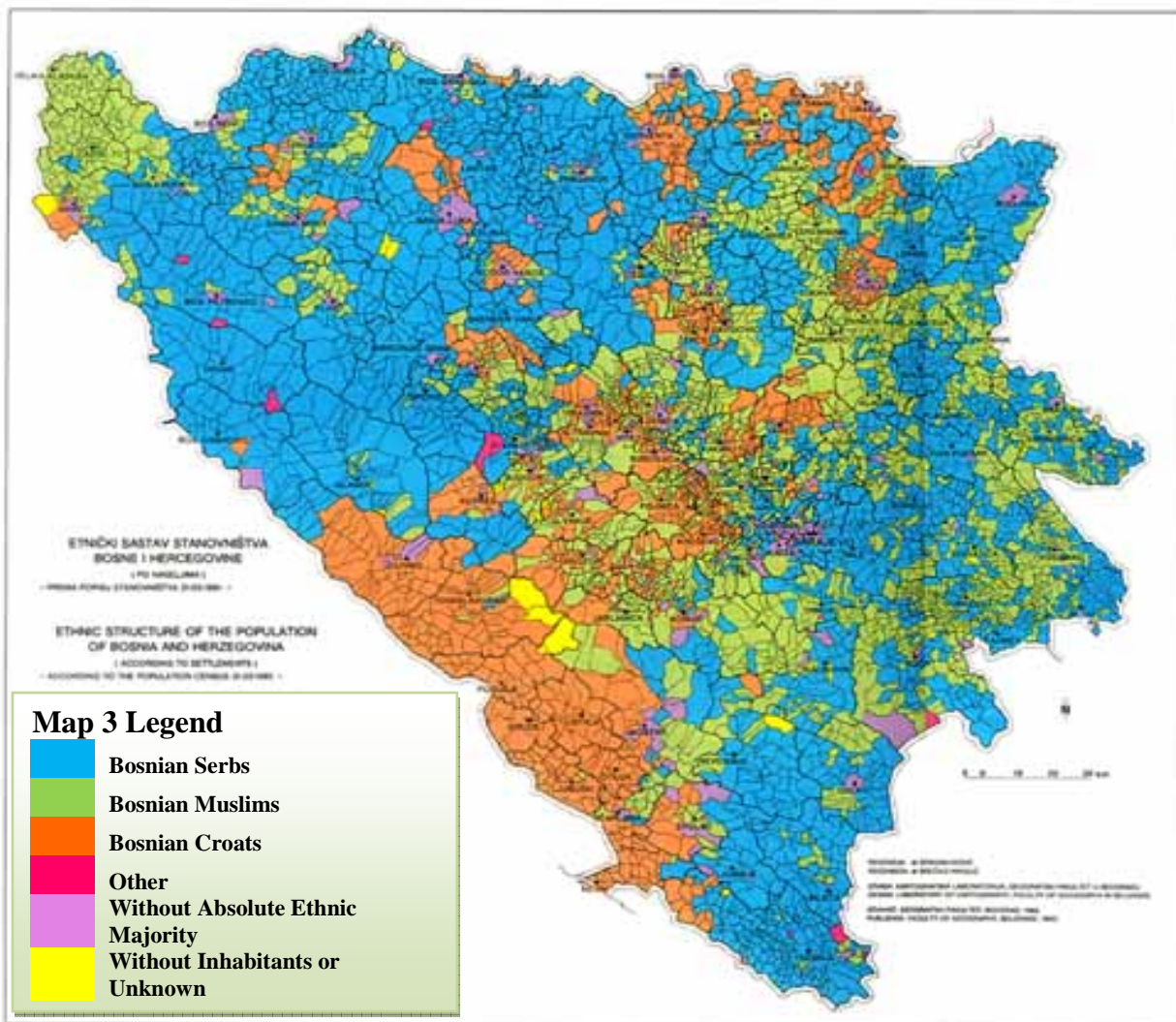
Moreover, the three ethno-religious groups in Bosnia were not segregated along the territory; as a result the distribution of the population could be characterized as “integrated.” In other words, the territory was not separated into ethnically homogeneous areas, in fact all ethno-religious groups were distributed along the territory and as a result, the three groups were spread around all the territory. This can be observed in both Maps 3, which show the distribution of the three ethno-religious groups along the territory in 1981 in terms of population living in a specific area (50% or more); although for 1991. Furthermore, Map 3 show evidence that the territory was mainly inhabited by Bosnian Serbs, despite the fact Bosnian Muslims had the highest percentages of the population.

Nonetheless, as can be observed in Map 4, in 1991 a year before the outbreak of the conflict the distribution of the groups along the territory slightly changed, favoring Bosnian Muslims; this shows that this group had become the majority of the population in terms of percentage. Furthermore, they had also become the absolute majority in more municipalities than Bosnian Serbs. As reported by Spasvoski, Živković and Stepić (1995), the Muslim population had absolute or relative majority<sup>2</sup> in 46 or 42.2% municipalities in 1981 and in 53 or 48.6% in 1991 compared to the Serbian population with 40 or 36.7% municipalities in 1981 and in 36 or 33.0% in 1991 and the Croat population with 23 or 21.1% municipalities in 1981 and in 19 or 17.4% in 1991. Furthermore, Muslims had the absolute majority in 35 municipalities in 1981 and in 37 in 1991 compared to Serbs with 32 municipalities in both censal years, and the Croats with 14 municipalities in 1981 and 13 in 1991. This presented a threat to Bosnian Serbs and with the help of those in control of the Serbian government and as the idea of a “Greater Serbia” continued, the conflict was launched.

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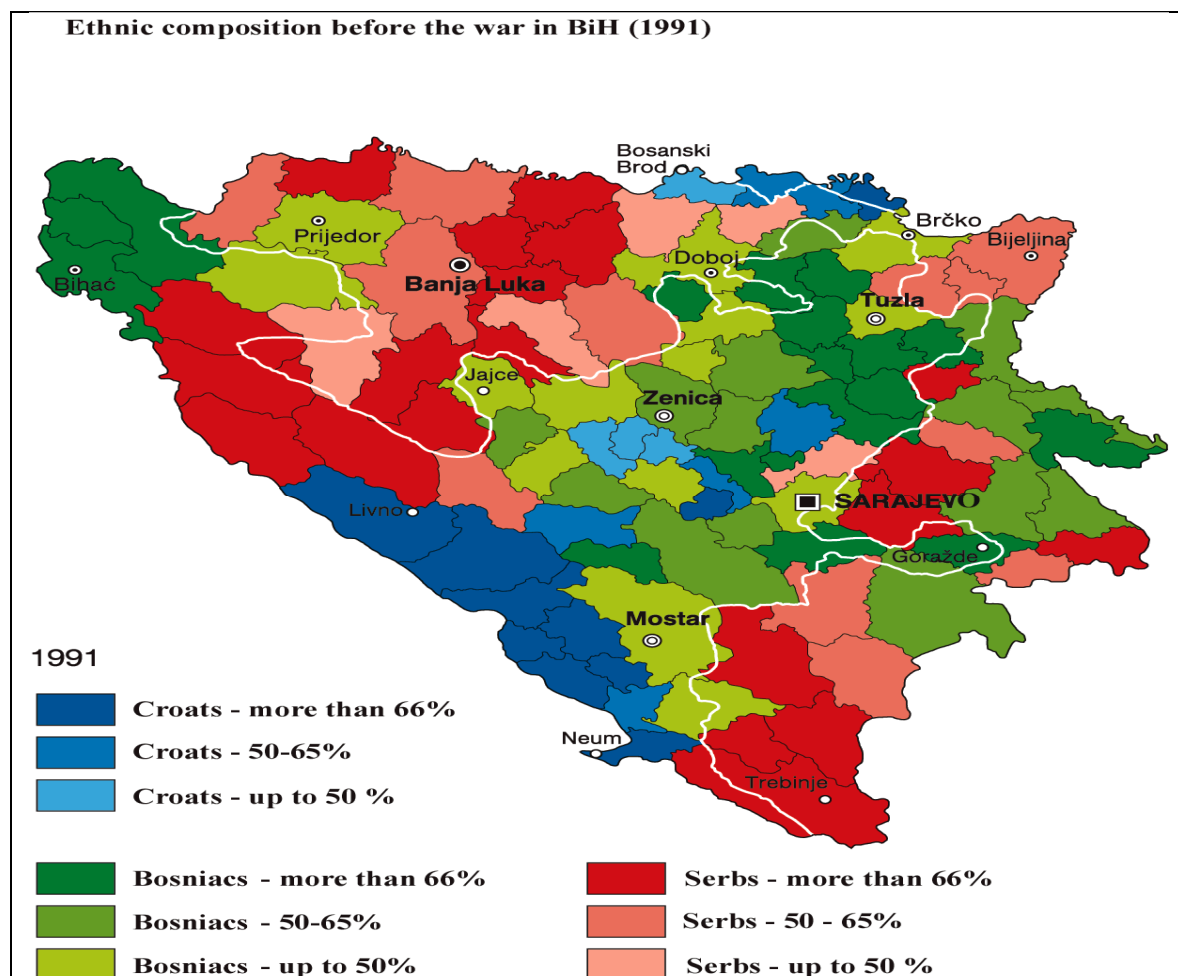
<sup>2</sup> 50% or more of the population belonging to one particular ethnic group





**Map 3: Ethnic Structure of the Population of Bosnia and Herzegovina in 1981**

Source: Spasvoski, Živković and Stepić, 1995; University of Belgrade



**Map 4: Ethnic Composition of Bosnia and Herzegovina before the war, 1991**

Source: Spasvoski, Živković and Stepić, 1995; University of Belgrade

### *Religious Hold*

In terms of degree of religious hold, within Bosnia, religion and the different religion denominations between the already established ethnic groups awoke during the 18<sup>th</sup> and 19<sup>th</sup> century. The introduction of Islam by the Ottoman Empire to Bosnia, had a profound effect on the religious historical outlook of Bosnia. As a result, Muslims within Bosnia were not recognized as a different ethno-religious groups until the late 1960's (Malcolm, 1996). This circumstance forced them to identify themselves with either the Croat or Serbian people. Furthermore, religious hold can be deducted from the institutionalization of religion within the government. Although within Bosnia there was never an official religion clause written in any of

their constructional or governmental arrangements, those who subscribed to the religion of the ruler or the ethnic group in control of the government were always favored, with land, resources, and access to governmental positions or the ability to influence those serving at a governmental position (Rogel, 1004, Malcolm, 1994 & Oluić, 2007). Finally, despite the constitutional freedom to religion under FYR, those who subscribed to the Muslim faith were highly disadvantaged, in addition to not being able to identify themselves as Bosnian-Muslim in the censuses until the late 1960's.

In terms of religion and the level of religious hold, because religion was not formally institutionalized in Bosnia, the level of religious hold is thus determined to have been at the medium level. This due to the fact that although the constitution did have a religious freedom provision, as demonstrated there were some policies implemented within governmental institutions which negatively affected Bosnian Muslims due to their religious denomination.

## **Conclusion**

The eruption of the Bosnian war exemplifies my point of departure, the eruption of conflicts due to inherent unequal allocation of resources, and the fight over these resources between belligerent parties, in addition to presenting evidence to support the tenets of Social Identity Theory and Social Dominance Theory. Social Identity Theory (SIT) studies discrimination between an in-group and an out-group and proposes that discrimination occurs as a result of the mere perception of group belonging. Furthermore, SIT proposes that individuals within the groups are seeking a positive evaluation, dependant on comparison with the other group; when an evaluation is negative it fosters competition between the groups, and possibly leads to conflict. Social Dominance Theory (SDT) argues that societies are inherently hierarchical, therefore creating a dominant and a subordinate group within these societies.

Moreover, SDT argues that both groups, the dominant and subordinate groups, participate in this society dynamics which maintain the status quo; however, this theory posits that as one of the groups ceases to participate in the dynamics the result will be an attempt to change the status quo, and the eruption of conflict as both groups attempt to either maintenance or the shift of the status quo.

Historically, Bosnia has experienced unequal distribution of resources, between its ethno-religious groups; this fostered resentment feelings between the groups and made these differences irreconcilable, leading to the eruption of conflict. Although the data available on allocation of resources in Bosnia is not perfect, at the economical level, there is extensive evidence at the political level; in other words, Bosnia's historical record of government structure and its control is maintained meticulously. Additionally, the available data on allocation of economic resources demonstrates the inequality between ethno-religious groups, in terms of allocation of resources. The data analyzed provides evidence of the inherent unequal allocation of resources between Bosnian- Serbs and Bosnian-Muslims at the onset of the war, exemplified by the ownership of private land, higher for Bosnian-Serbs, and the governmental structure and control of government, under Serb control. These two characteristics of the Bosnian society at the onset of conflict, depict on the one hand the higher status both at the economic and political level held by Bosnian-Serbs, establishing the hierarchy condition within a society; and on the other, depicting the systemization of the unequal distribution of resources and the discrimination that existed between from the in-group, Bosnian-Serbs, and the out-group, Bosnian-Muslims.

Additionally, as far as religion, the evidence available is vaster. The evidence available in terms the population majority within the territory depict the various fluctuations Bosnia experienced in terms of dominating group. At the onset of the conflict, the dominating group in

terms of population was the Bosnian-Muslims, however, as established the control of the government, in this case the FRY government's, was under Bosnian-Serb control<sup>3</sup>. This supports the tenets of SDT, depicting that as one group ceases to participate in the society dynamics, then conflict will arise. Furthermore, it also supports the tenets of SIT, which establishes that as the in-group receives a negative evaluation, against the out-group competition will arise possibly leading to conflict. In this case, Bosnian-Serbs, the in-group, by losing its status as the ethnic group with the higher percentage representation within the population, received a negative evaluation against the Bosnian-Muslims who took the position previously held by the Bosnian-Serbs. As mentioned, pre-war, Serbs were in control, particularly in Bosnia, the Serbs saw themselves being threatened by the Bosnian-Muslims, due to the fact that they were the majority and were not willing any more to maintain the status quo<sup>4</sup>, exemplified by their declaration of independence. Furthermore, as the president of the Bosnian republic was a Bosnian-Muslim, and as his government was labeled as Muslim, the Bosnian-Serbs perceived this as a threat, and sought to receive a positive evaluation, regain their status, the rational behavior to follow was to initiate competition and conflict with the out-group.

The case of Bosnia provides historical evidence of a hierarchically based society, in-group/out-group discrimination between ethno-religious groups. As demonstrated under the various rulers that Bosnian government experienced the allocation of resources and territory fluctuated between the ethno-religious groups. As a result, discriminatory behavior developed

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<sup>3</sup> One can argue that at the onset of the conflict, Bosnia's government was not under Bosnian-Serb control, in fact as mentioned already, Bosnia's government was labeled as Muslim. The government in Bosnia was more diverse and included players of all three ethno-religious groups, although not to the same degree, its president was Alija Izetbegović, a Bosnian-Muslim.

<sup>4</sup> The circumstances under which Bosnia declared independence are various. Originally, the Bosnian republic under the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia was interested in maintaining the status quo; however they were forced by the circumstances and the threat of partition between Serbia and Croatia, to declare independence. This decision although not completely voluntary, showed signs of threat to the Serbs in Serbia and ignited the conflict campaign in Bosnia by the Bosnian-Serbs.

and was implemented against all groups at some point, Bosnian-Serbs enduring the most<sup>5</sup> Additionally, the importance of religion and ethnic and religious differences only became preponderant during the 18<sup>th</sup> and 19<sup>th</sup> century under the rule of the Ottoman Empire and at the time Islam was introduced to the area, however Muslims in the Bosnian territory were not recognized as a separate ethnic group until the late 1960's early 1970's. Despite this, the question about Muslims and their ethnic ancestry never ceased to exist. As discriminatory practices were experienced and applied by all groups against all groups, and with the continuous unequal allocation of resources as a result of group belonging, friction within ethno-religious groups built up, leading to the eruption of the conflict.

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<sup>5</sup> It has been demonstrated that all groups endured discrimination; nonetheless, Bosnian-Serbs had been discriminated at various times and by both the Bosnian-Croats and Bosnian-Muslims.

## **CHAPTER 3: NORTHERN IRELAND AND “THE TROUBLES”**

### **Introduction**

The conflict in Northern Ireland, commonly known as “The Troubles,” erupted in 1968, as many protested unfair and discriminatory practices and the initiation of an Irish Civil Right campaign set off. The October 5, 1968 Derry March is the date most commonly cited as the beginning of the conflict, lasting 30 years. This conflict involved two different groups divided along ethnic and religious lines, the Irish, which were mainly Roman Catholic, and the Ulster, which were mainly Protestant. Both groups throughout the conflict were involved in violent attacks against each other; however, discriminatory practices were mainly launched only against the Irish Catholic, mainly in the sectors of public service and employment, housing and education.

Initially, this conflict resulted in considerably large numbers of casualties, and highly violent attacks between the belligerent parties. Additionally, the length of the conflict depicts the exacerbated level it reached and the difficulties that were confronted when attempts to halt it were made; as the conflict continued after 1972 the number of casualties stabilized to 50-100 a year thereafter (Darby, 1995). Nonetheless, the total toll throughout the conflict reached the 3523 casualties. The conflict ended in 1998, when the belligerent parties officially reached the agreement known as the “Good Friday Agreement.” Although a peace agreement was reached, contempt with it remains among the Irish people, and violence has continued to be the venue of choice when expressing disagreements about the final agreement.

The presence of the differences and tensions between the Irish Catholic and Ulster Protestant date back to the 17<sup>th</sup> century and the plantation of the Ulster. This event led to the implementation of the use of discriminatory practices in terms of unequal allocation of resources mainly focused on the Irish Catholic, this remained the norm until the eruption of the conflict in

1968. In view of the “usurpation” of the Irish area of the Ulster, the expansion of the United Kingdom (U.K.) through the rest of the island, and the historical relations that developed thereafter between the ethno-religious groups, the history of the relation dynamics between the two ethno-religious groups cannot be ignored and will be explored. This chapter will first explore the historical roots of the conflict and the ethno-religious relations that predated the conflict, second it will discuss the data analysis of level of conflict, resource allocation, and religion, and third, it will present the conclusions of the analysis of the conflict.

## **Historical Background**

### *Pre-17<sup>th</sup> century*

Although the historical accounts of the Irish territory date back to prehistoric dates, the relevancy of its historic background begins with the Plantation of Ulster, and furthermore by the 1920 partition of the Irish island. The partitioning of the island resulted in the foundation of Northern Ireland and Southern Ireland, the former a territory which was and continues to be under the United Kingdom’s control, and the later an independent republic; this events did not come around without violence and discriminate acts between the belligerent groups. The struggle for the Irish territory between the Irish people and the U.K. is historical; previous to the plantation of the Ulster, Ireland was inhabited by Irish Catholics, and was an independent state with the exception of a small area around Dublin which became part of U.K. Henry II of England launched several attempts to annex the Irish island to the U.K., however failed. It was not until the sixteenth century that expansion was accomplished, leading to the early seventeenth century plantation of Ulster and the roots of the divisions and predicament over the Irish island between unionists and republicans (Dunn, 1995 & Hennessey, 1997).

### *Plantation of Ulster*



As already mentioned, the divisions and resentments between the belligerent parties of this conflict date back to the early 17<sup>th</sup> century, and initiated with the U.K.'s interest in expansion of control over the Irish island. Expansion was not materialized and successful until the late 16<sup>th</sup> century; the island's new rule by the U.K came with many changes. The Ulster region of the island was exempt from U.K.'s control, and remained free until the early 17<sup>th</sup> century. One of the most profound changes implemented at the beginning of the U.K.'s rule over the Ulster region of the island was the encouragement of immigrants by promising generous land offers; this led to the plantation of the Ulster, in the early 17<sup>th</sup> century. The plantation of the Ulster area of Ireland by foreign settlers, led to the confiscation of land, from Irish native owners, to be given to these new settlers. This area originally comprised nine districts, later becoming Northern Ireland with only six from its original nine districts, See Map 1 (Dunn, 1995, Hennessey, 1997 & Darby, 2003).



**Map 1: Original Plantation of the Ulster of the 17<sup>th</sup> century**

Original Ulster Districts: Londonderry, Antrim, Down, Armagh, Monaghan, Cavan, Fermanagh, Tyrone & Donegal.  
Source: BBC

Under the U.K.'s rule, the island also suffered changes in terms of resource allocation and religious denominations. With the plantation of the Ulster, came those who were of protestant denominations, as a result, resource allocation was disturbed completely. Under the

U.K.'s control settlers and those who supported the crown were favored. This can be exemplified by the confiscation of land from Irish natives; by 1703 less than 5 percent of the land of the Ulster region was in the hands of the catholic Irish. The native Irish remained within the Ulster region but were excluded from the new towns and banished to the mountains (Dunn, 1995). Furthermore, governmental control shifted to the U.K. and the crown for direction.

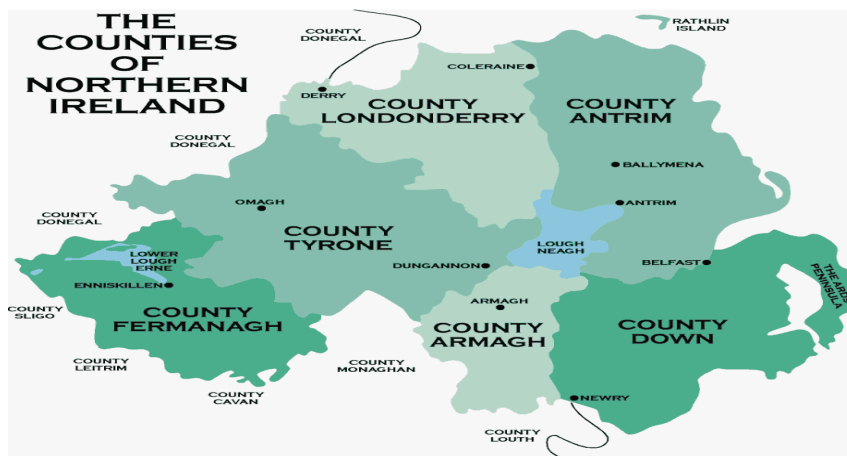
Another crucial change experienced by the Ulster region, under the U.K.'s rule was exemplified in the sphere of religion, the crown and U.K. followed the English church. As a result a characteristic that initiated with the plantation of the Ulster and the foreign settlers was their religious denomination, they were protestant. This created frictions between the groups due to the favoritisms implemented by the crown towards those who supported and followed the crown's faith. This meant that those who were favored were mainly protestant by religion, therefore initiating the struggle between the ethno-religious groups due to the unequal allocation of resources between them by those with governmental control and with the access to these resources. From the plantation of the Ulster forward abrasion was latent within the island, as exemplified by the following quote, "the same territory was occupied by two hostile groups, one believing the land had been usurped and the other believing that their tenure was constantly under threat of rebellion (Dunn, 1995)."

#### *1920 Government of Ireland Act and life after Irish partitioning*

By 1911, the population of the Ulster comprised 1,581,969 people, where 899,880 were protestant, making this the dominating group in terms of percentage. Additionally by 1912, three proposals had been introduced intending to implement home rule in Ireland, the third proposal was successful, however, World War I ignited placing a suspended its implementation. This legislation was highly opposed by those who labeled themselves as unionists, the Ulster

Protestants; they saw home rule as a threat to their Britishness and feared that if established it would lead to an Irish republic, and they would thus become the minority (Hennessey, 1997). As WWI came to an end, the implementation of this previous approved home rule legislation became eminent. Additionally, by 1915 it was evident that republicans, Irish Catholics, wanted to become independent from the U.K., and would reject home rule because this would mean they would remain under U.K. control, and that the unionists wanted to remain under U.K control.

As a result of these differences, a fourth home rule bill was introduced leading to the Government of Ireland Act of 1920. This partitioned the island into North Ireland, which remained under U.K. control and which territory was only six of the original nine districts of the Ulster area, and South Ireland, or the Irish Free State, which became independent of all U.K. control (See Map 2). Nonetheless, it was not until the signing of the Anglo-Irish Treaty of 1922 that the partition was official. Northern Ireland was part of the Free Irish state for three days, but immediately exercised its right to opt out of the new state and return to U.K control under the treaty (Dunn, 1995 & Hennessey, 1997).



**Map 2: Northern Ireland 1920-Present**

Source: BBC

The unionists in the Ulster area were interested to remain under U.K.'s rule because they considered themselves British, but most importantly they did not want to become the minority

group within the new Irish Free State. If the area that comprises Northern Ireland joined the Irish Free State, the Ulster Protestant ethnic group would become the minority within the territory. As a result, the unionists expressed their interest of opting out from the Irish Free State by establishing the borders of the Northern Ireland territory as the six districts exemplified in Map 2, leaving out Donegal, Monaghan and the Cavan districts. Their argument for remaining under the control of the U.K. was the fear of being discriminated against and of becoming the minority, fear of losing their Britishness; additionally this area of the island was the most industrialized area of Ireland. As a result, they intentionally were willing to give up the aforementioned districts of the original Ulster area due to the high Catholic population these had, these districts amounted to about 70,000 unionists and 260,000 republicans as opposed to the six districts selected where only one third of the population was non-unionist. As Hennessey (1997) mentions, this “would reduce our majority to such a level that no sane man would undertake to carry on a Parliament with it”. As of its inception, Northern Ireland had a built in Protestant majority, its population was roughly 65% Protestant and 35% Catholic at the time of partition; under this new political arrangement, Northern Ireland acquired its own parliament and had considerable autonomy from the U.K. (Hennessey, 1997 & Darby, 2003).

#### *Overview of Resource Allocation between the periods of 1920-1960*

In terms of resource allocation, the record during the inception of Northern Ireland and its early years is not so meticulous; however some record of the government control is available. Under the U.K., the government of Ireland was independent to a certain extent; the crown was always looked at for final word. Additionally, on April 16, 1922, proportional representation was abolished, with the passage of the Method of Voting and Redistribution Seat Act. The main concern by Ulster unionists was not the elimination of nationalists within the Northern Ireland

Parliament, but the elimination of Labor Party and independent unionists which Northern Irish feared could jeopardize its position within the U.K. Another measure adopted by the Northern Irish parliament, the use of gerrymandering and the reestablishment of boundaries in order to ensure unionist control over local councils with nationalist minorities. Furthermore, the banning of the Sinn Fein, the main Irish Catholic political party was also implemented (Darby, 2003).

Additionally, the Education Act of 1923 was enacted, establishing the guidelines for the funding of schools within Northern Ireland. This new legislation established three different categories of schools, these categories assisted in determining how much funding a school would get from the Ministry of Education. The argument for passing this legislation was the establishment of a secular educational system; however it created a discriminatory practice towards Catholic schools due to the educational demands of the Catholic Church, which required children “to be educated in Catholic schools with Catholic ethos; teachers were to be trained in Catholic teacher training colleges and appointed by Catholic clerical managers, who would also supervise their textbooks” (Hennessey, 1997). The first category comprised those schools which were built by newly established local authorities, and transfer schools which were schools transferred to civic management by their former managers; these schools had full funding, teacher salaries, heating and maintenance. The second category was comprised of those schools whose managers accepted the establishment of a special management committee, these received teachers’ salaries paid in full and half of the heating and maintenance costs. The third category, under which all Catholic schools fell under, comprised those schools whose managers chose to remain completely independent of local control, only receiving full payment of teachers’ salaries, but no money for any of the other costs of heating and maintenance (Dunn, 1995 & Hennessey, 1997).

During the period between the beginning of Northern Ireland and the eruption of the conflict between, Irish Catholics and Ulster Protestants, continuous discriminatory practices were implemented. In terms of employment, particularly at the senior levels in the public sector and in sectors such as shipbuilding and heavy engineering experienced highly discriminatory practices against the Irish Catholic population; this resulted in high numbers of emigration patterns among this population group. Additionally, some outbreaks of violence erupted within the 1920-1960 period, however the period can be categorized as relatively peaceful; an exception to this was the 1935 violence eruption in Belfast, when an Ulster Protestant parade passed through a Catholic area resulting in violence where nine died and about 2000 Catholics were forced to leave their homes (Dunn, 1995 & Hennessey, 1997).

#### *1960 Civil Rights Quest and the Road to the Troubles*

As the mistreatment, discrimination, and the unequal allocation of resources against the Irish Catholic within Northern Ireland continued, a civil rights campaign modeled after that of the civil rights campaign of the United States begun in Northern Ireland. With the initiation of the mid-1960's Civil Rights campaign the quest was to attain more equitable treatment and access to political power, social provisions, and cultural recognition begun (Darby, 2003). A series of methods were utilized to set pressure on the Northern Ireland government and ultimately the House of Commons in U.K. by the Irish Catholics. The campaign became a mass movement and the adoption of constant marches, mainly confined in Derry, became common in an attempt to draw attention to grievances felt by Catholics in Northern Ireland. These demonstrations became a powerful tool for the Irish Catholics due to the attention they were drawing, not only from the crown but internationally. A march was organized on October 4, 1968 in Derry, however it was banned. Despite the ban, some 400 people disobeyed the order

and the march went on; they were greeted by the Ulster Royal Constabulary who injured many with batons. This event marked the eruption of the conflict between the Irish Catholic and the Ulster Protestant populations in Northern Ireland, which was to last 30 years. After four attempts at halting the conflict, and as the death toll reached 3482 deaths the conflict came to an end with the “Good Friday Agreement of 1998 (Darby, 2003).”

### **Data Analysis**

Resource allocation since the inception of Northern Ireland has mainly been in the hands of the Ulster Protestants. The plantation of the Ulster initiated the fight over the territory and the struggle for independence from the United Kingdom. Additionally the plantation also led to the introduction of a foreign ethno-religious group to the territory. With the partition of the island, these differences and tensions were strengthened and the institutionalization of discriminatory practices was implemented. In the case of Northern Ireland, borders have always remained the same since partition; however, this region was originally comprised of nine districts and was redrawn to remain with only six. Furthermore, governmental control did not shift along belligerent parties; on the contrary it only grew wider in favor of the Ulster Protestants, which adopted measures since its inception, beginning with partition and the territory chosen as part Northern Ireland.

The discriminatory practices adopted within the Northern Irish territory were focused on targeting the Irish Catholic population, and although both belligerent parties suffered casualties, the evidence shows the systematic discriminatory practices that the Ulster Protestants and the unionist government of Northern Ireland adopted against the Catholic Irish. The evidence provided from the housing and employment sectors demonstrate the inequalities the two belligerent groups experienced in terms of allocation of resources. Additionally, particularly the

practices implemented in the housing sector demonstrate the segregation that existed in Northern Ireland in relation to religion denomination. As a result of the strong hold the Ulster Protestants had on the government and their position with the U.K., the implementation of discriminatory practices and its institutionalization was made easier. Furthermore, the evidence that will be provided about the distribution of the population in relation to religion will demonstrate how the methods adopted by the Northern Irish government were aimed at isolating a certain religious group of the population from better economic and political status, thus dominating them and creating the competition over allocation of resources which led to the conflict.

### *Level of Conflict*

The record of the Northern Irish conflict is very detailed, and great efforts have been made by the Conflict Archive on the Internet (CAIN) project of the University of Ulster to keep this record as accurate as possible. The conflict's total casualties are estimated to having reached 3482 deaths; additionally no year surpassed 1000 casualties. The conflict's bloodiest year was 1972 which saw 479 casualties, the highest number of casualties in any year. Furthermore, the years of 1969, 1995, and 1996 only saw a small number of casualties, 16, 9, 18 casualties respectively<sup>6</sup>. Therefore, with the exception of the aforementioned years, if only analyzing the casualty data and following the level conflict scheme in the Northern Irish case, the conflict can be categorized as reaching a medium conflict level of exacerbation. Furthermore, despite the length of the conflict, 30 year period, the conflict level remained fairly stagnant (Sutton, 1994 & CAIN Sutton Index of Deaths).

### *Allocation of Resources*

The evidence available on the unequal distribution of resources within Northern Ireland is particularly exemplified by which group controlled the government and income levels between

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<sup>6</sup> A table with the yearly casualties associated to the conflict is included in Appendix 1



groups. Further evidence can be derived from the data on the employment and housing sectors, and its accessibility to the two different ethno-religious groups, based on the censuses of 1970, 1980, and 1990, conducted after the conflict erupted. The reports generated with the data available from these censuses, details the unequal allocation of these services to the two ethno-religious groups. The main igniter of the civil rights campaign that was launched within Northern Ireland was the discrimination that existed in the housing sector, which favored the Protestant population and the areas where they resided. Nonetheless, the circumstances in the employment sector cannot be ignored, as they serve were all interrelated and therefore serve as a piece of the puzzle in explaining how the allocation of resources was unequal among the two communities living within the borders of Northern Ireland.

#### *Control of Government*

As established before the control of government in Northern Ireland was mainly in the hands of the Ulster Protestant population. Although at the inception of Northern Ireland the idea of a shared government was to be implemented, a variety of practices adopted by the Ulster Protestant population allowed them to maintain the control of the government. For example in the housing sector those who led the Northern Ireland Housing Trust (NIHT), charged with providing housing accommodation for workers in coordination with local authorities, were “from the background and ethos of which ‘reflected the virtuous, austere, if sometimes puritanical characteristics of the Northern protestant work-ethic (Melaugh, 1994).”

Furthermore, the Stormont government, which was in power from 1921-1972, was led by protestants and was initiated in 1922 with the introduction of the Local Government Act, which abolished proportional representation with majority voting, redrew boundaries and altered the franchise by incorporating property ownership as qualification to voting (Dunn, 1995). At the

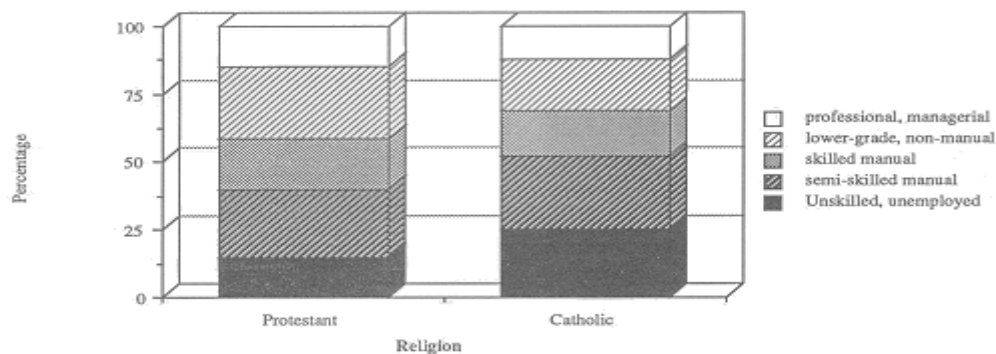
end of the Stormont government in 1972, the United Kingdom introduced, direct rule, although this measure was to be temporary it lasted until the Belfast Agreement was reached. These practices allowed for the continuation of the Ulster Protestant control of government, translating into a control over the allocation of resources in sectors such as housing, education, and employment. Although the introduction of direct rule was to normalize the circumstances in terms of the conflict, the reality was much different and the unequal practices and disproportional allocation of resources continued. The signing of the Belfast agreement outlined once again a shared government among ethno-religious groups (Dunn, 1995 & Hennessey, 1997).

### *Employment*

There are two components of the employment sector in Northern Ireland that depict the inequality that the two ethno-religious groups had. First, the sector of the economy where each ethno-religious group was more likely to be employed was different. Second, the unemployment rates were also different for both groups and also remained the same. These two components of employment sector give explicit evidence of the difference in the allocation of resources between the two ethno-religious group. Furthermore, the evaluation of this data also allow for the partial drawing of conclusions in terms of income levels, and housing conditions experienced by each ethno-religious group, further supported by other evidence.

As already mentioned the representation of the two ethno-religious groups in the different sectors of the economy in Northern Ireland was different. Figure 1 and 2 demonstrate that in the years of 1971 and 1981 respectively, Irish Catholics were more likely to be employed in lower skilled and lower grade positions, and were less likely to be employed in the higher levels of the civil service (Gallagher, 1991). Thus, Irish Catholics were more likely to be employed in the

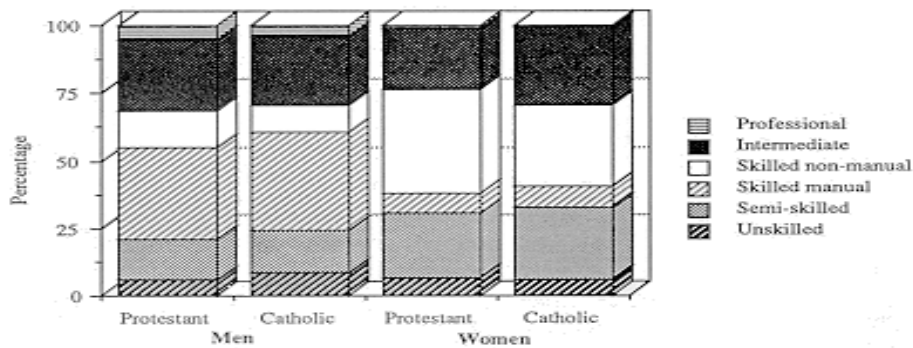
construction sector, agricultural sector, and service industries; areas of the economy which are more volatile;<sup>7</sup> additionally Irish Catholics were over-represented in low status industries. In contrast, the Ulster Protestants' employment situation was slightly different, as they tended to dominate the upper occupational classes, and thus were more likely to occupy high status positions. In view of this, and although Ulster Protestants were well represented all throughout the employment sectors of the Northern Irish economy, this group was more likely to be employed in engineering, the manufacturing industry. Finally, as assessed by Gallagher, the situation in terms of representation along the labor sectors improved between the two ethno-religious sectors between 1971 and 1981, the Irish Catholic population remained overrepresented in low status industries and low status positions, as opposed to the Ulster Protestant population which remained overrepresented in the high status industries and high status/managerial positions.



**Figure 1: 1971 Socio-economic distributions by religion**

Source: Gallagher, A.M. (1991). *Majority Minority Review 2: Employment, Unemployment and Religion in Northern Ireland*. Coleraine, Northern Ireland: The University of Ulster.

<sup>7</sup> There appears to be a difference between male and female population due to the high likelihood of women being employed in the education sectors, particularly as teachers, and the healthcare sector, particularly as nurses.



**Figure 2: 1981 Social-economic distributions by religion and gender, (excluding unemployed)**

Source: Gallagher, A.M. (1991). *Majority Minority Review 2: Employment, Unemployment and Religion in Northern Ireland*. Coleraine, Northern Ireland: The University of Ulster.

As a result of the distribution of the ethno-religious groups along the employment sectors, the situation for Irish Catholic this translated to lower paid positions and more vulnerable to unemployment, as opposed to the Ulster Protestant, which held the higher paying jobs and more stable in terms of tenure. As it is demonstrated in Table 1, the unemployment rate was much higher for Irish Catholic, increase quite extensively and almost doubled between the 1970s and 1980s. Furthermore, Table 1 also demonstrates the difference between females and males, Irish Catholic men thus had a higher rate of unemployment that their female counterparts, however Irish Catholic females still had higher unemployment rates than Ulster Protestant females.<sup>8</sup> Additionally, this also translated into harsher living conditions for the Irish Catholic group. As can be observed in both tables, although both ethno-religious groups were represented in substantial proportions in each employment sectors, Ulster Protestants were more likely to occupy the high status/managerial positions. As it can be concluded from the data available, in terms of unemployment, the Irish Catholic population was negatively affected all throughout the 1970 thru 1987.

<sup>8</sup> This is related to the labor sector, education and healthcare, in which the females were more likely to be employed in.

**Table 1: Percentage Rate of Unemployment by Religious Affiliation (1971-1987)**

	Protestant %		Catholic %	
	Male	Female	Male	Female
<b>1971</b>	7	4	17	7
<b>1981</b>	12	10	30	17
<b>1983-1984</b>	15	11	35	17
<b>1985-1987</b>	14	9	36	15

Source: McKenna, F. CAIN: Web Service: Background Information on Northern Ireland Society – Employment & Gallagher, A.M. (1991). *Majority Minority Review 2: Employment, Unemployment and Religion in Northern Ireland*. Coleraine, Northern Ireland: The University of Ulster.

### *Income*

At first look, as reported in the Policy Planning and Research Unit, during the periods of 1986-1987 and 1988-1991, the total household gross income differenced for both population groups were not exuberant. However, on a closer look the outstanding income difference between the two ethno-religious groups was mostly significant between the lowest and the highest income levels. For those earning less than £2000 during 1986-1987 the percentage of Catholics was 8% compared to 6% Protestant, and during the 1988-1991 periods it was 4% Catholic, and 3% Protestant. On the highest level of income the figures were the following, during the 1986-1987 period earning £15000 and over, the percentage of Catholics was 9% compared to 16% of Protestants, and during the 1988-1991 period Catholics 17% compared to 23% of Protestants. At first look, it appears that the difference is not large; nonetheless it is evident that household income of the Protestant population was better than those of the Catholic population (Dunn, 1995). Furthermore, as already established by the previous section, income level is highly related to the labor sector in which each group predominated in addition to the different type of work each group predominately performed; additionally, the disadvantage that the Irish Catholic population experienced will be furthered established by the next section.

## *Housing*

Although there has not been a comprehensive study conducted on the housing sector level, there are various researchers who have concluded that “a number of its policies tended to have adversely affected the Catholic community (Melaugh, 1994).” As already established, one of the central concerns of the civil rights movement of the 1960s was housing (Melaugh, 1994). In terms of the housing sector, the main differences between the two ethno-religious groups were the living conditions; particularly bad living conditions affected the Irish Catholic population, and the construction and distribution of new housing units, benefiting the Ulster Protestant population. It has been established that during the 1970’s new housing developments were mainly concentrated in areas where the majority of the population was Ulster Protestant. Additionally, Martin Melaugh (1994) established that the entity in charge of meeting housing needs, the NIHT, implemented favoritism towards the Ulster Protestant population by applying “rents which were likely to attract the better paid of the working class (p. 2).” In addition to this practice, it is also established that many of the new development projects failed to consider building in the west part of the region, where the majority of the Irish Catholic population was concentrated.

The trust Annual Report of 1954-1955 established that “some families who were the subject of slum clearance would have problems paying their rents in the new property,” proving the weeding out of those individuals who were of lower incomes, translating to the Irish Catholic population (Melaugh, 1994). It has further been established that one of the main forces driving the issue of housing was the Ulster Protestant efforts to control voting patterns, therefore, affecting negatively the Irish Catholic population. As a result of the previous discussion, and the practices being implemented in Northern Ireland by the NIHT, “new houses were ordinarily

much more likely to be allocated to new Protestant families than to new Catholic families (Melaugh, 1994).” Additionally, as Melaugh further establishes, “the allegations tended to be concentrated in particular areas, notably the west of the region, and were concerned in the main particular types of Catholic households (p.12).” Finally, another component of the housing circumstances between ethno-religious groups is living conditions in terms of amenities accessibility, for example, hot water, fixed bath and inside WC; the Irish Catholic population was also negatively affected by the lack of these services, Melaugh establishes, “Catholic households in all rural areas tended to live in dwellings with fewer amenities than households from other denominations (p.10).” All these conditions remained relatively constant well into the 1990s.

The analysis of resource allocation within the Northern Irish territory is evidently showing of the great inequalities that existed between the two ethno-religious groups. As a result, Northern Ireland had a high unequal allocation of resources based on this analysis and the scheme developed to determine the level of this variable. As the evidence shows, at the onset and throughout the conflict, the economic indicators of income, the housing sector, the education sector, profession level, and government control demonstrate the inequality that existed in Northern Ireland indicate that Ulster Protestants experienced better economic conditions than Irish Catholics. This is highly exemplified by the evidence provided in the housing and employment sectors, as Ulster Protestants were more likely to hold higher grade and prestigious professions and were also more likely to have or receive a house in better conditions and better services than their Irish Catholic counterparts. Additionally, it was also demonstrated that the Irish Catholic population was more likely to be employed in sectors which were more vulnerable to unemployment trends. Additionally, one area in which the evidence may not be as obvious is

in the income level sector, nonetheless as demonstrated the differences in terms of income levels between the two groups may at first appear not as apparent when combined with the rest of the areas analyzed, the inherent discriminatory practices and thus unequal allocation of resources between the two ethno-religious groups becomes evident. In view of the fact that the evidence demonstrates that Northern Ireland experienced inequality in the four areas previously mentioned, it is characterized as having a high level of unequal allocation of resources.

### *Religion*

As previously established, in the conflict that erupted in Northern Ireland, there existed two belligerent parties, the Irish and the Ulster. The population of Northern Ireland mainly identified with two different religions, the former, who subscribed to the Catholic faith, and the latter who subscribed to the Protestant faith. The plantation of the Ulster in the 1600s and the partition of the Ireland in the 1920s affected the population of Northern Ireland, particularly the Irish Catholic population, as they became the minority. As a result, within the dynamics of the state and the conflict, the percentage per group in relation to the population, the distribution of the population among the territory, the number of religions among the territory, and the degree of religious hold remained relatively the same all since the inception of Northern Ireland thru the end of the conflict. Additionally, as can be observed in Table 2, the dominating group, the Ulster Protestants, always remained the same, and although the gap in terms of percentage of the ethno-religious groups in relation to the total population, 1.57 million in 1991, narrowed, the Irish Catholic never surpassed the Ulster Protestants (Mitchell & Wilford, 1999, p.53. & Melaugh & McKenna, 2001).

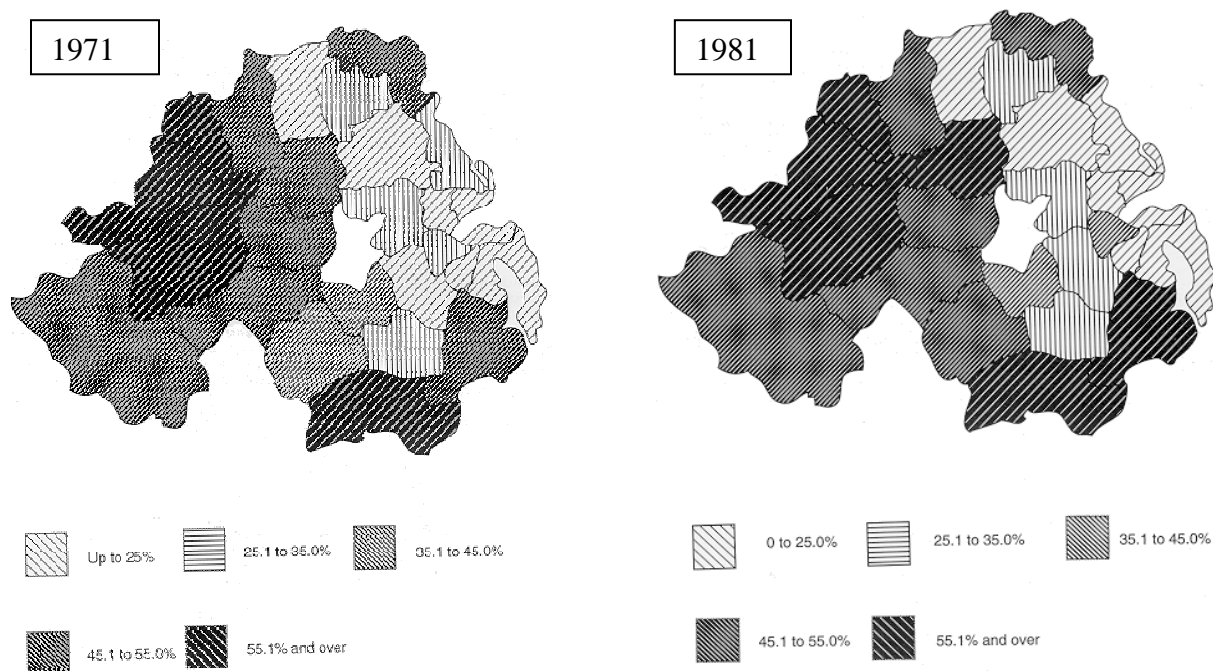


**Table 1: Percentage of Population in Northern Ireland by Religion, 1961-2001**

	Protestant	Catholic
<b>1961</b>	63	35
<b>1981</b>	45.9	28
<b>1991</b>	58	42
<b>2001</b>	53.1	43.8

Source: CAIN Web Service: Population and Vital Statistics, 2001

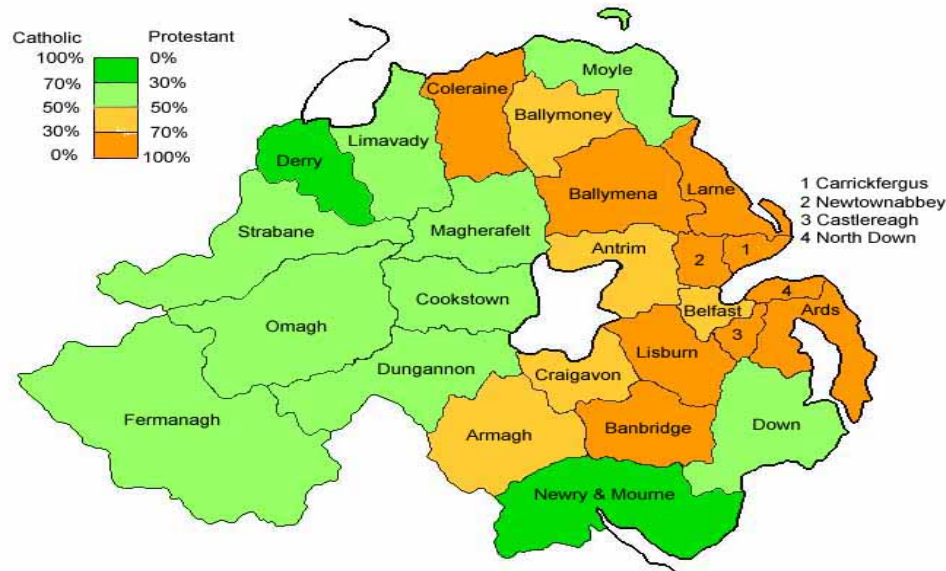
In terms of the distribution of the population along the territory, the population was not provincially segregated per se, the Catholic population was represented all along the territory, nonetheless, the majority of the Irish Catholics resided in the west and south parts of the Northern Irish territory (Melaugh, 1994). Thus, as can be observed in Maps 3 and 4, the distribution of the Irish Catholic population remained relatively the same. As established in the discussion of housing sector, gerrymandering was a common practice, and the distribution of houses was controlled as to not affect voting patterns, thus this assisted in the location of the population to remain stagnant (Melaugh, 1994, p.8-9).



**Map 3: Percentage of Catholics, based 1971 & 1981 Census figures and adjustments by Compton (1978 & 1986), district council areas**

Source: Melaugh, M. (1994). *Majority Minority Review 3: Housing and Religion in Northern Ireland*. Coleraine, Northern Ireland: The University of Ulster.

Catholics and Protestants as a Percentage of the Population, District Council Areas, 1991



Source: Information based on the Religion Report of the 1991 Census

#### Map 4: Percentage of Catholics and Protestants, based on 1991 Census figure

Source: BBC

#### *Religious Hold*

The institutionalization of religion with the Northern Irish government was not official, in other words, there was no official religion declared by the government. Nonetheless, the institutionalization of religious preferences was very much ingrained within the Northern Irish government. As already mentioned since the plantation of the Ulster and with the partition of the island, control of the Northern Irish government has been concentrated in the hands of the Ulster Protestants; this has allowed for the implementation of various practices by the Northern Irish government and the Ulster Protestants to maintain this control of government and thus resources. Furthermore, although originally Northern Ireland had its independent government, their ultimate authority was the English crown, and as such preference for those who subscribe to the Protestant religion was implemented. The exemplification of this religious hold commenced as the original borders for Northern Ireland were drawn; these were not the original Ulster region

borders. As already mentioned, there were three districts of the original nine left out deliberately because allowing them to be part of the new borders would favor the Catholic population and would most likely make this group the majority, something the Ulster Protestants were not willing to accept. Some of the practices which outline the institutionalization of religion and thus the degree of religious hold can be drawn from the housing and gerrymandering practices adopted within the government. In the housing sector, as already discussed, the Ulster Protestant population was favored and preferred for the allocation of new housing units and better equipped with amenities. Additionally, and related to the distribution of houses, the gerrymandering practices already discussed depict the importance the factor of religion played as a controller of resource allocation and power to control the resources available.

Religion within Northern Ireland was not formally institutionalized in the constitution, however in other governmental entities religion was institutionalized to some degree. In view of this and the analysis of religion and based on the scheme developed to measure religious hold level, in the case of Northern Ireland, the level of religious hold reached the medium level. This is due to the fact that despite the fact that the Northern Irish constitution did not delineate an official religion, it did as demonstrated in the housing and education sectors policies which negatively affected the Catholic Irish population, impacting their access to resources at all levels. Furthermore, as also demonstrated the Northern Irish government conducted and implemented policies of gerrymandering in order to impact provinces and the structure of the population living in districts this in order to also impact elections, all this in an effort to favor the Ulster Protestant population.

## **Conclusion**

The eruption of the Northern Ireland conflict, most commonly known as “The Troubles,” exemplifies the importance that group identification plays in the dynamics of a society. Additionally, this case of conflict also exemplifies that eruption of a conflict along ethnic lines due to unequal allocation of resources between the belligerent parties within a territory. Furthermore, this case and the evidence of the dynamics of the society present the evidence to support the tenets of Social Identity Theory (SIT) and Social Dominance Theory (SDT). SIT establishes that discrimination will occur between in-group and out-groups due to the mere perception of different group belonging. Furthermore, it establishes that individuals within the groups seek positive evaluations dependant on comparison to the other group, when an evaluation is negative it fosters competition between the groups, and it can possibly lead to conflict. SDT establishes that societies are inherently hierarchical, thus creating a dominating and subordinate group within a society at all times. Moreover, SDT states that these groups will participate in the dynamics of the society to maintain the status quo; however, it further establishes that if as one of the groups ceases to participate in the established dynamics and as this dissenter attempts to change the status quo, that the possibility of conflict eruption arises as both groups seek to either maintain or shift the dynamics of the society.

Since the partition of the Irish island and the inception of Northern Ireland, unequal distribution of resources has been a present characteristic of the society and between the two ethno-religious groups. Although the evidence presented in respect to the allocation of resources within Northern Ireland might not appear as striking at a first look the various areas where this inequality existed and the close correlation and effect each had on the other demonstrate the magnitude of the significance the factor of resources had in this conflict. Additionally, the

evidence provided exemplifies the inherent dynamics of unequal allocation of resources between the Irish Catholics and Ulster Protestants, demonstrated by their incomes, employment opportunities, housing conditions, and the control of the Irish government, under Ulster Protestant control, since the plantation of the Ulster up until the “Good Friday Agreement of 1998.” These characteristics of the Northern Irish society demonstrate on the one hand the higher status of Ulster Protestants both economically and politically, also establishing the hierarchical component of the society, and on the other demonstrates the systemization of the unequal distribution of resources and the discrimination that was implemented between the dominating/in-group, Ulster Protestants, and the subordinate/out-group, the Irish Catholics, which was based on the mere group belonging perception.

Furthermore, the evidence presented in terms of religion and its impact on the conflict has aided in establishing that religious group belonging led to discriminatory or favorable treatment in terms of allocation of resources for the ethno-religious groups within Northern Ireland. At the onset of the conflict, the dominating group both in terms of population and government control was the Ulster Protestants; this characteristic never fluctuated and remained constant since the partition of Ireland occurred in 1920 until the peace agreement of 1998. Thus, as the Irish Catholic withdrew their participation in the societal dynamics, and sought to change the status quo, as SDT argues, in terms of resource allocation then the conflict erupted. Additionally, as the in-group, the Ulster Protestant received a negative evaluation against the out-group, the Irish Catholic, competition for more equal allocation of resources arose leading to the conflict between the in-group and the out group, as SIT predicts. In this case, competition was initiated by the Irish Catholic group, due to the unequal allocation of resource they were experiencing, and as the Ulster Protestant group saw themselves threatened by this competition,

the conflict erupted in an effort to change the status quo, by the former, and maintain the status quo by the latter.

The Northern Irish case provides historical evidence of a hierarchically based society and in-group/out-group discrimination between the two ethno-religious groups. Additionally, as demonstrated, the Ulster Protestant controlled government initiated and continued a system of unequal allocation of resources based on ethno-religious group identification, negatively affecting the Irish Catholic group. The importance of religion and ethnic differences only became paramount as the plantation of the Ulster region occurred and as the Protestant faith was introduced to the region and favored. This differentiation continued, and the mere perception of belonging to either religious group determined the individuals housing, employment, and income opportunities, creating a dominant and subordinate group, the unequal allocation of resources, and leading to conflict between the in-group and the out-group, therefore supporting the tenets of SIT and SDT.

## **CHAPTER 4: CYPRUS AND “THE CYPRUS PROBLEM”**

### **Introduction**

An official date of the outbreak of the Cyprus conflict is not specifically delineated, however the desire of the island to secede from Britain, its independence, and the consequent policies adopted by Britain and Turkey in the island led to the ignition of the “Cyprus Problem”. The Cyprus Problem has been on the international outlook for four decades, and despite the many attempts at reaching a compromise between the belligerent parties, this has not been possible, as a result the Cyprus question remains unresolved. The decision of the United Nations (UN) not to consider the “Cyprus problem” in the summer of 1954, led to intensification of the frictions between the belligerent parties, leading to the outbreak of rioting and thus igniting the Cyprus conflict. This conflict involves two ethno-religious groups, the Greeks, who are mainly Greek Orthodox, and the Turks, who are mainly Muslim. The violence begun during the mid 1950’s, and relaxed after the island was able to reach independence. Nonetheless, and despite reaching independence, the island did not cease to experience outbreaks of violence, those of which reached its height during the 1974 Turkish invasion of the island. As a result, the combination of the Turkish invasion and the differing positions of the Greeks and Turks on the island to reach an agreement have led to the continuation of the conflict.

Originally the conflict did not result in high casualties and high violent attacks between the belligerent parties. However, the conflict’s duration, and the continuous lack of resolution, has led to high casualties and disappearance of people for decades, leading to the belief that the number of casualties is higher than the one records show. The outbreak of violence began during the mid-1950s as a result of the UN’s decision not to consider the island’s request for independence; however during the early to mid 1960’s, violence erupted again as a result of the president’s attempt to amend the constitution, and again during the 1974 Turkish invasion. The

continuous divergences between the Greek Cypriot, who originally wanted to annex the island with Greece and latter sought an independent island, and the Turkish Cypriots, who sought and to a degree succeeded in partitioning the island and create two independent states within the island, maintain this conflict active.

The distinctions and thus the divisions between the two ethno-religious groups date back to the Ottoman rule, as they initially introduced a foreign Turkish population and Islam to the island, permanently altering the dynamics of its population. However, as the distinctions continued under the rule of the British Empire over the island, these frictions intensified and became active; since then these frictions and differences have never ceased to exist among the two ethno-religious groups of the Cypriot population. There have been numerous attempts at reaching a resolution to the “Cyprus Problem” initiating with the “Zurich-London Accords of 1959-1960,” which led to the independence of the island, and continuing with an extensive UN involvement in reaching a final agreement for the island, however as already established, despite these many efforts, Cyprus today remains the “last divided and occupied country of Europe (Coulfoudakis, 2006).”

As a result of the circumstances in the Cyprus Island, there has been the development of very different economic circumstances between the two territories within the island, and the adoption of discriminatory practices by both ethno-religious groups. Moreover, although violence between the belligerent parties has stopped, the differences and divergent goals of the Greek Cypriots and the Turkish Cypriots have been upheld and led to non-resolution. As a result, the history of Cyprus presents the basis for this conflict appearance and continuation, and thus cannot be ignored. This chapter will examine the “Cyprus Problem” and the dynamics that surround it. First, both historical recount of the country and the historical background of the



relations between the ethno-religious groups will be presented. Second, I will present the data analysis of the variables being examined, resources and religion. Third, I will provide the conclusion of the analysis of this conflict in relation to my variables.

## **Historical Background**

### *Pre-Ottoman Rule*

Cyprus enjoys a strategic geographic position at the junction of three continents and between Turkey and Greece, which has made it attractive for conquest and has resulted in Cyprus experiencing extensive foreign rule. Cyprus historical records date back to the Neolithic times, nonetheless, as in the case of Bosnia, the relevancy of its history begins with the rule of the island by the Ottoman Empire. Previous to the Ottoman Empire, the Cyprus Island experienced foreign rule by Assyrian and Egyptian control during the 800-550 B.C., Persian rule from 500 to 322 B.C., Hellenistic rule from 322 to 58 B.C., being then incorporated into the Roman Empire until the 12<sup>th</sup> century. During the late 12<sup>th</sup> century, the island came under Lusignan rule, coming under Venice rule in 1489, and falling to the Ottoman Empire in the 1571. Previous to the rule of the Ottoman Empire, as expressed by Sir Harry Luke, the island was “Greek in religion and in language (p.12).” As mentioned, under the Ottoman rule, those who followed Islam were favored and enjoyed lower taxes. Additionally, although the Ottomans favored Islam, during their rule the Roman Catholic Church was expelled from the island, but they encouraged the restoration of the Greek Orthodox, which was only granted secular administrative powers (Luke, 1921, Pliroforion, G.T.K, 1993, Joseph, 1997 & Coufoudakis, 2006).

### *Ottoman Rule*

Cyprus fell under Ottoman rule in 1571, leading to a colossal alteration of the existing dynamics of the island. As the Ottomans took over the island, Islam, and the Turkish language and traditions were introduced to the island; the colonization of the island begun as many Turks stayed in the island after their conquest. The Ottoman's also introduced a millet system, which favored and benefited those that adhered to the ruler's religion, the Turks<sup>9</sup>. Under the Ottoman rule, Cyprus for the first time was introduced to group differentiation based on ethnicity and religion. As a result, under the Ottoman rule, those who chose to follow their religion rather than that of the Ottomans were taxed at higher rates (Luke, 1921, p. 21). Furthermore, under the Ottomans, the control of the government was in the hands of those who subscribed to the religion of the ruler, thus those who followed Islam. Therefore, although the Turks were the minority group of the island, they exercised complete control over majority group of the population, the Greek Cypriots and the territory.

Some argue that under the Ottomans and despite the distinctions that were made between groups based on both their ethnicity and religious denomination, relations between the two ethno-religious groups in Cyprus were peaceful and tolerant. However, those who support this argument, also argue that the reason for this peaceful interaction was the relative political and religious freedom those being dominated, the Greek Cypriots, from those dominating them, the Turks, who in return also benefited economically (Patrick, 1974 & Northrup, 1989). Nonetheless, the welcoming of British rule by Greek Cypriots possibly lead to the indication that at least to some extent, tensions were beginning to build up between the two ethno-religious groups; it was during the Ottoman rule that the idea of *enosis*, annexation to Greece, was

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<sup>9</sup> The current Turkish Cypriot population in Cyprus are descendents of the first settlers to the island who came as the Ottomans took control of it

initiated. The rule of the Ottomans over the Cyprus Island ended in 1878, when the island was handed over to Britain as a protectorate due to the threat that Russia's expansionism represented to the island; nonetheless technically the island remained under the control of the Ottomans until the beginning of the First World War when in 1914 the island was officially annexed by Britain (Foley & Scobie, 1975, Pleï,rophorioÌ,,n, 1993 & Ehrlich, 1974).

### *British Rule and the World Wars*

The consequences of British rule over Cyprus were immense; additionally it was during this period that the quest for *enosis* was reinforced. Although the rule of the Ottomans over Cyprus marked a key turning point in the island's history and altered its dynamics forever, many policies and practices which were established by the Ottomans were maintained and accentuated by the British. Cyprus fall to the British Empire was peaceful, an agreement reached by both empires allowed for this form of transition. Furthermore, although the transition from Ottoman rule to British rule took effect in 1878, it was not until 1923 that the official renunciation of any rights over Cyprus by Turkey was established under the auspices of the Treaty of Lausanne of 1923; Cyprus was declared a crown colony in 1925 (Ehrlich, 1974, Joseph, 1997, Coufoudakis, 2006). As already mentioned, Greek Cypriots welcomed the new rulers, however this warm welcome did not last long. They became disillusioned with their new rulers, this led to the strengthening of their quest for annexation to Greece; at the time the Cyprus population was composed of 80% Greek Cypriots and 20 % Turkish Cypriots (Ehrilch, 1974 Oberling, 1982, Joseph, 1997, & Coufoudakis, 2006).

Under British rule circumstances did not change dramatically, Britain adopted the millet system previously established by the Ottomans. Despite not much change, and as a result of the maintenance of the policies the Ottomans had introduced to Cyprus, the pre established

perceptions among the two ethno-religious groups were accentuated. As Turkey and Greece expressed their desires to gain control of the island<sup>10</sup>, the British implemented separatist policies. The divide-and-rule policies implemented treated the two groups completely separate administratively, leading to the accentuation of self-consciousness of their differences. Additionally, as the Orthodox Church was allowed to maintain its political and cultural influence, they too became a leading supporting force of annexation to Greece, and a threat to Britain. As a result of the threat that were growing within and outside Cyprus, Britain reacted by reigniting and encouraging the interest of Turkey over the island, and utilized the Turkish Cypriots as their vehicle to maintain control and implement their policies within the island, furthering the skepticisms between the groups and the threat the Turks represented to the Greek Cypriots (Ehrlich, 1974 Oberling, 1982, Joseph, 1997, & Coufoudakis, 2006).

Additionally, the Turkish Cypriot population suffered a major shift as they shifted from the ruling class to minority under foreign rule. Furthermore, little records exists of the economy under the British Empire, and despite the strategic geographic position the island enjoyed, the economy lagged behind, particularly the Turkish Cypriot population. As a result, their political consciousness grew slowly in the first quarter of the twentieth century, and begun developing as a response to the *enosis* movement and the manipulation of the British, the British begun claiming their protection of the Turkish minority and were the first to identify the groups with as “Turkish Cypriot” and “Greek Cypriot”. By the 1950’s the encouragement and utilization of the Turkish Cypriots and Turkey over the island by the British was apparent (Ehrlich, 1974, Joseph, 1997, Coufoudakis, 2006).

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<sup>10</sup> The rivalry that emerged between Turkey and Greece over the island emerged during the 19<sup>th</sup> and 20<sup>th</sup> century; it was not until the British rule that this rivalry was reinforced (Coufoudakis, 2006).

### *Anti-British Campaign, the Uprisings of 1955*

As a result of the discontent of the Greek Cypriot population, the living conditions, and the different nationalistic feelings by both ethno-religious groups, Cyprus experienced Greek Cypriot uprisings against British rule in 1931 and again in 1955, the latter leading to the independence of the island. The 1931 riot resulted in the burning of the British Government House in Nicosia, Britain resorted to heavy handed military tactics , torture, hangings, and other violations of human right to quiet the rioters. Furthermore, Britain also imposed harsher measures, the constitution was suspended, a special force was formed to fight the Greek Cypriots rebellion, mainly consisting of Turkish Cypriots, censorship implemented, and political parties prohibited. Control of government was strict, as all officials were appointed up until 1943; the British appointed some Turkish Cypriots to these positions. (Ehrlich, 1974, Plerou, 1993, Joseph, 1997, Coufoudakis, 2006).

As the Greek Cypriots sought to continue their plight for *enosis*, and as Cypriot was a British colony, the case for self-determination was brought to the UN General Assembly in 1954; however this organ dismissed the case and determined they would not consider the problem at that time. As a result, in 1955 a second riot emerged, leading to the worst rioting since 1931, this time no measures to retain the revolt were enough, the plight continued until independence was achieved. At the same time, during this period that Turkish Cypriots developed their own idea of *taksim*, or partition, as a solution to the tension and differences between them and the Greek Cypriots (Coufoudakis, 2006).

### *1960 Independence and Intercommunal Violence Outbreak and Partition*

Although Greek Cypriots did not seek independence, they adopted this solution in an attempt to avoid partition, the Turkish Cypriots goal. Cyprus obtained its independence from the

British empire in 1960 after talks between the Greece, Turkey and Britain were held and reached an agreement; becoming an independent state on April 16, 1960 with the Zurich and London Agreements. Under this agreement, the island was divided into two communities separated by ethnic lines; the constitution became extremely complicated and granted the Turks disproportionate rights. The president was to be Greek Cypriot and the vice-president was to be Turkish Cypriot, the later was granted veto powers “over all fundamental laws passed by the House of Representatives and the Council of Ministers (Coufoudakis, 2006).” The Zurich and London agreement also included three treaties, the Treaty of Establishment, which established the governmental structure of the island, the Treaty of Guarantee, which gave Greece, Turkey, and Britain the right to intervene collectively or individually in the affairs of the republic to reinstate status quo, and the Treaty of Alliance, which called for military cooperation between Greece, Turkey, and the emerging Cypriot army forces to protect the island (Coufoudakis, 2006).

The period following independence was treacherous for both ethno-religious groups; only three years of relative peace were experienced by the island. In 1963, the then president of the island proposed some amendments to the constitution, the Turkish Cypriots rejected the amendments and withdrew from their government seats; since then their seats have been abandoned. Additionally with the help of the Turkish Cypriot members of the police forces resorted to forcible transfer of Turkish Cypriot population to areas under Turk control and established a contingent based on the Treaty of Alliance (Pleï,rophorioÌ,n, 1993 & Coufoudakis, 2006). Furthermore, the Turkish vice-president declared the constitution as nonexistent, “the Republic of Cyprus has ceased to exist (p.9).” Tensions further build up, in 1964 a UN peacekeeping force was sent to the island, the threat of partition was more latent than ever.

As a result of this proposal, there was an outbreak of violence which lasted from 1963 thru 1974. Moreover, there were continuous recommendations by outside mediators made suggesting partition was the only solution, talks were held in attempt to reach a peaceful agreement, however none was reached. In 1974 Cyprus suffered a coup by the military junta ruling Greece at the time, this served as the pretext for Turkey to invade the island, taking 37% of the territory under their control, displacing the population and killing many, and creating a de facto state<sup>11</sup>. In 1983 taking a unilateral action their declaration of independence was proclaimed, this quasi –state is only recognized by Turkey. Since then, the island has remained separated and thus the Northern part is controlled by the Turkish Cypriots and the Southern part is under the Greek Cypriots, as it can be observed from Map 1. Furthermore many attempts have been launched at ending the divide; talks have been held at the auspices of the UN, with many concessions being granted by the Greek Cypriots, whose main goal that is of maintaining the island together, and with rejections of all the plans by the Turkish Cypriots, whose interest is to declare two different states within the island, in other words maintain the current state of partition (Ehrlich, 1974, Plel,rophorio, n, 1993, Joseph, 1997, Coufoudakis, 2006).



**Map 1: Cyprus since 1974 Partition**

Source: CIA Factbook

<sup>11</sup> Internationally Cyprus remains to be recognized on its whole, the northern Turkish controlled area is not recognized as an independent state.

## **Data Analysis**

Although the “Cyprus Problem” has not resolved itself favorably for any of the two ethno-religious groups, the outbreak of violence is no longer one of the characteristics of the conflict. As a result my data analysis will only focus on the period where there was active intercommunal violence, encompassing the period between 1963 thru 1974. The case of Cyprus presents an interesting analysis in terms of resource allocation between the two main ethno-religious groups. Economically, there are not many records that indicate what the economic differences were between Greek Cypriots and Turkish Cypriots.

However, in the realm of government control, extensive accounts exist outlining who held most power in terms of government control. Interestingly enough, in Cyprus, the Turkish-Cypriots, descendents of the Ottomans, held control of the government for over three hundred years. Nonetheless, with independence came governmental control for the Greek Cypriots. As a result, both groups have had the ability to influence the allocation of resources, and so they have. Furthermore, discrimination and atrocities have also been practiced by both ethno-religious groups; initially it was the Turkish Cypriots during the invasion committed many atrocities against the Greek Cypriot population, and these acts remain the most notable atrocities of the conflict. Nonetheless, since the partition of the island the Greek Cypriots have also engaged in isolation practices toward the Turkish controlled region of the island, leading mainly to dire economic conditions.

## *Level of Conflict*

As already established thru the discussion of the historical background of the conflict, the major outbreaks of violence in Cyprus erupted during the period of 1963 thru 1974. Although the records of casualties of these two violence outbreaks do not offer exact and the most accurate statistics, the estimated casualties caused by the conflict are reported to have reached 4,000



deaths. Furthermore, there are 1,493 Greek Cypriot who have been missing and who were reported as last been seen under the custody of the Turkish Cypriots, who are believed to now be dead. The UN has continuously requested to the Turkish Cypriot authorities to account for the missing, they have refused; thus many now believe that the disappeared people are death, raising the death toll to over 4,000 casualties; it is reported that no Turkish Cypriots were injured or harmed during the coup (Coufoudakis, 2006). Nonetheless, although the record does not offer a the exact statistics to establish an accurate record of those who died during the outbreak of violence in Cyprus, for the purposes of this study either number of casualties characterizes it as reaching a high level conflict, reaching a peak at the time of high frictions between the two ethno-religious groups as they both perceived themselves as a threat to their ultimate goals.

### *Resources*

As a result of the physical barrier that has been established between the two communities and the unilateral declaration of the independence by the Turkish controlled side the allocation of resources analysis is slightly different than in the previous cases. As already established, there is not much evidence available outlining the differences on resource allocation in Cyprus between the two ethno-religious groups. Particularly these records are lacking in terms if income levels, which do not offer separate statistics for the two ethno-religious groups; however, there are some accounts describing the differences in terms of the economies of both sides of the island thus allowing for some conclusions to be drawn. On the other hand, there is vast evidence and records accounting for the government structure and who held the control of government. Therefore, these records allow us to draw some conclusions on the allocation of resources between the two groups. Furthermore, various records exist on the systematic human right violations that have been committed in Cyprus, particularly by the Turkish Cypriots against the

Greek Cypriots, these will be utilized to support some of the discriminatory practices utilized in this conflict.

### *Control of Government*

Previous to the outbreak of conflict and the independence of Cyprus, the control of government was completely under the British. However, as the idea of enosis became more prominent and more actively sought by the Greek Cypriots, and as the Turkish Cypriots became “allies” to the British government in appeasing these ideas, the Turkish Cypriots were favored, as they were in the position to bargain for better treatment in return for their continuous assistance. As the intercommunal conflict begun in 1963, Cyprus had not yet been invaded by Turkey and was therefore not partitioned either. As a result, the control of the government was based on the constitution adopted during their independence.

The structure of the government under the 1960 constitution was based on the ideas of power-shared government; no group had complete control of the government. As already mentioned the Cypriot government was set up to be a shared government, with a Greek Cypriot president and a Turkish Cypriot vice-president who had complete veto powers (Coufoudakis, 2006).” Therefore, by implementing these stipulations under the constitution, there was allocation of government control disproportionately given to the minority group, the Turkish Cypriots. Additionally, under the 1960 constitution, the demographics ratio of the civil service was to be 70 Greek Cypriot, 30 Turkish Cypriot, and in the police, these were to be 60 Greek Cypriot, 40 Turkish Cypriot. At the inception of the constitution the civil service was comprised of 30% Turkish Cypriots, and the police force was 40% Turkish Cypriot (Pleḷ,rophorioḷ,n, 1993 & Coufoudakis, 2006).

In 1963, as the Turkish Cypriots rejected amendments proposed by the Greek Turkish president and as they all withdrew from their seats in governmental positions, things shifted, as the Turkish Cypriots wanted to prove that the state no longer existed, however until its invasion, the political structure within the island remained the same, following the 1960 constitution with the absence of the Turkish Cypriots. Following the invasion of Turkey over Cyprus, which ultimately led to their control of 37% of the island's territory, government control shifted, more so in 1983, when the Turkish controlled area unilaterally declared itself independent, as the Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus, of the internationally recognized Republic of Cyprus (Ehrlich, 1974, Joseph, 1997, Pleï,rophorioÌ,,n, 1993 & Coufoudakis, 2006).

#### *Income Levels and Different Economies*

In terms of income level between the two ethno-religious groups in Cyprus, as mentioned the record is weak, however some of the sources cite some differences between the two. During the 1963, as the outbreak of violence begun, there were some differences between them. Turkish Cypriots were reported to hold 20.4% of the land, where as Greek Cypriots were reported as holding 78.3% of the land, in other sectors related to the agricultural sector, the Greek Cypriots were also reported to holding higher percentages compared to the Turkish Cypriots<sup>12</sup> (Panagides, 1968). However, as reported by Coufoudakis, after the Turkish invasion, the amount of land that was controlled by Turkish Cypriots, and its value shifted the situation for both ethno-religious groups. In the words of Coufoudakis, “approximately 40% of the total territory of the Republic of Cyprus which in economic terms is much more significant than its size, it accounted for 70% of the economic potential, came under Turkish military occupation (p.15).” Additionally, it is also reported that the result of the invasion of Cyprus by Turkey and its eventual partition has

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<sup>12</sup> This can be attributed to the differences in population percentages per ethno-religious group, Greek Cypriots have historically been the majority in terms of population percentage is concerned

been large economic disparities between the two communities. This has mainly been the result of the Turkish controlled area's unilateral declaration of independence, as the internationally recognized Republic of Cyprus and its government has sought to block any trade activities that are made directly with the 'quasi-government' of the Turkish controlled area. As a result, Turkey is the main trading partner of the northern Turkish controlled area;<sup>13</sup> consequently the conclusion can be drawn that those who resided in the Turkish controlled area, mainly Turkish Cypriots were experiencing dire economic conditions and lower income levels than those residing in the Greek controlled area, mainly Greek Cypriots (Icon Group, 2000).

#### *Land Confiscation and Human Rights Violations*

As far as human right violations in Cyprus are concerned, the record is vast; nonetheless the majority of the reports complaints part from the basis of particular violations. The main complaint of violation and an important point of contention for negotiations has been the number of people who have disappeared and were last seen under Turkish custody, the Turkish Cypriot and the representatives of the occupied territories have continuously refused to account for this people, 1,476 in total. Furthermore, another of the main violations cited is the invasion of Turkey on the island which ultimately led to the expulsion of Greek Cypriots of their homes in the occupied territories. It is reported that initially there were about 142,000 expelled, but later 20,000 more who had originally decided to stay were forced to leave. Linked to the previous complaint, is the concern over 535 Greek Cypriots who remain in the occupied area and the discriminatory treatment they receive as they cannot work and receive food and monetary aid by the UN peacekeeping force still in the territories. As a consequence of this there was a systematic introduction of Anatolian settlers, with the goal of altering the demographics of the

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<sup>13</sup> Turkey is the only country that recognizes the Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus as legitimate

occupied territory; a sort of ethnic cleansing policy was implemented in the occupied territory.

As the following quote expressed by Pleï,rophorioï,n in “The Cyprus Problem” indicates:

“and about 40% of the total Greek Cypriot population was displaced. Moreover, thousands of people, including civilians, were killed or ill-treated and many more disappeared and are still missing. Turkey also pursued a deliberate policy aimed at turkifying the occupied areas and destroying the cultural heritage (p. 15)”.

Although the allocation of resources record in the case of Cyprus is not as clear cut as expected, there are some indicators which allow for some conclusions. In view of the allocation of resources analysis of income levels and indicators, government control, and land confiscation and human rights, Cyprus experiences a high level of unequal allocation of resources as differences between the two ethno-religious groups were demonstrated in three areas. The evidence of Cyprus economy strongly indicates that during the outbreak of violence in the island, the Turkish Cypriots intent was to suppress and negatively impact the Greek Cypriots. Currently, it is indicated that due to the partition of the island, it is the Turkish Cypriots who experience direr economic conditions. Additionally, the evidence also demonstrates that under the constitutional arrangement of the 1960’s island’s independence the Turkish Cypriots were disproportionately favored with higher governmental control. Nonetheless due to later developments, the Greek Cypriots have been in control of the government in the non-occupied area. Despite this in the occupied territories, the story is much different and the Turkish Cypriots exercise complete control of the government al structures and negatively impact the economic prospects of the few Greek Cypriots who remain there. As a result, this analysis demonstrates that in terms of allocation of resources, the inequality experienced by the two communities in the Cypriot island is high, negatively affecting both groups, but more so the Greek Cypriots in the occupied territories.

## *Religion*

As mentioned previously, in the conflict that erupted in Cyprus the belligerent parties within were two, and mainly identified and this differentiated themselves along the lines of religious denominations; the Greek, who subscribed to the Greek Orthodox religion, and the Turkish, who subscribed to the Muslim religion. Additionally, historically the percentages in population have not changed dramatically. As established before, it was during the Ottoman rule over the island when the introduction of the Turkish population was initiated, and has since then continued by Turkey after the 1974 invasion of the island, their goal altering the demographics of the occupied territories. Since then records indicate that the population demographics has remained as 80% Greek Cypriots and 20% Turkish Cypriots.

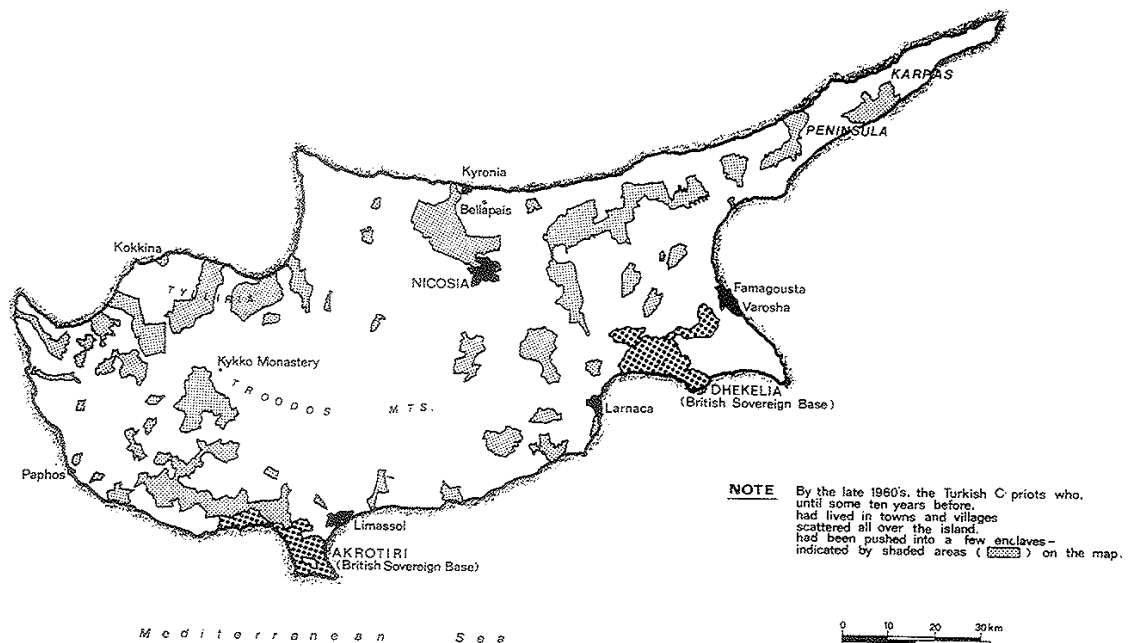
In terms of the population distribution along the island's territory the dynamics have suffered tremendously. During the Ottoman all thru before the 1963 outbreak of violence the belligerent group's distribution was mixed. In other words, groups lived in mixed neighborhoods and provinces, as can be observed in Map 2. Nonetheless, as the violence broke, Turkish Cypriots began to form enclaves throughout the island's territory, leading one to deduce that they engaged in volunteer segregation, this can be observed in Map 3. Furthermore, after the 1974 invasion of the island, the dynamics of the distribution of the ethno-religious groups dramatically changed, as Turkish Cypriots and Turkish forces expelled Greek Cypriots of the occupied territories and as they have continued to introduce Turkish citizens to the island's occupied territories, in an attempt to alter the demographics of the area ultimately leading to an ethnically based community (Coufoudakis, 2006).



**Map 2: Distribution of the Cyprus population in 1963**

Source: Polyviou, P. (1975). *Cyprus: The Tragedy and The Challenge*. Washington : American Hellenic Institute

THE TURKISH CYPRIOT ENCLAVES IN THE LATE 1960'S



**Map 3: The Turkish-Cypriot Enclaves in the Late 1960's**

Source: Oberling, P. (1982). *The Road to Bellapais*. New York: Columbia University Press.

### *Religious Hold*

The Cyprus Problem presents an interesting case in terms of religious hold. During the Ottoman Empire, the institutionalization of religion was implemented between both ethno-religious groups; this is exemplified with the higher taxation of those individuals whom did not subscribe to the ruler's religions. On the other hand, originally, during the beginning of the British rule religious hold was low; nonetheless, as the idea of *enosis* in the Greek Cypriot population grew stronger and as this became a threat to the British Empire rule over the island, the importance of religion became high. As mentioned, the British began treating both communities completely separate and were the first to utilize the terms Greek Cypriots and Turkish Cypriots, outlining the differences between the two groups and implementing different treatment. Additionally, as the Turkish Cypriots became partners with Britain to implement and appease the *enosis* movement, they too benefited from this. However, the constitution of Cyprus adopted in the 1960's is a remarkable example of the institutionalization of the differences implemented within Cyprus for each group. The constitution completely separated and highlighted the differences that existed between the two ethno-religious groups, as it implemented a Greek Cypriot president, and a Turkish Cypriot vice-president with veto powers. Additionally, in the Supreme Constitutional Court, the matters of one group were to be treated by judged of the same ethno-religious background, those dispute that involved disputed between members of both groups were to be handled by mixed courts (Ehrlich, 1974, Pleliorophorion, 1993 & Coufoudakis, 2006.)

Religion within Cyprus was as opposed to the previous two case studies, formally institutionalized, in addition to also having policies of favoritism/discrimination at other governmental levels. Although one could argue that the constitutional provisions delineated the



intent to balance, the reality is that these positively impacted the Turkish Cypriot community. Additionally, after Turks occupied the northern territories, the policy of importing Turkish population into the island to impact the population demographics of the territory demonstrate the level of religious institutionalization. In view of this, the level of religious hold experienced in the case of Cyprus is high, as it contains both a constitutional provision of favoritism/discrimination and such policies at other levels of the government.

## **Conclusion**

The conflict that erupted in Cyprus, commonly known as “Cyprus Problem” serves as an interesting and contrasting case due to its dynamics. On the one hand the ethnic and religious divisions were present in the island since the rule of the Ottomans and their introduction of the Turkish population; however these differences were not highlighted to a high degree during their rule therefore did not lead to hatred between the two groups. Nonetheless, this changed and it was during the rule of the British Empire when these differences became keen in the interaction dynamics each ethno-religious group had with the British administration; these became a catalyst for the eruption of the idea of *enosis*, in the 1830’s leading to a buildup of tensions which led to the uprisings of the 1950’s and later lead to the independence of the island. On the other hand, the unequal allocation of resources was initially not as apparent during the Ottoman Empire, however became accentuated during the British rule and continued to develop during the first years of independence and have become apparent after the partition of the island. This serves as a remarkable example of how when allocation of resources is easily accessible by in-group and out-group, which appears to be the case during the Ottoman empire, the likelihood of conflict is low, but as the allocation of resources dynamics shift and as one groups suffers from discrimination and marginalization then the likelihood of conflict is much higher, which

developed during the British rule and continued ever since. Thus, Cyprus presents a case which supports my hypothesis and the tenets of the theories under which I base my arguments Social Dominance Theory (SDT) and Social Identity Theory (SIT), in addition to supporting my point of departure, that all conflicts are a result of the unequal allocation of resources.

Cyprus supports the both the tenets of SIT and SDT. SIT examines the development of discrimination between an in-group and an out-group, which will develop by the mere perception of belonging, and as a result of a sought out positive evaluation from the in-group against the out-groups. In the case of Cyprus, as mentioned before, the perception of group belonging begun to develop during the rule of the Ottoman Empire, however became endemic during the rule of British. Additionally it was during the rule of the British that the fight for resources begun, as the Greek Cypriots begun their plight for independence and as the Turkish Cypriots opposed it. Furthermore, SDT posits that societies are inherently hierarchical, therefore creating a dominant and a subordinate group within these societies, in addition to the crucial component of participation in the society dynamics by both the dominant and subordinate group in maintain the status quo and creating conflict when one of the groups, particularly the subordinate groups ceases to participate in an attempt to change the status quo; conflict will erupt as a result as both groups seek to maintain or change the status quo. In the case of Cyprus, the dominant/subordinate group dynamics shifted, nonetheless these two were always present. It was the cessation of participation in the society dynamics by the Greek Cypriots which led to the conflict that resulted in their independence. Furthermore, the withdrawal of the Turkish Cypriots from the government demonstrates the cessation of their participation in the society dynamics as the subordinate group, resulting in conflict, the invasion of the island by Turkey, and the continuous struggle for the island's territory by both ethno-religious groups.

Finally, the case of Cyprus presents the variable of religion at the beginning not too accentuated. Nonetheless, as already demonstrated, the degree of institutionalization in terms of dividing the ethno-religious groups is high; their constitution demonstrates it. The combination of these factors led to the escalation of the differences to the eruption of the conflict between the two groups. The conflict in Cyprus reached a high level of exacerbation, an estimated 4,000 people died, in addition to those who disappeared which are estimated to be 1,493. The case of Cyprus provides evidence of a hierarchical society; Cyprus was always hierarchically organized however this alone did not lead to conflict. The realization and the exploitation of the differences between the two ethno-religious groups, and the perception of group belonging, the favoritisms and different treatment each group received, coupled with the hierarchical structure of the Cypriot society led to the eruption of conflict, leading to a high level of exacerbation.

## CHAPTER 5: CANADA AND “THE QUIET REVOLUTION”

### Introduction

The case of Canada and the tensions that exist within Quebec between its two larger ethno-religious groups and the rest of Canada is an interesting ethnic conflict cases study<sup>14</sup>. Canada is a multi-ethnic state, its population consists of six different ethnic groups and although it can be said that in general all groups co-exist among each other, the situation in Quebec is slightly different. The sovereignty movement that emerged within Quebec has signified a discourse between the two largest ethno-religious groups within the province, the French-Quebecois, mainly Catholic, and the English-Quebecois, mainly Protestant. Additionally, despite the discourse of the two groups which originated in its colonial times, these divergences have not led to large scale violence outbreaks as in the previous cases studied. Furthermore, these tensions led to the formation of groups such as the Front de Liberation du Quebec whom engaged in violent acts such as bombings, bank-hold ups, and kidnappings during the period of the 1960s thru 1970s within Quebec, this violence never reached a high level of conflict per se.

Canada presents a peculiar case because of the circumstances that surround it. As with the other three case studies, unequal allocation of resources between the French Quebecois and the English Quebecois were and continue to be endemic. Additionally, ethnic and religious differences are present as the former group has French descent and follow the Catholic faith and the later group has British descent and follow the Protestant faith. Nonetheless and despite these differences there has not been an eruption of violence between the two ethno-religious groups as

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<sup>14</sup> Although neither one of these two groups represent the majority, their representation within the Canadian territory is not much different.

defined by my scheme. Furthermore, even though a sovereignty movement did arise, this movement has pursued political venues rather than violence to resolve their disputes.<sup>15</sup>

The presence of frictions between the two largest ethno-religious groups in Quebec have its roots in the unequal allocation of resources between the groups, and as a result are historical in nature. More specifically these tensions are rooted in Quebec and its large French population, which seeks sovereignty; as such the tensions between the French Quebecois and the English Quebecois date to the middle of the 18<sup>th</sup> century as the transfer of power between the French and the British was carried over. This transfer of power negatively affected the French Quebecois, as the British limited their freedoms at all levels. The effects of industrialization catalyzed the inequalities in terms of resource allocation between the two communities; these differences became evident to the French Quebecois in the 1950's leading to a number of reforms and the rise of their movement for a sovereign Quebec in the 1960's, a movement which to date still continues.

In view of this, a review of the pre-existing conditions in terms of relations between the ethno-religious groups within Quebec is crucial and one particular question emerges, what are the conditions that are particular to the case of Canada and Quebec which prevented the outbreak of a conflict? This chapter will study the events that encompass the emergence of the "Quiet Revolution" and its effects within Canada and Quebec. Additionally, this chapter will serve to demonstrate and establish what is the effect religion institutionalization has on the behavior of ethno-religious groups conflicting parties. First, the historical background of Canada with a particular focus to Quebec and the pre-existing conditions between the two major ethno-religious groups will be examined. Second, an analysis of the variables of resources and religion will be

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<sup>15</sup> Although there was the eruption of some belligerent groups, and some violence did erupt, number of casualties was very low. Furthermore, these groups died out and legitimate venues have been continuously pursued by the French Quebecois and their sovereignty movement

presented. Finally, I will provide concluding remarks in terms of the analysis of this case study of ethnic conflict, where no major violence outbreak occurred.

## **Historical Background**

Canada's geographical strategic position as a potential territory to be conquered, coupled with the desire of several empires to expand its territorial control made it a desirable territory to them. Despite the fact that Canada's historical beginnings date back to prehistoric times, the relevancy of Canada's historical account begin with the colonization of the territory and the presence of Spanish, Portuguese, French and English explorers and then later during the 1960's as the dispute between the Canadian government and the province of Quebec became active. Previous to its colonization, Canada was inhabited by native peoples, it was not until the late 16<sup>th</sup> century that England claimed Newfoundland and St. Johns harbor and then in the early 17<sup>th</sup> that New France was established. Canada was then transferred to British control during the mid-18<sup>th</sup> century after the Seven Year's War and remained so until the mid-19<sup>th</sup> century. In July 1, 1867 Canada was granted self-governance and under the British North America Act obtained the status of a dominion, thus declaring it a self-governing colony of Britain. As industrialization reached the territories and as the inequalities became evident the French Quebecois mobilized and begun their sovereignty movement in the 1960's leading to the Quiet Revolution.

### *Pre-New France*

Canada's historical account date back to the prehistoric dates and previous to the explorations of various empires, the lands were inhabited by various native tribes. Furthermore, although previous to the 17<sup>th</sup> century establishment of New France, various explorers had reached the lands and had interacted with the natives; their interest in the territories was not imminent. Previous to the establishment of New France, the territories of Canada were

recipients of Spanish, Portuguese, French and English explorers; during this period, natives adopted agriculture, allowing for larger populations to be sustained. The accounts establish that Britain made claims due to territory discovery over Newfoundland, Cape Breton territories during the 15<sup>th</sup> century; France begun to explore the territories during the 16<sup>th</sup> century and continuously visited the territories until their establishment of New France in the 17<sup>th</sup> century (Posgate & McRoberts, 1976).

### *New France and Colonization*

As established France begun to explore Canada during the 16<sup>th</sup> century, however it was not until 1608 when Samuel de Chaplin claimed the territory and founded the colony of New France in what is now the territory of Quebec. During the French control the economy was centered around the fur industry and its trade; the empire had a monopoly over this industry. The colony had a seigneurial system, similar to feudalism, where some payments in kind, monopolies over milling and other facilities and labor obligations were implemented. The critical difference between the former and the later social structures systems was the fact that “the social gap between seigneur and habitant was not insurmountably wide,” additionally obligations were ignored a lot of times (Posgate & McRoberts, 1976).

Additionally, the most important characteristic of New France was the strong establishment and influence of the Catholic Church, which was “directly involved in governing the colony, since the bishop was one of the three figures on the ruling council (Posgate & McRoberts, 1976).” As such the church involved itself in the areas of education, healthcare, and welfare well thru the 1660’s; despite the control of the empire exercised thru the church, the people of New France remained relatively free as a French colony. Despite the big revenues and good business that the fur industry brought to the French empire, their lack of concern over the

colony remained. As a result in 1759 Quebec was invaded by Britain, leading to a transfer of power of the colony from French to British control (Posgate & McRoberts, 1976 & Kahn, 1992).

### *British Rule 1764-1867*

Britain gained control over New France with the signing of the Treaty of Paris in 1763. Under British rule, one of the major shifts was centered in the fur industry, the control of this industry changed to Britain. Additionally, one of the most influential shifts experienced during this period was the English merchant element, this forever changed the economic landscape of New France, no longer was this society a rural and agrarian centered society. Additionally, another major change that was experienced by the transfer of control to Britain was the introduction of a large amount of British settlers; this event shifted the population's dynamics of Quebec once and for all changing it "from a homogeneous French Canadian society to one with a prosperous English minority (Posgate & McRoberts, 1976 & Kahn, 1992)."

Additionally, in the area of governmental control, New France also suffered changes as governing council's control shifted to British administrators. This meant that despite some efforts made by Britain to maintain the French Quebecois elite pleased, the British exerted complete control and over the governmental system and maintained control over the governing councils, thus tipping the balance of power to benefit the English Quebecois group (Posgate & McRoberts, 1976 & Kahn, 1992). Thus despite the French Canadian's status as the majority, the executive retained control over governing bodies and this post remained under the control of the English Canadian minority (Posgate & McRoberts, 1976). Despite the control of the English over the governmental structures, there was the implementation of representative assemblies, although not at the same level for both groups; in 1792 the English held 32% of the seats. In



1840 a single government for upper and lower Canada with equal representation was implemented.

Changes in the religion arena were also experienced during this shift of power, as the British established their religion as the official religion and encouraged it. Under the Proclamation of 1763, “the Church of England was made the established church, to be aided by government encouragement of Protestantism; Catholics were banned from holding government office.” However, this did not remain stagnant, as with the Quebec Act of 1774, Britain reinstated the Catholic Church and French civil law in New France. Despite the original restrictions and changes implemented by the new rulers, French Canadian chose to remain in the territory (Burt, 1944, Posgate & McRoberts, 1976, Kahn, 1992 & Bumsted, 1998).

As the population dynamics shifted, now the English minority begun to demand more political influence as they sought to change their status as a minority. This demands resulted in the division of New France into a lower and upper communities in 1791, dividing the territory mainly along ethnic lines; lower mainly French and the upper part mainly being English. Despite this arrangement, an English minority remained in the lower part. Moreover, during the 1830’s New France begun to experience political turmoil and unrest. This friction intensified during the 1830’s as the French Canadians begun to protest about lack of political power as the majority group within the colony (Burt, 1944, Posgate & McRoberts, 1976, Kahn, 1992 & Bumsted, 1998). .

As industrialization begun to impact New France and as immigration begun to shift to the industrialized areas, mainly Montreal, the French Canadians also begun to experience and notice the inequality of the allocation of resources and discriminatory practices imposed by the British Empire. During this time Montreal experienced much of the urbanization taking place in Canada

while Quebec experienced a lower impact. During the American war of independence Canada was invaded by American troops and was at one point offered to become the 14<sup>th</sup> colony of the U.S., however with the help of the Canada's population and due to some anti-catholic sentiments, Canada remained under British control. It was not until 1867 that Canada became the self-governing dominion of Canada.

### *Independence and Modern Canada 1867-19760*

Canada became a self-governing colony of the British Empire on July 1, 1867 and has remained as such since then. Under the British North American Act of 1867 the province of Canada, New Brunswick, and Nova Scotia became a federation and adopted the parliamentary democratic system. One of the most important elements that remained in Quebec after Canada became a dominion was the large influence that the Catholic Church exerted over the education, welfare, and healthcare sectors. In Quebec, the government was merely supportive one; the most important sector in which the Church was involved was that of education; the Church's control was not challenged until the 1960's. Additionally under this new arrangement, Canada adopted a federal system of government, and despite the fact that Quebec had previously adopted representative assemblies; the role of the Church remained highly active. It was during this period that French Canadians realized the potential influence they could assert thru the governmental institutions and system, and begun to utilize them as venues to accomplish and protect their interests (Burt, 1944, Posgate & McRoberts, 1976, Kahn, 1992 & Bumsted, 1998).

As the 19<sup>th</sup> century unfolded the industrialization of Canada also came underway and as such cities such as Montreal and Ontario became important focus for urbanization and industrialization. This directly impacted the French Canadians in a negative way, as their ethos was driven by an agrarian and family enterprise oriented. This led to a hindrance to the French

Canadian's progress into investing and becoming entrepreneurs in the uprising Canadian economy. Additionally, coupled with the rising of industrialization and manufacturing as an economic activity, there was also a decline of agriculture, thus affecting Quebec and its French Canadian population as this was their preferred economic activity, with a family oriented component and one that supported and was promoted by the Church.

Although Montreal was one of the centers of industrialization movement, the French Canadians who resided there were reluctant to adopt the uprising economic activities. Despite this, the migration of French Canadians to Montreal was imminent. During this period the Quebecois' communities experience different economic development patterns; the English Canadians became those who held the high status paying jobs, as the French Canadians began to move away from agriculture and to the industrial sector for employment but held the low status paying jobs, thus determining a gap in income levels between the two ethno-religious groups (Burt, 1944, Posgate & McRobrets, 1976 & Kahn, 1992)

#### *The Quiet Revolution and The October Crisis of 1970*

The economic differences that developed within Canada, particularly in Quebec, led to the movement referred to the "Quiet Revolution." This period is characterized by reforms within Quebec, particularly as a secularization movement, as the Quebecois society realized that the Church's large role at all levels was becoming detrimental to them; this movement ended the backstage role that the Quebecois government had at all levels. One of the major reforms that resulted from this movement was the creation of a Ministry of Education in 1964, and the secularization of the education sector, no longer was the Church in charge of education within Quebec. Additionally, it also led to reforms within both the welfare and healthcare sectors, which the Church managed previous to the government taking charge over them. Nonetheless

the reforms were not enough, and as the French Quebecois realized that they had the ability to gain some ground thru governmental channels these continued. Despite this, some rebel groups developed, leading to bombings and bank robberies, and eventually leading the October Crisis of 1970, where two governmental figures were kidnapped and one was executed (Burt, 1944, Posgate & McRoberts, 1976, and Kahn, 1992).

### **Data Analysis**

Although control of government once Canada became a self-governing dominion was more democratic, under this new federation, the French Canadians has become the minority as the rest of Canada was mainly English Canadians; this gave the French Canadians, particularly those of Quebec the sense of threat. This coupled with the pre-existing conditions of unequal allocation of resource led to the birth of the sovereignty movement within Quebec. This movement became more active during the 1960-1970 periods, igniting the “Quiet Revolution” and ultimately leading to the October Crisis of 1970. However these events and the attempt to turn this movement into a violent movement and potentially an ethnic conflict did not flourish. The tensions between the French Canadians and the English Canadians begun to develop during the 19<sup>th</sup> century and grew as industrialization begun to impact the structure of the Quebec society. Today Quebec remains part of Canada and although the sovereignty movement remains active, violence has not been the venue of choice of this movement.

### *Conflict Level*

As previously established the case of Canada presents an interesting case of ethno-religious frictions between the two major groups of the population as there was not a development of violence. As a result the level of conflict that this “ethnic conflict” reached is characterized as low level. This due to the fact that on only one death was registered to have

been linked to the violence outbreaks that erupted as a result of the “Quiet Revolution” and the October Crisis in 1970<sup>16</sup>. As it has been established, during the period of the “Quiet Revolution” and the early 1970’s some groups sought to ignite a movement of violence within Quebec, such as the *Front de Liberation du Québec*, in order to pursue the reform of the system. Nonetheless, their attempts were unsuccessful in bringing huge violence outbreaks as compared to the three primary cases. Finally, an interesting component of this group in particular is that the target of their attacks was the government, governmental figures, and buildings which symbolized to them symbolized the inequalities in allocation of resources; this is exemplified by the kidnappings British Trade Commissioner James Cross and Pierre Laporte the Minister of Labour of the province of Quebec, whom after holding him hostage seven days they executed (Fournier, 1984). Therefore, as a result of the non-violence that existed in Canada, this case is characterized as low level conflict.

#### *Allocation of Resources*

##### *Income & Employment*

The evidence indicates that in terms of income level the inequality was latent between French Canadians and English Canadians within Quebec, and when comparing Quebec with the rest of Canada. Although within Quebec, French Canadians had begun to shift from an agricultural centered economy to the industrialized economy; however despite this changes they lagged behind as their representation within this sector demonstrates. For example, during the 1970’s French Canadians were underrepresented in higher occupations and as stated they have remained in the lower status and lower paid occupations such as clerical occupations, where there was an overrepresentation of the group. As opposed to the English Canadians within

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<sup>16</sup>The violence which was exercised by the FLQ was extensive, however it only lead to the death of Minister Laporte, although many were wounded (Fournier, 1984).

Quebec whom were more likely to be employed in the ‘upper ranks of industry’ or holding the top jobs (Posgate & McRoberts, 1976).

As expressed by Posgate and McRoberts (1976), one of the main disparities between Quebec and the rest of Canada is in terms of income. Quebec has continuously ranked at the bottom in term of income, housing standards and unemployment. For example, during in 1961 and 1971, the average income in Quebec was \$300 below the national average, and almost \$1000 below that of Ontario, this is demonstrated in Table 1. In comparison to Ontario, Quebec industrial sector is less advanced, less productive and pays lower wages. As a result, it can be concluded that French Canadians were less likely to be employed in high paying jobs and this had lower incomes. Furthermore, due to the nature of Quebec’s society, mainly agricultural, their population is more likely to be rural and thus remain utilizing agriculture as an economic activity. These two characteristics allow for the conclusion that in terms of income level and professional level, French Canadians within Quebec were negatively affected in terms of allocation of resources (Burt, 1944, Posgate & McRoberts, 1976, Kahn, 1992 & Bumsted, 1998).

**Table 1: Average Reported Annual Incomes, Male 1971**

	Quebec	Ontario	Canada
<b>Total</b>	6288	7250	6538
<b>Urban</b>	6691	7566	7050
<b>Rural</b>	4468	5733	4857
<b>Rural-Farm</b>	4041	4955	4174

Source: Posgate & McRoberts, 1976

#### *Control of Government & Education*

Within Quebec the control of government remained to be representational, and in this area the French Canadians perceived the importance and influence they could potentially exert. In view of this French Canadians begun to push for the 1960s reforms most notably in the educational sector. Additionally, they began to become more involved in the governmental process in order to catalyze change within Quebec and its government. Because before the

foundation of the Ministry of Education in 1964 the educational sector was completely handled by the Church in Quebec, the French Canadians were highly disadvantaged at the educational level compared to the rest of their counterparts from other provinces (Burt, 1944, Posgate & McRoberts, 1976, Kahn, 1992 & Bumsted, 1998).

Under the control of the Church, free education was only provided for primary school, due to its connection to the Church, those who attended primary and secondary education were only prepared to take onto liberal arts careers. Furthermore, at the university level, universities were ill-equipped and understaffed, and the Quebecois population suffered from an overrepresentation of the liberal arts majors, and underrepresentation in the sciences. As a result of the huge influence the Church exerted in the educational sector, Quebecois, particularly French Quebecois, were negatively affected as they were undertrained or trained in a limited capacity or area, leading to an impact on their profession and thus their income level.

### *Religion*

As already mentioned, in Canada there are six ethnic groups, however, the largest two are the French Canadians and the English Canadians. As a result, and despite the fact that Canada was and continues to be a multi-ethnic country, because the tensions mainly developed within Quebec and between these two ethno-religious groups, this discussion will only center around the French and the British groups of Canada. Quebec's population grew at a steady pace just as the rest of Canada's population did from 1941-1971. However, the population within Quebec remained to be highly rural, with the exception of those who lived in Montreal; in the year 1971, Quebec's population totaled 6 million people. As established by Posgate & McRoberts (1976), in the 1970's Quebec's rural population was 90%, in addition they also establish that one third of Quebec's population resides in Montreal. As observed in Table 2, the concentration of French

Canadians in Montreal city has remained at a steady pace from 1871-1971. Additionally, Posgate & McRoberts (1976) and Kahn (1992) establish that within Quebec there was differentiation on the distribution of the two ethno-religious groups within its territory. However it is established that a large number of English Canadians resided in Montreal during the 1960's and 1970's. The records of the areas targeted by the FLQ during its campaign of violence allows for the conclusion that although the two groups might have along each other, their concentrations were segregated to a certain extent; these segregation was particularly extenuated in Quebec, where many French Canadians remained rural and much of the English Canadians were transitioning or had already transitioned to the urban setting.

**Table 2: Ethnic Composition of Montreal 1871-1971 in percentages**

	1871	1901	1911	1931	1941	1951	1961	1971
<b>French</b>	60	64	63	60	63	64	62	61
<b>British</b>	38	34	26	26	24	22	18	16
<b>Jewish</b>		2	5	6	6	5	4	5
<b>Italian</b>			1	2	2	2	6	7
<b>Polish</b>			1	1	1	1	1	1
<b>Other</b>	2		4	5	4	6	9	10

Source: Posgate & McRoberts, 1976

### *Religious Hold*

The institutionalization of religion within Canada and Quebec during the 1960's and 1970's is one of the most important components to analyze from this case. As already discussed in the historical background section, the importance of the Church within Quebec up until the 1960's was enormous, and the control it exerted was crucial to the later developments in Quebec. The large involvement and influence that the Catholic Church exerted over Quebec was a legacy that was left behind from French Empire and which was further permitted and reinforced during the rule of the British, with a short period of repression during the Empire's initials years of rule. With the passage of the Quebec Act of 1774, the Church regained its control and influence at all



levels of Quebec's society and remained as such until it was challenged during the 1960's (Posgrate & McRoberts, 1976 & Kahn, 1992).

As already established thru the time of the British rule and later as a self-governing dominion, Quebec remained highly influenced by the Church. On the other hand, during the rule of the British, the Church of England was proclaimed the established Church, however the records do not demonstrate this Church being as influential at any level as the Catholic Church was in Quebec. It was in the educational sector in which the Church most exerted this influence, as they were in charge of the educational system within Quebec. They were in charge of curriculum, teacher selection and training, and had all control over the system, the Quebecois government was merely a supportive actor; additionally, all schools within Quebec was divided along ethnic lines, making the Church's influence over French Canadians stronger. Although there was no formal institutionalization of religion within Canada or Quebec at the governmental level, informally at least in Quebec, the Church was the main player. However, as the French Canadians of Quebec realized that the potential importance they could play within politics, and the detriment that the influence of the Church was bringing to their economic advancement, reforms to end the Church's strong involvement within Quebec were launched and successful. In view of this, the level of religious hold within Quebec was during the early 1960's medium, as the institutionalization was not formal, but there were policies which made the Church a very influential actor. As opposed to Quebec, Canada's overall level of religious hold since independence became low, as there was no institutionalization and no other policies at any governmental level which implemented the unequal allocation of resources or discrimination. After reforms within the education, welfare, and healthcare sectors within Quebec and the elimination of the Church's influence, the level of religious hold within Quebec became low.

## **Conclusion**

The case of Canada and the tensions that originally erupted in New France between the French Canadians and the English Canadians during the rule of the French Empire and led to the sovereignty movement within Quebec, serve as an example of the importance of religion, and the impact that religious hold can have on a population and ethno-religious groups. On the one hand, this case brings about the same characteristics of unequal allocation of resources between two ethno-religious communities within one territory, as the French Canadians and the English Canadians experienced the development of frictions between them during the control of the French and were heightened during the British rule and as industrialization begun to highlight the differences between each other in terms of resources. On the other, it demonstrates how religion can in fact lead to the exacerbation of ethno-religious tensions.

These tensions lead to the development of some protests in order to change the political structures of Canada and make it more representational. Under the rule of the British these changes were accomplished; additionally, the Catholic Church was permitted to exert extreme control of the population and over key areas such as the educational sector. Despite the peaceful implementation of some representative government, and the adoption of parliamentary democracy as a independent dominion, the French Canadians became the minority group within Canada; in Quebec these tensions continued and led to the “Quiet Revolution” in the 1960’s, a movement centered in achieving secularization and reforms in the areas which the Church controlled. The results of this movement was positive, as reforms were implemented, however the differenced in resource allocation between the two ethno-religious groups remained, this led to the “October Crisis,” causing some violence to erupt, two kidnappings and one death.

Nonetheless, despite the eruption of this violence the tensions between the French Canadians and the British Canadians has never reached any level of conflict.

As a result of the evidence about the tensions that exist between the French Canadians and the British Canadians supports my main contention that all conflicts, including ethnic conflicts, are the result of the unequal allocation of resources and that when religion is added to the equation, the conflict will be exacerbated. Additionally, it further supports the main tenet of SIT and SDT. SIT argues that the mere perception of belonging to a group, will lead to in-group/out-group discrimination, possibly leading to conflict. In the case of Canada and Quebec, the as mentioned the perception of group belonging begun to develop during the rule of the French and continued to strengthen ever since, only becoming active during the 1830 and later heightened during the industrialization of Canada. Furthermore, SDT argues that as societies are inherently hierarchically organized, therefore creating a dominant and subordinate group within these societies, in addition to the crucial component of participation in the society dynamics by both the dominant and subordinate group in maintain the status quo and creating conflict when one of the groups, particularly the subordinate groups ceases to participate in an attempt to change the status quo; conflict will erupt as a result as both groups seek to maintain or change the status quo. In the case of Canada and Quebec the dominant/subordinate group dynamics shifted, however as SDT posits, the hierarchy always existed. Additionally, the French Canadians, which became the subordinate group ceased to participate in the status quo and the dynamics of the society in the 1960's, this lead to a movement for sovereignty for Quebec, and the implementation of reforms within Quebec. However, no real conflict developed as a result of the tensions between Canada and Quebec, and the French Canadians and the British Canadians.

Finally, it has been demonstrated that although the variable of religion was highly present during the period before the 1960's, this variable became less influential within Quebec, as the Church lost its influence. Additionally, although the institutionalization of religion within Quebec up to the 1960's was at the medium level, elsewhere in Canada, the institutionalization of religion was low. This combined with the shift of institutionalization of religion within Quebec after the 1960's reforms lead to a low level of religious hold, leading to the absence of conflict between the two largest ethno-religious groups within Canada, and this a low level of exacerbation of the tensions. Therefore, demonstrating that religion in fact will make a conflict exacerbate itself.

## **CHAPTER 6: CONCLUSION AND FINAL REMARKS**

As established at the beginning of this study, this research study was designed to ascertain if religion has an effect, if any, on ethnic conflicts. The aim was to separate the components of ethnicity and religion, which are commonly joined together as a characteristics of an individual and society as part of the same component, identity. Moreover, the point of departure and thus the main argument is that most conflicts, including ethnic conflicts, are the result of the unequal allocation of resources between the belligerent parties. Furthermore, I contend that when additional to the ethnic differences separating the belligerent parties there are also religious differences, the conflict will reach a higher level of exacerbation by increasing the violence leading to an increase on the number of casualties. As a result, the main question was, what is the effect religion has on ethnic conflicts given that these conflicts' original cause is not religion? Is the effect positive, negative, or null?

### **Social Identity Theory and Social Dominance Theory**

In view this; to complement my main argument and explain the effect of religion on ethnic conflicts, I borrowed the tenets from Social Identity Theory (SIT) and Social Dominance Theory (SDT). As such SIT as a psychology theory of intergroup behavior is a school of thought that studies intergroup discrimination based on group identification, establishing this "group identification" the key component of behavior patterns. As established, this theory contends that the mere perception of group belonging will lead to ethnocentrism and discrimination, which in turn may lead to conflict,. Finally, a key component of this theory is the finding that all people seek a positive evaluation based on an in-group/out-group comparison positive evaluations, leading to the conclusion that when this evaluation is negative, an individual will seek to acquire a positive evaluation, possibly by engaging in conflict.

SDT on the other hand, establishes the importance of group bases hierarchy societies and systematic institutional and individual discrimination as chronic. As such this theory posits that all societies are inherently organized hierarchically and thus within these societies there is always a dominant and a subordinate group. Furthermore, SDT also contends that a consequence of societies' predisposition to a hierarchical structure is the chronic state of group discrimination and oppression against the subordinate group. Finally, SDT posits that the status quo of hierarchy will remain only with the support of participating dominant/subordinate groups, thus leading to the conclusion that as the subordinate group stops collaborating in the maintenance of the status quo, conflict arises as the dominant group seeks to maintain the status quo and the subordinate seeks to change it.

Therefore, I argued that as most conflicts, including ethnic conflicts, are a result of the unequal allocation of resources, SIT and SDT complement each other and offer an explanation to the effect religion has on conflict, particularly ethnic conflict. I argued that ethnic conflict is the result of the nature of societies being inherently hierarchically based, with a dominant and subordinate groups, and the mere perception of belonging/being part of a group, in this case an ethnic group. As these ethnic groups seek to achieve a positive evaluation against their out-group, one of the alternatives to a negative evaluation is social competition, which may constitute conflict between the in-group/out-group. Based on these arguments, I contended that as the belligerent parties are divided not only by one line of group identification, ethnicity, but also religion, these group identification perceptions become too strong, and some become more salient than others, leading to discrimination, unequal allocation of resources, and ultimately conflict, as one group seeks to maintain the status quo and the other seeks to change it.

## Case Studies' Results, what do they tell us?

**TABLE 1: Effect of Religion on Ethnic Conflict Influence on Level (DV)**

	Level of Conflict (DV)	Level of Unequal Resource Allocation (IV)	Level of Religious Hold (Int. Variable)
<b>Bosnian War</b>	Medium	High	Medium
<b>The Troubles</b>	Medium	High	Medium
<b>The Cyprus Problem</b>	High	High	High
<b>Canada and Quebec</b>	Low	High	High/Low

Table 1 summarizes the results of the case studies discussed in the previous chapters and allows for a quick reference of the study's results. As such, although the evidence presented by the four case study analysis is not perfect, the analysis of the Canada case allows for this study to demonstrate the effect that religion can have on an ethnic conflict. In this study, all the main case studies support my initial hypothesis to a certain degree, as in each of the analysis it is demonstrated that the ethnic conflict was in fact exacerbated by religion and the complementary arguments presented by SIT and SDT. Nonetheless, as mentioned the Canada case strengthens my argument. As Table 1 exemplifies, the evidence presented in the case of Bosnia arises, a high level of unequal allocation of resources, with a medium level of religious hold, which did not lead to a high degree of level of conflict, but did lead to a medium level of conflict. In the case of Northern Ireland, the same situation arises as in Bosnia, the degree of level of conflict only reached a medium level, where there was also only a medium level of religious hold, and a high degree of unequal allocation of resources. As opposed to the previous two cases, the Cyprus case demonstrates that as hypothesized a combination of high degree of unequal allocation of resources and high degree of religious hold lead to a high degree of level of conflict and thus an exacerbated conflict. Finally, the case of Canada strengthens my argument as this is

a case of ethno-religious tensions not leading to the appearance of conflict between the ethno-religious groups. The analysis of the Canada case presents a high level of unequal allocation of resources between the ethno-religious groups and originally a high level of religious hold, which later reached a low level thus also leading to a low level of conflict.

Therefore as mentioned, this study demonstrates that religion does in fact exacerbate ethnic conflict. As the case of Canada exemplifies, the decrease of religious hold level, lead to a very low level of conflict, as opposed to the other three primary cases which did not all reach a high degree of exacerbation, but did reach a medium degree of exacerbation as the degree of religious hold also reached a medium level. Additionally, as was also hypothesized all these societies were also hierarchical societies, and all contained a dominant and subordinate group, which exacerbated the unequal allocation of resources between the groups. Furthermore, it was also demonstrated that as the subordinate group ceased to participate and support the status quo leading to a conflict for the re-allocation of resources exacerbated by the intervening variable of religion. In view of this, the question arises, what is the condition or special circumstance that the case of Canada presents that the other two cases do not present?

### **Canada Case and Lessons Learned**

In view of this, what are the lessons learned that this study presents? As already mentioned, surprisingly the Canada case presented the most interesting evidence, as it substantiated the original hypothesis. As such, the Canada case study substantiated the argument presented which posited that religion exacerbates conflict, particularly ethnic conflict. The Canada case study presents a case of conflict diffusing, one where the possibility for the eruption of an ethnic conflict was latent, as there was unequal allocation of resources between the ethnic groups, discriminatory practices that were strongly institutionalized and practiced, and a



subordinate group which was discontent with the status quo and sought to change the balance of power, however the development of conflict was absent. As a result, there are some lessons learned from this case study which are important to point out, as these appear to be the important components that are not only sufficient but necessary for conflict diffusion. First, this case underscores the importance of strong governmental institutions. Second, it also highlights the importance of legitimate governmental structures within a population. Third, the case highlights the importance that perception of legitimacy and effectiveness of governmental structures as alternate venues of resolving disputes/differences within the belligerent parties play. In the three primary case studies, these three characteristics were absent, and as a result, it appears that these are the key components necessary for the diffusion of an ethnic conflict.

### **Drawbacks and Future Research**

Although the initial hypothesis of the study was demonstrated to be true, this study is not without flaws and drawbacks. In view of this there are four areas where this study or any other study following the design of this study or a different design should consider for revision. First, as this study was designed, the possible variables to be explored were vast; however due to the limited amount of resources, time, and data available it was impossible to consider all of them; additionally many other variables were not foreseen as having a possible impact on the dependent variable, and were only discovered once the analysis of each case was carried out. As a result, many variables were left out. For example, one variable that future research could potentially explore and incorporate are external actors and their meddling into the conflicts, do these actors impact/do not impact the conflict.

Secondly, an important drawback that this study demonstrates is the great difficulty that exists when a researcher is attempting to separate the characteristics of ethnicity and religion. As

such the greatest drawback of this study encompasses the operationalization of the intervening variable, religion. Due to the difficulty of separating ethnicity and religion, the operationalization of religion became more difficult. As a result, in future research, complementary methods of operationalization should be explored. One option of operationalizing this variable differently could be by analyzing rhetoric by the leader(s) of the belligerent parties to complement the operationalization utilized in this study. A second option would be to perform field research, interviews/surveys, and focus groups and so on; however this would require more time and resources.

Thirdly, the method of case study selection of this study also presents some drawbacks, therefore this could also be an area of improvement. As mentioned in the research design section, the selection of cases in this study was based on the dependent variable, and this presents some biases, however steps were taken in order to mitigate the effects of this case study method selection. Nonetheless, in the future there are four different methods of case selection which could be explored. First, cases could be focused on a certain region of the world; this could tentatively add the research question of whether one region of the world is more prone to ethnic conflicts than others. Secondly, in an attempt to decipher whether one religion has a higher religious hold and thus more propensities to ethnic conflict, selecting cases based on particular religion would suit best. Thirdly, another method of case selection would be to explore a variation of cases or to focus on one type of cases, in this case this method could explore three different scenarios. First, selecting cases where there are ethnic differences between belligerent parties, no religions differences and no conflict/conflict. Second, selecting cases where there are no ethnic differences, there are religious differences and no conflict/conflict. Third, selecting cases where there are unequal allocation of resources, no ethnic or religious differences and no

conflict/conflict. Finally, future research could also explore active conflicts, and apply the methods utilized in this study in combination with the suggested alternatives or others.

Finally, the data analyzed in this study also presents some drawbacks, as it is difficult to obtain perfect data in a timely manner with the resources available. As a result, data collection and analysis could be improved. First, in future research the implementation of combined of qualitative and quantitative data analysis on each case study is suggested. Second, as mentioned when discussing the variable of religion, the necessity to conduct field research data appears to be crucial method to consider, this in order to obtain more accurate data on this variable and its impact on the dependent variable. Finally, another flaw that my study presented is related to the definition used for ethnicity as the definition of ethnicity which focuses on situational ethnicity would suit best for future research.

### **Ethnic Conflict and Policy Recommendations**

Ethnic conflicts have and continue to be the most unrelenting types of conflicts, and a solution to avoid its development or halting the violence once it has already begun has thus far not been found. This study allows for probable areas where one could look as possible way to avoid or halt these conflicts. Additionally, as already established, the Canada case presents the best example of how conflict diffusion could be materialized. This, as mentioned before, it appears that one of the most crucial conditions to be present in order to avoid the eruption of these conflicts it legitimate governmental institutions and venues which can be exploited by the belligerent parties to settle their disputes. As demonstrated by the three primary case studies of Bosnia, Northern Ireland, and Cyprus the governmental institutions which existed within these countries previous to the eruption of the conflict and at the time the conflicts became active did not enjoy a status of legitimacy within all the ethno-religious groups. However, in the case of

Canada, although previous to the 1960's, the level of religious hold was high, as the subordinate group realized that governmental process and its structures would deliver the desired results, this was chosen as a preferred venue to change the status quo. In view of this, it is a policy recommendation that the establishment or the strengthening of legitimate and effective governmental structures and institutions which can be utilized as alternate venues by belligerent parties within a country are necessary to avoid the eruption of an ethnic conflict. An additional but complementary to the former policy is to implement policies which establish religious tolerance, and/or policies which guarantee and protect the rights of minorities.

As such, in cases such as the conflict that exists between Israel and Palestine, it appears that part of the solution of this conflict is the development of legitimate governmental institutions through which both groups can funnel their concerns and the endemic problems they perceive as a hindrance to their progress and peaceful coexistence. In the case Iraq, and the now well known conflict that exists between the Sunnis and Shiites, again the development of legitimate governmental institutions which can be utilized as venues for conflict resolution between both groups is crucial. In view of this, governmental institutional legitimacy and availability to impact the endemic problems of belligerent groups appears to be a necessary condition for an ethnic conflict to be avoided or halted.

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## **CURRICULUM VITA**

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She entered Graduate School at The University of Texas at El Paso in August 2006, to pursue her M.A. in Political Science. Additional to her interest in Political Science she also became interested in the areas of Intelligence and National Security thus also enrolling in the Certificate of Intelligence and National Security program. She worked as both a research assistant and a teaching assistant in the Department of Political Science during her graduate studies. She received the Outstanding Political Science Graduate student award from the Political Science Department in her May 2009 pre-commencement graduation ceremony. She will begin working for the federal government in September 2009.