

ABSTRACT

Title of dissertation: WHEN NATIONAL MINORITIES BECOME LOCAL MAJORITIES:
FEDERALISM, ETHNIC POLITICS AND VIOLENT CONFLICT

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What explains the variation in ethnic conflict in federal systems? Existing theory and empirical evidence are mixed, with some saying it decreases violence, and some saying increases it. This puzzle also leads to a number of research questions: why does federalism fail to resolve the problem of violent ethnic conflict? Why does local ethnic politics in federal units frequently lead to violence within the ethnic group? What effect does federalism have on violence between ethnic groups? Why do central governments intervene with force into local interethnic conflicts rather than simply allowing the local government of the federal unit to resolve the issue? Conversely, why does federalism sometimes work in preventing violent conflict and session in countries where ethnic politics is salient?

The theory presented here asserts that the level of intraethnic political competition within the national minority/local majority and the political incentives created by devolving power to the local level determine the answers. I develop a new theory of local ethnic outbidding by minority groups in federal systems which explains how

local ethnic politics turns violent when intraethnic political competition is high.

Previous theories have focused almost exclusively on national level politics and violence and have largely ignored the subnational level. I also explain how central governments become involved in local ethnic conflicts in federal systems, because local minorities being targeted call upon them for assistance. Existing theories do not explain why the central government would expend resources and political capital to intervene in a local conflict. Finally, I theorize that the presence and active competition of ethnic political parties in federal units does not increase the likelihood of rebellion or secession. Only when interethnic conflict results from ethnic outbidding and the central government intervenes with force does the politically mobilized ethnic group in the federal unit respond with force in-kind. Existing theories try to link ethnic and regional parties in federal units with secession by theorizing that they reinforce local identities which makes an ethnic group want its own country. My theory asserts and the empirical analysis shows that the path to anti-regime violence by the local majority is much less direct and is contingent on central government actions. To test this theory using statistical analysis, I collected original data on intraethnic political competition for 112 ethnic groups in 21 federal countries from 1990-2006 and assembled a new dataset to test this theory about subnational violent ethnic conflict in federal systems. Additionally, I use process tracing to test the theory using case studies of three ethnic groups in Indonesia. The analysis of both the quantitative and qualitative results lends substantial support to the theory.

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by

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Chapter 1: Introduction

1.1 The Puzzle

What explains the variation in ethnic conflict in federal systems? Existing theory comes down on both sides of the debate. Some claim that giving concentrated national minorities control of over their own affairs through decentralization of power will satisfy their claims for greater autonomy and quell conflict (Lijphart 1977, Duchacek 1988, Tsebelis 1990, Horowitz 1991, Lustik et al. 2004). However, others claim that federalism empowers minority groups and reinforces ethnic and regional identities which makes them more likely to secede as well as to mobilize against other groups (Horowitz 1985, Brancati 2009, Selway and Templeman 2011). Empirically, we find evidence to support both claims. What is the true effect of federalism on ethnic conflict?

This is the main puzzle that motivates the research presented here, and it also leads to several research questions. First, why does local ethnic politics in federal units frequently lead to violence within the ethnic group? There is a joke that I have heard several times in the Balkans with many different ethnic groups substituted as the subject: When Satan was giving a tour of hell to a new arrival, he showed different pools of boiling lava with residents of hell writhing in pain and desperately

trying to escape as guards around the side used pitch forks to push them back in. When they came to a pool with no guards and Satan said, ‘oh, that pool contains X ethnic group. We don’t need guards there, because when one tries to escape, the others pull him back in.’ Why do we see this kind of intra-group rivalry particularly in federal countries that often turns violent? Why do ethnic groups fragment instead of remaining unified toward common goals in federal systems?

Second, what effect does federalism have on violence between ethnic groups? As referenced above, much of the literature indicates that federalism and the devolution of power it entails should satisfy politically mobilized ethnic groups and make them less likely to use violence in pursuit of their goals. However, while this may be the case in terms of violence directed against the center, it does not address other targets of ethnic violence and the motivation behind such violence. Often violence between groups is instrumental and has little to do with claims or grievances (Fearon and Latin 2003, Collier and Hoeffler 2004). How might federalism and the way it alters the power available to minority groups at the local level influence the likelihood of violence between groups?

Third, why do central governments intervene with force into local interethnic conflict rather than simply allowing the local government of the federal unit to resolve the issue? Existing theory cannot explain why central governments, that have devolved responsibility for many different sectors to allow local governments to handle problems more efficiently and to reserve central government resources for issues and problems of national importance, would intervene in local ethnic conflicts. One suggestion is that it is simply a matter of maintaining law and order. However,

if that were the case, the central government would also intervene in intraethnic conflict which is not the case empirically. Why do central governments in federal countries expend precious resources intervening in local interethnic conflicts?

Finally, why does federalism sometimes work in preventing violent conflict and secession in countries where ethnic politics is salient? Some theories note that many federal countries are wracked by violent ethnic conflict and assert that the problem is that giving national minorities power and resources intensifies their desire for complete autonomy and also gives them the capacity to pursue it (Brancati 2006, 2009; Selway and Templeman 2011). However, this claim does not necessarily fit with empirical observation of ethnically diverse federal countries in which we see intraethnic and interethnic conflict but not necessarily secession. If federalism just makes empowered minorities want more autonomy and, thus, more likely to secede, why does federalism sometimes work in preventing secession?

My answer to the research questions above is that they all have to do with the level of intraethnic political competition within the national minority/local majority and the political incentives created by devolving power to the local level. Ethnic politics is largely clientelistic which means that the range of political strategies for political factions to gain and to maintain supporters is restricted to those which work in an environment of patronage, namely providing direct private goods, policing and monitoring of constituents, attacking rival parties and ethnic outbidding against other minority groups. Federal systems shift the locus of power to the local level and make controlling local governments desirable and attainable for concentrated national minorities/local majorities when they are a majority or plurality of the

population in a federal unit. These factors in different combinations determine whether violent conflict will occur and who will be the target.

1.2 Background

When the study of ethnic conflict and plural societies became popular in the 1960s, the assumption was and the theory said that while ethnic identities and conflicts were primordial (Shils 1957; Geertz 1963), modernization would overcome these centuries-old conflicts and development would prevail. As the decade unfolded and decolonization progressed, spawning new independent countries governed by local elites, ethnic conflict did not abate and indeed seemed to become more prevalent. While some continue to cling to primordialist explanations (Connor 1994; Kaplan 1993), others turned to instrumentalist theories which acknowledged that these conflicts between groups were not centuries old, but rather developed as a result of incentives for gain, whether economic or political (Rabushka and Shepsle 1972; Bates 1974; Brass 1974). The suggested remedy was to alter the incentives for ethnic conflict through the creation and alteration of political institutions, and violent conflict would subside as conflict between and among groups was channeled to the arena of legitimate politics. The debate then ignited about whether it was better to enshrine the rights of ethnic groups, and minorities in particular, in the institutions of governance, guaranteeing them representation, or whether it was better to create a system of institutions which enshrined cross-cutting cleavages, compelling groups to work together and to form coalitions (Lijphart 1977; Horowitz 1985). Advocates

on both sides have offered their well-grounded theories and detailed case studies supporting them and attacking their theoretical rivals, but there has been no definitive resolution (Weingast 1997; Reilly 2001; Lijphart 1985, 2001; Horowitz 1991; Caspersen 2008; Coakley 2008).

However, recent empirical work has stressed that ethnic diversity in society, and within the political system specifically, is not correlated with an increased likelihood of violent conflict (Ishiyama 2009; Birnir 2007; Chandra 2005). Earlier scholars had assumed that ethnic politics and ethnic diversity would inherently lead to violence (Rabushka and Shepsle 1972; Horowitz 1985). As Chandra asserts, in both the academic and policy literatures, ethnic diversity has been given a ‘bad name’ and has been treated as a problem to be solved (2012, 6-7). Newer research has highlighted that the vast majority of ethnic groups, whether politically mobilized or not, live together peacefully (Fearon and Laitin 1996). However, ethnic conflict does persist in many places and in many cases is an outgrowth of the political system, particularly ethnic politics. There are almost too many typologies of political parties to count, but most include some idea of societal representation, interest aggregation and social integration as essential functions that they perform (Gunther and Diamond 2003, 8). The social integration function is suppose to give the groups the parties represent a vested interested in the perpetuation of the political system and its peaceful perpetuation. Nevertheless, we continue to see ethnic political parties associated with various violent outcomes which leads us to the question, under what conditions does ethnic political competition lead to violent conflict?

1.3 The Project

This dissertation project focuses on the political incentives that federal systems create for minority and majority ethnic populations as well as how these incentives are likely to encourage violent conflict. The theory assumes that ethnic political parties are clientelistic, providing direct benefits to supporters in exchange for electoral support. Since ethnic political parties rely on co-ethnic members for support, benefits go to members of their ethnic group to the detriment of members of other ethnic groups. This favoritism can be in the form of overt policies, such as in Papua, Indonesia, where the local government passed a law that would allow only those determined part of the indigenous population to hold local political office. However, it is more likely to come in the form of more subtle measures such as unofficial preference in hiring co-ethnic civil servants, granting business permits to supporters or handing out ‘travel support’ at campaign rallies.

When political competition within the local majority in the federal unit is low, there is little risk of violent intraethnic conflict. The ruling party has sufficient support to weather some constituent defections, besides the options for defection are narrow. As the competition for political support from within the ethnic group increases, however, so too does the likelihood of intragroup violence as parties use increased coercion to police member support and violent attacks to weaken one another. The analysis of both the statistical results of original, cross-national data on intraethnic political competition and the case studies of three ethnic groups in Indonesia, presented in Chapters 5 and 7, respectively, provide support for this

theory. When internal political competition is low, such as in Bali, there is very little intraethnic violence. However, in places like Aceh, in which local political parties are allowed to run for local office, there are many accounts of Acehnese parties attacking one another and their constituents. Statistically speaking, an increase in intraethnic political competition increases the likelihood of intraethnic violence substantially.

Increased intraethnic political competition also leads to ethnic outbidding among co-ethnic parties, demonizing local minorities as a threat to the group. This outbidding increases tension between the local minority and local majority. The local minority group, will likely call on the central government for protection. The local minority may also behave as if it had greater capacity to counter the local majority than it actually has if it thinks the central government will heed its call and intervene on its behalf, increasing the likelihood of violent interethnic conflict between the local minority and local majority. In Bali, where intraethnic political competition is relatively low, one actually does see some outbidding against the local minority Javanese population, however, it has not been extreme, and in most recent gubernatorial election was quite muted. In West Kalimantan where the intraethnic political competition was higher, especially as members of the Dayak community jockeyed for position just before the fall of Suharto, the group targeted for interethnic violence was the Madurese who had no powerful co-ethnic ally upon which to call for protection. The statistical analysis also supports the theory showing that as intraethnic political competition increases so too does the probability of interethnic.

Furthermore, the central government in a federal system is likely to intervene using force if interethnic conflict occurs at the local level, especially if the local mi-

nority is co-ethnic with supporters of central government elites. The findings of the case study analysis are consistent with this theory, however, the statistical results are much more telling. The increase in probability of central government forceful intervention is nearly three-fold from the lowest to highest levels of intraethnic political competition measured. Additionally, the results discount the rival hypothesis about law and order reasons for central government involvement.

Importantly, however, intraethnic political competition does not lead to an increased likelihood of the local majority group rebelling against the central government without central government use of force against the group. This assertion does not mean that there will be no violence, but that the path to it is different than previously theorized. The statistical results show that if there is no central government use of force against the group, then intraethnic political competition has almost no effect on the likelihood of the group rebelling against the central government. However, if the central government intervenes on behalf of the local minority with force, the likelihood of anti-regime violence increases.

The theory briefly outlined above and in more detail in Chapter 3, extends and sharpens our understanding of how and why ethnic politics leads to violent outcomes under certain conditions. Previous research has focused on national level explanations such as ethnic fractionalization, economic inequality or scarcity. However, these theories receive relatively weak support in explaining cross-national variation. This theory and its tests break new ground by examining mechanisms functioning within ethnic groups at the subnational level. It builds upon well-established theory about political party competition and ethnic politics and draws simple but pow-

erful conclusions about how federal systems create incentives for various types of conflict. The quantitative analysis employs new data on intraethnic political competition. The qualitative analysis focuses on three ethnic groups in Indonesia, and relies heavily on interviews conducted in the field with experts on local politics in the provinces in which the groups reside.¹ Both sets of analysis complement each other and provide substantial support for the theory and its hypotheses.

1.4 The Contribution

This dissertation project makes three main theoretical contributions. First, I develop a theory of local ethnic outbidding by minority groups in federal systems which explains how local ethnic politics turns violent when intraethnic political competition is high. Previous theories have focused almost exclusively on national level politics and violence and have largely ignored the subnational level. Second, I explain why central governments become involved in local ethnic conflicts in federal systems when they could simply let local governments resolve the issues. Existing theories do not explain why the central government would expend resources and political capital to intervene in a local conflict. Third, I theorize that the presence and active competition of ethnic political parties in federal units does not increase the likelihood of rebellion or secession. Only when interethnic conflict results from ethnic outbidding and the central government intervenes with force does the politically mobilized ethnic group in the federal unit respond with force in-kind. Existing

¹As will be addressed extensively in Chapters 6 and 7, Indonesia does not claim to be a federal country, however, it exhibits many of qualities of a federal system including extreme decentralization which is enshrined in the constitution.

theories try to link ethnic and regional parties in federal units with secession by theorizing that they reinforce local identities which makes their ethnic constituents want their own country. My theory asserts and the empirical analysis shows that the path to anti-regime violence by the local majority is much less direct and is contingent on central government actions.

The empirical contributions of this research are important as well. The data sample assembled to test the theory outlined above contains new data on intraethnic political competition within ethnic groups. I collected data on intraethnic political competition within 112 groups in twenty-one federal countries from 1990 to 2006. No one had previously gathered this type of subnational level data to test hypotheses about subnational ethnic violence using advanced statistical methods. Other data collection efforts gathered data on ethnic political competition within countries and have applied their analysis to the national level. This is the first dataset of its kind available to test theories about subnational intraethnic political competition.

1.5 The Organization of the Dissertation

This dissertation follows the conventional organizational format. Chapter 2 provides a brief introduction to the existing literature related to this theory developed in this dissertation. It includes many of the long-established major contributions to the field but also highlights some of the new innovations in theory and research and identifies the holes in the literature that this dissertation aims to fill. Chapter 3 describes the theory guiding this research in detail. Chapter 4 specifies

the quantitative data and methods used to test the hypotheses presented in Chapter 3, and Chapter 5 presents and discusses the results of these tests. Chapters 6 and 7 present the qualitative case studies of Indonesia. Chapter 6 gives the background on why Indonesia is included in this research and provides some necessary historical context. Chapter 7 presents the results of the qualitative analysis of the three case studies of ethnic groups in Indonesia: Dayaks in West Kalimantan, the Balinese in Bali and the Acehnese in Aceh. Chapter 8 concludes by summarizing the main theory and findings in the dissertation and by providing some thoughts on the policy implications and proposed further research.

Chapter 2: Literature

In this section, I present a brief outline of much of the literature as it relates to the theory and hypotheses included in this dissertation. My theory aims to explain how intraethnic political competition within the local majority in federal units can lead to ethnic outbidding against the local minority leading to an increase in the likelihood of local interethnic conflict. This local political competition within the group at the subnational level is also likely to lead to violence within the group as the political parties increase the coerciveness of their monitoring and policing of constituent support and engage in violent attacks against one another. While the intraethnic violence is unlikely to result in the central government intervening using force, interethnic violence in a federal system likely will, particularly if the local minority being targeted is co-ethnic with the national majority. Finally, intraethnic political competition at the subnational level is unlikely to result in the group rebelling against the central government unless the government intervenes with force on behalf of the local minority.

While this theory is novel in a number of respects, it also builds on the work of many others in a number of different areas. Below I discuss the contributions of the literature upon which the theory and empirical research builds. I also identify

where the holes in the literature are which this dissertation aims to fill. Most of the ethnic outbidding literature has been applied to the national level, with few attempts to understand how it works and its effects at the subnational level, which this research examines. Those few studies that have looked at subnational dynamics for the most part used one or a few selected case studies to test their theory. This research uses a cross-national statistical analysis of original data on intraethnic political competition for 112 groups in twenty-one countries in addition to a set of three detailed case studies of ethnic groups in Indonesia. Additionally, most of the ethnic conflict research also has used national level variables for testing hypotheses about ethnicity and violent conflict without looking at subnational factors. In terms of the institutions literature, there are a few holes that this research fills. One is that most of the literature focuses on democracies and theorizes how fully democratic institutions impact governance. However, excluding non-democracies introduces a significant selection bias if one thinks that whether or not a country meets the threshold for democracy is causally related to some of the dependent variables of interest such as violent conflict and rebellion. Political parties and political competition are also likely to function differently in non-democracies than in democracies. Finally, some of the causal processes telling the story of how federalism and ethnic political competition lead to anti-regime violence have been under-theorized and truncated. The theory and evidence presented in this dissertation show that simply allowing groups to form ethnic and regional political parties in federal units does not lead them to secede.

2.1 Ethnic Identity

The latest conventional wisdom in the comparative politics field has shifted away from the ideas of ethnic identity being understood as predetermined and fixed and toward a notion of it being constructed and fluid. The constructivist approach asserts that “individuals have multiple, not single, ethnic identities; and . . . the identity with which they identify varies depending upon some specified causal variable” (Chandra 2001, 7). Chandra defines ethnic identity as “as a subset of categories in which descent-based attributes are necessary for membership” (2012, 9). She points out that much the recent research gives a nod to the constructivist definition of ethnicity then goes on to ignore its implications for theory and empirical analysis. However, incorporating endogenous, subjectively constructed variables into theorizing not to mention empirical research is a significant challenge. The assumption that ethnicity is constructed and fluid does not, however, mean that it is easy to change. For instance, attributes such as race, skin color or language which are highly visible may be harder for an individual to change than shared ideology, dress type or religion, although how they are construed by both the in-group and by out-groups can and does change. Chandra (2006) conceptualizes the ease with which attributes can be changed as the “degree of stickiness” (414).

In addition to theories about how ethnicity is constructed, others have theorized how it is maintained. Particularly, important is Anderson’s (1991) concept of ethnicity and nationalism flowing from it as “imagined communities” in that most members of an ethnic group or nation will never meet one another but yet imagine

that there is a bond tying them together. Tajfel and Turner (2004) give a psychological explanation for the existence of ethnic categories in terms of the tendency of people to create in-groups and out-groups in which to categorize themselves and others. Eriksen (2002) consolidates anthropological perspectives and among other things discusses the creation, maintenance and possible transcendence of ethnic group boundaries. Brubaker (2002), on the other hand, avers that studying ethnicity from the perspective of groups is fraught and imposes organizing principles that may not exist in reality. Instead, he advocates focusing on “practical categories, cultural idioms, cognitive schemas, commonsense knowledge, organizational routines and resources, discursive frames, institutionalized forms, political projects, contingent events and variable groupness” (186). While this list may pose substantial challenges to how researchers have conventionally approached the study of ethnicity, it echoes much of the constructivist approach to the study of ethnicity advocated by Chandra and others (APSA CP 2001). This dissertation attempts to incorporate the constructivist approach to understanding ethnicity as a fluid rather than fixed concept and that even once mobilized is subject to manipulation and change. One particularly important point motivating this dissertation is that ethnic groups are not and do not behave as unitary actors but rather are composed of different factions with different levels of unity based on a number institutional and environmental factors.

2.2 Ethnic Outbidding

Earlier scholars had assumed that ethnic politics and ethnic diversity would inherently lead to violence. Rabushka and Shepsle (1972) draw on Sartori (1962) to develop a theory of ethnic outbidding in plural societies. They assume that members of the same ethnic group have “identical ‘ethnic preference functions’ ” and that members of different ethnic groups “[disagree] on all issues that face the collectivity” (67). Additionally, they assert that ethnic preferences within ethnic groups are “*intensely held*”¹ leading ethnic groups to ““go for broke”” on issues of importance to the group (73). These assumptions make it possible for ambitious ethnic political entrepreneurs to outbid and to over-promise on issues of communal importance to get elected and to maintain office. The majority ethnic group will do all in its power to secure its dominance in the political system and democracy will breakdown accompanied by violence (86). Dominant parties in office may advocate institutional reforms that favor their electoral dominance such as gerrymandering or giving extra representation to areas in which the group is a clear majority, whether in urban or rural areas. The exact mechanisms for how violence occurs is understated but seems to rely on the risk-acceptant nature of ethnic groups and their intense preferences. Horowitz (1985) makes more qualified assumptions about ethnic group behavior in politics and occasionally contradicts himself (Chandra 2005, 248 f.n. 12) but arrives at largely the same assumptions. He goes further in terms of theorizing how intraethnic political competition can lead to violence. He asserts

¹Italics original.

that the “tendency of intragroup competition to widen the gap between the positions of the groups...[propels] them toward violent outcomes...” (Horowitz 1985, 358). While Horowitz explicitly acknowledges the role of intraethnic politics here, the conflict mechanism still relies on the assumption that different ethnic groups have incompatible interests and that ethnic politics is a zero-sum game.

While Rabushka and Shepsle and Horowitz provide a strong basis upon which to build a theory of ethnic outbidding, several of their assumptions are unnecessary and inaccurate. Their assumptions about the preferences of ethnic groups being completely incompatible and universally held do not pass the test of face validity. There is no reason to assume that even issues specific to the groups are necessarily incompatible. Ethnic elites may portray issues as such, but it is simply not the case that they are necessarily incompatible by nature. This is a critical distinction. Rarely are the interests of any two groups within a society completely incompatible, even with regard to territory, which has been theorized as indivisible in the international relations literature (Toft 2003) but is less so in the domestic context, as the creation of Brcko District in Bosnia and Herzegovina and other domestic territorial compromises have demonstrated. That ethnic elites choose to portray various interests as incompatible means that they are not fixed and can be manipulated. Secondly, that all group members share the same ethnic preferences is contradicted by the existence of multiple ethnic parties or multiple factions of the same ethnic group. As discussed below and at greater length in the theory chapter, ethnic politics is largely patronage politics and group members support the patrons they think will deliver the greatest benefits. Ethnic outbidding is a strategy designed to

circumvent the patronage structure and deliver votes out of fear. The assumption that ethnic groups are more risk-acceptant than other kinds of groups also does not reflect empirical observation. Ethnic group members and their leaders make rational decisions about the costs and benefits of their actions based on the information available to them. While some may be more risk-acceptant than others and some more risk-acceptant at different times than others, that does not make ethnic groups as a whole more risk-acceptant than other groups. Finally, both works (Rabushka and Shepsle 1972 and Horowitz 1985) describe how ethnic outbidding in majoritarian politics functions at national level and largely neglect subnational politics. These false assumptions together lead to the conclusion that ethnic politics is by definition prone the violent conflict. This dissertation builds on these initial conceptualizations of ethnic outbidding, while correcting the false assumptions and filling in the gaps in theorizing and expanding it to the subnational level.

2.3 Ethnic Conflict

The assumption that ethnically diverse societies are inherently conflictual has pervaded the literature on ethnic politics for decades. However, in many cases, theory and findings have focussed primarily on studying places where ethnic conflict occurred, overlooking the vast majority of places where it has not happened despite the presence of multiple groups. Different scholars have attempted to parse out what it is about ethnicity or ethnic diversity that leads to violent conflict. Gurr (1970) developed his relative deprivation theory which asserts that the greater the

perceived discrepancy between what one has and what one thinks one should have, the greater the frustration and aggression which leads to violent collective action. Connor (1993) argues that the emotional and passionate attachment of the individual to the nation make ethnonationalism a mobilizing force toward violence. More recently, Kaufmann (1996) claims that once ethnic groups have experienced interethnic conflict, the hatreds are too intense to overcome and that the best solution is territorial partition along ethnic lines. Chapman and Roeder (2007) come to a similar conclusion, however, based on post-conflict institutional incentives. Collier and Hoeffler (1998) find that states with moderate levels of ethnic diversity were more likely to experience civil war than those with very low and very high levels. Ellingsen (2000) finds that ethnic diversity increases the likelihood of small-scale conflict more than large-scale conflict. Snyder (2000) asserts that ethnicity can lead to conflict when it is the basis for nationalism which is promoted by elites in democratizing regimes as a means of generating support. Blimes (2006) attempts to navigate the middle ground asserting that ethnic diversity has an indirect effect on the likelihood of violent conflict by exacerbating the likelihood of violence when other causes of conflict such as low economic development exist.

As Chandra (2012) asserts, in both the academic and policy literatures, ethnic diversity has been given a ‘bad name’ and has been treated as a problem to be solved (6-7).² Other research has highlighted that the vast majority of ethnic groups, whether politically mobilized or not, live together peacefully (Fearon and Laitin 1996). Fearon and Laitin (2003) in their seminal piece find that when controlling for

²Although, she notes that Birnir (2007) is an exception to this general phenomenon.

other factors like rough terrain, political instability and large populations which do have a statistically significant effect on civil war onset, ethnic and religious diversity do not increase the likelihood of such conflict. Additional empirical work has stressed that ethnic diversity in society and within the political system specifically is not correlated with an increased likelihood of violent conflict (Sambanis 2000; Elbadawi and Sambanis 2000; Birnir 2007; Fearon et al. 2007; Ishiyama 2009).

Cederman and Girardin (2007), on the other hand, assert that the reason for confusing and inconsistent findings with regard to ethnic diversity is due to measurement error in the variables being used and propose a new measure of “ethnonationalist exclusiveness” which does increase the likelihood of civil war in their models. Cederman, Wimmer and Min (2010) assert that selection bias in the widely-use Minorities at Risk (MAR) dataset is responsible for many of the findings that ethnic diversity is not a cause of violent conflict and find that excluding a group from power, group capacity and prior conflict all increase the likelihood of civil war using their new Ethnic Power Relations (EPR) dataset. Cederman, Weidmann and Gleditsch (2011) use these new EPR data to revisit the idea of intergroup inequality and find that in highly unequal societies, both poor and rich ethnic groups are more likely to fight than those that lie closer to the average. With regard to elections, Cederman, Gleditsch and Hug (2012) find that post-election violence is related to ethno-nationalist mobilization. While these studies contribute substantially to the body of knowledge on ethnic conflict, they focus exclusively on the impact of ethnic diversity on the impact of civil war. However, there are many ethnic conflicts which are smaller in scale and never reach the level of civil war and which do not occur at

the national level. The theory and empirical research presented in this dissertation attempt to examine the impact of ethnic politics on local violent conflict rather than simply national level violence.

A small but growing body of literature, to which the present research contributes, attempts to disaggregate ethnic groups and to look at what happens inside them. Much of the literature to date has observed ethnic groups as unitary actors, ignoring that there might be competing factions within them. Casperson (2008) highlights the role of rivalry among factions within ethnic groups during different phases of ethnic conflict using three cases studies of ethnic conflict. Coakley (2008) uses the case of ethnic parties in Northern Ireland over approximately a hundred years and finds that party fragmentation within ethnic groups occurs under various institutional circumstances and that ethnic outbidders make the most formidable challengers to well-established parties. Zuber (2011) examines ethnic parties in Serbia and finds that ethnic parties within groups pursue a range of strategies for gaining votes including outbidding and underbidding. De Juan (2013) examines the role of rival subgroups' identities in obtaining lasting peace in post-conflict environments. However, all of these studies rely on one or a handful of individual case studies to test their theories. The present research uses cross-national statistical analysis as well as qualitative case studies to test my theory of intraethnic political competition and its impact on minority-driven ethnic outbidding and possible violent outcomes.

2.4 Ethnicity and Institutions

The debate about the importance of ethnic identity has turned to examining institutions of governance generally. Some have focused on access to the executive by ethnic parties (Birnir 2007) and elections (Snyder 2000; Collier 2009; Cederman et al. 2013). Others have looked at the role of ethnic politics and their impact on the likelihood of violence. Ishiyama (2009) has examined the development and role of ethnic political parties in generating interethnic conflict and finds that ethnic political parties increase the likelihood of group protest but have no effect on the likelihood of interethnic conflict. Wilkinson (2006) examines the positions of ethnic parties in coalitions to explain the variation in ethnic political violence. He specifically explores the problem of Hindu-Muslim riots in India and asserts that the greater the effective number of parties, the greater the electoral competition and the more likely it is that these parties will need minority population votes to prevail. Politicians, thus, will take measures to prevent ethnic riots and to stop them if they do happen (138). If there are between two and three and a half effective number of parties, if one party monopolizes the antiminority issue, it will foment antiminority violence to mobilize voters and attract voters away from its competitors, and whether there is violence depends on which party controls the state and thus the security apparatus and whether that party relies on minority votes (139). While this argument provides great insight, it seems to describe rather specific contexts with regard to party politics and specific forms of violence. A case is considered a communal riot if “a) there is violence, and b) two or more communally identified

groups confront each other/members of the other group, at some point during the violence” (255). This is one particularly important and destabilizing form of ethnic violence in India and many other countries but certainly excludes a great deal of other violent ethnic incidents. His focus, too, is generally on India and the cases in which the local majority competing for votes is also the national majority, Hindus, and the local minority a national minority, Muslims. His theory does not apply to cases in which the local majority is a national minority, the behavior which this dissertation aims to theorize and explain.

2.5 Ethnic Politics

With regard to ethnicity and political parties, Kitschelt and Wilkinson (2007) assert that “politicians simply cannot make credible commitments to universalism in an ethnically complex polity in which some ethnic groups begin to organize in an exclusive fashion” (33). This may not be the result of the existence of ethnic markers but rather of the “presence of dense organizational networks configured around particular interpretations of ethnicity” (34). Their work focuses on clientelistic versus programmatic parties and what determines system development. Patrons provide private goods while programmatic parties provide public goods, but both can provide club goods. One important factor for either party type is credibility of the promise of goods by the party or politician. Clientelism requires a “complex web of relations in which monitoring and enforcement is practiced in a highly indirect and concealed fashion” and can be quite costly (19). Kitschelt and Wilkinson (2007) note

that “because competition intensifies ethnocultural mobilization, and ethnic groups promote clientelism, politicians will move to employ every imaginable strategy of attracting constituencies . . . ethnocultural mobilization induces a net increase in clientelistic patronage, amplified by democratic competition” (32-3). Additionally, Wilkinson asserts that “the fiercer the competition, the more ethnic politics may rely on clientelistic bonds . . . , competition intensifies ethnopolitical mobilization” (2006). Interestingly, Chandra (2004) points out that this patronage can operate at various levels of government and need not be functioning at the national level to be present at the local level. This research on the functioning of ethnic politics is essential to the current research. The theory presented in the next chapter builds substantially on this work.

2.6 Federalism

In addition to political parties and patronage, another institutional feature that has received substantial attention in terms of its role in regulating ethnic politics is federalism. However, nearly all of this literature assumes that diversity in society is a problem to be solved. The role of federalism was assumed rather than theorized. It was assumed that federalism would guarantee political representation to ethnic minorities if the federal unit were congruent with the group’s territorial base, giving it more autonomy over its own affairs and decreasing the incentives for violent conflict. Lijphart (1977, 1999) theorizes that consociational democracy, which is not the same as but largely overlaps with federalism, gives shared power to group

elites and creates incentives for cooperation and moderation. Horowitz (1985), on the other hand, argues that empowering local ethnic elites and reinforcing ethnic divisions creates the conditions for violent conflict.

Federal systems create at least two levels of jurisdiction within a country. However, there is great variation in terms of how much power is devolved to the federal unit and how much is kept by the central government. Riker (1964) sees this distinction as a continuum between minimum and maximum independence. The minimum he defines as “the ruler(s) of the federation can make decisions only in one narrowly restricted category of action without obtaining the approval of the rulers of the constituent units” (5-6). The maximum he defines as “the ruler(s) of the federation can make decisions without consulting the rulers of the constituent governments in all but one narrowly restricted category of action” (6). He goes on to acknowledge that few if any federal systems lie at either extreme but that the vast majority lie somewhere in between. There are, of course, also several types of federalism or rather domains in which such power is devolved. For instance, federal units can have independence in taxation and economic policy, political/social policy, security issues or all three. Federalism can even exist separate from territory and apply only to domains (Elkins 1995). The arrangements in Belgium are often given as an example of this concept, where a group can have autonomy over education policy for its members without it applying strictly to a territorial government. Countries which allow Sharia law to apply only to Muslims or only to certain Muslims within the population and not those of other religions or sects can be thought of as having a kind of non-territorial federal arrangement in which they

have power to apply law to certain people as opposed to certain territory. Those examples aside, this research applies to the more traditional concept of territorial federalism (Duchacek 1987), both for the practical reason of simplifying the analysis and because the theory applies more specifically to the locations of populations and control of territorially-based units of government.

Federalism can thus be thought of in terms of breadth of areas of independent decision making by federal units vis a vis the central government as well as depth of power over such issues. Nevertheless, the more autonomy a federal unit has over a range of issues, the likely more desirable it is for any given group or political party to control it. The more autonomy that is devolved to the federal units, the more power and control over policies and expenditures the ruling party will have to enact policies favorable to its constituents (Tiebout 1956). In fact Bednar (2005) asserts that federal systems are inherently susceptible to opportunism by the member governments because of the office-seeking nature of political actors within the member governments who pursue policies that are beneficial to their constituents but which may not be beneficial for the federation as a whole. She and others also point out that decentralized systems are functional and stable only when federal units can credibly commit to not trying to take advantage of one another, and the central government can credibly commit to not usurping power from regional governments (Bednar et al. 2001). They theorize that two conditions are required for durable federal systems: 1) the central government must be structurally constrained from reneging on the federal bargain; and 2) regional governments must be checked from reneging as well, possibly by laws enforced by an independent judiciary (4).

In other words, both the central state and federal units must be constrained from usurping the power of the other, which at the extremes would be the dissolution of the federal unit and absorption of its powers into the central state or the secession of the federal unit. The structural constraints on the central government come in the form of fragmentation of power either through checks on the exercise of concerted power or by discouraging the development of unified and disciplined political parties (44). The logic is that if the same unified and disciplined political party controls both the central government as well as the federal unit government it would have an incentive to act in the party's interest and either return power from the federal unit back to the central state or, if circumstances were such that it was better for the party that the federal unit it controlled had more power than other federal units, it might take actions to increase the federal unit's power vis a vis the central state or the other federal units.

Riker (1964), too, acknowledges this incentive for both the central government and the constituent governments to "overawe," as he put it (7). He also points to the degree of party centralization as likely to play a role in whether the federal bargain is up for revision making it ineffectual (130). After examining a bevy of federal systems, Riker comes to the conclusion that only the structure of the party system can be said to account for whether or not a federal bargain survives (136), and concludes that decentralization of party organization is important to keep the central government from overawing (101). Chandler and Chandler (1987) assert that the effect of federalism on political party centralization depends on whether it is functional or jurisdictional: functional has an integrative effect while jurisdictional

has a disintegrating effect. While there are different configurations of federal systems, with some granting more autonomy to the federal units than others, there is inherently a tension between the two levels of government, each pushing the bounds of its power and pushing against the power of the other, especially when each is controlled by a different party or parties.

Despite the supposed pacifying nature of federalism, recent empirical work has shown both positive and negative relationships between federalism and ethnic conflict. In highly divided societies, Selway and Templeman (2011) show that federalism is correlated with violence. Deiwiks, Cederman and Gleditsch (2012) find that inequality between regions in a federal system can lead to secession as does the dominance of an ethnic group in a federal unit. However, Saideman, Lanoue, Campenni and Stanton (2002) examine a range of institutions including federalism and their impact on ethnic group protest and rebellion, and they find that federalism reduces the likelihood of an ethnic group rebelling against the central government.

However, Brancati (2009) theorizes that federalism, or decentralization as she characterizes it, in democracies with concentrated ethnic groups creates the incentive for regional and ethnic parties to form which in turn emphasizes ethnic and regional identities. In her view, it is the political parties that make regional and ethnic identities salient rather than the salience of these identities being the reason for decentralization in the first place. These strong regional identities make it easier to mobilize the group toward conflict and secession. Additionally, parties having access to the resources available to the subnational unit give the groups capacity to secede. However, in most of her tests, she appears to use country year as her unit

of analysis and country level variables for testing, rather than the groups within the country, and in all of her tests she only examines democracies. She also appears to theorize that the collective strength of regional parties in a federal unit will somehow lead to rebellion and secession. The theory I present below shows that there is no reason to think that active ethnic parties in federal systems will lead to an increased likelihood of anti-regime rebellion in and of themselves. However, if the central government forcefully intervenes against the group on behalf of the local minority involved in the ethnic conflict, an increase in ethnic political party competition does lead to an increase in likelihood of the group engaging in violence against the central government in-kind.

2.7 Third-party Intervention

To understand how the central state will react to the eruption of interethnic violence in a federal unit, the literature on third-party intervention in intrastate conflict and audience costs is important. While there is little to no literature on central governments as third-parties in internal conflicts in the comparative literature, there is a substantial amount of theory and evidence about the involvement of external states in the domestic conflicts of others in the international relations literature. Kathman (2010) finds that worry of a civil war spilling over into a neighboring state's territory is one reason external actors are likely to intervene, while Regan (2002) finds that the greater number of shared borders a state has, the less likely an intervention will occur. Aydin and Regan (2011) find that states that intervene

in support of one side or another or that compete for influence over combatants prolong civil war. Several scholars have pointed to the moral hazard that threatening intervention on behalf of a minority can cause (Carment and Rowlands 1998; Crawford 2001; Kuperman 2008) in increasing the violence against that minority and increasing the likelihood of conflict or prolonging it. Findley and Teo (2006) find that third-parties are more likely to intervene in an ethnic conflict than in civil wars without an ethnic component, however, they do not examine ethnic affinity. Carment and Rowlands (1998) and Carment, Patrick and Zeynep (2009) do specifically point to ethnic affinity as a motivating factor for third-party intervention.

One of the reasons that states are more likely to intervene on behalf of co-ethnic populations involved in violent conflict is that if they fail to do so, they will likely suffer audience costs from their constituents. As Fearon (1994) notes, “these costs arise from the action of domestic audiences concerned with whether their leadership is successful or unsuccessful at foreign policy” (577). In the case of the central government intervening in a violent conflict domestically, the issues at stake are not foreign policy related but rather domestic ethnic policy related. However, because the central government is not directly involved as a party to the conflict but rather the actors are the local majority and local minority, the government is in a position akin to a third-party.

However, such intervention may also be in the direct interests of the central government rather than something it would prefer to avoid. Findley and Teo (2006) also find that rivalry with a country experiencing civil war increases the likelihood that a state will intervene in a civil war on the side of the opposition (835-6).

Federalism theory frequently points to the central government and federal units as rivals, each attempting to gain more power by taking it from the other (Riker 1964; Bednar 2001), which may have implications for central government intervention in federal unit affairs including local conflict.

2.8 Conclusion

The review of the literature above provides a brief overview of the prior work and theory upon which this research builds and the gaps in the literature which it hopes to fill. It is in no way a comprehensive analysis of all of the relevant work on ethnicity, ethnic conflict and institutions but rather highlights some of the main contributions to date. My theory and empirical testing fill some important holes. Ethnic outbidding has mainly been conceptualized at the national level among within majority groups as a source of intergroup conflict. My theory updates some of the theorizing on ethnic outbidding and applies it to the subnational level in federal systems. Additionally, while much of the ethnic conflict literature has examined large scale national level violence such as civil war, my theory includes lower level local conflict as well. Finally, while previous research had shown a correlation between ethnic politics in federal systems and the likelihood of rebellion, I show that the relationship is not so simple and rather that the path to violence is contingent upon central government actions.

Chapter 3: Theory

I return to the puzzle and research questions presented in the introduction in Chapter 1: What explains the variation in ethnic conflict in federal systems? Why does local ethnic politics in federal units frequently lead to violence within the ethnic group rather than unifying the group toward achieving common goals? What effect does federalism have on violence between ethnic groups? Why do central governments intervene with force into local interethnic conflict rather than simply allowing the local government of the federal unit to resolve the issue? Why does federalism sometimes work in preventing violent conflict and secession in countries where ethnic politics is salient? This puzzle and research questions motivate the theory below and the answers generally focus on the level of intraethnic political competition among the local majority in a federal country.

The theory presented here examines the mechanisms of subnational ethnic outbidding by a minority group and their impact on both violent ethnic conflict and forceful intervention by the central state. This theory is novel in that prior theories of ethnic outbidding (Rabushka and Shepsle 1972; Horowitz 1985) primarily concern majority parties and groups at the national level and how outbidding at the national level may impact violent outcomes. In contrast, the theory developed here explains

how heightened *internal political competition within minority groups* facilitates ethnic outbidding by political parties of those groups at the subnational level in federal systems, leading to local ethnic conflict. This type of outbidding at the local level in federal systems is likely to be pursued by local majorities in competing for control of federal units. In their outbidding threats, the local majorities in federal states *target local minorities that may be members of the national majority group* in control of the state. The local minority being targeted through local majority outbidding may behave as if it had greater capacity to counter the local majority if it thinks that the central government will intervene upon its behalf, raising tensions and making interethnic violence more likely. The theory is also important in that rather than explaining mass national level violence such as civil war (Cederman et al. 2012, 2010, 2009; Cederman and Girardin 2007; Saideman 2007, 1996; Fearon and Laitin 2003), it includes much lower levels of violence which may or may not escalate into higher level conflict.

The theory also explains why the central state may intervene using force in small, local interethnic conflict in federal systems rather than let the local government resolve the conflict. The literature does not explain why central governments, that have devolved responsibility for many different sectors to allow local governments to handle problems more efficiently and to reserve central government resources for issues and problems of national importance, would intervene in local ethnic conflicts. However, I assert that the local minority being targeted in outbidding is likely to call upon the central government for protection, which the central government is particularly likely to provide if the local minority is co-ethnic with

the national majority.

Finally, the theory argues that the internal political competition does not by itself lead to an increased likelihood of ethnic group rebellion against the central government. This is not to say that violence is not likely but that the causation functions differently than previously theorized (Brancati 2009, 2006). It is not some heightened sense of ethnic or regional identity that causes the empowered local majority to secede using the resources of the federal unit, but rather the central government's response to the local interethnic conflict with the local minority group that conditions the local majority's use of violence. If interethnic violence results from ethnic outbidding by the local majority against the local minority, the local minority then invites the central government to intervene upon its behalf which is only then likely to lead the local majority to respond to the central government's use of force with force in-kind. However, it is not the level of intraethnic political competition that leads to rebellion.

The rest of this chapter describes the theory summarized above in greater detail. First, however, it considers the question of why we study ethnicity and conflict and how it is different as a political organizing principle than others such as class. One of the main reasons is that ethnic politics is largely patronage politics, and the chapter explains in detail why that is the case and what implications that has for group mobilization and the likelihood of violent conflict. It then focuses on the main theory of how intraethnic political competition leads to ethnic outbidding at the subnational level and how the mechanisms at the local level differ from those at the national level. This theory of subnational local majority ethnic outbidding

is previously under-theorized and fills the gap in the accumulated knowledge and research on ethnic politics and conflict. Two factors impacting how the mechanisms of local majority ethnic outbidding function are the type of political institution, whether unitary or federal, and group size, whether several equally matched groups or one large group dominates the federal unit. This first section concludes with the hypotheses asserting that as local intraethnic political competition increases so, too, does the likelihood of both intraethnic violence and interethnic violence in federal systems. The theory then turns to the central government response and asserts that once the local majority and minority have experienced ethnic conflict, the central government is likely to be drawn in on behalf of the local minority and will use force against the local majority. The last theoretical section addresses the local majority's likely behavior toward the state. Contrary to prior theorizing, the presence of intraethnic political competition alone does not lead the local majority to rebel against the central government, but rather the violent intervention against the local majority by the central government that increases the likelihood of anti-regime violence.

3.1 Why Ethnicity?

Why do we study ethnicity in political science at all? What impact does it have for outcomes of interest in the field such as political mobilization and collective action as opposed to other factors? While there are certainly other categories into which people place themselves and others, ethnicity has particularly strong and

remarkably consistent effects in terms of salience and mobilization when compared with other ways of categorizing groups of people. That is not to say that ethnicity is always and everywhere salient and relevant to political mobilization and action, but when it is, it operates in a way that is specific and largely different from other organizing principles such as class. This leads us to ask, then, how and why does ethnicity become salient and politically relevant?

Fearon states simply ethnicity “*is socially relevant* when people notice and condition their actions on ethnic distinctions in everyday life. Ethnicity is *politicized* when political coalitions are organized along ethnic lines, or when access to political or economic benefits depends on ethnicity” (2006, 2).¹ This statement does not strike the reader as wrong but does not seem to explain much. There is something rather tautological about it: ethnicity is socially relevant when it organizes social life and political when it organizes political life. Why does it come to organize social and political life? While the theory presented here applies only to ethnic groups which are socially relevant and politicized, a brief discussion of how these groups became this way is important for understanding why ethnicity and not some other organizing principle becomes salient and how ethnic social and political mobilization operates differently than other forms of group mobilization. Far too many theories of ethnic mobilization and conflict simply assume that ethnicity has certain effects without theorizing why. Understanding how and why ethnic groups become relevant and politicized is essential for theorizing how and why ethnic politics is patronage politics, ethnic outbidding is such an effective political strategy, and ethnic kin are

¹Italics original.

strategic allies.

Ethnicity is but one of many possible identities an individual may have and is not mutually exclusive from other identities. Chandra (2006) gives the example of a fictional character from Trinidad living in New York City who is simultaneously black, West Indian, female, Catholic, French-speaking and a Democrat, and each of these identities is activated in different situations given the context. But, how do these group categorizations form why do some become more salient than others? Social identity theory (Tajfel 1974; Tajfel and Turner 1979, 1982, 2004) asserts that people have an innate tendency to differentiate others into in-groups and out-groups. Additionally, people also have a tendency to self-enhance and will “emphasize norms and stereotypes that favor the in-group” (Hechtor and Okamoto 2001, 191). Group categories can have both positive and negative connotations within society as well as differ in the ability of group members to change categories. If a person is categorized as illiterate which is generally a negative category in most modern societies, he or she could overcome many obstacles, go to school and enter the category of educated people. However, if a person is below average height, there are very few reasonable options for exiting the category of short people. Ethnic group identity is one such group differentiation category that is often particularly difficult to change. Chandra (2006) asserts that ethnic identity is determined by perceived descent-based attributes some of which are “stickier” than others and some of which are more visible than others. These types of attributes are more difficult to change and easier around which to mobilize members for collective action than other identity determining attributes based on things like occupation.

Whether ethnic groups become politically mobilized is a separate question but builds upon the desire to self-enhance materially as well as socially. First, the state political structure must allow for participation of ethnic groups in the political system. This does not necessarily mean that the state condones mobilization on ethnic grounds but that there is some political space in which the ethnic group can act. In some countries this might mean allowing local and ethnic political parties to participate in the political system, such as in Bosnia and Herzegovina. However, even in states with bans of local or ethnic parties, ethnic groups are often able to coopt national political parties for their control at the local level, such as in Nigeria (Kendhammer 2010). This, however, is a low bar to meet, and opportunity defined so broadly does not necessarily lead to political mobilization.

Incentives must exist for the ethnic group to take collective political action, such as changing discriminatory policies against the ethnic group, promoting greater opportunity for prosperity for group members and/or access to greater resources and power. If the group and its elites think that any of these can be achieved through mobilizing politically, then the group will likely do so. If the ethnic group is already of sufficiently high political and socioeconomic status with no threat to that status, then ethnic political mobilization is unlikely, as there is little to be gained given the costs of mobilizing. However, if members of the ethnic group see political mobilization based on ethnic group membership as advantageous in accomplishing political or resource related goals, then mobilization will occur, all things being equal. Ethnicity is only a political organizing principle if there are no other more salient cross cutting cleavages (Chandra 2005). While this assertion

does not necessarily contradict Fearon's statement about politicization of ethnicity above, it sees ethnicity as an organizing principle for achieving political and economic goods, not a condition for receiving them.

3.2 Ethnic Politics: A Specific Form of Patronage Politics

This section discusses how ethnic politics is a specific form of patronage politics. Ethnic politics is clientelistic rather than programmatic, because it focuses on delivering benefits of office to a specific subset of individuals in return for their votes rather than to the public as a whole. However, ethnic politics has the extra feature of predetermining that subgroup of individuals, i.e. the particular ethnic group. Thus, ethnic political parties and their politicians favor co-ethnics in the distribution of goods and services with the expectation of receiving their votes.

Ethnic politics tend to be patronage politics. Kitschelt and Wilkinson (2007) assert, "ethnocultural mobilization induces a net increase in clientelistic patronage" (32-33). Programmatic parties target large groups and the general public with public goods, whereas clientelistic parties target individuals and small groups with private goods. Both can make use of club goods, but programmatic parties prefer tight restrictions on such outlays while clientelistic parties prefer the opposite. Ethnic political parties are competing for a finite share of the electorate, and, thus, it is only in their interest to provide goods to their supporters rather than to the general public. These goods can come in the form of direct payments or civil service jobs or in benefits such as new roads in districts that deliver the vote. However,

these payments are contingent upon the recipients voting for parties. Providing these benefits requires establishing a complex network of brokers not only to deliver benefits but also to monitor the delivery of the votes, which can take on many forms including coercive policing and voter intimidation.

There is also ample theory and evidence that this ethnic patronage politics then leads to preferential treatment of co-ethnics. Habyarimana et al. (2005) find in a series of experiments they conduct in Uganda that what appears as ethnic favoritism at the individual level may really be a the result of a set of reciprocity norms which facilitate cooperation among co-ethnics. They find that participants did not favor co-ethnics over non-co-ethnics in anonymous interactions, however, when anonymity was removed, they did. This finding has obvious implications for politics which is very public, and in which politicians know that their actions are observed by their supporters as well as non-supporters. Chandra (2007) explains the presence of co-ethnic favoritism in politics as a result of limited information. While voters in patronage-based systems desire direct benefits from politicians and political parties in return for their votes, the information about a candidate or party's previous delivery of private goods is for the most part private. Voters thus use ethnicity to evaluate who benefited during an incumbent's tenure, because of the relative high visibility of differentiating markers when compared to non-ethnic categories. Politicians and political parties know that voters use this strategy to evaluate candidates and will thus favor co-ethnics in the distribution of benefits.

Thus, while the salience of ethnic identity stems from the psychological need to self-enhance, once ethnic categories form and become salient, their utility in politics

becomes a matter of gaining benefits. When ethnicity becomes salient in the political system, politicians favor co-ethnics as a matter of political survival. Voters support co-ethnic candidates in anticipation of those candidates providing benefits to co-ethnic supporters. However, Chandra also asserts that the self-enhancing property is still at work, even in the political system in that group members “bask in the reflected glory” of a co-ethnic elected to office and the prestige that entails (2007, 33).

3.3 Part I: Intraethnic Political Competition and Ethnic Outbidding

Ethnic outbidding is a well theorized phenomenon, centering on the supposed incompatible preferences between ethnic groups (Rabushka and Shepsle 1972; Horowitz 1985). These accounts also only focus on majority or plurality group outbidding at the national level. In contrast, I argue that ethnic outbidding has little to do with the difference in preferences between groups but rather that it develops out of increased internal political competition within ethnic groups and is a strong feature of minority intragroup politics when those minorities control subnational units. Ethnic outbidding in local politics is more effective than at the national level, because the messages can be more closely aligned with specific local conditions which can make them resonate more strongly than messages distributed at the national level.

Political competition can be understood on a few different dimensions. Most models of political competition are difficult to apply to patronage systems, because

they assume that parties are programmatic (Strom 1990; Downs 1957). However, one dimension that does apply is intensity of an electoral campaign. This conceptualization is useful particularly in thinking about how much information and saturation voters are getting with regard to political information. Another related element of electoral competition increasingly addressed in the American politics literature is the tone of a campaign (Krupnikov 2011; David 2007), whether positive, neutral or negative, with more negative information from candidates in a campaign correlating with more competitive political campaigns. While these conceptualizations are extremely useful in understanding the degree of competition during elections, they do not say much about inter-election periods during which political competition is still operating. A more consistent way to theorize the amount or degree of political competition as discussed here is in terms of the number of factions competing for political space. The actors may be powerful parties that hold office and control the government but may also be parties that are small and newly formed. Even small political parties require a substantial amount of political support to form and newer parties may have fewer material resources but have more motivated supporters, keen to see their candidates gain access to the political system and reap the spoils that entails.

Ethnic politics is primarily patronage politics which relies on the distribution of benefits to supporters. When competition for political support within the group is low, access to resources to distribute, especially for incumbents, is easily obtained and again minor defections of supporters can be tolerated without jeopardizing maintaining office. Additionally, Corstange (forthcoming) asserts that when

there is only one politically viable patron, these payoffs to supporters can actually be quite meager, since the range of choices for constituents is so constrained. Potential supporters have fewer options for defecting in low competition circumstances. However, as political competition for co-ethnic supporters increases, resources may also be scarcer to come by to distribute or to promise to distribute, especially for non-incumbents, while maintaining each existing supporter and gaining additional ones becomes more important. As the increased competition makes the usual patronage strategy of promising and delivering benefits to supporters more difficult given the finite amount of resources and high demand for them, parties must find additional resources and/or alternate strategies to gain and maintain supporters, particularly non-incumbent parties that do not have access to the resources holding office provides during a campaign. As Corstange (forthcoming) points out, voters will expect more for their votes when they have more choices available to them. While parties may make specific promises of increased benefits to their supporters over their rivals, their credibility in being able to deliver will be questionable in comparison to established patrons. Potential supporters know that there is a finite amount of resources available, and, thus, extreme over-promising of benefits will also lack credibility.

Ethnic parties representing the same group share ethnic identity and are not likely to be successful running on a platform of being ‘more ethnic’ than the next party in the way that programmatic parties can be more conservative or more liberal. When all of the parties competing for votes from an ethnic group are co-ethnic, ethnicity is effectively controlled for and parties must find other ways in which to dis-

tinguish themselves to voters. Forming coalitions with smaller minority groups and courting their support is another possible strategy. For instance, Albanian parties competing for votes from within the ethnically-Albanian population in Macedonia could court the Roma population for additional votes and support. However, such a strategy could risk alienating core co-ethnic supporters. Ethnic parties courting members of other groups will also experience a credibility deficit in making promises of delivery of benefits in return for votes to members of other ethnic groups once in office (Chandra 2007). Non-co-ethnics (eg. Roma vis a vis Albanian parties in Macedonia) have no way to hold parties and politicians accountable for delivering promised benefits once they are in office and have the advantage of incumbency for the next election.

As competition for political power among factions within the local majority ethnic group increases, another strategy for keeping votes is to increase the coerciveness of the monitoring to where it becomes intimidation, policing and enforcing. When political competition within the group for access to power is low, candidates can put in place monitoring systems, but the need to use them is less intense. If some supporters defect, there is no great impact on the survival of the party and its candidates. However, when competition increases, so too does the need to make sure that those receiving the scarce private benefits deliver their support which may incorporate violence (Travaglianti n.d.). Since in patronage politics voters do not generally use political platforms to determine their candidate choices but rather who can provide them the greatest direct benefits, political factions within the ethnic group may also attack their rivals to decrease rivals' resources available for distribution as well

as to make rivals appear weak and unable to protect their resources to deliver to supporters in the future. Attacking political rivals also acts as a form of supporter intimidation in signaling what might come to those who support a particular faction.

Under such conditions, yet another strategy that is inexpensive to employ and often very effective in mobilizing supporters is ethnic outbidding against a minority group. Rabushka and Shepsle (1972) assert simply that when societies are plural and ethnicity is salient, ethnic parties will pursue extreme strategies of outbidding to the detriment of democracy. However, they unnecessarily assume that ethnic groups are somehow more risk acceptant than other groups (Birnir 2004; Chandra 2005) and that different ethnic groups have different and incompatible preferences. Horowitz (1985) also asserts that ethnic political parties will emphasize the ethnic cleavages and incompatible interests which will lead to tension and conflict. Both Rabushka and Shepsle and Horowitz theorize the impact of ethnic outbidding at the national level and overlook the possibility that it can operate at the subnational level given incentives for local competition such as the existence of subnational federal units discussed in detail below. They assume that ethnic groups and parties will be competing for access to power and resources at the national level and that political parties of the national majority or plurality group will engage in ethnic outbidding toward minority ethnic groups in the country. However, there is no reason to believe that ethnic outbidding is exclusive to the domain of national level politics. Ethnic outbidding by groups that form a national minority but a local majority also occurs quite often and is the focus of this dissertation project.

Also implicit in assumptions about ethnic outbidding but over looked in its

application in the theory is that outbidding has very little to do with differences in goals between groups but rather is a strategy employed among co-ethnic parties in competition for access to political office. Coakley notes that ethnic outbidding is a “process of intra-bloc competition in which [each party] . . . claims to be the most effective defender of bloc interests” (2008, 769). An important point about ethnic politics that is often over looked in theories of ethnic conflict is that political competition in political systems in which ethnicity is highly salient is not between rival ethnic groups but within them. The Serb nationalist parties and Bosniak nationalist parties in the cantons of Bosnia and Herzegovina are not competing with each other for votes. No Bosniaks are intentionally voting for the Serb nationalists, and no Serbs are intentionally voting for the Bosniak nationalists, barring some extremely unusual circumstances. Rather, the Serb nationalist parties are competing for Serb votes and Bosniak parties for Bosniak votes. In fact, one could envision a system in which parties from different ethnic groups surreptitiously cooperated given that neither is competing for the same supporters. The way ethnic outbidding works in practice, ethnic political parties attempt to outdo their rivals in terms of their extreme views on threats to group security, status or ethnocultural purity. Ethnic political parties, particularly challenger parties that do not have access to government resources when seeking political support in an election, are likely to pursue strategies of ethnic outbidding.

When intraethnic political competition is low, ethnic outbidding may find some traction but strong ethnic incumbent parties with well-functioning patronage networks and resources are unlikely to deviate from their successful strategy. How-

ever, as intraethnic political competition increases, even incumbent parties cannot cede voters to rivals on security or existential issues and will be compelled to join the fray. Parties will paint a minority ethnic group as threatening the physical security or the cultural purity of the ethnic group and will claim that other parties are incapable of addressing the threat. Other co-ethnic parties will have to address the accusations of being soft on defending the group, which reinforces validity of the claim of a threat. They are unlikely to counter by saying that a threat does not exist but rather to defend their record on security. Since they are competing for support within their own group, coming to the defense of another group falsely accused of posing a threat will have little political payoff and may cost some support. If a party does deny the threat, outbidding from other parties will continue as they accuse the threat-denying party of being oblivious to the threat.

While previous theories of outbidding focused on national level politics, the theory presented here is a theory of ethnic outbidding at the subnational level. Local politics functions differently from national level politics. At the national level, politicians and ethnic parties are fairly removed from the average supporter. They deliver goods of general benefit to ethnic constituents and must rely on a system of brokers to deliver private goods and to monitor compliance, which is subject to its own principle-agent problems. Agents are susceptible to graft of the benefits which they are to distribute and must themselves be held accountable. In local ethnic politics, elites and the parties are much closer to their supporters and are able to deliver benefits more directly and also keep closer direct tabs on compliance. When engaged in ethnic outbidding, local parties can also tailor the specific accusations

of threats to the co-ethnic local population. They also more tightly control the message at the local level and alter it as necessary and beneficial. At the national level, ethnic outbidding rhetoric will necessarily be more general and may not have equal and universal resonance for co-ethnics distributed nation-wide. Thus, ethnic political parties at the local level have an advantage in using ethnic outbidding as a strategy of political competition. For local co-ethnic political parties competing for the same voters under conditions of high political competition ethnic outbidding is an attractive strategy.

Table 3.1: Constituent Development Strategies for Ethnic Political Parties

Strategy	Impact	Outcome
Traditional patronage	very successful/main strategy	no violence
Promise more benefits	mixed results/not credible	no violence
More ‘ethnic’	not successful	no violence
Coalition	risky; may lose core supporters	no violence
Policing supporters	expensive but successful	intraethnic violence
Attacking rivals	risky; contingently successful	intraethnic violence
Ethnic outbidding	inexpensive and successful	interethnic violence

Table 3.1 summarizes the strategy options for ethnic political parties competing for supporters. The three options at the bottom which potentially have violent outcomes are the concern of the current research. How they function will depend on the locus of political power and group size each of which is discussed below.

3.3.1 Government Structure: Unitary or Federal

Central to the theory presented here is the differentiation between politics at the national level and local level. Generally speaking, unitary systems fix the locus of power at the central government level and, thus, political competition is focused

there. However, this means that small ethnic groups are likely to be politically marginalized as their ethnic parties and candidates lack nation-wide appeal. Federal systems, however, devolve power to the local level, and, therefore, groups which form a minority nationally, may form a majority in a federal unit and control the resources such control entails. While ethnic outbidding can and does occur in unitary and federal systems, the locus of power determines whether it is focused at the national or subnational level.

The effect of intraethnic political competition and the possible ethnic outbidding flowing from it depends in large part on where political power is located. If the system is a unitary one, then competition for political power will be centralized. However, if the system is federal, the competition for political power will be decentralized to the local level as well.

In unitary systems, local politicians are more beholden to the central government, and execute central government policy. While the practical administrative institutions associated with unitary systems vary greatly, it is not uncommon for local governors or prefects to be appointed by the central government or otherwise in some way require central government approval (Stepan 2004). While local executives may have some discretion in distributing benefits to co-ethnic supporters, they will likely rely on the central government and a national party for support. In unitary states, political, administrative and fiscal power is concentrated in the center (Elazar 1997), and thus, political competition for power is concentrated at the central government level. Gaining control of the central government or seats in the national legislature is where political parties ultimately focus their attention.

Ethnic outbidding in unitary systems will occur within groups that compete for political power at the national level, because the central government is the locus of power. Local politics has little reward in terms of power and resources at stake and thus warrants little attention at the group level. If the political system is tightly controlled centrally, whether or not there is a local majority able to elect co-ethnics to local political office might not be all that important in determining who receives the benefits. Members of the national minority political elite may see value in joining national parties, rising through the ranks and gaining national office, but outbidding will not be a useful political strategy. Minority groups in unitary countries may have more impact on achieving group goals by forming civil society organizations that press for group goals than trying to form political parties to compete at the national level.

In federal systems, substantial power is devolved to federal units, focusing political competition on access to political power at the subnational level as well. This does not mean that competition for political power at the center disappears, rather just that the center is not the exclusive focus. Federal systems vary widely in terms of how much power is devolved to the federal units, but in some extreme cases, the federal units do have more power than the central government and are more lucrative to control. In many federal systems, giving more control to local majority groups which differ from the national majority is the explicit intent of the system chosen. Whether the federal system was created as a condition of a territory opting into a country from the start or a condition of a territory remaining within the country long after its formation, the explicit goal of many federal countries is to

give local majorities the power to govern themselves.

Under federalism, power is decentralized or even ‘noncentralized’ (Elazar 1997), and control of local governments is lucrative and desirable from the perspective of the politicians and political parties as well as constituents. Federal systems generally have constitutions which guarantee devolution of specific powers to the federal unit (Elazar 1987) and bring government closer to the people in terms of policy-making and resource distribution through the proliferation of subnational governments (Lijphart 1977, 1996; Stepan 1999; Horowitz 1991; Duchacek 1970). Local executives in federal systems have far more discretion than in unitary systems (Elazar 1997). Again, while administrative institutions vary greatly, local executives and legislators are generally directly elected by any number of methods but without explicit involvement of the central government (Watts 1999).

In federal systems, ethnic outbidding can occur at both the national level and the local level, because both are a focus of political power and thus competition. Some powers will remain vested in the central government and make control of it by a particular ethnic group desirable, but controlling federal units will also be advantageous and potentially more attainable for small groups concentrated in a federal unit. Outbidding at the local level in federal systems is open to national minorities that have control of a federal unit.

3.3.2 Group Size

In addition to the locus of political power, group size also impacts how ethnic politics functions and how ethnic outbidding functions. If there is one dominant group in a country in a unitary system, ethnic outbidding against a minority is likely if political competition within the group is high, but it might be less likely to result in conflict as the minority group may be drastically outnumbered and attempt to avoid confrontation. However, if there is one dominant minority group in a federal unit, if internal political competition is high leading parties to pursue ethnic outbidding, the local minority group targeted may be bolder in countering the threat. The local minority may feel it has a better chance at taking on the local majority which is a national minority and does not control the central government. The local minority might also behave as if it has greater capacity than it actually does if it believes that the central government will intervene on its behalf if conflict breaks out.

When one ethnic group is dominant politically, other ethnic groups experience the favoritism of that group's parties toward co-ethnics as discrimination, although it is not necessarily actively pursued against them. At the country level, this generally means that the majority or plurality population receives a greater share of benefits than minority groups, which increases resentment toward the majority group by members of the minority groups but not necessarily collective action to address the inequality. However, at the local level, the politically dominant group may not be the country-level majority ethnic group but rather one of those disadvantaged

minority groups which forms a local majority or plurality.

In a unitary system, if there are two or three large ethnic groups, they will mobilize politically to achieve political control of the state and when not in control of the state, they will have substantial representation in the legislative branch. It is difficult to generalize given the variation in electoral systems and the divergent incentives different institutional structures create for the number of parties in a country, however, if not constrained by the system, it is conceivable that there would be multiple factions within each ethnic group with varied political aspirations creating internal political competition. However, political competition will remain targeted at gaining power at the center.

If there is one large majority ethnic group and one or more smaller ethnic groups in a unitary system, the smaller groups will likely be relatively internally unified in their expression of political goals, given that division will only weaken any impact they are able to have. Depending on the system, they may opt for forming civil society organizations which press for group goals from outside the political system and are, thus, not subject to the constraints of vote minimums of the electoral system. They may form coalitions with other groups or even with one faction of the majority in order to gain some amount of access to power at the center, although their ability to hold stronger partners accountable for delivering even modest benefits to co-ethnic minority group members is weak. The dominant ethnic group may have multiple factions competing for supporters within the group, but again the focus of competition will be for access to power at the central state level. Factions within the national majority ethnic group competing for political

power in a unitary system at the national level may pursue ethnic outbidding against smaller national minority groups.

Theorizing the impact of the size of group on the likelihood of outbidding at the national level in federal systems is a bit tricky. The reason that this is more difficult is that both levels of government are important for political competition, and what happens at the subnational level has a greater impact on politics at the national level than under unitary systems. It also might depend on the electoral system in general and whether the system is parliamentary or presidential. If a central government can be constituted by the national majority without the support of local majority populations then outbidding toward those local majority populations may occur at the national level. If, however, at least minimal support from the local majority in particular federal units is required to gain control of the central government, they are not likely to be the target of outbidding. Rather another diffuse group that does not have control of a federal unit and may not be geographically concentrated may become the target of ethnic outbidding by the national level ethnic majority, such as the Roma population throughout much of Central and Eastern Europe. If there are two or three main ethnic groups in a federal country vying for control of the central government, these same factors of how and what kind of support they need to control the national government will determine whether increased internal political competition is likely to lead political parties to pursue ethnic outbidding as strategy.

The impact of group size at the local level in federal systems and the likelihood of outbidding strategies is much clearer and is the primary focus of the theory

presented here. If there are two or three comparably sized groups, they will compete for control of the federal unit and when one is in control, others will still have seats in the legislature and other parts of government. There may well also be multiple political factions competing within each ethnic group for political support, however, elites will likely also be conscious of splitting the vote among political factions within an ethnic group and risking the group not gaining access to political office and its resources at all (Horowitz 1985, 353). If internal political competition is high, they may use ethnic outbidding to distinguish themselves among constituents. If there is one dominant ethnic group in a federal unit and intraethnic political competition is high, ethnic outbidding against a local minority is a particularly attractive option. Since the group is a substantial majority, members need not worry about splitting the vote and losing access to political power for the group. Group members are all but guaranteed control of the federal unit due to the group's size. If political competition is high, targeting a local minority group through a narrative tailored to local conditions is easy and cheap.

Figure 3.1 lays out the main points of the theory and conditions outlined above. Each element is conditional on the next in order to lay out the predictions for the national and local level in federal and unitary systems with one dominant group or many under high and low internal political competition.

Figure 3.1: Chart of Predictions of Political Behavior

National Level

		National Level	
		Unitary	Federal
		1 Dominant Group	2-3 Large Groups
Internal Political Competition	Low	Intraethnic effects→	Little to no monitoring
		Interethnic effects→	No outbidding
	High	Intraethnic effects→	Brokered policing of constituents; attacking rivals
		Interethnic effects→	National majority outbidding against national minority

Subnational/Local Level

		Subnational/Local Level	
		Federal	Unitary
		1 Dominant Group	2-3 Large
Internal Political Competition	Low	Intraethnic effects→	Moderate direct monitoring
		Interethnic effects→	No outbidding
	High	Intraethnic effects→	Policing constituents; Attacking rivals
		Interethnic effects→	Local pluralities outbidding against local minority (not large group)

Previously theorized

New theory presented here

3.3.3 Why does local ethnic politics in federal units frequently lead to violence within the ethnic group rather than unifying the group toward achieving common goals?

From the theory discussed thus far, one is able to make predictions about how intraethnic political competition can lead to violent conflict at the subnational level in federal systems. Patronage politics relies on dense social networks for the delivery of benefits to constituents and to monitor delivery of votes. When intraethnic

political competition is low, monitoring will be less intense and policing unnecessary. However, as intraethnic political competition increases, policing will intensify increasing the likelihood of intraethnic violence. Local ethnic political parties will have closer tabs on their constituents and will be better able to police and monitor them than their national level counterparts. Additionally, attacks by parties on co-ethnic rivals are likely to occur to make co-ethnic rivals look weak and reduce their distributable resources.

If there is one large majority ethnic group in the federal unit, there is likely enough political space for multiple factions to compete for political support from among group members and still maintain political control of the federal unit. In a federal unit, groups that are too small to impact national politics and would be politically marginalized in a unitary system, may obtain access to substantial power and resources, and political competition within the group is a significant possibility. A group that may not have had much incentive to mobilize politically in a firmly unitary system may be highly mobilized in a federal one. The local majority ethnic group elites and their supporters will compete for control of the federal unit and access to the spoils of office from among the finite set of ethnic group members in the federal unit.

As discussed above, ethnic politics is by and large patronage politics and political factions will establish dense social networks for monitoring vote delivery by supporters and to distribute private goods in return. In federal units, the monitoring of constituents is more direct, and when under conditions of increased intraethnic political competition, can be more coercive in its application. Political parties in-

crease intimidation of those who may be flirting with supporting a co-ethnic rival party prior to an election or during an interelection period, or may punish known defectors through violence in a post-election period. Parties may also target rival parties directly by assassinating leaders or prominent members, attacking party headquarters or rallies. Such attacks decrease the amount of resources a party has to distribute to supporters through direct destruction and theft as well as by making the party increase its security which requires the diversion of resources. Additionally, making a rival look weak on security and unable to protect itself is also a strategy likely to benefit parties engaged in ethnic outbidding.

This logic leads to the first hypothesis:

H1: As intraethnic political competition within the local majority increases in the federal unit, the likelihood of violent intraethnic conflict also increases.

In unitary systems, political mechanisms functioning within local majorities are likely to look very different. This is not to say that intraethnic violence is not likely in unitary systems under conditions of high intraethnic political competition among the national majority, but rather the mechanisms at work would function are not the same. Since local majorities have less access to direct power as power is concentrated in the center and they are numerically weak, even if political mobilization of the group does occur, intraethnic political competition is unlikely to be significant, because the benefits to be gained are not as significant. Additionally, at the national level, it is unlikely that ethnic politics among the national majority

in unitary states would function in the same way it does among the local majority in federal units nor lead to similar outcomes. When there is substantial political competition within the national majority in unitary states we are not likely to see the same intraethnic conflict outcomes. First the scope of national level political campaigns makes monitoring and policing of supporters much more onerous and much more expensive to implement. Group members may not be geographically concentrated, contributing to this difficulty. Additionally, in unitary systems, the state has exclusive control over the legitimate means of force. While the leaders of a faction of an ethnic group in control of the government may use the national police and military to police supporters' continued loyalty, it is then the state that is using force, not the ethnic group per se. Other competing factions do not have access to organized, legitimate force and would likely be stopped by this legitimate force if they themselves engaged in violence.

3.3.4 What effect does federalism have on violence between ethnic groups??

While the level of intraethnic political competition impacts the likelihood of violence within the group in federal units, it also impacts the relationship between groups. If the intraethnic political competition within the local majority in a federal system increases, its co-ethnic political parties are likely to engage in ethnic outbidding toward a local minority group, increasing the likelihood of violent interethnic conflict. Additionally, the local minority may be more emboldened to respond to

the threat of outbidding, because the threat stems from the local majority which is a minority nationally. The group will also behave as if it had greater capacity to counter the threat if it believes that the central government will intervene upon its behalf, which may be particularly likely if the local minority is co-ethnic with the national majority.

As described above, intraethnic political competition leading to ethnic outbidding can and does occur in both unitary and federal systems but again with different results. In unitary systems with a large dominant national ethnic majority, parties of the majority group may ethnically outbid against a minority group which may cause an increase in tensions between the groups but the minority will be at a disadvantage given the majority's control of the central state. The minority targeted in the outbidding will likely take measures to avoid conflict. If the national level ethnic groups are more evenly matched demographically, outbidding by ethnic parties toward the other large ethnic group may cause a rise in tension but may not be viewed by the other groups as genuinely threatening given their parity in size. Ultimately, the outcome of ethnic outbidding by political parties in a unitary system is rather indeterminate and dependent on other factors such as group capacity and external international supporters of either minority or majority groups.

However, in federal systems, there is more theoretical clarity in terms of likely outcomes given the explanatory variables being considered here. When there is a local majority group in control of a federal unit and ethnic parties pursue outbidding against a local minority population, the minority being targeted will feel threatened but may also feel that it has a better chance standing against the local majority.

The local minority may assess that because the local majority is still a minority nationally and not in control of the state security forces that it has a better chance of countering the perceived threat from the local majority and may react confrontationally. Part of this greater confidence in countering the ethnic outbidding by the local majority is also because the local minority can call on the central state for assistance, particularly if it is co-ethnic with the national majority and central government elites. If members of the local minority think that the central government will intervene on the group's behalf if conflict occurs, they may behave as if the group had greater capacity to counter the local majority bellicosity than it would purely on its own. This moral hazard allows for the escalation of tensions between ethnic groups in the federal unit and increases the likelihood of violent interethnic conflict. Additionally, if violent conflict does occur, it directly serves the interests of the outbidding parties, demonstrating the threat they have exploited and in many cases created. The above logic leads to the following hypothesis:

H2: As intraethnic political competition within the local majority increases in the federal unit, the likelihood of violent interethnic conflict also increases.

3.4 Part II: Why do central governments intervene with force into local interethnic conflict rather than simply allowing the local government of the federal unit to resolve the issue?

Increases in intraethnic political competition in a federal unit which lead to ethnic outbidding and interethnic conflict, also increase the likelihood of the central government using force against the local majority. While it is not obvious that it is in the central government's interest to intervene with force given the costs in blood and treasure, if the local minority is co-ethnic with the national majority, the constituents of the governing party may pressure for intervention. Additionally, the central government may use the interethnic conflict for political cover to regain some of the power it has devolved.

Once heightened levels of intraethnic political competition lead to violent interethnic conflict between the local majority and local minority through ethnic outbidding in a federal unit, the central government must decide whether or not to intervene using force against the local majority on behalf of the local minority. While superficially it may seem obvious that the central government should intervene on purely law and order grounds, this is not always the case in federal systems which have power devolved. One of the advantages of devolving power to the federal units is that the central government delegates resolution of all manner of problems and conflicts to the local level and washes its hands of intractable issues such as local ethnic conflict. As long as the conflict is local and not in danger of spreading

to the rest of the country, it is not obvious that the central government should expend valuable resources to use force to stop violence. Intervention may also raise the ire of the local majority group in control of the federal unit as an unwarranted intervention into matters under the federal unit's purview.

However, the central government must consider a number of factors including constituent audience costs. If the local minority group being targeted is co-ethnic with the national majority and central government elites, failing to intervene may cause the governing party to lose political support. Voters may punish the governing party for not coming to the aid of their co-ethnics out of mere ethnic affinity or out of fear that if they were at similar risk, the government might also abandon them.

There is scant literature on such intervention at the subnational level. To date, intervention has been seen as only existing conceptually at the international level, with a state intervening in a conflict between two other states or in another state's domestic conflict such as the U.S. involvement in Bosnia and Herzegovina or Kosovo. These theories can also apply to the central government as a potential third party intervenor in local ethnic conflict in federal units. While the legitimacy of such an intervention is not much of an issue in such situations, the motivation can be analogous. If the local minority being targeted through ethnic outbidding by the local majority is co-ethnic with the national majority, then the constituents of the central government may pressure for its intervention. This is not to say that there is some sort of innate desire to protect co-ethnics but rather political considerations that increase incentives to intervene on behalf of co-ethnics, both in domestic conflicts in other countries and internally in the affairs of federal units.

Others such as Walter (2006) point out the importance of reputation costs for central governments in their decision about whether or not to take action against domestic actors in conflict. While her focus is slightly different than that of this work, her general point is that governments consider how other possibly conflictual groups will incorporate the actions of the government into their decisions to pursue violence. This argument is consistent with the audience costs argument in that the government will act consistently with supporters interests. If supporters think that the government needs to act using force to signal to other groups not to attack their co-ethnic local minorities, it will do so.

Federalism theory, too, provides insight into why the central government may intervene with force against a local majority on behalf of a local minority in an interethnic conflict. Riker (1964) asserts that both the central government and the federal unit in a federal system have the tendency to attempt to usurp power from the other. Additionally, Bednar (2005) states that federal systems are inherently susceptible to opportunism by the member governments because of the office-seeking nature of political actors within the member governments who pursue policies and spending that are beneficial to their constituents. Brancati (2009) also acknowledges the tendency of central governments to infringe on the authority of subnational units in democracies and non-democracies alike. The central government may simply use the interethnic conflict in a federal unit as an excuse to intervene using force and thus claw back some devolved power. Stopping violent interethnic conflict provides acceptable political cover for the power grab.

The above theorizing leads to the third hypothesis proposed here:

H3: When violent interethnic conflict between the local majority and local minority occurs in a federal unit, the central government is likely to intervene using force.

Importantly, violent intraethnic political conflict does not provide the same political cover and is unlikely to increase the likelihood if central government intervention. Central governments in federal systems do not intervene to stop violent intraethnic conflict. Supporters of the central government are unlikely to want the state to spend valuable resources resolving a conflict among the members of a local majority group. Violent intraethnic conflict would likely weaken the local majority's political power and the strength of the federal unit generally, serving the central government's interests.

3.5 Part III: Why does federalism sometimes work in preventing violent conflict with the central government and secession in countries where ethnic politics is salient?

Finally, I consider the other side of the coin: how intraethnic political competition impacts the ethnic group's actions toward the central government. This is a particularly important set of mechanisms and outcomes to consider, because so many assumptions about this relationship have been made without much empirical testing. While others have argued otherwise, increased intraethnic political competition in federal systems does not lead to an increased likelihood of rebellion against the central government. Violence that the local majority commits toward

the central government is likely a result of the central government intervening upon the local minority's behalf in a local violent interethnic conflict.

Conventional wisdom suggests that combining ethnic political parties and a federal political system is more likely to lead to ethnic group secession. Brancati (2009, 2006) claims that regional parties in decentralized systems increase the likelihood of secession in the form of anti-regime rebellion, because they reinforce regional and ethnic identities. However, she overlooks the nature and interests of ethnic and regional parties and their largely patronage structure. Brancati asserts that reinforcing ethnic and regional identities mobilizes “groups to engage in . . . secessionism or [to support] terrorist organizations that participate in these activities” (2006, 656). The theory presented here argues that the effect of regional and ethnic parties in federal systems functions much differently. Federalism shifts power to the local level and makes political control of subnational units desirable, shifting much political competition from the center to the subnational level. When an ethnic group is a local majority in a federal unit, it will likely have political control of the federal unit. Political competition will be intraethnic, which may lead to interethnic conflict with the local minority and to intervention by the central government but does not lead to rebellion against the state, *ceteris paribus*. However, this does not mean that there is no violence between the central government and the local majority, but rather that the functioning of the mechanisms is different than previously theorized. To summarize the theory above, local majority groups in federal units under conditions of increased intraethnic political competition pursue ethnic outbidding against local minority groups, leading to an increased probability of violent interethnic conflict.

The central government is then more likely to intervene using force. If the central government indeed uses force, then the local majority will then respond with force in-kind but does not initiate the conflict in lieu of central government intervention.

Once an ethnic group has control of a federal unit, there is no reason to believe that greater intraethnic political competition will lead to rebellion against the central government. While ethnic parties may outbid over issues of independence, accusing their rival co-ethnic parties of not being committed enough to group goals, engaging in violent conflict against the central government is simply not a strategically beneficial action for ethnic political parties to support. Political parties outbidding over issues of secession against the central government does not have the same effect as outbidding targeting local minority groups. The power and capacity relationships are reversed. The central government is not threatened in the same way by political parties competing to take the hardest line. Independence movements are not caused by heightened intraethnic political competition in federal units but harnessed by parties engaged in it. While baiting the central government into responding to an attack with disproportionate or indiscriminate violence as some of the terrorism literature suggests is possible (Bueno de Mesquita 2005), this is a strategy of already mobilized secessionists and not a product of intraethnic political competition in the federal unit.

Political parties and politicians have relatively short time horizons, and in a patronage system must continually focus on providing benefits to supporters to maintain electoral viability. Engaging in active anti-regime rebellion against the central government detracts from resources available for distribution and likely neg-

atively impacts all group members in the federal unit as the central government is likely to respond with force in-kind. In an atmosphere of heightened intraethnic political competition, maintaining supporters becomes even more important, making distribution of scarce resources to keep supporters essential. Even challengers who might engage in outbidding would not benefit from taking on the central government through violent action and would likely have even lower capacity than incumbents to do so.

This theorizing leads to the fourth hypothesis:

H4: Increasing intraethnic political competition within a group in a federal unit does not increase the likelihood of the group rebelling against the state.

3.6 Conclusion

The above theorizing explains how the level of political competition within a local majority group in a federal country impacts the likelihood of it engaging in violent conflict internally, with other ethnic groups and with the central government. The political incentives created by federal systems make it possible for groups that are ethnic minorities nationally and that would likely be politically marginalized in a unitary system to gain access to a significant amount of political, administrative and fiscal power. However, the mechanisms of political competition that exist at the subnational level in a federal unit function somewhat differently than they do at the national level. This is important because nearly all of the previous research

has looked at national level factors and has failed to examine internal subnational ethnic politics as a source of conflict. Ethnic political parties at the local level are better able both to monitor and to police constituent support when necessary and to target ethnic outbidding narratives to local conditions, both of which are more likely to occur when intraethnic political competition increases. The effects of ethnic outbidding are different at the local level, too. Local minorities targeted in outbidding by local majorities can be bolder in countering the threat, since the local majority does not have direct access to the national level security apparatus and may in fact call on the central state and that security force for its own protection. When outbidding occurs in competition for power at the national level in the central government, minorities being targeted do not have the same recourse, especially when the national majority parties engaged in the outbidding control the central government.

While federalism in principle would seem to disincentivize the central government intervening in local ethnic conflict, having delegated the responsibility for resolving various problems to the local level, there are a few reasons it might intervene. If the local minority group being targeted is co-ethnic with the central government elites and/or the national majority, public pressure may force the central government to take action to protect co-ethnics or to suffer audience costs. The central government might also be interested in clawing back power from the federal unit and may use the interethnic violence as political cover. Finally, while intervention by the central government may cause the local majority to react with violence against the central government, barring such intervention, intraethnic political com-

petition does not increase the likelihood of anti-regime rebellion. The next chapter describes the quantitative methodology for testing the hypotheses using original data on ethnic political parties in federal countries.

Chapter 4: Methodology

To briefly summarize the theory and main hypotheses being tested, I am examining the causal role of subnational intraethnic political competition on various forms of violent conflict. Increases in intraethnic political competition within the local majority in federal units is likely to lead co-ethnic political parties competing for votes to increase their policing of supporters and to engage in physical attacks on co-ethnic rivals. An increase in intraethnic political competition within the local majority in a federal unit is also likely to lead to ethnic outbidding by co-ethnic political parties against a local minority. This outbidding increases tensions and the likelihood of interethnic conflict, especially if the local minority reacts as if it had more capacity to counter the local majority because it thinks the central government will intervene on its behalf. If interethnic conflict occurs, the central government is likely to intervene using force against the local majority, especially if the local minority is co-ethnic with the national majority. Finally, an increased level of intraethnic political competition in a federal unit is not likely to lead the local majority to rebel against the state, however, if the central government does intervene using force, then the local majority will also engage in violence against the central government.

To test the theory, I use a mixed methods approach. For the quantitative portion, I employ statistical analysis of a large-N, cross-national dataset which is a combination of data from an existing dataset as well as original data that I have collected and is described in detail in this chapter below. Quantitative analysis is extremely powerful in objectively and succinctly assessing whether causal relationships systematically exist across a range of cases as well as if and how other variables impact these relationships. It can also help assess the magnitude of causal relationships while controlling for other phenomena. While there are several important caveats and adjustments of which one must be aware, which are also addressed below, statistical analysis can help us to aggregate thousands of individual observations into a handful of big picture analyses. However, in the aggregation process, the fine grained detail about how the causal mechanisms work is lost. I, therefore, also conduct a qualitative analysis of three ethnic groups from Indonesia which vary in their values for the dependent and explanatory variables over the same period of time. Comparing groups from the same country does not eliminate the problem that unobserved and unmeasured variables might be playing a causal role, but it does allow for controlling many country-level variables, such as electoral system, national history, and governance system among other things. Details of the data and quantitative analysis are described below in this chapter. The qualitative case studies and analysis follow in chapters 6 and 7.

The bulk of this chapter describes the new Ethnic Groups in Federal Countries (EGFC) sample created as part of this dissertation project and the original data collected on intraethnic political competition. Because these data have never been

available before to test theories about local intraethnic political competition and violence, I describe in detail what groups and countries were included and how that decision was made. Because there are some problems with selection bias in the original MAR data, I describe how I weighted the data. I also explain how I operationalized intraethnic political competition and how I coded the variable measuring it, and, then, I describe in detail the dependent variables and control variables. Because these are time-series cross-sectional data, any results without correction are likely to suffer from serial autocorrelation which if not modeled would inflate the findings. I describe the different methods in favor at present and explain the method I chose to model the time dependence. Finally, the chapter ends with a discussion of the statical model chosen to test the hypotheses.

4.1 Quantitative Methodology

Because the theory and hypotheses regard the behavior of ethnic groups within countries and their central governments' responses, the unit of analysis is an ethnic group in a federal country in a given year. Additionally, since the theory only applies to groups in non-unitary or federal states, the universe of cases is all ethnic groups in non-unitary countries over time. As discussed at greater length in chapter 2, federalism is best viewed as a continuum rather than a strictly defined category, and scholars often disagree about the categorization of individual cases. Therefore, I rely on two different measures to define inclusion of countries. First, I draw on Watts' classification of constitution type as "unitary, hybrid union or federal"

(Watts 1998) and as included in Norris (2008) “Democracy Time-series Dataset.”

Additionally, I use Norris’ own criteria which classify states dichotomously as either unitary or non-unitary. While there is substantial overlap in their classifications, Norris classifies 52 states as non-unitary while Watts classifies 48 as either federal or hybrid.

Determining the number of federal countries at any given time is relatively straightforward, however, determining how many socially relevant ethnic groups there are in each of these countries is a more arduous task. Fortunately, the Minorities-at-Risk (MAR) project in its expanded form, All-MAR (AMAR), has attempted to do just that. The MAR project began in 1986 as an initiative of Gurr and in its original form tracks the behavior and conditions of 272 politically significant ethnic groups globally from 1945-present (Birnir et al. n.d.). A group is defined as politically significant if it “collectively suffers, or benefits from, systematic discriminatory treatment vis-a-vis other groups in a society” and/or if the group “collectively mobilizes in defense or promotion of its self-defined interests” (MAR 2009, 1). However, it is unclear how strictly these criteria were applied in the ultimate selection of the original MAR cases. Work by Fearon (2003) points out that the original MAR data greatly over represent rebellious ethnic groups and under represent peaceful ones. Additionally, a comparison with a more recently collected dataset, Ethnic Power Relations (Cederman et al. 2011), made it clear that the original MAR data were also missing a substantial number of politically mobilized ethnic groups as well. While the MAR data are incredibly detailed, they may be limited in terms of what hypotheses about group behavior they can be used to test.

The original MAR data do not systematically include all ethnic groups which have not mobilized for collective action nor those which comprise a majority that does not face discrimination. While they do include some of these groups, the selection criteria for including them are unclear. Nevertheless, many researchers, unaware of or unconcerned by these deficiencies regarding the data, have used them to test a wide range of hypotheses about group behavior generally, particularly ethnic conflict behavior, which raises questions about the validity of their findings given the selection bias. If researchers are testing hypotheses about conflict behavior on a sample that over represents groups engaged in violence, then they will be less likely to find the true causal effects as “any selection rule correlated with the dependent variable attenuates estimates of causal effects on average” (King, Keohane and Verba 1994, 130).

4.2 Selection Bias in the Original MAR Data

Although the problem of selection bias is far from new, several social scientists in the 1990s began pointing out the serious problems it was causing in their disciplines and providing guidance on how to avoid it. Geddes (1990) highlights the danger of selecting on the dependent variable. She asserts that in comparative politics, “arguments based on cases selected on the dependent variable have a long and distinguished history in the subfield, and they will continue to be important as generators of insights and hypotheses. For arguments with knowledge-building pretensions, however, more rigorous standards of evidence are essential” (149). King et

al. (1994) agree and offer the rule: “selection [of cases] should allow for the possibility of at least some variation on the dependent variable” (129). They contend that while this rule seems obvious, that it is violated surprisingly often, especially with regard to qualitative case selection. They also assert that a milder, more common form of selection on the dependent variable is also problematic and that is allowing for some variation in the dependent variable but truncating it and not including the “full range of variation on the dependent variable that exists in the real world” (130). In quantitative research, this means that the numerical estimates will be closer to zero and the effects of the explanatory variables will be underestimated.

However, it is possible that the original MAR data suffer from another version of selection bias that is even more problematic: selection on both the explanatory and dependent variables. King et al. (1994) go so far as to assert that such selection bias is “dangerous” and explain that “[t]he most egregious error is to select observations in which the explanatory and dependent variables vary together in ways that are known to be consistent with the hypothesis that the research purports to test” (142). The original MAR selection criteria required that a group receive discriminatory or beneficial treatment and that the group be the focus of mobilization for defense or promotion of the group’s interests. This means that groups selected into the dataset ‘have a bone to pick’ and have organized to ‘pick it,’ or in the case of groups that fall into the category of receiving beneficial treatment, that other groups in the country are receiving discriminatory treatment and that the groups receiving benefits are organized to preserve them. These criteria in addition to the over sampling of rebellious groups could create additional problems for statistical

analysis seeking causal effects. The original MAR data exclude many groups that are discriminated against but do not or cannot mobilize. They also do not systematically include groups that do not face discrimination and that do not mobilize. This is not to say that there is no variation with regard to the dependent variable and this explanatory variable but that the variation is likely truncated. While there are many theories about the causal links or lack thereof between discrimination and collective action and violence, to say that they are likely correlated with each other and with other likely explanatory variables is not a controversial statement.

Regardless of from which version of selection bias the original MAR data suffer, it is important to correct for the deficiencies of which we are aware, and to do so, the MAR project embarked on an effort to identify and to code the universe of commonly recognized, socially relevant ethnic groups while excluding the requirements of discrimination/beneficial treatment as well as the requirement for mobilization/collective action. The following are the new criteria for a group to be included in AMAR:

- 1) Membership in the group is determined primarily by descent by both members and non-members. a) The group may be a caste if membership is determined by descent and precludes public social mobility.
- 2) Membership in the group is recognized and viewed as important by members and/or non-members. The importance may be psychological, normative, and/or strategic.
- 3) Members share some distinguishing cultural features, such as common

language, religion, occupational niche, and customs.

- 4) One or more of these cultural features are either practiced by a majority of the group or preserved and studied by a set of members who are broadly respected by the wider membership for so doing.
- 5) The group has at least 100,000 members or constitutes one percent of a country's population. (Birnir et al. n.d., 12)

Using these selection criteria, 1,193 groups were ultimately identified as the universe of cases, 903 of which were not included in the original MAR data. While it is possible that this new universe of cases is still biased toward more visible groups, ignoring others still yet to be acknowledged by researchers, in creating the lists of groups, MAR consulted regional experts as to the comprehensiveness of the lists given the selection criteria and made adjustments appropriately. Having identified one universe of cases, the team working on correcting the selection bias problem in MAR created a table of these new groups not included in the original MAR data, stratified by region and size of group, since the original data under represented very small and very large groups (i.e. majority groups) as well as groups in Asia and Africa. Using this table, they selected a sample of 77 groups and coded them for the period 1980-2006 (*ibid.*). This sample slightly over represents very small groups and very large groups and also over represents groups in African and Asian countries.

4.2.1 The Ethnic Groups in Federal Countries Sample

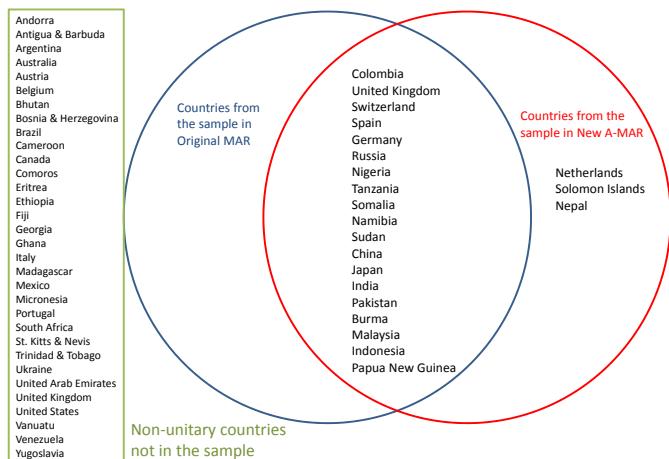
The universe of cases to be considered in this work is narrower than that of AMAR, in that the theory only applies to groups in non-unitary or federal countries. While ideally my dataset of ethnic groups in federal countries (EGFC) would include all ethnic groups in all federal countries over a long period, such comprehensive data would be difficult to obtain, and a sample of cases is sufficient to test the theory adequately. In an attempt to avoid the selection bias problem in the original MAR data as much as possible and also to take advantage of the work done to code the 77 new groups, my sample includes groups from both the original MAR data as well as groups from the newly-coded selection bias correction data. Furthermore, I added data on ethnic political parties which I coded for all groups in the sample from both sources.

There are a total of 55 countries with groups coded in the sample of 77 new AMAR groups, as some of the countries have multiple groups coded. These groups come from 17 of a total of 31 countries in Asia, 4 of 22 countries in Eastern Europe and former Soviet Republics, 5 of 24 countries in the Americas, 6 of 16 countries in the Middle East/North Africa, 17 of 44 countries in Sub-Saharan Africa, and 6 of 20 countries in Western democracies. In the EGFC sample used for this analysis, three countries are included that were not in the original MAR dataset: The Netherlands, presumably because it was not perceived to have a minority which suffered or benefited from discriminatory policies, as the original coding criteria required; Solomon Islands, most likely because of its small population, estimated at just over half a

million in 2012 (CIA World Factbook 2012);¹ and Nepal, perhaps because of lack of available data at the time that the original MAR groups were designated.

I compared the list of all non-unitary countries in the world with the total of 55 countries in the newly collected selection bias correction data and arrived at a list of 21 states that are non-unitary and have new AMAR groups coded: 1 from the Americas, 5 Western democracies, 1 Post-communist, 3 from Sub-Saharan Africa, 1 Middle East/North African, and 10 Asian. I then combined the data on ethnic groups in these states from the newly coded data with the data on groups in these states from the original MAR data for a combined total of 112 ethnic groups, 85 from MAR and 27 from the newly coded groups. See Figure 4.1 for diagram of countries included in the sample.

Figure 4.1: Sample of Non-unitary Countries Used for Analysis (EGFC Sample)



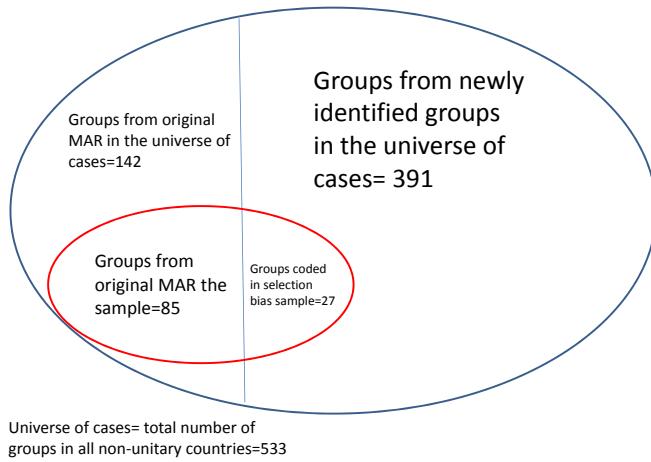
¹ After the coding of the ethnic parties data was completed, the AMAR group list was revised, and it was determined that the Solomon Islands did not reach MAR's population threshold until 2008 while my data end in 2006. Since there were only three cases as the country had only been included in the selection bias coding for 2004-2006, I ran the analysis with the group from Solomon Islands, Polynesians, in the dataset and also with it excluded from the dataset and the difference in results was not noticeable.

4.3 Weighting

Unfortunately, even after combining groups from both the newly coded selection bias correction data and the original MAR data, the problem of selection bias remains, because far more groups come from MAR than from the newly identified groups. Eighty-five of the groups in my sample come from the original MAR data and just 27 come from the set of newly coded groups, although there were far more groups excluded from the original MAR groups than included, 903 versus 290, respectively, in AMAR as a whole. There are 533 groups identified as meeting the new AMAR criteria in all non-unitary countries, and 142 are contained in original MAR and 391 in the newly identified groups (see Figure 4.2 for an illustration). The inclusion of more original MAR groups than newly identified groups means there are still more groups in the data that have a higher rate of political violence than the reality in the universe and that may suffer from other biasing selection criteria. Therefore, it is necessary to weight the groups in the sample accordingly, to insure that the groups in the sample more accurately represent the reality in the universe of cases from which they are drawn, the theory and procedure for which are discussed in detail below. Additionally, while I do not think that the regional bias toward Asia and Africa in the selection bias correction sample will bias my results, I have taken measures to insure that it does not by weighting by this dimension as well.

Nearly all of the literature and methodological innovation with regard to weighting has developed out of the subfield of survey methodology. Surveys have long been seen as essential sources of data collection particularly in the study of

Figure 4.2: Numbers of Groups in Non-unitary Countries in the EGFC Sample



American politics and increasingly in comparative politics with projects like the World Values Survey (Inglehart 2000) and the Afrobarometer (Bratton et al., 2004). Weighting has developed as a way to “compensate for unequal selection probabilities, nonresponse, noncoverage and sampling fluctuations from known population values” (Kalton and Flores-Cervantes 2003, 81). Fortunately, the sample created for this research really only suffers from the first problem. While it is presumptuous to claim that AMAR includes the entire universe of cases socially relevant ethnic groups, we can be relatively confident that given certain criteria and a specific time period significant effort has been made to include all cases and any that may have been excluded are so minimal as not to bias the results given a large enough sample. Indeed, in any large-N dataset, one must expect that there will be some amount of sampling error, no matter how large the budget or how meticulous the data collection effort. Since we are reasonably confident that the approximate universe of

cases, as defined by the MAR and AMAR criteria or something very close to it is known, it is relatively straightforward to calculate the selection probabilities.

One method of weighting that is commonly used is ‘cell weighting.’ The procedure in this case is to make each of the cells in the sample frequency table conform to the cell totals in the population frequency table for some variables deemed useful for weighting the sample. However, if the sample is small or the number of variables being used is high or number of categories in the variables being used is high, then as Kalton and Flores-Cervantes (2003) point out, this “can lead to large variability in the distribution of the weighting adjustments, thereby inflating the variances of the survey estimates” (86). The sample used here includes 1595 observations, 112 groups from 21 countries over the period 1990-2006, with a few groups exiting the sample as the Soviet Union broke up, and those groups became part of independent countries that were not federally organized. Since the sample used in this research has proportionally far more cases from the original MAR data than there are in the universe in reality as well as oversamples cases from Asia and Africa, the sample is weighted by version and region. Below are the joint frequency tables for the sample and the universe by region and version. As is evident from Table 4.1, there is nearly a twenty-six-fold variation between the smallest and the largest cells which leads to a very high variance.²

To produce weights for each cell using cell weighting, we simply divide each cell in the universe table by the corresponding cell in the sample table, which yields

²Because there are many federal countries each with many ethnic groups in Sub-Saharan Africa, the variance is extremely high at 44.71.

Table 4.1: Frequency Tables for Sample and Universe by Region and Version

(a) Universe				(b) Sample			
	Original	New	Total		Original	New	Total
	MAR	Groups		MAR	Groups		
L. America	187	238	425	L. America	34	17	51
W. Europe	357	1292	1649	W. Europe	170	92	262
Post-Com.	714	374	1088	Post-Com.	201	51	252
Africa	442	2261	2703	Africa	96	85	181
MENA	51	221	272	MENA	51	17	272
Asia	663	2261	2924	Asia	600	182	782
Total	2414	6647	9061	Total	1151	444	1595

the weights in the following Table 4.2.

Table 4.2: Cell Weights by Region and Version

	Version		
	Original	MAR	New Groups
Latin America	5.5		14
Western Europe	2.1		14.04
Post-Communist	3.55		7.33
Africa	4.6		26.6
MENA	1.02		13
Asia	1.11		12.42

The method of weighting that methodologists favor over cell weighting when the variance inflation factor is large is called ‘raking.’ As Kalton and Flores-Cervantes (2003) describe it,

Raking is an iterative proportional fitting procedure: first, the sample row totals are forced to conform to the population row totals; then the sample adjusted column is forced to conform to the population column totals; then the row totals are readjusted to conform; and so on until convergence is reached (86).

The term raking comes from the metaphor of raking sand or some other uneven surface horizontally and then vertically until uniformity is achieved. The way this

happens is by multiplying each cell in each row of the sample frequency table by first the population total for that row over the sample total for that row for each row in the table, 425/51 for the the first row of the sample table. Then, the same procedure is done for each column of the new table that was generated. This procedure is reiterated over and over until the row and column totals conform to the row and column totals for the population. See Table 4.3 for an illustration of these first two steps. This process continues until convergence is reached or is within the researchers specified tolerance level. Once this convergence is reached, each of the cells in the convergence table is divided by the corresponding cell in the original sample table to create the weight for observations in that cell. Fortunately, this process has been automated through the development of statistical packages for the primary statistical programs used in the social sciences (Bergmann 2011).

Table 4.3: The First Raking Iteration for the Sample by Region and Version

(a) Step 1				(b) Step 2			
	Original MAR	New Groups	Total		Original MAR	New Groups	Total
LA	283.33	141.67	425	LA	112.1	318.15	430.25
WE	1069.96	579.04	1649	WE	423.34	1300.38	1723.72
Post- Com.	867.81	220.19	1088	Post- Com.	343.36	494.5	837.85
Africa	1433.64	1269.36	2703	Africa	567.23	2850.69	3417.92
MENA	202.99	69.01	272	MENA	80.31	155	235.3
Asia	2243.48	680.42	2924	Asia	887.65	1528.29	2415.94
Total	6101.2	2959.8	9061	Total	2414	6647	9061

The variance for the raked version of the data is 1.35, which is much less likely to cause estimation problems in the models than that calculated for the cell weighted procedure above. While this is still higher than one would want, the correction of

the data is worth the loss in effective sample size. One way that Kalton and Flores-Cervantes (2003) recommend to reduce this problem is weight trimming, but this method again comes with its own risks and loss of sample size. For this reason, this research tests the hypotheses using raked weights but also includes models that are not weighted as well for comparison.

4.4 Explanatory Variable

Having determined the universe of cases, I then turned to gathering original data on intraethnic political competition for each of the groups in each of the countries. As noted in the Chapter 3, I operationalize this competition as the number of ethnic political parties a group has. This measure is more reliable, objective and consistent than other possible measures. I have gathered data on ethnic political parties for 112 ethnic groups in 21 countries. The variable ranges from 0 to 14 ethnic parties belonging to a group in a given year. Of the groups coded, fifty have had just one ethnic party for at least one year from 1990-2006, thirty-nine have had multiple ethnic political parties for at least one year, and sixty-seven had no ethnic political parties for at least one year.

This data collection effort required establishing an operational definition of what an ethnic political party is. With regard to political party, Schlesinger (1985) defines it as “a group organized to gain control of government in the name of the group by winning election to public office” (1153). While gaining control of the government may be an extreme statement of the goals of many political parties,

particularly minority parties, others (Birnir 2007) have suggested their goal is access to the government through election to public office. In many countries, it is quite easy to establish whether an organization is a party, because it calls itself a party, it has a campaign platform, it registers with the government as a political party and so on. In less established democratic countries, undemocratic countries, or countries transitioning from two party to multiparty systems, it can be more difficult to establish whether an organization is a political party. In many cases parties start as social movements and then at a later date become political parties, and then later dissolve as support wanes or as they merge with other groups. For instance, in Russia in the early 1990s, organizations with nationalist and separatist tendencies emerged in many of the republics that remained within the Russian Federation. Some of them remained movements that protested and advocated for greater autonomy or out-right independence but did not turn into political parties, while others did put forth candidates for public office. However, the vast majority of them in either case receded from public activity as the central government either placated their minimal demands or coopted their leaders or their constituencies simply dissolved as mainstream parties appeared to deliver better results (Giuliano 2011). Alternatively, in Colombia in the early 1990s, the barriers to ballot access and political contestation were significantly reduced, allowing civil society organizations to put forth candidates to contest elections (van Cott 2003). For the purposes of this research, if a group puts forth a candidate to be elected to public office, it is a political party.

Perhaps more challenging is establishing an operational definition of *ethnic*

political party. As with most things ethnic, it is useful to start with Horowitz. While his definition is less than succinct, he generally states that ethnic parties are those for which “party boundaries stop at group boundaries” (1985, 298). However, he goes on to say that even when two or more groups join together in supporting a party, it is not necessarily multi-ethnic in the spirit of the term if the only reason they have joined is to counter one dominant ethnic group (299). While this insight is useful conceptually, it is messy for creating an operational definition. Chandra builds on this conceptualization and asserts that “an ethnic party appeals to voters as the champion of the interests of one ethnic category or set of categories to the exclusion of others, and makes such an appeal central to its mobilizing strategy. The key aspect of this definition is exclusion” (2005, 236). This definition is useful, it biases unnecessarily ethnic politics toward conflict, which is almost certainly not her intent. Nevertheless, the emphasis on exclusion, while often present and a source of conflict, is not necessary for a party to be an ethnic one and to make ethnic claims, especially in cases when the particular ethnic group is particularly disadvantaged.³ For instance, van Cott (2003) in her work on indigenous parties in Latin America defines an ethnic party as “an organization authorized to compete in local or national elections; the majority of its leadership and membership identify themselves as belonging to a nondominant ethnic group, and its electoral platform includes demands and programs of an ethnic or cultural nature” (3). This definition is useful but has a significant deficiency: it assumes that dominant groups cannot have eth-

³She does, however, later modify this definition to assert that by advocating for the advancement of one group, a party is *de facto* excluding others and need not do so overtly to be considered an ethnic party (Chandra 2011).

nic parties, which is also unnecessarily limiting. For instance, the Serb population in the Republika Srpska in Bosnia and Herzegovina is relatively dominant and has several explicitly ethnic parties both there and in the Federation as do Croats and Bosniaks in areas in which they are both majorities and minorities. However, van Cott's definition has the advantage of not requiring that an ethnic party's claim must be exclusionary; it could simply advocate for members of the ethnic group to have the same rights and opportunities as other members of the society. While it is likely the case, and even theorized here that ethnic parties often become exclusionary either intentionally through outbidding or unintentionally through preferential treatment, it is part of the mechanism of the process not a definitional element. Therefore, for the purposes of this research, a party is considered ethnic when: it advocates preferential policies for a specific ethnic group which it claims to represent and is either self-identified as a party representing the interests of that group or is generally understood to be representing the interest of that group in the cases in which explicit references to ethnicity are banned by law; and/or when it advocates for greater autonomy or independence for a region because of its ethnic population.

In many cases like Batasuna in Pais Vasco in Spain, the determination that an organization is an ethnic one and is a political party is relatively simple. The party's platform advocates secession from Spain based on the ethnic difference of the population in the region and it is seen as the political wing of Euskadi Ta Azkatasuna (ETA), a well-known, historically-violent Basque separatist group. However, in other cases, a party will call itself by the name of the ethnic population such as the Scottish Green Party. This party does advocate for a referendum on the level

of autonomy, including independence, for Scotland. However, it is also affiliated with a broader national party and international movement which generally advocates greater decentralization in decision-making, and therefore, is not considered an ethnic party in these data. There is also a set of special cases in which a party might still be coded as an ethnic one although it does not explicitly and overtly appeal to voters of a specific ethnicity on ethnic grounds. For instance, two countries that have undertaken measures to prevent the formation of ethnic parties are Nigeria and Indonesia. Both countries are extremely ethnically diverse and have experienced substantial ethnic violence. As a consequence, their governments at various points have instituted laws which require that parties have a physical presence in a certain percentage of provinces or districts and/or win a certain percentage of votes from a certain percentage of administrative units. The intent of the laws is to prevent the formation of ethnic parties and to promote those with broad, cross-cutting appeal. However, in many cases ethnic parties have managed to satisfy the official requirements and still remain predominantly monoethnic, defending one group's interests, or they have bribed officials into certifying them as meeting the requirements even if they do not. Additionally, these laws usually apply primarily to national level politics and leave room for ambiguity in local politics, or in some cases such as the province of Aceh in Indonesia, specifically allow for the participation of ethnic parties in the politics of the province. (Law 11/2006, art 75-95).

Coding the political parties for the groups included in the sample required delving into the political systems of each of the countries and their ethnopolitics, for many of the reasons cited above. Simply surveying a country's electoral commis-

sion records when they were available was useful but not sufficient for determining the presence and number of ethnic parties a group has. In many cases, the ethnic parties may not register as parties and their candidates run as independents. It may be that the barriers to registration are quite high or the filing fee is excessive for poorly-resourced parties, and if their constituency is sufficiently informed, there may be no advantage to undertaking effort to register. Additionally, while the results of provincial elections are occasionally reported by the national election commissions, frequently they are not and sub-provincial outcomes are even less likely to be reported by the central election commissions. Further, in many cases election commissions only report the parties and candidates that successfully obtained office and do not report on those that are unsuccessful, which means that smaller regional parties are likely to be under-represented. Finally, in other cases, the election commissions do not report their results in English nor make them readily available to the public or researchers.

In general, before attempting to code a group's ethnic parties, I initially consulted secondary sources about the group's history and political and economic status within a country. If the group had been included in the original MAR dataset, the qualitative summary of its behavior provides helpful background. In the cases that were included from the new selection bias correction groups, I consulted academic journal articles, books and non-profit research organizations such as the International Crisis Group, the National Democratic Institute, International Republican Institute, Minority Rights Group International and Human Rights Watch. After gaining an understanding of the groups' background, I then searched news sources,

election commissions, more academic journals and books and searched for websites for potential ethnic parties. A surprising number of ethnic parties in lesser developed countries have websites in English, presumably to garner global awareness and support for their causes. Because this research required obtaining information on the year a party was constituted and terminated if no longer in existence, I needed relatively detailed information on the parties that was often scarce to come by. In some cases, there is contact information provided on websites or by the election commissions, and I was able to contact the parties directly for this information. In other cases, I was able to consult regional experts and rely on news reports.⁴

⁴Of the countries intended to be included in the EGFC sample, only Nigeria proved to be too complicated to be coded with any amount of confidence at this time, given my level of access and resource restrictions. Nigeria is a very interesting case of federalism and ethnic politics and is illustrative of many of the elements of the theory presented here. However, the way the country is organized both legally and administratively make it problematic for coding ethnic political parties. One set of obstacles, but not the greatest, are the provisions in the 1999 constitution governing political parties. While the constitution does not outright ban ethnic political parties as some have claimed (Bogaards 2010), it does attempt to prevent them from forming by requiring that parties' elected executive committee members come from at least two thirds of the states in the country to be legitimate (Constitution of the Federal Republic of Nigeria 1999, art. 223, 2(b)). It also requires that parties be open to members from all ethnicities and religions (*ibid.*, art. 222(b)) and refrain from incorporating ethnicity into its name, logo or symbol (*ibid.*, art. 222(e)). Despite this restriction, parties such as the All Nigeria Peoples Party (ANPP) and the All Progressives Grand Alliance (APGA) have seemingly met the bar and yet are still considered ethnic parties, representing Hausa-Fulani and Igbo, respectively. Additionally, there are also at least 56 parties registered at the central level, not to mention parties that may exist only locally. Not surprisingly, there is a fair amount of information on the oldest and largest 4 or 5 parties, but little to no data on the rest of them. Finally, and perhaps the biggest obstacle is that some of the larger parties are 'locally ethnic' and differently so given the district. For instance, Kendhammer (2010) claims that the Peoples' Democratic Party is considered a Hausa-Muslim party in Zamfara while it is more of a Christian party in Jos. To code this party, the choice would be either to attribute ethnicity to it based on the general national-level representation if able to be determined or to code it twice, once as a Hausa party and again as a Igbo party. The former would potentially gloss over the local level dynamics I am attempting to capture while the latter would over count the number of parties. For this reason as well as the lack of available information on the majority of the political parties in Nigeria, I have reluctantly excluded it from the statistical sample and its analysis.

4.5 Dependent Variables

To test the first two hypotheses above which regard intra- and interethnic conflict, I am able to take advantage of existing MAR variables without any transformation. Specifically, MAR contains a violent intraethnic conflict variable (INTRACON) and a violent interethnic conflict variable (INTERCON) (MAR Codebook 2009), both of which have binary codes, 0 for no violent conflict and 1 for violent conflict. A total of 33 groups coded experienced violent intraethnic conflict during at least one year from 1990-2006 and 66 experienced violent interethnic conflict in at least one year during this period. Below is a comparison of the frequency distributions of intraethnic conflict and interethnic conflict from the EGFC sample with those of the entire AMAR dataset, and perhaps not surprisingly, they are very similar as demonstrated in Tables 4.4 and 4.5.

Table 4.4: Comparison of Intraethnic Conflict in EGFC and AMAR

(a) AMAR			(b) EGFC		
	Freq.	Percent		Freq.	Percent
No conflict	7,390	78.94	No conflict	1,188	78.06
Conflict	1,827	19.52	Conflict	334	21.94

Table 4.5: Comparison of Interethnic Conflict in EGFC and AMAR

(a) AMAR			(b) EGFC		
	Freq.	Percent		Freq.	Percent
No conflict	4,679	49.98	No conflict	810	51.72
Conflict	4,612	49.27	Conflict	756	48.28

To test H3 regarding central government use of force against the local majority on behalf of the local minority in a federal unit, MAR and its expanded

framework contain a suite of appropriate variables. For the majority of variables in the MAR/AMAR dataset, the intent is to code information related to the group and its behavior, nevertheless, there several variables that code state repressive behavior toward the group, which testing of H3 requires. While repression may seem different conceptually from violent government intervention, the way it is coded in MAR/AMAR is simply in terms of the central government pursuing violence against the ethnic group. It includes a broad range of violent activities the government could pursue and is not contingent upon any activity by the group itself as catalyst, the motivation of the central government or the outcome of the activity. However, the repression variables coded from 1996-2003⁵ do not correspond exactly to those coded from 2004-2006 and those coded for the selection bias correction. The data covering 1990-2003 code twenty-three separate variables regarding government repression from surveillance and harassment to mass killing. The other two data sub-sets code just three variables: repression of civilians not engaged in violent or non-violent political activities; repression of group members engaged in non-violent collective action; and repression of those engaged in violent collective action (MAR Codebook 2009, 23-4). For each of these variables, the type of government repression is coded ordinally from surveillance to violent coercion and killing. While it is not possible to completely recode these variables one for one, there is sufficient data in each set of coding to determine whether the government engaged in repression and whether it was violent or non-violent. For the pre-2004 repression variables, I added up the

⁵Unfortunately, no repression variables were coded in MAR before 1996, so unlike the rest of the variables in the dataset which begin in 1990, the repression variables do not begin until 1996.

violent repression variables and then made its binary indicating violent repression or no violent repression. I then collapsed the repression variables coded for 2004-2006 and the selection bias correction data into none, non-violent repression and violent repression. Using a series of minor arithmetic transformations, I then combined the variables on repression from the various coding iterations into one set of variables. The final variable used for testing the hypothesis is binary and indicates the presence or absence of government violence against the ethnic group. In total, 56 ethnic groups in the EGFC dataset experienced violent repression during at least one year from 1996-2006.

To test H4 regarding the likelihood of an ethnic group to rebel against the central government given intraethnic political competition, I was again able to draw upon an existing MAR variable which measures group rebellion (REB). This variable is measured ordinally from 0 to 7, with 0 representing no rebellion reported to 7 being a protracted civil war (MAR Codebook 2009, 22). As will be discussed further in the results section, I tested the hypothesis using the variable in its binary form, with 0 representing no rebellion reported, also zero in the original coding, and 1 representing any report of rebellious activity, coded 1-7 in the original coding of the variable.

4.6 Control Variables

While there are dozens of control variables that can and have been included in analyses of violent group behavior, this analysis includes only the essential control

variables and excludes a host of possible controls that are often included in similar research. Achen asserts that “[w]ith more than three independent variables, no one can do the careful data analysis to ensure that the model specification is accurate and that the assumptions fit as well as the researcher claims” (446). Limiting the number of variables in the models is a significant challenge, however. There are a host of variables that very well could be affecting the likelihood of violent conflict proposed here in addition intraethnic political competition. Three that were in strong contention but were not included are type of electoral system, district magnitude and quotas or similar arrangements for minorities in the political system. Electoral system type and district magnitude have been theorized as having an effect on the level of political competition in a country generally, and if the general level of political competition is high, maybe that could be driving results and not specifically the intraethnic political competition (Cox 1990). Whether or not a country has special provisions for electing members from minority communities, too, might have an effect on the level of intraethnic competition and thus impact the outcomes of interest. However, without delving into the results just yet, as a check on robustness of the findings, variables measuring all three of these factors were included in the models as a test. Norris (2009) has a variables for each of these (specifically elefam72_04, dm, and posaction), which when included in the models, rather surprisingly, had very little to no effect on the outcomes of interest, intraethnic conflict, intercommunal conflict and violent repression by the central government or rebellion by the group. For none of the other variables did statistical significance or direction change, and the predicted probabilities were within a few

percentage points of each other. Additionally, none of these three variables was itself significant. Missing data from the variables also, however, truncated the sample by about one third, so given the lack of predictive power in the models and desire for parsimony, they were omitted from the final models tested. In the models analyzed here, the control variables have been narrowed down to five independent variables to be included in all of the models: number of ethnic parties a group has, regime type, discrimination and group concentration in a regional base.

To test H3 and H4, however, it seems that some additional control variables are warranted. For H3 regarding government use of violence against the local majority group, it is theorized that it would do so in response to interethnic conflict, so this binary variable described above is included. With regard to H4 which deals with the impact of intraethnic political competition on the likelihood of group rebellion, whether the group has separatist tendencies. A summary of the variables used in the analysis and their descriptive statistics are included in Table 4.6 below.

Table 4.6: Summary Statistics for Variables

Variable		Obs.	Mean	Min.	Max.
Number of Ethnic Parties		1510	1.55	0	14
Intraethnic Conflict		1522	–	0	1
Interethnic Conflict		1566	–	0	1
Violent Repression		1144	–	0	1
Rebellion (binary)		1515	–	0	1
Discrimination Index		1490	1.68	0	4
Regime Type		1595	3.21	-8	10
Group Concentration in Regional Base		1386	–	0	1
Separatism Index		1593	1.80	0	3

Given the volumes written on the effect of democracy on conflict behavior, it

seems essential to include regime type as a control variable. As an alternative explanation to the theory proposed above, one might logically suppose that if groups are allowed to have ethnic political parties, then they may be more likely to live under democratic regimes and that it is the democracy that is doing the work rather than number of ethnic political parties. Regime type is likely to matter based on theory and well-supported findings that democratic regimes under most circumstances are less likely to engage in violence against their populations and that groups in democratic countries are more likely to have the opportunity to express their desires and disagreements through political means and need not resort to violence. While some serious chinks in the democratic armor have been detected in terms of protection of rights during times of extreme challenge to the regime (Davenport 2007; Davenport and Armstrong 2004), nevertheless, it is a widely held assumption that democratic regimes are less repressive and better able to accommodate the expression of divergent political interests through legitimate politics as opposed to through violence. At the other extreme, more autocratic regimes may ban opposition political parties completely. There are also theories that democratizing countries are more prone to ethnic conflict (Snyder 2000) or that countries that are considered in the middle of the spectrum between democracy and autocracy experience more internal violence (Fein 1995). Whatever the true role of democracy may be, I include the Polity IV (Marshall et al. 2010) measure of regime type, which ranges from -10 for strongly autocratic to +10 for strongly democratic, as a control in the models presented in the next section. In these data, however, the range is actually from -8 to 10 and there are indeed more democracies than non-democracies. Only twenty-nine percent

of the observations have values below zero, while sixty-nine percent are above zero. However, perhaps surprisingly, regime type is not highly correlated with number of ethnic parties or with the other independent variables. The correlation coefficient for regime type and number of ethnic parties is positive and significant but is only .08. The correlation coefficients are negative, as would be expected, and significant with regard to economic discrimination and political discrimination, -.22 and -.39 respectively, but still not high enough to be worrisome.

As mentioned above, I also include variables indicating economic and political discrimination to control for the impacts they may have on the likelihood of conflict. While the impact of inequality on conflict likelihood is a matter of dispute (Gurr 1970; Fearon and Laitin 2003; Cedermann et al. 2010, 2011), it may be more likely that inequality based on perceived discrimination may be correlated with conflict outcomes. The theory outlined above argues that when the local majority is in control of the sub-state unit that it is likely to give preferential treatment to co-ethnics which the local minority will experience as discrimination. However, the discrimination included in the model here is that of discrimination toward the group that is the local majority not the local minority. While ideally, both discrimination toward the group and discrimination by the group would be measured and included, unfortunately the later is not included in any of the MAR versions. However, including the measures of discrimination toward the local majority groups will help take into account the impact of any possible economic or political discrimination on the conflict outcomes of interest, whether intra- or interethnic conflict or state violence toward the group. Both the economic and political discrimination variables range from zero

to four, zero indicating no discrimination and four representing a policy of exclusion (MAR Codebook 2009, 12). However, the correlation coefficient for these two variables is relatively high at .64, and when computing tolerance statistics⁶ for all of the independent variables in the models, economic discrimination and political discrimination have values of .60 and .53 respectively. Additionally, the results of the Joint F-test are also statistically significant at practically zero.⁷ Given these results of tests for multicollinearity, it may be useful to combine the two discrimination variables into an index. To do so, I simply added the two variables together, creating a nine point scale of increasing discrimination.⁸ To determine the index's reliability, I calculated Cronbach's alpha⁹ and obtained a value of .78. The conventional wisdom is that a value over .7 for this measure indicates that the index is reliable (Nunnally 1978, 245). Additionally, the tolerance statistic for the discrimination index is .83 to .84 depending on the dependent variables being used, a marked improvement over the variables' tolerance statistics when included separately.

Finally for all for hypotheses, the level of group concentration in a regional base is included in the models as an assumption of the theory is that regional majorities are territorially concentrated national minorities and that they are the ones likely

⁶The tolerance statistic is simply 1 over the variance inflation factor (VIF): $TOL_j = \frac{1}{vif_j}$. The VIF expresses the amount of variance inflation caused by multicollinearity (Gujrati 2003). A high TOL indicates that the variable is not explained by other variables in the model.

⁷The Joint F Test the null hypothesis that the slope coefficients are simultaneously equal to zero.

⁸As a check on this method of creating an index, I also combined the two variables into an index using factor analysis. The discrimination variable created using this method had a .9997 correlation with the index created by adding the variables together. Since the additive index is slightly more interpretable and simpler, I elected to test this measure.

⁹The tool measures the average correlation between items in an index and is calculated as, $\alpha = \frac{k\bar{r}}{1+(k-1)\bar{r}}$ where k=number of items in the index and r= correlations between items (Cronbach 1951). A value below .3 is considered an unreliable index, while over .7 is considered reliable.

to have their own parties in the first place. If a group is not concentrated in a federal unit, it would be more difficult for it to form ethnic parties because of the numerical disadvantage it would have an a proportion of the local population. If the ethnic group is concentrated in one or several units, ethnic parties would have a greater pool of constituents from which to draw support. Group concentration in a regional base is a binary variable in MAR with 1, indicating that there is a “spatially contiguous region larger than an urban area that is part of the country, in which 25 percent or more of the minority resides and in which the minority constitutes the predominant proportion of the population,” 0, the lack of such a regional base (MAR Codebook 2007, 8).

While rebellion and violent interethnic conflict are described in the section on dependent variables, separatism is not. This variable is an index measured from 0 to 3, with 0 representing no separatism present, to 3 which indicates an active separatist movement present within the last twenty-five years (MAR Codebook 2009, 10).

4.7 Time Dependence

Because my data are time-series cross-sectional data with binary dependent variables, it is important to account for the likely presence of time dependence in the data *vis-a-vis* the dependent variables. It is highly likely that the probability of violent conflict in a given year is related to the presence or absence of past violent conflict, whether between ethnic groups, within ethnic groups or between central

governments and ethnic groups. To test for time dependence, I use a Wooldridge (2002) test and find that indeed there is serial correlation among the errors indicating time dependence in the Linear Probability Model (LPM). This test “uses the residuals from a regression in the first differences” with the null hypothesis being that there is no first-order autocorrelation (Drukker 2003, 169). I use the LPM to test for time dependence, because although it is possible to show time dependence in the non-linear probit and logit models, there is not a specific test that can be used with these models. As some have recently argued for the viability of the LPM for analyzing binary probability models, using this model in diagnostic testing is a useful first step.

There are a number of methods that have been proposed and used to model time dependence in such cases, but two of those in current methodological favor for use with limited dependent variables are natural cubic splines and cubic polynomials. Beck, Katz and Tucker (1998) argue that either time dummies or natural cubic splines are the most appropriate and flexible way of dealing with time dependence. Cubic splines can be preferable, because they use fewer degrees of freedom and impose smoothness on the time function “by forcing the splines, and their first and second derivatives, to agree at each of the knots” specified by the analyst (Beck et al. 1998, 1270). Splines impose smoothness on the time function so that the baseline hazard is interpretable. More recently, Carter and Signorino (2010) discuss the use of time dummies, splines and cubic polynomials and argue that the time dummies are inefficient and suffer from separation, while the complexity of the splines causes several problems in interpretation for researchers. They assert

that the simpler method of using cubic polynomials, time, time-squared and time-cubed, performs equally well and is much simpler to interpret substantively. For this research, I analyzed models using cubic splines and cubic polynomials and got virtually identical results, and therefore, am only reporting the results from the cubic polynomials, given their greater interpretability.

4.8 Latent Variable Model with Limited Dependent Variables

Because my dependent variables are binary, I use a probit regression function to model the theory and to test the hypotheses. I also use robust standard errors clustered on the group to increase the reliability of the results. The general formula therefore is:

$$Pr(Y_i = 1) = \Phi(X_i\beta) \quad (4.1)$$

With the specific equation for the models testing the hypotheses presented above:

$$\begin{aligned} Pr(Y = 1) = & \Phi(X_{\#.\text{of.ethnic.parties}}\beta_{\#.\text{of.ethnic.parties}} + X_{\text{discrim.}}\beta_{\text{discrim.}} \\ & + X_{\text{regime}}\beta_{\text{regime}} + X_{\text{group.con.}}\beta_{\text{group.con.}} + X_{\text{time}}\beta_{\text{time}} \\ & + X_{\text{time}^2}\beta_{\text{time}^2} + X_{\text{time}^3}\beta_{\text{time}^3} + \beta_{\text{constant}}) \quad (4.2) \end{aligned}$$

With Y being the four outcome variables of interest, intraethnic conflict, interethnic conflict, government violence and rebellion. Pr stands for probability. Since the dependent variables are all binary, 0 indicating that there is no violence, and 1 indicating the presence of violent conflict, $Pr(Y = 1)$ means that ‘likelihood

that violent conflict occurs.' Φ is the cumulative density function of the standard normal distribution. This probit model is used to test the models rather than a linear probability model (LPM), because the dependent variables are binary. When using a LPM with binary dependent variables, the variance around the true population mean is not minimized and the errors are heteroscedastic as there are only two possible values of the dependent variable. Additionally, the LPM can produce nonsensical results like probabilities being lower than zero and higher than one, and the assumption of linearity in models with binary dependent variables is often suspect. The β s each represent the coefficient from the probit model for each of the independent variables as well as the constant at the end of the equation. The probit model allows for non-linearity in effects of the independent variables on the probability of dependent variable occurring (i.e. $Y = 1$) and makes the estimates are more efficient.

Chapter 5: Results

In this section, I present the results of the statistical analysis testing the hypotheses presented in Chapter 3. In general, the results provide strong support for the theory. The new intraethnic political competition variable coded as part of this dissertation project provides important insight into how dynamics within the local majority ethnic group impact the mechanisms that lead to violent conflict. Intraethnic political competition increases the likelihood of intraethnic violence by more than three-fold from the minimum to maximum range of the variable. This finding lends support to the theory that the more political competition within an ethnic group in control of a federal unit, the greater the likelihood the parties will police their constituents and attack their rivals. Additionally, intraethnic political competition substantially increases the probability of violent interethnic conflict, again lending strong support for the theory that increased local majority intraethnic political competition leads to conflict with the local minority. Furthermore, the likelihood of the central government using force against a local majority involved in interethnic conflict nearly triples over the range of intraethnic political competition. Finally, while the results show that the impact of intraethnic political competition on group rebellion is negligible, when the government uses force against the local

majority, the likelihood of the local majority using force against the central government in-kind significantly increases.

Despite the discussion in the methodology section about the importance of taking selection bias and time dependence into account, it is useful to examine the results of the model without the cubic polynomials or weighting and compare them to those with just cubic polynomials and with both cubic polynomials and raked weights. For each hypothesis, I analyze at least three models. The first one in each set includes all of the independent variables but does not model the time dependence or include weights. It is labeled ‘simple.’ The second one includes all of the independent variables and models time dependency using cubic polynomials, the method described in the previous chapter on methodology. This model is labeled ‘time dependence.’ The third model in each set includes all of the independent variables, cubic polynomials and is weighted using the raking method described in the previous chapter. This model has the label ‘time and weighted.’ I discuss the first two models in each set briefly, but for the majority of the analysis including the impact of the control variables, I focus on the results of the most restricted model which is the one corrected for both time dependency and selection bias, ‘time and weighted.’¹ Finally, I model the hazard rate for the most restricted model in each

¹Many other versions of these models were also analyzed for the sake of comparison and robustness checks. For instance, I analyzed the models using the cell weights and again, rather surprisingly, obtained nearly identical results to those obtained using raked weights. Results obtained using cubic splines instead of cubic polynomials were also virtually identical to those displayed here. For the sake of brevity and clarity, I have only included the models that I feel most accurately reflect the relationships among the variables based on the theory of methodologists more gifted than I. However, the reader should rest assured that many variations of these models were analyzed using the alternative methods discussed in the methodology chapter and none varied substantially enough to merit including here.

set and discuss the results.

Each section below begins with a summary of the main findings from the testing of each hypothesis. I then include the three models for each hypothesis described above and also present the predicted probabilities graphically. I discuss the relevant control variables and conclude with a discussion of the hazard rate.

5.1 Violent Intraethnic Conflict

The theory proposed here asserts that as political competition within the local majority ethnic group increases in a federal unit, it is more likely that there will be violent intraethnic conflict, because the ethnic parties will have to engage in more coercive monitoring and policing of constituent support and because parties will attack each other to damage perceptions of party strength and to drain resources. Given the level of aggregation of the data used here, it is not possible to distinguish between these specific motivations for intraethnic violence, whether strategic attacking to weaken the adversary or constituent policing. The case studies in the next chapters provide analysis about specific motivations for intraethnic violence. Here, however, the cross-national data are examined, and the analysis does provide robust support for the hypothesis that an increase in intraethnic political competition leads to an increase in the likelihood of violent intraethnic conflict. In the most restricted model, the probability of intraethnic violence more than triples from no intraethnic political competition to the maximum of the range, going from a probability of .13 to .43.

5.1.1 Effect of Intraethnic Political Competition

Table 5.1 shows the results of the probit models. In all three models the variable measuring intraethnic political competition is positive and statistically significant as hypothesized. However, since the coefficients in the probit models are not directly interpretable, I calculated the predicted probabilities for the ethnic parties variable from 0 to 14, a graph of which is included in Figure 5.1.²

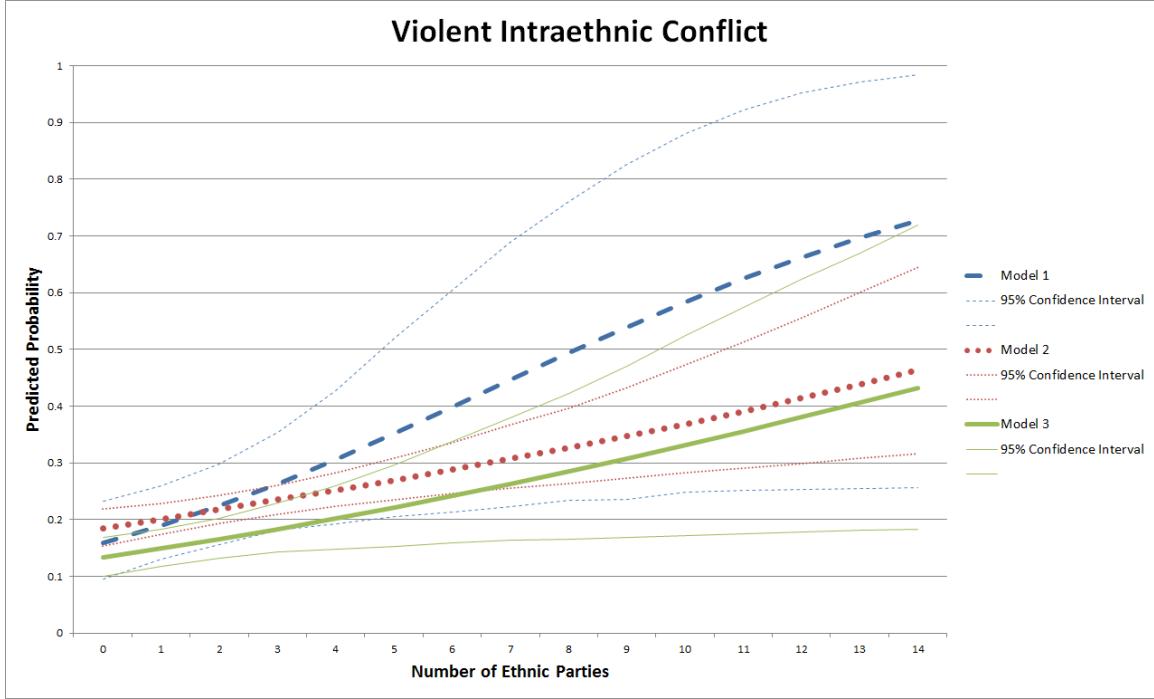
Table 5.1: Intracommunal Conflict

	Models		
	(1) Simple	(2) Time Dependence	(3) Time & Weighted
Number of Ethnic Parties	0.133** (0.0586)	0.123*** (0.0325)	0.128** (0.0539)
Discrimination	0.271*** (0.0966)	0.231*** (0.0760)	0.330*** (0.103)
Regime Type	0.0112 (0.0225)	0.00832 (0.0164)	0.0129 (0.0197)
Group Concentration	0.0572 (0.143)	0.0603 (0.114)	0.0399 (0.128)
t		-1.346*** (0.112)	-1.494*** (0.157)
t^2		0.181*** (0.0214)	0.245*** (0.0454)
t^3		-0.00717*** (0.00118)	-0.0113*** (0.00282)
Constant	-1.712*** (0.505)	-0.357 (0.404)	-0.990** (0.429)
Observations	1,415	1,415	1,415
Robust standard errors in parentheses			
*** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1			

Without accounting for time dependence or selection bias in the data, Model 1

²I used the observed values approach described in and advocated by Hanmer and Kalkan (2012) which allows variables to be at their observed values when calculating predicted probabilities when the value of the main independent variable is fixed, as opposed to the common approach of setting all of the values of control variables at their means.

Figure 5.1: Predicted Probabilities for Intraethnic Conflict



shows .16 probability of intraethnic violence when the group has no ethnic political parties, however, this probability jumps to .73 when there are the maximum number of political parties in the sample, 14. When taking time dependence into account in Model 2, the magnitude changes but not direction or effect. When including cubic polynomials in the model the probability of violent intraethnic conflict when a group has no ethnic political parties is slightly higher than Model 1 at .19, which is slightly less than the base probability for intraethnic conflict which is about .22 (See Table 4.4 in the methodology chapter). Thus, when an ethnic group has zero ethnic political parties, the probability of violent intraethnic conflict is lower than the base probability. When a group has as many as 14 ethnic political parties the probability of violent intraethnic conflict increases to .46. When including the cubic polynomials for time dependence and the raked weights for the selection bias in

Model 3, the results are very similar to Model 2, having a .13 probability of violent intraethnic conflict at very low levels of intraethnic political competition and .43 probability at high levels.

However, as is quite noticeable in Figure 5.1, the ninety-five percent confidence intervals for the three models overlap substantially. Model 1 has a very wide confidence intervals with an effect on the low side of only .10 when going from 0 to 14 parties and on the high side of .74 for the entire range of the intraethnic political competition. The estimates for Models 2 and 3 are virtually identical, with those for Model 2 being more efficient, having narrower confidence intervals.

Interestingly, the rate of increase in probability in all of these models is nearly linear, which is not anticipated by the hypothesis. The theory would indicate that there should be a steeper increase as intraethnic political competition increases at lower levels and that the probability should continue to rise as the number of ethnic parties increases to a certain point and then level off at some point when adding yet another ethnic party does not have much of an effect. However, as modeled here, each additional party appears to have nearly the same effect on increasing the probability of conflict. This linear phenomenon may be a result of the ethnic parties being considered of equal value within the variable. For instance, if there is one very strong ethnic party and one or more very weak ethnic parties form, the aggregate level of intraethnic political competition may only increase marginally, increasing the likelihood of intraethnic conflict only slightly. However, if there are two ethnic parties with a comparable amount of core supporters and access to resources, there is likely to be substantially more intraethnic political wrangling, increasing the likelihood

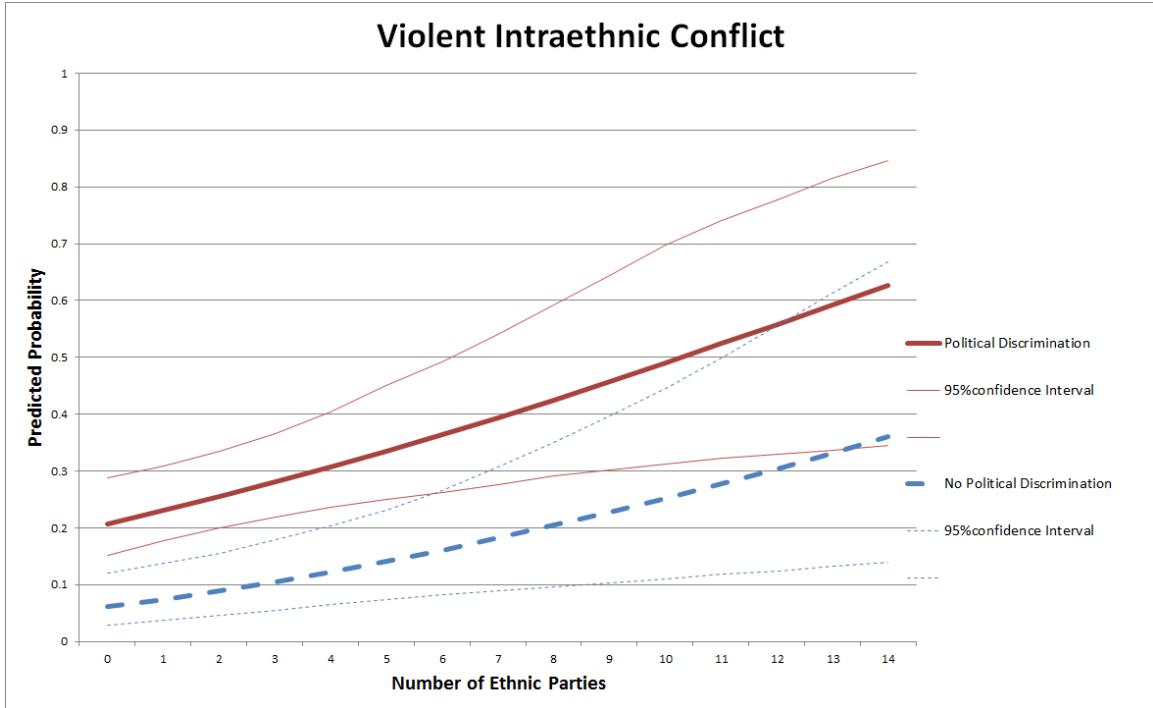
of conflict substantially. Unfortunately, the variable does not distinguish between weak and strong parties or between relative strength. In practice, this would be very difficult to measure, because the context of every country would have to be taken into account, making the observations difficult to compare cross-nationally. For instance, it would not be an accurate measure to compare the number of seats a party won at the national level as a measure of strength, because as the theory suggests, the party may only be strong regionally and not elect many members if any to the national legislative body. Additionally, in cases where there is a quota guaranteeing only one or two seats to a particular national minority, the competition for these seats may be fierce, since they are guaranteed but appear numerically insignificant without taking the context into account. Using number or ratio of seats that parties from one ethnic group win at the subnational level might also mask much of the competitiveness within a group, particularly if there are many participants in the system causing the ethnic group's votes to be split, resulting in that group receiving few seats and other ethnic groups benefiting electorally from the intraethnic political competition. As an extra robustness check, I also analyzed the model without the ethnic groups from India, as some of them account for the large number of parties and have experienced violent intraethnic conflict, however, the predicted probabilities were marginally higher but still nearly linear and within the confidence intervals of the full model.

5.1.2 Effect of Discrimination

The other variables worth noting in the models are political and economic discrimination and the different effects they have. In the main models shown in Table 5.1 above, the combined discrimination index was positive and significant for all three models. In order to see if either one of the constituent variables were driving the results, I included them both in the most complete model, Model 3, as separate variables and analyzed the effects once more. These variables measure discrimination against the group by the central government. Interestingly, political discrimination against the group does have a positive and statistically significant effect on intraethnic violence, but economic discrimination does not. To simplify analysis of the effect, I collapsed the political discrimination variable into a binary one with 1 representing any presence of any political discrimination and 0 being none. As shown in Figure 5.2 the effect is substantively small and primarily at lower levels of intraethnic political competition, once the confidence intervals are considered. When there is no political discrimination against the group, the probability of intraethnic conflict is .05. When political discrimination is present and there is no intraethnic political competition among the local majority, the likelihood of intraethnic conflict among the group is .17. At the maximum of the intraethnic political competition variable, however, the probability of violent intraethnic conflict when there is political discrimination by the central government is .63.

These results are interesting in their own right, because they are slightly counterintuitive. When political discrimination by the central government against an

Figure 5.2: Predicted Probabilities for Intraethnic Conflict for Political Discrimination



ethnic group is high, it might seem rational to ‘circle the wagons’ and have more in-group affinity when faced with a common plight of political discrimination. However, political discrimination against the group increases the probability of intraethnic violence by .07 to .09 over the range of intraethnic political competition. It may be that this discrimination raises tensions within the group generally and thus increasing the likelihood of violence, however, more research is necessary to tease out this finding.

5.1.3 Effect of Group Concentration

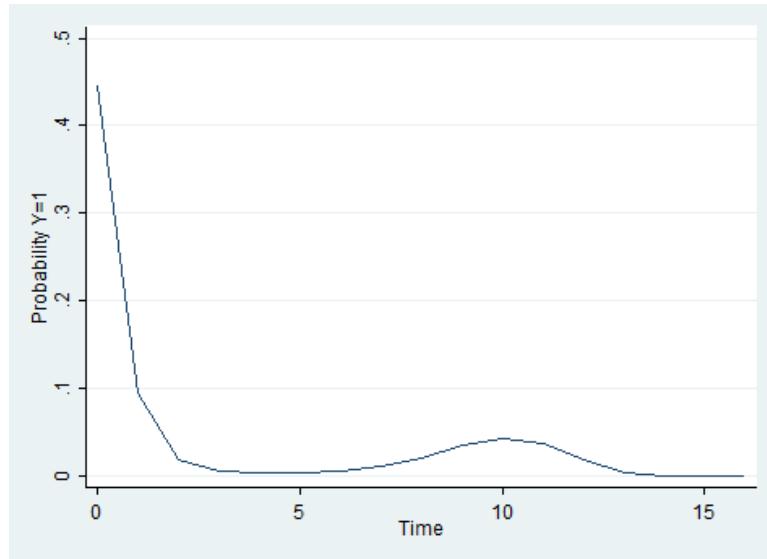
Importantly, the concentration of the group members does not appear to make a difference in the likelihood of intraethnic conflict in the presence of ethnic political

parties, as the theory would indicate. The MAR group concentration variable is measured ordinally from zero to three, zero being “widely dispersed” and three being “concentrated in one region” (MAR Codebook 2009, 7). The models were analyzed both with the ordinal variable in its original form and with a version in which the first two categories were collapsed together and the second two collapsed together yielding a binary variable. In none of the models using either variable was the coefficient close to statistically significant at conventional levels. As an additional check, I also calculated the predicted probabilities of violent intracommunal conflict at the maximum and minimum values of the number of ethnic parties variable, 0 and 14, for all values of group concentration, and the results were virtually the same across the range of the values for group concentration. Additionally, I also analyzed the model with the “group concentrated in regional base” variable from MAR which is binary and indicates whether a group occupies a “spatially contiguous region larger than an urban area that is part of the country, in which 25 percent or more of the minority resides and in which the minority constitutes the predominant proportion of the population” (MAR Codebook 2007, 8). While the variable was significant in Model 3, it did not substantially change any of the results in terms of the predicted probabilities. Rather than indicating that group concentration does not matter, these results are likely a product of the assumption about why federal systems are created in the first place: that is to accommodate regional concentrated minorities. If that is the case, then the selection of the sample would be absorbing a substantial amount of the variation in the variable.

5.1.4 Temporal Effects

Additionally, all of the time-related variables are significant, suggesting that time dependence is present in the model. Signorino and Carter (2010) give guidance on graphing and interpreting this dependence, which is the hazard of violent intraethnic conflict occurring. Figure 5.3 displays the hazard for intraethnic conflict with the Y axis representing the probability of intraethnic conflict occurring and the X axis representing time. The graph shows that the probability of intraethnic conflict drops drastically after the first year with no violent intraethnic conflict, and at about three years since the last instance of violent intraethnic conflict, it is practically zero. There appears to be a slight bump around ten years, however, it is only

Figure 5.3: Hazard for Violent Intraethnic Conflict



to about .04 and may either be an anomaly or fit some untheorized cycle of conflict, however, the data would have to cover a longer duration to be able to detect such a pattern. Nevertheless, it is clear that for the most part, the more years since the

last incidence of intraethnic violence, the lower the hazard rate.

5.2 Violent Interethnic Conflict

An increase in intraethnic political competition at the subnational level can also lead to ethnic outbidding which increases the likelihood of violent interethnic conflict. According to the theory, if there are multiple ethnic political parties competing for support from the same constituents, their options are limited in terms of ways to gain and maintain supporters. In addition to the policing, attacking and intimidating discussed directly above, they can also cast other ethnic groups as dangerous or threatening and then claim that only their party can protect the group. This ethnic outbidding escalates as parties talk up the risk from other groups, and tensions between or among the ethnic groups increase, raising the likelihood of violent conflict. Local minorities may also behave as if they had more capacity to counter the ethnic outbidding if they think the central government will intervene on their behalf, again, increasing the likelihood of conflict. In the most restricted model, the probability of interethnic conflict increases by .32 over the range of the variable, from .4 at the minimum to .72 at the maximum.

5.2.1 Effect of Intraethnic Political Competition

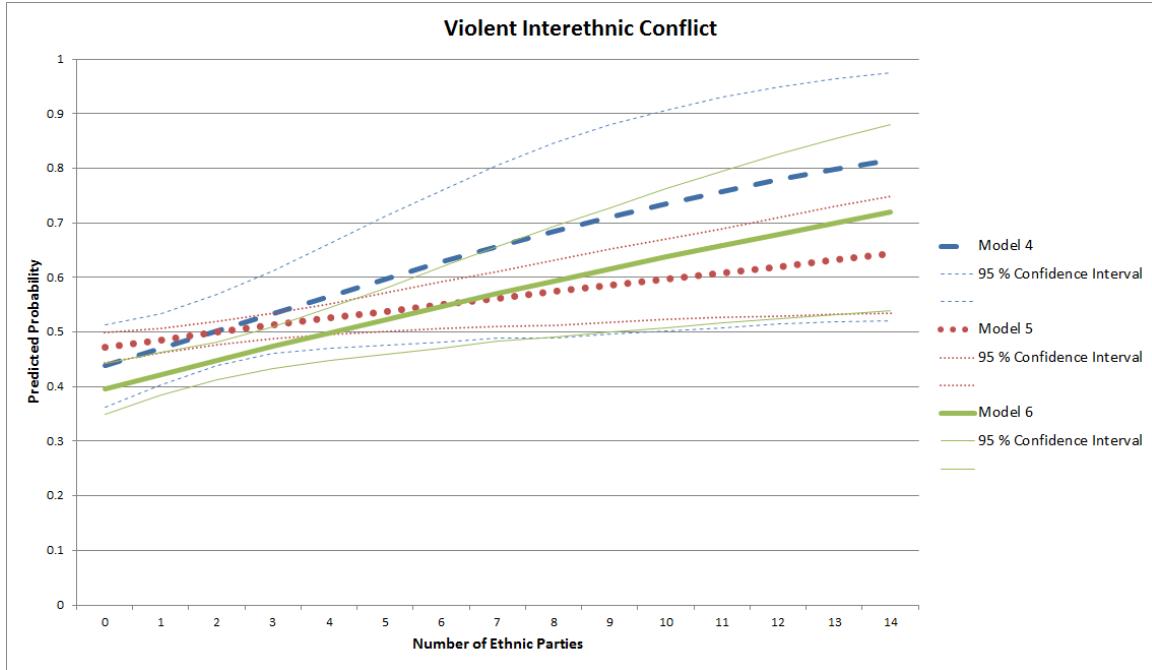
The results of the analysis of the models with interethnic conflict as the dependent variable are displayed in Table 5.2 and support the hypothesis that intraethnic political competition increases the likelihood of interethnic conflict.

Table 5.2: Violent Interethnic Conflict

	Models		
	(4) Simple	(5) Time Dependence	(6) Time & Weighted
Number of Ethnic Parties	0.0965** (0.0432)	0.0720*** (0.0265)	0.112*** (0.0372)
Discrimination	0.382*** (0.0787)	0.230*** (0.0469)	0.309*** (0.0808)
Regime Type	0.0219 (0.0157)	0.0176** (0.00888)	0.0238* (0.0136)
Group Concentration	-0.217** (0.0994)	-0.133** (0.0557)	-0.0452 (0.0900)
t		-1.362*** (0.112)	-1.042*** (0.174)
t^2		0.192*** (0.0247)	0.143*** (0.0297)
t^3		-0.00791*** (0.00142)	-0.00574*** (0.00143)
Constant	-0.388 (0.319)	0.675*** (0.185)	-0.159 (0.311)
Observations	1,401	1,401	1,401
Robust standard errors in parentheses			
*** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1			

Again, the analysis is based on three models as a check on the methods and robustness. Model 4 is the model with robust standard errors without accounting for time dependence or weighting. Model 5 incorporates the cubic polynomials to model time dependence, and Model 6 includes cubic polynomials and raked weights. In all three models, the number of ethnic political parties has a positive and statistically significant effect on the likelihood of violent interethnic conflict. As noted in the discussion above, since the coefficient values are not directly interpretable beyond direction and significance, it is more useful to look at the predicted probabilities which are included in Figure 5.4.

Figure 5.4: Predicted Probabilities for Violent Interethnic Conflict



Surprisingly, in all three of the models, the probability of violent interethnic conflict is relatively high even with zero ethnic political parties, from .4 to .47. To insure that one outlying country with groups with many ethnic parties and a lot of inter-ethnic conflict was not driving the results, I delved back into the raw data and found that India accounted for all of the groups with twelve to fourteen ethnic political parties and that all of these were engaged in violent interethnic conflict. Therefore, I analyzed the models again without the observations of groups from India. However, the new results were virtually identical to the original results. I then analyzed the models using only observations that had groups with six or fewer ethnic political parties and again, the results did not change substantially. In looking at the distribution of the interethnic conflict variable, the results do become increasingly clear. Lower amounts of intraethnic political competition have a lower

probability of violent interethnic conflict than the probability without any other factors being taken into account. As noted in Table 4.5 above, the base probability of interethnic conflict in the EGFC sample is nearly .52 and is .49 in the whole AMAR dataset. From this perspective, it appears that low amounts of intraethnic political competition do have a lower probability of violent interethnic conflict since the predicted probability of interethnic conflict when a group has no ethnic parties is .4 and that as intraethnic conflict increases, so too does this probability.

It is also interesting that the baseline probabilities of interethnic conflict in both the EGFC sample and AMAR are relatively high, which is likely symptomatic of the selection bias problem in the original MAR data. However, for this analysis, the high rate of interethnic conflict would bias the data against finding a statistically significant effect and would bias the coefficients downward. Examining the crosstabulation of the different coding versions of the interethnic conflict variable is useful. Table 5.3 shows that while the two coding periods in the original MAR data have a high rate of interethnic conflict, the period 1990-2003 is more than twenty percentage points higher. As expected, the selection bias correction sample is substantially lower at twelve percent. However, because the data are weighted and take into account the version of the coding, the differences here are less problematic for the analysis presented above.

Table 5.3: Coding Version and Interethnic Conflict in EGFC Sample

Interethnic Conflict		
	No conflict %	Conflict %
1990-2003	34	66
2004-2006	57	43
Selection bias	88	12

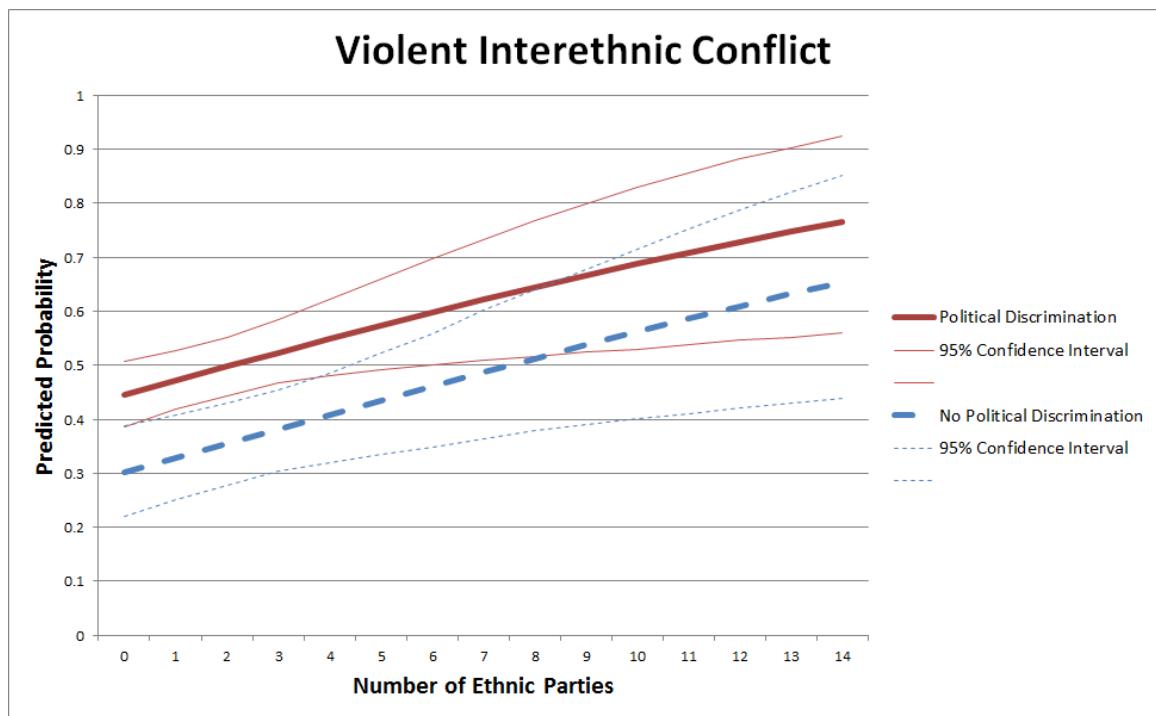
However, the main finding here is that increases in intraethnic political competition do increase the likelihood of interethnic violence, providing support for the theory. This finding is particularly important, because prior research has pointed to factors about the differences between groups as causes of interethnic violence (Cederman et al. 2010, 2011; Cederman and Girardin 2007). That is not to say that previous findings are wrong but that they are likely suffering from omitted variable bias and that these findings here suggest that the salience of those intergroup differences may be a result of the political strategies of ethnic parties engaging in ethnic outbidding against other groups, rather than a direct cause of the violence. My findings indicate that the political competition within ethnic groups in federal countries increases the likelihood of interethnic violence. As Figure 5.4 shows, even in the most conservative model, Model 6, the likelihood of interethnic violence conflict increases from .40 to .72 over the range of intraethnic political competition.

5.2.2 Effect of Discrimination

The discrimination variable is positive and significant in all of the models, therefore, again, I chose to disaggregate it to see if the effects of political versus economic discrimination were different. In all the models with violent interethnic conflict as the dependent variable, political discrimination is again positive and significant, and this time, economic discrimination is also positive and significant in the two more complete models (5 and 6). The predicted probabilities for each discrimination variable for Model 6 are displayed in Figures 5.5 and 5.6. Political

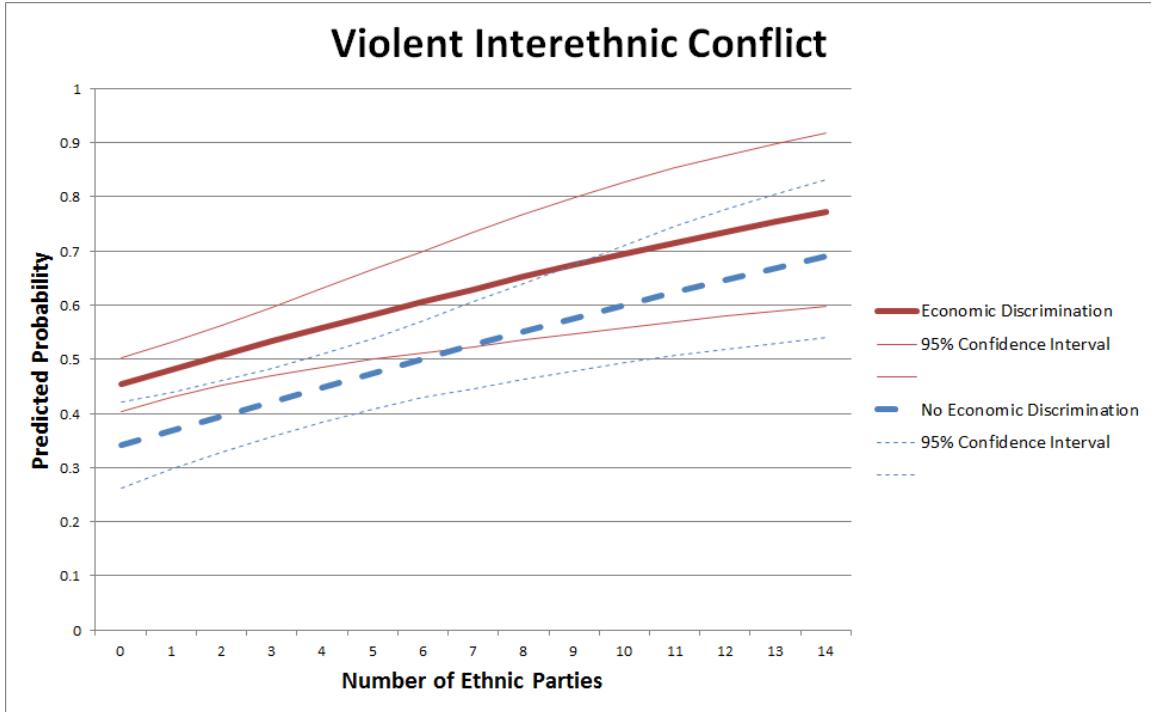
discrimination appears to have the larger impact on the likelihood of conflict, increasing the probability of conflict by between .15 and .19 over the range of the political discrimination variable, depending on the amount of intraethnic political competition. Economic discrimination has an effect of between .9 and .11 on the probability over the range of the variable, again, depending on the level of intraethnic political competition.

Figure 5.5: Predicted Probabilities for Interethnic Conflict with Political Discrimination



However, when examining the confidence intervals for these predicted probabilities, there does not appear to be a large substantive effect of either form of discrimination alone across the range of the variables. Therefore, I calculated the predicted probabilities and confidence intervals for high levels of discrimination and no measurable political or economic discrimination which are shown in Figure 5.7.

Figure 5.6: Predicted Probabilities for Violent Interethnic Conflict with Economic Discrimination

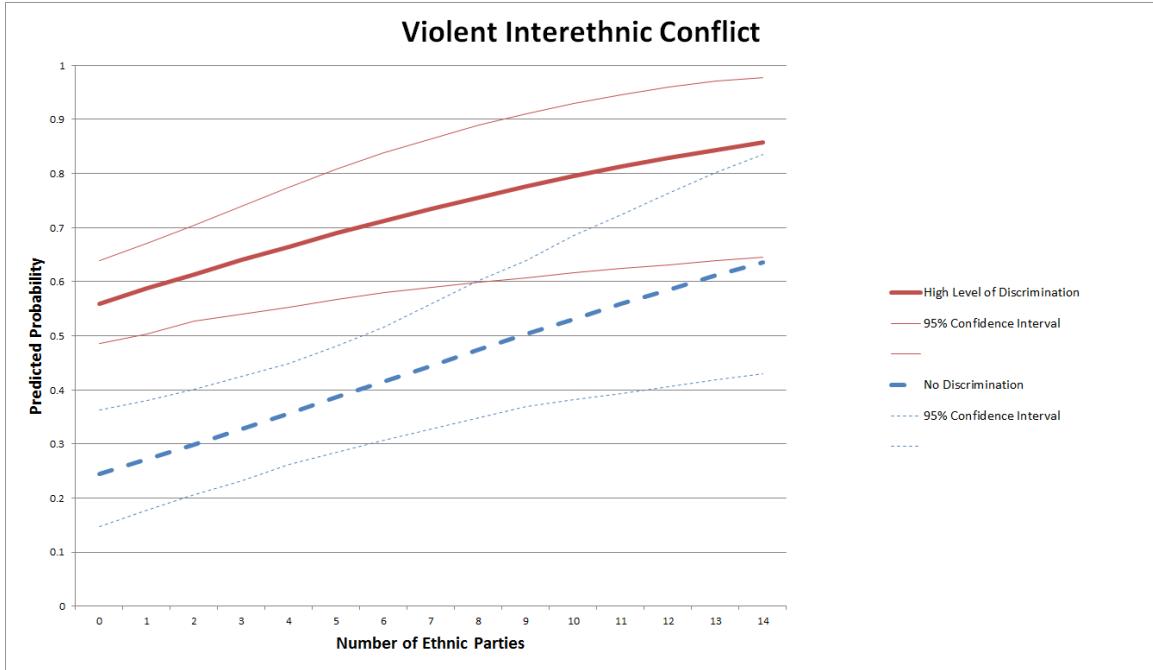


Similar to the findings for violent intraethnic conflict, at lower levels of intraethnic political competition, high levels of discrimination do increase the likelihood of violent interethnic conflict. However, once there are approximately eight parties representing the same ethnic group, the effect diminishes.

5.2.3 Effect of Regime Type

Additionally, regime type is positive and significant in Models 5 and 6. This finding initially appears counterintuitive in that democratic peace theory would suggest that democracies help society direct disputes and grievances through the channels of legitimate, peaceful politics and thus the more democratic a country, the less likely it should be to experience violent interethnic conflict. However, democracies

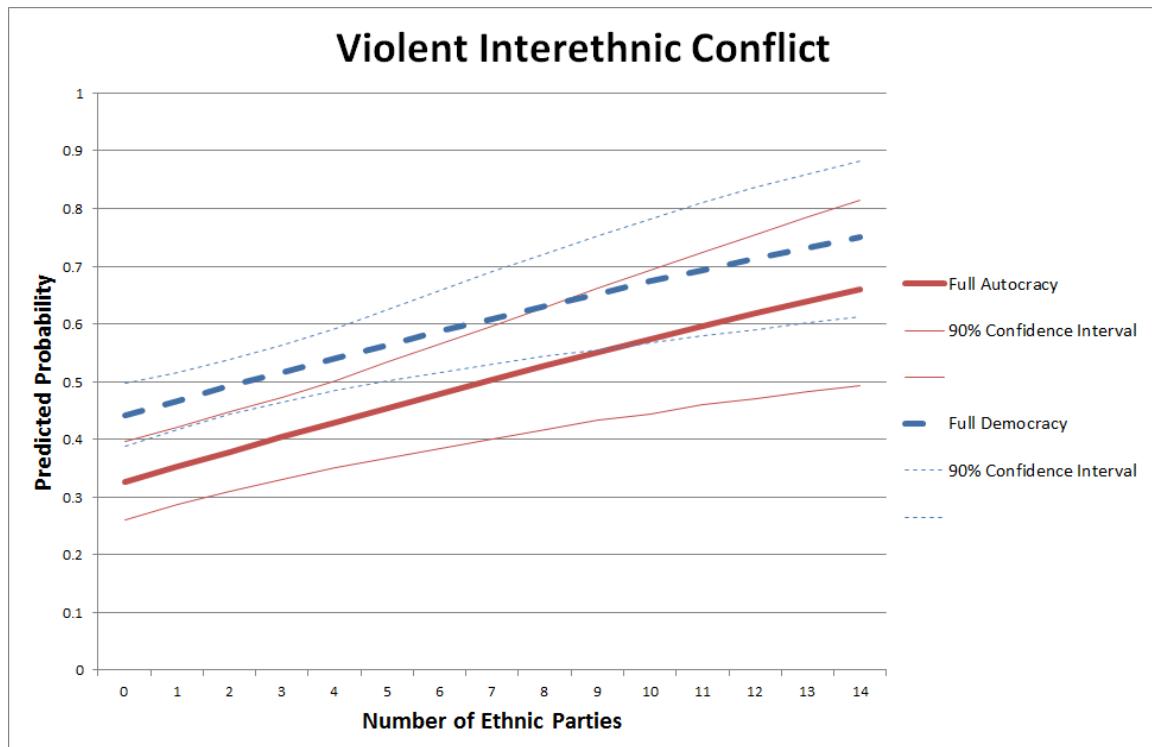
Figure 5.7: Predicted Probabilities for Violent Interethnic Conflict at High Levels and No Discrimination



also occasionally suffer from the tyranny of the majority and minority rights are not always fully protected. Additionally, democracies allow for freedom of speech and the airing of such grievances which allows ethnic party leaders to use ethnic out-bidding as a political strategy to gain supporters. Autocracies, on the other hand, which often fail to protect the rights of minorities, also often ban certain topics of speech and control the media. Indonesia under Suharto, which is discussed later in this dissertation, is often given as an example of an undemocratic regime that tried to suppress the expression of ethnic difference and the fomenting of interethnic conflict to preserve domestic stability. Thus, in thinking about the nature of and tactics available to a regime, it is not surprising that democracies may allow for more violent interethnic conflict than autocracies. However, in looking at Figure 5.8, the effect, while statistically significant, is less impressive substantively. The difference

between a full democracy (Polity=10) and a full autocracy (Polity=-8, the lowest score for a country with a group in this sample) with regard to probability of violent interethnic conflict when there is no intraethnic political competition and when it is very high is only .12 and .09, respectively. Moreover, when examining the ninety percent confidence intervals,³ it appears that only at the lowest levels of intraethnic political competition does regime type make a difference. However, autocracy does reduce the probability of interethnic violence by about .06 over the general model, and democracy increases the probability by about .04 over the range of intraethnic political competition.

Figure 5.8: Predicted Probabilities for Violent Interethnic Conflict for Select Values of Regime Type

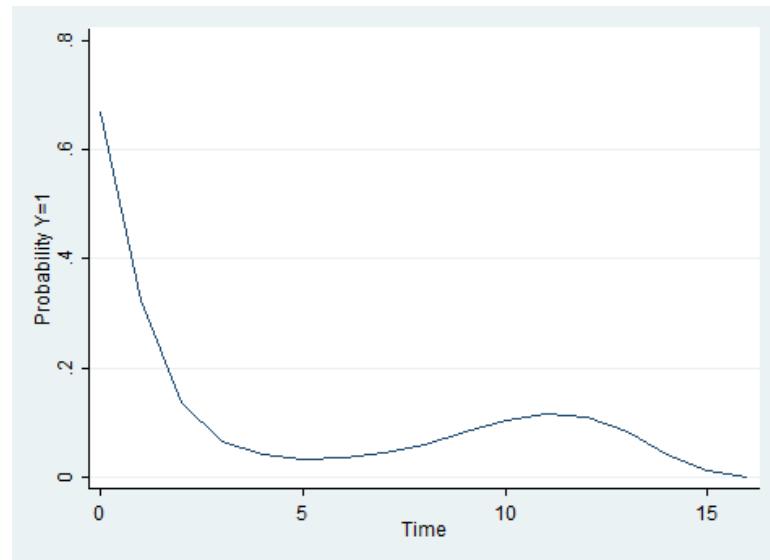


³Regime type is only significant at the .10 level in Model 6, therefore, the ninety percent confidence interval is presented rather than the usual and preferable ninety-five percent level.

5.2.4 Temporal Effects

The time variables are also all statistically significant in all the models. Figure 5.9 shows the hazard for violent interethnic conflict for Model 6. The risk of violent interethnic conflict falls sharply starting with the first year post-interethnic conflict and continues to drop to virtually zero by about four years. Again, there is a slight bump at about twelve years to .11, which again may be an anomaly in the data or represent an untheorized cyclical increase in probability.

Figure 5.9: Hazard for Violent Interethnic Conflict



5.3 Central Government Violence against the Local Majority

High levels of intraethnic political competition by local majorities in federal units are also likely ultimately to lead to increased levels of central government violence against the group. As local majority ethnic political parties engage in ethnic outbidding and increase tensions with the local minority, the local minority is likely to call upon the central government to intervene on its behalf. Because the local minority faces a security risk, the central government is likely to heed the call rather than suffer negative audience costs by not responding, especially if the local minority being targeted is co-ethnic with the governing elites and their constituents. The central government may also use the advent of violent interethnic conflict sparked by ethnic outbidding at the local level to assert its power and authority and to reclaim some of the power that was devolved to the federal unit, as the theory of the central tension in federal systems would predict. In the most restricted model, when interethnic violent conflict is present, the likelihood of the central government using force against the local majority increases by .60 from the minimum to the maximum range of intraethnic political competition.

5.3.1 Effect of Intraethnic Political Competition

To test this hypothesis, the probit results are configured slightly differently. Rather than testing the models on the whole unified sample, I constructed two separate sets of models, one in which violent interethnic conflict was present and one in which it was not. The results of the probit analysis displayed in Tables 5.4 and

5.5 lend support to this theory presented above. As mentioned earlier, the sample period is truncated as the repression variables were not included in the original MAR data until 1996. As expected, in none of the models in Table 5.4 is the ethnic political parties variable statistically significant. When intraethnic political competition does not lead to violent interethnic conflict, it also does not lead to violent central government intervention. The predicted probabilities showcase this lack of effect in Figure 5.10.

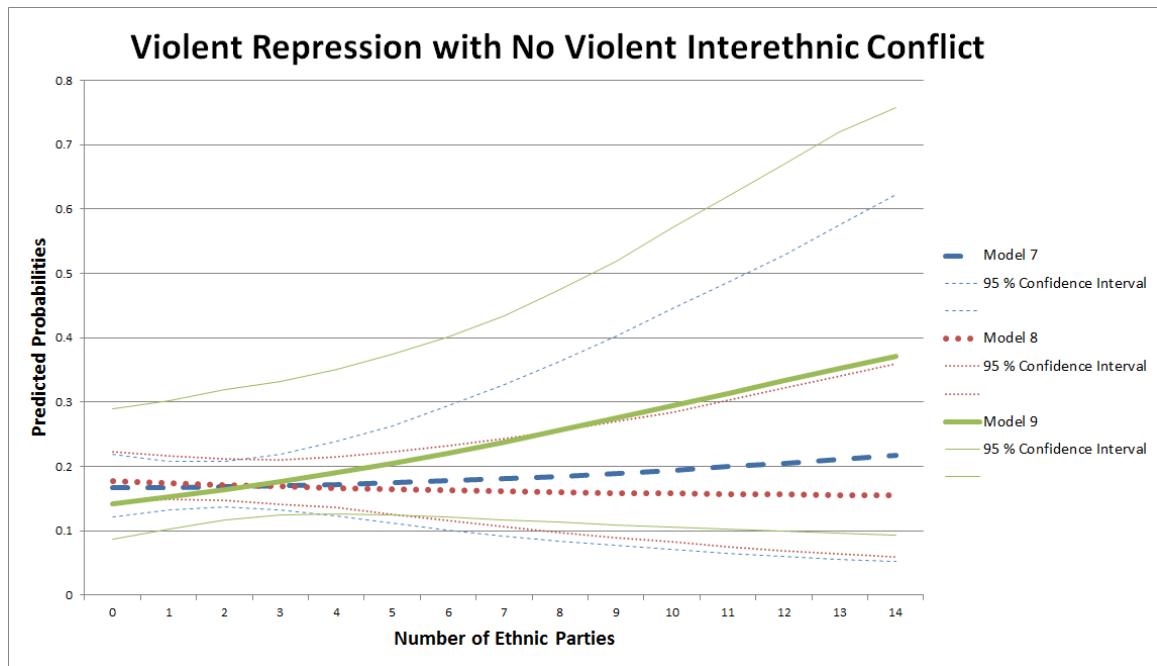
Table 5.4: Central Government Violence with No Violent Interethnic Conflict

	Models		
	(7)	(8)	(9)
	Simple	Time Dependence	Time & Weighted
Number of Ethnic Parties	0.00162 (0.0684)	-0.0286 (0.0568)	0.0843 (0.0673)
Discrimination	0.363*** (0.111)	0.306*** (0.0937)	0.290** (0.127)
Regime Type	-0.0664*** (0.0208)	-0.0528*** (0.0181)	-0.0301 (0.0231)
Group Concentration	0.0271 (0.156)	0.0132 (0.13)	0.0446 (0.165)
<i>t</i>		-1.207*** (0.217)	-0.849*** (0.314)
<i>t</i> ²		0.249*** (0.0574)	0.233** (0.116)
<i>t</i> ³		-0.0145*** (0.00437)	-0.018 (0.0112)
Constant	-1.793*** (0.472)	-0.723* (0.423)	-1.413** (0.625)
Observations	621	621	621
Robust standard errors in parentheses			
*** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1			

As is evident from the results in Table 5.4, when there is no interethnic violent conflict, intraethnic political competition has no effect on the likelihood of

violent central government action against the group. Increases in intraethnic political competition and the likely accompanying ethnic outbidding do not increase the likelihood of the central government intervening using force on behalf of the local minority in the absence of interethnic violence. The central government may want to usurp some of the power devolved to the federal unit but without interethnic violence, it does not have the political cover to do so. Figure 5.10 shows this lack of effect graphically.

Figure 5.10: Violent Government Intervention with No Violent Interethnic Conflict



However, when interethnic conflict is present, the level of intraethnic political competition increases the likelihood of central government using violence against the local majority in a federal unit dramatically. Table 5.5 displays the results of the probit models, and Figure 5.11 shows the predicted probabilities. In all of the models the increase in likelihood of central government violence toward the local

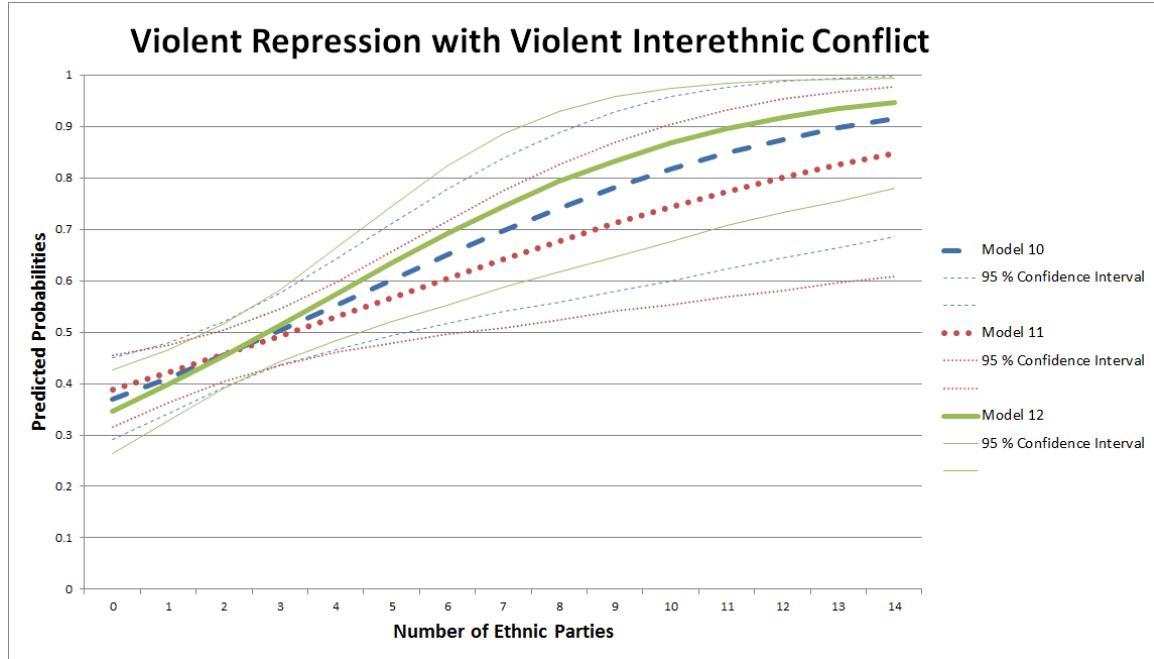
majority group increases substantially. In the uncorrected Model 10, the increase from the minimum to maximum of intraethnic conflict is .55; for time dependency corrected Model 11, the increase is slightly more modest at .46; and for the fully corrected Model 12, it is .60. These results show quite strong support for the theory that intraethnic political competition among an ethnic group in a federal country causes the central government to intervene using force when interethnic conflict breaks out.

Table 5.5: Central Government Violence with Violent Interethnic Conflict

	Models		
	(10)	(11)	(12)
	Simple	Time Dependence	Time & Weighted
Number of Ethnic Parties	0.196*** (0.0591)	0.166*** (0.0526)	0.255*** (0.0679)
Discrimination	0.405*** (0.107)	0.306*** (0.0902)	0.201 (0.147)
Regime Type	-0.0451** (0.0213)	-0.0412** (0.0182)	-0.0526* (0.0288)
Group Concentration	0.147 (0.131)	0.129 (0.108)	0.141 (0.146)
<i>t</i>		-0.881*** (0.184)	-0.776*** (0.224)
<i>t</i> ²		0.201*** (0.0557)	0.191*** (0.0563)
<i>t</i> ³		-0.0127*** (0.0043)	-0.0129*** (0.00453)
Constant	-2.047*** (0.371)	-1.197*** (0.319)	-1.221** (0.507)
Observations	418	418	418
Robust standard errors in parentheses			
*** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1			

However, I analyzed an additional model as a check on the results and to discount the rival hypothesis that the central government is really only intervening

Figure 5.11: Violent Government Intervention with Violent Interethnic Conflict



on law and order grounds, because there is violence occurring with its territory, no matter the cause or the victims. Table 5.6 shows the results of the probit model using the entire EGFC sample and includes intraethnic conflict and interethnic conflict as among the independent variables with central government violence as the dependent variable. Interestingly, violent intraethnic conflict does not have a statistically significant effect on the likelihood of the government using violence against the group, in the two corrected models. This discounts the argument that the central government will intervene with force to resolve any conflict in a federal country, regardless of the actors involved. It lends credence to the argument presented here that the central government's supporters do not pressure the central government to intervene to stop intraethnic conflict of an out-group and that if the central government wanted to intervene anyway in a power grab, local intraethnic violence does

not provide sufficient political cover.

Table 5.6: Central Government Violence, Full Sample

	Models		
	(13) Simple	(14) Time Dependence	(15) Time & Weighted
Number of Ethnic Parties	0.126*** (0.0514)	0.0999** (0.0418)	0.187*** (0.0539)
Intraethnic Conflict	0.485* (0.249)	0.297 (0.205)	0.287 (0.193)
Interethnic Conflict	0.501*** (0.153)	0.350** (0.144)	0.475** (0.192)
Discrimination	0.335*** (0.0890)	0.246*** (0.0724)	0.245** (0.119)
Regime Type	-0.0531*** (0.0166)	-0.0440*** (0.0128)	-0.391** (0.0186)
Group Concentration	0.0973 (0.131)	0.0843 (0.108)	0.0810 (0.146)
<i>t</i>		-0.991*** (0.135)	-0.781*** (0.186)
<i>t</i> ²		0.207*** (0.0382)	0.200*** (0.0576)
<i>t</i> ³		-0.0123*** (0.00304)	-0.0145*** (0.00553)
Constant	-2.007*** (0.375)	-0.998*** (0.323)	-1.500** (0.539)
Observations	1033	1033	1033
Robust standard errors in parentheses			
*** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1			

5.3.2 The Effect of Discrimination

Discrimination against the group by the majority also has a positive and statistically significant impact on violent repression of the group by the central government in all of the models except Model 12. If a central government discriminates against a group, it seems logical that it might be more likely to use violence against

that group as well, however, in the most complete model for the presence of violent interethnic conflict, this is not the case. The sample for these cases is restricted, however, and it may be that variation too is not sufficient to reveal the effect which may be small to begin with.

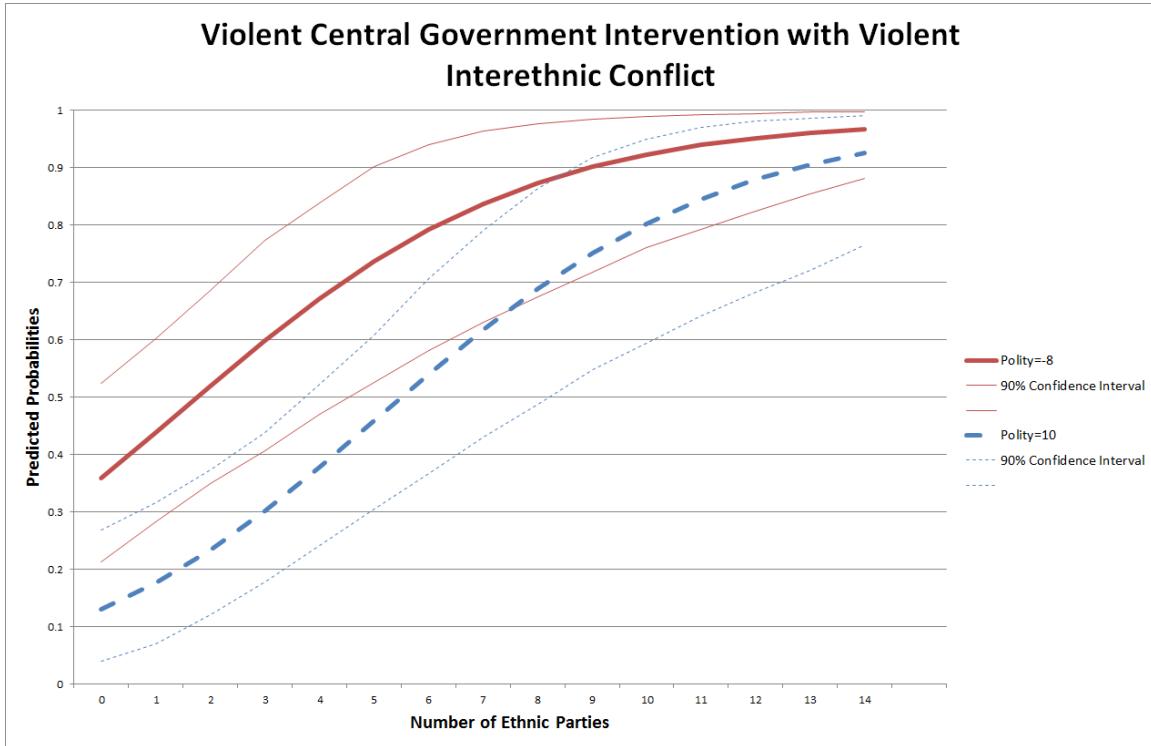
5.3.3 The Effect of Regime Type

As expected, democracy has a negative impact on violent repression in nearly all of the models. However, again, the effect may not be a great as anticipated. The difference in effect on the probability of violent repression between autocracies and full democracies is highest for moderate amounts of intraethnic political competition at .30, as shown in Figure 5.12. It is surprising that the impact of democracy is not stronger, given the purported restraint it entails. In full democracies, the likelihood that the government will use violence against a group with no ethnic political parties when interethnic conflict is present is already .13 and jumps to .30 when there are just three. At the high end, the difference in probability of repression between full democracies and full autocracies is just .04, .93 for full democracies and .97 for full autocracies. The confidence intervals do overlap, however, this is likely attributable to the sample being so restricted.

5.3.4 Temporal Effects

The variables modeling time dependence are all significant in both the models which contain them. As Figures 5.13 and 5.14 show, central government violence

Figure 5.12: Predicted Probabilities for Violent Central Government Intervention for Selected Values of Regime Type when Violent Interethnic Conflict Present



towards the group falls sharply in the first few years since the last violent repression to a low point at about four years at about .15 when there is not violent interethnic conflict and to about .175 when there is violent interethnic conflict present. However, the probability then again begins to increase to about .25 at six years for no interethnic violence and .32 when violent interethnic conflict is present. Given the limited time range of the data, it is difficult to say if this is truly a cyclical pattern of violent repression of ethnic groups, but future research may be warranted to further explore the possible existence of such a pattern.

Figure 5.13: Hazard for Central Government Violence without Violent Interethnic Conflict

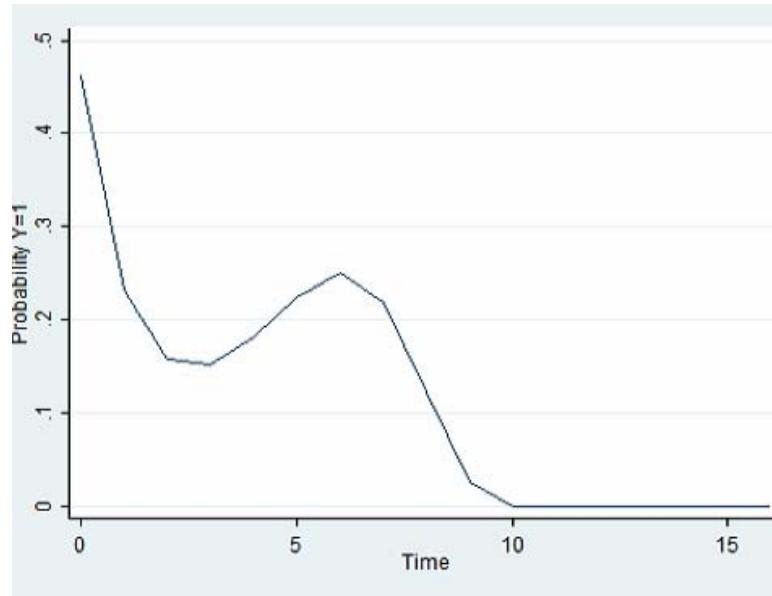
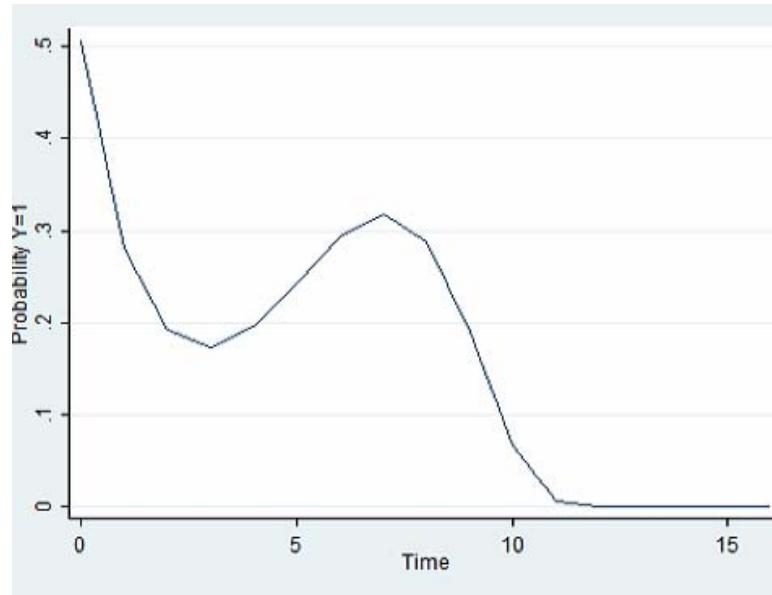


Figure 5.14: Hazard for Central Government Violence with Violent Interethnic Conflict



5.4 Rebellion

The final set of statistical models presented here shows the likelihood of group rebellion against the central government. It is my contention that there is no cor-

relation between intraethnic political competition and a group's propensity to rebel against the central government in a federal system. In general, the state will have greater capabilities regarding the use of force. Engaging it in violent conflict will be very costly and the outcome uncertain. If the local majority has effective political control over the federal unit or at least the opportunity to have this control, then the amount of internal competition for political power at the local level will not increase the group's likelihood to rebel. While the results of the statistical model show a positive and statistically significant relationship between intraethnic political competition and anti-regime rebellion, the predicted probabilities show that this relationship is extremely small so as to be substantively insignificant. However, central government violence against the local majority does increase the likelihood of rebellion, supporting the theory that the mechanism for the violence by the local majority against the state is the central government's forceful intervention into the federal unit.

5.4.1 The Effect of Intraethnic Political Competition

At first glance the models appear to support many of the predictions that intraethnic political competition and the proliferation of ethnic political parties leads to group violence against the state, since the coefficient for number of ethnic parties in Table 5.7 is positive and statistically significant. Many scholars and policy makers alike assume that ethnic political parties will inherently be conflictual and will naturally lead to rebellion against the state in the pursuit of greater autonomy

or independence, especially in federal systems. Party leaders may decide that is better to be the head of a small independent country than the head of a province within a larger state, or that threatening and initiating such action may buy more concessions from the central government (Jenne 2007).

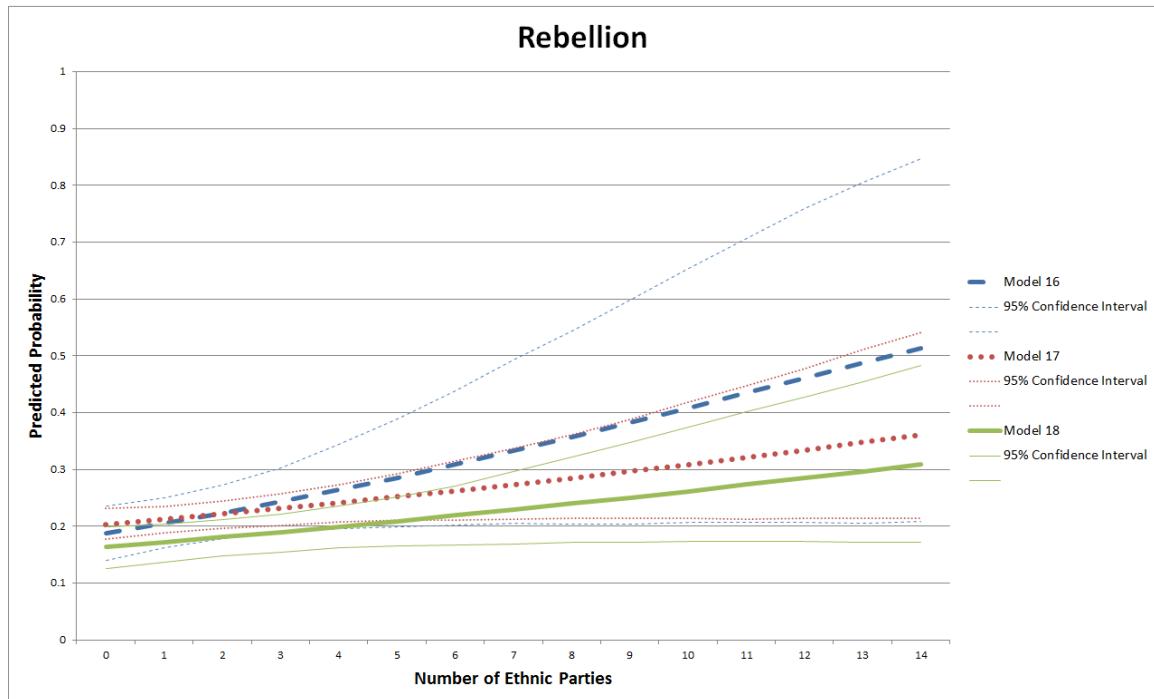
Table 5.7: Rebellion

	Models		
	(16)	(17)	(18)
	Simple	Time Dependence	Time & Weighted
Number of Ethnic Parties	0.0969** (0.0492)	0.0746** (0.0374)	0.0648** (0.0328)
Government Violence	1.593*** (0.212)	1.053*** (0.183)	1.048*** (0.248)
Separatism	0.205* (0.113)	0.115 (0.0805)	0.104 (0.0781)
Discrimination	0.130 (0.111)	0.0826 (0.0825)	0.0806 (0.0957)
Regime Type	0.0448** (0.0217)	0.0301* (0.0162)	0.0218 (0.0158)
Group Concentration	0.229 (0.158)	0.181 (0.122)	0.203* (0.122)
<i>t</i>		-1.106*** (0.142)	-0.799*** (0.176)
<i>t</i> ²		0.182*** (0.0304)	0.142*** (0.0408)
<i>t</i> ³		-0.00888*** (0.00183)	-0.00783*** (0.00254)
Constant	-2.987*** (0.467)	-1.236*** (0.415)	-1.712*** (0.363)
Observations	1,059	1,059	1,059
Robust standard errors in parentheses			
*** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1			

However, in looking at the predicted probabilities for the three models with all of the control variables at their observed values shown in Figure 5.15, the substantive effect of intraethnic political competition is quite modest, especially when focussing

on the lower bound of Model 18's confidence interval that shows just a .05 increase in probability of rebellion when going from no intraethnic political competition to very high levels of intraethnic political competition. All things being equal, the more intraethnic political competition that exists, the only slightly more likely a group is to engage in rebellious activity. This is an important part of the overall ethnic politics and violent conflict story. While intraethnic political competition is causally related to some forms of violent conflict in federal countries, it is not substantially more likely to cause a group to rebel against the central government, *ceteris paribus*.

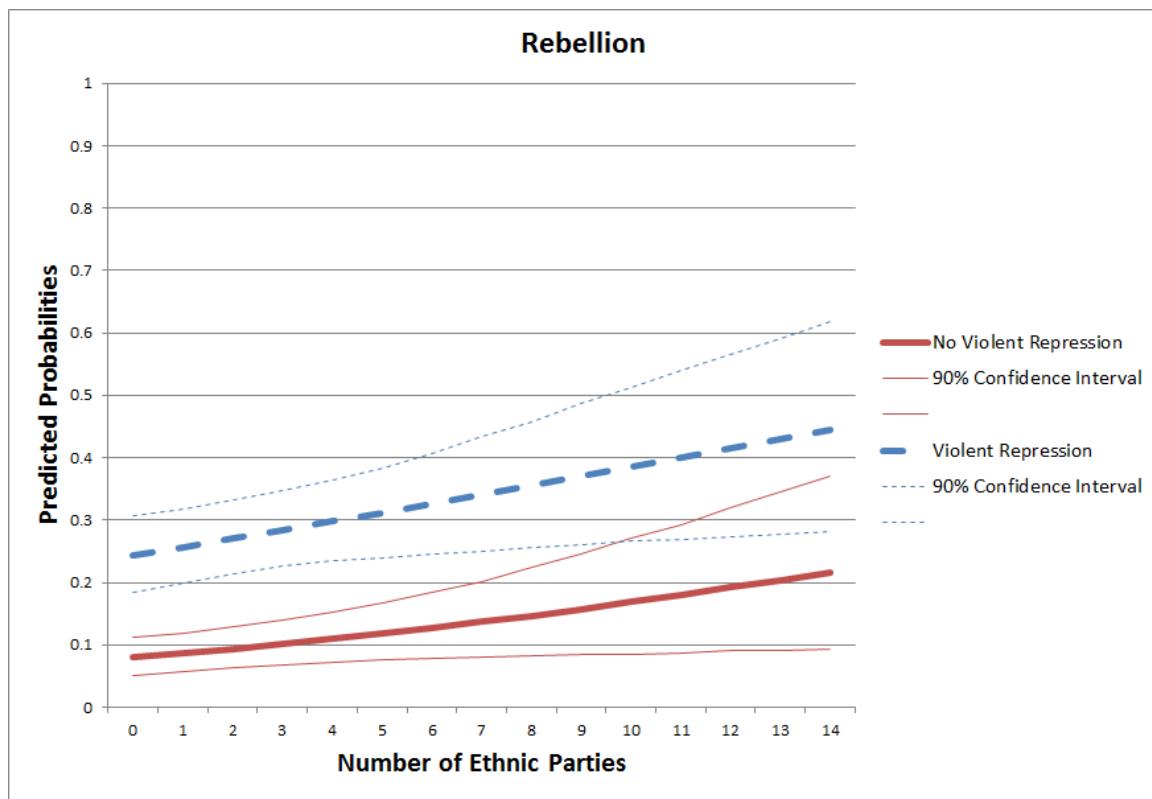
Figure 5.15: Predicted Probabilities for Rebellion



When examining the effect of central government use of force over the range of intraethnic political conflict, however, there is more evidence of an effect. The predicted probabilities in Figure 5.16 show that the more intraethnic political competition there is in the presence of violent central government repression, the more

likely the group is to engage in anti-regime violence. This finding indicates that while increased political competition within the local majority in a federal system by itself is not likely to lead to rebellion, when the central government uses force against the group, anti-regime violence is more likely. While the effect is not extreme in magnitude, the likelihood of the local majority engaging in anti-regime rebellion given central government violence is .16 to .23 higher over the range of intraethnic political competition than when there is no central government violence, ranging from a probability of .24 to .45.

Figure 5.16: Predicted Probabilities for Rebellion for Violent Repression



One limitation of using annually collected data, however, is that it is not possible to distinguish which happened first in each of the observations. It is possible that the rebellious actions by the group happened before the central government

violent repression. It is also possible that a single act of central government violence or group rebellion happened in a given year or many, with the variable reflecting the same code. Lagging the violent repression variable by a year is a possibility that at least guarantees the order in which the violence occurs, but also means that the incidents of repression and rebellion could be up to two years apart and almost a hundred observations with no earlier observation for violent repression are lost. Additionally, running the models with the lagged repression variable does not reveal additional useful results. The qualitative case studies will attempt to draw this mechanism out more clearly.

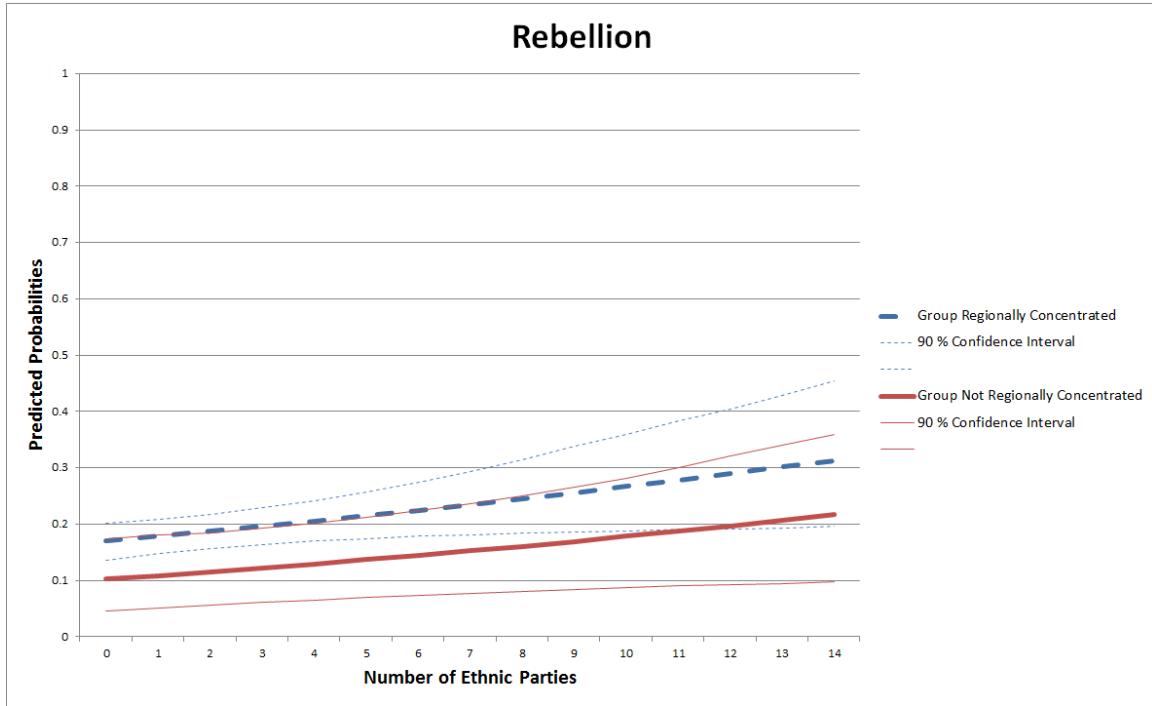
5.4.2 The Effect of Group Concentration

The variable measuring group concentration is positive and statistically significant in all the models of rebellion likelihood. This result would seem to reflect other recent prominent theories (Toft 2003; Saideman and Ayers 2000) that territorially concentrated groups are more politically and economically integrated and have greater capacity to rebel. The predicted probabilities for rebellion when there is high and low regional concentration are displayed in Figure 5.17. However, the effect is extremely modest, having little substantive effect.

5.4.3 Temporal Effects

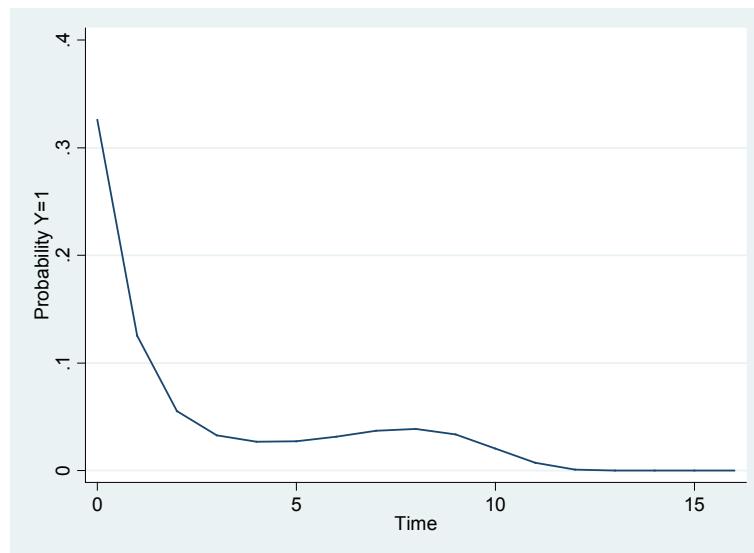
The cubic polynomials are all statistically significant for the probabilities of rebellion as we would also expect. The occurrence of past rebellion influences the

Figure 5.17: Predicted Probabilities for Rebellion for Group Concentration



current likelihood of rebellion. The probability of rebellion decreases rapidly after the first year with no rebellion and is almost zero by four years post-rebellion as shown in Figure 5.18.

Figure 5.18: Hazard for Rebellion



5.5 Discussion

As the above results show, the statistical models generally support the theory proposed in this dissertation. The increase of political competition within a local majority population in a federal country increases the likelihood of several categories of violent conflict. While for many of the effects the predicted probabilities seem to show that they are somewhat modest, it is important to keep in mind that the outcome variables are violent conflict which is statistically speaking a rare event in most places, even among those groups that have a reputation for violence. They are not constantly wracked by brutality at every turn. Violence happens sporadically among many other political events. That there are measurable, statistically significant findings at all is important to note, especially given the relatively small sample size considering the universe and the limited duration of the sample.

Another important point to keep in mind when assessing the findings above is the role of federalism in creating the conditions and incentives for intraethnic political competition to turn violent at the local level. The effect of federalism on subnational violence has not previously been subjected to such rigorous testing as the statistical analysis above. In discussing the specific findings above, it is easy to become consumed by the technical details and to lose sight of the broader narrative of what they say when pieced together. Additionally, the purpose of this research is not to compare unitary versus federal countries but rather to explore the mechanisms at work regarding intraethnic political competition and violent conflict within federal countries.

The highest levels of intraethnic political competition increase the likelihood of violent intraethnic conflict by more than three times over little to no intraethnic political competition in federal countries. This increase is at least partly due to the relatively high desirability of holding local offices which increases competition for them. Because ethnic politics is primarily patronage-based and not programmatic, parties have few ways to distinguish themselves to potential supporters. One way to gain and maintain supporters is through policing and intimidation of communities using vast social networks. Using violence against would-be defectors is one tactic available to ethnic parties. Additionally, they may also use violence against their co-ethnic rivals to show their strength and other's weakness.

Political discrimination against the group, controlling for other variables, increases the likelihood of violent intraethnic conflict. While this effect is small, it is interesting, because it is unexpected. Conventional wisdom would suggest that in the face of political discrimination against the group by the central government, the group would be unified in opposition. However, these data show the opposite effect, that political discrimination increases the likelihood of violent intraethnic conflict. It may be that this political discrimination increases group tensions in general making conflict over how the group should or should not respond more likely to become violent. It may also be that political discrimination by the central government against the group raises the stakes in terms of the importance of the group as an entity and of the political parties acting on its behalf.

On the other hand, simply stated, with regard to violent intraethnic conflict and number of ethnic political parties, the level of group concentration does not

matter. That is not to say that group concentration would never matter, as probit and logit models are inherently interactive, so it would also depend on the other variables in the model. It is possible that the selection criteria of federal system soaks up much of the variation within the group concentration variable, in that federal systems are often a response to the demands of diverse, yet regionally concentrated populations with groups demanding some amount of autonomy. Table 5.8 compares the difference in frequencies between the EGFC sample and all of the existing AMAR sample, and one can see that the percentage for the highest category is more than twelve percentage points higher in the EGFC sample. This may explain why group concentration is not significant in the models in that federal systems have a higher percentage of concentrated ethnic groups.

Table 5.8: Comparison of Group Concentration in EGFC and AMAR

		(a) AMAR				(b) EGFC	
		Freq.	Percent			Freq.	Percent
Widely persered	dis-	1,308	13.97	Widely persered	dis-	149	9.34
Primarily urban or minority in one region		1,303	13.92	Primarily urban or minority in one region		225	14.11
Majority in one region		1,700	18.16	Majority in one region		200	12.54
Concentrated in one region		4,861	51.93	Concentrated in one region		1,021	64.01

With regard to violence between ethnic groups, intraethnic political competition also increases its likelihood in federal countries. The local majority intraethnic political competition leads to ethnic outbidding against the local minority which increases tensions between groups. That the source of interethnic violence at the

subnational level is internal ethnic political competition is a novel assertion. It also partially explains why so many ethnic groups live together or side by side peacefully and never engage in interethnic violence. If there are low levels of intraethnic political competition within the groups, outbidding does not occur. Again, federalism is essential to the theory, because the devolution of power makes it possible for local majorities which may be small minorities in the country as a whole, to compete for and gain access to political, administrative and fiscal power. The results presented above suggest that internal political competition within the local majority for access to power at the federal level leads to local interethnic violence.

Furthermore, the combined discrimination index does show a substantial amount of difference between high and low levels of combined discrimination, despite the separate political and economic discrimination variables having a limited impact. This suggests that perhaps it is the combined effect of both economic and political discrimination against a group by the central government that makes it more likely for a local majority to experience interethnic conflict. If the government is discriminating against the local majority in favor of a local minority, which is perhaps co-ethnic with the national majority, it may be easier to mobilize members of the local majority community to violence through outbidding as they already have grievances caused by political and economic discrimination.

The tests for the impact of intraethnic political competition on the likelihood of central government use of violence against the group was slightly different in that the sample was split into two subsamples: one in which violent conflict occurs and one in which it does not. In the model in which it occurs, intraethnic political competition

has a positive and statistically significant effect on the central government's use of violence against the group. In the sample that does not have interethnic violence, the intraethnic political competition does not have an effect. This finding clearly shows that the greater the level of intraethnic political competition, the greater the likelihood of central government violence against the group. When there is no intraethnic political competition, the difference between the samples' predicted probability of central government violence is .20, however, this difference increases as intraethnic political competition increases to .58 at the highest level of intraethnic political competition measured. Again, the federal nature of the countries in which the groups live is particularly important for the functioning of the mechanism tested here. The central government must consider audience costs and will also be looking for ways to grab power back from the local governments. To discount the rival theory that the central government uses force to maintain law and order, I analyzed a model in which I used the full EGFC sample and included variables for intraethnic conflict and interethnic conflict and found that intraethnic conflict does not have an effect on the likelihood of central government use of force against the group. This suggests that the central government in federal systems does not just intervene in violent local conflicts to maintain peace generally but that they make strategic decisions based on pressure from supporters. If supporters do not agree with the central government intervening in another group's intraethnic violence, then the government does not have to intervene and would not be able to use the violence as cover if it wanted to make a power grab.

Finally, the test of the impact of intraethnic political competition on the like-

lihood of rebellion shows that it has almost no effect when looking at the predicted probabilities. This is particularly important in terms of thinking about how federal systems can and should be structured. Some have found and many assume that allowing ethnic groups in federal systems have their own local ethnic political parties increases their likelihood of rebellion (Brancati 2006, 2009), however, the theory and findings here suggest that is simply not the case. If a group has political control of its own federal unit or is allowed at least to compete for said control, these results suggest that such autonomy is enough, *ceteris paribus*, and that they are not more likely to pursue violence against the government. However, if the central government does use force against the ethnic group, then the likelihood of the ethnic group responding with violence in-kind does increase. This finding lends support to the assertion that the path to local majority group anti-regime rebellion is not through separatism based on intensifying of identities but rather the central government forceful intervention, which may be a result of interethnic violence caused by ethnic outbidding at the local level.

Chapter 6: Indonesia

The purpose of this chapter is to introduce the historical and institutional factors regarding Indonesia that are relevant to the theory put forth in this dissertation. This chapter goes into particular detail about decentralization and functional federalism in Indonesia. It then details the development of the post-Suharto political party system and the restrictions put upon the formation of political parties. It concludes with the discussion of some summary statistics on types and scale of violence committed from 1997-2013 in nine Indonesian provinces. This general chapter on Indonesia is based both on secondary sources as well as interviews conducted with local and international experts in-country over a two-week period in May 2013. As the next chapter which details the cases studies is based more substantially on the data gathered in the field, the process and method will be described in greater detail there.

Indonesia is an ideal place to conduct comparative research on ethnic politics in a decentralized system for several reasons. While it resists the moniker ‘federal’ for historical reasons discussed in more detail below, it is more decentralized than many countries which do call themselves federal. Additionally, it is large and extremely diverse. According to the 2010 census, the population was 237,641,326. Indonesian

law requires that every person have a religion, and according to the census, eighty-seven percent are Muslim, ten percent are Christian, two percent Hindu and less than one percent are Buddhist (Indonesia Census 2010). Furthermore, there are more than 300 main ethnic groups, that speak an estimated 700 languages (Embassy of Indonesia 2013). However, the minority ethnic groups and minority religious groups are often concentrated in various parts of the country, see the map of ethnic groups below in Figure 6.1. These ethnic groups exist in just about every combination of minority-majority arrangements one can imagine. There are provinces in which one group comprises the vast majority of the population and very small ethnic groups make up the minority, provinces with a plurality population but no majority, as well as provinces with two dominant groups that are approximately equal in size and that have a few small minorities. In these same provinces, the groups may all be of the same religion, same religion with different interpretations, two groups may have the same with one different or all of different religions. Groups also have different dispersement patterns with some concentrated in certain districts with co-ethnics across a provincial border, while in other provinces the groups are not particularly concentrated territorially. Because of this great diversity of demographic and thus political dynamics and because the theory here applies to local politics, it is possible to select several groups in different provinces in Indonesia to examine and compare how the different levels of intraethnic political competition impact the likelihood of the various forms of violent conflict. Examining three cases in the same country has the advantage of controlling for many national level variables that in comparing subnational cases from different countries would need to be taken into account.

Figure 6.1: Ethnic Group Map of Indonesia



While Indonesia's diversity provides many options for testing theories about ethnic politics and conflict, the array of options is daunting. Given this vast menu of groups, I have chosen to study three ethnic groups that vary with regard to the dependent variables, both quantitatively and qualitatively. They vary quantitatively in terms of presence and absence of the violence theorized. They also vary with regard to how violence, when present, manifests itself whether as mass violence with many participants and victims or individual targeted killing or subtle intimidation. First, I have chosen the Dayaks of West Kalimantan. They do not make up an absolute majority in the province, however, they have dominated some aspects of

local government since the fall of Suharto and have been engaged in political violence which was previously more mass violence but has lately been more subtle. The second group is the Balinese of Bali. This group makes up a majority of the population of the island, although there are many economic transmigrants from Java and elsewhere in the archipelago. Bali saw several incidents of mass anti-migrant and election related violence in 1999. Since then, tensions have remained high but violence has been primarily small scale vigilante violence and intimidation.¹ While the law does not permit the establishment of local ethnic political parties in either of these provinces, ethnic politics is still a major part of the political system there as the cases will demonstrate. Finally, the Acehnese of Aceh are a group that was until 2004 engaged in open rebellion against the central government when a devastating tsunami hit the region and forced both sides to negotiate a sincere peace agreement. Aceh is important and interesting for a number of reasons, however, in terms of the present research, it is the only Indonesian province explicitly allowed by law to have local political parties which can nominate candidates for local executive positions and compete in local legislative elections. Since the peace agreement was signed, there has been violence in the province committed by the Acehnese, manifested primarily in the form of targeted killings and political intimidation.

¹The exceptions being the October 12, 2002, bombing in the tourist area of Kuta which targeted Western tourists and Indonesians and was planned and financed by Jemaah Islamiyah (*BBC News* 10-11-2012), and the October 1, 2005, bombings in Kuta and Jimbaran Bay with similar terrorist ties (*CNN International* 10-2-2005).

6.1 *Reformasi* and Decentralization

Part of what also makes Indonesia interesting for the current research is the “big bang” decentralization it has undergone since 1999 and the direct election of local executives (governors, district heads (*bupati*) and mayors, and village heads) since 2005. Decentralization in Indonesia after the fall of Suharto is loosely compared to the creation of the Universe in that it went from being highly centralized to expanding authority outward very rapidly, the initial laws being drafted and passed in less than a year (Alm et al. 2004). According to experts with whom I spoke, the process had to happen all at once or else support would have wained and the factions against decentralization would have won out. After Suharto stepped down, Habibie became president, and being fond of decentralization, he convened a group of seven academics to draft the 1999 election law and then the decentralization law (Law 3/1999 and Law 22/1999).

Following Suharto’s resignation in May 1998, the central government began a program of devolving political, administrative and some fiscal power and establishing regional autonomy. Suharto’s New Order regime, as many autocratic regimes, had attempted to centralize power as much as possible and installed military leaders and others loyal to the regime in local government positions in the periphery to maintain control. The new government emphasized a devolution to the district level in 1999 rather than to the provincial level for fear that giving large units such autonomy would encourage secession. While this has been pointed out as a sly innovation of the post-Suharto leadership, Ferrazzi (2000) points out that it is really just a

continuation of New Order policies which favored district over provincial power, because, after all, much of the New Order regime was still in power in 1999. Because of the overwhelming demand for regional autonomy, decentralization of power was seen by many in the government as the only way to preserve the territorial integrity of Indonesia and to prevent the breakup of the country, although there were many against it including the military and at least two of the opposition parties, Indonesia Democratic Party of Struggle (PDI-P) and Partei Democrat (PD). The thought was also that district level governments are closer to the people and would be better able to deliver public services to the population. However, because the 1999 Regional Autonomy Law (Law 22/1999) gave power to the districts (*kabupaten and kota*) to pass laws on matters not reserved for the central government without giving the provincial level of government oversight, the legal system became a vast and complicated maze of regulations, many of which were unnecessary, contradictory and unconstitutional (Butt 2010, 180). In 2004, the central government replaced the 1999 law with a Regional Governance Law (Law 32/2004), which among other things gave the provinces more power to legislate and to oversee as well as made the provincial governors official representatives of the central government, clawing back some of the power that the 1999 law had devolved (Butt 2010, 180). Not surprisingly given its initial opposition to decentralization, this partial recentralization of power happened under the PDI-P-led government.

However, the word and in some ways the concept of ‘federalism’ is controversial and not popular despite the fact that Indonesia is more decentralized than many countries calling themselves federal. Briefly, the 1945 Constitution which ac-

accompanied Indonesia's declaration of independence made Indonesia a unitary state. However, the Dutch were reluctant to give up their colony and fought a four year war to hold onto it. In December 1949, the two parties reached a negotiated settlement at the Round Table Conference. The Dutch fought hard to hold on to power in the outer provinces and had pushed for a federal system to be created in which it would have substantial ties and control in various regions, and thus the Republic of the United States of Indonesia which had been created in 1947 was recognized by the Dutch. However, the arrangement was ungovernable and gave the outer regions in which the Dutch still had informal relations more power than their populations warranted. By May 1950, the legislature passed the 1950 Provincial Constitution redeclaring Indonesia once again unitary. Apparently, even those who supported federalism at the time also supported a return to the 1945 Constitution while refashioning a federal system more attuned to local wants and needs rather than live with the imperially imposed, artificial system (Ferrazzi 2000). Under Sukarno and Suharto and his New Order that followed, the state increasingly centralized power despite paying lip-service to regional autonomy. For instance, the appointment of provincial governors and district heads had to be approved by the central government, meaning that any power devolved to the local level was ultimately still in the central government's hands, and these officials were often military officers as well, giving another element of control over them to the central government. In the immediate aftermath of Suharto's resignation and the debates about in what direction the Indonesian state should head, federalism was briefly proposed and was vehemently opposed, while decentralization was a *sine qua non*. As discussed earlier,

federalism and unitarism are at two extremes of a spectrum, with few states lying at either end and with most somewhere in the middle. It is clear that Indonesia is not at the extreme end of federalism, but it has also moved much closer to it since 1998. As described in more detail below, Indonesia has some areas in which power is more devolved than others. It also has many of the tensions present in other federal systems between the center and the periphery trying to grab power from the other. The relationship between the central government and the special autonomous provinces, one of which is Aceh and is included in the case studies, is even closer to the federal end of the spectrum. Functionally, Indonesia is much closer to the federal end of the spectrum than to the unitary end, as enshrined in the constitution and implementing legislation.

6.2 Types of Decentralization in Indonesia

Before discussing the areas in which the central government devolved power, it is important to understand the proliferation of new provinces and districts that also occurred. Between 1999 and 2009, 205 new autonomous regions were created as part of the *pemekaran* or ‘blossoming’ which endeavored to grant political control to concentrated minorities in an effort to avert interethnic conflict. Because the creation of so many new local governments resulted largely in corruption and mismanagement rather than better delivery of services, the government put a moratorium on the creation of new regions for a period until 2012, when another twelve were created (Sukarsono 2013).

Of the three areas of devolution of power generally discussed, political, administrative and fiscal, the first two have been deeply felt. Many have asserted that the extreme devolution of power to the district level has created little kingdoms in which local leaders exercise large amounts of decision-making power with little regard for coordination with other districts or the provincial government and increase their personal wealth in the process. The 1999 reform laws allowed for provincial governors, district heads and mayors to be elected by the regional parliaments rather than being appointed by the central government, and the 2004 law on regional governance allowed for the direct election of these officials (Law 32/2004). Simandjuntak asserts that this decentralizing of the political system with direct election of local district heads has allowed for the perpetuation of a system based on patronage which is largely ethnically based at the local level. She states “patronage democracy is exceptionally evident in Indonesia’s local elections, where the elite’s ethnic favouritism is demonstrated during campaigns with speeches made in ethnic languages, campaigns treated like ‘traditional’ meetings between chiefs and followers, and money given to ‘buy’ votes being treated as gifts that are expected traditionally” (2012, 110). Additionally, Ufen (2011) asserts that allowing the direct election of governors, district heads and mayors has led to a more candidate-centered system which has spurred party fragmentation. Popular local elites can appeal directly to supporters and employ their social networks to increase support and then ‘shop’ for the party that will provide the best support while requiring the least in return.

The regional autonomy laws also devolve much of the power that had been

reserved for the central government to the regions with the exception of “a. foreign policies; b. defense; c. security; d. judicial policies; e. national monetary and fiscal policies; and f. religious affairs” (Law 32/2004, Art. 10(3); Law 22/1999, Art.7(1)).

This shift is a substantial change from the system under the New Order regime and happened so hastily that many local governments were ill prepared to take over such areas as public works, health, communications, agriculture and other matters, and in most cases, these local governments performed no better at delivering services than had the central government. However, proponents of decentralization in the regions were not satisfied with the central government granting regional autonomy by a law that it could easily revoke at any time. Instead, they pushed for constitutional amendments that would guarantee decentralization. Therefore, in 2000, the Constitution of the Republic of Indonesia was amended and Article 18 which governs the regional governments was expanded and included such guarantees as “Regional Governments . . . shall themselves regulate and administer matters of government on the basis of autonomy . . . [,] shall implement autonomy to the fullest extent except in matters of government that are determined by law to be matters for the Central Government. . . . [and] have the right to enact regional regulations and other regulations in order to implement autonomy . . . ” (Art. 18(2), (5), (6)).

With regard to fiscal power, there is a heated debate about how far devolution of power has really gone. While, the central government has doubled the share of funds it transfers back to local governments and allows them to decide on how to use the funds (Siddiquee, Nastiti and Sejati 2012, 48), they all flow through Jakarta. The base funds also only amount to about twenty-six percent of the net

internal revenue in the central budget according to the Law on Fiscal Balance (Law 33/2004, Art. 27). They are redistributed based on criteria including province size and population. Additionally, there are different criteria and a higher proportion of return for revenues derived from natural resources extraction and certain other commercial activities. This was a major point of contention under the New Order regime in regions with more wealth who felt that the regime just took their revenues, and they saw little of them in return. Surprisingly, the formula that the post-Suharto central government has developed to distribute the funds it gives back to the regions has been relatively uncontroversial at the regional level. It was so fair and transparent, however, that national level legislators were irked that they could not fund pet projects in their regions, so they created a separate fund that they could distribute at their own discretion. This practice is questionable on constitutional grounds and will likely be struck down by the Constitutional Court. Local governments are also able to raise a small amount of their own funds through “taxes on hotels and restaurants, mining, advertising, street lighting tax, entertainment tax, and parking tax” as well as user charges and income from various enterprises (Siddiquee, Nastiti and Sejati 2012, 49). Some remain skeptical of how meaningful this fiscal decentralization really is, given that the resources still ultimately come primarily from the central government and that the central government still maintains control over state-owned corporations (Firman 2009, 146). One expert interviewed asserted that the government also asserted control over spending in the regional governments by creating and funding projects in the regions but insisting that they be implemented according to central government specifications.

As Riker would predict, just as the government clawed back some power with the 2004 Regional Autonomy Law, the district level officials have also ‘over-awed’ their powers and in several cases have ignored court decisions. In West Kotawaringin district in Central Kalimantan province, for example, local councillors have ignored a 2010 Constitutional Court ruling that overturned the district head election due to evidence of widespread fraud and have done so with impunity (International Crisis Group (ICG) 138 2012, 8-10). In two other cases, local officials have rejected permits by Christian congregations to build churches and have ignored appellate court rulings overturning the rejections (ICG 138 2012, 12-17). However, local officials, often retort that it is the central government that is over stepping its bounds and interfering in matters outside of those areas reserved for it under the laws on regional governance, especially in the special autonomous regions like Aceh and Papua. If institutions of the central government can overturn decisions and actions by local institutions, then autonomy is meaningless, they argue.

6.3 Powers Not Devolved

6.3.1 Security

A set of functions that remained clearly vested with the central government is security including a national police force (Polri) as well as the territorial units of the Indonesian military (KODAMs) (Jansen 2008). Under Suharto, the police had been directly under the control of the military, however, after his fall, the process of removing the police from the military command structure began and by 2000, all

ties had been severed and the police were under civilian control (Jansen 2008, 432).

According to some on the ground in the provinces, this just created two competing armed groups with high levels of capacity and dense local networks of both legal and illegal businesses which they can facilitate and exploit. The military is charged not only with defense of the Indonesia from external threats but with addressing internal threats as well. Under Suharto, the regional commands of the military, (*Komando Daerah Militer*) KODAMs, were interspersed within the population areas over which they had jurisdiction, rather than separated outside of populated areas, as a measure of increased control, see Figure 6.2. This practice has continued in the reform period through the present as the military argued that it could best protect the people this way. The military is one of the institutions that continued from the New Order era into the reform period, and it also has the most capacity. The military and police's power, especially in the outlying provinces, can be extremely problematic for attempting to implement a democratic system and can exacerbate conflict at the local level, as discussed further in the cases below.

Interestingly, in 2012, the government enacted a Law on the Management of Social Conflict (Law 7/2012), which has received criticism from many different perspectives. Some say that it is the government's way of shirking its responsibility for addressing pressing social problems and pushing them off onto local leaders (*The Jakarta Post* 12-11-2012). They say that the government has been criticized for being ineffective and slow to respond to regional social conflict and this law places responsibility on the regional leaders to take action and request assistance when necessary. Others say that it gives too much power to the regional heads to declare

Figure 6.2: KODAM in Central Denpasar, Bali, May 15, 2013



a state of emergency and request military assistance in terminating the conflict (*The Jakarta Post* 4-10-2012). This would seem to be an especially problematic provision given the salience of ethnicity in local politics. It may be appropriate to give such power to an impartial leader, but so often, the local leader is from one of the groups engaged in the conflict, and thus his/her continued political survival likely depends of support from this group. If a local leader thinks the military will intervene in a way favorable to his/her constituents or can be instructed to do so, then the leader will declare a state of emergency and request assistance. However, if that is not likely to be the case, then the local leader will not request

military assistance and may actively resist it, raising regional autonomy principles as objections. The central government may still intervene in a conflict situation by the president deeming it a national conflict situation (Art. 20) if the conflict has a national impact (Art. 15(4)) which does not appear to be further defined. Others see this law as increasing the power of extractive companies in Indonesia. In many cases, the companies are in conflict with the local population over land rights. According to some, these companies attempt to use a ‘divide and conquer’ approach, pitting different groups against each other and instigating violent conflict. Additionally, as will be discussed with regard to West Kalimantan, these companies are often very close with the governor, local district heads and the military and often manipulate them into doing their bidding, something this law would further enable and codify. Given the relative novelty of this law and lack of implementing regulations to date, it remains to be seen what effect it will have if any.

6.3.2 ‘Unity in Diversity’

The other attempt by the central government to unify the diverse populations in Indonesia is through the philosophy of *Pancasila*, or five principles. This philosophy was first officially promulgated through the 1945 Constitution and includes “belief in the One and Only God, just and civilized humanity, the unity of Indonesia, and democratic life led by wisdom of thoughts in deliberation amongst representatives of the people, and achieving social justice for all the people of Indonesia” (1945 Constitution of the Republic of Indonesia). Additionally, the official

motto of the republic is “*Bhinneka Tunggal Ika*” which translates as “unity in diversity” (Art. 36A). Under the Suharto regime, any public discussion of differences in ethnicity (*suku*), religion (*agama*), race (*ras*), and class (*antar golongan*) or SARA was prohibited (Hoon 2006, 151). The New Order policy aimed to maintain stability and by promoting assimilation and constructing a homogeneous *Pancasila* national identity. After Suharto’s resignation in 1998, the Habibie government and those that followed also feared the impact of disunity and kept the principles while liberalizing the implementation. Nevertheless, it is still legally required that every Indonesian believe in one of six major religions (Islam, Catholicism, Protestantism, Buddhism, Confucianism and Hinduism) (*The Guardian* 05-03-2012) that one must declare on one’s identification card. Simply stating publicly that God does not exist is a criminal offense (Setara Institute 06-13-2012).

6.4 Political Parties

With regard to political parties, the government has also attempted to keep them centralized. Although the number of parties proliferated (Ufen 2011), the 1999 law on political parties (Law 2/1999) prohibited the establishment of regional political parties, which prevented the establishment of ethnic parties but not religious ones. Schulte Nordholt and Klinken point out that this centralization of parties in Jakarta led to friction between local party branches and the central headquarters and “even to local efforts to subvert the party system by forming cross-party alliances based on ethnicity or district of origin” (2007, 14.) All of the laws on

political parties have included provisions requiring political parties to be national in orientation and to maintain offices in a certain percentage of provinces, districts and municipalities, the latest requires having an executive board in each of the provinces, seventy-five percent of the districts or municipalities in those provinces and, in fifty percent of the sub-districts of each of those districts (Law 2/2011). However, in 2007, the Constitutional Court ruled that the requirement that candidates be nominated by political parties, as stipulated in the Regional Autonomy Law 32/2004 and 22/1999 before it, was unconstitutional (Simandjuntak 2012, 105), because it violated the rights of persons to be treated equally and have equal access to government positions. In response, the government passed Law 12/2008 allowing independent candidates to run for district head positions. However, not having party financial and mobilizational support is a practically insurmountable barrier and though some independent candidates have run, they have not been successful.

In 1999, forty-eight political parties registered to compete in national and provincial legislative elections (Thompson 1999). By 2004, although fifty parties attempted to register to compete in the national legislative elections, only twenty-four met the legal requirements and were able to register candidates (Vaughn 2005). For the 2009 national legislative elections the number of parties increased again to thirty-eight, with only nine of those gaining seats (Sherlock 2009). For the 2014 elections, the government and the General Election Commission (KPU) want to make the system more efficient and verify that parties have met the legal requirements. In 2012, the KPU began what it called administrative and factual verification of political parties to ensure that they meet the requirements under the law. This

process involved initially verifying documents and then physically verifying offices and members (KPU regulation 8/2012). Not surprisingly, in the process of physical verification, many of the addresses of offices and other details were discovered either not to exist or not to be party offices. In January 2013, the KPU announced that just ten parties had met all of the requirements to be registered as political parties under the law, the nine currently with seats in the national parliament and one new party, the National Democratic Party (NasDem) (*The Jakarta Post* 11-11-2011). However, several parties contested the verification process, and in March 2013 the State Administrative High Court ruled that two parties had been unfairly judged in violation of the law and would be able to run, bringing the total number of parties eligible to run in the 2014 elections to twelve (*The Jakarta Post* 03-07-2013).

Despite the proliferation and then scaling back of the number of parties in the political system, it has not centralized politics. As will be discussed in specific detail with regard to the cases, local politics, especially in regions outside of Java, rarely has much in common with the parties at the national level. The platforms of the national parties are extremely weak, and the main ones revolve around political family dynasties. One interviewee went so far as to say that even the Islamist parties, which are thought to be the most principled, cut deals and play to what they think their audiences want rather than acting out of conviction to a policy platform. At the local level, power structures based on ethnicity are the most important for political organizing. This does not mean that there are not or could not be cross-cutting identities which transcend ethnicity, but to date, ethnic identities have proven the most effective for political mobilization and are now entrenched in politics. While

the parties are national, the political issues are local, and local politicians often shop around for the party that will give them the best deal in terms of support and mobilization to campaign and require the least payment.² Parties at the local level often then become associated over time with ethnic identities, although they also change as parties wax and wane in terms of their popularity and their usefulness to the candidate. While outside of Aceh there are no official regional political parties, in practice the parties are often just a vehicle for local ethnic politics.

6.5 Political Violence

While there was a substantial amount of violence under the Suharto regime, violent conflict did not end with the fall of the New Order. Suharto's New Order regime rode in on a wave of anti-communist sentiment which General Suharto and the military encouraged. From October 1965-March 1966, human rights groups estimate that approximately half a million people were killed as suspected communists (*The Jakarta Globe* 09-1-2012). In West Kalimantan and Sumatra, ethnic tensions between the local indigenous and local Chinese populations led to Chinese being targeted as suspected communists and thus killed with impunity. In Bali, too, the 1965-66 violence was extreme and hunting down the dangerous communists was used as a cover to also target all outsiders as well as political rivals.

In 1998, the protests led to Suharto's fall, but they were followed by anti-Chinese riots and other mass violence in Jakarta and other cities in Indonesia.

²Candidates usually have to pay the party several hundred thousand dollars just to be nominated (Buehler 2013).

Other intergroup violence and other types of political violence have also occurred during the reform period, prompting the monitoring by many international and local organizations, including the National Violence Monitoring System. This project uses local newspaper reports of violent incidents and has documented over ninety thousand violent incidents in nine provinces in Indonesia from 1997 through the present, releasing updates monthly. While there are well-known issues of bias with using newspaper reports as a source of data (Davenport and Ball 2002), these are by far the most detailed and comprehensive data available. Figure 6.3 below provides a summary of much of the NVMS data relevant to the current research. I have removed the category of criminal violence, because it was very large and made it difficult to analyze the rest of the violence data included.

Subfigure 1 shows the number of incidents recorded per year since 1997. However, since the first two years were under the New Order regime which tightly controlled the media and the numbers for 2013 only go through April, they may be regarded with caveats. It appears that the number of incidents rose to about 5,500 per year (excluding violent crime) for four years, 2001-2004, and then spiked to almost 9,000 in 2005, an election year and the first year in which governors, district heads and mayors were directly elected. The metacategories of violent incidents (excluding violent crime) are displayed in Subfigure 2 and are relatively clear. Popular justice-related conflict such as retaliation over insults, debts, thefts, accidents, sexual indiscretion, assaults and sorcery are included in this category and the have been 9,161 recorded since 1997. There were 8,452 violent incidents related to separatism, 2,778 related to identity and 1,294 related to elections and appointments. Subfigure

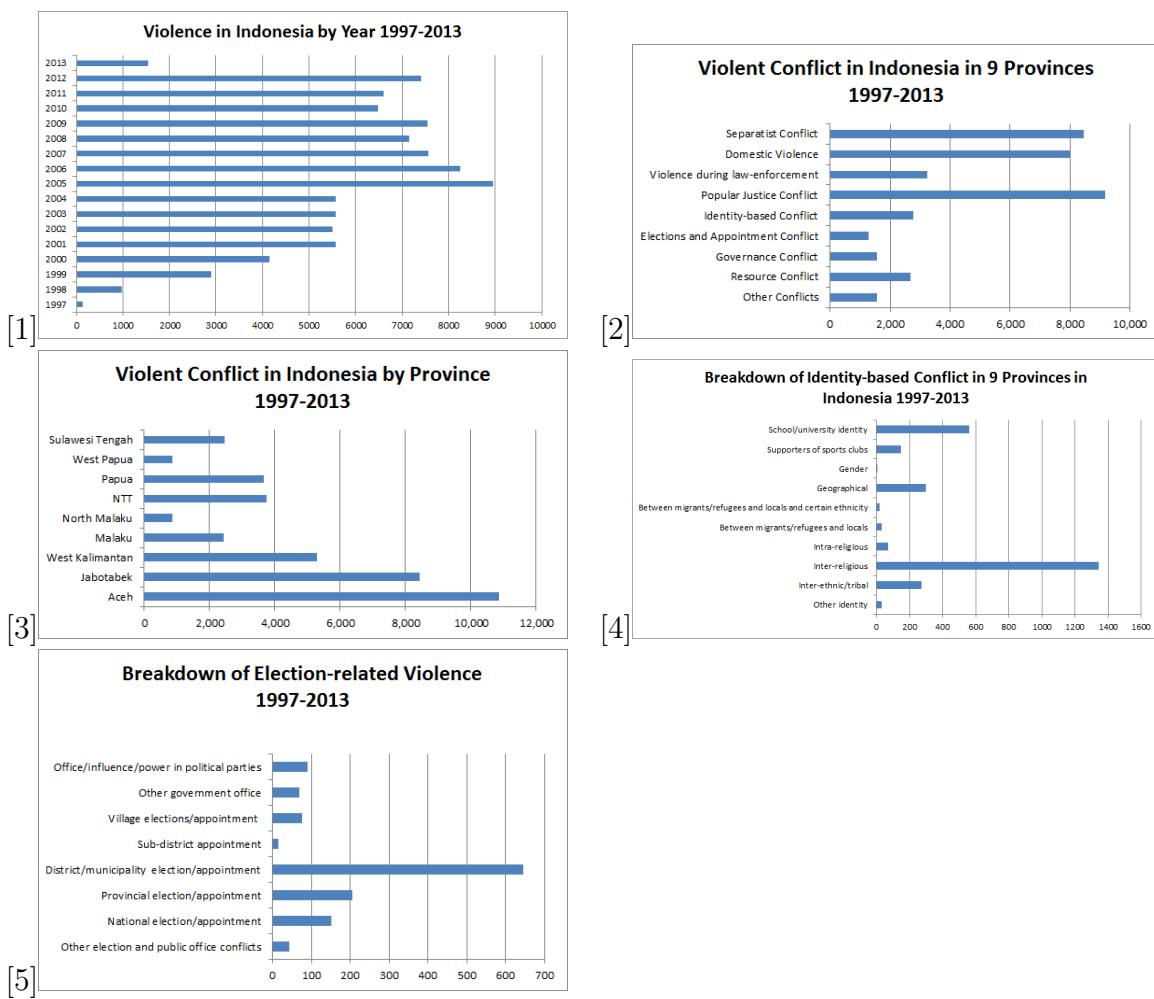


Figure 6.3: Violence in Indonesia 1997-2013, National Violence Monitoring System Data

3 shows the record of violent incidents by province over the period 1997-2013 and shows Aceh leading the pack with 10,876 incidents, not surprisingly since it was the site of a hotly contested separatist conflict through 2004. In West Kalimantan, 5,294 incidents of violence were recorded. With regard to the specific categories of interest, Subfigures 4 and 5 show the incidents of identity-based and election-related violence, respectively. One important note, each incident can fall into only one metacategory and one subcategory within that type of violence, which makes coding very difficult given the complexity of real-world violence. Within the category of identity based violence, Inter-religious violence had by far the most incidents with 1,343. Unfortunately, there is no category for intraethnic violence and even though there is one for interethnic, it likely that many of the inter-religious violence incidents are also interethnic. For election-related violence, not surprisingly, district and municipality level elections had the most violence surrounding them. One reason for this is that there are simply far more districts than provinces, 497 to 33 in 2010. However, there are far more subdistricts and villages than districts, however, the incidents of violence appear to have been concentrated at the district level. This is likely because decentralization made the district heads the most powerful positions within the local governments, making them the most desirable and competitive.

The issues outlined above play out in the case studies discussed below, having different consequences in each. Figure 6.4 shows a political map of Indonesia with the provinces marked for reference.

Figure 6.4: Political Map of Indonesia



Chapter 7: Cases from Indonesia

This chapter details the case studies of three ethnic groups in Indonesia. In general, the cases considered here provide substantial support for the theory. First, I discuss the methodology used to research the cases using both primary and secondary source documents as well as interviews with international and local experts on local politics in Jakarta, Pontianak and Denpasar. The experts ranged from staff of international aid organizations working on governance and violence issues to local researchers documenting human rights abuses to activists promoting fair use of environmental resources. Exploring how the mechanisms of local ethnic politics work in practice on the ground and how they are do and do not lead to violent conflict provided incredibly useful insights and nuances to the theory that could not have been drawn out from the statistical analysis. For instance as will be discussed in greater detail below, in West Kalimantan where there are several local minorities which the local majority could target for outbidding, rather than choosing the one that is co-ethnic with central government elites, Dayaks targeted a small, relatively defenseless local minority with no powerful external backer. As could be predicted, the government forces did little to respond to the violence with force. In Bali, the dominant Balinese party is the PDI-P, and despite the current governor's defection,

it has managed to quash most intraethnic political competition and remain dominant, leading to relatively little intraethnic or interethnic political violence as is consistent with my theory. Another interesting nuance is that the central government seems also to have anticipated that if violence were to breakout, Javanese and other Muslim transmigrants, would be the targets and took measures to preempt violence. The Aceh case study provides substantial support for the theory as a whole, but unfortunately, shows particularly strong support for the first hypothesis regarding increased intraethnic political competition increasing the amount of intraethnic violence in the form of co-ethnic rival parties attacking one another.

7.1 Case Study Methodology

For the qualitative analysis, I chose to examine the political behavior of three ethnic groups in Indonesia. I chose the group as the unit of analysis so that both the quantitative and qualitative results could be easily compared. As discussed in more detail in the previous chapter, Indonesia is useful for the analysis here, because the country has recently undergone a process of decentralization following the resignation of President Suharto in 1998. Additionally, it is a very diverse country with local minorities and local majorities in many different combinations. Specifically, I focus on the Dayaks in West Kalimantan, the Balinese in Bali, and the Acehnese in Aceh, as they vary on the dependent variables of interest, and are constituted in different demographic patterns. The Acehnese and Balinese both comprise a substantial local majority in their provinces, eighty-nine (World Atlas

2013) and seventy (Indonesian Netherlands Association 2013) percents, respectively. However, the Acehnese engaged in a protracted guerilla rebellion against the central government of Indonesia until late 2004, while the Balinese have no recent history of rebellion. Political violence committed by Acehnese in the post-conflict period has been mostly in the form of targeted assassinations and intimidation of members within the group. The recent violence committed by the Balinese has consisted of primarily small scale non-lethal riots, internal skirmishes among Balinese of rival political parties, and vigilante intimidation against non-Balinese transmigrants. The Dayaks, on the other hand, comprise about forty percent of the population of West Kalimantan with Malays making up another forty percent (Klinken 2006). The Dayak-related violence from just before Suharto's fall through the present has been characterized by several explosive and deadly riots against a very small minority, the Madurese, as well as smaller scale targeted violence and destruction of property of oil palm and coal mining companies.

To test the hypotheses presented in the theory section, I use process tracing. Seawright and Collier define process tracing as the “examination of diagnostic pieces of evidence in a temporal and/or explanatory sequence, with the goal of supporting or overturning alternative causal hypotheses” (2010, 343). While there may be a greater risk of selection bias when choosing a limited number of cases to examine using this process and concerns of generalizability abound, process tracing can be extremely useful for assessing causality and ruling out spuriousness in ways that are different from but complementary to quantitative analysis. The pieces of evidence that “provide information about context, process, or mechanism and contribute dis-

tinctive leverage in causal inference” are causal-process observations (Seawright and Collier 2010, 318). While collecting quantitative data is an arduous task, if one is collecting data on a large enough sample, then missing data and errors in data collection as long as they are not systematically biased is generally not much of a problem in that, *ceteris paribus*, they cancel each other out. However, when collecting qualitative data on just three cases, the consequences of missing or inaccurate data can result in biased or simply inaccurate analysis. Therefore, to the greatest extent possible, I have attempted to incorporate information from as many sources as possible, making sure to consider the potential bias of the source in each case.

Many of the sources of information for the case studies are similar to the kinds of sources used to gather the data for the explanatory variable for the statistical analysis. There is a robust comparative politics academic literature on Indonesia, and it has been growing as access to the country has improved since 1998. Works in English particularly by Australian scholars, given the relative proximity, and Dutch ones, given the former colonial ties, have been extremely informative and provide important context and analysis. Additionally, Indonesian scholars have also contributed to the English language literature on their country. Indonesia has also received a significant amount of attention from international advocacy NGOs such as International Crisis Group, Human Rights Watch and Amnesty International which regularly publish very detailed reports about human rights, political activities, environmental issues and violent conflict that are also very useful in gathering data on causal processes. Furthermore, there is a substantial network of highly capable Indonesian NGOs working on similar issues and which often partner with the

international NGOs and publish their reports in multiple languages. Given the size of the expatriate community in Jakarta in particular, there are also two Indonesian news sources which publish in English, the *Jakarta Globe* and *The Jakarta Post*, which are particularly useful for information on elections as well as on specific violent events. On occasion as well, local newspapers in translation from their original Bahasa Indonesia were used. Another important source of information are the laws on regional autonomy, which have been revised several times and are said to be under revision again, as well as the laws on political parties which provide specific criteria for qualification. The local election commission websites are also helpful in definitively determining which candidates ran in and won which elections for which parties and other official information.

Perhaps the most important source for information on local Indonesian politics, however, has come from interviews with experts conducted in Indonesia. Much of the research from the sources mentioned above was conducted to develop an initial analysis and testing of the hypotheses. I then traveled to Indonesia to conduct interviews with both international experts on Indonesian politics and violent conflict and Indonesian experts. In Jakarta, I met with four international experts, one who focuses on decentralization, one who focuses on analysis of the Indonesia military, one on legal issues and one who focuses on violent conflict. I also met with four Indonesian experts working for NGOs in Jakarta: one focusing on local politics and violent conflict, one focusing on investigating human rights violations in Aceh and West Kalimantan, one focusing on policy research on human rights issues, and one focusing on democracy and peace monitoring. These interviews were based on

open-ended questions about the political system, decentralization and conflict. The initial questions proposed to and approved by the Internal Review Board (IRB) are:

1. How do you see the reformasi decentralization impacting the political system? Do you feel it has been positive for the democratization process?
2. How have local politics changed and how are they still evolving?
3. In places like Aceh, Bali and West Kalimantan, particular provinces of interest, where the local minority is in control of the local government, do you see the clientelism that one might expect?
4. Has local political competition intensified or has power been consolidated?
5. Do you see nationwide trends in the dynamics of local politics or are there stark contrasts?
6. Do you think political actors whether party leaders, activists or candidates consider violence and intimidation as campaign strategies?
7. Do local minorities in areas like Aceh, Bali and West Kalimantan with dominant local majorities experience discrimination? If so, in what way and what if anything have they done to have it redressed?
8. What do voters think of the political parties and the process?
9. Is there any thought of trying to reform campaign finance given the amount of room there is for corrupt practices?

10. How has decentralization changed the political relationship between the center and periphery? Is it for the better or worse?
11. Do feel that local majority populations have more power now? If so, do they use it against minority populations?
12. When the government recognizes that a population is being threatened by the local or provincial government, what should it do? What has been the response?
13. How would you describe the impact of decentralization on politics in Bali/Aceh/West Kalimantan? Is it different in other provinces?
14. Does the local majority run government discriminate against the local minority?
15. How much internal political competition is there within the local majority?
16. Do you ever see evidence of out bidding, i.e. the demonizing to the minority for political gain?

Of course the responses to these questions often led to follow up questions both for the current interviewee and for those subsequently being interviewed, but all were within the context of the theory proposed by this research and along the lines of the those above. To the best of my knowledge none of the questions put any of the interviewees at risk at anytime and, as instructed by the IRB process, I provided each interviewee with a consent form, explained it to him/her and requested his/her signature. All those classified as human subjects understood the

purpose of the research and consented in writing to being interviewed. Because of IRB requirements, none of those interviewed is referred to by name nor are their organizations mentioned to conceal their identities to the greatest extent possible, although there is no reason to think anything they said would put them at any risk.

From Jakarta, I traveled on to Pontianak, the capital of West Kalimantan. I had the incredible fortune of meeting a researcher in Jakarta who lives in Pontianak and who put me in touch with another researcher there who is very connected to the human rights, research and advocacy communities. In total, I was able to meet with nine interviewees from five organizations. In addition to the questions listed above, I received substantial amounts of information about how land use and environmental issues are intertwined with ethnic politics and violence, which led me to pose several follow up questions not originally conceived of before conducting the interviews.

The from Pontianak, I traveled to Denpasar, Bali, to observe the gubernatorial election on May 15, 2013, and to conduct more interviews. While being present for the election was useful and instructive, it also meant that many people who were experts on the politics of Bali were otherwise engaged during the days I was there. Additionally, the incumbent governor who was up for re-election declared election day a public holiday, which meant that many organizations were closed. I did, however, manage to interview two scholars of Balinese politics, and informally discuss the political situation with many taxi drivers and tour guides, light on tourist business because of the holiday.

I decided not to travel to Aceh to conduct interviews but gave the region extra emphasis in interviews with relevant experts in Jakarta. Part of the decision

not to visit the province was a resource consideration, but the more important concern was safety. While the secessionist conflict ended in 2005 with the signing of an Memorandum of Understanding between the rebels and the government, the local regime and its associates that are currently in power have been described by many as authoritarian and lawless, and both local and foreign researchers who have conducted research there have felt intimidated. As I was traveling alone and to the country for the first time, I did not feel that traveling to Aceh was an appropriate risk to take at this time. However, while in Jakarta, I met with several researchers who provided useful information and local contacts for potential research there in the future. One of the researchers with whom I met had just returned from a research trip to the province and was able to provide realtime information. Additionally, Aceh has continued to be in the spotlight since the 2004 tsunami and subsequent peace process, which provide an ample amount of information on local politics there. The problem with the Aceh case is the volume of information through which to sift, not a lack of it.

One might question why I have not chosen a province or group that has not engaged in any political violence whatsoever. While there are certainly groups that have not engaged in any political violence, the theory applies to groups that are either local majorities or have a substantial amount of political power locally, and among those groups, as far as the data have thus far has revealed, all have experienced in some political violence at some point in the past twenty years. Additionally, the National Violence Monitoring System (NVMS, discussed in the previous chapter) which has collected data on violent incidents in nine provinces covering over half

the population of Indonesia from 1997 through the present has registered the presence of political violence in all of the provinces it covers including election-related and identity-based violent conflict (NVMS 2013). In meeting with a member of the NVMS staff, the member expressed a desire to expand the coverage of the system to include less violent provinces, specifically naming Bali as one of those, which is included in the case studies here.

In general, the evidence supports the theory proposed by this research and adds many nuances about how actors in practice react to intraethnic political competition under conditions of decentralization. Many of the details on the causal mechanisms seem to indicate that the actors understand the consequences of certain actions the theory asserts, such as provoking central government involvement by attacking its co-ethnic local minority and that they still pursue outbidding but target a different group without a benefactor. The information gathered from the interviews was extremely valuable for shaping the analysis of the cases. In some cases it confirmed facts and evidence gained from sources previously consulted, while in others it provided nuance to the information previously gathered to change the analysis. Without having traveled to Indonesia and having seen the places being contested and met with those struggling with the issues, this analysis would have been far more superficial and lacked in ground-truthing of the theory. The cases are discussed in detail below.

7.2 Dayaks in West Kalimantan

The case of Dayaks in West Kalimantan is interesting in the details of which group was targeted for outbidding. In this case, the Dayaks chose to target the Madurese, a relatively small transmigrant ethnic group with few allies in Indonesia, rather than the Malay, Javanese or Chinese populations, with all of whom interethnic tensions could have been quite easily incorporated into ethnic outbidding. The violence in this case study is primarily a story of Dayak-Madurese violence. Dayaks engaged in increasing internal political competition for lucrative local government positions which sparked some internal violence. As political competition increased among Dayaks, Madurese transmigrants became a convenient target for outbidding and interethnic violence occurs. The central government, not having ethnic kin to defend and not seeing its interests threatened did relatively little to intervene. The details of how this narrative plays out are included below.

7.2.1 Brief Historical Context

West Kalimantan is larger than the island of Java (Davidson 2009, 10) and is located on the island of Kalimantan, known as Borneo in Malaysia, with which Indonesia and Brunei share the island. In the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, Islamic traders began settling on the western coast of the island, converting the indigenous population and establishing Muslim principalities (Davidson 2009, 24). Under this structure, Dayak came to describe the autochthonous, non-Muslim, upstream population that was generally subordinate, while the downstream, Muslim

population, whether indigenous converts or migrants, became designated Malay (*ibid.*). In fact Tanasaldy (2012) points out that the highest office a Dayak could hold under the Malay sultanates was village chief (16). The Dutch for the most part maintained the sultanate structure under their colonial rule as a manner of ruling indirectly, although they did abolish a few sultanates in the region and ruled those areas directly (*ibid.* 60). When the Japanese occupied the island in World War II, they did away with the sultanates altogether and executed much of the Malay political elites (Davidson 2009, 37).

During the nineteenth century, Catholic missionaries had begun establishing schools for the under-served Dayak populations in the internal area of West Kalimantan and, of course, converting many people in the process (Tanasaldy 2012, 17). With education came awareness of political ideas and the knowledge of how to attempt to implement them. In the wake of the the Japanese occupation, the Dayak community had been left largely unscathed and began to mobilize for political action and eventually formed the Dayak Unity Party (PD) (Davidson 2009, 34). Interestingly, while most parts of colonial Indonesia resisted the formation of a federal union, West Kalimantan was an exception, and there was relative unity among the elites from different communities on the issue (Davidson 2009, 39). While federalism lost out and a unitary state was eventually formed, the popularity of the PD among the local population caused it to win thirty-one percent of the seats in the 1955 elections for the provincial council, approximately forty percent in the 1958 elections, district head positions in five districts and the governorship (Davidson 2009, 42). However, by the end of the 1950s, Sukarno and the army had already put

down several rebellions and were seeking a way to disrupt regional political movements. In 1959, the government issued a new regulation (Law 7/1959) effectively banning regional parties by requiring that they have branches in at least a quarter of the provinces in the country (Tanasaldy 2012, 110).

A rift that had been present and growing within the PD ultimately led to the decline of Dayak political power in West Kalimantan and according to some would lead to the immense interethnic violence against the Chinese in 1967. After the 1959 regulation on political parties, PD elites and members were left to join parties that could meet the requirements of broader representation. One faction led by Oevaang Oeray joined with Partai Indonesia (Partindo), which had a weak presence in West Kalimantan and could, therefore, be dominated by former-PD elite; was secular and, thus, would not alienate Chinese and other non-Catholic members; and was left leaning as was the Sukarno government (Tanasaldy 2012, 111; Davidson 2009, 45-46). F.C. Palaunsoeka, the leader of the other faction and a devout Catholic and former seminary student, chose Partai Katholik (PK).

In the early 1960s, Sukarno, the army and the Communist Party of Indonesia (PKI) began colluding to counter the formation of the Malay Federation, seeing it as a neo-colonial British puppet, in a campaign named the *Konfrontasi*. As part of this policy, the army began arming thousands of sympathetic volunteers in West Kalimantan, which shares a border with Malaysia. As time went on, however, the campaign failed to serve the interests of the army, and when it seized power in 1965, a wave of anti-communist sentiment swept Indonesia with enormous reprisals against members of the PKI or those suspected to be left leaning, especially Chinese

Indonesians. However, in West Kalimantan, there was no mass violence and the violent incidents that did occur were minor, although, Oeray and all Dayak district heads were forced to resign as Partindo was close to the PKI (Tanasaldy 2012, 123). Initially the army allowed the anti-Malay Federation rebels to continue their operations, as they posed no internal security risk (Tanasaldy 2012, 139). However, after Indonesia and Malaysia agreed to end their feud in August 1966, the army was determined to root out the former volunteers turned rebels who they had armed and trained in the *Konfrontasi* campaign, with a focus on penetrating rural Chinese communities (Davidson 2008, 69). The army, therefore, began instigating Dayaks to attack the Chinese population by stoking ethnic conflict, and according to some reports, the army actually kidnapped and killed several Dayak leaders and blamed it on the ‘Chinese communist rebels’ (Tanasaldy 2012, 144). Additionally, according to at least one author, Oeray saw the campaign to root out rural Chinese in West Kalimantan as a potential way to make a political comeback and distance himself from his left-leaning past as well as gain economically from taking control of the land vacated by fleeing Chinese farmers and business people (Davidson 2009, 69). By October 1967, Dayak massacres of the local Chinese population had begun, and over 200 Chinese were killed and about 65,000 became internally displaced in camps along the coasts.

However, the violence also turned toward another ethnic minority group: the Madurese. They also sought to take advantage of the opportunities to occupy land and property that had been abandoned by dead or fleeing Chinese which would thwart Oeray’s desire for Dayak control under his influence (Davidson 2012, 73).

Killings and rumors of killing between Dayak and Madurese sparked mass riots which led to the burning of houses and villages. Such riots would recur periodically throughout the New Order regime.

Oeray's desire to return to political power did not materialize, and, in fact, no Dayaks were appointed to district head positions or governor during the Suharto era (with the exception of one district head position in 1995) and few were able to enter the civil service. The New Order regime was so driven to counter any communist threat that the traditional longhouses of the Dayak community around which communities were organized and in which many families would live, were outlawed and abolished as the regime saw them as a communist way of living, one of those interviewed in Pontianak described. Additionally, traditional village chiefs and other leaders in Dayak villages were effectively ousted from their positions of leadership (Tanasaldy 2012, 201). In contrast, the Malay population held many middle and lower level positions in the bureaucracy, and once entrenched were able to promote the appointment and hiring of other fellow Malays. The Dayaks treatment under the New Order regime certainly impacted their relationships with other groups in the province as well as with the government. Under Suharto, economic and political discrimination increased as did the threat of state sponsored violence (Peluso and Harwell 2001,86). Dayaks were systematically excluded from positions of political power (*ibid.*, 93). Governors and local district heads were either high-ranking military officials or local Malays or immigrants from Java (*ibid.*, 96).

West Kalimantan is rich in natural resources, particularly timber, palm oil and mining, and the island as a whole is home to the second largest tropical rain forest

in the world, with only the Amazon being larger. In the 1960s, forests began to be cleared for export of timber and to some extent, these lands were planted with trees for industrial timber production (Tanasaldy 2012, 184). Most of the areas where these economic activities are pursued are in inland and primarily effect the lives of the Dayak populations living there. The main economic pursuits of the Dayak population in these areas is swidden agriculture (Bamba 2004). Dayaks employ a system of *adat*¹ laws and traditions to govern land rights and manage access to the land (Alcorn and Royo 2000). The establishment of these logging ventures and oil palm plantations ignored the *adat* law and reduced the amount of land the Dayak population could cultivate and reduced the number of wild animals in the forests for the local populations to hunt. Additionally, a major point of contention to this day and discussed later, the local Dayak populations were not consulted or employed by the companies exploiting the land or were paid extremely low wages when employed and thus reaped few benefits from the development of the land.

7.2.2 Dayak People

The classification Dayak refers to the indigenous population of the island of Kalimantan and originally was comprised of many different communities and over 100 ethnic subgroups (Davidson 2009, 10), often with their own languages. Time and again, scholars of the region point to the development and creation of the Dayak identity as a clear illustration of the constructed nature of ethnic identity (Peluso

¹Expert interviewed in Pontianak insisted that *adathad* no direct translation in English. It is usually translated as ‘customary law’ or ‘traditional rules’ but it also has the meaning of ‘culture’ and ‘way of life.’ I will use it in this context to indicate the Dayak way of organizing their society, keeping in mind its deep and multifarious meanings.

and Harwell 2001; Davidson 2008, 2003; Klinken 2007; Tanasaldy 2009). The term Dayak was originally used by the Bornean Malays to describe the non-Malay native population and was later adopted by European colonizers and subsequently various Indonesian governments (Tanasaldy 2012, 30). As ruling outsiders categorized these groups as one and treated them as such, a Dayak identity began to take hold among the groups themselves in the post-World War II period, despite its initial pejorative connotation (*ibid.*, 31). Even the perception of Dayaks being primarily Catholic in their religion is a recent advent. During the campaigns against suspected communist rebels by the New Order with the assistance of the Dayaks in West Kalimantan in the 1960s and 1970s, the New Order allowed and encouraged Catholic missionaries to convert Dayaks to help to unify them further and to contrast them with the ‘God-less’ communists (Davidson and Kammen 2002, 76). The government also sought to foster a sense of Dayak community as part of the Indonesian nation through education programs (*ibid.*). This Dayak identity further developed and became consolidated over the next several decades, however, in the early 1990s, a new Dayak ethno-political consciousness began to emerge, bolstered by the emerging Dayak NGO community (Davidson 2003, 71). The sometimes disparate groups included in the category of Dayak began to self-identify as Dayak. During the 1990s, foreign and Jakarta-based NGOs and academics promoted the combination of democratization and environmental protection in the form of protection of indigenous rights which contributed to the Dayak’s recent mobilization of its collective identity (Peluso and Harwell 2001). In 1994, when the Dayak favored candidate for

district chief in Sintang district was not appointed, Dayak protests turned violent.² Klinken asserts that after 1994, “every district chief’s election in West Kalimantan was accompanied by potentially violent ethnic pressuring...[and] by 1999 Dayaks had gone from controlling none of West Kalimantan’s districts to being in charge of six of the nine at the time...” (2007, 59). Davidson notes, however, that “this re-awakening has not been monolithic. It is an amalgam of multifarious, sometimes contentious collectivities. For instance, rifts exist along party lines. In the 1999 general elections, Dayak personalities headed numerous parties, including the PDI-P (Rudy Alamsyarhum), the PBI (the late Herbertus Tekwaan, Oeray’s son), the PDI (Sebastiantos Khapat), and the PDKB (Cosmas Damianus Yan Kay). Golkar also listed a Dayak, Arsen Rickson as its legislative candidate from Sanggau district for the National Representative Council (DPR). These fissures ultimately contributed to a fractured Dayak vote...” (2003, 76-77). While in West Kalimantan local political parties are not permitted, national parties become proxy ethnic parties. The ethnicity of the candidates becomes a shortcut for the party platform.

Dayak identity is closely tied to the land they inhabit and the various local *adat* laws and traditions provide detailed guidance on the use of the land and its conservation. This makes the fact that the companies that have come in and taken the land for commercial use have ignored their rights to the land all the more galling to the local Dayak populations (Bamba 2004, 130). Many NGOs have been established to fight for Dayak land rights and to defend Dayaks that have been

²Before the reforms of 2005, the provincial governor selected candidates for district chief (*bupati*) and then the New Order district assembly elections approved them. Even before the fall of Suharto and *reformasi* these positions were highly coveted (Davidson 2003, 73).

accused of committing crimes against the commercial interest such as sabotaging equipment. Under the current government structure, district heads have the power to issue land use permits, and they generally sell these permits to the highest bidders. Given that Dayaks hold many of the district head positions now, when asked why the people do not hold them accountable, several of those interviewed indicated that the people do not see the connection between the district head and the taking of their lands. They just blame the central government and the companies, many of which are foreign-based. In many cases, the central party owes favors to various interests, in some ways tying the hands of the local leaders. One of those interviewed who is working for an NGO investigating illegal land seizure said that he once got a call from a district head friend asking him not to come to investigate a particular case in his district, because the party had compelled him to sell the permit to a particular company without regard for the impact it might have in the district and that he had no choice in the matter.

7.2.3 Madurese

The Madurese have migrated from the over-populated island of Madura, just north of Java, to many less populated provinces in Indonesia, including West Kalimantan. The first records of Madurese coming to West Kalimantan are from 1904 when merchants brought them as cheap labor (Bamba 2004, 131). The Dutch colonizers brought the next wave of Madurese to the province as colonial soldiers, many of whom settled and subsequently brought their families (Davidson 2008, 28). More

Madurese came in the 1930s seeking work on Dutch road building projects and again from East Java and Madura after the Chinese were forced out of West Kalimantan in the 1960s. They occupied many of the lower level jobs left by the Chinese and in many cases bought irrigated rice land to farm (Peluso and Harwell 2001, 103). Surprisingly, few came as part of government-sponsored transmigration programs.

As of 2000, Madurese comprised approximately five and a half percent of the total population of West Kalimantan (Indonesian Census 2000), however, before 1999 they were concentrated in coastal areas such as Sambas, Ketapang and Pontianak, with few settling inland (Tanasaldy 2012, 223). After the 1999 violence in Sambas, discussed further below, the district was practically cleansed of the entire Madurese population.

Madurese are primarily Muslim and rarely intermarry with Dayaks but have inter-married with Malay and other primarily Muslim ethnic groups. Throughout Indonesia and particularly in West Kalimantan, Madurese are stereotyped as being hot-headed, violent, dishonest and prone to crime (Peluso and Harwell 2001, 104; Tanasaldy 2012, 220). The men traditionally carry small knives and consequently, whenever knives are reportedly used in commission of a crime, Madurese are suspected. They also tended to self-segregate themselves into their own communities, further emphasizing their cultural differences from Dayaks (Peluso and Harwell 2001, 103). This tendency to live in separate communities and keep their customs separate perpetuates their view as outsiders (Peluso and Harwell 2001, 104) and also facilitated their targeting by Dayaks in many of the episodes of interethnic violence. In fact, many Dayaks blame the violence in the region on the Madurese

refusal to assimilate (Davidson 2003, 66).

As of 1997, the Madurese did not have any advocacy NGOs in West Kalimantan nor Madurese scholars to speak of (Human Rights Watch (HRW) 1997, 7). Madurese also suspect that the police encourage violence against them and fail to investigate crimes committed against Madurese (HRW 1997, 11).

7.2.4 Malay

The Malay, like the Dayak, make up about forty percent of the population of West Kalimantan and vary in their group concentration throughout the province (Klinken 2007, 55). In general, however, they are more concentrated in the coastal areas and cities than the inland rural areas. Like the Madurese they are predominantly Muslim, and in fact, if Dayaks choose to convert to Islam, it is not uncommon for them to change their ethnic self-identification to Malay and move to a primarily Malay community (Tanasaldy 2012, 29). Unlike Madurese, however, they are not considered outsiders but rather have lived in West Kalimantan and on the rest of the island for centuries. Malay sultanates ruled much of the island prior to European colonization, and Malay held favor under the colonial administrations as the Malay aristocrats were considered more advanced and were better educated (Tanasaldy 2012, 35.)

7.2.5 Chinese

The Chinese make up only about nine percent of the current population of West Kalimantan, in no small part due to the major anti-communist/anti-Chinese violence of 1967. They first came to the island in large numbers in the mid-eighteenth century from Guangdong Province in China to work in the gold mines (Davidson 2008, 26). Locally the more politically correct term for the population is the ‘Tiong Hwa,’ because referring to them as ‘Chinese’ or ‘Cina’ in Bahasa Indonesia implies that they are not Indonesian, one expert interviewed claimed. Over time as the economy and political context of West Kalimantan evolved, many Chinese became merchants and farmers and intermarried with the local Dayak population (Davidson 2008, 26). During the 1960s, the Sukarno administration encouraged the undermining of the incorporation of Sarawak in north Kalimantan into Malaysia and armed irregular militias to foment instability. Among those close to the president and which assisted in and supported this effort was the Indonesian Communist Party (PKI). When Suharto came to power in 1965, he outlawed PKI and supported massacres of PKI members and to some extent Chinese who were feared to be associated with communism (Davidson 2008, 61). The situation in West Kalimantan remained surprisingly calm until the military was directed to once and for all crush the ongoing PKI anti-Suharto rebels in the province in 1967. The military enlisted the help of the local Dayak population in attacking and driving out the local Chinese population who were feared to be giving support to the rebels (Davidson 2008, 65).

7.2.6 Political Activity

As discussed in the historical context section above, Malay historically held political power whether under the sultanates, under the Dutch colonists as favored indirect rulers, or as favored bureaucrats under the New Order regime. The Dayaks only enjoyed a brief period of political awakening and effective mobilization between national independence and the first few years of the New Order regime, roughly 1950-1967, and then only because the Japanese decimated the Malay elite during their occupation. During the 1990s, however, Dayak political mobilization saw a renaissance, which has continued into the present. Many credit this awakening in large part to the work of the Pancur Kasih Foundation, formally known as the *Yaysan Karya Sosial Pancur Kasih* (YKSPK) (Davidson 2009; Tanasaldy 2012; Bamba 2004). It initially began as an organization oriented toward social issues in the Dayak community and in particular education, founding a junior high school run by Dayaks and for Dayaks in Pontianak in 1981. The foundation grew and gained increased support and formed a very successful credit union and began to fund several Dayak NGOs. One such NGO was the Institute of Dayakology Research and Development in 1991 and which change its name to Institut Dayakologi (ID) in 1998 “to actively research and advocate for the Dayak culture” (ID website). Importantly, in 1992, it began publishing the *Kalimantan Review* which prints news and opinion articles from a Dayak perspective and on Dayak issues of concern. Since the end of the New Order regime, the number of NGOs and civil society organizations has “grown like mushrooms in the rainy season” one person interviewed reported.

Partly because of Pancur Kasih being the umbrella funding organization for several prominent Dayak NGOs and partly because of the common opposition to the New Order regime, Dayaks remained relatively unified in their goals and objectives until the late 1990s when Suharto's power began to wain and many saw the potential openings in the political structure. In 1994 and 1995, they were still relatively unified and made a run at gaining district head positions in Sintang and Kapuas Hulu, respectively, which a Dayak had not held in West Kalimantan since the advent of the New Order regime. In 1994, the Dayak candidate was actually favored by the central government, however, the Malay candidate beat him out in local parliament vote (Tanasaldy 2007, 359). Dayaks protested but to no avail. In 1995 in Kapuas Hulu, a Dayak managed to win the seat but just narrowly. Dayaks were emboldened by their success and began mobilizing and jockeying for political position. The protests and riots in 1994 directly influenced the Kapuas Hulu election in 1995, for which Dayaks were again ready to mobilize and protest, always with the potential to turn violent (Tanasaldy 2007, 361). This strengthened the Dayak position vis a vis the government and other ethnic groups in the province.

After the 1997 conflict, described below, the Dayak were again unified and much stronger as a group against the central government and other groups. However, in the 1998 district head elections in Sanggau, there were several Dayaks on the short list for the vote and the government removed one that was popular and able to compete with their favored Dayak candidate so as not to split the Dayak vote.

However, the unity of the Dayaks was not absolute and some small scale violence broke out when a popular Dayak candidate did not make the short list for

Pontianak district head in 1998. The public nominated over one thousand candidates which were narrowed down to forty. Subsequently, the list was pared down to seven and then five candidates: two Dayak, two Malay and one “migrant” (Tanasaldy 2012, 265). However, one of the popular Dayak candidates, Cornelis, was not included in the final short list and his supporters rioted (Tanasaldy 2012, 266). The governor then agreed to give Cornelis a provincial government position and to select one of the other Dayak candidates for the district head position to which Cornelis agreed and called on his supporters to accept and supported the other Dayak candidate (*ibid.*). At this point the system was not yet decentralized, and the governor, still a representative of the central government, was able to diffuse the internal Dayak rivalry with little violence.

Another example of the growing internal political competition was the election of regional representatives to the National Assembly in 1999. The regional parliament (DPRD) members had informally agreed to appoint two Dayaks, two Malay and one Chinese candidates. However, increasing political competition among the Dayaks meant that among the ten up for selection, there were no clear favored candidates and only one met the vote threshold in the final vote, which meant three Malay were elected, one Dayak and one Chinese (Tanasaldy 2012, 272). Dayaks protested for several months and made veiled threats of violence, but ultimately, none occurred and no change was made in those elected as regional representatives.

Dayaks were also scattered in their support for political parties. In the 1999 general elections, Dayaks headed at least four different political parties (PDI-P, PBI, PDI, and PDKB), and the legislative candidate for Golkar from Sanggau was Dayak

(Davidson 2008, 125). This diversity led to a poor showing of Dayaks in the 1999 elections as their vote was split too thinly over too many candidates and parties. Many noted, cynically, “only in fighting the Madurese are [the Dayaks] united” (Davidson 2008, 125). As noted in the previous chapter, political parties in Indonesia are primarily personality driven, based on a family legacy or one particular charismatic leader and have little in the way of platforms. Politics at the national as well as local levels is patronage-based, and since local political parties are not allowed to exist (outside of Aceh), local political elites in West Kalimantan and elsewhere, ‘shop around’ for the party that will provide the most support and ask the least of them in return. In 1999, forty-eight parties had candidates for office in the general elections, although many fielded coalition candidates in various races. In 2004, due to tighter restrictions on party registration, only half as many qualified to run candidates in the races that year. Many of the parties that had been popular among Dayaks failed to meet the registration requirements, and as a result fewer Dayak candidates sought office, which actually resulted in an increase in the number of Dayaks elected, since the vote was not split over as many parties (KPU). Interestingly, several activists tried to bring back the Partei Dayak in 1999 and again in 2004, however, inexperience, impracticality and extreme attitudes found it little support (Tanasaldy 2012, 292).

As one expert interviewed pointed out, however, and it is noted in the group description above, there are many different subgroups of Dayak which also can play a role politically, especially when there is substantial intraethnic political competition. When there is only one Dayak candidate, the Dayak vote is generally unified.

However, if there are multiple Dayak candidates, their ethnic subgroups become important as there are long running rivalries between some tribes which resulted in open warfare in decades and centuries past. Even when there is only one Dayak candidate as in the 2007 and 2012 gubernatorial elections, afterward, many are resentful that the winner's ethnic subgroup receives preferential treatment. Another division is between the Dayak *Adat* Assembly elites who have received heavy criticism for making deals with logging and exploitative companies to enrich themselves at the expense of the Dayak people, the Pancur Kasih affiliated elite and a new dissident Pancur Kasih movement which wants to reinstate *adat* law in the province, *Yayasan Pangigu Binua* (Achwan 2012, 101).

After the fall of Suharto, as in many other places in the country, West Kalimantan saw the creation of new districts and subdistricts often in an attempt to create a definitive ethnic majority in them and seemingly satisfy the populations' desire for self-representation, although this was understood rather than explicitly stated. In 1999, Pontianak and Sambas had majority Dayak districts carved out of them, Bengkayang and Landak, whereas the rump districts then became overwhelmingly Malay (Tanasalddy 2012, 276). These two districts had been flashpoints of ethnic conflict and the creation districts with clear ethnic majorities and giving each group the ability to have an electoral majority and control the area was thought to reduce ethnic conflict. However, Tanasalddy (2012) also notes that after the creation of districts with a dominant ethnic majority, the political competition became intraethnic as did the violent conflict, as during the elections of district heads in Kapuas Hulu in 2000 (fifty-two percent Malay in 2000) and Sanggau in

2003 (sixty-one percent Dayak in 2000)(307).

In 2007, West Kalimantan held its first ever direct elections for governor of the province, and Cornelis (Dayak) running with Chistiandy (Chinese) unseated the previous governor, Usman Jafar (Malay). In the 2007 election, Cornelis and Chistiandy ran on a PDI-P ticket, while Jafar had the support of a coalition of parties including Golkar (Cable 11-27-2007). Part of the reason that Cornelis won the vote is that there were three other Malay candidates running who split the Malay vote, while he was the only Dayak candidate (Sukarsono 2012), and having a ethnically Chinese deputy delivered the Chinese vote as well. The same scenario played out again in 2012, when the now incumbent Cornelis faced three Malay challengers who split the vote and handed Cornelis the victory (KPU 2013). One of those interviewed noted that the Chinese and Javanese in Pontianak can swing the vote, so it is important for candidates to appeal to them. Additionally, the influx of Madurese following the 1999 violence in Sambas described below made their participation a factor in the election as well, so much so that the current deputy mayor is Madurese.

Red is a color strongly associated with Dayak identity, and Cornelis frequently wore it for campaign events and is pictured wearing a red coat with a Dayak motif on it in his official photo for the ballot, see Figure 7.1. The other candidates who were all self-identified Malay, wore peci, a cap that is associated with Islam (Sukarsono 2012).

Additionally, one can tell the ethnicity of the governor West Kalimantan simply by observing the building and surroundings housing the governor's office and

Figure 7.1: West Kalimantan 2012 Governor's Race



residence in Pontianak. The trim on the edifices alternates between red for Dayak and yellow for Malay, see Figure 7.2. Additionally, to emphasize Cornelis being

Figure 7.2: West Kalimantan Governor Cornelis's Office, taken 5/9/2013



a Dayak, he and his advisors and the Dayak Council held meetings at the Dayak longhouse in Pontianak, seen here is Figure 7.3. A new, much grander longhouse is

under construction as seen in Figure 7.4.

Figure 7.3: Dayak Longhouse in Pontianak, 2013



Interestingly, Cornelis has been lauded as potentially a new breed of ethnic politician in West Kalimantan. He has maintained an informal powersharing arrangement in which forty percent of the civil servants are Dayak and sixty percent are non-Dayak, presumably in rough proportion to their percentages in the population. While this may not seem radical, it is a departure from the winner-take-all practices of the past and might signal a desire to trump intraethnic politics by appealing to multiple groups. As there is a two term limit for governors, he must also consider his future political career and may be positioning himself accordingly. Not

Figure 7.4: New Dayak Longhouse Under Construction in Pontianak, 2013



surprisingly, as is often the case, politics is a family, affair and Cornelis's daughter, Karolin Margaret Natasa, is a local lawmaker, whom he may be setting up to take the reigns in the future.

7.2.7 Violent Conflict

“Indeed, significant Dayak-Madurese violence in 1967-68, 1977, 1979, 1983, 1996-97, and 1999 has occurred in precisely the same places where the anti-Chinese massacres of 1967 were orchestrated to such brutal effect” (Davidson and Kammen 2002, 80). Since Indonesian independence, according to Bamba, there have been

fourteen major clashes between Dayak and Madurese (2004, 131). Most locals say that there had been eleven Dayak-Madurese riots prior to the 1997 violence (Davidson 2003, 66).

While there had clearly been violence between the two groups prior to 1996, there had been thirteen years of relative calm since the last outbreak of violence in 1983. However, in late December 1996, there were two incidents between a group of Dayak teenagers allegedly defending the honor of a Dayak girl from a Madurese boy which ended with two Dayak boys being non-fatally stabbed by a group of Madurese youths (HRW 1997, 13-14). Crowds gathered at the police station demanding to see the perpetrators, however, the police would not release them for fear they would be lynched (Klinken 2007, 56). As Human Rights Watch notes, however, it is not known who mobilized the crowd and spread false rumors that the boys had died, especially since the parties to the initial conflict had reached a peaceful settlement and the father of the boys who were attacked sought to calm the crowd (HRW 1997, 14). The crowd grew dissatisfied with the justice provided by police, began to riot and burn down Madurese homes. Sporadic small scale violence continued for several days. A group of Madurese formally requested government protection on January 6th, and the government sponsored peace ceremonies but did not engage in substantial military mobilization (HRW 1997, 18). By mid-January, while tensions remained high, the violence appeared to be over (HRW 1997, 18).

However, the violence would reignite several weeks later on January 28th and result in approximately 500 fatalities, the vast majority of which were Madurese, and tens of thousands of Madurese displaced (HRW 1997, 31-32). On the 28th, a

Dayak crowd attacked a Madurese village, shooting several residents dead and burning down several houses and a small mosque (HRW 1997, 21). Madurese retaliated and attacked the Pancur Kasih Foundation, the Dayak advocacy foundation funding many of the Dayak NGOs described above (HRW 1997, 21). Rumors abound on both sides about the violence that added fuel to the already rapidly spreading conflagration. The violence continued for approximately another three weeks with brutal violence reported primarily from the Dayak side, including reports of massacres, mutilations, beheadings and cannibalism (HRW 1997, 30; *Deutsche-Press Agentur* 3-19-1997; *Sydney Morning Herald* 3-5-1997; *The Times* 2-20-1997).

While this case study focuses primarily on the Dayak ethnic group and its behavior, the 1999 Malay and only later Dayak violence against Madurese in Sambas is also useful in exploring the theory presented here. Like the 1997 violence between the Dayak and the Madurese, the spark for the 1999 violence seems to have been a relatively minor incident involving several youth from both groups and minor violence, although the details of exactly what happened are unclear and a matter of dispute (Davidson 2008, 129). The general story alleges that in January 1999 some Malay youth tied up and beat a Madurese youth and then a group of Madurese retaliated by raiding a Malay neighborhood, killing three people (*ibid.*). The police were slow to respond and some Malay elites began voicing concerns that if the police will not protect them, they must protect themselves. According to Davidson (2008) “local elites emphasized that Malays could no longer live peacefully with Madurese” in justifying the subsequent expulsion of Madurese from Sambas by Malays (142). Tanasaldy (2012) notes that there had been substantial intraethnic

rivalry among Malay elites, especially between coastal and inland Malay elites and Sambas Malay and non-Sambas Malay elites (306). With the 1999 district head and general elections approaching, demonizing local minority that had little support from other communities or the central government would likely serve the interests of local political elites seeking an edge on the competition. Various groups on Malay youth began to arm themselves and patrol the streets and when another skirmish between a Madurese and Malay occurred in February, they were ready to strike, resulting in riots which all but expelled the Madurese from Sambas and created close to 50,000 displaced Madurese (Davidson 2008). In March, a Dayak man was killed outside of a Madurese under mysterious circumstances, however, a group a Madurese were suspected and the inland Dayak community in Sambas mobilized against the Madurese, burning houses and engaging in violence, in many of the same places earlier interethnic violence had occurred (Davidson 2008, 133).

The role of the military and security forces is also an important part of the equation but is also somewhat difficult to assess. Many interviewed were quick to point to the nefarious role of the military and other security forces during the Suharto era instigating violence, much of which was true and has been well documented. The military and police are still heavily entrenched in the provinces including West Kalimantan but are still centralized under the central government, and noted above. In West Kalimantan, they are heavily involved protecting the interests of the mining and plantation companies and benefit greatly from these relationships financially. In general, when recent violence has erupted, the bulk of which has been against the Madurese, they seem to have taken the stance of do-

ing whatever is in the interest of preserving and restoring the status quo so as not to disrupt the flow of commerce. For instance, they have protected the Madurese when massacre seemed to be eminent and which might spark even further reprisals in both 1997 and 1999, however, they also helped participate in the ethnic cleansing of Madurese from Sambas in 1999, creating tens of thousands of displaced people but effectively separating them from the Sambas Malay population and restoring order. There is no evidence that the central government has considered sending in more police or military to reinforce its security forces and actively repress either the Malay or Dayak populations in West Kalimantan.

7.2.8 Analysis

While there have been many different sources of intraethnic and interethnic violence over the years, in the waning years of the Suharto regime and the subsequent *Reformasi* period, there has been a substantial amount of intraethnic political competition which has also led to violence. One of those interviewed confirmed that members of ethnic groups in West Kalimantan are easily persuaded to support candidates based on their ethnicity and that the violence depends on the momentum of the candidates and their prospects of keeping and maintaining power. As politics are patronage based, keeping one's patron in power means continued employment as civil servants and other spoils. Several of those interviewed also pointed out that poor education in many rural areas also made those rural populations which are predominantly Dayak particularly susceptible to elite manipulation. Many of those

interviewed also pointed to the increased potential for violent conflict as the district executive head positions continue to be personally lucrative for politicians and their direct supporters. When these networks are threatened, they assert, many elites have no compunction about stirring up identity conflicts to maintain their support. Since many of the districts have an ethnic population which comprises its majority, the competition for votes is internal to the group rather than between groups, making ethnic outbidding a viable political strategy for politicians to garner support without having to deliver much. Although the violence by the Dayaks toward Madurese in 1997 occurred just before the fall of the Suharto regime, according to Klinken (2007), his weakening grip on power was clear by then and jockeying for positions of power at the district levels had begun. Intergroup political competition in the province was primarily between the two dominant groups, the Dayaks and Malays. However, conflict between these two large groups would likely not have appealed to manipulative elites wanting simply to mobilize their potential constituents and not risk a large scale conflict with a well-resourced rival like the Malay. Additionally, the theory presented in this research would suggest that the local majority (or in this case plurality) would target a smaller minority group, and there were several of these from which to chose. The Javanese have been a possible target as they were generally transmigrants or represented the central government, and it would likely have been easy to construct a narrative to mobilize the Dayak population against them. However, in 1997, the New Order was still in power and the military had a significant presence in West Kalimantan would have been more likely to respond to violence against Javanese. The competing Dayak elite could also have targeted

the Chinese population, as there had been substantial violence against them in the 1960s, however, this violence had driven many Chinese out of West Kalimantan and those that remained were careful to maintain a low profile and were well-integrated within the business networks in the province. Additionally, the persecution of the Chinese in the early Suharto years had led to some severe economic consequences for the island as the Chinese had dominated certain industries, and most people would not want to repeat that experience. For their part, in some cases the Chinese provided minor material support, as they themselves are at the lower end of the economic spectrum and are in competition with the Madurese (Peluso and Harwell 2001, 89).

In its investigation of the violence during the 1996-1997 events, Human Rights Watch came across several indicators that the Dayak violence had been organized. Many of the routes that the marauding mobs took seemed purposefully planned, and many of the participants report not knowing who their fellow fighters were, discounting the narrative that the mobilization was somehow organic and spontaneous (HRW 1997, 33).

The Dayak did not target the local minority Javanese population in 1997 or 1999, or in any of the lesser incidents of violence reported, but rather targeted the relatively marginalized Madurese. While the local majority will favor members of its own community for patronage, which all local minorities will experience as discrimination. This experience may not be felt equally as certain groups may have a lock on certain important services or industries which insulate them better (such as transportation), but generally speaking such exclusion is a byproduct of favoritism

and does not target specific groups differently. However, when elites engage in ethnic outbidding, targeting a local minority as the threat which they must counter, they must make a choice as to which group to target. Targeting the local minority population that is a majority or plurality nationally, could be risky. Elites know that the central government will face pressure from co-ethnics if members of their group are targeted and the government does not respond. Therefore, if there is another local minority group present that does not enjoy central government support, this group is more likely to be the target of the local majority group's ethnic outbidding. This scenario appears to have been the case in West Kalimantan. Even though the Suharto New Order government was autocratic, it still had to respond to public pressure and would likely have had a to take a more decisive role in the violence had Javanese been the target. Both sides complained bitterly about the army and police's lack of response to the violence. The position of the government appeared to be to let the violence run its course as long as the central government was not challenged. When mobs of either side did target police or military installations, the police and army responded with robust force, shooting into crowds and making arrests. However, they did not react similarly to stop the Dayak-Madurese violence. This case leads to a corollary to the theory regarding interethnic violence: if there are local minorities other than that of the national majority population in a federal unit, the one with the lowest amount of central government support will likely be targeted in ethnic outbidding.

7.3 Balinese in Bali

The story in Bali is one of a generally dominant party representing ethnic interests that for the most part quashes most intraethnic political competition leading to minimal political violence being expressed. Since the fall of Suharto and the rise of opposition parties, PDI-P has been extremely popular in Bali primarily because Megawati whose grandmother was Balinese is its leader. Other national parties compete in Bali, however, PDI-P is by far the dominant one, despite losing the 2013 gubernatorial election described below. They have behaved how a dominant ethnic party might be expected to and have actively and sometimes forcefully dissuaded meaningful political competition from potential rivals within Bali. At the subdistrict level, however, some argue that intraethnic political competition and violence are more prevalent. For its part, the central government has shown concern and has preemptively acted to prevent any political violence. The main ethnic minority on the island are the Muslim transmigrants, primarily from Java and Madura. There is already easily mobilized resentment toward this population for ‘tainting’ the purity of Balinese culture and generally being seen as untrustworthy. In some cases, there has been extrajudicial-justice related violence against this population. The Indonesian military and central government know that if interethnic violence were to break out in Bali, Muslim transmigrants would undoubtedly be victims.

7.3.1 Brief Historical Context

Despite its representation as a placid paradise, Bali has also seen its share of violent conflict throughout its history. In his book *Dark Side of Paradise* (1995), Robinson chronicles this violent history and marvels at the perseverance of the myth of tranquility. He asserts that precolonial “Bali existed in a more or less constant state of political rivalry and war among petty princes (rajas) and lords” (2). The Balinese also fought violently against their subjugation by the Dutch in the mid-nineteenth century and again during the National Revolution from 1945-49, in which roughly 2,000 Balinese died, a third of whom had been fighting with the Dutch (3). Additionally, in 1950-51, politically motivated violence among the Balinese left hundreds dead (3). As more often reported but rarely researched, there was also the anti-communist violence in 1965-66 that killed an estimated 80,000 people in Bali, approximately five percent of the population at the time (1). While large scale violence has not occurred in the post-Suharto period, there have been sporadic incidences of violence, including the 2002 and 2005 terrorist bombings, and ethnic tensions are high.

In contrast to the very large island of Kalimantan, Bali is a small island of about 2,232 square miles just off the eastern tip of the island of Java. Before Islam became the dominant religion in Indonesia in the sixteenth century, Hinduism, Buddhism and traditional beliefs had been prevalent throughout Indonesia and on Java, particularly. As Islam spread, those holding on to these beliefs fled to Bali where Balinese Hinduism became the dominant religion and the only stronghold of

Hinduism in what is now Indonesia.

Under the New Order regime, Suharto, his family and his cronies profited substantially off of coerced investments and development on Bali, and the regime had a vested interest in protecting Balinese culture to promote tourism to the island as well as in stamping out any possible source of violence and thus promoting security. The main economic activity in Bali is tourism although rice fields still pervade the interior and traditional crafts are still produced for not only tourist consumption but also export. While tourism produces the most income, agriculture employees the most people.

Although it was only briefly entertained, some in Bali thought that it should secede from Indonesia immediately after Suharto resigned given its unique culture and religion (Schulte Nordholt 2007, 393). Although succession was never very popular, special autonomy status is an attractive option for which the provincial government has pushed starting in 2005 and which has recently gained more attention in 2013 (*The Jakarta Post* 2-5-2013). This demand is interesting given that the only two other provinces that have such status are Aceh and Papua, both of which received this status after engaging in prolonged violent rebellions, the latter of which continues.

7.3.2 Balinese People

The vast majority of Bali is inhabited by Balinese people who claim Hinduism as their religion. Being religiously and culturally different in Indonesia and fearing

a perceived growing radical Islamic element has heightened among many Balinese the sense of need to protect themselves from outsiders. Although a majority in Bali, many Balinese see themselves as a threatened minority within Indonesia (Rhoads 2007). In 2003, the politically and culturally powerful *Bali Post* held a seminar to promote a strong and resilient Bali (Schulte Nordholt 2007, 387). Out of this seminar came the phrase ‘*ajeg Bali*’ which “refers to a discourse about the position of Balinese culture in present-day Indonesia, in particular since *Reformasi* and *desentralisasi* had changed the political map of Indonesia” (Schulte Nordholt 2007, 387). Of course this sentiment was not new and the tendency to blame outsiders for the problems in Bali, particularly violence and crime had been growing since the 1980s. The 2002 and 2005 bombings also contribute to this sense of fear of outsiders and the need to police them vigorously.

7.3.3 Non-Balinese in Bali

The booming tourist industry brought scores of transmigrants from other parts of Indonesia, particularly those seeking better employment opportunities from Eastern Indonesia and Java. In 2000, there were an estimated 250,000 Javanese and Madurese transmigrants in Bali (Schulte Nordholt 2007, 403), while the total population was only about 3,124,000 (Indonesia Census 2000). In 2010, the census recorded 406,921 migrants to Bali and 520,244 Muslims in the province out of a total population of 3,890,757 (Indonesia 2010 Census). While there are likely a few ethnic Balinese converts to Islam, the vast majority of these migrants are likely

Muslim transmigrants from Java, Madura and other places in the archipelago.

One of those interviewed about the situation in Bali claimed that Muslim migrants from Java and elsewhere tended to prefer being housed together by their employers when possible. The reason given was that because of their cultural and religious beliefs about various practical, everyday lifestyle items such as not eating pork and dogs being unclean, they preferred self-segregation. Additionally, it was pointed out that when living in a village, individuals have certain *adat* cultural responsibilities which range from providing the morning offering to the gods to cleaning up around the temple. These practices, too, would likely not appeal to those observing a different religion. While this interpretation of the desire of Muslim migrants to self-segregate may be accurate, security concerns also likely play a role. There is a tendency among some in the local Balinese population to scapegoat migrants for the ills which face their society, and there are occasionally instances of extrajudicial vigilante justice against outsiders.

There is also a long-resident Chinese population, and most Chinese practice either Buddhism or Christianity but are well-integrated into Balinese culture (Gottowik 2010). While the central government has not released the data collected on ethnicity from the 2010 Indonesia census, it did release information on religion. As of 2010, there were 21,156 Buddhists in Bali, and given cultural information, we can assume that the vast majority of these are of Chinese descent, although again, there are likely a few ethnic Balinese converts.

7.3.4 Political Activity

In terms of political party activity in Bali and national level elections, Golkar was the predominant political party on the island until the fall of Suharto, as in most of Indonesia. However, most Balinese had been staunch supporters of Sukarno whose mother was Balinese and when his daughter, Megawati, ran in the 1999 elections, PDI-P won approximately seventy-nine percent of the vote. Schulte Nordholt asserts, “the PDI-P victory was primarily a manifestation of Balinese ethnicity expressing anti-Javanese and anti-Muslim sentiments” and when it turned out that Abdurrahman Wahid was instead elected president, the island rioted, attacking government buildings and district head residences (2007, 394). PDI-P controlled all the district assemblies as well as the provincial assembly. By 2004, though, as new parties began to take shape, PDI-P’s share of votes in Bali shrunk to fifty-two percent and then to forty-one percent in 2009 (*The Jakarta Post* 4-25-2009).

In 2005, the first democratic local elections for district head and Denpasar mayor were held in Bali. As in other places in Indonesia, the government and population feared that the former New Order elites would just rebrand themselves and run for office, employing tactics and policies reminiscent of their former boss. However, in Bali in particular, it was the former aristocratic local elites that emerged to compete for local political office (MacRae and Putra 2007) as did commoners. Caste continued to remain important in social and political relations in Bali, however, middle class urban intellectuals had been pushing for an achievement and merit based system since the 1920s (Schulte Nordholt 2007, 396). Not surprisingly, those

at the top of the caste hierarchy and in power resisted such reforms. According to Schulte Nordholt, “caste conflicts formed the core of *reformasi* in Bali” (2007, 398).

As mentioned previously, the national political parties are only a vehicle for local elites to compete for political power, even given PDI-P’s popularity. In Bali in the post-Suharto era the dominant political narrative has focused on protecting Balinese culture from destruction by outsiders, both foreign tourists but particularly non-Balinese Indonesians.

The Bali gubernatorial election was held on May 15, 2013. The two sets of candidates for governor and deputy governor were incumbent Governor Made Mangku Pastika with Ketut Sudikerta, known as Pastikerta, and Anak Agung Ngurah Puspayoga with Dewa Nyoman Sukrawan, known as PAS. Interestingly, Pastika ran and won in 2008 with Puspayoga as his deputy under the PDI-P banner, however, for the 2013 election, he was nominated by a coalition of parties: Golkar, the Democratic Party (PD), the Great Indonesia Movement Party (Gerindra), the Peoples’ Conscience Party (Hanura), the Work for the Concerns of the Nation Party (PKBP), Pakar Pangan Party (PPP), the Indonesian Justice and Unity Party (PKPI) and the National Mandate Party (PAN). Pastika is the former chief of the Bali provincial police, and importantly served as chief investigator for the 2002 and 2005 bombings in Bali. He is generally credited with bringing the bombers to justice and is very popular for this reason in particular. One person interviewed cited his popularity as the reason he could have his pick of political parties, and in 2008 he chose to run under PDI-P. In 2008, he and Puspayoga ran against two other pairs of candidates and received well over half the vote with the other two pairs only receiving

twenty-seven percent and eighteen percent (KPU 2008).

However, Pastika was popular for his work solving the bombing cases, but he was not a seasoned politician. First, he was not even a member of PDI-P when he decided to run as its nominee, and therefore, had no party loyalty which left him at odds with the party leadership. In fact, he rejected the party in his 2013 reelection campaign and ran as a coalition candidate under parties listed above. His bigger problem, though, was that he lacked political savvy. In 2010 when examining the provincial budget, he noticed a line item for a “donation” to the company which has an unofficial monopoly on the press in Bali. This was clearly a payment for positive press coverage, but Pastika thought that “he” should not have to pay for coverage and cut it from the budget. The media would retaliate. When there was a dispute involving a local village leader (*desa pekraman*) in which a person was killed, the the governor went to the village presumably to calm the situation and prevent escalation. However, the *Bali Post* reported that Pastika blamed the *desa pekraman* and that he thought the office should be abolished. This caused a major outcry from the public as an attack on traditional Balinese culture and backlash against Pastika’s popularity. He sued the paper for defamation and won, but the damage to his reputation had some lasting effect. His popularity has also suffered as he has been seen as promoting business interests over protecting the environment, and likely receiving kickbacks. Environmental conservation is extremely important to maintaining the tourist industry in Bali and is very salient policy issue there. It also ties back to the importance of culture as the culture and religion are also intimately tied to or portrayed as intimately tied to the land, particularly in the

context of outsiders sully it. WALHI, the Indonesia branch of Friends of the Earth, alleged that Pastika received a kickback from a company the province hired to clean up a popular mangrove and which managed the effort poorly.

Caste and geography still have an impact on voters in Bali. Pastika is from a lower caste and grew up in a large family which struggled financially. He is also from a rural village in the northwest of the island. There has been a strong movement to resist the caste system which has gained strength in the *Reformasi* period, however, in interviews, people still said that voters still often considered the aristocracy better qualified to govern. Puspayoga has close ties to the islands royal elite and is from Denpasar. He also served as mayor of Denpasar from 2000-2008, having been reelected in 2005.

In Bali, there is often little to no separation between cultural and religious life and politics. For example, in 2008, the chairman of the Regional General Election Commission (KPUD-Bali) suggested that voters wear traditional Balinese clothes to the polling stations because this is worn to cultural and religious events and it would make people “think twice before starting something bad while wearing that kind of attire,” meaning they would avoid election violence (Jakarta Post 7-10-2008).

While the candidates have not made overtly anti-immigrant remarks, they both raced to show who is the most Balinese and the best for Bali, wearing traditional clothing in their official campaign photos, see Figure 7.5 and 7.6. These were the photos which appeared on the ballot on election day. According to the regulation number 66/2009, there should be no reference to the candidates’ party on the ballot, however, the PAS photo had the PDI-P logo in the center, a clear

message to voters about their affiliation with the most popular party in Bali. Had PAS won the election, Pastikerta would likely have challenged the result.

Figure 7.5: PDI-P Candidates for Gubernatorial Election in Bali 2013



Figure 7.6: Golkar-PD-Gerindra plus Candidates for Gubernatorial Election in Bali 2013



The vote on May 15, 2013, however, was too close to call without an official tally, with multiple polling firms claiming each side as the victor (*Jakarta Globe*

5-16-2013). Although the results of the election were very close, the campaign was not particularly hotly contested until the very end, and even then it was not extreme. It seems that each side had assumed it had the advantage over the other, Pastika assuming that his popularity for solving the bombings and incumbency would give him a comfortable lead, with PAS assuming that the PDI-P strongholds would deliver for them. Many PDI-P “insiders [believed] the election would be a walkover as seven of the island’s nine [district]-level leaders were executive members of the party” (*The Jakarta Post* 09-21-13). The campaigns were so muted that while they had posted campaign posters prominently in most cities, an average of twenty percent of eligible voters province-wide were unaware of the upcoming election six weeks before the poll date and the lack of awareness rose to thirty percent in rural areas, according to a survey Udayana University in Denpasar conducted (*Jakarta Post* 3-25-2013). The KPU-Bali hosted voter awareness events such as the one advertised at Udayana University to educate first time voters and shown in Figure 7.7.

As election day approached, of course, awareness did increase as did the realization for each side that the race was going to be a close one. Pastika decided at the end of April to take campaign leave from his position as governor ostensibly to avoid any conflict of interest but likely to focus all his energy on being reelected (*Jakarta Post* 4-26-2013). As PAS and PDI-P became increasingly concerned about the tight race, the well-known national PDI-P politicians including Megawati and Joko Widodo, popular mayor of Jakarta and possible 2014 presidential contender known as “Jokowi”, came to Bali to campaign for PAS. Just days before election

Figure 7.7: KPU-Bali First-time Voter Education Event Poster



day, Megawati lashed out at Pastika for being “drunk with power” (*Jakarta Globe* 5-10-2013).

With regard to any attempt to appeal to non-Balinese voters, transmigrants from elsewhere in Indonesia who claim their permanent residence in their place of origin must pay a transmigrant tax and are unable to vote in local elections. This means that local politicians may discount their preferences and engage in casting them as they find useful, usually as dangerous outsiders. However, the number of those who have attained local residence appears to be growing and in the recent gubernatorial campaign, PAS pledged to build an Islamic center in every district in Bali if elected to try and win the Muslim vote. It is unclear whether this ploy worked, as it seems highly unlikely that such an undertaking would occur regardless

of the election outcome. The Chinese vote was said to be locked up by PDI-P.

Finally on May 27, 2013, the KPUD-Bali announced that Pastikerta had won the election by 50.02 percent, having received 1,063,734 votes, to PAS's 49.98 percent with 1,062,738 (*Bali Daily* 5-27-2013). With a gap of just under one thousand votes, Pastika was reelected governor. PAS filed a lawsuit with the Constitutional Court claiming that the results were miscounted and that PAS won by 232 votes as well as alleging voter fraud, intimidation and other violations by the Pastikerta team (*Jakarta Globe* 5-28-2013). However, the Constitutional Court ruled on June 20, 2013, in decree number 62/PKPU/2013, that the accusations were unfounded, that there would be no recount or re-voting and that Pastikerta were the winners of the race (*Bali Post* 6-20-2013).

7.3.5 Violent Conflict

With the fall of the New Order regime, the deemphasis on the military as the guarantor of peace and security and the advent of reform and decentralization, there has been an increase in reliance on traditional security forces, in Bali and in many other provinces. As in many other parts of Indonesia, the police are seen as corrupt and ineffective. This is likely due at least in part to the disconnect between the command structure and the funding structure of the security force in Indonesia. In Bali, the local solution has been to rely on what has loosely been termed a traditional security force called the *pecalangan* (ICG 2003). While most refer to it as traditional, few are able to point to an origin that would suggest

it is anything other than modern, particularly in its current form and function. It came to its current prominence when it provided security for Megawati's presidential campaign in 1998. These security forces are generally composed of local unemployed or under-employed men who wear uniforms of sarongs, black and white checkered waistclothes and carry daggers. They are organized at the village level and provide many of the functions of a police force but operate largely outside the law. This extralegality combined with a general perception among the population that the source of all crime and violence is the non-Balinese migrants (Pedersen 2009), means that the *pecalangan* target suspected non-Balinese migrants for harassment and in extreme cases vigilante violence. They have been used by local governments to sweep transmigrants and screen them for immigrant identity and work permits which they must renew annually (Schulte-Nordholt 2007, 404). Since the establishment of these village-based security forces, there has also been an increase in violent conflict both within villages and between them, with mass violence being reported every month from 1997-2003 (Schulte Nordholt 2007, 402). This took place during the period when the provincial government was severely weakened and was unable to mediate disputes that arose over land or caste status claims.

The terrorist bombing in Bali in 2002 solidified the danger posed by outsiders, and the *Ajeg Bali*, or 'Bali Standing Strong,' movement gained in popularity. The *pecalangan* gained in strength and popularity, and the provincial legislature passed laws forcing non-Balinese migrant workers to pay high worker registration fees and face raids cracking down on those who did not have the proper documents (Rhoads 2007). Interestingly, one of those jailed for his role in planning the attack was

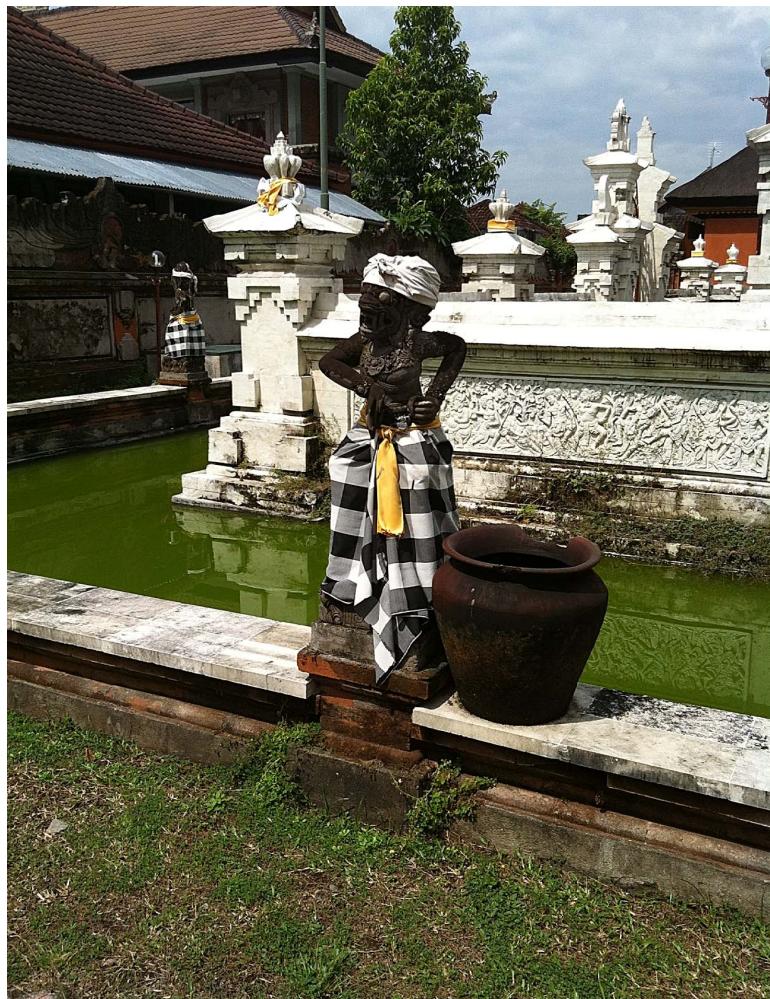
Figure 7.8: Pecalang in Ubud, Bali, 2013



Ali Imron, who was registered as a non-Balinese resident under these repressive conditions in the village of Dauh Puri Kelod in Bali as late as January 2002 (ICG 67 2003).

On election day May 15, 2013, the Bali police and the National Police were concerned that there could be post-election violence and deployed extra officers. Were violence to have erupted, it could have been between the supporters of the two pairs of candidates, and therefore intraethnic violence, but it likely could have targeted Muslim migrants who had been the target to animosity and violence in the recent past. Only one instance of violence directly related to the election was

Figure 7.9: Pecalang Statue at Pura Jagatnatha in Denpasar, Bali, 2013



reported during the post election period. The day after the election a volunteer for the Pastikerta campaign was assaulted by a man wielding a sword and was severely injured but survived (*Jakarta Post* 5-17-2013). Interestingly, the man was taken to an Indonesian military hospital and both Pastika and the Udayana KODAM command chief visited him (ibid.). The involvement of the Indonesian military in what was a rather minor incident would seem to indicate its awareness that small events can trigger large mobilizations and that the central government wanted to avoid that. Several rumors also swirled around in the immediate aftermath, one

saying that the PAS deputy governor candidate, Sukrawan, had been killed by a mob of Pastika supporters and another saying that Sukrawan was not dead but preparing to attack a Pastika-supporting local leader's house (*ibid.*). Local and National police including the national Mobile Brigade were deployed to defuse the situation (*ibid.*).

While political violence at the provincial level has been restrained, as Schulte Nordholt (2007) points out, the real winners in Bali with regard to increased power from devolution of autonomy were the district heads and village councils, and not surprisingly, as competition over control of the local authority increased, so too did violent conflict within and between villages (402). For instance, violent conflict has erupted several times in Buleleng District as rival ethnic Balinese have competed for political power. In December 1998, mass brawls between Balinese supporters of PDI-P and Golkar resulted in nine people being killed and many houses damaged (AP/Reuters 5-12-1999). In 1999, supporters of the two parties clashed in Pedawa village resulting in at least three dead and five houses burned (*ibid.*). Additionally, in 2003, Golkar supporters threw stones at PDI-P members parading past the local Golkar offices, which caused PDI-P members to attack the Golkar offices, killing two (*Daily Telegraph* 10-27-2003).

7.3.6 Analysis

Bali is in some ways nearly a perfect test of the conditions which the theory describes and again reinforces it and provides nuanced support. Generally, intraeth-

nic political competition has been kept very low by the dominance of the PDI-P in Bali at the provincial level and with regard to general elections for representatives in the national government. Even though PAS lost the gubernatorial election, PDI-P is still the strongest party on the island generally. However, it is dominant because of some of the tactics the theory would indicate it should pursue such as policing of constituents and voter intimidation of the opposition and ethnic outbidding, both of which PDI-P candidate campaign teams have done or have been accused of. Therefore, it is probable that we have not seen the large scale intraethnic and interethnic violence that comes with increase intraethnic political competition elsewhere, because the PDI-P has preempted the rise of credible competition using coercive tactics that are not violent. This is another important corollary to the theory proposed above: if one dominant party is able to prevent the rise of significant intraethnic political competition, then the likelihood of intraethnic and interethnic violence is low. However, it depends on how the party prevents the competition from gaining much ground. Additionally, while PDI-P is still dominant, it has lost some ground at the provincial level and if that trend continues, all else being equal, there may be an increased likelihood of violence in the future.

Another interesting element related to the 2013 gubernatorial election was the heavy involvement of the national security forces, both police and military, in preempting the outbreak of violence through show of force rather than reacting with force after the outbreak of violence. The number of Muslim migrants more than doubled between 2005 and 2010, and while the official data have not been released, it is a reasonable assumption that a majority of them are likely transmigrants from

Java. If political violence were to break out in Bali, it would almost certainly spread to targeting the “outsider” Muslim population has it has in the past. The central government has learned from past experience and rather than intervene with force after interethnic violence has occurred, it has preempted such violence through its show of force.

More importantly, we have seen political violence sparked by intraethnic political competition at the district and village level, where more political power has been devolved. Locally powerful elites have used the political parties as vehicles to pursue their own interests and have become shortcuts for rival local factions. Members of PDI-P and Golkar are not members of such because they are invested in the parties’ national platforms, but rather they support their political patrons who are leaders of the national parties locally. This local intraethnic political competition leads to supporters of rival parties clashing in low level mob violence which occasionally results in deaths. As this internal Balinese political competition increases, so too does anti-immigrant rhetoric from local elites, and in Bali has led to the greater empowerment of the traditional ethnic Balinese institution of the *pecalang*, which has been upgraded to an auxiliary police force and taken on the task of policing and harassing suspected immigrants. Interestingly, one local expert noted that the *pecalang* do not serve one particular political party but rather are at the whim of the local village head.

7.4 Acehnese in Aceh

Unfortunately for the people of Aceh, the experience in this province since the signing of the peace agreement between the rebels and the central government reflects the predictions of increased levels of violence proposed by the theory. Since the signing of the Helsinki MoU peace agreement in 2005, several local Acehnese political parties formed and have competed in provincial and district level elections, with substantial amounts of intraethnic political competition leading to substantial violent intraethnic conflict. This competition has also led to interethnic outbidding, however, in Aceh the target of the outbidding and threat of return to violent conflict is the implicitly Javanese central government. The people of Aceh are quite war-weary and suffered greatly as a result of the 2004 tsunami, and therefore, respond strongly against suggestions that violent conflict might return to the region or that any of what they suffered for all those years may be taken away. Were the Partai Aceh or other Acehnese organization to target the Javanese population in Aceh, the central government would almost certainly take the opportunity to crackdown on the provocative provincial leaders. As it is, they are engaged in a tense set of political negotiations regarding what powers are devolved to the province and which are reserved for the central government, with each trying to grab and hold on to as much power as possible.

7.4.1 Brief Historical Context

Aceh is a province at the northern tip of Sumatra and has a long history of conflict between Acehnese rebels and central authority. For thirty years, various groups of Acehnese rebels resisted Dutch rule from 1873-1903 in a war against occupation with clear religious overtones (Aspinall 2007). According to Robinson (1998), “the traditions of political resistance and Islamic identity were further reinforced during the Japanese occupation of the Indies from 1942 to 1945, and in the period of National Revolution (1945-1949) that followed” (129). Aceh was never reoccupied by the Dutch or any of the Allies after World War II and underwent a social revolution in which militant Acehnese Islamic youth organizations violently targeted the traditional Acehnese aristocratic class in an anti-feudal revolution (Robinson 2001, 129.) From 1953 to 1962, Acehnese rebels again revolted, demanding more autonomy and the declaration of Indonesia as an Islamic state, but stopped short of demanding independence (ICG 17 2001, 2). Aceh was relatively peaceful though the mid-1970s until Aceh Liberation Movement (GAM) was founded and its leader declared Aceh independent in 1976, relaunching the revolt (ICG 18 2001, 3). The central government reacted forcefully and largely crushed the rebellion, until 1989 when GAM began attacking local military and police posts (Robinson 2001, 217), allegedly with the return of rebels trained in Libya and the Philippines (ICG 18, 2001, 3). This secessionist rebellion continued on and off, with periods of effort toward peace particularly after the fall of Suharto, through 2004. The Indonesian military is accused of severe human rights abuses throughout the decades of rebellion including after

the fall of Suharto. On December 26, 2004, a devastating tsunami affected much of Southeast Asia and Aceh was particularly hard hit, with approximately 170,000 people killed and infrastructure destroyed (BBC 12-22-2010). This disaster and the scrutiny of international donor attention coupled with battle fatigue, brought the rebels and the government to the table to achieve a peace agreement which to date is still in place and which grants the province special regional autonomy but has yet to be fully implemented.

7.4.2 The Acehnese People

The Acehnese in Aceh comprise over eighty percent of the population (Reid 2006, 5), and the 2010 census found that the total population was 4,494,410 (Indonesia Census 2010). While the local lore is that the Acehnese population is descended from Turks, Arabs and Persians, in reality, the population is a mix of Austronesians from Sumatra with migrants from southern India (Reid 2006, 5). Interestingly, the Acehnese language is Chamic in character, having come from what is now central Vietnam, likely as the result of the migration of Muslim traders during the mid-fifteenth century (Reid 2006, 7). Following the arrival of Islam to region in the twelfth or thirteenth centuries, the Sultanate of Aceh became the most powerful in the Malacca Straits region and remained independent until it was finally subdued by the Dutch in the early twentieth century.

Acehnese are overwhelmingly Muslim, and it is an important part of their identity. However, the role of Islam in the struggle against domination has varied

over the years and is not as simple as some might claim. The *Darul Islam* movement in the 1950s sought to compel leaders into transforming Indonesia into an Islamist state. The GAM separatist movement which arose in the 1970s sought to secede from Indonesia on secular, ethno-nationalist grounds based on its history, uniqueness of its people and past sovereignty. Aspinall (2007) insists that the central government pushed for the implementation of sharia law in Aceh as part of the special autonomy agreement as a castigation of the rebels' secularism and as an attempt to divide the population. A recent newspaper article about the abuse of sharia to subjugate women in the province echoes Aspinall's assessment, saying "how exactly sharia law was included in the [peace agreement] is shrouded in mystery, with many Acehnese saying they never wanted it and the rebels never requesting it. Most historians say that the deal was made between an elite few" (*The Standard* 07-24-2013). According to Aspinall (2007), implementing sharia law in Aceh was meant to appeal to the devout population and the powerful Islamic leaders and to isolate GAM, as it had not supported the establishment of an Islamic state (Ananta et al. 2007, 22). This is not to say that GAM and its leaders are not devoutly Muslim but that many had been educated in more liberal regimes including the United States and creating a radical Muslim state was not their goal.

7.4.3 Non-Acehnese in Aceh

Javanese form the largest minority in Aceh at about seven percent of the population, and while some of these are officials and military, the majority are transmi-

grants engaged in agriculture (Reid 2006, 5). The largest indigenous community is the Gayo which comprise about five percent of the population (Reid 2006, 5). Other indigenous ethnic groups include the Alas, Kluet and Singkil and all live primarily in the central mountainous regions of the province (Ananta et al. 2007, 22). In 2000, several elites from these indigenous ethnic groups feeling unrepresented by the dominant Acehnese ethnic elites formed a movement to divide Aceh into two separate provinces (Miller 2008, 142). Ultimately, the movement has not been successful but did achieve some concessions from the central government in terms of development projects in areas populated by indigenous groups. Recently, however, the movement has reignited and the proposal is now to create three provinces. Non-Acehnese are particularly dissatisfied with the governing Acehnese political party's insistence on using the former GAM flag as the province's symbol, provoking Jakarta and ignoring non-Acehnese interests (ICG No. 139 2007, 2). Non-Acehnese feel that they have been left out of receiving any benefits of peace while Acehnese receive preferential treatment in terms of jobs and contracts (Barron and Sharp 2011, 33).

7.4.4 Political Activity

Aceh is particularly interesting with regard to the theory presented here, because the Law on Governing Aceh (LOGA) specifically allows for the operation of local parties which is prohibited by law in the rest of Indonesia. With the newfound power granted to the province, the already somewhat fractured elites within the Acehnese leadership made grabs for power to gain access to the spoils of office

(ICG 139 2007, 1). In many cases those who won office had no governing experience and often gave new powers to the Aceh Transition Committee (KPA) members who had nominated them for office (ICG 139 2007, 2). As of 2007, six local parties had registered and several more were forming (ICG 139 2007, 3). In 2009, forty-eight parties were running candidates for national and local government positions in Aceh (ICG 90 2009, 1). Since local ethnic parties are not allowed to compete in national elections, they simply form coalitions with national parties and run on their tickets.

This political fragmentation was already to be seen in the 2006 elections. The older generation of GAM leaders supported one set of candidates for governor and deputy governor that had an affiliation with a national party (United Development Party (PPP)), while the powerful Aceh Transition Committee (KPA) discussed in detail below, abhorred the idea of a coalition with a national party (Aspinall 2008, 48). GAM ultimately decided not to support a specific ticket, allowing candidates to run as independents. The candidates that were ultimately successful were Irwandi Yusuf and Muhammad Nazar, both of whom “were able to present themselves as heirs to GAM’s tradition of struggle and as the most likely to stand up to the national government in pushing for full implementation of the MoU” peace agreement (Aspinall 2008, 48). At the local district level, GAM was even more split. Nevertheless, GAM-affiliated candidates swept the elections at all levels in 2006, drawing on the extensive social networks at the local level to mobilize voters. They also played up the theme that GAM had struggled on behalf of the Acehnese people for so long and at great personal cost, so they would be best suited to continue to protect the people’s interests (Aspinall 2008, 49). As Barron et al. (2013) note, the “[e]merging

divides have not been ideological... but between leaders fighting for local power” (30).

One particularly powerful and mostly unaccountable organization in Aceh is the KPA which was established by the Helsinki MoU in 2005 and was mostly comprised of members of the Aceh National Army (TNA), GAM’s armed wing (ICG 90 2009, 2). Its mission was a little ambiguous from the start, generally helping to get former members of the TNA jobs to increase stability. Since 2005, the KPA has become a “thuggish, Mafia-like organization” and its members are powerful political brokers and businessmen, “demanding and usually receiving a 10 percent cut of major public projects”(ICG 123 2011, 7). The KPA is unaccountable in that it has no legal status because after the Helsinki MoU was signed, implementing regulations were never agreed upon by the provincial legislature (ICG 123 2011).

Partai Aceh is the strongest political party in Aceh and is fully an ethnic party in every sense. While it is separate from the KPA officially, it is largely controlled by the KPA especially at the local level and when this control is challenged, there is often threatening intimidation or violence (ICG 90 2009, 3). Where the Partai Aceh and KPA are in harmony, KPA members have prevented other parties from campaigning and threatened their candidates (ICG 90 2009, 3). While Partai Aceh is the strongest party in the east coast area of the province, where it is weak mainly in Central Aceh and Bener Meriah, its candidates have been the ones targeted for intimidation and violence (ICG 90 2009, 3). Partai Aceh came out on top in the 2009 local elections, winning thirty-three of the sixty-nine seats available, however, several other ethnic parties also ran including the Aceh Sovereignty Party (PDA),

the Aceh Unity Party (PBA), the Aceh People's Party (PRA), the Prosperous and Safe Aceh Party (PAAS), Independent Acehnese Peoples' Voice (SIRA), as well as several national parties like PD and Golkar (Morel 2009). However, because each of these other five parties each received less than five percent of the vote, they would be prevented from contesting the next election, at least under the same party name (Ismail et al. 2009). Ismail et al. (2009) assert that among the reasons that Partai Aceh did better than expected in the election was that people feared a return to conflict if Partai Aceh did not win its chance to govern (4). Additionally, Partai Aceh has a strong network developed by GAM during its years of fighting to draw upon to mobilize voters.

In 2012, the province held another set of hotly contested elections, this time for the executive positions of governor and deputy governor and seventeen district heads and mayors. Irwandi Yusuf was the incumbent governor who had won as an independent in 2006 and had broken with the leadership of what became the Partai Aceh, forming his own political network. For the next election, Partai Aceh nominated Zaini Abdullah and complained that the law did not allow candidates to run as independents after the first round of election, which would have disqualified Irwandi. The Constitutional Court had already ruled several years earlier that it was unconstitutional to bar independent candidates from running in any province in Indonesia, however, the Partai Aceh-led provincial legislature said that the 2006 LOGA gave it authority to make decisions about provincial and district-level elections as an element of regional autonomy. Three other sets of candidates for governor and deputy governor also ran. Fear of reigniting the conflict was clearly an inten-

tional part of the campaign. As one analyst noted of Partai Aceh, “[t]heyre not saying, We will go off to form a new guerrilla organization if we dont win... Its more of an implicit suggestion that, if you dont elect us, conflict could break out again” (Jones in *Global Post* 4-6-2012). Zaini Abudullah won the contest, while Irwandi has formed a new Acehnese political party, Partai Nasional Aceh (PNA) (Barron et al. 2013). Partai Aceh also won thirteen of twenty district head positions in 2012.

One important aspect of Aceh’s recent economic development is the fiscal decentralization that the LOGA allowed for paired with the pre-MoU political economy of the independence movement. As with most guerilla movements of any length and force, GAM faced substantial challenges in raising funds over its approximately three decades of operation (Aspinall 2009). It developed an elaborate network of tax collection and other extra-legal economic activities which did not simply vanish with the signing of the peace agreement. For the most part, the transition in Aceh meant that former rebel commanders either became politicians or businessmen and the previous network of economic exchange remained in place, with the new businessmen getting lucrative contracts and the politicians receiving kickbacks, with a trickle down to the previous lower level fighters, still reliant on their patrons for their livelihoods.

In the relationship between Aceh and the central government in Jakarta, one can see most clearly the tension that Riker predicted in federal systems. The LOGA which implemented the Helsinki peace agreement reached in 2005 gives the provincial government control over those things not strictly in the central government’s purview, including local elections (Art. 7). And thus, when the Constitutional

Court ruled unconstitutional Article 256 which allowed independent candidates to run only in the 2006 elections in Aceh and in no subsequent elections, the leaders of Partai Aceh, which had the most to lose by allowing independent candidates to run, cried foul (ICG 123 2011, 4). They claimed that the Court had no right to interfere in the internal affairs of Aceh and if allowed to do so, the central government would claw back the power it had devolved. Additionally, the provincial legislature under Partai Aceh dominance has proposed creating the official position of *Wali Nanggroe* which would give the person occupying the position, Malek Machmud at present, enormous powers to oversee the government in Aceh, create a new bureaucracy for the Partai Aceh to award jobs to loyal party followers, cooperate with parties internationally, all while enjoying immunity from prosecution for any acts he commits (ICG 139 2013, 9-10). It also “stresses Acehnese ethnic identity at the expense of other groups in Aceh” (ICG 139 2013, 10). Furthermore, in March 2013 Partai Aceh-led provincial government chose the former GAM flag as the province’s official flag, see Figure 7.10. This would appear to contravene the LOGA in that it is a symbol drawn from the former independence movement which is prohibited. Partai Aceh, however, insists that having signed the Helsinki MoU shows that it is committed to peace and to the unity of Indonesia, and that the flag is part of its cultural heritage (*Jakarta Post* 06-08-2013). These actions are a clear test of Jakarta’s resolve.

Figure 7.10: Proposed Acehnese Flag and Former GAM Flag (Photo from *Jakarta Globe* 7-26-2013)



7.4.5 Violent Conflict

It seems that almost before the ink was dry on the Helsinki MoU, various factions among the former GAM members began to jockey for positions of power using force or threat of force. As mentioned above, the KPA has emerged as a powerful and unaccountable political actor that has access to all the positions of power in Aceh. When not satisfied with the performance or actions of a local leader regarding KPA interests, they or their proxies have sent live grenades or bullets as a warning to the leaders (ICG 139 2007, 5). In many cases, however, the faction being targeted have retaliated and have attacked KPA members' houses with grenades as well (ICG 139 2007, 5).

In the lead up to the 2009 legislative elections in Aceh, there was a fair amount of violence and intimidation as the parties battled for political control of the province. There were at least thirty-two attacks on political party offices, twenty-

seven of which were on Partai Aceh offices, and five murders of Partai Aceh members or KPA members (Morel 2009). These incidents included drive-by shootings and grenade attacks (Ismail et al. 2009). One report indicated that in “areas with strong PA (Partai Aceh) support it was claimed that PA supporters gathered near the booths and pressured voters, and that many polling booth officials were loyal PA supporters. In areas with low levels of support for GAM in the past, it was local parties which claimed there was intimidation towards their supporters at the booths” (Morel 2009). Additionally, on March 20, 2009, a Javanese Partai Aceh member who had reportedly recruited many Javanese members to the party was found dead in a waste-dumping area (ICG 90 2009, 12).

For its part, the Indonesian military is skeptical of former-GAM members turned politicians’ commitment to peace and remaining within Indonesia. Ahead of the 2009 elections, they deployed large numbers of troops to where they thought hot spots of violence might surface. ICG also notes, that this heightened alert and presence was also a pretext for receiving substantial additional funding, an accusation that is often also raised with regard to Indonesian military actions during the thirty year off and on conflict prior to 2005 (ICG 90 2009, 5). On several occasions they are accused of harassing and beating up KPA and Partai Aceh members, presumably to signal their willingness to confront any suspected independence related activities, and possibly to dissuade the public from electing former GAM members. In February 2009, three KPA/Partai Aceh members were murdered “execution style,” and the military was suspected of organizing and carrying out the act, but there were other rivals with motives and opportunity as well (ICG 90 2009, 10).

Prior to the 2012 elections there was also political violence. One Acehnese politician was attacked while giving a speech critical of the KPA (ICG 123 2011, 8). In another incident, alleged KPA members stormed a local Partai Aceh office, beating up the men inside and vandalizing the property (ICG 123 2011, 8). Other incidents include the torching of Irwandi's weekend house, a grenade thrown at a KPA leader's home, and a bupati's car was supposedly surrounded and shot (ICG 123 2011, 8). Just a few weeks ago, unrelated to any up coming or prior election, a legislator from East Aceh had his car shot at while in front of the Partai Aceh district headquarters (*Jakarta Globe* 7-15-2013).

7.4.6 Analysis

The situation in Aceh is again different in many ways from that of the Dayaks and the Balinese. In 1998 when Suharto fell, the Acehnese had already been in the midst of an active secessionist rebellion against the central government for a decade and had suffered severe human rights abuses. This extremely adversarial relationship continued even after the Helsinki MoU was signed. Additionally, given the protracted nature of the conflict, a thriving war economy developed which created extralegal, illicit networks from which some people benefited greatly (Miller 2006, 293). Again, once the agreement was signed, these networks did not simply dissolve but sought new opportunities to profit.

However, the unity that the Acehnese experienced during the period of active rebellion prior to 2005 quickly began to unravel as local elites were allowed to com-

pete for local government positions of power. For the 2006 election, GAM generally supported several candidates but did not back any one person likely as a measure to see where public opinion stood and also due to lack of capacity at the time. For subsequent elections, however, local political parties had formed and competed on ethnonationalist platforms using voter intimidation and patronage to prevent rivals from receiving votes and to mobilize supporters. Ethnic Achenese party offices were attacked, homes were torched and in the worst shows of violence, party members were murdered.

Parties also engaged in outbidding rhetoric, especially as their records in office showed they had accomplished little. Partai Aceh having been the dominant ethnic party and gaining even more control in the 2009 and 2012 elections tacitly implied that if they were not successful, renewed conflict was a possibility. In Aceh, the Javanese and the state are inseparable as a concept, and so outbidding in this context would target the Javanese central government not necessarily the minority Javanese population, but there is a very clear ethnic overtone to the threat. Interestingly, the Acehnese elites engaging in outbidding have not set their sights on the indigenous minority in the central highlands. However, as the Gayo and others have again raised the proposal of dividing the province which would reduce the power of Acehnese elites, this could be used as a mobilizing tool should the elites decide to use it. Given that the Javanese central government is already useful for mobilization, it is unlikely that the indigenous populations will be targeted in the short-term, unless they become a convenient proxy for the government for being seen as collaborators who want to divide and weaken Aceh.

The state for its part has continued to maintain a substantial military and police presence in Aceh and has resisted its assertion of autonomy which it agreed to in the Helsinki MoU. The Indonesian military regularly asserts its authority in the province, although its reach is far more restricted than during the pre-2005 days of martial law.

Chapter 8: Conclusion

In the introduction to this dissertation, I introduced a puzzle and research questions which motivated this research and which I have attempted to answer. The puzzle questioned what explains the variation in ethnic conflict in federal countries. The theory and analysis presented in this dissertation indicates that while federalism creates the necessary conditions for ethnic conflict, it is the level of internal political competition within the local majority group in a federal unit that determines the likelihood of violence.

The first research question asks why ethnic groups fragment instead of remaining unified toward common goals in federal systems. Would it not seem more beneficial for the group as a whole if they remained unified? This question, however, assumes that ethnic groups are unitary actors which is simply not the case. When politics is ethnic politics, focused at the local level and there is a local majority or plurality, the political elites are competing within the group for political support from a finite pool of constituents. Because they are not programmatic parties but are clientelistic, they have restricted range of options for gaining and maintaining supporters. Because patronage parties have large social networks to deliver private goods and to monitor vote delivery, these networks can also be used more coercively

when deemed necessary. Because the desirability of holding office is high, competition for access to political office is likely to be high in some federal units, while in others, one dominant party may have pushed out any competition. As intraethnic political competition within the federal unit increases, so too does the likelihood of the ethnic political parties to employ coercive measures. Additionally, attacking rival co-ethnic political parties can make them appear weak and drain their resources, making intraethnic violence more likely as well. The cases from Aceh give an example of intraethnic violence resulting from high intraethnic political competition. Several politicians and their high profile supporters have been assassinated over the past few years and party offices attacked, all at the suspected hands of rival political parties and their supporters. Conversely, in Bali, where the intraethnic political competition has been dominated by one political party, there has been very little intraethnic political violence, especially with regard to provincial politics. The statistical analysis also supports this theory. When there is no or very little intraethnic political competition, the probability of intraethnic violence is .13 in the EGFC sample. This is substantially lower than the baseline probability of .22 in the sample without accounting for intraethnic political competition or controlling for any other variables. By the mid-range of the variable, the probability of intraethnic violence doubles and at the maximum the probability more than triples.

These findings are interesting and important on their own but also have important implications given some of the other findings. In the testing on H3, I found that while the government is likely to intervene with force when interethnic conflict occurs at the local level in a federal system, it is not likely to do so if the violence

is intraethnic. While that might mean that the government intervenes in a non-violent way as a mediator, it might also mean that the central government just lets the internal rivals duke it out. This has certainly been the case with the central government in the Aceh case above. The central government is simply relieved that the Acehnese political factions are attacking each other and not Javanese or the central government anymore. If the central government does not take actions, there is no higher authority to intervene within the country and international intervention also seems less likely. In such situations, the federal unit in the extreme case could become rather violent and lawless as violence escalates and perpetrators are not held accountable. Supporters could practically become hostages of their patrons as considering change incurs unreasonable risk.

What effect does federalism have on violence between ethnic groups? Why do we still see interethnic violence even when ethnic groups are given control over local government? The answer I have proposed in this dissertation has several elements. First, federal systems shift competition for power away from the center to the local level and allow local majorities to have access to power when they otherwise might not in a unitary system. Second, if ethnicity is politicized, political parties will emphasize ethnicity which restricts the pool of possible constituents and makes politics largely patronage-based. Third, as intraethnic political competition among the local majority for access to political power at the local level increases, so too will the likelihood of using ethnic outbidding as strategy for gaining and maintaining supporters. This ethnic outbidding will increase tensions with the local minority, which may behave as if it had greater capacity to counter the outbidding

than it does if it thinks the central government will ‘have its back.’ This increased tension increases the likelihood of conflict between the groups. Federalism creates the conditions that allow the mechanisms of interethnic conflict to function at the local level.

Interestingly, the choice of group against which to outbid also seems to be strategic. For instance, in West Kalimantan, the Dayaks and the Malays are approximately comparable in size, with different pockets of concentration throughout the province. In choosing a group to characterize as a threat, they each had many options. They could have chosen each other, however, that might have led to violence between the two dominant ethnic groups, which if it escalated would devastate the province and benefit no one. They could have chosen the local Javanese population, but that would almost surely have prompted the central government and the military to intervene swiftly against the outbidders and the offending ethnic group more broadly. That left the Chinese and the Madurese as options. The Chinese had been victims of mass violence during the violence in the 1960s which killed many and led many to flee. Those remaining have kept a low profile, on average have a reputation for being successful in business and have worked to integrate themselves in local Dayak and Malay business networks. This left the Madurese, a small, relatively poor, low status immigrant population with few allies in the province or at the national level. When interethnic violence broke out against them in 1997 and 1999, there was no urgency on the part of the central government or the military to respond, for which they have been criticized by international human rights advocates.

Alternatively, in Bali, the outbidding which has existed has been primarily directed against the Javanese transmigrant and greater Muslim transmigrant population. The dominant narrative created in Bali is that external forces are polluting the purity of Balinese culture and society and threatening the uniqueness of the Balinese people. The companion political narrative is that the “foreign” transmigrants also pose a physical risk to the peaceful Balinese through theft and physical violence. While they could have chosen the Chinese to use as target of outbidding, again, 1960s violence took a substantial toll on the local Chinese population, which has been long resident and is well-integrated within the society and business communities. They also tend to be Buddhist or Confucian incorporating local Balinese Hindu practices into their festivals. Recent economic transmigrants that are almost exclusively Muslim are a much easier to contrast and can be cast as trying to overwhelm the Balinese.

While the data in the EGFC sample do not distinguish between the type of group with which the local majority is engaged in interethnic conflict, they do show that an increase in intraethnic political competition does lead to an increase in interethnic violence. As discussed earlier, the level of interethnic conflict in the EGFC sample and in the AMAR sample as a whole is quite high. The probability of interethnic conflict when there is little or no intraethnic political competition in federal systems is .40 and it increases to .72 at the maximum level of intraethnic political competition measured. Additionally, economic and political discrimination by the central government against the local majority increases those probabilities.

In addition to the findings being interesting in and of themselves, they also

have real-world implications. One is that if the goal of creating a federal system is to empower concentrated minority groups in their own federal units so as to avoid interethnic conflict, then the result is likely only to be the shifting what might have been violent conflict at the national level to the local level. This has implications for democratizing countries that are considering shifting power outward to accommodate minority populations such as Burma of late. If power is concentrated at the local level, then that is where political competition will be focused. Political competition will be within the group for local office and groups that may have previously had the incentive to remain united to achieve goals under a unitary state, will fracture and intraethnic political competition will increase leading to intraethnic violence as well as interethnic violence as a result of ethnic outbidding at the local level. In Burma, for example, where the Burman population was favored for so long over other ethnic groups, the newly empowered local majorities would have a ready-made target against which to outbid. While Burma is in the early stages of transition from a highly unitary autocracy, it has begun decentralizing and allowing for greater local autonomy. This is not to say that federalism and decentralization always have negative consequences for ethnic politics, but they are also not panaceas either.

Another implication, particularly highlighted in the case studies is that the selection of the group to target in ethnic outbidding is strategic. Ethnically outbidding local majority political parties do not always choose to target the local minority that is co-ethnic with the national majority. They may be aware that doing so may make the central government more likely to come to their target's aid. Instead,

outbidding parties may target small groups without external supporters, counting on no one intervening to help them. This may mean that smaller ethnic groups in federal units with a dominant ethnic population may be at greater risk than those that are co-ethnic with the nationally dominant ethnic group.

The yet another research question I pose regards the behavior of the central government. I question why central governments intervene with force into local interethnic conflict rather than simply allowing the local government of the federal unit to resolve the issue. While some might counter that if there is violent conflict within a country's territory that it will intervene on grounds of maintaining law and order, this does not appear to be the case with other types of violent conflict such as intraethnic conflict. Why not let the local government enforce law and order? The answer I develop here supposes that the local minority involved in the interethnic conflict with the local majority will call on the central government for assistance. The central government will likely feel pressure to intervene from its constituents if it is co-ethnic with the local minority. It might also use the interethnic conflict as political cover to use force against the local majority to grab back some devolved power, whether or not the local minority is co-ethnic with the national majority.

The evidence from the West Kalimantan and Bali case studies are consistent with this theory, although more data would be helpful in lending it strong support. The major interethnic violence in West Kalimantan discussed in the case study was by the Dayaks against the Madurese in 1997 and by the Malay against the Malay in 1999. The Madurese are, of course, not part of the national plurality Javanese population and anecdotally do not seem to have many allies outside of their home island

of Madura. In these violent episodes, the actions of the central government were not perceived as substantial in quelling the conflict given the resources available, and its action certainly could not be perceived as intervening on behalf of the Madurese. The other reason the central government could have intervened using force against the Dayaks of Malay would be to grab back power. In 1997, Suharto had not been deposed, but he and his regime were not at the peak of capability. The military may have balked at expending resources in a relative backwater when there was no challenge to the center. In 1999, Habibie, the architect of decentralization was in charge, so it would seem unlikely that he would try to claw back power that he had just devolved. In Bali, the Balinese factions have pursued ethnic outbidding against the Javanese and other Muslim transmigrants but the dominance of one faction, the PDI-P, has kept the level of political competition low. Nevertheless, the central government seemed to anticipate that any violence following the 2013 gubernatorial campaign may escalate and target Javanese and other transmigrants, and, therefore, had a large security presence in Bali and during and after the election.

While the results from the cases studies are not definitive, they do allow us to look at both possible motivations, protect co-ethnic kin or grab power. The statistical results are more dramatically supportive but do not allow us to disaggregate the two motives. When there is no interethnic conflict, intraethnic political competition has a no effect on the likelihood of central government use of force against the local majority. When there is interethnic violent conflict and there is little to no intraethnic political competition, the probability of the central government using force is .35, however, at the maximum intraethnic political competition, it increases

to .95. Using the statistical analysis, the rival hypothesis that the government is just maintaining law and order can be discounted. Instead of splitting the sample by interethnic conflict, I analyzed models using the full sample and incorporating intraethnic conflict and interethnic conflict as independent variables. In the two corrected models, intraethnic violence does not have an effect on whether or not the central government uses force against an ethnic group in a federal system. These results counter the claim that the central government simply intervenes with force to quell any kind of conflict on its territory.

The implications of these findings are extremely important for explaining why the central government is likely to become involved in local ethnic conflict. It also means that again federal systems can create incentives for local interethnic conflict to become nationalized if the central government intervenes. The data here are not configured to test for conflict escalation, but H4 intimates how the local majority might respond.

The final research question ponders why federalism seems to sometimes or even often work at quelling violence by local majority ethnic groups. The answer I propose here is that federalism does actually satisfy ethnic groups in their desire for access to political power. The intraethnic and interethnic violence we see in federal countries is not because the local majority is dissatisfied with its political lot but rather is a byproduct of increased intraethnic political competition within the local majority. However, this increased political competition does not increase the desire of local majority ethnic groups to secede from the federal country. However, if the intraethnic political competition leads to interethnic violence *and* the central

government uses force against the local majority on behalf of the local minority, then the local majority is likely to response with anti-regime violence in-kind.

Again, the case studies are consistent with the theory, but more research and data would be useful to provide more clarity. In West Kalimantan, intraethnic political competition can be described as relatively high over different period being considered and interethnic did occur. However, the central government's response was very weak and would not meet the category of violent force against the group, and during this period, neither the Dayaks nor the Malay rebelled against the central government. In Bali, there was little interethnic violence during this period and although the central government had a substantial presence, again, it would not meet the level of violence force against the Balinese as a group, and the Balinese showed no signs of rebellion. The case of Aceh is a bit harder to categorize using this typology, since it was already in active anti-regime rebellion in 1999 when decentralization began. It has been said that the Indonesian military used force against the Acehnese over the years as a way to keep the conflict going and to justify the continued presence and profiteering of the military in the province, however, during this time Indonesia was highly centralized.

As with the hypothesis above, the statistical results are clearer and provide more direct support. The effect of intraethnic political competition on the likelihood of anti-regime rebellion is substantively insignificant, with only a .05 probability increase over the range of intraethnic political competition. However, when central government uses force against the group, the two conditions together do have an effect. When the central government uses violence against the local majority, the

likelihood of the group engaging in anti-regime increases as well. If, for instance, the central government intervenes because intraethnic political competition has led to ethnic outbidding by the local majority and subsequently to interethnic conflict, then the local majority is likely to use force against the central government in-kind.

Again, the implications of these findings are important. Federalism and ethnic political parties do not lead directly to violent anti-regime rebellion. However, this does not mean that there will not be violence against the state, especially if the central government uses force against the local majority. The path to the anti-regime violence is slightly longer and more indirect than previously theorized.

There are a number of directions future research flowing from the work presented above could and should take. In terms of the current theory, it would be useful to disaggregate some of the violence variables and to see if there is any difference in scale or scope of violent outcomes related to the theory and findings. Additionally, the question of which groups get targeted by local majorities for ethnic outbidding is an interesting and important one that requires more systematic attention. I highlighted the logic in the cases from West Kalimantan and Bali, but additional theorizing and empirical testing would be useful in determining who gets targeted. The question of moral hazard in internal conflict is also one that remains open with regard to the research presented above. Is it likely for a local minority to behave more confrontationally in order to require the central government to intervene on its behalf, increasing the chance of violent conflict? This argument has been made in the international relations literature but has not been applied to internal conflicts with the central government as the potential third-party intervenor.

Glossary

Clientelism—This term is used in the sense that Kitschelt and Wilkinson (2007) define it as “the direct exchange of a citizen’s vote in return for direct payments or continuing access to employment, goods and services.” They, as do I, use the term synonymously with “patronage.”

Constructivist definition of ethnicity—The constructivist definition of ethnic that is used and discussed in this dissertation is now quite mainstream and well-understood in the field of comparative politics and is primarily juxtaposed against primordialism. According to Chandra, it assumes that individuals have multiple identities and that activated identity depends on some specified causal variable (APSA-CP 2001). This definition grew out of anthropology, sociology, political science, history and literature and shows ethnic groups as fluid and endogenous to a set of social, economic and political processes.

Ethnic outbidding—The theory of ethnic outbidding is primarily associated with Rabushka and Shepsle (1972) and later Horowitz (1985) and asserts that when ethnic political parties exist, they will pursue more and more exclusive policies vis a vis other ethnic groups. This attempt to outbid one another on issues that are salient to the ethnic group which is often security related often leads to interethnic violence.

Ethnic political party—I draw on several different definitions (Horowitz 1985, Chandra 2005, van Cott 2003) to arrive at my operational definition. An ethnic political party is an organization which puts forth candidates for political office and advocates preferential policies for a specific ethnic group which it claims to represent and is either self-identified as a party representing the interest of that group or is generally understood to be representing the interest of that group in the cases in which explicit references to ethnicity are banned by law; and/or when it advocates for greater autonomy or independence for a region because of its ethnic population.

Federalism—Federalism is one of those concepts in political science that is frequently discussed, studied and criticized but rarely defined. I use it in this dissertation primarily in contrast with unitary systems and simply mean the decentralization and devolution of power and resources to the subnational level.

Interethnic—This term indicates some activity or action *between* two or more ethnic groups.

Intraethnic—This term indicates some activity or action within one ethnic group.

Local majority—A local majority is a group that is a majority or powerful plurality in a federal unit but is a national minority.

Local minority—A local minority is a group that is a minority in a federal unit

but may be part of the national majority or another national minority group.

Patronage—See clietelism.

Primodialism—Primordialism is the now largely discounted view that a person's ethnicity is immutable and is either determined by biology or developed as the results of ancient hatreds born of conflict. The important element is less how a person acquired his or her ethnic identity but more that it is impossible to change it.

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