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Ethnic identity, political identity and ethnic conflict: simulating the effect of congruence between the two identities on ethnic violence and conflict

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Introduction

The prevalence of ethnic conflict in the latter half of the 20th century has sparked a good deal of interest in explaining the phenomenon, its processes and its roots. During the 1990s with the emergence of the various Yugoslav conflicts, theories arguing that the players in these wars were driven by 'ancient hatreds' stemming from their ethnic identity became popular explanatory paradigms. The most prevalent advocate of this interpretation was Robert Kaplan who described the Balkans as being at the centre of "the ultimate historical and cultural conflict" which pitted "Catholicism against Orthodoxy, Rome against Constantinople, the legacy of Hapsburg Austria-Hungary against that of Ottoman Turkey – in other words, West against East, the ultimate historical and cultural conflict" (Kaplan, 1993: 7).

The primary hypothesis of this paper concerning the root of such conflicts is different. I argue that an ethnic conflict can emerge in the absence of initial hatreds and during times when interethnic relationships appear strong. Rather ethnic identity can become politicised, causing political issues to become ethnic issues. In multi-ethnic states, the different aspirations of each group and the degree to which each group will benefit or lose from political decisions leads to an 'ethno-political congruence' in which certain political positions are ascribed to an ethnic identity. Far from being purely materialist these political gains and losses can be symbolic and intangible, arising from the shared myths, symbols and history that bond ethnic groups. Thus the political antagonism stemming from the polemic can be directed at individuals based on their ethnic identity.

Chirot argues that one of the primary features of ethnic conflict is that whole communities take the collective blame for the actions of individuals, inciting 'collective revenge' (Chirot, 2001: 23). It is in these cases, Liotta and Simmon reason, that the identity an individual is assigned becomes increasingly fixed as blame is cast upon those who "look alike, sound alike" (Liotta and Simmons, 1998: 3). Thus individuals who do not define themselves as any ethnicity are still likely to face security risks during an ethnic conflict. Within these dynamics a political polemic can create a self-sustaining cycle of ethnic violence.

Anthropology generally functions as a comparative and analytical discipline, but rarely as an experimental one (Lyon and Fischer, 2006: 48). This paper will construct a simulation to test the 'ethno-political congruence' hypothesis, informed by three case studies of ethnic conflict: Lebanon, Croatia and Northern Ireland. This paper hypothesises that ethnic conflict can occur in the simulation in the absence of initial ethnic antagonism and that a higher ethno-political congruence will accelerate the process by which a conflict becomes dominated by ethnic violence.

Lebanon

An analysis of the case studies of Lebanon, Northern Ireland and Croatia reveals that in all three cases political identity was imposed upon an externally verifiable ethnic identity.

Lebanon has long been one of the most religiously mixed nations within the Middle East. The population includes Sunni and Shiite Muslims, Maronite Catholics, Greek and Armenian Orthodox Christians and Druze, a sect within Islam. Far from being a simple 'Christian against Muslim' affair, the Lebanese Civil War was initially primarily fought between Maronite militias and a multi-confessional bloc called the Lebanese National Movement (LNM). The war has its roots in an ideological polemic regarding the identity of the country itself: whether the country was a Western Mediterranean nation or an Arabic nation.

This ideological conflict had occurred before in 1958 when Lebanon briefly merged with Syria and Egypt to form the United Arab Republic, a Pan-Arab nation headed by Egyptian leader and Pan-Arabist Nasser (Calame and Charlesworth, 2001: 43). This move was opposed by President Chamoun who wanted to remain aligned with the anti-Nasser West but was supported by Prime Minister Karami (*ibid.*). In Beirut, Muslim anti-Chamoun militants barricaded themselves into the Sunni quarters of al-Basta, Akkar and Wadi al Taym while Christians defended East Beirut and the Mount: the fighting came to a stop with a US intervention by which time 2000-4000 people had died (Calame and Charlesworth, 2001: 48-49; Kliot, 1986: 207).

In the 1960s and 1970s, various issues again caused the identity of Lebanon to come into question, most notably the large population of Palestinians in south Lebanon. The Palestinian presence had increased since 1970 and several guerrilla factions used the area as a base of operations from which to strike Israel, inviting Israeli retaliation onto Lebanese soil (Hudson, 1978: 262-263). Government attempts to move Palestinians from the area were met with violence from the guerrillas and pro-Palestinian riots from sections of Lebanese society (*ibid.*). The Palestinians in effect were "living proof of the organic link between Lebanon and the Arab world" (Odeh, 1985: 108). The issue of the Palestinians split Lebanon into those who supported the cause and those who viewed the Palestinians as an unnecessary security risk. This split caused anti-Palestinian Maronite militias and the LNM to clash in 1974 (Odeh, 1985: 119).

The LNM called for an abolition of confessionalism in government, which had been established by the 1943 'National Pact'. The Pact outlined that political representation in parliament would have a 6:5 ratio favouring Christians, the President would always be a Maronite, the Prime Minister a Sunni and the Speaker of the House a Shiite Muslim (Hagopian, 1989: 103). The Pact was informed by a 1932 census which showed a Christian majority in the nation (Crighton and Abele McIver, 1991: 131). The LNM sought to remove this Pact and create a secular state based on Nasser's Egypt.

Complicating the political polemics were sectarian patronage networks called za'ims, ethnically exclusive political groupings in which political support is traded for services (Johnson, 2001: 25 and 160-161). These networks meant that ethnic identity constrained political identity. For example traditional Sunni bourgeoisie were wary of the LNM's anti-confessional stance which threatened their power base, but were unable to side with the anti-PLO Maronites because it would alienate them from the pro-PLO Lebanese that formed the base of their za'im: they thus found themselves in a shaky alliance with the LNM (Odeh, 1985: 112-113). Thus individuals had the political label of their za'im leader stamped upon them.

The effect of this system meant that ethnic and political identities were collapsed into a single ethno-political label. This relationship between political and ethnic identity is shown in many statements, for example Karim Pakradouni of the Kataeb Party asserted that 'Christians by their nature are more Lebanese while Muslims are more Arab' (Rowayhed, 2006). This statement interprets Islam as a marker that provides sufficient evidence to ally an individual with the Pan-Arabist and Palestinian cause and thus against Lebanon's 'true identity'. The leader of Guardians of the Cedar, a Maronite militia, asserted a similar link between ethnicity and politics and publically said: "If you feel compassion for the Palestinian women and children, remember they are Communists and will bear more Communists" (Johnson, 2001: 12). In this statement the Palestinian identity is associated with the anti-Western and pro-Communist agendas of pan-Arabism.

Thus individuals were targeted as political threats based on their sect. This is shown by the Black Saturday and Karantina massacres, perpetrated by Maronites against the Muslim population. In revenge factions of the LNM massacred the Christian inhabitants of Damour and desecrated Christian graves (Odeh, 1985: 149-152; Johnson, 2001: 60). The spiral of ethnically targeted violence and fear of reprisal was illustrated by the confessional homogenisation of east and west Beirut into Christian and Muslim enclaves (Calame and Charlesworth, 2009: 38-39).

Interviews with numerous ex-militiamen, including those within the self-described non-confessionalist LNM, found that the majority of individuals joined militias of their confession rather than their ideology (Haugbolle, 2012; Kreidi and Munroe, 2002: 20-24). These motivational processes in the conflict meant that after the preliminary atrocities it became "impossible to talk of a political left and right in Lebanon when most extreme forms of communalism motivated the vast majority of fighters and many of their leaders" (Johnson, 2001: 67).

Croatia

The Croatian War of Independence was again a conflict with a political polemic at its roots which was imposed on top of ethnic identity. At the base of the conflict was the issue of Croatian independence from the Yugoslav federation, a move that would leave approximately 600,000 Serbs in the new Croatian territory (ICTY, 2002).

Croatian independence had occurred before. In the aftermath of WWI and the defeat of both the Austo-Hungarian and Ottoman Empires, the south Slav area, including Croatia, came under the control of the Serbian monarchy (Prp-Jovanovic, 2000: 48-49). However, Croats claimed that they were politically underrepresented in spite of supplying the majority of the Kingdom's industry (*ibid.*). Violence in government caused the King to dissolve parliament and rule as an autocrat and in 1941 a Nazi invasion gave Croatia the independence it desired (*ibid.*: 56-58). The resulting Nazi puppet state, designated as the Independent State of Croatia (NDH), was responsible for a policy of ethnic cleansing against the Serbs during WWII, primarily carried out by the paramilitary unit known as the Ustashe with Muslim accomplices, in an attempt to realise 'Greater Croatia' (Cushman, 2004: 11; Pratt, 2003: 135; Denich, 1994: 368). Serbian rebel fighters called the Chetniks in turn committed atrocities against Croats in an attempt to create a 'Greater Serbia' (Pratt, 2003: 135).

Tito and his Partisans managed to defeat both the Ustashe and Chetnik forces and turn Yugoslavia into a communist federation. Under Tito's regime a compromise was reached: a federation of republics under an overarching communist government based on the values of 'brotherhood and unity' (Denich, 1994: 371). During Tito's reign there was a 'de-ethnicisation' of history: literature focussing on the sufferings endured by particular groups in WWII was banned; memorials to the victims of the ethnic violence of WWII neglected to mention the ethnicity of the perpetrators and victims and a new Yugoslav identity was forged on the concepts of socialist struggle and anti-fascism (Denich, 1994: 371; Bertsch, 1977: 89).

The push for Croatian independence in the late 20th century had similarities to the earlier attempt. Croat politicians were again unhappy that Croatia's comparative wealth and industry was being redistributed to the other republics within the Federation (Pratt, 2003: 136). Tudjman, leader of the independence-orientated HDZ party, exclaimed 'Croatia was for the Croats', a statement that was virtually identical to those made by the Ustashe leaders in 1941 (Sack and Suster, 2000: 310). The new Croatian constitution designated the country 'nation of Croats' with Serbs deemed a minority without a legal framework to protect their rights

(Marko-Stockl, 2004: 28-29). The civic definition of citizenship that had been encouraged under Tito had been replaced with an ethnically exclusive definition and Croatia became a 'nation-state' with more than one 'nation' within it: the 'imagined community' included within its limited territory those who were outside the community. Lastly the Sahovnica, the medieval Croatian coat of arms worn by the Ustashe, was reintroduced into the public arena: Tudjman publically kissed the symbol and made it part of the new Croatian flag and police uniforms (Marcko-Stockl, 2004: 29).

The issue of Croatian independence elicited differing collective memories for Croats and Serbs and the Sahovnica is a good example of how different ethnicities interpret the significance of symbols differently. For Croats it was a symbol of emancipation and represented the rebels who had freed them from Serbian hegemony. For Serbs it was a symbol of genocide, forced conversion and persecution.

The Serbs in Croatia's eastern region, known as 'Krajina', started to call for their own Serbian dominated autonomous province after the election of Tudjman's HDZ party (Grandits and Leutloff, 2003: 23-27). This agenda was supported by Milosevic whose election slogan had been "all the Serbs in one state" (Sell, 2002: 110). The referendum over the autonomy of Krajina found that 97% of those who voted, almost exclusively Serbs, were in favour (ICTY, 2004). However, the referendum was declared illegal by the Croat government (*ibid.*). The Croat Government was loath to lose the region as it had a sizable Croat minority.

There had been tit-for-tat exchanges between the Croat police force and Krajina militias since 1990, but severe ethnic cleansing of civilians only occurred after a referendum, boycotted by many Serbs, declared Croatia >90% in favour of independence (Sibler and Little, 1995: 161 & 201-204). The first village to be cleansed, Kijevo, was assaulted by Krajina Serb irregulars because it was a majority Croat village and deemed by Babic to be a security risk: within a month Croats had started assembling 'security groups' to rid their villages of Serbs (Sibler and Little, 1995: 188-189; ICTY, 2004). The extremely high correlation between ethnic identity and political position meant that, as attacks rose, people perceived the ethnic 'others' in their villages as potential allies of the militias and armies seeking to destroy them. Killings directed at one community meant that militias would form to take revenge against the community that wronged them and to restore 'ethnic honour' (ICTY, 2007).

Northern Ireland

Much like Yugoslavia and Lebanon, in Northern Ireland religion defines a person's identity regarding history, self and nation.

In the early 20th century the successful Irish War of Independence led to the partition of Ireland, formalised in the Anglo-Irish Treaty, as Protestant dominated Ulster wished to remain part of the United Kingdom (White, 2007: 24). A civil war then erupted between the pro-treaty and anti-treaty factions of the Irish Republican Army (IRA) (*ibid.*). During the 1950s and 1960s the anti-treaty IRA launched 'The Border Campaign', a series of skirmishes against the Northern Irish state on the border. However, neither the campaign, nor the IRA, had widespread Catholic support within Northern Ireland: a Belfast Times survey in the early 1960s found that <30% of Catholics favoured reunification (O'Leary and McGarry, 1996: 157-161).

Nevertheless as more Catholics began to accept the Ulster Government they became more vocal about the lack of civil rights granted to the Catholic community. Civil rights groups

formed to fight against perceived discrimination against the Catholic community. This began with the formation of the Campaign for Social Justice (CSJ) in 1964 and in 1967 the Northern Ireland Civil Rights Association (NICRA), the largest civil rights group, was founded (Cameron, 1969; Melaugh, 2012). The civil rights movement as a whole enjoyed strong backing from the Catholic community (Cameron, 1969). Civil rights demands were: local government elections in line with the rest of the UK instead of Ulster's propriatal voting system; redrawing of electoral boundaries to ensure fair representation; legislation against discrimination in employment; a points system for housing to ensure fair allocation; repeal of the Special Powers Act (which allowed corporal punishment such as whippings and the hearing of public order crimes in a court with no jury); the disbandment of the B-Special Police Reserve Force which was notorious for violent abuses against the catholic community; and the withdrawal of the Public Order Bill (Stetler, 1970: 41).

These demands threatened the foundations of the Protestant community's uneasy hegemony. For Catholics, the disbandment of the B-Specials meant the disbandment of an abusive force but for Loyalist Protestants it meant the end of "locally controlled undiluted Protestant police power" (Galliher and Degregory, 1985: 93). A 1908 papal decree required children of mixed confessional marriages to be brought up Catholic, thus demands to end prejudice in employment and housing allocation which would encourage intermixing and mixed marriages would result in children that would be identified as Catholic (*ibid.*: 72-83). This in turn threatened the Protestants' demographic dominance, making the demands to end gerrymandering and for universal franchise even more of a threat to the Protestant hegemony.

As a result, civil rights marches throughout the late 1960s were attacked by Protestant mobs, sometimes with the Royal Ulster Constabulary (RUC) assisting in the violence (Stetler, 1970: 40-48). During this time the Ulster Volunteer Force (UVF), a Protestant Loyalist militia, formed and started assassinating Catholic civilians (Guelke, 1986: 92).

The Troubles officially started in the Battle of Bogside after the Loyalist Apprentice Boys of Derry march. A clash between the RUC and the Catholics of Derry ended in sectarian rioting and the deployment of British troops as a peacekeeping force (Stetler, 1970: 62-97). Reforms aimed to increase the rights of the Catholic minority such as the disbanding of the B-Specials and universal suffrage were implemented immediately after the dispatch of the British Army (Bew and Gillespie, 1993: 21-24). However, sectarian conflict continued and 'peace lines' were built to separate the two communities (*ibid.*). Sectarian clashes and assassinations would persist in the province for over thirty years.

Protestants are a majority within the Northern Irish state but a minority in Ireland. The Protestant community's history as agents of British rule and as a regional minority means that the community has perceived itself as insecure in the region but protected by a state in which it is a majority, but this state of affairs is seen as constantly under threat (Galliher and Degregory, 1985: 134). Historical events such as the Siege of Derry and the 1641 massacre, in which Protestant settlers were targeted by native Catholics, have stuck in the Protestant consciousness. This is shown by the slogan 'No Surrender', which references Derry's siege by the Catholic King James, which is utilised by numerous Loyalist paramilitaries and the subject of numerous murals in Protestant neighbourhoods (Stetler, 1970: 68-69; Galliher and Degregory, 1985: 4-5). These historical events have been used by politicians such as Paisley to remind the community of their precarious position (Crighton and Abele MacIver, 1991: 129). Catholics have a separate history of domination by a minority of foreign origin, of the loss of land and independence and of massacres at the hands of the British (Galliher and Degregory, 1985: 1-5; White, 2007: 24).

Thus religion ties directly into the issues of unionism and republicanism. For Catholics the UK has historically been a persecutor while for the Protestants it has been a protector. Symbolic gestures such as granting IRA members Catholic funerals and the sprinkling of holy water upon Republican paramilitary members links the Republican cause and the Catholic faith (Dillon, 1998: 173; Galliher and Degregory, 1985: 76-77). For Protestants, actions by the Catholic hierarchy formalised this symbiosis: Cardinal Conway, in spite of criticising PIRA, described Republicanism as a 'noble cause' and the clergy began to endorse PIRA in the wake of oppressive actions by Britain such as Bloody Sunday and internment without trial (Davis, 1989: 41-47). For Catholics, marches by organisations such as the Orange Order crystallise the symbiosis between the Protestant and Loyalist identity. William of Orange, the figure central to Orangism, defeated James II and ensured the Protestants' continued existence in Ireland and as a result is revered as a saviour among hard-line Loyalist Protestants, while for the Catholic community, William of Orange is the man who ensured continued Protestant domination and Catholic subjugation.

The three common trends in each case

Ethnic identity traits such as descent or religion may not always be instantly externally visible but in all three cases they were externally verifiable. In most interactions people are more likely to be sorted according to ethnic identities than non-ethnic identities (Chandra, 2003: 48). In both Lebanon and Yugoslavia, this order was internalised by the state, which set the categories via identification cards in Lebanon or the 1974 constitution in Yugoslavia.

In the case of Lebanon, state-issued identification and voter registration cards would announce the carrier's religion (Makdisi, 1996: 24). These cards were often used by militias to identify people as legitimate targets of violence (Hage, 1996: 134; Johnson, 2001: 61). Beirut and Lebanon generally were a patchwork of homogenous enclaves within a mixed society, although there were some mixed areas (Silver, 2010: 350; Stork, 1983: 9). This 'geoconfessionalism' meant that confessional enclaves could be identified and cleansed if deemed a risk. The Damour, Karantina and Tal al-Zaatar massacres are all examples of the identification and elimination of confessional enclaves (Kliot, 1986: 210; Hafez, 1977: 11-12; Johnson, 2001: 11-12).

The 1974 constitution in Yugoslavia designated each republic in the Federation as being dominated by a 'narod' or people who had a right to secede from the Federation (Pratt, 2003: 139). These classifications were religiously based and overpowered local lineage or linguistic categories such as the Bosnian nacija, and created entirely new categories such as 'Bosniak' to include all Slavic Muslims (*ibid.*: 140-145). Religion became the main mark of difference for the Yugoslav citizen. Though church attendance dipped among Serbs during socialist times, Orthodox festivals in the Krajina region, such as the 'village/house-slava' celebrating village and household saints, continued (Leutloff, 2000: 7-10). Though these festivals had lost their 'religious character', they still functioned as an expression of the Orthodox faith and a "symbol of belonging to the Serb nation" (*ibid.*). Further points of differentiation include language: Serbo-Croatian though officially one language was affected by dialectical differences which split the Serb and Croat populations (Greenberg, 1996: 4-5). While the Belgrade government aimed to unify the language, dialectical differences were sufficient for movements in the Croatian Spring to push for the language to be separated into Serb and Croatian (Batovic; 2009).

Ireland, unlike Lebanon or Yugoslavia, did not have religious difference explicitly formalised by the state. However, implicit separations formed in the state architecture, most notably state

schools, which by default became 'Protestant schools' due to Catholic attendance at Catholic schools (Rose, 1971: 335). Easthope in his ethnography of Northern Ireland found that the direct question 'what is your religion?' was exclusively asked of English or other overseas nationals because clues such as place of work, sports played and followed, newspapers read and surname would identify the confession of a Northern Irish national (Easthope, 1976: 431-433; Rose, 1971: 328 & 344). Much like Lebanon, in Northern Ireland confessional fissures are mirrored in the geography. Segregation had previously occurred in the wake of the ethnic violence during Ireland's partition (Boal, 2002). Segregation became either officially formalised by peace lines at interface areas or unofficially by ethnically homogenous 'no-go areas' such as Free Derry.

As ethnic identity became the most visible form of identity and the identity by which most individuals were classified, either by the state or their contemporaries, other forms of identity, most notably political identity, were superimposed on top of ethnic identities. Chandra argues that "in the impersonal environment of mass politics, however, the ethnic identity of each becomes the principal means that external observers have of ascertaining group affiliation" (Chandra, 2003: 76).

In Northern Ireland "the presumption is made that to be a Catholic is to be a Republican, and to be a Protestants is to be a Loyalist" (Easthope, 1976: 430). This is echoed in the Loyalist Ulster Defence Association's (UDA) statement which directly ties a citizen's ethnic identity as Catholic to the republican political identity:

> "Roman Catholics do not regard themselves as part of Ulster. They regard themselves as part of the Republic of Ireland. They are on the side of murder, terrorism, intimidation, and the total destruction of all loyalists. The exceptions are so very, very few that we simply cannot trust them" (Guelke, 1986: 99).

Individuals are politically sorted according to their ethnicity, even if they do not internalise the ethnic identity or the politics associated with it. Protestants who joined in with the Catholic civil rights movement were not accepted as 'true Republicans' as they had not lived the 'Catholic experience' of subjugation in Northern Ireland (Mitchell, 2006: 66).

Chandra argues that in patronage democracies people "invest in an identity because it offers them the best available means by which to obtain desired benefits" (Chandra, 2003: 12). In Lebanon the confessionalist political system and the zai'im patronage structure meant that often both leaders and followers had to conform to the political agendas that dominated in their general sect. Conservative Muslim leaders were forced by the support base of their za'im to support the LNM as the bloc's position on the Palestinian presence mirrored that of their followers (Odeh, 1985: 112-113; Zamir, 1980: 63). Conversely, in order to access material benefits, voters were pressured to vote for their leader regardless of policies, thus imposing the political identity of their leader onto their confession. Such a system means that it is unlikely that it was a coincidence that the Civil War broke out when Franjieh, a candidate who sought to strengthen the power of these confessionalist za'im's, was elected (Zamir, 1980: 60).

In the Croatian War of Independence the political positions of both sides could be described as secessionism: secession from Yugoslavia for the Croats and secession from the new Croatian State for the Serbs. The revision during the 1974 constitution in Yugoslavia defined each administrative area as being dominated by a different *narod*, a term which merged a person's nation with religion (Pratt, 2003: 139-142). Tudjman's policies threatened to change

these administrative boundaries to borders defining a 'Croatian nation' thus instantly making secession an ethnic issue (Grandits and Leutloff, 2003: 27). The Catholic Church endorsed the formation of an independent Croatia (Powers, 1996). Catholicism, being the religious denomination that differentiates the Croat from other South Slavs, further established the idea that to be a Croat was to be pro-independence. Similarly the Orthodox clergy supported the retention of the federation or, failing that, incorporation of all Serbs in one state (Powers, 1996). Thus the Serb identity was symbolically linked to the political identity of partitionist.

Religion, unlike race, descent group or physiological identity traits, is not necessarily inherited or 'ascribed' and can be subject to rejection by the individual, in many cases limiting the 'fixidity' intrinsic to ethnic identity (Kachan, 2006: 420). But regardless of whether the person believes the religion, their ethnic identity is still of political consequence. A Protestant and Catholic, whether they believe the religion or not, will still be a regional or national minority which will affect their political opinion regarding republicanism or unionism. A Croat or Serb similarly will either be defined as the 'narod' of the nation or an unprotected minority in an independent Croatia regardless of their adherence to the Catholic or Orthodox faith. A Lebanese citizen will always be constrained by their za'im and thus religious identity, whether the person adheres to it or not, is a good indication of what policies they support.

In all three cases attacks, even those that were politically motivated, resulted in retaliatory attacks against the community that was supposedly politically represented by the perpetrators or shared the perpetrators' ethnic identity.

In Lebanon, interviews with militiamen found that revenge and the reassertion of 'communal honour' was the primary motivating factor for the youth joining militias (Haugbolle, 2012; Kreidi and Munroe, 2002: 20-24). This explains why the majority of militiamen joined militias that matched their confession rather than their political ideologies.

In Croatia, killings were carried out by both Serb and Croat militias. ICTY investigations found that many of the leaders of the massacres were motivated by revenge (ICTY, 2007: 101-102). The fear of ethnically targeted retaliation to assuage 'communal honour' explains why 330,000 Croats fled Vukovar to Croat held territory and 500,000 Serbs fled to Krajina to escape Croat retaliation (Marko-Stockl, 2004: 26; Stitkovac, 2000: 167). The Belgrade and Zagreb media referred to the militants who carried out attacks as 'Ustashe' or 'Chetniks' rather than pro-independence or pro-Yugoslav/pro-Krajina (Grandits and Leutloff, 2003: 37). Thus attacks were presented to the public as similar to the ethno-nationalistic cleansing which took place during WWII rather than as stemming from political disagreement.

In Northern Ireland, attacks by the IRA were usually met with retaliatory strikes against the Catholic community from which they supposedly drew support: the first sustained military action by PIRA led to the forced eviction of 500 Catholics from east Belfast and a Loyalist paramilitary campaign of assassination against Catholic civilians (Bew and Gillespie, 1993: 28). In retaliation the more sectarian Provisional IRA would engage in sectarian assassination campaigns of their own, the most notorious being the Kingsmill Massacre (Guelke, 1986: 107; White, 2007: 21).

The model

The basic model will attempt to utilise the three common trends identified above (the external verifiability of ethnic identity, the imposition of political identity on top of ethnic identity and

the escalation of ethnic antagonism in the wake of interethnic attacks) to examine how the congruence between political and ethnic identity affects the scale and escalation of ethnically motivated violence between the simulations agents. The simulation will be used to test the primary hypothesis of this thesis: ethnic conflicts can arise in the absence of pre-existing hatreds when an externally discernible ethnic identity functions as an indicator of political allegiance and orientation.
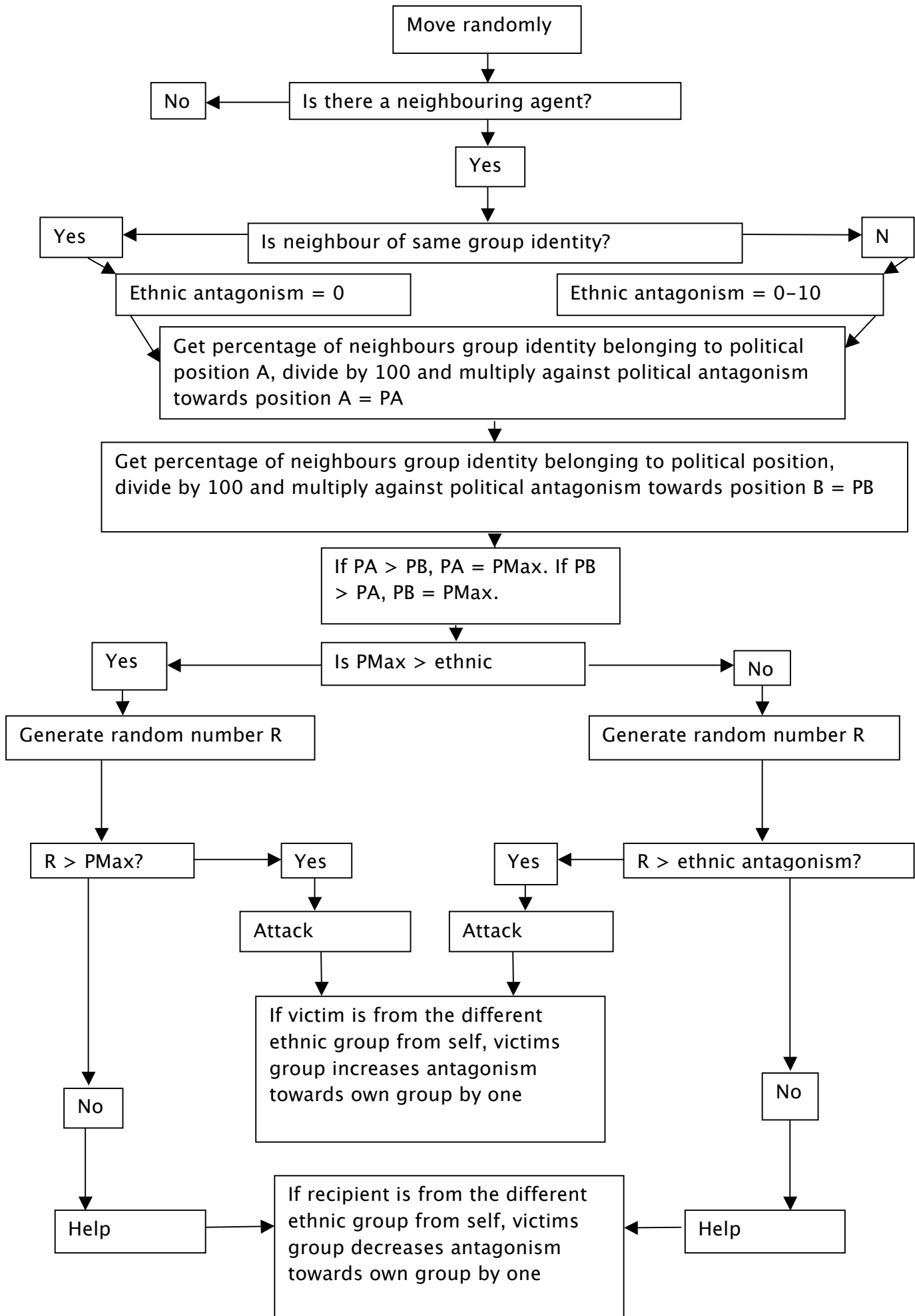
Before the simulation runs, agents are given both an ethnic identity (numerical: 1, 2 etc.) and a political identity (alphabetical: A, B, etc.). The agents are split according to their ethnic identity and then are given a particular set of political identities granted by pre-prescribed percentages: for example 30% of group 1 will have political identity A and 70% political identity B. Agents are also assigned antagonism ratings relevant to their political and ethnic identity which comes into play when agents of different groups interact.

During a run, agents are randomly placed on a board in which they move randomly. When agents are next to each other in a Moore neighbourhood they can only perceive each other's ethnic identity. However, each agent can assess the likelihood of its neighbour's political identity based on its ethnic identity (K), to quote an earlier example there is a 70% chance that a 1 is a B ($K_B = 0.7$) and a 30% chance that a 1 is an A ($K_A = 0.3$).

If agent X is adjacent to agent Y, X will calculate its ethnic antagonism for Y, and if Y is of the same group this is guaranteed to be zero. X will then take the K_A and K_B of Y and multiply both of them against its own political antagonism against A (P_A) and B (P_B) respectively. The larger of the two results (Res_1) is chosen and compared to the ethnic antagonism X has for Y (E_{XY}). The larger of these two (Res_2) is then compared to a randomly rolled number ($Rand$) between 0 and 10. If $Rand<Res_2$ then X will attack Y, otherwise X will amicably interact with Y.

After an interethnic attack, regardless of motivation, the ethnic antagonism of the victim's ethnic group against the aggressors group increases by 1. After an interethnic assist, the opposite occurs with the recipient's ethnic group decreasing its antagonism against the assister's ethnic group by 1.

The flowchart describing the decision and interaction process of the agents illustrates the mechanics of the simulation with more clarity.

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                          ┌─────────────────┐
                          │  Move randomly  │
                          └─────────────────┘
                                   │
        ┌──────┐          ┌──────────────────────────────┐
        │  No  │◄─────────│  Is there a neighbouring agent? │
        └──────┘          └──────────────────────────────┘
                                   │
                                ┌──────┐
                                │  Yes │
                                └──────┘
                                   │
   ┌──────┐        ┌──────────────────────────────────────────┐        ┌──────┐
   │  Yes │◄───────│  Is neighbour of same group identity?      │───────►│  N   │
   └──────┘        └──────────────────────────────────────────┘        └──────┘
        │                                                                   │
  ┌──────────────────────┐                    ┌────────────────────────────┐
  │  Ethnic antagonism = 0 │                    │  Ethnic antagonism = 0–10   │
  └──────────────────────┘                    └────────────────────────────┘
        │                                                                   │
  ┌──────────────────────────────────────────────────────────────────┐
  │  Get percentage of neighbours group identity belonging to political │
  │  position A, divide by 100 and multiply against political antagonism │
  │  towards position A = PA                                            │
  └──────────────────────────────────────────────────────────────────┘
                                   │
  ┌──────────────────────────────────────────────────────────────────┐
  │  Get percentage of neighbours group identity belonging to political │
  │  position, divide by 100 and multiply against political antagonism  │
  │  towards position B = PB                                            │
  └──────────────────────────────────────────────────────────────────┘
                                   │
                    ┌───────────────────────────────┐
                    │  If PA > PB, PA = PMax. If PB   │
                    │  > PA, PB = PMax.              │
                    └───────────────────────────────┘
                                   │
   ┌──────┐         ┌───────────────────────────────┐         ┌──────┐
   │  Yes │◄────────│  Is PMax > ethnic              │────────►│  No  │
   └──────┘         └───────────────────────────────┘         └──────┘
        │                                                          │
  ┌──────────────────────────┐                      ┌──────────────────────────┐
  │  Generate random number R  │                      │  Generate random number R  │
  └──────────────────────────┘                      └──────────────────────────┘
        │                                                          │
  ┌────────────┐      ┌──────┐          ┌──────┐      ┌──────────────────────┐
  │  R > PMax?  │─────►│  Yes │          │  Yes │◄─────│  R > ethnic antagonism? │
  └────────────┘      └──────┘          └──────┘      └──────────────────────┘
        │                │                  │                      │
        │          ┌──────────┐      ┌──────────┐                  │
        │          │  Attack  │      │  Attack  │                  │
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        │          │  If victim is from the different │              │
        │          │  ethnic group from self, victims │              │
        │          │  group increases antagonism      │              │
        │          │  towards own group by one        │              │
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  │  Help    │───►│  If recipient is from the different│◄───│  Help    │
  └──────────┘    │  ethnic group from self, victims   │    └──────────┘
                  │  group decreases antagonism        │
                  │  towards own group by one          │
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Methodology of first round of tests

A hundred runs were conducted for each ratio of ethno-political congruence. In congruence ratio 100:0, 100% of Group 1 believes political position A while 100% of Group 2 believes political position B. In ratio 90:10, 90% of Group 1 and 10% of Group 2 believes political position A and vice versa. A hundred runs would be completed on congruence ratios of 80:20, 70:30, 60:40 and finally 50:50.

Each run consisted of 1000 turns in which the agents moved and interacted with each other. This decision was made on the basis that at no point before the thousandth time step did the proportion of ethnic to political attacks enter a stable state. Furthermore a stable state did not seem to be reached even if the simulation was allowed to reach 3000 turns. Thus a thousand turns was seen as a rounded, if arbitrary, number which would be large enough to provide a stream of data in which real change and contrast could be shown between the different categories of congruence.

Finally a separate program was used to average the results of the hundred runs of each of the time steps and write the averaged results onto an Excel file.

Kolmogorov-Smirnov tests on the data under analysis (percentage of ethnic attacks in turn, ethnic antagonism and total attacks in turn) revealed that in all cases the distribution of data was non-normal. Thus non-parametric tests needed to be used. A Kruskal-Wallis test was used on a particular data point across all congruence ratios to test whether there was a significant difference. Post-hoc Mann-Whitney tests were used to measure what magnitude of effect a shift in ethno-political congruence had on the data. Multiple Mann-Whitney tests will inflate the incidence of Type I error and so a Bonferroni correction was used to combat this effect (Field, 2009: 565). Lastly a Jonckheere-Terpstra test was used to determine whether the medians of the data decreased or increased with the shifts in congruence (*ibid.*: 568-570)

Results

Can ethnically based violence become dominant in the absence of initial ethnic antagonism?

Summary: Yes, ethnic attacks could form the bulk percentage of total attacks in a turn in spite of initial ethnic antagonism variables being zero for both sides. Ethno-political congruence was routinely seen to have a large effect on this occurrence.

Details: All runs in this batch began with an ethnic antagonism value of zero for both sides while each political side had their antagonism frozen at five. A Kruskal-Wallis test examining the difference between the 'Per cent of ethnic attacks in total attacks' variable, hereafter referred to as PE, across congruence ratios procured the result $H(5) = 5402.871$, $P < 0.0001$. Thus it seems that PE varied significantly across congruence ratios, inferring that congruence may be responsible. Post-hoc Mann-Whitney tests allowed the effect a shift in ethno-political congruence had on the PE to be discerned by calculating Pearson's r value. To prevent a massive inflation of type I error only five post-hoc tests were done.

Post hoc test number	Congruence ratios compared	Effect(r)
1	100:0 and 90:10	-0.89
2	90:10 and 80:20	-0.82
3	80:20 and 70:30	-0.57
4	70:30 and 60:40	-0.82
5	60:40 and 50:50	-0.71

Table 1: Congruence set Mann-Whitney test results

Pearson's r goes from 0, no effect, to 1, perfect effect. 0.1 means that the effect accounts for 1% of variance while 0.3 equals 9% and 0.5 equals 25%, Cohen's d judges the respective effect values as small, medium and large (Field, 2009: 56-57). In all tests the r value was over (-) 0.5. Thus in all post-hoc tests congruence had a large effect on PE.

Does a higher ethno-political congruence lead to a higher proportion of ethnic attacks?

Summary: Yes, but the relationship was not strictly linear. Ethnic attacks formed the majority of all attacks overall for all congruence levels except 60:40. An ethno-political congruence ratio of 50:50 was found to result in a higher ethnic attack percentage than a ratio of 60:40.

Details: The non-linear relationship between congruence and PE is illustrated by figure 1 below:
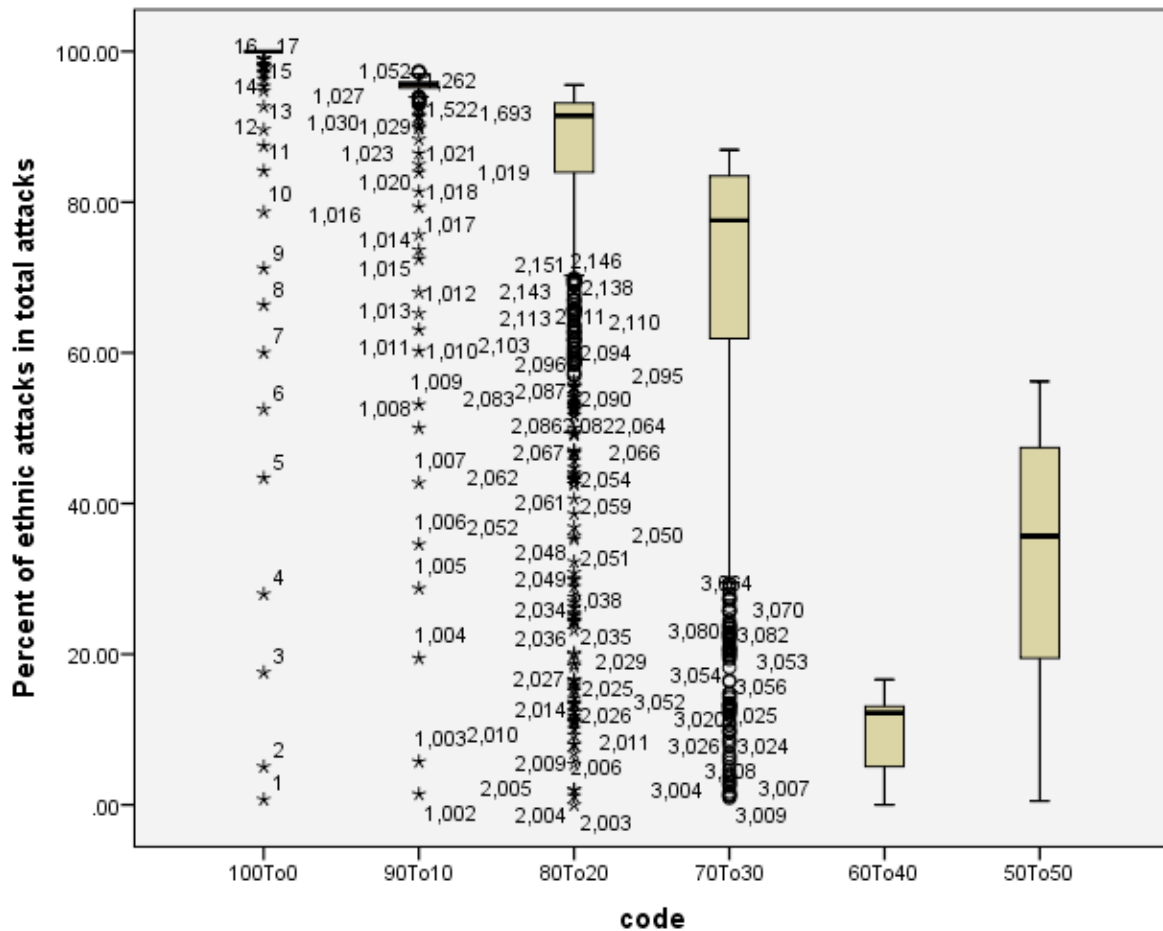
Figure 1: Congruence set box plot - ethnic attacks as a per cent of total attacks

Figure 1 illustrates the non-linear relationship: an anomalously large shift is seen between the 70:30 and 60:40 ratios and an unexpected upwards shift is seen between the 60:40 and 50:50 ratios. Until the occurrence of this shift, all the upper whisker of all box plots are above 80, however, a reduction in the dominance of ethnic attacks is shown by a lengthening of the box representing an increase in the inter-quartile range. The 50:50 box plot may have a higher median and upper whisker than the 60:40 plot, but it also has a large inter-quartile range suggesting a wide spread of the PE value around the mean, a contrast to the 80:20, 90:10 and 100:0 ratios. This may be because, unlike higher ratios, the dominance of ethnic attacks in an environment where ethnicity is not a reliable method of ascertaining political affiliation is a long process: after approximately 800 turns, ethnic attacks seem to dominate in the 50:50 simulations, compared to less than 100 turns in the 90:10 simulations. This contrast is illustrated by the visual dissimilarities between figure 2 and figure 3.
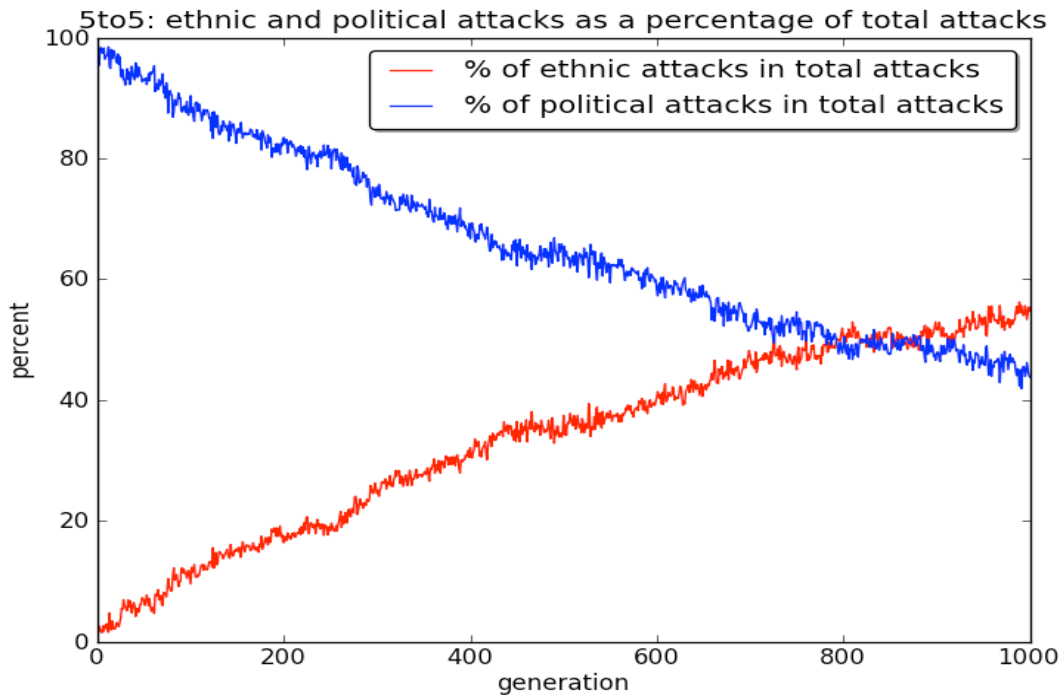
Figure 2: Congruence ratio 50:50 - ethnic and political attacks as a percentage of total attacks
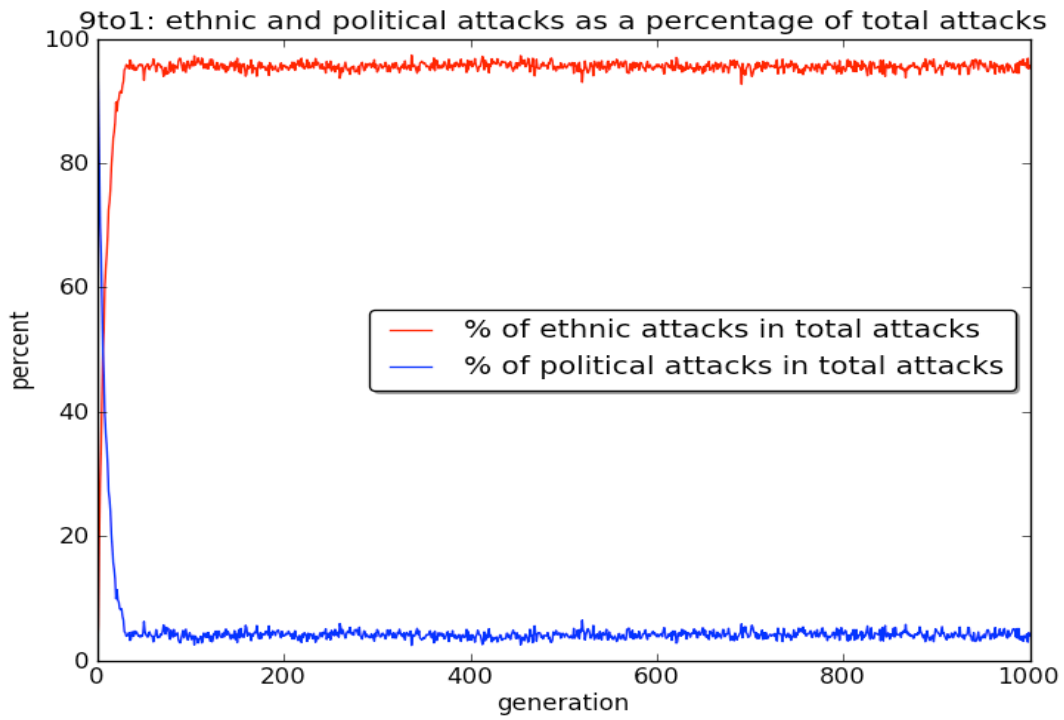
Figure 3: Congruence ratio 90:10 - ethnic and political attacks as a percentage of total attacks

The Jonckheere-Terpstra test is used to find out if the order of the coded groups is meaningful by analysing whether the medians of the groups ascend or descend in the order specified by the coding variable (*ibid.*: 568-570). In the SPSS file holding the runs the coding variables are thus: 1 = 100:0; 2 = 90:10; 3 = 80:20; 4 = 70:30; 5 = 60:40; 6 = 50:50. If the Std. J-T Statistic is negative, it reveals a negative correlation (*ibid.*). The Std. J-T Statistic for the PE score across groups is -80.495, revealing a very strong negative correlation between a decrease in congruence and the PE score. The relationship would probably be stronger if not for the unexpected increase in the PE score between the 60:40 and 50:50 simulations.

Methodology of second round of tests

In order to determine whether congruence had a larger effect than initial ethnic antagonism on the prevalence of ethnic violence, a round of runs were carried out in which the initial ethnic antagonism values (0,2,5,10) of one or two of the agent groups were altered. Testing all possible ethnic antagonism values on all possible congruence would create an unwieldy amount of data. To reduce the amount of data requiring analysis the congruence with the lowest averaged PE score, 60:40, was chosen. This is because if initial ethnic antagonism did increase the PE score, it would be most noticeable if contrasted against a control with a low score. Runs were done with varying initial ethnic antagonism values of two, five and ten. These runs were then contrasted against the control set of congruence ratio 60:40 with zero initial ethnic antagonism and the 70:30 ratio with zero initial ethnic antagonism, which were generated in the previous set of runs.

Results

What has a larger effect: initial ethnic antagonism or ethno-political congruence?

Summary: Post-hoc Mann-Whitney tests found that the highest level of ethnic antagonism tested, ten, was needed to have a larger effect than the congruence shift from 60:40 to 70:30 if only one group was given the respective antagonism value. However, if both groups were given the initial antagonism value, a middle value of five was needed to surpass the congruence shift.

Details: Table 2 (next page) is a list of all the post-hoc tests taken which compares the effect size of all shifts in ethno-political congruence and initial ethnic antagonism.

Post-hoc test number	Sets compared	Results
1	100:0 and 90:10	U = 15430.00, r = -0.89, P < 0.0001
2	90:10 and 80:20	U = 27948.00, r = -0.82, P < 0.0001
3	80:20 and 70:30	U = 173635.50, r = -0.57, P < 0.0001
4	70:30 and 60:40	U = 28334.50, r = -0.82, P <0.0001
5	60:40 and 50:50	U = 90131.50, r = -0.71, P < 0.0001
6	60:40EthAnt0 and 60:40EthAnt2	U = 306877.00, r = 0.34, P < 0.0001
7	60:40EthAnt0 and 60:40EthAnt5	U = 139390.00, r = -0.62, P < 0.0001
8	60:40EthAnt0 and 60:40EthAnt10	U = 501501.00, r = -0.87, P < 0.0001
9	60:40BothEthAnt0 and 60:40BothEthAnt2	U = 443585.50, r = -0.098, P < 0.0001
10	60:40BothEthAnt0 and 60:40BothEthAnt5	U = 501501.00, r = -0.87, P < 0.0001
11	60:40BothEthAnt0 and 60:40BothEthAnt10	U = 501501.00, r = -0.87, P < 0.0001

Table 2: Mann-Whitney comparative tests: no initial antagonism, single sided antagonism, double sided antagonism

While increasing the initial antagonism value to five for a single group fails to create as large an effect as all congruence shifts, with the exception 80:20 to 70:30, having both groups start with an initial ethnic antagonism value of five creates an effect larger than the majority of congruence shifts. It is important to note that because non-parametric tests rely on ranks rather than actual values, two separate tests with different values but a similar distribution in ranks can generate the same results, as seen in tests Ten and Eleven. If only one group starts with an initial ethnic antagonism above zero, a value of ten is needed to have a larger effect than the majority of congruence shifts.

Discussion

One of the main differences between the average congruence ratios is the length of time it takes for ethnically motivated attacks to dominate. Whereas figure 1 hints at these discrepancies due to the lengths of the inter-quartile range boxes, figure 4 overtly illustrates these contrasts.
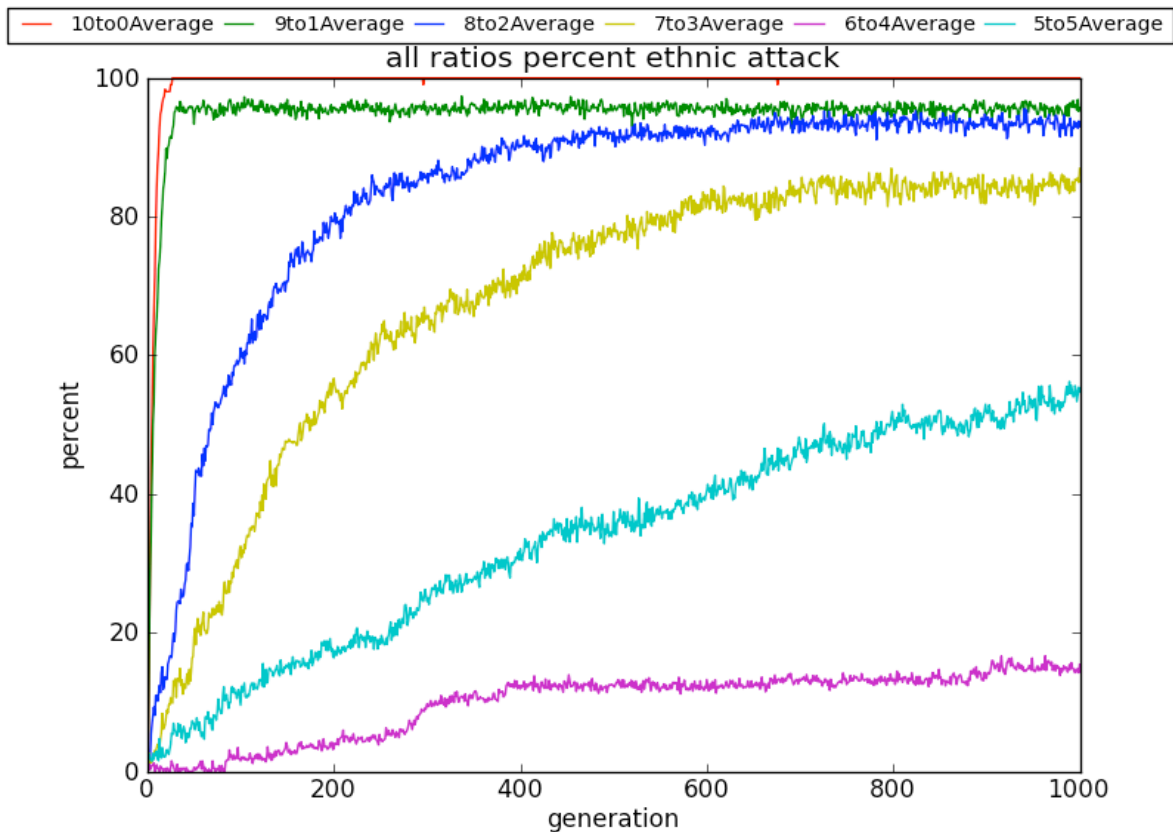
Figure 4: All congruence ratios - ethnic attacks as a per cent of total attacks

These contrasts in the time-scale of 'sectarianization' in the model are reflected in the literature. The Croatian War of Independence had a high level of congruence, as shown by the referendum results (between 90:10 and 100:0). The Troubles had a lower level of congruence. Rose's loyalty survey (1,291 respondents) in 1969, the eve of the Troubles, found that regarding the issue of civil rights, approximately 70% of Catholics approved of change while 70% of Protestants wanted to maintain the status quo, giving a congruence ratio of 70:30 (Rose, 1971). Contrasting the two conflicts illustrates how congruence can determine the rapidity with which a conflict escalates and becomes sectarian.

In the Croatian War of Independence the date of the first politically violent actions by either side is debatable. The first fatality of the war occurred during the Plitvice Lakes incident on 31 March 1991 when Krajina and Croatian forces fought over control of the Plitvice National Park (Sibler and Little, 1995: 148-155). However, sporadic acts of violence had been occurring in the months before this incident. The first violent political clash was a football riot between Serbian and Croatian fans in May 1990 (Sack and Suster, 2000: 311). During the riot Croatian fans chanted 'Franjo, Franjo, HDZ' while Serbs chanted 'We will kill Tudjman' (*ibid.*: 311). The first act of 'ethnic cleansing' occurred on the 26 August 1991 when the Croat village of Kijevo was deemed a security risk by Martic and laid siege to by Krajina paramilitaries (Sibler and Little, 1995: 188-189).

The progression from the largely political chants of the two groups of football fans to the ethnic cleansing actions of the paramilitaries, dressed in ethnically exclusive symbols, took approximately eleven months. If the Plitvice Lakes incident is considered the first act of political violence during the war, then the time-span drops to approximately four months.

In contrast, the transition from violent political action to sectarian violence in Northern Ireland took markedly longer. It is arguable that a low level of violent political action had been present in Northern Ireland since the inception of the IRA's Border Campaign in 1956, which failed to elicit significant Catholic support or much of a Protestant reaction and as a result was abandoned in 1962 (English, 2009: 85).

It was the emergence of the civil rights movement with the formation of CSJ that prompted the formation of the sectarian UVF in 1966 (Guelke, 1986: 92, Cameron, 1969). It was during this year that the UVF carried out the first sectarian assassinations against Catholic civilians (Melaugh, 2012). But it was not until the riots of 1969 that full blown communal violence broke out. It was the Battle of Bogside, also in 1969, that prompted the dominance of the more communally orientated Provisional IRA and the decline in popularity of the more politically orientated Official IRA (Dillon, 1998: 170; Bew and Gillespie, 1986: 34).

In contrast to the Croatian War of Independence, the progression from political to sectarian warfare in Northern Ireland can be measured in years not months. If the IRA's Border Campaign is used to mark the start of political hostilities and the Battle of Bogside is used to mark the dominance of sectarian violence in the conflict, the progression takes approximately thirteen years. However, it has been argued here that the issue of civil rights rather than reunification dominated the political schism in Northern Ireland. Thus if the emergence of the civil rights movement in 1964 is marked as the beginning of the political conflict the time-span of the progression from political to ethnic conflict is still approximately five years.

Lebanon, although a conflict with more than two ethnic groups, can be assumed to have a lower congruence due to the multi-confessional nature of the LNM. This conflict too took a considerable length of time to escalate into a full scale civil war, with initial clashes between Maronite militias and Palestinian commandos occurring as early as 1970 and Maronite LNM clashes occurring in 1974 (Odeh, 1985: 113-119).

When ethnicity is not a decent predictor of political opinion, it is difficult to deem an individual a political security risk purely because of his/her ethnicity. This would explain why there was an absence of sectarian violence during the IRA's Border Campaign: the Catholic public did not support the IRA's action and thus were not a threat to the Protestants political hegemony in the Northern Irish state (Melaugh, 2012; English, 2009: 85). In contrast, Croatian public support for an independent Croatian nation meant that any Croats left in Krajina would be a security risk because, as the election and referendum data indicate, they would still be likely to harbour aspirations of being part of Croatia. As a result Martic had the village of Kijevo cleansed before the residents had the opportunity to challenge Krajina's autonomy.

In both cases, when these political assassinations and attacks became sustained enough, a progression to ethnic tit-for-tat violence occurs due to increased ethnic antagonism. In the wake of politically motivated but interethnic attacks, feelings of violated 'communal honour' arise with the need for collective vengeance (Ascher, 1986: 413; Johnson, 2001: 14).

In the simulation the dominance of ethnic violence unsurprisingly corresponds with the levels of ethnic antagonism between the groups. Figure 5 illustrates the progression of group 1's ethnic antagonism towards group 2.
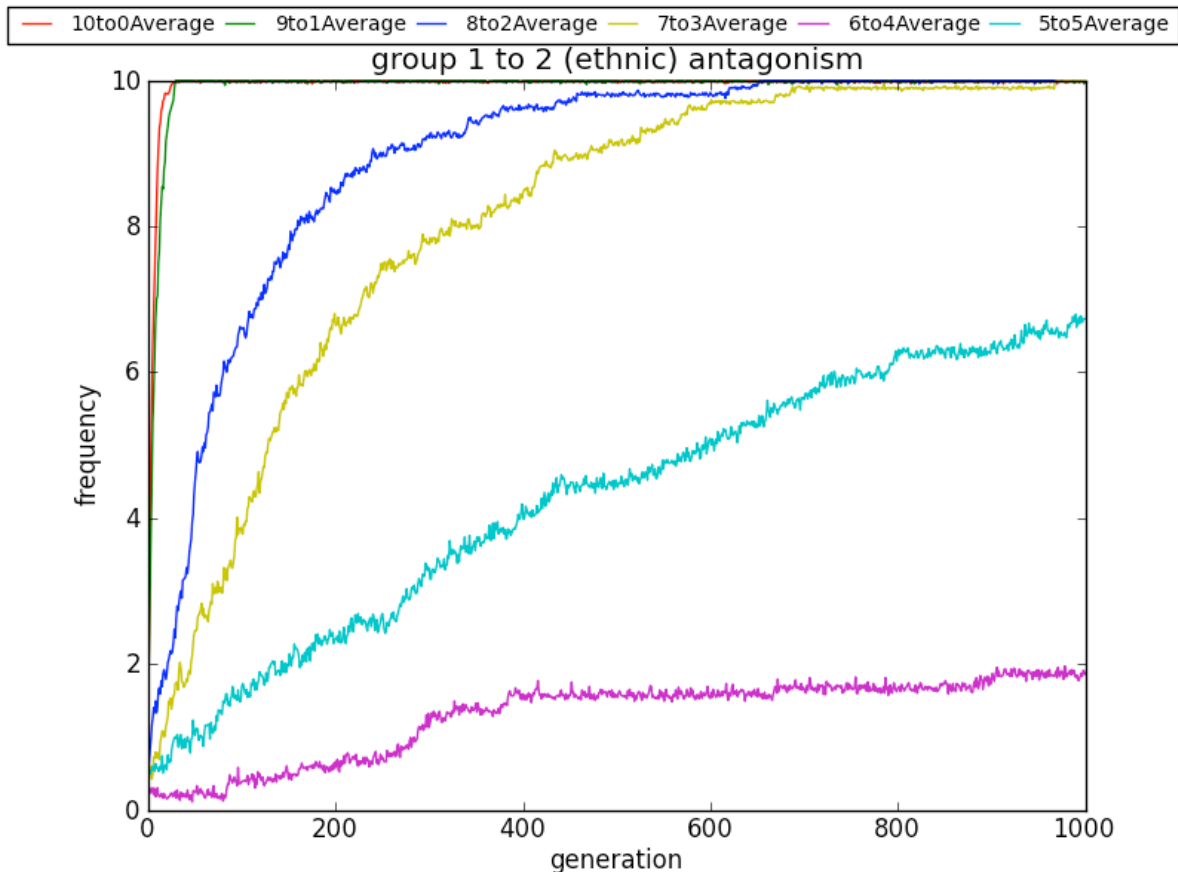
Figure 5: All congruence ratios - group 1 antagonism against group 2

The cleansing of Kijevo was followed by a massacre of 20-50 Serbs in Gospic by Croat paramilitaries (ICTY, 2004). These two actions were the start of a cycle of massacre and counter-massacre. Following these initial killings, instances of Serbs massacring Croats occurred in Dalj, Lovas (with the assistance of the Yugoslav Army), Saborsko, Skabrnja and Vukovar (where again the Yugoslav Army assisted after the town fell) (ICTY, 2011; ICTY, 2007). Meanwhile, Serbs were killed by Croat paramilitaries in Daruvar, Karlovac, Virovitica and Sisak (Stitkovac, 2000: 165-170).

In Northern Ireland, though the UVF started a policy of sectarian assassination in 1966, the movement was small, declared illegal by the Protestant dominated state and did not seem to represent the will of a large portion of Protestants (Melaugh, 2012). However, during 1969, large scale violent Protestant mobilisation against civil rights protesters began, often with assistance from the RUC (Stetler, 1970: 44-48). These events gave Catholics the impression that bigotry and violence did not emanate from a miniscule segment but from a significant group of the Protestant community. Furthermore they were assisted by members of a sectarian state which represented the Protestant community. In the wake of these attacks Catholic mobs started to attack RUC barracks and Orange Order halls and eventually civilian sectarian clashes occurred in the aftermath of the Apprentice Boys of Derry March (*ibid.*: 50-94).

What was an unexpected outcome in the simulation was the surprisingly high level of ethnic antagonism and the percentage of attacks that were ethnically motivated during the 50:50

ethno-political congruence runs. What is more surprising still is that the 50:50 runs resulted in significantly higher scores for both factors than the 60:40 runs. A potential explanation for this phenomenon comes from Kalyvas' analysis of non-ethnic conflicts. Kalyvas argues that in conflict, directed violence against threats requires information, typically personal information (Kalyvas, 2000: 9). When such information is unavailable, violence against potential threats becomes chaotic and indiscriminate (*ibid.*). Incidents such as Black Saturday, the cleansing of Gospic and Kijevo, and the expulsion of the Catholics from Protestant East Belfast show that often publically available or visible information could be used to select targets for violence. However, when the source of antagonism is purely political and visible/public information is insufficient to target political foes violence becomes more chaotic and less selective.

During both the Greek and Spanish civil wars, conflicts between politically right and left leaning militants, political enemies and security risks were primarily identified using local knowledge and denunciations (*ibid.*: 10-11). These circumstances, however, allowed locals to settle personal vendettas with the political militias bearing the responsibility of the violent acts committed, thus the violence remained chaotic and undirected. For example in Cosco during the Spanish Civil War the main cleavage was not political but centred on a dispute between two doctors who had competed for dominance (*ibid.*: 12).

Kalyvas' text provides valuable examples of the chaotic nature of violence in purely political conflicts. However, in the examples given of the Greek and Spanish civil wars, no ethnic cleavage or differentiation is mentioned. Here violence cannot be interpreted as a function of ethnicity and ethnic honour or revenge cannot become a motive for violence, whereas in the 50:50 simulations, though ethnicity is not a predictor of political alliance, interethnic violence still increases interethnic antagonism. As a result it is likely that ethnic hostilities will emerge after a long period of unselective violence. In contrast the 60:40 simulations ensure some direction to violence, therefore preventing a deluge of unselective politically motivated violence, but provide low enough probabilities to discourage ethnically motivated attacks. Figure 6 and figure 7 contrast these differing progressions in group antagonism. In both figures, the lines representing group 1s' antagonism against group 2 (red) and group 2s' antagonism against group 1 (blue) overlay each other, showing that both groups develop very similar levels of ethnic antagonism to each other.
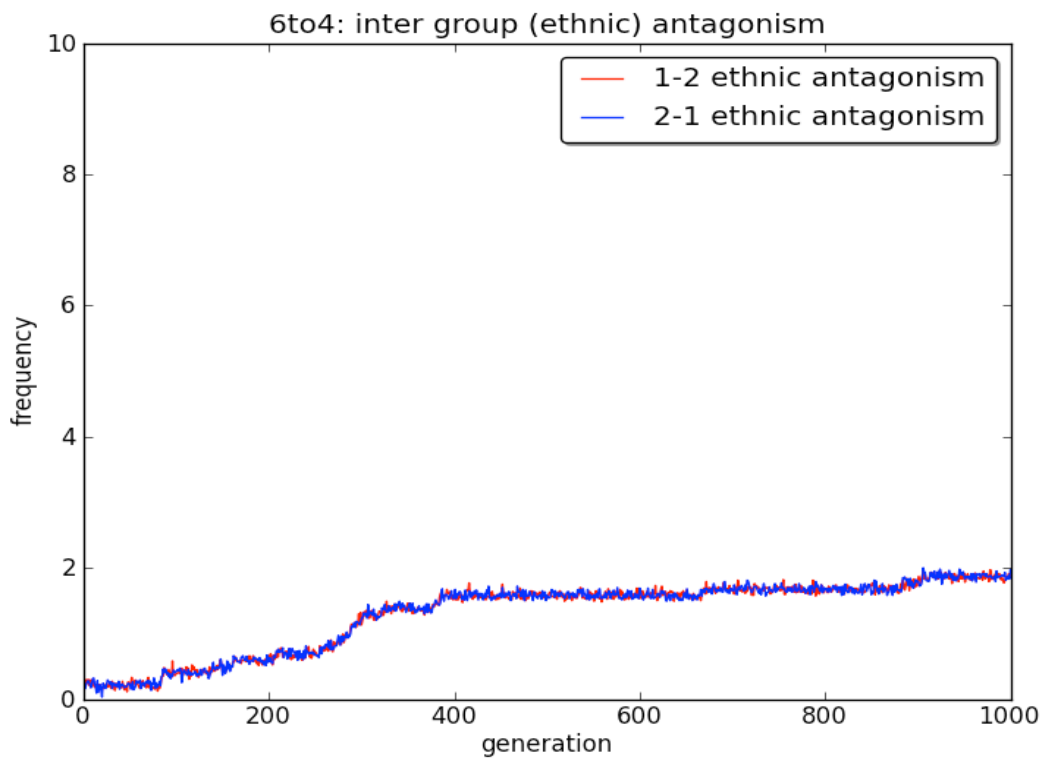
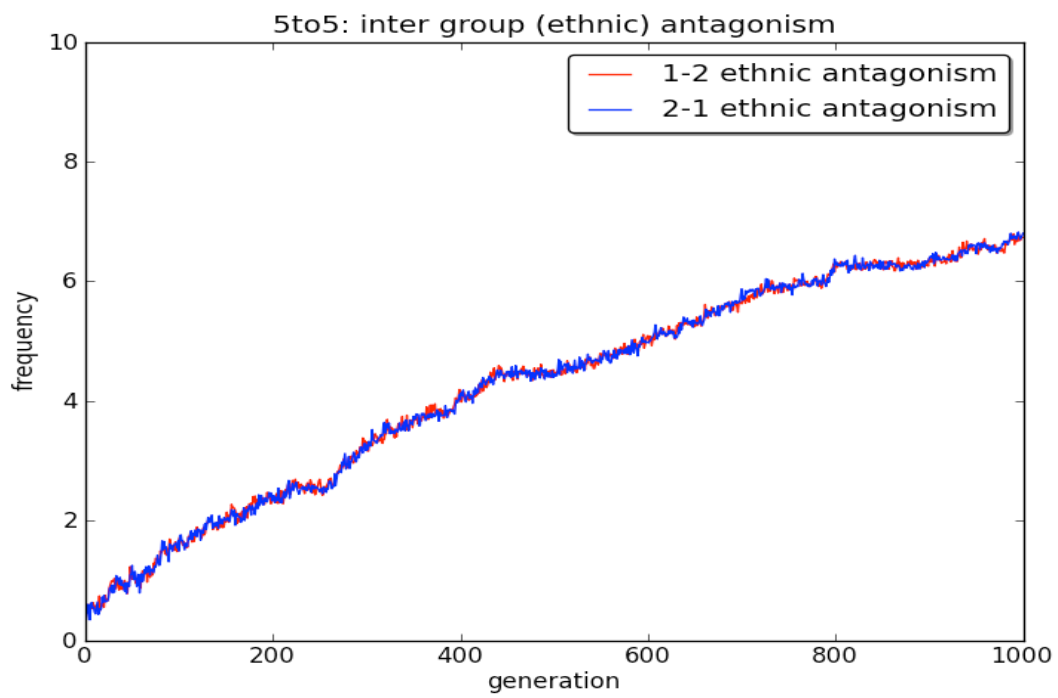**Figure 6: Congruence ratio 60:40 – intergroup antagonism**

Figure 7: Congruence ratio 50:50 – intergroup antagonism

Overall the results show a general positive correlation between ethno-political congruence and the dominance of ethnic violence and indicate that the former has a causative relationship with the latter. In Lebanon, Northern Ireland and Croatia ethnicity could be used to predict political opinion and different communities perceived each other as political threats. The harder it becomes to extrapolate political opinion from ethnicity, the harder it is to perceive others as a political threat based on their ethnicity.

The dissolution of Czechoslovakia provides an excellent example of how the absence of ethno-political congruence and ethno-political threat can avert ethnic conflict. Czechoslovakia also provides a good comparison to Yugoslavia due to numerous similarities: both Yugoslavia and Czechoslovakia were born out of the ruins of the Habsburg and Ottoman empires, both were federations with administrative boundaries based on ethnicity and both had economic disparities between these republics (Bookman, 1994: 183). But whereas in Croatia the secessionist movements enjoyed a significant degree of support, as shown by the popularity of Tudjman's HDZ, in Czechoslovakia only 37% of Slovaks and 36% of Czechs said they would vote for a split in a referendum (Sibler, 1992: 142; Kamm, 1992). More importantly, while the secessionist movements in Kosovo, Krajina, Bosnia and Croatia held referendums, in Czechoslovakia the decision was imposed by the Slovakian parliament without Slovak consensus (Bookman, 1994: 178). As a result the general population of the Slovaks lacked political agency and did not in themselves present a political threat to the Czechs. In attacking Slovakians the Czechs would not be subduing or eliminating political rivals. Both ethnicities had zero ethno-political congruence as the decisions being made were out of the hands of the populace.

Of course other factors cannot be discounted: Czechoslovakia generally had more ethnically homogenous republics with the Slovaks in Czech lands making up only 3% of the total population and 1% vice-versa (*ibid.*: 183). Nevertheless, these minorities still totalled 300,000 and 50,000 individuals respectively (Kamm, 1992). In pre-war Croatia the Serb population constituted 12% of the population with a total population of 581,663 (ICTY, 2002). Thus the total population that could be targeted for ethnic violence is not equal, but comparable.

Lastly it is clear from these results that there is a significant relationship between ethno-political congruence and the dominance of ethnically motivated attacks. What is even more interesting is that this situation can arise when initial ethnic antagonism is absent. In Rose's loyalty survey the late 1960s, the eve of the Trouble's, only 13% of respondents to the survey said that they were discouraged from intermixing with individuals from the 'other' confession (Rose, 1971: 328). The last serious bout of sectarian rioting in Northern Ireland happened nearly half a century previously, just after the partition (Boal, 2002).

In a survey of 2510 individuals in Croatia in 1989, the average score on a five point scale for the question 'is Nationality is important in picking a marital partner?' was 2.06 with a standard deviation of 1.55 (Sekulic et al., 2006: 806). For the question 'can a man only feel safe when the majority belong to his nationality?' the score was 2.13 with a standard deviation of 1.51 (*ibid.*). Both studies show that while interethnic antagonism was not completely absent, it was not dominant either.

As a conflict progresses and ethnic identity becomes a determining factor in assessing threats and discerning potential victims, communal distrust and antagonism forms. This transformation is seen in comparing pre and post conflict surveys concerning interethnic relations. A survey in Ardoyne in 2003, five years after the Good Friday Agreement officially

ended the conflict, found that 86% of those surveyed said that they would not enter an area dominated by the opposing sect and 79% said they would not drive through the 'other's' area at night (Shirlow, 2003: 83).

Similarly a later survey in Croatia in 1996, again by Sekulic et al., after Croatia reclaimed Krajina in Operation Storm, found that the scores for the two previously quoted questions had shifted from 2.06 to 3.40 and 2.13 to 3.44 respectively (Sekulic et al., 2006: 806). After analysing other potential reasons for this shift in opinion, including education and demographic shifts, Sekulic et al. concluded "that war itself is at the heart of ethnic hatred, hostility, and intolerance" (*ibid.*: 819).

That is not to say that ethnic conflicts always occur in the absence of ill feeling. It could be argued that in Rwanda ethnic rather than political antagonism was what provoked the first attacks. Many of those who joined the murderous Interahamwe militia had been Hutu refugees from Burundi (Scherrer, 2002: 190). A Tutsi led military coup had caused the death of the elected Hutu Burundian president which provoked a spate of anti-Tutsi violence, in retaliation the now Tutsi government carried out a brutal crackdown on the Burundian Hutu population which caused many Hutu's to flee to Rwanda (*ibid.*: 48). As a result many of the killers had already suffered at the hands of their ethnic rivals and were ready to take part in collective revenge.

Interethnic antagonism can also be created by ethno-political entrepreneurs. The invocation of past crimes as a means of prompting bigotry is witnessed in Ian Paisley's comparison between the actions of the IRA and the 1641 massacre of Protestants and in Milosevic's claim that the new Croatian state was merely a plot "to restore the NDH and cart the Serbs off to another Jasenovac (a notorious Ustashe concentration camp)" (Crighton and Abele Mac Iver, 1991: 129-130; Marko-Stockl, 2004: 29). These statements aim not to alert co-ethnics to the potential political threat but instead to arouse feelings of violated communal honour and to incite collective revenge. It may be that such invocations are significantly more effective after initial hostilities have developed. Answering such a question would require the rigorousness of a separate investigation.

Conclusion

The results of the simulation support the hypothesis that ethnic conflict can occur in the absence of initial ethnic antagonism and that ethnic conflict is not always dependent on pre-existing hatreds. The simulation also illustrated that the higher the ethno-political congruence of the populace, the more rapidly a conflict can degenerate into a cycle of retaliatory ethnic violence. However the simulation also shows that a mid to high level of pre-existing interethnic antagonism, especially when possessed by both parties within the conflict, can have a greater effect in creating a conflict dominated by ethnic violence. Thus the simulation does not in any way disprove Kaplan's theory of ancient hatreds but rather illustrates the validity of an alternative theory.

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