

Reference

Peoples under Threat 2012

Mark Lattimer

Introduction

The association between autocracy and political violence is so strong it can blind us to the dangers of democratization. As democratic advances are made, we assume that populations will be safer. In fact, transitions to democracy are rarely smooth. In addition to the general risk of increased violence that comes from periods of political instability, there is the obvious fact that autocratic forces rarely relinquish their hold on power without a fight. But the dangers can come from democratic forces too: as political space opens up, popular prejudices draw oxygen and populist politicians or militia leaders often seek to exacerbate ethnic or sectarian grievances for their own gain. Minorities can find themselves scapegoated or a target for the anger felt towards the old regime. This conjunction of factors was tragically apparent during the demise of Communist rule in Europe (as it was at its birth). Today, it is increasingly evident in the events unfolding in the Middle East and North Africa.

If 2011 will be remembered as the year of the Arab Spring, then 2012 may well become the year the revolutions soured. In Syria, a military backlash has cost over 9,000 lives so far. The great majority have been civilian victims of government forces, but there are also reports of opposition militias attacking Shi'a families. In Libya, where some 15,000–20,000 people were reportedly killed in the war to overthrow the Gaddafi government, the country has seen the mass forced displacement of black Libyans and sub-Saharan migrant workers, and a widespread pattern of arbitrary detention, torture and extra-judicial execution targeted at individuals or whole communities because of their colour. In Egypt, the rise of Salafist parties since the fall of President Mubarak and attacks on churches have prompted thousands of Copts to leave the country.

The 2012 release of the *Peoples under Threat* index shows that the risk level has also increased

dramatically in other states in the region. This is not to negate the very real democratic advances that have already been achieved by the Arab uprisings, but it does underscore the fact that, for civilian populations in general and minorities in particular, the transition to democracy is bloody and its outcome uncertain.

Rising threats in the Arab world and beyond

This is the seventh successive year that the *Peoples under Threat* index has been published to highlight those countries around the world where the risk of mass killing is greatest. *Peoples under Threat* is created by compiling authoritative data on the known antecedents to genocide or mass political killing. While the individual indicators describe the current situation – what *is* happening – the index as a whole seeks to predict what *may* happen. As an early warning tool, it has been widely used by UN officials and other human rights and conflict prevention practitioners. Almost all the significant episodes of civilian killing that occurred over the last year took place in countries which were near the top of, or major risers in, last year's *Peoples under Threat* table.

This year, states in the Middle East and North Africa feature prominently in the major risers (see below). Among the Arab countries, Syria, Libya, Yemen and Egypt have all risen significantly in the table (the first three following rises last year as well).

In Syria, the government accepted a joint UN-Arab League proposal in March 2012 to end the violence, but killings have continued and in April the UN Security Council authorized a UN military observer mission. The fact that the government is dominated by Alawites, an offshoot of Shi'ism, places Alawite and other Shi'a communities at risk if the conflict intensifies or if the government falls. Assyrian Christians are also deeply concerned about the possibility of attacks from Sunni militants.

In Libya, former rebels still hold up to 6,000 people arrested during or after the armed conflict. Detained without charge or trial, up to half are believed to be sub-Saharan migrants or black Libyans. Human rights groups report that over a dozen have been tortured to death. Systematic

repression continues against the former inhabitants of Tawergha, a town with a mainly black Libyan population of 30,000 who were accused of being Gaddafi loyalists and forcibly displaced in their entirety by the Misrata brigade.

The resignation of President Saleh in Yemen was greeted by human rights campaigners but has not improved the country's risk profile. Fighting between al-Houthis and Sunni tribes in the north has compounded the security challenges faced by a state in a worsening humanitarian crisis, to say nothing of the continuing threat posed by Al Qaeda in the Arabian Peninsula.

In Egypt, activists' euphoria at the downfall of the Mubarak government has been replaced by increasing anger at the arbitrary detention and torture practiced by the Supreme Council of the Armed Forces. Egypt's Copts total 7 million or more, but the number leaving the country is reported to have increased following attacks and intimidation. The political success of the Muslim Brotherhood and of Salafist parties is also viewed with concern by other religious minorities, including the Shi'a and the Baha'i.

Repressive governments throughout the region have for decades sought to deny political space to Islamist parties. But competition between Islamists and secularists is only one potential axis of political division as those governments weaken and begin to fall. Differences between Sunni and Shi'a, Muslims and non-Muslims, Arabs and non-Arabs are all expressions of an internal diversity in the Arab world that is often underestimated and which depends on traditions of tolerance and

mutual respect. In Iraq – whose recent history stands as a terrible warning to other states facing change in the region – each of those differences became fault-lines for mass killing.

Three states on the borders of the Arab world are also major risers in the table this year. International attention on Iran has focused in recent months on the issue of nuclear facilities, but the systematic campaign of repression of opposition activists continues, and reached a new level in the country's north-west, where the conflict with Kurdish militias intensified. Shelling by Iranian tanks and artillery in June displaced thousands. Baluchis, Ahwazi Arabs and Azerbaijanis also accuse the government of long-standing oppression and denial of political participation.

The highest riser in the *Peoples under Threat* table this year is South Sudan, a country which acquired its independence from Sudan in July and which comes straight in at number eight. A history of cattle raiding between the Lou Nuer and the Murle, as well as other groups, has developed into inter-communal violence on a highly organized scale in Jonglei state, affecting some 120,000 people. But the greatest current risk for the peoples of both Sudan and South Sudan comes from the series of conflicts escalating along the border areas between the two countries, constituting 'a serious threat to international peace and security' in the words of a UN Security Council resolution adopted in May 2012. The Council had previously denounced repeated clashes between armies of the two

Major risers since 2011

| Rank | Rise in rank since 2011 | Country | Group | Total |
|------|-------------------------|-------------|----------------------------------------------------------|-------|
| 8 | NEW | South Sudan | Murle, Nuer, Dinka, Anuak, Jie, Kachipo | 19.50 |
| 10 | 4 | Iran | Arabs, Azeris, Bahá'ís, Baluchis, Kurds, Turkomen | 18.43 |
| 13 | 2 | Yemen | Zaydi Shi'a, 'Akhdam' | 16.82 |
| 14 | 16 | Syria | Political targets, Shi'a, Assyrians, Kurds, Palestinians | 16.59 |
| 27 | 9 | Kyrgyzstan | Uzbeks, Russians | 13.18 |
| 30 | 5 | Thailand | Chinese, Malay-Muslims, Northern Hill Tribes | 12.70 |
| 36 | 28 | Libya | Black Libyans, Sub-Saharan migrants, Tebu, Berbers | 12.51 |
| 43 | 7 | Kosovo | Serbs, Roma/Ashkali/Egyptians, Bosniaks, Turks, Gorani | 11.99 |
| 61 | NEW | Mali | Tuareg, Arabs, Maure and others in the north | 10.71 |
| 64 | NEW | Egypt | Copts, Shi'a, Bahá'ís | 10.38 |

countries, cross-border incursions and support to proxy militias. South Sudan now hosts more than 105,000 refugees from the Sudanese states of Blue Nile and Southern Kordofan, including those fleeing months of shelling by Sudanese government forces in the Nuba Mountains.

In Mali, ongoing fighting between government forces and rebel Tuareg fighters has left 150,000 internally displaced and forced more than 160,000 to flee to neighbouring states, according to the UNHCR. A senior UN official drew attention to alarming reports of sexual violence in the north. The crisis developed after the return to Mali of Tuareg who had settled in Libya during Gaddafi's rule, and is just one example of how the fall-out from the Arab uprisings is being experienced across borders in ways that are both unforeseen and uncontrolled.

The huge changes taking place across the Middle East and North Africa, while increasing hopes for democratisation, represent for both religious and ethnic minorities perhaps the most dangerous episode since the violent break-up of the Soviet Union and the former Yugoslavia.

Those at greatest risk

Although a number of states, including Indonesia

and Côte d'Ivoire, have slid down the table this year, it is remarkable how those at the very top have clung stubbornly to their place. It is also a rebuke to a fickle media agenda.

In Somalia, a severe drought brought famine to the southern part of the country, including areas inhabited by the vulnerable Bantu minority. The military situation delayed the delivery of emergency aid. Although the militia group al-Shabaab withdrew from central Mogadishu in August, roadside bombs and other attacks are still a regular occurrence and the UN Independent Expert for human rights in Somalia described a 'total collapse of the institutions for law enforcement and the administration of justice' after his visit in April 2012.

In the Democratic Republic of Congo, armed conflict returned a number of times to the east over the last year, most recently in clashes between the Congolese armed forces and the dissident troops of a Congolese general under indictment by the International Criminal Court. The population throughout much of the Kivus and in parts of Province Orientale remains in a state of permanent insecurity.

Since the withdrawal of US combat troops from the streets of Iraq in December, the country

Peoples most under threat – highest rated countries 2012

| Rank | Country | Group | Total |
|------|------------------------|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-------|
| 1 | Somalia | Minorities incl. Bantu, Benadiri and 'caste' groups (Gabooye etc.); clan members at risk in fighting incl. Hawiye, Darod, etc. | 23.28 |
| 2 | Sudan | Fur, Zaghawa, Massalit and others in Darfur; Dinka, Nuba, Beja | 22.00 |
| 3 | Afghanistan | Hazara, Pashtun, Tajiks, Uzbeks, Turkmen, Baluchis | 21.49 |
| 4 | Iraq | Shi'a, Sunnis, Kurds, Turkmen, Christians, Mandaeans, Yezidis, Shabak, Faili Kurds, Bahá'ís, Palestinians | 20.92 |
| 5 | Burma/ Myanmar | Kachin, Karenni, Karen, Mons, Rakhine, Rohingyas, Shan, Chin (Zomis), Wa | 20.43 |
| 6 | Pakistan | Ahmadiyya, Baluchis, Hindus, Mohhajirs, Pashtun, Sindhis, other religious minorities | 20.28 |
| 7 | Dem. Rep. of the Congo | Hema and Lendu, Hutu, Luba, Lunda, Tutsi/Banyamulenge, Batwa/Bambutu, other groups | 19.56 |
| 8 | South Sudan | Murle, Nuer, Dinka, Anuak, Jie, Kachipo | 19.50 |
| 9 | Ethiopia | Anuak, Afars, Oromo, Somalis, smaller minorities | 19.42 |
| 10 | Iran | Arabs, Azeris, Bahá'ís, Baluchis, Kurds, Turkomen newly-settled groups | 18.43 |

receives only a fraction of the international media coverage it once did, but the killing continues, with sectarian violence and extra-judicial executions accounting for over 300 deaths a month. Chaldo-Assyrians, Turkmen, Yezidis and other minorities face ongoing violence and intimidation in the disputed provinces of Nineveh and Kirkuk in the north, as well as in Baghdad. The war continues too in Afghanistan and in the tribal areas of Pakistan. A series of recent deadly attacks on civilians and international missions in Kabul highlight the failure of the new Afghan army to ensure security even in the capital and bode ill for future prospects of peace in a country where ethnic divisions are still profound. The return of refugees to Afghanistan has slowed and up to three million Afghan refugees remain in Pakistan and Iran.

In Burma, the first real steps towards democratisation for many years have seen Aung San Suu Kyi and other candidates from the National League for Democracy elected to parliament, but the country remains at fifth place in the table. A conflict with a long history of atrocities against ethnic Kachin civilians continues against rebels in Kachin state, and the position of Rohingyas as well as other minorities remains of grave concern.

Does development lower the threat?

If the relationship between democratization and the safety of minorities and other peoples is a complex one, how is the level of risk influenced by human development?

A growing body of academic literature has explored the links between violent conflict and poverty. There is a firm consensus that conflict impoverishes nations, setting back human development many years and stunting health and education prospects across a range of indicators. But on the existence of a causal relationship the other way – i.e. whether low development is a cause of conflict – the conclusions are mixed. Certainly, in a number of studies, Paul Collier and Anke Hoeffler have sought to demonstrate that low growth rates are associated with the outbreak of conflict in developing countries, and that higher rates of educational attainment are associated with a lower risk of internal conflict. Frances Stewart has posited that the likelihood

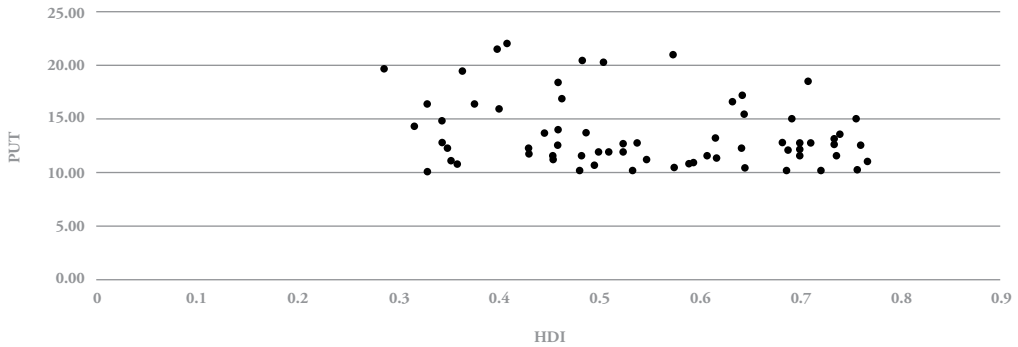
of unrest and violent conflict is higher where there are significant horizontal inequalities in political or economic status between different ethnic or culturally-defined groups. The role of natural resources can be pivotal but complicates the analysis further: researchers have drawn attention to the existence of a ‘resource curse’, whereby countries rich in natural resources have nonetheless experienced poor development outcomes, due to a number of factors including economic distortion, conflict over resource revenues, and corruption.

The specific risk of mass killing is distinct from conflict risk, not least because episodes of mass killing have occurred where there is no situation of armed conflict prevailing (for more on the link between the two, see box below: ‘How is *Peoples under Threat* calculated?’). To explore the potential relationship between level of development and the risk of mass killing, the most recent Human Development Index (HDI) was plotted against the *Peoples under Threat* index (PUT) for every country in the table for which HDI values are available. (Published annually by the UN Development Programme, the Human Development Index is a summary statistic combining the three dimensions of health, education and living standards to serve as a single frame of reference for both social and economic development).

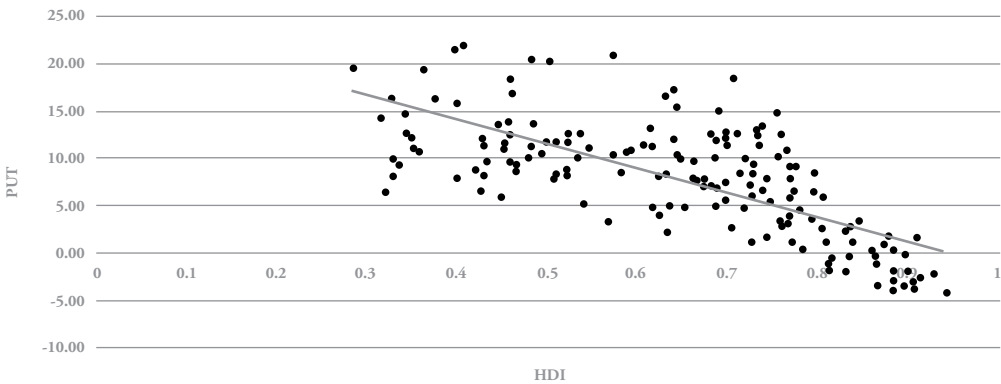
The most striking impression on viewing the resulting graph (see below) is that it is difficult to see a clear relationship between the two indices. A negative correlation does exist, but it is very weak, with values fairly evenly scattered over the graph. Some states in the top 20 places in *Peoples under Threat*, such as Iran and Russia, have a high HDI of over 0.7. There are countries at the bottom of the table with low HDI values, and many states with very low HDI do not appear on the table at all (including, for example, Burkina Faso and Mozambique). The only safe conclusion for policy-making that can be drawn from this initial data is that higher rates of human development (at least for developing countries) do not remove the threat of mass killing.

To investigate the relationship further, PUT values were calculated for a total of 175 countries. (Although it should be noted that as *Peoples*

Human development of peoples under threat



PUT vs HDI (175 countries)



PUT = Peoples under Threat index 2012
HDI = Human Development Index 2011, UNDP

under Threat is specifically designed to gauge the risk of egregious events, its explanatory power at the lower end of the spectrum is limited.) Where PUT is plotted against HDI for this much larger group of countries, a clearer negative correlation does emerge, with the level of risk falling as human development increases. It is notable, however, that the strength of the relationship is heavily influenced by what happens at the right

of the graph; i.e. in relation to those countries with very high rates of human development. The correlation between high human development and a low risk on the PUT table only becomes really pronounced in the upper HDI quartile. If the guarantee of safety from arbitrary killing is, in legal and moral terms, a human right, in today's world it is also a luxury.

Additional research by Daniel Openshaw

How is *Peoples under Threat* calculated?

Since the genocide in Rwanda in 1994, our ability to identify those situations most likely to lead to genocide or mass killing has improved. A number of comparative studies of the factors preceding historic episodes of political mass

killing had been undertaken since the 1970s, including by Helen Fein and Ted Robert Gurr, but it was not until the 1990s that researchers such as Rudolf Rummel and Matthew Krain pioneered quantitative longitudinal analysis of a wide range of such factors, enabling the testing of different causal hypotheses. Rummel,

for example, showed the very strong relationship between concentration of government power and state mass murder; Krain demonstrated the correlation between existing armed conflict or political instability and the onset and severity of mass killing.

Following the early work of the Clinton administration's policy initiative on genocide early warning and prevention, Professor Barbara Harff, a senior consultant with the US State Failure Task Force, constructed and tested models of the antecedents of genocide and political mass murder and her results were published in 2003 ('Assessing Risks of Genocide and Political Mass Murder since 1955', *American Political Science Review* 97, February 2003). Her optimal model identifies six preconditions that make it possible to distinguish, with 74 per cent accuracy, between internal wars and regime collapses in the period 1955–1997 that did, and those that did not, lead to genocide and political mass murder (politicide). The six preconditions are: political upheaval; previous genocides or politicides; exclusionary ideology of the ruling elite; autocratic nature of the regime; minority character of the ruling elite; and low trade openness.

MRG has drawn on these research findings to construct the *Peoples under Threat* table, although responsibility for the final table is exclusively our own. *Peoples under Threat* is specifically designed to identify the risk of genocide, mass killing or other systematic violent repression, unlike most other early warning tools, which focus on violent conflict as such. Its primary application is civilian protection.

Indicators of conflict are included in the table's construction, however, as most, although not all, episodes of mass ethnic or religious killing occur during armed conflicts. War provides the state of emergency, domestic mobilization and justification, international cover, and in some cases the military and logistic capacity, that enable massacres to be carried out. Some massacres, however, occur in peacetime, or may accompany armed conflict from its inception, presenting a problem to risk models that focus exclusively on current conflicts. In addition, severe and even violent repression of minorities

may occur for years before the onset of armed conflict provides the catalyst for larger-scale killing.

The statistical indicators used all relate to the state. The state is the basic unit of enquiry, rather than particular ethnic or religious groups at risk, as governments or militias connected to the government are responsible for most cases of genocidal violence. Formally, the state will reserve to itself the monopoly over the means of violence, so that where non-state actors are responsible for widespread or continued killing, it usually occurs with either the complicity of the state or in a 'failed state' situation where the rule of law has disintegrated. Certain characteristics at the level of the state will greatly increase the likelihood of atrocity, including habituation to illegal violence among the armed forces or police, prevailing impunity for human rights violations, official tolerance or encouragement of hate speech against particular groups, and in extreme cases, prior experience of mass killing. Egregious episodes of mass killing targeted principally at one group have also seen other groups deliberately decimated or destroyed.

However, some groups may experience higher levels of discrimination and be at greater risk than others in any given state. MRG has identified those groups in each state which we believe to be under most threat. (This does not mean that other groups or indeed the general population may not also be at some risk.) It should be noted that although these groups are most often minorities, in some cases ethnic or religious majorities will also be at risk and in relevant cases are therefore also listed in the table. In some cases, all the groups in the country are at risk of ethnic or sectarian killing.

One indicator that has been tested and discarded by a number of studies is the general level of ethnic or cultural diversity in a society. Krain did not find any correlation between 'ethnic fractionalization' and the onset of genocide or political mass killing. Similarly, neither of the patterns of ethnic diversity tested by Harff had any effect on the likelihood of mass killing (although she did find the minority character of the ruling elite to be significant). These findings are supported by research on the

relationship between diversity and conflict.

The overall measure is based on a basket of ten indicators. These include indicators of democracy or good governance from the World Bank, conflict indicators from the Center for Systemic Peace and other leading global conflict research institutes, indicators of group division or elite factionalization from the Fund for Peace and the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, the State Failure Task Force data on prior genocides and politicides, and the country credit risk classification published by the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (as a proxy for trade openness). For citations and further information, see the notes to the table. For a fuller discussion of the methodology, see *State of the World's Minorities 2006*.

Based on current indicators from authoritative sources, *Peoples under Threat* seeks to identify those groups or peoples most under threat in 2012. ■

| Country | Group | Conflict indicators | | |
|---------------------------------|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|---------------------------------|-------------------------|------------------------------|
| | | A. Self-determination conflicts | B. Major armed conflict | C. Prior genocide/politicide |
| Somalia | Minorities incl. Bantu, Benadiri and 'caste' groups (Gabooye etc.); clan members at risk in fighting incl. Hawiye, Darod, etc. | 4 | 2 | 1 |
| Sudan | Fur, Zaghawa, Massalit and others in Darfur; Ngok Dinka, Nuba, Beja | 5 | 2 | 1 |
| Afghanistan | Hazara, Pashtun, Tajiks, Uzbeks, Turkmen, Baluchis | 4 | 2 | 1 |
| Iraq | Shi'a, Sunnis, Kurds, Turkmen, Christians, Mandaeans, Yezidis, Shabak, Faily Kurds, Bahá'ís, Palestinians | 5 | 2 | 1 |
| Burma/Myanmar | Kachin, Karenni, Karen, Mons, Rakhine, Rohingyas, Shan, Chin (Zomis), Wa | 5 | 2 | 1 |
| Pakistan | Ahmadiyya, Baluchis, Hindus, Mohhajirs, Pashtun, Sindhis, other religious minorities | 5 | 2 | 1 |
| Dem. Rep. of the Congo | Hema and Lendu, Hutu, Luba, Lunda, Tutsi/Banyamulenge, Barwa/Bambutu, other groups | 2 | 2 | 1 |
| South Sudan | Murle, Nuer, Dinka, Anuak, Jie, Kachipo | 0 | 2 | 0 |
| Ethiopia | Anuak, Afars, Oromo, Somalis, smaller minorities | 5 | 2 | 1 |
| Iran | Arabs, Azeris, Bahá'ís, Baluchis, Kurds, Turkomen | 5 | 1 | 1 |
| Nigeria | Ibo, Ijaw, Ogoni, Yoruba, Hausa (Muslims) and Christians in the North | 5 | 2 | 1 |
| Israel/OPT | Palestinians in Gaza/West Bank, Israeli Palestinians | 5 | 2 | 0 |
| Yemen | Zaydi Shi'a, 'Akhdam' | 2 | 2 | 0 |
| Syria | Political targets, Shi'a, Assyrians, Kurds, Palestinians | 1 | 2 | 1 |
| Zimbabwe | Ndebele, Europeans, political/social targets | 2 | 0 | 1 |
| Chad | Black African' groups, Arabs, Southerners | 3 | 1 | 0 |
| Cote d'Ivoire | Northern Mande (Dioula), Senoufo, Bete, newly-settled groups | 4 | 1 | 0 |
| Philippines | Indigenous peoples, Moros (Muslims), Chinese | 5 | 2 | 1 |
| Sri Lanka | Tamils, Muslims | 4 | 1 | 1 |
| Russian Federation | Chechens, Ingush and others in North Caucasus; indigenous northern peoples, Roma, Jews | 5 | 2 | 1 |
| Central African Republic | Kaba (Sara), Mboum, Mbororo, Aka | 0 | 1 | 0 |
| Burundi | Hutu, Tutsi, Batwa | 0 | 0 | 1 |
| Nepal | Madheshis (Terai), Dalits, linguistic minorities | 2 | 1 | 0 |

| Indicators of group division | | | Democracy/governance indicators | | | | Total |
|-----------------------------------------|------------------------------------------|---------------------------------|---------------------------------|------------------------|----------------|-------------------------------------|-------|
| D. Massive movement – refugees and IDPs | E. Legacy of vengeance – group grievance | F. Rise of factionalized elites | G. Voice and accountability | H. Political stability | I. Rule of law | J. OECD country risk classification | |
| 10 | 9.5 | 9.8 | -2.002 | -3.092 | -2.427 | 7 | 23.28 |
| 9.6 | 9.9 | 9.9 | -1.705 | -2.701 | -1.320 | 7 | 22.00 |
| 9.3 | 9.3 | 9.4 | -1.455 | -2.599 | -1.898 | 7 | 21.49 |
| 9 | 9 | 9.6 | -1.053 | -2.272 | -1.618 | 7 | 20.92 |
| 8 | 8.7 | 8.3 | -2.094 | -1.290 | -1.501 | 7 | 20.43 |
| 9.2 | 9.3 | 9.1 | -0.816 | -2.705 | -0.785 | 7 | 20.28 |
| 9.6 | 8.3 | 8.8 | -1.417 | -2.204 | -1.612 | 7 | 19.56 |
| 9.6 | 9.9 | 9.9 | -1.705 | -2.701 | -1.320 | 7 | 19.50 |
| 8.2 | 8.4 | 9.0 | -1.314 | -1.706 | -0.756 | 7 | 19.42 |
| 7.9 | 8.5 | 9.2 | -1.574 | -1.565 | -0.901 | 7 | 18.43 |
| 6 | 9.6 | 9.5 | -0.823 | -2.047 | -1.206 | 5 | 18.38 |
| 7.6 | 9.6 | 8.1 | -0.853 | -1.938 | -0.205 | 8 | 17.21 |
| 8.4 | 8.6 | 9.3 | -1.282 | -2.223 | -1.052 | 7 | 16.82 |
| 8.5 | 8.7 | 7.9 | -1.676 | -0.815 | -0.541 | 7 | 16.59 |
| 8.2 | 9 | 9.6 | -1.488 | -1.209 | -1.801 | 7 | 16.34 |
| 9.5 | 9.4 | 9.8 | -1.383 | -1.532 | -1.501 | 7 | 16.32 |
| 8.5 | 8.7 | 9.1 | -1.117 | -1.554 | -1.218 | 7 | 15.90 |
| 6.5 | 7.2 | 8.5 | -0.092 | -1.559 | -0.542 | 4 | 15.39 |
| 8.6 | 9.4 | 9.5 | -0.508 | -0.825 | -0.088 | 6 | 15.00 |
| 5.1 | 7.6 | 7.8 | -0.945 | -0.887 | -0.784 | 3 | 14.91 |
| 9.6 | 8.6 | 9.1 | -1.124 | -2.145 | -1.302 | 7 | 14.75 |
| 8.7 | 8.2 | 8.2 | -0.921 | -1.541 | -1.211 | 7 | 14.23 |
| 7.4 | 9 | 8 | -0.533 | -1.684 | -1.021 | 7 | 13.93 |

| Country | Group | Conflict indicators | | |
|------------------------|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|---------------------------------|-------------------------|------------------------------|
| | | A. Self-determination conflicts | B. Major armed conflict | C. Prior genocide/politicide |
| Angola | Bakongo, Cabindans, Ovimbundu, Pastoralists, San and Kwisi | 4 | 0 | 1 |
| Uganda | Acholi, Karamojong, Basongora, Batwa | 1 | 1 | 1 |
| Lebanon | Druze, Maronite Christians, Palestinians, Shi'a, Sunnis | 2 | 1 | 0 |
| Kyrgyzstan | Uzbeks, Russians | 1 | 1 | 0 |
| Bosnia and Herzegovina | Croats, Bosniac Muslims, Serbs, Roma | 3 | 0 | 1 |
| Guinea | Fulani (Peul), Malinke | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| Thailand | Chinese, Malay-Muslims, Northern Hill Tribes | 5 | 2 | 0 |
| Equatorial Guinea | Bubi, Annobon Islanders | 1 | 0 | 1 |
| Georgia | Adzhars, Abkhazians, South Ossetians | 5 | 1 | 0 |
| Laos | Hmong, other highland peoples | 4 | 0 | 0 |
| Algeria | Berbers, Saharawi | 2 | 1 | 1 |
| Colombia | Political/social targets, Afro-descendants, indigenous peoples | 3 | 2 | 0 |
| Libya | Black Libyans, Sub-Saharan migrants, Tebu, Berbers | 2 | 1 | 0 |
| Niger | Djerema-songhai, Hausa, Tuaregs | 4 | 0 | 0 |
| Eritrea | Afars, Saho, Tigre, religious minorities | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| Turkey | Kurds, Alevis, Roma, Armenians and other Christians | 5 | 2 | 0 |
| Rwanda | Hutu, Tutsi, Barwa | 0 | 0 | 1 |
| Uzbekistan | Tajiks, Islamic political groups, religious minorities, Karakalpaks, Russians | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| China | Tibetans, Uyghurs, Mongols, Hui, religious minorities | 5 | 0 | 1 |
| Kosovo | Serbs, Roma/Ashkali/Egyptians, Bosniaks, Turks, Gorani | 4 | 0 | 0 |
| Bangladesh | Ahmadiyya, Hindus, other religious minorities; Chittagong Hill Tribes | 3 | 0 | 0 |
| Cambodia | Cham, Vietnamese, indigenous hill tribes (Khmer Leou) | 0 | 0 | 1 |
| Kenya | Borana, Kalenjin, Kikuyu, Luyha, Luo, Muslims, Turkana, Endorois, Masai, Ogiek, other indigenous groups | 0 | 1 | 0 |
| North Korea | Political/social targets, religious minorities | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| Haiti | Political/social targets | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| Djibouti | Afars | 3 | 0 | 0 |
| Venezuela | Indigenous peoples, Afro-descendants | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| Azerbaijan | Armenians | 4 | 0 | 0 |

| Indicators of group division | | | Democracy/governance indicators | | | | Total |
|-----------------------------------------|------------------------------------------|---------------------------------|---------------------------------|------------------------|----------------|-------------------------------------|-------|
| D. Massive movement – refugees and IDPs | E. Legacy of vengeance – group grievance | F. Rise of factionalized elites | G. Voice and accountability | H. Political stability | I. Rule of law | J. OECD country risk classification | |
| 6.6 | 6.2 | 7 | -1.139 | -0.215 | -1.244 | 6 | 13.65 |
| 8 | 8 | 8.6 | -0.477 | -1.120 | -0.403 | 6 | 13.60 |
| 8.5 | 8.7 | 8.8 | -0.330 | -1.528 | -0.663 | 7 | 13.48 |
| 6.5 | 8.3 | 8.3 | -0.957 | -0.956 | -1.292 | 7 | 13.18 |
| 6.8 | 8.4 | 9.2 | -0.116 | -0.665 | -0.364 | 7 | 13.09 |
| 7.7 | 7.9 | 9.2 | -0.901 | -1.812 | -1.506 | 7 | 12.73 |
| 6.6 | 8 | 8.5 | -0.558 | -1.221 | -0.196 | 3 | 12.70 |
| 2.7 | 6.6 | 8.2 | -1.887 | 0.240 | -1.259 | 7 | 12.70 |
| 7.5 | 8 | 9 | -0.173 | -0.681 | -0.209 | 6 | 12.65 |
| 5.8 | 6.5 | 8.6 | -1.634 | -0.226 | -0.897 | 7 | 12.62 |
| 6.1 | 7.8 | 6.8 | -1.009 | -1.251 | -0.759 | 3 | 12.59 |
| 8.7 | 7.5 | 8.0 | -0.186 | -1.494 | -0.333 | 4 | 12.55 |
| 4.6 | 6 | 7 | -1.919 | -0.058 | -0.976 | 7 | 12.51 |
| 6.6 | 7.8 | 8.6 | -0.564 | -1.136 | -0.568 | 7 | 12.48 |
| 6.8 | 6.1 | 8.1 | -2.175 | -0.871 | -1.292 | 7 | 12.21 |
| 6 | 8.3 | 7.5 | -0.159 | -0.997 | 0.104 | 4 | 12.19 |
| 7.3 | 8.2 | 8.4 | -1.335 | -0.108 | -0.312 | 7 | 12.11 |
| 5.7 | 7.4 | 8.7 | -2.017 | -0.777 | -1.373 | 6 | 12.05 |
| 6.2 | 7.9 | 6.9 | -1.650 | -0.766 | -0.347 | 2 | 12.01 |
| 6.4 | 7.5 | 8.0 | -0.173 | -1.156 | -0.639 | 7 | 11.99 |
| 6.5 | 9.2 | 8.9 | -0.276 | -1.425 | -0.768 | 6 | 11.82 |
| 5.6 | 7.2 | 8 | -0.873 | -0.617 | -1.088 | 6 | 11.79 |
| 8.5 | 8.7 | 8.8 | -0.231 | -1.201 | -1.011 | 6 | 11.78 |
| 5.3 | 6.9 | 7.4 | -2.208 | -0.451 | -1.297 | 7 | 11.60 |
| 9.2 | 7.3 | 8.8 | -0.716 | -0.924 | -1.353 | 7 | 11.58 |
| 7.2 | 6.2 | 7.5 | -1.140 | 0.297 | -0.715 | 8 | 11.54 |
| 4.8 | 7 | 7.3 | -0.905 | -1.370 | -1.643 | 7 | 11.48 |
| 7.9 | 7.5 | 7.9 | -1.272 | -0.308 | -0.883 | 5 | 11.47 |

| Country | Group | Conflict indicators | | |
|---------------|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|---------------------------------|-------------------------|------------------------------|
| | | A. Self-determination conflicts | B. Major armed conflict | C. Prior genocide/politicide |
| Tajikistan | Uzbeks, Russians | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| Cameroon | 'Westerners' | 2 | 0 | 0 |
| Indonesia | Achinese, Chinese, Dayaks, Madurese, Papuans | 5 | 0 | 1 |
| India | Assamese, Bodos, Nagas, Tripuras, other Adivasis; Kashmiris, Sikhs, Muslims, Dalits | 5 | 2 | 0 |
| Mauritania | Haratins ('Black Moors'), Kewri | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| Guinea Bissau | Balanta, Fula (Fulani), Manjaco (Manjack or Mandyako), Mandinga (Mandinka), Papel (Papel), Ejamat (Felupe), Jola (Diola), Susu, Cape Verdeans | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| Serbia | Bosniaks, Ethnic Albanians, Croats, Roma | 2 | 0 | 1 |
| Vietnam | Montagnards (Degar), other highland peoples, religious minorities | 2 | 0 | 1 |
| Nicaragua | Indigenous peoples, Creoles | 3 | 0 | 0 |
| Mali | Tuareg, Arabs, Maure and others in the north | 5 | 1 | 0 |
| Timor Leste | 'Westerners', 'Easterners', Muslims, Chinese' | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| Guatemala | Indigenous peoples, Garifuna | 0 | 0 | 1 |
| Egypt | Copts, Shi'a, Baha'is | 0 | 1 | 0 |
| Belarus | Poles | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| Madagascar | Côtier, Merina, Indians/Pakistanis | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| Turkmenistan | Uzbeks, Russians, Kazakhs, religious minorities | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| Congo (Rep.) | Lari, M'Boshi, Aka | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| Ecuador | Afro-descendants, Indigenous peoples | 2 | 0 | 0 |
| Liberia | Dan, Krahn, Ma, other groups | 0 | 0 | 0 |

Notes to Table

Sources of the indicators are as follows:

- Conflict indicators:** The base data used was Monty G Marshall, 'Major Episodes of Political Violence 1946 – 2012' (Center for Systemic Peace, 2012) and, for self-determination conflicts, Monty G Marshall and Ted R Gurr, 'Peace and Conflict 2005' (CIDCM, University of Maryland, 2005) updated for 2011 using figures from Center for Systemic Peace, MRG and the Heidelberg Institute for International Conflict Research (Conflict Barometer 2011, HIIK 2012).

Self-determinations conflicts in 2012 were ranked on a scale of 0 – 5 as follows: 5=ongoing armed conflict; 4=contained armed conflict; 3=settled armed conflict; 2=militant politics; 1=conventional politics. Major armed conflicts were classified as 2=ongoing in late 2011; 1=emerging from conflict since 2006 or ongoing conflict with deaths under 1,000.

- Prior genocide or politicide:** Harff, US Political Instability Task Force (formerly State Failure Task Force). 1=one or more episodes since 1945
- Indicators of Group Division:** Failed States Index, Fund for Peace and the Carnegie

| Indicators of group division | | | Democracy/governance indicators | | | | Total |
|-----------------------------------------|------------------------------------------|---------------------------------|---------------------------------|------------------------|----------------|-------------------------------------|-------|
| D. Massive movement – refugees and IDPs | E. Legacy of vengeance – group grievance | F. Rise of factionalized elites | G. Voice and accountability | H. Political stability | I. Rule of law | J. OECD country risk classification | |
| 5.9 | 7.2 | 8.6 | -1.356 | -0.911 | -1.196 | 7 | 11.45 |
| 7.3 | 7.8 | 8.5 | -1.062 | -0.576 | -1.044 | 6 | 11.37 |
| 6.6 | 6.6 | 7 | -0.055 | -0.887 | -0.630 | 3 | 11.31 |
| 5 | 8.2 | 6.8 | 0.424 | -1.315 | -0.058 | 3 | 11.16 |
| 6.8 | 7.8 | 7.9 | -0.892 | -1.250 | -0.876 | 7 | 11.14 |
| 7.2 | 5.4 | 9.2 | -0.891 | -0.767 | -1.351 | 7 | 11.02 |
| 6.4 | 7.5 | 8.0 | 0.291 | -0.406 | -0.389 | 6 | 10.90 |
| 5 | 5.7 | 6.9 | -1.430 | 0.129 | -0.483 | 5 | 10.84 |
| 4.9 | 6 | 6.8 | -0.479 | -0.606 | -0.828 | 7 | 10.74 |
| 5.3 | 6 | 4.5 | 0.153 | -0.253 | -0.481 | 6 | 10.71 |
| 8 | 7.1 | 8.3 | 0.022 | -0.485 | -1.209 | 8 | 10.57 |
| 5.6 | 6.9 | 6 | -0.355 | -0.796 | -1.037 | 5 | 10.40 |
| 6.4 | 8.3 | 8 | -1.204 | -0.907 | -0.109 | 5 | 10.38 |
| 3.6 | 6.8 | 8 | -1.554 | -0.111 | -1.046 | 7 | 10.15 |
| 4.6 | 5.2 | 8 | -0.798 | -1.134 | -0.843 | 7 | 10.12 |
| 4.2 | 6.6 | 7.7 | -2.029 | 0.242 | -1.455 | 6 | 10.08 |
| 7.7 | 6 | 6.7 | -1.031 | -0.246 | -1.133 | 6 | 10.06 |
| 6.4 | 6.9 | 8.2 | -0.279 | -0.630 | -0.166 | 7 | 10.03 |
| 8.6 | 6.8 | 8.1 | -0.226 | -0.455 | -1.010 | 7 | 9.98 |

Endowment for International Peace, 2011.

- *Democracy/Governance Indicators*: Annual Governance Indicators, World Bank, 2011.
- *OECD country risk classification*: Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development, 'Country Risk Classifications of the Participants to the Arrangement on Officially Supported Export Credits', January 2012. Where no classification is given, a value of 8 was accorded.

Data for South Sudan and for Kosovo include some indicators relating to Sudan and Serbia respectively.

Indicators were rebased as necessary to give an equal weighting to the five categories above, with the exception of the prior geno-/politicide indicator. As a dichotomous variable this received a lesser weighting to avoid too great a distortion to the final ranking. Resulting values were then summed.

The full formula is:

$$(A/2) + (B \times 1.25) + (C \times 2) + (D+E+F)/6 + (G+H+I) / -1 + (J \times 0.625)$$

Status of ratification of major international and regional instruments relevant to minority and indigenous rights

as of 1 February 2012

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| Botswana | | ■ | ■ | |
| Burkina Faso | ■ | ■ | ■● | ■ |
| Burundi | ■ | ■ | ■ | ■ |
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| Central African Republic | | ■ | ■● | ■ |
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Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women 1979

Convention on the Rights of the Child 1989

ILO 111 Discrimination (Employment and Occupation) Convention 1958

ILO 169 Convention Concerning Indigenous and Tribal Peoples in Independent Countries 1989

International Convention on the Protection of the Rights of All Migrant Workers and Members of Their Families 1990

ICC Rome Statute of the International Criminal Court 1998

African Charter on Human and Peoples' Rights 2003

African Charter on the Rights and Welfare of the Child 1990

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Status of ratification of major international and regional instruments relevant to minority and indigenous rights

as of 1 February 2012

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| Nigeria | ■ | ■ | ■ | ■ |
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| Sahrawi Arab Democratic Republic | | | | |
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| Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women 1979 | Convention on the Rights of the Child 1989 | ILO 111 Discrimination (Employment and Occupation) Convention 1958 | ILO 169 Convention Concerning Indigenous and Tribal Peoples in Independent Countries 1989 | International Convention on the Protection of the Rights of All Migrant Workers and Members of Their Families 1990 | ICC Rome Statute of the International Criminal Court 1998 | African Charter on Human and Peoples' Rights 2003 | African Charter on the Rights and Welfare of the Child 1990 |
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| | | | | | | American Convention on Human Rights 1969 | Additional Protocol to the American Convention on Human Rights in the area of Economic, Social and Cultural Rights 1988 |
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Status of ratification of major international and regional instruments relevant to minority and indigenous rights

as of 1 February 2012

■ Ratification, accession or succession.

□ Signature not yet followed by ratification.

■▶ Ratification of ICERD and Declaration on Article 14.

■▷ Ratification of ICERD and Signature of Declaration on Article 14.

■● Ratification of ICCPR and Optional Protocol.

■○ Ratification of ICCPR and Signature of Optional Protocol.

□○ Signature of ICCPR and Optional Protocol.

| | International Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide 1948 | International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination 1965 | International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights 1966 | International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights 1966 |
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| Germany | ■ | ■▶ | ■● | ■ |
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| Switzerland | ■ | ■▶ | ■ | ■ |
| The former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia | ■ | ■ | ■● | ■ |
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| Ukraine | ■ | ■▶ | ■● | ■ |
| United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland | ■ | ■ | ■ | ■ |
| Middle East | | | | |
| Bahrain | ■ | ■ | ■ | ■ |
| Iran (Islamic Republic of) | ■ | ■ | ■ | ■ |

Status of ratification of major international and regional instruments relevant to minority and indigenous rights

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| Yemen | ■ | ■ | ■ | ■ |
| Oceania | | | | |
| Australia | ■ | ■▶ | ■● | ■ |
| Cook Islands | | | | |
| Fiji | ■ | ■ | | |
| Kiribati | | | | |
| Marshall Islands | | | | |
| Micronesia (Federated States of) | | | | |
| Nauru | | □ | □○ | |
| New Zealand | ■ | ■ | ■● | ■ |
| Niue | | | | |
| Palau | | □ | □ | |
| Papua New Guinea | ■ | ■ | ■ | ■ |
| Samoa | | | ■ | |
| Solomon Islands | | ■ | | ■ |
| Tonga | ■ | ■ | | |
| Tuvalu | | | | |
| Vanuatu | | | ■ | |
| Number of states parties | 141 (1 sig) | 175 (45 Art 14) | 167 (115 op) | 160 (6 sig) |

Compiled by *Natascha Horsfield and Electra Barbouri*

Sources:

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<http://www.unhchr.ch/tbs/doc.nsf/Statusfset?OpenFrameSet>
<http://www.iccnw.org/?mod=romesignatures>

| Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women 1979 | Convention on the Rights of the Child 1989 | ILO 111 Discrimination (Employment and Occupation) Convention 1958 | ILO 169 Convention Concerning Indigenous and Tribal Peoples in Independent Countries 1989 | International Convention on the Protection of the Rights of All Migrant Workers and Members of Their Families 1990 | ICC Rome Statute of the International Criminal Court 1998 | | |
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| 187 (2 sig) | 193 (2 sig) | 169 | 22 | 45 (16 sig) | 120 | | |

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Who are minorities?

Minorities of concern to MRG are disadvantaged ethnic, national, religious, linguistic or cultural groups who are smaller in number than the rest of the population and who may wish to maintain and develop their identity. MRG also works with indigenous peoples.

Other groups who may suffer discrimination are of concern to MRG, which condemns discrimination on any ground. However, the specific mission of MRG is to secure the rights of minorities and indigenous peoples around the world and to improve cooperation between communities.

Selected abbreviations

ACHPR – African Commission on Human and Peoples’ Rights
AHRC – Asian Human Rights Commission
AU – African Union
CEDAW – Committee on the Elimination of All forms of Discrimination Against Women
CERD – UN Committee on the Elimination of Racial Discrimination
CRC – UN Convention on the Rights of the Child
ECHR – European Convention on Human Rights
ECtHR – European Court of Human Rights
EHRC – European Human Rights Commission
EU – European Union
FCNM – Council of Europe Framework Convention for the Protection of National Minorities
FGM – female genital mutilation
FRA – European Union Agency for Fundamental Rights
HRW – Human Rights Watch
IACtHR – Inter-American Court of Human Rights
ICC – International Criminal Court
ICCPR – International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights
ICERD – International Convention on the

Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination
ICESCR – International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights
IDP – internally displaced person
ILO – International Labour Organization
IOM – International Organization for Migration
LGBT – lesbian, gay, bisexual and transgender
MDGs – Millennium Development Goals
NGO – non-governmental organization
OAS – Organization of American States
OCHA – UN Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs
OECD – Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development
OHCHR – Office of the High Commissioner on Human Rights
OSCE – Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe
UDHR – Universal Declaration on Human Rights
UN – United Nations
UNDM – UN Declaration on the Rights of Persons Belonging to National or Ethnic, Religious and Linguistic Minorities
UNDP – UN Development Programme
UNDRIP – UN Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples
UNIFEM – UN Development Fund for Women
UNRWA – UN Relief and Works Agency
UNHCR – UN High Commissioner for Refugees
UPR – Universal Periodic Review
USCIRF – US Commission on International Religious Freedom

Contributors

Electra Babouri (*Turkey*) is the Coordinator of the Equality and Diversity Forum, the network of national NGOs working across the equality and human rights spectrum in Britain. Previously, she worked for a number of NGOs including Action for Children. She is a member of the Steering Group of the English Regions Equality and Human Rights Network. She holds an MA from University College London focusing on Human Rights and Indigenous Cultural Rights. In addition, she has carried out research on the effectiveness of international law with regard to safeguarding indigenous rights and has conducted fieldwork in New Zealand and Australia.

Maurice Bryan (*Americas*) is a Caribbean-born writer and communications consultant with a special focus on the use of information technology in a rights-based approach to social and economic development and cultural processes. He has worked in over 25 countries in Latin America, the Caribbean, Asia and Africa, and currently spends most of his time in Central America.

Chris Chapman (*Contributor – Iraq and South Sudan*) is Head of Conflict Prevention at MRG. He has written a number of reports on minority rights, conflict prevention and transitional justice. From 1995 to 2000 Chris worked in conflict resolution, human rights monitoring and journalism in Haiti and Guatemala. He has a Master's degree in Armed Conflict and Crisis Management from the Open University of Catalonia.

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Katalin Halász (*Europe*) is a researcher, writer and activist with expertise in anti-discrimination legislation, minority rights, Roma rights and racism as a crime. Over the last decade she has worked for national and international human rights organizations in Hungary, Germany, India, Belgium and the UK, and at the European Court of Justice in Luxembourg. She is currently undertaking a PhD in Visual Sociology at Goldsmiths College, University of London, on the representation of race and ethnicity in contemporary visual arts.

Rahnuma Hassan (*Southern Africa*) is an aspiring writer with a background in international development. She is interested in issues of identity and can be found on the internet writing about the intersections of race and gender in the context of development interventions.

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