

MICRO CON

A MICRO LEVEL ANALYSIS
OF VIOLENT CONFLICT

A Global View of Horizontal Inequalities: Inequalities experienced by Muslims worldwide

**MICROCON Research Working Paper 13
Frances Stewart
June 2009**

Correct citation: Stewart, F., 2009. *A Global View of Horizontal Inequalities: Inequalities Experienced by Muslims Worldwide*. MICROCON Research Working Paper 13, Brighton: MICROCON.

First published in 2009

© Frances Stewart 2009

ISBN: 13 978 185864 588 3

For further information, please contact:

MICROCON: A Micro Level Analysis of Violent Conflict, Institute of Development Studies at the University of Sussex, Brighton BN1 9RE

Tel: +44 (0)1273 915764

Email: info@microconflict.eu

Web: www.microconflict.eu



**A Global View of Horizontal Inequalities: Inequalities Experienced
by Muslims Worldwide¹**

Frances Stewart²
MICROCON Research Working Paper 13

June 2009

‘it is all one and the same: the struggle in Afghanistan and Iraq and even Britain ... it’s all connected’. Statement of British Muslim³.

Abstract: Both within and across countries, most attention has been devoted to measuring inequality among individuals (and globally countries). Within countries, increasing evidence shows that inequalities *among groups* (HIs) are important for wellbeing. However, the global component of HIs are generally neglected. The paper argues that HIs at a global level may also be important for world stability and wellbeing, in much the same way HIs are relevant at the national level. With this perspective, the paper reviews Muslim/ non-Muslim HIs within developed and developing countries, and between Muslim and non-Muslim countries, finding that Muslims are systematically disadvantaged across many dimensions. It argues that, despite much heterogeneity among the Muslim population, there is evidence of multiple global connections and of shared perceptions, such that inequalities faced by Muslims in one part of the world may become a source of grievance and potential mobilisation in other parts of the world. Consequently, socio-economic and political inequalities need to be addressed globally, within countries and between them, and politically as well as with respect to socio-economic and cultural status.

¹ I have benefited from research assistance from Manizah Imman; and I am very grateful to Graham Brown and to Mansoob Murshed for ideas, and for comments on a previous draft; and also to comments from a CRISE seminar. A version of this paper has also appeared as CRISE Working Paper 60.

² Professor of Development Economics and Director, Centre for Research on Inequality, Human Security and Ethnicity, University of Oxford. Email: frances.stewart@qeh.ox.ac.uk.

³ Quoted in Abbas (2007):436.

1. Introduction

Both within and across countries, most attention has been devoted to measuring inequality among individuals (and globally countries). Within countries, increasing evidence shows that inequalities *among groups* (HIs) are important for wellbeing, effective policies towards poverty and for political stability, and a set of policies to correct such HIs are being identified (Stewart, 2008). However, apart from measurement of inter-country inequality and North-South inequalities, the global component of HIs is generally neglected.⁴ This paper argues that HIs at a global level are also important for world stability and wellbeing, in much the same way as at the national level. Like national level analysis, the inequalities in question are not only socio-economic in nature, but also political and cultural. The groups to be explored are identity groups – i.e. groups with which ‘members’ have strong affiliation. The most obvious and formally organised groups of this kind are national ones (i.e. countries), but here I am primarily concerned not with national identity groups but with religious and ethnic identity groups, whose members cross national boundaries. This boundary crossing may stimulate global resentments and even violence, may lead to global flows of support for (and against) the extended group (including finance, arms, propaganda, political manoeuvring) and consequently requires global as well as national solutions.

Identities are fluid and change over time, so that the salient identities which have global significance also change. Historically, the Jews, the Lebanese and the Chinese have each formed global groups with a shared identity across countries – though the strength of members’ affiliation has clearly varied between individuals and over time. Christians – particularly Catholics with their common papal hierarchy - have formed another global identity (whose unity has varied over time), also with global implications as illustrated, for example, by the Crusades and the world wide activities of Missionaries. The first type, diasporic ethnic or nationalistic identities, have clear attachments to a particular place; while it is the common set of beliefs, and sometimes organisational hierarchies, that bind religious identities. Each of these groups remain of significance today, but probably the most dominant contemporary global identity group is that of Muslims, and I shall illustrate my argument with information on this group.

⁴ See e.g. Wade, R. (2001);Berry and Serieux, 2004; Bourignon, F. and C. Morrisson (2002).

Muslims taken as a whole do not have an organisational hierarchy to unite them, but they have a strong theological basis for global identity, in the form of the *Ummah*, or the indivisible community of the faithful. ‘The idea of the *Ummah* ... is not a materialised homeland that one may look up on a map. Rather we are dealing with a mythological homeland that is both nowhere and everywhere offering membership across national boundaries.’ (Schmidt, 2004: 41). Yet it is essential to acknowledge that Muslims are not homogeneous: besides many other differences, there are sharp divisions, often leading to violent conflict, between Shiites and Sunnis; in addition, there are differences between liberals and radicals, in history, economic activity, education, nationality, language. As Sivan notes, ‘the movement as a whole...is made up of a plethora of groups, more or less structured, loosely coordinated...often overlapping’ (Sivan: 2003: 25). A big question, then, in relation to the approach adopted here, is whether there is nonetheless sufficient unity, or shared identity, to make the discussion of Muslims as a single, albeit non-homogeneous, group, meaningful. Some evidence on this will be presented in the course of the discussion.

To develop this argument the paper is organised as follows. First, I define HIs and illustrate their role in the national arena, emphasising the multidimensionality of HIs. A similar analysis applies to the global stage, through ethnic diasporas and common religious identities. Secondly, I illustrate the presence of such inequalities with an overview of broadly contemporary data on Muslims. Thirdly, I provide some evidence on the international links across Muslim groups, whereby grievance in one place can be felt elsewhere. This shared identity is confirmed by evidence from some perceptions surveys that I summarise in section 5. Finally, I conclude that since the inequalities (and resultant mobilisation) present themselves both within and across countries, policies to address them need to be correspondingly multilayered, as well as being multidimensional.

2. How, why and when Horizontal Inequalities raise the risk of conflict within countries.⁵

Horizontal inequality is inequality between groups, as distinct from vertical inequality, or inequality among individuals. These groups are generally culturally defined – by ethnicity, religion, race or region, for example. Horizontal inequalities

⁵ This section draws on F. Stewart (ed.) 2008.

(HIs) are important because they affect individual well-being, economic efficiency and social stability, while in some circumstances they can lead to serious violent conflict, thereby undermining most development efforts (Langer 2005; Mancini 2008; Østby 2003; Stewart 2002; 2008).

Horizontal inequalities are conceived of as multidimensional, with economic, social and political dimensions. Each dimension encompasses a number of elements. For example, economic inequalities include inequality in access to or ownership of a variety of assets (financial, natural resources, human and social capital) as well as opportunities for their use (especially employment), and the current resources that flow from these assets (i.e. income); social HIs include access to a variety of services (education, health services, housing) and also outcomes in the form of human indicators (infant and maternal mortality, for example, life expectancy, literacy), while political HIs consist in the group distribution of political opportunities including who controls the Presidency, the cabinet, parliamentary assemblies, the bureaucracy, the army, the police, regional and local government; inequalities in cultural status, include inequalities as to how the practices and beliefs of different groups are treated – e.g. recognition and treatment of language, religious practices, dress and behaviour. Each of these lists includes both inputs and outputs (e.g. assets and incomes; health services and health outcomes), while some dimensions of HIs influence other dimensions (e.g. political power affects the economic and social dimensions; language use affects access to jobs and incomes). This extensive approach is deliberate because (a) many of the elements are not only inputs but also contribute directly to individual wellbeing, and (b) inputs are generally easier to affect directly through policy than outcomes. While the broad dimensions are relevant in any context, the actual elements that matter will vary according to the economy and society – for example, land is less important in industrialised countries than in many developing countries.

Horizontal inequalities are important because they affect well-being directly and because they affect other objectives instrumentally. People's well-being is affected not only by their individual circumstances, but also by how well their group is doing. This is partly because membership of the group is an aspect of a person's identity and hence the group's situation is felt as part of an individual's situation; and partly because relative impoverishment of the group increases perceptions of members that they are likely to be trapped permanently in a poor position, or, if they have managed to do better than many in the group, that they are likely to fall back into poverty.

Hence the well-being of Muslims in Western Europe, Catholics in Northern Ireland, Hutus in Rwanda, Afro-Americans in the US, blacks in Apartheid South Africa, to take just a few of many examples, is (was) deeply affected by the relative impoverishment of the group - over and above the position of the individual themselves. Psychologists have shown, for example, that Afro-Americans suffer from many psychological ills due to the position of their group, or 'Being Black and Feeling Blue' as Brown and others put it (Brown and others 1999). As a former member of the Guatemalan guerrillas stated 'poverty is bad enough, but when you are being discriminated, this strips away your dignity, it is much worse, you feel humiliated, you feel useless, a great quantity of emotions come to you'.⁶

The direct impact on well-being is not only more powerfully felt, but is also a more important consideration, because HIs often persist over generations – showing more persistence, typically, than individuals' ranking within a group (Tilly 1998; Stewart and Langer 2008).

Horizontal inequalities also matter for three instrumental reasons. First, it may not be possible to improve the position of individuals without tackling the position of the group as a whole. For example, programmes to advance credit to poor producers, or to promote universal education, may not be achievable so long as group inequality remains. Secondly, correcting such horizontal inequalities should have a positive effect on efficiency. Any situation in which a group is discriminated against is likely to be less efficient than in the absence of discrimination, since talented people in the group discriminated against will be held back, while too many resources, or too high a position, will go to less talented people in the favoured group.

The third and most critical instrumental reason for trying to moderate HIs inequality – and the one that concerns us most here – is that group inequality can be a source of political mobilisation, sometimes leading to violent conflict (Stewart 2000). Group inequality provides powerful grievances which leaders can use to mobilise people to political protest, by calling on cultural markers (a common history or language or religion) and pointing to group exploitation. This type of mobilisation appears especially likely to occur where there is political as well as economic inequality, so that the group leaders are excluded from formal political power while the mass of

⁶ Interview with Corinne Caumartin, 16th February 2007

group members are economically deprived. Examples where group inequalities have been a factor in provoking conflict include Côte d'Ivoire, Rwanda, Northern Ireland, Nepal, Chiapas, the Sudan to mention just a few (see, e.g. Gates and Murshed 2005; Gurr 1993; Gurr and Moore 1997; Langer 2005; Stewart 2002). Sharp horizontal inequalities within countries (and between them) are an important source of grievance and potentially of instability, independently of the extent of vertical inequality. There is econometric cross-country and within country, as well as case study, evidence showing that conflict potential is higher where HIs are more severe (Barrows 1976; Mancini 2008; Østby 2003). It seems that conflict is less likely, however, if economic and political HIs go in opposite directions, when the group that dominates the political system does not also dominate the economic one (e.g. Langer 2005; Østby 2008).

To date research on HIs has focussed on HIs *within* countries (Stewart 2008), looking neither at between country inequalities which might also generate grievances and mobilisation, nor at links between within country inequalities that may occur across countries. Where groups have strong international connections – via family, remittances, media, religion – it seems likely that HIs within one country may affect actions elsewhere in the world, as a shared identity leads to shared grievances and may lead to global mobilisation. This paper explores whether this might be the case with inequalities between Muslims and others within a large number of countries and between Muslim countries and others. The next section therefore provides empirical evidence of Muslim/other HIs across the world.

3. An overview of contemporary Muslim/other HIs.

This section summarises some Muslim/other inequalities – first within selected developed countries; then within selected developing countries; and finally between Muslim and Western countries.

1. HIs faced by Muslims in Europe

With the exception of small historical enclaves such as the Bosniaks, Muslims in developed countries mainly consist of groups who immigrated fairly recently, from North Africa, in the case of France; Turkey, in the case of Germany; Bangladesh and Pakistan in the UK; and some combination in most other European countries. Below I pick out three countries to illustrate the multiple inequalities Muslims face in Europe

– the Netherlands, France and the UK. Similar evidence is available for other European countries.

a. *The Netherlands*

In the Netherlands, there are socio-economic HIs disadvantaging Muslims across a number of dimensions – including housing, education, employment and incomes. The Muslim community also suffers from lower cultural status or recognition in terms of national holidays and dress code, for example. Muslims currently are represented in parliament and the cabinet, broadly proportionately, but this still means that they are very much a minority politically and without real power.

Socio-economic HIs: Muslims in the Netherlands, who are mostly of Moroccan or Turkish and, to a lesser extent, Indonesian origin, form about 6% of the total population and a much higher proportion of the four largest cities. They tend to be concentrated in segregated neighbourhoods, with poor and worsening infrastructure and high crime levels. They retain strong networks among themselves (Kelley and Morgenstern 2006). Half Moroccan households (and one in three non-Western immigrant households) are dissatisfied with their residential area, in contrast to one in twelve of native households (CBS 2004a). 27% of Moroccan-origin and 21% of Turk-origin residents were unemployed in 2006 compared with 9% for *autochthone*⁷. More than half of Turks and more than 60% of Moroccans have an unskilled job, compared with less than 30% of native Dutch. (SCP 2005a). Incomes reflect this – the incomes of Moroccan men are 42% below those of the native Dutch, and those of Turkish men, 34% below. After allowing for age and experience, a gap of at least 25% remains. (CBS 2004b). There is evidence of direct and indirect discrimination in the labour market (SCP 2005a). Experimental research showed that racial minorities were significantly less likely to be offered an interview or job (Riach and Rich 2002).

Education levels are substantially lower for the Muslim community – 40% of Turks and 45% of Moroccans have had no more than primary education; drop-outs rates are higher (Demant et al. 2007). The European Monitoring Centre on Racism and Xenophobia found discrimination within the educational system (SCP 2005a).

⁷ The Dutch term for ‘white’ Dutch.

Income levels are lower among Muslims. Whereas 11% of indigenous households had an income below the low-income threshold in 2002, the figure for non-western ethnic minority households was 33%. Poverty rates among the elderly are 67% for Turkish population, 86% for the Moroccan population and 11% for the native Dutch elderly (Demant et al. 2007).

Political HIs. Within parliament, however, it seems that Muslims are represented proportionately (or more) with 10 out of 150 members in 2003. In 2003, two Muslim Ministers were appointed to the cabinet. Muslims, however, are underrepresented in the police, with only 6% of the police in major cities having an immigrant background, although they account for about 30% of the population (Demant et al., 2007).

Cultural status inequality. Within schools there are frequent complaints about dress, especially the wearing of hijabs. Dutch national holidays are all Christian, apart from January 1st and the Queen's birthday. Uneasy Muslim/*autochthone* relations were made worse by Ayaan Hirsi Ali, a Somali-born member of parliament, who attacked cultural practices of Muslims, particularly those concerning women. The murder of Theo van Gogh in 2004, an *autochthone* film-maker with whom she was collaborating, sparked attacks on mosques and schools. In 2006, the government proposed to ban public wearing of face veils (Burqa), although this was not put into effect. But it further exacerbated poor relations between the communities. One newly formed political party - the Partij voor de Vrijheid (Freedom party) which has an exclusively anti-Muslim agenda, and has nine seats in parliament - campaigns for a change in the constitution to embody Judea-Christianity and Humanism only. The leader, Geert Wilders, has produced a vehemently anti-Muslim film, *Fitna*⁸; another - the Trots op Nederland (Proud of the Netherlands) - has an anti-immigration agenda; it has not yet contested a general election, but polls suggest it would receive 10% of the votes, or more.

A survey in 2003 found that nearly three-quarters of Moroccans felt there was discrimination, although only 37% had been personally discriminated against (Dagevos et al. cited in Demant et al. 2007). It is against this background that one can

⁸ The maker of the film stated: ' My aim with the film is to show the people who watch the film that indeed the Islam and the Quran are part of a fascist ideology that wants to kill everything we stand for in a modern Western democracy,'

understand the impact of an Islamic teacher Suhayb Salam from Tilburg, son of an Imam in Tilburg, who according to a journalist Patrick Pouw⁹ stated that "We learned that all infidels were enemies of Allah, that everybody who didn't follow Islam is an enemy of Allah. We heard that sincere love for Allah means that we must hate his enemies, and must see them as our enemies. That was nothing less than an obligation." There is evidence also of considerable hostility to the Muslim population among native Dutch: according to a poll conducted in 2006, 63% of Dutch citizens felt that Islam is incompatible with modern European life.¹⁰

⁹ Patrick Pouw (2008)..

¹⁰ <http://www.angus-reid.com/polls/view/12143>

b. France

The situation in France is similar to that of the Netherlands, though there is much less hard data available because of the conscious decision to deny all difference in data collection.

Socio-economic inequalities. Data is not collected by religion or ethnicity for France so one has to rely on piecemeal evidence. Muslims in France (largely from north Africa) are estimated to account for perhaps 4 million people, or around 6% of the total population. The Muslim population is concentrated in low-income housing around the major cities, and there is evidence of discrimination in housing allocations (Simon, 1998). Educational attainments are worse for the Muslim population than the native population, with more repeat years, higher dropout rates, lower attainments in examinations, less attendance at high school and fewer diplomas. According to a report on Muslims in the EU, French Muslims have higher unemployment than native French and more difficulties in finding long-term fulltime employment (Viprey 2002). A study by the University of Paris sending out CVs in response to an advertisement for a salesman found that person from north Africa had five times less chance of getting a positive reply (EUMC).

Cultural inequalities. Like the Netherlands, all national holidays are Christian or national. But in the public sector leave of absence may be granted to attend the three major festivals. However, the issue of the headscarf has created periodic controversy with schools expelling children for wearing them. The current compromise is that conspicuous religious symbols are not allowed – which de facto is discriminatory to the extent that the headscarf is increasingly regarded as an essential element of being a Muslim female, whereas for Christians small crosses are as good as large ones, while one Minister stated that the policy would not apply to Jewish yarmulke. A Muslim woman, married to a Frenchman, who speaks French and has three children born in France, was denied citizenship on the grounds that her ‘radical’ practice of Islam is incompatible with French values (Reported in *Herald Tribune*, July 12-13th 2008).

Political Inequalities There is no Muslim representation in parliament, though there are a number of Muslim candidates. At the cabinet level, the first Muslim minister

was appointed in 2005, and in 2007 Sarkozy appointed three Muslim cabinet ministers.

The riots of 2005 were widely viewed as being of ethnic and/or religious nature, a protest against unequal treatment and particularly high unemployment. Despite this, some evidence suggests French Muslims are more ‘at home’ in France than Muslims elsewhere in Europe. For example, 42% of Muslims regard themselves as French first and Muslim second, whereas in the UK only 7% think of themselves as British first and 81% think of themselves as Muslim first and in Germany it’s 13% and 66% (see Figure Nine below). Yet more French Muslims report having had a bad personal experience (37%) than in Britain (28%), or Germany (19%).¹¹

c. *The United Kingdom*

The Muslim population in the United Kingdom is largely composed of immigrants, and their descendants, from Bangladesh and Pakistan, who together accounted for only 2% of the total population in 2001, a figure which is estimated to rise to 2.5% by 2010. Like Muslims elsewhere in Europe the group faces multiple deprivations relative to most of the rest of the population, including immigrants from India.

The Equality Commission Review¹² documents the systematic deprivations of Muslims in Britain. As they state:

‘The emergence of British Muslims as a group who are widely recognised to be systematically disadvantaged predates any concern about security. Muslims account for a disproportionate number of people living in areas of multiple deprivation: more than two in three Bangladeshis and more than half of all Pakistanis live in areas in the bottom decile for deprivation.’ (Equality Commission Review, 2007: 35).

In more detail, the Equality Commission Review reports on *socio-economic inequalities*:

¹¹ Pew Global Attitudes Project, 2006a.

¹² Equalities Commission, 2007.

- With respect to employment, the net earnings of Bangladeshi males were reported as just half those of white males (p 25; Interim Report); Pakistanis and Bangladeshis faced ‘no serious employment penalty compared to Whites in the 1970s, but by the mid 1990s their employment penalty had risen to 13%¹³’; and this was greater for women (24 to 35%) (p 54; Interim Report);
- Deprivation is evident in education at every level of education. For example, Pakistani and Bangladeshi rates of attainments in language and literacy at an early age were 57% of those of whites; their home learning environments were reported as worse than whites for each of three economic status groups; their achievement of 5-GSEs was three quarters of that of whites for boys and a bit higher for girls; and they were underrepresented in higher education. However, there is evidence of some catch-up in recent years (Hills, Sefton and Stewart 2009).
- With respect to health, Bangladeshis reported ‘not good’ health at a rate of 1.74 times that of all England and Wales, and Pakistanis at a rate of 1.81. (Equality Commission Review: 75). The IMR of Pakistanis has been reported to be 8.6 compared with an overall rate of 4.9.¹⁴ Bangladeshis and Pakistanis with heart diseases are less likely to have undergone bypass or angioplasty procedures than the population on average.¹⁵

On *political* HIs,

- In 2005, less than 2.3% of members of parliament were from ethnic minority groups (who account altogether for about 10% of the population); and ethnic minorities accounted for less than 4% of local councillors (Equality Commission: 98).
- Pakistanis and Bangladeshis in Britain are ten times more likely to be victims of crime than Whites; 5% of prisoners are Asian (compared with a share of the total population of just over 3%); and rates of police stop and search are higher for all ethnic minority groups than for whites.¹⁶

¹³ The employment penalty is the difference in percentage employment in relation to population of working age between a particular group and that of whites, the most advantaged group.

¹⁴ Frances Harrison, ‘Muslim Faith Behind Bars’ BBC Report, 12 October 2007.

¹⁵ Association of Public Health Observatories (2005). Indications of Public Health in English Regions 4: Ethnicity. Cited in (2007). Fairness and freedom : the final report of the Equalities Review. London, Equalities Review.

¹⁶ Ibid: 84.

- Ethnic minorities generally are underrepresented in the judiciary and legal system; over 30% of ethnic minorities surveyed perceive the judiciary as treating minorities less well than whites (Ibid, p 84).

As far as cultural status HIs are concerned, all official UK holidays are Christian or secular, but Muslims are represented at national events (like Armistice Day or a Royal wedding). Limited (but growing) concessions are made to the requirements of Islam – such as places for prayer at work. Islamic dress is generally permitted but there is controversy over the Burqa with Jack Straw, leader of the House of Commons, stating that he found the Burqa "a visible statement of separation and difference" and he preferred his constituents not to wear it when consulting him, causing considerable controversy.¹⁷

Muslims in Britain also frequently confront prejudice in their daily lives.

I'm getting bullied at school. People in the neighbourhood are calling my family "terrorists" and say, "Go back to your own country." I'm worried they'll start saying these things at school. Muslim boys are getting beaten up at school.

– Fatima (aged 9) (From Equalities Commission).

A survey conducted by the Equalities Commission found that 35% of a random sample of the British population surveyed sometimes feel prejudiced. And nearly half reported that media coverage of Muslims was mainly negative.

The Pew Global Attitudes survey found rather similar attitudes towards Muslims, with 63% of the population reporting a generally favourable view in 2006 and 71% of British Muslims having a generally favourable view of British Christians. But nonetheless, nearly half of non-Muslims thought Muslims were fanatical and one third thought they were violent; however, over half of non-Muslims in Britain thought British Muslims were devout and honest. Turning to Muslim views of non-Muslims, over half British Muslims thought Westerners were violent, 63% felt they were

¹⁷ CNN, Veil: British papers back Straw. POSTED: 1312 GMT (2112 HKT), October 7, 2006

greedy, 57% that they were immoral and 44% that they were fanatical. But over half thought they were generous and 48% thought they were tolerant (Pew Global Attitudes, 2006b).

Above I have selected just three countries in Europe. Similar findings would probably emerge from other European countries, such as Germany, with its large and underprivileged Turkish population, and Denmark where the Muslim population has been subject to attack from the infamous cartoons, which represent a strong anti-Muslim strand in the Danish population. However, in policy terms, a noteworthy exception is the Spanish Zapatero government which ‘granted amnesty to a swathe of illegal (mainly Moroccan) immigrants in 2004 shortly after his election and the Madrid bombings’.¹⁸

2. HIs faced by Muslim communities in Asia

South Asian countries include some where Muslims account for almost the entire population (Bangladesh and Pakistan); some where they form a considerable majority – Indonesia and Malaysia; some where they are a significant minority – India; and some where they form a smallish minority (Philippines, Thailand, China). Where Muslims consist of almost the whole population, the issue of HIs with non-Muslims does not arise and these countries are not considered further here; where they are in a majority, political and cultural status HIs favour them and this can be used to advance their socio-economic position. The most problematic situation is where they are in a minority and suffer consistent HIs across political, socio-economic and cultural status dimensions.

a. Malaysia

In Malaysia, the indigenous Malay community is almost exclusively Muslim; non-Malay indigenous groups are around 50% Muslim, the remainder being mostly Christian or animist. Together, these indigenous groups (Bumiputera) form around two-thirds of the population. The Chinese (24% of the population) are mainly either Christian or Buddhist, and the Indian population (6.5%) are mainly Hindus, with sizeable Muslim and Christian minorities¹⁹. In 1970, Bumiputera incomes were less

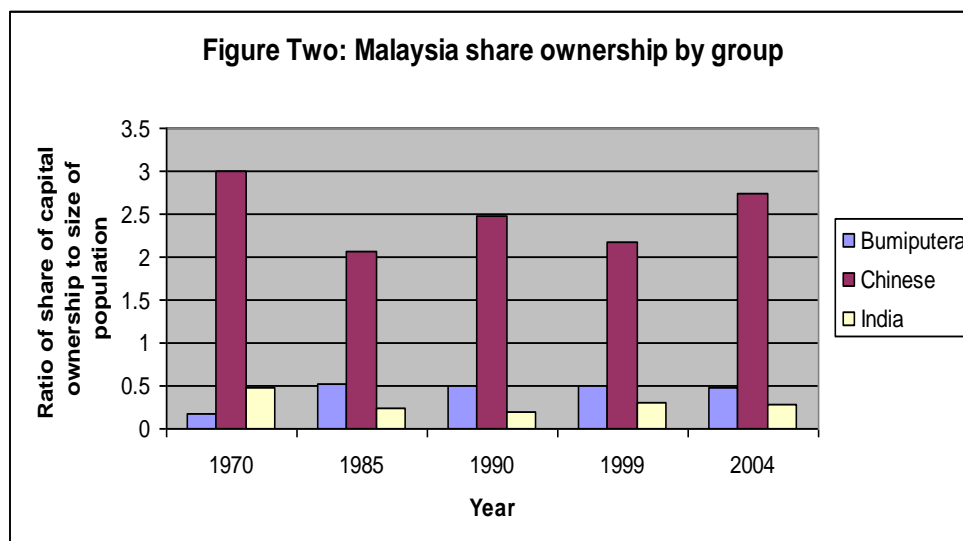
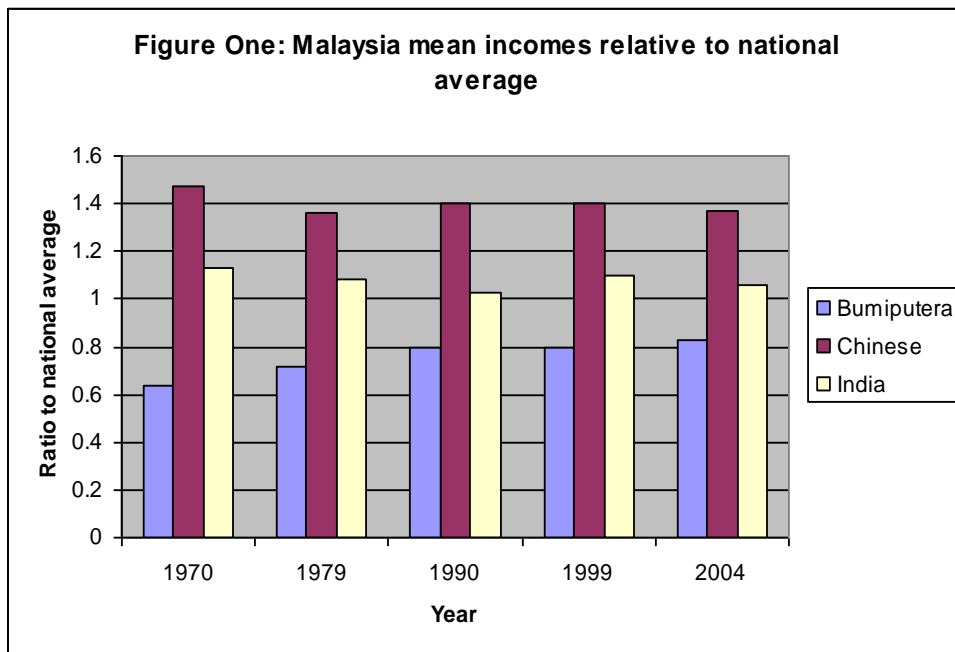
¹⁸ Personal communication from Mansoob Murshed.

¹⁹ The Indian population is notably heterogeneous. Historically, Indians fell into two broad groups - those who staffed the colonial bureaucracy, who were relatively well educated, English speaking and often Christian - and mainly Tamil-speaking, mainly Hindu, plantation workers. Although both groups

than half those of the Chinese and about 55% of average Indian incomes. The gap in capital ownership was even more extreme. There were similar discrepancies in education. In 1970, there were almost no Malay professionals (0.08% of the population, compared with over 2% of the Chinese population), but this gap too has been significantly reduced, although both Chinese and Indians have significantly more professionals in relation to the population than Malays. With the Bumiputera dominating government, there were strong policies to improve the position of the Malays, yet a considerable gap remained even in 2004 as Figures One and Two illustrate.

A survey of perceptions shows that more of the Chinese and Indians believe that government, the police and civil service are dominated by certain groups than do Malays and that they face discrimination (CRISE Perceptions Survey, Malaysia, 2008). For example, 61% of Chinese and 69% of Indians felt the national government was dominated by a particular ethnic group, compared with 31% of Malays. But when it comes to trade and business, the situation is reversed with respect to the Malays/Chinese, although the Indians remain the group with much the largest proportion believing there is domination. These perceptions broadly reflect the reality. In the case of Malaysia, because of the strong overlap between 'racial' and religious differences, it is difficult to differentiate between attitudes about these two types of identity. In fact, answers to the question of whether their own group was favoured or discriminated against by the government got very similar answers whether one classified the group by race or by religion.

have diversified their socio-economic roles in the post-colonial era, this significant stratification of the community has endured. Overall, the Indian community remains significantly richer than the Bumiputera, but there remains an underclass of poorer Indians.



Source: Malaysia: Government of Malaysia, successive Plans, Putrajaya: Economic Planning Unit

b Indonesia.

In Indonesia, Muslims account for over 84% of the population, with most of the remainder Christian (Protestant 7.6%, Roman Catholic 4.2%) according to the 2000 census. Muslim incomes, on average are quite substantially below all other groups apart from the small Hindu population. Given the political and demographic dominance, these differences are normally not provocative – but there were attacks on the Christian Chinese during economic crisis (in the late 1990s). Moreover, while Muslims have been politically dominant at the national level, in some areas of the archipelago where colonial Christianization took hold more strongly, Christian groups

have also played an important role historically. Amid rapid and extensive decentralization in the post-Suharto era, competition for political and economic power at the local level fed into extensive Christian/Muslim violence in Ambon, North Maluku, and Central Sulawesi (which also involved ethnic differences).

Table 1: Income HIs in Indonesia

	Share of population, %	Ratio of income per capita to Muslim income
Muslims	83.6	1 [1.04]
Catholics	7.6	1.58 [1.29]
Protestants	4.2	1.50 [1.25]
Hindus	3.0	0.97 [1.17]
Buddhists	1.3	1.61 [0.93]

Source: Calculated from the 1995 Inter-Censal Survey (SUPAS) data

Bracketted figures = coefficient of variation

In Indonesia broadly the same proportion of the population think that religious background affects chances generally as think ethnic background does. There is not much difference between Christians and Buddhists on views of favouritism, discrimination etc. although mostly Christians believe there is more favouritism, discrimination and domination than Muslims. (CRISE Perceptions Survey, Indonesia: 2008). This may reflect the numerical preponderance of Muslims.

c. India

In 2001, Muslims accounted for 13.4% of the Indian population. This population represents Muslims, and their descendants, who remained in India, after 1947, and did not move to Pakistan. The history of partition (involving massive flight and murder) forms a backdrop to current events, as does the political enmities between Pakistan and India.²⁰ Muslims in India experience multiple HIs:

- *Education.* Educational differences between Muslims and Hindus in India persisted throughout the twentieth century Deolilakir (2008). Average years of completed schooling among Muslim literacy rates in 2001 were 59%

²⁰ See Murshed and Mamoon (2007).

compared with an all India rate of 65%.²¹ A Committee of Enquiry into the condition of Muslims (the Sachar Committee, henceforth Government of India 2006) concluded: Muslims 'are at a double disadvantage with low levels of education combined with low quality education' (Government of India 2006: 50).

- *Employment.* Overall Muslims are more likely to be engaged in self-employment and much less likely to have regular salaried jobs (especially in the government or large public and private sector enterprises) (Government of India 2006). Regular workers are considerably less likely to have a written contract or to receive monthly salaries or social security benefits. Muslim regular employees receive lower daily salary earnings in both public sector and private sector jobs. (Govt. of India 2006). They also face worse access to bank credit.
- *Poverty.* Muslim and Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes (SCs/STs) have been persistently the most disadvantaged groups in terms of headcount poverty from 1987-2005, with respect to both rural and urban poverty. In 2004-5 for example, the Muslim poverty rate was 43% compared with a rate of 27% for all Hindus.
- However, Muslim *infant and child mortality rates* are *better* than Hindus – an unexpected finding given the worse educational and economic situation. This has been attributed to different behavioural patterns, although as Deolalikar comments, the reason why there is this advantage 'is a question that needs further exploration' (Deolalikar 2008: 6).
- *Political inequalities.* There is abundant evidence of political inequalities between Muslims and Hindus. In the Indian parliament, the Lok Sabha, Muslim representation was 4.7% in 1957, 6.3% in 1977, in 1971, 5.3% in 1991, and 6.6% in 2004 (Ansari 2006), in comparison with a population share of over 13%. There was also underrepresentation in State Assemblies (Ansari 2006). One reason for the political inequalities is the very low representation of Muslims on the central committees of the major political parties (Rab 1998).

²¹ Scheduled castes and tribes – among the Hindus – also face multiple deprivations and are generally worse off than Muslims as a group (Government of India 2006).

Muslims also face cultural inequalities, sometimes coming to a head with physical attacks on mosques. The conflicts between Muslim and Hindus in India (periodically violent) have occurred over the centuries since the Moghul invasion that introduced Islam to India in the 17 century. These are undoubtedly engineered for political purposes, but prevalent HIs make it easy to mobilise popular support for such conflicts.²²

d. China.

There is very little data on the socio-economic position of Muslims in China who account for an estimated 1-2% of the total population or around 20 million people, in several ethnic groups, including Hui (largely Mandarin speaking), and Dongxiang and Uigur (Turkic speaking). Their religion is officially recognised, but strictly controlled. Chinese education is moving to the exclusive use of Mandarin, which particularly disadvantages those children who do not speak Mandarin at home. Data on educational performance show relative disadvantage, with the extent varying among ethnic groups. The Mandarin speaking Hui accounting for over a third of the total are least disadvantaged, followed by the Uigur (almost as populous), with the Donxiangs (only 5% of the total Muslims) severely disadvantaged. There are also qualitative educational disadvantages because of the language issue.

²² See Brass 2003; Wilkinson 2004.

Table 2: Enrolment rates by population group in China, from 200 census, % of age group

<i>Muslims in China, ethnic group</i>	No-school	Primary	Secondary	Tertiary
Hui	15.6	84.4	44.9	4.1
Dongxiang	58.0	42.0	8.4	0.4
Uigur	8.8	91.2	35.3	2.7
<i>Chinese</i>	7.3	92.7	53.4	3.9

Source: Andrew Fischer: presentation to CRISE, Oxford, April 2008.

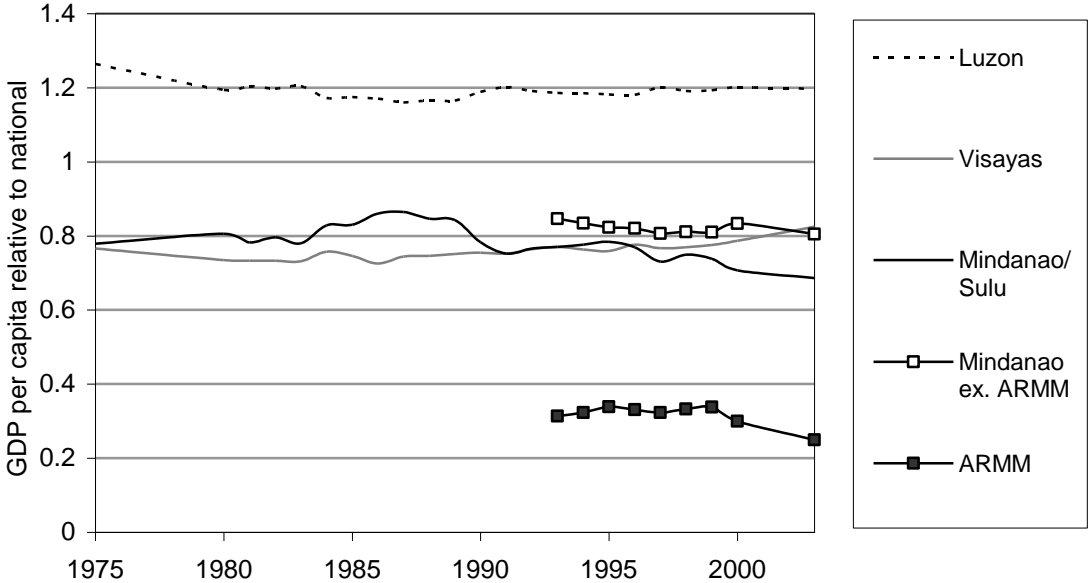
e. Philippines and Thailand

Muslims in the Philippines account for about 5% of the total population, but a much larger proportion of Mindanao region – around 20% today, which represent a sharp drop over the last 100 years largely due to immigration, encouraged by the state, from the rest of the Philippines. Likewise, in Thailand, the Muslim population forms a similar small proportion of the total Thai population (4.6%), but a much larger proportion in the Southern region (28% in 2000).(Data from CIA and Brown, 2008).

In both these countries, as pointed out by Brown (2008), the Muslim populations are doubly disadvantaged: first, the regions in which they are located have lower per capita incomes (and growth rates) than the rest of the country; and secondly within the region of concentration, the Muslim population does less well than the rest of the population.

In the Philippines, Mindanao as a whole has been consistently below the national average in terms of GDP per capita, and particularly below Luzon (Figure Three). Within Mindanao, the five provinces in the autonomous region of Muslim Mindanao (ARRM) socio-economic performance is worst of all the Philippines (Figure One). Within Mindanao the relative educational levels achieved by Muslim and Christian population have worsened consistently since the outbreak of conflict. Land registration procedures have also favoured the local Christian population and many Moro were displaced from their traditional lands (Brown, 2008).

Figure Three: Economic performance of Mindanao relative to national performance



Source: Brown (2008: 269).

Within Southern Thailand, Muslims are disadvantaged relative to Buddhists. For example, in 1987 (the only year for which there are data of this kind), Buddhist males had 1.68 times the years education of Muslim males; and the discrepancy in household assets was 1.17 (Brown, 2008: 273).

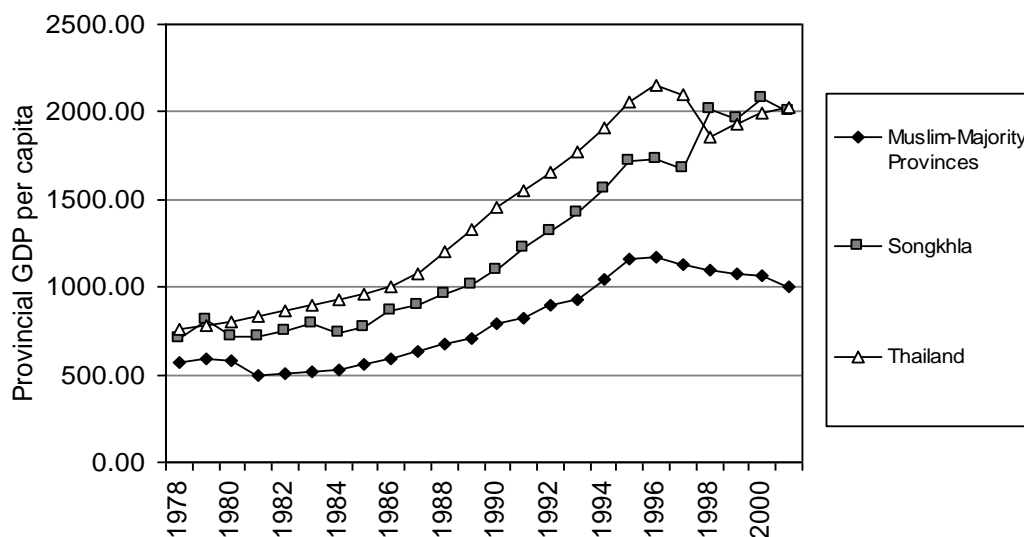
Table 3 Philippines, ARMM – Socioeconomic indicators, 2000

	Incidence of poverty (%), 2000	Per capita income (PPP US\$), 2000	Life expectancy at birth, 1997	Human Development Index	Rank (out of 77)
Maguindanao	36.2	1,306	53.2	0.431	73
Lanao del Sur	48.1	1,250	56.0	0.425	74
Basilan	63.0	1,077	59.8	0.420	75
Tawi-Tawi	75.3	1,218	50.4	0.378	76
Sulu	92.0	1,027	51.9	0.311	77

Source: Brown (2008: 268), from HDN and UNDP (2002)

In Thailand, the Southern region where the Muslim population is concentrated also shows worse economic performance than the rest of the country (Figure Four).

Figure Four: Economic performance of Muslim-majority provinces relative to Thailand as a whole



Source: Brown (2008: 272)

There is quite a strong similarity in the position of Muslims in the Philippines and Thailand relative to the rest of the population. Both form small minorities living in poor regions and facing HIs relative to the rest of the population within their region as well. In both cases, there has been violent opposition –stronger in the Philippines, more sporadic in Thailand. In both cases, the rebels seek greater political autonomy, and/or complete separatism.

3. HIs faced by Muslims in West Africa.

In West Africa, like Asia, the demographic position of Muslims varies. In some countries Muslims form a significant minority (Benin, Cameroon, Côte d’Ivoire and Ghana), in Nigeria they account for about half the population and in Niger and Mali they dominate the population as shown in table 4. In general they are concentrated in the North of each country, so that data on regional inequalities gives some guide to Muslim/other HIs.

Table 4: Muslim population size in West Africa.

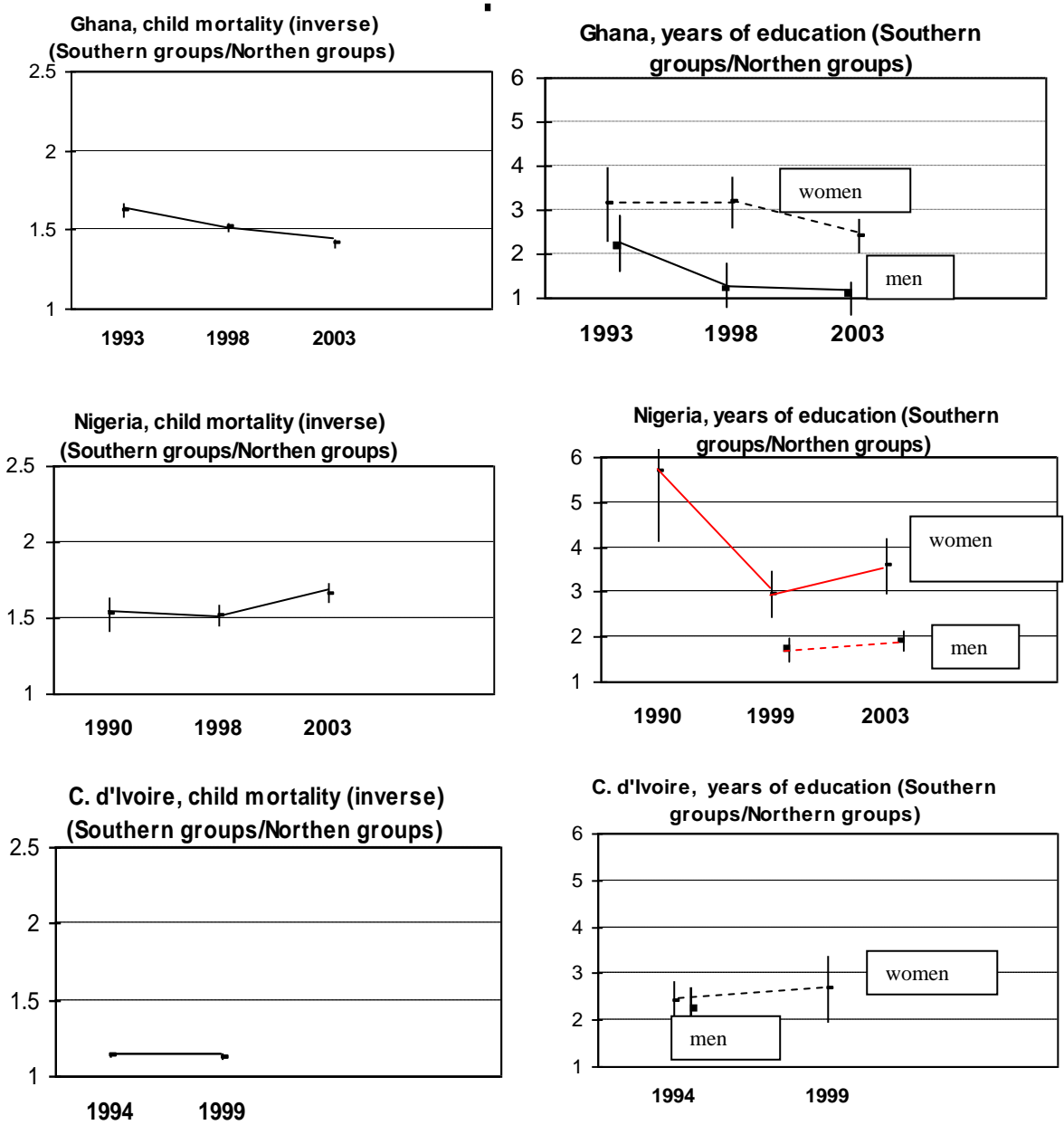
Country	% Muslim population
Benin	24
Cameroon	20
Chad	53
Côte d’Ivoire	35-40
Ghana	16
Mali	90
Niger	80
Nigeria	50

Source CIA World Factbook.

In the case of Côte d’Ivoire, Ghana²³ and Nigeria, all socio-economic indicators are worse in the north of the country (Figure Five). For Benin (Table 5), while education indicators (literacy and school attendance) are worse in all four Northern regions than the national average, and income per head is worse in three, life expectancy is as good or better, possibly reflecting lower rates of HIV/AIDs among Muslim populations. Data on height differences show Northern disadvantage in Cameroon, Chad and Côte d’Ivoire (Moradi and Baten, 2005).

²³ In Ghana, Muslims are a minority in the North.

Figure Five. Horizontal Inequalities between North and South in three West African countries



Source: calculations by Luca Mancini, derived from DHS data.

Table 5: Regional Disparities in Benin

4 most Northern regions as a ratio to national average	Literacy	Level of schooling attained	Income per head	Life expectancy
Atacora	0.63	0.78	0.71	1.0
Donga	0.63	0.78	0.76	1.0
Alibora	0.61	0.68	0.85	1.13
Borgou	0.61	0.68	1.13	1.06

Source: *Rapport sur le Développement Humain au Bénin 2003*, UNDP Cotonou.

While there is generally economic and social disadvantage among Muslims, the situation with respect to political and cultural status varies strongly with demography as well as national attitudes and practices. Thus in the majority states, Muslim cultural and political status is generally good. But in the minority states, there is considerable variation. There is a contrast, for example, between Ghana and Côte d’Ivoire –in Ghana there is a culture of inclusion both politically and in relation to general status; but in Côte d’Ivoire, in recent years Northerners have been excluded politically and culturally – indeed this is thought to be a major reason for the outbreak of civil war in 2002 (Langer 2005).

There is a noteworthy contrast in attitudes between Ghana and Nigeria – two countries covered by the CRISE Perceptions Survey.²⁴ On average, the population as a whole sees less ethnic discrimination or favouritism in Ghana than in Nigeria. But in Ghana – where Muslims form a fairly small minority - a substantially larger proportion of Muslims think that religion affects the chances of getting government jobs, contracts and housing than Christians, whereas in Nigeria (with a majority Muslim) it is more Christians than Muslims who think religion affects these things. In both countries, however, ethnicity is regarded as more important than religion in this respect. (CRISE Perceptions Survey, Ghana and Nigeria 2008; Langer and Ukiwo 2008).

²⁴ It should be noted that the CRISE Surveys are not nationally representative, but are random samples of population in specified regions of each country.

4. Inequalities between countries.

For states where Muslims form all or nearly all the population – which of course includes North Africa and the Middle East - relevant inequalities are those between countries rather than within them.

If we take all countries in which Muslims dominate and contrast them with all countries where other religions (or non-religions) dominate, including Christians, Hindus, Buddhists and secularists, there is a clear and large gap favouring non-Muslims. But there are very big differences within each of these categories: for example, many poor countries are in the non-Muslim group (e.g. Malawi, Nepal, Bolivia); and there are some successful countries in the Muslim group, for example Malaysia, Kuwait, Saudi Arabia, Turkey. Nonetheless, connections among the Muslim group of countries may be sufficiently strong for the more successful countries (like the more successful people within national groups) to feel shared grievance with the less successful ones. This is especially likely where the countries share the same subset of Muslim beliefs – e.g. among Sunni populations and among Shiite populations.²⁵ Such support may come at the national political level (e.g. via public rhetoric and meetings by political leaders, aid flows and overt military support); or at sub-national level, in a variety of more informal ways (money flows, people and skills, arms and training).

This section provides evidence on two types of international inequality: that between Muslim countries as a group and all others; and that between Israel and Palestine. Each of these divisions appear potentially to generate shared grievances and consequent incentives for mobilisation.

a. All Muslim countries compared with non-Muslim

Both categories of country are obviously very heterogeneous, in terms of HDI ranging from Norway to Burundi in the non-Muslim category and United Arab Emirates to Guinea Bissau among the majority Muslim states. Average per capita incomes of the states where a majority of the population is Muslim are just 44% of those of the non-Muslim countries, and under five mortality rates are almost twice as high (Table 6). There is great heterogeneity in each group, shown by a high standard deviation.

²⁵ The significance of the Sunni/Shiite differences is an issue which deserves more careful consideration. The doctrinal differences are not all that great, yet it seems at times, as in Iraq, that the differences can gain considerable political salience.

However, the proportion of countries in the high-HD category is much lower for Muslim countries and the proportion in the low-HD category much higher than for non-Muslim (see Figure Six).

There is also a clear imbalance in political power. As indicators of this, Table 6 shows how much greater non-Muslim countries' power is by comparing membership of the Security Council, voting rights at the IMF, and military expenditure. By each measure, the Muslim countries fall well below the non-Muslim, including when calculating these in relation to population shares, or numbers of countries.

Table 6: Comparative performance of Muslim and non-Muslim countries

	Muslim countries ^a , average ^b performance	Non-Muslim countries average performance	Ratio of Muslim to non-Muslim
Under 5 mortality, 1970	200 [89.5]	105 [81.5]	1.9
Under 5 mortality, 2005	100 [80.3]	46 [55.5]	2.18
Growth rate, per capita income, 1975-2005	0.1 [2.4]	1.5 [2.3]	0.07
Per capita income, 2005, PPP \$	5,470 [6,493]	12,497 12,019]	0.44
Membership of Security Council, total	3/17 (no permanent)	12/17 (including all permanent)	0.25
Representation in relation to share of world population	0.12	0.16	0.75
Representation in relation to no. of countries	0.09	0.18	0.5
% of IMF voting rights	11.8	88.2	0.13
% of IMF voting rights in relation to population share	0.47	1.18	0.4
Share of world military expenditure	7.7%	92.3%	0.08
Share of world military expenditure in relation to share of world population	0.31	1.23	0.25

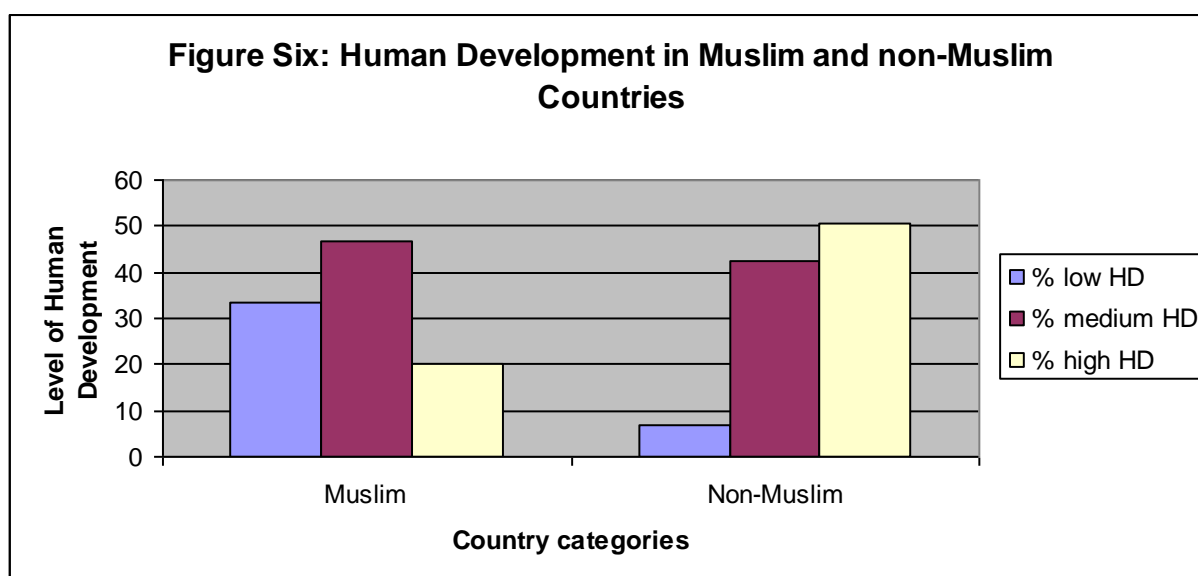
Source: UNDP, Human Development Report statistics; IMF:

<http://www.imf.org/external/np/sec/memdir/members.htm>. UN Security Council:

<http://www.un.org/sc/members.asp>; Wikipedia:

http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/List_of_countries_by_military_expenditures

- a. Defined as any country with 50% or more of population classified as Muslim according to CIA FactBook. Standard deviations are in square brackets.
- b. Country averages, not weighted by population.



Source: Data from HDRO Statistics, UNDP.

b. Israel/Palestine

The large inequalities between Israel and Palestine are well known.²⁶ Table 7 provides some indicators of socio-economic HIs. There are also, evidently, political HIs, since Palestine is not internationally recognised as an independent state (and indeed, even if it were, lacks power).

²⁶ There are also inequalities between Jews and Muslims within Israel – for example, the infant mortality rate among Moslems is double that among Jews. ‘Arabs in Israel are a heterogeneous but largely underprivileged minority with a history of disadvantage in several domains, including education and employment.’ Okun and Friedlander, 2005: 163.

Table 7: Inequalities between Israel and Palestine

	Israel	Palestine	Ratio I/P
GNI per capita, 2006	\$18,850	\$1,230	15.3
GDP p. capita growth rate, 1990-2006	1.5%	- 2.8%	
Telephones per 1000, 2005	155	39	4.0
Unemployment rate	7.6% (2007)	34.8%(Gaza, 2006) 18.6% (West Bank (2006)	0.21 (Gaza) 0.41 (West Bank)
Poverty rate	21.6 % (2005) (Poverty line = \$7.30 per day or 2.4 times Palestinians average per capita income	80% ^a (2007), Gaza 67% ^{ab} (2007) , West Bank	Na since poverty lines differ.
Infant mortality rate, per 1000 live births	4	20	0.25

Source: UNICEF State of the World's Children, 2008: New York, UNICEF

b. <http://palestinemonitor.org>

c. CIA estimate is 46%.

Overview of evidence

This section has shown that HIs adverse to Muslims are very widespread – within countries in the North and South; between non-Muslim countries as a group and Muslim countries; and between Israel and Palestine, a particularly politically salient division. It should be noted, however, that there are a few countries (not discussed

above) where Muslim incomes are greater than non-Muslims, notably Egypt and Sudan. In countries where Muslims form a minority, there are generally political and cultural status inequalities too, which, in many cases, have led to violent unrest. In contrast, in countries where Muslims form a majority, the economic inequalities are compensated for by political power and cultural status favouring the Muslim group, which tend to reduce the propensity for socio-economic HIs to lead to political mobilisation. Internationally, the socio-economic HIs are accompanied by political inequalities, as indicated by such data as membership of the security council (and especially permanent membership), voting rights at the IMF and the distribution of military expenditure.

Yet important questions remain unanswered. First, if these inequalities are to lead to any sort of world wide mobilisation, then Muslims world-wide must have some shared identity and shared perceptions of grievance despite the considerable heterogeneity of Muslim populations and their geographical spread. It is impossible to prove this is the case. All I can do is present some suggestive evidence of two kinds. First, evidence of global connections among Muslims across geographic distance; and secondly, evidence of shared perceptions of identity. The next section briefly describes the many global links that Muslims have; this is followed by some evidence on shared perceptions.

4. Global connections

There is a vast mass of evidence of global connections among different Islamic communities. The direction of some of the major connections are illustrated in Figure Six. Six types of connection are distinguished: family connections, involving a range of communications, marriages, and remittances; education and training, in which people travel globally to Asia, the Middle East and to Europe to attend a variety of educational institutions; financial connections (outside the family ones), with finance (and aid) crossing borders, much going from the Middle East, notably Saudi Arabia and Kuwait, to developing countries; the Hajj pilgrimage which takes millions to Mecca; global civil (including religious) and political institutions; and most recently media, and internet connections. While all these connections enhance a shared Muslim identity, the connections are multilayered, and the links occur among different groups of people, according to context – including importantly, differences

among religious subsets of Islam – Sunnis, Shia, different *madhabs* within them, Sufism and different Sufi orders, liberals and radicals, and so on²⁷; as well as differences in economic activities and, interests, needs and education. The connections are neither unidirectional nor monolithic. Nonetheless, together the links are very large in number – some of which touch most Muslims in one way or another. It's not possible here to catalogue all these connections, but I will simply provide a few illustrations.

1. *Family connections and remittances.* Most Muslims in the industrialised countries are recent origin migrants and consequently most have family connections, communicating with their families frequently, visiting them periodically, often going home to find a spouse or sending for one, and sending money home. For example, in the Netherlands, over 50% of native-Dutch with Turkish or Moroccan backgrounds brought spouses from the country of origin of their parents (CBS 2005). Consequently, the family at both ends of the chain are aware of the conditions faced at the other end. Some data are available on remittances. For example, Spanish immigrants are estimated to have sent over 8b euros home in 2007.²⁸ Bangladesh received over \$600 million in remittances from expatriate workers in November 2007 roughly equivalent to 5% of a whole year's exports. The Deputy Governor of the Bangladesh Bank reported that "We received all-time high remittances in November as the expatriates have sent more money to their relatives to enjoy Muslim Eid al-Adha festival".²⁹ In the mid-1980s, Sudan was estimated to receive over \$3 billion a year from family remittances.³⁰

2. *Education and training.* Muslims travel globally to attend schools (madrasahs) in the Middle East and Asia. This, of course, has a long history dating back to the tenth century with the founding of Jami'at al-Qarawiyyin in Fez in Morocco. The first University ever to be established was founded at about the same time in the same city. Al-Azhar, in Cairo, also established at the end of the tenth century and became a

²⁷ See e.g. Sivan 2003 who discusses the divisions between radical Islam and liberals.

²⁸ 'Spain's immigrant remittances soar despite slowdown' 19/03/2008 00:00, 19 March 2008. http://www.expatca.com/es/articles/news/Spain_s-immigrant-remitt

²⁹ Reuters, Jan 1st 2008: <http://in.reuters.com/article/asiaCompanyAndMarkets/idINDHA19219820080101>

³⁰ Prunier and Gisselquist, 2003: 121.

famous centre for education with flourishing global networks dating back to the 17th century (Azyumardi, 2004). A list of prominent people who attended this University in the twentieth century include high up religious leaders in Egypt, Palestine, Eritrea, the Maldives, Malaysia, Spain and the US³¹. While most of this education and training concerns advancing religious understanding, some have also been trained for violence in camps in Afghanistan; and Afghan veterans have joined Islamic groups in Asia, Africa, and the Middle East. 'These fighters are devout Muslims inspired by Islamic scholars and are willing to sacrifice their lives for Islam.' (*Jane's Intelligence Review* - August 01, 2001). One of the leaders of a faction of the Moro rebels in the Philippines had received religious training in Saudi Arabia, military training in Libya, fought in Afghanistan, 1979-1989, and then went to the Philippines (Buendia, 2005: 13). According to American intelligence officials, people from the Uzbecks, Chechens and from the Gulf States have joined the Taliban in Afghanistan. (*Herald Tribune*, July 10, 2008).

3. *Finance and aid.* Institutions include the Islamic Development Bank which is a multilateral development bank established 'to foster the economic development and social progress of its member countries and Muslim communities in non-member countries'. The Bank was founded in 1975, and its headquarters are in Jeddah, Saudi Arabia with branches in Morocco and Malaysia. An offshoot is the International Islamic Trade Finance Corporation established in 2006 aiming to promote trade. Other aid-giving institutions are the Kuwait Fund for Arab and Economic Development, founded in 1961, and the Saudi Fund for Development, established in 1974.

Support has been provided by King Fahd of Saudi Arabia for mosques or Islamic Centres in Europe (6 countries), the US and Canada, Australia and new Zealand ,subSaharan Africa (5 countries), Asia (6 countries), Latin America (3 countries); and for Islamic research centres, academies and academic chairs in 11 countries.³² Saudi finance has also supported political parties (e.g. the Front Islamique de Salut (FIS)

³¹ According to *Wikipedia*.

³² Information from King Fahd bin Abdul Aziz website:
<http://www.kingfahdbinabdulaziz.com/main/m200.htm>

‘received a great deal of Saudi funding’ (Fuller 1996) from Saudi Arabia as well as from Iran (Anderson 1998).

There is a growing number of commercial or semi-commercial Islamic Banks— about 300 are listed by the Institute of Islamic Banking. Some of these are national, but many have strong international links.

Financial support for some armed struggles represents another connection – e.g. it is generally accepted that MILF (Moro Islamic Liberation Front in Mindanao) received funds from Libya that were channelled via the Chief Minister of the state of Sabah³³; and the FIS (Fronte Islamique du Salut) in Algeria received Saudi finance.³⁴

4. *The Hajj*. This annual pilgrimage involves as many as two million people a year. Every Muslim is supposed to go once in a life time. Besides its religious significance, the journey provides an opportunity for confirming a person’s religion and identity and for people to meet other Muslims from across the world.

5. *Global civil and political institutions*. Well known institutions with global connections include the The Organization of the Islamic Conference (OIC) which has 57 country members, and aims ‘to safeguard and project the interests of the Muslim world’³⁵, the Muslim Brotherhood, the World Islamic League, the International Islamic Relief Organisation, the World Assembly of Muslim Youth, the Red Crescent. As Sivan notes, religious leaders also sometimes have legal and/or moral authority across borders. Examples are the Sheik Yusuf al-Qardaw who lives in Qatar and is supreme mufti for the Palestinian Hamas, and another Sheik Ibn Qatada, who is a Palestinian-Jordan living in London as acting as mufti to the Algerian GIA (the Armed Islamic Group) (Sivan, 2003: 29).

6. *The media and internet*. Media connections occur via global TV channels, such as Al Jazeera and Abu Dhabi TV, radio channels (Radio Islam) and numerous websites and diaspora newspapers. The importance of the internet, here as elsewhere, is

³³ McKenna 1998.

³⁴ Fuller (1996); Lloyd (2006).

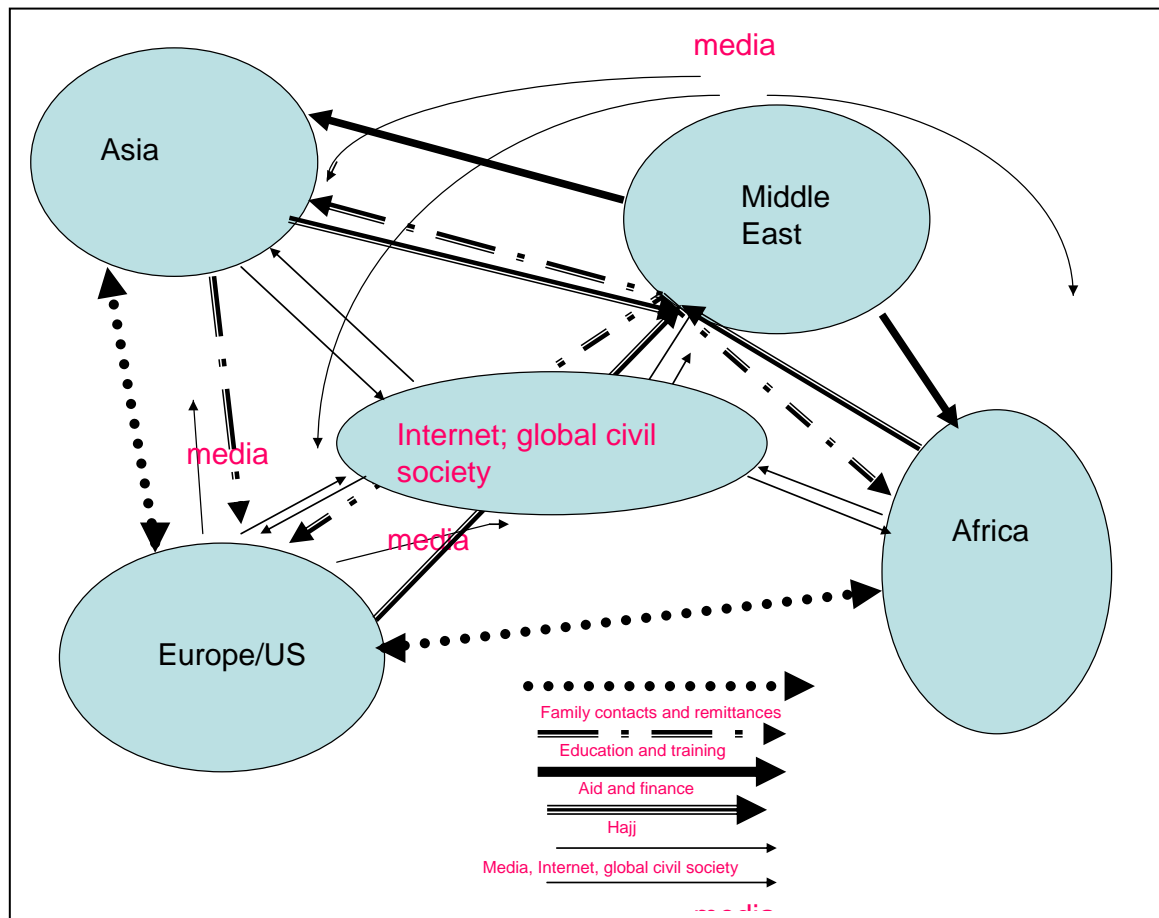
³⁵ Website of the OIC: http://www.oic-oci.org/oicnew/page_detail.asp?p_id=52

growing. Schmidt (2004) discusses its importance in developing Muslim identities among the young in three Western countries. He notes that “the internet can be an effective tool (besides travelling, mobile phones) in the establishment of a transnational Islamic discourse – ‘a reimagined umma(h)’” (Schmidt, 2004: 36). Discussing the protests against the Danish cartoons, Faisal Devji (2006) wrote:

Muslim protesters did not represent some religious tradition that needs to be schooled in the lessons of modern citizenship. Rather their protests brought into being *a hypermodern global community* whose connections occur by way of mass media alone. From the Philippines to Niger, these men and women communicated with each other only indirectly, neither by plan nor organisation, but through the media itself. (My italics)

An example of some of the multiple connections is provided by a recent article by Tahir Abbas, himself a British Muslim, who interviews Moazzam Begg, a second generation British Muslim with a middle class background, who had been detained in Guantanamo Bay (Abbas , 2007). Abbas attributes his radicalism to ‘exclusion, marginalisation, disempowerment, media bias, political rhetoric, far right hostility, perceptions in relation to British and US foreign policy, a lack of appropriate Muslim leadership in Britain and a regressive interpretation of Islam as a reactive rather than a pro-active experience’ (Abbas, 2007: 430).

Figure 7



Inspired by a film, *The Message*, and facing racism in Birmingham, Moazzam began to look to Islam ‘to get rid of the cultural baggage’ (Abbas:432). He met Bosnian Muslims, blond and blue-eyed and ‘felt a great affinity towards them’ (433). In the 1990s he made eight or nine trips to Bosnia, and made financial donations to the Bosnian army. After his bookshop was raided by MI5, and he married a Pakistani woman (through an arranged marriage) he moved to Afghanistan and financed and built a school, shortly before 9/11. When asked about the London bombings, he felt ‘The targeting of individual is wrong and it shouldn’t happen...The overriding factor of the occupation in Iraq and Afghanistan was enough to spur them on to do what they did...it was this idea that it is all one and the same: the struggle in Afghanistan and Iraq and even Britain, that it’s all connected.’ (Abbas, 2007: 436).

5. Some evidence on perceptions

So far the paper has established that Muslims suffer from adverse HIs within and across countries; and that there are manifold global connections linking Muslims across countries. These connections make it likely that grievances in one place will be felt elsewhere – ‘it’s all connected’ as Moazzam stated.

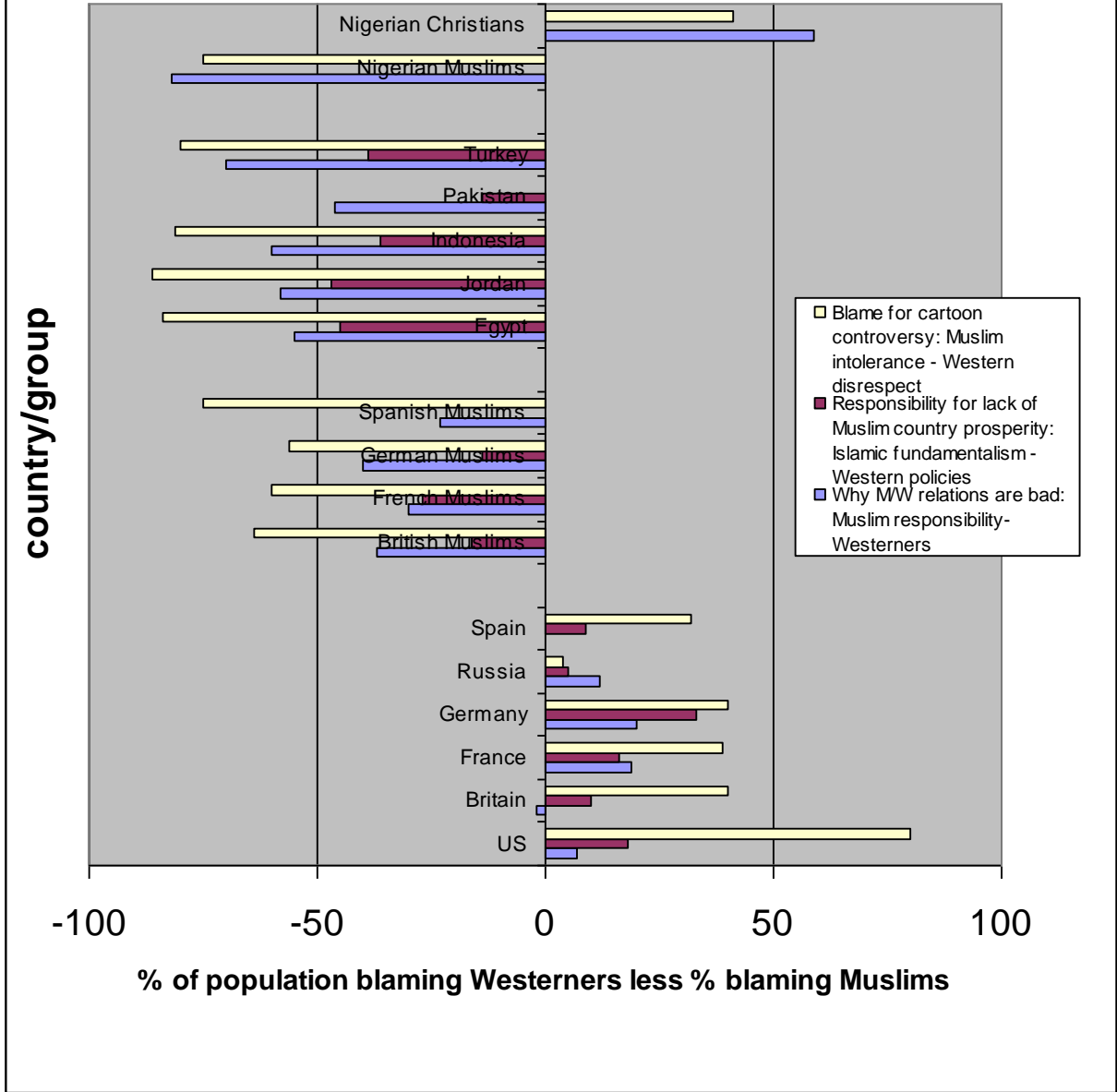
In this section I try and explore how far this feeling of connectedness goes, by reviewing some data on perceptions. Here I can only do a very minimal job, relying on several Pew Trust Surveys of Perceptions carried out both in developed countries and Muslim developing countries, as well as drawing on CRISE perceptions surveys. Within the developed countries – Britain, Spain, France and Germany – the Pew trust surveys elicit views of local Muslims as well as of the general population. What is interesting about the results of these surveys is the *consistency* of views of Muslims in different parts of the world, and the systematic differences in their perceptions as against those of non-Muslims.

This is indicated by the 2006 Pew Survey which showed considerable agreement among Muslims across the world on a range of issues, with quite sharp differences in views between Muslims and others on some questions (Figure 8). This chart presents the *net* views, i.e. the difference in percentage of respondents who attributed issues (bad relations between the West and Muslims, lack of prosperity of Muslim nations, and the cartoon controversy) to features about Muslims or to features about the West. It is worth noting that both groups were quite heterogeneous, the Muslims including Muslims in European countries and in Muslim nations; and the others including Europeans, US citizens and Nigerian Christians. Yet (despite differences in views within each group), there were systematic differences between the two groups. For example, while a majority of respondents agreed that relations between Muslims and the West are bad, a high proportion of Muslims blamed Western people, and the reverse was true of non-Muslims with a considerable proportion blaming Westerners. The difference was most marked among Nigerians: 69% of Christian Nigerians blamed the Muslims and 10% Western people, while in contrast only 1% of Nigerian Muslims blamed Muslims and 83% blamed Western people. When it comes to attributing responsibility for Muslim nations lack of prosperity there was again a systematic difference in views: a third or more of Westerners blamed Islamic

fundamentalism for Muslim nation's lack of prosperity, while the proportion was much lower among *every category* of Muslims, including Muslims in Europe and in developing countries. Again Muslims were more inclined to blame US and Western policies. But views about government corruption, lack of education and lack of democracy as being responsible were broadly shared across all groups.

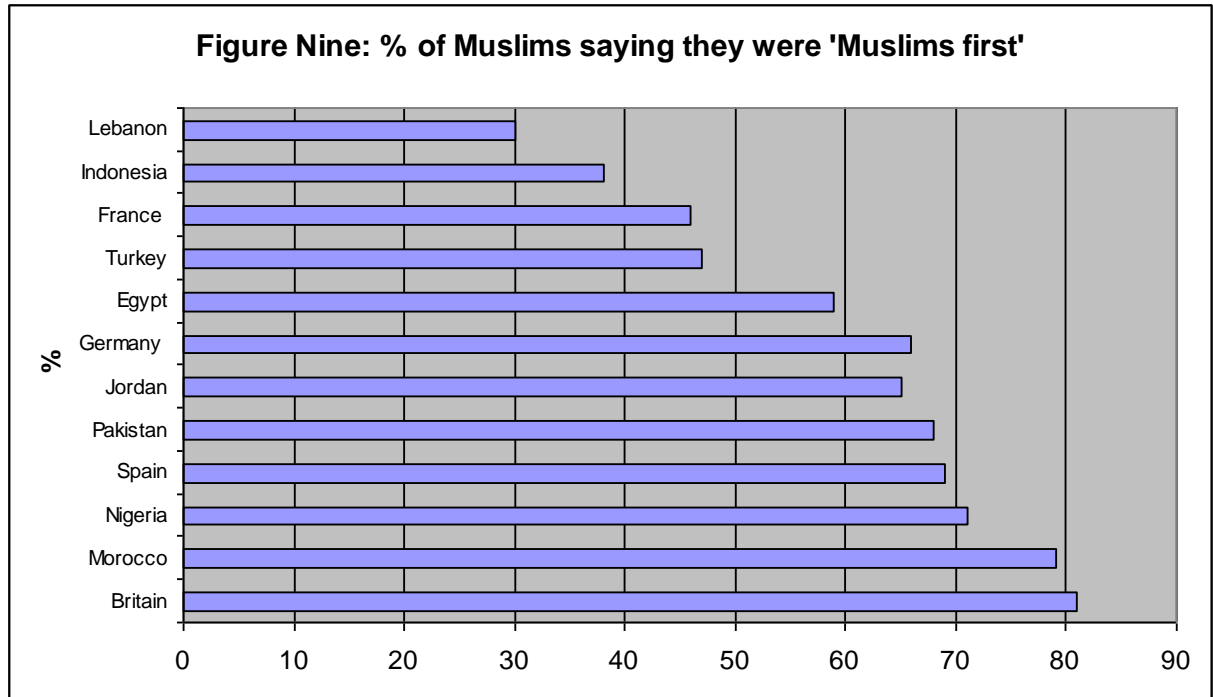
On cultural status inequality, over 70% of each of the Muslim populations blamed Western disrespect for the cartoon controversy (rising to over 80% among Spanish Muslims, Nigerian Muslims, and in Jordan, Egypt, Indonesia and Turkey) while less than 30% of Westerners blamed Western disrespect, and a high proportion (59% in Britain, 62% in Germany and 67% in France) blamed Muslim intolerance. High rates of sympathy for Muslims offended by the cartoons were shown by all the European Muslims, much higher than among Westerners generally. However, concern with the rise of Islamic extremism, though highest among European and US populations, were shared by European Muslims as well as Muslims in developing countries. For example, 84% of non-Muslim British were very or somewhat concerned about the rise of Islamic extremism, as were 77% of British Muslims and 71% of Pakistanis.

Figure Eight: Differences in perceptions, Muslims versus others



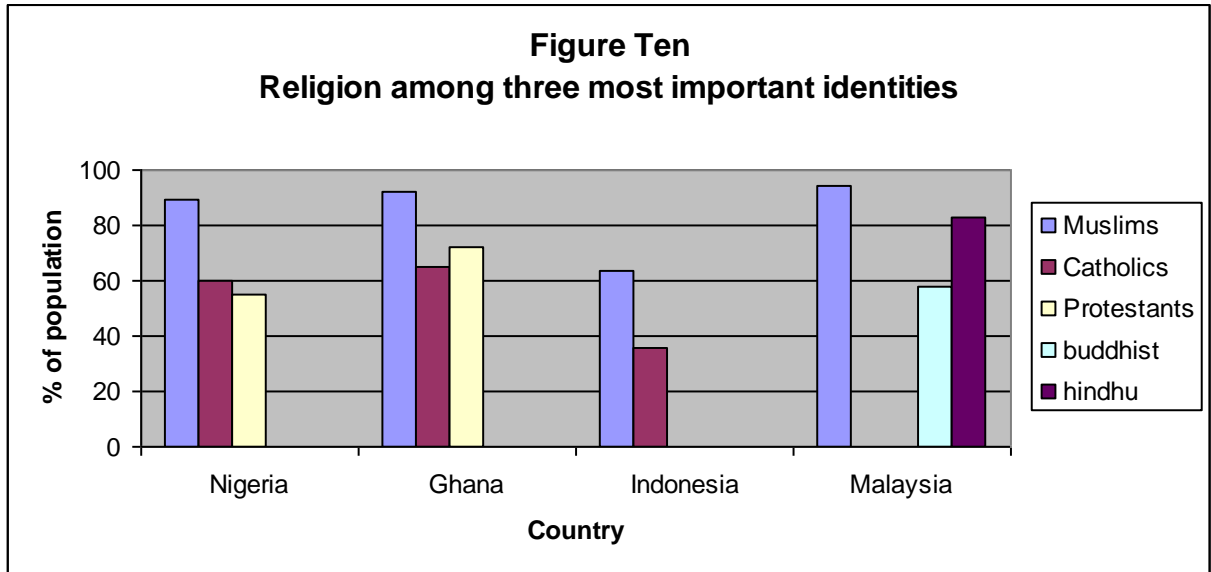
Source: Drawn from The Pew Global Attitudes Project, 2006a.

A further indication of a common Muslim identity is the high proportion of Muslims – both in European countries and in Muslim countries – who said they were Muslims first and citizens of a particular nation second (Figure 9). This was true of over half the respondents in 9 of the 16 countries.

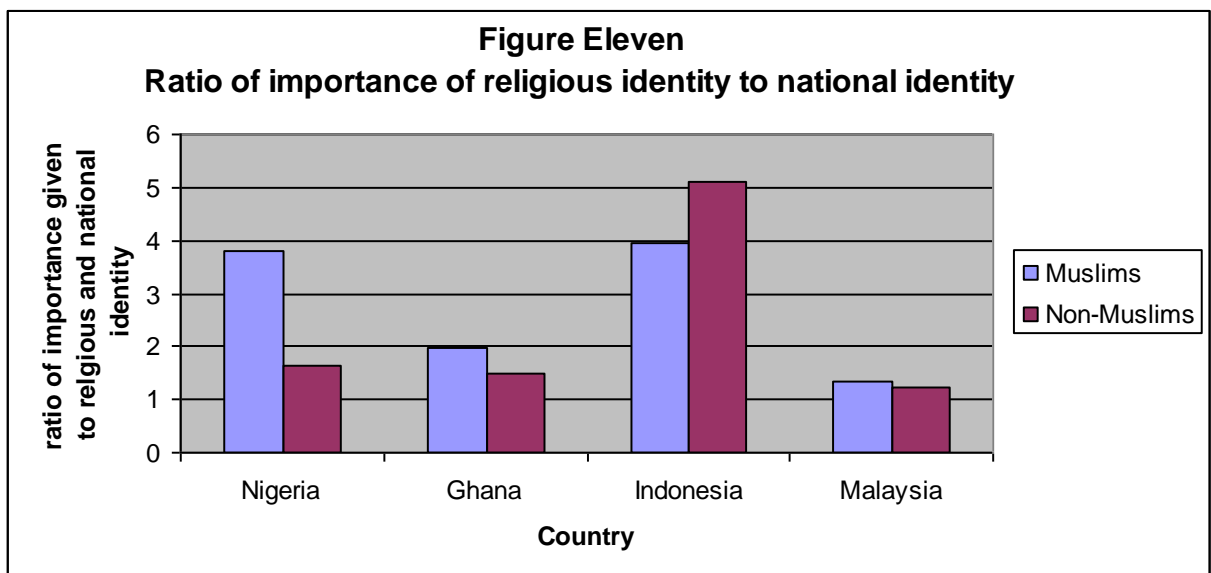


Source: The Pew Global Attitudes Project, 2006a;2006b. This amalgamates information from two surveys with somewhat different country coverage. Where a country was covered in both, and there were different results the average is given above.

The CRISE perceptions surveys (cited earlier) adds to this for the four countries with Muslim populations. First, religion was a more important identity for Muslims than for people from other religions in each of the four countries (see Figure Ten). Secondly, in all countries the proportion putting this as among there top three identities was considerably greater than those putting nationality in the top three, and in all but Indonesia it was greater for Muslims than for non-Muslims. In Indonesia, though Muslims thought religion was much more important than non-Muslims, non-Muslims also thought national identities were unimportant and ethnicity came out at the strongest identity.



Source: CRISE Perceptions Surveys



Source: CRISE Perceptions Surveys

6. Conclusions

In this paper I have aimed to show that there are global as well as national dimensions to HIs. And that if a group has a shared identity that crosses nations, mobilisation can occur because of such HIs, in a similar way to the mobilisation that sometimes occurs in reaction to national HIs. As with national HIs, where several dimensions of HIs go in the same direction – i.e. there are political as well as socio-economic inequalities and cultural status ones, mobilisation is more probable. To the extent that a group has

strong affiliations with others in the group elsewhere in the world, then horizontal inequalities in one part of the world can then be a cause of grievance and of mobilisation elsewhere. I have used the example of Muslims today where there are clear global inequalities and global networks. Other examples are possible. For example, Tamil diaspora who are affected by their own situation in the country they reside and also the situation in Sri Lanka, or, especially historically,, Jewish communities who form(ed) a global network. In all these cases, it is not the poorest members of the community who mobilise most easily, but more often the more educated and articulate, as in the case of Moazzam, cited above. A shared identity sufficient to make common cause on some issues does NOT mean the group is homogeneous – quite obviously this is not the situation in the case of Muslims today (or Jews, or Tamils) – but that when faced with non-Muslims (or non-Jews, or non-Tamils) the Muslim/Jewish/Tamil identity in some circumstances trumps local identities. When and why this happens is, of course, a critical issue. Important determinants include the extent to which each national group faces similar discrimination and inequality, the strength of connections across national groups, how far there appear to be global attacks on the common identity, and the nature of leadership, among other factors. Moreover, as with national HIs, it is never the case that the entire group is mobilised, but rather that a powerful minority is. As noted in the previous section, the vast majority of Muslims view the rise of Islamic extremism with alarm. Yet, as at the national level, systematic HIs do make mobilisation more likely.

If I am right in arguing that these global HIs raise the risk of conflict, just as national ones do, then strong policy implications follows. As with national HIs it becomes important to reduce HIs in each dimension where they are severe. But the requirements in the global case are much greater than in the national case, since reduction in HIs is needed *both within and between* countries. Thus the analysis suggests that inequalities within Western societies are one factor raising the risk of global mobilisation, so that quite apart from the need to reduce inequalities in order to build a just and flourishing society, action needs to be taken within each country to reduce socio-economic, political and cultural status HIs to bring about global political stability. Yet this has not been a significant plank of post 9-11 or 7/7 policy, rather suppression has been the main policy. The same is true of the many inequalities

observed within developing countries, which are particularly provocative where there are political as well as socio-economic inequalities, as in many of the cases described earlier.

Policies designed to reduce national inequalities in socio-economic, political and cultural status dimensions are fairly well developed (Stewart, 2008). They have been adopted (with varying degrees of success) in a number of multiethnic or multireligious societies, although rarely with respect to Muslim groups. Yet few policies have been adopted in developed countries beyond anti-discriminatory laws.

The policy requirements also include reducing international inequalities – the most notable because the most visible is that between Israel and Palestine. Again in relation to this situation, force rather than equalisation has been the main policy stance. But in addition, there is a gross imbalance *in political power* at the global level (including between Palestine and Israel). While power is not something that can be painlessly redistributed as it arises from the intrinsic situation of the parties, some of the symptoms could be alleviated. Most obvious is the systematic use of military power by the West against Muslim nations which powerfully demonstrates the asymmetry of power. In addition, representatives of Muslim states could be incorporated to a much greater extent than at present, and more systematically, into global decision-making – for example, into the Security Council, the decision-making of the IMF and World Bank, and into ad hoc decision-making bodies. But to do this effectively will require including genuine representatives of the various strands of Muslim thinking, and not simply token people with a Western perspective.

The OIC could be a source of greater empowerment – this would require greater recognition from the rest of the world, and also regular meetings, recommendations and action by the OIC itself. As for national empowerment of particular groups, success is likely to require organisation and claims by the groups themselves, and also recognition and respect by the rest of the world. This is a matter not just (or even necessarily at all) of changing formal rules, but also of changing informal norms and behaviour.

References

- Abbas, Tahir (2007) 'Ethno-religious identities and Islamic political radicalism in the UK: a case study', *Journal of Muslim Minority Affairs*, 27: 3, 429-442.
- Ansari, Iqbal (2006) Political representation of Muslims in India, 1952-2004 New Delhi : Manak Publications, 2006.
- Azra, Azyumardi, (2004) *The Origins of Islamic Reformism in Southeast Asia: Networks of Malay-Indonesian and Middle Eastern Ulama in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries*, Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press
- Barrows, W.L. (1976) Ethnic diversity and political instability in Black Africa. *Comparative Political Studies* 9(2): 139-170.
- Berry, Albert. and John Serieux (2004) 'All About the Giants: Probing the Influences on World Growth and Income Inequality at the End of the 20th Century' CESifo Economic Studies, Vol. 50, 1/2004, 133–170
- Bourgignon, F. and C. Morrisson (2002). "Inequality among world citizens, 1820-1992." *American Economic Review* 92(4).
- Buendia, Rizal (2005) 'The State-Moro Armed Conflict in the Philippines: Unresolved national question or question of governance?' *Asian Journal of Political Science*, 13 (1). pp. 109-138.
- Brass, Paul R. (2003) *The Production of Hindu-Muslim Violence in Contemporary India*. Seattle. University of Washington Press.
- Brown, G. (2008) 'Horizontal Inequalities and separatism in Southeast Asia; a Comparative perspective' in Frances Stewart (ed). *Horizontal Inequalities and Conflict. Understanding group Violence in Multiethnic Societies*. London. Palgrave pp. 252-284.
- Brown, T.N., Williams, D.R., Jackson, J.S., Neighbours, H., Sellers, S., Myriam, T., and Brown, K. (1999) Being black and feeling blue: mental health consequences of racial discrimination. *Race and Society* 2(2): 117-131.
- CBS(Central Bureau of Statistics) (2004a) Allochtonen in Nederland 2004 ("Non-Natives" in the Netherlands 2004). Voorburg: Centraal Bureau voor de Statistiek
- CBS (2004b) <http://www.nidi.knaw.nl/en/output/nidi-annualreport-2004.pdf/nidi-annualreport-2004.pdf>
- CBS (2005). 'Young Turks and Moroccans prefer partner from the same ethnic background', Web Magazine,CBS, 07 March 2005 .

- Deolalikar, A. (2008). How Do Indian Muslims Fare on Social Indicators?. in A. Sharif and R. Basant (eds.) *Handbook of Muslims in India*. Delhi: Oxford University Press.
- Devji, Faisal, 2006. 'Back to the future: the cartoons, liberalism, and global Islam', *Open democracy*http://www.opendemocracy.net/conflict-terrorism/liberalism_3451.jsp
- Equalities Commission. (2007). Fairness and freedom : the final report of the Equalities Review. London, Equalities Review.
- EUMC: <http://eumc.europa.eu/eumc/material/pub/muslim/EUMC-highlights-EN.pdf>
- Fuller, Graham E. (1996). *Algeria: The Next Fundamentalist State?* Santa Monica. RAND.
- Government of India, 2006. Prime Minister's High Level Committee, Cabinet Secretariat, *Social, Economic and Educational Status of the Muslim Community in India*, November
- Gurr, T.R. (1993). *Minorities at Risk: A Global View of Ethnopolitical Conflicts*. Washington, DC: United States Institute of Peace Press.
- Gurr, T.R., and Moore, W.H. 1997. Ethnopolitical rebellion: a cross-sectional analysis of the 1980s with risk assessments for the 1990s. *American Journal of Political Science* 41(4): 1079-1103.
- Hills, J., T. Sefton and K. Stewart eds) (2009), *A More Equal Society*, second edition. London: Policy Press.
- Kelley, Bradford J. and Ava Morgenstern, (2006). 'The Elephant in the Room: Unexposed Roots of Islamic Radicalism in The Netherlands' , *Humanity in Action* (Dutch Programmes)
<http://www.humanityinaction.org/index.php?option=content&task=view&id=345>
- Langer, A. (2005). "Horizontal inequalities and violent group mobilisation in Cote d'Ivoire." Oxford Development Studies.
- Langer, A. and U. Ukiwo, (2008), 'Ethnicity, religion and the state in Ghana and Nigeria: perceptions from the street' in F. Stewart (ed). *Horizontal Inequalities and Conflict. Understanding group Violence in Multiethnic Societies*. London. Palgrave, pp 190-204.
- Lloyd, Cathie. (2006)'Multiple causes of conflict in Algeria: national identity, inequality and Political Islam' in Valpy Fitzgerald, Frances Stewart and Rajesh

- Venugopal, *Globalization, Violent Conflict and Self-Determination*. London, Palgrave. pp179-202.
- Mancini, Luca (2008) 'Horizontal inequality and communal violence: evidence from Indonesian districts', in Frances Stewart (ed). *Horizontal Inequalities and Conflict. Understanding group Violence in Multiethnic Societies*. London. Palgrave. Pp 106-135.
- McKenna, Thomas, (1998). *Muslim rulers and rebels : everyday politics and armed separatism in the southern Philippines* Berkeley ; London : University of California Press.
- Moradi, Alexander and Joerg Baten (2005) 'Inequality in Sub-Saharan Africa: New Data and New Insights from Anthropometric Estimates' *World Development*, Volume 33, Issue 8, August 2005, Pages 1233-1265
- Murshed, S., and Gates, S. (2005) Spatial-horizontal inequality and the Maoist insurgency in Nepal. *Review of Development Economics* 9(1):121-134.
- Murshed, S.M. and D. Mamoon (2007) 'On the Costs of not Loving thy Neighbour as Thyself: the Trade, Democracy and Military Expenditure Explanations behind India-Pakistan Rivalry', ISS Working Papes, General Series no.446 The Hague: ISS
- Okun, Barbara S. and Dov Friedlander (2005) 'Educational stratification among Arabs and Jews in Israel: Historical disadvantage, discrimination, and opportunity', *Population Studies*, Volume 59, Number 2, July 2005 , pp. 163-180(18).
- Østby, G. (2003) Horizontal inequalities and civil war. M.A. Thesis, Norwegian University of Science and Technology, Oslo.
- Østby, Gudrun (2008) 'Inequalities, the political environment and civil conflict: evidence from 55 developing countries' in Frances Stewart (ed). *Horizontal Inequalities and Conflict. Understanding group Violence in Multiethnic Societies*. London. Palgrave. Pp 136-162.
- Patrick Pouw (2008) "Salaam! Een jaar onder orthodoxe moslims" (Salam! A year among orthodox Muslims). Amsterdam. Nieuw Amsterdam.
- Pew Global Attitudes Project (2006a) 'The Great Divide: how Westerners and Muslims View Each Other', June 2006
<http://pewglobal.org/reports/display.php?ReportID=253>.

- Pew Global Attitudes Project (2006b) Muslims in Europe: Economic Worries Top Concerns About Religious and Cultural Identity', July 2006.
<http://pewglobal.org/reports/display.php?ReportID=254>
- Prunier, Gerard and R. Gisselquist (2003) 'The Sudan: a successfully failed state', in R. Rotberg (ed.) *State Failure and State Weakness in a Time of Terror*, Washington DC: Brookings Institution.
- Rab, S. F. 1998. 'Muslim polity during the post-independence period', in Siddiqui. *Muslims in India: Their Social Profile and Problems*. New Delhi. Institute of Objective Studies.
- Riach, P.A. and J. Rich (2002) 'Field Experiments of Discrimination in the Market Place' *Economic Journal*, 112, 483, pp 480-518.
- Schmidt, Garbi (2004) 'Islamic identity formation among young Muslims: the case of Denmark, Sweden and the United States', *Journal of Muslim Affairs*, 24, 1, 31-45.
- SCP (Social and Cultural Planning Office of the Netherlands) (2005a) Jaarrapport Integratie (Integration Annual Report). The Hague: Sociaal en Cultureel Planbureau.
- SCP (2005b) (Social and Cultural Planning Office of the Netherlands)
http://www.eumap.org/topics/minority/reports/eumuslims/background_reports/download/netherlands/netherlands.pdf
- SCP (Social and Cultural Planning Office of the Netherlands) (2003). Cok Vrooman, Henk-Jan Dirven, Stella Hoff, Ger Linden *Poverty Monitor 2003*. The Hague
<http://www.scp.nl/english/publications/summaries/903770140x.html>.
- Simon, P. (1998) 'La discrimination: contexte institutionnel et perception par les immigrés' *Hommes et Migrations*, n°1211, 1998, pp. 49-67
- Sivan, Emmanuel. (2003). 'The clash within Islam' *Survival*, 45, 1, 24-44.
- Stewart, Frances (ed). (2008). *Horizontal Inequalities and Conflict. Understanding group Violence in Multiethnic Societies*. London. Palgrave
- Stewart, Frances and Arnim Langer. (2008). 'Horizontal Inequalities ; explaining persistence and change', in Frances Stewart (ed). *Horizontal Inequalities and Conflict. Understanding group Violence in Multiethnic Societies*. London. Palgrave pp54-84.

- Stewart, F. (2002). Horizontal inequalities: A neglected dimension of development. *QEH Working Paper No. 81*. Oxford: Queen Elizabeth House, University of Oxford.
- Viprey, Mouna (2002) *L'Insertion des Jeunes d'Origine Étrangère*. Etude du Conseil Economique et Social, Editions des Journaux Officiels.
- Wade, R. (2001). "Global inequality: winners and losers." The Economist(April 28th): 93-97.
- Wilkinson, S. (2004). *Votes and Violence: Electoral Competition and Ethnic Riots in India*. Cambridge. Cambridge University Press.