

Forthcoming in **Nations and Nationalism**

**Social Distance in Bosnia-Herzegovina and the North Caucasus Region of Russia:
Inter and Intra-Ethnic Attitudes and Identities**

Kristin Bakke
Universiteit Leiden, Netherlands

Xun Cao
University of Essex, UK

John O'Loughlin
University of Colorado at Boulder, USA

Michael D. Ward
University of Washington, USA

Acknowledgements: Our biggest thanks are to the respondents in Bosnia and the North Caucasus region who graciously answered our questions. We also are grateful to Marina Francic and Dino Djipa of Prism Research in Sarajevo, as well as Alexei Grazhdankin of the Levada Center in Moscow for organizing and successfully carrying out the large and complex surveys in Bosnia and the North Caucasus; Vladimir Kolosov of the Russian Academy of Sciences for his insights and fieldwork leadership, his contribution to the design and wording of the questionnaire, and his continuing friendship and collegiality; Gerard Toal of Virginia Tech University for his contribution to the survey instrument design, insights into Bosnia's political and social life, fieldwork comradeship in both places, and for his pursuit of Stakhanovite principles of research output. This research was supported by the US National Science Foundation (grant number 0433927), via its Cross Directorate Initiative in Human and Social Dynamics. We have been aided by the support and encouragement of our program officers at NSF, including Tom Baerwald, Rachele Hollander, Pat White, and Frank Scioli. Despite all of this advice and help, some errors or missteps may remain. For these, we take full credit

Date: June 9, 2008

'Russians and Chechens—we were one family. There weren't any differences between us.'

– Chechen woman on life before the first Chechen war.¹

Civil wars, like all wars, impose unimaginable suffering on the populations living through them. And after the wars end, the suffering often continues. Research has shown that civil wars kill people long after the shooting stops, through diseases and disabilities (Ghobarah *et al.* 2003). Moreover, post-civil war societies are generally physically scarred, characterized by destroyed or, at least, damaged social capital and infrastructure, depressed levels of income, and low levels of public spending on economic and social services (Collier 2006). Conventional wisdom also tells us that civil wars leave less visible scars. In particular, it tells us that wars in which individuals of different ethnic groups have (been) mobilized against each other are likely to create societies polarized along ethnic lines (for an example of Croatia during the wars of the early-1990s, see Malešević and Uzelac 1997). Indeed, both policy-makers and scholars often assume that such divides are one of the challenges that must be overcome in order to restore peace after war. In this study, we take a close look at this conventional wisdom from a social distance perspective.

Based on data from new surveys carried out in two societies affected by ethnic violence, Bosnia-Herzegovina (BiH) and the North Caucasus region of Russia, we comparatively assess the presence of ethnic divisions by mapping dimensions of social distance among 4,000 survey respondents. Contrary to the conventional wisdom, we do not find patterns of clear attitudinal differences among members of the various ethnic groups in Bosnia-Herzegovina. While we do not find strong patterns of ethnic divisions in the North Caucasus either, our social distance matrices reveal a general attitudinal difference between Russians and the region's ethnic minority groups.

These empirical patterns have implications for the literature on ethnic conflict,

suggesting that ethnic groups are not necessarily clearly bounded entities where the individual members of one ethnic group view ethnic-related questions distinctly differently from members of other ethnic groups. This is consistent with insights from theoretical work by Brubaker *et al.* (2004), who has questioned the use of ethnic groups as analytical categories. But while Brubaker and his coauthors maintain that ethnic groups are not ‘things *in* the world, but perspectives *on* the world’ (2004: 45), the empirical patterns revealed in this study suggest that even in societies where people have (been) mobilized against each other along ethnic lines, ethnicity does not necessarily tell us much about ‘sameness’ in interpreting the world either. Similarly, Fearon and Laitin (2000), in examining numerous case studies of the construction of ethnic identities in conflict situations, accept that elites manipulate identities for their own benefit but puzzle why members of the targeted groups follow the elite-promoted strategies.

More generally, this study points to the advantage of taking seriously the spatial dimensions of social phenomena. The close relationship between spatial propinquity and social interaction has been well-documented in numerous national contexts through both survey work (e.g. Johnston 1974) and analysis of aggregate census data (White *et al.* 2005). While the concept of social distance draws broadly from Bogardus (1925), the measures do not always rely on his scale of distancing—from accepting individuals of other groups as members of one’s family to accepting them as residents in one’s country. Proximity is the main determinant of social interaction even when factors such as shared social-economic backgrounds, similar educational levels, family status and interests, and age are considered. For example, in a study of English cities, Prandy (1980) found a direct link between social and spatial distance using seven national groups and multidimensional scaling techniques. In Bosnia-Herzegovina, many communities were ethnically mixed prior to the wars of the early-1990s, but the dramatic separation of the three ethnicities after years of ethnic cleansing and

refugee flight has significantly reduced the chances of social interaction, in turn rendering the prospects of post-war reconciliation more problematic (O'Loughlin and Ó Tuathail 2008). As such, our expectation was that an empirical examination of social distance in Bosnia-Herzegovina would reveal sharp differences among members of different ethnic groups.

Intra-State Conflicts and Ethnic Divisions

Both policy-makers and scholars often assume that inter-ethnic divisions are one of the challenges that must be overcome in order to restore peace after intra-state conflicts—be they between the government and sub-state groups or among different sub-state groups, particularly ethnic groups. Researchers in the World Bank's Post-Conflict Unit, for example, have highlighted the importance of social cohesion and integration in post-conflict societies, proposing strategies for bridging groups that have found themselves at odds with one another during violent conflicts (e.g. Colletta and Cullen 2000).

As in the academic literature on post-conflict power-sharing, a central question concerns how to design institutions that can restore peace in societies that 'are divided by deep communal distrust and uncertainty about the future' (Rothchild and Roeder 2005: 5). While this kind of distrust, distance, and dislike among (ethnic) groups often is considered a cause of conflict in the first place—and is the subject of a large literature on ethnic conflicts—it is also considered a contributing factor for enduring conflicts or even a step towards state failure (Rotberg 2003). A number of researchers writing about the civil wars in the former Yugoslavia have argued that the wars *created* communities sharply divided along ethnic lines. Based on interviews in Bosnia-Herzegovina and Croatia in 2000, Corkalo *et al.* (2004: 145) report:

All of our informants reported positive, almost nostalgic, memories of a good quality of life before the war. Most participants said that relations among the different ethnic

groups were harmonious during the pre-war years. It was irrelevant whether their neighbors, co-workers, and friends belonged to a different ethnic group. 'We lived normally', an informant said. 'We did not even know who was who (...). We visited each other at our homes and celebrated each other's religious holidays together.' (...) Although the political and social collapse of the former Yugoslavia occurred gradually, our participants viewed it somewhat differently. They spoke of changes taking place 'as if over night', including the abrupt termination of relationships with old friends and neighbors, and the rapid formation of ethnically homogenous political and social groups.

Observers and scholars of the civil war in Bosnia-Herzegovina (1992-1995) have emphasized how that conflict transformed BiH from an ethnically heterogeneous but intermixed society to a segregated state of three ethnically homogeneous territories (e.g. Woodward 1999; Bieber 2006), and a growing body of work has examined the role that the international community can play in overcoming this kind of segregation (e.g. Kumar 1997; Dahlman and Ó Tuathail 2006; Pickering 2006).²

Key to many of the causal stories that underpin these accounts linking conflict and ethnic divisions are (collective) memories of the war and the atrocities committed. Research in sociology, anthropology, political science, history, and social psychology has linked memory and ethnic conflict (for an overview, see Devine-Wright 2003). Often, so-called political entrepreneurs use selective memories to legitimize the goals, targets, and strategies of violence. Writing about ethnic conflicts in several post-communist countries, including the former Yugoslavia and the Caucasus, Kaufman (2001) argues that while ethnic grievances may create tensions and hostility, ethnic *wars* are typically the result of political leaders using myths, symbols, and memories of the past to create fears that fuel these tensions and hostile relations. Likewise, Gagnon (1994/1995) sees elite manipulation of memories as a key force

for the outbreak of wars in the former Yugoslavia. These arguments tend to assume the existence of long-standing ethnic hostilities that can be ignited (e.g. Kaplan 1993) or ethnic fears among the population that leaders can play on, so that ethnic groups resort to violence to protect their existence (e.g. Posen 1993; Lake and Rothchild 1996).

In social psychology, researchers have long linked identity groups to conflict. Social identity theory (SIT), first developed by Tajfel (1982), views identity as central to conflicts and conflict resolution (for overviews, see Brown 2000; Hewstone and Greenland 2000). SIT assumes that people have both personal and social identities, and social identity comes from group membership. Because people seek to see themselves in a positive light—have a positive social identity—they compare their own group (the in-group) with relevant other groups (out-groups). Backed-up by experiments, scholars have found that people tend to behaviorally favor their own group even if they are randomly assigned to a group with no substantive bonds holding the group members together. Thus, conflicts can arise out of inter-group relations where there are no apparent material conflicts of interest.

Similarly, in *Ethnic Groups in Conflict* (1985), Horowitz explains ethnic conflicts as non-instrumental competition. He points out that because ethnicity cannot easily be changed, inter-group comparisons become even more salient than when groups are randomly assembled. In contrast to SIT, Horowitz focuses on the difference between dominant and subordinate groups. He finds that so-called economically backwards groups are most often the initiators in ethnic conflicts because they perceive that they are inferior to more advanced groups; hence, they seek to catch up in order to boost their own collective self-esteem and be recognized by the more advanced groups. Moreover, backwards groups are also fearful that the advanced groups seek to extinguish them, which fuels hostility.³ This kind of competition described by Horowitz may create legacies of hostility that outlast the conflict itself.

If one accepts SIT as being applicable to ethnic conflicts, the recommendations for

reducing inter-group conflicts fall largely into two categories. First, the contact hypothesis suggests that contact between individual members of different ethnic groups can improve the relations between these groups.⁴ Second, processes of re-categorization, de-categorization, or cross-categorization of identities can reduce the salience of identities and, thus, the likelihood of conflict.⁵

While much work on ethnic conflicts sees ethnicity as a cause or contributing factor to conflict, it is reasonable to expect that the dynamics described above are even more likely to take place after a war that has pitted different ethnic groups against one another. In fact, even if inter-ethnic hatreds or fears were *not* the cause of conflict in the first place, they are likely to be the result of conflict. For this very reason, Snyder (2000) warns against introducing elections too early in societies recovering from ethnic violence as the only cleavages that may be available for mobilization are ethnic ones. Such mobilization may, in turn, lead to (renewed) ethnic conflict—although, we should note, evidence for the dangerous democracy notion is not without attendant controversy. The post-Dayton elections in Bosnia, including those of 2006, have confirmed the ossification of ethnic divisions and the failure of cross-ethnic party appeals.⁶

Emerging from this literature is the notion that intra-state conflicts, particularly ethnic conflicts, are likely to deepen or create ethnic cleavages. While qualitative studies have illustrated this in the former Yugoslavia (e.g. Dahlman and Ó Tuathail 2006), we comparatively examine this claim by mapping the unobserved dimensions of social (ethnic) distance among 4,000 survey respondents in Bosnia-Herzegovina and Russia's North Caucasus region. The paper is a largely descriptive look at new data that can help shed light on widely held ideas about post-conflict societies. Empirically establishing the degree to which post-conflict and conflict-affected societies are characterized by attitudinal differences along ethnic lines is important both to the academic and policy-oriented literatures on post-

conflict challenges and developments.

Why Compare Bosnia-Herzegovina and the North Caucasus?

Bosnia-Herzegovina and the North Caucasus region of Russia are each ethnically diverse, post-communist societies, where the different ethnic groups at times have co-existed peacefully and at other times have found themselves in conflict with one another or their governments. While both societies have experienced recent civil strife, their conflict histories vary. BiH is a post-conflict society where the violence in 1992-1995 was inter-ethnic in character, bringing terms such as ‘ethnic cleansing’ and ‘genocide’ back into our everyday vocabulary. In the North Caucasus, violence is still ongoing, though at a much reduced level from its peak in 1999-2002. In the region, multiple local conflicts with an ethnic element, such as that between the Ossetians and the Ingush, have been overshadowed by the Chechen wars, which cumulatively have taken up to 100,000 lives. On the part of the rebel groups, the region has been characterized by violence directed at Russian military targets, local police, and government officials rather than civilians (Lyal 2006),⁷ although there has been a considerable number of kidnappings of and high-profile attacks on civilians, as in the tragic Beslan school hostage crisis of September 2004.⁸

Bosnia-Herzegovina, now an independent country, was a republic in the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia. The Belgrade government recognized Serbs, Croats, Muslims, Slovenes, Macedonians, and Montenegrins as nations with homelands in Yugoslavia. With the exception of the Muslims, who were not recognized as a nation until 1968, each of these nations had its own majority region in Yugoslavia—Serbia, Croatia, Macedonia, and Montenegro. The Bosnian Muslims (Bosniaks), in contrast, constituted the plurality, forty-four percent, of the population in Bosnia-Herzegovina, while thirty-one percent of the republic’s population identified as Serbs and seventeen percent as Croats (1991

census data). Not only did BiH stand out from the other constituent republics of Yugoslavia in that it had no ethnic majority population; its population was also ethnically intermixed. Indeed, about one-quarter of the republic's 109 *opštine* had no ethnic majorities; by 1996, after the war, only one *opština* had no ethnic majority.⁹ Hailed as a society where people from different ethnic groups lived peacefully together for centuries (Donia and Fine 1994), in the spring of 1992, Bosnia-Herzegovina descended into one of the post-Cold War era's most bloody ethnic conflicts.

After the unraveling of Yugoslavia in 1991, BiH's three major ethnic groups—the Croats, Serbs, and Bosnian Muslims—failed to agree on the political future of the republic: Were they to remain part of Yugoslavia along with Serbia, Montenegro, and Macedonia? Were they to seek independence as one, multinational state? Or were each of the different ethnic groups to seek independent statehood? In a referendum in March 1992, the Bosnian Croats and Bosnian Muslims voted overwhelmingly in favor of secession from Yugoslavia, and the chairman of the republic's coalition government (who was the head of the main Bosnian Muslim party) declared the republic independent. However, the large Bosnian Serb minority, who favored remaining part of Serb-dominated Yugoslavia, boycotted the elections and staged protests and attacks against Muslim towns in eastern Bosnia. While the conflict initially pitted Croats and Muslims against the Serbs, it soon developed into a violent territorial struggle among these three ethnic groups. The Serbs, Croats, and Muslims each engaged in ethnic cleansing strategies, although the enormity of the Serb actions was notably larger and more extreme.¹⁰ The International Criminal Tribunal for the former Yugoslavia estimates that more than 100,000 people lost their lives in Bosnia-Herzegovina between 1992 and 1995, and more than two million fled abroad. Even though most of these refugees are now believed to have returned, the internal displacement of ethnic groups is extensive and widespread. The Dayton accords in 1995 set up a process of military demobilization and

carved Bosnia-Herzegovina into a loose federation between the Muslim-Croat dominated Federation of Bosnia and Herzegovina and the Serb-dominated Republika Srpska. The agreements' Annex Seven brought the war to an end and institutionalized the promise that all refugees had the right to return to their prewar homes. However, the returns process has been fraught with delays, obstructions from local authorities, and intimidation by members of other ethnicities (Dahlman and Ó Tuathail 2006)

Much like Bosnia-Herzegovina, the North Caucasus is an ethnically diverse region in the post-communist world. Located within the Southern Federal District of the Russian Federation, the geographical and economic area known as the North Caucasus consists of eight political and administrative regions: the republics of Adygeya, Chechnya, Dagestan, Ingushetia, Kabardino-Balkaria, Karachay-Cherkessia, and North Ossetia, as well as Stavropol' *kray* (territory). Like the Soviet Union, post-Soviet Russia is a layer-cake of autonomy. Of Russia's eighty-three regions, nearly one-third are ethnically defined, which means that they are named after one (or two) ethnic group(s), even though, in several cases, that ethnic group does not make up the majority of the population in its designated region. For instance, the majority of the population in North Ossetia is Ossetians (sixty-three percent), but Russians make up a significant minority (twenty-three percent). In the North Caucasus as a whole, Russians make up the majority of the population and constitute the majority in Stavropol' *kray*, as well as in the ethnically-defined Republic of Adygeya. The most ethnically homogenous regions are Chechnya (ninety-four percent Chechens) and Ingushetia (seventy-seven percent Ingush), while Dagestan stands out as the most ethnically heterogeneous region, with twenty-five percent Avars, seventeen percent Dargins, fourteen percent Kumyks, and thirteen percent Lezgins, in addition to seven other ethnic groups that each constitute less than five percent of the republic's population. As this snapshot of census data indicates, the North Caucasus is a highly ethnically diverse region (see O'Loughlin *et al.*

2007).

The main conflict region of the North Caucasus is Chechnya, where civil war broke out in 1994 when Moscow responded to Chechen demands for independence with military force. In neighboring Ingushetia and North Ossetia, tensions led to violent conflict in the fall of 1992, when informal militias representing the Ingush population concentrated in North Ossetia's Prigorodny district clashed with North Ossetian militias, both sides laying claim to the territory. The violent phase of the conflict, which was relatively short-lived, resulted in a large outflow of Ingush settlers from North Ossetia. While not resolved and still a politically hot topic, this conflict has not resulted in large-scale inter-ethnic violence since November 1992 (e.g. Fuller 2006) but was a central element in the tragic hostage-taking at Beslan, North Ossetia, in 2004. Since the late-1990s, the major source of conflict in the North Caucasus has been the wars in Chechnya. By 1999 the Chechen conflict began to spill over into the neighboring regions, in particular Dagestan, Ingushetia, and Kabardino-Balkaria, each of which also faces its own internal conflict(s). A number of observers claim that both Chechnya and other parts of the North Caucasus are increasingly outside the Kremlin's control (e.g. Kramer 2005; Baev 2006; Dunlop and Menon 2006). According to one estimate, at least seventeen insurgent organizations of varying sizes were active in the Northern Caucasus in 2005 (Lyll 2006). Moscow's former federal envoy in the region, Dmitry Kozak, has claimed that the conflicts in the North Caucasus are spurred by corruption, poverty, unemployment, and clan-based rivalries and power struggles, while observers of the region has also pointed to readily available weapons, radical Islamist forces, and religious discrimination as contributing factors (e.g. Bullough 2005; Roshchin 2005; Smirnov 2005; Matsuzato and Ibragimov 2005; Mayr 2005; Ware 2005).

These similarities in ethnic composition and political/administrative structure paired with differences in conflict and violence allow us to investigate if attitudinal differences

among members of different ethnic groups correspond to differences in type of violence and timing. With respect to violence, all else being equal, we would expect to find sharper ethnic divisions in Bosnia-Herzegovina than in the North Caucasus: BiH has been the scene of violence that very directly pitted ethnic groups against one another, while the conflicts in the North Caucasus have had less of an organized inter-group character. With respect to time, however, our expectation is the opposite: Whereas BiH is a post-conflict society where the war officially ended in 1995, the North Caucasus region is still a society characterized by conflict. If it is the case that ‘time heals all wounds’ and memories of hostilities fade, we expect to find the sharpest ethnically-based social distances among the respondents from the North Caucasus.

Data and Methods

The main data for this paper consist of 4,000 responses to two large public opinion surveys conducted in the two regions in December 2005. The North Caucasus is typically not included in Russian national surveys, and while there have been some small, localized surveys in individual republics of the region, to our knowledge ours is the first large scientific public opinion survey of the whole area.¹¹ Unfortunately, due to danger, Chechnya and Ingushetia were off-limits to our interviewers, which means that the survey does not include the most conflict-ridden region of the North Caucasus. The surveys include representative numbers of all the major nationalities,¹² and the goal is to measure and document the nature of attitudes and preferences towards the contemporary situation, social networks, socio-demographic and national characteristics, and the nature of cross-national relations in the light of experiences of conflict and continued unsettled political environment of the region.

The survey questionnaire is based on a geographic design that includes all types of districts in the two study regions. We could not completely cover all the 115 *rayoni* and cities

of Stavropol' *kray* and the four ethnic republics of the North Caucasus included in our survey and the 109 *opštine* of Bosnia-Herzegovina. As such, we had to be selective in the choice of study sites to make sure we had enough respondents in each community, as well as ensure that we were sampling correctly for differences in the sizes of nationalities. Following the best practice of case selection, we selected observations to ensure variation in the explanatory variables that guide the larger project of which the survey is part (Dion 1998), such as the mix of nationalities, population change, environmental character as measured by land use and land cover, relative economic standing, and urban and rural regions.¹³

The survey process included the following two steps: First, stratification of the sub-areas of the study sites for selection of survey sites, and second, survey of populations using a random procedure. We stratified the districts of the study areas according to the total of twenty-six variables using the approach employed by Taub *et al.* (1984). The data that we employed in the stratification of the districts and cities originate from several sources and constitute four aggregate measures: ethnic diversity, material well-being, electoral measures, and environmental conditions (population density and urban-rural status).¹⁴

While the norm in sociological studies of attitudes is to use samples that are random and not placed-based, in our cases, such a strategy would not adequately allow us to examine the degree to which levels of post-conflict adjustment vary with respect to place of residence, conditional on national group membership, material well-being, or political attitudes. Therefore, a survey questionnaire was administered to a random sample of adults over the age of 18 (the voting-age population) in each of the thirty-five sampled *rayoni*/cities in the North Caucasus. The distribution was roughly proportionate to the number of adults in each republic/*kray* and was composed as follows: Dagestan 625, Kabardino-Balkaria 246, Karachay-Cherkessia 121, North Ossetia 198, and Stavropol' 810, for a total of 2,000 persons. In Bosnia-Herzegovina, the sample was distributed proportionately to the population

in thirty-five *opštine*.¹⁵

The surveys were administered by two reputable survey firms, the Levada Center of Moscow and Prism Research of Sarajevo. The average length of each survey interview was forty-five minutes. In the North Caucasus, the surveys were conducted in Russian by teams from Krasnodar, Moscow, and Stavropol', and in BiH in Bosnian, Serb or Croat by local interviewers in the respective regions. The reliability of the work of the interviewers was checked by a follow-up visit from supervisors to twenty-five percent of the respondents.

In order to calculate the social distance among our survey respondents, we use a number of attitudinal questions that are intended to capture their views on matters related to ethnicity and religion and, as such, may be particularly likely to differ among members from different ethnic groups. Note that these questions measure the individual survey respondents' attitudes towards members of other ethnic groups (out-groups) as well as attitudes towards their own ethnic group (in-group). These questions allow us to calculate a social distance matrix based on the respondents' view on a wide range of questions regarding ethnicity. Our aim is *not* to test hypotheses about out-group versus in-group attachments, but rather to detect whether members of different ethnic groups tend to congregate in clusters when it comes to attitudes towards ethnic identity and inter-ethnic relations. In other words, we are interested in examining whether the distances among group members are smaller than between group members and members of other groups. We list the survey questions included in Table 1 below. The five questions listed first address the respondents' attitudes towards their own group, while the five questions listed last address the respondents' attitudes towards members of other ethnic groups.¹⁶

Social distance, as opposed to locational distance, describes how close members of diverse social groups, such as different ethnic groups, are to one another in an unmeasured social metric (Bogardus 1925).¹⁷ Like most other researchers, we consider a person's social

distancing perceptions to be the result of a complexity of identities. For Jasso and Meyersson (2004) each identity, in turn, is a bundle of three elements, including 1) personal quantitative characteristics, such as competence, skill, holiness, or wealth; 2) personal qualitative characteristics, such as race, ethnicity, language, or religion; and 3) primordial socio-behavioral outcomes, such as status, self-esteem, or sense of justice. In their study of Palestinians, they find that personal social distancing (from Israelis) is closely related to political attitudes to the various peace options mooted to resolve the intractable territorial conflict. Though we did not use a Bogardus-type scale for measuring social distance since we do not ask respondents to evaluate other specific groups, we asked numerous questions that probe intra-group solidarity as well as out-group interactions and preferences.

Table 1
Attitudinal survey questions from Bosnia-Herzegovina and the North Caucasus included in analysis

Survey question	Answer categories				
	1	2	3	4	5
Have you changed how religious you are since 1990?	Much more	More	Same	Less	Much less
Could you please tell us how you feel as a member of your national group over past 15 years?	Much stronger	Stronger	Same	Weaker	Much weaker
Only nationalist parties will ensure the vital interest of the people they represent.	Strongly agree	Mostly agree	Neutral	Mostly disagree	Strongly disagree
To what extent do you feel proud to be a member of your national group?	Very proud	Somewhat proud	Neutral	Little proud	Not proud
How do you feel about people who have moved into your locality from other parts of [BiH/North Caucasus]?	Very positive	Mostly positive	Neutral	Mostly negative	Very negative
I would like to have more friends among people of different nationalities in this region.	Strongly agree	Mostly agree	Neutral	Mostly disagree	Strongly disagree
Among national groups, it is possible to create cooperation but never to fully trust.	Strongly agree	Mostly agree	Neutral	Mostly disagree	Strongly disagree
It's possible to trust only people of my nationality.	Strongly agree	Mostly agree	Neutral	Mostly disagree	Strongly disagree
In the schools it is important that children should learn the history and culture of all nationalities in [this region].	Strongly agree	Mostly agree	Neutral	Mostly disagree	Strongly disagree
Ethnic relations in my locality will improve when nationalities are separated into territories that belong only to them.	No	Yes			

There is a longstanding interest in the social sciences of calculating the social distances among individuals based on some clustering of their multivariate characteristics. One of the most widely used measures was developed in the early-1960s by John Gower (1966; 1971) and assessed the similarity and dissimilarity of a set of observations based on the latent structure of multivariate data that describe these observations. The Gower distance is one of several distance metrics of this sort that permits inferences about how close observations are on an unmeasured, composite latent metric. These approaches are widely used (e.g. King and Zeng 2007). In their study of residential segregation of Toronto's largest ethnicities, White *et al.* (2005), for instance, show how social distance can be mapped using multidimensional scaling with numerous groups and across multiple geographic areas. Their graphs of ethnic groups in social spaces are highly meaningful in the context of Toronto's immigration history, Canada's context of assimilation and dominance of English-speakers, and neighborhood selectivity by specific immigrant groups. African/Caribbean groups and blacks are highly clustered, and the multidimensional nature of social spaces is more evident through this approach than in the usual binary comparisons of segregation (e.g. Italians compared to English-Canadians) typically found in the literature.

The basic idea in this study is to provide a multidimensional comparison of how similarly respondents answer a set of selected questions. Do members of the same ethnic groups answer these questions in a comparable way? The distance among the individuals in their answers to our survey questions serves as a guide to the social space in which they are attitudinally located. That is, calculating distances among the interviewees' responses to the ten questions listed in Table 1 and displaying them in a two-dimensional space give us a sense of the underlying, unobserved distribution of these people in the social space defined by the attitudinal answers to these questions. The calculation itself requires computing the dissimilarity of each of the survey respondents to one another, and the technique we use to

decompose the social distances, which here exist in ten dimensions, into coordinates in a two-dimensional space is a simple application of multidimensional scaling (MDS).¹⁸

The basic idea of MDS is to decompose a distance/dissimilarity matrix of n objects into k vectors of coordinates to locate each object so that their distances in the k -dimensional space approximate those in the distance matrix. A tricky aspect of multidimensional scaling is to determine how many dimensions (k) to choose. Too many dimensions (more than three) are hard to display in a two-dimensional setting, while too few dimensions might lose important information carried by additional dimensions. We use a widely employed empirical (and arbitrary) rule and display k dimensions so that they cover about 80 percent of the total variance (Everitt and Dunn 2001).

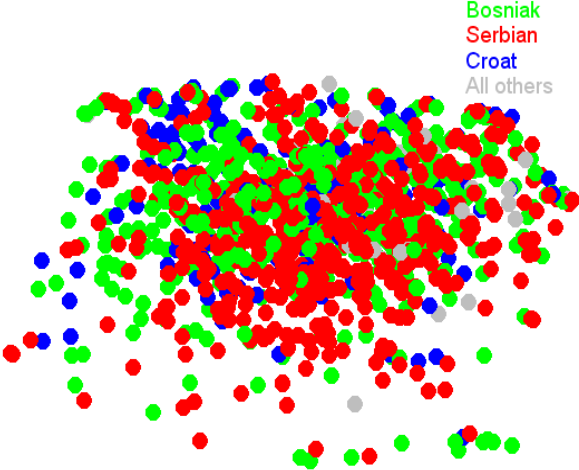
Our expectation is that the social distance matrices will display clear ethnic groupings. Possibly, the inter-ethnic character of the conflict in Bosnia-Herzegovina may have created sharper differences than in the North Caucasus, where the conflicts to a larger extent have been directed at representatives of the local and federal governments. In contrast, if it is the case that ‘time heals all wounds’, the fact that the Bosnian conflict ended in 1995 may mean that the more recent violence in the North Caucasus will reveal sharper divisions there. The bottom line, however, is that both conventional wisdom and the (ethnic) conflict literature lead us to believe that we will identify ethnically-based groupings in both of these societies.

Findings

Essentially, we are interested in whether ethnicity influences the distribution of respondents in the metric of social distance. Do different ethnicities congregate in social space in a manner as implied by many social science theories? Our main findings are presented graphically in Figure 1.

Figure 1
Social distance in Bosnia-Herzegovina and the North Caucasus, multidimensional scaling

(a) Bosnia-Herzegovina (MDS)



(b) North Caucasus (MDS)

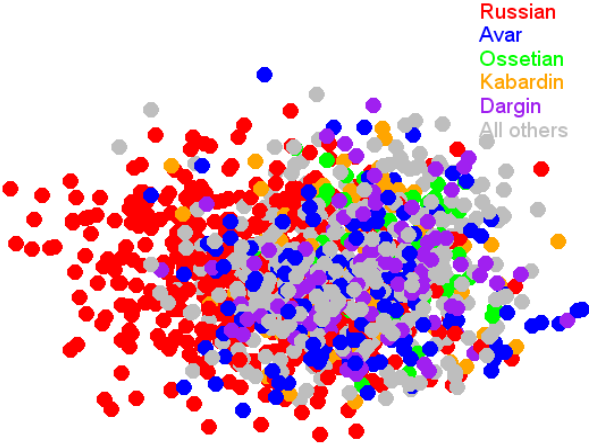


Figure 1a demonstrates that in BiH, members of different ethnic groups are mixed in terms of their distribution in the social space. We observe no obvious pattern of clear ethnic divisions

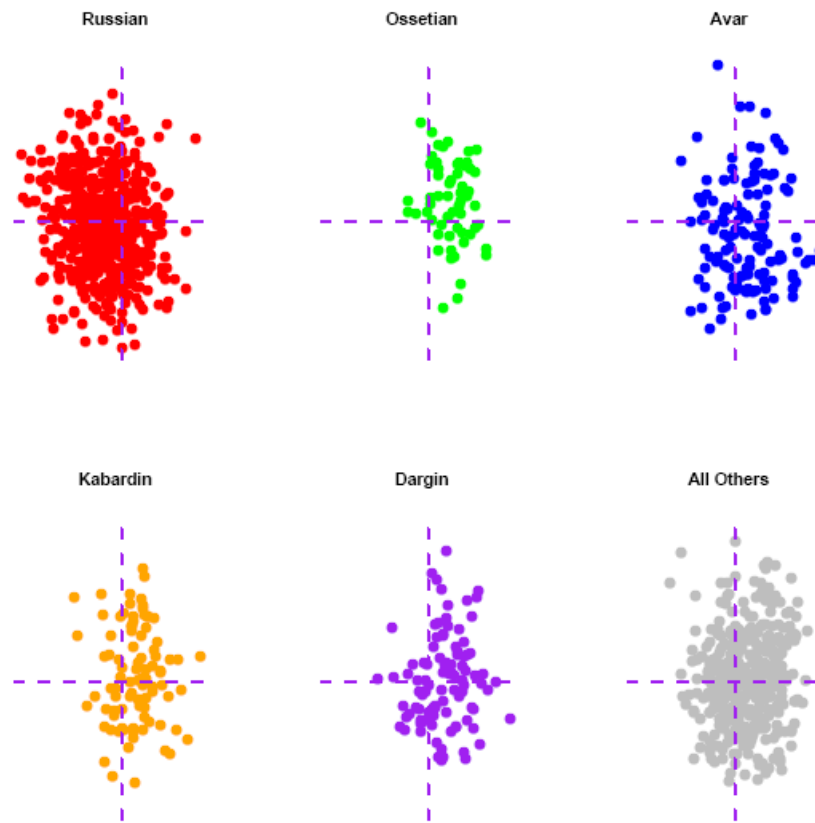
when it comes to the respondents' views on questions of religion, nationality, trust, and separatism. This goes contrary to existing studies' emphasis on the sharp ethnic divisions resulting from the very bloody war in Bosnia-Herzegovina. We should stress that we do not contend the fact that settlement patterns in post-war BiH are ethnically segmented, nor do we say anything about how members of different ethnic groups view one another. What we do contend is that there is little evidence of marked ethnic divisions when it comes to the composite *social distance* among people of different ethnic backgrounds.¹⁹

In Figure 1b, we observe that in the North Caucasus, there is also significant overlap among members of different ethnic groups, but the pattern demonstrates that there are certain ethnic-specific tendencies in the respondents' location in the social space: The Russian respondents 'lean' towards one side (to the left), and the respondents of the other major ethnic groups 'lean' towards the other side (to the right). While the pattern is not one of sharp social distances, it may suggest that the post-Soviet history of center-region or separatist conflicts in Russia, particularly in the North Caucasus, has created differences between Russians, who traditionally have dominated political and economic life, and the ethnic minority groups.²⁰

In order to better illustrate the ethnic-specific patterns in the social space for the North Caucasus respondents, we display different major ethnic groups separately in Figure 2, which reveals more clearly than Figure 1b how members of the different ethnic groups are located in the social space. Again, the overall pattern is one of significant ethnic overlap between the scores on the MDS scales, though the Ossetians (a predominantly Orthodox people in the region) show the clearest expression of difference as they are almost all on the positive side of the second dimension.²¹ A possible explanation of the Ossetian social distancing positioning is a reaction to the Beslan hostage taking, which killed 188 Ossetian children—and more than 350 in total—a year before the survey was conducted. Compared to an average

of twenty-two percent of North Caucasian respondents who said that they or a close family member had witnessed an ethnically-motivated death or injury, the figure for Ossetians was eighty-nine percent, a result of the close community attention and involvement with the Beslan tragedy.

Figure 2
North Caucasus: Social distance by MDS



Note: The vertical and horizontal dashed lines refer to the same mean coordinates of all the people surveyed in the North Caucasus.

There are several possible explanations for the observed difference between Bosnia-Herzegovina and the North Caucasus. First, it may be the case that there is something to the saying that ‘time heals all wounds’, and that the more recent—and still ongoing—violence in the North Caucasus drives the observed pattern. In contrast, the Bosnian conflict came more

or less to a halt in 1995, although the war was incredibly destructive and hundreds of thousand of people are not yet back in their homes.²² The second option is that conflicts in states with an ethnic core group, such as the Russians in Russia, are more divisive than conflicts in states without such a core group. In the context of ethno-federal states, Hale (2004) argues that the existence of a core ethnic region is likely to bring about state collapse by promoting the rise of ‘dual power’ situations, reducing the ability of the central government to commit to minority interests, and facilitating the collective imagining of a nation-state centered around the core group. While Hale codes both BiH and Russia as having a core ethnic group/region, the Russians are far more dominant in Russia than are the Bosniaks in BiH, which could possibly explain the diverging pattern we observe. It may be, however, that there has always been more of a difference between Russians and Russia’s ethnic minorities than among ethnic groups in BiH, which is a proposition we cannot investigate based on our survey data, a snapshot of a single point in time.

Table 2 below attaches numerical measures to the patterns portrayed in Figure 1, providing the social distance means for the major ethnic groups in BiH and the North Caucasus.²³

Table 2
Social distance for major ethnic groups in Bosnia-Herzegovina and the North Caucasus

	Mean social distance	Standard deviation
Bosnia-Herzegovina		
Croat	4.10	1.30
Serb	4.18	1.24
Bosniak	4.09	1.27
North Caucasus		
Russian	4.21	1.14
Avar	4.23	1.20
Ossetian	3.12	1.12
Kabardin	4.27	1.29
Dargin	3.98	1.17

The average social distance among respondents in Bosnia-Herzegovina and the North

Caucasus are about the same. The only ethnic group that really stands out is the Ossetians, who appear to be placed closer to one another in the social space than members of any other ethnic group. As noted above, the Ossetian respondents may have been influenced by the dramatic events in Beslan in 2004. Moreover, unlike the other major ethnic groups in the North Caucasus, the Ossetians have found themselves in a violent inter-ethnic conflict (with the Ingush, over the Prigorodny district in North Ossetia).²⁴ However, while these are possible explanations for the Ossetian ‘exception,’ based on the same rationales, we should have observed a similar tendency for each of the ethnic groups in Bosnia-Herzegovina.

If we compare the measures for between-group distance in the North Caucasus and Bosnia, as in Tables 3 and 4, we find that in general, the differences are slightly larger between the ethnic groups in the North Caucasus than in Bosnia-Herzegovina.

Table 3
Within-group and between-group distances, Bosnia-Herzegovina

	Serb	Croat	Bosniak
Serb	4.18	4.29	4.22
Croat		4.10	4.25
Bosniak			4.09

Note: Within-group distance is in the diagonals; between-group distance is in the off-diagonals.

Table 4
Within-group and between-group distances, North Caucasus

	Russian	Avar	Ossetian	Kabardin	Dargin
Russian	4.21	4.51	4.34	4.60	4.46
Avar		4.23	4.09	4.51	4.17
Ossetian			3.12	3.93	3.88
Kabardin				4.27	4.39
Dargin					3.98

Note: Within-group distance is in the diagonals; between-group distance is in the off-diagonals.

We should note that we also examined whether our findings differed when we included only in-group questions (questions 1-5 in Table 1) and only out-group questions (questions 6-10 in Table 1) in calculating the distance among our respondents.²⁵ We found no

such evidence; the figures still displayed a highly mixed distribution in social space.

While Figures 1 and 2 present our survey respondents' location in the social space as determined by the ten attitudinal questions in Table 1, Figures 3 and 4 portray the distribution in social space by the respondents' answers to these ten questions. The figures aim to show which survey questions are more influential in explaining the distribution we observe—people might have similar views on some questions but quite different answers for others. In the figures, each category of answer is assigned a color: Blue, light blue, green, light green, gray, orange, and red generally correspond to a one-to-five scale ranging from low to high.

Figure 3
Bosnia-Herzegovina: Social distance by MDS, broken down per question

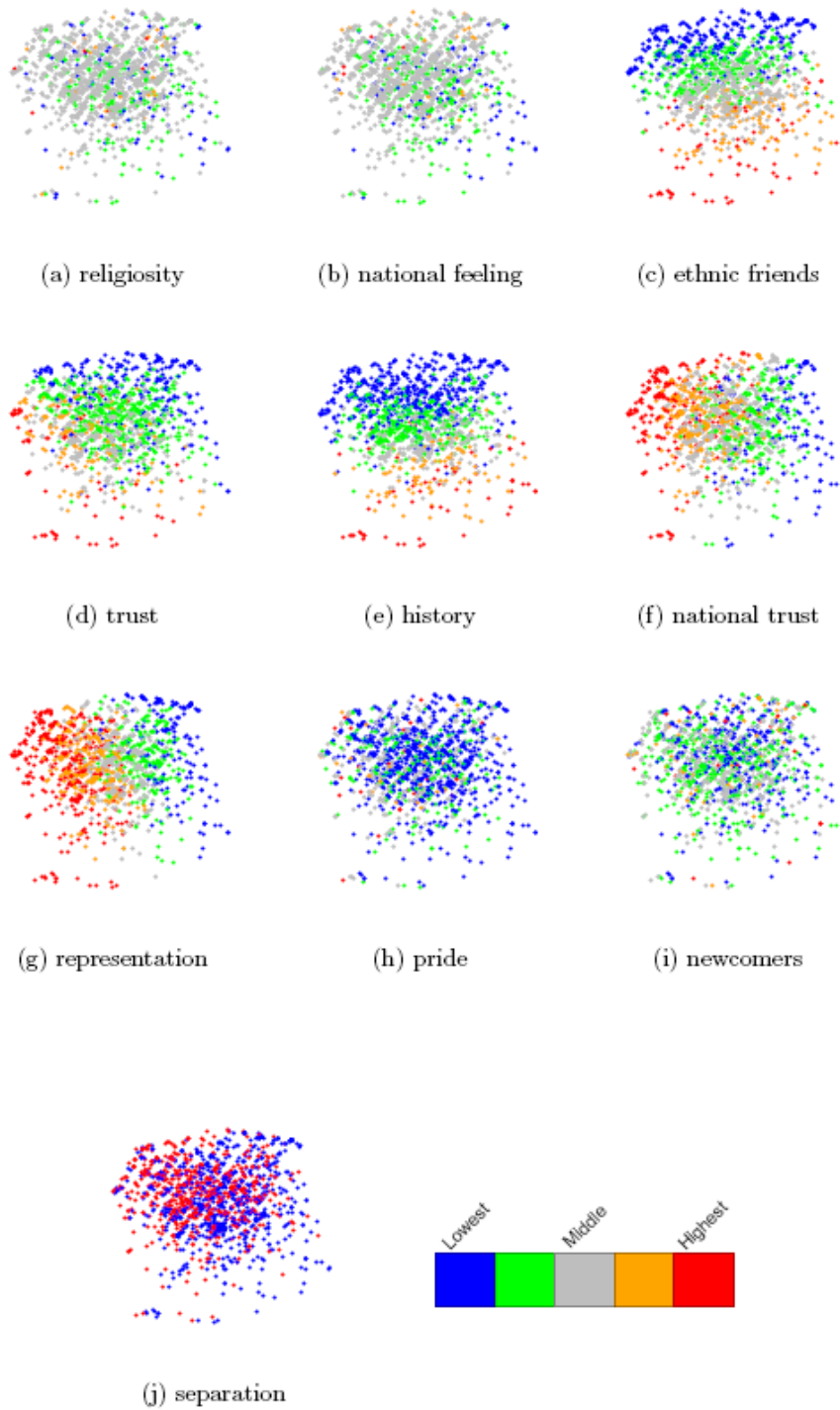


Figure 3 illustrates that in BiH, attitudes towards questions such as ethnic friends (Figure 3c), inter-ethnic trust and cooperation (Figure 3d), teaching of history and culture (Figure 3e), national trust (Figure 3f), and representation only by ethnic parties (Figure 3g) are important to determine the respondents' positions in the social space, as colors based on

answers to those questions have clear spatial clustering in the social space. These individual questions about inter-ethnic attitudes combine to suggest a composite dimension that is well-defined.

Figure 4
North Caucasus: Social distance by MDS, broken down per question

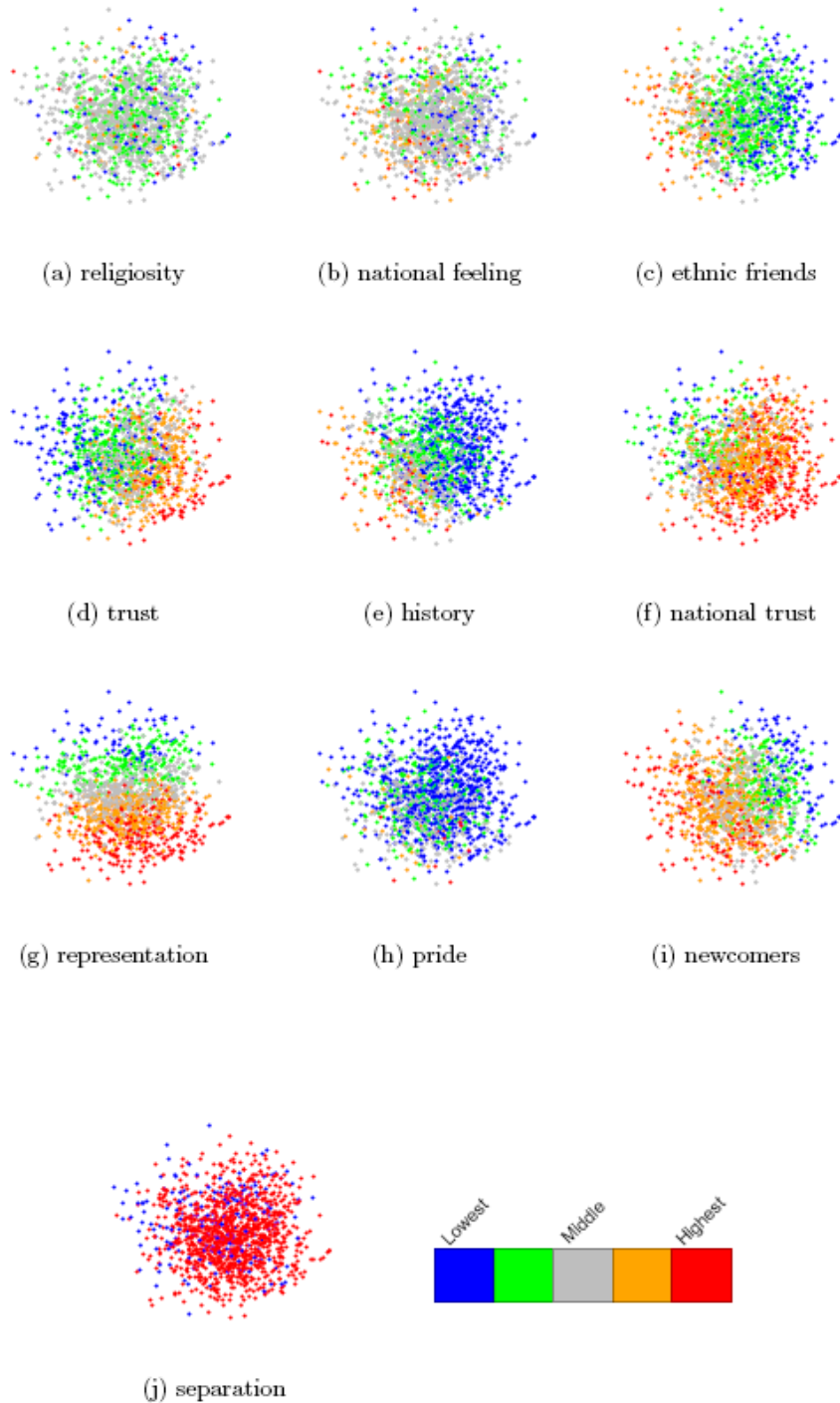


Figure 4 illustrates a similar tendency in the case of the North Caucasus, where also the attitude towards newcomers (Figure 4i) seems to be among the factors influential in determining the respondents' positions in the social space. In the region, large in-migration from Chechnya into Ingushetia, western Dagestan, and southern Stavropol' due to the Chechen wars; from Ossetia into Ingushetia after the 1992 Prigorodny conflict; from South Ossetia to North Ossetia; and a general 'de-Russianization' of the entire southern part of the North Caucasus (Vendina *et al.* 2007) have remained sources of ongoing tensions regarding housing, jobs, and control of retail activities. Efforts to promote returns have been uneven, although refugee numbers are down significantly from the peak of five years ago.

In sum, while both BiH and the North Caucasus region have experienced inter-ethnic and/or separatist conflicts, our findings, while descriptive, are contrary to the conventional wisdom's expectation about ethnic divisions in such post-conflict or conflict-affected societies.

We also examine whether there are geographical patterns in the respondents' attitudes. Several scholars on conflicts in the post-communist countries have paid attention to the ways in which institutions of territorial decentralization, such as federalism, may create or reinforce ethnic identities or even prepare regions or provinces for independent statehood, thus paving the way for separatism (e.g. Roeder 1991; Tishkov 1997; Bunce 1999). Others, however, have argued that the very same institutions may function as 'peace-preserving' because they meet regional or ethnic demands for self-determination half-way by combining central rule with a certain degree of self-rule for the country's sub-state units (e.g. Hechter 2000; Bermeo 2002). While this study is not directly participating in this debate, our data allow us to investigate the degree to which respondents from different regions are placed differently in a social distance matrix. In BiH, the second tier of government—that is, the

level of government one step ‘below’ the national level—consists of two units: Republika Srpska and the Federation of Bosnia and Herzegovina. This division was the result of the Dayton peace agreement of 1995, more or less reflecting the territories held by the two main warring sides. While Republika Srpska is Serb-dominated and the Federation of Bosnia and Herzegovina is shared between Croats and Bosniaks,²⁶ in 2000, Brčko Federal District was carved out as a third, multi-ethnic entity under international supervision. In the North Caucasus region of Russia, the administrative divisions stem from Soviet times, and in our survey we include Stavropol’ and the titular republics of Karachay-Cherkessia, Dagestan, Kabardino-Balkaria, and North Ossetia. As noted earlier, however, in each of these regions, there are sizable minorities. In Figure 5, we illustrate the degree to which administrative divisions along ethnic lines coincide with inter-ethnic differences in a social distance matrix.²⁷

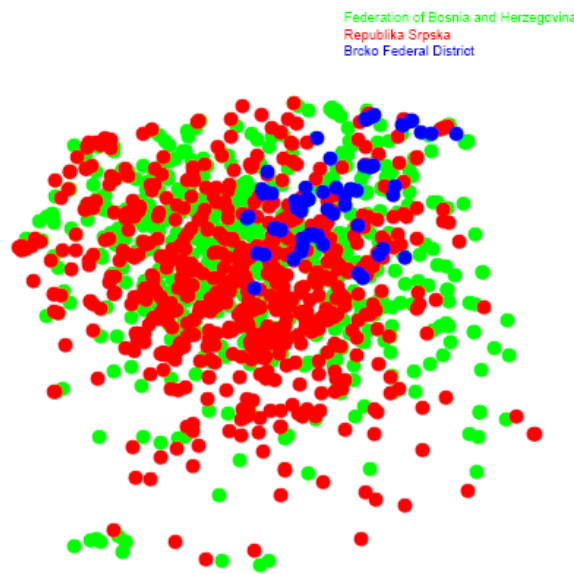
In Figure 5a, we see that the respondents from Brčko Federal District appear to cluster in a relatively small area of the social distance matrix, but the respondents from Republika Srpska and the Federation, the most populous entities, overlap. In the North Caucasus, the respondents from Stavropol’ *kray* stand apart from the other regions (Figure 5b). Stavropol’ is the only Russian-majority region included in our survey, which means that the pattern we see in Figure 5b is consistent with our discussion of Figure 2. In terms of the debate about the pros and cons of (ethno-)federalism, it is interesting to note that we do not observe sharp differences among the ethnically-defined regions. Indeed, given the literature on the cons of ethno-federalism, we would have expected a clearer division among each of the ethnically-defined regions, both in Bosnia-Herzegovina and the North Caucasus.

These empirical findings suggest that neither the legacy of regional conflicts nor institutionalization along ethnic lines correspond to sharp attitudinal differences among respondents of different ethnic backgrounds. This is not to say that ethnicity plays no role in

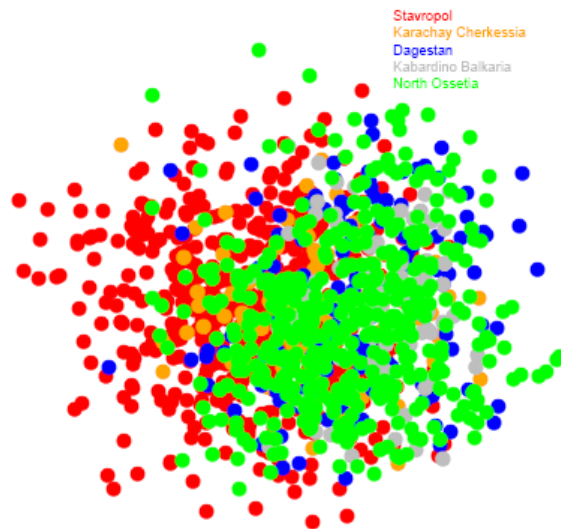
these societies. Our survey questions do not capture how members of different ethnic groups feel about members of specific other ethnic groups. But what our survey questions and the patterns revealed in the figures *do* capture is that members of different ethnic groups are not necessarily viewing the world all that differently when it comes to questions of religion and ethnicity.

Figure 5
Bosnia-Herzegovina and the North Caucasus: Social distance by administrative regions

(a) Bosnia-Herzegovina



(b) North Caucasus



Conclusion

In this article we have examined the common assumption that intra-state conflicts that pit ethnic groups against one another are likely to result in societies characterized by sharp ethnic divisions. We do so by employing a social distance perspective, mapping the unobserved dimensions of social distance among 4,000 survey respondents in Bosnia-Herzegovina and the North Caucasus region of Russia. While the study is descriptive, contrary to conventional wisdom, we find no clear pattern of marked inter-ethnic divisions among our respondents' views on attitudinal questions of religion, nationality, trust, and separatism. These findings may seem counter-intuitive at one level and obvious at another. We believe, however, that they illustrate that ethnicity cannot be used as a blunt instrument to classify widely varying and complicated beliefs and attitudes. Whether this is especially true in war-torn societies or only true in war-torn societies is not really the point. These surveys pick up interesting variation in how individuals in BiH and the North Caucasus region of Russia perceive their situations, feel about their neighbors, and assess their prospects for the future, but our study shows that it is not the case that these attitudes are easily predicted on the basis of (self-selected) nominal ethnicity alone. The patterns presented in our figures are consistent with theoretical work by, for example, Brubaker *et al.* (2004), who argues that the entities typically referred to as 'ethnic groups' are not useful analytical categories because the notion of 'groupness' itself is questionable: Ethnic groups, they argue, are not necessarily sharply bounded and homogenous entities. An implication is that many of the conflicts referred to as ethnic conflicts are not necessarily only about ethnicity—or even about ethnicity at all. While Brubaker suggests that groupness may be the consequence rather than cause of violent conflict, our findings suggest that even the most gruesome acts of inter-ethnic violence may *not* create clearly bounded ethnic groups. These empirical findings are worth further exploring as they question the importance that both the policy-oriented and

academic literatures give to efforts of bridging inter-ethnic divisions in post-conflict societies.

Notes

¹ Recounted to one of the authors in Moscow, 21 June 2005.

² We should note here that surveys carried out in Bosnia-Herzegovina and Croatia prior to the war show that the pre-war period, too, was characterized by a certain degree of ethnic intolerance (Kunovich and Hodson 2002; Sekulić *et al.* 2006).

³ See also Gurr's (2000) work on minorities at risk, which suggests that the overlap of ethnicity and economic (or social, cultural, political) discrimination is likely to create conflict.

⁴ Note that the contact hypothesis has been dismissed by many social psychologists.

⁵ De-categorization refers to the replacement of category or group-based information with information about the individuals in each group, which is hypothesized to reduce the salience of category-based identities. Re-categorization focuses on fostering a common in-group identity across the various groups, which will putatively reduce the likelihood of conflict because notions of 'we' replace notions of 'us versus them'. An even better strategy of re-categorization, argues Hewstone and Greenland, may 'involve a superordinate identity and distinctive subgroup identities' (2000: 141). The implication is that 'we' does not take the place of 'us' and 'them', but rather that these labels coexist. This was precisely the point of trying to create a 'Soviet man' in the USSR and to replace ethnic identities with a civic Yugoslav identity in Tito's Yugoslavia. Finally, cross-categorization posits that the likelihood of conflict is reduced if different social categorizations, such as ethnicity, religion, and class, are cross-cutting (see Ahuja and Varshney 2005 on India).

⁶ See also Pugh and Cobble (2001) on the 1997 municipal elections in Bosnia-Herzegovina.

⁷ This is *not* to say that inter-ethnic tensions have been absent from the North Caucasus, but that many of the conflicts have had more of a separatist or irredentist nature (cf. Stepanov 2000).

⁸ Kidnappings have been at the hands of the Russian security forces *and* the militia under the control of Moscow's hand-chosen president of Chechnya, Ramzan Kadyrov. Violence in Chechnya has dwindled since 2005 and the scale of violence is presently lower than in the first Chechen war (1994-1996).

⁹ In Bosnia-Herzegovina, the *opštine* (sing. *opština*) are the fourth and third administrative level: The state consists of the Federation of Bosnia and Herzegovina and Republika Srpska. The Federation of Bosnia and Herzegovina is divided into ten cantons, which, in turn, are divided into *opštine* (municipalities). Republika Srpska is more centralized and does not have the canton-level; hence there the *opštine* are the third tier of government.

¹⁰ The United Nations' International Criminal Tribunal for the former Yugoslavia (ICTY) has formally ruled that Bosnian Serbs engaged in genocide in the Srebrenica massacre of July 1995, where more than 8,000 Bosnian Muslim men were executed.

¹¹ Both Colton and Hough (1998) and Colton (2000) make use of pre-election and/or post-election survey for a large number of regions across Russia, but in none of these studies are the North Caucasus central.

¹² With respect to the North Caucasus, we cannot be completely certain of the survey's representative character because of migration and temporary residences, but comparison to Russia's 2002 census data suggests that the ratios for each major group in our survey are appropriate, recognizing that Chechens in Chechnya and refugee camps in Ingushetia were not sampled. In BiH, the last population census was carried out before the war, in 1991. While population estimates are available, enormous dislocations, ethnic cleansing, internal migration and emigration have made these numbers problematic.

¹³ King *et al.* (1994) caution against selection of cases on the basis of the dependent variable; such an error would be selection of the most conflictual and war-affected locales to study post-war outcomes.

¹⁴ The sources and types of data include aggregate socio-economic information from the Russian October 2002 census, as well as changes since the previous 1989 Soviet census. We employed data on ethnic population composition, occupation, agricultural ratio, industrial ratio, doctors per capita, birth and death rates, infant mortality, average salaries, phones per capita, crime rate, and pupils in school as a ratio of the population. The BiH census data had to come from the 1991 Yugoslav census, updated by numbers on refugee returns from the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees. In terms of electoral data, data on Russian parliamentary election results in 2003 and 2004 included the vote percentages for the major national parties and for the presidential candidates and are from official statistics. For BiH, there have been numerous elections, and we used the data from the 2000 Parliamentary contest for our classification purposes. Because parties are so strongly aligned with ethnicities, these data provided a useful surrogate for population distributions. We used a grouping algorithm (Ward's hierarchical method) in order to cluster types of *rayoni*/cities and *opštine* in terms of the socio-demographic indicators. At each stage of clustering, an error term was generated, and we picked the six-cluster solution as the best compromise between gross aggregation and cluster complexity. For each of the clusters, districts were sampled randomly except that the main cities were also included in the sample *rayoni*. By strategically sampling a wide variety of counties and cities, we created a representative sample of districts.

¹⁵ In the North Caucasus, from one to thirteen primary sampling units (PSUs) was selected in each stratum, depending on the number of respondents falling in each cluster. The number of questionnaires falling in one stratum was then divided equally between selected PSUs.

Eighty-two self-representative objects and PSUs were included in the sample. At the second

stage of sampling, supervisors selected secondary sampling units (SSUs), which were streets in urban settlements and villages/counties in rural districts, yielding a total of 200. Selection of households in each SSU was carried out by means of a random route method (each seventeenth household in blocks with many-floors buildings; each fifth household in blocks with individual houses). If the household or respondent refused to take part in the survey or was not reached after three visits, the interviewer went to the next address. A total of 4,451 contacts were made for the completed 2,000 interviews—a response rate of 44.9 percent. In BiH, a similar design was followed and a total of 2,234 contacts made for the 2,000 completed interviews—a response rate of 85.9 percent.

¹⁶ The question about newcomers is an in-group question in BiH but an out-group question in the North Caucasus survey. In the BiH survey, the question asks: “How do you feel about the members of your national group who have moved into your locality from other parts of Bosnia because of the war?” In the North Caucasus, the question asks: “How do you feel about people representing different ethnic groups in the North Caucasus who are moving to live in your town/locality from other North Caucasus republics?”

¹⁷ These distances tend to be stable and cohesive, even over long periods of time. In a study of Lebanese students in 1974, Starr (1978) found that the overall mean scores did not change much compared to the Bogardus scores of 1925 and 1933. He concluded that the sweeping religious and political changes in the Middle East region over the previous four decades did not alter social distances very much.

¹⁸ We considered using singular value decomposition (SVD) as well, which is a related technique, but we opted against this, as the social distance among our respondents is (presumed to be) symmetrical, while SVD allows for asymmetrical social distances.

¹⁹ We should stress that because our survey results can only capture a snapshot in time (December 2005), we cannot say anything about differences in social distance over time.

²⁰ Note fn. 19.

²¹ We used pairwise deletion of cases with missing values on these questions.

²² In terms of minority returns (which is a technical term referring to persons who have returned to their pre-conflict municipalities, currently dominated by (an)other constituent people(s) of Bosnia) from 1996 to the end of September 2006 the total was 457,054 (UNHCR 2006).

²³ Mean social distance of a region or group refers to the mean distance among respondents of that region or group, i.e. it says nothing about differences between regions or groups but differences within them. The higher the value, the greater the social distance.

²⁴ North Ossetia also has a large number of South Ossetians present in the republic (about twenty-five percent of our sample), who have left this region as well as other parts of Georgia after the Ossetian-Georgian war of 1991.

²⁵ Note fn. 16: The question about newcomers is an in-group question in BiH but an out-group question in the North Caucasus.

²⁶ Though in effect it is Bosniak-dominated as Croats have fled BiH and now constitute less than ten percent of the population there.

²⁷ We calculated the within-region and between-region distance in both regions (as in Tables 3 and 4). In BiH, the largest number for the within-region distance is in Republika Srpska (4.19), and the smallest is in Brčko Federal District (2.62). The largest number for the between-region distance is between Republika Srpska and the Federation of Bosnia and Herzegovina (4.25), while the smallest is between Brčko Federal District and the Federation of Bosnia and Herzegovina (3.88). In the North Caucasus, the largest number for the within-region distance is in North Ossetia (4.39), and the smallest is in Kabardino-Balkaria (3.65). The largest number for the between-region distance is between North Ossetia and Karachay-Cherkessia (4.64), while the smallest is between Kabardino-Balkaria and Stavropol' (4.02).

References

- Ahuja, Amit and Ashutosh Varshney. 2005. 'Antecedent nationhood, subsequent statehood: Explaining the relative success of Indian federalism' in Philip .G. Roeder and Donald Rothchild (eds), *Sustainable Peace: Power and Democracy after Civil Wars*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press.
- Baev, Pavel K. 2006. 'Shifting battlefields of the Chechen war', Jamestown Foundation's *Chechnya Weekly*, 20 April.
- Bermeo, Nancy. 2002. 'The import of institutions', *Journal of Democracy* 13: 96-110.
- Bieber, Florian. 2006. *Post-war Bosnia: Ethnicity, Inequality and Public Sector Governance*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Bogardus, Emory S. 1925. 'Measuring social distance', *Journal of Applied Sociology* 9: 299-308.
- Brown, Rupert. 2000. 'Social identity theory: Past achievements, current problems and future challenges', *European Journal of Social Psychology* 30: 745-778.
- Brubaker, Rogers, Mara Loveman, and Peter Stamatov. 2004. 'Ethnicity as cognition', *Theory and Society* 33: 31-64.
- Bullough, Oliver. 2005. 'Anger drives Muslim insurgents in Russia's south', *Reuters Foundation*, 7 December.
- Bunce, Valerie. 1999. *Subversive Institutions: The design and the destruction of socialism and the state*. New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Colletta, Nat J. and Michelle L. Cullen. 2000. *Violent Conflict and the Transformation of Social Capital: Lessons from Cambodia, Rwanda, Guatemala, and Somalia*. Washington, DC: The World Bank.
- Collier, Paul. 2006. 'Post-conflict economic recovery'. Unpublished manuscript, Oxford University. Available online: <http://users.ox.ac.uk/~econpco/research/pdfs/IPA-PostConflictEconomicRecovery.pdf>.
- Colton, Timothy J. 2000. *Transitional Citizens: Voters and What Influences Them in the New Russia*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.
- Colton, Timothy J. and Jerry F. Hough. 1998. *Growing Pains: Russian Democracy and the Election of 1993*. Washington, DC: The Brookings Institution Press.
- Corkalo, Dinka, Dean Ajdukovic, Harvey M. Weinstein, Eric Stover, Dina Djipa and Miklas Biro. 2004. 'Neighbors again? Intercommunity relations after ethnic cleansing' in Eric Stover and Harvey M. Weinstein (eds), *My Neighbor, My Enemy: Justice and Community in the Aftermath of Mass Atrocity*. New York: Cambridge University Press.

-
- Dahlman, Carl and Gearóid Ó Tuathail. 2006. 'The legacy of ethnic cleansing: The international community and the returns process in post-Dayton Bosnia-Herzegovina', *Political Geography* 24: 569-599.
- Devine-Wright, Patrick. 2003. 'A theoretical overview of memory and conflict' in Ed Cairns and Mícheál D. Roe (eds), *The Role of Memory in Ethnic Conflict*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Dion, Douglas. 1998. 'Evidence and inference in the comparative case study', *Comparative Politics* 30: 127-145.
- Donia, Robert J. and John V. A. Fine Jr. 1994. *Bosnia and Herzegovina: A Tradition Betrayed*. New York: Columbia University Press.
- Dunlop, John B. and Rajan Menon. 2006. 'Chaos in the North Caucasus and Russia's future', *Survival* 47: 97-114.
- Everitt, Brian S. and Graham Dunn. 2001. *Applied Multivariate Data Analysis*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Fearon, James D. and David. D. Laitin. 2000. 'Violence and the social construction of ethnic identity', *International Organization* 54: 845-847.
- Fuller, Liz. 2006. 'Are Ingushetia, North Ossetia on verge of new hostilities?' *Caucasus Report: RFE/RL Reports*, 27 March. Available online: <http://www.rferl.org/reports/caucasus-report/2006/03/11-270306.asp>.
- Gagnon, Valère Philip, Jr. 1994/1995. 'Ethnic nationalism and international conflict: The case of Serbia', *International Security* 19: 130-166.
- Ghobarah, Hazam Adam, Paul Huth and Bruce Russett. 2003. 'Civil wars kill and maim people—long after the shooting stops', *American Political Science Review* 97: 189-202.
- Gower, John Clifford. 1966. 'Some distance properties of latent root and vector methods used in multivariate analysis', *Biometrika* 53: 325-338.
- Gower, John Clifford. 1971. 'A general coefficient of similarity and some of its properties', *Biometrics* 27: 857-872.
- Gurr, Ted Robert. 2000. *Peoples versus States*. Washington, DC: United States Institute of Peace Press.
- Hale, Henry. 2004. 'Divided we stand: Institutional sources of ethnofederal state survival and collapse', *World Politics* 56: 165-193.
- Hechter, Michael. 2000. *Containing Nationalism*. New York: Oxford University Press.

-
- Hewstone, Miles and Katy Greenland. 2000. 'Inter-group conflict', *International Journal of Psychology* 35: 136-144.
- Horowitz, Donald. 1985. *Ethnic Groups in Conflict*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Jasso, Guillermina and Eva M. Meyersson Milgrom. 2004. 'Identity, social distance and Palestinian support for the Roadmap'. Paper presented at Annual Meeting of the American Sociological Association, San Francisco, August 2004. Available online: www.meyersson.com/jasMeyPal2004march1-palestine.pdf.
- Johnston, Ron. 1974. 'Social distance, proximity and social contact: Eleven Cul-de-Sacs in Christchurch, New Zealand', *Geografiska Annaler B* 56: 57-67.
- Kaplan, Robert D. 1993. *Balkan Ghosts: A Journey through History*. New York: Vintage Books.
- Kaufman, Stuart. 2001. *Modern Hatreds: The Symbolic Politics of Ethnic War*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press.
- King, Gary, Robert O. Keohane and Sidney Verba. 1994. *Designing Social Inquiry: Scientific Inference in Qualitative Research*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.
- King, Gary and Langche Zeng. 2007. 'When can history be our guide? The pitfalls of counterfactual inference', *International Studies Quarterly* 51: 183-210.
- Kramer, Mark. 2005. 'Guerrilla warfare, counterinsurgency, and terrorism in the North Caucasus: The military dimension of the Russian-Chechen conflict', *Europe-Asia Studies* 57: 209-290.
- Kumar, Radha. 1997. 'The troubled history of partition', *Foreign Affairs* 76: 22-35.
- Kunovich, Robert M. and Randy Hodson. 2002. 'Ethnic diversity, segregation, and inequality: A structural model of ethnic prejudice in Bosnia and Croatia', *The Sociological Quarterly* 43: 185-212.
- Lake, David A. and Donald Rothchild. 1996. 'Containing fear: The origins and management of ethnic Conflict', *International Security* 21: 41-76.
- Lyll, Jason M. K. 2006. 'Landscapes of Violence: A Comparative Study of Insurgency in the Northern Caucasus.' Paper presented at Annual Meeting of the Midwest Political Science Association, Chicago, April 2006.
- Matsuzato, Kimitaka and Magomed-Rasul Ibragimov. 2005. 'Islamic politics at the subregional level in Dagestan: Tariqa brotherhoods, ethnicities, localism, and the Spiritual Board', *Europe-Asia Studies* 57: 753-779.
- Malešević, Siniša and Gordana Uzelac. 1997. 'Ethnic distance, power and war: The case of Croatian students', *Nations and Nationalism* 3: 291-298
- Mayr, Walter. 2005. 'A breeding ground of radicalism in southern Russia', *Der Spiegel*, 17 October.

-
- O'Loughlin, John, Frank Witmer, Thomas Dickinson, Nancy Thorwardson and Edward Holland. 2007. 'Preface to special issue and map supplement', *Eurasian Geography and Economics* 48: 127-134.
- O'Loughlin, John and Gearóid Ó Tuathail. 2008. 'Accounting for separatist sentiment in Bosnia-Herzegovina and the North Caucasus of Russia: A Comparative Analysis of Survey Responses', *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 31 (in press).
- Pickering, Paula. 2006. 'Generating social capital for bridging ethnic divisions in the Balkans: Case studies of two Bosniak cities', *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 29: 79-103.
- Posen, Barry. 1993. 'The security dilemma and ethnic conflict', *Survival* 35: 27-47.
- Prandy, Kenneth. 1980. 'Residential segregation and ethnic distance in English cities', *Ethnicity* 7: 367-389.
- Pugh, Michael and Margaret Cobble. 2001. 'Non-nationalist voting in Bosnian municipal elections: Implications for democracy and peacebuilding', *Journal of Peace Research* 38: 27-47.
- Roeder, Philip G. 1991. 'Soviet federalism and ethnic politics', *World Politics* 43: 196-232.
- Roshchin, Mikhail. 2005. 'The history of Islam in Kabardino-Balkaria', Jamestown Foundation's *Chechnya Weekly*, 8 December.
- Rotberg, Robert I. 2003. 'The failure and collapse of nation-states: Breakdown, prevention, and repair' in Robert Rotberg (ed.), *When States Fail: Causes and Consequences*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.
- Rothchild, Donald and Philip .G Roeder. 2005. 'Dilemmas of state-building in divided societies' in Philip G. Roeder and Donald Rothchild (eds), *Sustainable Peace: Power and Democracy after Civil Wars*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press.
- Sekulić, Dusko, Garth Massey and Randy Hodson. 2006. 'Ethnic intolerance and ethnic conflict in the dissolution of Yugoslavia', *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 29: 797-827.
- Smirnov, Andrei. 2005. 'From Chechnya to Dagestan: Basaev's second front against Russia', Jamestown Foundation's *Chechnya Weekly*, 15 September.
- Snyder, Jack. 2000. *From Voting to Violence: Democratization and Nationalist Conflict*. New York: Norton.
- Starr, Paul D. 1978. 'Continuity and change in social distance: Studies from the Arab East. A Research Report', *Social Forces* 56: 1221-1227.
- Stepanov, Valery. 2000. 'Ethnic Tensions and Separatism in Russia', *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies* 26: 305-32.
- Tajfel, Henri. 1982. *Social Identity and Inter-group Relations*. New York: Cambridge University Press.

-
- Taub, Richard P., D. Garth Taylor, and John Dunham. 1984. *Paths of Neighborhood Change: Race and Crime in Urban America*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Tishkov, Valery. 1997. *Ethnicity, Nationalism, and Conflict in and after the Soviet Union: The Mind Aflame*. London: Sage Publications.
- United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees. 2006. *Return Statistics: Statistics Package*. Sarajevo, Bosnia and Herzegovina. Available online at http://www.unhcr.ba/return/pdf%202006/SP_09_2006.pdf.
- Vendina, Olga I., Vitaly S. Belozarov and Andrew Gustafson. 2007. 'The wars in Chechnya and their effects on neighboring regions', *Eurasian Geography and Economics* 48: 178-201.
- Ware, Robert Bruce. 2005. 'Recent Russian federal elections in Dagestan: Implications for proposed electoral reform', *Europe-Asia Studies* 57: 583-600.
- White, Michael J., Ann H. Kim and Jennifer E. Glick. 2005. 'Mapping social distance: Ethnic residential segregation in a multiethnic Metro', *Sociological Methods and Research* 34: 173-203.
- Woodward, Susan. 1999. 'Bosnia and Herzegovina: How not to end civil war' in Barbara F. Walter and Jack Snyder (eds.), *Civil Wars, Insecurity, and Intervention*. New York: Columbia University Press.