

# ***Refugees and Religion: The Anatomy of Religious Traps\****

***August 2014***

***Carl Mosk\*\****

---

\*

*Do not cite without the permission of the author.*

\*\*

Website: [www.carlmosk.com](http://www.carlmosk.com); e-mail: [mosk@uvic.ca](mailto:mosk@uvic.ca)

## ***Abstract***

The fact that there is a highly uneven pace of economic development in the post-Cold War period suggests there may be traps to successful economic and social advance. This paper argues that religious nationalism can trap, and has trapped, countries. It demonstrates that countries under the thrall of religious nationalism are likely to be extremely corrupt, spawning rapidly growing reform movements within established religious committees that are committed to purification of the body politic through an appeal to ancient texts and atavistic practices. Contemporary examples are the Christian Pentecostal movement in Africa, the spread of the Islamic Salafi movement in the Middle East, and the Hindutva movement in India. Unfortunately looking backward is not a recipe for progress. These movements engender conflict, closure to foreign ideas, all the while failing to curb corruption. They fragment the very communities they purport to cleanse. Using data on refugees over the period 1990-2012, statistical analysis demonstrates that the most important humanitarian refugee crises in the post-1990 period have arisen from civil wars, most engendered by religious conflict and or the overlap of ethnic and religious conflict.

“Well, the emptiness is endless, cold as the clay/You can always come back, but you can’t come back all the way.”<sup>1</sup>

Bob Dylan

## **The Argument**

Why are some countries struggling with economic development, unable to generate sustained growth in per capita income and the human development index? Given the remarkably uneven patchy record of countries in the post-Cold War era when Communist orthodoxy was decisively relegated to the dustbin of history one wonders.

After all there were commentators – now derided as hopelessly naive and misguided – who argued that democracy and free unfettered market principles had triumphed after 1990.<sup>2</sup> Spreading globally, sweeping around the ideological fetters that had choked off opportunities – that had long smothered entrepreneurial and innovating energies with debilitating corruption, bureaucratic rent seeking, and fiscal devotion to the cruel gods of warfare - adherence to regular election cycles, legal protection of property rights, and the dismantling of protectionism were supposed to demolish poverty everywhere.

Unfortunately the Pollyanna-like pundits were completely wrong. Traps exist, limiting development in countries throughout Africa, Southeast Asia and the Middle East. One of these traps involves religion. To be specific the trap I am concerned with in this paper centers on religious nationalism.

The argument is simple. It consists of four steps:

Step One: Religious nationalism empowers those who speak for God, the guardians of the Truth. Garnering a monopoly over public discourse concerning laws and policies - enjoying virtual immunity from dissent, wielding the weapon of slander, branding one's critics as heretics – the guardians of public virtue aggrandize power. Power corrupts. Despite its claim to channel virtue, the rulers of religious nationalistic states encourage naked plunder by opportunists lurking in their inner circles.

Step Two: The corruption of rulers and their opportunistic lackeys and henchmen in religious nationalist states undermines their credibility among the largely disenfranchised true-believers of the faith. In turn true-believers gather together – often in secrecy - spearheading religious reform movements aimed at purifying the rituals, ideologies and social norms of the faith. To purify their religious practices they turn to the distant past, to the texts and oral traditions of the founders of their faith. In so doing they turn their back on ideas and norms emerging in generations subsequent to that of the founders. Embracing militant revivalism, their movement ultimately walks a knife-edge between dissent and outright dissidence.

Step Three: Conflict between the official guardians of the Truth and the dissidents tears apart the social fabric. In the worst cases it spawns civil war, destroying infrastructure, squashing national unity, dismantling government institutions, destroying trust. Economic development languishes.

Step Four: Revivalism feasts off economic failure. Knowing one is one of the blessed, secure in one's knowledge of Truth (in some religions enjoying a guarantee of an afterlife in Paradise) offers comfort for the starved, oppressed, outcast masses. The hold of religion over

the populace is strengthened. Getting the state to better represent, embody, the tenets of its faith, becomes more – not less – attractive. The religious trap slams shut.

An important corollary of this analysis is democracy is unlikely to change outcomes. Democracy is not equivalent to human rights. Democracy is majority rule. If the majority is committed to a particular faith – and in states where religious nationalism prevails this is inevitably the case if for no other reason than repression of anti-religious expression by the state – elections will strengthen, not weaken the credibility of religious nationalist ideology. Reformist religious parties contesting any one particular menu of religious nationalistic policies put in place by the government through elections may well change the complexion of policy making. But it will not move the government into the liberal nationalist camp.

To make the case that religious traps do exist and have retarded economic advance in the developing world, this paper proceeds as follows: the second section proposes a metric capturing the range of types of nationalism, running from religious nationalism to liberal nationalism. Following this thread the third section goes on to demonstrate that liberal nationalist states are relatively free of corruption while religious nationalist states tend to be corrupt. The fourth section demonstrates that revivalism is characteristic of post-Cold War religion, that it has grown rapidly in regions most of which have failed to grow rapidly in terms of per capita income, and it has deepened social fissures there. Examples are drawn from Africa where the spread of Pentecostal Christianity is especially dramatic; the Middle East where adherence to Salafist Islam has jumped by leaps and bounds; and India where Hindu Nationalism has gone hand-in-hand with the promotion of the Hindutva ideology. The fifth

section demonstrates that the social fissures unleashed by religious nationalism have caused deep seeded political conflicts, civil wars resulting in humanitarian refugee crises. The sixth section summarizes the argument and the evidence by way of conclusion.

“...the land that I live in/Has God on its side.”<sup>3</sup>

Bob Dylan

### **Flaunting Faith: Religious Nationalism Confronts Liberal Nationalism**

There is nothing better than having God on your side. Moreover there is nothing more comforting than knowing your enemy does not. Religious nationalism advertises these claims, flaunting them as part and parcel of official ideology.

The end of the Cold War ushered in an era in which an increasing number of nation-states claimed to channel God’s word as a matter of law and policy, foreign and domestic. To some extent this is because the number of countries increased after 1990. To some extent this is because the newly minted countries of the post-1990 era were created out of religiously tinted conflicts that exploded as self described secular states like the Soviet Union and Yugoslavia collapsed. To some extent this is because religiosity was enhanced during the Cold War years, as so-called godless Communism confronted the non-Communist powers globally. With the conflict between Communism and market oriented liberal democracy a dead letter, a new type of Cold War emerged, this built on the confrontation between liberal nationalism and religious nationalism.<sup>4</sup>

It is hubris to claim one can comprehensively measure religious nationalism accurately differentiating it from the liberal nationalism characteristic of North America and Europe. That said, Mosk (2014b) comes up with a crude approximation, the index **Librelin** ranging between zero (extreme religious nationalism) and unity (extreme liberal nationalism). The remainder of this section reproduces the text provided by Mosk (2014b: 13-14).

The **Librelin** variable is constructed as follows. There are two components both normalized to one, averaged together yielding a range for **Librelin** running between 0 and 1.

That is:

$$(1) \text{ Librelin} = \frac{1}{2} (\text{SECIN}) + \frac{1}{2} (\text{GOVLAW}).$$

The first component, **SECIN** captures secular orientation in government. Using data from the Association of Religion Data Archives (2013, 2014), **SECIN** is calculated from four measures of secular orientation:

$$(2) \text{ SECIN} = \frac{1}{4} (\text{FRS}) + \frac{1}{4} (\text{LAWR}) + \frac{1}{4} (\text{FEXB}) + \frac{1}{4} (\text{CONFR})$$

where

**FRS** = Freedom of expression of beliefs (normalized to one); **LAWR** = is the legal system largely based on religious law (normalized to one); **FEXB** = a measure of freedom of expression of beliefs (normalized to one); and **CONFR** = does the constitution and/or the legal system guarantee freedom of religion?

The second component of **Librelin** captures government efficiency and rule of law. Its acronym is **GOVLAW**. **GOVLAW** is computed as follows:

$$(3) \text{ GOVLAW} = \frac{1}{2} (\text{GOVFUN}) + \frac{1}{2} (\text{LAW})$$

where **GOVFUN** = indicator of the quality of government functioning; and **LAW** = indicator of the rule of law. As with the measure **SECIN** the underlying data is from the Association of Religion Data Archives (2013, 2014).

“Could be the Führer/Could be the local priest/You know sometimes Satan comes as a man of peace”<sup>6</sup>

Bob Dylan

### **Religious Nationalism Encourages Corruption, Closure, and Conflict**

Armed with the index **Librelin** we can verify that religious nationalism goes hand in hand with corruption. As an indicator of corruption we use the **cpi**, the corruption perceptions index, constructed by Transparency International (2014). The index measures perception of public sector corruption. To be sure this index does not capture all of the corruption rampant in a country. Still we can be fairly confident if officials are on the take, so are private citizens.

Chart 1 provides graphical evidence. **[Chart 1 about here]** While I would be the last to deny that beauty is in the eye of the beholder, I feel fairly confident concluding that corruption and religious nationalism go hand in hand.

Corruption is hardly the only problem that assertion of divine authority by the state engenders. Organize education around studying and memorizing the Vedas, or the Qu'ran; or the Torah and the Talmud; or the New Testament; or the Analects of Confucius. Ignore Newton's theory of gravitation; Maxwell's equations for electricity and magnetism; the laws of entropy; Einstein's special and general theory of relativity; or Schrodinger's wave equation; or the theory of the Big Bang; Darwin's theory of natural selection; or Mendel inspired genetics. Ignore the notion of progress in scientific endeavor, older theories giving way to newer theories, debate and critical theory driving forward knowledge. In short shut yourself off. Draw comfort from closure. Be complacent. Fall behind other countries in innovation and creativity. Like it or not the concept of the modern nation-state emerged with the Enlightenment. Reject the notion of rational discourse in matters scientific, philosophical, political and economic (crucial to the Enlightenment project): dedicate yourself to the miraculous, to faith healing, or purification through jihadist holy war and suicide bombing martyrdom.

The hard cold fact is rote learning, unquestioning obedience to dogma breeds more than complacency. Black and white thinking puts a premium on conflict, eschewing political consensus building.

In sum religious nationalism breeds corruption, closure and conflict.

"I'm preaching the Word of God/I'm putting out your eyes." <sup>7</sup>

Bob Dylan

**Cycles of Religious Revival Purifications Divide Communities**

Back to the supposed practices of the Apostles as related in the New Testament; back to the Qu'ran, the Hadith, the Prophet's Sunnah; back to the Vedas. Celebrate Christianity as the ecstatic religious experience it might have been prior to its becoming the official religion of the Roman Empire. Celebrate Islam as it was practiced during the first three generations of its existence, a time when pious Caliphs ruled Islamic lands and jihad was bringing far flung lands to heel; focus on the texts of the Brahmins, avoiding mention of the caste system that has given Hinduism a decidedly negative reputation internationally. In short, purify through revival.

These are the keystones of the current generation of religious revivalists among the adherents of the world's most important and most rapidly growing faiths: Pentecostalism within Christianity; Salafists within Islam; and Hindutva adherents in Hinduism.

Unlike Islam and Hinduism whose engines of rapid expansion lie in the natural rate of increase due to protracted birth rates, Christianity has rapidly spread outside of its traditional base – Europe – where it is actually in decline to the developing world. Churches have sprung up in Latin America, Africa and Asia at a dizzying pace. Many of these churches are evangelical, specifically Pentecostal.

Pentecostalism is an international movement with its origins in the United States. Following upon earlier American revivalist movements – the First Great Awakening of the 18<sup>th</sup> century spearheaded by charismatic preachers like George Whitefield and the Second Great Awakening of the early 19<sup>th</sup> century that spread like wildfire in the African-American slave communities – the Pentecostal movement in racially mixed churches in Southern California in the early 1900s.<sup>8</sup> Relatively bereft of sophisticated theology, Pentecostalism is a religion of

pure experience. Three characteristics – experience of the spirit represented by speaking in tongues (glossolalia); being born again in Christ, experiencing a complete transformation of human nature, purification; and a starkly dualistic world view, a heightened awareness of Satanic forces that must be battled against through commitment to Jesus Christ – are generally associated with the sect though practice varies from community to community.<sup>9</sup>

What is especially remarkable about Pentecostalism is its ability to compete successfully with Catholicism and traditional Protestant churches. Consider Africa that where Catholicism, Lutheranism, Calvinism and other Protestant denominations successfully converted millions during the late 19<sup>th</sup> century, particularly in the wake of the Berlin Conference of the mid-1880s that carved up Africa among the contending European powers.<sup>10</sup> Drawing upon the financial and volunteer assistance of African-Americans, Pentecostalism took off in the post-World War period, growing especially fast in the 1970s and 1980s as Africans struggled with corruption, dismal records of economic growth, and ethnically driven social discord.

In many ways the success of African Pentecostalism lies in its ability to appropriate pre-Christian tribal practices and beliefs. Fear witchcraft: join a Pentecostal church where “born-again witches” (former witches converted to Christ) will advise you how to combat Satanic forces) will protect you. Terrified by infectious and parasitic diseases rampant in sub-Saharan Africa? Be healed by the hand of God. Beaten down by malnutrition and poverty: experience the richness of life in Christ through the prosperity gospel.<sup>11</sup>

Open up to the power of Christ’s healing powers. Likewise reject modern science, especially the theory of evolution. Accept the Bible as the “inspired” word of God. Modernism

is evil.<sup>12</sup> Likewise reject Islam, fight against the imposition of *sharia* law on national populations. In short be militant in faith: contesting Islam in a African religious space caught between militant Islam and militant Pentecostalism; contesting modern medicine and technology.

Without doubt the spread of Pentecostalism in Africa is both cause and consequence of Africa's anemic economic advance. It fosters conflict with Islam; it fosters rejection of science and Enlightenment ideas tied to liberal nationalism; it consoles followers with the knowledge that true prosperity lies in incorporating Christ within. To be sure the prosperity gospel associated with Pentecostalism does argue accumulating material riches is not sacrilege. Still it is difficult to see how its program encourages secular progress. To boot, a sizable number of Pentecostal preachers have been caught operating scams.<sup>13</sup> Corruption rears its ugly head.

Spearheading the purification of Islam is the Salafi movement. Basing itself on the view of Muhammad that "the people of my own generation are the best, then those who come after them, and then those of the next generation", the movement advocates living according to the principles of the *salaf*, the first three generations of Muslims.

Among other things, this means eschewing the great Islamic tradition of recasting ancient Greek philosophy, reviving the works of Plato, Aristotle, and Greek mathematics. In short it means turning ones back on the glories of the golden age of Islam. Mimicking the literalism of fundamentalist Christianity and Pentecostalism, it advocates the imposition of a strict form of *sharia* law. In effect it advocates setting up governments along the lines of religious nationalism. On the one hand it draws from some of the most peace inducing aspects

of Islam: espousing charity for the poor, encouraging honesty in commercial dealings (but eschewing interest on loans), providing hospitals and madrassas open to the poor. At the same time it promotes anti-Enlightenment doctrines and in the hands of militant jihadists cruel punishments directed at thieves, adulterers, and apostates: stoning, crucifying, beheading, amputating of limbs, wanton destruction of the religious shrines and temples of competing faiths, making sure women are illiterate and obedient by driving them from schools, and so forth.<sup>14</sup>

Like Salafism, the Hindutva movement in India aims at reviving ancient practices as recorded in ancient texts: namely the Vedas. Like Salafism it has strong political overtones, embracing a militant form of Hindu nationalism that brings it in conflict with the Indian Muslim community.<sup>15</sup> One example among others will suffice. Sharing sacred space is a festering issue dividing the two communities. Hindus claim that Ayodhya in Uttar Pradesh is the birthplace of Rama, asserting that a Mughal official Babar committed sacrilege by smashing into ruins a temple dedicated to Rama, replacing it with the Babri Mosque (from the Muslim perspective he was simply demonstrating his devotion to Islam by destroying impious icons). In the late 1980s Hindu groups began fashioning bricks, transporting them to Ayodhya, using them to rebuild the temple to Rama at the site of the mosque. Riots between Hindus and Muslims broke out in 1989. Scores were killed. The backwash from the riots reshaped Indian politics. Formed in protest over government handling of the affair, a Hindu nationalist party, the Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP) emerged. BJP leaders argued that the attempt of the national government to settle the dispute in an even-handed manner was actually discrimination pure and simple. In their

eyes it convincingly proved the ruling Congress Party was only too willing to stomp upon the interests, the rights, of the Hindu majority in order to garner Muslim votes. Perhaps to them it was no more than divide and rule cynical politics, reminiscent of British Raj rule.

The Hindutva movement has had a chilling effect on freedom of speech and publishing in India. Invoking Article 295a of the Indian Penal Code, advocates of a “pure” Vedic form of Hinduism have prevented the dissemination of books on Hinduism that discuss a wide variety of practices within the faith.<sup>16</sup> The argument made by the opponents of freedom of the press is that writing on Hinduism that strays from the “Hindutva” party line denigrates their followers, insults them, subjecting them to possible ridicule and psychological pain. To be sure many of the folk myths of Hinduism are provocative, off-color, lascivious and sensual. Not puritanical. But so what? All religious movements have their off-color sides, emerging from its gritty folk movements where the profane intermixes with the pure. Despite this fact because the Indian code is supposed to insure there is no injury to any one religious community within the country, the Hindutva advocates have found a legal mechanism for banning books whose accounts of folk traditions and caste discrimination they consider denigrating to Hinduism. It is ironic that a group that has attacked Muslim communities in waves of pogrom like riots feels comfortable invoking a “negative freedom” inspired law crafted to prevent the exercise of religious freedom accorded to any one faith from disparaging the practice of other faiths. In short the Hindutva movement is no friend of liberal nationalism as applied to India. Some critics of the politics of the movement have gone as far as accusing it of being Fascistic.

The thrust of this section is that the cutting edge of the world's major religions in the post-Cold War world lie in the hands of atavistic groups bent on purifying their faiths. This feeds religious nationalism, bringing it into open opposition to liberal nationalism. Armed with this insight we turn to the ramifications of this fact for civil peace, harmony, and material prosperity in the developing world.

"I pity the poor immigrant/Who wishes he would've stayed home."<sup>17</sup>

Bob Dylan

### **Exile, Voice and Loyalty: The Spawning of Refugee Humanitarian Crises in the Post-Cold War World**

The close of the Cold War failed to usher in an age of peace. True, the Hemoclysm, the blood flood of 1914-1975 marred by two major global wars and internal conflicts over national ideology as the number of nation-states proliferated is over.<sup>18</sup> Indeed according to the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) the number of refugees displaced by conflicts has once again soared to levels experienced in the immediate aftermath of World War II. Exile – forced exit – has re-emerged as an grim indicator of the inability of groups to co-exist, to forge long-lasting compromise, to carve out viable political consensus.

While it is not true that all of these crises are the upshots of religious cleavage the fact is most of the world's refugees – those accounting for a majority of the number of refugee-years generated in the post-Cold War era – are the victims of ethno-religious disputes. By ethno-religious is meant the overlap of ethnicity and religion. The term captures the common-sense

notion that ethnicity and religious affiliation often go together because members of a particular faith, a specific sect, intermarry. Over time the tendency of ethnic groups to restrict marriage and reproduction to their group goes hand in hand with the tendency of religious sects to differentiate themselves from one another.

With this in mind consider Table 1. **[Table 1 about here]** The table analyzes the number of refugees given on an annual basis by the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees, hence the number of refugee-years between 1990 and 2012. To be specific the averages for refugee-years are totals for four five year periods – 1990-4, 1995-9, 2000-4, 2005-9, and 2010-12 – and one three year period.

In appraising the statistics presented in the table one must recognize that the High Commissioner figures are underestimates of the actual number of persons displaced, dispatched to exile.

The first point jumping out of the table is the fact that almost 60% of all refugee-years occurred in small number of countries (to be precise fourteen in number). In terms of population 59% of the refugee-years generated between 1990 and 2012 occurred in countries with less than 2% of the world's population.

The second point established by the table is that countries in which refugee crises are substantial are corrupt and awash in religiosity. It should be emphasized that the sample of countries used in computing the group averages in the table is restricted to countries for which the number of refugees exceeds 1,000 in at least one year between 1990 and 2012. As a result

data for most of the world's least corrupt countries – in Western Europe, Canada, Australia, New Zealand, Japan, and so forth – are not used to generate averages for the table. If these countries were included the level of corruption (the **cpi**) for the group with the lowest level of refugee-years per capita would be close to 0.9. Not surprisingly this group would enjoy the most elevated level for the liberal-religious nationalism index (**Librelin**), an average close to one.

The third conclusion to be culled from Table 1 is that experiencing a refugee crisis deters economic growth. This is hardly surprising. While some refugee crises are due to adverse weather events or geological disturbances – typhoons, hurricanes, tsunamis – most are the result of civil conflicts. These conflicts are often protracted, as testified by the low level of the **CONrefr** variable that acts as a proxy for the concentration of the crisis within a single five year (or three year) period. For instance the **CONrefr** average is considerably higher for the group with the lowest level of refugee-years per capita.

With Table 2 we can look at the problem of why and where refugee crises break out in terms of the liberal religious-nationalism variable **Librelin**. **[Table 2 about here]**. As the cross-classification shows countries that score low on the index – countries in which religious nationalistic tendencies are deeply entrenched – are countries having a strong propensity to fall into refugee generating political and military crises. Chart 2 covers the same ground in another format, graphical. **[Chart 2 about here]**. It shows the association between religious orientation in nationalism and tendency to generate crises exists, albeit displaying a scatter-diagram with less “tightness of fit” than that appearing in Chart 1.

To shed more light on the role of ethnic-religious divisiveness in generating crises spawning refugees it is useful to examine the circumstances surrounding the humanitarian crises erupting in each of the fourteen countries in the group with the highest level of refugee-years per capita. Table 3 sets the stage for this discussion. **[Table 3 about here]**. The table provides two sets of ethno-cultural fractionalization/diversity proxies, as well as estimates of the religious makeup of the national populations. Per capita income advance (or decline in the case of indices for 2010 failing short of 100) is also recorded for these countries.

All of the refugee crises involved stem from civil wars. One of these wars is a pure war of secession (East Timor/Timor-Leste), several are many ethnic in nature (Liberia, Sierra Leone, Burundi and Rwanda). The remainder definitely involve religious differences as – it turns out – does Timor-Leste. The discussion of the cases is organized in the following order: Timor-Leste first, then the African ethnic wars, then the remainder according to geographical region (Africa first followed by Asia, Eastern Europe/Former Soviet Union, and finally the Middle East).

A former Portuguese colony, East Timor was slotted to gain independence in the mid-1970s, opening the door for invasion by Indonesia whose district West Timor bordered on East Timor. Successfully invading East Timor, Indonesia ruled the land with an iron fist, suppressing secessionist rebellion with extrajudicial executions, torture, and politically generated famines. From a religious perspective the Indonesian occupation that persisted from 1975 until 1999 forced the East Timor population – many of whom were animists – to embrace Catholicism, the Catholic percentage jumping from around a third to about eighty percent. The reason lies in the religious nationalistic feature of the Indonesian constitution, the principle of *pancasila*. The first

principle of *pancasila* is belief in one God (had the majority Muslim population had their way the first principle would have stated “belief in Allah”). In practice Islam, Catholicism, Protestantism, Confucianism, Buddhism and Hinduism are recognized as officially sanctioned faiths. Animism, Judaism, atheism and agnosticism are suppressed.<sup>19</sup>

Four of the African nation-state refugee crises come in pairs: Liberia/Sierra Leone and Burundi/Rwanda. As Panel B of Table 3 shows, three of the four countries involved experienced declines in per capita income as an outcome of internecine conflict.<sup>20</sup> All four wars resulted from contested elections or coups, one faction – typically an ethnic group or coalition of ethnic groups – seized control of the government, channelling largess to their own faction at the expense of rivals.

Spillover from Liberian conflicts – Liberian leader Charles Taylor assembled a rebel army consisting mainly of Gio and Mano tribes who moved into sanctuaries in the country’s neighbors as it retreated – created chaos in Sierra Leone. Refugees from the Liberian wars – mainly children – were recruited by Taylor as soldiers buttressing his effort to build a rebel base in Sierra Leone. The fact that diamond mining was a major economic activity in Sierra Leone allowed both government and rebel forces to sustain their bloody conflict.

The Burundi/Rwanda turmoil followed a fairly similar trajectory. Hutus and Tutsis were at each others’ throats in both states that had been carved out a former Belgian colony (height differentiates the two groups, the average Tutsi being significantly taller than the typical Hutu). Genocide was a horrifying characteristic of both civil wars: in Rwanda it reached a peak in the bloodletting aimed at Tutsis during 1994; in Burundi it had been on-going problem from the

early 1970s onward as a Tutsi dominated army ravaged Hutu villages. There is little evidence of religious cleavage in these four wars. For instance both Hutus and Tutsis are Christians. To boot, both tribal groups worship a second god, *Imaana*, who operates in a shadow world populated by spirits of dead relatives posing potential harm to innocent victims unless properly assuaged with gifts and incantations.

In general in sub-Saharan Africa nationalism is fairly weak (South Africa is an exception): tribal identity often trumps national identity. Not surprisingly spillover of bloodletting from one state to its neighbors is a constant problem for all states. Religious divisions only intensify this dynamic. For instance Salafist Muslim groups operating in Nigeria wreck havoc in Cameroon; the spread of Pentecostalism south of the Sahara pits activist Christians against Islamic dominated governments.

North of the Sahara religion plays a more decisive role in the destabilization of states. True in Mauritania where virtually all citizens are adherents of Sunni Islam cleavage per se is not issue; rather ethnic difference – between blacks and Arabs – created on-going tension. Still a campaign of political Islamism during the 1970s, the promotion of *sharia* law, and the spread of schools, charities and Muslim centers – driven partly by generous funding from Saudi Arabia and the Sunni Gulf states - was a lightning rod for civil war.

Again, on the horn of Africa – in Somalia and Eritrea – religious nationalism is a major instigator of conflict. To be sure the Eritrean crisis was the outcome of a three decade long secessionist war in which Eritrea eventually broke free from Ethiopia. Once independent, its human rights record deteriorated, Shia Islamic communities and many Christian sects finding

themselves the victims of persecution. Indeed, gaining religious freedom is considered a major reason for emigration from the land.

In Somalia civil war broke out in the early 1990s as a group of *sharia* courts – the Islamic Courts Union – united to form a rival authority contesting the official government’s rule over the country. As the Islamic Courts Union fell apart due to internecine squabbling, Salafist groups like Al-Shabaab and Hixbul Islam emerged with a decided jihadist agenda, carrying on guerrilla warfare. Complicated by incipient warlordism and piracy, the country descended into chaos. Not surprisingly Somalia’s per capita income plummeted. A once prosperous entrepôt region accessing Red Sea trading opportunity became an economic train wreck as religious nationalist conflict ran rampant.

For those who believe Buddhism is a religion of non-violence, abstaining from killing birds, lizards, crows and the smallest insects, the ethnic cleansing carried out in Bhutan should serve to correct illusions (Sri Lanka and Myanmar are also prominent in the annals of Buddhist tormenting of their religious rivals). During the 1990s Bhutan expelled about a fifth of its populace in order to preserve the purity of its Tibetan Mahayana Buddhist culture. The government claimed it was mainly disbanding Nepalese who by all rights should return to Nepal where they belonged. Many of these unfortunate victims of religious nationalist cleansing became stateless. Enough said about the much vaunted claim of Buddhist to embody pacifism; so much for the claim that any religion has an unblemished record of eschewing violence.

The wars of the former Soviet Union and former Yugoslavia illustrate with a vengeance the truism that atheistic Communist ideology was unable to suppress deep seeded religious

differences. In the case of the Armenia/Azerbaijan conflict bloodletting was generated by interstate conflict over the Nagorno-Karabakh region that Armenia was ultimately able to wrest away from Azerbaijan. As important as territory in explaining the violence, the bottom line is that Armenia is heavily Christian; Azerbaijan Muslim. The fact that civilian massacres were a major factor in the military confrontation between two freshly minted states spun out of the Soviet Union is testimony to the ethno-religious hatred and distrust that stymied a diplomatic solution to the competing territorial claims. Similarly the collapse of Yugoslavia in the early 1990s explains why the Bosnia/Herzegovina and Croatian conflicts broke out. In Bosnia/Herzegovina Muslim Bosniaks fought mainly Orthodox Christian Serbs and Catholic Croats in a conflict punctuated by terrible genocides. In the Croatian conflict Serbs attempted to separate off territory from Croatia, bringing it under the aegis of Serbian authority.

The two Middle Eastern refugee crises arose as a direct result of religious nationalism. In the Afghanistan case, a militant faction within a specific ethnic group (Pashtuns) committed itself to a Salafist agenda that put down deep roots in neighboring Pakistan (Deobandi fundamentalism a revivalist movement in Sunni Islam influenced by Saudi Wahhabism). The Taliban infamous for their destruction of ancient Buddhist monuments that graced the ancient Silk Route grew out of this turmoil. Secretly funded by Pakistan's Inter-Services Intelligence agency (ISI), the Taliban joined up with al Qaeda to jointly wage war against the Northern Front headed by a Sufi mystic ostensibly fighting for democracy. In Iraq, internecine fighting between Sunni Kurds, Sunni Arabs and Shia has torn the country into shreds.<sup>21</sup>

In sum ethno-religious conflict explains virtually every major refugee crises occurring during the 1990-2012 period.

“Religion is like a knife: you can either use it to cut bread, or stick it in someone’s back”

Desmond Tutu

## **Conclusions**

The thesis of this paper is simple: in the post-Cold War period, ethno-religious cleavages have spawned the vast majority of the world’s humanitarian crises.

Let me go further. Increasingly religious cleavage is accounting for – and in the future will account for – the majority of the globe’s refugee crises. The reason lies in a crucial difference between ethnicity and religious affiliation. True as argued they often tend to go together at the local level. But as the Burundi/Rwanda crises establishes, they do not have to overlap. More to the point the world’s major and fastest growing faiths – Christianity, Islam and Hinduism – are global in their outreach. They encompass many ethnicities.

Conflicts that start out locally can rapidly spin out into international conflicts as the vast human and financial resources that can be tapped within global religious communities are channelled into national conflicts, the dominos falling one after another. Consider Islam: Salafist jihad operates under global umbrellas, notably al Qaeda and its regional and national franchises. Saudi Arabia and the Gulf states fund Sunni programs throughout the Middle East and Northern Africa, some falling into the hands of militant jihadist groups. At the same time

jihad organizes and operates locally. Shia dominated Iran funds Hezbollah in Lebanon. Before it was suppressed by the Egyptian government the Muslim Brotherhood sponsored militant Hamas in Gaza. Funded by Saudi oil sales, Pakistan madrassas have served as training grounds for the Afghani Taliban.

In an economic development perspective refugee crises riding the whirlwind of warfare deter growth. They undermine trust, entrammelling trade and cooperation; they slam the breaks on infrastructure construction; they complicate governing; dealing with them draws upon fiscal resources that could be better used elsewhere. Worst they can end up generating traps that are self reinforcing barriers to economic progress. Religious traps are a particular variant of such a trap, one that appears to be growing by leaps and bounds during the post-1990 period.

According to the logic of my argument religious traps are intimately tied up with religious atavism, with revivalism, with the veneration of a so-called first generation religious purity that has been sullied by corruption over time. Hence movements like Pentecostalism, Salafism, the Hindutva movement emerge, aimed at the purification of faith. Channelled into individual piety there is no problem. Politicized, harnessed to religious nationalism, there are dangers aplenty. Elevating the archaic in the classroom is a barrier to progress. As well it throws up walls, immense looming barriers to the spread of knowledge, barriers to reasoned public debate over ideas and policies.

Worse yet, religious atavism discourages communication between distinct religious traditions. It is arrogant in the extreme: my god channels the Truth, your god is spurious. I am blessed, you are cursed. In short it sets the stage for dehumanizing the Other. Once

dehumanized – once outcast as a pariah – the Other becomes a prime target for genocide or the local pogrom.

Religion is an ideology. Like all other ideologies – democracy, Communism, Fascism – it can and does serve to justify brutality. As humans we live with divided brains: some regions of our cortex support revenge, fear, flight, and violence; some portions support strategic cooperative cost/benefit behavior.<sup>22</sup> Our better angels make the wheels of commerce spin, promoting trust and cooperation crucial to liberal nationalism and market oriented behavior. As well our better angels render religion a keystone of social cooperation, spreading belief in an omnipotent deity and/or a code of ethics that dictates “super-virtuous” behavior.<sup>23</sup> Lamentably the better angels of our nature are not always in control of our behavior. When the demons of revenge are in charge religion – like any other ideology – can and does spearhead brutality. Revivalist religious sects are particularly susceptible to foment violence. Rejecting much of the knowledge accounting for the progress made by humanity in reducing the outbreak of warfare and domestic brutality – however meager this may seem - particularly the progress made during and after the Enlightenment, atavistic religious movements are prone to drift toward the demons. That they clearly differentiate between their adherents and the Other makes it all the easier for them to turn cruel and despotic.

To those who suspect an anti-religion rant lies at the heart of this paper let me be clear about one thing: I have no objection to religion per se. I do take issue with it when it is used to defeat economic advance, trash human rights, and dispatch peace between peoples by dehumanizing the Other.

Why commit to a particular god, a specific text, a prescribed formula, a dogma? Why not revel in the mysteries of nature, its laws so imperfectly grasped by mere human imagination and yet so obviously subject to deep laws of motion? Why not venerate universal moral codes? Why not embrace your all too deeply divided individuality, your very imperfection as a human, accepting the fact that you are

“...hanging in the balance of the reality of man/Like every sparrow falling, like every grain of sand <sup>24</sup>?

## Footnotes

- 1 From the song “Mississippi” by Bob Dylan. See Dylan (2004: 582).
- 2 For instance see Sachs (2005).
- 3 From the song “With God on Our Side.” See Dylan (2004: 85).
- 4 See Diner (2005), Juergensmeyer (1993, 2008), Mosk (2014b), Van der Veer (1998), and Strindberg and Wörn (2011) for discussions of religious nationalism and the conflict between liberal nationalism and religious nationalism.
- 5 The text in Mosk (2014b: 13-14) includes references to data sources not included in this paper. For details see the text in Mosk (2014b).
- 6 From the song “Man of Peace.” See Dylan (2004: 470).
- 7 From the song “High Water (for Charlie Patton)”. See Dylan (2004: 591).
- 8 For histories of Pentecostalism see Anderson (2010, 2014) and Hollenweger (1972). For the First and Second Great Awakenings see Evans (2013). It is said that the founders of the Azusa Street church in Los Angeles aimed at purifying a Christianity stumbling along with empty rituals and desiccated creeds. Celebrating the “original fire from Heaven” on the Day of Pentecost, members of the faith would feel the “latter rain” promised by God. Miracles would be performed; the dead could be brought back to life from their coffins; the sick could be healed; all owing to faith.

- 9 On speaking in tongues see Christie-Murray (1978). Anderson (2014) provides a useful discussion of Pentecostal theology, including disputes with American fundamentalism.
- 10 See Akinwumi (2008).
- 11 See Gerloff (2008), Kalu (2008), Kroesbergen (2014), Mwaura (2008), Paris (2009), Shoko (2009), and Ukah and Echtler (2009).
- 12 See Hollenweger (1972: 292-3).
- 13 See Kalu (2008) for some notable examples.
- 14 For a discussion of the adverse impact of Islam – especially Salafist Islam - on economic development, see Diner (2009), Kuran (2011), Hefner (2005), Moaddel (2005) and Omer and Springs (2013).
- 15 See Mosk (2014b) and Van der Veer (1998).
- 16 See Doniger (2014).
- 17 From the song “I Pity the Poor Immigrant”. See Dylan (2004: 451).
- 18 On the Hemocycslm, see Mosk (2013: 231-7).
- 19 For discussions of *pansacila* and the efforts of Indonesia Muslims to influence state policy in Indonesia see Feillard (1997), Hefner (1997), Horvatich (1997),
- 20 See Easterly (2001) for a penetrating discussion of the adverse effects of ethno-linguistic fractionalization upon economic growth in Africa.

- 21 The origins of the Shia-Sunni conflict go back to the seventh century, ultimately involving how to govern Islamic communities (the Sunni view supports a king-sage model with the Caliphate at its core; the Shia view falls basically into a sage-king pattern, the supreme religious leader, the leading Ayatollah, channelling divine knowledge, trumping secular political leaders). In countries heavily Sunni, Shia are not considered to be Muslims. They are assumed to be heretics. For recent survey data illustrating this point see Pew Research. Religion and Public Life Project (2012).
- 22 See Pinker (2011). Mosk (2013: 30-6) develops the idea of a conflicted brain, torn between violent tendencies and rational cool calculation.
- 23 See Mosk (2014a) and Norenzayan (2013).
- 24 From the song "Every Grain of Sand". See Dylan (2004: 451).

## Bibliography

- Adogame, A.; Gerloff, R.; and Hock, K. [eds.] (2008) *Christianity in Africa and the African Diaspora: The Appropriation of a Scattered Heritage* (New York: Continuum International Publishing Group).
- Akinwumi, O. (2008) "Political or Spiritual Partition: The Impact of the 1884/85 Berlin Conference on Christian Missions in Africa" in Adogame, Gerloff, and Hock [eds.] (2008: 9-19).
- Anderson, A. (2014) *An Introduction to Pentecostalism. Second Edition* (New York: Cambridge University Press).
- (2010) "Varieties, Taxonomies, and Definitions" in Anderson, Bergundeer, Droogers, and van der Laan [eds.] (2010: 13-29).
- ; Bergunder, M.; Droogers, A.; and van der Laan, C. [eds.] (2010) *Studying Global Pentecostalism: Theories and Methods* (Berkeley: University of California Press).
- Association of Religion Data Archives (2013, 2014) accessed at [www.thearda.com](http://www.thearda.com).
- Barfield, T. (2005) "An Islamic State is a State Run by Good Muslims: Religion as a Way of Life and Not an Ideology in Afghanistan" in Hefner [ed.] (2005: 213-239).
- Christie-Murray, D. (1978) *Voices from the Gods: Speaking with Tongues* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul).
- Diner, D. (2005) *Lost in the Sacred: Why the Muslim World Stood Still* (Princeton: Princeton University Press).
- Doniger, W. (2014) "India: Censorship by the Batra Brigade", *New York Review of Books*, May 8, 2014: pp. 51-53.
- Dylan, B. (2004) *Lyrics, 1962-2001* (New York: Simon & Schuster).
- Easterly, W. (2001) *The Elusive Quest for Growth: Economists' Adventures and Misadventures in the Tropics* (Cambridge, MA: The MIT Press).
- [en.wikipedia.org/wiki/list\\_of\\_countries\\_ranked\\_by\\_ethnic\\_and\\_cultural\\_diversity](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/list_of_countries_ranked_by_ethnic_and_cultural_diversity).
- Evans, C. (2013) *Histories of American Christianity: An Introduction* (Waco: Baylor University Press).
- Feillard, A. (1997) "Traditionalist Islam and the State in Indonesia: The Road to Legitimacy and Renewal" in Hefner and Horvatic [eds.] (1997: 129-155).

- Gerloff, R. (2008) "Churches of the Spirit: The Pentecostal/Charismatic Movement and Africa's Contribution to the Renewal of Christianity" in Adogame, Gerloff, and Hock [eds.] (2008: 208-20).
- Hefner (1997) "Islamization and Democratization in Indonesia" in Hefner and Horvatic [eds.] (1997: 75-128).
- [ed.] (2005) *Remaking Muslim Politics: Pluralism, Contestation, Democratization* (Princeton: Princeton University Press).
- (2005) "Introduction: Modernity and the Remaking of Muslim Politics" in Hefner [ed.] (2005: 1-36).
- Hefner, R. and Horvatic, P. [eds.] (1997) *Islam in an Era of Nation-States: Politics and Religious Renewal in Muslim Southeast Asia* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press).
- Horvatic, P. (1997) "The Ahmadiyya Movement in Simunul: Islamic Reform in One Remote and Unlikely Place" in Hefner and Horvatic [eds.] (1997: 183-206).
- Heston, A; Summers, R.; and Aten, B. Penn (2012) World Table Volume 7.1, Center for International Comparison of Production, Income, and Prices at University of Pennsylvania (July), accessed at [https://pwt.sas.upenn.edu/php\\_site/pwt\\_form.php](https://pwt.sas.upenn.edu/php_site/pwt_form.php).
- Hollenweger, W. (1972) *The Pentecostals* (London: SCM Press).
- Juergensmeyer, M. (1993) *The New Cold War? Religious Nationalism Confronts the Secular State* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press).
- (2008) *Global Rebellion: Religious Challenges to the Secular State, from Christian Militias to al Qaeda* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press).
- Kalu, O. (2008) *African Pentecostalism: An Introduction* (New York: Oxford University Press).
- Kroesbergen, H. [ed.] (2014) *In Search of Health and Wealth: The Prosperity Gospel in African, Reformed Perspective* (Eugene, OR: WPF & Stock).
- Kuran, T. (2011) *The Long Divergence: How Islamic Law Held Back the Middle East* (Princeton: Princeton University Press).
- Moaddel, M. (2005) *Islamic Modernism, Nationalism, and Fundamentalism* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press).
- Mosk, C. (2013) *Nationalism and Economic Development in Modern Eurasia* (New York: Routledge).
- (2014a) "The Two Axial Ages of Economic History" Paper posted to Social Science Research Network and [www.carlmosk.com](http://www.carlmosk.com) (February).

- (2014b) "Liberal Nationalism, Religious Nationalism, and the Human Development Index," Paper posted to Social Science Research Network and [www.carlmosk.com](http://www.carlmosk.com) (July).
- Mwaura, P. (2008) "The Role of Charismatic Christianity in Reshaping the Religious Scene in Africa: The Case of Kenya" in Adogame, Gerloff, and Hock (2008: 180-192).
- Norenzayan, A. (2013) *Big Gods: How Religion Transformed Cooperation and Conflict* (Princeton: Princeton University Press).
- Omer, A. and Springs, J. (2013) *Religious Nationalism: A Reference Book* (Santa Barbara: ABC-CLIO).
- Paris, P. [ed.] (2009) *Religion and Poverty: Pan-African Perspectives* (Durham: Duke University Press).
- Pew Research. Religion and Public Life Project (2012) "Infographic: The World's Muslims: Unity and Diversity" accessed at [www.pewforum.org/2012/08/09/the-worlds-muslims-unity-and-diversity-inforgraphic1/](http://www.pewforum.org/2012/08/09/the-worlds-muslims-unity-and-diversity-inforgraphic1/)
- Pinker, S. (2011) *The Better Angels of Our Nature: Why Violence Has Declined* (New York: Viking, Penguin Group).
- Sachs, J. (2005) *The End of Poverty: Economic Possibilities for Our Time* (New York: Penguin).
- Shoko, T. (2009) Healing in Hear the Word Ministries Pentecostal Church Zimbabwe" in Westerlund [ed] (2009: 43-56).
- Strindberg, A. and Wörn, M. (2011) *Islamism: Religion, Radicalization, and Resistance* (Malden, MA: Polity Press).
- Transparency International (2014) "Corruption Perceptions Index," accessed at [www.transparency.org/cpi2013/results](http://www.transparency.org/cpi2013/results).
- Ukah, A. and Echtler, M. (2009) "Born-Again Witches and Videos in Nigeria" in Westerlund [ed.] (2009: 73-92).
- United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (2014) "Refugee Figures," accessed at [www.unhcr.org](http://www.unhcr.org).
- Van der Veer, P. (1998) *Religious Nationalism: Hindus and Muslims in India* (Delhi: Oxford University Press).
- Westerlund, D. [ed.] (2009) *Global Pentecostalism: Encounters with Other Religious Traditions* (New York: I. B. Tauris).
- White, J. (2005) "The End of Islamism: Turkey's Muslimhood Model" in Hefner [ed.] (2005: 87-111).

Zaman, M. (2005) "Pluralism, Democracy, and the 'Ulama,'" in Hefner [ed.] (2005: 60-86).

**Table 1**

**Corruption, Religiosity, and Per Capita Income Growth for Countries Cross-Classified by Five Year Relative Refugee-Years per Million Persons, 1990-2012 (RELrefr): Population Weighted Averages for the Public Sector Corruption Perceptions Index (cpi), Percentage Atheist and Agnostic (athagn%), and the Ratio of Per Capita Income in 2010 Divided by Per Capita Income in 1990 (raty) <sup>(a)</sup>**

**Panel A: Percentage of World Refugee-Years Between 1990-2012 (Refyear%), Percentage of World Population (Pop%) and Ratio of Refyear% divided by Pop% (RATIO) <sup>(b)</sup>**

Group	Refyear%	Pop%	RATIO
RELrefr > 1000 <sup>(c)</sup>	58.6 %	1.7 %	34.25
1000 ≥ RELrefr > 100 <sup>(d)</sup>	19.6	6.1	3.21
100 ≥ RELrefr > 50 <sup>(e)</sup>	4.6	5.1	0.89
50 ≥ RELrefr > 10 <sup>(f)</sup>	2.2	7.1	0.31
10 ≥ RELrefr > 1 <sup>(g)</sup>	2.1	38.3	0.06
1 ≥ RELrefr <sup>(h)</sup>	0.2	28.7	0.01

**Panel B: Corruption, Religiosity and Per Capita Income Growth**

Group	Refugee-Year Variables <sup>(b)</sup>			cpi	athagn%	raty
	avgrefr	RELrefr	CONrefr			
RELrefr > 1000 <sup>(c)</sup>	59,822	3,743.52	.389	2.01	1.93 %	152.4
1000 ≥ RELrefr > 100 <sup>(d)</sup>	5,124	320.66	.408	2.36	5.43	180.8
100 ≥ RELrefr > 50 <sup>(e)</sup>	1,171	73.30	.471	3.05	1.79	146.4
50 ≥ RELrefr > 10 <sup>(f)</sup>	461	28.87	.415	3.01	9.56	153.7
10 ≥ RELrefr > 1 <sup>(g)</sup>	74	4.61	.378	3.14	21.77	383.7
1 ≥ RELrefr <sup>(h)</sup>	5	0.34	.482	3.99	3.49	195.8

## Table 1 (Continued)

### Sources:

Association of Religion Data Archives (2014); Heston, Summers, and Atten Penn World Table 7.1 (2012); Transparency International (2014) and United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (2014).

### Notes:

- a The refugee data are for countries of origin, not country of settlement. Countries in which the number of refugee-years per capita in any year between 1990 and 2012 is less than 1000 are excluded from the sample of countries. The variables for corruption and atheism/agnosticism are for 2010. For some countries in the sample data on per capita income was unavailable for 1990 in which case figures for the first year for which data is available was used to compute the ratio of income per capita.
- b The variable **avgrefr** is the average for the five year refugee-years for the periods 1990-94, 1995-1999, 2000-2004, 2005-2009, and 2010-2012 (the average computed by weighting the figure for 2010-2012 by .6). The variable **RELrefr** is the relative level of the **avgrefr** compared to the value of the **avgrefr** for the world as a whole (the latter set equal to 100). The variable **CONrefr** measures the concentration of refugee-years over the entire period 1990-2012 by computing the percentage (in decimal terms) of the highest value – highest of the values for the five periods – relative to the total number of refugee-years accumulated between 1990 and 2012.
- c In descending order of **RELrefr** the countries in this group are: Liberia, Afghanistan, Bhutan, Bosnia/Herzegovina, Somalia, Eritrea, Timor-Leste, Burundi, Rwanda, Sierra Leone, Croatia, Iraq, Azerbaijan, Armenia, and Mauritania.
- d In descending order of **RELrefr** the countries in this group are: Mozambique, Togo, Serbia, Sudan, Chad, Tajikistan, Laos, Central African Republic, Sri Lanka, Djibouti, Vietnam, Congo (Democratic Republic), Congo (Republic), Nicaragua, Myanmar (Burma), Slovenia, Mali, Lebanon, Georgia, Cambodia, Syria, Macedonia, El Salvador, Suriname, Guatemala, Albania, and Guinea-Bissau.
- e In descending order of **RELrefr** the countries in this group are: Ethiopia, Senegal, St. Vincent and Grenadines, Columbia, Cuba, Iran, Haiti, Uganda, Côte d'Ivoire, and Turkey.
- f In descending order of **RELrefr** the countries in this group are: Moldova, Russia, Uzbekistan, Fiji, Kyrgyzstan, Ghana, Niger, Romania, Gambia, Kazakhstan, Chile, Ukraine, Namibia, Zimbabwe, Latvia, Estonia, Bulgaria, Kuwait, Poland, Czech Republic, Cameroon, Belarus, Hungary, and Libya.

**Table 1 (Continued)**

**Notes (Continued)**

- g In descending order of **RELrefr** the countries in this group are: Algeria, Jordan, Peru, Turkmenistan, Bangladesh, Kenya, Philippines, Honduras, Mongolia, Tunisia, Israel, China, Jamaica, Pakistan, Yemen, Nigeria, Uruguay, South Africa, Venezuela, Papua New Guinea, Nepal, Indonesia, Egypt, Ecuador, Burkino Faso, Zambia, and Morocco.
- h In descending order of **RELrefr** the countries in this group are: Mexico, Tanzania, Argentina, India, Thailand, Korea (Republic of), United States, and Brazil.

**Table 2**

**Population Weighted Averages for Refugee-Year Variables, Corruption, Religiosity, and Per Capita Income Growth: Countries Classified by the Liberal-Religious Nationalism Index for 2010 (Librelin) <sup>(a)</sup>**

Group	Refugee-Year Variables			cpi	athagn%	Raty	Librelin
	avgrefr	RELrefr	CONrefr				
<b>.3 &gt; Librelin <sup>(b)</sup></b>	8,785.16	549.76	.432	2.07	1.54 %	144.30	.184
<b>.5 &gt; Librelin <math>\geq</math>.3 <sup>(c)</sup></b>	493.99	30.91	.334	3.19	28.01	444.19	.371
<b>.7 &gt; Librelin <math>\geq</math>.5 <sup>(d)</sup></b>	445.28	27.87	.504	2.88	2.27	156.32	.572
<b>Librelin <math>\geq</math>.7 <sup>(e)</sup></b>	38.82	2.43	.468	4.03	4.15	196.97	.756

**Sources:**

Sources to Table 1 and Mosk (2014b).

**Notes:**

- a See Table 1 for definitions of variables and the text for discussion of the **Librelin** variable.
- b In ascending order of the **Librelin** the countries in this group are: Myanmar, Iran, Afghanistan, Pakistan, Sudan, Syria, Mauritania, Uzbekistan, Kuwait, Turkmenistan, and Tunisia.
- c In ascending order of the **Librelin** the countries in this group are: Egypt, Zimbabwe, Bhutan, China, Ethiopia, Algeria, Belarus, Chad, Vietnam, Tajikistan, Cameroon, Morocco, Bangladesh, Jordan, Sri Lanka, and Russia.
- d In ascending order of the **Librelin** the countries in this group are: Indonesia, Azerbaijan, Kyrgyzstan, Venezuela, Nepal, Nigeria, Thailand, Tanzania, Georgia, Moldova, Guinea-Bissau, Kazakhstan, Colombia, Nicaragua, Turkey, Philippines, Mexico, Mali, Macedonia, and Ecuador.
- e In ascending order of the **Librelin** the countries in this group are: India, Peru, Argentina, Ukraine, Brazil, Bulgaria, Romania, Senegal, Israel, Hungary, Latvia, Namibia, South Africa, Mongolia, United States, Chile, and Estonia.

**Table 3**

**Ethnic and Cultural Diversity, Religious Adherence, Corruption, and Per Capita Income Growth for the Fourteen Countries with the Highest Levels of Average Refugee-Years, 1990-2012**

**Panel A: Ethno-linguistic Fragmentation (Ethlin), Cultural Diversity (Culdiv), Ethnic Fractionalization (Ethfrac), Linguistic Fractionalization (Linfrac), Religious Fractionalization (Relfrac), and Religious Adherence**

Country/Region	Fearon Estimates		Alesina et al Estimates			Religious Adherence
	Ethlin	Culdiv	Ethfrac	Linfrac	Relfrac	
<b>Africa</b>						
<b>Liberia</b>	.899	.644	.9084	.9038	.4883	Christian (41.5%); Muslim (18-20%)
<b>Somalia</b>	.812	.290	.8117	.0326	.0028	Muslim (99.8%)
<b>Eritrea</b>	.647	.380	.6524	.6530	.4253	Christian (47.9%); Muslim (50.1%)
<b>Sierra Leone</b>	.764	.534	.8191	.7634	.5395	Christian (20-30%); Muslim (64.6%)
<b>Mauritania</b>	.625	.272	.6150	.3260	.0149	Muslim (99.1%)
<b>Burundi</b>	.328	.040	.2951	.2977	.5158	Catholic (62%); Ethno-religious (5.5%); Muslim (2-10%)
<b>Rwanda</b>	.180	.000	.3238	.0000	0.5066	Catholic (57%); Protestant (26%) Muslim (4.8%)
<b>Asia</b>						
<b>Bhutan</b>	.605	.518	.6050	.6056	.3787	Buddhist (84%); Hindu (11.4%)
<b>Timor-Leste</b>	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	Catholic (85.5%); Muslim (3.6%)

Table 1 (Continued)

Panel A (Continued)

Country/Region	Fearon Estimates		Alesina et al Estimates			Religious Adherence
	Ethlin	Culdiv	Ethfrac	Linfrac	Relfrac	
<b>Eastern Europe/Former Soviet Union</b>						
<b>Bosnia/Herzegovina</b>	.681	.146	.6300	.6751	.6851	Serbian Orthodox Christian (36%); Catholic (15%); Muslim (47.5%)
<b>Croatia</b>	.375	.185	.3690	.0763	0.4447	Catholic (85%); Serbian Orthodox Christian (6%); Muslim (1.9%)
<b>Armenia</b>	.134	.124	.1272	.1291	.4576	Armenian Christian (93.5%)
<b>Azerbaijan</b>	.188	.187	.2047	.2054	.4899	Sunni Muslim (33.6%); Shi'a Muslim (62.4%); Christian (3.3%)
<b>Middle East</b>						
<b>Afghanistan</b>	.751	.679	.7693	.6141	.2717	Sunni Muslim (80%); Shi'a Muslim (19%)
<b>Iraq</b>	.549	.355	.3689	.3694	.4844	Sunni Muslim (29.4%); Shi'a Muslim (69.7%)

**Table 3 (Continued)**

**Panel B: Average Relative Number of Refugee-Years; Religiosity; Corruption; Per Capita Income Growth; and Liberal-Religious Nationalism Index**

Country/Region	RELrefr	athagn%	cpi	Raty	Librelin
<b>Africa</b>					
<b>Liberia</b>	8,619.9	1.6 %	3.3	89.4	n.a.
<b>Somalia</b>	4,022.1	0.2	1.1	66.9	n.a.
<b>Eritrea</b>	3,301.0	3.0	2.6	71.5	n.a.
<b>Sierra Leone</b>	2,466.2	1.3	2.4	96.6	n.a.
<b>Mauritania</b>	1,037.6	0.2	2.3	117.9	.234
<b>Burundi</b>	2,782.4	0.2	1.8	66.8	n.a.
<b>Rwanda</b>	2,570.3	0.3	4.0	139.4	n.a.
<b>Asia</b>					
<b>Bhutan</b>	6,658.2	0.1	5.7	244.5	.335
<b>Timor-Leste</b>	3,053.0	0.4	2.5	85.2	n.a.
<b>Eastern Europe/Former Soviet Union</b>					
<b>Bosnia/Herzegovina</b>	5,543.9	3.6	3.2	492.8	n.a.
<b>Croatia</b>	2,133.0	6.3	4.1	111.6	n.a.
<b>Armenia</b>	1,365.8	12.7	2.6	262.3	n.a.
<b>Azerbaijan</b>	1,395.7	8.9	2.4	492.5	.505
<b>Middle East</b>					
<b>Afghanistan</b>	7,701.8	0.2	1.4	95.5	.149
<b>Iraq</b>	1,735.9	0.6	1.5	120.6	n.a.

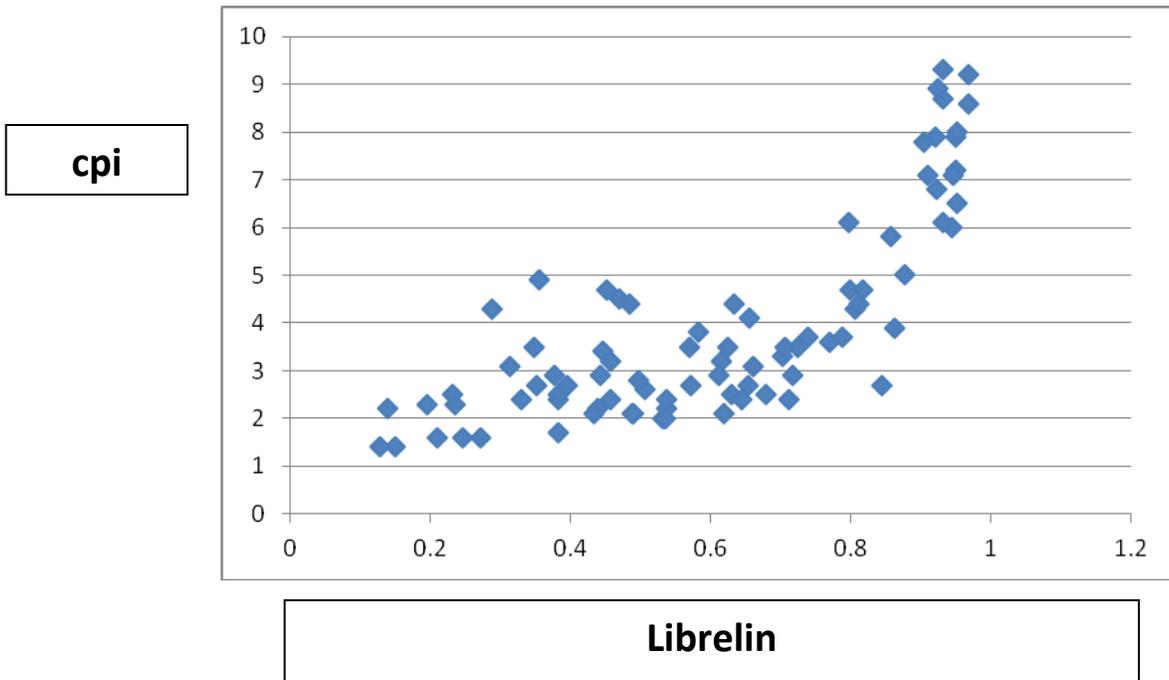
**Sources:** See Table 1 and en.wikipedia.org (2014).

**Table 3 (Continued)**

**Notes:** See Table 1 for definition of variables appearing in Panel B.

**Chart 1**

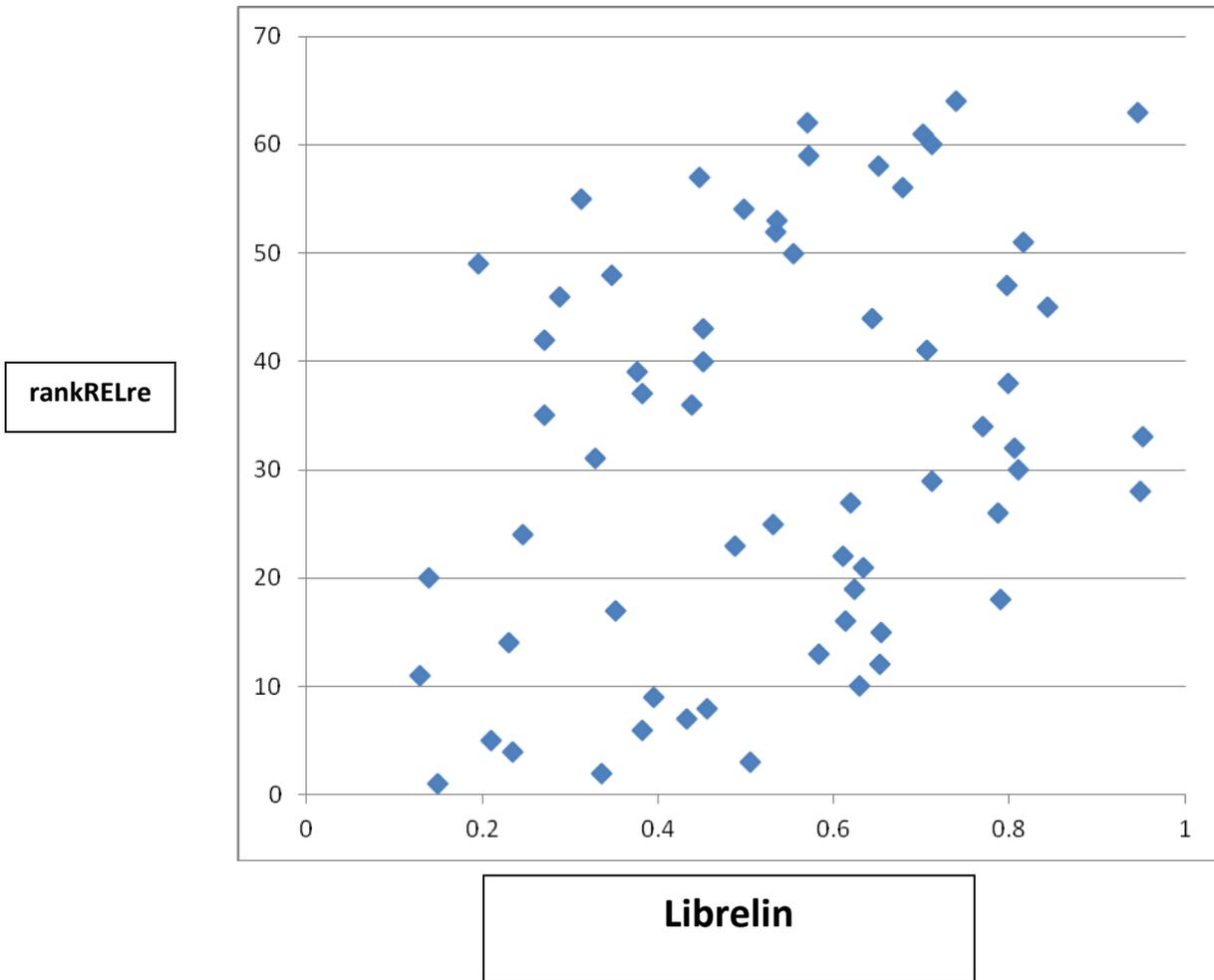
**The Public Sector Corruption Perception Index (cpi) and the Liberal-Religious Nationalism Index (Librelin)**



**Note: Values for the librelin variable lie between 0 and 1, those close to 0 indicating strong adherence to religious nationalism, those near 1 corresponding to strong commitment to liberal nationalism. The cpi varies between 0 and 10, values close to 0 indicating corruption in public service is endemic, values close to 10 indicating relatively honest public service.**

## Chart 2

**Rank Number for the Relative Level of Refugee-Years per Capita (rankRELre) and the Liberal-Religious Nationalism Index (Librelin)**



**Note: The rank for the country with the highest level for RELrefr is 1; countries with the highest ranks have the lowest levels of RELrefr**