

Index

- A-Religion data, 26, 27, 38–41, 46, 99, 100, 102–104, 106–109, 111, 112, 124, 127, 129, 227, 241, 243–245, 250–253, 256
- Abdullah, Ismeth, 205
- Acama, Jackson, 144
- access to (state) power (and spoils/resources), 3, 7–13, 17, 49, 64, 70, 72, 74, 75, 85, 86, 90, 93, 95, 110, 115, 120, 129, 166, 170, 217, 219, 223
- Indonesia, 175, 177, 192, 196, 202, 205, 207, 211, 212
- Nepal, 154
- Pakistan, 136, 212
- Turkey, 155, 160, 161, 164
- Uganda, 144
- ACD2 Data, 97, 100–105, 107–110, 245, 249, 250, 252, 253
- ACD2EPR Data, 100
- Acholi, 1, 98, 103, 129, 136–146, 153, 217, 222
- Afghan, 105
- Afghanistan, 61, 97, 108, 133–136, 241
- Africa, 1, 26–30, 32, 35, 39, 42, 49–53, 129
- Ahok, 176, 190
- Akan, 39
- Al-Aqsa Martyrs Brigades (AMB), 105
- al-Bashir, Omar Hassan Ahmad, 58
- al-Mahdi, Sadiq, 58
- Albania, 46
- Alevi, 156, 158, 160, 164
- Alice
- Auma, 142
- Lakwena, 1, 139, 142–145
- All Minorities at Risk (AMAR) Data, 15, 21, 22, 26, 37–41, 48, 141, 227, 245, 250, 253, 255
- GeoAMAR, 27, 48, 49
- Alliance Democratic Forces (ADF), 102, 107
- Alur, 102, 138
- Ambonese, 21, 44, 175, 188, 197
- American Indian, 88, 89
- Amin, Idi, 1, 137, 138, 140, 141, 143
- Amin, Ma'ruf, 2
- Animism, 21, 35, 36, 39, 40, 42, 44, 55, 129, 137, 140, 143, 144, 175
- Animist, 40, 42, 45, 46, 49, 51, 53, 55, 110, 137, 142, 188, 227
- Ankole, 107
- Arab, 46, 58, 59, 98, 104
- Arakanese, 253
- Arifin, Syamsul, 210
- Asia, 32, 42, 50, 51, 53
- South, 26, 28, 33, 34
- South-east, 2, 33, 169
- Asri, Pramano Sigit, 209
- Atatürk, Mustafa Kemal, 157
- Baganda, 137, 138, 140
- Bahima, 1, 138
- Baloch, 136
- istan, 132, 134
- insurgency, 1
- Bangladesh, 1, 33, 61, 132

- Banyarwanda, 103, 107
 Banyoro, 103, 107
 Batak, 188, 195, 196, 199, 204–206, 208–211
 Karo, 208, 209
 Mandailing, 207, 208, 210
 Tapanuli, 208
 Toba, 208, 210
 Betawi, 175, 197
 Blacks, 72, 88
 Bolivia, 120
 Brahmin, 147, 148, 150, 152
 Buddhism, 42, 45, 55, 112, 150
 Buddhist, 4, 21, 42, 44, 69, 172, 188, 199,
 208, 210, 253
 Budi Otomo (Highest Endeavor), 171
 Buginese, 188–190, 196, 197, 203
 Burkina Faso, 46
- Cambodia, 103
 case narrative, 219
 case narratives, 15, 129, 213, 218, 219
 caste, 147–153, 166, 217
 lower, 148, 149, 152–154, 253
 upper, 148–154
 Caste Hill Hindu Elite, 150, 250
 Catholic, 4, 29, 39, 40, 42, 46, 89, 122, 137,
 139, 140, 142, 143, 173, 195, 205, 208
 ism, 42, 137, 140, 144, 171
 Central African Republic (CAR), 253
 Chad, 120, 253
 Challenger's Winning Coalition (CWC), 3, 13,
 20, 21, 68, 92, 124, 126, 216
 (see also CWC)
 Chhetri, 148–150, 152
 Chinese, 21, 44, 55, 69, 73, 174, 176, 188,
 199, 204, 206–210
 anti-Chinese sentiment, 174
 Christian, 12, 21, 29, 32, 33, 39–42, 44–46,
 48, 49, 51, 59, 68, 73, 102, 103, 110,
 122, 124, 129, 137, 139, 140, 142, 145,
 158, 172, 174, 176, 186, 188, 197, 199,
 206, 208, 210, 217
 missionaries in Africa, 29
 Christianity, 16, 21, 22, 27–30, 32, 33, 35, 36,
 39, 40, 42–47, 49, 51, 53, 55, 112, 122,
 127, 137, 140, 144, 171, 196
 Chuvash, 103
 civil conflict, 15, 20, 26, 35, 36, 41, 46, 48, 55,
 64, 91, 92, 94–100, 110, 111, 113, 116,
 118, 122, 124, 126, 127, 131, 155, 157,
 170, 216
 civil war, 2, 3, 5, 8, 10, 15, 16, 21, 22, 35, 37,
 56, 58, 61, 90, 92–94, 96–99, 112, 113,
 115, 116, 118–120, 127, 131, 137, 145,
 147, 154, 155, 166, 167, 215–217, 219
 ethnic, 5, 21, 114, 115, 119, 124–126, 219
 cleavage interaction, 7, 57
 Communist Party of Indonesia (*Partai
 Komunis Indonesia*, PKI), 171
 Communist Party of Nepal (Maoist) (CPN-M),
 147, 149, 151, 153, 154, 250
 Confucianism, 171
 Congo, 127
 constructivism, 168
 constructivist, 11
 Correlates of War (COW) Data, 27
 Croat, 39
 Croatia, 39
 cross-cutting
 cleavage, 2–4, 6, 12, 21, 43, 61, 64, 67, 82,
 96, 221, 235, 238
 identity, 64
 mobilization, 62
 national, 114, 118, 124
 ness, 5, 61, 66, 86, 120
 religion, 44
 score, 61, 62, 66
 Cuban, 88
 CWC, 13–17, 21, 23, 24, 56, 62, 72–74, 81,
 83, 86, 87, 89, 93, 94, 96, 105,
 107–110, 112, 115, 116, 119, 122, 124,
 126, 129, 130, 132, 139, 145, 147, 154,
 155, 166–170, 177, 178, 189–193,
 196–198, 200, 204–207, 209, 211, 213,
 214, 216–220, 223, 236, 245, 250, 253,
 255
 (see also Challenger's Winning Coalition
 [CWC])
- Dayak, 12, 172, 174, 186, 188, 195, 196
 democracy, 19, 86, 87, 120, 147, 149, 152,
 157, 163, 171, 172, 177
 Democracy variable, 114, 118
 Democratic Republic of Congo, the (DRC or
 Zaire), 98, 127, 139, 145
 demographic
 backdrop, 158
 balance/parity, 14, 20, 74, 84, 91, 115, 120,
 122, 124, 167, 198, 216
 change, 26, 30, 33, 35
 complexity, 35
 conditions, 3, 5, 30, 35, 177, 186
 configuration, 62, 64, 90

- context, 53, 215
 data, 22, 35, 38, 72, 169, 187
 diversity, 36, 37, 41, 168, 218
 dominance, 150
 facts, 33
 fragmentation, 166
 incentive structures, 18, 206, 219
 landscape, 130, 200
 majority, 46, 75, 79, 82, 111, 115, 120, 231
 opportunities, 214
 outliers, 119
 plurality, 12
 share, 64, 68, 72, 96
 size, 20, 59, 63, 74, 75, 90, 112, 140, 223, 226, 233
 tipping point, 78, 81
 transformation, 203
 variance, 25, 48
 variation, 27, 56, 57, 92
 demographics, 26, 217
 demography, 3, 20, 55, 86, 90, 111, 125, 188, 219, 240
 ethnic, 86
 and identity intersection, 240
 political, 3, 11, 13, 26, 59, 60, 80, 90
 and shared cleavages, 92
 discrimination
 caste, 148, 153
 class/gender/regional, 153
 ethnic, 174
 positive, 148
 Donetsk People's Republic, 104
 Dzulmi, Eldin, 210

 Eldin, Dzulmi, 210
 electoral politics, 2, 4, 16, 20, 23, 56, 93, 131, 139, 158, 160, 166–168, 177, 190, 211, 213, 218, 219, 224
 Erdoğan, Tayyip, 160
 Eritrean, 103
 Eritrean People's Liberation Front (EPLF), 103
 Ethiopia, 103
 ethnic bridging, 7, 13, 71, 122
 ethnic majorities, 26, 46, 59, 124, 126, 197
 ethnic minorities, 26, 62, 63, 96, 105, 115, 119, 126, 129, 137, 155, 156, 158, 196, 198, 208, 211, 219
 large, 68
 leaders of, 96
 sharing a religion with the majority, 120, 124, 216
 small, 63, 64
 cross-cut, 73
 Ethnic Power Relations (EPR) Data, 36, 48, 108, 109, 249
 GeoEPR, 48, 49
 ethnicity, 1, 2, 6–8, 10–13, 16–19, 21, 23, 25, 36–39, 46, 48, 56, 57, 59, 60, 62, 67, 68, 71, 72, 82, 88, 92, 94–96, 104, 109, 115, 118, 124, 126, 129, 131, 132, 134, 136, 147, 153, 156–158, 162, 165, 166, 168, 170, 177, 178, 186, 187, 189, 191–193, 196–198, 200, 204–206, 209, 210, 213, 216, 217, 223–226, 255
 Europe, 28, 31, 64
 Eastern, 78
 Northern, 224
 Western, 28, 71
 Evangelical, 29, 35, 40, 89
 external validity of the CWC, 15, 21, 22, 126, 216
 extrasystemic conflict, 103

 Fatah, 105
 fractionalization, 5, 66, 86
 fragmentation, 44, 64, 154, 217
 cross-, 66, 67, 235
 condition, 81
 index, 66
 score, 66
 identity, 170
 religious
 indices, 137
 French, 4, 103

 Gül, Abdullah, 159
 GDP per capita, 114, 118, 124, 212
 gender, 6, 11, 153, 209, 225, 226
 Ginting, Nurlisa, 209
 Goula, 253
 Guatemala, 44
 Gumelar, Agung, 191

 Hamas, 105
 Harahap, Rahudman, 210
 Harakat-i Islami-yi Afghanistan (Islamic Movement of Afghanistan), 105
 Haz, Hamzah, 189, 191
 Hindu, 4, 21, 22, 33, 42, 44, 55, 69, 127, 146–150, 152–154, 188, 196, 217
 Hinduism, 16, 28, 40, 42, 53, 112, 127, 146, 148–151, 153, 171

- Hizb-i Demokratik-i Khalq-i Afghanistan or People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan (PDPA), 105
- Hizb-i Islami-yi Afghanistan (Islamic Party of Afghanistan), 105
- Hizb-i Islami-yi Afghanistan-Khalis faction (Islamic Party of Afghanistan Khalis faction), 105
- Holy Spirit Movement (HSM), 137, 140, 142, 143, 145, 146, 217
- horizontal inequalities, 4, 212
- identifiability, 221, 223
- identity, 216
- cleavage, 2, 6, 10, 12, 13, 20, 23, 25, 56, 57, 60, 62, 66, 67, 71, 74, 79, 81, 83, 85, 86, 93, 94, 153, 168–170, 172, 178, 198, 209, 213, 217, 219, 236–238
 - interaction, 6
 - intersection, 7, 13, 25, 27, 55, 67, 207
 - mobilization, 1, 3, 4, 7, 10, 11, 13, 14, 17, 20, 21, 24, 26, 27, 33, 38, 48, 56, 92, 93, 96, 126, 136, 155–157, 161, 167, 168, 173, 185, 191, 192, 206, 213, 253
 - political activation of, 223, 224
 - segmented, 2–4, 6, 7, 12–14, 35, 40, 47, 55, 56, 65, 74, 75, 82, 85, 92, 124, 177, 192, 196, 197, 215, 219, 220, 234, 255
 - cleavage, 20, 56, 60, 64, 79–81, 86, 90, 167, 234, 237
 - ethnic majority, 59
 - groups, 4, 12–14, 21, 26, 37, 46, 47, 57–60, 66, 67, 75, 85, 93, 95, 224
 - majority, 193
 - minority, 4, 59, 79, 90, 115, 168, 177, 192, 234
 - shared, 13, 14, 17, 56, 60, 62, 64, 65, 67, 68, 72, 74, 81, 82, 90, 92, 119, 120, 124, 126, 130, 167, 170, 177, 192, 193, 207, 216, 219, 235, 237
- India, 33–35, 55, 61, 133, 150, 153, 217, 253
- Indonesia, 2, 3, 12, 15, 16, 21, 23, 34, 44, 61, 92, 93, 96, 159, 161, 163, 168–172, 174, 175, 177, 179, 180, 185–188, 190–192, 195, 196, 198, 200–203, 209, 211–214, 218, 223, 224
- abangan (syncretic masses), 174
 - asas tunggal (sole basis), 173, 175
 - bupati, 173, 181
 - bupati (regent), 184
 - Central Java, 176, 188, 193, 201, 205
 - Demokrasi Terpimpin (Guided Democracy), 170, 172, 173, 212
 - East Java, 188, 196, 212
 - Eastern Java, 188
 - Jakarta, 169, 173, 175, 176, 190, 193, 196, 198, 201, 203, 212
 - Javanization, 202
 - Kepri (Kepulauan Riau), 188, 197–200, 204–206, 211, 213, 214, 218, 223
 - Medan, 206–208, 210, 211, 214
 - New Order, 173, 177, 178, 207
 - North Maluku, 175, 197
 - North Sumatra, 175, 196, 197, 199, 202, 206–211
 - Pancasila, 157, 170–173, 175–177
 - pendatang (migrant), 199
 - pengungsi (refugees and internally displaced persons), 175
 - People's Representative Council (*Dewan Perwakilan Rakyat*, DPR), 183, 185
 - People's Representative Council (*Dewan Perwakilan Rakyat*, DPR), 171, 179, 188, 207, 213
 - preman (gangster), 210
 - putra daerah (sons of the land), 198, 206, 217, 223
 - Reformasi (Reform), 170, 171, 175, 177, 182
 - transmigration, 187, 198, 201, 202, 218
 - walikota (mayor), 184
 - West Java, 176, 188, 201, 205, 211, 212
- Indonesian National Party (*Partai Nasional Indonesia*, PNI), 171
- Indonesian Ulema Council, 2
- internal majority fissures, 59, 77
- internal validity of the CWC, 15, 21–23, 126, 127, 131, 167, 169, 213, 217, 218, 237
- intersectionality, 225
- Iran, 46
- Iraq, 61, 120
- Islam, 16, 21, 22, 26–30, 32, 35, 36, 39, 40, 42–46, 49, 50, 53, 112, 127, 129, 136, 140, 144, 155, 156, 158, 160, 163, 165, 170, 171, 175, 176, 191, 196, 203, 210
- Alevi, 160
 - Druze, 43
 - Ibadhi, 43
 - Shi'i, 43, 46, 112, 122, 158
 - Sunni, 39–41, 43, 46, 97, 98, 108, 112, 122, 133, 155, 156, 158, 160, 162, 165
- Islamic
- brotherhood, 163
 - Caliphate, the, 157, 162
 - cleric, 2, 165
 - coalition, 200

Index

291

- identity, 1, 132, 133, 162, 209, 220
 law, 171
 minorities, 47
 mobilization, 78
 movement, 171
 opposition, 48
 parties, 133, 172
 politics, 209
 scholars, 210
 sects, 43
 state
 Indonesia, 176, 203
 values, 158
 Islamic Defenders Front (*Front Pembala Islam*,
 FPI), 176
 Islamic State, the, 103, 245
 Islamist Movement of Uzbekistan (IMU), 98,
 101
 Islamist Welfare Party (*Refah Partisi*, RP), 163
 Israel, 61, 105
 Italian, 4
 Ittihad-i Islami Bara-yi Azadi-yi Afghanistan
 (also known as Ittehad-e Islami, the
 Islamic Union of Afghanistan and
 Islamic Alliance for the Liberation of
 Afghanistan), 105
 Ivory Coast, 39

 Jam'iyat-i Islami-yi Afghanistan (Islamic
 Society of Afghanistan), 105
 Jamaat-ul Ahrar, 101
 Janajati, 150, 152, 153, 250
 Javanese, 12, 171, 174, 176, 187–191, 193,
 196–214, 218
 Jewish, 158, 188
 Jokowi, 172, 176, 190
 (*see also* Widodo, Joko)
 Joshua Project, the, 37, 40
 Judaism, 40, 112
 Justice and Development Party (*Adalet ve*
Kalkınma Partisi, AKP), 160, 161,
 163–165

 Kabaka, 138
 Kabaka Yekka movement, 137
 Kakwa, 1, 102, 137, 138
 kapupaten (regency), 184
 Kartawidjaja, Djuanda, 212
 Kenya, 61
 Ketchamatan (sub-district), 184
 Khmer Issarak, 103
 Kony, Joseph, 1, 139, 142–146
 Kota (city), 184

 Kurd, 46, 131, 155–158, 160–163, 217
 Kurdish, 155–166, 173
 Hizbullah, 165
 Kurdistan Workers' Party (*Partiya Karkeren*
Kurdistan, PKK), 131, 155–157

 Langi, 1, 98, 136–141, 145
 Latin America, 42, 50, 51, 53, 55
 Lebanon, 98, 221
 Libya, 98
 Lord's Resistance Army (LRA), 98, 103, 137,
 139, 140, 142, 144–146, 217
 Los Angeles, 88
 Lugansk People's Republic, 104
 Lugbara, 1, 102, 137, 138
 Lule, Yusufu, 138

 Madagascar, 227
 Madhesi, 150, 152, 153
 Madi, 102, 138
 Madurese, 174, 188, 202, 203, 212
 Mahaz-i Milli-yi Islami-yi Afghanistan (NIFA
 or National Islamic Front of
 Afghanistan), 105
 Makhuwa/Metto, 227
 Malay, 12, 174, 186, 188–191, 196–200,
 204–211, 213, 214, 218, 223
 Mali, 97, 98, 106
 Mauritania, 253
 Mbunda, 46
 Mestizo, 103, 120
 Mexican American/Hispanic, 87, 88
 Miami, 87, 88
 Middle East, the, 28
 migrant, 153, 168, 188, 196, 202–206, 208,
 209
 versus native cleavage, 6, 168, 203–206, 209
 Minangkabau, 188, 196, 199, 200, 204, 205,
 208, 210
 Minimum Winning Coalition (MWC), 2, 3,
 5–7, 9, 12–14, 20, 21, 23, 24, 57,
 68–73, 81, 94, 130, 168, 169, 192, 193,
 196–198, 200, 204–206, 208–210, 213,
 215, 216, 218, 219, 221
 mobilization of religion, 10, 15, 16, 74, 92, 93,
 96, 98, 111, 113, 116, 118, 125–127,
 129, 132, 133, 137, 140, 142, 154, 168,
 216, 225
 Mohajir, 132
 monotheistic religion, 40, 42, 122
 Mossi, 40, 46
 Muhammad, Maulvi Faquir, 135
 Muhammadiyah, 175

- Museveni, Yoweri, 1, 138–140, 142–146, 217
- Muslim, 1, 12, 26, 29, 31–35, 39, 41–43,
 45–47, 59, 69, 76, 103, 110, 112, 122,
 124, 132, 133, 136, 138–140, 143, 156,
 158, 160, 162, 164, 169, 171–177, 186,
 188, 190, 191, 193, 195–200, 204–206,
 208–210, 255
- Myanmar, 253
- Nahdlatul Ulama (NU), 172, 173, 175, 176
- National Front, the, 104
- National Resistance Movement/Army
 (NRM/A), 138, 139, 142, 143
- Natural Earth Data, 28
- Negara Pasundan (Pasundan State), 212
- Nepal, 2, 3, 15, 22, 119, 120, 125, 127,
 129–131, 146–154, 166, 217, 224, 250,
 253
 caste system, 146
 Crown Prince Dipendra, 148
 Gorkha monarchy, 146–148
 Jana Andolan (people's movement), 146
 King Birendra, 147
 Muluki Ain (National Legal Code), 146
 Panchayat (political system), 146
 Rana family, 146, 148
 Terai region, 150, 152–154, 217
 The Hills, 147, 150, 152, 153, 217
- Nepali Congress Party, 146, 152
- Newar, 149, 250
- Niger, 253
- Nigeria, 61
- Nilsson, Desirée, 99
- Nimeiry, Gaafar Muhammad, 58
- no religion, 44–46, 51, 53
- Nogai, 253
- North Africa, 28
- North America, 28
- North Yemen, 98, 255
- Nubians, 138
- Nuer, 110
- Obote, Milton, 1, 136–139, 141, 142
- Okello, Tito, 1, 137, 141
- Oklahoma City, 88, 89
- Orthodox, 42, 46, 112
- Ottoman Empire, the, 157, 161
- outbidding, 12, 47, 58–60, 73, 78, 88–90, 219,
 234
 ethnic, 58
 majority, 4, 12, 64, 77, 80, 82, 85, 95, 238,
 255
 internal, 59
 religious, 4, 58, 149, 160, 176
- over-representation
 of Islam in conflict, 26, 35, 36, 46, 47
 of Pashtuns in state bureaucracy and
 military, 132, 222
- Pakistan, 1, 3, 15, 22, 33, 43, 61, 102, 125,
 129–137, 141, 147, 161, 166, 168, 212,
 217, 222–225
 Federally Administered Tribal Areas (FATA),
 134
 Frontier Crime Regulation (FRC), 134
- Palestine Islamic Jihad (PIJ), 105
- Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO), 105
- Palestinian Arab, 105, 241
- Palestinian National Authority (PNA), 105
- Partai Muslimin Indonesia (Parmusi, Muslim
 Party of Indonesia), 173
- Pashtun, 97, 100, 105, 108, 132–136, 141,
 161, 212, 217, 222, 241
- Penn World Tables 9.0, 114
- Pentecostal, 137
 ism, 137, 139, 140
- Peoples' Democratic Party (*Halklarm
 Demokrasi Partisi*, HDP), 164
- Peru, 101–103
- plurality, 179, 181, 192
 coalition, 68
 competition, 68
 contest, 70
 elite factions, 58
 ethnic groups, 187
 group, 9, 12, 49, 58, 204, 213
 groups, larger, 140
 Malay, 204
 predominant, 39, 111
 religious cleavage, 209
 vote, 193, 199, 204, 207
- political contestation, 1–4, 6, 16, 18, 23, 35,
 48, 55, 56, 93, 95, 126, 134, 135, 140,
 167, 215
- political majority, 12, 21, 48, 72, 74, 78, 79,
 81, 106, 114, 120, 122, 129–131, 141,
 177, 226
- political minority, 21, 74, 75, 81, 82, 106, 112,
 114, 120, 122, 127, 141
- politically dominant group, 41, 49, 112, 120,
 231
- politically relevant group, 36–38, 48, 109
- Polity Data, 27
- Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine
 (PFLP), 105

Index

293

- Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine
 General Command (PFLP-GC), 105
- Popular Resistance Committees (PRC), 105
- population balance, 64, 75, 77–82, 96, 98,
 109, 112–118, 120, 122, 124, 126, 130,
 196, 206, 221, 233–235, 239, 240
 majority-minority, 79, 81
- Posner, Daniel, 69, 70, 73
- Prabowo Subianto, 190, 210
- primary cleavage, 64–66, 68, 81, 84, 85, 235
- primary group religion, 39–41, 46, 49, 111,
 227, 228
- Protestant, 40, 42, 122, 140, 173, 195, 208
 ism, 29, 171
- Punjabi, 132, 134, 136, 222
- Pushpa Kamal Dahal (Prachanda), 147, 152
- race, 11, 40, 72–74, 88, 173, 225, 226
- regionalism, 136, 142
- Rejectionist Front, 105
- relative group size, 25, 126
 and cleavage intersection, 57
 or group's proportional size, 28, 53, 81, 82,
 112
 of minority, 13
- Religion and Armed Conflict (RELAC), 15, 22,
 99–107, 109, 111–113, 124, 127, 129,
 131, 155, 218, 241, 243, 244, 250, 252,
 253, 255
- religious bonding, 7, 13
- religious claim, 15, 22, 99, 103, 105, 108, 112,
 113, 120, 122, 124, 126, 127, 129, 131,
 154, 216, 217
- religious family, 6, 21, 38, 40–48, 111, 112,
 117, 119, 122, 125, 156, 227, 231, 253,
 255
- religious heterogeneity, 26, 28, 33
- religious incompatibility, 96–99, 102, 103,
 106–109, 112–115, 117–120, 122–124,
 127, 129, 131, 147, 155, 218, 243, 245,
 253
- religious sect, 21, 38, 43, 111, 122, 156, 158,
 231
- religious tapestry of the world, 20, 21, 26
- religiously segmented groups, 26, 47
- religious bonding, 71, 136
- Respatiano, Soerya, 206
- Respationo, Soerya, 205
- Revolutionary Eastern Cultural Hearths
 (*Devrimci Doğu Kültür Ocakları*,
 DDKO), 162
- Rhodesia, 110
- robustness checks, 119, 122, 125, 127, 245,
 253
- Russia, 61, 103, 253
- Russian, 104
- Sahrawi, 253
- salient identity/cleavage, 20, 25, 64, 76, 77,
 134, 168, 192, 203, 218, 223, 224
 alternative, 89
 politically, 88, 135, 149, 165, 168, 198, 204,
 213
 socially, 129
- Sani, Muhammed, 206
- Sarekat Islam (Islamic Union), 171
- secession, 7, 59, 64, 85
 ists, 94, 97, 114
 of small ethnic minority sharing religion
 with the majority, 64
 of Southern Sudan, 59
 threat of, 82
- secondary cleavage, 3, 60, 64–68, 72, 74, 81,
 82, 115, 177, 235
- sectarian
 affiliation, 41
 differences, 122, 127, 140
 splits, 45
 Uganda's non-sectarian war, 143
 variable, 122
 violence/war, 122, 124, 125, 140, 217
- secularization theory, 224
- segmentation, 5, 7, 13, 24, 27, 58, 84, 238
- selectorate theory, 5
- Selway, Joel, 61, 65–67, 118
 Ethnic and Religious Cross-cuttingness
 variable (ERC), 114
- Sendero, 101, 103
- separatism, 1, 85, 114, 118, 120, 155
- Shared Family, 111–113, 117, 118, 120, 122,
 123
 interaction variable of Shared Family and
 Population Balance, 118
- Shared Sect, 111, 122, 124
- Shinto, 42, 45
- Sikhism, 112
- Sindhi, 132, 133
- Sinhalese, 4, 58, 59
- Social Conflict Analysis Data, 98
- social identity theory, 10, 18, 56
- socially relevant group, 15, 37, 38, 109, 110,
 245
- Somalia, 61
- Southern Shafi'i, 98
- Sri Lanka, 4, 21, 44, 58, 59, 61

- Sudan, 4, 29, 32, 58, 104, 110, 142, 145, 250
 civil war, 29
 South, 32, 110, 111
 Sudan People's Liberation Army, 145
 Sudanese, 59, 104, 111, 138, 145
 Suharto, 170, 172–174, 176, 177, 186, 191,
 198, 202, 205
 Sukarno, 170–173, 186, 202, 212
 Sukarnoputri, Megawati, 189–191
 Sundanese, 12, 172, 188, 191, 193, 196, 201,
 211–214
 Sunni, 98
 Svensson, Isaak, 99
 syncretic, 36, 42, 44, 45, 55, 112, 137, 139,
 145, 174, 203
 belief systems, 21, 39
 beliefs, 144, 175, 203
 rebel group, 142
 religion, 42, 49, 53
 Syncretism, 39, 129
 Syria, 61, 120, 127
- Tajik, 108
 Tajikistan, 98
 Taliban, 105, 135, 136
 Tama, 253
 Tanzania, 61
 Taoism, 42, 55
 Tehreek-e Taliban (TTP), 135, 136
 Teso, 98, 137, 139–141, 145
 Tobou, 253
 Toro, 103, 107
 transgressive, 10, 19, 86, 167
 political contestations, 86
 political mobilization, 167, 221
 political settings, 3, 14, 21, 23, 55–57, 90
 political strategies, 17, 18
 politics, 4, 15, 90
 strategies, 18
 versus contained choices, 18
 Tuareg, 97, 98, 106
 Turkey, 2, 3, 15, 22, 46, 125, 127, 130, 131,
 145, 147, 154–160, 162, 164–166, 168,
 177, 200, 217, 218, 220, 223–225
 imam, 165
 Kemalism, 157
 mele, 164, 165
 nationalism, 157
 populism, 157
 reformism, 157
 republicanism, 157
 sivil itaatsizlik (civil disobedience), 164
 south-eastern region/provinces, 158,
 160–162
 statism, 157
 Turkish Armed Forces, 157, 159
 Turkish, 137, 155–163, 165, 166, 173
 Turkish Workers' Party (*Türkiye İşçi Partisi*,
 TİP), 162
- Uganda, 1–3, 15, 22, 98, 103, 107, 119, 120,
 125, 127, 130, 131, 136–142, 144, 145,
 147, 153, 166, 217, 222, 253
 Far-North-west Nile, 102
 Northerner, 1, 136, 137, 139, 140, 142
 Northerners, 144
 South-westerer, 1, 138
 South-westerners, 107
 West Nile, 138, 139
 Uganda People's Congress (UPC), 136, 139
 Ugandan National Liberation Army (UNLA),
 138, 142
 Ugandan National Liberation Front (UNLF),
 98, 138
 Ukraine, 104
 ummah (Islamic brotherhood), 158, 163, 164,
 171, 174
 United Islamic Front for the Salvation of
 Afghanistan (UIFSA), 105
 United Kingdom, 44
 United People's Defense Army (UPDA), 98,
 142
 United States, 34, 45, 87–89, 187, 220
 Unity Development Party (PPP), 173, 175, 191
 Uppsala Conflict Data Program (UCDP), 15,
 22, 94, 99, 100, 113
 Uzbek, 98, 100, 136
- Voll, John, 29, 30, 35
- Wahid, Abdurrahman, 171, 176, 189, 191
 Whites, 45, 69, 73, 88, 103, 120
 Widodo, Joko, 172, 189
 (*see also* Jokowi)
- Yemen, 98
 Yugoslavia, 110
- Zambia, 46
 Zaza, 156
 Zia, General, 133
 Zimbabwe, 106, 255
- Öcalan, Abdullah, 158, 165