

Notes

Chapter 1

1. Smith 1976.
2. Kymlicka and Norman 2000; Benhabib 2002; Kymlicka 1990; Stepan 2001; Taylor 1992.
3. Fraser and Honneth 2003.
4. Hart 1955, pp. 175–91.
5. Sen 2004c.
6. Sen 2004c.
7. Sandel 1998.
8. Sandel 1998.
9. Crowley 1987.
10. Sen 1999, 2001.
11. Appiah 1996, p. 84.
12. This section is drawn from Sen 2002.
13. As quoted in Mokyr 1983, p. 291.
14. This section is drawn from Sen 2004b.
15. Harrison and Huntington 2000, p. xiii.
16. Kymlicka and Norman 2000; Stepan 2001; Young 2000.
17. Sen 2003.
18. Aston 1972.
19. Mandela 1994, p. 21.
20. Okin 1999.

Chapter 2

1. Kymlicka 1996.
2. HDRO calculations based on CIA 2003.
3. Statistics Canada 2004.
4. Kymlicka 2004.
5. UNDP 2003e.
6. Dragoljub 2000.
7. Gurr 2000.
8. While there is no internationally agreed on definition of indigenous people, a widely accepted understanding of indigenous people may be found in UNDP 2004a.
9. UNDP 2004c.
10. Stavenhagen 2004.
11. Minority Rights Group International 2003.
12. Bell-Fiakoff 1993, pp. 110–21; Kiernan 1999; *The Bangkok Post* 2000; 2001. The vast majority of this reduction in numbers was from introduced diseases. The extent of intent is unclear, and it appears to be more of a case of non-prevention.
13. Indigenous Australia 2003.
14. During 1992.
15. UN 2002a.
16. HDRO calculations based on Wanner 2002. Total refers to 15 European countries with data: Austria, Belgium, Denmark, Finland, France, Germany, Iceland, Italy, Liechtenstein, Luxembourg, Netherlands, Norway, Spain, Sweden and Switzerland.
17. *The Guardian* 2001.
18. Migration Information Source 2003.
19. UN 2002a.

20. UN 2002a.
21. Kelso and Vasagar 2002.
22. Statistical feature 1, *The state of human development*, in this volume.
23. Statistical feature 1, *The state of human development*, in this volume.
24. Statistical feature 1, *The state of human development*, in this volume.
25. Statistical feature 1, *The state of human development*, in this volume.
26. Calculations based on the Polity IV Project 2003.
27. Kymlicka 2004.
28. Wikipedia 2004.
29. Zolberg 2004.
30. Human Rights Watch 2002.
31. Human Rights Watch 2002.
32. International Federation of Human Rights 2003.
33. Zolberg 2004.
34. UNESCO 2003b.
35. UNESCO 2003b.
36. Calculations based on UNESCO 2000c.
37. SIL International 2004b.
38. The Minorities at Risk (MAR) Project 2003.
39. Calculations based on the Minorities at Risk (MAR) Project 2003.
40. Human Rights Watch 2003.
41. Libanio 2004.
42. Kanyinga 2003.
43. Fraenkel 2003.
44. Premdas 2003.
45. Calculations based on the Minorities at Risk (MAR) Project 2003.
46. UNDP 2000c.
47. Dragoljub 2000.
48. Alvim 2002.
49. Bryld and others 2003.
50. UNDP 2003e.
51. UNDP 2000c.
52. Kymlicka 2004.
53. Kymlicka 2004.
54. Arizpe 2004.
55. Sen 2004b.
56. Huntington 1996.
57. Sen 2004b.
58. Sen 2004b.
59. See, for example, Inglehart 1997.
60. Sen 2004b
61. Inglehart and Baker 2000; Sen 2004b.
62. Barro and McLeary 2003.
63. Sen 2004b.
64. Sen 2004b.
65. See, for example, Etounga-Manguelle 2000.

66. Sen 2004b.
67. Indicator table 13.
68. UNDP 2003b.
69. Sen 2004b.
70. Stepan and Robertson 2003, pp. 30–44.
71. Sen 2004b.
72. Stepan and Robertson 2003. Countries with average GDP per capita under \$1,500.
73. UNDP 2003a.
74. UNDP 2003a.
75. Not counting the peoples of former European colonies.
76. Marshall and Gurr 2003.
77. Huntington 1996.
78. Stewart 2003.
79. Cohen 1974; Alexander and McGregor 2000; Ranger 1983; Turton 1997, pp. 77–94.
80. Collier and Hoeffler 2001.
81. Justiniano 2004.
82. Stewart 2003.
83. Stewart 2002.
84. See, for example, Easterley and Levine 1997, pp. 1203–50.
85. See, for example, Easterley and Levine 1997, pp. 1203–50.
86. Snodgrass 1995.
87. *The Economist* 2002a.
88. Kapur and McHale 2003, pp. 48–57.
89. Kapur and McHale 2003, pp. 48–57.
90. “Charter oath” as cited in Sen 2004b.
91. Sen 2004b.
92. UNDP 2003a.
93. Florida and Gates 2002, pp. 32–35.
34. Haffajee 1999.
35. Zorzi 2002.
36. This was unequivocally shown by the European Court of Human Rights in the Belgian linguistic case (de Varennes 1996, pp. 291–300).
37. Dutcher 1982.
38. Cummings and Tamayo 1994.
39. Ndoye 2003.
40. Patrinos and Velez 1996.
41. Patrinos and Velez 1996.
42. India 2004.
43. Ndoye 2003.
44. Matiki 2003.
45. Moeketsi 1999.
46. Temu 2000.
47. Eades 2004, pp. 23 and 113–33.
48. De Varennes 1996, pp. 291–300.
49. Chua 2003.
50. Duncan, Jefferis and Molutsi 2000.
51. Moyo 2004.
52. Psacharopoulos and Patrinos 1994.
53. UNICEF 2004.
54. United Nations Association of Great Britain and Northern Ireland 2004.
55. UNICEF 2004.
56. Psacharopoulos and Patrinos 1994.
57. Miguel 1999.
58. Alesina, Baqir and Easterly 1997.
59. Luttmer 1997.
60. Yashar 2004.
61. Sheth 2004.
62. For instance, in the Surat District of Gujarat in the 1960s about 80% of primary school teachers were members of tribal groups. This enabled members of the tribal groups in the district to access political power in Gujarat. They have become members of the legislative assembly and members of Parliament (which was mechanically possible through quotas) and also ministers and chief minister of the state. This political power was then used to acquire other linkages.
63. Sabbagh 2004.

Chapter 3

1. Benhabib 1996.
2. Kymlicka and Norman 2000.
3. Moncrieffe 2004, pp 32–33, has an interesting discussion of the founding ideology of the revolutionary movement in Cuba, which argues that the racial problem was subsumed within the general battle against social injustice in all its manifestations.
4. Sheth 2004.
5. Okin 1999.
6. Moncrieffe 2004.
7. Prashad 2001.
8. Kymlicka 1996.
9. Young 2000.
10. Requejo 2001.
11. Young 1999.
12. Snyder 2000, p. 327.
13. Martínez-Herrera 2002, pp. 1–22.
14. Alfred 1995.
15. Watts 1998.
16. ILO 2003.
17. ILO 2003.
18. Luter and Deschouwer 1999.
19. Fleiner 2003.
20. Moncrieffe 2004.
21. O’Leary 2004.
22. O’Leary 2004.
23. Boix 1999, pp. 609–24.
24. Nagel 2004.
25. O’Leary 2004.
26. Cohn 1996; Kaviraj 1992; Hansen 2001; Corbridge and Harriss 2000; Dirks 2004.
27. Phillips 2001.
28. Care 1999.
29. Schacher 2001.
30. Tetley 1999.
31. Dirks 2004.
32. Kuruk 2002.
33. Thompson 2001.

Feature 3.1

1. Kymlicka 2004.
2. Kymlicka 2004.
3. Stepan, Linz and Yadav 2004.
4. Breytenbach 2000.
5. Keating 2002.
6. Linz and Stepan 1996.
7. Stepan 2001.
8. Bhargava 2004.
9. Stepan, Linz and Yadav 2004.

Chapter 4

1. CPS 2002; DUMC 2002; EUMC 2002; FBI 2002; SSS 2002. The number for the United States does not include hate crimes motivated by sexual orientation or disability.
2. RAND Corporation 2004.
3. Engineer 2004. Casualties include numbers killed and injured. For 1954–94 the data are from Home Ministry records. For 1995–2002 the data are from newspaper accounts.
4. Noting the threat posed by extremist organizations, in August 2001 Pakistan banned the Lashkar-e-Jhangvi. In January 2002 it banned the Sipah-e-Sahaba and Tehreek-i-Jafariya (*South Asia Monitor* 2003).
5. Symonds 2003.
6. ADL 2003.
7. Mudde 2000.
8. Eatwell 2000.
9. Arjomand 1989, cited in De Kadt 2004, p. 23.

10. Sands 2003. Estimates are those of Pakistan's Minister of Education, Zubaida Jalal.
11. Macan-Markar 2004.
12. Entzinger 2003; Meyer 2001.
13. Kaldor and Muro 2003, p. 179.
14. *The Economist* 2003a, p. 19.
15. Testas 2002.
16. AFP 2004.
17. Widfeldt 2001.
16. Front National 2004.
17. Lega Nord 2004.
18. Council of Europe 2000.
19. Bhagwati 2003, pp. 98–104.
20. IOM 2003c.
21. Niessen 2000.
22. Geddes 2002.
23. UN 2000b.
24. *The Economist* 2002a.
25. IOM 2003a.

Chapter 5

1. Gandhi 1921.
2. World Bank 2002.
3. Tebtebba and Forest Peoples Programme 2003.
4. World Bank 2002.
5. Forero 2003; *The New York Times* 2003.
6. World Bank 2004.
7. European Union 2003.
8. In the United States, for example, these have become some of the strongest export sectors, providing much needed export revenues at a time when the country is facing a ballooning trade deficit.
9. Assuming a \$3 admission price, an estimated 1 in every 10 people around the world saw the film *Titanic*. Moreover, its titanic \$200 million production cost is dwarfed by its revenues: over \$1.8 billion worldwide of which \$1.2 billion came from abroad (Internet Movie Database 2004). Such cost structures often create very high entry costs in domestic—let alone international—markets that justify public intervention.
10. Extensive literature on this matter and more details on the theory behind how the industry works can be found in Vogel 2001.
11. Cohen 2004.
12. The quality of French audiovisual programming deteriorated rapidly after the introduction of a heavy system of quotas for national content (Cohen 2004).
13. Riding 2003.
14. Cohen 2004.
15. Cross-subsidization initiatives like this are already raising concerns by some groups, who often attack them on nationalistic grounds (Buck 2004).

Feature 5.1

1. IOM 2003b.
2. ATSLA 2003.
3. World Bank 2004.
4. CSD and ICC 2002.
5. Moody 2000.
6. WIPO 2003d.
7. UNESCO 2000a.
8. UNESCO 2000b.
9. Mishra 2003.
10. UNESCO 2000a.
11. Riding 2003.
12. UNESCO 2000a.
13. UNESCO 2000a.
14. Cohen 2004.
15. Cohen 2004.
16. World Bank 2003.
17. UN 2003a.
18. IOM 2003b.
19. UN 2002a.
20. UN 2002a.
21. IOM 2004.
22. Wanner 2002.
23. IOM 2003c.
24. Kapur and McHale 2003, pp. 48–57.
25. UN 2002b.
26. UN 2002b.
27. IOM 2003c.

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Chapter 1 draws on Agarwal 1994; Ambedkar 2002; Appadurai 1996; Appiah 1996; Appiah and Gates 1995; Arizpe 2000; Aston 1972; Avrami, Mason, and De La Torre 2000; Basu 1992; Benhabib 1996, 2002; Blau 1993, 2001; Crowley 1987; Fraser 1995, 1997; Fraser and Honneth 2003; Goody 1996; Granovetter 1985; Greif 1994; Gutmann 1994, 1995; Gutmann and Thompson 1996; Habermas 1975, 1996; Harrison and Huntington 2000; Hart 1955; Huntington 1996; Kymlicka 1990; Kymlicka and Norman 2000; Lenoir 1989; Linz and Stepan 1996; Mandela 1994; Mansbridge 1998; Mokyr 1983; Nussbaum 1995; Nussbaum and Glover 1995; Okin 1999; Ostrom 1990, 1998; Pattanaik 1998; Platteau 2000; Putnam 1993; Putnam, Leonardi, and Nanetti 1993; Rodgers, Gore, and Figueirido 1995; Runciman 1966; Sandel 1998; Sen 1984, 1999, 2001, 2002, 2004a, 2003, 2004c, Forthcoming; Silver 1995; Smith 1976; Stepan 2001; Taylor 1992; Throsby 1999; Townsend 1979; UN 2000a; UNESCO 1998, 2000c; Weber 1976; and Young 2000.

Chapter 2 draws on Afrikanska Språk 2004; Alexander and McGregor 2000; Alvim 2002; Ansari 2002; *The Arizona Republic* 2003; Arizpe 2004; *The Associated Press* 2003; Australian Bureau of Statistics 2004; *The Bangkok Post* 2000, 2001; Barro and McCleary 2003; Bell-Fiakoff 1993; Bengwayan 2003; Bird 2003; Brindis and others 2002; Bromley 1974; CIA 2003; Cohen 1974; Collier and Hoeffler 2001; Davenport 2004; Discover France 2000; Douglas 1988; Dragoljub 2000; During 1992, 1993; Easterly and Levine 1997; Etounga-Manguelle 2000; France, Ministère de Jeunesse, Éducation et Recherche 2004; FBI 2004; Florida and Gates 2002; Fraenkel 2003; Fukuda-Parr 2001; Goldstone 1998; *The Guardian* 2001; Gurr 1993, 2000; Human Rights Watch 2002, 2003; Huntington 1996; IOE 2003; IOM 2003c; India, Ministry of Personnel 2002; India, Office of the Registrar General 2004; Indigenous Australia 2003; Inglehart 1997; Inglehart and Wayne 2000; International Federation of Human Rights 2003; Jacobs 2003; Justiniano 2004; Justino and Litchfield 2003; Kanyinga 2003; Kapur and McHale 2003; Kelso and Vasagar 2002; Kiernan 1999; Kymlicka 2004; Lavery 2004; Libanio 2004; Linz and Stepan 1996; Marshall 2000; Marshall and Gurr 2003; Mexico, Ministry of Health 2004; Migration Information Source 2003; The Minorities at Risk Project 2003; Minority Rights Group International 2003; NARAL Pro Choice 2004; *The New York Times* 2003; Nicaragua Network 2004; Opondo 2004; The Pew Research Center 2003; The Polity IV Project 2003; Ponzio 2004; Premdas 2003; Ranger 1983; Rutter 1998; Schwenken 2003; Sen 2002, 2004b; SIL International 2004b; Smith 1986, 1991; Snodgrass 1995; Stamatopoulou 2002; Statistics Canada 2004; Statistics Sweden 2004; Stavenhagen 2004; Stepan and Robertson 2003; Stepanov 2004; Stewart 2002, 2003; Third World Network 2003; Turton 1997; UN 2002a, 2003b, 2004; UNDP 2000a, 2000b, 2000c, 2002a, 2002b, 2003a, 2003b, 2003c, 2003e, 2004a, 2004b, 2004c; UNESCO 2000c; 2003b, 2004a; Valdés 2002; WHO 2001; Walden 2000; Warner 2002; Wikipedia 2004; World Values Survey 2004; World Bank 2004; and Zolberg 2004.

Chapter 3 draws on Addison and Rahman 2001; Alesina, Baquir, and Easterly 1997; Austin and O'Neill 2000; Awakuni and Mio 2000; Bangura 2004; Baqir and Easterly 1997; Bardhan 1997; Baron and Diermeier 2001; Barry 2001; Bauböck 2001;

Bauböck and Rundell 1998; Benhabib 1996; Bgoya and others 1997; Bhargava 2004; Bird 2003; Boix 1999; Boothroyd 2004; Boulle 1984; Bowen and Derek 1998; Breytenbach 2000; Brint and Renéo 2001; Brock-Utne 2002; Brown and Ganguly 1997; Bryld and others 2003; Burnley 2001; Buvollen 2002; Caballero 2003; Care 1999; Carens 2000; Chua 2003; Cohn 1996; Congleton 2000; Congleton, Kyriacou and Bacaria 1999; Conversi 2002; Corbridge and Harriss 2000; CRIP 2004; Cummings and Tamayo 1994; De Varennes 1996; Delgado-Moreira 2000; D'Ercole and Salvini 2003; Dirks 2004; Donders 2003; Doomernik 2001; Duncan and Molutsi 2000; Dunleavy and O'Leary 1987; Dutcher 1982; Eades 2004; *The Economist* 2004a; Edgerton 1996; Elazar 1998; Engineer 2003; Fa-funwa 1990; Feldman 2002; Fleiner 2003; Fossas 1999; Fraser 1989; Funke 2001; Gill 2001; Giovarelli and Akmatova 2002; Goodman 2004; Griffiths and Nerenberg 2002; Grillo 1998; Grin 2003; Halfin 2002; Hammer and Schulz 2003; Hansen 2001; Harding and Narayan 2000; Harris and Reilly 1998; Hastrup 2001; Helwege 1995; Hoodfar and Pazira 2003; ILO 2001, 2003; Indian and Northern Affairs Canada 2004; India, Ministry of Education 2004; Jarkko and Smith 2001; Jefferis and Molutsi 2000; Jomo 2004; Jureidini 2001; Kanbur 2001; Kaviraj 1992; Kearns and Sarat 1997, 1999; Keating 2002; Kertzer and Arel 2002; Klaus 2003; Knop 2002; Knowles and Amit-Talai 1996; Kuruk 2002; Kymlicka 1990, 1996, 1998, 2001, 2004; Kymlicka and Norman 2000; Leibfried and Rieger 2003; Lewis 1998, 2003; Lewis and Miller 2003; Licha 2002; Linz and Stepan 1978; Linz and Yadav 2004; Ljiphart 1984; Lott 1998; Loury 2001; Lukes and Joppke 1999; Luter and Deschouwer 1999; Luttmmer 1997; Macedo 2000; Malhotra 2002; Martínez-Herrera 2002; Matiki 2003; Mazrui 1996; McRae 1974; Medrano 2002; Mehrotra and Delamonica Forthcoming; Miguel 1999; Modood and Werbner 1997; Mody 2003; Moeketsi 1999; Moghadam 2004; Moncrieffe 2004; Moya 2002; Moyo 2004; Myerson 1991; Nagel 2004; National Commission on Indigenous Peoples 2004a, 2004b; Ndoye 2003; Neville 2001; Ocampo 2001; Office of Personnel Management 2003; Okin 1999; O'Leary 2004, Forthcoming; Parekh 2000; Patrinos and Velez 1996; Patterson and Susser 2001; Phillips 2001; Prah 2000, 2004; Prashad 2001; Preis 2004; Psacharopoulos and Patrinos 1994; Reiss 2002; Renshon 2001; Requejo 2001; Richey 2003; Rotimi 2001; Rubin 2004; Rudolph 2001; Russell 2002; Sabbagh 2004; Sarat and Simon 2003; Schacher 2001; Schultz and Mwabo 1998; Schulze 1999; Sepúlveda 2003; Sheth 2004; SIL International 2004a; South Africa, Ministry of Labour 2004; Snyder 2000; Stepan 2001; Subirats 2003; Taiaiake 1995; Tauli-Corpus 2004; Temu 2000; Tetley 1999; Thompson 2001; Tran 2000; UN 1994; UNDP 2003d; UNICEF 2001, 2004; United Nations Association of Great Britain and Northern Ireland 2004; U.S. Census Bureau 2004b; U.S. Department of Labor 2004; Van der Westhuizen 2002; Vuchelen 2003; Watts 1998, 1999, 2002; Willett 1998; World Bank 2003; Wright 2001; Yashar 2004; Young 1999, 2000; and Zorzi 2002.

Chapter 4 draws on Abed-Kotob 1995; Abuza 2002; ADL 2003; AFP 2004; Arjomand 1989; Barraclough 1998; Berman 2003; Bhavnani and Backer 2000; Brumberg 2002; Byman and others 2001; Campagna 1996; Caplan 1987; Chicucuec 1997; CNN 2003; Conner 1986; Cornell and Spector 2002; CPS 2002; De Kadt 2004; DUMC 2002; Eatwell 2000; *The Economist* 2000,

2003a, 2003b; Electionworld.org 2004; Engineer 2004; Entelis 2002; Entzinger 2003; Esman 1986; EUMC 2002; Fahmy 1998; FBI 1999, 2002; Gerges 2000; Godmer and Kestel 2001; Grove and Carter 1999; Gurr 1993; Hafez 2000; Haubrich 2003; HinduUnity.org 2004; Hoffman 1998-99; Honwana 1999; Iganski 2002; Ignazi 2003; IRR 2003; Jackman and Volpert 1996; Jeness 2002; Kaldor and Muro 2003; Kogacioglu 2003; Koh 2002; Leone and Angrig 2003; Levin 2001; Levin and McDevitt 1999; Mabry 1998; Macan-Markar 2004; Mamdani 2001; Martínez-Herrera 2002; Marty and Appleby 1991, 1993, 1995; Mayer 2001; Meyer 2001; Middle East Institute 2003; The Minorities at Risk Project 2003; Moreau Yousafzai, and Hussain 2003; Mudde 2000; Pehdazur 2001; Prah 2004; RAND Corporation 2004; Roberts 2002; Rotar 2002; Rubin 2004; Sands 2003; SATP 2004; Scott 2003; Sen 2004a; Shain 1994-95; Shain and Barth 2003; Sheffer 1986, 1993; Sivan 2003; *South Asia Monitor* 2003; SSS 2002; Stern 2000, 2003; Susning.nu 2004; Swedish Election Authority 2002; Symonds 2003; Testas 2002; Tremlett 2002; UNESCO 2001; U.S. Department of Justice 2001; Van Holsteyn 2003; Wahlbeck 2002; Wanandi 2002; Wedgwood 2002; Widfeldt 2001, 2004; Moreau, Yousafzai and Hussain 2003; Zelkina 1999; and Zhao 1998.

Chapter 5 draws on Aleinikoff and Klusmeyer 2000; ATSLA 2003; Australian Bureau of Statistics 2001; Bach 2004; Bhagwati 2003; Brucker and others 2001; Brumann 1999; Buck 2004; CBD 2002; Clifford 1988; Cohen 2004; Commission on Intellectual

Property Rights 2002; Coombe 1998; Council of Europe 2000; Coussey 2000; CSD and ICC 2002; De Ferranti and others 2003; Department of Immigration and Multicultural and Indigenous Affairs 2003; Doomemik 2001; Droege and Soete 2001; *The Economist* 2002a, 2002b, 2004b; European Union 2003; European Union 2004; Fermin 2001; *Financial Times* 2004; Forero 2003; Front National 2004; Garson and Loizillon 2003; Geddes 2002; Ghosh 2003; Graeme 2003; Independent Commission on Migration to Germany 2001; Inglis 2004; International Council on Metals and the Environment 1999; The Internet Movie Database 2004; IOM 2003a, 2003b, 2003c, 2004; Kongolo 2001; Koopmans 2002; Kymlicka 2003; Lega Nord 2004; McPhail 2000; Mgbeoji 2001; Mishra 2003; Moody 2000; Niessen Jan 2000; Norchi 2000; OECD 2003; Olwig and Hastrup 1997; Ostergard and Altman 2001; Papademetriou 2003; Preis 2004; Public Citizen 2004; Riding 2003; Rodwin 2002; Rosaldo 1989; Salomon and Sengupta 2003; Sen 2004a; Stalker 2002; Statistics Canada 2004; Stavenhagen 2004; Tebtebba and Forest Peoples Programme 2003; Tebtebba and International Forum on Globalization 2003; UIS 2001; UN 2000b, 2002a, 2002b, 2003a; UNCTAD 1999; UNDP 1999; UNESCO 2000a, 2000b, 2000c, 2002, 2003a, 2003c, 2004b; UN HABITAT forthcoming; U.S. Census Bureau 2004a; WIPO 2003b, 2003c, 2003d, 2004; World Bank 2002, 2004; World Commission on Culture and Development 1995; Yashar 2004; and Zolberg 2001, 2004.

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