

food - meat versus cereals - also influence the affluence variable.

- **Social Effects**

The second component is the social effects that arise from or are exacerbated by the environmental stress. The two key potential social effects of environmental stress are population displacement - both internal migrants and emigrants to other countries - and economic decline. For example, land degradation caused by inappropriate irrigation (the environmental stress) could contribute to population migration (the social effect). All of the environmental categories identified earlier have the potential to influence adversely economic activity. Economic decline in turn may be accompanied by several social ills such as unemployment and increased income differences between social groups. This is not to say that all social effects or conflicts necessarily result in violence. On the contrary, social conflict is most often resolved peacefully, being addressed by such means as legislative, regulatory or institutional reform. The willingness of governments to undertake public transit, for example, may be influenced by environmental factors. Conceptually, the point is that environmentally induced social effects have the potential to result in violence.

- **Violent Conflict**

The third component is violent conflict that is induced or contributed to by the social effects. Such conflict could arise as either intrastate or interstate violence, and would vary in intensity and scope. The nature of the conflicts is set out below.

Intrastate violence could arise from environmental stress. In the most simple case, environmental stress would result in living conditions so harsh that the public, or certain elements of the public, would resort to violence in the hope of altering the conditions they face. But there is nothing simple here about the causal links. Political factors, the distribution of income and social-ethnic factors may influence environmental degradation. A dualistic land ownership structure, with resource allocation and control held by a small, possibly different ethnic group or political elite may encourage the non-elite to use ecologically vulnerable and marginal lands for agriculture. Moreover, with insecure land tenure, the non-elite farmers have little incentive to conserve the land and this would contribute to a greater rate of environmental degradation. Intrastate violence could also arise indirectly. Internal migrants might move from environmentally exhausted lands to areas that, while also under environmental stress, offer somewhat better living conditions. Again, if different ethnic groups are involved the prospect for violence may increase, and the causal links become more complex.