J. JOSEPH HEWITT, JONATHAN WILKENFELD, AND TED ROBERT GURR

PEACE AND CONFLICT

2010

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

The Center for International Development and Conflict Management (CIDCM) is an interdisciplinary research center at the University of Maryland. CIDCM seeks to prevent and transform conflict, to understand the interplay between conflict and development, and to help societies create sustainable futures for themselves. Using the insights of researchers, practitioners, and policy makers, CIDCM devises effective tools and culturally appropriate pathways to constructive change.

For almost thirty years, scholars and practitioners at the Center have sought ways to understand and address conflicts over security, identity, and distributive justice. CIDCM's programs are based on the belief that "peace building and development-with-justice are two sides of the same coin" (Edward Azar, CIDCM founding director). CIDCM's accomplished scholars, its expertise in data collection and analysis, and its direct involvement in regional conflict management efforts make the Center a unique resource for discovering enduring solutions to the world's most intractable conflicts.

Research Data Collections

CIDCM collects, analyzes and links data relevant to the study of the dynamics of societal conflicts. The aim is to expand data capabilities to facilitate cross-disciplinary research among scholars and policy analysts concerned with aspects of societal conflict, state failure, and minority rights. The Center hosts several major international databases on societal conflict, including Minorities at Risk and International Crisis Behavior.

Training and Education

The Center provides on-the-ground training for parties to specific conflicts, as well as programs that feature conflict resolution training for students and government officials. The Partners in Conflict program has provided training in citizens' diplomacy and conflict resolution in more than 15 countries, and the ICONS Project creates interactive tools for teaching and training in negotiation, leadership, and conflict management techniques. CIDCM also offers an undergraduate Minor in International Development and Conflict Management.

Policy Analysis

Strategically located at the nexus of theory and practice, CIDCM seeks to foster a conversation among scholars and policy makers, and to use global analyses as a basis for concrete recommendations for the policy community. Extensive field experience, subject matter expertise, and command of both quantitative and qualitative methods provide CIDCM researchers with a strong foundation for advancing cutting edge policy analysis. In this regard, its biennial publication *Peace and Conflict* reports major global and regional trends in societal conflict, development, and governance issues. Other recent examples of analyses offered by the center's researchers include assessments of policy regarding the use of information technology in development, democratization, strategies for conflict mitigation and resolution, and approaches for sustainable development and peace.

In addition, two CIDCM endowed chairs, the Anwar Sadat Chair for Peace and Development and the Baha'i Chair for World Peace, seek to bridge the gap between the academic and policy worlds and develop alternatives to violent conflict.

To learn more about CIDCM, please visit the web site at **http://www.cidcm.umd.edu**

Jonathan Wilkenfeld
Co-Director

Paul Huth
Co-Director

J. Joseph Hewitt
Director of Government Relations

0145 Tydings Hall
University of Maryland
College Park, MD 20742

(301) 314-7703
cidcm@cidcm.umd.edu
www.cidcm.umd.edu

PEACE AND CONFLICT 2010
EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

J. Joseph Hewitt

Jonathan Wilkenfeld

Ted Robert Gurr

Center for International Development and Conflict Management

University of Maryland

CONTENTS

A Note on the 2010 Publication

Peace and Conflict is the flagship publication of the Center for International Development and Conflict Management at the University of Maryland. Its purpose is to make current academic research on conflict, democratization, terrorism, and international development more accessible and interpretable for people in the policy community and especially for an academic audience that wants to better understand how such research informs policy discussions.

The complete edition of *Peace and Conflict 2010* is available from Paradigm Publishers. The partnership between CIDCM and Paradigm facilitates wider dissemination of *Peace and Conflict* to the academic and policy communities, providing the opportunity for researchers, policymakers, and students to understand, replicate, and extend our analyses. CIDCM will continue to make its findings available to the policy community; an electronic copy of this executive summary can be found on the CIDCM Web site (**www.cidcm.umd.edu**) and is available from the Center upon request (cidcm@cidcm.umd.edu).

This publication continues coverage of several topics that appeared in earlier volumes: the Peace and Conflict Instability Ledger, trends in global conflict, the spread of democracy, and self-determination movements and their outcomes. A chapter analyzing trends in global terrorism has now been added to the set of features in recognition of the importance of tracking this issue regularly. Finally, the volume includes four chapters on a special theme: "The Challenges of Post-Conflict Transitions."

The publication is committed to the principle that analyses should be fully transparent and replicable by other interested researchers. To that end, all analyses use data sources that have been released to the public and are available for further analysis and replication from the *Peace and Conflict* companion Web site.

The *Peace and Conflict* companion Web site continues to feature a suite of data analysis tools (**www.cidcm.umd.edu/pc**). Users will be able to explore data used for analyses reported in this issue by manipulating the data and making modifications to produce their own customized analyses. For the first time, a complete PowerPoint presentation is available featuring all of the key graphics offered in the book. This resource will prove to be a convenient and valuable resource for instructors who adopt the book in their courses and wish to make use of its appealing graphics in classroom presentations.

We continue to benefit from the advice and guidance offered by our Editorial Board, chaired by Ted Robert Gurr, the founding author of the *Peace and Conflict* publications. The board members played a leading role in shaping the contents of *Peace and Conflict 2010*, helping to bring focus to our desire to address issues related to post-conflict reconstruction. As the various chapters came together, they provided careful reviews of each one, making the final collection a more cohesive whole. And, in the near future, they will participate in several consultations to advise us on the content and shape of the 2012 volume. We are very grateful for their valuable contributions to this book. The members are identified at the end of this summary. Finally, we are grateful to Chantal Russell, Sarah Long, and Kimberly Stites for their invaluable assistance in producing the Executive Summary.

1. INTRODUCTION TO PEACE AND CONFLICT 2010

The first edition of *Peace and Conflict* in 2001 documented a global decline in armed conflict from its peak in the early 1990s. We linked that decline to the ascendance of democratic regimes and the rising success of international efforts at containing and negotiating settlements to many serious armed conflicts, most of them civil wars. The evidence we assembled for *Peace and Conflict 2008* showed that both the subsidence of armed conflict and the surge in democracy had stalled and begun to reverse. We pointed to a persistent "conflict syndrome" of instability and state failure that cripples the poorer regions of the world despite all efforts of the advanced industrial democracies and international organizations to take remedial action.

The armed conflicts and mass atrocities of the last 15 years left in their wake weakened states, economies in shambles, and human suffering and dislocation on a large scale. *Peace and Conflict 2010* examines more closely the legacies of wars within states and the prospects for rebuilding them. Although much has been written in the four previous volumes of *Peace and Conflict* about active conflict, several chapters in this volume emphasize the challenges countries face as they enter the period immediately following the cessation of armed violence—a period widely referred to as the post-conflict transition.

While the overall number of active conflicts worldwide was declining in the early 1990s—a result of many conflict terminations in that period—other conflicts were becoming active. Joseph Hewitt (Chapter 3) takes a closer look at those that became active and reveals why a focus on post-conflict transitions is especially warranted. Strikingly, of the 39 different conflicts that became active in the last 10 years, 31 were conflict recurrences—instances of resurgent, armed violence in societies where conflict had largely been dormant for at least a year. Only eight were entirely new conflicts between new antagonists involving new issues and interests. These sobering numbers serve as a reminder that many of the destabilizing dangers of the conflict syndrome initially highlighted in *Peace and Conflict 2008*—now reinforced in *Peace and Conflict 2010*—continue to pose serious challenges during the post-conflict phase, underscoring the urgency for identifying appropriate policy responses during post-conflict reconstruction.

Much has been learned by researchers about the prospects of democracy in the aftermath of civil war, the costs and challenges of rebuilding broken economies, how to reestablish the rule of law, and social issues such as the status and representation of women and minorities in governance. It is clear from the evidence seen here that the challenges of rebuilding war-damaged states are greater and often less tractable than ending the fighting itself. There is no certainty that they can be overcome. Nonetheless, the chapters in *Peace and Conflict 2010* offer a full slate of findings that will prove helpful in informing how policies and programs should be constructed to address post-conflict transitions.

- How well do democratic governments ameliorate the hazards of post-conflict risks? Democratic institutions have a limited impact on the risk of conflict recurrence in post-conflict societies because they are vulnerable to the same forces that drive conflict recurrence—poor economic growth, lingering disagreements about power-sharing arrangements, and continued opportunities for insurgencies to organize (Håvard Hegre and Hanne Fjelde, Chapter 8). More encouraging is Amy Pate's report (Chapter 4) that democracies have lower levels of political discrimination toward ethnic minorities than have non-democratic societies, which potentially lowers the risk of conflict recurrence in post-conflict democracies.

- What are the costs and challenges to rebuilding broken economies? Anke Hoeffler (Chapter 7) reports that more than one billion people live in some 50 failed and failing states whose direct and spillover economic costs of $270 billion are more than three times annual global development aid of $80 billion. The largest share of those costs is borne by countries neighboring failed states, which experience significant reductions to economic growth as a result of negative spillover effects (an estimated average loss of 0.6% per neighbor per year).

- Where are future conflicts most likely? Hard evidence about the sources of past armed conflict and instability provides the basis for the Peace and Conflict Ledger presented by Hewitt in Chapter 2. All but three of the twenty-five countries with the highest risk of new failures are in Africa—the exceptions are Afghanistan, Iraq, and Nepal. More worrisome, the average risk scores for these 25 states are significantly higher than the scores for the top 25 at-risk states reported just two years ago in *Peace and Conflict 2008*.

- What do the most recent data suggest about trends in global terrorism? Contrary to some public perceptions, the peak level of worldwide terrorist activity was during the early 1990s, not today (Gary LaFree, Laura Dugan, and R. Kim Cragin, Chapter 6). The greatest number of events in the twentieth century came in 1992 followed by a substantial decline that lasted until 2001, and then a sharp increase that seemingly peaked in 2006. In addition, the locus of terrorist events has shifted among world regions: Western Europe had the highest rates in the 1970s, Latin America in the 1980s, and the Middle East after 2003.

- What specific policy recommendations follow from analyses of post-conflict transitions?
    o Targeted international aid programs should be increased, or at least sustained, for five to ten years after the end of war and should aim at promoting social programs as well as economic growth.

    o UN peacekeeping missions are shown to have a positive effect on sustaining peace and development (Hoeffler, Chapter 7).

    o Preliminary evidence suggests that explicit efforts to incorporate women in the peace process in the stages after the termination of violence improve the prospects for more durable peace agreements (Mary Caprioli, Rebecca Nielsen, and Valerie M. Hudson, Chapter 9)

    o Truth commissions and international criminal tribunals also help reinforce peace and promote economic recovery, though with the important qualification that their positive effects depend on political context (James Meernik, Rosa Aloisi, Angela D. Nichols, and Marsha Sowell, Chapter 10).

Trends in Conflict, Democracy, and Reconstruction

A downward trend in armed conflict seems to have leveled off in the last two years. In 2007, 26 armed conflicts were being fought within states, down by two from the previous year (Hewitt, Chapter 3), but up from a low of 20 in 2004. These 26 armed conflicts include three that had been dormant: Democratic Republic of the Congo restarting in 2006, Somalia restarting in 2006, and Peru restarting in 2007. Four major armed conflicts have terminated since the publication of *Peace and Conflict 2008*: Nepal, Burundi, Indonesia, and Azerbaijan. The risk is that civil wars thought to be contained will eventually resume. Over the past few years, this is precisely what has happened. The rates of conflict recurrence since the end of the Cold War are up substantially. If we look only at the 20 armed conflicts that ended in the most recent decade, two-thirds had a history of recurrence. Since 2000, conflict recurrences outnumber the onset of new conflicts by a ratio of five to one (Hewitt, Chapter 3).

Post-conflict states face great challenges of reconstruction, political and social as much as economic. The implication of increased risks of recurrence is that the internationally brokered settlement or containment of many armed conflicts since the early 1990s did not deal effectively with root causes. Our contributors show, for example, that slow economic growth, badly timed international aid, and lack of attention to social reforms are key factors that lead to recurrence.

A focus on post-conflict transitions is especially warranted. Strikingly, of the 39 different conflicts that became active in the last 10 years, 31 were conflict recurrences—instances of resurgent, armed violence in societies where conflict had largely been dormant for at least a year.

How important is democracy to post-conflict rebuilding and sustainable peace? About half of all post-conflict countries today have some form of democratic governance. But many are semi-democratic regimes in which, typically, electoral processes and legislatures are at the whim of autocratic executives. In 2008, a total of 86 countries had consistently

democratic regimes, 28 were autocracies, and the remaining 45 were anocracies, a term we use for hybrid regimes (Pate, Chapter 4). The empirical evidence is compelling that factional, semi-democratic regimes are fragile and subject to failure, whether through armed challenges or institutional failure or both. In fact competitive elections in such regimes often precipitate armed violence and massacres, as happened in Kenya in 2008.

Consistently democratic regimes are unlikely to be challenged by civil wars in the first place. If fully democratic institutions can be established after wars, economic redevelopment is more rapid, the risks of conflict recurrence are less, and transitional justice is more effective (Hegre and Felde, Chapter 8; Meernik et al., Chapter 10). Democracies also have a relatively good track record of reducing political discrimination against minorities, thereby reducing the salience of one major source of grievance around which anti-regime movements coalesce (Pate, Chapter 4). And democratic regimes have a better record of incorporating women into the political process (Caprioli et al., Chapter 9). Yet women seldom are recognized participants in peacemaking or societal reconstruction. So opportunities are lost that might give women more leverage to minimize the risks of war recurrence.

Where Are Future Conflicts Most Likely?

The Peace and Conflict Ledger ranks states based on their estimated risk of future instability or armed conflict. Countries with the poorest performance on five risk factors are at greatest risk for instability in the near-term. These five factors are: the institutional consistency of a regime (democracies and autocracies are consistent, anocracies are not); openness to international trade (international linkages minimize risks); infant mortality rates (a key indicator of socioeconomic well-being); the extent to which a country is militarized; and its proximity to other countries with armed conflict (neighborhood security).

The analyses indicate that the largest concentration of at-risk states is in Africa and South Asia. As noted above, for states that had been previously identified with high risk in *Peace and Conflict 2008*, average risk scores have significantly increased. A similar drift upward in scores is evident in countries at medium risk. Part of the upward shift in risk scores can be traced to worsening neighborhood security. The recurrence of violence in the Democratic Republic of the Congo, for example, has adverse implications for the risk scores of numerous neighboring states. So there is no basis for complacency about a peaceful future—neither in Africa nor in the Middle East and in Western or Southern Asia, where many of the medium-risk countries are situated.

The dynamics of the African conflict region are of particular concern. Several conflicts of extended duration have coalesced there, including civil wars and genocide that began in Sudan in the 1960s and the deadly Hutu-Tutsi rivalry in Rwanda, Burundi, and the eastern Congo. These are violent communal and political rivalries that feed on one another. Most states in the region are weak and anocratic, infrastructure is minimal, peacekeeping is ineffectual, and rebels move easily across notional borders. One great risk now in the region, in addition to the unchecked genocide in Darfur and its spillover into Chad, is a breakdown of the comprehensive peace accord of 2005 that ended Sudan's north-south civil war. The international community has a very high stake in preventing recurrence but—except for the Chinese—little leverage over a militantly Islamist regime in Khartoum.

The implication of increased risks of recurrence is that the internationally brokered settlement or containment of many armed conflicts since the early 1990s did not deal effectively with root causes. Slow economic growth, badly timed international aid, and lack of attention to social reforms are key factors that lead to recurrence.

A recurring feature of *Peace and Conflict* has been an inventory of movements that aim at secession or self-determination. There are over 1,000 distinct ethnic groups in the world, any and all of which might seek a disruptive break from existing states.[1] In fact, according to this edition's expanded and updated analysis by Monica Duffy Toft and Stephen M. Saideman (Chapter 5), organizations claiming to speak for 132 minority groups now seek self-determination, but only some use either protest (99 groups) or violent means (18 groups). It is true that independence-minded groups

---

[1] Recent research by the Minorities at Risk Project at the University of Maryland has identified 896 socially recognized minority groups worldwide in addition to the 274 politically relevant groups profiled by the MAR project.

are more likely to fight wars than groups with other objectives. The protagonists of the six most deadly wars were the Chechens in Russia, Kashmiris in India, Kurds in Turkey, Tamils in Sri Lanka, and Karens and Shans in Burma. But the international trend has been toward settling such disputes with autonomy and power-sharing agreements rather than with protracted secessionist wars.

Terrorism and the Global Future of Conflict

Many observers think that terrorism, especially by Jihadists, will be the most destabilizing source of conflict in the next decade. We have in this edition the first published assessment of long-term trends in terrorism based on a comprehensive database that includes both domestic and international incidents, a total of 77,000 events world-wide from 1970 to 2007 (LaFree et al. Chapter 6). Analyses of these data show there is no distinct long-term trend, only episodic peaks and declines.

The trends and locale of terror attacks roughly parallel the larger trends and regional upsurges in armed conflict over the last 30 years. This is not surprising since terror is often used as a tactic in larger conflicts fought by other means. The increases in global terrorism in the 1980s and 1990s were linked to increased armed conflict in South Asia and Africa. Since 1998 the main locus has shifted to the Middle East, where the top two terror attack sites have been the West Bank and Gaza and Iraq. Terror, especially suicide bombings, has become the Jihadists' main tactic against their sectarian and Western opponents and will continue to make life insecure for many in and on the periphery of the Islamic world, and deadly for a few. But civilian deaths from terrorism have been and will continue to be far overshadowed by deaths due directly or indirectly to armed conflicts in which warlords, militias, government forces, and rebels fight over, among, and against civilian populations.

Armed conflict will be a persistent feature of the geopolitical landscape for the foreseeable future. Risks are especially high in Africa (south of the Sahara) and in the Middle East and West Asia. The conflict syndrome applies to many of the states in these regions, challenged simultaneously by incoherent regimes, militarized societies, poverty, and weak economic links to the global system. When wars do break out here their spillover effects increase conflict risks in neighboring states. The cumulative effect is a protracted conflict region in which cycles of warfare and retribution, intervention and counter-intervention generate an ascending spiral of regional instability.

International actors can have significant influence on this process. High-risk situations can be anticipated with ever-greater accuracy and should trigger an array of preventive diplomatic, political, and economic responses. New and recurring civil wars with centrist or separatist objectives will be fought nonetheless; but the UN, major powers, and regional organizations have growing expertise and success at containing them by brokering negotiated settlements and using peacekeepers to enforce stalemates. Economic and political reconstruction requires sustained and concerted international action but is certainly possible. The wars of Yugoslavia's dissolution in the 1990s were eventually checked by international peacekeeping and diplomatic initiatives, followed by major investments in institution-building. The region's proximity to Western Europe and the active engagement of the European Union's democracies have facilitated reconstruction and stability—an instance of positive spillover. If core regimes can be strengthened in the protracted conflict regions identified in our analyses, they can play a leading role in future stabilization.

Ted Robert Gurr
J. Joseph Hewitt
Jonathan Wilkenfeld

2. THE PEACE AND CONFLICT INSTABILITY LEDGER: RANKING STATES ON FUTURE RISKS

J. Joseph Hewitt

Over the past two years, the risks of instability and conflict have increased significantly in the regions of the world where these dangers were already very high. This is one of the most important conclusions to be drawn from the most recent analyses that produce the 2010 Peace and Conflict Instability Ledger. The heightened risks are not the result of worsening government effectiveness in delivering services to the population or deteriorating economies. The heightened estimated risks are associated with a development that is normally welcomed—the initial steps toward democratic governance. Additionally, since the last publication of rankings, new armed conflicts have outnumbered those that have terminated, driving up estimated risks of instability in many regions of the world where neighborhood security has now worsened. This chapter presents country rankings based on newly calculated risk estimates and discusses some of the key results from the analysis, including the pivotal relationship between democratization and risk of instability.

The Peace and Conflict Instability Ledger ("the ledger," for short) is a ranking of 162 countries based on their estimated risk of experiencing major bouts of political instability or armed conflict in the three-year period 2008–2010. The estimates are obtained from a statistical forecasting model that uses 2007 data (the most current data available) for several variables that correlate strongly with the onset of political instability or armed conflict. The ledger represents a synthesis of some of the leading research on explaining and forecasting state instability. As such, the selection of factors accounted for in the ledger's underlying forecasting models was based on identifying variables for which agreement was strong among researchers about their relative importance. The complete ledger appears at the end of the chapter. We encourage readers to consult it regularly while proceeding through this overview.

The Peace and Conflict Instability Ledger

Figure 2.1 shows how the countries in the analysis were classified according to their estimated risk scores. A quick review of the map offers a broad overview of what the geographic landscape looks like from the perspective of the risks of instability. Undoubtedly, Africa remains the most serious concern. More than half the countries on the continent qualify for the high or highest risk categories. Of all the countries worldwide that qualify in those categories, African countries make up more than 75 percent of the states (28 of the 36 total). A similar concentration of states qualifying at high or highest risk exists in South Asia, a grouping that contains crucial states like Pakistan (newly classified as high-risk) and Afghanistan, which are pivotal because their fates have direct repercussions for global trends in terrorism.

The ledger's conceptualization of political instability relies on the definition developed by the Political Instability Task Force (PITF).[1] That definition, which has guided the task force's comprehensive compilation of state failure events covering the period 1955–2006, encompasses a wide variety of event types. These include revolutionary wars, ethnic wars, adverse regime changes, and genocides or politicides. The onset of any of these types of episodes for a state marks the beginning of an instability event. While this set of events is quite heterogeneous, they all share a fundamental similarity—the onset of any one of these events signals the arrival of a period in which government's capacity to deliver core services and to exercise meaningful authority has been disrupted, threatening its overall stability.

Empirical studies using 60 years of historical data show that instability can emerge from a combination of five factors in four domains of government and society.[2] The key factor in the political domain is the institutional consistency of a country's governmental institutions. In the economic domain, it is openness to international trade: the more

---

[1] The initial compilation of state failure events for the Task Force was done at CIDCM in 1994–1995 under the direction of Ted Robert Gurr. The roster of genocides and politicides was provided by Barbara Harff. The PITF presents full definitions for revolutionary wars, ethnic wars, adverse regime changes, genocide, and politicide in Esty et al. (1999).

[2] Readers interested in some of the more significant recent contributions to this literature should consult Collier et al. (2003); Collier and Hoeffler (2004); Esty et al. (1999); Fearon and Laitin (2003); Goldstone et al. (2005); Hegre and Sambanis (2006); Hegre et al. (2001); King and Zeng (2001); Sambanis (2002, 2004); and the United States Agency for International Development (2005).

Figure 2.1 Risk of Future Instability, 2008–2010

Highest Risk   High Risk   Moderate Risk   Some Risk   Low Risk
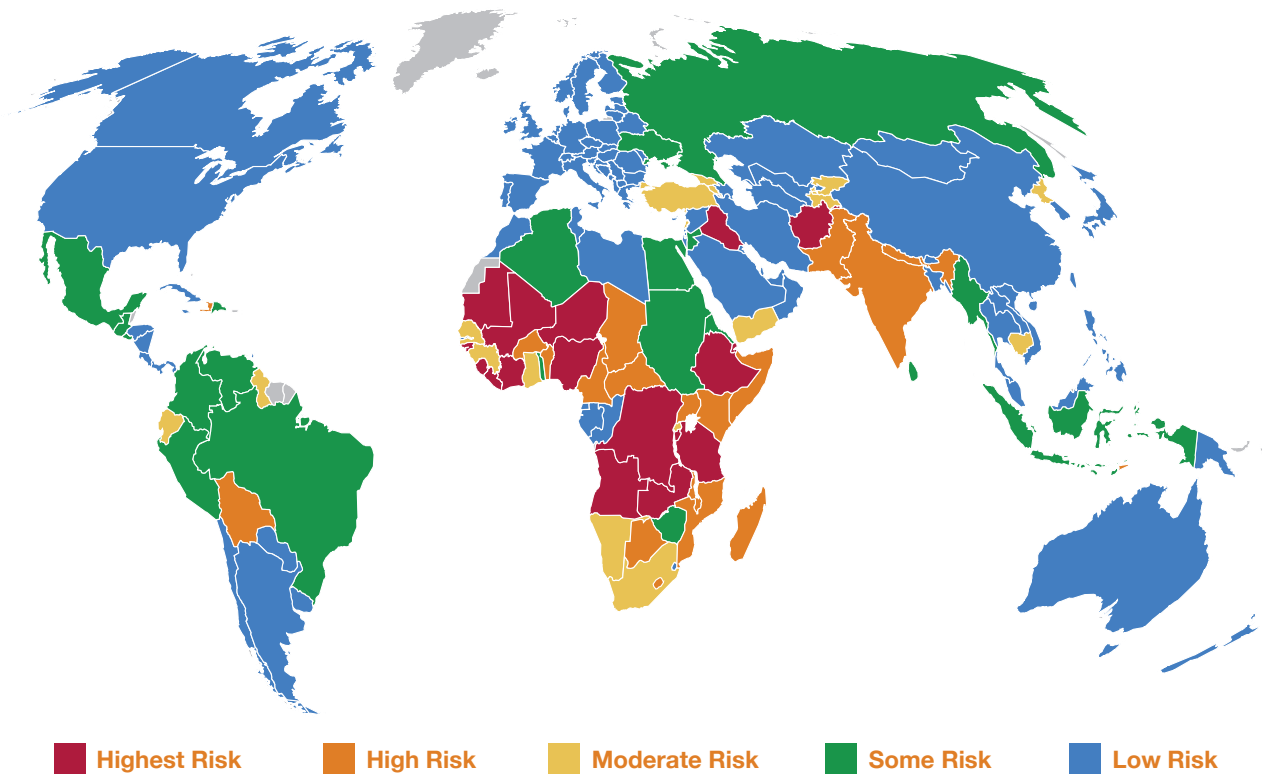
interdependent a country's economy with others, the less likely a country will experience instability in the near future. In the societal domain, the infant mortality rate is a crucial indicator of socioeconomic well-being. And in the security domain there are two factors: one is the extent to which a country is militarized, the other is whether neighboring countries have armed conflict. Box 2.1 provides a brief overview of the theoretical relationship between each of these factors and risks of instability. A fuller discussion is given in *Peace and Conflict 2008* (Hewitt 2008).

Leveraging the strong, historical relationships that exist among the five factors and the risk of future instability, the ledger uses a statistical model to obtain risk scores for all countries having a population of at least 500,000 in 2007 (162 countries total). The data collection that serves as the foundation for this analysis contains an annual observation for each country for every year that data exist for the five factors. Each annual observation in the data collection records whether the country experienced an onset of a new instability event in any of the three years following the year of the observation. In this fashion, the data can be analyzed to assess the empirical relationship that the five factors have with the risk of future instability. To maintain comparability with the results presented in the previous volume of *Peace and Conflict*, we continue to estimate the model using data from 1950–2003. The logistic regression procedure for estimating the model on this data (sometimes called "training data") produces weights for each factor that reflect the relative influence that each has on explaining future instability. The previous ledger results (Hewitt 2008), which used 2004 data to produce forecasts for the period 2005–2007, were based on the same 1950–2003 training data. For the updated ledger, we now use 2007 data (the last year for which complete data are available for all five factors) to produce a three-year forecast indicating the risk of instability at any time during the period 2008–2010. It should be noted that in the absence of significant change to any of the five factors, risks change only gradually from year to year. Therefore, a high-risk country that experiences no major structural change to its regime, socioeconomic status, or security situation in the period 2008–2010 will likely remain at high risk beyond this forecast period.

The full listing of all 162 countries is presented at the end of the chapter. The table includes an indication of how each country is performing on each of the risk factors, which enables a quick assessment of how the ultimate risk estimate relates to each indicator. In this fashion, the full ledger table serves as a diagnostic tool, offering comprehensive information about all countries so that comparisons can be drawn about how the levels of each factor influence risk.

Box 2.1   Factors Influencing the Risk of Instability

Factor	Domain	Description
Institutional Consistency	Political	The ledger accounts for the impact of institutional consistency. This refers to the extent to which the institutions comprising a country's political system are uniformly and consistently autocratic or democratic. Political institutions with a mix of democratic and autocratic features are inconsistent, a common attribute of polities in the midst of a democratic transition. Based on a series of findings reported in the academic literature, we expect regimes with inconsistent institutions to be more likely to experience political instability (Gurr 1974; Gates et al. 2006; Hegre et al. 2001).
Economic Openness	Economic	The ledger accounts for the impact of economic openness, which is the extent to which a country's economy is integrated with the global economy. Countries that are more tightly connected to global markets have been found to experience less instability (Hegre et al. 2003; Goldstone et al. 2000).
Infant Mortality Rates	Economic and Social	The ledger examines the impact of infant mortality rates, an indicator that serves as a proxy for a country's overall economic development, its level of advancement in social welfare policy, and its capacity to deliver core services to the population. In this respect, this indicator taps into both the economic and social domains of a country. Research findings reported by the PITF have been especially notable for the strong relationship found between high infant mortality rates and the likelihood of future instability (Esty et al. 1999; Goldstone et al. 2005).
Militarization	Security	To account for the security domain, the ledger focuses on a country's level of militarization. Instability is most likely in countries where the opportunities for armed conflict are greatest. In societies where the infrastructure and capital for organized armed conflict are more plentiful and accessible, the likelihood for civil conflict increases (Collier and Hoeffler 2004). Extensive militarization in a country typically implies that a large portion of the society's population has military skill and training, weapons stocks are more widely available, and other pieces of military equipment are more diffused throughout the country. The likelihood of instability is greater in this setting because increased access to and availability of these resources multiplies the opportunities for organizing and mobilizing.
Neighborhood Security	Security	The likelihood of political instability in a state increases substantially when a neighboring state is currently experiencing armed conflict. This risk is especially acute when ethnic or other communal groups span across borders. A number of studies have shown that neighborhood conflict is a significant predictor of political instability (Sambanis 2001; Hegre and Sambanis 2006; Goldstone et al. 2005).

To ease interpretation of the results, the ledger presents each country's likelihood of future instability as a *risk ratio*. The risk ratio gives the relative risk of instability in a country compared to the average estimated likelihood of instability for 28 members of the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD). The OECD serves as a useful baseline because its membership is widely viewed to contain the most stable countries in the world. The estimated probability of the average OECD country's experiencing an instability event in the period 2008–2010 is 0.007. To illustrate, Nicaragua's estimated probability of experiencing instability in the next three years is 0.029, which yields a risk ratio of approximately 4.1. Presented in this way, the analysis indicates that Nicaragua's risk of instability is about four times greater than an average OECD country—a more useful characterization of its risk than the simple probability 0.029 by itself.

The risk ratios appearing in the ledger are statistical estimates and, accordingly, are accompanied by varying levels of confidence, depending on the particular attributes of a given country. An under-appreciated characteristic of statistical inferences is that they are always associated with some level of uncertainty. For instance, in the model used to create the ledger, infant mortality rates were found to be positively related to the onset of instability. The level of uncertainty for that estimate was sufficiently small to rule out the possibility that the model was pointing erroneously to a positive relationship when the "true" relationship was actually negative (or nonexistent). However, uncertainty around the estimate remains. The uncertainty exists because many countries with high infant mortality rates have not experienced instability (e.g., Malawi, Saudi Arabia, or Bolivia) and some with a low rate do (e.g., Israel). These outlier states create "noise" in the estimated relationship between instability and infant mortality rates. Each of the variables in the model is accompanied by this kind of uncertainty or noise.

Information extracted from the statistical model for instability can be used to compute the total amount of uncertainty surrounding an individual country's estimate for instability risk. The ledger reports this level of uncertainty. For each country, the ledger reports a single best estimate of the overall risk of instability. Additionally, the ledger reports a range of values within which the best estimate lies. Statistically speaking, the "true" risk of instability lies within this range with a 95 percent probability. The graphical display of the confidence range shows how it extends across

risk categories. For some countries, the confidence range is confined largely within one category. For others, large segments may extend across multiple categories, which suggests that assessments about the country's status should be drawn with more caution.

Overview of Results

Table 2.1 lists the 25 countries with the highest risk scores. With the exception of three states (Afghanistan, Iraq, and Nepal), all of them are African. Indeed, the concentration of African states among the grouping of states with the highest estimated risk is even higher than the previous findings reported in 2008, when 19 of the 25 states were from Africa. Higher estimated risk scores in the Democratic Republic of the Congo, Guinea-Bissau, and Mauritania have led these countries into the top 25, supplanting Bangladesh, Lebanon, and Haiti. No doubt, a quick review of the top 25 list reveals that problems in Africa remain acute and, as the discussion below suggests, they are likely getting worse.

Overall, the mean instability scores across countries formerly classified at moderate or high risk have increased significantly since the last report. Among countries classified at high risk in the previous analyses, the average risk score was 14.1. For the same set of countries, the average is now 17.3, a difference that is statistically significant. For the countries previously classified at moderate risk, the previous average was 5.3. It is now 7.4 for those countries, a difference that is also statistically significant. Among countries classified previously at low risk, the average score did increase somewhat (from 1.5 to 1.6), but that difference is not statistically meaningful. What factors explain the upward shift in risk estimates among states that are already vulnerable to instability and conflict?

The modest push of democratization and the inherent inconsistency of regime that follows is one of the key factors contributing to increased risks of instability. In the most recent data available on regime characteristics, seven countries formally classified at moderate or high-risk transitioned to partial democracies from more autocratic regime types. No countries in either of those categories of risk transitioned to consolidated democracies.[3] One country, Bangladesh, experienced a setback in its democratic transition and was reclassified as a more autocratic state in the most recent data, which contributed to a lower estimated risk. On the whole, though, the net effect of regime changes in the class of states with at least moderate risk was an exertion of more upward pressure on risk scores.

A slight increase in the number of active armed conflicts around the world has also contributed to the overall increase in the risk of instability. With more neighborhoods experiencing the volatile externalities generated by violent conflict—refugee flows, arms trafficking, threats of intervention—the risk of instability for the residents has increased. All told, risk estimates for 13 countries increased because a new conflict erupted in a neighboring state (or an old conflict resurged). Only one state—Papua New Guinea—has a lower risk estimate because a conflict subsided in a neighboring state (the conflict in the Aceh territory in Indonesia, which subsided in 2006).

Changes Since 2007

To see more clearly how democratization and neighborhood conflict can have an immediate impact on increasing the risks of instability, let us take

Table 2.1	Highest Estimated Risk for Instability, 2008–2010	
Rank	Country	Risk Score
1	Afghanistan	38.9
2	Niger	33.1
3	Burundi	30.3
4	Congo, Democratic Republic*	29.1
5	Djibouti	28.2
6	Ethiopia	26.8
7	Mali	25.9
8	Nigeria	25.6
9	Tanzania	24.5
10	Zambia	24.2
11	Sierra Leone	23.3
12	Liberia	22.7
13	Mauritania*	21.4
14	Guinea-Bissau*	20.2
15	Angola	20.0
16	Iraq	19.7
17	Côte d'Ivoire	19.5
18	Kenya	18.0
19	Central African Republic	17.6
20	Somalia	16.9
21	Chad	16.6
22	Benin	16.0
23	Mozambique	15.8
24	Malawi	15.5
25	Nepal	15.2
* New to the top 25 in the most recent rankings.		

---

3 In the low-risk category, Chile and the Slovak Republic transitioned to more coherent democracies, which led to significantly lower risk scores for both countries.

a more detailed look at the circumstances in some countries that experienced significant change from the previous rankings.

For purposes of identifying cases in which significant change has occurred, we adopt a clear standard that utilizes information from each country's confidence interval. To identify cases in which the risk of instability has significantly increased, we require that the lower end of the new confidence range be greater than the risk estimate from the previous analysis. This standard allows us to conclude that the change in underlying risk has increased or has remained largely unchanged, but we can be nearly certain that it has not decreased. Cases of significant improvement require that the upper bound of the new confidence range be less than the risk estimate from the previous analysis. In this case, the standard permits an interpretation that the risk in a given country has likely declined or remained unchanged, but it has not increased.

Table 2.2 lists the 17 countries with the largest increase in risk scores. Of these, the change in 13 of the countries satisfies the standard for a significant worsening. For each of the countries, data are presented corresponding to the previous ledger rankings (based on the forecast period 2005–2007) alongside data used for the current forecast period (2008–2010). The net change in risk score is listed with an indication (*) of whether the change satisfies the threshold defined above. In most of these cases, the increase in risk can be traced to two separate factors: transitions to democratic governance and armed conflict in neighboring countries.

Undoubtedly, the process of democratization is a welcome development because it brings desirable qualities to governance (e.g., greater citizen participation, broader competition for leadership positions, more expansive civil liberties, etc.). For many observers, though, the heightened dangers of instability during this period are often under-appreciated.

Over the past two years, the risks of instability and conflict have increased significantly in the regions of the world where these dangers were already very high.

Partial democracies are at greater risk for instability than autocracies or full democracies. Repressive tactics adopted by autocratic governments often smother the potential for political instability. Coherent and mature democracies possess the capacity to address group grievances and manage the competition between groups that vie for political power and other resources, thereby reducing the risks of instability. Partial democracies typically possess neither of the qualities of full autocracies nor those of democracies, leaving them more vulnerable to the drivers of instability and conflict (Pate 2008). Indeed, the historical data over the past half-century shows a strong empirical relationship between partial democracy and the future onset of instability or conflict.

The bout of instability that raged in Kenya after its December 2007 presidential election serves as a recent illustration. In the ledger published in *Peace and Conflict 2008*, data from 2004 were used to produce Kenya's risk estimate for the period 2005–2007. At the time, Kenya was classified as a partial democracy, according to the Polity project, because the competitiveness of political participation was still seen as in transition from competition that had been largely suppressed by the regime. Its risk score, 12.9, reflected the potential for instability associated with these regime characteristics, placing it squarely among other high-risk states in Africa, despite a record of relative stability compared to neighbors like Ethiopia, Somalia, and Sudan. Those institutions would prove to lack the resilience to withstand forces that developed in the months preceding the close presidential election, as well as the pressures that were released in its aftermath. After months of campaigning with appeals to rectifying injustices based on advantages accorded to ethnic Kikuyus, opposition candidate Raila Odinga appeared to be positioned to win the election based on pre-election polling. When reports indicated that he had lost by a slim margin, amid widespread reports of election fraud, the forces driving the potential for instability were catalyzed. In the weeks following the election, approximately 1,000 people were killed in ethnically based violence throughout the country.

The experience of Kenya in late 2007 and early 2008 illustrates the vulnerabilities of partial democracies to some of the forces that can catalyze major episodes of instability. Kenya continues to be classified as a partial democracy, receiving an updated risk score of 18.0, which reflects some of the worsening conditions in the country in the aftermath of recent instability. With Kenya's experience in mind, let us briefly note some other countries that have

Table 2.2 Largest Increases in Risk of Instability

Forecast Period	Country	Risk Ratio	Net Change	Confidence Range	Regime Consistency	Partial Democracy	Infant Mortality	Economic Openness	Militarization	Neighborhood War
2005-07	**Congo, Democratic Republic**	6.9		3.7 – 11.8	0	○	129	70%	115	●
2008-10		29.1	22.2*	18.0 – 42.5	25	●	128	65%	115	●
2005-07	**Burundi**	11.1		6.5 – 18.0	0	○	114	40%	1112	○
2008-10		30.3	19.2*	19.0 – 45.2	36	●	109	59%	1112	●
2005-07	**Mauritania**	5.1		3.1 – 7.5	36	○	78	25%	671	●
2008-10		21.4	16.3*	12.6 – 33.0	16	●	77	123%	690	●
2005-07	**Nigeria**	13.4		7.6 – 21.5	16	●	101	92%	124	○
2008-10		25.6	12.2*	15.9 – 37.4	16	●	98	69%	112	●
2005-07	**Djibouti**	17.1		8.4 – 31.3	4	●	101	133%	1412	○
2008-10		28.2	11.1	15.7 – 45.3	4	●	86	137%	1412	●
2005-07	**Guinea-Bissau**	9.3		4.8 – 16.6	1	○	125	87%	585	○
2008-10		20.2	10.9*	11.3 – 32.7	36	●	119	89%	547	○
2005-07	**Angola**	10.5		4.7 – 20.6	4	○	154	125%	762	○
2008-10		20.0	9.5	9.2 – 35.8	4	○	154	108%	664	●
2005-07	**Zambia**	14.8		9.1 – 23.1	25	●	101	47%	139	○
2008-10		24.2	9.4*	14.9 – 36.8	25	●	101	78%	137	●
2005-07	**Pakistan**	5.2		3.3 – 7.9	25	○	80	31%	606	●
2008-10		14.6	9.4*	9.2 – 22.0	4	○	77	36%	581	●
2005-07	**Nepal**	6.4		3.8 – 10.0	36	○	59	48%	493	●
2008-10		15.2	8.8*	10.6 – 21.1	36	●	46	41%	474	●
2005-07	**Uganda**	4.9		2.8 – 8.1	16	○	80	41%	198	●
2008-10		12.9	8.0*	8.0 – 19.8	1	○	77	45%	198	●
2005-07	**Burkina Faso**	8.3		5.0 – 12.9	0	○	97	32%	80	○
2008-10		14.1	5.8*	8.8 – 21.4	0	○	122	38%	80	○
2005-07	**Cameroon**	6.8		4.2 – 10.5	16	○	87	39%	143	○
2008-10		12.5	5.7*	7.3 – 19.7	16	○	86	43%	143	●
2005-07	**Tanzania**	18.9		12.3 – 27.9	4	●	78	46%	74	●
2008-10		24.5	5.6	16.2 – 35.5	1	●	74	50%	74	●
2005-07	**Chad**	11.2		5.4 – 20.7	4	○	117	100%	360	●
2008-10		16.6	5.4	8.8 – 27.7	4	○	124	83%	360	●
2005-07	**Kyrgyz Republic**	3.5		1.7 – 6.2	9	○	59	96%	333	●
2008-10		8.8	5.3*	4.7 – 14.6	9	●	36	116%	404	○
2005-07	**Bolivia**	7.6		4.5 – 12.1	64	●	54	58%	759	○
2008-10		12.8	5.2*	7.8 – 19.3	64	●	49	66%	887	●

NOTE: An asterisk (*) indicates a net change that qualifies as significant according to the definition offered above. The numbers in the infant mortality column are the total infant deaths per 1,000 live births. The percentage in the economic openness column refers to the percentage of a country's GDP accounted for by the value of its imports plus exports. The number in the militarization column refers to the number of active military personnel per 100,000 people. Finally, the symbol ● means "yes" and the symbol ○ means "no."

been newly classified as partial democracies in the updated rankings, a change that has significantly increased their respective risk for future instability.

The Democratic Republic of Congo, Burundi, Mauritania, Guinea-Bissau, Nepal, and the Kyrgyz Republic all transitioned in varying extents to partial democratic rule during the 2005–2007 period. For any of these countries, much could be written about how the transition to more democratic governing arrangements influences the estimated risk for instability. Space constraints permit a focus on just one of these states. For the purposes of illustrating the

impact that democratic transition can have on the estimated risk of instability, the case of the Kyrgyz Republic will be most suitable.

In the previous ledger rankings, the Kyrgyz Republic estimate for risk of instability from 2005 to 2007 was based on data from 2004. In that year, governing arrangements in the country tended toward autocracy, although constitutional provisions did allow for some competitive elections and fewer restrictions on political participation. Still, Kyrgyzstan did not qualify as a partial democracy, which contributed to an estimate of only moderate risk for instability (3.5). By late 2006, a new constitution was in place that gave more political authority to the parliament. The changes in regime characteristics were sufficient to reclassify Kyrgyzstan as a partial democracy according to the Polity project's coding rules. In subsequent months, that authority would shift back to the presidency, but Kyrgyzstan continues to be coded as partially democratic. Predictably, the tenuous step toward democratization in Kyrgyzstan led to an increase in the estimated risk of instability (8.8). What makes the case of Kyrgyzstan notable is that the estimated risk of instability increased despite significant improvement in other areas. From 2004 to 2007, the country's infant mortality rate declined from roughly 58 deaths per 1,000 live births to 36. Moreover, a low-intensity armed conflict in neighboring Uzbekistan in 2004 had subsided by 2007. Despite these changes, which exert modest downward pressure on risk estimates, the movement toward democracy had a more powerful impact on pushing the estimated risk upward.

For other countries listed in Table 2.2, the heightened risk of instability is due to the onset (or recurrence) of armed conflict in a neighboring state. In Burundi, for example, the risk of instability increased substantially, due to renewed fighting in the neighboring Democratic Republic of the Congo (DRC). That same recurrence of conflict in the DRC is responsible for the heightened risk estimates in Angola. Nigeria's risk of instability increased with the recurrence of conflict in Chad in 2005 and less intense violence in Niger in 2007.

Table 2.3 presents a list of ten countries that showed the largest improvement in risk scores. Of these countries, seven made improvements that satisfied the requirements for significance outlined above. Glancing down the "Net Change" column of the table, it can be seen that the absolute level of reductions in risk is much lower than the absolute level of increases observed in Table 2.2. Given the overall global trend toward greater levels of instability, these differences should be expected.

Just as the risk of instability can increase substantially in a short period of time, it can decrease just as suddenly. For instance, the termination of a neighborhood conflict can reduce the risk of instability for a country abruptly. As mentioned previously, the lower risk score for Papua New Guinea is the result of the cessation of serious armed violence in neighboring Indonesia in 2006—the only conflict termination since the previous publication of the ledger.

For some countries in Table 2.3, the estimated risk of instability decreased because the country experienced a setback in its transition to democracy. Both Fiji and Bangladesh were coded as partial democracies in the previous rankings. In the most recent data, governing arrangements in both countries have shifted toward greater autocracy, which produces lower estimated risk scores. In Bangladesh the lower risk estimate may be short-lived. Parliamentary elections were postponed in January 2007 due to serious concerns of potential electoral fraud and corruption. President Iajuddin Ahmed resigned from office, and a series of measures were implemented as part of a general state of emergency. The changes led to the Polity project's recoding Bangladesh's regime as essentially autocratic in 2007. Since the parliamentary elections were held in December 2008, it is conceivable that Bangladesh may qualify as a partial democracy in a future release of Polity data, which would cause risk estimates to return to higher levels.

For many of the other countries in Table 2.3, improvements in the economic and social domains were most responsible for reductions in the underlying risk of instability. Iraq posted the largest improvement from the previous rankings for the 2005–2007 period. Large improvements in infant mortality rates and in economic openness are the main sources of the reduced risk estimate. The figures from 2004 were particularly bad, an unsurprising artifact of the vast disruption caused by the war that began in 2003. Iraq's infant mortality rate (as estimated in the CIA Factbook) was approximately 100 per 1,000 live births, the twentieth highest figure of all countries worldwide. The proportion of its GDP accounted for by trade was just 22 percent, ninth worst in the world. By 2007, those indicators had improved. Now, Iraq's infant mortality (about 50 deaths per 1,000 live births) is more comparable to that of Bangladesh. In addition, the indicator for economic openness has improved substantially to 62 percent. While the improvements are

Table 2.3 Largest Reduction in Risk of Instability

Forecast Period	Country	Risk Ratio	Net Change	Confidence Range	Regime Consistency	Partial Democracy	Infant Mortality	Economic Openness	Militarization	Neighborhood War
2005-07	**Iraq**	29.9		20.0 – 43.2	0	●	101	22%	668	●
2008-10		19.7	-10.2*	12.0 – 28.8	0	●	50	62%	668	●
2005-07	**Bangladesh**	13.1		9.1 – 18.7	36	●	56	36%	180	●
2008-10		3.0	-10.1*	1.7 – 5.2	36	○	51	51%	137	●
2005-07	**Serbia**	4.5		2.4 – 8.0	36	●	13	74%	1350	●
2008-10		1.7	-2.8*	0.7 – 3.5	64	●	7	76%	324	○
2005-07	**Fiji**	3.6		1.9 – 6.0	36	●	16	40%	357	○
2008-10		0.8	-2.8*	0.3 – 1.7	16	○	16	128%	480	○
2005-07	**Papua New Guinea**	5.1		2.5 – 9.3	100	○	69	32%	52	●
2008-10		2.4	-2.7*	1.1 – 4.8	100	○	55	147%	48	○
2005-07	**Honduras**	6.6		3.9 – 9.3	49	●	32	85%	284	●
2008-10		4.2	-2.4	2.2 – 6.8	49	●	23	130%	287	○
2005-07	**Albania**	4.5		2.6 – 7.3	49	●	16	65%	691	●
2008-10		2.6	-1.9*	1.4 – 4.3	81	●	15	79%	363	○
2005-07	**Nicaragua**	5.9		3.4 – 9.5	64	●	31	81%	260	●
2008-10		4.1	-1.8	2.2 – 6.7	81	●	29	120%	253	○
2005-07	**Guatemala**	7.3		4.8 – 11.0	64	●	33	48%	390	●
2008-10		5.6	-1.7	3.5 – 8.7	64	●	31	66%	269	○
2005-07	**Vietnam**	2.3		0.6 – 5.8	49	○	17	140%	6772	○
2008-10		0.6	-1.7*	0.2 – 1.1	49	○	15	159%	589	○

NOTE: An asterisk (*) indicates a net change that qualifies as significant according to the definition offered above. The numbers in the infant mortality column are the total infant deaths per 1,000 live births. The percentage in the economic openness column refers to the percentage of a country's GDP accounted for by the value of its imports plus exports. The number in the militarization column refers to the number of active military personnel per 100,000 people. Finally, the symbol ● means "yes" and the symbol ○ means "no."

notable, Iraq's overall risk score (19.7) continues to place it in the highest risk category, a solemn reminder of how grim the circumstances remain there.

In Serbia, improvements on several dimensions contributed to substantial reductions in its risk score. Although coded as a partial democracy, Serbia's regime consistency score improved from 36 in 2004 to 64, reflecting steady movement toward greater democratic consolidation. Infant mortality rates decreased from about 12 per 1,000 births to about 7. Finally, the militarization indictor dropped significantly, reflecting a sizeable reduction in the number of active armed personnel in Serbia from 2004 to 2007. In Albania and Vietnam, combined improvements in infant mortality, economic openness, and militarization all contributed to modest, yet significant, reductions in estimated risk. The achievement in Albania is notable because it qualifies as a partial democracy, illustrating how countries in the midst of a democratic transition can mitigate the profound risks inherent in that transformation through effective governance.

Conclusion

The sudden and significant increase in the estimated risk of instability across countries that were already vulnerable should be a cause for concern for policy-makers involved with managing conflict and addressing the larger challenges to state stability. There are two distinct causes for heightened levels of risk, which means that policy-makers should be attentive to how policy responses relate to each.

As regimes transform from autocracies to partial democracies, the estimated risks of major instability events increases. Policy responses that address the specific vulnerabilities of such regimes have the potential to mitigate instability risks. For example, any government policies that reduce the extent of factional-based political competition can increase the prospects that multiple sub-national groups (ethnic or non-ethnic) see themselves as stakeholders in the current set of institutional arrangements. A greater sensitivity to the importance of transparency in electoral procedures can reduce the catalytic potential for tightly contested elections to trigger instability. And, of course, while the volatile transition to consolidated democracy occurs, it is crucial that attention be paid to policies that enhance government's ability to deliver core services to the population (as illustrated by Albania's recent experience). Doing so will enhance the likelihood that it is viewed as legitimate, mitigating the risks faced by typical partial democracies.

At the same time, estimated risks may suddenly become elevated because of the onset or recurrence of a neighborhood conflict. In these cases, appropriate policy responses should address some of the contagion effects of conflicts. For a country with a neighbor involved in civil conflict, attention should be paid to the relationship that ethnic groups located near the border may have with warring parties in the country at war. Where there is potential for cross-border activity, appropriate responses may include heightened border monitoring and control to prevent the transfer of arms or the movement of soldiers into the warring country.

Ultimately, the key to effective policy responses to heightened risks of instability depends heavily on an ability to trace back from the estimate to the particular factors that exert the most influence on it. The Peace and Conflict Instability Ledger places an emphasis on making information about the risk estimates as accessible and interpretable as possible, so that diagnosing the foundations of these risks can be more effective. Moreover, by explicitly reporting confidence ranges associated with each country estimate, the ledger offers policy-makers enhanced leverage for making more confident assertions about the substantive importance of any year-to-year change observed in a particular country—a crucial necessity for making precise assessments about progress in at-risk countries. This chapter has offered several brief discussions of cases to be suggestive of how information from the ledger can be used to help clarify risk trends in a particular country. Employed alongside the detailed information (both qualitative and quantitative) available to country experts, the ledger can be a powerful diagnostic tool in any policy-makers' toolkit for assessing risk levels across countries.

The Peace and Conflict Instability Ledger ranks states according to the forecasted risk of future instability. See notes on pp. 17–18 for a description of the color codes for each indicator and also a detailed explanation of the confidence range (note 10).

Africa

Country	Risk Score	Confidence Range (low)	Confidence Range (high)
Niger	33.1	21.3	47.6
Burundi	30.3	19.0	45.2
Dem. Rep. of Congo	29.1	18.0	42.5
Djibouti	28.2	15.7	45.3
Ethiopia	26.8	18.2	38.0
Mali	25.9	15.7	38.7
Nigeria	25.6	15.9	37.4
Tanzania	24.5	16.2	35.5
Zambia	24.2	14.9	36.8
Sierra Leone	23.3	12.4	37.7
Liberia	22.7	12.3	38.1
Mauritania	21.4	12.6	33.0
Guinea-Bissau	20.2	11.3	32.7
Angola	20.0	9.2	35.8
Côte d'Ivoire	19.5	11.7	30.1
Kenya	18.0	11.6	26.0
Central African Rep.	17.6	10.6	28.0
Somalia	16.9	10.7	25.4
Chad	16.6	8.8	27.7
Benin	16.0	10.5	22.6
Mozambique	15.8	9.2	25.9
Malawi	15.5	10.5	22.4
Burkina Faso	14.1	8.8	21.4
Uganda	12.9	8.0	19.8
Botswana	12.6	6.7	21.6
Cameroon	12.5	7.3	19.7
Madagascar	12.0	7.5	18.1
Lesotho	11.9	5.6	20.9
Ghana	10.3	5.9	16.8
Guinea	9.9	5.7	15.5
Senegal	9.6	5.8	15.1
Namibia	9.5	5.6	15.0
South Africa	8.1	4.7	12.7
Comoros	7.9	4.8	12.5
Rwanda	7.5	4.5	12.1
Eritrea	7.2	4.6	11.1
Togo	6.6	3.9	10.5
Zimbabwe	6.2	3.5	10.4
Sudan	4.6	2.5	7.6
Congo, Rep.	4.3	2.3	7.4
Equitorial Guinea	3.8	2.1	6.6
Gambia	2.8	1.6	4.8
Gabon	2.7	1.5	4.6
Swaziland	2.4	1.2	4.4
Cape Verde	1.5	0.8	2.7
Mauritius	0.7	0.3	1.3

Recent Instability	Country	Regime Consistency	Infant Mortality	Economic Openness	Militarization	Neighborhood War	Risk Category	Risk Score	Confidence Range
Asia									
■	Afghanistan	●	●	●	●	●	●	38.9	23.7 — 58.2
	Nepal	●	●	●	●	●	●	15.2	10.6 — 21.1
■	Pakistan	●	●	●	●	●	●	14.6	9.2 — 22.0
	Timor-Leste	●	●	●	●	●	●	14.3	14.3 — 20.3
■	India	●	●	●	●	●	●	12.0	7.1 — 18.2
	Kyrgyz Republic	●	●	●	●	●	●	8.8	4.7 — 14.6
	Korea, Dem. Rep.	●	●	●	●	●	●	8.7	3.2 — 17.9
	Tajikistan	●	●	●	●	●	●	8.3	4.7 — 14.0
	Cambodia	●	●	●	●	●	●	7.8	4.1 — 13.6
■	Myanmar	●	●	●	●	●	●	6.0	3.9 — 8.9
	Indonesia	●	●	●	●	●	●	5.2	3.1 — 7.9
■	Sri Lanka	●	●	●	●	●	●	4.9	2.5 — 8.9
	Laos	●	●	●	●	●	●	4.3	2.4 — 7.0
■	Philippines	●	●	●	●	●	●	4.3	2.5 — 6.9
	Malaysia	●	●	●	●	●	●	3.7	1.5 — 7.6
	Bangladesh	●	●	●	●	●	●	3.0	1.7 — 5.2
	Bhutan	●	●	●	●	●	●	3.0	1.6 — 4.9
	Mongolia	●	●	●	●	●	●	2.6	1.3 — 4.8
	Papua New Guinea	●	●	●	●	●	●	2.4	1.1 — 4.8
	Turkmenistan	●	●	●	●	●	●	1.6	0.8 — 2.8
	Uzbekistan	●	●	●	●	●	●	1.6	0.9 — 2.7
■	Thailand	●	●	●	●	●	●	1.6	0.6 — 3.6
	Kazakhstan	●	●	●	●	●	●	1.6	0.7 — 3.0
	Korea, Rep.	●	●	●	●	●	●	1.4	0.5 — 3.0
	China	●	●	●	●	●	●	1.2	0.5 — 2.3
	Fiji	●	●	●	●	●	●	0.8	0.3 — 1.7
	Taiwan	●	●	●	●	●	●	0.7	0.3 — 1.3
	Singapore	●	●	●	●	●	●	0.7	0.7 — 1.7
	Vietnam	●	●	●	●	●	●	0.6	0.2 — 1.1
	Japan	●	●	●	●	●	●	0.4	0.1 — 1.2
	Australia	●	●	●	●	●	●	0.4	0.2 — 1.0
	New Zealand	●	●	●	●	●	●	0.4	0.2 — 1.0
Eastern Europe									
	Armenia	●	●	●	●	●	●	10.8	6.0 — 17.2
	Georgia	●	●	●	●	●	●	9.0	5.5 — 13.6
	Russia	●	●	●	●	●	●	6.7	3.4 — 11.4
	Ukraine	●	●	●	●	●	●	5.8	3.4 — 9.6
	Bosnia	●	●	●	●	●	●	4.2	1.6 — 8.7
	Azerbaijan	●	●	●	●	●	●	3.9	2.3 — 6.4
	Romania	●	●	●	●	●	●	3.1	1.7 — 5.4
	Montenegro	●	●	●	●	●	●	2.9	1.3 — 5.5
	Bulgaria	●	●	●	●	●	●	2.8	1.4 — 4.9
	Moldova	●	●	●	●	●	●	2.7	1.5 — 4.9
	Albania	●	●	●	●	●	●	2.6	1.4 — 4.3
	Latvia	●	●	●	●	●	●	2.4	1.1 — 4.6
	Estonia	●	●	●	●	●	●	1.9	0.6 — 4.3
	Serbia	●	●	●	●	●	●	1.7	0.7 — 3.5
	Croatia	●	●	●	●	●	●	1.1	0.4 — 2.4
	Belarus	●	●	●	●	●	●	0.9	0.4 — 1.8
	Czech Republic	●	●	●	●	●	●	0.7	0.2 — 1.7
	Lithuania	●	●	●	●	●	●	0.7	0.3 — 1.3
	Poland	●	●	●	●	●	●	0.6	0.3 — 1.2
	Slovakia	●	●	●	●	●	●	0.4	0.2 — 0.9
	Hungary	●	●	●	●	●	●	0.4	0.2 — 0.8
	Slovenia	●	●	●	●	●	●	0.2	0.1 — 0.5

Recent Instability	Country	Regime Consistency	Infant Mortality	Economic Openness	Militarization	Neighborhood War	Risk Category	Risk Score	Confidence Range
	Latin America and the Caribbean								
	Haiti	●	●	●	●	●	●	13.1	8.3 ▭ 19.1
	Bolivia	●	●	●	●	●	●	12.8	7.8 ▭ 19.3
	Ecuador	●	●	●	●	●	●	7.8	4.5 ▭ 12.7
	Guyana	●	●	●	●	●	●	7.7	4.0 ▭ 13.6
	Mexico	●	●	●	●	●	●	7.3	4.6 ▭ 11.1
	Venezuela	●	●	●	●	●	●	7.2	4.0 ▭ 11.7
■	Colombia	●	●	●	●	●	●	6.6	4.1 ▭ 10.8
	Brazil	●	●	●	●	●	●	6.6	4.0 ▭ 10.3
	Peru	●	●	●	●	●	●	5.9	3.6 ▭ 9.0
	Guatemala	●	●	●	●	●	●	5.6	3.5 ▭ 8.7
	Dominican Republic	●	●	●	●	●	●	4.9	3.0 ▭ 7.7
	El Salvador	●	●	●	●	●	●	4.8	2.8 ▭ 7.8
	Honduras	●	●	●	●	●	●	4.2	2.2 ▭ 6.8
	Nicaragua	●	●	●	●	●	●	4.1	2.2 ▭ 6.7
	Jamaica	●	●	●	●	●	●	3.6	1.9 ▭ 6.1
	Paraguay	●	●	●	●	●	●	3.4	2.0 ▭ 5.6
	Argentina	●	●	●	●	●	●	3.3	1.7 ▭ 5.6
	Trinidad and Tobago	●	●	●	●	●	●	1.8	0.8 ▭ 3.2
	Panama	●	●	●	●	●	●	1.7	0.8 ▭ 3.0
	Uruguay	●	●	●	●	●	●	0.9	0.5 ▭ 1.6
	Chile	●	●	●	●	●	●	0.9	0.4 ▭ 1.6
	Costa Rica	●	●	●	●	●	●	0.7	0.3 ▭ 1.3
	Cuba	●	●	●	●	●	●	0.5	0.1 ▭ 1.5
	Middle East and North Africa								
■	Iraq	●	●	●	●	●	●	19.7	12.0 ▭ 28.8
■	Yemen	●	●	●	●	●	●	11.6	7.7 ▭ 16.5
	Lebanon	●	●	●	●	●	●	10.5	6.4 ▭ 16.4
■	Turkey	●	●	●	●	●	●	8.3	5.3 ▭ 12.3
	Egypt	●	●	●	●	●	●	6.0	3.4 ▭ 9.9
	Algeria	●	●	●	●	●	●	5.0	2.8 ▭ 8.1
	Jordan	●	●	●	●	●	●	4.7	2.3 ▭ 8.1
	Tunisia	●	●	●	●	●	●	3.2	1.6 ▭ 5.6
	Morocco	●	●	●	●	●	●	2.2	1.2 ▭ 3.9
	Iran	●	●	●	●	●	●	2.1	1.1 ▭ 3.7
	Libya	●	●	●	●	●	●	1.2	0.5 ▭ 2.3
	Syria	●	●	●	●	●	●	1.1	0.5 ▭ 2.2
	Saudi Arabia	●	●	●	●	●	●	0.8	0.4 ▭ 1.5
	Kuwait	●	●	●	●	●	●	0.7	0.2 ▭ 1.6
	Bahrain	●	●	●	●	●	●	0.6	0.2 ▭ 1.3
	Qatar	●	●	●	●	●	●	0.6	0.3 ▭ 1.1
■	Israel	●	●	●	●	●	●	0.6	0.2 ▭ 1.1
	Oman	●	●	●	●	●	●	0.5	0.2 ▭ 1.0
	UAE	●	●	●	●	●	●	0.3	0.1 ▭ 0.8
	North Atlantic								
	Macedonia	●	●	●	●	●	●	2.5	1.3 ▭ 4.3
	United States	●	●	●	●	●	●	0.9	0.4 ▭ 1.9
	Belgium	●	●	●	●	●	●	0.8	0.2 ▭ 1.8
	Greece	●	●	●	●	●	●	0.6	0.2 ▭ 1.4
	Cyprus	●	●	●	●	●	●	0.6	0.2 ▭ 1.3
	Canada	●	●	●	●	●	●	0.5	0.2 ▭ 1.1
	United Kingdom	●	●	●	●	●	●	0.4	0.2 ▭ 0.9
	France	●	●	●	●	●	●	0.4	0.1 ▭ 0.9

Recent Instability	Country	Regime Consistency	Infant Mortality	Economic Openness	Militarization	Neighborhood War	Risk Category	Risk Score	Confidence Range
North Atlantic (continued)									
	Norway	🟢	🟢	🟡	🟡	🔴	🔵	0.4	0.1 ‖ 0.8
	Finland	🟢	🟢	🟡	🟡	🔴	🔵	0.4	0.1 ‖ 0.8
	Italy	🟢	🟢	🟡	🟡	🟢	🔵	0.4	0.1 ‖ 0.8
	Spain	🟢	🟢	🟡	🟡	🟢	🔵	0.3	0.1‖ 0.8
	Switzerland	🟢	🟢	🟡	🟡	🟢	🔵	0.3	0.1 ‖ 0.7
	Portugal	🟢	🟢	🟡	🔴	🟢	🔵	0.3	0.1 ‖ 0.7
	Denmark	🟢	🟢	🟡	🟡	🟢	🔵	0.3	0.1 ‖ 0.7
	Netherlands	🟢	🟢	🟢	🟡	🟢	🔵	0.3	0.1 ‖ 0.7
	Austria	🟢	🟢	🟢	🟡	🟢	🔵	0.3	0.1 ‖ 0.7
	Germany	🟢	🟢	🟡	🟡	🟢	🔵	0.3	0.1 ‖ 0.6
	Ireland	🟢	🟢	🟢	🟡	🟢	🔵	0.3	0.1 ‖ 0.6
	Sweden	🟢	🟢	🟡	🟡	🟢	🔵	0.2	0.1 ‖ 0.5

Notes and Explanations for the Ledger

The ledger is based on a model that estimates the statistical relationship between the future likelihood of instability and each of the five factors in the chapter. We estimated the model based on data for the period 1950–2003 and found that each of the five factors were strongly related to the future risk of instability. Using the model estimates for the causal weight assigned to each factor, we used data from 2007, the last year for which complete data are available for all five of our factors, to produce a three-year forecast indicating the risk of instability in the period 2008–2010. The color codes used in the ledger to present a country's standing on each of the five factors are based on the values in 2007. The notes below explain the various color codings.

(1) Recent Instability This column indicates (with a red square) whether the country has been coded by the Political Instability Task Force (PITF) as being involved in an instability event as of the end of 2006. The country's risk score (see column 9) provides an assessment of the likelihood of the country's experiencing future instability. One might interpret the risk score for countries currently experiencing instability as the risk of continued instability, but we caution readers that the causal factors that drive the continuation of instability are likely not the same as the factors that drive the onset of instability.

(2) Country The ledger examines only those countries with populations greater than 500,000 in 2007.

(3) Regime Consistency The risk of future instability is strongly related to the extent to which the institutions comprising a country's political system are uniformly and consistently autocratic or democratic. Political institutions with a mix of democratic and autocratic features are deemed inconsistent, a common attribute of polities in the midst of a democratic transition (or a reversal from democratic rule to more autocratic governance). We expect regimes with inconsistent institutions to be more likely to experience political instability. In the ledger, highly consistent democracies (Polity score greater than or equal to 6) and autocracies (Polity score less than or equal to -6) receive a green

marker. A red marker has been assigned to regimes with inconsistent characteristics that also qualify as partial democracies according to PITF. Regimes with these characteristics have been found to have the highest risk for instability. We assign a yellow marker to partial autocracies because the propensity for instability in these regimes is somewhat less than in partial democracies.

(4) Infant Mortality Infant mortality rates serve as a proxy for overall governmental effectiveness in executing policies and delivering services that improve social welfare in a country. High infant mortality rates are associated with an increased likelihood of future instability. The states with the best records are indicated with a green marker (scoring in the bottom 25th percentile of global infant mortality rates). States with the worst record (scoring in the highest 25th percentile) are indicated with a red marker. States in the middle 50th percentile are indicated with a yellow marker.

(5) Economic Openness Closer integration with global markets reduces the likelihood of armed civil conflict and political instability. Policies that integrate global and domestic markets can produce higher growth rates and sometimes reduce inequality. To that extent, economic openness can remove or weaken common drivers for civil unrest related to economic grievances. We focus on the proportion of a country's GDP accounted for by

the value of all trade (exports plus imports) as a measure for economic openness. The countries with the lowest score for economic openness are considered to be at the highest risk for instability. We designate these states with a red marker. The highest 25th percentile of states receive a green marker in the ledger. The middle 50th percentile receives a yellow marker.

(6) Militarization Instability is most likely in countries where the opportunities for armed conflict are greatest. In societies where the infrastructure and capital for organized armed conflict are more plentiful and accessible, the likelihood for civil conflict increases. The ledger measures militarization as the number of individuals in a country's active armed forces as a percentage of the country's total population. Countries with militarization scores in the bottom 25th percentile are indicated with a green marker. Countries in the top 25th percentile are presented with a red marker. The middle 50th percentile is indicated with a yellow marker.

(7) Neighborhood War The presence of an armed conflict in a neighboring state (internal or interstate) increases the risk of state instability. The contagion effects of regional armed conflict can heighten the risk of state instability, especially when ethnic or other communal groups span across borders. We use the most recent data release from the Uppsala Conflict Data Project at the International Peace Research Institute to determine the conflict status of states in 2007 (see Gleditsch et al. 2002, for more information). For a neighbor to be considered involved in armed conflict, we further require that the conflict produces 25 or more battle-related fatalities per year. A red marker indicates when at least one neighbor is involved in armed conflict. A green marker indicates the absence of armed conflict in all neighboring states.

(8) Risk Category States have been placed in one of five categories corresponding to their risk score. The chapter text discusses the procedure for assigning states to the highest risk category (red), the high risk category (orange), the moderate risk category (yellow), the some risk category (green), or the low risk category (blue).

(9) Risk Score The risk score gives a three-year forecast of the relative risk (compared to an average member of the OECD) of experiencing instability. The score is computed based on the results of estimating a statistical model using global data from the period 1950–2003. Then, using the model estimates, data from 2007 were used to obtain the three-year forecasts for each country for the period 2008–2010.

(10) Confidence Range The confidence range provides information about the degree of uncertainty corresponding to a country's estimated risk score. Statistically speaking, the "true" risk of instability lies within this range with a 95 percent probability. The width of the confidence range is drawn to scale. The widest confidence range observed in the data has been set to the width of the full column with all other confidence ranges drawn accordingly. When the bar is one color, the confidence range is confined to a single risk category. In cases where the confidence range spans multiple risk categories, the different colors of the bar reflect the extent of the overlap with those categories. Using a sample country (Liberia), the key below (Figure 2.2) illustrates how to read the information contained in the graphic for each country's confidence range. The color blue indicates the low risk range, green indicates the some risk range, yellow indicates the moderate risk range, orange indicates the high risk range, and red indicates the highest risk range.

Figure 2.2 Understanding Information Contained in the Confidence Range

Portion of the confidence range in the high risk category

Portion of the confidence range in the highest risk category

12.3   38.1

Low value of confidence range

High value of confidence range

The location of the risk score estimate (from Column 9) within the confidence range is depicted with a vertical white line. In this example, the estimate is approximately 22.0. Note, the location of the risk score estimate does not necessarily fall in the midpoint of the confidence range.

3. TRENDS IN GLOBAL CONFLICT, 1946-2007

J. Joseph Hewitt

At the beginning of 2008 there were 26 active armed conflicts worldwide, raging in some places and smoldering in others. All of them were civil conflicts between the government of a state, on one hand, and at least one internal group on the other. All of them were fairly long-standing contests that had begun in the years previous to 2007. That is, none of the conflicts that were active in 2007 actually began in 2007. Renewed fighting returned to one conflict that had been largely dormant since 1999—the 30-year-old conflict involving the Shining Path in Peru—an example of conflict recurrence, which is a primary focus of this chapter.

Figure 3.1   Global Trends in Violent Conflict, 1946–2007

Number of Active Conflicts

Internal Conflict   Interstate Conflict   Total Conflict

Figure 3.2   Trends in Conflict Recurrence, 1946–2007

Number of Terminated Conflicts (within past 10 years)

Conflicts with history of recurrence   Conflicts with no history of recurrence
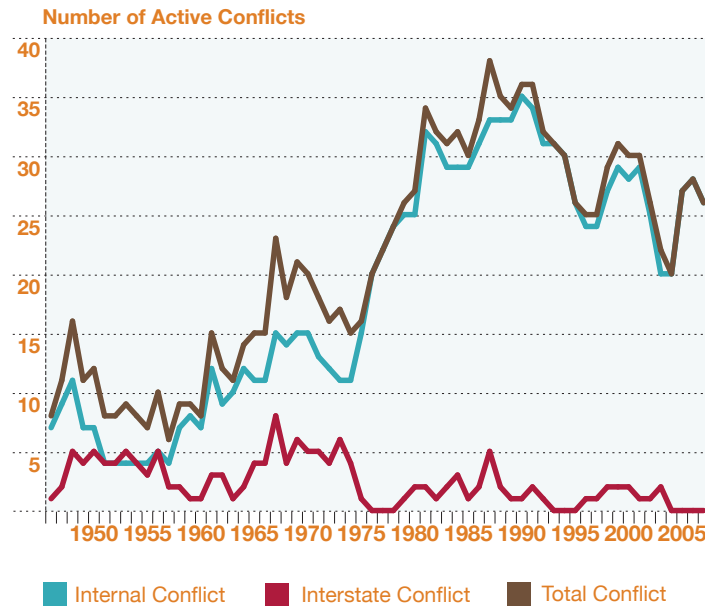
Figure 3.1 presents the number of active conflicts in each year during the period 1946-2007. The number of conflicts increased steadily throughout the Cold War until 1991, when the number began to decline. Near the end of the 20th century, the number of conflicts shot up dramatically before falling to an all-time low in 2004. In 2005, the number increased significantly and has since remained essentially the same.

The risk of conflict recurrence in countries that have recently emerged from active conflict poses one of the most serious current threats to international stability, potentially reversing the downward trend in worldwide conflict. that began when the Cold War ended. For example, the dramatic increase in the number of active conflicts in 2005 was largely the result of conflict recurrence in countries where violence had once been contained.

Figure 3.2 shows how significant the problem of conflict recurrence has become in recent years. For each year in the graph, the bar shows the number of conflicts that terminated within the previous ten years. The red portion of the bar shows the number that have a history of recurrence (i.e., conflicts that have terminated once before and then relapsed again into violence). In the last five years—for the first time since World War II—a majority of recently terminated conflicts have a history of recurrence.

If the recent rate of conflict recurrences continues into the future with no significant change in the rate of terminations, the overall trends in conflict will likely fluctuate with no clear downward or upward movement. Hewitt argues that the key to avoiding such a result resides in a better understanding of post-conflict transitions, which will ideally support more informed policy responses to help usher countries through challenging periods of reconciliation, reconstruction, and stabilization. *Peace and Conflict 2010* focuses on four specific steps that can reduce the likelihood of conflict recurrence: societies must rebuild their economies and recover from the enormous costs of warfare (Chapter 7); democratization should proceed such that major stakeholders in society perceive newly constructed governmental institutions as both legitimate and effective (Chapter 8); the role of women in post-conflict contexts must be accounted for (Chapter 9); and the role of transitional justice (war crimes tribunals or truth and reconciliation commissions) should be weighed to properly assess its impact on post-conflict recovery (Chapter 10).

4. TRENDS IN DEMOCRATIZATION: A FOCUS ON MINORITY RIGHTS

Amy Pate

In 1950, the world was almost equally divided between autocracies, anocracies (or hybrid regimes) and democracies. In the following two decades, the departure of colonial powers from Africa and Asia resulted in an explosion in the number of independent countries. Beginning in the late 1970s and accelerating through the 1980s, a wave of democratization took place. By the end of the Cold War in 1991, there were more democracies than either anocracies or autocracies. The spread of democracy continued throughout the 1990s, and by 2008, there were 86 democratic countries, 45 anocracies, and only 28 autocracies in the world. Figure 4.1 illustrates these trends in democratization. While democracy continues to be the dominant form of governance in the world, a downward trend starting in 2006 is emerging, with the steepest decline in the number of democracies in the post-World War II era.

Figure 4.1   Global Regimes by Type, 1945-2007

When the "third wave" of democratization started to sweep through the developing world in the late 1970s and into the 1980s, there were few discussions centered on the role ethnic diversity played, either in terms of how diversity affected the likelihood of a successful transition or in terms of how democratization affected ethnic relations within the state. In this chapter, Pate focuses on how regimes differ in their respect for minority rights and on how that treatment has changed over time.

Despite the possibility of majoritarian domination, democracy has resulted in political gains for minorities at risk. Both democracies and hybrid regimes show greater inclusion of ethnic minorities, as compared to authoritarian regimes. There remains, however, much room for improvement.

Pate discusses the findings of the Minorities at Risk (MAR) project, which collects annual information on the political status and activities of ethnic groups globally. The data collected by MAR show that approximately 34 percent of minorities at risk do not face political discrimination. Seventeen percent continue to suffer from political discrimination despite government-implemented remedial policies that were targeted to alleviate its effects. Pate also explains that while some ethnic groups live on the edges of political society and are not actively discriminated against, either by their government or by wider society, there are also no policies in place to encourage or guarantee their political participation.

The percentage of governments that actively discriminate against ethnic minorities has been declining steadily since 1990. Societal discrimination has also decreased, although not as steeply as public policy exclusion. Over the same time period, the number of ethnic groups benefiting from remedial policies has also increased. The greatest change in this period has been in the percentage of ethnic minorities that experience no political discrimination.

The information presented in this chapter suggests that despite the possibility of majoritarian domination, democracy has resulted in political gains for minorities at risk. Both democracies and hybrid regimes show greater inclusion of ethnic minorities, as compared to authoritarian regimes. There remains, however, much room for improvement in both democracies and hybrid regimes: 27 percent of minority groups in democracies and 26 percent in anocracies continue to suffer from either widespread societal discrimination or formal exclusion. Nonetheless, democratization seems to hold the most promise for minorities at risk.
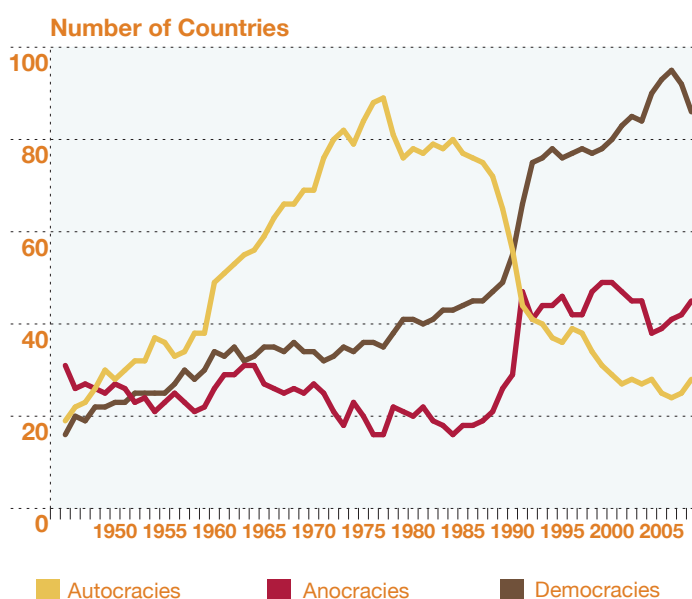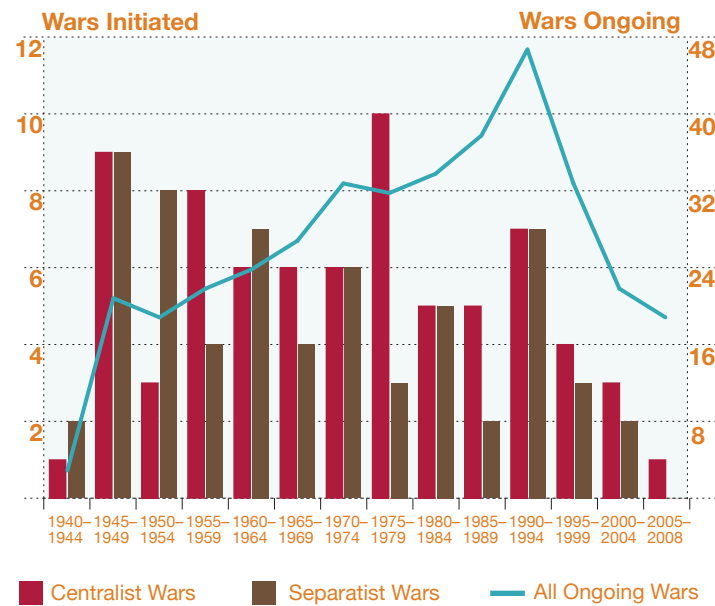
5. SELF-DETERMINATION MOVEMENTS AND THEIR OUTCOMES

Monica Duffy Toft and Stephen M. Saidemen

Although the nine ongoing self-determination conflicts in 2008 represent a continuation of a downward trend in their frequency, they remain an important source of violence in the new century. These conflicts are increasingly being resolved by means of negotiated settlements, stalemates or ceasefires, rather than by the military victory of one side over the other.

Figure 5.1 Number of Centralist and Separatist Civil Wars Terminated

Noting this general downward trend, Toft and Saidemen take a different turn in this chapter and highlight some of the factors that have been shown to be associated with self-determination movements. Conflicts that arise from these movements tend to be localized, defensive, territorially confined, and limited in scope, but the dynamics of bargaining and the nature of the stakes compel patron states and outside actors to get involved. Consequently, national self-determination is often an international problem.

This chapter identifies some of the key characteristics of groups that seek self-determination and compares these groups to ethnic groups that may be mobilized but do not seek more autonomy or independence. Toft and Saidemen then consider separatist civil wars in comparison to those focused on control of the central government to ascertain the patterns exhibited by the most violent efforts to gain self-determination.

These analyses find that self-determination conflicts appear likely to remain a fixture on the international landscape. They present a number of difficult problems for the states that contain them as well as for the international community. At the domestic level, granting greater levels of autonomy to these movements may work to help squelch violence. Nevertheless, the very arrangements that grant greater autonomy and decrease the likelihood of violence in the short and medium-term may undermine stability in the longer term by providing these movements with greater resources and mobilization capacity.

> *While military intervention by an external power often seems the only reliable solution to a self-determination conflict, this prospect presents its own set of difficulties.*

In terms of outside actors, self-determination movements present a related but distinct set of issues, particularly once violence emerges. Because most self-determination conflicts are facilitated by fairly low-technology military equipment that cannot be removed, and are not greatly affected by bribes or threats, military intervention becomes the next logical step. While military intervention by an external power often seems the only reliable solution to a self-determination conflict, this prospect presents its own set of difficulties. Intervening states must contend with their own impatient citizenries, difficulty finding troops, the challenge of enforcing a lasting peace, and a lack of international consensus as to which side is worthy of support. For these reasons, interventions are apt to fail, leading back to violence.

This is not to say successful intervention to stop self-determination violence is impossible. According to Toft and Saidemen, the keys to success are to educate the public before engaging militarily with a threat, use minimal armed forces that are specifically trained and equipped for an intervention mission, make sure there is consensus among outside actors, and work tirelessly to evaluate and address local grievances with targeted economic support and political reform once initial violence has been stopped.

6. TRENDS IN GLOBAL TERRORISM

Gary LaFree, Laura Dugan, and R. Kim Cragin

One of the most notable advances in the study of terrorism and political violence in recent years has been the construction of large and increasingly comprehensive databases that document characteristics of terrorist attacks over time. This chapter reports new results from a recently compiled database that includes both international and domestic terrorist attacks from 1970 until 2007. It was created by combining the Global Terrorism Database (GTD) maintained by the National Consortium for the Study of Terrorism and Responses to Terrorism for the years 1970 to 1997 with RAND-St. Andrews Terrorism Chronology data on international terrorism from 1970 to 1997 and the RAND-MIPT Terrorism Incident Data Base from 1998 to 2007. The resulting merged dataset includes more than 77,000 known domestic and international terrorist attacks from around the world, making it the most comprehensive unclassified event database on terrorism yet assembled.

This chapter presents worldwide trends in terrorist attacks and fatalities from the GTD-RAND merged database and presents findings from numerous analyses of the distribution of targets, terrorist tactics, terrorist weapons, regional differences in terrorist activity, and regional trends in terrorist activity.

Figure 6.1   Total and Fatal Terrorism Attacks, 1970–2007

Legend: All Attacks; Fatal Attacks; All Attacks, excluding Iraq unattributed attacks (2003-2007); Fatal Attacks, excluding Iraq unattributed attacks (2003-2007)

Figure 6.1 shows that both total terrorist attacks and lethal attacks increased dramatically from 1970 to the early 1990s, declined until the beginning of the twenty-first century, and then increased again over the past decade. Increases are markedly higher if all post-2003 cases of terrorism in Iraq are included in the totals. Even after excluding post-2003 Iraqi cases where no specific group can be identified, total terrorist attacks nearly tripled between 2000 and 2006. Still, the data strongly suggest that terrorism today is in large part a by-product of the war in Iraq, differing greatly from terrorism in the last quarter of the twentieth century.

LaFree et al. find that bombings and facility attacks were the most common terrorist tactics, followed by assassinations and kidnappings. Aerial hijackings were rare. The targets of these attacks were most often government, business, or police-related. Because of high profile cases like 9/11 and also the ubiquitous treatment of terrorism by the film and media industry, there is a tendency to think that most terrorist strikes are complex, carefully orchestrated, and rely on sophisticated weaponry. However, contrary to the view of terrorism commonly offered by the media, the vast majority of terrorist attacks rely on readily accessible weapons. The authors report that the vast majority of attacks involve explosives or firearms.

The data strongly suggest that terrorism today is in large part a by-product of the war in Iraq, differing greatly from terrorism in the last quarter of the twentieth century.

The Middle East/Persian Gulf and Latin America lead all other regions both in terms of total attacks and fatalities, while the former has replaced the latter as the most active terrorist region in the world over time. While sub-Saharan Africa and South Asia have higher fatalities per attack, attacks in Western Europe are less likely to be lethal compared to other regions. Prior to 1998, the top 25 countries in terms of terrorism were dominated by Western Europe and Latin America, but within the last decade this distribution has included more countries from other regions. Interestingly, the United States remains the 23rd most attacked country, both before and after 1997.
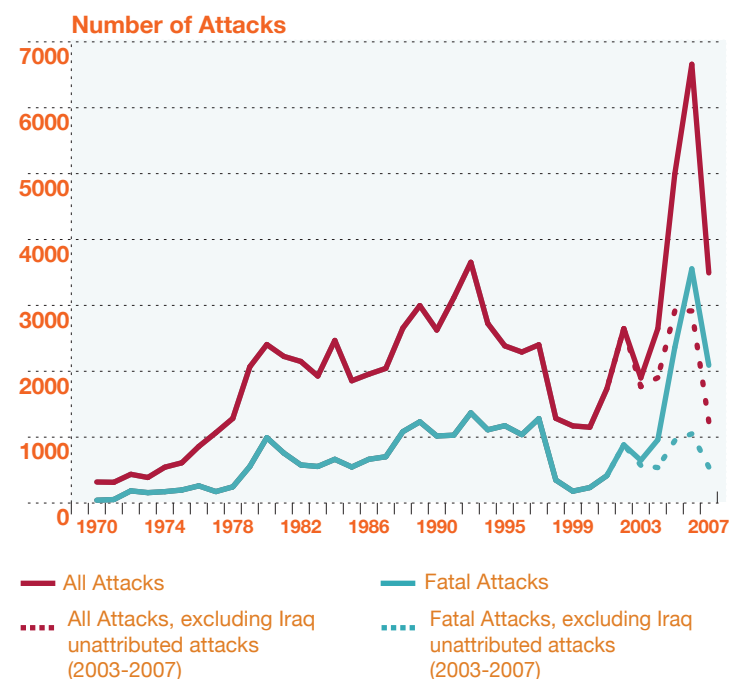
7. STATE FAILURE AND CONFLICT RECURRENCE

Anke Hoeffler

This chapter provides an overview of the global costs of state failure and an assessment of how state failure relates to conflict recurrence. Taking a broad view of the concept of state failure, Anke Hoeffler asserts that states can fail in two distinct senses: they can fail to provide economic development opportunities or they can fail to provide security for their citizens.

Table 7.1 Economic, Health, and Education Indicators: Comparing Failing and Non-Failing State			
Indicator	Failing States	Failing States in Sub-Saharan Africa	Non-Failing, Non-OECD States
GDP per capita (in 2000 const. US$)	963	645	4180
Aid (% of GDP)	13	18	6
Life expectancy (years)	60	48	69
Infant mortality (per 1,000 births)	71	104	30
Literacy (% of total population >15yrs)	70	56	78
Literacy female (% of females >15yrs)	63	48	74

Averages calculated for 2003–2005, source: World Development Indicators (2008).

Figure 7.1 Costs of State Failure

Cost to neighbors (87%)

Cost of poverty (12%)

Cost of civil war (1%)

The consequences of state failure are dramatic for its citizens. Table 7.1 lists some economic, health, and education statistics for the 56 failing states identified by the German Ministry of Development. Failing states score worse in every aspect. In all, people residing in failed or failing states suffer enormous costs: they are poor, they die younger, and their children are less likely to survive infancy.

Hoeffler reports that the global combined cost of state failure is estimated at $270 billion. Surprisingly, only a small portion of the cost is accounted for by failing states themselves. In an increasingly interconnected and interdependent world, social and economic catastrophe in one country typically spills over onto neighbors. Indeed, the cost to neighbors is by far the largest component. About 87 percent of the cost of state failure is borne by neighboring countries (see Figure 7.1).

Due to their inability to generate economic growth and opportunities for their citizens, failing states are at a higher risk of experiencing large-scale violent conflict. Once they have experienced a war, they are at a much higher risk of experiencing a recurrence of violence. About 40 percent of all states emerging from civil war suffer a post-conflict relapse within a decade. Post-conflict countries face two distinct challenges: economic recovery and risk reduction. These two objectives are complementary: economic recovery reduces risks, and risk reduction speeds recovery.

What can be done to assist in the recovery of post-conflict states? Research suggests that the end of a civil war creates a temporary phase during which aid is particularly effective in the growth process. Hoeffler reports that in approximately four to seven years after the end of civil war, the absorptive capacity for aid is approximately double its normal level. Thus, the pattern of aid disbursements should gradually rise during the first four years and taper back to normal levels by the end of the first post-conflict decade. Has actual aid practice followed this pattern? Unfortunately, the historical evidence suggests the opposite—aid tapers off just when it should be ramping up.

Hoeffler finds that economic development substantially reduces the risk of conflict recurrence. If a post-conflict country achieves a growth rate of 10 percent during the decade after the war, the risk of conflict recurrence falls to 27 percent (from the baseline of 40 percent for average post-conflict countries). UN peacekeeping expenditures ameliorate the risks of conflict recurrence, as well. Doubling expenditures on peacekeeping operations reduces the risk from the benchmark 40 percent to 31 percent. Increased post-conflict military spending, in contrast, significantly increases the risk of renewed conflict, an adverse effect that is distinct to post-conflict societies.

8. POST-CONFLICT DEMOCRACY AND CONFLICT RECURRENCE

Håvard Hegre and Hanne Fjelde

Democratization is often suggested as a means to prevent post-conflict societies from reverting back to war. In this chapter, Håvard Hegre and Hanne Fjelde review the empirical literature that evaluates this claim, finding that democratic institutions have limited impact on the risk of conflict recurrence, reducing the risk only in the most recent years.

Democracy has become the standard approach to peace-building in post-conflict societies, despite the fact that democracy is not sufficient to prevent armed conflict in general. Controlling for income, democracies are no less likely to experience internal conflict onsets than non-democracies. Moreover, semi-democracies—regimes that are partly democratic, partly autocratic—have the highest risk of civil war onset. Democracies are not in a better position to end conflicts, either. A number of studies find no link between regime type and duration of conflict.

In spite of the salience of establishing legitimate and responsive authority in post-conflict societies, there is no conclusive evidence that democratic institutions do better in post-conflict settings to mitigate the risks of conflict recurrence than other regime types. Just as for all conflict onsets, conflicts recur most frequently among semi-democracies (7.7 percent of post-conflict country-years). They happen least frequently among democracies (3.9 percent). Post-conflict autocracies experience recurrences slightly less than semi-democracies do (6.0 percent). Controlling for income, the evidence suggests that democracies in general, and new democracies in particular (most of which are classified as semi-democracies), have a a higher likelihood of conflict recurrence than non-democracies.

Håvard and Fjelde find that the inclusion of democratic provisions in peace agreements does little to enhance the durability of peace. They note that there exists no evidence that post-war elections, often the centerpiece of post-conflict democratization projects, reduce the risk of conflict recurrence in the short term. In fact, electoral periods are associated with a heightened risk of civil war overall.

Evidence from the last ten years suggests that democracies suffer significantly fewer conflict recurrences than other regime types. Figure 8.1 shows the annual proportion of post-conflict countries that revert to conflict. Up to the mid 1990s, there is no meaningful difference among the three regime types. From then on, the few remaining non-democracies have the highest risk of conflict recurrence, and democracies clearly have the lowest. The authors caution that the recent trends are based on the experiences of a small number of countries, making it difficult to draw definitive conclusions.

Evidence from the last ten years suggests that democracies suffer significantly fewer conflict recurrences than other regime types.

Håvard and Fjelde offer several policy recommendations that could improve the prospects of post-conflict democracies. Since the same conditions that weaken the durability of post-conflict peace also undermine the stability of newly-established democratic institutions, policies that reduce post-conflict risks also work in favor of democratic stability. Several studies show that economic growth, reduction of unemployment, and diversification of the economy are important conditions both for promoting democratic stability and avoiding conflict recurrence. Additionally, the authors stress the importance of accountability in the electoral system. Electoral regimes with few constraints on the executive, they note, are particularly civil war-prone. Elections must be accompanied by an emphasis on transparency and accountability, as well as on the active support of political institutions designed to monitor the political system.

Figure 8.1   Post-Conflict Countries that Revert to Conflict (1960-2007)

Percentage of Countries

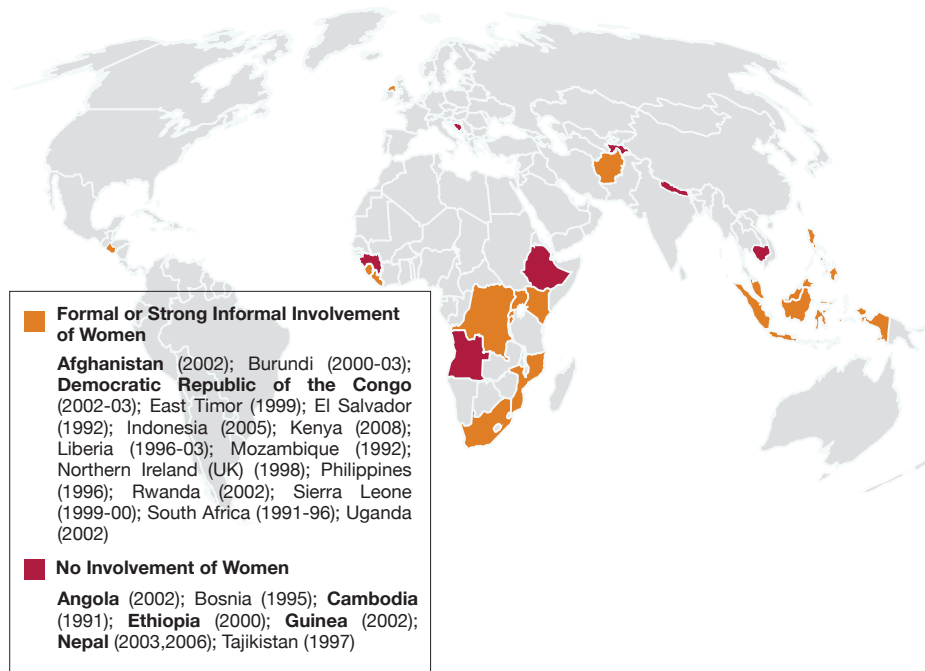Autocracy   Democracy   Semi-Democracy
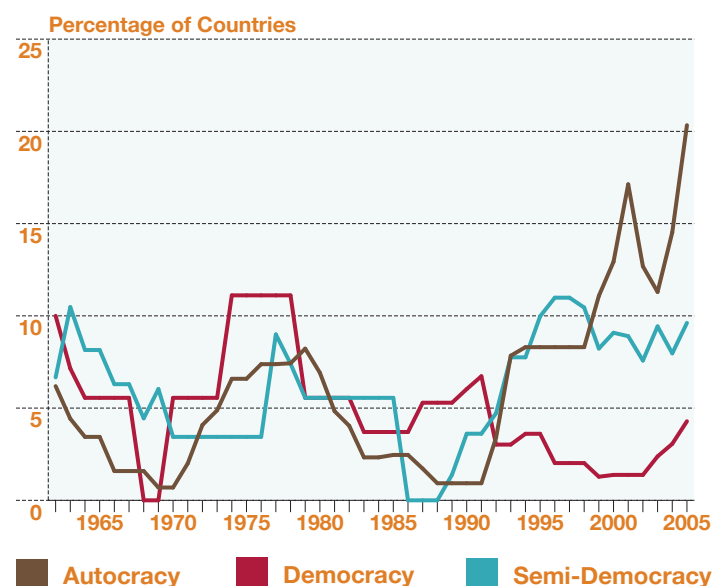
9. WOMEN AFTER ARMED CONFLICT

Mary Caprioli, Rebecca Nielsen, Valerie M. Hudson

Although women are profoundly affected by armed conflict, subject to an array of gender-based abuses both during the violence and in its aftermath, they are often excluded from formal peace-building efforts. In this chapter, Mary Caprioli, Rebecca Nielsen and Valerie Hudson survey what is known about the effects of including or excluding women from post-conflict decision-making. While acknowledging the desperate need that exists for more complete data on women's involvement in the peace-building process, Caprioli et al. make an empirical case that the inclusion of women in this process is pivotal to the creation of a more just, sustainable and durable peace.

Figure 9.1 Involvement of Women in Peace Processes

Formal or Strong Informal Involvement of Women

Afghanistan (2002); Burundi (2000-03); **Democratic Republic of the Congo** (2002-03); East Timor (1999); El Salvador (1992); Indonesia (2005); Kenya (2008); Liberia (1996-03); Mozambique (1992); Northern Ireland (UK) (1998); Philippines (1996); Rwanda (2002); Sierra Leone (1999-00); South Africa (1991-96); Uganda (2002)

No Involvement of Women

Angola (2002); Bosnia (1995); **Cambodia** (1991); **Ethiopia** (2000); **Guinea** (2002); **Nepal** (2003,2006); Tajikistan (1997)

NOTE: Countries appear in bold if some significant unrest or violence continued after the agreement.

Caprioli et al. argue that gender equity is an integral, not peripheral, aspect of peace. They note that the higher its level of gender inequality, the greater the likelihood that a state will experience intrastate conflict. Women's equality increases GDP per capita and negates nationalist calls to violence which are often based on gender inequality, improving prospects for an enduring peace. Furthermore, women may be the only vestiges of civil society left after a particularly intense conflict, and gender-blind policies undermine women in their quest to rebuild lives, families, and communities. There will be no sustainable peace for men or for states unless there is also peace for women.

Women's participation in the peace-building process, whether by formal involvement in negotiations or engagement through grass-roots political mobilization, is also integral to the success of the negotiations themselves. Rather than imposing a unilateral solution, research indicates that women tend to take a more cooperative approach to dispute resolution and are less likely to support the use of violence. Perhaps due to a holistic view of security that includes social and economic issues, incorporating women in political negotiations tends to solidify conflict resolution.

The authors' review of the literature on peace negotiations and post-conflict reconstructions after serious civil conflict supports this assertion. While no country has implemented a fully gender-sensitive peace process, even limited attention to women's issues appears to correlate with positive outcomes. Close examination of various cases confirms that women generally affect positive outcomes for peace duration and social indicators, and that peace agreements are more durable when women formally participate in their negotiation An ideal peace process would include both grassroots mobilization and formal representation of women.

The map presented in Figure 9.1 is based on data from the Uppsala Conflict Data Program (2008) on peace agreements to determine how women's participation relates to the duration of an agreement. Somewhat strikingly, given the broad range of women's peace-building activities that qualify a country for the category "Formal or Strong Informal involvement of Women," most of these agreements are still in force today and all but two effectively ended major violent conflict within the country. In contrast, the majority of the agreements where women were not involved have come to an end through rejection or defection by one or more of the parties.

10. THE IMPACT OF TRIBUNALS AND TRUTH COMMISSIONS ON POST-CONFLICT PEACE BUILDING

James Meernik, Rosa Aloisi, Angela Nichols and Marsha Sowell

With the end of the Cold War, transitional justice, most often in the form of truth commissions or international criminal tribunals, is increasingly used as part of a standard package of measures for rebuilding societies and nations emerging from conflict. In this chapter, James Meernik, Rosa Aloisi, Angela Nichols and Marsha Sowell begin a systematic and empirical examination of why truth commissions and tribunals are established for some nations and not others, and how they impact peace building.

Meernik et al. find that the intensity and duration of violence have an impact on which method of transitional justice, if any, is enacted in the aftermath of conflict. Long-running civil wars seem particularly likely to result in truth commissions. The comparatively higher daily death rate for civil wars that were not followed by either a truth commission or a tribunal suggests that intense and destructive wars are not likely to result in the adoption of transitional justice. Nations whose civil wars end in settlement are more likely to adopt transitional justice: only 6% of the post civil war states that rejected transitional justice ended their war with a settlement. Nations involved in intensely violent wars that result in outright victory by one side or conclusion short of a settlement are the least likely candidates for transitional justice.

Nations adopting transitional justice tend to begin the post-conflict phase in better political health. Their scores on indicators of political and civil rights and level of democracy are significantly higher than for all other post-civil war states. As seen in Figure 10.1, the authors find that the per capita gross domestic products of truth commission and tribunal states (Graphs A and B, respectively) rise significantly at a fairly steady pace over the course of the post-conflict years. In contrast, the group of states that did not experience any form of transitional justice—a group with a slightly higher average GDP per capita—experiences stagnant economic growth during the post-conflict period.

The authors find no direct evidence suggesting that transitional justice has an immediate impact on reducing the risk of conflict recurrence. Among post-conflict states that establish truth commissions, the percentage of nations that relapse into war varies from a low of 50 percent in the third year after the creation of a truth commission, to a high of 62.5 percent in years four and five. The percentage of international tribunal states experiencing recurrent conflict fluctuates around 50 percent for the post-conflict period. Interestingly, among those states that are not subject to transitional justice, the percentage involved in recurrent conflict is somewhat lower, reaching a high of 50 percent in year three after war has ended, and a low of 47.3 percent in year five.

Even the tremendous efforts required to create and sustain the institutions of transitional justice appear to make little difference in the likelihood of future war. That being said, the authors' findings indicate that if post-conflict states choose to embark on the path of transitional justice—with "choose" being the operative word—their future prospects look to be significantly bright. Those societies that are unable or unwilling to make this choice to confront the past can expect their political and economic prognosis to be less optimistic.

Figure 10.1 Economic Development and Transitional Justice

(A) Economic Development Among States that Established Truth Commissions

(B) Economic Development Among States Subject to Tribunals

(C) Economic Development Among States Without Transitional Justice

PEACE AND CONFLICT 2010
J. JOSEPH HEWITT, JONATHAN WILKENFELD,
AND TED ROBERT GURR

Praise for *Peace and Conflict*

"Too much of the writing on international affairs is long on opinions and short on facts. *Peace and Conflict* is the rare exception. Its clear presentations of evidence and analyses help to better inform discussions about the most pressing security challenges in today's world."

—Fareed Zakaria, Editor, *Newsweek International*

"An essential tool for scholars and policymakers seeking the facts behind the headlines about the nature and extent of conflict around the world."

—Vartan Gregorian, President, Carnegie Corporation of New York

 "A tour d'force!"

—The Honorable Samuel Lewis, Past President, United States Institute of Peace

"Suitable for all collections, even those without an emphasis on politics or international studies."

—*Choice* (Recommended. All Levels)

The most authoritative source of information on violent conflicts around the world, *Peace and Conflict* is a biennial publication of the University of Maryland's Center for International Development and Conflict Management in partnership with Paradigm Publishers. The 2010 edition:

- Features the *Peace and Conflict* Instability Ledger, ranking the status and progress of 160 countries based on their forecasted risk of future instability.
- Adds an important new regular feature: Trends in Global Terrorism.
- Focuses on the theme for 2010: Challenges of Post-Conflict Transitions.
- Includes special topics: Women and post-conflict settings, and truth commissions and tribunals.
- Is dedicated to the use of open source data for students and researchers.
- Links to a suite of Web tools to facilitate teaching and learning at www.cidcm.umd.edu/pc
- Illustrates data in large format, full-color graphs, tables, maps, and appendices throughout.
- Offers for the first time PowerPoint slides of key graphics in the book.

J. Joseph Hewitt is Director for Government Relations at the Center for International Development and Conflict Management (CIDCM), University of Maryland, where he specializes in quantitative analysis of international conflict.

Jonathan Wilkenfeld is Director of CIDCM, codirector of the International Crisis Behavior Project, and Interim Director of the Minorities at Risk Project. His books include *A Study of Crisis* (University of Michigan Press 2000) and *Mediating International Crises* (Routledge 2005).

Ted Robert Gurr is former Director of the Minorities at Risk Project and Distinguished University Professor in the Department of Government and Politics at the University of Maryland (Emeritus). He is author of numerous books and articles including the award-winning *Why Men Rebel* (Princeton 1970) and *Peoples vs. States: Minorities at Risk in the New Century* (U.S. Institute of Peace Press 2000).

Center for International Development
and Conflict Management
University of Maryland