

J. JOSEPH HEWITT, JONATHAN WILKENFELD, AND TED ROBERT GURR
with Birger Heldt, Guest Editor



PEACE AND CONFLICT



EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

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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. With research, policy, and training programs grounded in the insights of academic scholarship, CIDCM devises effective tools and pathways to constructive change.

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To learn more about CIDCM, please visit the website at: www.cidcm.umd.edu.

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A Note on the 2012 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. We are most grateful to the Folke Bernadotte Academy's generous support of the publication of this volume.

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 trends in global terrorism. A chapter presenting country risks of genocide has now been added to the set of features in recognition of the importance of tracking this important topic regularly. Finally, the volume includes five chapters on a special theme: "Preventing Armed Violence: From Peacemaking to Conflict Recovery." We are most grateful to Birger Heldt, who has served as the guest editor for the special section. Under his editorial guidance, the chapters combine to present a set of important and interconnected findings from five related research projects that have bearing on important questions about conflict prevention and recovery.

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 partnership between CIDCM and Paradigm Publishers 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.

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 2012*, helping to bring focus to our desire to address issues related to conflict prevention and resolution. 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 2014 volume. We are very grateful for their valuable contributions to this book. The members are identified at the end of this volume.

1. INTRODUCTION TO PEACE AND CONFLICT 2012

Ted Robert Gurr, J. Joseph Hewitt, Jonathan Wilkenfeld

As we go to press, movements of historic proportions are sweeping parts of the Middle East and North Africa, with potentially far-ranging consequences for the region and indeed for the entire international system. Only in Tunisia and Egypt have there been clear-cut political changes, whereas the outcomes of the violent events in Libya, Bahrain, Syria, and Yemen are still undetermined. Other countries in the region, like Jordan and Morocco, have experienced public protests, but neither the protests nor the government responses have escalated or led to substantial political changes.

This wave of pro-democracy protests against autocratic rulers is the latest manifestation of a historically familiar but also rare phenomenon. The domino-like collapse of Communist Party rule in seven Eastern European states from 1989 to 1992, beginning with regime change in Poland, is the most recent analogue. Other prominent examples can be found during the decolonization process after World War II (e.g., the collapse of the French colonial empire in Southeast Asia during the early 1950s and in sub-Saharan Africa in 1960). Episodes of violent protest within countries have similar dynamics, from expanding waves of riots against rising food prices in 18th century English villages to violent protests by the black, urban poor in US cities from 1964 to 1968. In such instances, one dramatic episode of political resistance provides a demonstration effect that inspires people with similar grievances elsewhere into action. Recent events illustrate just how topical research on diffusion has become in 2011.

What insights do the data-based studies in *Peace and Conflict 2012* provide into events transpiring in the Middle East and North Africa? At first glance, a reader might conclude that the Peace and Conflict Instability Ledger is off the mark. Yemen has the highest risk score in the region and yet does not appear in the global list of the 25 most-at-risk countries. Egypt and Tunisia are near the regional median, but risk scores in Syria, Libya, and Bahrain are low—in fact little higher than those of European countries. The Ledger is based on analysis of the drivers of internal war and regime collapse, not mass protest. Nonetheless, it does give clues about the apparent fragility of Middle Eastern governments in the face of such protests. First, regimes with a mix of democratic and autocratic features are inherently more unstable than governments that are consistently autocratic or democratic. Egypt, Jordan, and Yemen have a potentially volatile mix of autocracy with some democratic trappings. Neighborhood (in)security is another risk factor. Armed conflict and, by extension, massive popular protest in any one country increase conflict risks in adjacent countries—a process that, given modern communication systems, has rapid effects not fully captured in our current model. These diffusion effects, beginning with events in Tunisia, appear to have been at play in catalyzing recent events in the region.

Meanwhile, other potential dynamics at play in the Middle East and North Africa are not captured in our risk analysis. One is an autocratic fatigue effect: the longer a Ben-Ali, Mubarak, Saleh, or Gaddafi is in power, the more likely he is to be challenged and ousted—a relationship for which we will test rigorously in future editions of *Peace and Conflict*. Second is the growth of grievances, especially among urban youth, that may contribute to very rapid mobilization in response to external cues and domestic opportunities. While there is no easy way to index the intensification of popular grievances in a global study, country and regional assessments can identify them. Third may be the growth of political associations, even in autocratic regimes, facilitated by the explosion of social networking. Asal, Johnson, and Wilkenfeld (2008) present clear evidence specific to the Middle East and North Africa about the exponential growth in numbers of such associations over the last 20 years, well before the eruption of popular protest that they—to different degrees—may have helped facilitate. The organic spread of democratic principles through grassroots organizations is likely more conducive to regime reform than is a top-down approach. Associations that embrace democracy have meanwhile been significantly less likely to use violence to address grievances.

We also know something about the dynamics and outcomes of civil wars like those being fought in Libya and Yemen, based on surveys of autonomy movements. Of the 136 civil wars fought since 1940 (as reported by

Toft and Saideman in *Peace and Conflict 2010*) 74 aimed at gaining control of the state and 62 aimed at separation. Since the end of the Cold War, about half of the internal wars fought for control of the state ended in negotiated settlements and power sharing; in most others, regimes won. A third of the wars of separation ended in agreements that recognized regional autonomy, another third were defeated, and the others were stalemated. Extend this analysis to the contemporary Middle East and North Africa. Egypt, Tunisia, Syria, and Iran have national identities that are stronger than regional or sectarian ones—and the protestors demand power at the center. Libya, Yemen, Bahrain, and most other states in the region—including Iraq—are new, arbitrarily bounded countries in which clan and religious identities are strongest, thus making them more prone to sectarian violence and fragmentation. One implication is that public protests in the “old countries” can be resolved by opening up their political systems, as is happening in Tunisia and Egypt. Or in Syria, as in Iran, they may be contained by violent repression rather than changing the political systems. In Libya and Yemen, however, public protests are more likely to escalate into civil wars and are likely to end in negotiated regional autonomy or stalemate, rather than resolution to a more open political system.

Political mass murder is the worst possible response by autocratic rulers who are challenged by popular protests. In Chapter 6 Harff updates her global analysis of “Assessing Risks of Genocide and Politicide in 2011.” Three Middle Eastern countries are among the 20 countries with the highest risks today, based on conditions assessed in 2009–2010. Syria ranks second; Iran ninth; and Saudi Arabia twelfth. Her comparative research has shown that the potential for genocide and politicide is only likely to be activated during political upheavals, which were imminent in Iran in 2009 and Syria in 2011. Thus the likelihood of deadly repression in reaction to any groups that challenge the regime was and continues to be high in both countries. The risks in Egypt, Tunisia, and Bahrain, by contrast, are significantly lower.

Recent developments have prompted widespread speculation about the likelihood that autocracies in the region will give way to democracy. Frantz points out in Chapter 4 “Trends in Democratization” that the region’s political systems differ from one another in important ways. At the most basic level, classifying these countries according to whether they are autocratic or anocratic (hybrid democracies and autocracies) can shed light on the likelihood that stable democracy will emerge. For example, Frantz shows that anocratic interludes are more likely to pave the way for the consolidation of democracy than autocratic ones. This historical record suggests that Tunisia and Egypt, both with mixed systems prior to mass protests, have a greater likelihood of transitioning to stable democracies than do autocracies like Libya, Yemen, and Syria.

The issue of elections is one of the symbolic and consolidating foundations of democratic systems. Regarding the democracy movements and calls for elections, Hyde in “Conflict, Elections, and International Pressure” (Chapter 11) speculates that international actors may want to be involved in political transitions toward democracy, particularly the first elections. But this is not without difficulty. For example, whether the current caretaker government in Egypt invites international election observers could be an important indicator of whether it plans to adhere to international standards for democratic elections. It is also worth noting that in some traditional societies, elections may in and of themselves constitute destabilizing events. It thus remains to be seen whether upcoming elections will result in electoral victories for democratic forces.

This historical record suggests that Tunisia and Egypt have a greater likelihood of transitioning to stable democracies than do autocracies like Libya, Yemen, and Syria.

Several of our authors analyze the application of international conflict prevention and crisis management techniques to civil wars and other instability events. Erlep, Quinn, and Wilkenfeld argue, in “Delivering Peace: Options for Mediators in African Intrastate Crises,” (Chapter 9) that international and/or regional actors and organizations should be prepared to mediate in response to conflicts between existing or transitional governments on the one side and protest movements or rebel groups on the other. The best-case scenario is to identify the relevant actors and get in early to prevent crises from escalating to violence. But even after violence occurs, mediators can open lines of communication between the two sides and use leverage when necessary to achieve a ceasefire and start negotiations on political solutions. In cases where governments and armed opposition organizations are engaged in full-scale hostilities—as in Libya—mediators can aim to arrange for security guarantees that help deescalate tensions, check

additional violence, and pave the way for negotiations. Mediators can provide guarantees themselves or arrange for other actors to do so while they focus on the diplomatic aspects of crisis management.

But civil wars are long and difficult to end, as Gartner observes in “Civil War Peacemaking” (Chapter 8), especially when the opponents are evenly matched, as in Libya. The more intractable the dispute (e.g., Libya) the more likely it will require mediation and costly actions, which are also likely to fail often before resulting in any success. Given this, and assuming that the pattern of stalemate continues, the armed conflict in Libya is less likely to be resolved in the near future, and at the negotiation table. In contrast, if the current pattern of an absence of involvement by outside states in Syria’s protest holds, then history suggests that the government is likely to remain in power and that the dispute will be comparatively short.

Finally, and from the perspective of the possible economic consequences of the current movements, Koubi in “War and Economic Growth” (Chapter 10) notes that conflict can lead to faster rates of economic growth, but only if entrenched domestic interests with political influence are destroyed and countries rebuild on a more technologically advanced basis. Consequently, Koubi expects the collapse of the authoritarian regimes in North Africa and the Middle East will lead to higher economic growth only if new elites reform both the political system, by creating a system with checks and balances, and economic institutions, by enacting and protecting property rights. Such changes are not yet evident. Moreover, even if democracy is introduced, she is skeptical about whether a shift in political power from one group to another will suffice for economic progress. The post-communist transitions in Eastern Europe provide a cautionary example in this regard. Neoliberal policies promoted by the international community opened up a “free market” for favoritism, corruption, and crime in which well-connected groups plundered state properties for their own benefit.

In sum, evolving events in a number of countries in the Middle East and North Africa provide vivid examples of trends and processes that have been tracked by *Peace and Conflict* authors for a number of years. We recognize the power of unique precipitating events, variations in systems and processes in individual countries, and regional demonstration effects. As the international policy community addresses these fast-paced developments, it must be ever cognizant of their historical context. Policy-relevant understanding needs to be based on analysis of large trends and their dynamics, combined with the specifics of regional and country-based knowledge. Demands for democracy and development are one kind of enduring trend, so is the post–Cold War trend toward negotiated settlement of armed conflicts. Democratization often fails, so do negotiations, but those who persist can expect more successes than setbacks.

Ted Robert Gurr
J. Joseph Hewitt
Jonathan Wilkenfeld

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

J. Joseph Hewitt

Throughout the spring of 2011, a wave of mass protests swept through multiple countries in North Africa and the Middle East. Long-standing dissatisfaction with autocratic governance, the absence of economic opportunities, and widespread corruption among governmental elites, has motivated people in Bahrain, Egypt, Jordan, Libya, Syria, Tunisia, and Yemen to take action against their respective governments. In some cases, mass demonstrations have led to changes in leaders and promises of democratic reforms. In other cases, demonstrations have led to violent crackdowns and, in the case of Libya, a full-scale civil war. None of these countries qualified for the “high” or “highest” risk category in the Peace and Conflict Instability Ledger (or, the Ledger, for short) in the previous volume. Nor do any of them qualify in the top two categories for risk in the updated data presented in this chapter. The Ledger’s assessment for most of these seven countries indicated a low level of risk for onsets of major outbreaks of instability.

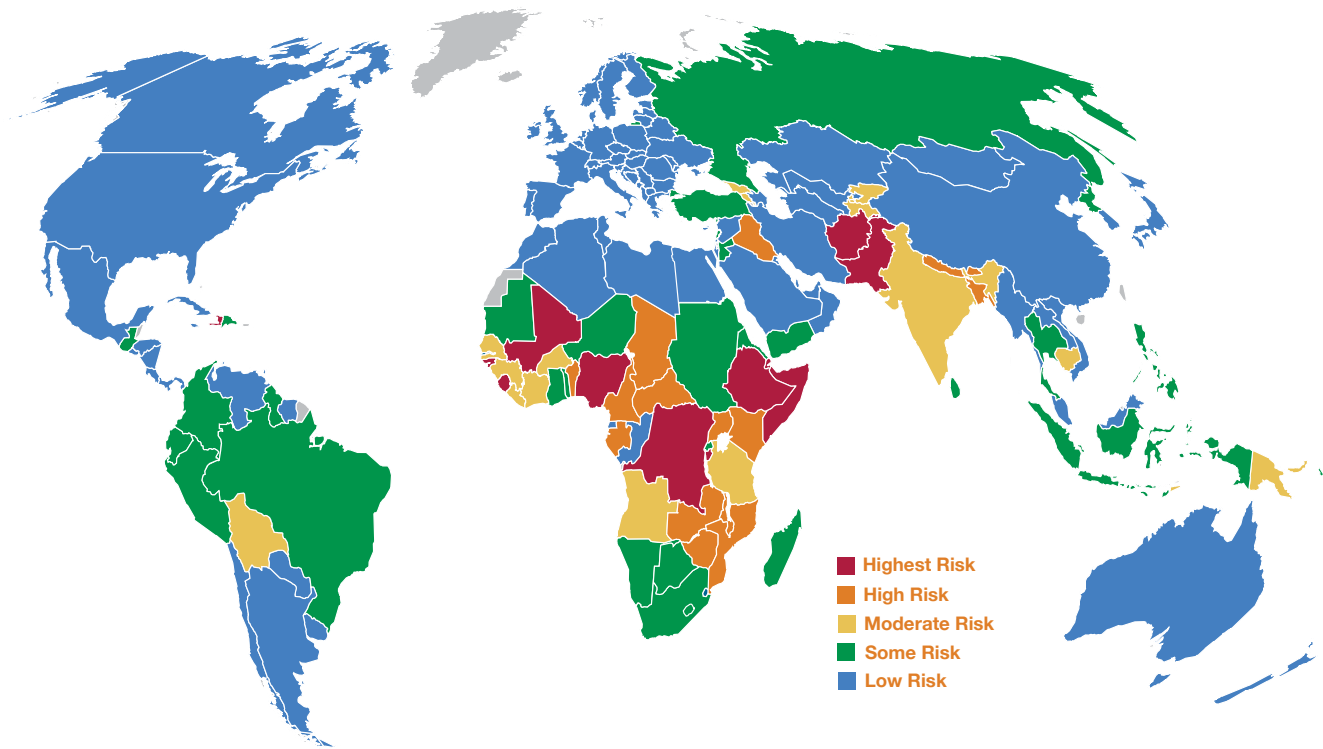
Since the Ledger provided little guidance in anticipating recent events across North Africa and the Middle East, does that indicate a significant flaw in the Ledger’s method for assessing risk? A clear-cut answer is simply not possible because the events that have transpired, at least in most of the countries, would not qualify as the types of instability events for which the Ledger was designed to estimate risks. The exception, however, is Libya because the onset of a major civil war in that country certainly does qualify as the type of event the Ledger is designed to foresee. By assessing Libya’s risk as low for the past four years, the Ledger projected that the prospects of major armed conflict or instability there would follow clear historic trends exhibited by most consolidated autocracies. In the single case of Libya, that expectation proved to be mistaken.

In the other countries, mass protests led to important political changes, but the events often unfolded without major disruption to the state’s ability to carry out basic functions and with fatality levels too low to qualify the events as revolutionary wars. The wave emanated from Tunisia when mass protests erupted after a street vendor, frustrated after police confiscated his wares, set himself on fire in front of a government building. Within a month, antigovernment protests swelled, leading President Zine el-Abidine Ben Ali to abdicate power and flee the country. The demonstration effect of developments in Tunisia quickly led to other surges in mass protest in the region. In Egypt, long-time president Hosni Mubarak relinquished leadership of the country after eighteen days of mass demonstrations. Given the scale of the demonstrations and the stakes involved, the level of violence was relatively small in both Tunisia and Egypt. In the former, official estimates indicate 78 fatalities during the demonstrations (*New York Times* 2011). In Egypt, estimates provided by the United Nations High Commissioner for Human Rights indicate that total fatalities were approximately 300 (*Economic Times* 2011).

In Syria, the government has cracked down on demonstrations with deadly force as well, but the fighting at the time of this writing would not qualify as a full-scale civil war. The patterns of government response to demonstrations in Bahrain and Yemen have similarities, albeit on a smaller scale, to what has been observed in Syria. In Bahrain, the government responded with force to demonstrations, bringing the public show of anti-government sentiment to a quick end. In Yemen, though, pressure brought on by mass demonstrations caused many in President Ali Abdullah Saleh’s inner circle to resign and join with protestors. As his political strength deteriorated he began to negotiate terms for his own removal from power and new arrangements for an interim government.

With the exception of Libya, the events that have transpired across North Africa and the Middle East do not currently appear to have the potential to bring about the wholesale collapse of governments and the complete disruption of the provision of basic services. The Ledger was designed to estimate the risks of these more destructive events. It is perhaps a reflection of the unprecedented and unique nature of the current uprisings that the Ledger’s risk estimates failed to foresee them. As this chapter turns now to a presentation of the new country estimates, we acknowledge the necessity of continuing efforts to further adapt the Ledger’s approach for assessing the risks for instability.

Figure 2.1 Risk of Future Instability, 2010–2012



The Peace and Conflict Instability Ledger

The Peace and Conflict Instability Ledger is a ranking of 163 countries based on their estimated risk of experiencing major bouts of political instability or armed conflict in the three-year period 2010–2012. The estimates are obtained from a statistical forecasting model that uses 2009 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 this chapter. We encourage readers to consult it regularly while proceeding through this overview.

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. Of the 46 African countries covered in the Ledger, 20 (43%) qualify for the high or highest risk categories. Of all the countries worldwide that qualify in those categories, African countries make up about three-quarters of the states (20 of the 27 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.

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).

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).

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 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 2009 (163 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 2010), which used 2007 data to produce forecasts for the period 2008–2010, were based on the same 1950–2003 training data. For the updated Ledger, we now use 2009 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 2010–2012. 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 2010–2012 will likely remain at high risk beyond this forecast period.

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).

The full listing of all 163 countries is presented at the end of this 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.

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 2010–2012 is 0.008. To illustrate, Bolivia's estimated probability of experiencing instability in the next three years is 0.082, which yields a risk ratio of approximately 10.2. Presented in this way, the analysis indicates that Bolivia's risk of instability is about ten times greater than an average OECD country—a more useful characterization of its risk than the simple probability 0.082 by itself.

In the past two years, the risk scores for countries previously classified in the moderate, high, or highest risk categories have declined slightly.

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 underappreciated 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.

The procedure for assigning countries to different risk categories utilizes information from each country's confidence range (described in detail in Hewitt 2010). That procedure establishes risk categories that have qualitative meaning. Within a given risk category, a solid empirical basis exists that indicates that the identified states are quite comparable in terms of risk. Moreover, states assigned to different groupings are qualitatively distinct. Since the groupings were created by using information from the confidence ranges, it is unlikely that states in lower groupings have a true estimated risk that is higher than countries assigned to higher risk categories.

Overview of Results

Table 2.1 lists the 25 countries with the highest risk scores. Since the publication of the 2010 volume, this listing of states has undergone some significant changes. Six states (Angola, Côte d'Ivoire, Liberia, Mauritania, Niger, Tanzania) have dropped out of the top 25. Six other states have taken their place (Bangladesh, Bhutan, Haiti, Gabon, Pakistan, and Zimbabwe). All six of the states that dropped out of the top 25 listing were from Africa, while just two African states joined the grouping. The net effect leaves 18 African countries in the top 25 listing—the lowest number in this grouping since 2008. These trends are certainly encouraging, but they should be treated cautiously because some of the underlying causes are subject to fluctuation, a topic to be discussed in more detail below.

Table 2.1 Highest Estimated Risk for Instability, 2010–2012

Rank	Country	Risk Score
1	Afghanistan	36.4
2	Congo, Democratic Republic	29.8
3	Burundi	24.5
4	Guinea-Bissau	23.9
5	Djibouti	23.5
6	Ethiopia	21.2
7	Pakistan*	20.8
8	Nigeria	20.7
9	Mali	19.3
10	Sierra Leone	17.8
11	Somalia	17.6
12	Central African Republic	15.5
13	Iraq	15.4
14	Mozambique	15.2
15	Chad	13.4
16	Zambia	12.3
17	Benin	12.2
18	Bhutan*	12.1
19	Zimbabwe*	12.0
20	Bangladesh*	12.0
21	Haiti*	11.6
22	Kenya	11.5
23	Gabon*	11.1
24	Cameroon	11.1
25	Malawi	11.1

* New to the top 25 in the most recent rankings.

Overall, the risk scores for countries previously classified in the moderate, high, or highest risk categories have declined slightly since the publication of the 2010 volume. The current trend reverses the upward shift in risk scores that had been reported in 2010 based on the earlier data used in that analysis. In the 2010 volume, the average risk score for the 54 countries classified in any of those three categories was 16.1. In the estimates calculated from the most current data available, the new average for the same 54 states is 11.7, a difference that is statistically significant. What factors explain the shift in risk estimates among states that are already vulnerable to instability and conflict? The 2010 volume reported that average risk scores were increasing because of a small flurry of new or recurring conflicts in some regions of the world that were exerting some upward pressure on scores. In addition, some countries transitioned to partial democratic status, which also served to elevate some scores.

In the most recent analysis, the reversal in the risk estimates cannot be traced to just one or two factors. Rather, the net effect of several changing features contributes to the overall decline. Among the set of 54 countries classified in the top three risk categories in 2010, there were no new neighborhood conflicts in the most current data. For two countries (Angola and Zambia), neighborhood conflict ceased in the most recent year of data because the level of fighting in neighboring Democratic Republic of Congo had dropped to low levels in 2009. Three countries (Madagascar, Mauritania, and Niger) experienced very significant reductions in risk because they experienced shifts toward more autocratic institutions, causing them to lose their status as partial democracies. No countries classified in the moderate, high, or highest risk categories in 2010 have since gained partial democratic status. However, it is worth noting that four countries have now moved into one of these three risk categories with their new estimates because they have recently qualified as partial democracies. They are Bangladesh (now high risk, classified as low risk in 2010), Zimbabwe (now high risk, classified as some risk in 2010), Gabon (now high risk, classified as low risk in 2010), and Bhutan (now high risk, classified as some risk in 2010). Finally, as a backdrop to these dynamics, infant mortality rates have declined steadily in the set of at-risk countries—a reflection of slowly improving socioeconomic circumstances across most of these countries.

In sum, looking back at the set of states that qualified in any of the three top risk categories from 2010, the reduction in average levels of risk is a reason for encouragement. The absence of any new neighborhood conflicts for these states bodes well for the risks for future instability. On the other hand, risk scores dropped dramatically for four countries that slipped toward more autocratic practices. The setback to democratization in these countries is certainly not welcome news. Moreover, their respective declines in risk will be ephemeral should they restore more democratic practices at a point in the future.

Major Changes in the Last Five Years

To understand how changing circumstances can influence risk estimates, let us take a more detailed look at the circumstances in some countries that experienced significant change over the last five years.

Table 2.2 lists the 10 countries with the largest increase in risk scores over the past five years. The top row for each country presents the estimated risk score for the forecast period of 2005–2007. That forecast was generated based on 2004 data for the country. The second row for each country presents the new risk score for the forecast period 2010–2012, which is based on 2009 data (the year for which the most recent data are available). In most of these cases, the

Table 2.2 Largest Increases in Risk of Instability

Forecast Period	Country	Risk Ratio	Net Change	Regime Consistency	Partial Democracy	Infant Mortality	Economic Openness	Militarization	Neighborhood War
2005-07	Pakistan	5.0		25	○	78	30%	606	●
2010-12		20.8	15.8	25	●	71	33%	543	●
2005-07	Congo, Dem. Rep.	14.2		9	○	126	70%	112	●
2010-12		29.8	15.6	25	●	126	31%	241	●
2005-07	Burundi	11.1		25	○	105	43%	1131	○
2010-12		24.5	13.4	36	●	101	42%	615	●
2005-07	Bhutan	1.7		100	○	61	78%	316	●
2010-12		12.1	10.4	9	●	52	106%	0	●
2005-07	Iraq	5.3		0	○	37	135%	645	●
2010-12		15.4	10.1	0	●	35	127%	2094	●
2005-07	Gabon	2.2		0	○	57	94%	447	○
2010-12		11.1	8.9	1	●	52	86%	454	○
2005-07	Guinea-Bissau	15.0		1	○	123	27%	626	○
2010-12		23.9	8.9	36	●	115	17%	401	○
2005-07	Afghanistan	29.2		0	●	141	108%	103	●
2010-12		36.4	7.2	0	●	134	51%	858	●
2005-07	Zimbabwe	5.8		0	○	64	78%	400	○
2010-12		12.0	6.2	1	●	56	102%	406	○
2005-07	Kyrgyz Republic	1.7		0	○	38	94%	334	○
2010-12		7.4	5.7	1	●	32	131%	383	○

NOTE: 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."

increase in risk can be traced to a single factor—a transition to more democratic governance that led to classification as a partial democracy.

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, and more expansive civil liberties). For many observers, though, the heightened dangers of instability during this period are often underappreciated. Partial democracies are at greater risk for instability than autocracies or full democracies. Repressive tactics adopted by autocratic governments often smother the potential for major 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 (Hegre et al. 2001; Fearon and Laitin 2003; Pate 2008). Indeed, the historical data over the past half-century show a strong empirical relationship between partial democracy and the future onset of instability or conflict.

Among the ten countries that experienced the greatest increase in risk over the past five years, nine were classified as partial democracies at some point during that period. Consider the case of the Kyrgyz Republic as an illustration of how the transition to democracy can often entail heightened risks of instability. The recent history in Kyrgyzstan illustrates how the mix of frail democratic institutions, a president who clings to autocratic practices, and a well-organized opposition combine in partially democratic countries to produce forces that lead to instability.

In 2004, governing arrangements in the Kyrgyz Republic 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. The tenuous step toward democratization in Kyrgyzstan led to an increase in the estimated risk of instability (8.8). In April 2010, major antigovernment demonstrations erupted throughout the country in protest over President Kurmanbek Bakiyev's increasingly repressive rule. Bakiyev would eventually step down as president and leave the country. However, unrest continued into June 2010 with ethnic strife flaring up in southern portions of the country between the Kyrgyz and the region's minority Uzbeks.

While Kyrgyzstan's progress toward democratization is slow and subject to pitfalls, Zimbabwe's progress is even slower and more tenuous. Since the flawed elections in 2008, Zimbabwe's president Robert Mugabe and opposition leader Morgan Tsvangirai have agreed to a power-sharing arrangement. In the wake of that agreement, the Polity project has slightly modified the coding for Zimbabwe, leading to its qualification as a partial democracy, which has led to a significantly higher estimated risk score. The new score may reflect a shifting set of circumstances in the country in which more open competition—both within Mugabe's own ZANU-PF political party and between his party and the opposition's Movement for Democratic Change—could catalyze the drivers for major conflict or instability. As this volume goes to publication, the ZANU-PF is advocating the scheduling of elections as soon as possible with the hopes that an aging Mugabe can secure reelection to a new five-year term. The volatile history of the recent 2008 election, however, suggests that the circumstances surrounding any upcoming electoral competition will be conducive to major instability.

The impact of transitioning to partial democratic status varies across countries depending on the performance on other indicators. To appreciate this important attribute of the Ledger's forecasting model, consider the case of the DRC. Like Kyrgyzstan and Zimbabwe, the DRC's status changed to partial democracy over the past five years. However, its risk score increased from 14.2 to 29.8—an increase in absolute risk of approximately 15 percentage points. For Kyrgyzstan and Zimbabwe, the corresponding increase in risk was about 6 percentage points. The DRC, compared to these other two countries, performs significantly worse on two other indicators. The level of economic openness for the DRC (the ratio of total trade to GDP) is the eleventh lowest in the world. The infant mortality rate in the DRC is the second highest in the world (126 infant deaths per 1,000 live births). In Zimbabwe, the infant mortality rate is significantly better (56 infant deaths per 1,000 live births) and the level of economic openness is in the top 30th percentile worldwide. In Kyrgyzstan, the infant mortality rate is even lower (32 infant deaths per 1,000 live births) and it has the 20th highest level of economic openness worldwide. In all, the smaller gains in risk for Kyrgyzstan and Zimbabwe (compared to the DRC) can be interpreted to mean that the risks associated with transitions to partial democracy can be partially offset by relatively better performance in other areas.

Risk scores dropped dramatically for some countries that slipped toward more autocratic practices. The setback to democratization in these countries is certainly not welcome news. Moreover, their respective declines in risk will be ephemeral should they restore more democratic practices at a point in the future.

Table 2.3 presents a list of five countries that showed the largest improvement in risk scores. 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. The difference illustrates a pattern that suggests that the improvements necessary to reduce risk scores (e.g., full democratic consolidation, enduring improvements in socioeconomic conditions, and durable peace in neighboring countries) take hold slowly and incrementally. In comparison, sudden gains in risk can occur because the events that bring about higher risk often occur over a shorter timeframe (e.g., the onset of a neighborhood conflict or a shift from consolidated autocracy to a partial democracy).

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 Niger and Madagascar were coded as partial democracies in 2004, but have since shifted to more autocratic arrangements. The change produces lower estimated risk scores.

Table 2.3 Largest Reduction in Risk of Instability

Forecast Period	Country	Risk Ratio	Net Change	Regime Consistency	Partial Democracy	Infant Mortality	Economic Openness	Militarization	Neighborhood War
2005-07	Niger	20.9		36	●	92	42%	79	●
2010-12		5.3	-15.6	9	○	76	25%	70	●
2005-07	Liberia	17.9		9	●	107	88%	0	○
2010-12		9.9	-8.0	36	●	80	196%	52	○
2005-07	Timor-Leste	14.1		36	●	65	69%	105	●
2010-12		8.8	-5.3	49	●	48	38%	118	○
2005-07	Sierra Leone	22.1		25	●	137	56%	264	○
2010-12		17.8	-4.3	49	●	123	44%	184	○
2005-07	Madagascar	8.0		49	●	53	80%	123	○
2010-12		4.2	-3.8	0	○	41	81%	110	○

NOTE: 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."

Niger illustrates how ephemeral risk classifications can be. In the last Peace and Conflict Instability Ledger (2010), Niger was classified as a partial democracy and had the highest risk score of all African countries. Shortly after publication, a military coup ousted President Mamadou Tandja, who had presided over a series of changes that weakened democratic practices in the country. After the coup, the country no longer qualified as a partial democracy according to the Polity project, which contributed to the significant decline in its estimated risk. Should coup leaders follow through on their promises to begin a transition to more democratic practices, the risk estimate for Niger could return to its previous level. Risk scores should be interpreted cautiously for countries like Niger that exhibit high volatility. It should be noted that in situations like that in Niger, rapid changes in estimated risk scores due to the reclassification of the type of political system, probably exaggerate the change of true underlying risks. The implementation of full autocratic controls in a country experiencing a sudden democratic setback take time to establish, meaning that the extent of real institutional change could lag behind what the risk score purports to reflect.

Liberia and Sierra Leone illustrate how steady improvement in the political, social, economic, and security domains can result in significant reductions in risk estimates. Both countries have achieved significant improvements in the last five years. In Liberia's case, its risk score stood at 17.9 (highest risk) in 2004, the year after its long civil war came to an end. That risk score reflected a society that was devastated by nearly a decade of intense fighting. Since then, however, post-conflict recovery efforts have succeeded in making modest, yet steady, improvements. Large infusions of foreign assistance have helped to grow the economy, which has led to improvements in economic openness. Improvements in the broader socioeconomic setting, reflected by sharp declines in infant mortality rates, have contributed to lessening risks, too. With the election of President Ellen Sirleaf-Johnson in 2005, Liberia has taken significant steps forward in democratization. While it retains its status as a partial democracy, with the heightened risks associated with it, the regime consistency score for the country has increased to reflect the shift toward more consolidated democratic institutions. With important contributions from the UN peacekeeping mission UNMIL (the United Nations Mission in Liberia), the security context in Liberia has stabilized. The neighborhood security context has been largely stable in recent years, too. However, the recent violence in Côte d'Ivoire generated a significant flow of refugees into Liberia with significant potential for destabilization—a development that demonstrates how quickly setbacks can happen if regional security deteriorates.

Conclusion

The newest risk estimates indicate some encouraging news for the set of countries most vulnerable to conflict or instability. Average levels of risk have declined across the set of countries qualifying at moderate, high, or highest risk. The surge in risk scores that was recorded for these countries in the previous volume for the 2008–2010 forecast window

appears to have been a short-term development. In the most recent data, the usual factors that heighten risks—outbreaks of neighborhood conflict, democratic transitions, or significant worsening of socioeconomic conditions—were largely absent in the world’s most vulnerable states.

As regimes transform from autocracies to partial democracies, the estimated risks of major instability and conflict increases. This finding has important implications for the countries in North Africa and the Middle East that are currently experiencing change as a result of mass demonstrations. The early stages of any democratic reforms should be monitored closely because the dangers for significant armed conflict and instability will be especially high.

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 subnational groups (ethnic or nonethnic) 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 governments’ ability to deliver core services to the population. Doing so will enhance the likelihood that it is viewed as legitimate, mitigating the risks faced by typical partial democracies.

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 policymakers 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 policymakers’ toolkit for assessing risk levels across countries.

As regimes transform from autocracies to partial democracies, the estimated risks of major instability and conflict increases. This finding has important implications for the countries in North Africa and the Middle East that are currently experiencing change as a result of mass demonstrations.

The Peace and Conflict Instability Ledger

The Peace and Conflict Instability Ledger ranks states according to the forecasted risk of future instability. See notes on pp. 16–17 for a description of the color codes for each indicator and also a detailed explanation of the confidence range (note 10).

Recent Instability	Country	Regime Consistency	Infant Mortality	Economic Openness	Militarization	Neighborhood War	Risk Category	Risk Score	Confidence Range
Africa									
■	Dem. Rep. of Congo	●	●	●	●	●	●	29.8	20.6 — 40.8
	Burundi	●	●	●	●	●	●	24.5	16.2 — 34.4
	Guinea-Bissau	●	●	●	●	●	●	23.9	17.0 — 32.3
	Djibouti	●	●	●	●	●	●	23.5	13.7 — 37.6
■	Ethiopia	●	●	●	●	●	●	21.2	14.3 — 30.2
■	Nigeria	●	●	●	●	●	●	20.7	13.0 — 29.8
	Mali	●	●	●	●	●	●	19.3	12.3 — 28.4
	Sierra Leone	●	●	●	●	●	●	17.8	10.8 — 26.2
■	Somalia	●	●	●	●	●	●	17.6	11.3 — 26.2
■	Central African Rep.	●	●	●	●	●	●	15.5	9.4 — 23.1
	Mozambique	●	●	●	●	●	●	15.2	9.5 — 22.4
■	Chad	●	●	●	●	●	●	13.4	6.6 — 23.8
	Zambia	●	●	●	●	●	●	12.3	7.6 — 19.1
	Benin	●	●	●	●	●	●	12.2	8.2 — 17.3
	Zimbabwe	●	●	●	●	●	●	12.0	6.8 — 19.7
	Kenya	●	●	●	●	●	●	11.5	7.3 — 16.3
	Gabon	●	●	●	●	●	●	11.1	6.6 — 18.0
	Cameroon	●	●	●	●	●	●	11.1	6.4 — 17.2
	Malawi	●	●	●	●	●	●	11.1	7.0 — 16.6
	Uganda	●	●	●	●	●	●	10.7	6.2 — 16.9
	Burkina Faso	●	●	●	●	●	●	10.5	6.7 — 15.4
	Liberia	●	●	●	●	●	●	9.9	5.0 — 16.9
	Tanzania	●	●	●	●	●	●	9.5	5.5 — 15.4
	Angola	●	●	●	●	●	●	9.1	5.1 — 15.1
	Comoros	●	●	●	●	●	●	8.7	5.0 — 14.3
	Senegal	●	●	●	●	●	●	8.0	5.0 — 11.9
	Guinea	●	●	●	●	●	●	7.9	4.8 — 12.7
	Côte d'Ivoire	●	●	●	●	●	●	7.7	4.4 — 12.2
	Lesotho	●	●	●	●	●	●	6.8	3.4 — 11.9
	Ghana	●	●	●	●	●	●	6.5	4.0 — 9.7
	Namibia	●	●	●	●	●	●	6.4	3.7 — 10.3
	Botswana	●	●	●	●	●	●	6.4	3.9 — 9.9
	South Africa	●	●	●	●	●	●	5.9	3.5 — 9.3
	Eritrea	●	●	●	●	●	●	5.4	2.6 — 10.0
	Togo	●	●	●	●	●	●	5.4	3.1 — 8.8
	Niger	●	●	●	●	●	●	5.3	3.0 — 8.7
	Rwanda	●	●	●	●	●	●	4.6	2.6 — 7.6
■	Sudan	●	●	●	●	●	●	4.5	2.5 — 7.4
	Mauritania	●	●	●	●	●	●	4.2	2.1 — 7.7
	Madagascar	●	●	●	●	●	●	4.2	2.4 — 7.3
	Congo, Rep.	●	●	●	●	●	●	2.7	1.4 — 4.5
	Equatorial Guinea	●	●	●	●	●	●	2.6	1.4 — 4.4
	Gambia	●	●	●	●	●	●	2.5	1.4 — 4.1
	Cape Verde	●	●	●	●	●	●	1.2	0.6 — 2.1
	Swaziland	●	●	●	●	●	●	1.0	0.6 — 1.8
	Mauritius	●	●	●	●	●	●	0.8	0.4 — 1.5

Recent Instability	Country	Regime Consistency	Infant Mortality	Economic Openness	Militarization	Neighborhood War	Risk Category	Risk Score	Confidence Range
Asia									
■	Afghanistan	●	●	●	●	●	●	36.4	23.5 50.6
■	Pakistan	●	●	●	●	●	●	20.8	14.8 28.0
	Bhutan	●	●	●	●	●	●	12.1	6.7 19.6
	Bangladesh	●	●	●	●	●	●	12.0	8.0 16.8
	Nepal	●	●	●	●	●	●	11.1	7.5 15.5
■	India	●	●	●	●	●	●	9.6	5.9 14.9
	Papua New Guinea	●	●	●	●	●	●	9.2	5.3 15.1
	Timor-Leste	●	●	●	●	●	●	8.8	6.0 12.6
	Kyrgyz Republic	●	●	●	●	●	●	7.4	3.6 13.2
	Cambodia	●	●	●	●	●	●	7.3	4.0 11.8
	Tajikistan	●	●	●	●	●	●	7.1	4.2 11.5
	Sri Lanka	●	●	●	●	●	●	5.2	2.8 9.2
	Indonesia	●	●	●	●	●	●	5.2	3.2 7.8
	Solomon Islands	●	●	●	●	●	●	4.3	2.5 7.0
■	Philippines	●	●	●	●	●	●	4.3	2.5 6.9
■	Korea, Dem. Rep.	●	●	●	●	●	●	4.2	1.5 9.3
■	Thailand	●	●	●	●	●	●	4.2	1.9 8.2
■	Myanmar	●	●	●	●	●	●	4.2	2.5 6.7
	Laos	●	●	●	●	●	●	2.9	1.8 4.6
	Malaysia	●	●	●	●	●	●	1.8	0.7 3.8
	Mongolia	●	●	●	●	●	●	1.3	0.6 2.2
	Turkmenistan	●	●	●	●	●	●	1.3	0.6 2.1
	Korea, Rep.	●	●	●	●	●	●	1.2	0.5 2.6
	Uzbekistan	●	●	●	●	●	●	1.1	0.6 2.1
	Kazakhstan	●	●	●	●	●	●	1.0	0.5 1.8
	China	●	●	●	●	●	●	0.9	0.4 2.0
	Fiji	●	●	●	●	●	●	0.7	0.3 1.6
	Vietnam	●	●	●	●	●	●	0.6	0.3 1.2
	Singapore	●	●	●	●	●	●	0.5	0.1 1.2
	New Zealand	●	●	●	●	●	●	0.4	0.1 0.8
	Australia	●	●	●	●	●	●	0.3	0.1 0.8
	Japan	●	●	●	●	●	●	0.3	0.1 0.7
Eastern Europe									
	Armenia	●	●	●	●	●	●	9.5	5.6 15.3
■	Georgia	●	●	●	●	●	●	7.7	4.8 11.9
■	Russia	●	●	●	●	●	●	5.6	2.6 10.4
	Ukraine	●	●	●	●	●	●	2.7	1.3 4.7
	Moldova	●	●	●	●	●	●	2.3	1.2 4.2
	Albania	●	●	●	●	●	●	2.2	1.1 3.8
	Bulgaria	●	●	●	●	●	●	2.0	1.0 3.7
	Montenegro	●	●	●	●	●	●	1.9	0.9 3.4
	Romania	●	●	●	●	●	●	1.8	0.9 3.1
	Bosnia	●	●	●	●	●	●	1.6	0.7 3.0
	Azerbaijan	●	●	●	●	●	●	1.6	0.8 2.8
	Serbia	●	●	●	●	●	●	1.4	0.6 2.8
	Latvia	●	●	●	●	●	●	1.4	0.6 2.8
	Croatia	●	●	●	●	●	●	0.9	0.3 1.9
	Estonia	●	●	●	●	●	●	0.7	0.3 1.6
	Czech Republic	●	●	●	●	●	●	0.6	0.2 1.5
	Belarus	●	●	●	●	●	●	0.6	0.2 1.2
	Poland	●	●	●	●	●	●	0.4	0.2 0.8
	Lithuania	●	●	●	●	●	●	0.3	0.1 0.7
	Slovak Republic	●	●	●	●	●	●	0.3	0.1 0.6
	Hungary	●	●	●	●	●	●	0.3	0.1 0.6
	Slovenia	●	●	●	●	●	●	0.2	0.1 0.4

Recent Instability	Country	Regime Consistency	Infant Mortality	Economic Openness	Militarization	Neighborhood War	Risk Category	Risk Score	Confidence Range
Latin America and the Caribbean									
■	Haiti	●	●	●	●	●	●	11.6	7.5 17.3
	Bolivia	●	●	●	●	●	●	10.2	6.6 15.0
	Ecuador	●	●	●	●	●	●	6.4	3.7 10.2
	Colombia	●	●	●	●	●	●	6.1	3.6 9.6
	Brazil	●	●	●	●	●	●	5.6	3.4 9.2
	Guyana	●	●	●	●	●	●	5.6	3.4 8.9
	Guatemala	●	●	●	●	●	●	5.4	3.3 8.0
	Dominican Republic	●	●	●	●	●	●	4.8	3.0 7.3
	Peru	●	●	●	●	●	●	4.8	2.8 7.3
	Honduras	●	●	●	●	●	●	4.1	2.4 6.8
	Mexico	●	●	●	●	●	●	3.8	2.1 6.5
	Jamaica	●	●	●	●	●	●	3.3	1.8 5.4
	Venezuela	●	●	●	●	●	●	3.1	1.5 5.9
	Paraguay	●	●	●	●	●	●	3.1	1.7 5.1
	Nicaragua	●	●	●	●	●	●	2.9	1.6 4.8
	Argentina	●	●	●	●	●	●	2.8	1.5 5.1
	El Salvador	●	●	●	●	●	●	2.8	1.5 4.8
	Suriname	●	●	●	●	●	●	2.0	1.2 3.1
	Trinidad and Tobago	●	●	●	●	●	●	1.4	0.7 2.5
	Panama	●	●	●	●	●	●	1.2	0.6 2.2
	Uruguay	●	●	●	●	●	●	0.8	0.4 1.4
	Chile	●	●	●	●	●	●	0.7	0.3 1.3
	Costa Rica	●	●	●	●	●	●	0.6	0.3 1.1
	Cuba	●	●	●	●	●	●	0.3	0.3 0.8
Middle East and North Africa									
■	Iraq	●	●	●	●	●	●	15.4	8.0 26.4
	Yemen	●	●	●	●	●	●	6.9	4.5 10.0
	Turkey	●	●	●	●	●	●	6.1	3.7 9.3
	Lebanon	●	●	●	●	●	●	4.6	2.5 7.6
	Jordan	●	●	●	●	●	●	4.3	2.3 7.3
	Egypt	●	●	●	●	●	●	3.8	2.0 6.6
	Algeria	●	●	●	●	●	●	3.8	2.2 6.1
	Tunisia	●	●	●	●	●	●	2.6	1.3 4.5
	Morocco	●	●	●	●	●	●	1.9	1.0 3.4
	Iran	●	●	●	●	●	●	1.6	0.8 2.8
	Syria	●	●	●	●	●	●	1.1	0.5 2.1
	Libya	●	●	●	●	●	●	0.9	0.4 1.7
	Saudi Arabia	●	●	●	●	●	●	0.7	0.3 1.2
	Kuwait	●	●	●	●	●	●	0.5	0.2 1.2
	Oman	●	●	●	●	●	●	0.5	0.2 1.1
	Bahrain	●	●	●	●	●	●	0.5	0.2 1.0
	Israel	●	●	●	●	●	●	0.4	0.2 0.9
	Qatar	●	●	●	●	●	●	0.3	0.1 0.6
	UAE	●	●	●	●	●	●	0.3	0.1 0.6
North Atlantic									
	Macedonia	●	●	●	●	●	●	1.5	0.7 2.7
	Belgium	●	●	●	●	●	●	0.7	0.3 1.8
	United States	●	●	●	●	●	●	0.6	0.3 1.3
	Canada	●	●	●	●	●	●	0.5	0.2 1.1
	Greece	●	●	●	●	●	●	0.4	0.1 0.9
	Cyprus	●	●	●	●	●	●	0.4	0.1 0.8
	France	●	●	●	●	●	●	0.3	0.1 0.8
	United Kingdom	●	●	●	●	●	●	0.3	0.1 0.7
	Italy	●	●	●	●	●	●	0.3	0.1 0.7
	Spain	●	●	●	●	●	●	0.3	0.1 0.7
	Germany	●	●	●	●	●	●	0.3	0.1 0.7
	Switzerland	●	●	●	●	●	●	0.3	0.1 0.6
	Portugal	●	●	●	●	●	●	0.3	0.1 0.6
	Denmark	●	●	●	●	●	●	0.2	0.1 0.6

Recent Instability	Country	Regime Consistency	Infant Mortality	Economic Openness	Militarization	Neighborhood War	Risk Category	Risk Score	Confidence Range
North Atlantic (continued)									
	Norway	●	●	●	●	●	●	0.2	0.1 0.6
	Austria	●	●	●	●	●	●	0.2	0.1 0.5
	Netherlands	●	●	●	●	●	●	0.2	0.1 0.5
	Ireland	●	●	●	●	●	●	0.2	0.1 0.5
	Finland	●	●	●	●	●	●	0.2	0.1 0.5
	Sweden	●	●	●	●	●	●	0.2	0.1 0.4

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 2009, 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 2010–2012. 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 2009. 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 2009. 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 2009.

(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 released from the Uppsala Conflict Data Project at the International Peace Research Institute to determine the conflict status of states in 2009 (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.

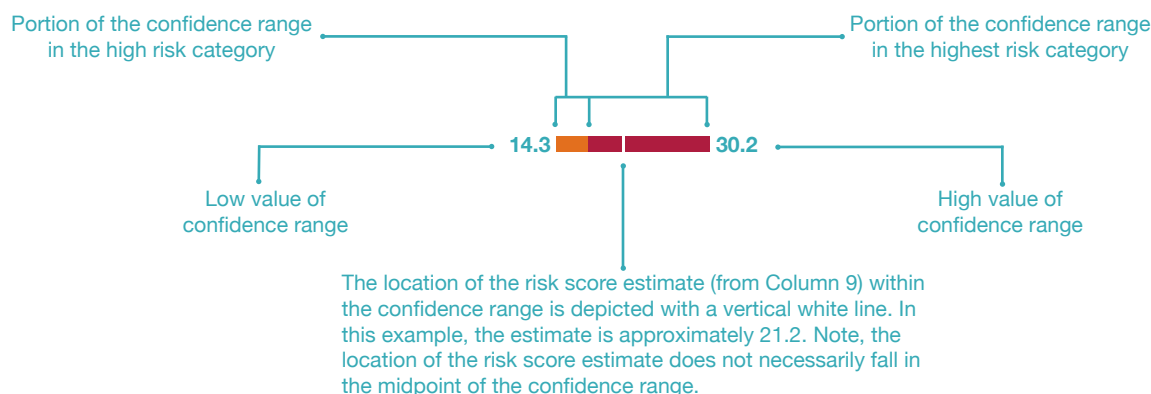
(8) Risk Category States have been placed in one of five categories corresponding to their risk score. The chapter text discusses the procedure for assigning states to the highest risk category (red), the high risk category (orange), the moderate risk category (yellow), the some risk category (green), 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 2009 were used to obtain the three-year forecasts for each country for the period 2010–2012.

(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 (Ethiopia), 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



3. TRENDS IN GLOBAL CONFLICT, 1946–2009

J. Joseph Hewitt

The number of active armed conflicts in the world has exhibited neither an upward nor downward trend over the past fifteen years. When the Cold War ended in 1990, the number of active armed conflicts stood at 38, the greatest number reached at any time since the end of World War II. In the ensuing five-year period, the number declined sharply to 27, which represented the largest five-year decrease in the number of active armed conflicts since 1946. After a few years in which the number of conflicts increased slightly, there was another significant drop in the

Figure 3.1 Global Trends in Violent Conflict, 1946–2009

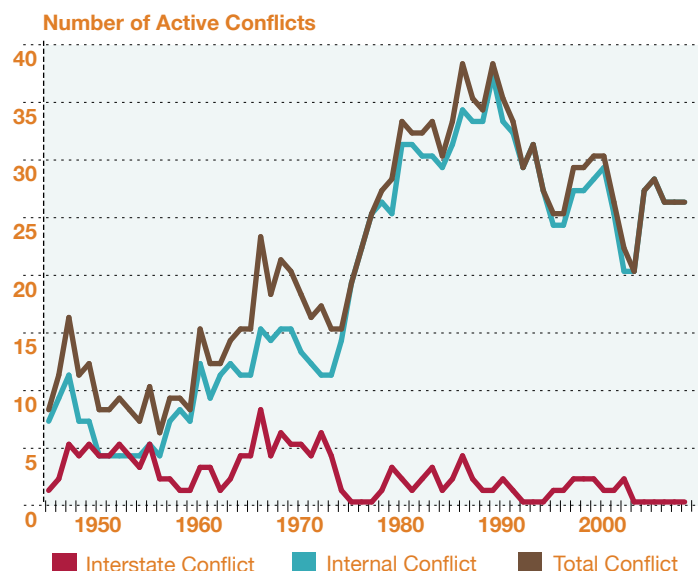
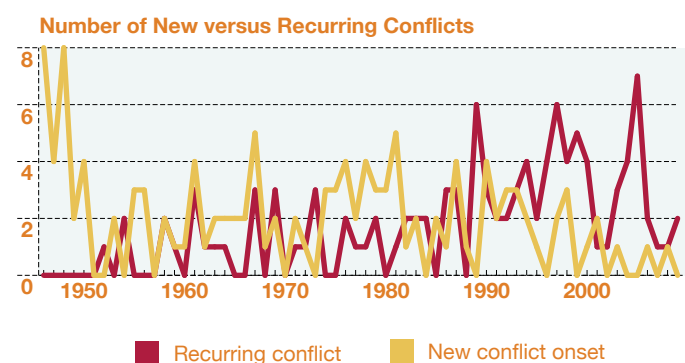


Figure 3.2 Trends in New and Recurring Conflicts, 1946–2009



number of conflicts to a low of 20 in 2004. In 2005, though, the number of active conflicts worldwide increased by seven—one of the largest annual jumps in conflict since the end of World War II. Since then, the number has been relatively stable. Figure 3.1 presents the number of active conflicts in each year during the period 1946–2009.

As reported in *Peace and Conflict 2010*, growing numbers of conflict recurrences in the recent past serve as one of the most significant contributors to the recent stability in conflict trends. Year to year, many conflicts do subside, but other conflicts that had been dormant reignite. That has been the pattern over the past ten years, which has resulted in a relatively unchanging net total of active conflicts worldwide.

To better understand the dynamics of new onsets and recurrences, Figure 3.2 displays separate trend lines for new onsets and recurrences. There is some positive news to be gleaned here. In the last ten years, the number of new conflicts has been quite low, never exceeding three in a given year. Since 2000, there have been five years with no new conflicts at all. No decade since the end of World War II has witnessed so many years in which no newly triggered conflicts have been added to the roster of active conflicts. Still, Figure 3.2 contains some sobering news, too. In recent years, the number of conflict recurrences has surged to unprecedented levels. Since the mid-1990s, recurrences outnumber new onsets by significant margins. Undoubtedly, this new development helps to explain why the overall trend in global conflict has been relatively stagnant for

the last ten years. Hewitt's analyses also show that the percentage of recently terminated conflicts with a previous history of recurrence is at its highest level since the end of World War II. That finding underlines the need for sustained attention to the post-war recoveries of countries that have emerged recently from war.

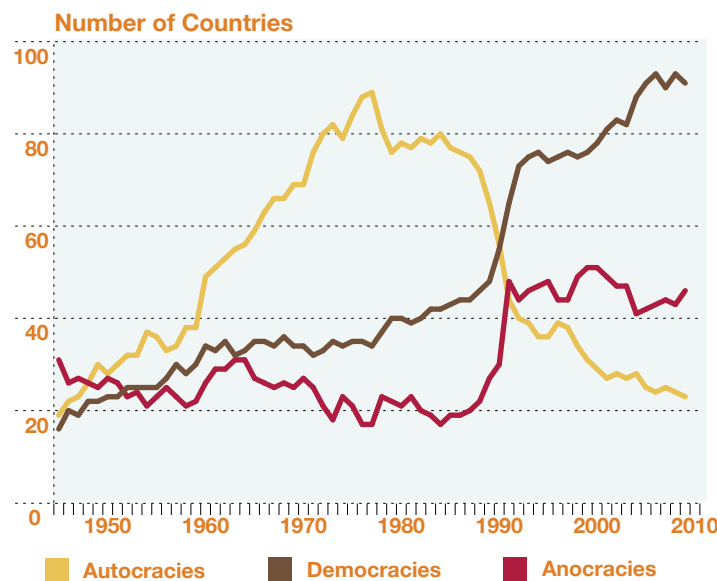
If the recent rate of conflict recurrences continues into the future with no significant change in the rate of terminations, the overall trends in conflict will likely fluctuate with no clear downward or upward movement. Hewitt argues that the key to avoiding such a result resides in a better understanding of post-conflict transitions, which will ideally support more informed policy responses to help usher countries through challenging periods of reconciliation, reconstruction, and stabilization.

4. TRENDS IN DEMOCRATIZATION: UNPACKING ANOCRACIES

Erica Frantz

Democratization is on the rise. The number of democracies in the world has steadily increased since the post–World War II period, including a dramatic spike in the early 1990s following the end of the Cold War (see Figure 4.1). Democratically elected leaders now govern more than half (91) of the world’s states. Not surprisingly, the spread of democracy has brought with it a decline in autocratic government. Since the late 1980s, the number of autocracies in the world has sharply dropped. While autocracies dominated the world’s political landscape for much of the 1970s and 1980s, less than 15 percent (23) of the world’s countries are currently autocratic. In fact, the number of autocracies is now at its lowest level since 1947.

Figure 4.1 Political Systems Worldwide: 1945–2009



exhibiting characteristics of both democracies and autocracies). Among stable democracies, 52 percent were preceded by an anocratic spell, 9 percent by an autocratic spell, and 39 percent by neither. Anocratic interludes are significantly more likely to pave the way for the consolidation of a democracy than autocratic ones. This pattern suggests that Tunisia and Egypt, both anocratic systems as of 2009, have a greater likelihood of transitioning into stable democracies than does Libya, an autocracy.

Frantz’s analyses lead to several findings about anocracies that shed light on the transition from autocracy to democracy. The findings establish an empirical pattern that suggests that that anocracies are more comparable to autocracies in terms of propensity to major forms of instability and conflict. For example, Frantz calculates the annual risk that anocracies and autocracies experience irregular leadership transitions, coups, internal wars, or external wars and finds they are approximately equal. In comparison to democracies, however, their respective risks are roughly three to four times higher.

Tunisia and Egypt, both anocratic systems as of 2009, have a greater likelihood of transitioning into stable democracies than does Libya, an autocracy.

Frantz’s analyses also indicate that the path to and from anocracy is typically via autocratic rule. Anocracies are significantly more likely to take hold following an autocratic interlude than a democratic one. Of the 222 anocracies examined in the analysis, 114 (51 percent) transitioned from autocracy, whereas only 37 (17 percent) transitioned from democracy. Once in place, anocracies are also slightly more likely to revert back to autocracy than to democracy: 89 (41 percent) anocracies transitioned to autocracy, while 81 (36 percent) transitioned to democracy.

5. TRENDS IN GLOBAL TERRORISM, 1970–2008

Gary LaFree and Laura Dugan

The recent passage of the tenth anniversary of the September 11 attacks in the United States and the death of Osama bin Laden serve as potent reminders of the continued importance of assessing trends in global terrorism. To address this priority, researchers in recent years have made great progress in developing comprehensive databases that document the characteristics of terrorist attacks over time.

Figure 5.1 Total and Fatal Terrorist Attacks, 1970–2008

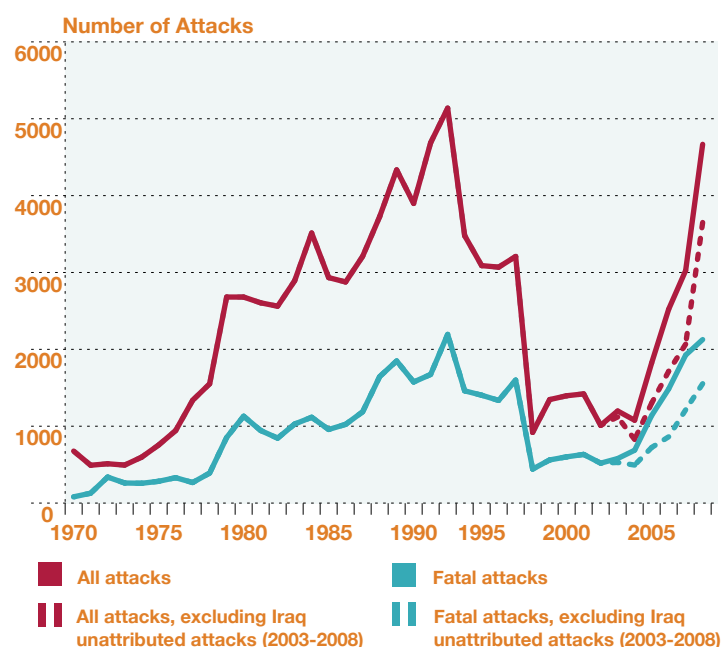


Table 5.1 Top 10 Most Attacked Countries and Territories

1970 to 9/10/2001			9/11/2001 to 2008	
Rank	Country	% of All Attacks	Country	% of All Attacks
1	Colombia	8.88	Iraq**	25.77
2	Peru*	8.35	India	9.48
3	El Salvador*	7.38	Afghanistan**	9.03
4	Northern Ireland	5.13	Pakistan	7.63
5	India	4.61	Thailand**	5.84
6	Spain	4.14	Philippines	3.85
7	Turkey	3.49	Russia**	3.65
8	Chile*	3.15	Colombia	3.22
9	Sri Lanka	3.03	Israel	2.89
10	Philippines	2.96	Nepal**	2.55

* Only in the top 25 prior to 9/11 ** Not in the top 25 prior to 9/11.

In this chapter, Gary LaFree and Laura Dugan report new results for both international and domestic terrorism attacks from the most recent version of the Global Terrorism Database (GTD) maintained by the National Consortium for the Study of Terrorism and Responses to Terrorism. The GTD currently includes data on the characteristics of more than 87,000 terrorist attacks that occurred worldwide between 1970 and 2008, making it the most comprehensive unclassified event database on terrorism yet assembled. Leveraging this valuable data resource, the chapter 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.

Extraordinary events like those of 9/11, as well as more recent attacks such as those in Madrid on March 11, 2004, in London on July 7, 2005, and in Mumbai on November 26–29, 2008, have greatly raised citizen concerns about terrorism, not only in the countries attacked, but also among observers around the world. Accordingly, many might assume that terrorist attacks and fatalities were rising sharply in the years leading up to the 9/11 attacks. But Figure 5.1 shows that trends in terrorism before and after 9/11 have actually been more complex.

According to Figure 5.1, terrorist attacks reached their twentieth century peak in 1992 with 5,120 attacks. Rates then dropped dramatically to a twenty-year low in 1998. In fact, total attacks in 2000 (1,379)—the year just prior to the 9/11 attacks—were at about the same level as total attacks in 1977 and 1978 (1,320 and 1,534, respectively). Attacks were up again sharply after the start of the Iraq war in 2003 so that by 2008, total attacks (4,650) were closing in on the record

levels experienced in 1992. In general, fatal attacks follow the same pattern of total attacks, but at a substantially lower magnitude (averaging 953 fatal attacks per year compared to 2,308 total attacks per year worldwide).

LaFree and Dugan also document the dramatic shift in the geographic locus of global terror. Table 5.1 presents a ranking of the 10 most attacked countries and territories before and after 9/11. The importance of Latin America as a regional source for terrorist incidents prior to 9/11 is underscored by the fact that the three countries with the highest number of attacks were all Latin American: Colombia, Peru and El Salvador. In the post 9/11 period, it can be seen that terrorist activity has shifted to the Middle East and South Asia, where countries like Iraq, India, and Afghanistan top the list.

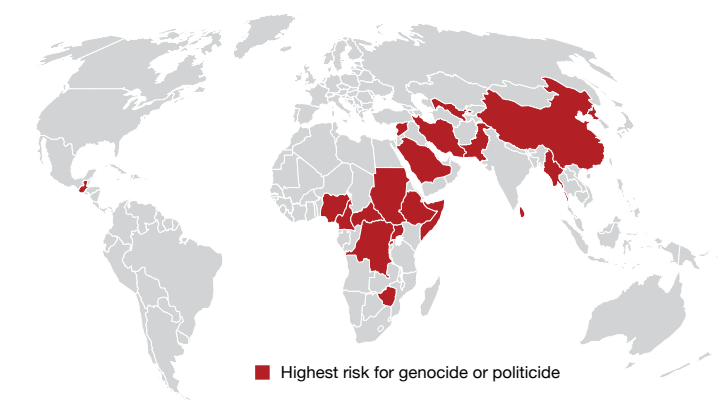
6. ASSESSING RISKS OF GENOCIDE AND POLITICIDE: A GLOBAL WATCH LIST FOR 2012

Barbara Harff

In this chapter, Barbara Harff updates data for tracking risks of genocide and politicide. This effort adds to ongoing research that was initiated in response to President Clinton’s policy initiative on genocide early warning and prevention. Harff designed and implemented a framework that would use systematic data to establish a workable and theoretically sound evidence-based system for risk assessment and early warning of genocidal violence. A 2008 report by Madeleine Albright and William Cohen (*Preventing Genocide: A Blueprint for U.S. Policy Makers*) recommended this approach as a basis for systematic risk assessment.

To guide identification of appropriate cases, genocides and politicides are defined as the promotion, execution, and/or implied consent of sustained policies by governing elites or their agents—or, in the case of civil war, either of the

Figure 6.1 Highest Risk for Genocide or Politicide, 2011



contending authorities—that are intended to destroy, in whole or part, a communal, political, or politicized ethnic group. In genocides the victimized groups are defined by the perpetrators primarily in terms of their communal characteristics. In politicides, by contrast, groups are defined primarily in terms of their political opposition to the regime and dominant groups.

Harff’s approach is based on an assessment of seven distinct factors that influence the risk of genocide and politicide. The approach accounts for prior genocides or politicides, the ethnic character of the ruling elite, the ideological character of the ruling elite, type of governing regime, the extent of trade openness, the extent of state-led discrimination, and the level of instability risks (as measured in the Peace and Conflict Instability Ledger). The risk factors are weighted based on empirical results and then aggregated to compute a risk score. Figure 6.1 displays the 20 countries with the highest risk scores for 2012. Table 6.1 lists the risk score for each country.

Table 6.1 Country Risks for Genocide or Politicide, 2011

Rank	Country	Risk Score	Rank	Country	Risk Score
1	Myanmar	16.5	11	Somalia	10.5
2	Syria	15.5	12	Saudi Arabia	10.5
3	China	15.0	13	Sri Lanka	10.0
4	Sudan	14.5	14	Nigeria	9.5
5	Pakistan	13.5	15	Cameroon	9.5
6	Ethiopia	13.5	16	Central African Rep.	9.0
7	Zimbabwe	12.0	17	Uganda	8.5
8	Rwanda	12.0	18	North Korea	8.5
9	Iran	11.5	19	Guatemala	8.0
10	Congo, Dem. Rep.	11.0	20	Uzbekistan	8.0

While systematic risk assessment has improved with recent research, it is not enough to indicate more precisely when genocidal violence is likely to begin. A high-risk profile for a country signals that the country is in the latter stages of upheaval that may result in genocide. This alone should be enough to focus on preventing escalation. Given risk assessments, less costly approaches may still work, such as financial or

humanitarian aid or rescue operations combined with subtle or not so subtle political pressures. What is most needed now are preventive tools that are tailored to the specific needs of particular communities at a particular time. The next big challenge for early warning research is to learn more about what works to prevent genocidal violence in which kind of situations and at which time.

7. TRENDS IN CIVIL WAR MEDIATION

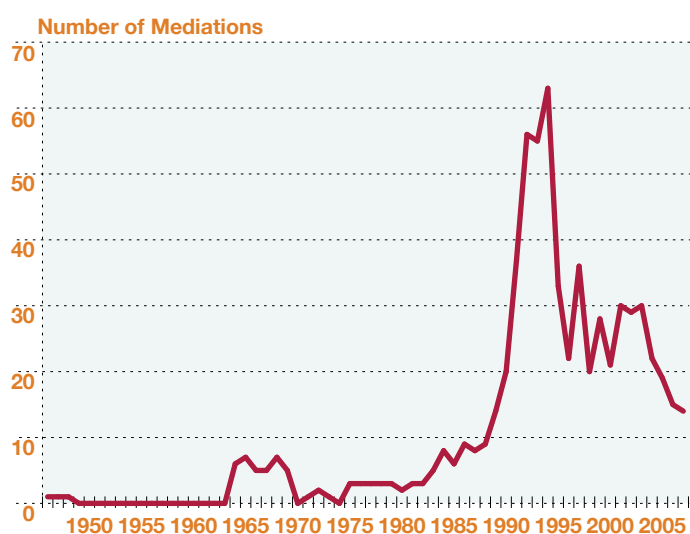
Karl DeRouen Jr. and Jacob Bercovitch

In this chapter, Karl DeRouen and Jacob Bercovitch provide an overview of civil war mediation trends in the post-WWII era. The chapter utilizes new civil war mediation (CWM) data compiled over several years by the authors. This project (as well as those reported in Chapters 8 and 9) is funded by the Folke Bernadotte Academy of Sweden and is one of the first datasets designed exclusively for quantifying civil war mediations.

The authors begin their study by presenting statistics about the startling number of civil wars that suffer a *conflict recurrence*—a war between a rebel group (or one of its offshoots) and a government that has ended for at least one year and then restarted. Based on their analyses (as well as those presented earlier in Chapter 3), DeRouen and Bercovitch find that nearly 60 percent of all civil wars between 1946 and 2004 ended and recurred at least once.

With so many wars recurring, it is clear that conflict management efforts are far from reaching their efficacy potential. This startlingly high number of recurrences points directly to the need for a form of conflict management that is effective at ending conflicts conclusively. Mediation is voluntary, noncoercive and nonbinding. As such, it is less risky for disputants as it does not take away much of their control of the process. With guidance from skilled mediators, the mediation process nudges disputants towards a mutually acceptable agreement and creates potential for transforming conflicts so that they do not recur.

Figure 7.1 Total Number of Civil War Mediations, 1946–2007



Despite its promise, civil war mediation has not been a common feature of the civil war landscape until relatively recently. Figure 7.1 presents the number of civil war mediations by year from 1946 to 2007. Recalling from Figure 3.1 that the number of civil wars worldwide surged throughout the 1970s and 1980s, it is clear that mediation did not proceed apace. The number of civil war mediations did not begin to approach the number of wars until the early 1990s. This was due in large part to the end of the Cold War and a number of conflicts that were spawned in its wake that were mediated (e.g., wars in Azerbaijan, Georgia, Tajikistan, and the former Yugoslavia).

The authors' research indicates that at least six factors influence the likelihood of a conflict being mediated. For example, the authors find that internationalized civil wars (i.e. wars in which troops from external countries become involved) are more likely to be

mediated. They also find that civil wars fought over control of territory are more likely to be mediated, as are wars fought in the post-Cold War era.

The end of the Cold War has changed the diplomatic landscape. There is more room today for innovative attempts at mediation by a wider range of actors.

The authors' database also tracks the three main mediation strategies utilized in civil war mediations. In the *facilitative* style (used in 39% of the cases), the mediator is more or less a two-way conduit of information so that the actors can understand the common ground on which agreement might take place. In the *formulative* style (53% of the cases), the mediator becomes more assertive and is no longer simply a channel of information. In the *manipulative* style (8% of the cases), the mediator becomes proactive by offering inducements and/or sanctions to effect disputant behavior. Noting that research that links strategies to civil war remains in its infancy, the authors report that their preliminary research indicates that facilitative and formulative mediation strategies are more likely to succeed in bringing civil wars to an end.

8. CIVIL WAR PEACEMAKING

Scott Sigmund Gartner

The processes through which peacemaking operates generally, and particularly in civil wars, are complex, opaque, and hard to untangle. Fortunately, researchers armed with new datasets and state-of-the-art analytic tool kits have greatly expanded our understanding of the dynamics of dispute resolution and the role that third party mediators play in peacemaking—especially as it pertains to civil wars.

Figure 8.1 Peace Treaty Duration by Dispute Type, 1945–2004

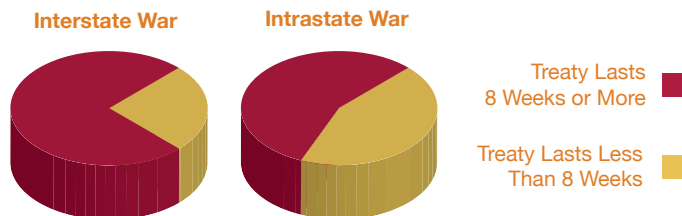
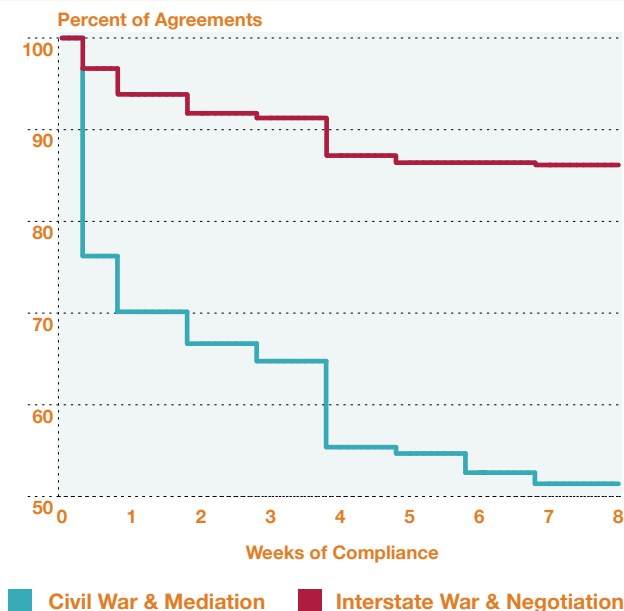


Figure 8.2 Agreement Durability by War and Peacemaking Types



In this chapter, Scott Sigmund Gartner presents three central findings from recent research on third party mediators and civil wars: (1) civil wars are hard to end, (2) effective mediators may have poor results, and (3) different mediators and mediation strategies have varied effectiveness. Building on this foundation, Gartner further discusses settlement durability and provides a number of policy recommendations. Throughout, Gartner highlights the usefulness of sophisticated, innovative peacemaking datasets, such as the International Conflict Mediation Dataset, which is used to demonstrate statistical findings throughout this chapter.

Gartner first explores the finding that civil wars are hard to end, as well as some possible explanations for this finding. When compared to interstate conflicts, civil wars are found to be much more intractable. As illustrated in Figure 8.1, civil war agreements fail more frequently than interstate war agreements. Gartner explores a list of common and compelling reasons for this discrepancy. For instance, civil wars have distinct characteristics, such as significant power asymmetries, which tend to make peace processes more difficult. Similarly, civil wars are frequently complicated by the involvement of nonstate actors and neighboring states, while at the same time the norm of international sovereignty works to deter states from acting as third-party mediators.

Recent work on civil war mediation has shed light on considerations of process and selection in assessing the success of mediators. While peacemaking processes can have direct causal effects on peacemaking outcomes, it is important to emphasize the incremental and cumulative nature of such efforts. Mediation presents costs for all parties, deterring mediation in all but the most intransigent cases. Therefore, mediators get the toughest cases, cases which by their very nature are likely to end in peacemaking failure and fragile peace agreements.

The chapter also examines the varied effectiveness of different types of mediators and mediation strategies. The choice and effectiveness of mediation strategies is situational and depends on the actors and the dispute. Mediation by regional organizations is a crucial example of such variation, as such organizations are likely to contain both the government involved in a civil war and the insurgent's state sponsor. For this and other reasons, mediation by regional organizations often address the most complex and intractable conflicts, which predisposes these cases to peacemaking failure.

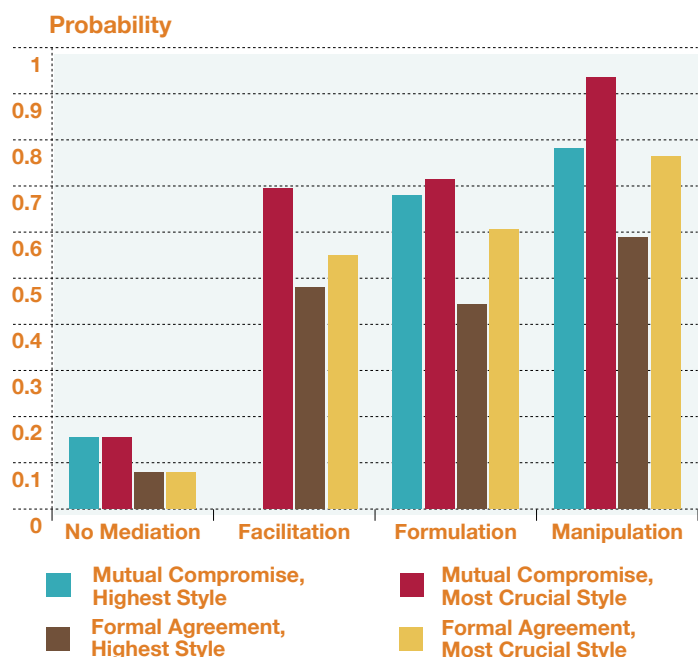
Finally, the chapter presents analyses on settlement durability. In many ways, indicators of settlement durability present a dismal picture. Almost two-thirds of all peacemaking efforts fail to produce a peace agreement, and civil war agreements in particular are likely to fail rapidly. Yet as Figure 8.2 illustrates, if treaties can make it through the first month, they have a comparatively better chance of surviving.

9. DELIVERING PEACE: OPTIONS FOR MEDIATORS IN AFRICAN INTRASTATE CRISES

Pelin Eralp, David Quinn, and Jonathan Wilkenfeld

Eralp, Quinn, and Wilkenfeld present a series of analyses about the effectiveness of mediation in significant intrastate crises in African countries. The trends and recommendations discussed in this chapter are based on data collected by the Mediating Intrastate Crises (MISC) project. MISC currently focuses on violent ethnic crises within African protracted intrastate conflicts from 1990-2005, identified using the Uppsala Conflict Data Program (UCDP) and the Minorities at Risk Project (MAR).

Figure 9.1 Probability of Reaching Mutual Compromise and Formal Agreement between Crisis Opponents



Research that examines the effectiveness of mediation must account for a significant selection effect about the cases of conflict in which mediators ultimately become involved. *Mediators tend to get involved in conflicts that are the most difficult to resolve, especially at the intrastate level.* Investigating whether or not mediation can succeed under the adverse set of conditions often typified in MISC cases (e.g., heightened levels of threat, more severe insecurity, lack of trust between parties, etc.) will provide crucial insight into what type of influence mediators can expect to have on intrastate crises and conflict writ large.

The authors report that some form of mediation occurred in 69 percent of all violent ethnic crises in Africa for the period 1990 to 2005. When a mediator intervened, it contributed to more rapid crisis termination 39 percent of the time and helped to ease the tensions between parties 47 percent of the time.

To gain a deeper understanding of the effectiveness of mediation, the authors assess its effects on two types of

crisis outcomes in particular: a) whether the crisis ends with a “mutual compromise” instead of a stalemate or a victory-defeat situation among the opponents; and b) the signing of a formal negotiated agreement. The authors evaluate the differential effects of the three main styles of mediation on the likelihood of achieving these two types of outcomes. The facilitation style enables communication between the disputing parties and is the lowest level of intervention that mediators can adopt. The formulation style involves making substantive proposals to the parties, including suggestions for a framework for an acceptable outcome or concessions parties could make. Finally, the manipulation style also involves making substantive proposals but this approach includes attempts to influence the decision-making process of the parties by applying rewards and sanctions. Figure 9.1 displays the impact of the three main styles of mediation for the main opponents in crisis. The graph depicts the estimated likelihood of a favorable outcome when a particular mediation style was employed. It accounts separately for when a particular mediation style made the largest substantive contribution to the mediation among all styles (highest style) and when it made the largest impact (most crucial style).

The findings suggest that in the most challenging contexts for mediation, the manipulation style of mediation is most likely to lead to favorable outcomes. The authors report that manipulative mediators are at their most effective when they arrange for security guarantees that reduce the heightened levels of threat and insecurity as well as commitment problems that arise from these conditions. Mediators that are unwilling or unable to use manipulative tactics to drive their intervention can still have a powerful albeit lesser effect. As formulators, they can propose and coordinate the parties’ efforts on specific compromises and agreement provisions. As facilitators, they can focus on resolving the severe information problems present during crises or utilize a conciliation approach to overcome mistrust and misperception exacerbated by ethnic tensions. All told, mediators are advised to adopt the broadest range of styles possible when they intervene in violent intrastate crises that take place within ethnically protracted conflicts in Africa.

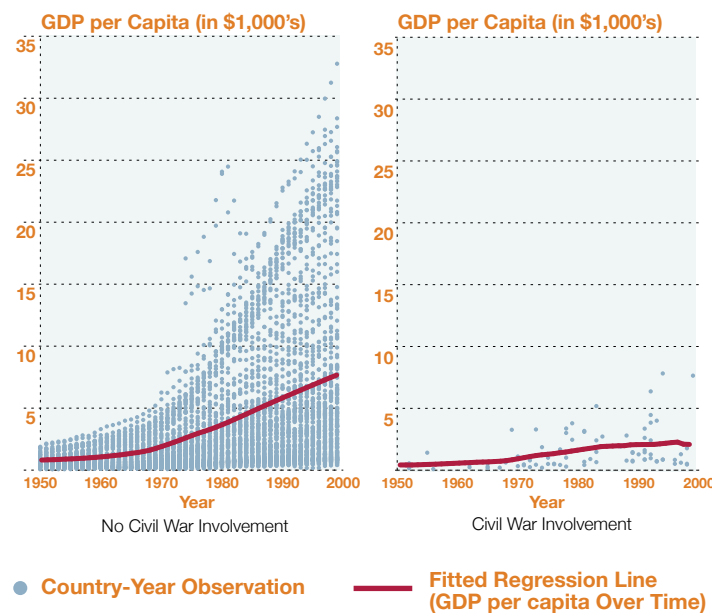
10. WAR AND ECONOMIC GROWTH

Vally Koubi

If war reduces post-conflict economic growth, then there exists a risk of a detrimental vicious circle, where poor economic conditions breed war, which in turn may lead to poor economic conditions, and so on. In short, a poverty-war trap may exist with untold consequences for the stability of many impoverished countries. This chapter by Vally Koubi focuses specifically on whether and how war influences subsequent macroeconomic performance. It explores the war-growth nexus and distills policy implications that are grounded in data.

Research suggests that both less economic openness and reduced levels of domestic economic activity create incentives that elevate the risks for intrastate conflict. The literature proposes a number of explanations for this link, including: grievances on the part of non-elites, greed on the part of anti-government conflict entrepreneurs, state weakness as a source of opportunity for rebellion, and relative deprivation as a motivation for anti-government violence. Meanwhile, low levels of income per person and slow economic growth have been identified as some of the most robust predictors of civil conflict.

Figure 10.1 Real GDP per capita by Intrastate War Involvement



civil war involvement in that economic conditions improve more slowly in conflict countries. This suggests that war is not beneficial for growth in per capita GDP, or at least not for the entire pool of conflict countries. Although, Koubi notes, this pattern should be interpreted cautiously because other factors that influence per capita GDP are not accounted for here.

Koubi also examines the relevant evidence pertaining to the so-called *Phoenix effect*, the claim that countries with major involvement in war experience accelerated economic growth in the years immediately following the conflict. The evidence suggests that the effect is largely confined to countries involved in interstate wars and, among those countries, to those with relatively higher pre-war wealth levels. Koubi's analyses provide no evidence in favor of the Phoenix effect for civil wars.

Koubi concludes with tentative policy recommendations. She notes that definitive conclusions about a war-growth nexus are not possible due to the mixed empirical findings. However, Koubi recommends that the international community emphasize policies that rebuild the economies of conflict-affected countries. She notes that recent research demonstrates that UN peacekeeping missions have a short-term positive impact on economic growth in host countries. While the effect is due in part to the peacekeeping mission's own economic activity, the finding suggests the importance of peacekeeping missions successfully supporting domestic capacity and good governance in support of economic growth.

11. CONFLICT, ELECTIONS, AND INTERNATIONAL PRESSURE

Susan D. Hyde

Democracy promotion is now a widely accepted tool of conflict prevention, conflict resolution, and peacebuilding. It is even part of the exit strategy for peacekeeping operations. As the argument goes, the sooner democracy is established, the sooner peacekeepers can leave, and the less likely that they will have to return. In a country plagued by violence, post-conflict elections are believed to facilitate a path toward stable peace by transferring violent conflict into electoral competition. Although there is a rich body of research on post-conflict democratization, post-conflict elections are sometimes discussed in isolation from the dynamics of elections in other contexts.

This chapter highlights several empirical patterns found in recent research on the global diffusion of elections and their implications for post-conflict settings. First, elections have become nearly universal, including in post-conflict periods, and this trend is in part due to international and domestic pressure for democracy. Second, compared to countries that hold no elections at all, even flawed elections dramatically increase the potential for transitions in power, particularly when leaders are constrained in their method of electoral manipulation. Third, and most relevant to the post-conflict environment, the combined effect of these trends is to reduce the risk of democratic participation for opposition parties (or former adversaries in conflict). Overall, the global spread of elections and widespread pressure for democracy may make it more likely that, in the longer term, post-conflict elections will allow a peaceful democratic bargain to become sustainable.

Figure 11.1 Observed Elections and Percent Receiving Negative Report

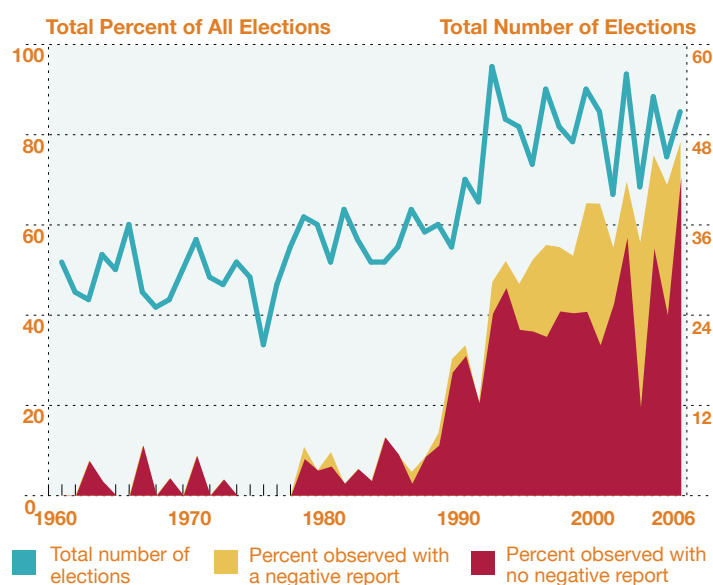


Figure 11.1 illustrates several trends. First, it shows the dramatic increase in the number of elections held in the world beginning in the 1990s. Second, it shows that the rate of all elections in the world that are internationally observed has grown to nearly 80 percent, and that number has increased since 2006 as many of the world's developed democracies are now also inviting observers. Finally, the figure documents that a substantial portion of these elections received a negative report. This last point illustrates that for many governments, inviting observers is potentially risky, as it can lead to international condemnation and widespread recognition of a leader as illegitimate or not "democratically elected." In the context of post-conflict elections, international observers were criticized in the early 1990s for using double standards, and being unwilling to criticize post-conflict elections, even when they fell well below best practice. To some extent this is still true. Observer missions are keenly

aware of the potential to cause instability by issuing a negative report, and have avoided criticizing several recent elections in countries perceived to be unstable, such as the 2006 elections in the Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC). Yet overall, a post-conflict election no longer necessarily receives a free pass from observers, and observers have grown increasingly willing to criticize elections in which violence is a major concern.

Hyde offers several policy recommendations based on her presentation of these broad trends. Past research demonstrates that the timing of post-conflict elections, the structure of the electoral system, which groups must participate, and the establishment of long-term expectations for success are all believed to be crucial variables in determining the relative success of post-conflict elections. Given that, and accepting that elections are likely to occur, may mean that more attention can and should be paid to *how* elections are held. Hyde also cautions that elections in post-conflict environments are clearly risky, and careful attention to the relevant parties' incentives to manipulate the process to their own benefit, credible commitment problems, and incentives to fake democracy may now be more important than the decision to hold elections or not. Accordingly, the international community should be aware of the consequences of its presence and the fact that it is likely to provoke strategic responses.

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