Global Report on Conflict, Governance and State Fragility 2008

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The *Global Report* series and its signature State Fragility Index and Matrix first appeared in the March 2007 edition of the *Foreign Policy Bulletin*.[1] It was designed by Monty G. Marshall and Jack Goldstone at the Center for Global Policy, George Mason University, and patterned after the *Peace and Conflict* series created by Marshall and Ted Robert Gurr in 2001. These global report series were designed to satisfy the imperative for knowing the contrasting conditions characterizing the many states comprising the emerging global system and gauging general system performance in an era of dynamic globalization. The original report published in 2000 sparked controversy within the global policy community with its prescient observation, and presentation of supporting evidence, that "the extent of warfare among and within states lessened by nearly half in the first decade after the [end of the] Cold War."[2] This claim was initially dismissed as either mistaken or misinformed by most officials and analysts in the United Nations Secretariat when it was brought to their attention. The claim clearly challenged the prevailing perception of increasing global disorder and that the world was becoming a more, not less, dangerous place.[3] It took several years before critical reaction turned away from examining the claim itself to offering explanations for the global decrease in warfare. In the current *Global Report*, we continue the original claim by observing that global warfare has remained in decline through 2007 and has diminished by over sixty percent since its peak in the late 1980s. Consistent with the decline in major armed conflicts has been the continuing increase in the number and consolidation of democratic regimes, rising to ninety-four at the end of 2007 (nearly sixty percent of the 162 countries examined in this report). Some cause for concern must also be reported: the number of ongoing armed conflicts may be showing signs of leveling off, the frequency of onsets of new armed conflicts in the world has not decreased substantially since the end of the Cold War in 1991, and the occurrence of "high casualty terrorist bombings" has continued to increase through 2007. It appears that, while world politics have been successful in gaining peaceful settlements to many of the world's armed conflicts, several long-running wars continue to resist peaceful settlement and new armed conflicts continue to break out regularly.

This report begins with a brief discussion of general, systemic trends in global conflict, governance, and development, with a detailed assessment of changes in State Fragility since 1995. It then presents the State Fragility Index and Matrix 2008 (Table 1) which provides an array of measures of individual state fragilities and, by implication, a systematic assessment of the capacities and prospects for each of the 162 independent countries (with total populations greater than 500,000) that comprise the global system. The State Fragility Index combines scores measuring two essential qualities of state performance: effectiveness and legitimacy; these two quality indices combine scores on distinct measures of the key performance dimensions of security, governance, economics, and social development. The latest version of the Fragility Matrix has established a baseline set of values for its eight component indicators in order to measure State Fragility in previous years and examine changes in each indicator over time.

Global Trends and Systems Analysis

Conventional analyses of security and governance factors have for too long relied almost exclusively on individual or dyadic (bilateral) analysis, that is, on the conditions relevant to a particular country or state or relative to the interactions of two states. Systems analysis was largely confined to the analysis of alliance structures and treaty organizations. The Cold War was, at once, the penultimate example of dyadic analysis (the "superpower confrontation") and a symbolic end to the anarchic, Westphalian state system. It is a natural consequence of the end of the Cold War that we should begin an era of open globalization and, with that, widen our perspectives to recognize the complexities and densities of interactions, interconnections, and networks among the myriad actors that constitute the emerging "global system of states."[4]

Systems analysis necessarily focuses on the complex relations between dynamics (human agency and environmental forces) and statics (physical and social attributes, conditions, and structures). Basic societal-systems analysis must take into account the interconnectedness of three key, or fundamental, dimensions: conflict, governance, and development (including both physical and social capital; Figure 1).[5] Available technology largely determines the size and complexity of viable societal-systems. The qualities, and prospects, of each of the

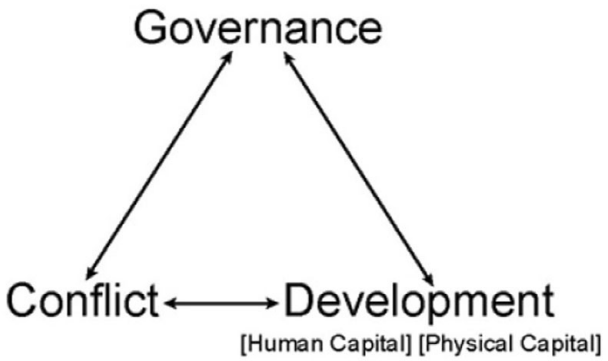

Figure 1. Key Dimensions of Societal-Systems Analysis

three fundamental dimensions of societal-systems critically affects the qualities of the other two dimensions to such a degree that it is not possible to meaningfully analyze one dimension without taking the other two into account. Any change in one dimension will have consequences for each of the other dimensions; any limitation or weakness in one of the key dimensions will lessen the prospects for improvement in the other dimensions. Successful performance of a societal-system can be expected to be both incremental and congruent among the key dimensions. Societal-system performance, then, depends on the system's capabilities for collective action: applied coordination (effectiveness) and voluntary compliance (legitimacy). A performance evaluation of a societal-system, whether taken at the local, regional, or global level, must measure and track performance in all key dimensions with a mind toward coherence, progress, and congruence among the dimensions. Problems that arise in societal-system dynamics can stem from any of the three fundamental dimensions. The qualities of governance and development must be taken into account when analyzing or leveraging conflict. Likewise, the qualities of conflict and governance must be included when examining the qualities of and potential for development and the qualities of conflict and development critically affect the nature and prospects of governance.

This report provides general, macro-comparative evaluations of contemporary qualities and trends over time in the three fundamental dimensions of societal-systems analysis at the global level. These performance evaluations are intended to help inform our audience of the immediate circumstances and prospects of globalization.

Global Governance

Democracy and autocracy are commonly viewed as contrasting and distinct forms of governance. Principal differences are found in the ways executive power is acquired and transferred, how political power is exercised and constrained, how social order is defined and maintained, and how much influence public interests and opinion have on the decision making process. Despite fundamental differences, these two ideal forms of governance are often perceived as comparably stable and effective in maintaining social order. In real terms, however, different countries have different mixes and qualities of governing authority; the ideal types are rarely observed in practice. Even though some countries may have mixed features of openness, competitiveness, and regulation, the core qualities of democracy and autocracy can be viewed as defining opposite ends of a governance scale. We have rated the levels of both democracy and autocracy for each country and year using coded information on the general qualities of political institutions and processes, including executive recruitment, constraints on executive action, and political competition. These ratings have been combined into a single, scaled measure of regime governance: the *Polity* score. The *Polity* scale ranges from -10, fully institutionalized autocracy, to +10, fully institutionalized democracy.[6] A perfect +10 *democracy*, like Australia, Greece, and Sweden, has institutionalized procedures for open and competitive political participation; chooses and replaces chief executives in open, competitive elections; and imposes substantial checks and balances on the powers of the chief executive. Countries with *Polity* scores from +6 to +10 are counted as democracies in tracking "Global Trends in Governance, 1946-2007" (Figure 2). Elected governments that fall short of a perfect +10, like Bolivia, Mozambique, Turkey, and Indonesia, may have weaker checks on executive power, some restrictions on political participation, or shortcomings in the application of the rule of law to opposition groups.

In a perfect -10 *autocracy*, by contrast, citizens' participation is sharply restricted or suppressed; chief executives are selected according to clearly defined (usually hereditary) rules of succession from within the established political elite; and, once in office, chief executives exercise power with few or no checks from legislative, judicial, or civil society institutions. Only Saudi Arabia and Qatar are rated as fully institutionalized autocracies in early 2008. Other monarchies, such as those in Bhutan, Morocco, and Swaziland, share some powers with elected officials. In general, except for a strong presence in the oil-producing states of the Arabian Peninsula, hereditary monarchy has nearly disappeared as a form of governance in the early 21st century. Autocratic governance at the turn of the century is far more likely to be characterized by the authoritarian rule of personalistic leaders, military juntas, or one-party structures; Libya, Myanmar (Burma), and Vietnam are examples of these non-monarchical autocracies. Besides having slightly more open, or less-clearly defined, rules of succession, less-than-perfect autocracies may allow some space for political participation or impose some effective limits on executive authority; examples include Belarus, China, and Zimbabwe. Countries with *Polity* scores of -10 to -6 are counted as autocracies in Figure 2.

Many governments have a mix of democratic and autocratic features, for example holding competitive elections for a legislature that exercises little effective control on

the executive branch or allowing open political competition among some social groups while seriously restricting participation of other groups. There are many reasons why countries may come to be characterized by such inconsistencies, or incoherence, in governance. Some countries may be implementing a staged transition from autocracy to greater democracy; others may institute piecemeal reforms due to increasing demands from emerging political groups; others may simply be losing their capacity to maintain strict political controls and suppress dissent. Societal conflict and factionalism often stalemate democratic experiments: some regimes may be unable to fully institutionalize reforms due to serious disagreements among social groups or key political elites; some may harden their institutions in response to political crises or due to the personal ambitions of opportunistic leaders; and others may simply lose control of the political dynamics that enable, or disable, effective governance. Whereas democracy and autocracy are very different forms and strategies of governance, they are very similar in their general capacity to maintain central authority, control the policy agenda, and manage political dynamics. *Anocracy*, by contrast, is characterized by institutions and political elites that are far less capable of performing these fundamental tasks and ensuring their own continuity. Anocratic regimes very often reflect an inherent quality of instability or ineffectiveness and are especially vulnerable to the onset of new political instability events, such as outbreaks of armed conflict, unexpected changes in leadership, or adverse regime changes (e.g., a seizure of power by a personalistic or military leader).

Anocracies are a middling category rather than a distinct form of governance. They are countries whose governments are neither fully democratic nor fully autocratic; their *Polity* scores range from -5 to +5.[7] Some such countries have succeeded in establishing democracy following a staged transition from autocracy through anocracy, as in Mexico, Nicaragua, Senegal, and Taiwan. A number of African and a few Middle Eastern countries have recently begun a cautious transition to greater openness, among them Burkina Faso, Djibouti, Ghana, Guinea, Jordan, and Tanzania.

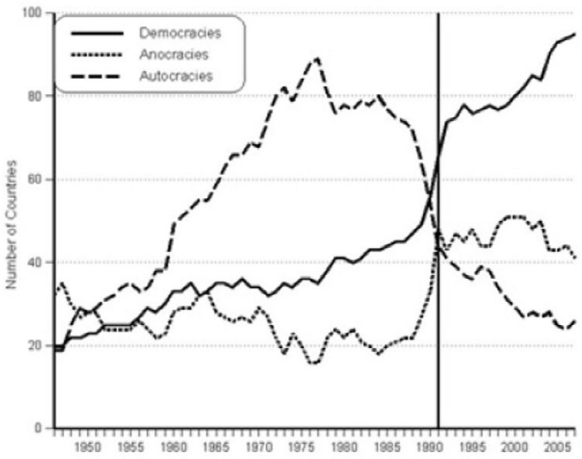

Figure 2. Global Trends in Governance, 1946-2007

Ivory Coast appeared to be headed on a similar course before stumbling (in 2002) into civil war and regime failure; Iran also reversed the course of democratic reforms and tightened autocratic control in 2004. Others have been able to manage conflict between deeply-divided social groups for substantial periods of time through the use of restrictions on political participation by a substantial out-group as in Malaysia (Chinese), Singapore (Malays), and South Africa (black-Africans under Apartheid). This also appears to be the strategy adopted recently in Fiji to limit political influence by ethnic-Indians (until that policy was challenged by a military coup in late 2006). Other anocracies are the result of failed transitions to greater democracy, as currently in Algeria, Angola, Cambodia, and Haiti.

In 1946, there were seventy-one independent states comprising the world's system of states (Figure 2; each of the following global trends figures contains a vertical line demarcating the end of the Cold War period in 1991).[8] Of these, twenty countries were ruled by democratic regimes and nineteen by autocratic regimes; thirty-two countries were subject to anocratic regimes. The high proportion of anocratic regimes was largely a consequence of the severe devastation and disruptions resulting from the Second World War. Another consequence of that war was a serious erosion of European control over its colonial territories in Asia and Africa. Many new states gained independence in the 1950s, 1960s, and early 1970s, doubling the number of states in the world by 1975. During this period of decolonization, there was a dramatic increase in the number of autocratic regimes: to a peak of eighty-nine autocracies in 1977. Although new states were about as likely to adopt democratic as autocratic forms of governance upon gaining independence, problems of manageability caused most new, democratic regimes to fail within several years and give way to autocratic rule. A dramatic shift away from rigidly autocratic regimes and toward more open governance began in 1990. This "rush toward democratization" was led by Latin American countries and the former-Socialist countries of Eastern Europe. During the Cold War period, there was a steady increase in the number of democracies at the rate of about one new democracy every two years. During the early 1990s, the number of democracies increased by about fifty percent (from 49 in 1989 to 76 in 1995). There was an even greater increase in the number of incomplete transitions to democracy, as the number of anocracies rose from twenty-seven to forty-eight (falling back to forty-three in late 2007). The number of autocracies continues to plummet: from a peak of eighty-nine in 1977 to just twenty-five at the end of 2007. There are ninety-four countries classified as democracies in late 2007. Countries that have transitioned to, or returned to, democratic governance since 2000 include Burundi, Comoros, Ghana, Guinea-Bissau, Kenya, Lebanon, Liberia, Nepal, Peru, Sri Lanka, and the newly independent states of East Timor and Mon-

tenegro. The one thing that most clearly distinguishes the Globalization Era is that, for the first time in human history, the world has become a predominantly democratic one, at the global level.

While we view the major global shift toward greater democracy as a very important and generally positive trend, the sharp increase in the number of anocracies concurrent with the end of the Cold War is cause for concern. Historical research indicates that anocracies have been highly unstable regimes, with over fifty percent experiencing a major regime change within five years and over seventy percent within ten years. Anocracies have been much more vulnerable to new outbreaks of armed societal conflict; they have been about six times more likely than democracies and two and one-half times as likely as autocracies to experience new outbreaks of societal wars. Anocracies have also been about three times more likely to experience major reversions to autocracy than democracies. However, a "new truth" may be emerging regarding the vulnerability of anocratic regimes in the Globalization Era. In the past fifteen years, there have been far fewer failures of anocratic regimes than would be expected from the historical trends. Despite continued high numbers of anocratic regimes, there has been a steady decrease in global trends in violent conflict (see Figure 3) and fewer than expected outbreaks of new political instability events. We believe that this change in trends for anocratic regimes is due largely to notable increases in proactive international engagement, improved public expectations, and a lessening of political activism within militaries, which have been far less likely to intervene in politics or support forceful repression of public challenges to ruling elites. Counter-examples have occurred recently as military coups have ousted elected governments in Thailand and Fiji in late 2006, and Bangladesh in 2007.

Recent research by the US Government's Political Instability Task Force has focused attention on the problem of "factionalism" in "incomplete democracies."[9] In general terms, the *Polity* conceptualization of factionalism refers to an advanced, macrosystemic stage of group polarization that transforms political behavior in distinctly

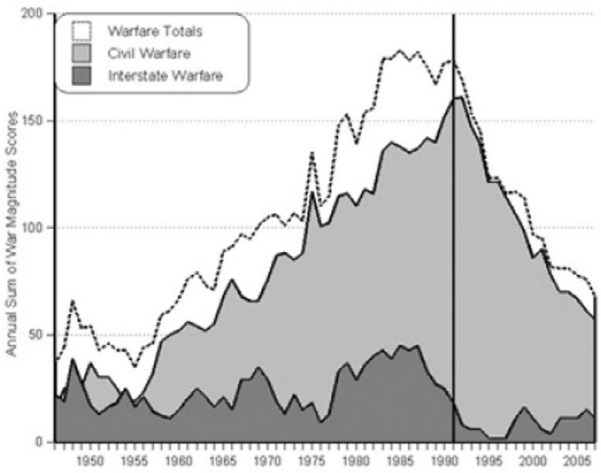

Figure 3. Global Trends in Armed Conflict, 1946-2007

contentious ways that are both systematic and sustained. Factionalism transforms the conventional politics of deliberation to the unconventional, anti-system politics of disruption and control. In the Task Force's models of the onset of political instability, the factionalism condition stands out as having the greatest explanatory power among global model indicators.[10] The condition of factionalism is a precursor to instability in about half of the countries where it occurs; the other principal outcome of factionalism is the further consolidation of democratic procedures and discourse. In accordance with its observed outcomes, the onset of political polarization or factionalism must be viewed as a political crisis condition, a direct challenge to the governing regime, and a key, policy decision-point between two fundamental courses: stabilization or destabilization.

The "problem of factionalism" in new or incomplete democracies is not a new finding, by any means. In fact, it is probably the most widely accepted, and least understood, problem in the process of democratization. In *The Federalist No. 10*, James Madison (1787) makes several prescient observations in this regard, among these are 1) the link between "domestic faction and insurrection;" 2) the opportunity afforded by factionalism for "adversaries to liberty" to declaim popular government; 3) the observation that the dynamics of "instability, injustice, and confusion" that factionalism introduces into public councils are the "mortal diseases under which popular governments have everywhere perished;" and 4) the conclusion that the "friend of popular governments" must act with due diligence to pursue any plan which "provides a proper cure" to factionalism "without violating the principles" of liberty and diversity. Nearly two-thirds of the anocracies charted in Figure 2 are characterized by factionalism currently. Examples of factionalism in early 2008 can be observed in Algeria, Egypt, Ethiopia, Georgia, Guinea, Togo, Uganda, Venezuela, and Zimbabwe. Factionalism can also be a serious problem in the more institutionalized democratic regimes, affecting about one-in-five in early 2008; current examples include Belgium, Bolivia, East Timor, Ecuador, Guyana, Lebanon, and Ukraine. While factionalism presents a very high risk factor for the onset of political instability, by far the greatest risk is for the onset of an "adverse regime change" or "autocratic backsliding" whereby democratization is reversed through the politicization and activism of the military and/or internal security forces and the oppositional faction(s) is/are forcibly repressed. We are currently conducting new research to gain a better understanding of the problem of factionalism in both the democratization process and in maintaining democratic governance.

Global Armed Conflict

The most encompassing observation that

can be made regarding global system performance in regard to the conflict dimension concerns the status of regional conflicts. The global trend in major armed conflict has continued its dramatic decline in the globalization era both in numbers of states affected by major armed conflicts and in general magnitude (Figure 3). According to our calculations, the general magnitude of global warfare has decreased by over sixty percent since peaking in the mid-1980s, falling by the end of 2007 to its lowest level since 1960.[11] Civil warfare has been the prominent mode of warfare since the mid-1950s; increasing steeply and steadily through the Cold War period. This linear increase in civil warfare is largely explained by a general tendency toward longer, more protracted, wars during this period; internal wars often receiving crucial support from foreign suppliers. The rate of onset of new civil wars has remained fairly constant throughout the period with an average of about four new civil wars per annum. On the other hand, the general global level of interstate warfare has remained at a relatively low level since the end of the Second World War and the establishment of the United Nations Organization, which was specifically designed to help prevent interstate wars. Although there was a moderate increase in interstate wars during the last years of the Cold War, from 1977 to 1987, like civil warfare, interstate warfare has also declined substantially with the end of the Cold War. Of the interstate wars that took place during the Cold War period, many of the most serious were wars of independence fought during the decolonization phase that coincided with the first half of the Cold War. Of the conventional interstate wars, onsets occurred at the rate of about one event per annum, although onsets occurred at about double that rate during the late 1970s and early 1980s. Three-quarters of sixty-seven such wars remained at fairly low levels of violence. High magnitude interstate wars are limited to the several Israeli wars, the Vietnamese wars, the Afghanistan wars, the Iraqi wars, the India-Pakistan wars, and the recent war between Ethiopia and Eritrea; all except the Iraq-Iran war and the first Gulf War had some domestic, or former-domestic conflict aspect (i.e., internationalized civil wars). Over the entire period, since 1946, wars have been quite common: there have been over 320 distinct episodes of major armed conflict in the world's 162 countries. During the past twenty-five years (since 1983), just over one-half of all countries have experienced some major armed conflict (83 of 162 countries).

In early 2008, there were twenty-one countries embroiled in major armed conflicts; twenty of these countries are beset by civil or communal wars: Afghanistan, Central African Republic, Chad, Colombia, Democratic Republic of Congo, Ethiopia, India, Iraq, Israel (Palestine), Kenya, Myanmar, Nigeria, Philippines, Pakistan, Somalia, Sri Lanka, Sudan, Thailand, Turkey, and Yemen. One of the current wars is touted as a "global war" (the United States' "global war on terrorism"), although if war means systematic and sustained attacks, that overt war has been confined almost entirely to US and US-led military deployments in Iraq and Afghanistan.[12] Increases in militant attacks in Pakistan in 2007 against the US-allied regime may indicate that the largely localized wars focused in Iraq and Afghanistan are fueling a larger, regional conflict in early 2008. There have been five new onsets of serious armed conflict in the past three years: a civil war in the Pakistan province of Baluchistan, a cross-border rebellion along Chad's border with the Darfur region in Sudan and a related episode of political violence in neighboring areas of the Central African Republic, a brief but intense interstate war involving Israel and Lebanon (mainly Hezbollah militias), fighting between Lebanese military and Islamists in Palestinian refugee camps, a rebellion in the Ogaden region of Ethiopia bordering Somalia, and serious communal violence in Kenya following flawed elections there. Indeed, many, if not most, of the active armed conflicts in early 2008 show evidence of serious cross-border effects that are increasing inter-state and regional tensions in the affected areas.

Figure 4, "Annual Numbers of New Onsets and Ongoing Wars," provides some additional evidence that, while the overall magnitude of global wars continues to diminish, the numbers of ongoing wars in the global system may be leveling off and the frequency of onset of new wars remains a serious problem. There is also some evidence of continuing and, even, increasing tensions in several of the countries where serious civil or communal warfare has been calmed through negotiated settlements or cease-fires. Wars in Turkey and Sri Lanka rekindled recently following long lulls in the fighting and outbursts of violence have returned to vex the complex social mosaic of Lebanon. Several countries have managed to push warring groups across their borders into neighboring countries where these groups continue to pose serious threats to both their home and host countries, as is the case with LRA fighters driven from Uganda and Hutu militias from Rwanda. Several others have managed to gain a respite from violence through *de facto* separation, as has occurred in Azerbaijan, Bosnia, Georgia, Moldova, and Ser-

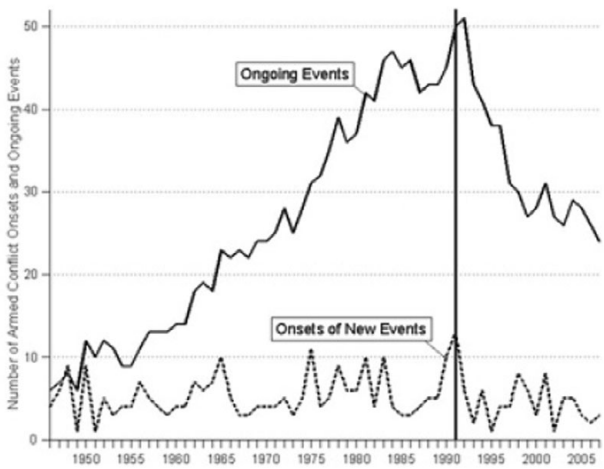

Figure 4. Annual Numbers of New Onsets and Ongoing Wars

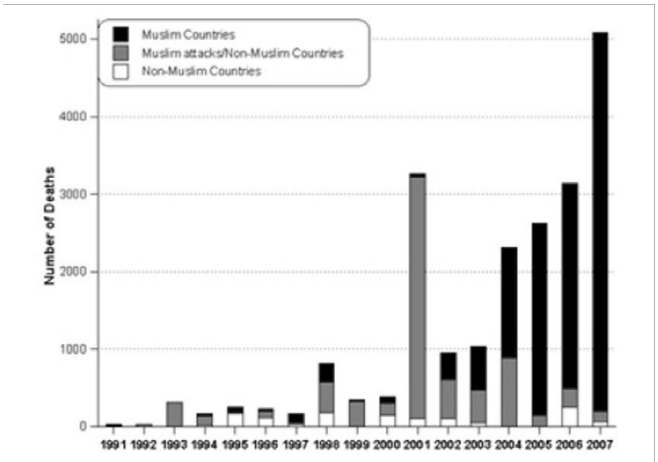

Figure 5. High Casualty Terrorist Bombings, 1991-2007

bia.[13]

In regard to the US-led "global war on terrorism," two positive observations can be made: 1) direct attacks on the US and its (non-Muslim) allies have remained relatively rare since the dramatic September 11, 2001, attacks in the United States (notable exceptions were the 2004 attacks in Madrid and 2005 attacks in London) and 2) there have been few instances of attacks anywhere in which biological, chemical, or nuclear "weapons of mass destruction" have been used by non-state actors (with the exception of some attempts to use chlorine gas in Iraq). What we generally perceive as "terrorism," as distinct from the terrifying violence associated with warfare, is the direct and intentional targeting of civilian or other non-combatant groups. Civilian populations are inherently vulnerable to political violence and the general lawlessness and disruptions in livelihoods and essential services that are substance of attrition in protracted conflict situations; they live and stand in harm's way.[14] Explosive devices (concealed bombs, car-bombs, and suicide bombers) are the principal means by which actors have directly attacked civilian populations with the intent to inflict high casualties. Figure 5 tracks the problem of "high casualty terrorist bombings" at the global level over the past eleven years; each of the "high casualty" events compiled for the trend graph resulted in at least fifteen people killed in a single attack in which bombs were a principal weapon used by the attacker(s).[15]

What Figure 5 shows is a very steep increase in the number of people killed in high casualty terrorist bombings (HCTB) since the 9/11 attacks in the US. The number killed during the most recent year, 2007, was over 5,000; the average during the five-year period before prior to September 11, 2001, was about 380 per annum (up from about 160 per annum in the preceding five years). The graph also parcels attacks into three categories: Muslim countries, Muslim attacks in non-Muslim countries, and (non-Muslim) attacks in non-Muslim countries. HCTB incidents have been particularly prominent in the ongoing war in Iraq, increasing dramatically from the US invasion in March 2003 through September 2007. The total number of people killed in HCTB attacks over the seventeen-year study period stands at 21,848; however, the actual number of people killed in such attacks is probably substantially higher (c20-25%) as reported numbers of people killed are usually those killed immediately by the blast and often do not include numbers of people who subsequently die from their wounds.[16] By far, the largest HCTB event was the coordinated attacks using hijacked airliners as aerial bombs on September 11, 2001, in the US (2,982 killed). The next two largest HCTB events resulted in 520 killed in coordinated attacks on Qataniyah and Jazeera in Iraq on August 14, 2007, and 331 killed in the September 1, 2004, attack in Beslan, Russia. The recent trend in HCTB attacks stands in vivid contrast to the more encouraging, downward trend in major armed conflicts. While it may be too much to claim that HCTB terrorism has a global scope, it is certain that such terrorism has a global reach while it remains concentrated in the Middle East and South Asia. What has most characterized the increasing volume of HCTB attacks since 2001 has been their concentration in Muslim-on-Muslim violence (reaching ninety-five percent of all HCTB attacks in 2007), a phenomenon that may be best described as "Muslim rage."[17] Since September 2007, there has been a notable decrease in the incidence and numbers of people killed in HCTB events, declining by about fifty percent. Also notable is a dramatic shift in the location of HCTB events: there are substantial increases in the use of this tactic in Afghanistan, Pakistan, and Sri Lanka and a dramatic decline in Iraq. On the other hand, there is a more general emphasis in the use of HCTB events on striking political targets (public officials and symbols of authority). Taken together, the shift in emphasis to political targets and the change in location for these events may be construed as signs of a "maturing," regional rebellion.

Global Development

The third major focus of this *Global Report* series is on global development and the general performance of the economic (material production) and social welfare aspects of globalization and the global system. The 2007 *Global Report* highlighted the great, regional (and, in some cases, intra-regional) disparities in economic development and the systemic distribution of income. It used a methodology termed "comparative regionalism" to assess the relative economic strength of the states comprising the global system of States. It claimed that the North Atlantic (US, Canada, and Western Europe) and South American regional sub-systems were "good-performance" systems, with a caveat pointing to the increased challenges posed by expansion of the European Union to include the countries of Eastern Europe and Turkey. The 2007 report went on to claim that the Central American and South and East Asian sub-systems were "middle-performance" and that the Non-Muslim Africa and Muslim Countries sub-systems were comparable "poor-performance" sub-systems. It also highlighted the observation that the better-performing sub-systems

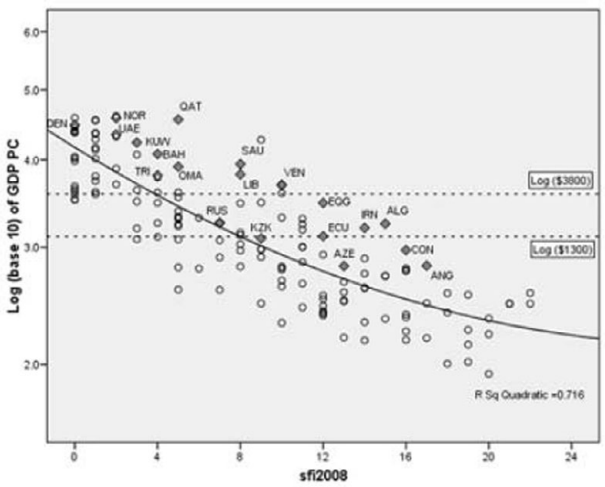

Figure 6. Relationship between State Fragility and Income

were net-consumers of energy resources while the poorer-performing sub-systems were characterized by great income disparities between the resource-rich (often, net-producers of petroleum) countries and the resource-poor countries. The report raised serious concerns regarding the level of tensions that would likely occur in a global system characterized by relatively small, super-powerful, resource-demanding regions and large, weak, resource-producing regions. "It would seem that the potential for polarization and factionalism in such a system is quite high and, given the evidence that the 'income gap' is narrowing only slowly, will remain high for the foreseeable future. The policy implications of this examination can be summarized in a single word: caution."[18] The report concluded by presenting three challenges for the emerging era of globalization: "one is narrowing the divide between 'well being' and 'fragility' in constituent societies; a second is calming the voices of opposition and transforming their creativity and energy to promote rather than disrupt the global system; and a third is to recognize the full, disruptive potential of our growing dependence on petroleum and accept this as a global dilemma, requiring a global solution."[19] In this third section, we use measured changes in the State Fragility Index and Matrix from 1995 to 2007 to gain a better understanding of progress being made toward addressing the first challenge, that is, "narrowing the divide between 'well being' and 'fragility' in constituent societies." We will then conclude our 2008 *Global Report* by presenting our most recent State Fragility assessments for each of the 162 countries (with populations greater than 500,000) that constitute the global system in early 2008. The State Fragility Index and Matrix (Table 1, following) rates each country according to its level of fragility in both effectiveness and legitimacy across four dimensions: security, governance, economic development, and social development.

Before we begin our general assessment of progress in global development we examine the relationship of state fragility and the standard measure of a country's economic performance: income measured as gross domestic product (GDP) per capita. Figure 6 plots the relationship between our most recent year State Fragility Index score and GDP per capita for each of the 162 countries included in this study.[20] We convert GDP per capita figures to their (base 10) logarithmic value because of the vast income disparities among countries in the global system, wherein the range of values is from $93 to $40,947 and the distribution is highly skewed such that fifty percent of country income values are less than $1,750 and seventy-five percent are less than $6,000. The "best fit" of the relationship between fragility (sfi2008 in Figure 6) and income (Log (base 10) of GDPPC) is shown to be slightly curvilinear (a quadratic function) with a fairly high correlation of 0.716. There is obviously a very strong, negative relationship between the income and fragility of states in the global system. However, we can also see a rather wide variance in fragility scores at any level of income. Countries plotted to the left of the curve at any level of income are performing better than expected by the model, whereas, countries plotted to the right of the curve are performing more poorly than expected given their level of income. In order to provide an additional perspective on the "oil curse" we examined in the 2007 report, we have identified all of the top, net oil-producing producing countries (i.e., those with annual net production per capita greater than ten barrels of oil; identified by shaded-diamond icons). Only Denmark, Russia, and Kazakhstan have fragility values near their expected values given their level of income; all other oil-producing states have fragility scores far greater than would be expected for their level of income. We have also identified two referent levels of income: the level of income where the model curve intersects the value 8 on the fragility index ($1,300) and the level of income at value 4 ($3,800).

Regional Changes in State Fragility: In order to gain a better understanding of change in the general performance of the global system, we use the State Fragility Index and Matrix assessment methodology to calculate scores for each country in earlier years and, then, examine the changes in assessment values across time. To this purpose, we calculated each country's fragility scores for each year beginning with the year 2000. In order to provide additional, temporal depth and a starting point for the emerging era of globalization, we then calculated each country's fragility scores for the year 1995. The year 1995 was chosen because it was well within the post-Cold War period (which we set as beginning in 1992) and had full data coverage on the relevant indicators used to construct the Fragility Index and Matrix. The original (2007) design for the fragility scores used quintile cut-points to establish ordinal categories for fragility values on several of the indicators, so, in order to establish baseline values for measuring change in values over time, we (somewhat arbitrarily) chose 2004 as the baseline year and the quintile cut-points for the target indicators in that year as referents for establishing baseline values for the fragility categories. Having, thus, set the parameters for the Matrix we chose the middle-year in the coverage peri-

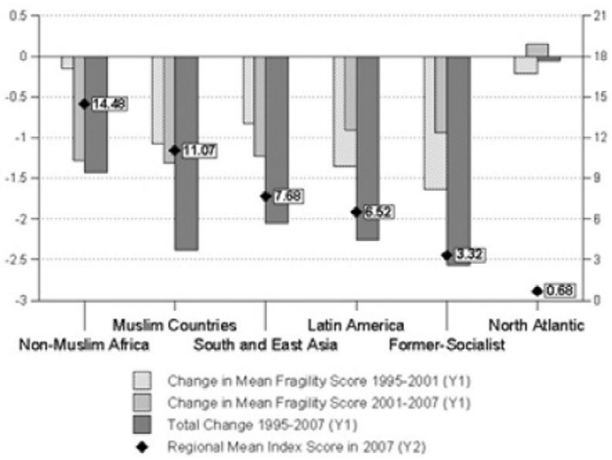

Figure 7. Changes in Mean Fragility Score by Region, 1995-2007

od, 1995-2007, (i.e., the year 2001) as a third point in charting the trajectories of change in fragility for each of the countries under evaluation. Table 1, following, lists the State Fragility Index scores for each country in the Matrix for the years 1995, 2001, and 2007, and provides an indicator of the general trajectory of change in fragility over the twelve-year period.

Fifty-six of the 162 countries listed in Table 1 show consistent, positive change of three points or more over the period (i.e., a lower fragility index score for the year 2007, as compared with the 1995 score, with the year 2001 score either being the same or lower than the 1995 score) whereas, only ten countries show consistently negative change of two points or more over the same period (i.e., a higher fragility index).[21] In all, 110 of 160 countries show lower fragility scores in 2007 than in 1995, with 29 showing the same score and 21 showing higher fragility scores (two countries, East Timor and Montenegro did not exist in 1995). The largest improvements in fragility score across the study period are in Mali (nine point decrease); Guatemala (eight points); and Bangladesh, Bosnia, and Togo (seven points), with Croatia, India, Nicaragua, and Bhutan improving their scores by six points each. Countries with greater fragility scores across the period include Central African Republic (five point increase), Eritrea and Nepal (four points), and Congo-Brazzaville, Ecuador, Israel, Kyrgyzstan, Namibia, Solomon Islands, United States, Uzbekistan, and Venezuela (two point increases).

Figure 7 provides a regional summary of changes in State Fragility Index scores during the study period. States were assigned to one of six politically-salient regions: Non-Muslim Africa (sub-Saharan countries); Muslim Countries (i.e., countries in which Muslim confessional groups comprise fifty percent or more of the total population); (non-Muslim) South and East Asia; Latin America; (non-Muslim) Former-Socialist countries; and North Atlantic countries.[22] The bars in the graph show changes in the mean fragility score for each region across the three annual indices (1995 and 2001, 2001 and 2007, and 1995 and 2007); the bars are measured on the left-hand axis. The black-diamond icons indicate each region's average State Fragility Index score at the end of 2007; the icons are measured on the right-hand axis. Note that, while Muslim countries are largely geographically concentrated in northern Africa and the Middle East, there are Muslim countries in Europe (Albania and Bosnia), the former-Soviet Union (Azerbaijan, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Tajikistan, Turkmenistan, and Uzbekistan), and southern Asia and Oceania (Bangladesh, Indonesia, and Malaysia). The regions are arranged according to their mean State Fragility Index scores, with the most fragile region (Non-Muslim Africa; mean 14.48) on the left and the least fragile region (North Atlantic countries; mean 0.68) on the right.

The least fragile region in 2007 is the North Atlantic region; this region includes Western Europe, Canada, and the United States (nineteen countries in 2007).[23] The North Atlantic region's mean State Fragility Index score in 2007 is 0.68, with scores ranging from 0 (ten countries in 2007) to 3 (Cyprus). The largest change in fragility score is that of the United States, for which one-point increases in fragility scores are found in both Security Effectiveness (war in Iraq) and Security Legitimacy (increased use of state repression associated with the "global war on terrorism"). Overall, the North Atlantic region has long been and still remains the standard for gauging regional performance and (lack of) fragility. The question remains whether this region has set a reasonable and achievable standard that is accessible to all countries in the global system or whether some moderation in regional consumption, income, and wealth is a necessary corollary to broader system access to reasonable standards of achievement.

Closely following the North Atlantic region in terms of overall fragility is the Eastern European region comprising countries that have emerged from the Former-Socialist bloc, including many of the former-Soviet republics (except the predominantly Muslim countries of Albania, Bosnia, Azerbaijan, and the Central Asian republics).[24] This region's mean score in 2007 is 3.32, with scores ranging from 0 (Hungary, Latvia, Lithuania, Poland, and Slovenia) to 9 (Moldova; Georgia follows with a score of 8 and Russia with 7). This region charts the greatest improvement in fragility scores since 1995 with an average decrease in State Fragility Index scores of 2.57 (cutting the regional mean by nearly half). The overall change in fragility scores for this region is due equally to improvements in effectiveness and legitimacy and these improvements are nearly equally spread across the four performance dimensions. Lesser improvements in fragility are notably in areas where this region had already made substantial achievements: security effectiveness and legitimacy and economic legitimacy. Improvements in the latter half of the period were somewhat less than the earlier half, probably due to the fact that the region was drawing closer to the "ceiling" of improvement. Of particular note is Croatia, which reduced its State Fragility Index score by six points, and Latvia and Georgia, which reduced their

fragility scores by five points between 1995 and 2007.

Latin America countries improved their fragility scores by just over two points, on average, while the mean fragility score for the region stands at about double that of the Former-Socialist countries (6.52 in 2007).[25] Scores for Latin American countries range from 0 (Costa Rica) to 13 (Haiti; Ecuador follows with 12; Bolivia and Colombia score 11). Like the Former-Socialist countries, the Latin America region shows greater improvement in fragility scores during the earlier period, 1995-2001 with the pace of improvement dropping off substantially in the latter half of the period, 2001-2007. Latin American improvement was driven largely by gains in effectiveness, with the biggest gain over the entire period counted in Political Effectiveness (−0.61). Improvements in Security, equally driven by gains in effectiveness and legitimacy, also accounted for a large part of the decrease in regional fragility scores (−0.30 each; −0.60 total). In 2007, the legitimacy component of the fragility scores for the region (4.26 points) was nearly double that of the effectiveness component (2.26 points). The region performed particularly poorly in improving Political Legitimacy (−0.13) and Economic fragility more generally (−0.13 in Economic Effectiveness and −0.17 points in Economic Legitimacy). Guatemala led the region in improvement over this period, reducing its fragility score by eight points; Nicaragua improved by six points, Mexico by five points, and Cuba, El Salvador, Honduras, Panama, and Peru all reduced their fragility scores by four or more points over this period. Offsetting these improvements was a net increase in fragility for Ecuador and Venezuela (two points each).

As noted in our 2007 *Global Report*, the rate of growth of the regional income for the South and East Asia region, as a whole, nearly doubled the rate of economic growth in the world's richest countries; with much of the gains accounted for by the emergence of China as a major producer on the global market.[26] Fragility scores for this region show moderate improvement during the emerging era of globalization period, 1995-2007, with an average decrease in overall fragility of just over two points; the regional mean score stands at 7.68 in 2007. This region shows the broadest range of fragility scores, from 0 (Japan and South Korea) to 21 (Myanmar; East Timor and Nepal score next at 15 points). Improvements in this region were slow in the earlier half of the period and increased in the latter half; change is nearly equally spread across the two principal components: effectiveness (−1.09) and legitimacy (−0.96). Only modest gains are shown for Security, in general; Political Effectiveness; and Social Effectiveness; no net change is noted for Economic Legitimacy. Most of the region's improvements in fragility come in Political Legitimacy (−0.50), Economic Effectiveness (−0.45), and Social Legitimacy (−0.32). Improvement was particularly strong in India and Bhutan (six points each), followed by Laos and Papua New Guinea (five points each) and Cambodia, South Korea, and Vietnam (four points each). During the same period, the fragility ratings for Nepal increased by four points with increased fragility on Security and Political Effectiveness and Legitimacy, offset somewhat by improved Social Effectiveness and Legitimacy.

The Muslim Countries were identified in the 2007 *Global Report* as one of the world's two "poor-performance" regions in terms of economic development (along with Non-Muslim Africa).[27] Between 1995 and 2007, the Muslim Countries recorded moderate improvement in their regional mean fragility scores (−2.38); gains in effectiveness outpaced gains in legitimacy by nearly two-thirds (−1.45 and −0.92 respectively). The range of fragility scores spans from a low of 2 (United Arab Emirates; Kuwait and Albania score 3 points) to a high of 22 (Somalia and Sudan; close behind are Afghanistan with 21 and Chad and Iraq with 20). Notable improvements in regional fragility are found across the Political (−0.45 and −0.35) and Social (−0.47 and −0.47) dimensions. The Muslim Countries region stands out because of its relatively large net fragility increase in Economic Legitimacy (i.e., it is becoming more dependent on revenues from primary commodities, mainly oil). The North African state of Mali is identified as having the region's (and the world's) largest net decrease in fragility (nine points), reducing its fragility rating from 19 to 10 over the 1995-2007 period. Also notable are Bosnia and Bangladesh which improved their fragility scores by seven points each, while Albania, Azerbaijan, Indonesia, and Tunisia improved by five points. Iraq, Kyrgyzstan, and Uzbekistan are noted with slightly increased fragility ratings between 1995 and 2007; in all these countries, increased fragility was recorded on the legitimacy component.

Countries comprising the Non-Muslim Africa region have the world's highest mean State Fragility Index score (14.48) and showed the least net improvement in fragility ratings across the period (−1.43; discounting the "non-fragile" North Atlantic region).[28] Fragility scores for this region range from 4 (Botswana) to 20 (Rwanda and the Democratic Republic of Congo). Despite the general stagnation in fragility ratings for this region, some African countries are noted as having reduced their fragility ratings substantially across the study period: Togo improved seven points; Angola and Equatorial Guinea improved by five points; and Liberia, Madagascar, and Uganda improved by four points each. The Africa region also had the most states that increased their fragility rating over this period: Central African Republic worsened by five points, Eritrea by four points, Congo (Brazzaville) and Namibia by two points, and Burkina Faso, Cote d'Ivoire, Guinea-Bissau, and Zimbabwe worsened by one point over this period. Particularly disheartening is the lack of improvement in the region's Social Effectiveness (measured by Human Development Index) and Social Legitimacy (measured by infant mortality rate) scores. Although we would expect to see the most improvement in these areas due to NGO and international donor efforts in these areas since 1995, we in fact see almost no net change in the earlier half of the period and only modest gains in the more recent half of the period. In terms of social legitimacy, we actually see worsening in many cases. Almost all the net decrease in fragility scores for the Non-Muslim Africa region is accounted for by improvements in Political Effectiveness (−0.57) and Political Legitimacy (−0.36).

Global Summary of Changes in State Fragility: In keeping with the global system perspective of this report, we conclude our 2008 report with a global summary of

changes in State Fragility during the period of study. These changes are presented in Figure 8 below. The chart is organized like the State Fragility Matrix (Table 1) in order to facilitate comparison; vertical bars are read on the left-hand scale and the black-diamond icons are read on the right-hand scale. In all, the global total of "fragility points" assessed for the world's 162 countries (State Fragility Index; SFI) decreased by 292 points (17.8 percent) from the 1995 assessment. Breaking the Index into its two principal components, we see that the improvements were accounted for to a much greater degree by gains in Effectiveness (180 points; 22.4 percent decrease) than gains in Legitimacy (112 points; 13.4 percent decrease). This imbalance characterizes three of the four fragility dimensions.

Consistent with the dramatic decrease in global warfare presented in Figure 3 above, the Security Effectiveness category shows the lowest total fragility score of the eight fragility categories: 91 total points in 2007 (18.8 percent decrease from 1995). The other seven categories contribute similar point totals to the global total in 2007, ranging from 157 points in the Political Effectiveness category to 198 points in the Economic Legitimacy category. Security Legitimacy (state repression) shows very modest improvement since 1995 (17 points; 9.2 percent decrease). Political Effectiveness, reflecting the "third wave of democratization" and stabilization/consolidation of more open political systems in the Globalization Era, shows the most dramatic improvement (75 points; 32.3 percent decrease in fragility). The Political Legitimacy category shows strong improvement over the period (48 points; 21.8 percent decrease). The economic dimension shows only modest gains in Economic Effectiveness (37 points; 16.7 percent decrease) and no real change in Economic Legitimacy at the global system level, reflecting the general failure of primary commodity producers (rentier states) to reinvest foreign exchange earnings into greater manufacturing capacity. On the hand, steady progress can be noted in general improvements in Social Effectiveness (47 points and a 19.8 percent decrease in fragility) and Social Legitimacy (45 points; 19.6 percent decrease).

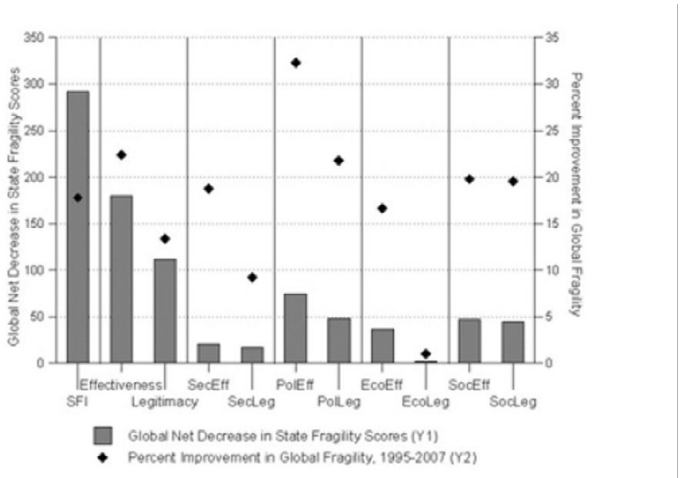

Figure 8. Global Net Improvements in State Fragility, 1995-2007

Concluding Remarks

The end of the Cold War ushered in an era of globalization that is, for the first time, governed predominantly by democratic regimes; this marks a watershed moment in modern human history and the beginning of a new world order. However, this new world order encompasses a global system that, while improving steadily according to our analysis, lacks the capacity and resiliency that would provide a solid foundation for a stable and durable societal-system. The *Global Report 2007* charted a global distribution of income among its constituent states characterized by highly unequal regional development and profiled a "system that is profoundly split into 'Haves' (about 15% of the global population) and 'Have-nots.' [A system in which] the potential for polarization and factionalism…is quite high and…will remain high for the foreseeable future."[29] The current *Global Report* on development underscores Africa's continuing malaise and highlights a general imbalance between gains in effectiveness and continuing deficits in legitimacy. This imbalance is especially problematic when considered in the context of our growing investment in democracy. While governance at the state level has become predominantly democratic, the nature and quality of governance at the global system level is challenged by its large number of anocratic states struggling to maintain political stability and a small number of classic autocracies controlling some of its most vital and coveted oil reserves. Governance at the global level, whether formal or informal, is bound to reflect the nature and quality of the contrasts inherent in the system. While violent conflict in the global system continues to diminish in total magnitude, some protracted societal wars continue to contradict the general trend and defy proactive engagement, new wars break out regularly, and extremist violence and radical tactics draw crucial resources away from critical systemic development. We believe that our observations have compiled an encouraging report on global system performance in the emerging era of globalization. However, we caution that this progress has largely been purchased with a "peace dividend" that may now be largely spent. Further progress and consolidation of the new world order will surely demand a determined and active commitment among states and citizens to reason and moderation in managing the challenges that define our common predicament.

The State Fragility Index and Matrix 2008

Having examined the general performance of the Global System of States in the areas of security, governance, and development and discussed changes in the fragility of states since 1995, we conclude this Global Report 2008 with our assessments of the fragility of the system's constituent units: the 162 independent (macro) states. The idea of a using a matrix of effectiveness

and legitimacy dimensions as a method for assessing state fragility was developed at the University of Maryland's IRIS center, in response to a research request from the US Agency for International Development (USAID). Contributions to developing the idea were made by a number of people at IRIS and those involved in parallel efforts at USAID (including not only Marshall but also Jack Goldstone, Dennis Wood, Karl Soltan, Ron Oakerson, Jonathan Houghton, Patrick Meagher, Lewis Rasmussen, Joseph Siegel, Clifford Zinnes and Tjip Walker), but the current matrix of indicators was designed and applied by Marshall and Goldstone (2007). The idea is similar to other multi-dimensional schemes for addressing state fragility, failure, or peace, including earlier indices developed by Marshall and Ted Gurr for the *Peace and Conflict* series, models designed by the US Government's Political Instability Task Force (in which Marshall, Goldstone, and Gurr continue to serve key roles), those developed by Frederick Barton and associates at CSIS, metrics developed for the Office of the Coordinator for Reconstruction and Stabilization under Carlos Pasquale in the State Department, the Fund for Peace's "Failed States Index," and the more recent "Global Peace Index" developed by the *Economist* Intelligence Unit for the Vision of Humanity organization.

All of these schemes recognize that assessing a state's ability to win the loyalty of its people depend on its performance in multiple spheres, spanning governance, economic performance and opportunity, security, and delivery of social services. What the IRIS research team added was to make explicit the need for governing regimes to exhibit *both* effectiveness *and legitimacy* in its performance of those tasks. That is, to achieve maximum stability a regime must both carry out the tasks expected of a competent government, *and* maintain legitimacy by being perceived as just and fair in the manner it carries out those tasks. A state may remain in a condition of fragile instability if it lacks effectiveness *or* legitimacy in a number of dimensions; however a state is likely to fail, or to already be a failed state, if it has lost both. The collaboration between the Center for Global Policy at George Mason University and the Center for Systemic Peace makes the State Fragility assessments unique in that they are based on real-time monitoring of security and political conditions in each of the 162 countries under examination and they use well-respected and annually updated sources for the Economic and Social assessments. These primary information resources make the State Fragility Index as current and consistent as possible. Table 1 presents the State Fragility Index and Matrix and the corresponding ratings of the global system's 162 countries in early 2008. It is accompanied by Technical Notes that identify the data sources used and describe how the various indicators were constructed.

Table 1. State Fragility Index and Matrix 2008

	State Fragility Index 2007	State Fragility Index 2001	State Fragility Index 1995	Trajectory 1995-2007	Armed Conflict Indicator 2007	Effectiveness Score 2007	Legitimacy Score 2007	Security Effectiveness 2007	Security Legitimacy 2007	Political Effectiveness 2007	Political Legitimacy 2007	Economic Effectiveness2007	Economic Legitimacy 2007	Social Effectiveness 2007	Social Legitimacy 2007	Regional Effects
Somalia	**22**	21	22		**War**	11	11	2	3	3	2	3	3	3	3	**Mus**
Sudan	**22**	22	23		**War**	10	12	3	3	3	3	2	3	2	3	**Mus**
Afghanistan	**21**	24	24	▼	**War**	11	10	3	3	2	1	3	3	3	3	**Mus**
Myanmar (Burma)	**21**	20	20		**War**	10	11	3	3	2	3	3	3	2	2	
Chad	**20**	21	21		**War**	11	9	2	2	3	1	3	3	3	3	**Mus**
Dem. Rep. of Congo	**20**	23	22		**War**	11	9	2	3	3	1	3	3	3	2	**Afr**
Iraq	**20**	19	19		**War**	9	11	3	3	3	3	1	2	2	3	**Mus**
Rwanda	**20**	21	21		*	10	10	2	2	2	2	3	3	3	3	**Afr**
Burundi	**19**	21	21		**X**	11	8	2	3	3	0	3	3	3	2	**Afr**
Liberia	**19**	22	23	▼	**X**	11	8	2	2	3	0	3	3	3	3	**Afr**
Nigeria	**19**	20	21		**War**	10	9	2	2	3	1	2	3	3	3	**Afr**
Sierra Leone	**19**	23	22		*	11	8	2	1	3	1	3	3	3	3	**Afr**
Central African Republic	**18**	15	13	▲	**War**	9	9	1	3	2	2	3	1	3	3	**Afr**
Ethiopia	**18**	19	19		**War**	9	9	2	2	1	2	3	2	3	3	**Afr**
Guinea	**18**	20	18		*	9	9	0	1	3	3	3	2	3	3	**Mus**
Angola	**17**	22	22	▼	**X**	8	9	3	2	1	1	1	3	3	3	**Afr**
Guinea-Bissau	**17**	18	16		*	9	8	0	1	3	1	3	3	3	3	**Afr**
Zambia	**17**	17	18			8	9	0	1	2	2	3	3	3	3	**Afr**
Burkina Faso	**16**	16	15			9	7	0	1	3	0	3	3	3	3	**Afr**
Cameroon	**16**	19	18		*	6	10	0	2	2	3	2	3	2	2	**Afr**
Congo-Brazzaville	**16**	18	14		**X**	6	10	1	2	2	2	1	3	2	3	**Afr**
Eritrea	**16**	14	12	▲	*	9	7	2	2	1	0	3	3	3	2	**Afr**
Ivory Coast	**16**	18	15		**X**	9	7	1	2	3	0	2	2	3	3	**Afr**
Niger	**16**	17	19	▼	*	8	8	0	1	2	1	3	3	3	3	**Mus**
Uganda	**16**	19	20	▼	**X**	9	7	2	2	2	1	3	2	2	2	**Afr**
Zimbabwe	**16**	17	15		*	8	8	0	2	3	3	3	1	2	2	**Afr**
Algeria	**15**	17	17		**X**	5	10	2	3	1	3	1	3	1	1	**Mus**
East Timor	**15**				*	8	7	1	2	2	1	3	3	2	1	
Nepal	**15**	12	11	▲	**X**	9	6	2	3	2	2	3	0	2	1	
Pakistan	**15**	16	17		**War**	8	7	2	2	2	3	2	0	2	2	**Mus**
Yemen	**15**	14	16		**War**	6	9	1	2	1	2	2	3	2	2	**Mus**
Djibouti	**14**	14	17		*	6	8	0	1	2	1	2	3	2	3	**Mus**
Iran	**14**	16	16		*	6	8	2	2	2	2	1	3	1	1	**Mus**
Kenya	**14**	15	14		**War**	6	8	1	2	1	2	2	2	2	2	**Afr**
Malawi	**14**	14	14			7	7	0	1	1	1	3	2	3	3	**Afr**
Mauritania	**14**	17	17	▼	*	7	7	0	1	3	2	2	2	2	2	**Mus**
Mozambique	**14**	18	17		*	7	7	1	1	0	0	3	3	3	3	**Afr**
Uzbekistan	**14**	11	12	▲		4	10	0	2	1	3	2	3	1	2	**Mus**
Azerbaijan	**13**	15	18	▼	*	6	7	2	1	2	2	1	2	1	2	**Mus**
Benin	**13**	16	16	▼		7	6	0	1	1	0	3	2	3	3	**Afr**
Comoros	**13**	16	13			7	6	0	0	2	1	3	3	2	2	**Mus**
Gambia	**13**	14	13			8	5	0	1	3	0	3	2	2	2	**Mus**
Haiti	**13**	13	15		**X**	8	5	1	2	2	1	3	0	2	2	
Tajikistan	**13**	15	15		*	8	5	1	1	2	2	3	2	2	0	**Mus**
Bangladesh	**12**	14	19	▼	*	6	6	0	2	2	2	2	0	2	2	**Mus**
Cambodia	**12**	14	16	▼	*	9	3	2	1	3	0	2	0	2	2	

	State Fragility Index 2007	State Fragility Index 2001	State Fragility Index 1995	Trajectory 1995-2007	Armed Conflict Indicator 2007	Effectiveness Score 2007	Legitimacy Score 2007	Security Effectiveness 2007	Security Legitimacy 2007	Political Effectiveness 2007	Political Legitimacy 2007	Economic Effectiveness2007	Economic Legitimacy 2007	Social Effectiveness 2007	Social Legitimacy 2007	Regional Effects
Ecuador	**12**	12	10	▲	*	4	8	0	1	2	3	1	3	1	1	
Equatorial Guinea	**12**	13	17	▼		4	8	0	1	2	1	0	3	2	3	**Afr**
Ghana	**12**	10	15		*	7	5	0	1	2	1	3	2	2	1	**Afr**
Laos	**12**	15	17	▼	*	4	8	0	1	0	1	2	3	2	3	
Madagascar	**12**	12	16	▼		7	5	0	1	2	1	3	2	2	1	**Afr**
Sri Lanka	**12**	14	13		**War**	6	6	3	3	1	3	1	0	1	0	
Tanzania	**12**	15	14			6	6	0	1	0	1	3	2	3	2	**Afr**
Togo	**12**	15	19	▼		6	6	0	1	1	3	3	0	2	2	**Afr**
Bolivia	**11**	9	12			4	7	0	1	1	2	1	2	2	2	
Colombia	**11**	11	11		**War**	4	7	2	3	0	2	1	1	1	1	
Egypt	**11**	12	14	▼	*	4	7	0	2	2	3	1	1	1	1	**Mus**
Guatemala	**11**	15	19	▼	*	6	5	2	2	1	2	1	0	2	1	
India	**11**	13	17	▼	**War**	7	4	3	2	0	1	2	0	2	1	
Kyrgyzstan	**11**	8	9	▲		7	4	0	1	2	2	3	1	2	0	**Mus**
Philippines	**11**	11	14	▼	**War**	7	4	3	2	2	1	1	0	1	1	
Solomon Islands	**11**	14	9		**X**	7	4	1	0	2	0	2	3	2	1	
Bhutan	**10**	12	16	▼	*	3	7	0	0	0	3	1	1	2	3	
Gabon	**10**	9	11			3	7	0	1	1	0	0	3	2	3	**Afr**
Lebanon	**10**	11	11		**X**	4	6	2	1	1	3	0	0	1	2	**Mus**
Lesotho	**10**	10	12		*	6	4	0	0	2	1	2	0	2	3	**Afr**
Mali	**10**	15	19	▼	*	7	3	0	0	1	0	3	0	3	3	**Mus**
Papua New Guinea	**10**	13	15	▼	*	4	6	0	1	0	0	2	3	2	2	
Peru	**10**	11	14	▼	*	5	5	2	1	1	1	1	2	1	1	
Senegal	**10**	12	14	▼	*	6	4	0	1	1	1	2	0	3	2	**Mus**
Turkmenistan	**10**	9	10			3	7	0	1	1	1	1	3	1	2	**Mus**
Venezuela	**10**	9	8	▲		2	8	0	2	1	2	0	3	1	1	
China	**9**	9	11		*	4	5	2	2	0	2	1	0	1	1	
Guyana	**9**	11	11			2	7	0	1	0	3	1	2	1	1	
Indonesia	**9**	12	14	▼	**X**	6	3	2	2	1	0	2	0	1	1	**Mus**
Israel	**9**	8	7	▲	**War**	3	6	2	3	1	3	0	0	0	0	
Kazakhstan	**9**	9	9			3	6	0	1	1	2	1	2	1	1	**Mus**
Moldova	**9**	10	13	▼	*	4	5	0	1	1	3	2	1	1	0	
South Africa	**9**	12	12	▼	*	3	6	1	1	0	2	0	0	2	3	**Afr**
Georgia	**8**	10	13	▼	*	3	5	0	1	1	3	1	1	1	0	
Honduras	**8**	10	12	▼	*	4	4	0	1	1	1	1	1	2	1	
Libya	**8**	9	10			2	6	0	1	2	1	0	3	0	1	**Mus**
North Korea	**8**	10	11	▼		3	5	0	2	1	1	1	1	1	1	
Paraguay	**8**	10	9			3	5	0	1	1	1	1	2	1	1	
Saudi Arabia	**8**	11	10		**X**	1	7	1	1	0	3	0	3	0	0	**Mus**
Swaziland	**8**	7	9			4	4	0	1	1	0	1	0	2	3	**Afr**
Syria	**8**	11	12	▼		2	6	0	1	0	2	1	2	1	1	**Mus**
Turkey	**8**	10	11	▼	**War**	3	5	2	2	0	2	0	0	1	1	**Mus**
Bosnia and Herzegovina	**7**	9	14	▼	*	3	4	1	0	1	2	1	2	0	0	**Mus**
Mongolia	**7**	9	9			4	3	0	1	0	0	2	1	2	1	
Namibia	**7**	7	5	▲		3	4	0	1	0	0	1	0	2	3	**Afr**
Nicaragua	**7**	10	13	▼	*	3	4	0	1	0	0	2	2	1	1	
Russia	**7**	9	9		**X**	3	4	2	2	1	0	0	2	0	0	
Armenia	**6**	8	7		*	4	2	0	1	2	0	1	0	1	1	
Serbia	**6**	10	10	▼	*	3	3	0	1	2	2	1	0	0	0	

	State Fragility Index 2007	State Fragility Index 2001	State Fragility Index 1995	Trajectory 1995-2007	Armed Conflict Indicator 2007	Effectiveness Score 2007	Legitimacy Score 2007	Security Effectiveness 2007	Security Legitimacy 2007	Political Effectiveness 2007	Political Legitimacy 2007	Economic Effectiveness2007	Economic Legitimacy 2007	Social Effectiveness 2007	Social Legitimacy 2007	Regional Effects
Tunisia	**6**	9	11	▼		2	4	0	1	1	2	0	0	1	1	**Mus**
Brazil	**5**	5	6			1	4	0	2	0	1	0	0	1	1	
El Salvador	**5**	8	9	▼	*	3	2	1	1	0	0	1	0	1	1	
Dominican Republic	**5**	7	7			1	4	0	1	0	1	0	1	1	1	
Fiji	**5**	9	7			4	1	0	0	2	0	1	1	1	0	
Jordan	**5**	6	8	▼		2	3	0	1	0	2	1	0	1	0	**Mus**
Morocco	**5**	7	9	▼	*	3	2	0	1	0	0	1	0	2	1	**Mus**
Oman	**5**	6	6			2	3	0	0	2	0	0	3	0	0	**Mus**
Panama	**5**	7	9	▼	*	1	4	0	0	1	1	0	3	0	0	
Qatar	**5**	6	5			1	4	0	0	1	0	0	3	0	1	**Mus**
Romania	**5**	8	9	▼	*	1	4	0	1	0	2	1	0	0	1	
Thailand	**5**	6	8	▼	**War**	3	2	1	2	1	0	0	0	1	0	
Ukraine	**5**	5	5			3	2	0	1	1	1	1	0	1	0	
Vietnam	**5**	8	9	▼	*	3	2	0	1	0	1	2	0	1	0	
Bahrain	**4**	4	8	▼		0	4	0	0	0	1	0	3	0	0	**Mus**
Belarus	**4**	4	4			3	1	0	1	2	0	1	0	0	0	
Botswana	**4**	5	7	▼		2	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	2	**Afr**
Cuba	**4**	6	8	▼		0	4	0	1	0	1	0	2	0	0	
Macedonia	**4**	4	5			2	2	0	1	1	1	1	0	0	0	
Malaysia	**4**	6	7	▼		0	4	0	1	0	3	0	0	0	0	**Mus**
Mexico	**4**	5	9	▼	*	0	4	0	2	0	1	0	0	0	1	
Montenegro	**4**					2	2	0	1	1	1	1	0	0	0	
Trinidad	**4**	3	4			0	4	0	1	0	1	0	1	0	1	
Albania	**3**	6	8	▼	*	2	1	0	1	1	0	1	0	0	0	**Mus**
Bulgaria	**3**	4	7	▼		1	2	0	1	0	1	1	0	0	0	
Croatia	**3**	4	9	▼	*	1	2	0	0	1	2	0	0	0	0	
Cyprus	**3**	3	3			0	3	0	0	0	3	0	0	0	0	
Jamaica	**3**	4	4			1	2	0	1	0	0	0	0	1	1	
Kuwait	**3**	4	6	▼	*	0	3	0	0	0	0	0	3	0	0	**Mus**
Argentina	**2**	3	5	▼		0	2	0	1	0	0	0	1	0	0	
Australia	**2**	1	2			0	2	0	0	0	0	0	2	0	0	
Chile	**2**	2	4		*	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	2	0	0	
Norway	**2**	2	1			0	2	0	0	0	0	0	2	0	0	
United Arab Emirates	**2**	5	4			0	2	0	0	0	0	0	2	0	0	**Mus**
United States	**2**	1	0	▲	**War**	1	1	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	
Belgium	**1**	0	0			0	1	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	
Czech Republic	**1**	1	1			0	1	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	
Estonia	**1**	1	5	▼		0	1	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	
France	**1**	0	0			0	1	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	
Greece	**1**	0	1			0	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	
Italy	**1**	1	1			1	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	
New Zealand	**1**	1	1			0	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	
Singapore	**1**	2	2			0	1	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	
Slovak Republic	**1**	2	4	▼		0	1	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	
Spain	**1**	0	2			0	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	
Switzerland	**1**	1	1			0	1	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	
Taiwan	**1**	1	2			1	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	
Uruguay	**1**	0	1			0	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	
Austria	**0**	0	0			0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	

	State Fragility Index 2007	State Fragility Index 2001	State Fragility Index 1995	Trajectory 1995-2007	Armed Conflict Indicator 2007	Effectiveness Score 2007	Legitimacy Score 2007	Security Effectiveness 2007	Security Legitimacy 2007	Political Effectiveness 2007	Political Legitimacy 2007	Economic Effectiveness2007	Economic Legitimacy 2007	Social Effectiveness 2007	Social Legitimacy 2007	Regional Effects
Canada	**0**	0	0			0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	
Costa Rica	**0**	0	2			0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	
Denmark	**0**	0	0			0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	
Finland	**0**	0	0			0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	
Germany	**0**	0	2			0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	
Hungary	**0**	0	1			0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	
Ireland	**0**	0	0			0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	
Japan	**0**	0	0			0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	
Latvia	**0**	1	5	▼		0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	
Lithuania	**0**	0	2			0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	
Mauritius	**0**	1	1			0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	
Netherlands	**0**	0	0			0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	
Poland	**0**	0	2			0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	
Portugal	**0**	0	0			0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	
South Korea	**0**	2	4	▼		0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	
Slovenia	**0**	0	1			0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	
Sweden	**0**	0	1			0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	
United Kingdom	**0**	2	2		*	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	

TECHNICAL NOTES TO TABLE 1, STATE FRAGILITY INDEX AND MATRIX 2008:

Table 1 lists all independent countries in the world in which the total country population is greater than 500,000 in 2007 (162 countries). The Fragility Matrix rates each country on both Effectiveness and Legitimacy in four performance dimensions: Security, Political, Economic, and Social, at the end of the year 2007. Each of the Matrix indicators is rated on a four-point fragility scale: 0 "no fragility," 1 "low fragility," 2 "medium fragility," and 3 "high fragility." A country's fragility is closely associated with its *state capacity* to manage conflict; make and implement public policy; and deliver essential services and its *systemic resilience* in maintaining system coherence, cohesion, and quality of life; responding effectively to challenges and crises, and continuing progressive development.

Fragility Indices

State Fragility Index = Effectiveness Score + Legitimacy Score

The first three columns, following the country name, provide a comparison of State Fragility Indices for the most current year (2007) and two referent years (2001 and 1995). These are followed by two "highlight" columns that provide additional information on change in state fragility over time and general experience with serious armed conflict.

Trajectory1995-2007 displays icons highlighting countries that have experienced consistent change in their level of state fragility across the three referent years: a "down caret" (▼) indicates a consistent, downward trajectory in state fragility leading to a less fragile condition in 2007 of three points or more and an "up caret" (▲) indicates a consistent, upward trajectory in state fragility leading to a more fragile condition in 2007 of two points or more.

Armed Conflict Indicator 2007 provides a general indicator of the country's current (early 2008), recent (since 2003), and past (since 1983) involvement in systematic and sustained armed conflict(s), including wars of independence, communal wars, ethnic wars, revolutionary wars, and inter-state wars. Source: Major Episodes of Political Violence, 1946-2007, Center for Systemic Peace. "War" indicates a country is actively involved in a serious armed conflict(s) in early 2008; "X" indicates that the country has emerged from serious armed conflict(s) in the past five years (since 2003); and "*" indicates that the country has been directly involved in a serious armed conflict sometime during the past twenty-five year period (1983-2007).

Effectiveness Score = Security Effectiveness + Political Effectiveness + Economic Effectiveness + Social Effectiveness

Legitimacy Score = Security Legitimacy + Political Legitimacy + Economic Legitimacy + Social Legitimacy

GENERAL NOTES: The State Fragility Index and Matrix was originally designed

and introduced in the "Global Report on Conflict, Governance, and State Fragility 2007." In order to standardize procedures for scoring each of the eight component indicators so as to make the indicators and indices comparable across time, we have set threshold values for the categorical fragility scores based on quintile cut-points derived from values in a baseline year (2004). This methodology effects continuous measures used for Economic Effectiveness (GDP per capita in constant 2000 US dollars); Economic Legitimacy (manufacturing exports as a percent of merchandise exports); Social Effectiveness (human development indicator; HDI); and Social Legitimacy (infant mortality rate); baseline specifications are provided in the relevant indicator explanations that follow. In addition, a fourth indicator has been added to the calculation of the Political Legitimacy Score (scores for previous years have been recalculated); see below.

Security Indicators

Security Effectiveness Score: Total Residual War, a measure of general security and vulnerability to political violence, 1983-2007 (25 years). Source: Monty G. Marshall, Major Episodes of Political Violence, 1946-2007, (www.systemicpeace.org), variable name "actotal." The formula to calculate this score is based on two assumptions: (1) the residual effects of low level and/or short wars diminish relatively quickly; and (2) the residual effects of serious or protracted wars diminish gradually over a 25-year period. Three indicators are used to calculate each country's "residual war" score (*reswartot)*: *warsum1-4* (sum of annual scores for all wars in which the country is directly involved for each continuous period of armed conflict); *yrnowar1-3* (interim years of "no war" between periods of armed conflict); and *yrpeace* (years of peace, or no war, since the end of most recent war period). For states with one war episode: *reswartot* = *warsum* – [*yrpeace* + (.04*yrpeace* x *warsum1*)]. For countries with multiple periods of war, a *reswar* value is calculated for each, in chronological order. Thus, for a state with two episodes of war, to calculate the first episode: *reswar1* = *warsum1* – [*yrnowar1* + (.04*yrnowar1* x *warsum1*)]; and for the second episode: *reswartot* = *(reswar1* + *warsum2)* – {*yrpeace* + [.04*yrpeace* x (*reswar1* + *warsum1*)]}; and so on. Any negative residual war (*reswar*) scores are converted to zero before calculating additional residual war scores. The final *reswartot* value is then converted to a four-point fragility scale, where: 0 = 0; 1 = 0.1-15; 2 = 15.1-100; and 3 = greater than 100.

Security Legitimacy Score: State Repression, a measure of state repression, 1993-2006. Source: Mark Gibney, Linda Cornett, and Reed Wood, Political Terror Scale (PTS; www.politicalterrorscale.org). The PTS provides separate annual indicators drawn from U.S. State Department and Amnesty International reports; each indicator is coded on a five-point scale, from 1: "no repression" to 5: "systemic, collective repression." To calculate the 2007 state repression score, we calculate the following: (1) nine-year average, 1993-2001; (2) four-year average, 2002-2005; and (3) most recent value, 2006; the three, mean indicators are then compared according to a fragility categorization: 0 = 1.0-2.0; 1 = 2.1-3.0; 2 = 3.1-4.0; and 3 = greater than 4.0. If the most recent year value agrees with the previous four-year average, then these two means are used to identify the repression category. When the most recent year score is not in agreement with the previous period, then the earlier nine-year mean is used to help determine a more general pattern in state repression. Historical treatments, that is, calculations of Security Legitimacy Scores for previous years, are further aided by reference to patterns in "future" PTS values. The exact year of change in the general practice of state repression and, so, the Security Legitimacy Score can be more confidently identified in the historical treatment.

Political Indicators

Political Effectiveness Score: Regime/Governance Stability, 1993-2007. Sources: Monty G. Marshall, Keith Jaggers, and Ted Robert Gurr, Polity IV Project: Political Regime Characteristics and Transitions, 1800-2007; Henry S. Bienen and Nicolas van de Walle, Leadership Duration (updated by Monty G. Marshall); and Monty G. Marshall and Donna Ramsey Marshall, Coups d'Etat, 1960-2007, datasets (www.systemicpeace.org). Three indicators are used to calculate the Regime/Governance Stability score: Regime Durability (Polity IV, 2007); Current Leader's Year's in Office (Leadership Duration, 2007); and Total Number of Coup Events 1993-2007, including successful, attempted, plotted, alleged coups and forced resignations or assassinations of chief executives (Coups, 1993-2007), but not including coup events associated with Polity adverse regime changes (these major regime changes cause the "durability" score to be reset to "0" and, so, would be double-counted, see above). These indicators are scored such that: Durability < 10 years = 1; Leader Years in Office > 12 years = 1; and Total Coup Events: 1-2 = 1 and >2 = 2. These indicators are then added to produce the Regime/Governance Stability score (scores of 4 are recoded as 3). Note: Countries coded in the Polity IV dataset as an "interregnum" (i.e., total or near total collapse of central authority, −77) for the current year are scored 3 on the Political Effectiveness indicator.

Political Legitimacy Score: Regime/Governance Inclusion, 2007. Sources: Polity IV, 2007; Ted Robert Gurr, Monty G. Marshall, and Victor Asal, Minorities at Risk Discrimination (www.cidcm.umd.edu/mar); and Ted Robert Gurr and Barbara Harff, Elite Leadership Characteristics datasets (updated by Monty G. Marshall). In the 2007 report, four indicators were used to determine the Regime/Governance Inclusion score: Factionalism (Polity IV, *parcomp* value 3 = 1); Ethnic Group Political Discrimination against more than 5% of Population (Discrimination, 2007: *POLDIS* values 2, 3, 4 = 1); Political Salience of Elite Ethnicity (Elite Leadership Characteristics, 2007: *ELETH* values 1 or 2 = 1); and Polity Fragmentation (Polity IV, *fragment* value greater than 0 = 1). To these indicators, we have added Exclusionary Ideology of Ruling Elite (Elite Leadership Characteristics, 2007: *ELITI* value 1 = 1). The Political Legitimacy Score is calculated by adding these five indicators; scores of 4 or 5 (rare) are recoded as 3.

Economic Indicators

Economic Effectiveness Score: Gross Domestic Product per Capita (constant 2000 US$), 2000-2006. Source: World Bank, World Development Indicators, 2007 (www.worldbank.org/data). Three indicators are considered in gauging economic effectiveness: five-year average GDP per capita, 2000-2004; the most recent year's GDP per capita, 2006 (both measured in constant US dollars); and the fifteen-year average GDP per capita growth rate, 1992-2006. Values for the five-year average and most recent year value are coded into a four-point fragility scale, based on cut-points derived from the upper threshold values for the lower three quintiles of GDP per capita in a baseline year (2004). The standardized categories are as follows: 3 = less than or equal to $400.00; 2 = $400.01 to $1000; 1 = $1000.01 to $2500.00; and 0 = greater than $2500. The five-year and most recent year categories are compared. If they are the same, that category value is assigned as the Economic Effectiveness Score. If the two values differ or are near the borderline value separating categories, the fifteen-year income growth indicator is used to assign the final score: selecting the higher category if long-term growth is negative or the lower category if long-term growth is positive.

Economic Legitimacy Score: Share of Export Trade in Manufactured Goods, 1993-2005. Source: UN Development Programme, Structure of Trade, 2007, and World Bank, World Development Indicators (WDI), 2007, (manufacturing as a percentage of merchandise exports). Merchandise exports include two classes of products: manufactured goods and primary commodities; low percentage of manufactured goods indicates a high reliance on primary commodities for foreign exchange. The annual values of this variable are examined to ensure that the most recent annual value is a representative value within the established range for that country. The manufacturing percentage of merchandise exports is then converted to a four-point fragility score, where: 3 = less than or equal to 10; 2 = greater than 10 and less than or equal to 25; 1 = greater than 25 and less than or equal to 40; and 0 = greater than 40.

Social Indicators

Social Effectiveness Score: Human Capital Development, 2005. Source: UNDP *Human Development Report 2007/2008*, Human Development Index (HDI), 2005 (www.undp.org). Reported HDI values are converted according to a four-point fragility scale based on the cut-points of the lower three HDI quintiles in the baseline year, 2004. The Social Effectiveness Score is assigned as follows: 3 = less than or equal to .500; 2 = greater than .500 and less than or equal to .700; 1 = greater than .700 and less than or equal to .800; and 0 = greater than .800.

Social Legitimacy Score: Human Capital Care, 2005. Source: US Census Bureau, International Data Base, 2007, (IDB; www.census.gov/ipc/www/idb), Infant Mortality Rate, 2005. This indicator is based on the infant mortality rate (number of deaths of infants under one year of age from a cohort of 1,000 live births), with values converted to a four-point fragility scale based on the upper cut-points of the lower three quintiles of the infant mortality rates in the baseline year, 2004. The Social Legitimacy Score is assigned as follows: 3 = greater than 75.00; 2 = less than or equal to 75.00 and greater than 45.00; 1 = less than or equal to 45.00 and greater than 20.00; and 0 = less than or equal to 20.00. These scores are then adjusted according to ranking comparisons between the country's income level (GDP per capita) and human capital development (HDI). If the country's HDI ranking among the 162 countries listed is more than twenty-five places above its GDP per capita ranking (meaning it provides better human capital care than expected by its level of income) the Social Legitimacy Score (fragility) is lowered by one point. If HDI ranking is more than twenty-five places below GDP per capita ranking, the fragility score is increased by one point.

Note on Historical State Fragility Indices and Scores

The historical SFI scores presented here (i.e. 1995, 2001) were calculated using that year's values for each of the indicators, whereas the current year scores (i.e., 2007) necessarily rely on the values of the most recent year reported (this limitation affects data drawn from the World Bank and UNDP only). For example, while social effectiveness for 2007 relies on 2005 HDI, which is the value reported in the 2007-08 Human Development Report, social effectiveness for 1995 is based on 1995 HDI, reported in the 1997 Human Development Report. Our best estimations of current year scores are revised when current year values become available.

Notes:

1. The Global Report 2008 appears in the March 2008 issue of Foreign Policy Bulletin (Cambridge University Press); www.foreignpolicybulletin.com. The Report is prepared at the Center for Global Policy at George Mason University; globalpolicy.gmu.edu. The lead author can be contacted by email at mmarsha5@gmu.edu.
2. Ted Robert Gurr, Monty G. Marshall, and Deepa Khosla, Peace and Conflict 2001: A Global Survey of Armed Conflicts, Self-Determination Movements, and Democracy (College Park, MD: Center for International Development and Conflict Management, 2000), p.9.
3. This general reaction was intimated by Andrew Mack who was heading the Secretary General's Strategy Unit at that time and who personally circulated our findings through UN channels.
4. Large portions of descriptive text in the "systems-analysis," "governance," and "armed conflict" sections have been carried over from last year's Global Report to provide basic information on how global trends have been measured and charted. See Monty G. Marshall and Jack Goldstone. 2007. "Global Report on Conflict, Governance, and State Fragility 2007: Gauging System Performance and Fragility in the Globalization Era." Foreign Policy Bulletin 17.1 (Winter 2007):3-21.
5. See Monty G. Marshall, Third World War: System, Process, and Conflict Dynamics (Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield, 1999) for a more detailed explanation of the societal-systems approach to political analysis.
6. The Polity IV data set was originally designed by Ted Robert Gurr and coded by Erica Klee Gurr and Keith Jaggers; the Polity IV Project is now directed by Monty G. Marshall at the Center for Global Policy (CGP), George Mason University, and the Center for Systemic Peace. It has annually coded information on the qualities of political institutions for all independent countries (not including micro-states) from 1800 through 2006 and is updated annually by Marshall and Jaggers; the most recent year (2007) values have been estimated by Marshall for use in Global Report analyses. The Polity IV data series is available on the Center for Systemic Peace Web site at www.systemicpeace.org/polity/polity4.htm.
7. Also included in the anocracy category are countries that are undergoing transitional governments (coded "-88" in the Polity IV dataset), countries where central authority has collapsed or lost control over a majority of its territory (coded "-77" in the dataset), and countries where foreign authorities, backed by the presence of foreign forces, provide a support structure for maintaining local authority (coded "-66").
8. The Polity IV dataset does not include information on micro-states; a state must have reached a total population of 500,000 to be included.
9. In the Polity IV data set, "factionalism" is defined operationally as a code "3" on the "competitiveness of political participation" (PARCOMP). The Political Instability Task Force (PITF; formerly known as the State Failure Task Force) was created in 1994 at the request of senior policy makers in the US Government; it is tasked with developing data-driven, global and regional models to help explain, and anticipate, the emergence of serious political instability situations in the world's independent states.
10. The Political Instability Task Force (PITF) findings are reported regularly; the problem of factionalism was first identified in the most recent (Phase V) findings. Task Force reports, including papers detailing the Phase V findings, can be accessed from the PITF Web site at URL: http://globalpolicy.gmu.edu/pitf.
11. Interstate and civil wars must have reached a magnitude of over 500 directly-related deaths to be included in the analysis. The magnitude of each major armed conflict is evaluated according to its comprehensive effects on the state or states directly affected by the warfare, including numbers of combatants and casualties, size of the affected area and dislocated populations, and extent of infrastructure damage. It is then assigned a single score on a ten-point scale; this value is recorded for each year the war remains active. See Monty G. Marshall, "Measuring the Societal Effects of War," chapter 4 in Fen Osler Hampson and David Malone, eds., From Reaction to Conflict Prevention: Opportunities for the UN System (Boulder, CO: Lynne Rienner, 2002) for a detailed explanation of the methodology used. A full list of the "major episodes of political violence" from which the data for figure 3 is compiled is posted on the Center for Systemic Peace (CSP) Web site at www.systemicpeace.org/warlist.htm. The CSP Web site also tracks other aspects of global and regional armed conflict trends; see the "Conflict Trends" section on the CSP Web site at www.systemicpeace.org/conflict.htm.
12. Scattered and sporadic terrorist attacks have occurred throughout the predominately Muslim region stretching from northwestern Africa through the Middle East and in the Muslim areas of southeastern Asia and Oceania. However, there is scant evidence that Islamic militants have established a "global reach" capability for systematic and sustained attacks beyond the Muslim region itself.
13. The "de facto" separation of Kosovo from Serbia was accomplished by fiat following a seventy-eight day aerial bombardment of Serbia by NATO air forces; its separation was administered by the UN Mission in Kosovo and enforced by a NATO-led peacekeeping force (KFOR). The Kosovo Assembly declared independence for the territory on February 17, 2008; its declaration was accepted by many states but rejected by Serbia and many other states.
14. The greater problem of direct, intentional, and systematic attacks on civilian populations is most often attributed to "state terror" or state-sponsored "death squads." These types of atrocities have not been uncommon during the contemporary period and fall somewhere between the conceptual terms "lethal repression" and "genocide or politicide." For a contemporary survey of the problem of "genocide and politicide," see Barbara Harff, "No Lessons Learned from the Holocaust? Assessing Risks of Genocide and Political Mass Murder since 1955," American Political Science Review 97.1 (2003): 57-73. Indirect (collateral) attacks on civilian populations can be similarly terrifying during warfare characterized by substantial power discrepancies between opposing militaries and militias, particularly when relatively indiscriminate aerial bombardment is utilized by state forces against non-state groups.
15. A full list of HCTB events used in this analysis can be found with the "Conflict Trends" report on the Center for Systemic Peace Web site (note9).
16. This simple accounting of reported deaths does not intend to discount the far greater number of people seriously injured and otherwise traumatized by such attacks. There are rarely any follow-up reports on the newswires that provide information on the fate of people wounded in specific attacks (with the notable exception of attacks in the US, UK, and Spain). Given the generally poor condition of medical and health services in the areas most affected by HCTB attacks, it is reasonable to assume that a relatively large proportion of those seriously wounded in HCTB attacks would die from their wounds.
17. This term "Muslim rage" references a term "Black rage" associated with a social psychological condition of intense anger and frustration that induces irrational behavior and an ultimately, self-destructive paranoia; the term was introduced in the 1968 book, Black Rage, by psychiatrists William H. Grier and Price M. Cobbs.
18. Marshall and Goldstone 2007, p. 11.
19. Marshall and Goldstone 2007, p. 11.
20. GDP per capita figures are taken from the World Bank, World Development Indicators 2007 (constant 2000 US$; values listed for year 2006). We use this measure of income due to its comparability at the global level of analysis. Income measured as "purchasing power parity" may provide a more accurate measure of the relative value of income at the local level of analysis.
21. Serbia is considered to be the successor state for both Yugoslavia and Serbia and Montenegro. As such, it is identified as a country with consistently positive change in its State Fragility Index score: 10 (Yugoslavia) in 1995, 10 (Serbia and Montenegro) in 2001, and 6 (Serbia) in 2007.
22. Israel and Mauritius are regionally isolated and, so, are not included in the regional calculations. East Timor (2002) and Montenegro (2006) are new states that have no earlier fragility scores; these two countries are removed from the comparative regional analyses.
23. Nineteen countries comprise the North Atlantic region: Austria, Belgium, Canada, Cyprus, Denmark, Finland, France, Germany, Greece, Ireland, Italy, Norway, Netherlands, Portugal, Spain, Sweden, Switzerland, United Kingdom, and the United States.

24. Twenty countries comprise the Former-Socialist region: Armenia, Belarus, Bulgaria, Croatia, Czech Republic, Estonia, Georgia, Hungary, Latvia, Lithuania, Macedonia, Moldova, Montenegro, Poland, Romania, Russia, Serbia, Slovak Republic, Slovenia, and Ukraine. Montenegro became an independent state in 2006 and, so, is not included in the comparative regional analyses.
25. The Latin America region comprises twenty-three countries: Argentina, Bolivia, Brazil, Chile, Colombia, Costa Rica, Cuba, Dominican Republic, Ecuador, El Salvador, Guatemala, Guyana, Haiti, Honduras, Jamaica, Mexico, Nicaragua, Panama, Paraguay, Peru, Trinidad & Tobago, Uruguay, and Venezuela.
26. The (non-Muslim) East and South Asia region consists of twenty-three countries: Australia, Bhutan, Cambodia, China, East Timor, Fiji, India, Japan, Laos, Mongolia, Myanmar (Burma), Nepal, New Zealand, North Korea, Philippines, Papua New Guinea, Singapore, Solomon Islands, South Korea, Sri Lanka, Taiwan, Thailand, and Vietnam. East Timor became an independent state in 2002 and, so, is not included in the comparative analyses.
27. Muslim Countries are identified as countries in which Muslim confessional groups comprise fifty percent or more of the country's total population. This region is defined by forty-two countries spanning from West Africa to the Pacific Ocean, including Afghanistan, Albania, Algeria, Azerbaijan, Bahrain, Bangladesh, Bosnia, Chad, Comoros, Djibouti, Egypt, Gambia, Guinea, Indonesia, Iran, Iraq, Jordan, Kazakhstan, Kuwait, Kyrgyzstan, Lebanon, Libya, Malaysia, Mali, Mauritania, Morocco, Niger, Oman, Pakistan, Qatar, Saudi Arabia, Senegal, Somalia, Sudan, Syria, Tajikistan, Tunisia, Turkey, Turkmenistan, United Arab Emirates, Uzbekistan, and Yemen.
28. Non-Muslim Africa comprises thirty-three countries: Angola, Benin, Botswana, Burkina Faso, Burundi, Cameroon, Central African Republic, Republic of Congo, Democratic Republic of Congo, Equatorial Guinea, Eritrea, Ethiopia, Gabon, Ghana, Guinea-Bissau, Ivory Coast, Kenya, Lesotho, Liberia, Madagascar, Malawi, Mozambique, Namibia, Nigeria, Rwanda, Sierra Leone, South Africa, Swaziland, Tanzania, Togo, Uganda, Zambia, and Zimbabwe.
29. Marshall and Goldstone 2007, p. 11.