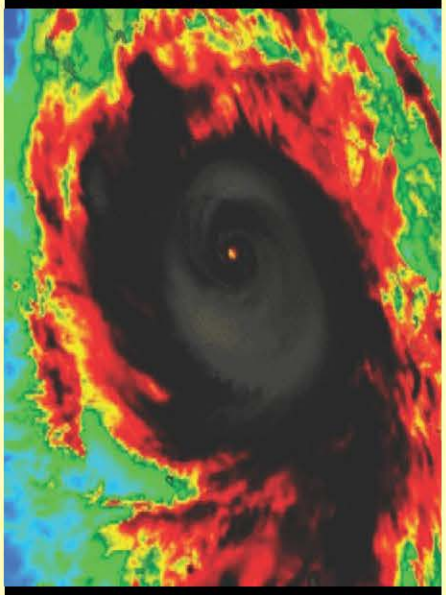

Global Report 2017

Conflict, Governance, and State Fragility

Monty G. Marshall
Gabrielle Elzinga-Marshall

Center for Systemic Peace

CENTER FOR SYSTEMIC PEACE

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COVER IMAGE:

Hurricane Odile (Baja California, Mexico, 14 September 2014)
The cover image is taken from an infrared satellite image of Hurricane Odile originally captured by the NASA Marshall Space Flight Center's Geostationary Weather Satellite (GOES). Hurricane Odile was a large, Category 3 hurricane that was one of the largest storms to make landfall on the west coast of North America (the other was Hurricane Olivia in 1967); the image captures the storm at peak intensity. <weather.msfc.nasa.gov>

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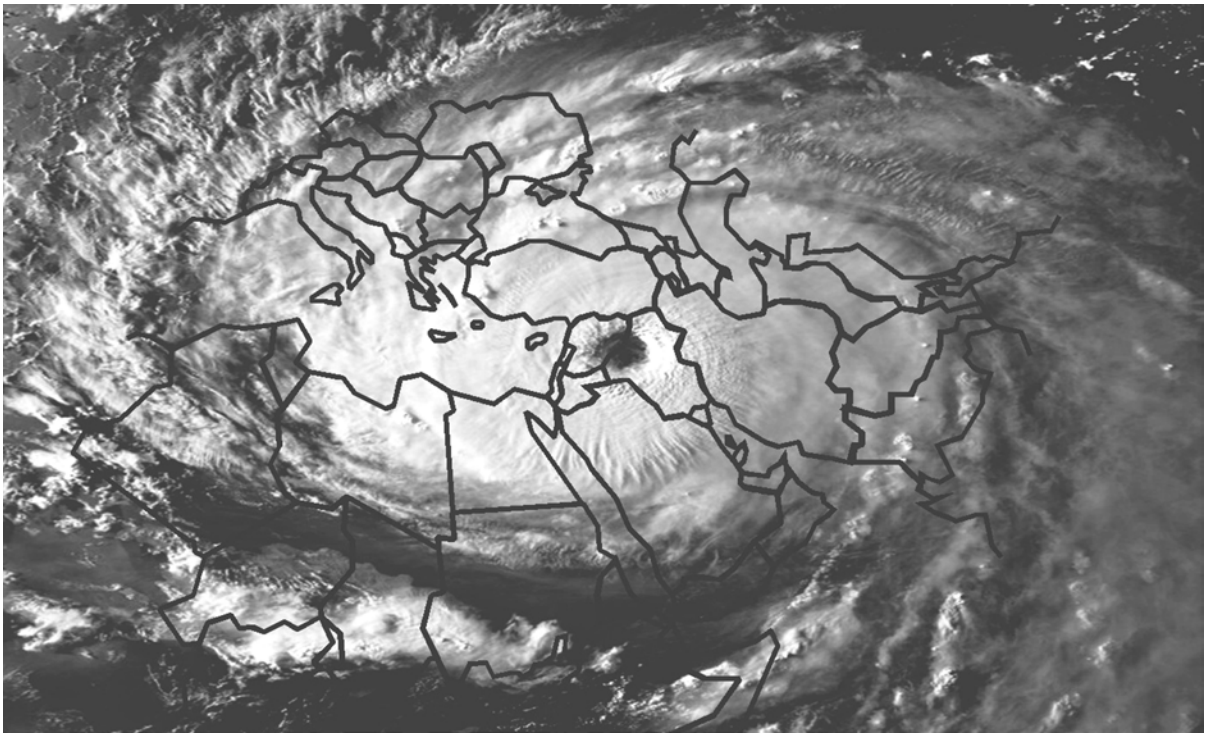

Figure 1: Conflict Storm Engulfs North Africa and the Middle East. Societal, ecological, and meteorological systems are similarly complex and intertwined phenomena. Using a storm analogy to depict the "Category 3" conflict system currently engulfing the MENA region illustrates the real danger posed to the Global System.

The Societal-System Effects of Protracted Social Conflict: The "unintended consequences" of political intransigence and protracted social conflict accumulate over time and increase systemic deterioration and societal atrophy through the diffusion of insecurity, both intensively and extensively, and contribute to a syndrome of societal-system un- and under-development. This syndrome has observable effects that act to reinforce conflict dynamics (increasing social costs) and make negotiated conflict resolution more complex and intractable (decreasing prospects for resolution), necessitating intercession by supra-ordinate authorities. The absence of political will to resolve societal-system crises simply extends, expands, and intensifies the ill effects.
– Excerpted from Monty G. Marshall, *Managing Complexity in Modern Societal-Systems: Structuration*, volume 1: part 7, Center for Systemic Peace, 2014. www.systemicpeace.org/videobook.html

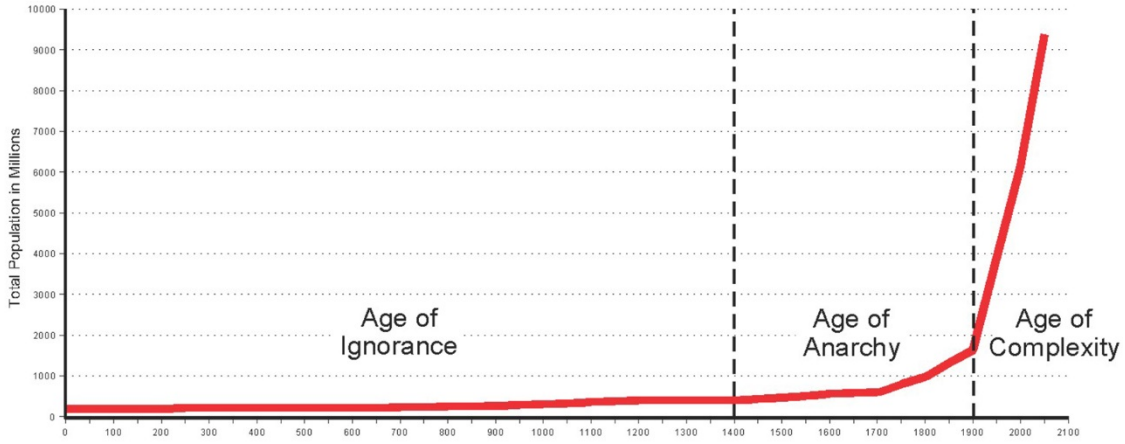

Figure 2: Global Population Estimates, 0-2050 CE (K. Klein Goldewijk, A. Beusen, and P. Janssen, History Database of the Global Environment, HYDE 3.1, 2010); three "ages" are added by the authors.

IN THE AGE OF COMPLEXITY, THE GREATEST THREATS TO HUMAN SECURITY ARE SHADOWS OF THE PAST

If one only paid attention to the media, one might imagine that the world is changing so quickly that the past has become irrelevant. Yet, closer examination will reveal that it is only notions that are whizzing around like supercharged electrons; major changes to our material world continue to flow almost imperceptibly. "What's past is prologue." By ignoring or rejecting the past, we make it more likely to simply repeat it in novel ways. We, as individuals in the collective sense, must be careful in choosing wisdom from among the diverse perspectives and narratives recorded as subtexts in our common histories. Context is key to understanding social behaviors in different spaces and times. Unique circumstances frame context; placing immediacy as the outer boundary in defining identity and enabling authority. Socio-political behaviors that are considered successful in the pursuit of aspirations in one context may not be successful in another context or at another point in time, regardless of similarities linking cases; "best practices" may even prove to be counter-productive or harmful. Some valued traditions are later discovered, by way of improved technologies, to be needless, pointless, and, ultimately, self-destructive. The idea that wars are contests that should be fought to be won is a paramount example of the potential futility of historical "wisdom." In the Age of Complexity, wars are the principal problem of human relations and a major impediment to progressive development. Wars are man-made humanitarian and environmental disasters. We cannot afford to wage nor win wars; we must work together to end war.

There is no doubt that the global context has changed dramatically and the pace of change has accelerated over the past one hundred years. Over the past twenty years, the "new media" has overwhelmed our sensibilities, increasing uncertainties. Figure 2 charts global population estimates over the past two thousand years and clearly shows the remarkable pace of growth since 1900. Whether one accepts limits to growth, we cannot deny the intensified human impact on the global eco-system.

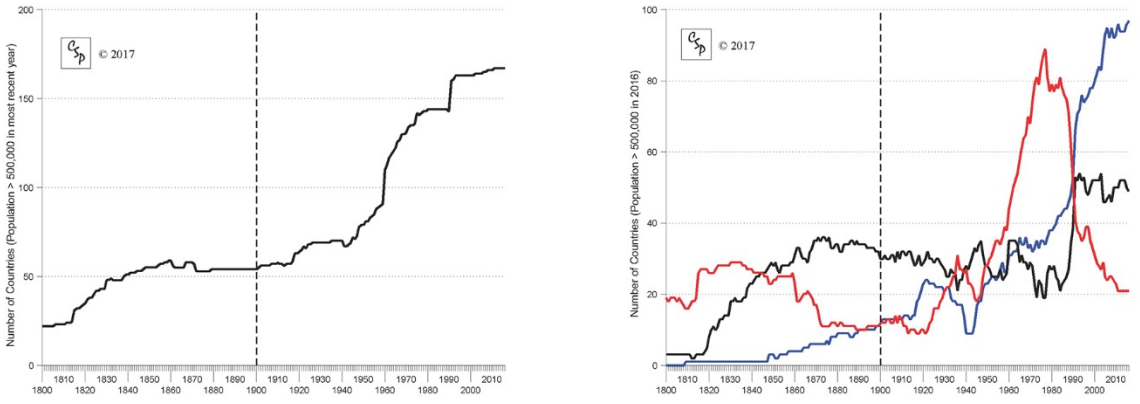

Figure 3: Changes in the Global System, 1800-2016: States and Regimes. Rapidly increasing global population coincided with the spread of the modern state-system from a European sub-system (22 states in 1800) to encompass the entire global land mass by the year 2000 (167 states in 2016; see graph on the left). Modern states govern complex, societal organizations utilizing autocratic (rule by force) or democratic (rule of law) authority structures and practices, or some mixture of those two sources of authority (here termed anocratic regimes; the number of states with anocratic regimes are tracked by the black line, autocratic regimes by the red line, and democratic regimes by the blue line in the right-hand graph). Data is from the CSP Polity dataset.

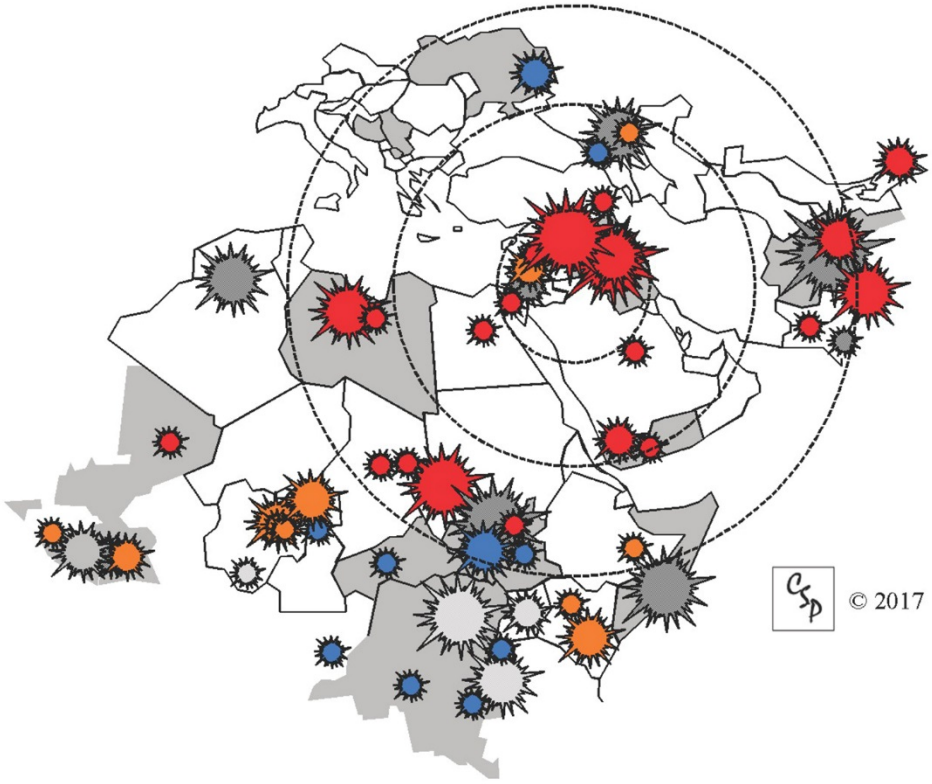

Figure 4: Armed Conflicts and Failed States in the MENA Region, 2001-2016. Outline map of the Middle East and North Africa (MENA) region showing armed conflicts since 2001 and collapses of state authority since 1995. Colored "bomb burst" icons indicate major armed conflicts in Muslim-majority (red), Muslim-minority (orange), and non-Muslim (blue) countries; the icons are sized according to the magnitude of the Major Episode of Political Violence. Grey colored icons indicate wars that were ongoing in 2001 (darkest shade for Muslim-majority and so on); countries shaded grey are those identified by the Polity Project as having experienced a collapse of (central) state authority sometime since 1995 (Polity code -77). The concentric circles represent the primary (spatial) "Diffusion of Insecurity" effect (see, Marshall, *Third World War,* chap. 4).

We have divided the timeline in Figure 2 into three "ages" of humanity and its changing impact on the global eco-system. During the initial **Age of Ignorance**, which began with the appearance of modern humans some 200,000 years ago, total population remained limited mainly by its general ignorance of the complexities of the global eco-system and population growth was principally a function of the spread of human populations across the global landscape. A slow and sporadic growth in human population occurred as nascent societal-systems formed and gained simple understanding to take advantage of, or even control, their local circumstances. These simple societal-systems rose, expanded, and fell, if not randomly, then, haphazardly. Jared Diamond provides a brilliant account of this fitful, historical process, and the importance of local context and circumstances, in his 1997 book, *Guns, Germs, and Steel: The Fates of Human Societies*.

As local knowledge increased and the communication of that knowledge spread

through emerging social networks that spanned localities and accentuated commonalities, group identities merged and assimilated as "nation-states." These nation-states formed the first durable, complex societal-systems. However, their growth was limited by their self-contained and exclusive social identities, which favored rivalry over cooperation between societal-systems. The attendant increase in capabilities for political interaction combined with an exclusivist rejection of the possibilities of societal integration triggered a more sophisticated form of expansionism (colonialism) that stimulated technological progress and allowed for greater population growth. However, it was the rivalry among complex societal-systems that characterized the **Age of Anarchy** and associated both progress and growth with the state's "power" to control its populace and extract wealth from its environment.

Of course, the **Age of Complexity,** that we denote as beginning around 1900, is still unfolding. What most distinguishes the current age is that human population growth is no longer limited by human ignorance or inter-state rivalry and anarchy. It has gained control of the "state" and has come to define the global social order and our technological and political imperatives. State failures, then, whether of commission or omission, have become synonymous with humanitarian crises and catastrophes. Figure 3 illustrates two fundamental changes to the "formal state management system" that characterize the emerging Age of Complexity. The graph on the left charts the growth of the formal state system. From an early core of twenty-two states in 1800, the number of independent states governing the world's complex societal-systems increased from fifty-four in 1900 to 167 in 2017.[1]

[1] The Center for Systemic Peace monitors states and societal-systems that have reached a total population greater than 500,000 in the most recent year (2016).

The graph on the right in figure 3 charts changes in the general quality of governance in the states constituting the global system, that is, their governance regimes. Governing authority can be based on largely autocratic (rule by force; charted by the red line in the graph) or democratic (rule of law; blue line) practices, or by some combination of these fundamental authority practices (we call these mixed authority regimes "anocratic"; black line). In 1800, of the 22 formal (independent) states, all were governed by autocratic regimes except three: Korea, the United Kingdom, and the United States (all anocracies). There were nascent state-systems in Europe (eleven states, including Russia), East Asia (three states: China, Korea, and Japan), and (within) the United States; the remaining seven states were relatively isolated and scattered across the swath of land extending from North Africa to Southeast Asia.[2]

By 1850, the number of states had increased to fifty-five and remained at about that number until the end of the First World War (1918). The new states that emerged during the nineteenth century were mainly European principalities and the newly independent, former-European colonial territories of Latin America. The Latin American states were formed by consortiums of immigrant elites without the benefit of traditional authority structures as indigenous communities were left largely disenfranchised. Agreements among the propertied elites created a new, hybrid authority structure based on negotiated treatises among oligopolistic concerns and corporatist (anocratic) party and state organizations.

[2] Independent states in 1800 include Austria, Bavaria, Denmark, France, Germany, Portugal, Russia, Spain, Sweden, United Kingdom, and Württemberg in Europe; Afghanistan, Iran, Morocco, Oman, and Turkey across North Africa and the Middle East; China, Japan, Korea, Nepal, and Thailand in Asia; and the United States of America.

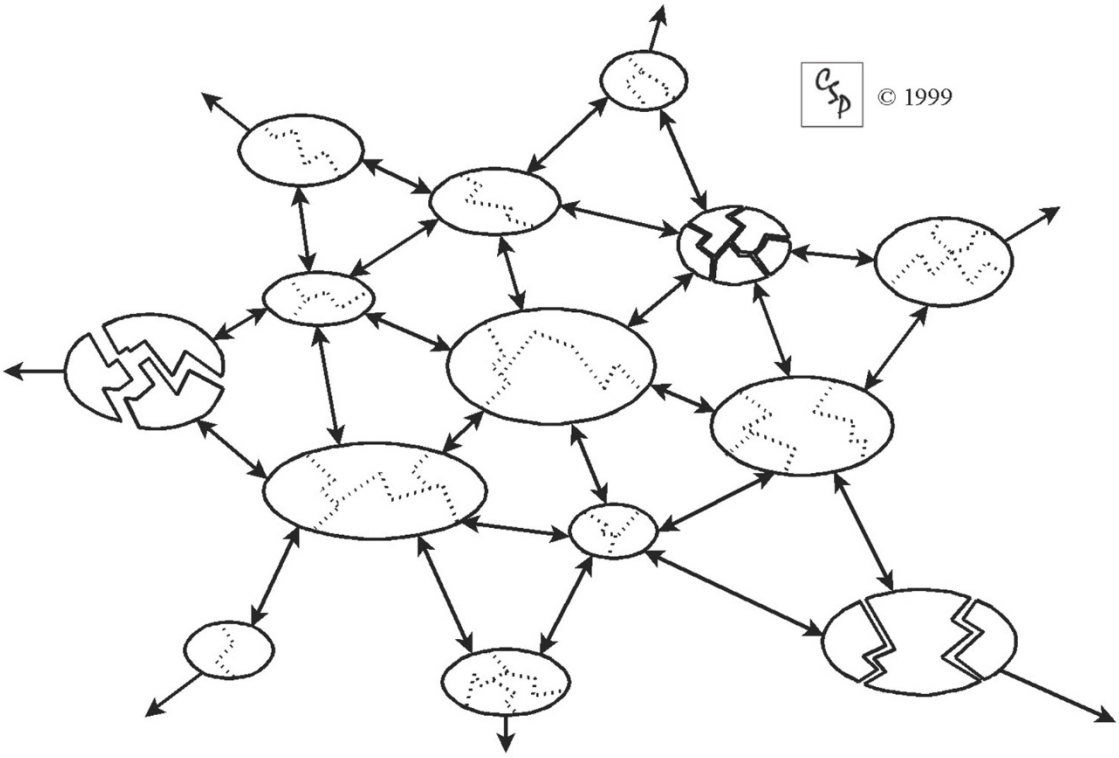

Figure 5: Societal-Systemic Diffusion of Insecurity. This diagram shows a schematic representation of the systemic forces of systemic and societal disintegration that take place within protracted conflict regions. The solid arrows represent the secondary "Diffusion of Insecurity" effects in regions affected by armed conflicts; that is, process reinforcement and systemic disintegration. The jagged "interior" lines represent the Tertiary "Diffusion of Insecurity" effects: societal disintegration and state failure (Marshal 1999, *Third World War*).

Following on the heels of the first wave of decolonization, which affected mainly Latin American territories (1811-1844), the slow-rolling first wave of democratic transitions took place during the late nineteenth and and early twentieth centuries primarily in the older, increasingly complex, European states. These states had benefitted from an imperial form of globalization and their establishment of a Euro-centric (colonial) world-system.[3] A smaller "second wave of decolonization" occurred following the end of the First World War, when the empires of the defeated Central Powers, Germany, Austria-Hungary, and the Ottomans (Turkey), were dismantled (1917-1926). A "third (and final) wave of decolonization" took place following the end of the Second World War (1946-1975), doubling the number of independent states from seventy-two in 1946 to 143 in 1975. The newly independent states that emerged with the second and third waves of decolonization were almost invariably autocratic or quickly lapsed into autocratic rule (within ten years).

What may be more familiar to us at present are the second and third waves of democratic transitions. The second wave of democratic transitions began with

[3] These early democratic transitions also included the colonial world-system's "frontier states": Australia, Canada, New Zealand, and, of course, the United States of America.

transitions in the (now) "old" states of Latin America and continued through the (re)emergence of old states with the end of the Cold War's Soviet hegemony in Eastern Europe and, finally, the 1991 dissolution of the Soviet Union itself into its several "constituent" republics (1980-1992). A third wave of democratic transitions, then, took place among the newer, developing states of the "Third World" as the Cold War's ideological rivalry was replaced by a new, more democratic, world order as, for the first time in history, democratic regimes came to outnumber autocratic regimes. Wealthy European and American democracies, the new world order's "donor countries" were now able to pressure their clients among the world's newer, developing countries to implement democratic reforms as a contingency for ensuring continued developmental assistance. Whereas earlier transitions were driven largely by internal dynamics and demands for reform, the external pressures driving many of the third wave transitions have resulted in an unprecedented number of "partial" or "incomplete" transitions in newer states which may not be sufficiently integrated for sustaining and consolidating democratic procedures. This helps to account for the near doubling of anocratic regimes with the end of the Cold War and their apparent persistence through the first (nearly) two decades of the twenty-first century.[4]

The earth and the global system are now expected to support an enormous human population and, barring a cataclysmic catastrophe, that support will be expected to continue at the current level or better for the future of the human species' habitation on the planet earth. This existential dilemma presents a tremendous challenge to the interplay between the earth's ecosystem and human ingenuity, one that cannot be met without disciplined human cooperation to foster the earth's innate capacity to provide an optimally sustainable level of support and manage our collective propensities for consumption, dispersion, and befoulment. The default alternative is clear: a cascading ecosystem collapse leading to a series of massive die-offs of the human population which may or may not ultimately result in the extinction of the human species.[5]

Both ignorance and anarchy are core-contributing factors in the push to global extinction; complexity ushers us to the crossroads. Complex societal-systems are an intelligent adaption to changing, existential circumstances that provide us with real possibilities for sustaining human progress and forestalling catastrophe. However, complex societal-systems are particularly vulnerable, and susceptible, to disaffection, disruption, disintegration, and dissolution. They are organic systems requiring continual maintenance if they are to avoid state failure and systemic collapse. Their development is living proof of the capacity of human beings to alter and coordinate their behaviors to ensure and augment their survival on Earth. In the unfettered rivalry to capture and control access to vital resources, warfare may be viewed as a "useful tool" for self-promotion. In a proactive management scheme for a non-excludable future for humanity, warfare

[4] As mentioned earlier, anocracies are inherently unstable regimes; this claim has been confirmed by the extensive research and, most prominently, by the work of the US Government's Political Instability Task Force (PITF); see Jack A. Goldstone, Robert H. Bates, David l. Epstein, Ted Robert Gurr, Michael Lustik, Monty G. Marshall, Jay Ulfelder, and Mark Woodward, "A Global Model for Forecasting Political Instability," *American Journal of Political Science* 50.1 (2010); 190-208. The observed fact that anocracies have proven more durable in the new world order runs counter to empirical projections and may indicate an increased vulnerability and "unrealized" potential for political instability and volatility in the global system.

[5] See, for example, Elizabeth Kolbert, *The Sixth Extinction: An Unnatural History* (New York: Henry Holt & Company, 2014).

remains as the ultimate measure of the carryover from an inexorable past. War is the greatest example of man-made ecological disasters; the imagined prospect of "winning" at war seduces the parties to embrace a selective disregard of humanity and, thus, reinforces exclusivity and rivalry.

Some key assertions from this necessarily brief, empirically-based summary of the changing circumstances and evolving context associated with the emergence of humanity as Earth's definitive species and the relatively recent development of complex societal-systems across the global landscape can help inform our understanding of the depth and breadth of change in the fundamental, and common, context within which we are currently operating, and within which we must necessarily resolve the existential dilemma that defines our "common predicament" and threatens our collective future.[6]

First, while humans have roamed the earth for about 200,000 years, the recorded history of human social development began only 5,000 years ago. The discovery and reliance of human intellectual elites on empiricism, rationalism, and scientific methods for furthering knowledge came only in the last 500 years. This scientific empiricism enabled humans to guide the construction of complex societal-systems. Human scientific progress since that time has driven, and been driven by, an exponential increase in the human global population.

Second, whereas a sparse and dispersed human population dampened the rate of interaction between groups and the diffusion of both knowledge and ill effects, a dense and highly networked population greatly accelerates the rate of interaction and speeds the diffusion of knowledge, innovation, and ill effects. Humans are now the "canary in the coal mine" with which we can monitor progress and gauge the effects of the global management scheme. Any management failure will necessarily trigger the "canaries" to chirping. Whereas autocratic systems have proven to be selectively deaf and eager to silence any dissenting voices, democratic authority systems are particularly sensitive and responsive to such "chirping." The new media have greatly amplified and expanded the range of political voice, requiring some readjustments in separating the signal from the noise. Expanding access to media may also increase disaffection as people become more aware of economic disparities and their own acute deprivation.

Third, the strongest empirical relationship in the social sciences is the positive correlation between political violence and human ignorance. This correlation is key to understanding the Hobbesian notion of the "state of nature" wherein the natural condition of human life is "solitary, poor, nasty, brutish, and short." It also explains why it took nearly 200,000 years for humans to construct its first, durable societal-systems. Social learning and communication are key to the evolution of humanity's capacity to innovate and adapt to changing circumstances; war arrests progression by distorting and incapacitating human reason.

Fourth, learning to control the "will to violence" and manage social interactions short of force are key to increasing complexity in societal-systems. Conflict management, then, can be understood to be the essential function of governance by the "state" and the extent of that (successful) function defines the cognitive and spatial boundaries of (inclusive) social identity. In anarchy, an interim step in controlling the will to violence involves a dichotomization

[6] Muzafer Sherif, *In Common Predicament: Social Psychology of Intergroup Conflict and Cooperation* (Boston: Houghton-Mifflin, 1966).

of social identity between our own group ("us"), within which "we" share a common social destiny, and the "others," with whom "we" must compete for access to vital resources. Redirecting the will to violence away from members of the ingroup to target members of an outgroup can be useful in strengthening ingroup identity and cohesion and ensuring (exclusive) welfare in an anarchic and rivalrous context, especially when communication and exchange across identity boundaries is constrained by a lack of common values, accentuated by social differences. The projection of organized violence was appropriately innovative within the context of anarchy and inter-state rivalry and led to the establishment of the first (colonial) world system. This, in turn, led to the institutionalization of unequal development, the elevation of military power, and the rise of coercive "great" and "super power" states; enduring conditionalities which now stand as major impediments to equitable, global system integration.

Fifth, the increasing complexity of societal-systems necessitated the transition from autocratic to democratic authority systems as these broad-based systems are better suited to conflict management in complex societal-systems. Complex systems cannot be effectively micro-managed by central authority structures. The density of interactions and exchanges among individuals and groups in complex societal-systems require the engagement of management capabilities across multiple levels of administration (often referred to as "subsidiarity") so that 1) the management system is not overwhelmed and 2) each level of administration can apply localized expertise to ensure that issues passed to higher levels of administration require more generalized management capabilities. This decentralization of authority is the foundation for democratic authority systems. However, for this to be effective, groups and individuals must be effectively integrated into the system. Effective conflict management, then, can be seen to be a practical function of its interconnection with societal integration in complex societal-systems. A disconnect between these two core functions of authority systems preferences autocratic authority, whereas incongruence between these functions tends to preference mixed, or anocratic, authority structures.

Sixth, the observed tendency for congruence or consistency of authority structures **within** complex societal-systems does not necessarily carry over to authority structures **between** societal-systems. This claim appears to contradict the "democratic peace" proposition that has found currency in political science research. Social identity plays an intermediary role in determining the quality of relations between societal-systems. While democratic systems may find it easier to negotiate outcomes in interactions with other democratic systems with which they share common interests or values, differences in power capabilities tend to dictate the nature of interactions between societal-systems with conflicting interests or values, regardless of their forms of governance. Powerful democracies will and do use force to establish and maintain unequal relationships, thus, hindering the societal integration necessary for effective conflict management in inter-state relations within the global system (as democratic systems are more efficacious in practical terms, they also tend to be more powerful). The fact that democratic regimes outnumber autocratic regimes (and anocratic regimes combined) does not mean that the global system is structurally democratic. The current global system is anocratic and this condition has been associated with higher risks of state, and societal-system, failure.

Seventh, and finally, it is beyond dispute, moving into the twenty-first century, that

we live in a transitioning global system. The Euro-centric (colonial) world system was clearly an autocratic authority system. At this time, the global system cannot yet be considered a democratic authority system although it is more democratic than it ever has been; in our assessment; it is an anocratic system. Empirical research in complex societal-systems informs us to demonstrate caution and vigilance as we move forward as the risks of system failure are and will remain quite high for the foreseeable future. The dynamics of societal integration are particularly troubling as differences in circumstances, combined with the legacies of uneven development, separate global population into at least five, distinct, cultural identities. As such, societal integration has tended to proceed on a regional basis both because of regional commonalities and as a response to global pressures and inter-regional rivalries. Rivalries between or among regions will further complicate, and challenge, global conflict management institutions and capabilities. Cross-regional cooperation to manage common interests, such as the 1945 UN Charter and 2016 Paris Agreement on climate change, bridges rivalries and fosters societal integration in the global system.

For a more detailed representation and explanation of the fundamental structures and dynamics of complex societal-systems, see Monty G. Marshall, *Managing Complexity in Modern Societal-Systems*, a video book in two volumes: *Structuration* (2014) and *Problemation* (2016), produced by the Center for Systemic Peace (text version is forthcoming).

www.systemicpeace.org/videobook.html

REGIONAL ECO-SYSTEM FAILURE IN THE MIDDLE EAST AND NORTH AFRICA: RETHINKING THE "RESOURCE CURSE" AND THE "GLOBAL WAR ON TERRORISM"

This edition in the *Global Report* series opens with a three-figure overlay modeling the regional conflict "storm" that has engulfed the Middle East and North Africa (MENA) region since the beginning of the twenty-first century (figures 1, 4, and 5). Figure 1 (page 1) provides a presentational depiction of the "storm" analogy by superimposing a political outline map of the MENA region on a satellite photo of a category 4 hurricane (Floyd, 1999). The conflict dynamics of complex societal-systems are similar in many ways to other complex ecological systems, such as, biological and meteor-ological systems. When left untreated, ill-treated, or otherwise unremedied, problems that arise in complex systems can intensify, diffuse, and pose differential and condi-tional effects that are difficult to understand and predict due to the myriad units and connections among units that comprise these systems. Problematic dynamics can attain an unmanageable momentum that is difficult to dampen or reverse.

Figure 4 (page 3) uses the same political outline map of the MENA region to display the array of "major episodes of political violence" that have taken place in the region since the turn of the century.[7] Each episode is represented by a "bomb burst" icon and

[7] CSP's Major Episodes of Political Violence dataset include all "systematic and sustained" armed conflicts of any type (interstate, societal, or communal) that reach a minimum threshold of 500 people killed at a rate of at least 100 deaths per annum Each case is assessed a magnitude score on a Guttman scale (0-10) that measures the "total societal impact" of that political violence episode; that magnitude score is recorded for each year the episode persists. See the CSP War List for the list of cases with the magnitude score and the years of duration. The annual data and codebook are posted on the CSP INSCR Data page.

these are sized according to the episode's recorded magnitude score. Episodes that were ongoing in 2001 (that is, episodes that began in the year 2000 or earlier) are colored in one of two shades of **grey**: the lighter grey denotes episodes in non-Muslim or Muslim-minority countries and the darker grey denotes episodes in Muslim-majority countries. Episode that began in the year 2001 or later are colored **blue** for episodes taking place in non-Muslim countries, **orange** for Muslim-minority countries, and **red** for Muslim-majority countries. The map in figure 4 also identifies all sixteen countries in the region that have suffered a "collapse of central authority" since 1995 (often termed "failed states," these are coded "-77" in the CSP Polity data series); these countries are shaded **grey**.[8] Collapses of central government authority almost invariably occur in conjunction with major episodes of political violence and are characterized by serious diminution of the state's core, conflict management capacity and societal integration capabilities. This diminution of central authority can affect governance capacity for a long time, making it even more difficult for affected societal-systems to recover from political violence episodes. This state incapacitation increases openings for both supportive and hostile external interventions. The figure also displays three concentric rings centered on the Iraq-Syria-Saudi Arabia nexus (the "eye of the storm") that represent a key conflict dynamic that Marshall (1999) has termed the "spatial (primary) diffusion of insecurity effect." According to our analysis, Iraq has experienced more political violence than any other country in the world since 1946.[9] Social identities in the MENA region, while sharing Islamic culture, tend to accentuate their sectarian and ethnic distinctions. The "eye" is placed at a key intersection of sectarian and ethnic identity rivalries.

Figure 5 (page 5) reproduces a figure from Marshall, *Third World War* (1999, chapter 4) that models what he has termed the secondary (process reinforcement and systemic disintegration) and tertiary (societal disintegration and state failure) diffusion of insecurity effects of protracted social conflicts in complex societal-systems.[10] By overlaying the three, graphic representations of conflict dynamics in a regional complex societal-system, we hope to better illustrate the holistic, systemic perspective on the interconnectedness of human behaviors in a shared space. The regional system, of course, is not contextually isolated; it is similarly embedded in and linked to the global system. Interconnected dynamics cannot be altered or resolved as though they were independent events. They can only be understood and treated systemically, that is, as integral parts of an interactive whole.

[8] The "failed states" identified in figure 4 (and their period of failure) include: Afghanistan (1992-1996, 2001); Bosnia (1992-1995); Burundi (1993-1996); Central African Republic (2013-2016); Cote d'Ivoire (2002-2007, 2010-2011); Democratic Republic of Congo (1992-2003); Guinea-Bissau (1998-1999); Iraq (2003); Liberia (1990-1996); Libya (2011 ongoing); Mali (2012-2013); Sierra Leone (1997-2001); Somalia (1991-2011); South Sudan (2013 ongoing); Ukraine (2014); and Yemen (2014 ongoing). Kosovo and Serbia are included because of the 1999 "forced partition" that ended the Kosovo War. Syria could also be included just prior to Russia's military intervention in 2015; currently, Afghanistan, Iraq, and Somalia are near the brink of collapse. There are only four "failed states" listed since 1995 that are outside the MENA region: Comoros (1995-1999); Haiti (2010-2016); Lesotho (1998-1999) and Solomon Islands (2000-2003).

[9] The "eye" of a hurricane is actually the calmest section of the storm; not its most intense. Application of the storm analogy to the MENA region would point to the Muslim holy sites (Meccas and Medina) in Saudi Arabia as the true "eye."

[10] Monty G. Marshall, *Third World War: System, Process, and Conflict Dynamics* (Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield, 1999); available on the CSP web site at www.systemicpeace.org/thirdworldwar.html; see also, Marshall, *Managing Complexity in Modern Societal Systems: Problemation* (2016, chapter 20).

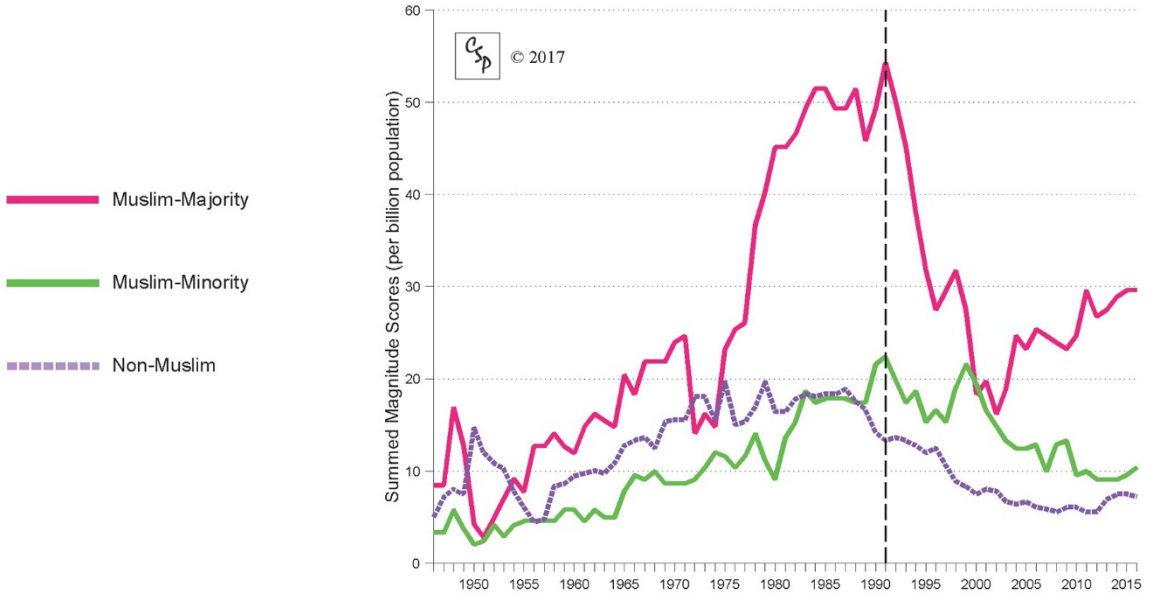

Figure 6: Armed Conflict in Muslim Countries, 1946-2016 (controlled for population in 2016). During the Cold War period, 1946-1991, the numbers and magnitudes of armed conflicts in the Global System were fairly, evenly distributed throughout the system, although concentrated in six "protracted conflict regions" (Central America, South Africa, Middle East, South Asia, Southeast Asia, and the Korean Peninsula; see Marshall, *Third World War,* 1999). With the end of the Cold War, armed conflicts diminished dramatically across the Global System (see Figure7, below). Since 2003, however, armed conflicts have increased sharply in the Muslim-Majority Countries. Data is from the CSP Major Episodes of Political Violence dataset (Muslim-minority countries have Muslim populations greater than 5% of total population).

The CSP Major Episodes of Political Violence (MEPV) dataset was originally designed to provide a methodology by which to monitor global and regional trends in armed conflict. Given the fundamental proposition that political violence provides a true measure of system dysfunction, having the ability to systematically measure and track the "societal impact of war" across the global landscape enables an unbiased gauge of general system performance. We can then compare system performance across subsets of societal-systems that comprise the global system. As is well known, the MENA region is characterized by a common social identity factor: Islamic culture. Most countries in this region have a majority of their population adhering to some form of Islamic belief or value system. We compiled and compared information on religious composition from various sources to separate the countries of the world into three subsets: Muslim-majority (greater than 50% Muslim); Muslim-minority (greater than 5% Muslim); and non-Muslim countries. All Muslim-majority countries, except Bangladesh, Indonesia, and Malaysia, and most of the Muslim-minority countries are clustered within or on the periphery of the MENA region. We then calculated the annual summed magnitude scores from MEPV data for each of the three subsets, controlling for each subsets' share of the global population in 2016, and plotted the results in the graph in figure 6.[11]

[11] Nigeria and Guinea-Bissau are the only borderline cases. The Muslim population in Nigeria is estimated as being as high as 50% of the population but most sources list percentages less than 50% so we place it in in the Muslim-minority subset. There is little agreement among estimates for Guinea-Bissau; we place it in the Muslim-majority subset.

What is most striking in the comparison of trends in armed conflict across the three subsets is the tremendous spike in armed conflicts in the Muslim-majority countries that begins in the mid-1970s and continues through the end of the Cold War. The spike follows the October 1973 "Yom Kippur" Arab-Israeli War and the imposition of an oil embargo by the Arab members of the Organization of Oil Exporting Countries (OPEC) against the United States and other countries seen as supporting Israel in the war. By 1980, the summed magnitude of wars in the Muslim-majority countries tripled (from 21 in 1974 to 64 in 1980). Of the thirty-seven countries in this subset at this time, seventeen experienced episodes of armed conflict with twenty new episodes recorded during this period (all but three occurred in the MENA region). The most intense episodes during this period included the Lebanese Civil War (1975-1991), East Timor Annexation (1976-1992), Iranian Revolution (1978-1993), Afghanistan Revolution (1978-2002), and Iraq-Iran War (1980-1988). The spike persisted over twenty-five years (1974-2001) and during this time thirty-two of the, now, forty-five countries experienced at least one major episode of political violence. Other notably intense wars during this spike include the Second Sudanese Civil War (1983-2002), Somalia Civil War (1988 ongoing), Gulf War (1990-1991), Algerian Civil War (1991-2004), and Bosnian Civil War (1992-1995). The only Muslim-majority countries that avoided major armed conflict during this spike were Bahrain, Comoros, Jordan, Kyrgyzstan, Kazakhstan, Libya, Malaysia, Qatar, Saudi Arabia, Turkmenistan, Tunisia, United Arab Emirates, and Uzbekistan. The systemic repercussions and human trauma associated with major episodes of political violence, in general, appear to persist for twenty-five to seventy-five years, depending on the scope, magnitude, and duration of the experience. Historical narratives of generalized traumatic experiences tend to become deeply embedded in affected cultures and cast their shadow on the future.

The dramatic decrease in armed conflicts in the Muslim-majority countries during the period immediately following the end of the Cold War in 1991 is equally striking. The rapid increase and, then, decline in armed conflicts in the Muslim-majority countries and, particularly, the MENA region may be seen as an indication of the strength of the broader global system pressures that are brought to bear on this region. In *Third World War,* Marshall argues that similar spikes in armed conflicts in regional systems during the Cold War are linked and attributable, at least in part, to global system pressures. In that examination of six "protracted conflict regions," he argues that each of the affected regions had a core conflict and systemic vulnerability that was itself a vestige of the prior, global system breakdown (in this case, the Second World War). The Cold War "ideological" rivalry, which is itself a vestige of that breakdown, prevented effective resolution of these core conflicts and, instead, stimulated and sustained the, now, protracted social conflicts in a reflection of the greater systemic "superpower" rivalry. Over time, the "diffusion of insecurity" spread negative effects that distorted political priorities and inter-group conflict dynamics across political borders to include other proximate countries and increase the risks, and onsets, of political violence throughout the region.

Most importantly, for our current considerations, the general trend in armed conflict for the Muslim-majority countries, while following the general profile of the global trend (see figure 11, Global Trends in Armed Conflict, following), and paralleling trends for the two other subsets, diverges distinctly from the trajectories of those other trend lines. After rejoining the general trend, since 2003, the trend for the Muslim-majority subset is increasing sharply again.

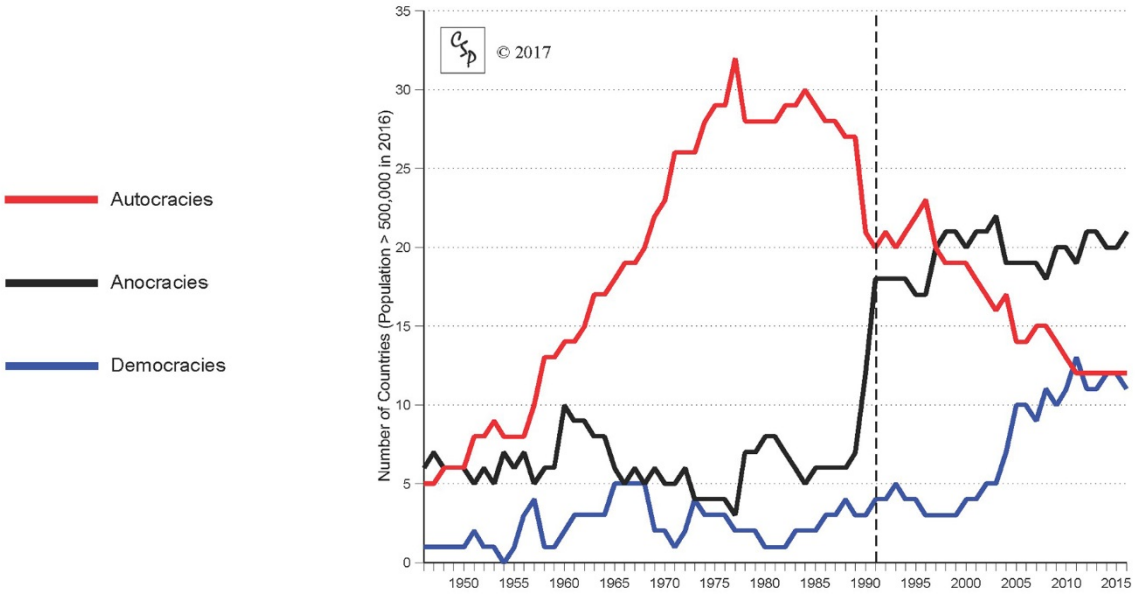

Figure 7: Governance Regimes in Muslim-Majority Countries, 1946-2016. There were only eleven (11) independent Muslim-majority countries in the world in 1946; the number increased to thirty-six (36) by 1975 (there are currently forty-three independent Muslim-majority countries). Autocracy is the dominant form of governance in newly independent countries and early experiments with democratic governance almost always fail and succumb to autocratic forms; Muslim countries are no exception in this regard. Economic development and political stabilization generally trigger democratic transition and lead to democratic consolidation; however, the transitions that began in Muslim-majority countries in the 1990s have proven slow to consolidate and autocracies, mainly oil emirates, have proven resistant to regime transition. Data is from the CSP Polity dataset.

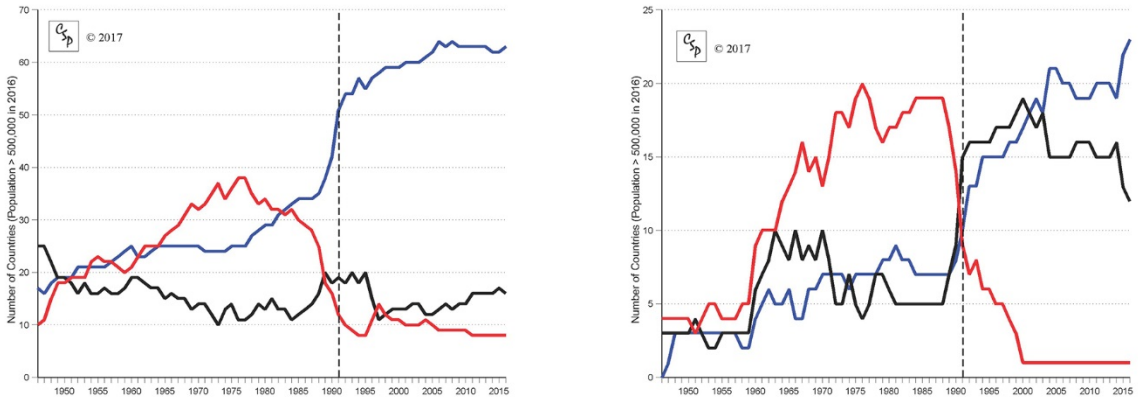

Figure 8: Governance Regimes in Non-Muslim and Muslim-Minority Countries, 1946-2016. Following the three-part categorization of countries in figure 6 above, figure 8 shows the regime trends for the non-Muslim (left) and Muslim-minority countries (right). Non-Muslim countries are distinguished by their consolidated "Western Core" of advanced, industrial democracies; newly independent countries begin as autocratic regimes but appear to transition relatively quickly to democratic authority. What may be most remarkable about the non-Muslim countries is the consistently low number of anocracies. Muslim-minority countries show early autocratic regimes giving way to a cascade of reform with the end of the Cold War with equal numbers of anocracies and democracies; recent years show signs of democratic consolidation (Eritrea, newly independent in 1993, is the lone autocratic holdout in this category). Data is from the CSP Polity dataset.

Previous editions in the *Global Report* series have detailed and explained the empirical congruence among qualities of conflict, governance, and development in complex societal-systems. There is a strong degree of correlation among low levels of violent conflict, good (democratic) governance, and high levels of development. This relationship remains consistent through the association among middle levels of these traits and high levels of political violence, incoherent or autocratic governance, and low levels of societal-system development.

Figure 7 examines contemporary trends in the qualities of governance in the Muslim-majority countries and figure 8 follows with a comparative examination of governance trends in the other two subsets: non-Muslim (left) and Muslim-minority countries (right). The failure of the Euro-centric (Colonial) World System culminating in the Second World War led to the disintegration of that multi-polar "great power" system and the sudden appearance of a very large number of newly independent, post-colonial states. These new states lacked effective conflict management experience and capabilities and were often riven by identity divisions and group rivalries. Most of these new states were also economically poor and underdeveloped, and so, highly vulnerable to outbreaks of political violence. A mix of overwhelming challenges to emerging political authorities in a "state formation" context favored adoption of autocratic "rule by force" systems that relied upon exclusivist support of a relatively well-organized ethnic identity group or patronage network.[12] Exclusionary autocracies very often maintained their authority through their control of internal security mechanisms, export-oriented commodities production, and their clientalist links to the broader global system. This relative weakness drew them into the "superpower" rivalry that characterized the global system during the Cold War period.

We can see that a spike in (new) autocratic regimes in the governance trends during the immediate, post-colonial period is a common feature for each of the three subsets of countries and for the global system as a whole (see figure 13, Global Trends in Governance). This general spike in autocratic regimes corresponds with the spike in the armed conflicts in figure 11, below. The evidence of the correspondence between high numbers of autocratic systems and high numbers and magnitudes of armed conflicts poses a contradiction: autocracies traditionally relied on control of security forces and economic production to repress internal opposition and, thus, reduce the risks of internal armed conflict. In the context of the new, complex global order, however, their partial integration within the more complex global system (globalization) increased their vulnerabilities to influences from the greater system (autocratic leadership often finding itself "caught between a rock and a hard place"). The often-contradictory interplay of internal tensions and external pressures, then, partially explains the inability of many new autocracies to effectively manage internal conflicts and external relations. With the ending of the Cold War "superpower" rivalry, each of the three subsets of countries shows a dramatic decrease in the numbers of autocratic regimes with a corresponding decrease in the magnitudes of armed conflict around 1991 (marked by the vertical dashed line in each of the graphs).

The governance trends for each of the three subsets of countries also show that the spike in autocratic regimes gives way to regime

[12] Monty G. Marshall, *Conflict Trends in Africa, 1946-2004: A Comparative Perspective* (UK Department for International Development, 2006).

transitions to either democratic or anocratic authority systems around the end of the Cold War. The apparent, short-term disconnect between the general qualities of governance and armed conflict around this time is simply an artifact of the different measurement methodologies. Like governance regimes, low-level episodes of political violence can transition quite quickly via collective decision to alter former behaviors and adopt a new mode for future behavior. We have found that countries with lower historical levels of political violence transition more quickly with fewer setbacks or new onsets of political violence. High magnitude and protracted violent conflicts have a definite insecurity spillover or "afterglow" effect as collective discipline breaks down along with societal integration during long periods of intense political violence. Decisions made by leadership, especially by leaders of the more informal, rebel groups, have a definite lagged effect as the calming of armed conflicts slowly "trickles" through the ranks and only incrementally overcomes resistence from the leading members of "spoiler" militant groups.

Around the end of the Cold War, we can see evidence of the dominant trend toward greater democratic authority in each of the subsets. The numbers of democratic regimes in each subset increases sharply, although the increase in democratic regimes in the Muslim-majority subset comes about nearly fifteen years later than the corresponding increases in the other two subsets and has been relatively muted. The so-called Arab Spring that began in early 2011 and sparked widespread public protests against autocratic authorities was fairly quickly, and violently, suppressed (except in the country where it began, Tunisia). As argued earlier, the post-Cold War "third wave" of democratic transitions appeared to have been largely externally-driven through pressure from foreign assistance "donor countries"; this external pressure amid residual internal resistence results in large number of incomplete transitions. The demonstrated inability of the autocratic regimes in newly independent states to control internal conflict served both to discredit autocratic authorities and make the conflict-affected societal-systems more responsive to external pressures, except in many of the key Muslim-majority countries, particularly the wealthy, oil-producing states.

Each of the three governance trends graphs show a marked increase in the numbers of incomplete regime transitions or anocratic regimes around the end of the Cold War. The fact that the relatively small increase in the number of anocracies in the non-Muslim countries subset that, then, disappears within ten years, suggests that democratic transitions in these countries may have received more substantial and/or more consistent support from the "donor countries," all of which are also part of this subset of countries. Figure 6 also shows that the total magnitude of armed conflicts for the non-Muslim countries, as well as Muslim-minority countries, has diminished almost continually since the end of the Cold War; this diminution of violence is also conducive to democratic transitions. Later in this report, we show that general societal-system development has also improved substantially for all global regions during the post-Cold War period (figure 16, below). However, the Muslim-majority countries show little improvement in state fragility since 2010.[13] Such "arrested development" is consistent with the increase in political violence in these countries since 2003.

[13] We infer improvement in societal-system development from a decrease in our measurement of "state fragility" which may also be thought of as a corresponding increase in state and societal-system "resiliency."

The governance graphs for all three subsets of countries show that the higher-risk anocratic regimes continue to pose a potential problem for future global system security and stabilization. Whereas autocratic regimes favor political exclusivity and, thus, sacrifice societal integration in favor of a forceful approach to conflict management, anocratic regimes lack sufficient capacity to either manage conflict or foster societal integration effectively. This puts them at much higher risk for autocratic backsliding and outbreaks of political violence.[14] Empirical research has shown that both autocratic and democratic regimes tend toward stability. Autocratic regimes are far more susceptible to challenges by non-integrated (separatist) groups and rivalry within the ruling group and both sources of dissent are more likely to escalate to political violence; autocracies are also more vulnerable than democracies to leadership and succession failure or a sudden collapse of central authority.

"Good neighborhood" effects are a euphemism for the progressive feedback and support networks associated with reasonably well integrated societal-systems. The non-Muslim subset of countries shows strong evidence that it constitutes a "good neighborhood" or some combination of "good neighborhoods." The governance profile for the non-Muslim countries appears consistent with our expectations of the dynamics associated with increasing complexity and progressive development; that is, from a systems perspective, it appears to be on a progressive track (or tracks; parallel tracks tend toward convergence). The ratio of democratic authority systems (63) to autocratic (8) and anocratic systems (16) in the most recent year (2016) is strongly in favor of the progressive democratization and further consolidation of the (sub)system(s), particularly as the global system's core states: the oldest, most wealthy, dynamic, and highly developed societal-systems, are situated and entrenched within this subset of countries. The other two subsets, however, appear more problematic.

The Muslim-minority subset can be seen as problematic, and potentially volatile, for several reasons: **First**, while the current ratio of democratic (23) to autocratic (1) and anocratic (12) regimes favors democratic authority systems, this democratic predominance is relatively new (this subset only underwent the transitions that now favor democratic governance in 2004). **Second**, the countries comprising this subset are mainly arrayed around the periphery of the regional concentration of Muslim-majority countries that is neither a coherent or cohesive "neighborhood". **Third**, countries in this subset are nearly all developing societal-systems and lack a core of advanced and/or consolidated societal-systems that can provide guidance and assistance (France is the only advanced system in this subset). **Fourth**, the countries in this subset are culturally mixed, posing serious obstacles to the ongoing process of societal integration. And **Fifth**, the democratic authority systems governing countries in this subset are not yet consolidated (other than France) and, so, remain vulnerable to autocratic backsliding under stress or duress. As each of these countries has a substantial Muslim-minority, global system tensions evident in the Muslim-majority countries can pose strong influences on affinitive groups in these countries and their relations with other constituent groups. Given the powerful tensions that currently affect relations between the Muslim-majority and non-Muslim "worlds," the Muslim-minority countries may best be considered an intermediary or "transmission" set, that is, conduit countries that are responsive to exchanges that reflect the general tenor of

[14] Goldstone *et al* 2010.

relations between the Muslim-majority countries and the social identity configurations that comprise the greater global system. Their prospects are inextricably tied to the nature of interactions and exchanges between the Muslim-majority and non-Muslim "worlds."

Turning attention, then, to the Muslim-majority countries, we can see why, currently, this subset is considered by many to encompass the global system's "problem set." In contrast to the other countries, the trend in armed conflict for this subset of countries (figure 6) reversed its positive trajectory in 2003 and has continued to increase at a substantial rate through the most current year. We can expect the trend to continue to increase, at least over the near-term. The total societal impact of warfare for this subset of countries is about three times as intense as that for either of the other two sets of countries. The period of recovery from the previous spike in armed conflict in this region was brief (about ten years) and far too short for any meaningful recovery in the most seriously affected countries. From a societal-systems perspective, the effects of protracted social conflict and political violence lead to both societal and systemic disintegration, making the coordination of policy initiatives, particularly those designed to alter the current momentum, extremely difficult to implement and sustain.

As we argued in the previous edition, *Global Report 2014,* the cumulative effects of strategies of mutual attrition lead to a profound deterioration of the affected societal-systems and, more generally, the shared eco-system. This generalized system deterioration increases both the emotive traumas and security incentives that induce greater militancy and extremism in the affected populations. Protracted political violence cannot be ended by fiat because rationality and collective will are among war's first victims. Even "precision targeting" of embedded militants and extremists involves collateral damage, trauma, and attrition that stimulates a feedback response within the affected societal-system to replenish militants and increase the number of extremists. In the Age of Complexity, protracted wars end when the parties to war are exhausted and sufficiently brutalized by war and, so, can no longer justify sustaining their level of effort. This "natural" limit to self-destruction is partially abrogated when external sources of supply are available and may be absolutely abrogated when direct, foreign military intervention is involved; in these case, political violence may be sustained almost indefinitely.[15]

While the numbers of autocratic regimes in the Muslim-majority set has fallen from its peak number, thirty-two in 1978, to twelve in 2016, the number of democratic regimes in this set remained at five or fewer until 2003. An electoral victory for the opposition in Algeria was forcibly over-turned in 1991, triggering a brutal civil war. The number of democratic regimes in this subset stands at eleven in 2016 and six of these have populations of six million or fewer: Albania, Comoros, Guinea-Bissau, Kosovo, Kyrgyzstan, and Lebanon. The two countries with the largest populations also have democratic systems: Indonesia, which transitioned in 1999 is currently the longest standing democratic regime, and Pakistan, which has "yo-yoed" between autocratic and democratic regimes since its inception. The Muslim-majority country with the most democratic experience, Turkey, has endured periodic military takeovers and, in 2016, an Islamist presidential coup. Tunisia, the first

[15] Classic examples include France-Indochina (1945-1954), USA-Korea (1950-1953), France-Algeria (1954-1962), USA-Vietnam (1964-1973), USSR-Afghanistan (1980-1988), USA-Iraq (2003-2010), and USA-Afghanistan (2005-2014).

to witness the "Arab Spring" in 2011 has reformed but in Egypt reform was brutally repressed. Twenty-one countries currently are designated anocratic regimes. In contrast to the newly-minted and unstable democracies, the twelve autocratic regimes are long-standing and deeply entrenched regimes; there has been no change in the composition in the autocratic regimes subset since 2011.[16] Ten of the twelve autocracies are major oil-producing states (Syria and Uzbekistan are the exceptions). Their control of oil-production, and the vast wealth derived from that production, in these "fortress" autocracies renders them impervious to change, especially change that would erode their monopolistic control of the countries' fortunes. Under conditions of serious insecurity, these regimes' staunch defense of the status quo can be expected to become even more rigid and forceful.

The balance of authority in the Muslim-majority countries, especially given the relative strength of the autocratic core states, greatly favors autocratic authority and rule by force. The most vulnerable autocracy at present is Syria, which has been dominated by an Alawite (Shia sect) minority since a 1970 military coup. The regime controls no net oil production, and is currently embroiled in a devastating civil war with a local Sunni majority (since 2011) linked with a recently deposed and disgruntled Sunni minority in neighboring Iraq (since 2003). The Syrian autocracy survives on "life support" provided by a Russian military intervention in 2015 which prevented, perhaps only temporarily, a collapse of central authority in Syria. Opposition forces with substantial US air support forcibly ousted the Islamist Taliban autocratic regime in October 2001. The autocratic regimes of two long-standing and oil-producing countries were forcibly removed by US and European military interventions: Iraq in April 2003 and Libya in October 2011. An anocratic coalition of warlords led by a technocrat runs a weak central government in Afghanistan following a thirteen-year foreign occupation. A fledgling democracy has emerged in Iraq under foreign tutelage following a seven-year feign occupation, although the country itself is *de facto* partitioned into ethnic Kurd-, Sunni-, and Shia-controlled enclaves. The forced ouster of Libya's autocratic regime quickly led to a collapse of central authority, disintegrating into a patchwork of tribal domains controlled by local militias.

The MENA region is the central concern in our comparative examination of Muslim-majority countries. The Muslim-majority countries in Asia lie mostly outside the current expanse of the systemic conflict storm that engulfs the MENA region. Pakistan and Tajikistan lie at the storm's outer perimeter and both countries have been seriously affected by its spillover. The other Muslim-majority countries in Asia do not appear to be directly affected, although each of these countries show some "sympathetic" effects, as do many of the Muslim-minority countries. There are Islamic activist and militant groups in many these countries but most of these groups have not engaged in systematic and sustained conflict behaviors (a notable exception is the Boko Haram in Nigeria).

What does distinguish the MENA region is that, other than some narrow, temperate zones along the Mediterranean coast, the vast majority of the region's territory envelops a hot arid, desert climate with bands of semi-arid climate around the periphery, mainly the African Sahel and the Central Asia Steppes. Water is the most valuable, and vital, resource for most of the human population in this region. The

[16] The twelve autocratic regimes in 2016 include Azerbaijan, Bahrain, Iran, Kuwait, Kazakhstan, Oman, Qatar, Saudi Arabia, Syria, Turkmenistan, United Arab Emirates, and Uzbekistan.

climate in the MENA region makes it an extremely fragile eco-system and the human societal-systems occupying this region can ill-afford to disrupt or diminish their tenuous homeostasis. This region and its climate are particularly vulnerable global warming and the increasing volatility and unpredictability of weather patterns associated with climate change. The region is susceptible to drought and famine making its human population highly vulnerable to humanitarian crises. Political violence seriously exacerbates this natural vulnerability and system fragility by degrading or altogether destroying vital infrastructure, food production, and other essential services. According to the UN Office for Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs (UNOCHA) *Global Humanitarian Overview 2017*, of the twenty-five "humanitarian response plans" active in June 2017, all but three clusters in or around the MENA region (Haiti and Myanmar are the exceptions). The number of people targeted for humanitarian relief has risen from twenty-six million in 2007 to over one hundred million in 2017 and, while donor generosity has increased ten-fold, shortfalls in funding have increased. Of a projected need in 2017 of US$23.5 billion, only US$3.5 has been raised through June 2017. Famine warnings have been issued for four countries: Nigeria, Somalia, South Sudan, and Yemen (Yemen is also facing a cholera epidemic).

In our systematic study of all major episodes of political violence in the world since 1946 (and our more general study of historical wars), we have found that "battlefield deaths" represent only a small fraction of the total number of "unnatural deaths" directly resulting from the armed conflicts.[17] In the Age of Complexity, militants generally remain embedded within civilian (non-combatant) populations In conjunction with the dramatic increase in the world's human population there has been a dramatic increase in the urbanization of that population. The density and coverage of infrastructure has increasingly networked the landscape such that there are fewer places where rebels can hide, whether in rural spaces or rough terrain; rebels are increasingly seeking cover in more populated and urban areas where the can blend in and gain access to "human shields." The shift away from rural and remote redoubts necessarily increases the collateral damage associated with political violence, both the destruction of vital infrastructure, disruption of vital supplies and services, and the degradation of vital distribution facilities and networks. More people are dying as a direct consequence of the environmental degradation of warfare. We have estimated the share of civilian (non-combatant) deaths in societal (civil) war episodes to range between "62% during the Cold War period (1946-1991) to about 84% in the Post-Cold War period (1991-2011)" of the total "conflict-related deaths" in major political violence episodes.[18] In cases where state authorities directly target civilian populations in genocidal violence (which has been found to always be embedded within more conventional episodes of political violence), the civilian share can account for over 99% of deaths.

It should come as no surprise that rational human beings tend to flee war-affected areas in ever larger numbers with many or most of these refugees never returning to their homes (internally displaced persons are most likely to return to their homes once the danger has passed with that likelihood diminishing the longer the danger persists). With greater access to information with the global spread of the new media, affected

[17] "Unnatural deaths" are those untimely deaths which would not have been expected to occur by "natural attrition" or "natural causes."

[18] Marshall and Cole, *Global Report 2014,* p. 19.

populations will elevate their aspirations as they begin to seek access to more secure, wealthy, and distant destinations. Improved mobility has already led to an exodus from the poor and conflict-affected countries of Latin America beginning in the 1970s and increasing dramatically in the 1990s. Migrants, refugees, and asylum seekers from the MENA region began to arrive in the European Union countries in large numbers in the early 2010s with the numbers increasing to over one million in 2015. This influx triggered concerted efforts by the EU and its member states to try to staunch the flow. The migrant flow has also triggered a populist and nationalistic backlash in the recipient countries.

The "Global War on Terrorism"

On September 11, 2001, an audacious, coordinated attack on the twin towers of the World Trade Center in New York City and the Pentagon just across the river from Washington DC using three commandeered commercial airliners and directed by a Saudi national and leader of al-Qaeda, Osama bin Laden, resulted in 2,982 people killed, the collapse of both World Trade Center towers and extensive damage to the Pentagon.[19] The 9/11 attacks, as they came to be known, triggered outrage in the Congress of the United States and led to the passage of the Authorization for Use of Military Force "against nations, organizations, or persons" deemed responsible for the "terrorist attacks," which was signed into law on September 18, 2001. This law encouraged a succession of the US presidents to initiate a broad array of military actions in the MENA region which have come to be termed, collectively, as the Global War on Terrorism (GWOT). Fifteen years later, the Congressional Research Service reported that the direct cost of these military operations reached US$1.74 trillion by 2016. Recent (2016) studies conducted by research teams at Brown University and Harvard University have estimated the total cost of the GWOT to have exceeded US$5.0 trillion. Osama bin Laden was eventually found and killed by US security forces on May 2, 2011, at a place of refuge in Pakistan.

What is unique about the GWOT is its "needle in a haystack" approach to conflict management. It calls for the security forces of the world's most powerful, and remote, societal-systems to locate and eliminate individual and small group rebel agents whose preferred strategy is to secret themselves in urban congregations. The conflict interaction then, with the rebels' intent to minimize the effectiveness of precision-guided weaponry, tends to maximize collateral damage to infrastructure and civilian populations. It also increases the perceived need to deploy large numbers of ground forces to "root out" the rebels. The armed conflicts, then, produce maximum harm to non-combatants, damage to essential infrastructure, and disruption of vital services. Curiously, the only generally accepted "protected areas" in the MENA conflict zones seem to have been the region's oil production areas and facilities (except for Iraq's infamous torching of oil wells during its retreat from the Gulf War in an apparent attempt to use smoke cover to neutralize overwhelming air attacks).

Large numbers of US and allied ground forces were committed to military interventions in Afghanistan (October 2001) and Iraq (March 2003); however, the US-led

[19] A fourth aircraft crashed in a Pennsylvania field when a group of passengers stormed the cockpit. An earlier attempt to bring down the twin towers took place on February 26, 1993, when a large truck bomb was detonated in an underground garage but failed to undermine the foundation of the North Tower and send it crashing into the South Tower. On February 7, 1998, coordinated car bomb attacks by al-Qaeda operatives seriously damaged the United States Embassies in the capitals of Kenya and Tanzania and killed 224 people.

strategy in the GWOT has relied heavily on unchallenged air superiority in the region to engage in targeted bombardment. US and other allied war planes have engaged in sustained bombing campaigns in Afghanistan, Iraq, Syria, Libya, Somalia, and Yemen. Numerous attacks on individuals and small groups by unmanned aerial drones have taken place in Afghanistan, Iraq, Libya, Pakistan, Somalia, and Yemen.

The GWOT has been used as justification for foreign military interventions across the landscape of the MENA conflict storm. US forces initiated a military intervention in Afghanistan by providing air support for local ethnic-militias in October 2001; the scope of the military intervention was broadened after a December 2001 UN Security Council resolution established the International Security Assistance Force (ISAF) and its leadership was assumed by NATO command (the US provided the bulk of its ground and air forces). The ISAF intervention continued until December 2014; foreign armed forces numbered about 140,000 at its peak in 2010. The March 2003 ground invasion of Iraq by US and UK forces quickly defeated Saddam Hussein's Ba'athist regime but the military occupation of Iraq continued through 2010, with the number of US forces in Iraq peaking at 166,000 in 2007. In March 2011, another UN Security Council resolution authorized a NATO-led coalition of forces to use "all necessary means to protect civilians and civilian-populated areas…except occupation force," during a violent confrontation between the Gaddafi regime and various local opposition groups and militias. NATO forces enforced a "no-fly zone" and a naval blockade while providing air support for opposition fighters. The Security Council authorization was rescinded following the capture and killing of Gaddafi by local fighters in October 2011. The armed conflict in Syria has drawn perhaps the most complex array of foreign military interventions, principally from Iran, Iraq (Kurd Peshmerga), Israel, Lebanon (Shia Hezbollah), Russia, Turkey, and the United States (numerous regional countries have provided material support for various factions). In March 2015, a Saudi-led coalition of forces, drawn mainly from fellow Gulf oil emirates began a military intervention in Yemen in support of the Houthi-ousted Hadi government. There have also been some smaller foreign military interventions in the region such as the French intervention in Mali that began in January 2013.[20] In a briefing to the UN Security Council in April 2017, the UN Special Coordinator for the Middle East Peace Process, Nickolay Mladenov, concurred with our assessment of the current situation in the region when he remarked that "a 'perfect storm' had engulfed the region, with divisions opening the door to foreign intervention and manipulation."[21]

The word "terrorism" is not an analytic term; it is neither unbiased nor precise. "Terror" is generally considered to refer to a psychological state of intense or extreme fear. In our approach, while we acknowledge the importance of individual perceptions and the emotive content of political actions, we focus our empirical analyses strictly on observable factors.[22] Terror, then, and the will to invoke fear in others, is inextricably linked with political violence most generally and a differential or conditional disregard for human welfare (that is, of the enemy "other"). What

[20] The United States currently maintains military bases in ten Muslim-majority countries: Afghanistan, Bahrain, Djibouti, Iraq, Kosovo, Kuwait, Oman, Qatar, Turkey, and United Arab Emirates, with military facilities in many more.

[21] UN Meetings Coverage and Press Releases: https://www.un.org/press/en/2017/sc/sc12800.doc.htm, accessed 5 August 2017.

[22] See, for example, Marshall and Cole, *Global Report 2014,* "Emotive Content and Distorted Priorities in Protracted Social Conflicts" (pp. 2-10).

distinguishes "terrorism" as a special form of political violence, then, is that it contains within it an absolute disregard for human welfare of the "other" and, in extreme cases, an absolute disregard for human welfare of both "self" and "other," an expression of rage.[23] Organized extremism has been found to be a consequence and emotive escalation of protracted political violence. Extremism is most observable, on a large scale, in genocidal violence and, on a smaller scale, in the explosive act of suicide bombing and, most vividly observable, in what we have termed "high casualty terrorist bombings."

High casualty terrorist bombings (HCTB) have become an iconic act in the conflict storm that has engulfed the MENA region since 2001 and are generally associated with "Islamic extremism." HCTB events often involve a suicidal detonator but not always; what they do have in common is that they involve explosive attacks on civilian targets with the demonstrated intent of killing and maiming the greatest possible numbers of people. Sometimes these attacks appear to have a specific political target and the broad scope of the damage may be considered by the perpetrator(s) to be "collateral damage" (indicating that the value of the specific target is considered much higher than the value of others caught up in the attack). HCTB attacks are vividly terrifying that, at least in public perceptions, are often pointed to in justifying the global war on terrorism.

We define HCTB events as bomb attacks attributed to non-state actors resulting in the deaths of fifteen or more civilians or other non-combatants (other weapons may be involved as long as bombs are a principal weapon in the attack). We use the fifteen-death threshold because we have great confidence that all events reaching this level of effect are reported in the news media. HCTB events grab public attention and it has been proposed that public attention is central to the motivation for these attacks: they tend to instill irrational fear of the unexpected. It seems certain, however, that these sudden acts of sudden and unexpected brutality capture far more of the public's attention than the routine reports of military and militant operations in war zones, for which death tolls are rarely reported.

To put HCTB attacks in comparative perspective, since the 9/11 attacks, there have been 44,741 people reported killed in 1,230 HCTB attacks (through August 1, 2017). Judging from figures given in (rare) follow up reports, we estimate that that up to 30% more people die later from their injuries; that raises the high estimate for the number killed in HCTB attacks to about 58,000. Of the post-9/11 HCTB attacks, 3,347 reported deaths in 92 events have occurred in countries outside the MENA region; only seven HCTB attacks and 456 deaths took place in NATO countries.[24] This means that well over 90% of HCTB deaths take place in the MENA region and kill local, and mostly Muslim, people. Comparing pre-9/11 HCTB attacks outside the MENA region (2,404 killed in 12 years) with post-9/11 attacks (3,347 killed in 15 years), we find little change in the average numbers of people killed (200 per year pre-9/11; 233 per year post-9/11). Summing our estimates of "battle-related deaths" in the major episodes of political violence listed in the CSP War List, we find that there have been more than 1.2 million people killed in armed conflicts in Muslim-majority countries or involving Muslim-minorities in other MENA countries since 2001 (our death estimates are conservative; the total is probably more than 1.6 million).

[23] See, Monty G. Marshall, *Global Terrorism: An Overview and Analysis* (CSP, 2002).

[24] In a July 2011 HCTB attack in Norway; the lone attacker was local and had no connection to Islam.

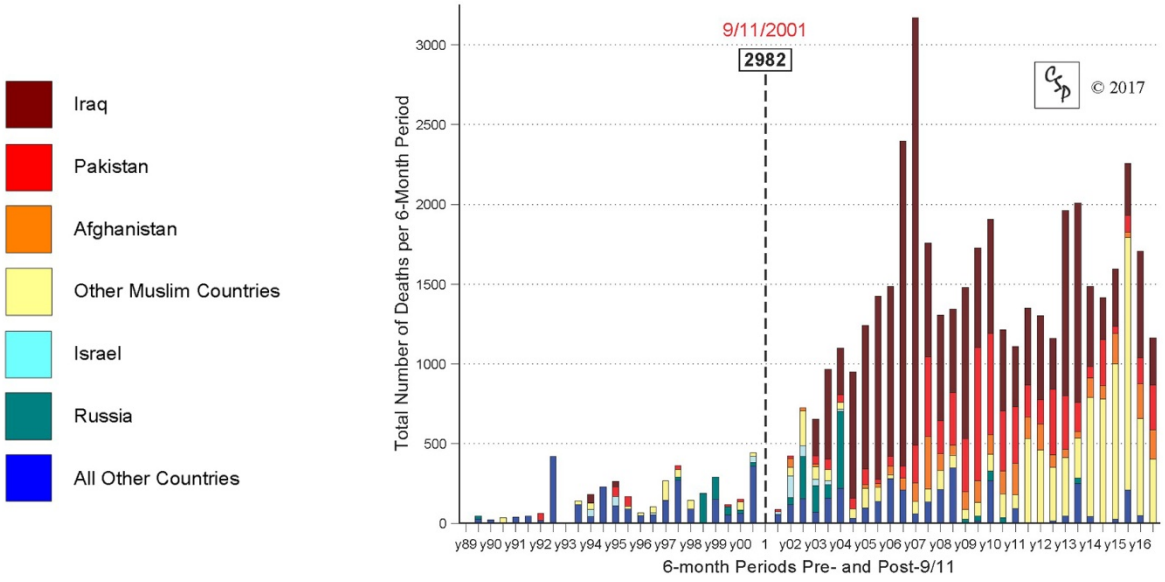

Figure 9. Deaths from High Casualty Terrorist Bombings, 9/11/1989–3/10/2017. Data collected and compiled by the Center for Systemic Peace.

Figure 9 charts the numbers of people reported killed for six-month periods prior to and after the 9/11 attacks (2.982 people were killed in the 9/11 attacks; these deaths are not included in the figures cited above). Three principal locations, Afghanistan, Iraq, and Pakistan, account for about 70% of both HCTB attacks and reported deaths (Iraq has taken 47% of the total; 584 attacks with 21,025 reported deaths). Since early 2012, HCTB attacks have spread to other MENA countries, notably Nigeria, Somalia, and Syria.

Researchers with the Center for Systemic Peace have been measuring, tracking, and evaluating state-level qualities of conflict, governance, and development in the world since 1946 and reporting on global system performance since 1997. We find the current conflict storm covering the MENA region since 2001 to be of particularly grave concern. We have not seen a comparable concentration of emotive content, conflict behavior, and environmental degradation in one region since the end of the Second World War. Other, similar concentrations have been seen, particularly during the Cold War period, but these multiple concentrations took place concurrently and, so, distributed the strength of the affect, and ill effects, across the global system (Marshall 1999). We believe this "even pressure" on the emerging global system in the Age of Complexity was an important contributing factor in inducing a progressive, self-corrective, systemic change: the end of the Cold War rivalry. The current, singular concentration in the MENA region appears to have induced a more complex and inchoate rivalry among world powers that has steered conflict dynamics toward a "civilizational," symbolic identity narrative focusing on Islam as a superficial explanation and misguided rationale for being swept along a dangerous and violent course which can only lead to a regional system failure and enormous consequences for the future of the global system. We must not forget that the only other, comparable regional system failure in modern history took place in Europe in 1939.

ASSESSING THE GLOBAL QUALITIES OF SYSTEMIC PEACE

Societal-systems analytics focus on the complex relations between dynamics (human agency and environmental forces) and statics (physical and social attributes, conditions, and structures). Basic societal-systems analysis takes into account the interconnectedness of three fundamental dimensions of societal-systems: governance, conflict, and development (based on the accumulation of both physical and human capital; see figure 10).

The conditions, characteristics, qualities, and prospects of each of the three fundamental dimensions of societal-systems critically affect the other two dimensions to such a degree that it is not possible to meaningfully analyze one dimension without taking the other two dimensions 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; unsuccessful performance in complex systems, on the other hand, can reverberate through the system, weakening its delicate webs of human relations, and lead to cascades of ill effects. Eco-system changes directly affect development factors. Societal-system performance, then, depends on the system's capabilities for collective action. Successful improvement of conditions in a societal-system thus requires coordinated changes among all the key dimensions and throughout the system. With regard to each dimension, change depends on a combination of applied coordination (effectiveness) and voluntary compliance (legitimacy).

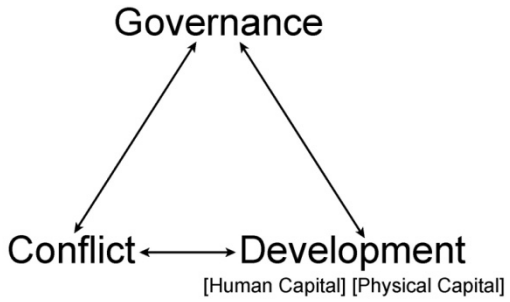

Figure 10. Societal-System Triad

Performance evaluation of a societal-system must therefore track conditions in all key dimensions with a view toward both effectiveness and legitimacy. Problems that arise in societal-system dynamics can stem from any of the three fundamental dimensions but will manifest in all three dimensions if the problem is not managed effectively and resolved systemically. The qualities of governance and development must be taken into account when analyzing or leveraging conflict factors. Likewise, the qualities of conflict and governance must be included when examining the potential for development and the conditions of conflict and development critically affect the nature of governance. This approach goes beyond "whole-of-government" approaches as it recognizes that each of the three dimensions extend through the complex societal structures and networks of the system (i.e., civil society and marginal sectors) and integrates both "top down" and "bottom up" standpoints, that is, a holistic, societal-systemic approach.

This report series provides general, macro-comparative evaluations of contemporary conditions, 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 of the emerging global system and future prospects for stabilizing dynamics and consolidating efficacious policies in the era of globalization and Age of Complexity.

Conflict Dimension: Global Trends in Armed Conflict

The most encompassing observation that can be made regarding global system performance is in regard to its conflict dimension, that is, changes over time in the status of all major episodes of political violence (armed conflict) taking place within the global system. These episodes include societal (civil, ethnic, and communal) and interstate warfare (including wars of independence).[25] Figure 11, below, charts global trends in warfare over the contemporary period, 1946-2016. The graphic charts the global trend and breaks out that general trend into two distinct components: societal (internal) and interstate (external) warfare. In order to facilitate comparisons across the global trends graphs presented in the *Global Report* series, the year 1991 is denoted by a dashed line; that year marks the end of the Cold War period (1946-1991) and the beginning of the era of globalization.

[25] 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 episode of political violence" (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, affected area, dislocated population, and extent of infrastructure damage. It is then assigned a 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 list of the events used in the analysis is posted on the Center for Systemic Peace Web site at www.systemicpeace.org ("War List").

The global totals for both societal and interstate warfare have declined substantially since the end of the Cold War. However, during the Cold War period, interstate warfare remained at a relatively low level, while societal warfare increased at an almost constant rate across the entire period. There has been little or no interstate warfare since 1991, although foreign military interventions in societal wars have continued to be common, particularly in the Middle East and North Africa region (see section above). The global magnitude of warfare decreased by over sixty percent since peaking in the mid-1980s, falling by 2007 to its lowest level since 1961. It has been rising since 2011.

Societal warfare has been the predominant mode of warfare since the mid-1950s, increasing steeply and steadily through the Cold War period. This steep, linear increase in societal warfare is largely explained by a general tendency toward longer, more protracted, wars during that period; internal wars often received crucial military and/or material support from foreign states and this support was often linked to the competition between the two, rival superpowers: United States and Soviet Union. Since the end of the Cold War, much of the decrease in global armed conflict can be accounted for by the ending of many of these protracted societal wars. The rate of onset for new wars has diminished since 1991: from 5.22 new wars per annum during the Cold War period to 3.80 new wars per annum since the end of the Cold War. The recent decrease in the rate of onset for new armed conflicts includes both societal wars, decreasing from a rate of 3.85 to 3.28 per annum (a decline of 0.57), and interstate wars, decreasing from a rate of 1.37 to 0.52 (a decline of 0.85). The global trend line for societal wars has increased over the past several years, due to increasing warfare in the Islamic countries of the MENA region since the beginning of the "Global War on Terrorism" (GWOT) in late 2001.

In contrast to the relatively high magnitude and rate of onset for societal wars, the global trend in 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 (UN), particularly in comparison with the high levels of interstate war during the first half of the twentieth century. The UN was specially designed to "maintain international peace and security" without "interven[ing] in matters which are essentially within the domestic jurisdiction of any state." Although there was a moderate increase in interstate wars during the latter years of the Cold War, from 1977 to 1987, like societal warfare, interstate warfare has also declined substantially since 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 in the "Third World" during the collapse of the Euro-centric (Colonial) World System following the Second World War, notable examples include the Indochina (1945-1954), Algeria (1954-1962), and Vietnam (1958-1975) wars. Three-quarters of the seventy-four interstate wars remained at low levels of violence and were of relatively short duration. As mentioned, the most intense and protracted wars commonly had high levels of external support or military intervention blurring the conventional distinction between interstate and intrastate (societal) wars. One of the most troubling consequences of protracted political violence has been the escalation to genocidal violence. Empirical research indicates that periods of genocidal violence, when they do take place, are always "embedded" within protracted armed conflicts in an apparent attempt to impose a "final solution." The sudden, swift, and horrendous escalation to genocidal violence in Rwanda in 1994 triggered a "never again" reaction among international activists. An emerging global commitment toward a universal "responsibility to protect" (R2P) human populations from intentional targeting and genocidal violence in armed conflicts. Early R2P foreign military operations in Bosnia (1995) and Kosovo (1998-99) appear to have limited the human costs of those wars. A UN Security Council resolution in 2011 authorizing "all necessary means to protect civilians and civilian populations, except force occupation" contributed to the forced ouster of the long-standing Gaddafi regime but also to the fracturing of the country into tribal enclaves supporting rival militias. Genocidal violence continues to plague armed conflicts in the world's more remote areas, such as the Sudan-Darfur (since 2003), Sri Lanka (2008-2009), northern Nigeria (since 2009), Central African Republic and South Sudan (since 2013), and ISIL-controlled territories in Iraq and Syria (since 2014). As argued in the preceding section, civilian populations continue to suffer greatly in armed conflicts and the wider systemic effects of protracted armed conflicts are threatening to trigger a cascading eco-system collapse and massive humanitarian catastrophe within the fragile climate of the MENA region.

In mid-2017, there were twenty-seven countries experiencing major armed conflicts within their territory (see figure 12; denoted by diamond icons); all of these are beset by societal warfare: Mexico (drug lords), Colombia (FARC-ELN/drug lords), Nigeria (Boko Haram and Christian-Muslim), Cameroon (Boko Haram), Mali (Tuaregs), Central African Republic (Christian-Muslim), North Sudan (Darfur and SPLM-North), South Sudan (Murle and Nuer/Dinka), Burundi (opposition), Democratic Republic of Congo (northeast and Kasai), Ethiopia (Ogaden), Somalia (al Shabab), Yemen (Houthi and southerners), Libya (tribal militias), Egypt (Islamists), Israel (Hamas), Iraq (Sunni), Syria (Sunni), Turkey (Kurds), Russia (eastern Trans-Caucasus), Ukraine (eastern pro-Russians), Afghanistan (Taliban), Pakistan (sectarian,

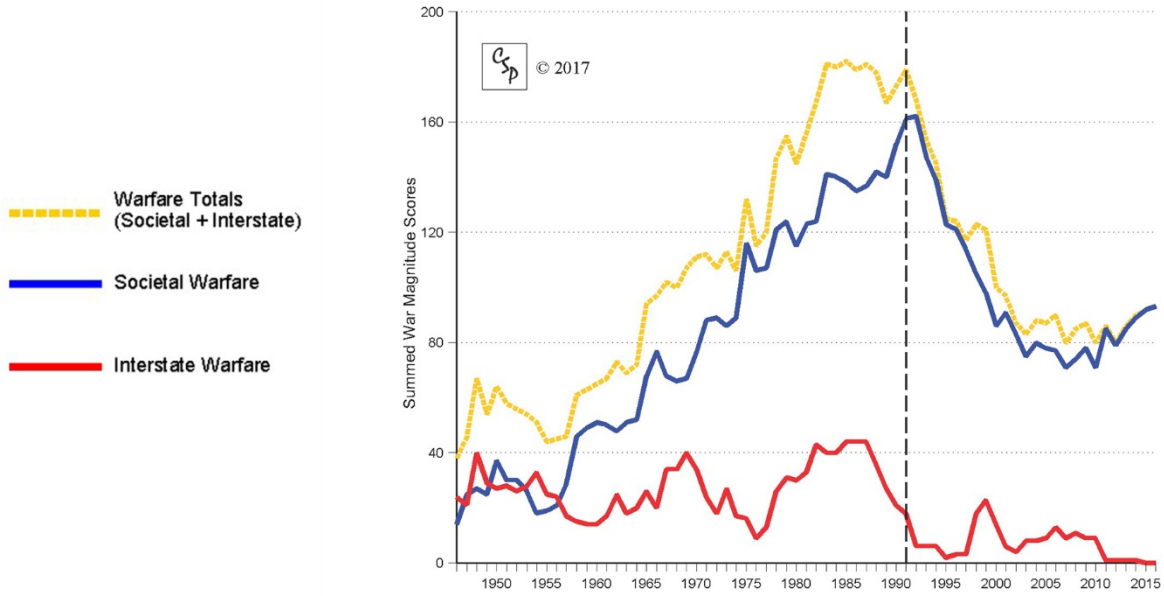

Figure 11. Global Trends in Armed Conflict, 1946-2016. Data is from the CSP Major Episodes of Political Violence dataset.

Pashtuns, Baluchs), India (Kashmir, Maoist, Assam), Myanmar (various non-Burman groups), Thailand (Malays), and Philippines (Moro and drug war). Five of the current, major armed conflicts have a substantial drug production and trafficking component: Afghanistan, Mexico, Colombia, Myanmar, and Philippines. Over the entire period, since 1946, there have been 328 distinct episodes of major armed conflict in the world; 116 of the world's 167 countries have experienced at least one major episode of political violence since 1946. Since the 9/11 attacks on the United States (2001), there have been fifty-two new outbreaks of armed conflict in the world with all but six of these outbreaks taking place in or along the periphery of the MENA region. Figure 12 maps our measure of state fragility and shows that the most fragile states also cluster within or near the MENA region.

The Global Trends in Armed Conflict (figure 11) plots annual, summed magnitude scores for all major episodes of political violence (MEPV) that are ongoing in the designated year. The MEPV magnitude score measures the total "societal impact of warfare" of individual episodes using a categorical scaling of the effects of violence on the societal-system in which the actual violence takes place; the score for that event is then assigned to each year during which the event persists (interstate war scores are assigned to each country directly involved). The MEPV scoring is done at the event-level and, so, is independent of the size of the country in which it occurs; as we know, countries vary greatly in size. The MEPV scaling is also designed to reflect an interval scaling of magnitude such that two category "1" events are roughly equivalent to one category "2" event, and so on. This allows us to monitor global trends in armed conflict despite the inherent incomparability of country-units comprising the global system.[26]

[26] The MEPV scaling technique has been found to comport well with a "power law distribution" and parallels the simple plot of the annual numbers of "states experiencing warfare" and "armed conflict events" (see the CSP Conflict Trends web page).

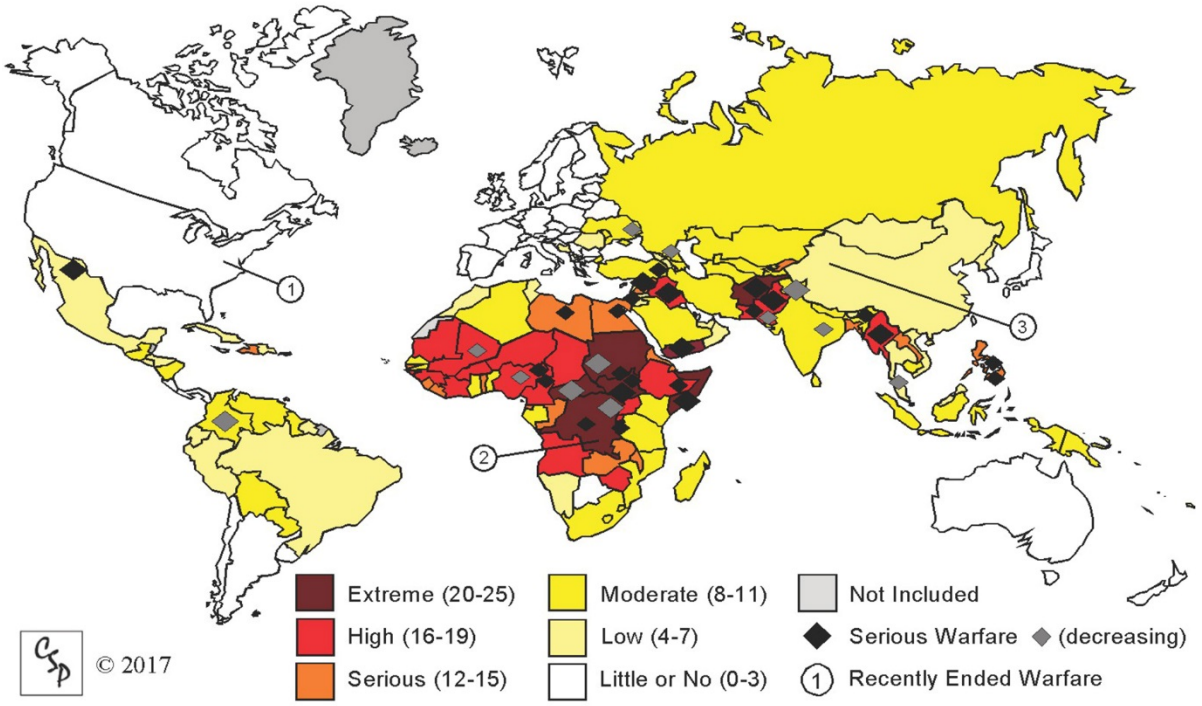

Figure 12. State Fragility and Warfare in the Global System. Countries comprising the global system are color-coded according to their categories of state fragility in 2016 (see table 2 for a more detailed listing). Ongoing armed conflicts are denoted by black-diamond icons; recently-ended armed conflicts (within the past five years) are indicated by numbered tags (3). Data is from the CSP War List (MEPV) and State Fragility Matrix.

The global mapping of "State Fragility and Warfare in the Global System" (figure 12) helps to illustrate the close connection between state fragility and the risks (and consequences) of open warfare. State Fragility scores are reported and detailed in table 2 at the end of this report. There are three "recently ended" wars in figure 12; these are numerically tagged on the map: 1) the United States recently ended its direct combat operations in Iraq and Afghanistan, although air combat, special forces, and military advisor operations in these locations continues at this writing; 2) political violence in the Katanga province in DRC appears to have ended, although a new onset of political violence in the Kasai region adds to the ongoing armed conflicts in the eastern regions of this very large and diverse country; and 3) the separatist rebellion of ethnic-Uighurs in Xinjiang province of the People's Republic of China appears to be effectively repressed, at least for the present time. The armed conflict that has persisted in Colombia since 1975 appears to be ending, as a peace agreement has been reached, and substantively implemented, with the main rebel group (FARC) and peace talks continue with the second rebel group (ELN).

The "down side" of the dramatic decrease in the general magnitude of armed conflict in the global system since the early 1990s is a dramatic increase in the number of post-war "recovery" states. War-ravaged societies are highly prone to humanitarian crises and are in dire need of broad-based assistance. Perhaps the greatest challenge in post-war recovery is the over-supply of arms and skilled militants under conditions ripe for economic exploitation and the expansion of

organized crime and trafficking. Of course, countries bordering on war-torn and war-recovery states experience serious diffusion and spillover effects that further increase and expand the reach of organized crime, stimulate political tensions and corruption, increase local and regional insecurity, challenge local authorities, and overwhelm the already severely limited provision of crucial social services.

Governance Dimension: Global Trends in 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 spectrum.

The CSP *Polity* Project has rated the levels of both democracy and autocracy for each country and year using coded information on the general, **practical** qualities of political institutions and processes, including executive recruitment, constraints on executive action, and political competition. The emphasis is on the observable **practice** of public policies, regardless of the political pronouncements and emotive rhetoric of regime or opposition leaders. 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.[27] A fully institutionalized (+10) **democracy**, like Australia, Greece, or Sweden, has institutionalized procedures for open, competitive, and deliberative political participation; chooses and replaces chief executives in open, competitive elections; and imposes substantial checks and balances on the discretionary powers of the chief executive. Countries with POLITY scores from +6 to +10 are counted as democracies in tracking "Global Trends in Governance, 1946-2016" (figure 13). Elected governments that fall short of a perfect +10, like Bolivia, Mozambique, or Indonesia, may have weaker checks on executive power, some restrictions on political participation, or shortcomings in the application of the rule of law to, or by, opposition groups.

In a fully institutionalized (-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 no meaningful checks from legislative, judicial, military, or civil society institutions. Only Bahrain, North Korea, Saudi Arabia, and Qatar are rated as fully institutionalized autocracies in mid-2017. Other monarchies, such as those in Jordan, Kuwait, Morocco, and Swaziland, share some powers with elected officials. In general, except for a

[27] The *Polity* data set was originally designed by Ted Robert Gurr in the early 1970s and, since 1998, is directed by Monty G. Marshall at the Center for Systemic Peace. The *Polity* data series comprises annually coded information on the qualities of institutionalized regime authority for all independent countries (not including micro-states) from 1800 through 2016 and is updated annually. The *Polity IV* data series is available on the Center for Systemic Peace Web site (INSCR Data page).

strong presence in the oil-producing states of the Arabian Peninsula, hereditary monarchy has nearly disappeared as a form of governance in the early twenty-first century. Autocratic governance in the late 20th and early 21st centuries is far more likely to be characterized by the authoritarian rule of personalistic leaders, military juntas, or one-party structures; Belarus, Azerbaijan, and Vietnam are examples of these non-monarchical autocracies (there were no military regimes in mid-2017). Besides having less-clearly defined rules of succession, less-than-full autocracies may allow some space for political participation or impose some effective limits on executive authority; examples include China, Iran, and Kuwait. Countries with POLITY scores from -10 to -6 are counted as autocracies in figure 13. Some longer-term, personalistic autocracies, such as Azerbaijan, North Korea, and Syria, have adopted dynastic succession in executive leadership to help ensure policy consistency and forestall succession crises.

Anocracy, on the other hand, is characterized by institutions and political elites that are far less capable of performing fundamental tasks and ensuring their own continuity. Anocratic regimes very often reflect inherent qualities 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 in a coup). Anocracies are a middling category rather than a distinct form of governance. They are societies whose governments are neither fully democratic nor fully autocratic but, rather, combine an often incoherent mix of democratic and autocratic traits and practices. Their POLITY scores range from -5 to +5.[28] 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, Jordan, and Tanzania. Côte d'Ivoire appeared to be headed on a similar course before stumbling (in 2002) into civil war and regime failure; it has since reconstituted its democratic practices but continues to be threatened by "demobilized" militants and disgruntled soldiers. Iran reversed the course of democratic reforms and tightened autocratic control in 2004; Guinea has been wavering noticeably since the death of President Lansana Conté in late-December 2008. 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 be

[28] Also included in the anocracy category in this treatment are countries that are administered by 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"), and countries where foreign authorities, backed by the presence of foreign forces, provide a superordinate support structure for maintaining local authority (coded "-66"). As mentioned, none of the INSCR data series, including *Polity IV,* include information for micro-states; a state must have reached a total population of 500,000 to be included in the INSCR data series.

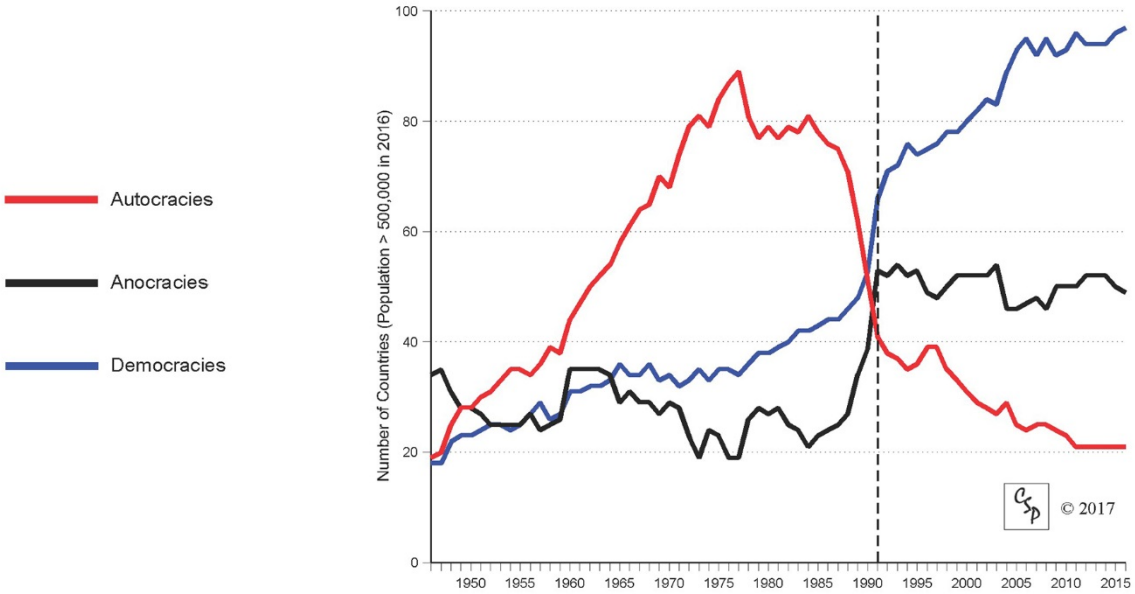

Figure 13. Global Trends in Governance, 1946-2016. "Autocracies" include all regimes with POLITY scores from -10 to -6; "Anocracies" are those with POLITY scores between -5 and +5 (including -88 "transitional," -77 "interregnum," and -66 "occupied" polities); "Democracies" include all regimes with POLITY scores between +6 and +10. Data is from the CSP *Polity* dataset.

weakened by corruption or dissension and losing their capacity to maintain strict political controls and suppress dissent. Societal conflict and factionalism often undermine 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, articulate a policy agenda, and manage political dynamics *over the near term* (autocracies are more susceptible to armed insurrection, separatism, and a collapse of central authority over the longer term). Some anocracies have been able to manage conflict between deeply divided social groups for substantial periods of time through the use of targeted restrictions on political participation as in Russia, Malaysia, and Venezuela.[29] 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) and in Turkey since the coup attempt in July 2016. Other anocracies are the result of failed transitions to greater democracy, as currently in Algeria, Angola, Cambodia, and Uganda. Anocracies can be further classified into three sub-groupings: "open" anocracies POLITY scores from +1 to +5); "closed" anocracies (POLITY

[29] Factionalism in Venezuela has been hardening in recent years as the government of President Nicolás Maduro appears willing to sacrifice unity and civility in its increasingly strident attempts to maintain control of the regime in spite of unrelenting pressure from societal opposition groups and international organizations.

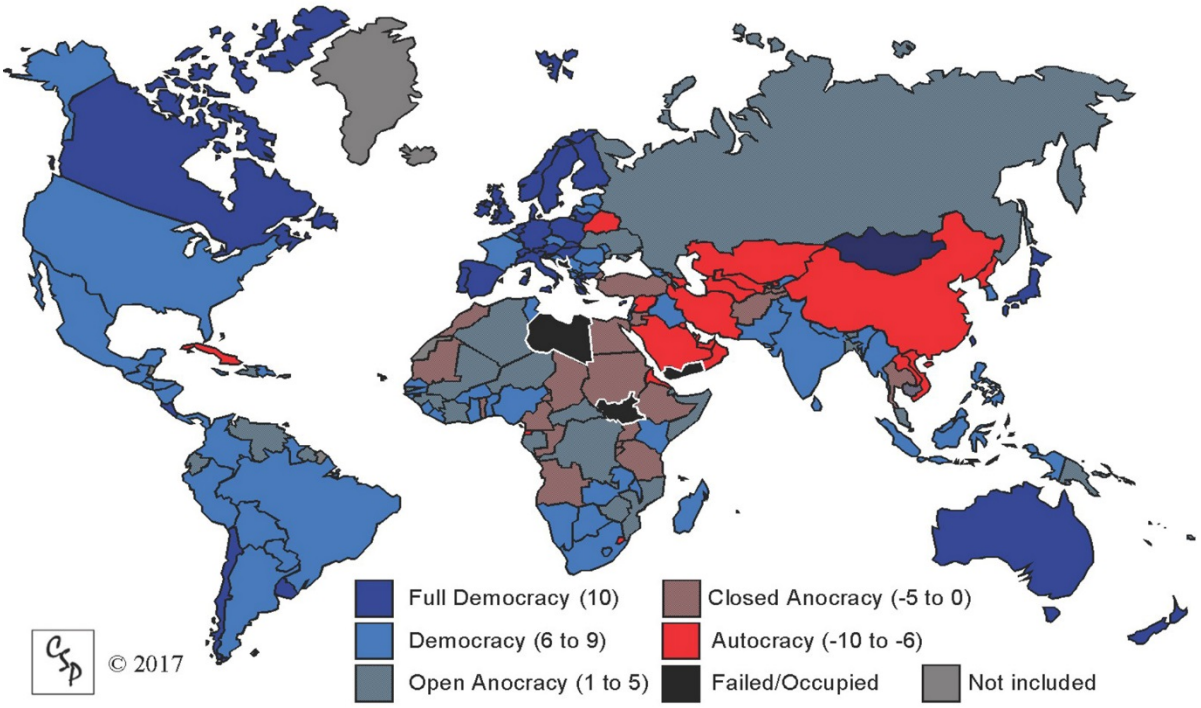

Figure 14. Distribution of Governance Regimes in the Global System. Countries are color-coded to denote their regime type along the POLITY spectrum ranging from -10 (fully institutionalized autocracy) to +10 (fully institutionalized democracy) according to the six categorical types shown. Data in from the CSP *Polity* dataset.

scores from -5 to 0); and failed or occupation regimes (POLITY codes -77 and -66), as they have been in the mapping of governance regimes in 2016 in figure 14.[30]

We discussed the changing composition of authority systems and regimes comprising the global system earlier in this report (pp. 15-17). In the contemporary period, we can see the expansion of the global system, characterized by a "cascade" of autocratic regimes in newly independent states following the collapse of the colonial world system in the aftermath of the Second World War. In the late 1980s, we see the beginning of the transformation of the global system from a predominately autocratic to a predominately democratic system of states. The global system, itself, as evidenced by the practical authority and institutional structures of the United Nations Organization, has moved away from an openly anarchic interplay of self-serving states to an increasingly regulated and integrated system of states, although authority at the global system-level is best considered anocratic with competing autocratic and democratic authority structures and practices.

The most profound changes that have taken place during the contemporary period in the governance sector are, from a systemic perspective, direct reflections of the rapidly increasing complexity of human societal-

[30] Libya, South Sudan, and Yemen are considered "failed states" (-77) in mid-2017; Bosnia remains an "occupied state" (-66) since the December 1995 Dayton Agreement established the Office of the High Representative and the Peace Implementation Council to ensure adherence to the *de jure* terms of the accord at the federal level; *de facto* authority has largely been assumed by the ethnic enclaves: *Republika Srpska* and the Federation of Bosnia and Herzegovina.

systems. We have proposed that democratic authority is a technical, political innovation and adaptation to the societal pressures associated with increasingly dense social and media networks, broadening proliferation of societal organizations, and the resulting diversification and mobilization of public and private interests. Democratization expands the conflict management and societal integration capacities of an increasingly subsidiarized and decentralized administrative institutional structure steeped in both legitimacy and effectiveness. The degree of democratization of the global system is a direct reflection of its complexity. What can be viewed as the greatest challenge to democratization in the contemporary period stems from the sudden extension of "universal suffrage" to redefine the democratic ideal in the aftermath of the breakdown of the colonial world system and the general systemic effects of the First and Second World Wars.

The militarism and nationalism that characterized the "great powers" of the colonial world system imposed "ceilings" on enfranchisement and participation to favor vested "national identity" groups whose loyalty and support favored unconditional support for the regime, whether democratic or autocratic. The architects of early democracies were as concerned about the threats posed by mass or "populist" democracy as they were about the potential for tyranny in autocratic regimes. The democratic systems that emerged in the United States and western European countries were "republican" democracies, that is, "rule of law" authority systems within which direct participation was restricted, by law, to favor "stakeholders" (who directly benefit from their participation in and continued support for the established societal-system) and limit the potential influence of "non-stakeholders" (those who do not directly share in the benefits of the established societal-system and, so, may advocate substantive changes to the status quo). The "total war" strategies that characterized the 19th and early 20th century European regional conflicts and, especially, the Second World War, broadened participation, and expanded integration, to maximize support for the war effort; these strategies also directly included the entire populations of affected countries in "total war's" adverse and lethal effects. Although the incremental expansion of suffrage took place in different terms and at different times in different countries, universal suffrage only first appeared in the early 20th century (Finland 1906) and only became the global standard with the provision for "universal and equal suffrage" incorporated in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (21.3) proclaimed by the United Nations General Assembly on 10 December 1948. Societal integration is progressive and, once accomplished, is difficult to accommodate, manage, or reverse. The recent addition of "universal voice" (through the new information and social media technologies) to "universal suffrage" greatly amplifies and broadens the demands and expectations of constituencies on state administrative structures, especially in lesser developed societal-systems; this cacophony can easily overwhelm state capacity and impede the consolidation of democratic authority. This "dilemma of modernity" directly impinges upon and impairs the conflict management function of governance. This dilemma, we believe, helps to account for the stagnation evident in the Global Trends in Governance in the early 2000s (figure 13): the rate of democratization has slowed and the (high) number of anocracies remains constant.

Development Dimension: Global Trends in State Fragility

The third principal focus of the *Global Report* series is on global development and the general performance of the economic

(material capital) and social welfare (human capital) aspects of globalization and the global system. The initial (2007) *Global Report* highlighted the great regional (and, in some cases, intra-regional) disparities in economic development and the systemic distribution of income. It highlighted the contrast between the better-performing sub-systems, populated by net-consumers of energy resources, and the poorer-performing sub-systems, which are 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, 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 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."[31] This must necessarily take place in conjunction with a global response to the corollary problems associated with human-induced climate change and the current "conflict storm" engulfing the MENA region.

[31] Monty G. Marshall and Jack Goldstone, "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, p. 11.

In this section, we highlight measured changes in our State Fragility Index and Matrix from 1995 to 2016 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 then conclude *Global Report 2017* by presenting our most recent State Fragility assessments for each of the 167 countries that constitute the global system in mid-2017 (with population greater than 500,000). The 2016 State Fragility Index and Matrix (table 2, following) rates each country according to its level of fragility in both effectiveness and legitimacy across four development dimensions: security, political, economic, and social.

Global Summary of Changes in State Fragility: In keeping with the global system perspective of this report, we examine changes in State Fragility across the period of study, 1995-2016, through a global system lens and summarize the results in figure 15 and table 1. The chart and table display aggregate changes in fragility indices and component indicators and is organized in the same array as the State Fragility Matrix (table 2) in order to facilitate comprehension and comparisons.

As already noted, the year 1995 was chosen as our starting point because it is well within the post-Cold War period (which we set as beginning in 1991) and the first year for which we have full, annual data coverage on some of the relevant indicators in the State Fragility Matrix. The SFI Matrix design uses quartile cut-points for the continuous measures used (such as income, infant mortality, and human development) in order to demarcate ordinal categories; the Economic Effectiveness indicator uses quintile cut-points. The cut-points are set using 2004 as the baseline year; change can be measured as a constant and comparative function across the annual data series.

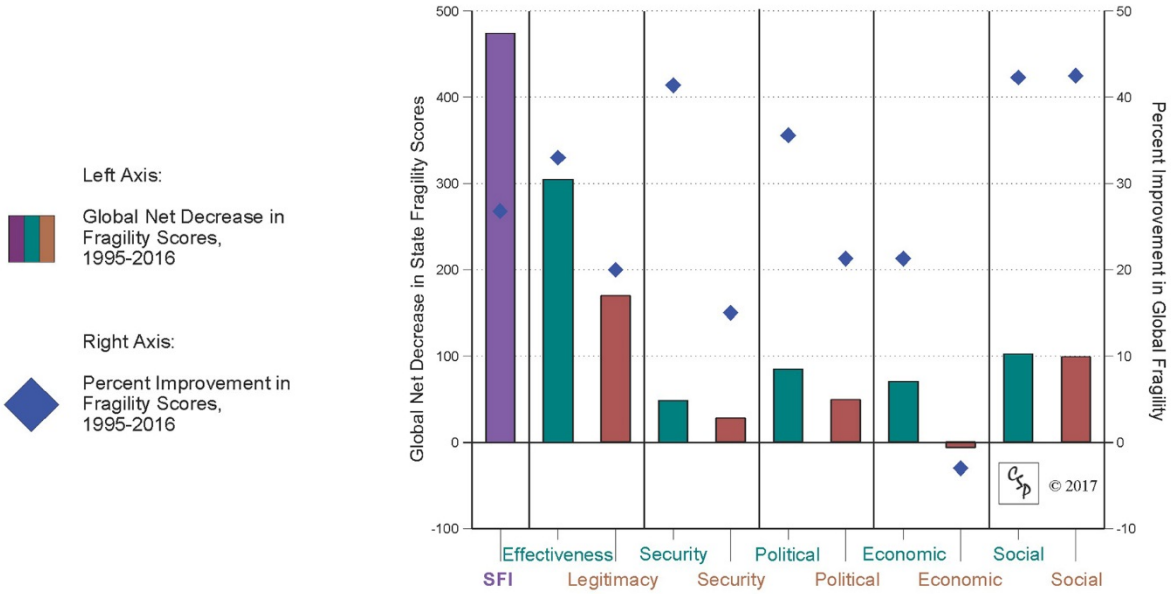

Figure 15. Global Net Decrease in Fragility Scores, 1995-2016. This figure summarizes changes in the net fragility scores across the period 1995-2016 for the State Fragility Index; the two composite indices: effectiveness and legitimacy; and the four component indicators: security, political, economic, and social, comprising each of the two composite indices. Data is from the CSP State Fragility Matrix.

	SFI	EFF	LEG	Security		Political		Economic		Social	
				eff	leg	eff	leg	eff	leg	eff	leg
1995	1773	921	852	116	187	236	230	328	202	241	233
2016	1299	617	682	68	159	152	181	258	208	139	134
diff	**474**	**304**	**170**	**48**	**28**	**84**	**49**	**70**	**-6**	**102**	**99**

Table 1. Total (Summed) Scores for State Fragility Indices and Indicators. The table summarizes the net totals and differences across the period of coverage, 1995-2016; the (diff)erences between the 1995 and 2016 values are charted in figure 15. Data is from the CSP State Fragility Matrix.

It is important to keep three things in mind when considering our analysis of state fragility:

1) Our measures of fragility are designed to provide objective, empirical evidence of comparable levels of the "under-development" of individual societal-systems in the global system, so, **larger values of fragility are associated with lower levels of well-being**. This "more is less" perspective is somewhat counter-intuitive.

2) We use "state-level" measures to assess societal-system qualities due to the primacy of the state in setting public policy and because the state is the focal point for information and data on societal-system

well-being; we cannot assess internal variations in or distributions of well-being.
3) "Zero" fragility is set at a reasonable, and perhaps sustainable, level of well-being that has been empirically found to be associated with good governance; it is not presented as a maximum or optimal level of well-being.

Our use of standardized and comparable (objective) measures for each of the eight component indicators allows us to monitor and track changes in State Fragility annually since 1995 (the first year for which all eight measures are available). This is an important and unique innovation in monitoring global system performance that allows us to show that improvements in state fragility (and greater societal-system resilience) coincide with improvements observed in global armed conflict and governance. Taken together, these concurrent and congruent improvements in the global system provide both a general, progressive assessment of the performance of the global system and evidence of a substantial "peace dividend" since the ending of the Cold War. In summary, then, the global total of "state fragility points" assessed in 2016 (i.e., State Fragility Index, SFI) ***decreased*** by 474 points (26.7 percent) from the 1995 assessments. In the formulation in figure 15, **we present the decrease in state fragility as an increase in societal-system resiliency**. Breaking the aggregate State Fragility Index into its two principal components, we see that the improvements were accounted for to a much greater degree by gains in Effectiveness (304 points; 33.0 percent decrease) than gains in Legitimacy (170 points; 20.0 percent decrease). This imbalance characterizes three of the four fragility dimensions; only the Social Effectiveness and Legitimacy categories show equivalent change for legitimacy (99 points; 42.4 percent decrease) and effectiveness (102 points; 42.3 percent decrease) over the coverage period. This improvement in social indicators provides some evidence of the positive effects of international humanitarian assistance programs and standards such as the UN Millennium Development Goals.

Consistent with the relative paucity of major warfare in the global system in 2016 (although warfare increased sharply in the Muslim-majority countries, and MENA region, since 2001, see figure 6) and in light of the rapid decline in warfare globally since the early 1990s (as shown in figure 11, above), the Security Effectiveness category shows the lowest summed fragility score of the eight fragility categories: 68 total fragility points by 2016 (41.4 percent decrease from 1995). Security Legitimacy (state repression) shows very modest improvement since 1995 (15.0 percent improvement). Political Effectiveness, reflecting the three regional cascades of democratization and stabilization of more open political systems in the era of globalization, shows strong improvement (35.6 percent improvement). The Political Legitimacy category shows moderate improvement over the period (21.3 percent), similar to the improvement noted in Economic Effectiveness (21.3 percent). The most striking finding in our examination of state fragility is the lack of positive change in Economic Legitimacy at the global system level, reflecting the general failure of primary commodity producers to reinvest foreign exchange earnings into greater, local infrastructure and manufacturing capacity. This suggests that, while economic globalization has increasingly integrated local economies into the greater global economy, the terms of that integration and the responsibilities and opportunities afforded at the global level remain highly skewed. On the other hand, strong progress can be noted for general improvements in Social Effectiveness (42.3 percent) and Social Legitimacy (42.4 percent improvement in fragility since 1995) which has been the principal focus of humanitarian assistance organizations.

Country and Regional Changes in State Fragility: As mentioned, 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 assessed values across time, as we have done in the prior section at the global level. To this purpose, we also examine changes in each country's fragility scores and regional mean scores from 1995 to 2016.

Nearly eighty percent (77.2%; 129) of the 167 countries listed in table 2 show positive change in their State Fragility Index score with eighty-eight (88) countries showing reductions in fragility of three points or more over that period (i.e., a lower fragility index score for the year 2016 as compared with their initial score).[32] In contrast, only sixteen (16) countries show negative change across the same period (i.e., a higher fragility index in 2016). Twenty-two (22) countries show no change across the time frame with nine (9) of those countries scoring zero (0) state fragility in both 1995 and 2016.

The countries showing the largest improvements in their fragility score across the study period are Guatemala (12 point decrease); Liberia (11 points); Bhutan, Bosnia, and Sierra Leone (10 points); Azerbaijan, Peru, and Solomon Islands (9 points); Bangladesh, Croatia, Georgia, Iran, and Tunisia (8 points); Algeria, Benin, El Salvador, Indonesia, Lebanon, Mozambique, Nicaragua, Panama, Serbia, Timor Leste, and Togo (7 points); Albania, Angola, Bulgaria, Cambodia, China, Djibouti, Estonia, Honduras, India, Laos, Madagascar, Rwanda, and Zambia (6 points); and Comoros, Cuba, Ghana, Kenya, Latvia, Mali, Mexico, Moldova, Papua New Guinea, Romania, South Africa, Tajikistan, Tanzania, Thailand, and Uganda (improving by 5 points each).

Given the global trend toward substantial improvement in state fragility since the end of the Cold War, even modest increases in state fragility represent a serious (relative) debilitation of a state's capacity and resilience in global affairs. The most tragic cases of state debilitation are that of Central African Republic, which increased by nine (9) points; Bahrain and Yemen, both of which have increased their fragility by six (6) points since 2003; Libya (6 points since 2010); Syria (5 points since 2010); South Sudan (4 points since gaining independence in 2012); and Ukraine (4 points since 2008). Ten (10) additional countries show a more modest increase in their state fragility score: United States (3 point increase); Belgium, Kyrgyzstan, and Venezuela (2 point increase); and Democratic Republic of Congo, Gambia, Greece, New Zealand, and Norway (1 point increase).

We also examined the categorization used in mapping state fragility in figure 12, above. We found the average change in fragility scores for each of the six categories: Extreme (20-25; -5.0), High (16-19; -4.4), Serious (12-15; -3.5), Moderate (8-11; -2.9), Low (4-7; -2.1), and Little or No (0-3; -0.4) so we can identify the countries showing little or no development since 1995. The poorest performing (relatively stagnant) countries include: Belarus, Burkina Faso, Burundi, Chad, Democratic Republic of Congo, Eritrea. Ethiopia, Gambia, Guinea, Guinea-Bissau, Iraq, Israel, Kosovo, Kyrgyzstan, Kazakhstan, Mauritania, Malawi, Montenegro, Myanmar, Namibia, Nigeria, Niger, North Sudan, Oman, Pakistan, Paraguay, Russia, Trinidad and Tobago, Turkmenistan, United Arab

[32] Four of the countries listed in 2016 did not exist in 1995 and, so, their progress is measured from their year of independence: Kosovo, Montenegro, South Sudan, and Timor Leste; Serbia is considered the successor state to Serbia and Montenegro.

Emirates, and Zimbabwe. The countries performing better than expected include: Albania, Algeria, Azerbaijan, Bangladesh, Benin, Bhutan, Bosnia, Botswana, Bulgaria, Croatia, El Salvador, Estonia, Georgia, Ghana, Indonesia, Iran, Latvia, Lebanon, Liberia, Malaysia, Mozambique, Nicaragua, Panama, Serbia, Sierra Leone, Solomon Islands, South Korea, Timor Leste, and Tunisia. The worst performing countries include: Bahrain, Central African Republic, Libya, South Sudan, Syria, Ukraine, Venezuela, and Yemen.

Regional Comparisons: Figure 16, then, 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-majority Countries (i.e., countries in which Muslim confessional groups comprise more than fifty percent of the total population); (non-Muslim) South and East Asia; Latin America; (non-Muslim) Former-Socialist countries; and North Atlantic countries.[33] The regional configurations are mutually exclusive categories; each state is counted in only one region.

Referring to figure 16, the bars in the graph show changes in the mean fragility score for each region across the four sub-periods (1995 to 2000, 2000 to 2005, 2005 to 2010, and 2010 to 2015) and for the period as a whole (1995 to 2015); the bars are measured on the left-hand *y*-axis.[34] The red- and blue-diamond icons indicate each region's average State Fragility Index score at the beginning (1995, red) and end (2015, blue) of the study period; the diamond icons are measured on the right-hand *y*-axis. Note that, while Muslim-majority countries are largely geographically concentrated in northern Africa and the Middle East, there are Muslim countries in the North Atlantic area (Albania, Bosnia, and Kosovo), the Former-Socialist area (Azerbaijan, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Tajikistan, Turkmenistan, and Uzbekistan), and the South and East Asia area (Bangladesh, Indonesia, and Malaysia). We treat the Muslim Countries as a separate category of states due to the current prominence of political Islam in global politics. The regions are arranged according to their mean State Fragility Index scores, with the most fragile region (Non-Muslim Africa; 13.57 mean score in 2016) on the left and the least fragile of the developing regions (Former-Socialist countries; 2.95 mean score in 2016) on the right. The North Atlantic region is not included because there has been little fragility or change in fragility over the time period.

The least fragile region across the period of this study is the **North Atlantic** region; this region includes Western Europe, Canada, and the United States (twenty countries in 2016).[35] The North Atlantic region's mean State Fragility Index score in 2013 is 0.65, with scores ranging from 0 (14 countries in 2016) to 3 (Cyprus and the United States). Overall, the North Atlantic region has long been and remains the standard for gauging regional performance and (lack of) state fragility. The question remains open as to 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 and sustainable standards of achievement.

[33] Israel and Mauritius are considered isolated states and are not included in the regional analyses.

[34] We use the shortened 1995-2015 period in order to compare change across equal five-year periods.

[35] Twenty countries comprise the North Atlantic region: Austria, Belgium, Canada, Cyprus, Denmark, Finland, France, Germany, Greece, Ireland, Italy, Luxembourg, Norway, Netherlands, Portugal, Spain, Sweden, Switzerland, United Kingdom, and the United States.

Closely following the North Atlantic region in terms of overall fragility is the **Former-Socialist** region comprising countries that have emerged from the Socialist Bloc following the collapse of communism, including Eastern European countries and several of the former-Soviet republics (except the predominantly Muslim countries of Albania, Azerbaijan, Kosovo, and the Central Asian republics).[36] This region's mean score in 2016 is 2.95, with scores ranging from 0 (Czech Republic, Estonia, Hungary, Latvia, Poland, and Slovenia) to 9 (Russia and Ukraine; followed by Moldova with 8 and Armenia and Georgia with 6).

This Former-Socialist region charts one of the greatest net improvements in fragility scores since 1995 with a decrease in the regional mean SFI score of 3.42 (cutting the regional mean by over half). The overall change in mean fragility scores for this region is due mainly to improvements in effectiveness (72 total score in 1995; these countries scored relatively well for legitimacy in 1995: 49); these improvements are nearly equally spread across the Political, Economic, and Social Effectiveness dimensions (this region experienced relatively little fragility in the security dimension during the last decades of the Cold War). Smaller changes in fragility are notable in areas where this region had already made substantial achievements: Security Effectiveness and Legitimacy and Economic Legitimacy. Improvements were strong in the first two five-year periods but have slowed in the last two periods as the region, on average, has entered the lowest category of state fragility in 2016 with a 2.95 regional mean. This region has reversed its profile such that legitimacy deficits (32) are somewhat higher than effectiveness deficits (24) in 2016. Ukraine was the only country in this region to experience an increase in state fragility: from 5 in 2008 to 9 in 2016. Largest improvements are noted in Croatia and Georgia (-9 each) and Serbia (-7).

The **Latin America region** improved its mean fragility scores by the largest margin: 3.84 points. The mean fragility score for the region in 2016 (6.08), however, stands at more than twice that of the Former-Socialist countries.[37] Scores for Latin American countries range from 1 (Costa Rica) to 14 (Haiti; Venezuela follows with a score of 11; Bolivia and Colombia score 10). Consistent with it's strong, general improvement in state fragility, this region has shown substantial gains in all four five-year periods. Latin American improvement was driven largely by gains in effectiveness (112 to 54; 58 points total). By 2016, the Legitimacy component of the state fragility score for the region had improved from 126 in 1995 to 92 in 2016 (34 points). Like the Former-Socialist region, the Latin American region experienced relatively low levels of "major episodes of political violence" during the entire period (since 1946). The region performed particularly poorly in Political and Economic Legitimacy; however, the region improved consistently across all other fragility dimensions. Guatemala led the region in improvement, reducing its fragility score by twelve points; followed by Peru with a nine-point improvement and El Salvador, Nicaragua, and Panama with seven. Venezuela increased by two (2) points across the study period.

[36] 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 analysis.

[37] The Latin America region comprises twenty-four countries: Argentina, Bolivia, Brazil, Chile, Colombia, Costa Rica, Cuba, Dominican Republic, Ecuador, El Salvador, Guatemala, Guyana, Haiti, Honduras, Jamaica, Mexico, Nicaragua, Panama, Paraguay, Peru, Suriname, Trinidad and Tobago, Uruguay, and Venezuela.

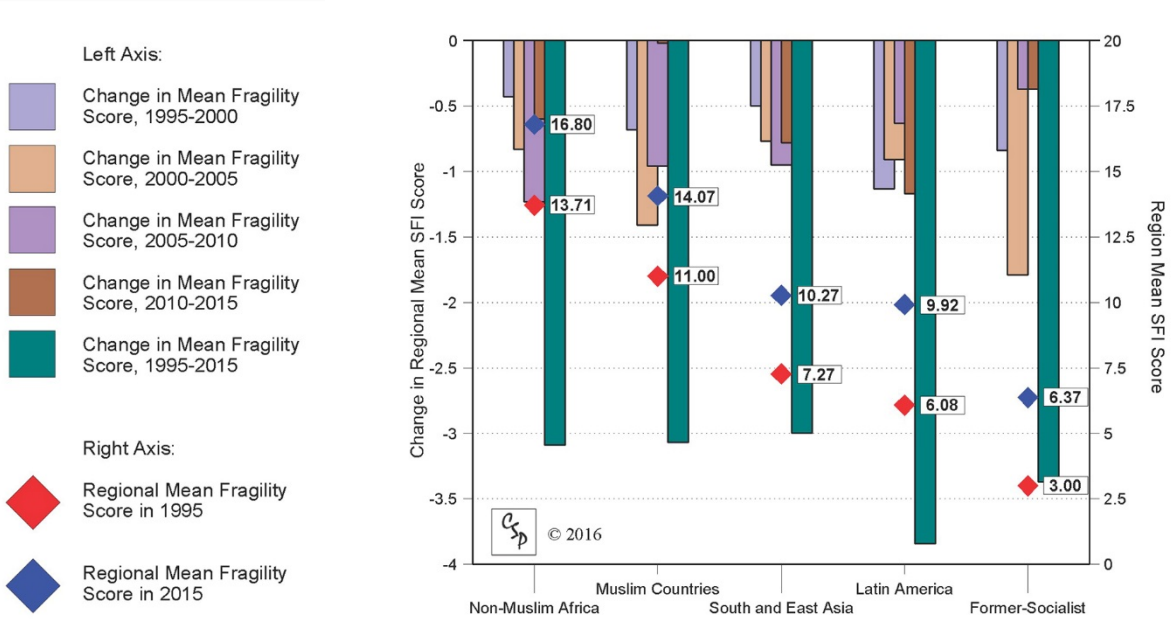

Figure 16. Changes in Mean Fragility Score by Region, 1995-2015. We look at changes in the average state fragility scores for five developing regions over the period 1995-2015 (North Atlantic region is not included in this comparison) and for five-year increments within that period. Data is from the CSP State Fragility Matrix.

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 and, more recently, by India. Fragility scores for this region show fairly consistent improvement across the four sub-periods, with an average decrease in overall fragility of over three points (3.18); the regional mean score stands at 7.09 in 2016.[38] This region shows one of the broadest ranges of fragility scores, from zero in Japan, South Korea, and Taiwan to nineteen in Myanmar. Measured improvements in this region are moderate with the largest gains in Social Effectiveness (13) and Legitimacy (16); Economic Legitimacy has become slightly worse since 1995 (-2). Improvement has been particularly strong in Bhutan with a ten-point decrease in fragility, followed by the Solomon Islands with a nine point decrease. In contrast, Myanmar has shown no change in its state fragility index score, remaining at 19 in 2016.

The **Muslim-majority Countries** (Muslim Countries) region was 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).[39] Between 1995 and 2016,

[38] 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 analysis.

[39] Muslim Countries are identified as countries in which Muslim confessional groups comprise fifty percent or more of the country's total population. This regional category comprises forty-three countries spanning from West Africa to the Pacific Ocean: Afghanistan, Albania, Algeria, Azerbaijan, Bahrain, Bangladesh, Bosnia, Chad, Comoros,

the Muslim Countries recorded moderate improvement in the regional mean fragility score (3.19); gains in Effectiveness (85 points) outpaced gains in Legitimacy (46 points) by nearly double even though these scores were nearly equal in 1995. The range of fragility scores spans from a low of two in Albania, followed by Kuwait and Qatar with three and Bosnia, Tunisia, and United Arab Emirates with four points each; the region's highest state fragility scores of twenty-one in 2016 belong to Afghanistan and Yemen, with Somalia close behind with a score of twenty.

Improvements in regional fragility are moderate across the Security, Political, and Economic Effectiveness dimensions. The Muslim Countries region stands out because of its relatively large net fragility increase in Economic Legitimacy (8 points, due to even greater dependence on revenues from primary commodities, mainly oil). This region is also notable because there is almost no measured improvement in Security Legitimacy (state repression) and, given the rapid increase in armed conflicts in the region since 2003, we expect the Security Effectiveness score to deteriorate substantially in coming years. After showing good improvement in the first three of the four five-year periods, the Muslim Countries showed almost no net improvement in the most recent five-year period. The Muslim Countries region has made its largest gains in Social Effectiveness and Legitimacy, accounting for well over half of the region's net improvement across the study period. Despite its continued dependence on EU supervision and its *de facto* separation into ethnic blocs, Bosnia measures the largest improvement in this region with a ten-point reduction in its fragility rating since 1995. Other countries in the region with notable reductions include Azerbaijan (-9) and Bangladesh, Iran, and Tunisia (-8); all of which have avoided armed conflicts on their soil during the period of study. Becoming more fragile are Bahrain and Yemen (both +6 since 2003), Libya (+6 since 2010), and Syria (+5 since 2010); Kyrgyzstan (+2) and Gambia (+1) have also become more fragile since 1995.

Countries comprising the **Non-Muslim (or Sub-Saharan) Africa** region have the world's highest mean State Fragility Index score (13.57) in 2016 but showed a net improvement in fragility ratings across the period (3.23) similar to that of the Muslim Countries and South and East Asia regions.[40] After showing increasing net improvement in regional fragility in the first three of the four sub-periods charted in figure 16, net improvements have slowed considerably in the most recent five-year period. Fragility scores for this region range from three in Botswana (followed by Namibia and Cape Verde with five) to twenty-four in the Democratic Republic of Congo (followed by Central African Republic with 23, North Sudan and South Sudan with 22 each, and Burundi with 21 state fragility points).

Some African countries are notable for having reduced their fragility ratings substantially across the study period: Liberia reduced its fragility score by eleven points

Djibouti, Egypt, Gambia, Guinea, Indonesia, Iran, Iraq, Jordan, Kazakhstan, Kosovo, Kuwait, Kyrgyzstan, Lebanon, Libya, Malaysia, Mali, Mauritania, Morocco, Niger, Oman, Pakistan, Qatar, Saudi Arabia, Senegal, Somalia, (North) Sudan, Syria, Tajikistan, Tunisia, Turkey, Turkmenistan, United Arab Emirates, Uzbekistan, and Yemen.

[40] Non-Muslim Africa comprises thirty-five countries: Angola, Benin, Botswana, Burkina Faso, Burundi, Cameroon, Cape Verde, 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, South Sudan, Swaziland, Tanzania, Togo, Uganda, Zambia, and Zimbabwe.

and Sierra Leone reduced its score by ten points since ending their brutal civil wars in the early years of the new millennium. The Sub-Saharan Africa region also has the state which has shown, by far, the greatest net increase in state fragility of all the countries in the global system: Central African Republic, which shows a nine point increase in state fragility since 1995.

Countries in the Non-Muslim Africa region show somewhat better net improvement in Effectiveness (65) than Legitimacy (48). The region shows very modest improvement in the Security and Economic dimensions; much of the region's net gain has come in Political Effectiveness and Social Effectiveness and Legitimacy. Particularly disheartening is the lack of substantial improvement in the region's Security Legitimacy, Political Legitimacy, and Economic Effectiveness and Legitimacy. The interplay between insecurity, poverty, and continuing poor economic development presents serious impediments to future improvements in conflict, governance, and development in the region. Under these conditions, the region's net improvement in Political Effectiveness (i.e., greater democratic authority) may not be sustainable without substantial donor support.

CONCLUDING REMARKS

The Center for Systemic Peace has been systematically monitoring global system performance since it was established in 1997; first, by examining the protracted conflicts of the Cold War period and, then, by charting the "peace dividend" that began to accrue after its demise. We are now following the conflict storm that has been ravaging the MENA region since the turn of the twenty-first century. It is the concentration of discontent and the escalating intensity of the emotive and symbolic content of the current storm that cause us the gravest concern, particularly because the MENA region had only begun to recover from a similar conflict storm that lasted from the early 1970s through the end of the Cold War in 1991. A conflict storm cannot be resolved by adding to or fueling its destructive potential but, rather, by acting to limit its potential and contain its ill-effects. Recovery from such storms can span generations and the scars of political violence are fossilized in the local culture and serve to impede future recovery and "arrest" further development. In the Age of Complexity, the humanitarian imperative is to limit the damage caused by these storms.

In *Peace and Conflict 2003,* a precursor to the *Global Report* series, Marshall and Gurr stated, "We may be witnessing the beginning of a second anti-globalization rebellion [in the Islamic world]. The professed vision of the al Qaeda terrorist network is essentially anti-globalization. And the US-led 'war on terrorism' clearly resembles a global anti-insurgency campaign. Regardless of the interpretation, this unfolding 'global war' has serious implications for world politics."[41] Nearly fifteen years later, the global Islamic "insurgency" continues to rage and its effects on the global system are pushing the region toward a complex, cascading, humanitarian catastrophe. Averting that outcome will require an immediate and concerted global effort to reverse its spread and contain its effects. Already, global politics is reeling from a backlash of anti-internationalist sentiments.

In mid-2017, the world is feeling the storm's rapidly increasing and pervasive ill-effects. Forcibly displaced populations in the world have nearly doubled since 2012 (35.8 million

[41] Marshall and Gurr, *Peace and Conflict 2003,* p. 40. The "first anti-globalization rebellion" was identified as the anti-colonialism movement following the Second World War.

in 2012 to 67.7 million in 2016) and the EU has warned that there are 6.6 million people clustered across the Mediterranean, poised for migration to Europe. Three MENA countries have no functioning central government: Libya, South Sudan, and Yemen, with many others in or emerging from failure or otherwise unable to maintain social order and provide basic services; five countries are facing imminent famine. Wars are fought that cannot be won. When the futility of war replaces the utility of war in our imaginations, incentives to war are lost and the future for our children is won.

The *Global Report* series

Global Report 2007 examined 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 will remain high for the foreseeable future.

Global Report 2008 charted change over time in the global and regional parameters of state fragility. We showed evidence of a "peace dividend" with the end of the Cold War and examined the link between state fragility and armed conflict.

Global Report 2009 underscored the continuing malaise affecting both Non-Muslim Africa and the Muslim regions and highlighted a general imbalance between substantial gains in effectiveness and continuing deficits in legitimacy. This imbalance is especially problematic in the context of our growing investment in and reliance on democratic governance and aspirations for a "democratic peace."

Global Report 2011 introduced the topic of societal-system complexity and intimated that the increasing regularity of international association and organization and the increasing density of communication and information exchange, all of which have skyrocketed since the late 1970s, are foundational elements of "an effective government, a strong private sector, and a vital civil society" and, as such, a good basis for peacemaking. The report also discussed cascade effects within the global system and argued that a "fourth cascade" of democratization was faltering in the Muslim world.

Global Report 2014 discussed the importance of emotive content in understanding dynamics and processes within complex societal-systems. The report outlines a general process model through which political action and emotive content may escalate and how this process conditions conflict, governance, and development. It raises attention to the connection between "undevelopment" and high numbers of militants and extremists in a societal-system.

THE STATE FRAGILITY INDEX AND MATRIX 2016

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 2017* with our assessments of the fragility of the system's constituent units: the 167 independent (macro) states. The idea of using a matrix of effectiveness and legitimacy dimensions as a method for assessing state fragility was originally 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, particularly Jack A. Goldstone, and those involved in parallel efforts at USAID; however, the matrix of indicators reported

here was specifically designed and applied by Marshall and reported annually in the *Global Report* series (since 2007).[42]

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 have played key roles), those developed by Barton and associates at CSIS, Country Indicators for Foreign Policy created by Carment, metrics developed for the Office of the Coordinator for Reconstruction and Stabilization under 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 and the "Index of State Weakness" developed at The Brookings Institution.[43]

All of the above schemes recognize that any assessment of a state's ability to win the loyalty of its people depends 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, (conflict management) and maintain legitimacy by being perceived as just and fair in the manner it carries out those tasks (societal integration). 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 not gained or has lost both.

The partnership between the Center for Systemic Peace and Societal-Systems Research Inc makes the State Fragility assessments unique in that they are based on real-time monitoring of security and political conditions in each of the 167 countries under examination and they use well-respected and annually updated data sources for the quantitative assessments. These primary information resources make the State Fragility Index and Matrix as current and consistent as possible.

STATE FRAGILITY COLOR ICONS

Table 2, which begins on the following page, presents the State Fragility Index and Matrix 2016 and the corresponding ratings of the global system's 167 countries. It is accompanied by detailed Technical Notes that identify each of the data sources used and describe how the various indicators were constructed. Colors icons used in the table are employed intuitively:

■**Black Icons** (used only for the Economic Effectiveness) represent "extreme fragility" and a score of 4;

■**Red Icons** represent "high fragility" and a score of 3;

■**Orange Icons** represent "moderate fragility" and a score of 2;

■**Yellow Icons** represent "low fragility" and a score of 1; and

■**Green Icons** represent "no fragility" and a score of 0.

[42] Electronic copies of previous editions in the *Global Report* series are available in PDF format on the "Global Report" page of the Center for Systemic Peace Web site.

[43] See Monty G. Marshall, "Fragility, Instability, and the Failure of States: Assessing the Sources of Systemic Risk," Center for Preventive Action, Working Paper 1, New York: Council on Foreign Relations, 2008, for a detailed, comparative analysis of such composite indicators.

TABLE 2: STATE FRAGILITY INDEX AND MATRIX 2016

Monty G. Marshall and Gabrielle Elzinga-Marshall
Center for Systemic Peace

	Fragility Index	Effectiveness Score	Legitimacy Score	Security Effectiveness	Security Legitimacy	Armed Conflict Indicator	Political Effectiveness	Political Legitimacy	Regime Type	Economic Effectiveness	Economic Legitimacy	Net Oil Production or Consumption	Social Effectiveness	Social Legitimacy	Regional Effects
Dem. Rep. of Congo	24	13	11			War			dem						Afr
Central African Rep.	23	12	11			War			DEM						Afr
South Sudan	22	12	10			War			SF			na			Afr
Sudan (North)	22	11	11			War			aut						Mus
Afghanistan	21	11	10			War			aut			+			Mus
Burundi	21	12	9			War			aut						Afr
Yemen	21	10	11			War			SF			+			Mus
Somalia	20	10	10			War			dem						Mus
Chad	19	10	9			*			aut			3			Mus
Ethiopia	19	9	10			War			aut						Afr
Myanmar	19	9	10			War			DEM						
Guinea	18	10	8			*			dem						Mus
Iraq	18	8	10			War			DEM			36			Mus
Niger	18	10	8			*			dem						Mus
Nigeria	18	9	9			War			DEM			3			Afr
Angola	17	8	9			*			aut			24			Afr
Côte d'Ivoire	17	9	8			*			dem						Mus
Guinea-Bissau	17	10	7			*			DEM						Afr
Zimbabwe	17	9	8						dem						Afr
Burkina Faso	16	9	7						DEM						Afr
Cameroon	16	8	8			War			aut						Afr
Mali	16	8	8			War			dem						Mus
Mauritania	16	8	8						aut						Mus
Pakistan	16	8	8			War			DEM						Mus

	Fragility Index	Effectiveness Score	Legitimacy Score	Security Effectiveness	Security Legitimacy	Armed Conflict Indicator	Political Effectiveness	Political Legitimacy	Regime Type	Economic Effectiveness	Economic Legitimacy	Net Oil Production or Consumption	Social Effectiveness	Social Legitimacy	Regional Effects
Rwanda	16	8	8			*			aut						Afr
Uganda	16	9	7			*			aut						Afr
Eritrea	15	9	6			*			AUT						Afr
Gambia	15	9	6						dem						Mus
Syria	15	8	7			War			AUT			+			Mus
Haiti	14	8	6			*			dem						
Malawi	14	8	6						DEM						Afr
Congo-Brazzaville	13	6	7			*			aut			24			Afr
Liberia	13	7	6			*			DEM						Afr
Libya	13	5	8			War			SF			9			Mus
Sierra Leone	13	6	7			*			DEM						Afr
Togo	13	7	6						aut						Afr
Bangladesh	12	7	5			*			dem						Mus
Djibouti	12	5	7			*			dem			+			Mus
Egypt	12	6	6			War			aut						Mus
Equatorial Guinea	12	4	8						AUT			103			Afr
Kyrgyzstan	12	7	5			*			DEM			+			Mus
Laos	12	6	6			*			AUT						
Philippines	12	8	4			War			DEM			+			
Zambia	12	5	7						DEM						Afr
Algeria	11	3	8			*			dem			12			Mus
Cambodia	11	6	5						dem						
Comoros	11	6	5						DEM						Mus
Ghana	11	6	5			*			DEM						Afr
India	11	7	4			War			DEM						
Madagascar	11	8	3						DEM						Afr
Mozambique	11	5	6			*			dem						Afr
Nepal	11	8	3			*			DEM						

	Fragility Index	Effectiveness Score	Legitimacy Score	Security Effectiveness	Security Legitimacy	Armed Conflict Indicator	Political Effectiveness	Political Legitimacy	Regime Type	Economic Effectiveness	Economic Legitimacy	Net Oil Production or Consumption	Social Effectiveness	Social Legitimacy	Regional Effects
Papua New Guinea	11	6	5			*			dem						
Sri Lanka	11	6	5			*			DEM			+			
Tajikistan	11	5	6			*			aut						Mus
Uzbekistan	11	4	7						AUT						Mus
Venezuela	11	4	7						dem			20			
Azerbaijan	10	3	7			*			AUT			28			Mus
Benin	10	6	4						DEM			+			Afr
Bolivia	10	4	6						DEM						
Colombia	10	3	7			War			DEM			4			
Gabon	10	3	7						dem			40			Afr
Kenya	10	5	5			*			DEM						Afr
Senegal	10	5	5			*			DEM						Mus
Tanzania	10	6	4						dem						Afr
Bahrain	9	3	6						AUT			2			Mus
Guyana	9	3	6						DEM			++			
Iran	9	2	7			*			AUT			11			Mus
Kazakhstan	9	3	6						AUT			30			Mus
Lesotho	9	7	2						DEM						Afr
Paraguay	9	4	5						DEM			+			
Russia	9	4	5			War			dem			19			
Solomon Islands	9	6	3			*			DEM			+			
Turkey	9	5	4			War			aut			+			Mus
Turkmenistan	9	3	6						AUT			7			Mus
Ukraine	9	4	5			War			dem			+			
Guatemala	8	4	4			*			DEM			+			
Indonesia	8	5	3			*			DEM			+			Mus
Moldova	8	4	4			*			DEM			+			
Nicaragua	8	5	3						DEM			+			

	Fragility Index	Effectiveness Score	Legitimacy Score	Security Effectiveness	Security Legitimacy	Armed Conflict Indicator	Political Effectiveness	Political Legitimacy	Regime Type	Economic Effectiveness	Economic Legitimacy	Net Oil Production or Consumption	Social Effectiveness	Social Legitimacy	Regional Effects
Saudi Arabia	**8**	0	8	■	■	*	■	■	**AUT**	■	■	**106**	■	■	**Mus**
South Africa	**8**	3	5	■	■	*	■	■	**DEM**	■	■	**+**	■	■	**Afr**
Swaziland	**8**	4	4	■	■		■	■	**AUT**	■	■	**+**	■	■	**Afr**
Bhutan	**7**	4	3	■	■	*	■	■	**dem**	■	■	**+**	■	■	
Ecuador	**7**	2	5	■	■	*	■	■	**dem**	■	■	**6**	■	■	
Honduras	**7**	4	3	■	■		■	■	**DEM**	■	■	**+**	■	■	
Israel	**7**	2	5	■	■	**War**	■	■	**DEM**	■	■	**++**	■	■	
Kosovo	**7**	3	4	■	■	*	■	■	**DEM**	■	■	**+**	■	■	**Mus**
Mongolia	**7**	2	5	■	■		■	■	**DEM**	■	■		■	■	
North Korea	**7**	2	5	■	■		■	■	**AUT**	■	■		■	■	
Timor Leste	**7**	5	2	■	■	*	■	■	**DEM**	■	■	**18**	■	■	
Vietnam	**7**	5	2	■	■		■	■	**AUT**	■	■		■	■	
Armenia	**6**	2	4	■	■	*	■	■	**dem**	■	■		■	■	
Brazil	**6**	2	4	■	■		■	■	**DEM**	■	■		■	■	
China	**6**	2	4	■	■	**X**	■	■	**AUT**	■	■	**+**	■	■	
Georgia	**6**	3	3	■	■	*	■	■	**DEM**	■	■	**+**	■	■	
Jordan	**6**	3	3	■	■		■	■	**aut**	■	■	**++**	■	■	**Mus**
Morocco	**6**	4	2	■	■		■	■	**aut**	■	■	**+**	■	■	**Mus**
Peru	**6**	1	5	■	■	*	■	■	**DEM**	■	■	**+**	■	■	
Suriname	**6**	1	5	■	■		■	■	**dem**	■	■	**1**	■	■	
Cape Verde	**5**	3	2	■	■		■	■	**DEM**	■	■	**+**	■	■	**Afr**
Cuba	**5**	1	4	■	■		■	■	**AUT**	■	■	**+**	■	■	
Lebanon	**5**	1	4	■	■	*	■	■	**DEM**	■	■	**++**	■	■	**Mus**
Malaysia	**5**	1	4	■	■		■	■	**dem**	■	■		■	■	**Mus**
Mexico	**5**	2	3	■	■	**War**	■	■	**DEM**	■	■	**1**	■	■	
Namibia	**5**	2	3	■	■		■	■	**DEM**	■	■	**+**	■	■	**Afr**
Oman	**5**	2	3	■	■		■	■	**AUT**	■	■	**69**	■	■	**Mus**
Thailand	**5**	3	2	■	■	**War**	■	■	**aut**	■	■	**+**	■	■	

	Fragility Index	Effectiveness Score	Legitimacy Score	Security Effectiveness	Security Legitimacy	Armed Conflict Indicator	Political Effectiveness	Political Legitimacy	Regime Type	Economic Effectiveness	Economic Legitimacy	Net Oil Production or Consumption	Social Effectiveness	Social Legitimacy	Regional Effects
Bosnia	**4**	2	2			*			—			+			
Dominican Republic	**4**	1	3						DEM			+			
El Salvador	**4**	2	2			*			DEM			+			
Fiji	**4**	3	1						dem			++			
Romania	**4**	1	3						DEM			+			
Trinidad and Tobago	**4**	0	4						DEM			11			
Tunisia	**4**	2	2						DEM			+			Mus
United Arab Emirates	**4**	1	3						AUT			114			Mus
Belarus	**3**	2	1						AUT			++			
Botswana	**3**	2	1						DEM			+			Afr
Cyprus	**3**	0	3						DEM			X			
Jamaica	**3**	1	2						DEM			++			
Kuwait	**3**	0	3						AUT			243			Mus
Montenegro	**3**	3	0						DEM			+			
Panama	**3**	0	3						DEM			X			
Qatar	**3**	0	3						AUT			288			Mus
Serbia	**3**	1	2			*			DEM			+			
United States	**3**	2	1			X			DEM			++			
Albania	**2**	1	1			*			DEM						Mus
Argentina	**2**	1	1						DEM						
Australia	**2**	0	2						DEM			++			
Belgium	**2**	0	2						DEM			X			
Bulgaria	**2**	1	1						DEM			+			
Chile	**2**	0	2						DEM			++			
Croatia	**2**	0	2			*			DEM			+			
Greece	**2**	0	2						DEM			++			
Macedonia	**2**	1	1						DEM			+			
New Zealand	**2**	0	2						DEM			++			

	Fragility Index	Effectiveness Score	Legitimacy Score	Security Effectiveness	Security Legitimacy	Armed Conflict Indicator	Political Effectiveness	Political Legitimacy	Regime Type	Economic Effectiveness	Economic Legitimacy	Net Oil Production or Consumption	Social Effectiveness	Social Legitimacy	Regional Effects
Norway	**2**	0	2	■	■		■	■	**DEM**	■	■	**125**	■	■	
Singapore	**2**	0	2	■	■		■	■	**aut**	■	■	**X**	■	■	
Uruguay	**2**	0	2	■	■		■	■	**DEM**	■	■	**++**	■	■	
Costa Rica	**1**	1	0	■	■		■	■	**DEM**	■	■	**+**	■	■	
Lithuania	**1**	1	0	■	■		■	■	**DEM**	■	■	**++**	■	■	
Slovak Republic	**1**	0	1	■	■		■	■	**DEM**	■	■	**+**	■	■	
Switzerland	**1**	0	1	■	■		■	■	**DEM**	■	■	**++**	■	■	
Austria	**0**	0	0	■	■		■	■	**DEM**	■	■	**++**	■	■	
Canada	**0**	0	0	■	■		■	■	**DEM**	■	■	**22**	■	■	
Czech Republic	**0**	0	0	■	■		■	■	**DEM**	■	■	**++**	■	■	
Denmark	**0**	0	0	■	■		■	■	**DEM**	■	■		■	■	
Estonia	**0**	0	0	■	■		■	■	**DEM**	■	■	**+**	■	■	
Finland	**0**	0	0	■	■		■	■	**DEM**	■	■	**X**	■	■	
France	**0**	0	0	■	■		■	■	**DEM**	■	■	**++**	■	■	
Germany	**0**	0	0	■	■		■	■	**DEM**	■	■	**X**	■	■	
Hungary	**0**	0	0	■	■		■	■	**DEM**	■	■	**+**	■	■	
Ireland	**0**	0	0	■	■		■	■	**DEM**	■	■	**X**	■	■	
Italy	**0**	0	0	■	■		■	■	**DEM**	■	■	**++**	■	■	
Japan	**0**	0	0	■	■		■	■	**DEM**	■	■	**X**	■	■	
Latvia	**0**	0	0	■	■		■	■	**DEM**	■	■	**++**	■	■	
Luxembourg	**0**	0	0	■	■		■	■	**DEM**	■	■	**X**	■	■	
Mauritius	**0**	0	0	■	■		■	■	**DEM**	■	■	**++**	■	■	
Netherlands	**0**	0	0	■	■		■	■	**DEM**	■	■	**X**	■	■	
Poland	**0**	0	0	■	■		■	■	**DEM**	■	■	**++**	■	■	
Portugal	**0**	0	0	■	■		■	■	**DEM**	■	■	**++**	■	■	
Slovenia	**0**	0	0	■	■		■	■	**DEM**	■	■	**++**	■	■	
South Korea	**0**	0	0	■	■		■	■	**DEM**	■	■	**X**	■	■	
Spain	**0**	0	0	■	■		■	■	**DEM**	■	■	**++**	■	■	

	Fragility Index	Effectiveness Score	Legitimacy Score	Security Effectiveness	Security Legitimacy	Armed Conflict Indicator	Political Effectiveness	Political Legitimacy	Regime Type	Economic Effectiveness	Economic Legitimacy	Net Oil Production or Consumption	Social Effectiveness	Social Legitimacy	Regional Effects
Sweden	**0**	0	0	■	■		■	■	**DEM**	■	■	**X**	■	■	
Taiwan	**0**	0	0	■	■		■	■	**DEM**	■	■	**X**	■	■	
United Kingdom	**0**	0	0	■	■	*	■	■	**DEM**	■	■	+	■	■	

TECHNICAL NOTES TO THE STATE FRAGILITY INDEX AND MATRIX 2015:

The State Fragility Index and Matrix 2016 lists all independent countries in the world in which the total country population is greater than 500,000 in 2016 (167 countries). The Fragility Matrix scores each country on both Effectiveness and Legitimacy in four performance dimensions: Security, Political, Economic, and Social, at the end of the year 2016. 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" with the exception of the Economic Effectiveness indicator, which is rated on a five-point fragility scale (including 4 "extreme fragility"). The State Fragility Index, then, combines scores on the eight indicators and ranges from 0 "no fragility" to 25 "extreme 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 sustaining progressive development.

Fragility Indices

State Fragility Index = Effectiveness Score + Legitimacy Score (25 points possible)
Effectiveness Score = Security Effectiveness + Political Effectiveness + Economic Effectiveness + Social Effectiveness (13 points possible)
Legitimacy Score = Security Legitimacy + Political Legitimacy + Economic Legitimacy + Social Legitimacy (12 points possible)

General Notes: The State Fragility Index and Matrix was originally introduced in "Global Report on Conflict, Governance, and State Fragility 2007." In order to standardize procedures for scoring each of the eight component indicators to make the indicators and indices comparable across time, we set threshold values for the categorical fragility scores based on cut-points derived from values in a baseline year (2004). This methodology effects continuous measures used for Economic Effectiveness (GDP per capita in constant 2005 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. Social Effectiveness scores were revised slightly due to a change in the formulation of the Human Development Index by the UNDP *Human Development Report* in 2010. The Economic Effectiveness indicator was rescaled in 2010 and a fifth value was added to denote "extreme fragility" in countries that have a GDP per capita of $500 or less (constant 2005 US$). As the World Bank regularly revises historical, country-level GDP and periodically adjusts "constant" GDP figures to a new base year, we recode the entire time series of the Economic Effectiveness indicator annually using the most recent GDP figures provided by the World Bank; this may result in some changes to historical indicators and indices in the time-series data set. In addition, a fourth indicator was added in 2008 to the calculation of the Political Legitimacy Score (scores for all previous years have been recalculated; state fragility scores have been calculated for all countries annually beginning with 1995). As several of the Matrix indicators

use "most recent year available" data, the Matrix scores are carried forward and adjusted when new data becomes available; see details below.

Security Indicators

Security Effectiveness ("seceff") Score: Total Residual War, a measure of general security and vulnerability to political violence, 1992-2016 (25 years). Source: Monty G. Marshall, Major Episodes of Political Violence, 1946-2016, (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* + (0.04*yrpeace* x *warsum*)]. 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* + (0.04*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 ("secleg") Score: State Repression, a measure of state repression, 2002-2015. 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 determine the state repression score, we calculate the following: (1) nine-year average, 2002-2010; (2) four-year average, 2011-2014; and (3) most recent value, 2015; 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.

Referent Indicator: The *Armed Conflict Indicator* provides a general indicator of the country's most recent experience with major armed conflict, including wars of independence, communal wars, ethnic wars, revolutionary wars, and inter-state wars. Referent indicators are not used in the calculation of state fragility scores. Source: Major Episodes of Political Violence, 1946-2016, Center for Systemic Peace. A dark shaded "**War**" entry indicates a country is actively involved in a major armed conflict(s) in mid-2017; a medium shaded "**X**" indicates that the country has emerged from major armed conflict(s) in the past five years (since early 2012); and a light shaded "*****" indicates that the country has been directly involved in one or more major armed conflicts sometime during the previous twenty year period (1992-2011) but has not experienced a major armed conflict since, that is, for at least the past five years.

Political Indicators

Political Effectiveness ("poleff") Score: Regime/Governance Stability, 2001-2016. Sources: Monty G. Marshall, Keith Jaggers, and Ted Robert Gurr, Polity V Project: Political Regime Characteristics and Transitions, 1800-2016; 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, 1946-2016, datasets (www.systemicpeace.org). Three indicators are used to calculate the Regime/Governance Stability score: Regime Durability (Polity V, 2016); Current Leader's Year's in Office (Leadership Duration, 2016); and Total Number of Coup Events 2001-2016, including successful, attempted, plotted, alleged coups and forced resignations or assassinations of chief executives, 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 V 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 ("polleg") Score: Regime/Governance Inclusion, 2016. Sources: Polity V, 2016; Ted Robert Gurr, Monty G. Marshall, and Victor Asal, Minorities at Risk Discrimination 2016 (updated by Monty G. Marshall); and Ted Robert Gurr and Barbara Harff, Elite Leadership Characteristics 2016 (updated by Monty G.

Marshall). In the 2007 report, four indicators were used to determine the Regime/Governance Inclusion score: Factionalism (Polity V, *parcomp* value 3 = 1); Ethnic Group Political Discrimination against 5% or more of the population (Discrimination: *POLDIS* values 2, 3, 4 = 1); Political Salience of Elite Ethnicity (Elite Leadership Characteristics: *ELETH* values 1 or 2 = 1); and Polity Fragmentation (Polity V, *fragment* value greater than 0 = 1). To these indicators, we have added Exclusionary Ideology of Ruling Elite (Elite Leadership Characteristics: *ELITI* value 1 = 1). Political Legitimacy Score is calculated by adding these five indicators; scores of 4 or 5 (rare) are recoded as 3. Note: Countries coded in the Polity V 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.

Referent Indicator: The *Regime Type* column provides a general indicator of the country's regime type on 31 December 2016 based on the "polity" score recorded in the Polity V data series. An upper case "**AUT**" indicates the country is governed by an institutionalized autocratic regime (POLITY -6 to -10); a lower case "**aut**" indicates that the country is governed by an uninstitutionalized, or "weak," autocratic regime (POLITY -5 to 0). An upper case "**DEM**" indicates an institutionalized democracy (POLITY 6 to 10) and a lower case "**dem**" indicates an uninstitutionalized, or "weak," democratic regime (POLITY 1 to 5). Countries listed with a "**SF**" (state failure) are experiencing a "collapse of central authority" such that the regime has lost control of more than half of its territory through some combination of human and natural factors, usually due to serious armed challenges, poor performance, and diminished administrative capacity (Haiti, Libya, South Sudan, Syria, Yemen); those denoted with dash "**—**" indicates that the central government is propped up by the presence of foreign forces and authorities that provide crucial security support for the local regime and, without which, central authority would be susceptible to collapse (Bosnia). Countries with transitional governments at the end of 2016 (Myanmar) are classified as either weak democracies (dem) or weak autocracies (aut) according to the transitional regime's authority characteristics. As the Polity V indicator of "polar factionalism" has proven to be a very potent indicator of political instability, regimes that are denoted as factional (i.e., PARCOMP=3) are shaded; in addition, transitional (POLITY score -88), failed (POLITY score -77), and occupied (POLITY score -66) are also considered unstable and, so, are shaded for emphasis on this referent indicator.

Economic Indicators

Economic Effectiveness ("ecoeff") Score: Gross Domestic Product per Capita (constant 2005 US$), 2010-2016. Source: World Bank, World Development Indicators, 2016 (www.worldbank.org/data). The annual values for the past seven years are reviewed to verify that the value in the most recent year is consistent with values in previous years and that a threshold/category change in a country's GDP per capita indicator score is part of a consistent trend and not simply a short-term aberration from that trend. The value for the most recent year (2016) is coded into a five-point fragility scale, based on cut-points derived from the threshold values for the fit of the State Fragility Index and GDP per capita in a baseline year (2005). The standardized categories are as follows: 4 = less than $500.00; 3 = $500.00 to $1199.99; 2 = $1200.00 to $2999.99; 1 = $3000.00 to $7499.99; and 0 = greater than or equal to $7500. When a country's 2016 value exceeds the borderline value separating categories, the fifteen-year income growth indicator is used to assign the final score: selecting the higher fragility category if long-term growth is negative or the lower fragility category if long-term growth is positive. **Note:** These cutpoint values and the baseline year are consistent with the 2014 SFI, but differ from earlier versions of the Global Report due to revisions made by the World Bank in contemporary and historical data with the 2014 version of the data series. 2016 data has been published by the World Bank using 2010 as a baseline year; the real GDP data has been adjusted to 2005 US$ for comparability with earlier iterations of the SFI. An update to 2010 US$ is forthcoming.

Economic Legitimacy ("ecoleg") Score: Share of Export Trade in Manufactured Goods, 2002-2016. Source: UN Development Programme, Structure of Trade, 2016, and World Bank, World Development Indicators (WDI), 2016, (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. The world's main illicit drug producing/supplying countries: Afghanistan, Burma (Myanmar), and Colombia are given the highest value (3) on this indicator.

Referent Indicator: The *Net Oil Production or Consumption* indicator provides information on a country's 2016 petroleum energy profile expressed in net "barrels per capita" as reported by the US Energy Information Administration (www.eia.doe.gov). The indicator value is calculated by subtracting the country's reported total daily consumption figure from its total daily production figure (in thousands of barrels), multiplying the result by 365 (to get an annual figure), and dividing by the country's total population (in thousands). A dark-shaded numerical value (e.g., Qatar's **261**) indicates a net petroleum producer expressed in barrels per capita. A single plus sign "**+**" indicates a minor net petroleum consuming country (1-5); a double plus sign "**++**"

indicates a moderate net petroleum consuming country (5-10 barrels per capita) and an "**X**" indicates a major net consuming country (greater than 10 barrels per capita). Blank cells indicate country's with low petroleum profiles (less than one barrel per capita producer or consumer). Disaggregated data for North and South Sudan were not available (na). Taken together, these countries are a minor net producer (1.2 barrels per capita).

Social Indicators

Social Effectiveness ("soceff") Score: Human Capital Development, 2016. Source: UNDP *Human Development Report 2016*, Human Development Index (HDI), 2016 (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 .400; 2 = greater than .400 and less than or equal to .600; 1 = greater than .600 and less than or equal to .700; and 0 = greater than .700. **Note:** These cutpoints differ from those reported in the 2007 - 2009 editions of *Global Report*. This is due to a change in the formulation of the Human Development Index reported in the UNDP *Human Development Report* beginning in 2010. The new UNDP report provides scores for earlier years and orders countries similarly across the two (old and new) formulations of the HDI; thus the two indices could be combined to provide consistent coverage annually for the entire period, 1995-2015.

Social Legitimacy ("socleg") Score: Human Capital Care, 2016. Source: US Census Bureau, International Data Base, 2015, (IDB; www.census.gov/ipc/www/idb), Infant Mortality Rate, 2016. 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 167 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.

Referent Indicator: The *Regional Effects* indicator provides information to identify two important "neighborhood" clusters of countries: dark-shaded "**Mus**" indicates a country that is characterized by a Muslim majority (countries mainly located in northern Africa, the Middle East, and Central and Southeast Asia) and unshaded "**Afr**" indicates a country located in non-Muslim (sub-Saharan) Africa.

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