Assessing State Fragility, With a Focus on the Middle East and North Africa Region:

A 2014 Country Indicators for Foreign Policy Report

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Country Indicators for Foreign Policy
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List of Acronyms

ALC	Authority-Legitimacy-Capacity
CBSA	Canada Border Services Agency
CIDA	Canadian International Development Agency
CIFP	Country Indicators for Foreign Policy
CAN	CIFP Net Assessment
CPIA	Country Policy and Institutional Assessment
DAC	Development Assistance Committee
DFAIT	Department of Foreign Affairs and International Trade
DND	Department of National Defence
DRDC	Defence Research and Development Canada
FSI	Failed (now Fragile) States Index
FI	Fragility Index
GWOT	Global War on Terror
HDI	Human Development Index
IDRC	International Development Research Centre
INCAF	International Network on Conflict and Fragility
LICUS	Low Income Countries Under Stress
MDGs	Millennium Development Goals
MEDAFR	Mediterranean African
MENA	Middle East and North Africa
UNDP	United Nations Development Programme

Executive Summary

This Country Indicators for Foreign Policy (CIFP) report provides a global fragility ranking for a total of 197 countries using 2013 data.[1] Somalia tops the list of most fragile countries followed closely by the Central African Republic, South Sudan, and Afghanistan. Sudan, the Democratic Republic of the Congo, Eritrea, Chad, Guinea-Bissau, and Gambia round up our top 10. The majority of the top 20 most fragile states are located in Sub-Saharan Africa, a finding that is consistent with our historical data (www.carleton.ca/cifp). The rest are in the Middle East and North Africa (MENA), namely Yemen, and Central and South Asia, namely Afghanistan and Pakistan.

A year-over-year comparison with CIFP's previous rankings shows that Somalia, the Central African Republic, Afghanistan, Sudan and South Sudan rank consistently among the top poor performers and usually almost always within the top five for several years. These are countries that we would typically characterize as being trapped in fragility. Furthermore, it should be noted that most countries in the top 20 in the 2012 ranking have remained in the top 20 for the 2013 and 2014 rankings. On the other side of the ledger, Côte d'Ivoire (24th), Liberia (33rd), Mauritania (36th), and Kenya (38th) have moved out of the top 20, suggesting modest improvements in their performance over the last several years. Kenya and Mauritania, in particular, have even moved out of the top 30.

This report also provides a composite analysis of fragility using the Authority, Legitimacy and Capacity (ALC) cluster scores. The ALC assessment enables us to evaluate the different characteristics of stateness, namely in terms of identifying the sources and extent of both weaknesses and strengths; it also assists policymakers in their decisions on where and how to engage by providing additional nuance to the question of fragility.

Somalia now tops the list of authority-challenged fragile states, a result that is indicative of the political uncertainties that have taken place in that country. Afghanistan, Sudan, the Central African Republic, and South Sudan round out the top five in the authority category. For the legitimacy rankings, Central African Republic, Somalia and Syria top the list, with Afghanistan, Uzbekistan and Turkmenistan also showing up in the top 20. As has been the case historically, the worst performers in the capacity rankings are from Sub-Saharan Africa; except for Timor Leste, all of those in the top 20 in that category are from that region.

The remainder of this report examines trends in fragility, with a focus on the MENA Region, which has been affected by the Arab Spring since late 2010. The report concludes with policy recommendations and directions for future work on the sequencing of state breakdown and the associated timing of donor interventions.

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[1] As is common practice with structural data reporting, we refer to this ranking as the 2014 Global Fragility ranking (see Table 1). It should be noted that the 2013 data remains preliminary at this point and will be updated as more indicators become available.

1. Introduction

A recent article by Michael Mazarr (2014) in the well-known Foreign Affairs magazine argued that the monolithic state failure concept was no longer useful to policy makers because the so-called Global War on Terrorism (GWOT) was essentially dead and that the results from comprehensive interventions in failed states over the last decade were unconvincing. The idea of using categories based on a ranking of countries from failed to not failed has evolved since 1994 when the US State Department created its comprehensive State Failure Task Force. In fact, several organizations now provide annual rankings of countries according to fragility indices, and in some cases, the sub-components of the respective fragility index (see Mata and Ziaja, 2009).

However, it was the GWOT that catapulted the idea of a single ranked index of country performance onto the policy stage with the introduction of the Fund for Peace 'Failed States Index' (FSI) in 2005 (now renamed 'Fragile States Index'). Further justification for single ranking of state performance was provided by the World Bank, using its Low Income Countries Under Stress (LICUS) and Country Policy and Institutional Assessment (CPIA) frameworks, to show that very weak states were the crucible for terrorist activities and vectors for the transmission of transnational conflict, crime, disease, and environmental instability.

In response to these criticisms, we have developed a more nuanced context-driven approach. The objective of this report is to provide an updated account of fragility rankings using the Country Indicators for Foreign Policy (CIFP) Fragility Index (FI) (www.carleton.ca/cifp) and its different sub-components. While much of the report focuses on the most recent state of fragility across countries (and regions), it also considers the evolution of fragility in the MENA region since the Arab Spring, and discusses the policy implications of the findings. As usual, a major challenge in compiling this report was to ensure that all available data sources are included and that the overall FI and its sub-components had enough indicators in order to be representative of the actual situation in each country and over time.

Given their weak policy environments, and the persistence of fragility over time, engaging in fragile states is a long term challenge. Furthermore, policy entry in fragile states is difficult because of their level of structural complexity. In the current report, we focus mostly on structural data to profile countries along several dimensions. As described in Appendix 1, the full methodology developed by CIFP combines different levels of information – structural data, events-based data, expert and field surveys – which are necessary for both retrospective and predictive assessments (Tikuisis et al., 2012).

Fragility is a measure of the extent to which the actual practices and capacities of states differ from its idealized image (Carment et al. 2009b). Based on CIFP's conceptualization, fragility is a matter of degree not kind. It is a measure of the extent to which the actual institutions, functions and political processes of a state accord with the strong image of sovereign state, the one reified in both theory and international law. By our definition, all states are to some extent fragile; this is, we believe, a closer representation of reality than an arbitrary line, however drawn, between weak and strong or resilient and vulnerable. While conflict-affected states are, by definition, fragile, some, but not all, fragile states are mired in deep rooted conflict and violent transitions.

With its emphasis on a state's structural properties, the CIFP approach to fragility is intended to capture and integrate a number of distinct academic and policy frameworks into a cohesive and coherent whole. The methodology underpinning the framework - which is described in more detail below - is based on three core assumptions. First, that conflict in fragile states is influenced by development and economic

capacity problems. Second, that a lack of **authority**, namely the inability to control both people and territory is a key element in the emergence and protractedness of conflict. Third, that weak **legitimacy** is a key determinant of conflict in fragile states.

The FI developed by CIFP has been in use since 2005, and our current dataset on fragility spans the period 1980-2013, which provides us with sufficient information to examine fragility across countries and over time. According to CIFP's conceptualization, the state is the primary unit of analysis and needs to exhibit the three fundamental properties of authority, legitimacy and capacity (ALC) to function properly (or to use the World Bank's language – security, justice and jobs). Fragility measures the extent to which the actual characteristics of a state differ from their ideal situation; states are constrained by both internal and external forces that are constantly changing over time. Consequently, all states are, to some extent, fragile; weaknesses in one or more of the ALC dimensions will negatively impact the fragility of a particular country. In that sense, we need to consider not only the extreme cases of failing, failed and collapsed states but also the ones that have the potential to fail.

Authority captures the extent to which a state possesses the ability to enact binding legislation over its population, to exercise coercive force over its sovereign territory, to provide core public goods, and to provide a stable and secure environment to its citizens and communities. Legitimacy describes the extent to which a particular government commands public loyalty to the governing regime, and to generate domestic support for that government's legislation and policy. When it comes to practicing effective governance, many fragile states lack the legitimacy to be effective and responsive policy makers. Capacity refers to the potential for a state to mobilize and employ resources towards productive ends. States lacking in capacity may prove unable to respond effectively to sudden shocks such as natural disasters, epidemics, food shortages, or refugee flows. This ALC approach is in effect a synthesis of different theoretical foundations and three overarching streams described above: development (as measured through indicators of capacity), conflict (as measured through indicators of authority) and security (as measured by indicators of legitimacy), each of which are covered in greater detail elsewhere (Carment et al., 2006, 2009a).

Different indicators are converted to a nine-point score based on the performance of that country relative to a global sample of countries in order to calculate composite indices for authority, legitimacy and capacity for a particular country. We use a 20% threshold (that is, we must have data for at least 20% of indicators) to calculate composite indices. As an example, in the current report, we do not report Somalia's ranking in the capacity category because it did not have enough indicators for the latter. However, given its performance in recent years, we would expect Somalia to rank among the worst performers in that category.

In our conceptualization, a higher score is an indication that a country is performing poorly relative to other countries. Averages over a five-year time frame are calculated for global rank scores in order to avoid wide fluctuations in yearly data for country performance. Typical measures found under authority include the level of corruption and contract regulation. Legitimacy includes measures such as regime type and human rights. Capacity includes measures such as GDP per capita and foreign aid as a percentage of national income since many of the most fragile countries are credit constrained and heavily dependent on aid (OECD 2011). In addition to the FI and ALC indicators, cluster scores along several dimensions (governance, economics, security and crime, human development, demography, environment) are provided to provide further nuance to the profiling of countries.

The rest of the report proceeds as follows. In section 2, we present and discuss our latest fragility ranking along several dimensions, with a particular focus on countries of concern. Section 3 focuses on state fragility in the MENA region, including the impact of the Arab Spring. Section 4 concludes with some general recommendations.

2. Country rankings

Table 1 below shows our global fragility ranking for 2014 (based on 2013 data) for a total of 190 countries. The rankings indicate that Somalia tops the list of most fragile countries followed closely by the Central African Republic, South Sudan, and Afghanistan. Sudan, the Democratic Republic of the Congo, Eritrea, Chad, Guinea-Bissau, and Gambia round up our top 10.

Gambia is an interesting case as it has moved well into the top 40 over the past few years as a result of poor performance in the 'human development' and 'environment' clusters. In the latest Human Development Report (UNDP, 2014), it is ranked in the 172th position according to the Human Development Index (HDI). In fact, the bottom 18 countries according to the HDI are all from Africa – below Afghanistan and Haiti – an indication of the capacity and human development challenges that these countries face. What makes the Gambian case also interesting – and perhaps deserving of future further examination – is the fact that it has been a relatively stable country since independence when compared to its West African neighbors. However, this relative political stability has not yielded the economic prosperity that perhaps one would expect to see over the long-term.

Overall fragility scores above 6.5 (countries color-coded in orange in Table 1 below) are considered serious. Of those most fragile states scoring 6.5 and above, there are 22 in total. Only Somalia and the Central African Republic score at or above 7.5, which we consider very serious and approximating a failed, collapsed or failing state; South Sudan at 7.40 and Afghanistan at 7.36 (see Table 2 further below) are certainly not far behind. Countries performing at or around the median are color-coded in yellow, with fragility scores ranging from 3.5 to 6.5. Countries performing well relative to others are color-coded in green, with fragility scores less than 3.5.

Table 1: Global Fragility Ranking – 2014								
1	Somalia	41	Solomon Islands	81	Colombia	121	Peru	161	Czech Republic
2	Central African Rep.	42	Burkina Faso	82	Kiribati	122	Grenada	162	Slovakia
3	South Sudan	43	Nepal	83	Turkmenistan	123	Ukraine	163	Korea, South
4	Afghanistan	44	Swaziland	84	Belize	124	Montenegro	164	Malta
5	Sudan	45	Benin	85	Cape Verde	125	Kazakhstan	165	Latvia
6	Congo, Dem. Rep.	46	Timor-Leste	86	Bolivia	126	Saint Kitts and Nevis	166	Italy
7	Eritrea	47	India	87	Tonga	127	Saint Vincent & the G.	167	Portugal
8	Chad	48	Equatorial Guinea	88	El Salvador	128	Brazil	168	Poland
9	Guinea-Bissau	49	Tanzania	89	Morocco	129	South Africa	169	Slovenia
10	Gambia	50	Cambodia	90	Namibia	130	Dominica	170	Hong Kong
11	Yemen, Rep.	51	Bangladesh	91	Ecuador	131	Seychelles	171	Australia
12	Guinea	52	Zambia	92	Dominican Rep.	132	Mexico	172	United Kingdom
13	Ethiopia	53	Tajikistan	93	Venezuela	133	Saint Lucia	173	Luxembourg
14	Burundi	54	Djibouti	94	Suriname	134	Serbia	174	France
15	Mali	55	Papua New Guinea	95	Thailand	135	Saudi Arabia	175	Netherlands
16	Uganda	56	Bhutan	96	Azerbaijan	136	Moldova	176	Belgium
17	Pakistan	57	Korea, North	97	Lebanon	137	Macedonia	177	Japan
18	Nigeria	58	Iran	98	Jamaica	138	Qatar	178	Lithuania
19	Congo, Rep.	59	Vanuatu	99	Marshall Islands	139	Georgia	179	Canada
20	Niger	60	Kyrgyzstan	100	Albania	140	Trinidad & Tobago	180	Spain
21	Haiti	61	Guatemala	101	Paraguay	141	Palau	181	Ireland
22	Myanmar (Burma)	62	Lesotho	102	Libya	142	Mauritius	182	Austria
23	Cote d'Ivoire	63	Maldives	103	Malaysia	143	Costa Rica	183	Iceland
24	Malawi	64	Ghana	104	China	144	United Arab Emir.	184	Germany
25	Madagascar	65	Vietnam	105	Turkey	145	Romania	185	New Zealand
26	Syria	66	Uzbekistan	106	Bosnia/Herzegovina	146	Macao, China	186	Norway
27	Sierra Leone	67	Senegal	107	Russia	147	Argentina	187	Finland
28	Togo	68	Fiji	108	Armenia	148	Barbados	188	Switzerland
29	Zimbabwe	69	Egypt	109	Bahrain	149	Bulgaria	189	Denmark
30	Comoros	70	Philippines	110	Jordan	150	Singapore	190	Sweden
31	Iraq	71	Micronesia	111	Oman	151	Israel		
32	Mozambique	72	Sri Lanka	112	Mongolia	152	Bahamas		
33	Liberia	73	Algeria	113	Antigua and Barbuda	153	Uruguay		
34	Sao Tome & Principe	74	Gabon	114	Brunei Darussalam	154	Croatia		
35	Cameroon	75	Kosovo	115	Botswana	155	Chile		
36	Mauritania	76	Honduras	116	Cuba	156	Greece		
37	Laos	77	Nicaragua	117	Tunisia	157	Cyprus		
38	Kenya	78	Indonesia	118	Panama	158	Hungary		
39	Rwanda	79	Guyana	119	Belarus	159	Estonia		
40	Angola	80	Samoa	120	Kuwait	160	United States		

The majority of the top 20 most fragile states are located in Sub-Saharan Africa, a finding that is consistent with our historical data (www.carleton.ca/cifp). The rest are in the MENA region (Yemen), and Central and South Asia (Afghanistan and Pakistan). A year-over-year comparison with CIFP's previous rankings (see Table 2 below) shows that Somalia, the Central African Republic, Afghanistan, Sudan and South Sudan rank consistently among the top poor performers and usually almost always within the top five. These are countries that we would typically characterize as being trapped in

fragility, not only because of their poor rankings but also due to their persistently high fragility scores over an extended period of time.
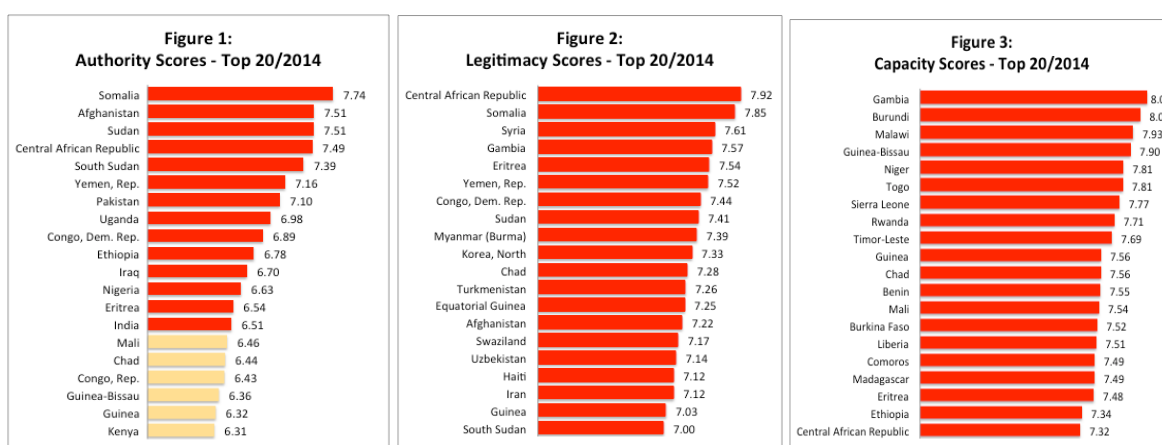
Furthermore, it should be noted that most countries in the top 20 for 2012 have remained in the top 20 for 2013 and 2014; this is consistent with longer time-series data that shows the persistence of fragility for the most egregious cases. On the other side of the ledger, Côte d'Ivoire (24th), Liberia (33rd), Mauritania (36th) and Kenya (38th) have moved out of the top 20, suggesting modest improvements in their performance over the last several years. Kenya and Mauritania, in particular, have even moved out of the top 30. One last thing to note is that the entire top 20 countries for 2014 score above 6.5.

Table 2: Highest Fragility Scores								
	2014			2013			2012	
1	Somalia	7.67	South Sudan	7.91	Somalia	7.61
2	Central African Rep.	7.54	Somalia	7.56	South Sudan	7.24
3	South Sudan	7.40	Central African Rep.	7.20	Central African Rep.	6.98
4	Afghanistan	7.36	Afghanistan	7.04	Afghanistan	6.91
5	Sudan	7.29	Mali	6.93	Cote d'Ivoire	6.82
6	Congo, Dem. Rep.	7.15	Sudan	6.89	Sudan	6.81
7	Eritrea	7.15	Congo, Dem. Rep.	6.88	Mauritania	6.76
8	Chad	7.06	Guinea-Bissau	6.82	Congo, Dem. Rep.	6.72
9	Guinea-Bissau	7.06	Chad	6.79	Chad	6.68
10	Gambia	6.98	Yemen, Rep.	6.72	Yemen, Rep.	6.67
11	Yemen, Rep.	6.95	Guinea	6.56	Guinea	6.60
12	Guinea	6.94	Burundi	6.53	Eritrea	6.60
13	Ethiopia	6.93	Ethiopia	6.49	Burundi	6.57
14	Burundi	6.90	Cote d'Ivoire	6.45	Ethiopia	6.54
15	Mali	6.89	Pakistan	6.44	Pakistan	6.51
16	Uganda	6.84	Eritrea	6.40	Niger	6.32
17	Pakistan	6.68	Niger	6.38	Liberia	6.31
18	Nigeria	6.64	Zimbabwe	6.31	Myanmar (Burma)	6.30
19	Congo, Rep.	6.59	Gambia	6.26	Nigeria	6.30
20	Niger	6.57	Kenya	6.25	Kenya	6.23

ALC Analysis

In addition to fragility rankings (as seen in Tables 1 and 2 above), CIFP provides a composite analysis of fragility using the ALC cluster scores, as defined in the previous section. The ALC assessment enables us to evaluate the different characteristics of stateness, namely in terms of identifying the sources and extent of both weaknesses and strengths; it also assists policymakers in their decisions on where and how to engage by providing additional nuance to the question of fragility. Figures 1, 2 and 3 below provide a ranking of the top 20 poorest performers in each category.

Somalia now tops the list of authority-challenged states, a result that is indicative of the many political uncertainties that have taken place in that country. The top five is completed by Afghanistan, Sudan, the Central African Republic, and South Sudan. Each of these countries faces serious and ongoing conflict and tumultuous relations with its neighbours. Historically countries performing poorly in this category are drawn from a variety of regions beset by conflict, territorial disputes and regime change but this year's authority rankings suggest that Sub-Saharan Africa, as has been the case in recent years, is the key locus for these kinds of problems, thus suggesting that overall performance in the region continues to deteriorate. India's poor performance in the authority category may seem surprising but is not new. It has been in the top 30 worst performers in this category for at least the last decade as a result of poor performance on several indicators that include those linked to terrorism/ethnic rebellion/conflict intensity/political stability/refugees, and to a lesser extent infrastructure (such as the reliability of electricity supply and access to the telephone and internet), as well as regulatory issues (informal market and paying taxes).

Figure 1: Authority Scores - Top 20/2014

Country	Score
Somalia	7.74
Afghanistan	7.51
Sudan	7.51
Central African Republic	7.49
South Sudan	7.39
Yemen, Rep.	7.16
Pakistan	7.10
Uganda	6.98
Congo, Dem. Rep.	6.89
Ethiopia	6.78
Iraq	6.70
Nigeria	6.63
Eritrea	6.54
India	6.51
Mali	6.46
Chad	6.44
Congo, Rep.	6.43
Guinea-Bissau	6.36
Guinea	6.32
Kenya	6.31

Figure 2: Legitimacy Scores - Top 20/2014

Country	Score
Central African Republic	7.92
Somalia	7.85
Syria	7.61
Gambia	7.57
Eritrea	7.54
Yemen, Rep.	7.52
Congo, Dem. Rep.	7.44
Sudan	7.41
Myanmar (Burma)	7.39
Korea, North	7.33
Chad	7.28
Turkmenistan	7.26
Equatorial Guinea	7.25
Afghanistan	7.22
Swaziland	7.17
Uzbekistan	7.14
Haiti	7.12
Iran	7.12
Guinea	7.03
South Sudan	7.00

Figure 3: Capacity Scores - Top 20/2014

| Country	Score
Gambia	8.09
Burundi	8.01
Malawi	7.93
Guinea-Bissau	7.90
Niger	7.81
Togo	7.81
Sierra Leone	7.77
Rwanda	7.71
Timor-Leste	7.69
Guinea	7.56
Chad	7.56
Benin	7.55
Mali	7.54
Burkina Faso	7.52
Liberia	7.51
Comoros	7.49
Madagascar	7.49
Eritrea	7.48
Ethiopia	7.34
Central African Republic	7.32

Turning now to legitimacy rankings, historically this category has been dominated by autocratic regimes from the MENA region along with North Korea, and some significant changes had taken place in this category a few years ago with Somalia, Myanmar and Iran topping our list in 2011. The most noteworthy change since then is the presence of Syria as the third worst performer, a reflection of the ongoing civil war and of the crackdown of the Assad regime on the opposition. Swaziland is also in the top 20, despite its relative low fragility score and its absence from the top 20 of either capacity or authority scores. Three countries from Central Asia are present here: Afghanistan, Turkmenistan, and Uzbekistan.

Finally, as has been the case historically, the capacity rankings are dominated by Sub-Saharan African countries; except for Timor-Leste (which is a consistently poor performer in this category) all of the top 20 are from that region. Many of these countries are also aid dependent, a sign of their weak capacity to mobilize resources domestically (OECD 2011).

Three countries appear on all three lists: the Central African Republic, Eritrea, and Guinea. Countries making two of these lists are more numerous, and include Somalia, Afghanistan, Sudan, South Sudan, Yemen, Democratic Republic of the Congo, Ethiopia, Mali, Chad, Guinea-Bissau, and Gambia, again with a strong presence from the Sub-Saharan Africa region. Somalia would probably show up on all three lists if we had sufficient indicators to calculate its capacity score. This diversity in experience speaks to the utility of the ALC framework in highlighting that states can be fragile in various ways. We will see this again in the next section when we examine countries that are in the MENA region.

Regional and Country-Level Analysis

Figures 4 and 5 show, respectively, regional averages organized by fragility and ALC clusters, and by six cluster areas, which include governance, economics, security and crime, human development, demography, and the environment. These cluster areas are discussed further below at the country level. Gender is included as a cross-cutting theme (drawing on specific indicators from each of the six clusters). A full description of the component indicators of the six clusters and the rationale for creating them can be found on the CIFP website at www.carleton.ca/cifp.
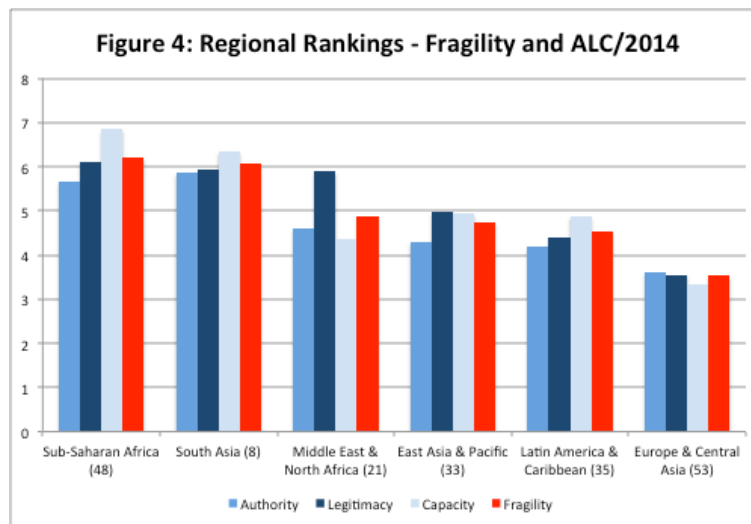
A few results are interesting here. For instance, Figure 4 provides rankings based on fragility scores moving from left to right (represented by the red far-right column in each bloc). Although Sub-Saharan Africa is, on average, the worst performer, it is virtually tied with South Asia. One thing to note is that South Asia scores worse on authority than Sub-Saharan Africa, and what accounts for the overall difference in fragility scores is the much higher score of Sub-Saharan Africa in the capacity cluster. Furthermore, the MENA region scores as poorly as Sub-Saharan Africa and South Asia for legitimacy (which we discuss further in the next section), but much lower in authority and capacity, which puts its overall fragility position closer to East Asia & Pacific, Latin American & the Caribbean, and Europe & Central Asia.
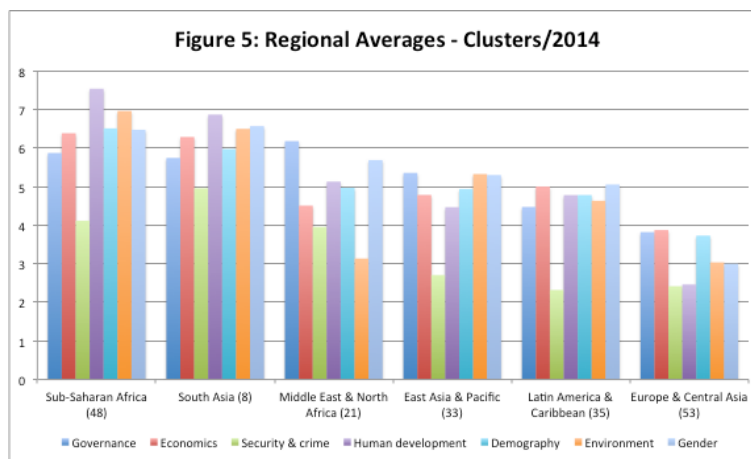
Some of these results are found from a different angle in Figure 5, which examines regional averages by clusters. Sub-Saharan Africa is the worst performer in most clusters, although it is again followed closely by South Asia, which performs worst with regard to security & crime as well as gender. Similarly, the MENA is the worst performer in governance, but does better in other clusters. Moreover, the East Asia & Pacific and Latin America & Caribbean regions perform more poorly than the MENA in the environment cluster.

Figures 6-11 below are intended as a complement to the above discussion. They each present the 10 countries that score highest on the fragility score in each region (8 countries for South Asia, since they cover the entire region). The countries are ordered from high to low fragility going from left to right. The figures also indicate performance along the different cluster areas. In other words, not only can we see how these countries rank on overall fragility (as in table 1), we can also see variations in performance along the different areas discussed above.
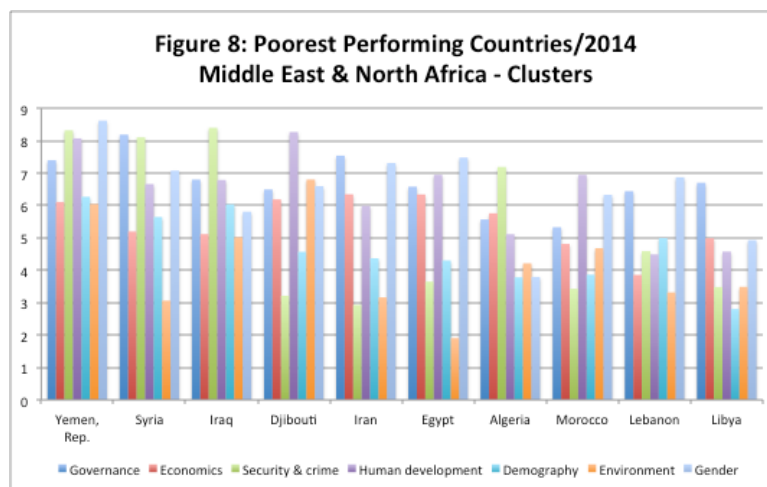

Figure 6: Poorest Performing Countries/2014
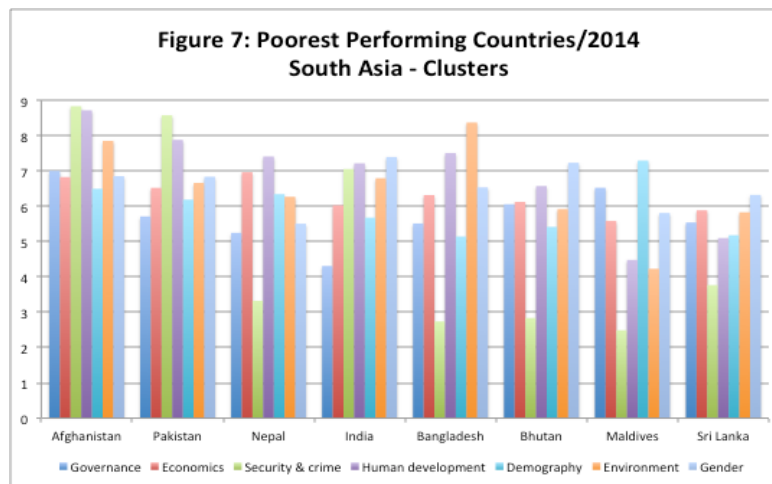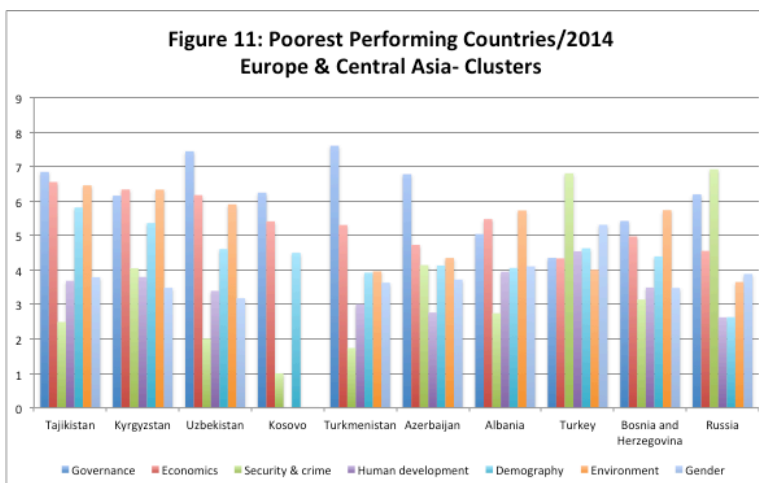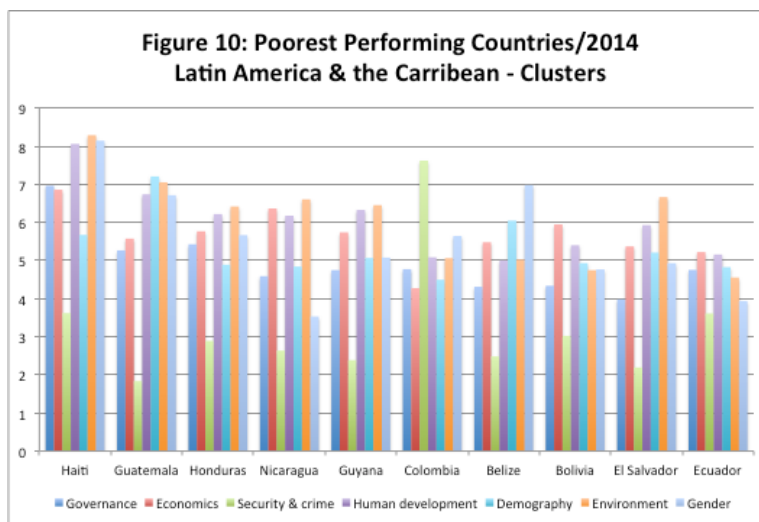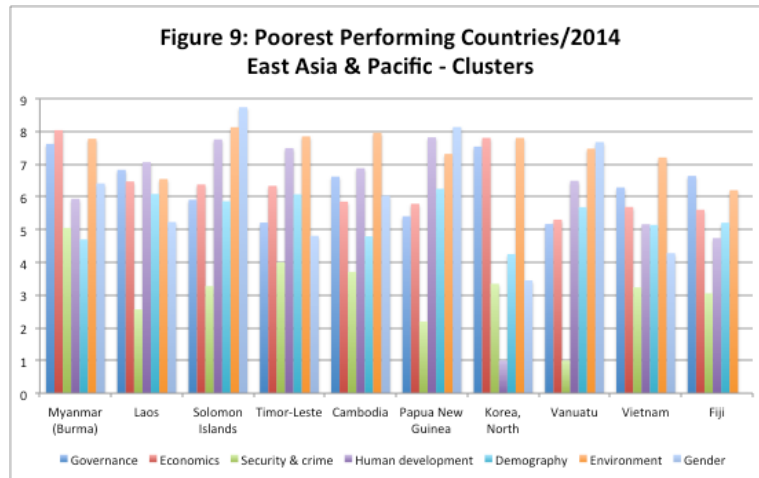Sub-Saharan Africa - Clusters
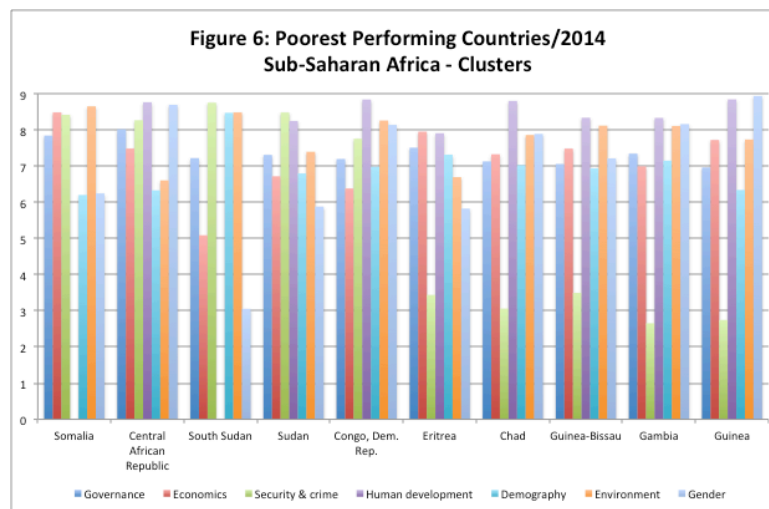
These figures reveal that many of the fragile states experiencing governance and security and crime problems are those with ongoing internal insurgency and political upheaval (for example, Somalia and the Central African Republic). A critical ranking, in this regard, is a country's governance cluster, which is a measure of the ability of a regime to effectively manage its human and natural resources and to allocate them efficiently and fairly. The MENA region presents the worst average performance for the governance cluster, an indication of recent clashes or political upheaval in several countries, including Syria, the West Bank and Gaza, Iran, Yemen, Bahrain, and Iraq.

The economics cluster correlates strongly with countries that have poor trading conditions, little industrialization and little or no diversity in their manufacturing sectors. The security and crime cluster covers a range of measures that tap into the presence of low intensity violence and threats to human security as well as the occurrence of terrorism and organized crime. Some countries appearing high on the security and crime list do not always rank highly in other clusters (for example Russia, Israel and the Philippines), whereas in other cases, a poor standing here correlates with overall performance in authority and legitimacy standings (for example, the Central African Republic and Somalia).

The human development rankings are indicative of the overall performance of Sub-Saharan Africa's particularly poor track record on the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs), since these are closely

related to the component parts of the human development cluster. The demography cluster is a measure of key attributes of population growth and distribution. It also includes the youth bulge index, a measure of the share of the population aged 14 and under. Sub-Saharan Africa continues to be among the worst performers in the demography cluster, although single countries in other regions, Afghanistan and the Maldives in particular, perform as poorly. The environment cluster taps into land degradation in terms of arable land available for agriculture, as well as greenhouse gas emissions, energy use, and measures of pollution. Although Sub-Saharan African countries occupy most of the list of poor performers, they are joined by Haiti and Bangladesh.

Figure 7: Poorest Performing Countries/2014
South Asia - Clusters

Figure 8: Poorest Performing Countries/2014
Middle East & North Africa - Clusters

Figure 9: Poorest Performing Countries/2014
East Asia & Pacific - Clusters

Governance • Economics • Security & crime • Human development • Demography • Environment • Gender

Figure 10: Poorest Performing Countries/2014
Latin America & the Carribean - Clusters

Governance • Economics • Security & crime • Human development • Demography • Environment • Gender

Figure 11: Poorest Performing Countries/2014
Europe & Central Asia- Clusters

Governance • Economics • Security & crime • Human development • Demography • Environment • Gender

3. The Middle East and North Africa (MENA)

The MENA region is defined differently by various organizations and therefore there is no standard list of countries for that region. In the current report, we use the World Bank classification of countries to conduct our analysis of fragility for the region. We thus consider the following twenty countries (twelve developing and eight high-income countries) in our analysis: Algeria, Bahrain, Djibouti, Egypt, Iran, Iraq, Israel, Jordan, Kuwait, Lebanon, Libya, Malta, Morocco, Oman, Qatar, Saudi Arabia, Syria, Tunisia, United Arab Emirates, and Yemen. The West Bank and Gaza had to be excluded as we did not have enough indicators to calculate fragility index, ALC scores and indicator clusters. These twenty countries constitute a fairly diverse group made up of oil-rich countries (for example, Kuwait and Saudi Arabia), and resource-scarce ones (for example, Egypt and Yemen). Some of them, such as Iraq and Syria, are affected by large-scale conflicts and most have been unstable in recent years as a result of the Arab Spring.

Table 3 below shows how the MENA countries performed on average when compared to other country groups. In particular, we compare the MENA countries with a sample that excludes OECD countries, and with a sample of the five Mediterranean African (MEDAFR) countries – a subset of the MENA – namely, Algeria, Egypt, Libya, Morocco and Tunisia. Only three MENA countries (Yemen (11th), Syria (26th) and Iraq (31st) – see Table 1) were among the top 40 fragile states while the best performers were Malta, Israel and the United Arab Emirates. As a group, the MENA region performs very close to the average and the median for all countries, and even slightly better when OECD countries are excluded. The performance of the MEDAFR countries is not significantly different from that of the other MENA countries.

Table 3: Fragility, ALC and Cluster Performance, MENA Countries, 2014											
Country	Fragility Index	ALC Scores			Cross-Cutting Theme	Indicator Clusters					
		A	L	C	Gender	Governance	Economics	Security and Crime	Human Development	Demography	Environment
Average MENA	4.87	4.61	5.88	4.36	5.75	6.07	4.51	4.10	5.15	4.86	3.13
Average MEDAFR	4.95	4.84	5.55	4.59	5.40	5.81	5.46	4.22	5.82	3.60	3.44
Average ALL	4.81	4.52	4.88	4.95	5.01	4.98	4.98	3.13	4.88	5.01	4.79
Average ALL (EXCL. OECD)	5.24	4.80	5.44	5.42	5.49	5.52	5.35	3.30	5.48	5.25	5.34

In examining the ALC scores of MENA countries, it becomes clear that their biggest challenge has to do with legitimacy, a point made by Carment et al. (2009a) a few years ago. In their analysis, they argued that countries such as Saudi Arabia, Tunisia and Egypt performed very weakly in the basket of legitimacy

standards, which includes variables related to gender equity, political representation, human rights and rule of law among others.   More than half of the MENA countries have legitimacy scores of 6.0 and above in our latest ranking. Yemen is an outlier as it does poorly across A, L and C, and so is Syria to a certain extent. However, while most of the other MENA countries face legitimacy challenges, their capacity scores are fairly reasonable when compared to the worst performers, which as we have discussed are mostly located in Sub-Saharan Africa. These poor legitimacy scores are also reflected in poor performance in the governance and gender clusters when compared to the rest of the world.

Legitimacy concerns have a long history in the MENA context, and legitimacy scores have always been much worse than authority or capacity (see Figure 12). In fact, legitimacy scores have deteriorated over the long-term. Authority scores have also deteriorated and are more volatile, while capacity scores have improved.   It would appear that improved capacity led to a worsening of legitimacy over time as institutions were not able to keep pace with the demands placed on them, while legitimacy and authority tended to reinforce each other. In terms of clusters, there has been a long-term decline in gender, governance, and security and crime, but a long-term improvement in demography, environment and human development. Since the beginning of the Arab Spring in late 2010 (and shown by the vertical dotted line in Figure 12), average ALC scores have all improved. However, except for Bahrain, Syria and Yemen, legitimacy scores have improved across the MENA region from 2010 to 2013. On the other hand, we observe more variation for authority and capacity scores across countries of the MENA region over the same period.

Figure 12: Fragility and ALC, MENA
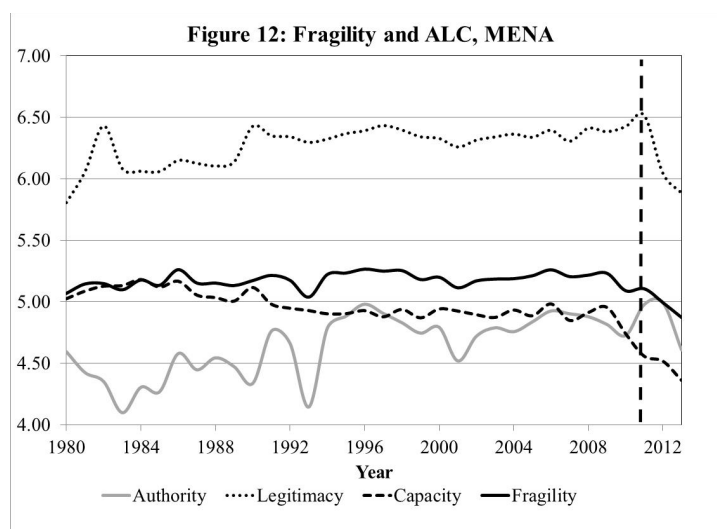
4. Conclusions

Given the ambiguity inherent in differentiating some fragile states from others when using a single ranked index such as the Fund for Peace FSI, we have demonstrated the value of a more nuanced and context-driven approach inherent in the CIFP methodology. We believe this extra level of detail is more useful for policy interventions. Such an approach demands a deeper appreciation of state conditions beyond just a single ranking of state performance. To address this requirement, this report has used the statistical clustering approach drawing on the Country Indicators for Foreign Policy (CIFP) project that characterizes states along three dimensions of stateness (specifically authority (A), legitimacy (L), and capacity (C)).

In this and previous reports, briefing notes and publications we have provided an assessment of state fragility around the world. The CIFP methodology has been in place since 2005 and is now widely accepted and used by the policy and research communities. Details regarding the origins of the methodology and the theory behind it can be found in the CIFP concept note published online at www.carleton.ca/cifp and in the book: *Security, Development and the Fragile State: Bridging the Gap Between Theory and Policy*. CIFP's dimensions of stateness have been adopted by the OECD Development Assistance Committee(DAC) as embodied in their three pillars of stateness. These are the capacity of state structures to perform core functions; their legitimacy and accountability; and their ability to provide an enabling environment for strong economic performance to generate incomes, employment and domestic revenues.

In this report, our focus on the ALC and cluster performance across various regions (including the MENA region) provides additional evidence of the diversity of experience with respect to state fragility and the need to continue to consider the various dimensions of fragility rather than a single ranked index. In the case of the MENA region, even if legitimacy has improved in the last few years since the Arab Spring began, several of the MENA countries continue to rank among the worst performers in that category. Examinations of specific country cases, which are beyond the scope of the current report, should yield further insights about the sequencing of changes in ALC dimensions (that is, how A, L and C have interacted) pre- and post-Arab Spring, and where effective intervention might occur.

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About CIFP

Country Indicators for Foreign Policy is an independent research organisation based at the Norman Paterson School of International Affairs at Carleton University, in Ottawa, Canada, focusing on fragile state, democracy and governance, aid monitoring, conflict risk analysis, early warning and mainstreaming aid effectiveness. The project has over 18 years' experience in developing methodologies, training and working with local, national and regional organizations and governments. Funders, supporters and users include the United Nations Development Program (UNDP), Canada's Department of Foreign Affairs and International Trade (DFAIT), Department of National Defence (DND), Defence Research and Development Canada (DRDC), the Canadian International Development Agency (CIDA), the Conflict Prevention Network, the European Commission's Joint Research Centre, the World Food Program, Criminal intelligence Services of Canada, Canada Border Services Agency (CBSA), The International Development Research Centre (IDRC), the OECD's International Network on Conflict and Fragility (INCAF) and private sector firms, including extractive industries.

About the Authors

David Carment is currently a Fellow at the Centre for Global Cooperation Research in Germany. He is a full Professor of International Affairs at the Norman Paterson School of International Affairs and has over 20 years' experience in policy relevant research on fragile states, conflict prevention, mainstreaming risk analysis and aid allocation. He led a CIDA funded initiative on mainstreaming research on failed and fragile states into policy making over the 2005-2008 period. He also served DAC-OECD's working group on fragile states. He has developed risk analysis training workshops for NGOs in Africa, Asia and Europe. He is the editor of *Canadian Foreign Policy Journal*.

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Simon Langlois-Bertrand holds a PhD in International Affairs from Carleton University, and is a Fellow of the Norman Paterson School of International Affairs. He has been collaborating on the CIFP project since 2008, helping in managing and improving the database of indicators. He has also collaborated in analyzing fragility trends in recent years.

Appendix 1

As part of a broader effort to enable more effective international engagement in failed and fragile states, a team from Carleton's Country Indicators for Foreign Policy project (CIFP - www.carleton.ca/cifp) has been working with the Canadian government in a multi-year initiative that has three objectives. First, we have developed a number of wide-ranging tools that encompass, among other things, the monitoring, forecasting, and evaluation of failed and fragile states, as well as the assessment of supporting policies intended to address the development, security, and economic challenges they represent. The following diagram outlines the full extent of the CIFP analytical framework - known as the CIFP Net Assessment (CNA) - identifying the various modules involved in the analysis.
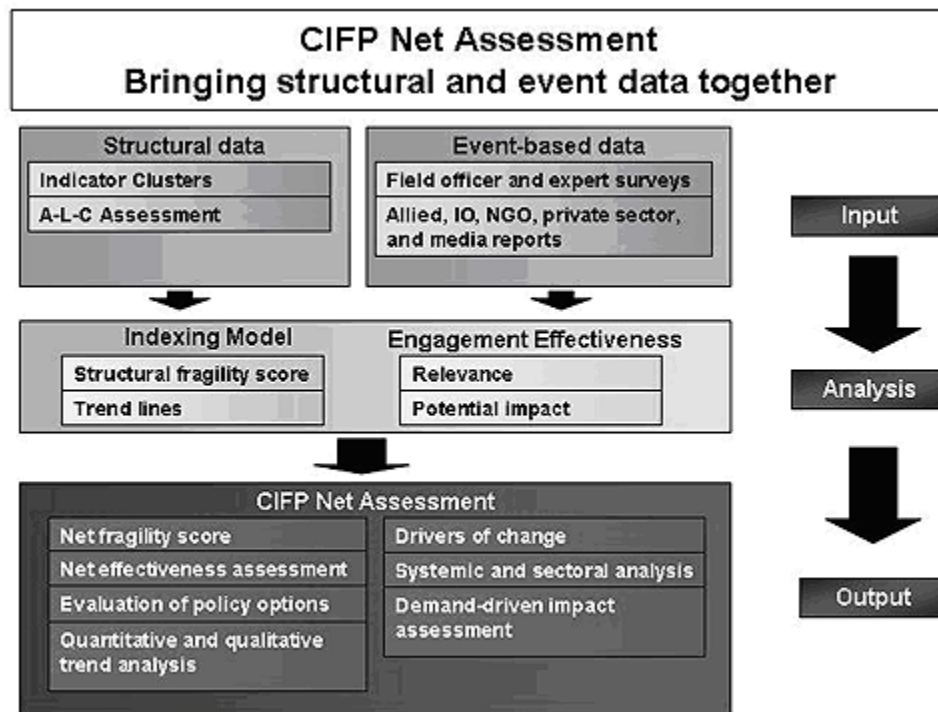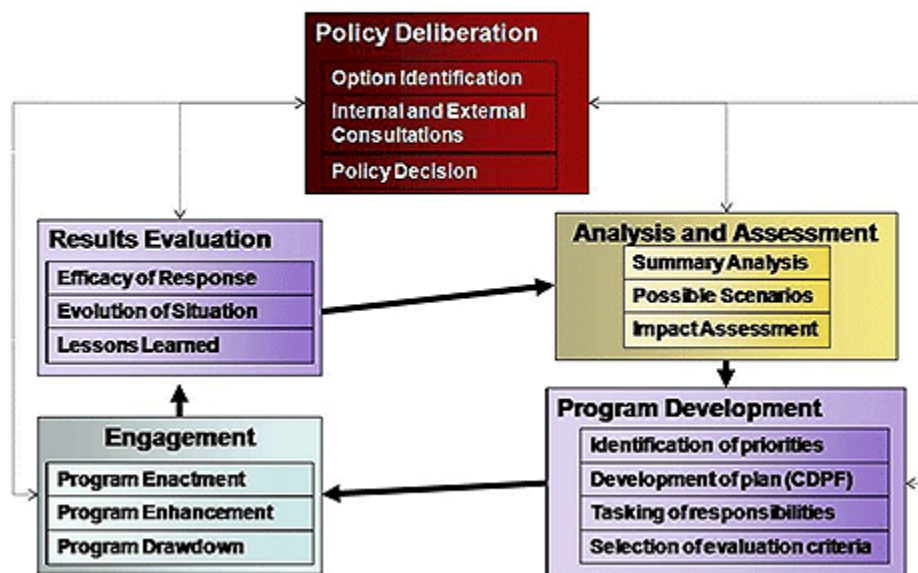

Second, the project presents a methodology for evaluating individual country performance. This drill-down capability provides guidance to programming officers at CIDA and other government departments working in complex and fragile environments. It enables them to focus efforts and resources on the root structural causes of fragility rather than the outward symptoms of the problem, while simultaneously identifying areas of comparative strength within the state that may provide valuable points of entry for international development efforts. At the same time, it allows them to avoid decisions likely to further destabilize the country through otherwise unforeseen consequences of programming activities.

Third, the project engages in statistical and theoretical research, regarding the nature of the relationship between state fragility and selected key variables. The findings provide some insight into the varied causes of state fragility. Several important avenues requiring further study have been extensively covered in publication form. Such research is particularly relevant, given that the now broadly

acknowledged lack of progress toward global attainment of the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) is to a certain extent explained through the poor performance of the world's fragile and failed states (Samy and Carment, 2011).

Innovations in Research Design and Methodologies for Risk Analysis, Country Monitoring and Impact Assessment

Effective policy in fragile states requires a solid analytic base that:

- Is sufficiently nuanced to allow the observer to understand differentiated performance in different areas of fragility, rather than presenting processes and performance in an oversimplified manner;
- Identifies both positive and negative sectors in each state's performance, thereby highlighting potential points of entry for external actors;
- Combines real time dynamic event and actor analysis with long-term structural information to counter time lags between developments on the ground and their reflection in statistical indicators and resulting programming priorities and timelines;
- Provides policy relevant diagnosis by matching the analysis to the end user's operational capacity; and
- Provides an evaluative framework with which to assess policy impact both before and after programs are implemented.

The relationship between these objectives and the policy cycle are shown here:

Development Policy Cycle

In order to address these policy objectives, the CIFP Fragile States Project has developed a three tiered multi-source, multi method policy relevant tool kit. Our argument has been that if they are to have any significant impact, fragile state policies require a multifaceted but focused analysis based on an appreciation of the relative risks that exist within and between states and, more importantly, the development of effective policy-relevant tools for international engagement. One of the key innovations has been the construction of a web-based country monitoring tool, shown here:
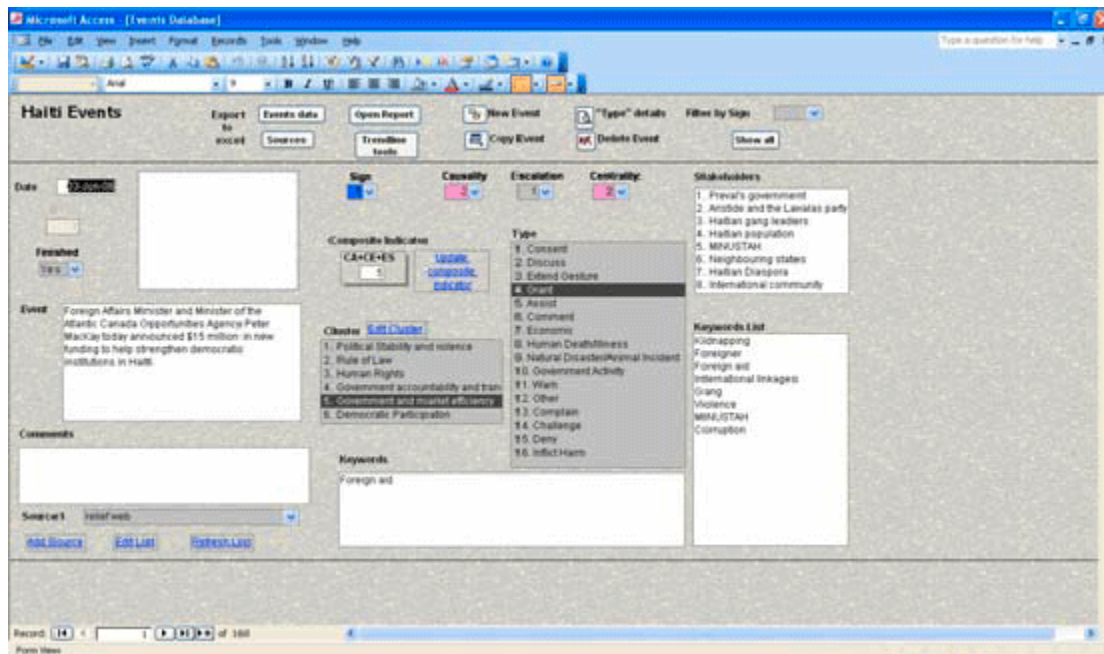
First, structural data, such as GDP per capita, political indices and human rights measures, provide a sturdy platform on which to build country analysis. Structural data are compiled by recognised organizations, sometimes in partnership with host nations. Structural data allows the end user to rank countries for quick assessments of performance within sub-sectors. Country level structural data also enable comparative analysis. For example, one may compare the voting rates among women in Ghana and Cote D'Ivoire using data collected by the UNDP or the World Bank. Using the same indicators and econometric analysis it is possible to determine in what way women's voting rates in Ghana and Cote D'Ivoire are influenced by education levels, rural and urban environments, and formal employment.

Second, the systematic collection and evaluation of dynamic data also known as events-based information analysis, is highly relevant to fragile states programming and processes. Dynamic data analysis whether it draws on information from media sources or country experts, is useful for identifying up-to-date trends in popular perceptions, preferences and stakeholder behaviours. Dynamic data analysis can add considerable value through regularized and standardised reporting. It can deepen understanding of trends found in structural data, and can highlight trend reversals. For example, a statistical study may show a steady decline in violent events over a series of years, but current events may evidence a sudden surge in violent demonstrations, one that will show up in structural data only until after the fact. Events-based information can also provide a window into stakeholder perceptions, how they are reacting to real-time changes and why they are doing so.

The figure below shows patterns of decline in governance performance approximately a year prior to the declared state of emergency in Pakistan in 2007. The red regression line in the graph represents the

overall trend in events. Clearly, in the case of Pakistan, there was considerable evidence of an approaching crisis. Such evidence, if properly understood, can allow policymakers to respond in a timely fashion to impending problems, rather than simply responding after the fact.
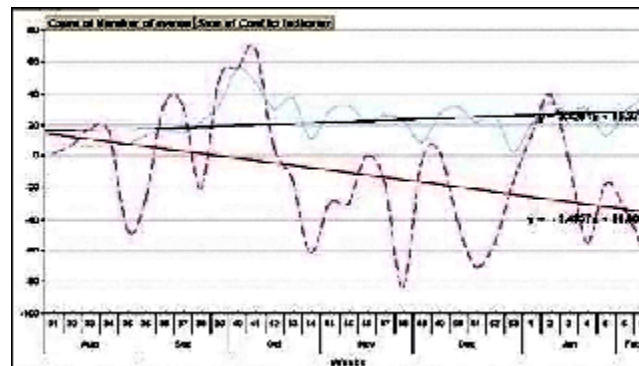
Third, the project employs qualitative information, as a valuable complement to the systematic collection of statistical data, as it uncovers details and nuance. Put simply, when correctly structured, expert opinion can provide the "why" behind the "what" revealed through structural and dynamic data analysis. Expert opinions can provide detailed insight into specific issue areas, as well as offer ideas about what areas deserve the most attention going forward, either because they are functioning well and can be used to propagate positive reform in other parts of the governance system, or because they are weakening and threaten to undermine stability and development in other sectors. For example, CIFP's expert survey on Ghana highlighted the problem of low popular expectations of government as an obstacle to improving governance performance. Ghanaians had become so accustomed to limited government capacity that they had ceased to seriously challenge the government on its service delivery.

Appendix 2

Cluster Impact Assessment Questions for Desk Officers, Field Officers, Analysts and Project Managers

Does the engagement:

Security:
Deter the outbreak or perpetration of specific possibly imminent acts of violence?

Prevent actual low-level eruptions of occasional violence from escalating?

Protect vulnerable groups from likely attacks of violence?

Relieve the sense of threat, fear and anxieties expressed by various groups toward one another?

Contribute to security sector reform, especially the professionalization and modernization of armed forces?

Enable effective civilian oversight of the armed forces?

Reduce the state's dependence on foreign military presence?

Promote regional stability?

Crime:
Strengthen criminal justice systems, including police, judiciary, and prisons?

Assist the state in modernizing its criminal code, particularly with respect to its treatment of vulnerable sections of the population, including women, children, minorities, and indigenous groups?

Contribute to the rule of law?

Provide useful strategies to prevent and/or respond to crimes against humanity, war crimes, rape, and other particularly destabilizing forms of criminality?

Support measures to reduce venal corruption?

Limit key destabilizing criminal activities, including drug production and trafficking in small arms, humans, drugs, kidnapping, and extortion?

Provide replacement opportunities for economic activity in the licit economy whenever attempting to limit or extinguish black market activity?

Governance:
Engage opposed top-level political actors in new contacts and communications?

Enter new substantive ideas and options into debate and dialogue that are seriously considered or adopted as compromise solutions of outstanding disputes?

Help the parties' leaders reach specific agreements on disputes and public policy issues?

Change the perceptions and attitudes that the leadership groups held toward one another?

Soften the stridency and tone of public debate and statements?

Set up or strengthen formal institutions and procedures that encompass broad segments of the population in more democratic or consultative forms of decision-making?

Create new informal venues and channels through which disputes and issues can be addressed by the protagonists?

Help build autonomous spheres of social power that are active outside the official organisations of both government and opposition political parties and organisations (civil society), which can counteract the divisive and antagonistic tendencies of political leaders?

Enable meaningful participation of marginalized groups in mainstream political discussions?

Support a professional and politically independent civil service?

Protect the freedom of the press?

Economy
Support professional and transparent government budgetary practices?

Encourage long-term job creation?

Reduce aid dependency?

Reduce external debt?

Enhance tax collection efficiency?

Provide some protection against external economic shocks?

Enable economic diversification?

Provide microeconomic incentives to reduce dependency on black market economies and increase participation in the licit economy?

Reinforce contract enforcement?

Encourage sustainable, long-term FDI?

Increase the overall standard of living?

Encourage female participation in the workforce?

Support development of state capacity and infrastructure?

Human Development
Stimulate active, salient efforts to address structural disparities among the main groups at odds, by achieving more equitable distributions among them of basic material and economic needs, such as income, educational opportunities, housing, health services?

Upgrade the skills and understanding of those significant organised groups who are promoting conflict prevention and reconciliation processes, so they can be more effective advocates or implementers of these goals?

Cause, or threaten to cause, such a rapid redistribution of resources from "haves" to "have-nots" that the insecurity of the former is increased, thus inviting violent backlash, or the "have-nots" are enticed to use violence to obtain more redistribution?

Provide necessary medical services?

Provide emergency treatment for HIV/AIDS?

Enable the growth of a local medical capacity?

Environment
Support land reform that addresses systemic inequities in a manner that fairly reimburses those displaced during the process?

Provide sustainable access to potable water?

Limit pollution and other factors responsible for environmental degradation?

Limit or halt rates of deforestation, while providing viable and reasonable alternate sources of income for those currently involved in the industry?

Institute dispute resolution systems to address current or potential disputes over the allocation of limited resources

Population and Demography
Support strategies designed to moderate excessive population growth?

Address the problems created by excessive regional population density?

Support efforts to reduce inter-ethno-religious tensions?

Support voices of moderation and mutual acceptance against radical politico-religious movements?

Address issues created by any youth bulge?

Help the state to cope with pressures created by urban growth rates and rural-urban migration?

CIFP Potential Impact Assessment: Horizontal/Cluster Impact Analysis cont'd

CIFP analyses potential impact of Canadian engagement by indicator cluster, giving some indication of the extent to which the proposed engagement policy will actually affect the underlying causes of fragility. Key impacts include:

Economy
- Supporting professional, transparent budgetary practices
- Encouraging long-term job creation
- Reducing aid dependency and external debt
- Encouraging female participation in the workforce
- Support development of state capacity and infrastructure

Human Development
- Addressing intercommunal structural disparities
- Reducing maternal and infant mortality
- Enhancing educational opportunities both in absolute and gender-specific terms
- Improving standard of living

Crime
- Professionalizing the police, judiciary, and prisons
- Improving the state's legal protection for women, children, minorities, and indigenous groups
- Supporting measures to reduce venal corruption
- Limit drug production, trafficking in small arms, humans, and drugs; kidnapping, and extortion

CIFP Potential Impact Assessment: Horizontal/Cluster Impact Analysis cont'd

CIFP analyses potential impact of Canadian engagement by indicator cluster, giving some indication of the extent to which the proposed engagement policy will actually affect the underlying causes of fragility. Key impacts include:

Population and Demography
- Supporting efforts to moderate excessive population growth
- Addressing problems created by excessive regional population density
- Supporting efforts to reduce intercommunal tensions
- Supporting voices of moderation and mutual acceptance against radical politico-religious movements
- Addressing issues created by the youth bulge
- Helping the state to cope with urban growth rates

Environment
- Supporting land reform that addresses systemic inequities
- Providing sustainable access to potable water
- Limiting pollution and other factors responsible for environmental degradation
- Limiting or reversing rates of deforestation, while providing viable and reasonable alternate sources of income for those currently involved in the industry

CIFP Potential Impact Assessment:
Horizontal/Cluster Impact Analysis

CIFP analyses potential impact of Canadian engagement by indicator cluster, giving some indication of the extent to which the proposed engagement policy will actually affect the underlying causes of fragility. Key impacts include:

Security
- Deterring violence
- Protecting vulnerable groups
- Enhancing general perceptions of safety
- Protecting vital infrastructure
- Participating Security Sector Reform
- Enabling effective civilian oversight of the armed forces
- Reducing state dependence on foreign military presence

Governance
- Engaging actors on all sides of the dispute(s)
- Encouraging problem-solving approaches
- Enhancing intercommunal trust
- Strengthening domestic decision-making apparatuses
- Enabling the meaningful political participation of marginalized groups
- Supporting a professional and politically independent civil service