

Fragile States Country Report No. 20 **Afghanistan**

Updated for 2009



Covering 2367 key events for 2006, 2007 and 2008

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Analyst:  
Adam Fysh

Principal Investigator:  
David Carment

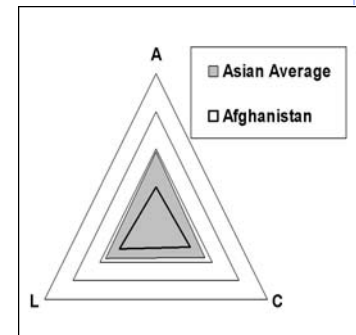
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Over the last two years, Afghanistan has seen increases in risk scores for four of its six measures of performance including **Governance, the Economy, Human Development, and Crime & Security** making it now the second most fragile state in the CIPF index (moving up from fourth spot as measured in 2007). Using the ALC measure of fragility Afghanistan now scores an extremely high risk rating in two areas. First, Afghanistan's **Authority** risk scores are now the highest of any of the 197 countries evaluated by CIPF. Second, it has moved up to third place in the CIPF ranking of most fragile states in terms of **Legitimacy**. These shifts upward are largely indicative of increasing violence and instability over the past 18 months but there are also issues with respect to issues of regional and local governance and management of the economy. With over 30,000 international troops in Afghanistan nearly ten years after initial deployment, the security situation in Afghanistan is still extremely frail and has deteriorated significantly. Though, its **Capacity** scores remain relatively unchanged, the prospects of reaching the UN Millennium Development Goals remain in peril. In particular, Afghanistan is struggling to achieve a better gender balance in access to economic opportunity, justice and education.

During the cumulative three year monitoring period, in which 2367 events have been carefully analyzed with respect to Afghanistan's performance and stability, the country has been witness to a significant number of acts of violence in all provinces by a variety of spoilers and challengers to government authority. Dynamic data analysis in aggregate suggests that, for every reason to be hopeful in Afghanistan, there arises another challenge. Although the event trend line is relatively flat though discernibly in decline, destabilizing events vastly outnumber stabilizing ones. Karzai's government has international support but unless the government is able to consolidate and internalize institutions of governance presently supported by international actors it will not be able to withstand the persistent militant appeal to a disenfranchised public. Some major challenges identified in the first Afghanistan Fragile States report no. 13 released in 2007 that persist are: a sprawling informal economy, an unregulated agricultural sector dominated by drug production and a porous border with Pakistan which serves as host to the country's most dangerous actors. Military coordination around the country and federal and municipal services in Kabul have shown modest improvement in the past two years.



Afghanistan Authority (A), Legitimacy (L), and Capacity (C) Triangle

MILLENNIUM DEVELOPMENT GOALS (MDGs): LIKELIHOOD OF ATTAINMENT (UNICEF, 2007)						
Extreme Poverty and Hunger	Education	Gender Equality	Child Mortality	Maternal Mortality	HIV/AIDS & Malaria	Environmental Sustainability
NA	Unlikely	Unlikely	NA	NA	Potentially	Potentially

Baselines, Events, and Key Issues				
Cluster	Base-line Score s	Aver-age Events	Event Trend	Key Issues and Facts
Governance	6.63	-0.17	-0.11	The commitment to and collaboration in fighting terror between Pakistan and Afghanistan is sufficiently irregular and flawed to allow significant influence and freedom to international terrorist groups along border areas. The Karzai government continues to struggle to bring rural regions under control. Karzai faces challenges in unifying Afghanistan socially and politically.
Economics	7.01	-0.14	-0.01	Includes, foreign aid and investment to develop the private sector. Illicit agricultural production and its effects on the Afghan economy/ livelihoods of farmers is the most reported economic challenge. One-off economic incentives such as debt forgiveness have tailed off leaving the state to take a more active role in its own economic growth.
Security and Crime	8.30	-1.61	0.17	Kidnappings, murders, extrajudicial assassinations remain widespread. Ubiquitous antipersonnel mines, weapons caches take their toll. Smuggling, corruption and exploitation in all provinces continues.
Human Development	7.75	-0.66	0.00	Many underserved IDPs and refugees. Tied a tool on foreign aid for Human Development. Development issues related to natural disasters is and unmet challenges.
Demography	4.85	-1.44	NA	Refugee returns have not yet been destabilizing. Racial and clan-based discrimination and nepotism remains an issue.
Environment	5.42	-3.61	NA	Susceptibility to floods, droughts, earthquakes, avalanches a structural challenge.
Afghanistan Total	6.93	-1.21	0.08	Economy and Human Development spoiled by security problems. Government lacks full territorial authority and widespread support. Afghanistan's extreme heterogeneity (geography, demography, politics, resources, etc.) is a main source of its weakness.

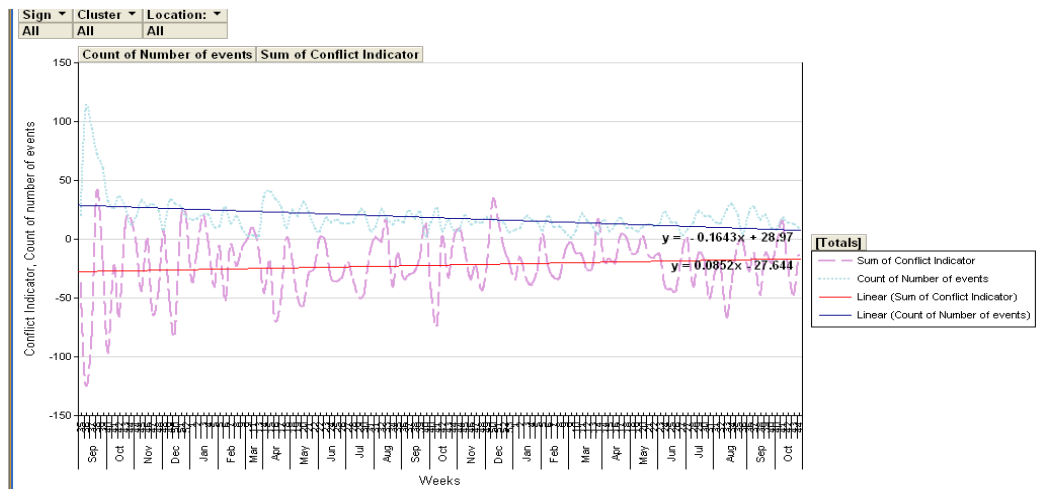
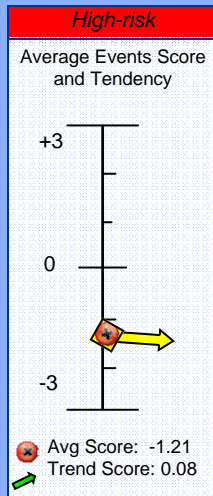
- Baseline scores range from 1-12, 1 low; scores below 3.9 are low-risk, over 3.9 medium-risk, and over 6.9 high-risk.
- Average events scores range from -9 to +9; negative events are destabilising, positive stabilising
- Trend scores derive from the combined significance and frequency over time of negative and positive events
- For a complete explanation of methodology see Appendix 1

# SUMMARY

## STRUCTURAL ANALYSIS

The increase in Afghanistan's overall risk score is a function of increases in scores for Governance, the Economy Security & Crime and Human Development. Some of these are unsurprising due to the long-running activities of NATO and Coalition forces and of militant members of the Taliban who have both ratcheted up their activities in the past 18 months. The deterioration may also represent a somewhat artificial and temporary situation in which the economic, security and political trajectory of Afghanistan has fluctuated over the last seven years. Nevertheless, should donor and NATO support be withdrawn the situation would likely deteriorate even further. Demographic and economic activities have taken on a secondary importance in light of pressing humanitarian and security imperatives. Indeed, 98% of Afghan civilians are directly affected by the present conflict and Afghanistan has the tenth highest average of people killed per million per year.

As in CIPP's 2007 assessment, the indicators of greatest concern remain in the Security and Crime and the Human Development clusters. Afghanistan's structural profile will change as Afghanistan's institutions consolidate and indicators begin to reflect that transition. The extent to which foreign donors have invested in Afghanistan suggests they will be keen to protect those investments in the long term, by remaining active supporters and leaders of Afghanistan's growth and development. Promises by US President Barack Obama indicate that the United States will be supporting its rhetorical commitment to combating terrorism by redirecting large numbers of American troops to Afghanistan.



### READING THE EVENTS CHART

**Red line (solid):** Trend line for events; downward slope left to right is negative

**Blue line (solid):** Trend line for number of events

**Purple line (dotted):** This indicates the sum total scores of events (positive or negative), as coded in the event monitoring process; the red trend line is derived from these values.

**Blue line (dotted):** The total number of events; the blue trend line is derived from these values

A more detailed description of the methodology is provided as an annex to this report

**EVENTS** Of the 2367 events, recorded an overwhelming percentage (almost 75%) were in the **Security and Crime** cluster. Ongoing instability in all provinces has provided a constant supply of destabilizing inputs to the country and contributed to immense socio-political disruptions for the civilians of Afghanistan. A modest trend toward state stability in the graph above is partially attributed to a decrease in the overall number of events and partially to a pattern of stabilizing events in Human Development and Economics. More fundamentally, international donors have been providing education and health care and have been supporting economic independence projects. Continued incidents of violence towards foreign actors have, on the other hand, prompted some agencies to shutter their operations.

## CANADA IN AFGHANISTAN

**Canadian Exports to Afghanistan (2007):** \$13.5 million (machinery, vehicles and equipment, animal products, base metals)

**Canadian Imports from Afghanistan (2007):** \$754,000 (textiles, vegetable products, equipment, precious metals and stones)

**Afghan Diaspora in Canada:** 25,230(est., 2001)

### Development Engagement:

Canadian International Development Agency (CIDA) committed \$280 million to Afghanistan in 2007-08. (Afghanistan is the largest recipient of Canadian bilateral assistance)

Sources: CIDA, DFAIT, DND, Industry Canada, RCMP & Statistics Canada

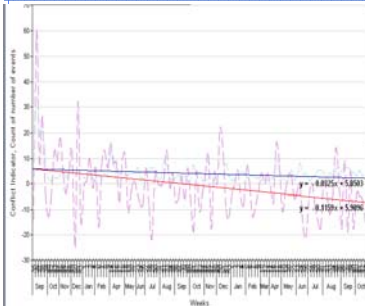
## PRIMARY DRIVERS

### KEY EVENTS

- **More than half of Afghanistan 'under Taliban'**, 27 November 2007, *UK Independent*
- **Tribal peace deal collapses** 16 July 2007, *Times of London*
- **Pakistan and Afghanistan hold border security talks**, 8 December 2006, *Associated Press*
- **Tribes said to control majority of Afghanistan** 28 February 2008, *International Herald Tribune*

### CANADA:

- **Canada is sending 12 more police officers to train Afghan police** 3 April, 2007, *Toronto Star*

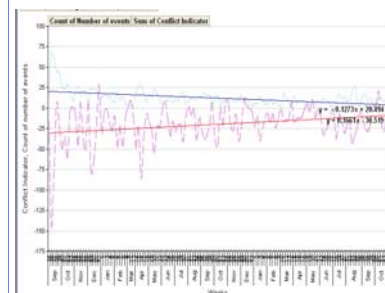


### KEY EVENTS

- **Suicide bomber kills governor, others in eastern Afghanistan** 10 September 2006, *Deutsche Presse-Agentur*
- **Thousands of Afghans Protest Civilian Killings by US, Afghan Troops** 14 December 2006, *Agence France-Presse*
- **US Mulls Talks With Taliban In Bid To Quell Afghan Unrest** 28 October 2008, *Wall Street Journal*

### CANADA:

- **[Afghanistan] is more dangerous than in 2006, year Canada got into thick of fighting in Kandahar** 16 August, 2008, *Toronto Star*



## GOVERNANCE

### STRUCTURAL ANALYSIS

As Afghanistan's institutions develop, the governance profile should, in theory, begin to reflect strengthened capacity but after 7 years of engagement, most federal institutions remain handicapped by corruption and undeveloped capacity. The authority of the government outside of Kabul remains severely limited; restrictions on political and civil rights continue and the state continues to rely on international actors for regional security and disaster relief. On average, 820 Afghans are killed per year in earthquakes and floods (UNDP - Reducing Disaster Risk). The ability of the state to alleviate the effects of these unfortunate natural disasters must improve if Afghanistan is to overcome its weakness in this critical cluster. Canadian support for elections and democratic development has helped establish a pattern of heightened and possibly unrealistic expectations for the performance of the Karzai government. In this regard it will be important for Canada to present non-partisan support for the coming election to avoid problems of moral hazard.

### EVENTS

A worrisome downward trend is noted here. Early analysis of this cluster indicated an overwhelming number of stabilizing events but over the past 16 months, this trend has moderated substantially; to the point that stabilizing and destabilizing events are roughly equal in number. President Karzai and several of his cabinet ministers visited other states' leaders and hosted international dignitaries but, over time, a degree of circumspection began to colour perceptions of Karzai and his cabinet. A novice Afghan military and police force, under the guidance of international peacekeepers, demonstrated their increased professionalism though they suffered many attacks. Poppy cultivation appeared to be beyond the power of the government. The Taliban opened schools and international troops confirmed that several regions were seized by Taliban forces.

## SECURITY & CRIME

### STRUCTURAL ANALYSIS

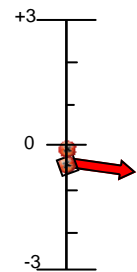
Afghanistan is at high risk in the Security and Crime cluster with every specific indicator in the very high risk category. All risk categories contribute to the overwhelmingly high risk ratings in this cluster. Afghanistan's structural scores for dependence on external military support, refugees produced, and terrorism incidents are related to the ongoing conflict. Poor performance in this cluster is intimately related to the weakness of the government of Afghanistan and the associated weak security sector. As institutions take root and primary security objectives of the national forces are attained, security & crime cluster indicators should fall in line with those of other weak but developing states. In the short to medium term, however, fatalities continue, especially those related to terrorism.

### EVENTS

As a result of joint security operations across Afghanistan, the events profile to the left is reflective of the longer-term structural pattern of the country. This pattern is best characterised as volatile. No appreciable seasonal or other pattern indicates particular success of international counter insurgency operations nor does it suggest Afghan militants are being rewarded with success. Of the 1576 events in this cluster dealing with kidnappings, political assassinations and roadside bombings, the deaths of several local politicians at the hands of a militants were among the more influential to the trend line as was Osama Bin Laden's call for the assassinations of then-Pakistani President Pervez Musharraf. Thousands of civilians were killed accidentally and intentionally over the course of the reporting period. Spoilers seeking to hinder the freedom and control of both government and international forces exhibit no compunction in taking lives to accomplish their aims; roadside bombs, suicide attacks and traps are indicative of those motives.

### Medium-risk

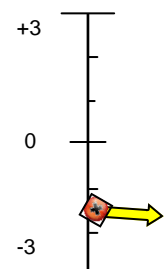
Average Events Score and Tendency



Avg Score: 0.17  
Trend Score: -0.11

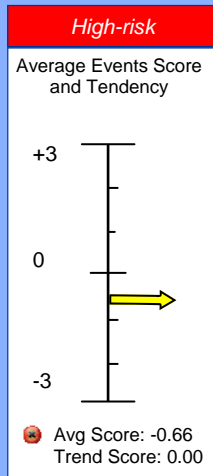
### High-risk

Average Events Score and Tendency



Avg Score: -1.61  
Trend Score: 0.17

## PRIMARY DRIVERS

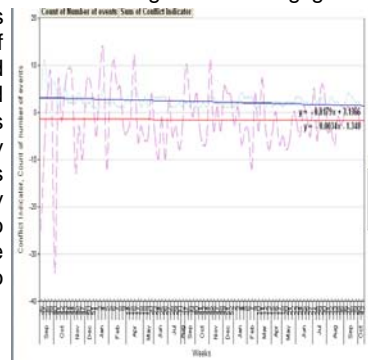


### KEY EVENTS

- **World pledges \$10.5 billion for Afghanistan**  
*1 February 2007, Associated Press*
- **Up to 90,000 displaced by southern Afghanistan fighting: UNHCR**  
*4 October 2006, Agence France Presse*
- **9 million Afghans facing acute food shortage**  
*18 September 2008, International Herald Tribune*
- **Canada not giving prisoners to Afghans, fearful of abuse 25**  
*January, 2008, International Herald Tribune*

### EVENTS

The Human Development events from the reporting period displayed a mixed pattern of humanitarian disaster and international peacebuilding activity. As the winter seasons end, the number of destabilizing events related to flooding and freezing generally decrease while education, health and shelter-building activities continue. Coalition donor states continue to pledge hundreds of millions of dollars to reconstruction, social programs and development early in the reporting period, but these winnowed substantially by late 2008. Dozens of state-based aid agencies and international NGOs have been working in Afghanistan, many since before 2001; and many have suffered from casualties. It is unlikely that the combined efforts of the international community will affect the structural scores in the short term but the support to budding institutions and the humanitarian spaces afforded by the military/security measures may foster a domestic capacity to address the daily conditions of most Afghans.



## HUMAN DEVELOPMENT

### STRUCTURAL ANALYSIS

Afghanistan is at very high risk in the Human Development cluster though meaningful tracking is often sacrificed in times of conflict. Among the higher risk indicators are Access to Improved Water, Education and Literacy. A more nuanced picture of the Human Development profile for Afghanistan will fill in as, and when, security and development objectives are attained. In the meantime the country's ability to respond to natural disasters remains critically vulnerable (UNDP – Reducing Disaster Risk). Longer-term development outcomes will remain out of reach until Afghan governance manifests more robustly. The deleterious effects of conflict and a paucity of legitimate legal authority combine to allow an exploitive element into the Afghan reality. Warlords and profiteers exacerbate the already weakened economy and delivery of development aid through looting, illegal tariffs, robbery, kidnappings and extortion. Smuggling remains a significant problem.

## SECONDARY DRIVERS

### ECONOMICS

**SUMMARY** Indicators in this cluster present a mixed profile of government and infrastructure weakness. Modest economic growth moderates an otherwise high risk cluster. High risk scores for foreign aid, regulatory standards and infrastructure capacity are symptoms of Afghanistan's poor economic sector. Afghanistan will repair this poor standing (152nd out of 229) as the infrastructure becomes better able to support the policies of the leadership. The events reflected both the infrastructure and the regulatory drivers in this small economy. Efforts by the international community to combat opium cultivation remain hampered by high profit margins and tacit complicity by regional administrators.

### ENVIRONMENT

**SUMMARY** It is unlikely that Afghanistan will see any significant political emphasis on supporting environmental causes while security operations remain the focus of both government and international actors. Events in this cluster mirrored the balanced and de-emphasized attitude toward structural issues in Afghanistan. Most NGO activities focus on issues of Human Development or humanitarian rescue as opposed to longer-term environmental support. In most cases, environment events tended to highlight state inability to support victims of environmental stress. Afghanistan suffers, on average 1.5 natural disasters per year (UNDP – Reducing Disaster Risk); these confirm state fragility and are destabilizing but the developmental responses tend to fall into the Human Development cluster and have effects that take longer to measure.

### DEMOGRAPHY

**SUMMARY** Afghanistan's high risk score for rapid urbanization is offset by more stable scores in categories such as population diversity and migration. Life expectancy and population growth are naturally less than optimal while military activity continues though steady repatriation of refugees from the war are promising. The majority of events in this cluster serve to foster the stability of Afghanistan though there are isolated incidences of intolerance. It is important to note that though Afghanistan is host to an immense variance of cultures, religions and languages, those differences have not become sources of antagonism or strife.

# CANADA IN AFGHANISTAN

**HISTORY** From the earliest days of the United Nations authorization for international forces to invade Afghanistan to depose the government of the Taliban, Canada's government has been actively engaged. Beginning in 2001 with the commitment the country's best "whole of government" efforts, Canada's contribution has evolved. In its earliest days, the rationale for joining the campaign was offered as three-fold:

- Defend Canada's national interests;
- Ensure Canadian leadership in world affairs; and
- Help Afghanistan rebuild.

The conflict has endured 3 Prime Ministers and nearly weekly public opinion polls indicating Canada's variable support for the mission. At the time of this writing, 53% of Canadians polled believe the majority of Canadian troops should be withdrawn from Afghanistan before 2011; that is the date Prime Minister Harper has stated would be Canada's earliest withdrawal date. The date reflects his party's unwavering intention to remain for any reason except NATO withdrawal. Canada's efforts and success in Afghanistan are not without controversy. Engagement has led to significant public and political debate across Canada and has stressed relationships with NATO allies.

**COMMITMENT** Canada's "whole of government" approach commits Canada to more than military support to Afghanistan. Although provision of Canadian Forces troops to the Provincial Reconstruction Team (PRT) in Kandahar does occupy the largest part of Canada's financial commitment to the operation, Canada has also contributed Royal Canadian Mounted Police (RCMP), agents through the Canadian International Development Agency (CIDA) and the Department of Foreign Affairs.

Per the Manley Report, Canada has contributed roughly \$10 million a year in humanitarian aid money on top of allocated development projects associated with the mission. In mid-2003, Canada re-opened its embassy in Kabul and effectively reopened diplomatic relations with the Government of Afghanistan. At present, Afghanistan is now the largest recipient of bilateral Canadian aid.

The Manley report also lauds Canada's efforts in the discovery and decommissioning tens of thousands of mines and other heavy weapons and equipment. The report cites the Department of Foreign Affairs' estimate that roughly one third of Afghanistan's 10-15 million mines have been located and disarmed. The demining activities are part of a larger training and mentoring process involving all parts of the Afghan security apparatus. The Afghan National Army and police services have been instructed by their Canadian counterparts across the country and all are growing in strength and professionalism year-on-year. It is estimated that the Afghan National Army is now comprised of roughly 50,000.

## GOVERNMENT OF CANADA'S BENCHMARKS FOR SUCCESS

**Priority 1: Training and Mentoring Afghan National Security Forces** - To enable the Afghan National Security Forces in Kandahar to sustain a more secure environment and promote law and order.

This priority aims to enhance the number and effectiveness of police and security services operating in Kandahar province. As a part of this, the mission aims to boost public perception of the security services by mentoring them in community policing and outreach projects. As well, this priority entails improvements to Kandahar's detention and judicial facilities.

**Priority 2: Basic Services** - To help strengthen Afghan institutional capacity to deliver core services and promote economic growth, enhancing the confidence of Kandaharis in their government.

Priority 2 is focused on enhancing the economic profile and capacity of Kandahar by fostering economic incentives for job creation, infrastructure projects, regional services and agricultural viability. This is evidently intended not only to win hearts and minds but to provide a licit alternative to poppy cultivation.

**Priority 3: Humanitarian Assistance** - To provide humanitarian assistance for extremely vulnerable people, including refugees, returnees and internally displaced persons. Recognizing the significantly diminished state capacity to manage the nearly inevitable humanitarian emergencies associated with war and natural disasters.

The priority focuses on the eradication of Polio, heightened domestic emergency service capacity, and more developed mine clearance and mine awareness throughout the region.

**Priority 4: Border Security and Dialogue** - To enhance border security, with facilitation of bilateral dialogue between Afghan and Pakistan authorities. Among the more ambitious priorities, this one aims to usher advances in the dialogue between leaders in Afghanistan and Pakistan about border control. Central to accomplishing this goal is the investment in improved border infrastructure and training, particularly in and near the Baluchistan area.

## GOVERNMENT OF CANADA'S BENCHMARKS FOR SUCCESS (CON'T)

**Priority 5: Democratic Development & National Institutions** - To help advance Afghanistan's capacity for democratic governance by contributing to effective, accountable public institutions and electoral processes. Enhancing key ministries' service delivery capacity is a goal more directed at the diplomacy and development sides of the 3-D triangle. The mission aims to promote domestic capacity to manage upcoming elections. Indicators will come from expanded voter registration numbers and turnout on election day. This is expected to boost public perceptions of the legitimacy of their government and general accountability.

**Priority 6: Political Reconciliation** - To facilitate Afghan-led efforts towards political reconciliation. The most ambitious goal is related to addressing the fundamental barrier to peace and full development. The mission aspires to enable the Government of Afghanistan to build bridges between communities and to reconcile diverse populations across the country. This will be achieved through all 6 priorities and developing the government's ability to communicate to the population.

## SCENARIOS

### 6-12 Month Scenarios

#### Likely Case 1

Karzai's governance continues, bolstered by NATO forces and international donors. State control remains limited to urban centres. Security operations continue to capture or kill militants but suffer morale-crushing attacks. Domestically, donors will face increased pressure to do more to protect (or bring home) troops in Afghanistan. Karzai's government struggles to accomplish anything but token acts of leadership. International donors attempting to manage domestic expectations, gird their publics for longer military operations and move away from the previous discourse of development. Refugee repatriation plateaus and a few key industries take root; some legitimate, others not. Ethnic and religious differences manifest through increasingly common incidents of factionalism and inter-group violence; these conflicts generally remain out of the international spotlight.

#### Likely Case 2 (variation on least certain variable)

Least certain for Afghanistan in the next year is the Governance cluster. Because this is an election year for Afghanistan, the motivation for factions to be competitive and contentious will be high. Afghanistan will face a series of Authority and Capacity challenges outside the ability of NATO forces to manage, especially while they remain significantly below the required troop capacity to control more than urban areas. The country will become further fractured while international observers wonder if Afghanistan will come to be governed by warlords and gangsters. If a sufficient number of regional governors find supporting the Karzai government inconvenient, the security situation will degenerate quickly.

#### Best Case

In the best case, President Obama's redirection of US troops to Afghanistan will have the desired effect of bolstering both the number of security personnel maintaining the security environment and the confidence of Afghan institutions. Karzai (or another similarly non-confrontational, liberal leader) will win a relatively free election, though turnout is expected to be very low. Pakistan will stabilize but will probably remain an ineffective partner in combating terror. Smuggling and the illicit economy will remain an immense challenge for the government. Economic growth will slowly take root but the governance and civil institutions to support that groundswell will take some time to develop.

#### Worst Case

Symbolic efforts will continue while Karzai's government continues to lose both political capital and territorial control. Obama is susceptible to false confidence if the troop surge proves not to be as effective as it was in Iraq. Over-militarizing the environment and unwittingly feeding into the already complicated network of allegiances and corruption could easily prove to be embarrassing, injurious to NATO forces and devastating for Afghanistan's long-term hopes. Human development and economic growth will be completely suspended while environmental protection shifts from afterthought to entirely irrelevant. Pakistan's political implosion and/or Iranian sabre-rattling could threaten Afghanistan as an unitary state.

#### Entry Points for Action:

##### Security & Crime

Still the primary barrier to long-term stability, security will come only when sufficient capacity exists within the Afghan National Army and militant factions are absorbed into other pursuits.

##### Governance

Afghan institutions must show independence and strength; support for the development of bureaucracy and robust mechanisms outside of Kabul would buttress that capacity.

##### Economics

Micro credit projects, aid and development will need to give way to larger, domestically-initiated (or multinational) industrial development. State regulation and enforcement should come online as other infrastructural services do. The Afghan public must begin to feel positive effects of development.

##### Governance

Continued support to expand federal control beyond the capital. Meaningful support of the professionalization of the security and judicial sectors. Federal commitment to combating corruption must be supported with tangible advances.

##### Human Development

Reinforce state structures to harmonize education and health-care beyond the patchwork of aid-funded projects to create systems and bureaucracies on which to scaffold long-term growth.

##### Demographics

Rural education and livelihood projects outside of cities will help staunch the appeal of less constructive employment.

##### Environment

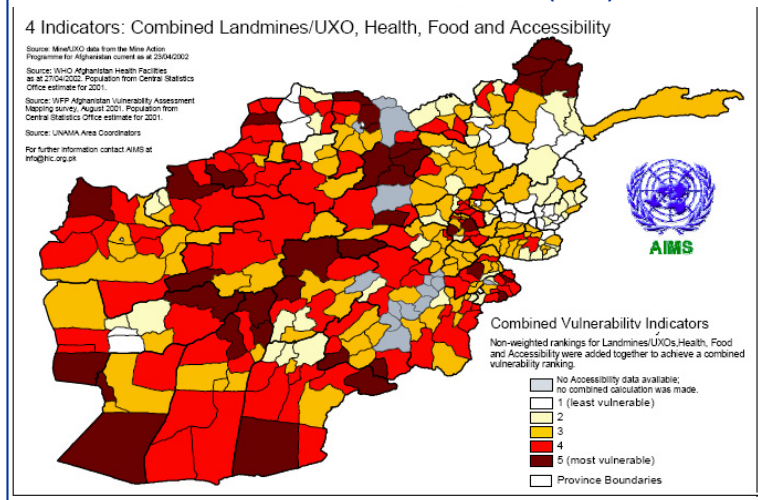
State capacity to respond to natural disasters to which Afghanistan is particularly prone must be enhanced.

# MAPS

**MAP 1: AFGHANISTAN—REGIONAL MAP (BBC)**



**MAP 2: AFGHANISTAN DISTRICT VULNERABILITY MAPPING (AIMS)**

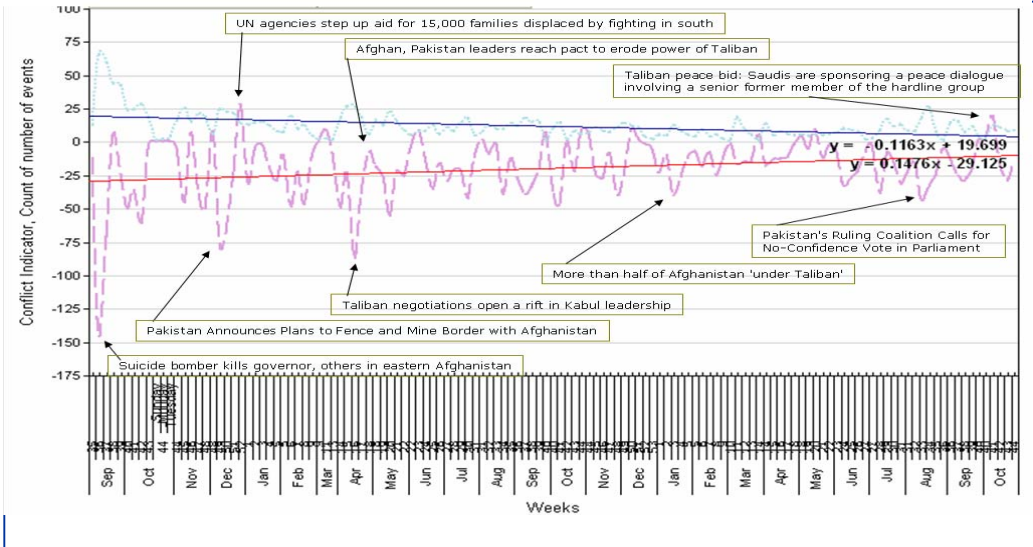


**MAP 3: AFGHANISTAN DISTRICTS**



# EVENTS MONITORING CHARTS

**TABLE 1: Selected high and low points in events trends matched with significant events:**



## READING THE EVENTS CHART

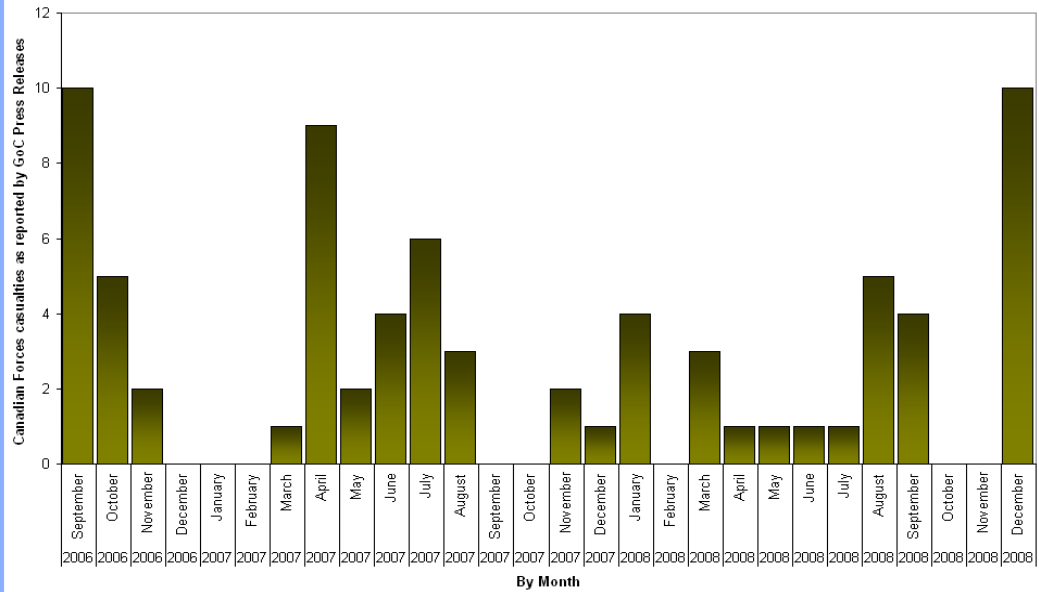
**Red line (solid):** Trend line for events; downward slope left to right is negative

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**Blue line (dotted):** The total number of events; the blue trend line is derived from these values  
*A more detailed description of the methodology is provided as an annex to this report*

**TABLE 2: Canadian Forces casualties by month over the same reporting period:**





## PUBLIC SUPPORT ANALYSIS

Domestic support for missions in Afghanistan has been the bug-bear for every NATO-allied country operating in the theatre. Australia, in particular, has seen its policies change drastically and the Canadian public, media and even minority parties have battled out the popularity of the mission since the earliest days. To settle bipartisan tension and demonstrate accountability, the Harper government commissioned John Manley to produce a parliamentary report to give recommendations on the future of the Afghan mission. In 2006, The Government of Canada allowed that Afghan public opinion merited reportage as well and sought to baseline some of the expectations and beliefs of residents of Kandahar in particular.

In Canada, the latest poll indicates that 53% of respondents are opposed to the government's extended commitment of troops to Afghanistan. They indicated that they believed the bulk of Canadian troops in Afghanistan should be withdrawn before the 2011 timetable the Prime Minister indicated. 30 per cent of respondents believe the soldiers should be removed at the stated deadline of 2011. Eight per cent believe Canadian troops have a role to play in Afghanistan past 2011.

Generally speaking, do you think things in Afghanistan today are going in the right direction?*		
Answers	National (%)	Kandahar province (%)
Good security/feeling safer	17	15
Reconstruction/rebuilding	15	38
Disarmament	10	6
Schools for girls have opened	10	2
Peace/end of war	8	8
Freedom/Free speech	7	10
Democracy/elections/Constitution	7	2
Economic revival/more jobs	4	2
Women have more freedom	4	1
Women can now work	4	3
Refugees return	4	1
Good government	4	8
Free movement/travel possible	3	-
International assistance	3	3
Freedom of press	-	-
Other	-	-
Don't know/No Answer	-	-

Do you think in the end the Canadian mission in Afghanistan is likely to be	
Answer	%
Successful	28
Not successful	65
Don't know/No answer	7

Do you strongly approve or somewhat approve, somewhat disapprove, or strongly disapprove of Canada's participation in military action in Afghanistan?‡	
Answer	%
Strongly approve	14
Somewhat approve	27
Somewhat disapprove	22
Strongly disapprove	34

\* 2007 Survey of Afghans: Methodology Field dates: Sept. 17-24, 2007 by D3 Systems and the Afghan Centre for Social and Opinion Research (ASCOR), published by Environics. The accuracy is considered to be 95 per cent.

Sample size: Total 1,578 people surveyed (Margin of error +/- 2.5%)

Kandahar 260 people surveyed (Margin of error +/- 5.9%)

A dash (-) means the result is less than 1 per cent. A zero (0) means nobody gave that as an answer.

‡ A total of 2,505 people from across the country were surveyed by telephone for the latest Environics poll. It is considered accurate to within plus or minus two percentage points, 19 times out of 20. Friday, September 5, 2008

### Cost

The October 2008 report by an independent analyst determined that the cost of the Afghanistan mission to Canada is estimated between \$8-10 billion. If the mission does extend to 2001 as anticipated, the cost could run to \$15 billion or more. These costs exclude the expenses associated with diplomatic endeavours, benefits and equipment procurement programs.

### Trajectory

The Manley report was released approximately one year prior to this report. It recommended to conditions that should be met for Canada to legitimately remain engaged in Afghanistan beyond February 2009. The conditions: The assignment of another 1,000 troops to the Kandahar region by a NATO ally to ensure better integrity of the security environment and; that the Government of Canada reinforce its helicopter and unmanned aerial vehicle capacity to better survey and secure safe transit within one year. These conditions were not binding for the continuation of the mission but were, rather, recommendations based on Manley's findings. The government of Canada has undertaken efforts to support both conditions. The Manley report provided little discussion on Pakistan.

## INDEX METHODOLOGY

Like its predecessor the CIFP conflict risk index, the fragility index employs a methodology of relative structural assessment. The analysis begins with a structural profile of the country, a composite index that measures overall country fragility along six dimensions or clusters: governance, economics, security, human development, demography and environment. Each of these clusters is based on a number of indicators; for example, indicators under the 'economics cluster' include economic growth, gross domestic product, inflation and unemployment, etc. The data is further analyzed to provide insight into relative state strength and weakness along three dimensions of 'stateness', namely authority, legitimacy, and capacity. This multidimensional assessment methodology is a direct response to the multi-causal nature of fragility and failure; states can weaken in any number of ways, such that any attempt to attribute fragility to a single deterministic set of causal variables inevitably remains underdetermined, capturing only a limited subset of all fragile states. Instead, CIFP adopts a more inductive approach, identifying areas of relative strength and weakness across all measures of state performance.

In ranking state performance on a given indicator, global scores are distributed across a nine-point index. The best performing state receives a score of one, the worst a score of nine, and the rest continuously distributed between these two extremes based on relative performance. As country performance for some types of data can vary significantly from year to year – as in the case of economic shocks, natural disasters, and other externalities – averages are taken for global rank scores over a five-year time frame. Once all indicators have been indexed using this method, the results for a given country are then averaged in each fragility cluster to produce the final scores for the country.

In general, a high score – 6.5 or higher – indicates that a country is performing poorly relative to other states. Such a score may be indicative of an arbitrary and autocratic government, a history of non-transparent government, the presence of significant barriers to political participation, the absence of a consistently enforced legal framework, or a poor human rights record.

A low score – in the range of 1 to 3.5 – indicates that a country is performing well relative to others, or that a country's structural conditions present little cause for concern. Values in the moderate 3.5 to 6.5 range indicate performance approaching the global mean.

Score	Description
1-3.5	Country performing well relative to others
3.5-6.5	Country performing at or around the median
6.5+	Country performing poorly relative to others

## EVENTS MONITORING METHODOLOGY

### SUMMARY

The purpose of CIFP event monitoring is to observe and report on events within a country to better understand the dynamic trends affecting democratic processes and governance in the country. This data, when combined with structural data, provides a more comprehensive analysis of both the underlying conditions and recent developments, thereby informing a more nuanced and ultimately policy-relevant analysis.

In CIFP event monitoring methodology, events are all coded using a number of criteria. First, each event is assigned to the specific cluster area to which it is *most directly* related, either governance, economics, security and crime, human development, demography, or environment. Second, the event is coded as being either stabilizing or destabilizing to the state. The event score is then determined by answering the following three questions:

1. How direct is the impact of the event on state stability?
  2. How broad is the impact of the event?
  3. How intense is the event, in comparison with past events in the country?
- Each question is answered quantitatively using a three-point scale.

# EVENTS MONITORING METHODOLOGY

## COMPONENTS OF THE COMPOSITE EVENT SCORE

- CAUSAL RELEVANCE**
1. Event is relevant, but with no clearly delineable direct causal linkage to state stability or fragility (e.g. an announcement of funding, or an international soccer friendly).
  2. Event is relevant, with a delineable, though indirect causal linkage to state stability or fragility (e.g. New legislation enhancing minority rights is passed, or a bomb detonates within an ethnically divided region).
  3. Event is relevant with a delineable and direct causal linkage to state fragility (e.g. Declaration of a ceasefire or the assassination of a government minister.)

**CENTRALITY**

1. Event affects less than 25% of political stakeholders.
2. Event affects 25% - 75% of political stakeholders.
3. Event affects more than 75% of political stakeholders.

- INTENSITY/ESCALATION**
1. Event is comparable to others experienced in the state in the previous six months.
  2. Event is more intense than others experienced in the state in the previous six months.
  3. Event is more intense than others experienced in the state in the previous five years.

**STAKEHOLDERS**

As part of the initial country profile, the analyst compiles a list of stakeholders. Stakeholders are those individuals or groups that possess an identifiable, broadly similar political agenda and either have an effect on or are affected by state stability or fragility. They often have an organizational structure in addition to sufficient resources to pursue explicitly or implicitly articulated goals.

## EVENT ANALYSIS

The analysis occurs in both aggregate (all events) and disaggregate (events analysed by cluster) by using quantitative data in two ways. First, **summary statistics** provide the analyst with an overview of the average event scores. Positive average event scores are indicative of an environment that experiences more or more significant positive events than negative events. Negative average scores indicate the opposite.

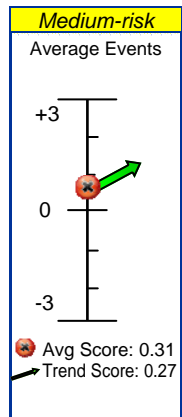
**Example Summary Graph**

Tendency Key	Negative Slope	Status quo Slope	Positive Slope
OLS Slope value	Below -0.1	Between -.1 and .1	Above +0.1
Symbol			

The second avenue of analysis is via **regression lines** to observe whether the events demonstrate any positive or negative tendency over time (left).

These two types of information — average event score and event tendency — are combined into a single graph (see right). The graph may be thought of as

analogous to a thermometer and barometer. The risk score given at the top of the graph — color-coded as green, yellow, or red — is based upon the structural analysis for a given cluster. The colour indicates the relative level of risk in the cluster, and may be thought of as the “thermometer,” providing an indication of the overall risk in the country. The arrow and bar below may be thought of as the “barometer”, providing both the average event score and the event tendency, which are akin to the level and direction of barometric pressure, respectively.



## SCENARIO GENERATION

The report includes scenarios for the country’s fragility over the short term, normally 6-18 months. Normally, the analysis includes four scenarios: a baseline case, an alternative case, a best-case, and a worst-case. Each is based on an analysis of overall and cluster summary statistics and trends, as well as stakeholder interests. The best-case identifies the most positive outcome possible (most conducive to stable democratic governance and poverty reduction) in the near future. Conversely, the worst-case scenario identifies the opposite. These two scenarios are intended to highlight different facets of the situation for the reader, by considering the strongest trends among stabilizing and destabilizing events, drawing attention both to dominant threats and potential points of entry. Finally, the baseline and alternative scenarios extrapolate future tendencies based on analysts best assumptions for the state, again combined with likely stakeholder interaction. Dominant trends—those most likely to continue in each of the 6 dimensions of fragility over the next six to eighteen months—become underlying assumptions. These are then combined to form an overall portrait of the country for the near term, providing a baseline “likely” scenario. The alternative case simply considers what would happen if the weakest of these assumptions did not hold, thereby giving some indication of the scenarios’ robustness. Taken together, the scenarios define both the probable and potential developments in the country over the near term. Such insights may inform contingency policy planning processes, and provide some basis for benchmarks with which to evaluate the success of initiatives intended to improve state fragility.

## STRUCTURAL DATA

<b>Afghanistan</b>	
Authority Score	Authority Rank
<b>7.40</b>	<b>2</b>
Legitimacy Score	Legitimacy Rank
<b>7.09</b>	<b>3</b>
Capacity Score	Capacity Rank
<b>6.42</b>	<b>28</b>
Overall Fragility Score	Fragility Rank
<b>6.93</b>	<b>2</b>
Indicator	Score
<b>1. Governance</b>	<b>6.63</b>
Freedom of the Press	<b>7.32</b>
Government Effectiveness	<b>8.31</b>
Level of Corruption	<b>7.28</b>
Level of Democracy	..
Level of participation in international political organisations	<b>2.10</b>
Percentage of Female Parliamentarians	<b>2.14</b>
Permanence of Regime Type	<b>9.00</b>
Refugees hosted	<b>1.39</b>
Restrictions on Civil Liberties	<b>7.47</b>
Restrictions on Political Rights	<b>6.50</b>
Rule of Law	<b>8.92</b>
Voice and Accountability in Decisionmaking	<b>7.98</b>
<b>2. Economics</b>	<b>7.01</b>
Economic growth -- Percentage of GDP	<b>2.25</b>
Economic Size -- Relative -- GDP per capita	..
Economic Size -- Total -- GDP	..
External Debt -- percentage of GNI	<b>2.87</b>
FDI -- percentage of GDP	..
Foreign Aid -- percentage of Central Government Expenditures	<b>9.00</b>
Foreign Aid -- Total per capita	..
Inequality -- GINI Coefficient	..
Inflation	..
Informal Economy -- Black Market	..
Informal Economy -- Ratio of PPP to GDP	..
Infrastructure -- Reliability of Electricity Supply	..
Infrastructure -- Telephone mainlines per capita	<b>8.76</b>
Internet Usage per capita	<b>8.72</b>
Investment Climate -- Contract Regulation	..
Level of participation in international economic organisations	<b>4.77</b>
Paying Taxes	<b>2.32</b>
Regulatory Quality	<b>8.71</b>
Remittances Received -- percentage of GDP	..
Reserve Holdings -- Total	..
Trade Balance -- percentage of GDP	..
Trade Openness -- percentage of GDP	<b>5.86</b>
Unemployment -- Total	<b>5.75</b>
Women in the labour force	..

## STRUCTURAL DATA (CONT'D)

Indicator	Score
<b>3. Security &amp; Crime</b>	<b>8.30</b>
Battledeaths	6.75
Conflict Intensity	6.87
Dependence on External Military Support	8.43
Human Rights -- Empowerment	7.87
Human Rights -- Physical Integrity	7.33
Military Expenditure -- percentage of GDP	8.94
Political Stability	8.76
Refugees Produced	9.00
Risk of ethnic Rebellion	8.36
Terrorism -- Number of fatalities	8.81
Terrorism -- Number of Incidents	8.74
<b>4. Human Development</b>	<b>7.75</b>
Access to Improved Water	8.91
Access to Sanitation	7.79
Education -- Primary Completion -- female	8.94
Education -- Primary Completion -- total	8.64
Education Primary Enrolment -- total	6.10
Education -- Primary Enrolment -- Ratio of Female to Male	9.00
Food Security -- Aid as percentage of total consumption	..
Gender Empowerment Measure	..
Gender-related Development Index	..
Health Infrastructure -- Expenditures as a percentage of GDP	6.07
HIV/AIDS -- New AIDS Cases Reported	..
HIV/AIDS -- Percentage of Adult Females Infected	..
HIV/AIDS -- Proportion of Adult population infected	1.62
Human Development Index	..
Infant Mortality	..
Literacy -- total	8.79
Literacy -- female	8.94
<b>5. Demography</b>	<b>4.85</b>
Life Expectancy -- Female	..
Life Expectancy -- Total	..
Migration -- Estimated Net	1.22
Population Density	..
Population Diversity -- Ethnic	..
Population Diversity -- Religious	4.56
Population Growth	..
Slum Population -- proportion of populatoin	..
Urban Growth Rate -- Annual percentage	8.78
Youth Bulge -- Pop. Aged 0-14 as a % of Total	..
<b>6. Environment</b>	<b>5.42</b>
Arable/fertile land availability	2.75
Consumption -- Commercial energy consumption per capita	1.04
Consumption -- Use of solid fuels	7.86
Disaster Risk Index	..
Ecological Footprint -- Global hectares per capita	1.00
Water -- annual withdrawal	7.60
Water -- Renewable available per capita	6.00
Forest -- annual percentage change in area	8.73
Pollution -- CO2 Emissions per capita	..
Pollution -- CO2 Emissions per dollar PPP	..
Energy--use of combustibles	..

# STAKEHOLDER ANALYSIS

## GOVERNMENT

- President Hamid Karzai (Pashtun), elected president in 2002 by a collection of tribal leaders and then in national elections in 2004.
- With 55% support, Karzai won this controversial election. The next most successful candidate had less than one third the votes of Karzai (BBC, Who's Who)

### Interests

- Demonstrating control over entire country, defeating rebel groups
- Maintaining close ties with the International Community in order to ensure economic, military, and counter-narcotic support
- Maintaining popular support in an ethnically diverse country, election due in 2009
- Maintaining stable relations with neighbouring countries and supporting the US War of Terror.

### Recent Actions and Attitude

- The centralized government in Kabul is continually supporting the growth of the Afghan National Army (ANA), but continues to struggle gaining/maintaining control over outlying provinces, largely controlled by warlords and militias

## OPPOSITOIN

- Yunus Qanuni (Tajik); received 16% of votes in 2005 election (BBC, Who's Who)

### Recent Actions and Attitude

- Because candidates for office in Afghanistan ran almost entirely as independents and there is a direct-vote system in place, there is no official party of opposition nor leadership of opposition as it is understood in other political systems. Mr. Qanuni's only status is as the second highest vote recipient in the presidential election.

## WARLORDS

- No fixed leadership, motives or aspirations

### Background

- Regional warlords throughout the country hold significant power and resist government and NATO influence
- Warlords are often involved in maintaining certain levels of security (or control/power) in a region and regulate the opium trade in the area.
- As Afghanistan's most significant economic resource, involvement in the opium trade results in significant regional power and little incentives significant enough to give up such control

## OPPOSITION MOVEMENTS

- Afghan National Under-standing Front (ANUF)
- Northern Alliance
- Hezb-i-Wahdat
- Jamiat-e Islami
- Junbish-I Milli-yi
- Harkat-i-Islami-yi

### Interests

- Seeking local or national administration of the Afghan State (or parts of it)
- Some of these groups are militarised and some are of dubious legality
- In some cases, these groups work in cooperation with Karzai's government or with each other

## TALIBAN

- Mullah Mohammed Omar, a radical Pashtun cleric. His location is unknown as he fled in the days leading up to the US-led liberation of Afghanistan from the Taliban government in 2001.
- Taliban activities are ongoing although it is unclear if there is a leadership structure and to what extent Mullah Omar is involved

### Interests

- The removal of international troops and actors from Afghan soil
- Reestablishment of political control over the state of Afghanistan
- Reimplementation of the strictest interpretation of Sharia Law in the world
- Expansion of international network of militant cells
- Destabilising all states perceived to be complicit in the occupation of Muslim countries through armed and terrorist activities

### Recent Actions and Attitude

- Suspected to be in hiding in Pakistan with the tacit support of the Pakistani state security apparatus.
- Successful infiltration and establishment in states across the Muslim world

## RURAL POPULATION

- 80% Sunni / 20% Shia
- Multi-ethnic, multi-lingual, clan-based (BBC, Who's Who?)

### Background

- Rural populations have suffered extreme poverty and underdevelopment being more susceptible to illegal work for income and taking short-term opportunities promised to have positive results

# STAKEHOLDER ANALYSIS

## NEIGHBOURING STATES

- Pakistan
- Iran
- Turkmenistan
- Uzbekistan
- Tajikistan
- China
- India (not contiguous)
- Russia (not contiguous)

### Interests

- Prevention of narcotic industry spill-over
- Border security with regards to rebel and criminal groups
- Trade

## UNAMA – NATO

- While United Nations Assistance Mission in Afghanistan (UNAMA) assisted in brokering a peace deal and the interim government, NATO took over the International Security Assistance Force (ISAF) and has been actively involved since 2001 in fighting upsurges of the Taliban and reconstruction. The EU is a heavy supporter, and its countries are troop contributors
- Removal of Afghanistan as a place for international terrorists to arm and train

## UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

Leadership in Afghanistan  
Ambassador: William Braucher Wood

### Interests

- Reduction/elimination of violence
- Stabilization of Kabul and all provinces
- Removal of Afghanistan as a place for international terrorists to arm and train
- Supportive of international forces in Afghanistan including NATO and UN

## DEVELOPMENT NGOS

- There are a significant number of both international and local NGOs working in Afghanistan, though the lack of security has resulted in many of them being centred in Kabul.
- Programming is focused especially on education and women's empowerment.
- UN agencies are heavily involved with reconstruction and human development.

## GOVERNMENT OF CANADA PRESS RELEASES

Government of Canada press releases in **BLACK**, coded events involving Canada in **RED**

### December 2008

Afghan officials thank Canadian PRT

### October 2008

Canadian Mounties share skills with Afghan Police

### September 2008

Benchmarks to Track Progress in Afghanistan

Canada Helps Eradicate Polio in Afghanistan

*Pull out or else, Taliban warns Canada; Letter from militants vows more Canadians will die unless troops go*

*2011 Afghanistan pullout planned for Canada*

*Britain, US and Canada suffer 80per cent of Afghan troop deaths*

*Majority want Canada out of Afghanistan by 2009: Poll*

### July 2008

Foreign Affairs Committee makes recommendations on Canada's future role in Afghanistan

*Canada betting big on education in Kandahar; \$90 million earmarked for projects including training 3,000 teachers and building schools*

### June 2008

Minister Emerson Announces Additional Support for Reconstruction of Sarpoza Prison

### April 2008

Canada Boosts Aid to the U.N. World Food Programme

Canada Condemns Terrorist Attack

Prime Minister's statement on the resignation of Chief of the Defence Staff General Rick Hillier

Minister Bernier clarifies comments on Afghan government

*Hillier's personality masked mistakes*

*Canada confusing political, aid relief goals in Afghanistan*

*Canada's Defence Chief Steps Down From His Post*

### March 2008

*Conservatives, most Liberals back Afghanistan extension*

*Canada's Afghan mission faces overstretch*

### February 2008

Canada condemns suicide attack on Afghan civilians

Canada provides additional food aid to Afghanistan

*Row escalates over Nato troop reinforcements: Canada may withdraw unless others do more*

*France signals it's ready to help Canada; MacKay's blunt message pressures NATO allies*

### January 2008

Canada urged to shift focus of its Afghanistan mission; Independent Panel sets out conditions for extending military commitment

*Few allies can help Canada: Diplomats; Large reinforcements unlikely in Afghanistan*

*Marines not a solution to Canada's troop woes; U.S. Defence Secretary Gates says 3,200 troops won't stay in Afghanistan beyond seven months*

*Canada not giving prisoners to Afghans, fearful of abuse*

*Canada threatens to end Kandahar mission*

### December 2007

Canada Announces New Funding for a Mine Action Program in Afghanistan

*Afghan mission extension proposed; Unrealistic for Canada to leave current role in a year, analyst says*

*Bush and Rice commend Canada's 'invaluable' service in Afghanistan*

### November 2007

Canada condemns attack on Afghan parliamentarians



## GOVERNMENT OF CANADA PRESS RELEASES

Government of Canada press releases in **BLACK**, coded events involving Canada in **RED**

### October 2007

Canada's New Government increases its commitment to enhancing girls' education in Afghanistan  
Canada reinforces its commitment to food security  
Canada increases support for education in Afghanistan

### August 2007

Canada Bolsters its Development Commitment to Kandahar Province

### July 2007

Canada reinforces its commitment to enhance justice and the rule of law in Afghanistan  
Canada announces funding to strengthen the rule of law in Afghanistan

*Canada's role is shifting from fighting to training Afghan troops, says chief of defence staff*

### June 2007

62 new development projects in Afghanistan

*Al Qaeda video fuels fear, caution; Recruits allegedly slated to hit Canada, U.S., U.K.*

### May 2007

Statement by International Cooperation Minister Josée Verner on Canada's development role in Afghanistan and in particular, Kandahar

*Canada got early warning of abuses; Rights group raised alarm in Ottawa last year about trouble in Afghan prisons*

### April 2007

Canada's New Government announces deployment of law enforcement officers to Afghanistan

*Canada set to lease tanks for Kandahar*

*NATO praises Canada's Afghan role*

*Canada, U.S. prod allies to step up in Afghanistan*

*After Deadly Week, Canada Debates Role in Afghanistan*

### February 2007

Canada's New Government substantially boosts support to development efforts in Afghanistan

Canada funds projects to improve lives of women

Canada boosts support for successful Afghan microfinance program

### January 2007

Canada's New Government invests in Afghanistan's minefield clearance and community-led development

Canada's New Government announces funding to help women and reconstruction in Kandahar

### December 2006

Canada partners with UNICEF and the World Food Programme to assist families in Afghanistan

### November 2006

Canadian Forces personnel bring medical assistance to remote Afghan area

Canada helps provide nutrients for Afghan children

Canada announces over \$40 million for microfinance projects in the developing world

### October 2006

Canada delivers emergency aid and new reconstruction to the people of Kandahar

Helping Afghans rebuild their lives: Canada supports community-based development in Afghanistan

*Al-Qaeda threatens Canada over Afghanistan*

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Financial Times	Toronto Star
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Guardian	VOA
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## ABOUT THE STATE FRAGILITY PROJECT

This project is intended to contribute to a better understanding of fragility in Afghanistan, thereby providing support to decision-making for Canadian foreign policy and development actors in the country. The project aims to support informed, evidence-based decision making for Canadian foreign policy and development assistance related to fragile states. The report is intended to communicate the preliminary findings of the project; its findings should not be considered definitive or final.

The report is based on three elements. First, structural indicators are grouped into six clusters capturing different facets of state fragility: Security and Crime, Governance, Economics, Human Development, Environment and Demography. The structural data includes separate structural indicators providing a detailed quantitative baseline portrait of the country.

Second, the analysis draws on event monitoring data compiled by CIFP researchers over a six month period extending from September 2006 to February 2008. Collected from a variety of web-based news aggregators, which include both international and domestic news sources, the events are evaluated and assigned quantitative scores to identify fragility trends. Third, the report includes a series of analytical exercises, including stakeholder analysis and scenario generation. This multi-source data structure enables more robust analysis than any single method of data collection and assessment.

## ABOUT COUNTRY INDICATORS FOR FOREIGN POLICY

CIFP is a project located at Carleton University. Its core mandate is to develop analytical methodologies that will generate information on the key features of the political, economic, social and cultural environments of countries around the world, providing at-a-glance global overviews, issue-based perspectives and country performance measures. While the initial dataset focuses on measures of domestic armed conflict, as part of this project that database has been substantially revised to capture state fragility.

The CIFP database includes statistical data in the form of over one hundred performance indicators for more than 197 countries. With its focus on policy relevance, the CIFP provides a rich information resource to policy officers across all government departments. By offering a detailed assessment methodology for evaluating individual country performance, the CIFP provides guidance to program officers working in complex and fragile environments, enabling them to focus their efforts and resources on the root structural causes rather than the outward symptoms of a problem.

CIFP  
Norman Paterson School  
of International Affairs  
Carleton University  
1125 Colonel By Drive  
Ottawa ON, K1S 5B6

Phone: 520-2600 ext. 6662  
Fax: 613-520-2889  
cifp@carleton.ca

## ABOUT FRAGILITY

CIFP employs fragility as the most effective lens through which to view state risk, broadly understood. Though the use of the concept of the concept remains controversial, when properly understood as a technical term of country analysis, it enables analysts to conduct a more thorough assessment of country risk than more specific concepts such as conflict or human development, both of which are effectively components of overall state fragility. Further, the concept allows the incorporation of environmental, demographic, political, and economic considerations, providing a more complete portrait of a state's overall risk than narrow examination of any one of those factors. In effect, the concept incorporates all such areas of study into a complete analysis of the risks present in a given state or region.

When understood in this sense, all states exhibit some elements of fragility, whether in the form of demographic stress, politicized ethnic divisions, high levels of pollution, the presence of internal conflict, or low levels of human development. Through the use of transparent and quantifiable data, CIFP strives to bring together all such phenomena into a coherent country narrative, thereby rendering the concept of fragility an objective aid to country analysis, rather than a divisive element of subjective political discourse.

[www.carleton.ca/cifp](http://www.carleton.ca/cifp)

