Appendix 2A. Patterns of major armed conflicts, 2001–10

LOTTA THEMNÉR AND PETER WALLENSTEEN*

I. Global patterns

In 2010, 15 major armed conflicts were active in 15 locations worldwide (see tables 2A.1 and 2A.2). During the 10-year period 2001–10, 29 major armed conflicts were active in 28 locations (see figure 2A.1).1 The annual number of active major armed conflicts fell over the period, from 19 in 2001. However, the decline was uneven and the lowest number, 14, is recorded for 2004 and 2007 (see figure 2A.2).2

For the seventh consecutive year, no interstate conflict was active in 2010. Only two of the conflicts active in 2001–10 were fought between states: India–Pakistan (Kashmir) (1997–2003) and Iraq versus the United States and its allies (2003). The former was over territorial issues and the latter over governmental power.3 The remaining 27 conflicts in the period were all fought within states, 8 over territory and 19 over government. Conflicts over government outnumbered those over territory in every year of the period except 2007.

Six of the major armed conflicts active in 2010 were internationalized, meaning that they included troops from a state that was not a primary party to the conflict but was aiding one of the conflict parties. In all, 10 conflicts active in 2001–10 were internationalized, with 6 being the highest annual number recorded for the whole period. The lowest number, 2, is recorded for 2003. In

1 The Uppsala Conflict Data Program (UCDP) defines a major armed conflict as a contested incompatibility concerning government and/or territory over which the use of armed force between the military forces of 2 parties—of which at least 1 is the government of a state—has resulted in at least 1000 battle-related deaths in a single calendar year. After a conflict reaches this threshold, it is considered ‘active’ and reappears in the data set if it results in at least 25 battle-related deaths in a single year. In other publications the UCDP uses the category war rather than major armed conflict. For more information see section V below.

2 The entire major armed conflicts data set is revised annually to take into account new data that becomes available. Information given here may not match that in previous editions of the SIPRI Yearbook. See also the notes to table 2A.3 and section V below.

3 See section V below for a definition of the 2 types of incompatibility: government and territory.

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For table 2A.3 Marie Allansson was responsible for the conflict location Iraq, Christian Altpeter was responsible for Pakistan and the United States, Johan Brosché for Sudan, Mihai Croicu for Turkey, Maria Greek for India, Helena Grusell for Colombia and Peru, Stina Högbladh for Rwanda, Joakim Kreutz for Myanmar, Marcus Nilsson for Somalia, Therése Petterson for Afghanistan, the Philippines and the United States, Ralph Sundberg for Israel, and Lotta Themnér for Uganda.
all of the internationalized conflicts active in 2010, the external state contributed troops to support the government party.  

Four of the major armed conflicts active in 2010 resulted in 1000 or more battle-related deaths during the year. The number of conflicts at this high level of intensity varied over the course of the decade, ranging between seven (in 2001 and 2004) and three (in 2006).

II. Regional patterns

Five major armed conflicts were active in Asia in 2010, making it the region with the largest number of active conflicts for the eighth year running. Four major armed conflicts were active in Africa, three in the Americas and three in the Middle East during 2010. For the third consecutive year there was no major armed conflict active in Europe.

Ten major armed conflicts were active in Africa in 2001–10, making it the region with the highest total for the period. Between 2001 and 2007 there was a substantial decline in the number of active conflicts in Africa, from seven to one. However, the figure increased to four in 2008 and remained at that level until 2010. None of the conflicts in Africa was active throughout the period, but

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4 For the states contributing troops in these conflicts see table 2A.3.

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**Table 2A.1. Number of major armed conflicts, by region and type, 2001–10**

The two types of incompatibility are over government (G) and territory (T).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Region</th>
<th>2001</th>
<th>2002</th>
<th>2003</th>
<th>2004</th>
<th>2005</th>
<th>2006</th>
<th>2007</th>
<th>2008</th>
<th>2009</th>
<th>2010</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
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<td>0</td>
<td>3</td>
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<td>9</td>
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<td>8</td>
<td>9</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
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<td>14</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Table 2A.2. Number of locations of major armed conflicts, by region, 2001–10**

Figures are number of locations with at least one major armed conflict.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Region</th>
<th>2001</th>
<th>2002</th>
<th>2003</th>
<th>2004</th>
<th>2005</th>
<th>2006</th>
<th>2007</th>
<th>2008</th>
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<td>4</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Americas</td>
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<td>2</td>
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<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
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</tr>
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<td>Middle East</td>
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<td>3</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
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<td>17</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
two—Sudan and Uganda—were active in all years but one (2007). While all the conflicts recorded in the region were fought within states, as many as half of them were at some point internationalized, which sets Africa apart from other regions. All 10 major armed conflicts in Africa in 2001–10 were fought over governmental power.

Three major armed conflicts were active in the Americas in 2001–10. The annual number of active conflicts varied between one (in 2003) and three (in 2007–10). The conflicts—Colombia, Peru and the USA (the conflict between the US Government and al-Qaeda)—were all intrastate and concerned governmental power.

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Nine major armed conflicts were active in Asia in 2001–10. The annual number of active conflicts in the region varied between five (in 2004 and 2010) and eight (in 2003). Two of the conflicts—India (Kashmir) and the Philippines—were active throughout the period. One interstate conflict took place in the region: India–Pakistan (Kashmir). The remaining eight conflicts were fought within states, four over governmental power and four over territory.

Only two of the 29 major armed conflicts recorded as active during 2001–10 were fought in Europe: that between the Russian Government and the self-proclaimed Chechen Republic of Ichkeria and that between the Azerbaijani Government and the self-proclaimed Republic of Nagorno-Karabakh. While the Chechen conflict was active every year between 2001 and 2007, the conflict over Nagorno-Karabakh was only active in 2005. Since 2008 no major armed conflict has been active in Europe.

The Middle East was the scene of five active major armed conflicts in 2001–10. Apart from a dip in 2002, when two conflicts were active, the annual number of conflicts active in the Middle East was consistently three. The same three conflicts were active from 2004 to 2010: Iraq, Israel (Palestinian territories) and Turkey (‘Kurdistan’). The latter two were active in all years of the period. The Middle East is the only region besides Asia where an interstate major armed conflict was recorded in the period: that between Iraq and the USA and its allies. The remaining four were fought within states, equally divided between the two types of incompatibility.

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\[6\] The conflict in Azerbaijan has not previously been recorded as active in 2005. New data indicates that it accounted for more than 25 battle-related deaths during that year. The conflict was first entered in the table of major armed conflicts in 1992.
III. Changes in the table of conflicts for 2010

Conflicts removed from the table

No new conflicts have been entered in the table for 2010. However, two conflicts that appeared in the table in 2009 were no longer active in 2010: Sri Lanka (‘Tamil Eelam’) and the Philippines (Mindanao). In the case of Sri Lanka, the rebel Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam (LTTE, or Tamil Tigers) were defeated militarily at the end of May 2009, and there were no indications of the group’s revival in 2010.

The conflict between the Government of the Philippines and the separatist rebel group the Moro Islamic Liberation Front (MILF) was not active in 2010. Several rounds of negotiations were held in Malaysia and both parties announced that they respected the ceasefire that was officially declared in 2003 and was reaffirmed in July 2009.

Changes in the intensity of conflicts

Six of the 15 major armed conflicts that were active in 2010 increased in intensity compared to 2009: Afghanistan, Myanmar (Karen), the Philippines, Somalia, Sudan and Turkey (‘Kurdistan’). The intensity of the last two increased by more than 50 per cent.

In Sudan, the large increase in battle-related deaths was largely due to government offensives against the Sudan Liberation Movement/Army (SLM/A) in February–March and September–October 2010. This increase in military operations on the part of the government may have been an attempt to weaken rebels in the Darfur region in case there should be an eruption of violence after the January 2011 independence referendum in Southern Sudan, potentially forcing the government forces to fight on two fronts. An improvement in Sudan’s relations with Chad also contributed to weakening of the SLM/A, as the two countries had previously supported the other’s rebels.

7 Due to an extensive revision of the UCDP data in 2010 there have been several significant changes to historical data in the table, particularly relating to the variables ‘year formed’, ‘year stated’, ‘year joined’, ‘year entered’ and ‘total deaths (including 2010)’.

8 Sri Lanka (‘Tamil Eelam’) was first recorded in 1987. The LTTE demanded an independent Tamil state—‘Tamil Eelam’—in the north and east of the country. Philippines (Mindanao), which was first recorded in 1990, has included a number of different actors over the years who have not used the same name for the territory that they are claiming. It is also unclear what the exact boundaries are for the different claims. The name Mindanao is used here because the first group active in the conflict, the Mindanao Independence Movement, sought to ‘liberate’ Mindanao and because Mindanao is a common denominator in the different groups’ territorial claims.


10 The Karen National Union (KNU) has used different names for the territory claimed as a homeland for the Karen ethnic group, including ‘Karenistan and ‘Kawthoolei’. The group’s goal has changed over the years, from full independence to self-determination for the Karen people within a democratic Burmese federal union.

In the conflict Turkey (‘Kurdistan’), fighting between the Government of Turkey and the rebel group Partiya Karkerên Kurdistan (PKK, Kurdistan Workers’ Party) escalated markedly in 2010. The bulk of the fighting took place during the summer months, when the government intensified armed action against the rebels following the PKK’s bombing of a naval base in Iskenderun, Hatay province. However, there were some signs of rapprochement at the end of the year: while no formal negotiations were initiated, the PKK’s annual Ramadan ceasefire was acknowledged by the government, prompting a reduction in military operations.

Seven major armed conflicts decreased in intensity between 2009 and 2010: Iraq, Pakistan, Peru, USA, Israel (Palestinian territories), Rwanda and Uganda—the last three by more than 50 per cent.

In Israel (Palestinian territories), the conflict between the Israeli Government and Palestinian groups, the level of fighting was significantly lower than in 2009, when what is often referred to as the Gaza War in January resulted in more than 600 battle-related deaths. During 2010 missile fire from the Gaza Strip into Israel was kept at a minimum as was Israeli retaliation. Face-to-face negotiations between the Palestinian National Authority, led by the Fatah party, and the Israeli Government began during the year, but soon collapsed.

The dramatic de-escalation of conflict between the Rwandan Government—aided by the Government of the Democratic Republic of the Congo (DRC)—and the Forces démocratiques de libération du Rwanda (FDLR, Democratic Forces for the Liberation of Rwanda) is partly due to the sheer intensity of fighting in 2009, which significantly weakened the rebels. The FDLR has since its creation been based in eastern DRC and has carried out cross-border attacks into Rwanda. In January and February 2009 Rwandan forces were allowed into the DRC to carry out Operation Umoja Wetu (‘our unity’) jointly with the Congolese Army. The Congolese Army, assisted by the United Nations Organization Mission in the DRC (MONUC), then launched another large-scale offensive, Kimia II, against the FDLR in March. Another operation, Amani Leo (‘peace today’), was launched in January 2010 after Kimia II had ended but it did not result in as heavy fighting as its predecessors.

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12 The PKK currently demands autonomy for a territory it refers to as Kurdistan, located in south-eastern Turkey, close to Turkey’s border with Iraq, Syria and Iran. In the past, the PKK demanded the independence of this territory, with the ultimate goal of establishing a Kurdish state comprising various territories currently under the control of Iran, Iraq and Turkey. These claims have changed in recent years, especially since the arrest by Turkish authorities of the PKK’s leader, Abdullah Ocalan, in 1999.


16 In July 2010 MONUC was renamed the UN Organization Stabilization Mission in the Democratic Republic of the Congo (MONUSCO). See appendix 3A in this volume.

The conflict between the Ugandan Government—supported by the governments of the Central African Republic, the DRC and Southern Sudan—and the Lord’s Resistance Army (LRA) also de-escalated markedly in 2010. Over the preceding two years the rebels had dispersed and split into smaller, more mobile groups that government forces had difficulty tracking down. However, while LRA fighters tended to avoid direct confrontation with regular forces, attacks on civilians increased dramatically and a number of massacres were reported in 2010.18

The most violent conflicts

Four of the major armed conflicts active in 2010 resulted in more than 1000 battle-related deaths: Afghanistan (almost 6300), Pakistan (almost 4600), Somalia (almost 2100) and Iraq (c. 1500).

The conflict in Afghanistan, in which the Afghan Government and its allies the International Security Assistance Force (ISAF)—led by the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (ATO)—fought the Taliban and Hezb-e-Islami over government, resulted in over 1000 battle-related deaths for the sixth consecutive year and increased in intensity compared to 2009. During the year a further 45 000 international troops were deployed to support the Afghan Government. The Afghan Army and ISAF together carried out a number of offensives during the year, the two most important being in Helmand province in February and in Kandahar in September.19 However, the Taliban—by far the strongest opposition group—appeared to make gains during 2010, securing a foothold in the northern part of the country in addition to its southern and eastern strongholds. During the year, the group stepped up its use of violence, focusing mainly on roadside bombs, assassination of politicians and suicide bombings. In addition, 2010 saw a substantial increase in the Taliban’s use of improvised explosive devices (IEDs).

The conflict between the Pakistani Government and Tehrik-i-Taliban Pakistan (TTP, Movement of the Taliban in Pakistan) remained at a high level of intensity in 2010 despite de-escalating somewhat compared to 2009. As in 2009, the vast majority of the fighting took place in the Federally Administered Tribal Areas (FATA) and in Khyber Pakhtunkhwa (formerly North-West Frontier Province). However, there was also an increase in urban attacks, with TTP targeting government officials and police as well as civilians. The government launched a major offensive against TTP, Operation Spring Cleaning, in February 2010. Violence then continued at a high level of intensity until September, when there was a reduction in military operations, mainly due to the severe floods hitting the country in the preceding month.

In Somalia, fighting between the Transitional Federal Government (TFG) and the al-Shabab militia continued to cause heavy casualties in 2010. In the early part of the year the insurgents launched two bloody offensives. In July, al-Shabab carried out suicide bombings in the Ugandan capital, Kampala, as a response to Uganda’s contribution of troops to the African Union Mission in Somalia (AMISOM).\footnote{Somalia’s al Shabaab says made attacks in Uganda’, Reuters, 12 July 2010.} The TFG and AMISOM subsequently launched an offensive that continued throughout late July and August. The year also saw a power-sharing agreement between the TFG and the moderate Sufi forces of Ahlu Sunna Waljamaca (ASWJ). The ASWJ had been the strongest force combating al-Shabab’s northward expansion in central Somalia and the agreement was seen as strengthening the TFG. However, by the start of July the agreement had broken down and the TFG’s influence was once again limited to some areas of Mogadishu.\footnote{‘Ahlu Sunnah: agreement with TFG has collapsed’, Garowe Online, 1 July 2010, <http://www.garoweonline.com/artman2/publish/Somalia27/>.}

Fighting in Iraq resulted in more than 1000 battle-related deaths for the seventh consecutive year. However, even though the conflict continues at a high level of intensity, the number of battle-related deaths has fallen markedly since 2007. Conflict activity remained at more or less the same level in 2010 as in 2009. During the year a majority of the fighting took place in Baghdad, Diyala and Mosul provinces and many large-scale attacks occurred around the time of the March parliamentary elections. A new feature of the violence in 2010 was that the insurgents increasingly attacked the so-called Awakening councils (Sahwa), Sunni tribal militias that have sided with the US forces since late 2006.\footnote{Nasira, H., ‘Al-Qaeda in Iraq resurfaces with new strategy and specific operations’, Terrorism Monitor, vol. 18, no. 16 (23 Apr. 2010).} The USA ended its combat mission in Iraq in August but left a transitional force of about 50 000 troops in the country. The USA plans to withdraw all of its troops from Iraq by the end of 2011.\footnote{International Crisis Group (ICG), Loose Ends: Iraq’s Security Forces Between U.S. Drawdown and Withdrawal, Middle East Report no. 99 (ICG: Baghdad, 26 Oct. 2010).}

IV. Major armed conflicts in a wider context

While the focus of this appendix is on major armed conflicts, a category that includes some of the most deadly organized violence worldwide, other types of armed conflict are also taking place. Major armed conflicts are a subcategory of the UCDP category armed conflicts, which are defined in a similar manner but do not need to have passed the threshold of 1000 battle-related deaths in any year to be recorded. The UCDP subdivides armed conflicts into minor armed conflicts (25–999 battle-related deaths in the year in question) and wars (1000 or more battle-related deaths in the year in question). Consequently, what are recorded here as major armed conflicts can appear in other UCDP publications as minor armed conflicts or wars, depending on the relevant year’s fatality estimates. The number of armed conflicts is substantially higher than the number
of major armed conflicts: a total of 124 armed conflicts are recorded since 1990 while the corresponding figure for major armed conflicts is 52.24

Even though the numbers differ, developments in the two categories have followed similar patterns since 1990, with the highest numbers recorded in the early 1990s: the highest number of active major armed conflicts, 27, was registered in 1990 while armed conflicts peaked at 53 in 1992. Both types of conflict then decreased—the armed conflicts more unevenly—and the lowest number of active armed conflicts, 29, is recorded for 2003, while the lowest number of active major armed conflicts, 14, is recorded for 2004 and 2007.

Yet another type of organized violence recorded by the UCDP is non-state conflicts, which include violence between, for example, two or more rebel organizations or ethnic groups.25 These conflicts are generally both less intense and less protracted than conflicts that involve a state. However, they are far more numerous than the armed conflicts; the UCDP records 356 non-state conflicts between 1990 and 2008, almost three times the number of armed conflicts. The number of active non-state conflicts tends to fluctuate widely from year to year and it is difficult to distinguish an overall pattern. The highest number of active non-state conflicts, 39, is recorded for 2000 and the lowest number, 16, for 1990.

V. Table of major armed conflicts

Definitions

The UCDP defines a major armed conflict as a contested incompatibility concerning government or territory over which the use of armed force between the military forces of two parties, of which at least one is the government of a state, has resulted in at least 1000 battle-related deaths in at least one calendar year. The separate elements are defined as follows:

1. Incompatibility that concerns government or territory. This refers to the stated generally incompatible positions of the parties to the conflict. An incompatibility that concerns government refers to incompatible positions regarding the state’s type of political system or the composition of the government. It may also involve an aim to replace the current government. An incompatibility that concerns territory refers to incompatible positions regarding the status of a

24 Data on major armed conflicts is available from 1990. The UCDP data on armed conflicts goes back to 1946.

25 More specifically, the UCDP defines non-state conflict as the use of armed force between 2 organized groups—neither of which is the government of a state—which results in at least 25 battle-related deaths in a calendar year. While the data previously only covered the period after 2001, the UCDP has recently released a new data set with a longer time series going back to 1989. This data set is presented in Sundberg, R., Eck, K. and Kreutz, J., ‘Fighting without the state: introducing the UCDP non-state conflict dataset’, Paper presented at the 51st Annual Convention of the International Studies Association, New Orleans, LA, 17–20 Feb. 2010; and is also described in Pettersson, T., ‘Non-state conflicts 1989–2008: global and regional patterns’, eds T. Pettersson and L. Themnér, States in Armed Conflict 2009 (Uppsala Conflict Data Program: Uppsala, 2010), pp. 183–201.
territory and may involve demands for secession or autonomy (intrastate conflict) or the aim of changing the state in control of a certain territory (interstate conflict).

2. Use of armed force. This refers to the use of armed force by the military forces of the parties to the conflict in order to promote the parties' general position in the conflict. Arms are defined as any material means of combat, including anything from manufactured weapons to sticks, stones, fire or water.

3. Party. This refers to the government of a state, any of its allies, an opposition organization or an alliance of opposition organizations. The government of a state is the party that is generally regarded as being in central control, even by those organizations seeking to seize power. If this criterion is not applicable, the party controlling the capital of the state is regarded as the government. An opposition organization is any non-governmental group that has announced a name for itself, stated its political goals and used armed force to achieve them. A state or a multinational organization that supports one of the primary parties with regular troops and shares its position may also be listed as a party. A traditional peacekeeping operation is not considered to be a party to the conflict but is rather seen as an impartial part of a consensual peace process.

4. State. This refers to an internationally recognized sovereign government controlling a specific territory or an internationally non-recognized government controlling a specific territory whose sovereignty is not disputed by an internationally recognized sovereign state that previously controlled the territory in question.

5. Battle-related deaths. This refers to deaths caused by the warring parties that can be directly related to combat over the contested incompatibility. Once a conflict has reached the threshold of 1000 battle-related deaths in a calendar year, it reappears in the annual list of major armed conflicts in any year in which there are 25 or more battle-related deaths in fighting between the same parties and concerning the same incompatibility.\(^{26}\) The focus is not on political violence per se but on incompatibilities that are contested by the use of armed force. Thus, only one major type of political violence is registered—battle-related deaths—which serve as a measure of the magnitude of a conflict. Other types of political violence are excluded, such as one-sided violence against civilians, unorganized or spontaneous public violence; and violence that is not directed at the state (e.g. rebel groups fighting each other).\(^{27}\)

The period analysed in this appendix is 2001–10, but the conflicts in table 2A.3 can have reached the required threshold of 1000 battle-related deaths in any calendar year since 1946 and need not have done so during the analysed period.

\(^{26}\) Since SIPRI Yearbook 2008, the threshold has been 25 battle-related deaths, bringing it in line with other UCDP data sets and ensuring that only major armed conflicts in which significant fighting took place during the year are included. In earlier editions of the SIPRI Yearbook the threshold was 1 battle-related death.

\(^{27}\) The UCDP collects information on 2 of these types of violence: non-state conflicts and 1-sided violence. Data on these additional categories can be found at the UCDP website, <http://www.ucdp.uu.se/>. 
Sources

The data presented in this appendix is based on information taken from a wide selection of publicly available sources, both printed and electronic. The sources include news agencies, newspapers, academic journals, research reports, and documents from international and multinational organizations and non-governmental organizations (NGOs). In order to collect information on the aims and goals of the parties to the conflict, documents of the warring parties (governments, allies and opposition organizations) and, for example, the Internet sites of rebel groups are often consulted.

Independent news sources, carefully selected over a number of years, constitute the basis of the data collection. The Factiva news database is indispensable for the collection of general news reports. It contains more than 25,000 sources in 22 languages from 159 countries and provides sources from all three crucial levels of the news media: international (e.g. Agence France-Presse and Reuters), regional and local. However, the availability of the regional and national news sources varies, which means that for some countries several sources are consulted, whereas for other countries and regions only a few high-quality region- or country-specific sources are used.

The UCDP regularly scrutinizes and revises the selection and combination of sources in order to maintain a high level of reliability and comparability between regions and countries. One important priority is to arrive at a balanced combination of sources of different origin with a view to avoiding bias. The reliability of the sources is judged using the expertise of the UCDP together with advice from a global network of experts (academics and policymakers). Both the independence of the source and the transparency of its origins are crucial. The latter is important because most sources are secondary, which means that the primary source also needs to be analysed in order to establish the reliability of a report. Each source is judged in relation to the context in which it is published. The potential interest of either the primary or secondary source in misrepresenting an event is taken into account, as are the general climate and extent of media censorship. Reports from NGOs and international organizations are particularly useful in this context, complementing media reporting and facilitating cross-checking. The criterion that a source should be independent does not, of course, apply to sources that are consulted precisely because they are biased, such as government documents or rebel groups’ Internet sites. The UCDP is aware of the high level of scrutiny required and makes great effort to ensure the authenticity of the material used.

Methods

The data on major armed conflicts is compiled by calendar year. It includes data on conflict locations, type of incompatibility, onset of the armed conflict, warring parties, total number of battle-related deaths, number of battle-related deaths and change in battle-related deaths from year to year.\(^{28}\)

\(^{28}\) See also the notes for table 2A.3.
The data on battle-related deaths is given the most attention in coding for the conflict database. Information on, for example, the date, news source, primary source, location and death toll is recorded for every event. Ideally, these individual events and figures are corroborated by two or more independent sources. The figures are then aggregated for the entire year for each conflict. The aggregated figures are compared to total figures given in official documents, in special reports and in the news media. Regional experts such as researchers, diplomats and journalists are often consulted during the data collection. Their role is mainly to clarify the contexts in which the events occur, thus facilitating proper interpretation of the published sources.

Because little precise information is publicly available on death figures in armed conflicts, the numbers presented by the UCDP are best viewed as estimates. Rather than always providing exact numbers, ranges are sometimes given. The UCDP is generally conservative when estimating the number of battle-related deaths. As more in-depth information on an armed conflict becomes available, the conservative, event-based estimates often prove more correct than others widely cited in the news media. If no figures are available or if the numbers given are unreliable, the UCDP does not provide a figure. Figures are revised retroactively each year as new information becomes available.
### Table 2A.3. Major armed conflicts in 2010

For the definitions, methods and sources used see section V and the notes to this table.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Location</th>
<th>Incompatibility</th>
<th>Year formed/year stated/year joined/year entered</th>
<th>Warring parties</th>
<th>Total deaths (including 2010)</th>
<th>Deaths in 2010</th>
<th>Change from 2009</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Africa</strong></td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>* Fighting took place in the Democratic Republic of the Congo.</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>* Fighting took place in the Central African Republic, the Democratic Republic of the Congo and Sudan.</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Americas</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Colombia</td>
<td>Government</td>
<td>1964/1964/1964/1994</td>
<td>Government of Colombia vs FARC</td>
<td>&gt;16 300</td>
<td>&lt;400</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>FARC = Fuerzas Armadas Revolucionarias de Colombia (Revolutionary Armed Forces of Colombia)</td>
<td></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>USA</strong></td>
<td>* Government</td>
<td>2001/2001/2001/2001</td>
<td>Government of USA, Multinational coalition vs al-Qaeda</td>
<td>&gt;3900</td>
<td>&lt;300</td>
<td>–</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* Fighting took place in Pakistan.

** In 2010 the US-led multinational coalition included troops from Canada, France, the Netherlands and Romania. Reliable information on states contributing troops is sensitive and hard to find, so this list should be seen as tentative.

**Asia**

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* The following countries contributed troops to the NATO-led International Security Assistance Force (ISAF) in 2010: Albania, Armenia, Australia, Austria, Azerbaijan, Belgium, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Bulgaria, Canada, Croatia, Czech Republic, Denmark, Estonia, Finland, France, Georgia, Germany, Greece, Hungary, Iceland, Ireland, Italy, South Korea, Latvia, Lithuania, Luxembourg, Macedonia (Former Yugoslav Republic of), Malaysia, Mongolia, Montenegro, Netherlands, New Zealand, Norway, Poland, Portugal, Romania, Singapore, Slovakia, Slovenia, Spain, Sweden, Turkey, Ukraine, United Arab Emirates, the UK and the USA.

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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>India Territory (Kashmir)</td>
<td>1977/1977/1984/1990</td>
<td>Government of India vs Kashmiri insurgents</td>
<td>&gt;19 000</td>
<td>&lt;400</td>
<td>0</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

TTP = Tehrik-i-Taliban Pakistan (Movement of the Taliban in Pakistan)

* Fighting took place in Afghanistan and Pakistan.
**Philippines**  
>28 100 >200 +

**Middle East**  

<table>
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<tr>
<th>Country</th>
<th>Government (Territory)</th>
<th>Year formed/Years stated</th>
<th>Government of (Territory)</th>
<th>vs</th>
<th>Military Party</th>
<th>&gt; Military Deaths</th>
<th>&gt; Civil Deaths</th>
<th>Notes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Iraq</td>
<td>Government of Iraq, USA* vs Iraqi insurgents**</td>
<td>1963/2003/2003/2004</td>
<td>Government of Iraq, USA* vs Iraqi insurgents**</td>
<td>&gt;32 200</td>
<td>&gt;1500 -</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* *The USA ended its combat mission in Aug. 2010 but left a transitional force of about 50 000 troops in the country.**  
** In 2010 these included primarily Dawlat al-'Iraq al-islamiyya (Islamic State of Iraq, ISI).**

| Israel | Territory (Palestinian territories) | 1959/1964/1965/1982 | Government of Israel vs Palestinian organizations* | >15 900 | 25–100 - - |

* In 2010 these included primarily Palestinian Islamic Jihad (PIJ) and Hamas (Islamic Resistance Movement).**


* Fighting took place in Iraq and Turkey.

**Notes:** Although some countries are also the location of minor armed conflicts, the table lists only the major armed conflicts in those countries.

The conflicts in the table are listed by location, in alphabetical order, within 5 geographical regions: Africa, excluding Egypt; the Americas, including North, Central and South America and the Caribbean; Asia, including Oceania, Australia and New Zealand; Europe, including the Caucasus; and the Middle East, comprising Egypt, Iran, Iraq, Israel, Jordan, Kuwait, Lebanon, Syria, Turkey and the states of the Arabian peninsula.

a ‘Location’ is the state whose government is being challenged by an opposition organization. If fighting took place in another geographical location, this is indicated in a note.

b The stated general incompatible positions, ‘government’ and ‘territory’, refer to contested incompatibilities concerning governmental power—type of political system or a change of central government or its composition—and those concerning territory—control of territory (interstate conflict), secession or autonomy. A location may have incompatibilities over several different territories, but only 1 incompatibility over government.

c ‘Year formed’ is the year in which a conflict party first stated the incompatibility. In conflicts where several parties have fought over the same incompatibility, the year that the incompatibility was first stated is given, even if the original stating party is no longer active in the conflict. ‘Year stated’ is the year
in which 1 of the currently active opposition parties (see note d) first stated its incompatibility. ‘Year joined’ is the first year in which armed force was used in the conflict by at least 1 of the active opposition parties. ‘Year entered’ is the first year in which fighting between the government and 1 or more of the active opposition parties led to 1000 or more battle-related deaths in 1 calendar year and was therefore classified as a major armed conflict. Thus, ‘Year formed’ refers to the start of the conflict itself, while ‘Year stated’, ‘Year joined’ and ‘Year entered’ refer to the involvement of at least 1 active opposition party.

d The government party and its allies are listed first, followed by the opposition parties, which may be organizations or other states. Opposition parties are only listed in the table if fighting between them and the government over the declared incompatibility has passed the threshold of 1000 battle-related deaths in a calendar year. An opposition organization is any non-governmental group that has publicly announced a name for itself as well as its political goals and has used armed force to achieve its goals. Only those parties and alliances which were active during 2010 are listed in this column. A comma between 2 warring parties indicates an alliance.

e The figures for total battle-related deaths refer to those deaths caused by the warring parties since the start of the conflict that can be directly connected to the incompatibility. This figure thus relates to the ‘Year formed’ variable. In the case of intrastate conflicts, it should be noted that the figures include only battle-related deaths that can be attributed to fighting between the government and opposition parties that have at some point been listed in the table. Information that covers a calendar year is necessarily more tentative for the last months of the year. Experience has also shown that the reliability of figures improves over time; they are therefore revised each year.

f Numbers over 100 are, as far as possible, rounded to the nearest 100. Thus, figures ranging between 101 and 150 are presented as >100, while figures ranging between 151 and 199 are presented as <200. Figures between 25 and 100 are presented as 25–100.

g The ‘Change from 2009’ is measured as the increase or decrease in the number of battle-related deaths in 2010 compared with the number of battle-related deaths in 2009. Although the symbols are based on data that cannot be considered totally reliable, they represent the following changes:

+ + increase in battle-related deaths of >50%
+ increase in battle-related deaths of >10 to 50%
0 stable rate of battle-related deaths (–10% to +10%)
– decrease in battle-related deaths of >10 to 50%
– – decrease in battle-related deaths of >50%
The difference in scores between states highlights the large divergences between regions in terms of their relative levels of peacefulness. For example, the state with the highest rate of homicide, Louisiana, has 11.8 homicides per 100,000 people, whereas the state with the lowest, New Hampshire, has a rate more than 15 times less, at 0.75 homicides per 100,000. The divergences are similar with violent crime, with Nevada’s rate of 696 incidents per 100,000 six times higher than the lowest, Maine, which has a rate of 117 incidents per 100,000. These divergences in violent crime and homicide are reflected in stark differences in social and economic outcomes.

To further the understanding of the potential determinants of peace, the USPI looked at how each state performed in over 37 key socio-economic indicators. The results of the analysis indicate that access to health care, education and economic opportunity is closely linked to a more peaceful society. The better the outcomes in education and health, the lower the rate of poverty and income inequality, and the greater the access to basic services, the more peaceful a state tends to be. Political affiliation did not correlate with levels of violence at the state level.

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