# III. Patterns of organized violence, 2001–10

LOTTA THEMNÉR AND PETER WALLENSTEEN
UPPSALA CONFLICT DATA PROGRAM

In previous editions of the SIPRI Yearbook, the Uppsala Conflict Data Program (UCDP) presented information on patterns of 'major armed conflicts', defined as those conflicts where the use of armed force between two parties—at least one of which is the government of a state—has resulted in 1000 or more battle-related deaths in at least one calendar year.[1] The focus has now changed and broadened to include three types of organized violence: 'armed conflicts', 'non-state conflicts' and 'one-sided violence'. By including violence carried out by state and non-state actors alike, whether directed against other states, non-state groups or civilian populations, the data provides a broader look at organized violence.

Of the three types of organized violence, the definition of armed conflict most closely resembles that of major armed conflict; the difference is that, instead of applying a threshold of 1000 battle-related deaths in at least one calendar year, the cut-off point is set at 25 deaths in a calendar year. While at least one side in an armed conflict must be a government, non-state conflicts involve only non-state armed groups, which can be formally or informally organized. The third category, one-sided violence, is the intentional targeting of civilians by a state or an organized group.

This section provides an overview of armed conflict, non-state conflict and one-sided violence in the first decade of the 21st century. Over the period 2001–10 there were 69 armed conflicts and 221 non-state conflicts and 127 actors were involved in one-sided violence: thus, in total, there were more than 400 violent actions that each resulted in the deaths of more than 25 people in a particular year. The extent of organized violence at the end of the decade was lower than at its beginning, although the decline was not dramatic (see figure 2.2). Moreover, while in the 1990s there were wide fluctuations in the number of conflicts, this pattern was not repeated in the 2000s, indicating that the downward trend may be a promising indication of future developments. Within the overall trend, each of the three types of violence has its own internal dynamics, while also being affected by the dynamics of the other types. The full picture is, of course, more complex, but there is no clear indication that the three types of violence offset each other, with a decline in one type leading to an increase in the other two.

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[1] For a more detailed definition of the concept of major armed conflict see e.g. Themnér, L. and Wallensteen, P., 'Patterns of major armed conflicts, 2001–10', *SIPRI Yearbook 2011*, pp. 69–70.
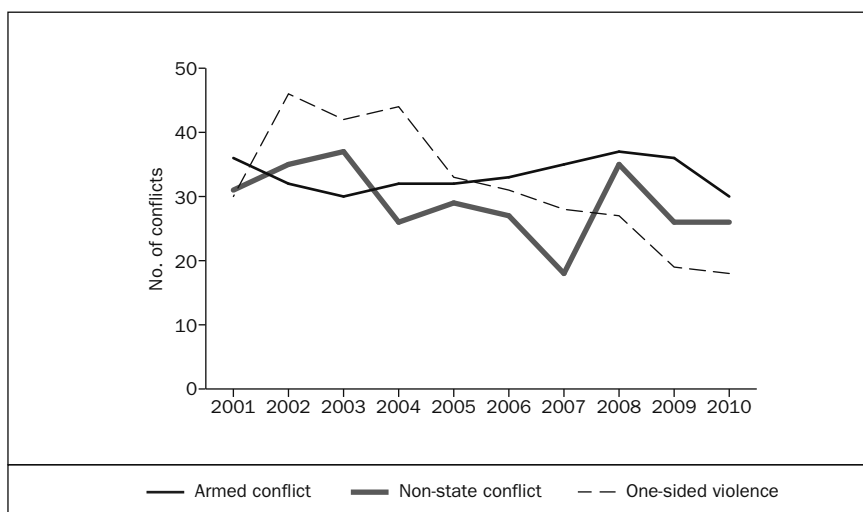
Figure 2.2. Numbers of armed conflicts, non-state conflicts and one-sided violence, 2001–10

Armed conflicts

Armed conflict is defined as a contested incompatibility between two parties—at least one of which is the government of a state—that concerns government or territory or both, where the use of armed force by the parties results in at least 25 battle-related deaths in a calendar year. An armed conflict that results in 1000 battle-related deaths in a year is classified as a 'war' in that year; other armed conflicts are classified as 'minor armed conflicts'.[2] This definition extends from low-intensity conflicts that are active for just one or a few years—such as the territorial conflict between the politico-religious movement Bundu-dia-Kongo and the Congolese government (active in 2007–2008)—right through to high-intensity conflicts that are active over a long period of time—such as the conflict over governmental power in Afghanistan that has pitted successive governments against a range of rebel groups since 1978.

In 2001–10 there were 69 active armed conflicts, including 30 that were active in 2010 (see table 2.2). Overall, the annual number declined somewhat during the period, but the decline was uneven, with the highest number of conflicts being recorded in 2008 (see table 2.3). Interestingly, wars have declined the most. While in 2001 there were 10 wars (28 per cent of the total), in 2010 there were just 4 (13 per cent of the total). The longest-

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[2] Thus, a major armed conflict is an armed conflict that has been classified as a war in at least 1 year.

running wars were fought between the Afghan Government and the Taliban, and between the Iraqi Government and a plethora of rebel groups: both of these conflicts were on a war level in 7 of the 10 years (Afghanistan in 2001 and 2005–10, and Iraq in 2004–10).

There was also an overall reduction in battle-related deaths over the decade, but there were still close to 20 000 people killed in battles in 2010 (see figure 2.6 below).[3] Again, the decline was uneven, with the lowest number (*c.* 11 500) recorded in 2005 while the highest number (almost 31 000) was recorded in 2009. This peak was largely due to the dramatic escalation of the conflict in Sri Lanka, which ended in 2009 with the defeat of the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam (LTTE). Developments in Afghanistan and Pakistan also played their part: the conflict between the Afghan Government and the Taliban escalated and a new, violent conflict erupted between the Pakistani Government and Tehrik-i-Taliban Pakistan (TTP, Taliban Movement of Pakistan).

UDCP data distinguishes between three types of armed conflict: interstate, intrastate and internationalized intrastate.[4] Intrastate conflicts are by far the most common; in most years they account for more than 80 per cent of all conflicts, and never less than 70 per cent (see table 2.3). Interstate conflicts are the least common. In 2001–10 there were only three: those between India and Pakistan (2001–2003), Iraq and the USA with its allies (2003), and Djibouti and Eritrea (2008). However, even though interstate conflicts are rare, they should not be neglected. Given the vast resources that can be mobilized by governments compared to rebel groups, conflicts between states may rapidly escalate to a deadly level.[5]

Internationalized intrastate conflicts have become increasingly common. Those since 2001 can be divided into two broad groups: (*a*) conflicts linked to the USA's 'global war on terrorism' such as the wars in Afghanistan and Iraq and the USA's conflict with al-Qaeda; and (*b*) cases of government intervention in internal conflicts in their neighbours, such as the conflict between India and the National Socialist Council of Nagaland–Khaplang faction (NSCN–K), during which the Indian Government received support from neighbouring Myanmar. Another example of this type of armed conflict was the conflict between the Angolan Government and União Nacional para a Independência Total de Angola (UNITA, National Union for the Total Independence of Angola), during which the government side was aided by troops from Namibia.

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[3] For the full definition of battle-related deaths, see below.

[4] Interstate conflicts are fought between 2 or more governments of states. Intrastate conflicts are fought between a government of a state and 1 or more rebel groups. Internationalized intrastate conflicts are intrastate conflicts in which 1 or both sides receive troop support from an external state.

[5] See e.g. Lacina, B. and Gleditch, N. P., 'Monitoring trends in global combat: a new dataset of battle deaths', *European Journal of Population*, vol. 21 (2005), pp. 145–66.

Table 2.2. Armed conflicts in 2010

For more detailed definitions of the terms used see 'Sources and methods' below.

Location[a]	Parties	Incompatibility	Start year[b]	Fatalities, 2010	Change from 2009[c]
Africa					
Algeria	Government of Algeria, Niger				
	vs al-Qaeda in the Islamic Maghreb (AQIM)	Government	1998/ 1999	240	– –
CAR	Government of the CAR				
	vs Convention des patriotes pour la justice et la paix (CPJP, Convention of Patriots for Justice and Peace)	Government	2009/ 2009	26	0
Chad	Government of Chad				
	vs Front populaire pour la renaissance nationale (FPRN, Popular Front for National Renaissance)	Government	2010/ 2010	42	. .
Ethiopia	Government of Ethiopia				
	vs Ogaden National Liberation Front (ONLF)	Territory (Ogaden)	1994/ 1994	25	0
Mauritania[d]	Government of Mauritania, France, Niger				
	vs al-Qaeda in the Islamic Maghreb (AQIM)	Government	2008/ 2010	33	. .
Rwanda[e]	Government of Rwanda, DRC				
	vs Forces Démocratiques de Libération du Rwanda (FDLR, Democratic Liberation Forces of Rwanda)	Government	1996/ 1996	199	– –
Somalia	Government of Somalia, Ethiopia				
	vs Al-Shabab	Government	2008/ 2008	2 076	+
	vs Hizbul-Islam (Islamic Party)	Government	2009/ 2009	82	+
Sudan	Government of Sudan				
	vs Justice and Equality Movement (JEM)	Government	2003/ 2003	638	+ +
	vs Sudan Liberation Movement/Army (SLM/A)	Government	2003/ 2003	203	+ +
	vs Forces of George Athor	Government	2010/ 2010	90	. .
Uganda[f]	Government of Uganda, CAR, DRC, Sudan				
	vs Lord's Resistance Army (LRA)	Government	1988/ 1988	51	– –
Americas					
Colombia	Government of Colombia				
	vs Fuerzas Armadas Revolucionarias de Colombia (FARC, Revolutionary Armed Forces of Colombia)	Government	1964/ 1964	376	0
	vs Ejército de Liberación Nacional (ELN, National Liberation Army)	Government	1965/ 1966	52	. .
Peru	Government of Peru				
	vs Sendero Luminoso (Shining Path)	Government	1981/ 1982	28	–

Location[a]	Parties	Incompatibility	Start year[b]	Fatalities, 2010	Change from 2009[c]
USA[g]	Government of the USA, Canada, France, the Netherlands, Romania				
	vs al-Qaeda	Government	2001/ 2001	269	–
Asia					
Afghanistan	Government of Afghanistan, Multilateral coalition[h]				
	vs Hizb-i Islami-yi Afghanistan (Islamic Party of Afghanistan)	Government	1980/ 1980	96	+ +
	vs Taliban	Government	1995/ 1995	6 278	+
India	Government of India				
	vs Communist Party of India–Maoist (CPI–Maoist/Naxalites)	Government	2004/ 2005	531	0
	vs United Liberation Front of Assam (ULFA)	Territory (Assam)	1983/ 1990	30	– –
	vs National Democratic Front for Bodoland (NDFB)	Territory (Bodoland)	1992/ 1993	25	. .
	vs National Democratic Front for Bodoland–Ranjan Daimary faction (NDFB–RD)	Territory (Bodoland)	2009/ 2009	32	– –
	vs Kashmir insurgents	Territory (Kashmir)	1984/ 1989	362	0
Myanmar	Government of Myanmar				
	vs Karen National Union (KNU)	Territory (Karen)	1966/ 1966	63	+ +
	vs Democratic Karen Buddhist Army Brigade 5 (DKBA 5)	Territory (Karen)	2010/ 2010	58	. .
	vs Shan State Army–South command (SSA–S)	Territory (Shan)	1986/ 1996	36	–
Pakistan[i]	Government of Pakistan				
	vs Tehrik-i-Taliban Pakistan (TTP, Taliban Movement of Pakistan)	Government	2007/ 2008	4 787	–
Philippines	Government of Philippines				
	vs Communist Party of the Philippines (CPP)	Government	1969/ 1969	202	+
	vs Abu Sayyaf Group (ASG)	Territory (Mindanao)	1993/ 1993	85	– –
Tajikistan	Government of Tajikistan				
	vs Islamic Movement of Uzbekistan (IMU)	Government	2005/ 2010	98	. .
Thailand	Government of Thailand				
	vs Patani insurgents	Territory (Patani)	1965/ 2003	68	– –
Europe					
Russia	Government of Russia				
	vs Forces of the Caucasus Emirate	Territory ('Caucasus Emirate')	2007/ 2007	418	–
Middle East					
Israel	Government of Israel				
	vs Harakat al-Jihad al-Islami fi Filastin (Palestinian Islamic Jihad, PIJ)	Territory (Palestinian territories)	1987/ 1995	27	– –

Location[a]	Parties	Incompatibility	Start year[b]	Fatalities, 2010	Change from 2009[c]
Iran	Government of Iran				
	vs Jondullah (God's Army)	Government	2003/ 2006	74	–
Iraq	Government of Iraq, USA				
	vs Dawlat al-'Iraq al-Islamiyya (Islamic State of Iraq, ISI)	Government	2004/ 2004	1 015	0
Turkey[j]	Government of Turkey				
	vs Partiya Karkerên Kurdistan (PKK, Kurdistan Workers' Party)	Territory ('Kurdistan')	1983/ 1984	328	+ +
Yemen	Government of Yemen, USA				
	vs al-Qaeda in the Arabian Peninsula (AQAP)	Government	2009/ 2009	175	+ +

CAR = Central African Republic; DRC = Democratic Republic of the Congo.

[a] Location refers to 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] Start year refers to the onset of a given dyad (i.e. the fighting between a government and a rebel group). The first year given is when the first recorded battle-related death in the dyad occurred and the second year is the year when fighting caused at least 25 battle-related deaths for the first time.

[c] 'Change from 2009' is measured as the increase or decrease in the number of battle-related deaths in 2010 compared to the number of battle-related deaths in 2009. The symbols 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 conflict was not active in 2009.

[d] As well as Mauritania, fighting took place in Mali and Niger.

[e] Fighting took place in the DRC.

[f] Fighting took place in the CAR, the DRC and Sudan.

[g] Fighting took place in Afghanistan and Pakistan.

[h] The following countries contributed troops to the coalition 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, Jordan, Korea (South), Latvia, Lithuania, Luxembourg, Macedonia (Former Yugoslav Republic of), Malaysia, Mongolia, Montenegro, the Netherlands, New Zealand, Norway, Poland, Portugal, Romania, Singapore, Slovakia, Slovenia, Spain, Sweden, Turkey, Ukraine, the UAE, the UK, the USA.

[i] As well as Pakistan, fighting took place in Afghanistan.

[j] As well as Turkey, fighting took place in Iraq.

Source: UCDP/PRIO Armed Conflict Dataset, <http://www.pcr.uu.se/research/ucdp/datasets/>.

Of the 69 armed conflicts active in 2001–10, 27 (or 39 per cent) were fought in Africa, 25 (36 per cent) were in Asia, 8 were in the Middle East (12 per cent), 5 were in Europe (7 per cent) and 4 were in the Americas (6 per cent). This pattern was roughly constant over the decade (see table 2.3), although since 2003 Asia has been the region hardest hit by armed conflict, reflecting a dramatic fall in the number in Africa. Over the decade, the number of wars in Africa fell from five to one, accompanied by a drop in the annual number of battle-related deaths from well above 10 000 in 2001 to below 4000 in 2010. Driving this trend was the termin-

Table 2.3. Armed conflict, by intensity, type and region, 2001–10

	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010
Total	**36**	**32**	**30**	**32**	**32**	**33**	**35**	**37**	**36**	**30**
Intensity										
Minor armed conflict	26	26	25	25	27	28	31	32	30	26
War	10	6	5	7	5	5	4	5	6	4
Type										
Interstate	1	1	2	–	–	–	–	1	–	–
Intrastate	30	28	26	28	26	27	30	30	28	21
Internationalized intrastate	5	3	2	4	6	6	5	6	8	9
Region										
Africa	15	15	10	10	7	10	12	13	12	9
The Americas	2	2	1	3	2	2	3	3	3	3
Asia and Oceania	14	12	15	14	16	15	14	15	15	12
Europe	2	1	1	2	2	1	2	2	1	1
Middle East	3	2	3	3	5	5	4	4	5	5

ation of the wars in Angola, Burundi and Liberia and the de-escalation of the conflicts in Algeria, Chad, Sudan and Uganda.

While Asia and Europe also saw a decline in the number of conflicts, it was not of the magnitude seen in Africa. In Europe, the reduction in conflicts was accompanied by a drop in battle-related deaths, but the reverse was true in Asia. After a decrease in the number of battle-related deaths in Asia in the first years of the decade, the total began to increase in 2006 and by 2010 it was more than 12 700. This reflected the escalation of the conflicts in Afghanistan and Pakistan.

In contrast, the number of armed conflicts increased in the Americas and the Middle East. In the Middle East, the number of battle-related deaths also increased: it almost quadrupled from about 400 to more than 1600. In the Americas, in contrast, the fatality figure decreased from around 2700 to a little over 700. Notwithstanding the 2001 attack on the USA by al-Qaeda, this decrease was largely due to a de-escalation of the conflict in Colombia.

Non-state conflicts

Non-state conflict is defined as the use of armed force between two organized groups—neither of which is the government of a state—that results in at least 25 battle-related deaths in a year. According to the groups' level of organization, non-state conflicts are divided into three sub-types: (*a*) conflicts between formally organized actors such as rebel groups; (*b*) conflicts between informally organized supporters and affiliates of political parties

Table 2.4. Non-state conflicts in 2010

For more detailed definitions of the terms used see 'Sources and methods' below.

Location[a]	Side A	Side B	Organization level[b]	Start year[c]	Fatalities, 2010	Change from 2009[d]
Africa						
Nigeria	Anagutas, Afisare, Birom	Fulani, Hausa	3	2001	555	. .
Nigeria	Birom	Fulani	3	2010	150	. .
Nigeria	Boje	Nsadop	3	2010	30	. .
Somalia	Al-Shabab	Hizbul-Islam	1	2009	88	–
Somalia	Ahlu Sunna Waljamaca	Al-Shabab	1	2008	202	– –
Somalia	Ahlu Sunna Waljamaca	Hizbul-Islam	1	2010	45	. .
Somalia	Forces of Shayk Muhammad Said Atom	Puntland state of Somalia	1	2010	109	. .
Somalia	Suleiman subclan of Habar Gidir clan (Hawiye)	Qubeys subclan (Dir)	3	2010	88	. .
Sudan	Atuot Dinka	Ciek Dinka	3	2010	27	. .
Sudan	Dinka	Nuer	3	1997	228	. .
Sudan	Gok Dinka	Rek Dinka	3	2010	28	. .
Sudan	Misseria	Rizeigat Baggara	3	2008	342	+
Americas						
Honduras	Mara 18 (Honduras)	Mara Salvatrucha (Honduras)	1	2010	49	. .
Honduras, Mexico	Gulf Cartel	Sinaloa Cartel	1	2004	40	– –
Mexico	Beltrán Leyva Cartel	Beltrán Leyva Cartel–Valdez Villareal faction	1	2010	182	. .
Mexico	Gulf Cartel	Los Zetas	1	2010	412	. .
Mexico	Juarez Cartel	Sinaloa Cartel	1	2008	2 515	+ +
Mexico	Los Zetas	Sinaloa Cartel	1	2010	29	. .
Mexico	Tijuana Cartel	Tijuana Cartel–El Teo faction	1	2008	54	+
Asia						
Afghanistan	Hizb-i Islami-yi Afghanistan	Taliban	1	1994	99	. .
Kyrgyzstan	Kyrgyz (Kyrgyzstan)	Uzbeks (Kyrgyzstan)	3	1990	45	. .
Pakistan	Lashkar-e-Islam (Army of Islam)	TTP	1	2010	63	. .
Pakistan	TTP–Momin Afridi faction	TTP–Tariq Afridi faction	1	2010	74	. .
Pakistan	TTP–Mulla Rafique faction	TTP–Mullah Toofan faction	1	2010	80	. .
Pakistan	Bangesh tribe	Mangal tribe	3	2010	200	. .
Middle East						
Yemen	al-Shabab al-Mumin (Believing Youth)	al-Qaeda in the Arabian Peninsula (AQAP)	1	2010	26	. .

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

[a] Location refers to the geographical location of the fighting.

[b] Organization level: 1 = formally organized groups; 2 = informal 'supporters' groups; and 3 = informally organized ethnic or religious groups. See 'Sources and methods' for full details.

[c] Start year is the first year (since 1988) when conflict caused 25 fatalities.

[d] 'Change from 2009' is measured as the increase or decrease in the number of battle-related deaths in 2010 compared to the number of battle-related deaths in 2009. The symbols 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 conflict was not active in 2009.

Source: UCDP Non-state Conflict Dataset, <http://www.pcr.uu.se/research/ucdp/datasets/>.

and candidates; and (*c*) conflicts between informally organized groups that share a common identification along ethnic, clan, religious, national or tribal lines. Thus, non-state conflict relates to a broad spectrum of violence that tends to greatly affect ordinary people but often has fewer implications for international relations than armed conflict. For example, the category includes conflicts between highly organized groups—such as the Colombian paramilitary group Autodefensas Unidas de Colombia (AUC, United Self-defence Forces of Colombia) fighting the rebel group Fuerzas Armadas Revolucionarias de Colombia (FARC, Revolutionary Armed Forces of Colombia)—as well as conflicts between ethnic communities in the Horn of Africa such as that between the Ari and the Mursi peoples in south-east Ethiopia.

There was a total of 221 non-state conflicts worldwide during the decade 2001–10, including 26 that were active in 2010 (see table 2.4). There was a decrease in the number of active non-state conflicts over the decade, but as with armed conflicts the decline was far from smooth (see table 2.5).

At the same time the average number of people killed in non-state conflicts increased markedly (see figure 2.3). While the 31 conflicts fought in 2001 caused just over 2800 fatalities (or an average of 91 people killed per conflict), the 26 conflicts in 2010 caused more than 5700 fatalities (an average of 222 fatalities per conflict). In fact, trends in conflict numbers and conflict fatalities rarely corresponded in this period. This is illustrated most clearly by the increase of 135 in the average number of fatalities per conflict between 2008 and 2010—which is substantial in the context of non-state conflicts—while the number of conflicts decreased by 9. This considerable increase was mainly driven by the violent escalation of the conflict between the Juarez and Sinaloa cartels in Mexico.[6]

The most common type of non-state conflict in 2001–10 was conflict between ethnic or religious communities. Of the 221 non-state conflicts, 133 (60 per cent) were fought between such groups. Eighty of the conflicts

[6] On the difficulties in coding non-state conflicts in Mexico see the entry for Mexico in the UCDP Conflict Encyclopedia, <http://www.ucdp.uu.se/database/>.

Table 2.5. Non-state conflict, by subcategory and region, 2001–10

|	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010
Total	**31**	**35**	**37**	**26**	**29**	**27**	**18**	**35**	**26**	**26**
Subcategory										
Formally organized groups	7	13	16	13	11	7	10	13	9	16
Informal 'supporters' groups	2	1	3	1	–	1	–	2	1	–
Informally organized ethnic or religious groups	22	21	18	12	18	19	8	20	16	10
Region										
Africa	23	30	32	20	22	21	10	23	18	12
Asia and Oceania	4	2	2	2	4	5	5	8	5	6
The Americas	4	2	2	3	3	–	–	3	3	7
Europe	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
Middle East	–	1	1	1	–	1	3	1	–	1

(36 per cent) were between formally organized groups, such as rebel groups or militias. Conflicts between supporters and affiliates of political parties and candidates were uncommon: only 8 (3 per cent) were recorded in the entire period.[7] Non-state conflict involving informal 'supporters' groups was the least common of the three subcategories in all years of the period 2001–10.

The vast majority of non-state conflicts in 2001–10 were located in Africa (see table 2.5). Most of the non-state conflicts in Africa are clustered in a few countries. Of the 169 non-state conflicts in Africa over the decade, 130 (or 77 per cent) were fought in Ethiopia, Kenya, Nigeria, Somalia or Sudan.

There are clear differences in the types of non-state conflict fought in each region. Africa was the only region where a majority of the non-state conflicts involved ethnic or religious communities (see figure 2.4). In all other regions, a majority of the conflicts were fought between formally organized groups; in the Middle East this category made up 100 per cent of all non-state conflicts.

While a majority of the deaths in non-state conflicts occurred in Africa, at 141 deaths per conflict the average number of fatalities in Africa was

[7] It should be noted, however, that there is a potential overlap between the various types of non-state conflict. E.g. in many countries supporters of different political parties are almost by definition members of a specific ethnic group. During election years these groups are mobilized under a political banner, whereas they are mobilized as an ethnic group in conflicts occurring in other years. To be able to get a good overview and to follow a conflict even though it is reported in different ways in different years, UCDP has a coding rule that if there is a conflict between 2 ethnic groups in 1 year, and these ethnic groups are then involved in fighting mobilized along political lines (i.e. as supporters of a party) in another year, all conflict years are coded as part of the same ethnic conflict.
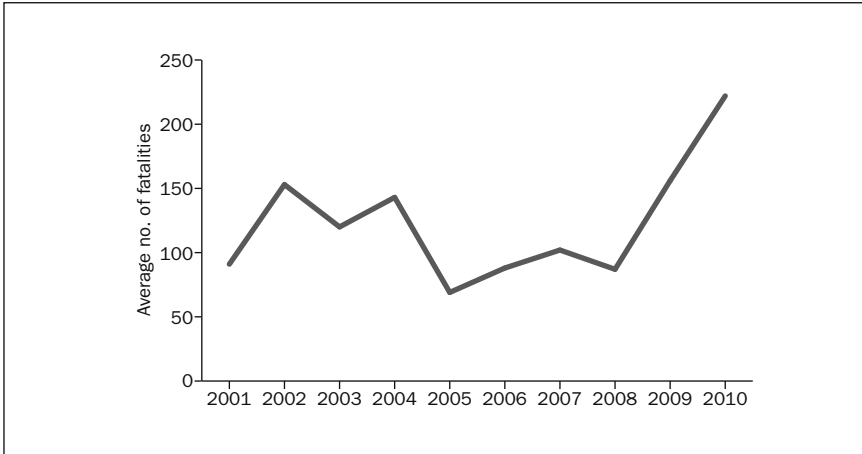
Figure 2.3. Average number of fatalities in non-state conflicts, 2001–10
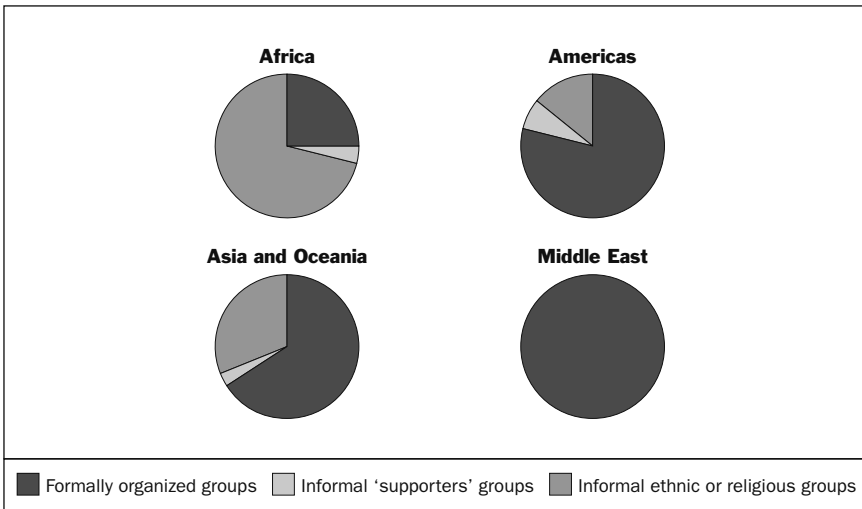
Figure 2.4. Subcategories of non-state conflict, by region, 2001–10

among the lowest globally. This is to be expected, since most non-state con-
flicts in Africa involve informally organized groups, such as ethnic or
religious communities, which cannot mobilize resources as effectively as
formally organized rebel groups or militias. Indeed, the average number of
fatalities is higher in conflicts between formally organized groups than
between informal ones.

The Americas is one of the regions with the highest proportion of non-
state conflicts between formally organized groups (see figure 2.4). As the
above logic would predict, it is also the region with the highest average

Table 2.6. One sided-violence in 2010

For more detailed definitions of the terms used see 'Sources and methods' below.

Location[a]	Actor	Start year[b]	Fatalities, 2010	Change from 2009[c]
Africa				
DRC	Alliance of Democratic Forces (ADF)	1997	38	. .
DRC	Forces democratiques de liberation du Rwanda (FDLR, Democratic Liberation Forces of Rwanda)	1996	68	– –
DRC	Mayi Mayi Complet	2010	27	. .
DRC, CAR, Sudan	Lord's Resistance Army (LRA)	1989	430	– –
Somalia	Al-Shabab	2008	88	. .
Sudan	Janjaweed	2001	41	. .
Americas				
Colombia	Fuerzas Armadas Revolucionarias de Colombia (FARC, Revolutionary Armed Forces of Colombia)	1994	29	0
Mexico	Los Zetas	2010	86	. .
Asia				
Afghanistan	Taliban	2004	190	+
India	Communist Party of India–Maoist (CPI–Maoist/Naxalites)	2005	337	+ +
India	National Democratic Front for Bodoland–Ranjan Daimary faction (NDFB–RD)	2010	25	. .
Myanmar	Government of Myanmar	1992	27	. .
Pakistan	Baluchistan Liberation Army (BLA)	2010	33	. .
Pakistan	Lashkar-e-Jhangvi (Army of Jhangvi)	1998	167	. .
Pakistan	Tehrik-i-Taliban Pakistan (TTP, Taliban Movement of Pakistan)	2007	549	+ +
Thailand	Patani insurgents	2004	135	+
Middle East				
Iraq	Dawlat al-'Iraq al-Islamiyya (Islamic State of Iraq, ISI)	2004	707	+
Europe				
Russia	Forces of the Caucasus Emirate	2010	57	. .

CAR = Central African Republic; DRC = Democratic Republic of the Congo.

[a] Location refers to the geographical location of the one-sided violence.
[b] Start year is the first year (since 1988) when one-sided violence caused 25 fatalities.
[c] 'Change from 2009' is measured as the increase or decrease in the number of battle-related deaths in 2010 compared to the number of battle-related deaths in 2009. The symbols 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 conflict was not active in 2009.

Source: UCDP One-sided Violence Dataset, <http://www.pcr.uu.se/research/ucdp/datasets/>.

number of people killed in non-state conflicts (at 472 fatalities per conflict). Most conflicts in the Americas are fought between rebel groups and pro-government militias (e.g. the Colombian rebel group FARC and the pro-government AUC), rival criminal gangs (e.g. Comando Vermelho and Terceiro Comando in Brazil) or drug cartels (e.g. the Juarez and Sinaloa cartels in Mexico).

Table 2.7. One-sided violence, by actor and region, 2001–10

|	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010
Total	**30**	**46**	**42**	**44**	**33**	**31**	**28**	**27**	**19**	**18**
Actor										
Non-state actor	21	33	30	33	22	19	18	20	15	17
State actor	9	13	12	11	11	12	10	7	4	1
Region										
Africa	12	25	23	18	12	10	15	14	8	6
Asia and Oceania	10	14	13	13	9	15	10	10	7	8
The Americas	4	2	1	3	4	1	–	2	1	2
Europe	1	1	1	3	–	–	–	–	–	1
Middle East	3	4	4	7	8	5	3	1	3	1

One-sided violence

One-sided violence is defined as the use of armed force by the government of a state or by a formally organized group against unorganized civilians that results in at least 25 deaths. A state or group that kill 25 or more unarmed civilians during a year is registered as a 'one-sided actor' in the UCDP data. This includes a wide variety of situations, ranging from small-scale, day-to-day attacks, such as those by the Senegalese rebel group Mouvement des forces démocratiques de Casamance (MFDC, Movement of the Democratic Forces of Casamance) on inhabitants of the Casamance region, to large-scale cases such as the Rwandan genocide in 1994.

A total of 127 one-sided actors were recorded in 2001–10, including 18 that were active in 2010 (see table 2.6). The total number of actors targeting civilians has declined markedly, from 30 in 2001 to 18 in 2010, after peaking at 46 in 2002 (see table 2.7).

The decline in the number of actors targeting civilians over the decade was matched by a drop in the number of fatalities (see figure 2.5). The increase in fatalities between 2001 and 2002 (from about 6000 to more than 10 000) was largely due to a dramatic increase in the number of one-sided actors (from 30 to 46). The number of deaths decreased continuously from 2002 to 2008. Between 2004 and 2005, deaths fell by 45 per cent, due in part to a decline in one-sided violence by the Sudanese Government and the Janjaweed militia in Darfur. The number of fatalities increased again in 2009, as both the Forces démocratiques de libération du Rwanda (FDLR, Democratic Liberation Forces of Rwanda) and the Lord's Resistance Army (LRA) stepped up their campaigns against civilians in Central Africa.

As described for non-state conflicts above, the trend in fatality numbers can differ from the trend in actor numbers. For example, as the number of actors carrying out one-sided violence decreased from 27 to 19 between
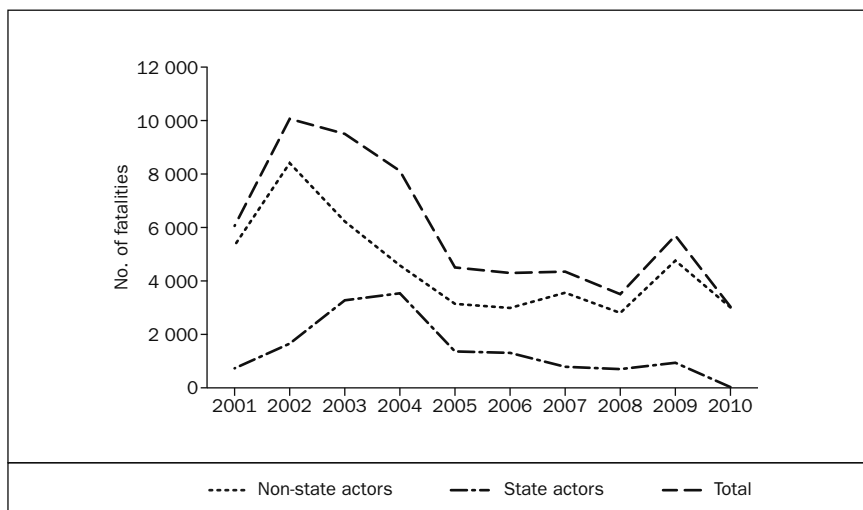
Figure 2.5. Fatalities in one-sided violence, by type of actor, 2001–10

2008 and 2009, the number of fatalities increased from approximately 3500 to almost 5700. Such dramatic increases are often caused by a single actor.

Non-state groups are the most common perpetrators of one-sided violence. In all years of the period 2001–10 more non-state actors were recorded than state actors (see table 2.7), and over the period as a whole 95 of the 127 one-sided actors (almost 75 per cent) were rebel groups or militias. Although individual government actors can be particularly lethal, as illustrated by the Sudanese Government in 2003 and 2004, non-state actors also killed more civilians than government actors did in every year of the period (see figure 2.5). The one-sided actors that killed the most civilians during any given year in 2001–10 were al-Qaeda, whose 2001 attack on New York resulted in over 2700 civilian deaths; the Sudanese Government, whose attacks in Darfur in 2004 led to the deaths of more than 2500 civilians; and the Iraqi rebel group Dawlat al-'Iraq al-Islamiyya (Islamic State of Iraq, ISI), which caused almost 2000 civilian deaths in 2007.[8]

Nearly half of the actors targeting civilians in 2001–10 were in Africa (60 of the 127 actors), followed by Asia (39), the Middle East (14), the Americas (9) and Europe (5). Over the decade, Africa saw the highest number of one-sided actors in all but two years, when Asia had more (see table 2.7). Africa was the region with the highest number of fatalities in all but four years of the decade: 2001, 2006, 2007 and 2010. The highest level of one-sided violence in 2001 was in the Americas as a result of al-Qaeda's attacks on the

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[8] While the series of attacks on the USA on 11 Sep. 2001 also led to deaths in Pennsylvania and Washington, DC, only the attacks on New York were directed against civilian targets and subsequently counted as one-sided violence.

USA. In 2006 and 2010 most one-sided violence was in Asia, but this was due more to a decrease in Africa than to any increase in Asia, where violence remained more or less at the level of previous years. Finally, the 2007 peak in one-sided violence in the Middle East was a result of increased activity by ISI, which stepped up its use of booby-trapped fuel tankers in suicide car attacks, causing numerous deaths.

Organized violence: a comparison

Although the three types of organized violence described in this section have their own particular dynamics, there are some notable connections.

First, there is a close relationship between armed conflicts and one-sided violence: 125 of the 127 one-sided actors in the period 2001–10 were operating in countries that had experienced an armed conflict at some time since 1946.[9] The remaining 2 one-sided actors were active in just two countries: Brazil and Guyana. Two-thirds of one-sided actors were also recorded as parties in armed conflict. For instance, the LRA simultaneously pursued an armed conflict against the Ugandan Government and used violence against the civilian population. On the whole, the data suggests that one-sided violence is a phenomenon that to a large extent takes place in armed conflict settings. The practice of targeting civilians may even be used as a tactic in the conflict or the armed conflict may provide an opportunity for genocide.[10] Much reporting on conflicts makes no distinction between battle-related deaths and deaths as a result of one-sided violence; instead only aggregate fatalities numbers are recorded. The UCDP's differentiation between the two makes it possible to understand the different processes at work and, from the perspective of conflict management and resolution, makes it clear that there is a need to consider different strategies.

Second, non-state conflict is connected to armed conflict and one-sided conflict in at least two ways: they frequently occur in the same countries and sometimes include the same actors. The geographical overlap is almost perfect: during the decade 2001–10, 189 of the 221 non-state conflicts took place in countries that were also the scene of armed conflict or one-sided violence during the decade. Indeed, only two non-state conflicts in 2001–10 were fought in countries that have not been the scene of an armed conflict since 1946 or one-sided violence since 1989—the conflict in Jamaica between rival supporters of the Jamaica Labour Party and the People's

[9] The corresponding figure for countries that had experienced armed conflict in the period 2001–10 was 116 one-sided actors.

[10] Again, the LRA is a good example of this. On the LRA's use of one-sided violence as a tactic in its conflict with the Ugandan Government see UCDP Conflict Encyclopedia (note 6). On the general finding see Wallensteen, P., Melander, E. and Möller, F., 'The international community response', eds. I. W. Zartman, M. Anstey and P. Meerts, *The Slippery Slope of Genocide: Reducing Identity Conflicts and Preventing Mass Murder* (Oxford University Press: Oxford, 2012), pp. 280–305.
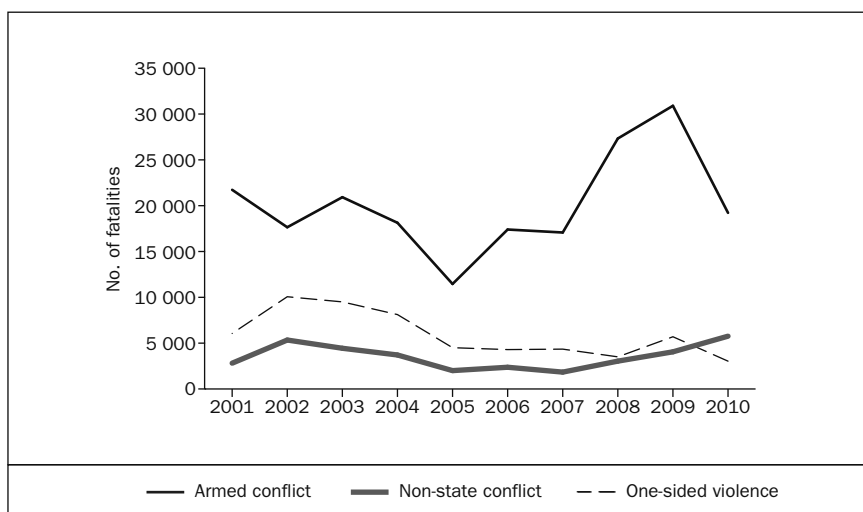
Figure 2.6. Fatalities, by category of organized violence, 2001–10

National Party; and the conflict in Kyrgyzstan between Kyrgyz and Uzbeks.[11] Moreover, 47 (21 per cent) of the 221 non-state conflicts included at least one party that had at some point also been active in an armed conflict or one-sided violence.

Third, all three types of organized violence are most prevalent in Africa. In 2001–10, Africa was the scene of 76 per cent of non-state conflicts, 47 per cent of one-sided violence and 39 per cent of armed conflicts. Asia was the second most affected region for all three categories. While it might have been reasonable to expect that the Middle East would be the most conflict-torn region, according to UCDP statistics only 11 per cent of armed conflicts, 3 per cent of non-state conflicts and 11 per cent of one-sided violence in 2001–10 occurred in the region.

Finally, a notable difference between the three categories of organized violence can be seen in the numbers of deaths caused. Armed conflict—in which at least one side is the government of a state—led to the highest number of fatalities, both on an annual basis and for the period as a whole (see figure 2.6). The average total number of people killed in each of the 69 armed conflicts was almost 3000, compared to 160 for non-state conflicts and 466 for one-sided violence. Clearly, the more organized the actors involved in violence, the more deadly that violence becomes. As the most deadly violence is so strongly driven by state actors or formally organized non-state actors, they are also the actors to which efforts at conflict containment, prevention and resolution should be directed.

[11] Note that the UCDP's data on armed conflicts involving a state stretches back to 1946 while that on one-sided violence begins in 1989.

Sources and methods

Definition of armed conflict

The UCDP defines 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, results in at least 25 battle-related deaths in a 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 territory and may involve demands for secession or autonomy (intrastate conflict) or aims to change 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 as well as its political goals and that has used armed force to achieve them. A state or a multinational organization that supports one of the primary parties with regular troops may also be included in the table. In order to be listed in the table, this secondary party must share the position of one of the warring parties. 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*. A state is 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 directly related to combat between the warring parties and can include both deaths on the battlefield and civilians caught in cross-fire. UCDP defines a conflict that has incurred at least 25 battle-related deaths during a calendar year as a minor armed conflict and any with at least 1000 battle-related deaths during a calendar year as a war in that year.

Definition of non-state conflict

The UCDP defines non-state conflict as the use of armed force between two organized armed groups, neither of which is the government of a state, which results in at least 25 battle-related deaths in a year. The separate elements are defined as follows.

1. *Organized groups*. There are three levels of organization. *Formally organized groups (organizational level 1)* are rebel and other organized groups whose level of organization is high enough to include them in the state-based armed conflict category. These include rebel groups with an announced name, as well as military factions. *Informally organized supporter groups (organizational level 2)* are groups composed of supporters and affiliates of political parties and candidates. These are commonly not groups that are permanently organized for combat, but which at times use their organizational structures for such purposes. *Informally organized ethnic or religious groups (organizational level 3)* are groups that share a common

identification along ethnic, clan, religious, national or tribal lines. These are not groups that are permanently organized for combat, but which at times organize themselves to engage in fighting

2. *Battle-related deaths*. The definition of battle-related death varies according to the level of organization of the fighting groups. For formally organized groups (organizational level 1) the recording of battle-related deaths follows the same criteria as for state-based armed conflict, that is, the warring groups must target representatives of the other formally organized group. Targeting of civilians, even if those civilians are of, for example, the same ethnicity as a group's rivals, is coded as one-sided violence. For informally organized groups (organizational levels 2 and 3), the definition of battle-related death is extended to include both civilian and armed victims as long as there is a pattern of violent (lethal) interaction between the groups, with both parties carrying out attacks.

Definition of one-sided violence

The UCDP defines one-sided violence as the use of armed force by the government of a state or by a formally organized group against civilians, which results in at least 25 deaths in a calendar year. Extrajudicial killings in custody are excluded. The separate elements are defined as follows.

1. *Use of armed force*. This is the use of arms in order to exert violent force, resulting in death. Arms are defined as any material means of combat, including anything from manufactured weapons to sticks, stones, fire or water.

2. *Government*. See above.

3. *State*. See above.

4. *Formally organized group*. This can be any non-governmental group of people that has announced a name for their group and that uses armed force. This corresponds to 'opposition organization' as defined for the armed conflict category and to 'formally organized group' as defined for the non-state category.

5. *Extrajudicial killings in custody*. This is the killing by the government of a state of a person in its custody. In custody is defined as when a person is located in a prison or another type of government facility.

Sources

The data presented here 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.

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 efforts to ensure the authenticity of the material used.

Methods

The data on organized violence are 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 in a given year and change in battle-related deaths from the previous year. See also the notes for tables 2.2, 2.4 and 2.6.

The data on fatalities are given the most attention in coding for the UCDP 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 of 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.

UCDP codes three different fatality estimates—low, best and high—based on the reliability of reports and the conflicting number of deaths that can be reported for any violent event. All of the data presented here are based on the best estimate, which consists of the aggregated most reliable numbers for all incidents of each category of violence during a year. If different sources provide different estimates, an examination is made as to what source is the most reliable. If no such distinction can be made, UCDP as a rule includes the lower figure in the best estimate. UCDP is generally conservative when estimating the number of fatalities. As more in-depth information on a case of organized violence 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.