MSACC Initial Findings Overview
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MSACC Data Findings: Conflict Behavior
From these datasets, we show broad conflict patterns for all Muslim states. In the dataset timeframe, 1947-2014, the 56 OIC states were involved in a total of 121 conflicts: 70 NIACs and 51 IACs, including 22 exclusively between Muslim state belligerents (MM-IAC). Of all Muslim states, only 10 were not involved in any armed conflict: Benin and Gabon in Africa; Guyana in the Americas, Brunei-Darussalam, Kazakhstan, the Maldives and Turkmenistan in Asia; and Bahrain, Qatar, and the U.A.E. in the Middle East. Thus, the remaining 46 countries were involved in 121 total conflicts, which results in an average of 2.63 conflicts per country in the framing period. The states involved in the most conflicts (in descending order) were: Yemen (12); Iraq (10); Egypt (8); Uganda (7); Afghanistan, Pakistan, Somalia, Saudi Arabia and Syria (6). The states with the fewest conflicts were: Burkina Faso, Gambia, Guinea, Guinea-Bissau, Mauritania, Mozambique, Sierra Leone, Togo, Tunisia, Suriname, Malaysia, Tajikistan, Uzbekistan, Albania and Oman, all which logged only one conflict.

When the data is broken down into time periods, interesting conclusions can be drawn. Using the following time frames, the number of conflicts that occurred during each timeframe are as follows: Cold War/Decolonization 1947-1978 (46 conflicts); Islamic Revolution 1979-1988 (19 conflicts); fall of the Berlin Wall and Soviet Empire 1989-2001 (31 conflicts); and Post-9/11 terrorist attacks 2001-2014 (25 conflicts). This data is graphed in Figure 1 below.

![Figure 1. Total Conflicts by Time and Type](image)

During the Cold War period, more conflicts were of an international character than noninternational, and beginning in the Islamic Revolution period, most conflicts became internal. In the Cold War period, there were 21 NIACs and 25 IACs, of which 9 were MM-IACs, making 45.65 percent of all conflicts NIACs, more than half, 54.35 percent, IACs, of which more than one third, 36 percent, were between Muslim belligerents. In the Islamic Revolution period of 10 NIACs and 9 IACs, including 5 occurring between Muslim states, NIACs made up 52.63 percent of conflicts, IACs accounted for 47.37 percent, and IACs between Muslim states made up 26.32 percent of all IACs. In the Soviet decline period, 22 NIACs, 70.97 percent, and 9 IACs, 29.03
percent occurred, with 6 of the IACs, at 19.36 percent, occurring between Muslim states. In the post-9/11 period, 17 of the total 25 conflicts were NIACs (68 percent) and 8 conflicts were IACs (32 percent), of which only 2 were between Muslim state belligerents (8 percent).

As mentioned, of the 121 total conflicts, IACs account for 51 conflicts, and of those, 22 occurred between exclusively Muslim states: thus, total IACs occurring between two or more Muslim states is 43 percent in contrast with the 57 percentage of total IACs occurring between Muslim states and non-Muslim belligerents. While the MSACC data confirms that NIACs represent a larger share of post-World War II conflicts in total, it also shows that interstate conflicts involving exclusively Muslim states do not outpace mixed-state interstate conflicts. This finding is in certain ways deceptive, however, since if one combines the 43 percent of exclusively Muslim-state IACs with the percentage of NIACs (intrastate conflicts involving predominantly Muslim state and nonstate actors), this actual number is closer to 92 conflicts out of the total 121. This is to say that aggregating Muslim-state IACs with NIACs, the percentage of conflicts involving Muslim actors (states and nonstates) with respect to total conflicts is 76 percent.

Conflicts were also groups according to geographical region, using standard regional boundary definitions: Africa, the Americas, Asia, Europe, and the Middle East. An exact breakdown of the regions is available on the main page of our website. Figure 2 (below) provides a summary of our findings on conflicts for Muslim states, including the proportion of IACs that involve exclusively Muslim state belligerents.

The lion-share of armed conflicts belong to the Africa region, which saw a total of 55 armed conflicts, comprised of 19 IACs (8 of which were exclusively between Muslim states) and 36 NIACs. The Africa region total conflicts compare with the other regions with the highest number of conflict, as follows: 44 Middle East total conflicts, including 21 NIACs, 23 IACs, and 11 MM-IACs between Muslim states; 18 total conflicts in the Asia region, including 10 NIACs, 8 IACs, and 3 MM-IACs. By contrast, Europe had 1 IAC and 2 NIACs and the Americas recorded only 1 NIAC.

Additionally, we have found that there is a regional nature to Muslim state armed conflict. That is, conflicts between Muslim states tend to stay within regional boundaries.
Africa, there were 8 MM-IACs, all of which took place in within the region. In the Middle East, for instance, of the 11 MM-IACs, all were limited to the Middle East. Likewise, in the Asia region, every MM-IAC was confined to the Asia region.

This ‘in-region’ armed conflict trend for Muslim state belligerents may dominate for several reasons, some obvious: proximity, as states in the same region have easier access to each other’s borders and natural resources, and hence, are more apt to be engaged in disputes over these items. But it is also true that there are more Muslim states in many of these regions (i.e. Africa, Middle East) so it is more likely that conflicts occurring in Africa involve Muslim states. More interestingly, the prevailing conflict type—IAC or NIAC—differed by region: in Africa, the majority of the 55 conflicts, 65.45 percent, were NIACs, whereas in the Middle East, the majority of conflicts were IACs: 52.27 percent. Likewise, in Asia, 55.56 percent of the 18 conflicts were NIACs.

**MSACC Data Findings: Compliance with IHL**

Each conflict was examined for evidence of compliance or noncompliance with IHL provisions. For this dataset, there was a total of 151 conflicts; 70 NIACs, 81 IACs, and 42 IACs exclusively between Muslim states. Upon analysis for trends in compliance with IHL across regions, temporal periods, and conflict types, one overarching conclusion can be drawn: a state in a conflict is more likely to violate IHL than comply with IHL.

Of a total of 81 IACs, states complied with IHL in 40 conflicts, or 49.4 percent, meaning that in 41 IACs, 50.6 percent, IHL was violated. A total of 70 NIACs were recorded, out of which states complied in 8 NIACs, 11 percent, while in 62 NIACs, 88 percent, IHL was violated. Thus, NIACs are more likely to produce violations. Also, out of a total of 42 MM-IACs, states complied with IHL in 24 conflicts, 57 percent, and violations were recorded in 18 of these conflicts, 42 percent.

We found six states that complied with IHL in all the conflicts they were involved in and therefore recorded no violations include: Burkina Faso, Gambia, Togo, Tunisia, Malaysia and Kuwait. These states were also among those that had participated in the least number of conflicts: Burkina Faso, Gambia, Togo, Tunisia, and Malaysia all had one and Kuwait had 2. Table 1 (below) details each region’s compliance or noncompliance with IHL, broken down by conflict type.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Compliance</th>
<th>Africa</th>
<th>America</th>
<th>Asia</th>
<th>Europe</th>
<th>Middle East</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>IAC</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NIAC</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IAC MM</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>31</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The 24 countries with the highest and lowest violations are ranked below accompanied by the total number of violations the country committed. The 12 countries with the highest total number of violations are Iraq (47), Afghanistan (42), Yemen (27), Somalia (24), Pakistan (23), Sudan (22), Libya (19), Lebanon (19), Egypt (18), Uganda (18), Iran (16), and Indonesia (15). Four of these countries are in Africa, five are in the Middle East region, and three are in the Asia
region. The 12 countries with the lowest total number of violations are Saudi Arabia (3), Suriname (2), Turkey (2), Oman (1), Burkina Faso (0), Cameroon (0), Gambia (0), Togo (0), Tunisia (0), Malaysia (0), Jordan (0), and Kuwait (0). Five of these countries are in the Middle East, five are in Africa, and one is in the Americas. This ranking excludes the 10 countries that did not participate in any armed conflicts which are Bahrain, Benin, Brunei-Darussalam, Gabon, Guyana, Kazakhstan, the Maldives, Qatar, Turkmenistan, and the U.A.E..

For each year, the number of conflicts ongoing that year, along with the number of violations that occurred in those conflicts, is graphed below in Figure 3. Both the total number of conflicts (the blue line) and the total number of violations (the red) line peaked at the same year, 1991, with 30 conflicts ongoing that year and 126 violations occurring within those conflicts.

![Figure 3. Conflicts and Violations Over Time](image)

To determine whether compliance during conflict actually translates into fewer conflicts, each country’s rate of compliance with IHL is compared to their involvement in conflict (excluding those 10 countries not involved in any conflicts). In Figure 4 (below), each country’s rate of compliance within all conflicts was calculated to determine if countries that complied with IHL more were more likely to be involved in fewer conflicts. Broadly, this graph would suggest that, as the rate of compliance decreases, the number of conflicts a country has increases.
This graph shows that 18 countries complied with IHL in 0 percent of their conflicts, meaning they violated IHL in every conflict. Those countries were Afghanistan, Albania, Azerbaijan, Bangladesh, Cote D’Ivoire, Guinea, Guinea-Bissau, Kyrgyzstan, Mauritania, Mozambique, Niger, Sierra Leone, Senegal, Sudan, Suriname, Tajikistan, Uganda, and Uzbekistan. They participated in a total of 33 conflicts. Those 18 countries in 33 conflicts averaged 1.83 conflicts each.

There were 11 countries that complied with IHL between 1 percent and 49 percent of the time, meaning they violated IHL between 51-99 percent of the time. Those countries were Algeria, Chad, Egypt, Indonesia, Iran, Iraq, Lebanon, Mali, Nigeria, Pakistan, and Yemen. These countries were involved in 60 total conflicts, averaging 5.45 conflicts each.

There were 9 countries that complied with IHL between 50 percent and 99 percent of the time, meaning they violated IHL between 1-50 percent of the time. Those countries were Comoros, Djibouti, Libya, Morocco, Oman, Saudi Arabia, Somalia, Syria, and Turkey. These countries were involved in 34 conflicts total, averaging 3.78 conflicts per country.

There were 8 countries that complied with IHL 100 percent of the time, meaning they were involved in at least one conflict and did not violate IHL during any conflict. They were Burkina Faso, Cameroon, Gambia, Jordan, Kuwait, Malaysia, Togo, and Tunisia. These 10 countries were involved in 12 conflicts that count for purposes of compliance, meaning these countries averaged 1.5 conflicts per country.

**MSACC Data Findings: Muslim Constitutions and Shari’a Density**

This dataset examined Muslim states conflict behavior and compliance by examining the “shari’a density”—how much shari’a based articles—comprised the 57 constitutions-in-force of all Muslim states, including the 7 superseding constitutions and drafts from post-Arab Spring states (bringing the total of 64 constitutions for all 57 states). Each constitution was examined for both shari’a and International Human Rights Law (IHRL) articles, as exemplified by the 30 articles of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UDHR). A strict interpretation of “Shari’a” was not used here, but a broader understanding of the requirements shari’a places on Muslims, governments, and leaders, in education and society, in economic institutions and property rights, for example.

Preliminary analysis shows an inverse relationship in the dataset as a whole. By calculating the percentage of each constitution that uses shari’a and/or UDHR language, based
on the 52 *sharia* columns identified and the 30 UDHR articles, the following uniformed percentage scale, Table 2, was used:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Constitution Classification</th>
<th><em>Shari’a</em> Columns</th>
<th>UDHR Articles</th>
<th>Percentage in Constitution</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>None</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Low</td>
<td>1-13</td>
<td>1-7</td>
<td>1-25%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Medium</td>
<td>14-26</td>
<td>8-15</td>
<td>26-50%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Medium-High</td>
<td>27-39</td>
<td>16-22</td>
<td>51-75%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>High</td>
<td>40-52</td>
<td>23-30</td>
<td>76-100%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Using these five classifications, the 64 constitutions were then assigned a classification for both *shari’a* content and UDHR content. As demonstrated in Figure 5 (below), there is an inverse relationship between these norms: as constitutions use more UDHR language, less *shari’a* language is used.