

Trade Openness: Countries with low trade openness—a country's total value of trade (imports + exports) as a percentage of Gross Domestic Product—are six times more likely to have state failures that include geno/politicide than countries with high trade openness. This is one of several indicators developed to test the theoretical argument that countries with low economic status and lack of international connections are able to carry out genocidal policies with impunity. We also measured a country's international status by its number of memberships in international organizations. This too was significant, but not as strong a predictor as was trade openness.

Political Upheaval: Countries with high magnitudes of state failure during the previous 15 years were 3.6 times more likely to have a geno/politicide during a subsequent state failure. Also, the higher the mean level of civil conflict in a country during the 15 years before state failure, the greater the likelihood of geno/politicide.

Elite and Regime Characteristics:

Countries in which the ruling elite's ethnicity is politically salient and the elite is not representative of the entire population were 4.8 times more likely to have state failures that include geno/politicide. Countries in which the ruling elite adheres to an exclusionary ideology also were three times more likely to have state failures that included geno/politicide.

Countries with autocratic regimes were 2.5 times more likely than countries with partial or full democracies to have state failures that include geno/politicide.

Societal Characteristics: Countries with few and proportionally small religious minorities were 3.5 times more likely to have state failures that include geno/politicide. At first theoretically counterintuitive, this result nevertheless is plausible. Small religious minorities in relatively homogenous societies have been the target of discrimination, persecution, and pogroms throughout history. We also found that geno/politicides were more likely in countries whose public policies discriminated against one or more ethnic minorities, but this factor was not as important as the religion factor.

The six factors included in statistical analysis lead to correct classification of eight out of ten of the 1956-98 cases. That is, the indicators used make it possible to identify with 80 percent accuracy which past state failures led to geno/politicides and which did not. Twenty-six of the 33 geno/politicide cases included in the final analysis are correctly flagged, only seven are misclassified. Like all statistical studies this is a postdictive analysis. But we assume that the causes of geno/politicide will be essentially the same in the near future as they were during the past half-century. Therefore the results provide a powerful tool for identifying countries at risk of future episodes, and are being used for that purpose by the sponsors of the study.