POST-CIVIL WAR DEMOCRATIZATION: DOMESTIC AND INTERNATIONAL

FACTORS IN MOVEMENT TOWARD AND AWAY FROM DEMOCRACY

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Post-civil war democratization is a critical element of building sustainable peace in the post-civil war states. At the same time, studies of democratic transition and survival suggest that the post-civil war environment is not hospitable to either the transition to or survival of democracy. The post-civil war environment is contentious. Former protagonists are fearful about their security and at the same time they want to protect their political and economic interests. The central argument of this study is that former rivals can agree to a transition toward democracy to the extent that a stable balance of power exists between the government and rebel groups, a balance that eliminates the sort of security dilemma that would encourage one or both to resume armed conflict. And the balance should ensure access to political power and economic resources. This study identifies factors that contribute to the establishment of such a balance of power between former protagonists and factors that affects its stability. These factors should affect the decision of former protagonists on whether or not they can achieve their political and economic interests if they agree to a transition toward democracy once civil war ends.

Factors that are conducive to a transition toward democracy are different from factors that sustain that transition in post-civil war states. Post-civil war democracies are fragile. The side that won the democratic election can dismantle institutions of democracy and repress oppositions. The fear of being repressed could create stronger incentives for the opposition groups to return to conflict. To address this puzzle, I develop a conceptual framework that explains how costs of the previous civil war, the establishment of inclusive institutions and the higher level of economic development create incentives for the former rivals to sustain

democracy. Hypotheses derived from the theoretical implications are tested by using survival analysis.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

When I began this dissertation project pondering the topic of promoting democracy in the aftermath of civil war, the Maoist rebels and the government of Nepal, including an alliance of seven parliamentary parties (SPA), were negotiating a peace agreement to end a decade long civil war. The comprehensive peace agreement signed by the Maoist rebels and the government of Nepal on November 21, 2006 not only ended a decade long civil war but also epitomized hope for political, social and economic transformation that would enable Nepal to prosper as a democratic state.

As the Maoist insurgency initiated in February of 1996 persisted and became more widespread, King Gyanendra dismissed the elected government in October 2002, dissolved the parliament, and assumed autocratic power for himself in February of 2005. His own failure to suppress the Maoist insurgency and his increasingly autocratic rule led the parties he had deposed to join the Maoists in calling for a united front to confront the king. The SPA and the Maoist party signed a 12-point agreement on November 19, 2005, which forced King Gyanendra to restore the parliament in April of 2006. The Maoist rebels and the restored cabinet agreed to a ceasefire, drafted a new interim constitution, and established power-sharing arrangements that paved the way for the Maoist party to join the interim government and send representatives to the interim parliament. The SPA and the Maoist party also agreed on consensus based politics, which the former protagonists hoped would build mutual trust and create a favorable environment for the election of a constituent assembly that would draft a new constitution. In the peace agreement, the government of Nepal and the Maoist party agreed to invite the United Nations (UN) to provide peacekeepers to monitor the disarming and demobilization of the rebels and to supervise the constituent assembly elections. In the first sitting of the constituent

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assembly, the Maoist rebels and the SPA also agreed to do away with the monarchy in favor of a republic. The constituent assembly elections took place on April 10, 2008, and the Maoist party established itself as the largest party in the constituent assembly by winning 220 of the 601 seats. The king was deposed on May 28, 2008. The Maoist party is now the leading faction in the coalition government.

History teaches us, however, that Nepal's transition toward democracy in the aftermath of civil war is still confronted by the risk of relapse into authoritarianism or a renewed civil war. After the successful constituent assembly election, the Maoist party formed a government in coalition with other political parties, but the Maoist-led government has failed to create an environment in which all political parties can come together and draft a constitution for Nepal. They have not institutionalized the democratic process. The relationship between the Maoist party and the opposition parties, namely the Nepali Congress (NC), soured from the beginning of the formation of a Maoist-led government. The Maoist leaders and NC had a tacit agreement to support the octogenarian transitional prime minister Mr. Girija Prasad Koirala for the position of the first president of the republic (the presidency is a nominal position according to the interim constitution). But, the Maoist party backed down from its support for his presidency. The Maoists were convinced at that time that Mr. Koirala's legitimacy among international actors and his ardent support for electoral democracy for which he became popular during a mass-demonstration against the king would undermine the authority of the Maoist-led government. Notwithstanding the Maoist opposition, the NC was able to elect its candidate Mr. Ram Baran Yadav to the position with the support of other political parties. This, however, created suspicion among major political parties on whether the Maoist party would faithfully respect the peace agreement, constructively engage the other parties and civil society in the constitution making

process, restore the rule of law and, most importantly, manage the disarming and demobilization of rebel armed forces in cantonment under UN supervision. The same concerns were echoed by Ian Martin, the chief of the UN Mission in Nepal, that " the party which leads the government has a particular responsibility to strive for the political consensus required for completion of the peace process and the drafting of the new constitution" (*Kathmandu Post*, January 17, 2009). The constitution drafting process has become stalled as the Maoist-led government has failed to promote consensus among political parties.

It is possible that the Maoist party is trying to adjust to the new political environment. They might see obstacles to their ability to deliver on the promises that they made during the insurgency. Nevertheless, the risk to democratic survival is related to the Maoists' commitment to abiding by the peace agreement and promoting a democratic process by building consensus among political parties that differ ideologically from them. For instance, the NC party in its 9-points memorandum to the prime minister demanded the return of seized property to the rightful owners, and the scrapping of both the paramilitary structure of the Young Communist League (YCL) (unarmed militia of the Maoist Party) as well as the dual security arrangement for Maoist leaders (*Kathmandu Post*, November 11, 2008). In the legislative session of the constituent assembly, the prime minister committed to implement these demands but did not deliver. Because of this, the NC obstructed the legislative session of the constituent assembly. Similarly, freedom of speech is almost non-existent as the government has let the atrocities of the YCL go by when members of that organization vandalized Himal Media, a publication house of the weekly English newspaper *Nepali Times*. An organization affiliated with the Maoist party is also accused of disappearing journalists for their criticism of the Maoist party (International Crisis Group 2009). As a party in the government with responsibility to oversee the defense ministry,

the Maoist party has the responsibility to create a favorable environment for the management of rebel armed forces. However, the Maoist as well as the Nepal Army have violated the peace agreement. Some of the rebel armed forces were found outside the cantonment in violation of the peace agreement (International Crisis Group 2009). On the other side, the Nepal Army has initiated new recruitment to fill the vacant positions in the armed force, stirring resentment among the Maoist party. Mistrust between the Maoist party and the Nepal Army is approaching a tipping point that could hinder the integration of the rebel armed forces and could lead to the failure of the fragile democracy.

Remarks from rank and file leaders of the Maoist party, including the prime minister (then chief of the rebel army), have caused concern over the success of the transition toward democracy and the prospects for survival of that transition in post-conflict Nepal. In some instances, the prime minister recognizes the urgency of building political consensus with other political parties. Nevertheless, the Maoist party as a whole and the prime minister in particular have often insisted on the need for the Maoists to create the turmoil out of which revolution will emerge. In a sense, the Maoist party still has to fully transform itself from a rebel group into a political party that competes with other political parties through the democratic process. In response, the main opposition party has been trying to build a coalition of democratic parties against the Maoist party. If they succeed, it could lead to the collapse of the Maoist-lead government. Faced with the possible collapse of the Maoist-led coalition government, the prime minister said that the Maoist party would "capture state power" if the Maoist-led government were toppled (*Kathmandu Post*, January 14, 2009). This remark created a wave of concern not only among opposition parties but also with major coalition partner of the Maoists, the Nepal

Communist Party – United Marxist and Leninist. The fear is for the possible failure of democracy either in the form of a renewed civil war or a form of Maoist authoritarianism. A brief description of democracy building efforts in Nepal over the last two years suggests that building democracy in the aftermath of civil war is not impossible, but it is challenging. Other post-civil war states have, like Nepal, tried to achieve democracy in the aftermath of civil war. Some of them have succeeded and some of them have failed. A survey of post-civil war states since the end of the Second World War reveals a remarkable transformation in the structure of these polities. A substantial step toward democracy was taken in almost two-thirds of the cases after civil war termination. In almost half of the post-civil war states, multiparty elections took place within five years of the end of the civil war. And almost one-third of those states held a second round of multiparty elections.[1] Nevertheless, post-civil war states show a remarkable variation in the promotion of democracy in the aftermath of conflict. Some, like Mozambique, South Africa, El Salvador, and Cambodia, are making greater progress toward democratization, while others, such as Burma and Zimbabwe, have failed to make substantial progress toward democracy in the aftermath of civil war. Among post-civil war states, there is a considerable variation in terms of making the transition toward democracy and sustaining that transition.

This study focuses on two related puzzles. First, what factors predict whether or not a post-civil war state will make the transition toward democracy? And second, among those that do make the transition toward, what factors determine whether or not the that transition will survive, and for how long?

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[1] Calculated from the dataset that was used in this study. I have list of cases where elections were held or not in appendix.

Why Post-Civil War Democratization?

Post-conflict democratization is an important topic for students of civil war and democracy. Theoretically, democracy reinforces the domestic peace (Hegre et al. 2001; Henderson and Singer 2000). It allows the rule of law and respect for human rights; and it stabilizes the post-conflict societies by bringing into an institutionalized political process groups that had previously resorted to organized armed conflict with each other. Democratic institutions allow mobilized groups to compete for offices through the peaceful means of elections. Promoting democracy helps to accommodate conflicting interests of incumbent elites as well as mobilized opposition groups as these groups try to maintain their political and economic interests through democratic processes. To the extent that democratic institutions and processes allow groups to pursue their interests through peaceful means, governments have an electoral incentive to refrain from repressing their opponents, and opposition movements have an incentive to refrain from oppositional violence. Since the outbreak of civil conflict is likely to diffuse into the neighboring states through refugee flows and the rebel networks (Salehyan and Gleditsch 2006), promoting democracy in the aftermath of conflict also helps to enhance regional peace and security (Gleditsch and Ward 2006). Therefore, identifying factors that encourage the transition toward democracy and survival of that democratic transition in post-conflict states would help to advance our understanding of post-civil war peace building. It also should facilitate the foreign policy goals of external actors, who frequently intervene into civil wars and advocate democracy promotion in conflict- torn states like Afghanistan, Iraq, Liberia and Democratic Republic of Congo, to name a few recent initiatives.

Previous Studies on Democratic Transition and Democratic Survival

The existing theories of democratization and democratic survival point to a set of conditions that are conducive to the transition to democracy and democratic survival. Many of these conditions are often notably absent in post-civil war nations. Theories of democratization postulate that democracy is likely to emerge in an environment characterized by a certain level of economic development, high degree of civic culture, diffusion of wealth, and certain elite agreements (see Lipset 1959; Huntington 1991; Inglehart 1988; Putnam 1993; Diamond 1999; Vanhenan 1997; Boix 2003; Acemoglu and Robinson 2006). Theories of democratic survival have suggested that the economic development and growth, inclusive institutions, a culture that is supportive of democratic norms, and a region populated by other democracies help to sustain democracy (see, Lipset 1959; Helliwell 1994; Huntington 1991; Bernhard et al. 2001; Przeworski and Limongi 1997; Gasiorowski and Power 1998; Vanhenan 1997; Linz 1994; Lijphart 1994; Reilly 2001; Reilly and Reynolds 1998; Reilly 2002; Gleditsch and Ward 2006). By contrast, the post-civil war environment is characterized by conditions that most of that literature point to as hostile to the emergence and survival of democracy.

Building democracy in post-conflict societies is dramatically different from democratization out of stable authoritarian regimes that are not torn by intrastate conflict. At a minimum, an authoritarian state does not incur the costs of civil war and the imminent threat of armed overthrow. Civil wars occur in nations that are poor to start with, and the conflict results in the further destruction of economic infrastructure (Murdoch and Sandler 2002), productive capacity, and the disruption of trade and commerce. If economic development is critical for democratic transition to take place, as argued by Lipset (1959) and others, the economic destruction caused by civil war should make the transition toward democracy less likely in post-

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civil war states. Vanhanen (1997) suggests that the diffusion of wealth is important for people to demand political rights and liberties. Yet, numerous studies show that civil war is accompanied by repression and violations of human rights (Poe and Tate 1994; Davenport and Armstrong 2004). The outbreak of civil war makes the people economically worse off than they were before the war, which suggests that people are less able and less likely to demand rights and liberties after civil war.

Survival of transition toward democracy poses a different set of challenges from those surrounding the transition toward democracy. Survival of transition toward democracy refers to the durability of a new democracy such that it does not fail, in the form of a relapse into authoritarianism or the outbreak of civil war. One of the consistent findings in the democratic survival literature is that the level of economic development in the post-war nation matters a great deal. The breakdown of a democratic regime is often related to the emergence of socio-economic conflicts. Economic development and economic growth alleviate socio-economic conflict and create an environment that is conducive to the survival of democracy (Lipset 1959; Helliwell 1994; Haggard and Kaufman 1995; Huntington 1991; Bernhard et al. 2001; Przeworski and Limongi 1997; Gasiorowski and Power 1998). Lipset (1959: 75) clearly states that "the more well-to-do a nation, the greater the chances that it will sustain democracy." Helliwell (1994: 225) argues that "democracy takes root and survives where levels of economic development and education are high." Przeworksi and Limongi cast a doubt regarding the relationship between levels of economic development and survival of democracy. They claim that after a certain level of economic development is attained (at the level of about $6,000 per capita GDP) even authoritarian regimes become more durable. Nevertheless, they conclude that "once established, democracies are likely to die in poor countries and certain to survive in wealthy ones"

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(Przeworski and Limongi, 1997: 167). Some scholars have looked at the institutional aspects of the democratic regime to explain democratic breakdown or survival. In this regard, Linz (1994) and Lijphart (1994) suggest that a presidential system of government, not a parliamentary form of government, is likely to contribute to the fragility of democracies by promoting a number of factors such as winner-take all electoral competitions, the rigidity of fixed terms for the executive, and the potential for a deadlock between the executive and legislative branches of government. Przeworski et al. (1996) in their survey of all democracies from 1950 to 1990 find support for the proposition that presidential democracies are more likely to fail than parliamentary democracies. Some scholars look at the electoral institutions as contributing factors to the democratic survival. In the comparative democratization literature, many argue that proportional representation (PR) electoral systems (in contrast to majoritarian electoral systems) contribute to democratic survival by incorporating minorities into the political process (Lijphart 1994; Reilly and Reynolds 1998; Reilly 2001). The comparative democratization literature also suggests the importance of the emergence of a "civic culture" in enhancing the prospects of democratic survival (Almond and Verba 1963). Almond and Verba (1963) clearly state that a "civic culture" is requisite for plural democracy. Similarly, Putnam (1993) emphasizes the role of civic engagement or "social capital" in sustaining democracy. All or most of these factors that the literature points to as enhancing the prospects of democratic survival are notably absent in most post-civil war states.

If the level of economic development is critical to the survival of a post-civil war transition toward democracy, then we should expect that transition toward democracy in a post-civil war state are more likely to fail than transitions that occur in relative peace. Although some suggest that post-war states are likely to rebuild their economies and grow faster after lengthy

and destructive wars (Collier 1999), the outbreak of war reduces an "already low level of development and capacity for growth, and scares off potential investors" (Kang and Meernik 2005: 101). The post-war environment is also marked by growing political mistrust between former protagonists (Licklider 1995; Walter 2004) and the lack of consensus on the type of political institutions to guide the political process (Kumar 1998; Kumar and de Zeeuw 2006). After the termination of a conflict, civil war actors constantly engage in accusation and bargaining (Manning 2002) that might hinder efforts to build the institutional capacity of the post-conflict state. Civil war breeds a culture of mistrust and conflict, which is not exactly the sort of civic culture that is supportive of democracy. Among Central American countries, Booth and Richard (1996) find that the level of civilian support for democratic norms was low in post-conflict Nicaragua, El Salvador and Guatemala (compared to nations in the region that did not experience a civil war). All of these considerations suggest that the post-conflict environment is hostile to the transition toward democracy and the survival of that democracy. Nevertheless, without establishing a democratic government and nurturing it, achieving peace and economic prosperity in the post-civil war state might be an even more remote goal.

The imperative of post-conflict democratization, however, is not adequately addressed in the post- conflict peace-building literature. The post-conflict peace-building literature looks at how the way the conflict terminated, the structure of power-sharing institutional arrangements, and the presence or absence international peacekeeping missions influence the duration of the peace in post- conflict states (Hartzell 1999; Hartzell, Hoddie and Rothchild 2001; Hartzell and Hoddie 2003 and 2007; Walter 2002). The power-sharing argument presented by Hartzell and Hoddie (2003 and 2007) is particularly disposed to explain determinants of power-sharing agreements and how those power-sharing agreements are related to peace duration. In this

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regard, they explain power-sharing arrangements as institutions that ensure the future security of former rivals and thereby reduce the incentives for them to revert to armed conflict in the future (see, p39-40, 2007). Power-sharing arrangements can bring peace even under an authoritarian post-conflict regime, as in Chad after 1979 and Liberia after 1996. Perhaps a failure to translate the power-sharing arrangements of a peace agreement into a fully institutionalized democracy explains why peace failed in both of those nations. Similarly, Walter (2002) and Fortna (2004) suggest the importance of third-party guarantees (in the form of UN peacekeeping missions) for creating a favorable environment for the negotiated settlement of a civil war and for the durability of the peace after civil war. But peace has failed repeatedly in countries such as Angola, Somalia and the Democratic Republic of Congo. Perhaps, building a durable peace in the aftermath of civil war termination is related to building a democracy that ensures politically mobilized groups institutional mechanisms to contest for political power and resources.

Some scholars, however, are skeptical as to whether democracy is the right strategy to pursue immediately after civil war termination. In the immediate aftermath of conflict, political stability and the establishment of effective administration over the territory are more important than promoting political and economic competition, according to Paris (2004: 187) and Diamond (2005). Democratic politics is contentious, and in the context of a post-war environment, rapid political liberalization could exacerbate fears and hatreds among contending rivals. Contentious political processes such as elections could hurt the efforts to achieve a political reconciliation, stability and effective administration over the territory if former protagonists focus only on the stakes in the election outcome. Since the institutions of the post-war state are weak and yet to be fully institutionalized, the election may work against the goal of establishing a stable liberal democracy because former protagonists could undermine the democracy itself once they capture

state power through the electoral process (Paris 2004: 188-89). Paris suggests how democracy became a distant goal in post 1997 Liberia, where Charles Taylor used the power of his elective office to suppress his political opponents and consolidate a monolithic party system, transforming the presidency into an autocracy based on violence, suppression and nepotism (Paris 2004). Rotberg (2007) also supports the policy prescription of delaying the post-war elections until the post-war government has achieved some measure of stability by securing the cities and countryside and establishing a functioning state. After all, it is imperative that the former protagonists transform themselves into viable political parties, embrace democratic political culture and be confident in the legitimacy of the democratic political process. There are instances in which former rebel groups have found it difficult to refrain from violence when participating in a democratic process. For instance, the Communist Party of Nepal- Maoist (an insurgent party) did not completely refrain from violence after signing a peace agreement in November 2006. In the post-agreement period, Maoists have continuously used various sorts of violence even after that party won the right to lead a coalition government after the constituent assembly elections of April 2008. They have shown a commitment to democracy, as the former rebel leader has repeatedly said that the return to the conflict is not an option and that his party is committed to multiparty democracy. Nepal's peace process is still in a precarious condition. Nevertheless, Nepal has thus far successfully avoided a full-fledged resumption of civil war, and the Maoists are now trying to pursue their interests through democratic processes. Had democratic change not materialized and elections not been held, Nepal's peace process would definitely have been stalled right at the beginning. Therefore, Sisk's suggestion of promoting democracy in the process of reconstituting political order after civil war makes sense in that delaying post-conflict elections and democratization can be problematic when former

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protagonists become more suspicious of each other in the absence of the institutional guarantees inherent in democracy (Sisk 2007). Democracy and elections provide the institutional mechanisms and legitimacy that enhance the prospects of peace building in a post-war state.

Recently, some scholars have tried to explain post-civil war democratization (Wood 2000; Wantchekon and Neeman 2002; Wantchekon 2004). These studies look at how the convergence of the political interests of both groups in conflict and the citizenry could lead to democratization outright from civil war. They depict democratization as a way out of a stalemated armed conflict. The rivals agree to democracy not because of any deep commitment to its principles, but because it is a convenient way to cut their losses from a stalemated armed conflict. In her explanation of the transition to democracy in South Africa and El Salvador, Wood suggests that the sustained or stalemated insurgency reshaped the interests and opportunities of economic elites (perhaps some regime elites) in such a way that they judge the foreseeable returns to continued war as less than the returns to compromise with the insurgents (Wood 2000: 14). Similarly, Wantchekon (2004: 19-22) explains that the anarchy of armed conflict may be highly profitable for the warring faction in the short run, but their long term prospects to expropriate revenue depend on citizens' investment. Citizens' productive investment depends on eliminating illegal expropriation and securing their investments. As such, Wantchekon (2004) depicts post-civil war democratization as the convergence of political interests between the citizens and the warring factions.

But these studies are limited in their explanation of post-civil war democratization. They depict democracy out of civil war as change in the balance of power within the governing elite, such that the more moderate elements of the rebels can negotiate a democratic compromise with the democratic opposition within the governing coalition (Wood 2000; Wantchekon 2004).

These studies do not fully address the structural change caused by the civil war and the balance of power between the governing elites and the rebel groups as a function of the civil war itself. These studies look at only a limited number of cases where civil wars ended in a negotiated settlement. They also tend to equate negotiated settlement with democracy, when clearly the two are not the same. Indeed, most studies depict post civil war democracy as a product of negotiated settlement. There are instances in which efforts to establish democracy have failed after negotiated settlement, as in Angola in 1992. Similarly, current studies on post-civil war democratization do not help us understand the prospects for democracy following a decisive military victory either by the government or rebels, as in Burundi after 1988 (government victory) and in Moldova after 1992. Therefore, current studies on post-conflict democracy have limited our ability to generalize across cases where civil wars ended not just in a negotiated settlement but also in a decisive military victory by either side (government vs. rebels). This study will expand our understanding of post-civil war democratization by considering what factors encourage transition toward democracy by victors and what factors account for the survival of that transition once a democratic transition takes place in the post-conflict nation.

Summary of Theoretical Arguments

The answer to the puzzle of post-civil war transition to democracy, I argue, is that the establishment of a balance of power between former protagonists and the stability of that balance of power is important as a precondition for successful transition toward democracy. The balance of power is determined to a large degree by the manner in which the civil war ended: rebel victory, government victory, or negotiated settlement. The former protagonists are in a position of power symmetry when conflict ends in a negotiated settlement. In contrast to Wood (2000) and Wantchekon (2004), I suggest that transition toward democracy does not emerge

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automatically from negotiated settlement. When civil war terminates in a negotiated settlement, civil war protagonists agree to power-sharing arrangements, which help to reduce the fear of future uncertainty regarding each party's security from being victimized by their rival defecting from the agreement. Power sharing ensures the opportunity to contest for political power and resources in the future. Negotiated settlements often involve provisions for UN missions that ensure the implementation of agreements between the rival groups. Negotiated settlement, I suggest, creates incentives for former protagonists to negotiate for a transition toward democracy. But democracy can be achieved in the aftermath of decisive victory as well. I will expand our understanding of post-civil war transition toward democracy by delineating the differences in the post-war environment established by government versus rebel victory. Based on this, I will develop a theoretical argument that suggests that victorious governments should be more likely than victorious rebels to adopt democratic reforms because they face a greater risk of a recurrence of civil war.

Along with the importance of balance of the power between former protagonists, I emphasize the importance of the stability of the balance of power for post-war democratization. That stability is also affected by the mode of conflict termination. When civil war protagonists expect that the balance of power established by the civil war outcome is ephemeral, they do not have incentives to agree to democratic change in the aftermath of civil war. Instead, they are fearful about their security, and they would probably return to conflict to mitigate the risk to their security. In this regard, I propose two conditions that could help to explain the stability of the post-civil war balance of power. The first is third-party intervention during civil war. By supporting one side or the other in the conflict, I argue, third-party interveners could bring changes in the balance of power. Nevertheless, the stability of that balance of power is put at risk

because third-party interveners often leave civil war states once the civil war ends. The second condition is the introduction of UN peacekeeping missions in post-war states. The UN mission works as a buffer between former protagonists and helps to maintain the balance of power through its mandate to enforce the peace agreement. They carry out post war reconstruction and rehabilitation programs such as monitoring peace and demobilizing armed forces. They provide technical assistance for post-conflict elections. All of these functions help to build confidence among former protagonists and help to create an environment for political dialogue so that former protagonists can negotiate the terms of democratic change and the institutional design of a post-war state.

Post-civil war democracy is fragile and susceptible to failure either in the form of renewed conflict or a relapse into authoritarianism. To answer the puzzle of the survival of post-civil war transition toward democracy, I look at the factors that could influence the decision calculus of former protagonists regarding the costs and benefits of sustaining the transition toward democracy versus returning to renewed conflict or authoritarianism. With respect to the decision calculus of former protagonists, I identify the expected costs of renewed civil war, the incentives created by the institutions of post-war state, and the level of economic development as determining factors in the survival of post-civil war transition toward democracy. With respect to the costs of renewed civil war, I explain how the probability of victory decreases with the duration of civil war, but the costs of war increase with duration. Thus, the duration of the previous war should provide incentives for former protagonists to sustain the transition toward democracy. I also argue that the number of battle related deaths influence the former protagonists' choice between sustaining transition toward democracy or resuming armed conflict. That choice is further influenced by institutional incentives. Democracy is more likely

to survive when the institutions of post-war states ensure the interests of former protagonists by ensuring their representation in the political system and their access to a share of power in the government. This would increase their stake in the survival of the transition toward democracy. Along with the costs of war and institutional incentives, the survival of post-civil war transition toward democracy is contingent on the level of economic development. Post-civil war democracies often face tremendous challenges in the form of redistributive demands as well as the challenge of reintegrating armed forces into the society and rebuilding infrastructure. When the cause of the conflict is related to grievances (Muller 1985), higher levels of economic development enable the post-war government to gain civilian support for their redistributive policies, which is critical for the stability of post-civil war transition toward democracy. This study explains how the level of economic development creates incentives for former rivals as well as civilians to sustain the transition toward democracy.

Dissertation Roadmap

This dissertation proceeds as follows. In the second chapter, I propose a theory of post-civil war transition toward democracy and explain how the balance of power established through the mode of civil war termination and the stability of that balance of power facilitate or hinder transition toward democracy in post-civil war states. Based on this theoretical argument, I derived several empirical hypotheses. Theoretical arguments presented in this chapter are substantiated by providing a detail discussion of cases of transition toward democracy in the aftermath of civil war.

In chapter III, I test the transition toward democracy hypotheses derived in Chapter II. The analysis proceeds in three main sections. The first section details the creation of the dataset, with particular attention to issues such as the definition of civil war and how I determine the post-civil war regime type. The second section provides detail on measurement of post-civil war

transition toward democracy, the independent variables included in this study, and the choice of statistical models. In this section, I substantiate the importance of using a survival model to test the stipulated hypotheses. I discuss the theoretical expectations and statistical tests. In the third section, I present the results from survival analysis. I conclude this chapter with the summary and discussion of findings.

In Chapter IV, I analyze the dynamics at play in the survival of post-civil war transition toward democracy. Transition toward democracy in the post-civil war states occurs in an inhospitable political environment which is generally described as inimical to democratic survival. I describe key features of the post-civil war environment which could undermine the survival of transition toward democracy. In this regard, I propose a theoretical argument on how the perceived costs of war, the incentives created by institutions and the level of economic development bring change in the perception of former protagonists regarding the costs and benefits of sustaining the transition toward democracy versus resuming armed conflict or transforming the democracy into some form of authoritarian rule. Based on this framework, I derive testable propositions.

The hypotheses derived from chapter four are tested in chapter five. I analyze all post-conflict transitions toward democracy between 1946 and 2005 and employ a set of survival models to account for factors that influence the survival of post-civil war transition toward democracy. In this section, I test how the costs of previous civil war, the institutional configurations, and the level of economic development influence survival of post-civil war transition toward democracy.

The concluding chapter begins a brief restatement of the main theoretical arguments and the results from the statistical analyses. I discuss how this dissertation contributes to our

understanding of post-conflict transition toward and survival of that transition. I discuss how this dissertation contributes to the broader debate in the field of post-conflict democratization and peacebuilding. Finally, I suggest implications of this dissertation for policy makers and actors in the international community who are trying to foster democracy in the post-civil war states.

CHAPTER II

A THEORY OF TRANSITION TOWARD DEMOCRACY AFTER CIVIL WARS

Under what circumstances is democracy likely to emerge in the aftermath of a civil war? This chapter explores this empirical puzzle by identifying factors that make a transition toward democracy more or less likely in the aftermath of civil war. In this regard, I suggest that the post-civil war transition toward democracy is influenced by the balance of power between the groups that were engaged in armed conflict with each other. The outbreak of a civil war is an extreme form of the struggle for political power and economic resources among politically mobilized groups. Rebels use force in an attempt to change the political status quo in such a way as to gain greater access to political power and economic resources (Tilly 1978; Collier and Hoeffler 2004; Besancon 2005). Conceptualizing the outbreak of civil war as a struggle for power and resources helps us to develop a theoretical understanding of conditions under which an incumbent regime and rebel groups (those excluded from access to power and resources) might agree to a transition toward democracy after the termination of armed conflict.

The theoretical argument I present in this chapter is based on the assumption that the former rivals want to establish themselves as legitimate players once a civil war ends. They also want to avoid the future uncertainty of a renewed civil war. Agreeing to a transition toward democracy can help civil war protagonists achieve these objectives in that they can establish themselves as legitimate political actors and legitimately claim access to power and resources through electoral competition. Therefore, democratic transition is a choice available to civil war actors in the aftermath of a civil war. But, under what circumstance are former protagonists likely to agree to a transition toward democracy in post-civil war states?

The answer to the puzzle of post-civil war transition toward democracy, I argue, is that the establishment of a balance of power between former protagonists and the stability of that

balance of power are imperative for successful transition toward democracy. I define the balance of power between contending parties in the post-civil war states in terms of capability of former protagonists to pursue their political and economic interests unilaterally. In a post-war state, former protagonists can do so when their rival is defeated militarily in such a way that the defeated group is unlikely to revive its military capability and pose a threat to the interests of the victorious side. Under such circumstances, the defeated side cannot protect its political and economic interests. By contrast, the victorious side can establish institutions that protect its access to political power and resources by marginalizing the defeated group. Balance of power suggests a situation under which none of the groups engaged in conflict can overcome their rivals militarily, and each of the conflicting parties perceives threats from their former adversaries. Two factors– particularly, how the civil war ended and whether it was a secessionist war or an ethnic revolution – structure the balance of power between civil war rivals in post-civil war states.

The balance of power necessarily affects the prospects for a transition toward democracy in post-civil war states by bringing a substantial change in the distribution of power among rival groups in the aftermath of conflict. Nevertheless, the balance of power may not be a sufficient precondition for democratization if there are other factors that affect the transition to democracy by influencing the very nature and stability of the balance of power established by the mode of civil war termination. I define the stability of balance of power in terms of fear of future uncertainty of a renewed civil war. When the protagonists achieve a balance of power, there should be less fear of future uncertainty because neither of the rivals can expect to achieve a military victory (also see Wantchekon 2004). A change in the balance of power, therefore, brings a change in this equilibrium. If everything remains equal, factors that influence the balance of

power between former rivals could also destabilize that balance of power. In this regard, the presence of a third party intervener can influence the balance of power between former rivals by influencing the war waging capability of the side supported by the intervener. Similarly, the presence of a UN mission influences the balance of power by providing both sides with security guarantee so that they can agree to end a war without fear of their rival defecting from the agreement. These two factors influence the choice of former rivals by altering their incentives for agreeing to a transition toward democracy versus returning to conflict.

In the section below, I develop this theoretical and conceptual framework in more detail by developing a set of causal arguments that help us to understand under what condition a transition toward democracy is more or less likely to take place in post-civil war states.

How the Way Civil Wars End Affects Post-Civil War Transition toward Democracy

The manner in which a civil war ends brings a substantial change in the distribution of power among the rival factions that had been involved in the civil war. Civil war terminates either in government victory, rebel victory or negotiated settlement (Mason and Fett 1996; Mason, Weingarten and Fett 1999; DeRouen and Sobek 2004). How the conflict terminates is a function of several factors, including the relative military strength of government *versus* rebels, the duration of the conflict, the costs of war, whether the war was ethnically based or not, whether it was a secessionist war or a revolution, and whether the third-party intervention occurred (Mason and Fett 1996; Mason, Weingarten and Fett 1999; and DeRouen and Sobek 2004; Regan 2000). Each of these outcomes produces a different balance of power between former protagonists. The three different outcomes also produce differing degrees of fear of a renewed civil war. These variations in the balance of power and the fear of renewed conflict should affect the prospects for post-civil war transition toward democracy.

Negotiated Settlement and Transition toward Democracy

Post-civil war democratization is more likely to follow a negotiated settlement than a decisive victory by either the government or the rebels. Negotiated settlement most often results from the conflict settling into a mutually hurting military stalemate between government and rebels, a condition which Zartman (1989) characterizes as ripe for resolution. Military stalemate exists when neither the government nor the rebel group can defeat the other decisively (Zartman 1989). While neither side can defeat the other, both protagonists realize that they will have to continue absorbing the costs of conflict. These mounting costs will eventually exceed the value of any benefits to be gained from victory. Yet, neither side can afford to back down because that would leave them worse off than if they just continued fighting. Under these circumstances, the conflict is "ripe" for settlement. A mutually hurting stalemate is the equilibrium condition that leads the warring factions to consider a negotiated settlement as an alternative to costly and protracted conflict. In this regard, Mason et al. (1999: 264) found empirical support that a stalemated armed conflict often terminates in negotiated settlement.

The studies of Wantchekon and Neeman (2002) and Wantchekon (2004) suggest that the stalemated armed conflict leads to a democratic change. These studies equate negotiated settlement with transition toward democracy. Contrary to what Wantchekon and Neeman (2002) and Wantchekon (2004: 19) suggest, however, a transition toward democracy does not occur outright from a negotiated settlement. For an illustrative purpose consider a case of Chad. From 1994 to 1997, the government of Chad and a number of rebel groups, including Movement for Democracy and Development (MDD), signed peace agreements that called for legalization of the opposition groups as political parties, integration of the opposition groups' members into state institutions and the right of refugees associated with the opposition groups to return to Chad. But

Chad did not make the transition toward democracy. Instead, the rival groups resumed fighting after a brief pause. Out of 43 cases of negotiated settlements of civil wars from 1946 to 2005 (Sambanis 2004; Doyle and Sambanis 2006), only 28 cases (65%) made the transition toward democracy (a positive 3-point change in the polity score). This suggests that all negotiated settlements are not alike, and a transition toward democracy does not always follow negotiated settlement to a civil war.

I argue that the probability of a transition toward democracy after a negotiated settlement varies to the extent that the negotiated settlement institutionalizes the balance of power between former protagonists by resolving credible commitment problems associated with agreeing to stop fighting and by eliminating the fear of future uncertainty concerning the risk of renewed war. Former protagonists agree to a democratic change only when there are institutional mechanisms to address these two issues.

A negotiated settlement stops the fighting. But inherent in a negotiated settlement is a credible commitment problem that leaves the signatories with fears of future uncertainties concerning their physical safety and the interests of the groups they claim to represent. Walter (2002) argues that a critical barrier to the negotiated settlement is prisoner's dilemma situation in which each of the protagonists anticipates a surprise military attack from its rival during the initial stage of demobilization. Former protagonists have incentive to induce their rival to disarm while concealing the fact that they themselves have not completely disarmed. Once their rival is disarmed, they can make a surprise military attack in order to achieve through deception what they could not achieve through military capability on the battlefield. Both sides have this incentive and both sides realize their rival has this incentive. Therefore, neither can afford to trust the commitment to disarm that their rival agrees to in the peace agreement (Walter 2002:

34-37; Fortna 2004b; also see Hartzell and Hoddie 2007). The prisoner's dilemma suggests that the government and the rebels have incentives to negotiate to end a war but the payoff from negotiated settlement is less than what they expect from establishing hegemony in a state. Their payoffs are structured in such a way that their optimal strategy would be to defect (not to cooperate) no matter what the rival does. The protagonists fail to cooperate because of the credible commitment problem and the security dilemma. Walter summarizes the security uncertainty as:

> As groups send their soldiers home, hand in their weapons, and surrender occupied territory, they become increasingly vulnerable to a surprise attack. And once they surrender arms and cede control of territory, their rival can more easily seize control of the state and permanently exclude them from power. Settlement of civil wars, therefore, have the unintended and unfortunate effect of forcing factions through a highly risky implementation period that may leave them significantly worse off than they would have been had they kept their armies and continued fight (Walter 2002: 21).

Walter (2002) and Hartzell and Hoddie (2007: 23) suggest that protagonists fear that their rival will cheat on the terms of the agreement and establish hegemonic control over the state. The group that establishes control over the state then uses the state power to threaten the interest and security of rival groups. Given this, both sides come to a conclusion that the cooperation would leave them worse off than if they had simply refused to agree to the peace settlement. As long as this credible commitment problem persists, the peace will remain fragile and tenuous.

The expectation of the damage that each of the parties believes it could suffer in the future makes them reluctant to sign a peace agreement and, if they do, to abide by its terms for fear of the consequences if their rival defects from the agreement. Hartzell and Hoddie (2007) argue that negotiated settlements help to resolve the credible commitment problem to the extent that they involve a range of power sharing arrangements that address security concerns of former rivals and distribute political power and resources between them (also see Hartzell 1999; Hartzell

et al. 2001; Walter 2002). Civil war protagonists know that a functioning state is necessary to ensure the future safety of all citizens. But the "reconstitution of the state power has the potential to generate further security concerns" (Hartzell and Hoddie (2007: 25). The fear is that one party will gain hegemonic control over state power and use it to repress their former enemy. This problem, however, can be resolved by creating state institutions that balance and divide power among protagonists. In this regard, Hartzell and Hoddie (2007: 24) suggest the importance of incorporating political, military, territorial and economic of power-sharing in the terms of the peace agreement. Power-sharing institutions provide the protagonists with some assurance that their rival will not be able to seize state power and use that power to establish their hegemony over other signatories to the negotiated settlement. When former protagonists enter into a democratic political process, the outcome of that political process will not become a zero-sum competition.

Military power-sharing: Armed force is the primary source of leverage that civil war protagonists have over their adversaries (Hartzell and Hoddie 2007: 31; also see Walter 2002: 39-42). Negotiating a settlement to end a war involves critical issues related to the management of rebels' armed forces. In this process, the state often retains its military strength but the rebels are vulnerable to a surprise attack if the issue of military power-sharing is not adequately addressed in the settlement agreement. For rebels to negotiate a settlement, they need some assurance that their enemy will not be able to take advantage of the settlement to annihilate them once they disarm. In order to ensure security guarantee and reinforce peace and stability, the DDR process (disarmament, demobilization and the reintegration of the rebel army) is often spelled out in the military power-sharing elements of the peace agreement as a way to provide rebels with the security guarantees they need in order to disarm. The disarmament process refers

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to the collection of arms in the conflict zone. In the demobilization process, the core rebel combatants are identified and the rest of their armed forces are demobilized. At the same time, elements of the government's military structures may be dismantled as well. In the reintegration process, the former combatants are inserted into civilian life. This process generally involves some compensation packages (including job training or farm land) so that the former combatants can return to social, economical and political life. The DDR process usually dismantles the rebel's armed forces, which creates a security threat for the rebels. To ameliorate this threat, the reintegration process may also involve restructuring the security sector so that some of the elements of the former rebels' armed forces are integrated into the national army.

The issue of control over the military of the post-settlement state poses challenges for the negotiated settlement. Walter (2000) and Fortna (2004) suggest that unbiased third-party enforcement of the DDR process is required to resolve the security dilemma. A third-party such as a UN mission can induce cooperation between rivals by separating adversaries' armed forces. The UN mission can also play an important role in the DDR process by taking responsibility for managing the disarmament of the rebels and providing them protection in cantonment areas once they are disarmed. Hartzell and Hoddie (2007) also recognize the importance of third-party actors, especially their role in separating the rival armed forces, but they emphasize neutralizing or balancing the state's coercive force by integrating the antagonists' armed forces into the state's security forces. There are two implications for the security dilemma that arise from integrating rebel forces into the national security forces. First, integration of rebels' armed forces into the state's security forces balances the state's coercive forces to some extent. Second, when a rebel's army is integrated into the national army or integrated into the society, the armed force is not readily available for rebels if they decide to fight a new war. Likewise, the government is

less able to use the armed forces to attack disarmed rebels when elements of the rebel armed forces are integrated into the national army. The integration of rebels in the national armed forces can also supplant the need of continuous presence of third-party enforcer because the coercive capability of the rival armed force is now balanced. The 1996 Philippine Peace Agreement had a provision of reintegration of some 7,500 Mindanao Liberation Force's military wing into the national army. The Arusha Accords that was negotiated between the government of Rwanda and Rwandese Patriotic Front (RFP) in 1993 called for a new armed force with the government supplying 60% of soldiers and the RFP allocated 40%. Similarly, following the negotiated end to the Contra War in Nicaragua in 1990, the police were "de-sandinized" and put under a separate administrative structure not headed by the FSLN or FLSN dominated civilians.

Political power-sharing: Political power-sharing arrangements involve allocating offices in the transitional government to all parties to the negotiated settlement. The rebels may be invited to join the cabinet or assume other positions in the transitional government. They may be provided with opportunities to share political power through institutional arrangements like proportional representation (Rothchild and Roeder 2005; Hartzell and Hoddie 2007). The logic of political power-sharing is that each of the rival groups will have enough power to at least veto acts by the government that threaten their interests. For instance, when multiple rival groups join a government as part of a political power-sharing arrangement, they focus more on consensus building among competing groups and constraining the ability of any one groups to assume unilateral decision making authority that might threaten the interests of other groups and give them an incentive to defect from the peace agreement. If former enemies can successfully negotiate a new constitution and democratize, political groups will have to compete for political power through democratic elections. Under democracy, the share of political power that each

group gains depends on its ability to garner electoral support. For instance, after the 1994 general election in South Africa the African National Congress (ANC), the party of the former rebels, won the majority of seats in the National Assembly but the National Party (NP), the party of the former government, was invited to join the national unity government in order to facilitate the constitution making process. But NP withdrew from the national unity government in June 1996, which marked the end of political power-sharing through sharing cabinet positions. Nevertheless, the post-conflict South African constitution has a provision for party-list proportional representation, which reinforces the confidence of minority groups that they will have a reasonable chance to gain a sufficient share of seats in the national legislature to be invited to join a governing coalition. In other instances such as in Lebanon and Bosnia, political power-sharing is constitutionally defined, making it a permanent political agreement between rivals. In this way, political power-sharing gives groups a sense of security and solves the credible commitment problem by expanding the rival groups' access to political decision making.

Territorial Power-Sharing: Another power-sharing mechanism that can be helpful in addressing credible commitment problems among former rivals is territorial power-sharing. In their study, Hartzell, Hoddie and Rothchild (2001) and Hartzell and Hoddie (2007) explain territorial power-sharing as institutional mechanisms to divide political influence among levels of government and provide groups at the sub-national level with some degree of power and influence so that all of the state's power cannot be seized by a powerful group at the center and used against its rivals. Hartzell and Hoddie (2007: 33-34) have identified three mechanisms by which territorial power-sharing reduces security concerns of adversaries in a civil war. First, it shifts decision making power to the sub-national level by restricting the authority of the central government. Lake and Rothchild (2005:110) suggest that territorial power-sharing (particularly territorial

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decentralization) addresses the "political insecurity and desire for self-determination that lead to conflict" while respecting territorial sovereignty. In this regard, decentralization can be a valuable tool to alleviate the fear of a minority group because it suggests that the majority group is less able to centralize the state authority and resources in the hand of a majority group.[2] Second, it helps to balance the power between groups by effectively giving territorially based groups access to decision making processes at least in the region they control. And third, the delegation of decision making power to the region helps to reduce competition among civil war protagonists in terms of access to power and resources. In this way, territorial power-sharing resolves some of the credible commitment problems and reduces the fear of future war.

Economic power-sharing: Control over economic resources provides any group with the means of financing armed conflict against their rival group (Hartzell and Hoddie 2007: 35). In the post-war environment, it is important to ensure that the distribution of economic resources empowers protagonists but not in a way that would enable or encourage either to pose a security threat against the other. Economic power-sharing mitigates the security threat to the extent that the protagonists are ensured that economic power-sharing prevents their rivals from dominating control over the nation's economic resources. For instance, the Nicaraguan peace agreement called for a number of measures that benefited the Contras, including monthly pensions to the widows and orphans of Contra fighters as well as government aid for each demobilized Contra fighter (Hartzell and Hoddie 2007). Similarly, the Guatemalan peace agreement of 1996 called for allocating economic resources to the poorest segment of the population (from whom the

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[2] Lake and Rothchild are concerned more about the long-term viability of territorial power-sharing, which they suggest is a short-term tool to eliminate the security fears of minority groups. Furthermore, they found little evidence of the successful institutionalization of territorial power-sharing in any post-war constitutional order, which they suggest could lead to a renewed violence. As peace settlements are implemented over time, the trend is likely to lead to greater political centralization with the majority group trying to centralize state authority and resources in its own hands (Lake and Rothchild 2005: 110).

Guatemalan National Revolutionary Unity received support) in order to uplift socially marginalized and deprived segments of population. Among these was a land redistribution program to benefit rebel supporters. Allocation of resources helps economically disadvantaged groups and raises the opportunity costs of participating in renewed conflict, which should enhance the prospects for the peace enduring. Since economic resources are critical to a group's ability to mobilize supporters, a fair share of economic resources is critical for minority groups to enhance their prospect in electoral competition, should their rivals finally agree to a democratic change.

Among these dimensions of power-sharing, military power-sharing is perhaps the most critical for ensuring former rivals that none of them will have enough military capability to pose a security threat to the others. The persistence of a rebel group's military capability is the continuation of dual sovereignty that Tilly (1978: 200) suggests would make possible the initiation and the recurrence of civil war. Wagner (1993) also argues that the rivals will have a veto power over the peace agreement if their military organization remains intact in the aftermath of a civil war. Therefore, it is important to resolve power-sharing issues related to the armed forces in order to dismantle dual sovereignty. With successful dismantling of military capability through the DDR process, the former protagonists will find it more difficult to resume armed conflict not only because their combatants are now integrated into the national army but also because it is costly for protagonists to reorganize their armed forces. Because the existence of separate military forces is the source of dual sovereignty and the security dilemma for each of the civil war protagonists, military power-sharing helps to dismantle condition of dual sovereignty and eliminate the security dilemma.

All dimensions of power-sharing, however, are critical to fostering a sense of security among former rivals (Hartzell and Hoddie 2007). These power-sharing deals help to establish peace and order in post-conflict states by providing assurances to all protagonists that none of the civil war actors will be annihilated by their former adversaries if they continue to comply with the terms of the peace agreement. This assurance is critical to creating an environment in which former rivals can negotiate a constitution that will establish the basis for a transition toward democracy.

From Settlement to Transition toward Democracy: Negotiated settlement brings about an end to armed conflict. But the negotiated settlement itself is not the same as institutionalized democracy. Nor do power-sharing deals inevitably lead to a transition toward democracy. Put differently, negotiated settlement and power-sharing deals establish a new (fragile) regime, but not necessarily a democracy. Nevertheless, a negotiated settlement with power-sharing deals can pave a way to a democratic change. For instance, when Mozambique's civil war ended in 1992, the ruling party Mozambique Liberation Front (FRELIMO) and the rebel party the Mozambique Resistance Movement (RENAMO) agreed to political, military and territorial power-sharing deals. The peace agreement, along with the deployment of the United Nations Operation in Mozambique (ONUMOZ) mission to enforce it, created an environment in which former rivals could engage in negotiations that led to post-conflict elections in 1994. In the interval from the peace agreement in 1992 to the first multiparty election of 1994, former rivals were engaged in complex negotiations regarding recognition of RENAMO as a political party, and social and economic integration of demobilized armed forces back into society (Manning 2002). Transition toward democracy in Mozambique took place two years after the signing of peace agreement and power-sharing deals.

Consider post-conflict Sudan where the negotiated settlement of 2005 established a fragile regime that may or may not evolve into a successful transition toward democracy at the end of the peace process. After the peace deal between the Sudan People's Liberation Movement/Army (SPLA) and the government of Sudan in 2005, a range of power-sharing deals were made. Among these were political power-sharing in which the leader of the SPLA, John Garang, was given the position of first vice-president. This power-sharing deal is expected to last for about six years and will end in 2011. One of the elements of the peace agreement is to hold a referendum at the end of six years of power-sharing to determine the issue of secession for southern Sudan, which was controlled by the SPLA during the civil war. This power-sharing deal created incentives for former rivals to engage in negotiations on issues concerning the design of institutions for the post-war state. If these talks were to be successful, a transition toward democracy would follow. But former rivals are still negotiating over the institutions of post-war Sudan. The confidence building measures incorporated in the peace agreement reduced credible commitment problems and created incentives for former rivals to continue negotiating the terms of a democratic transition rather than resume conflict.

Przeworski (1991) suggests that political actors in a democracy accept electoral defeats because "they believe that the institutional framework that organizes the democratic competition will permit them to advance their interests in the future" (19). According to Przeworski, democracy can emerge from cooperation when contending forces reach an equilibrium situation – a situation in which political actors engaged in competition set aside the short-term outcome of democratic processes and look to the longer time horizon because they believe that no one can control the outcome of democratic processes. The establishment of a balance of power between former civil war actors and the institutional mechanisms to address their security concerns create

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an equilibrium situation, a situation optimal for cooperation between former rivals. Institutionalizing the balance of power through a formal peace agreement with explicit power-sharing arrangements also creates an environment in which former protagonists can establish themselves as legitimate political actors in the post-war regime. As such, an armed conflict becomes less attractive as an option for the former rivals when their security concerns are addressed and they have a fair chance to compete for power and resources. In other words, when a balance of power is established through a negotiated settlement, and when there are power-sharing arrangements and an unbiased third-party to enforce the terms of the settlement, fear of renewed war decreases and the former protagonists can negotiate a transition toward democracy. When they are confident that their security dilemma is now manageable because of power-sharing institutions and the presence of a UN mission, the former protagonists can see the benefit of democratic transition. Through an electoral process that involves the participation of citizens, the elites of the incumbent regime or the rebels can win control over government or a share of government power without having to defeat their opponent militarily. Democracy empowers civilian masses with voting rights and at the same time secures civil war actors access to political power and economic resources through the electoral process. Losing control of government in an election does not lead to the permanent exclusion of the group from the political process because they always have another chance to compete again in the next election cycle. A transition toward democracy changes the perceptions of civil war actors so that they perceive that the "the cost of accepting the defeat plus the expected gains from the next election exceed the expected gains from subverting the regime" (Gates et al. 2006: 895). In democratic elections, former rebels and the former government can expect to win some seats in the legislature, even if they do not win control of the executive (whether it is a presidency or a prime ministership). As long as they have

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some reasonable hope of winning the presidency or enough seats in the legislature to influence the legislative process or claim cabinet posts, they have incentives to accept a democratic transition rather than resume a fighting.

After negotiating a peace agreement with the Nicaraguan Democratic Forces (FDN) on March 23, 1988, the Sandinista party accepted an electoral defeat in the presidential election that was held on February 25, 1990. Even after the Sandinista party lost several rounds of presidential elections, they were able to maintain their political presence in the legislature. Finally, Sandinista leader Daniel Ortega won the presidential election on 5 November 2006. The discussion of negotiated settlement and the measures involved in negotiated settlement to address the security concern of former rivals lead to the first transition hypothesis that:

Transition Hypothesis 1: *Transition toward democracy after civil war is more likely following negotiated settlement than military victory.*

Military Victory and Transition toward Democracy

One sided military victory by either the government or the rebels creates a balance of power that obviously favors the victor. Decisive military victory creates a post-civil war environment in which the victorious side has little incentives to agree to power-sharing deals or to invite in UN missions to protect the peace process. Licklider (1995) suggests that the outright military victory by one side or the other would make renewed conflict less likely. According to Wagner (1993), the defeated side will not be able to fight a new civil war when its organization is destroyed. Unlike a negotiated settlement that preserves in place the balance of power between rival groups established on the battlefield, a military victory destroys the power of the defeated group, making renewed conflict more difficult and allowing the victor to structure the post-war political regime as it pleases (Wagner 1993, Licklider 1995: 685). The defeated group does not

have any military power and the victor can "punish its enemies by genocide rather than war" (Licklider 1995: 686). Therefore, a decisive military victory creates a post-civil war environment in which the victorious side is more likely to adopt exclusionary policies backed up by its military dominance rather than seek consensus or cooperation with the defeated side. This does not create a favorable environment for transition toward democracy to take place.

If a balance of power between the insurgents and the government is necessary for a transition toward democracy to take place, we would expect a transition toward democracy to be less likely after a decisive military victory (either by the government or the rebels) than after a negotiated settlement. A decisive military victory provides the winning side with discretionary power to design the institutions of the post-war state in a way that protects its own political and economic interests. A decisive military victory leads to the compulsory demobilization of the defeated sides (Wagner 1993: 255; also see Licklider 1995). It also demobilizes their civilian support base: citizens who may have preferred the defeated side now have an incentive to withdraw their supports from the defeated and hide their preferences. Thus, the defeated side has neither the military capability nor the civilian support to exert much influence on post-war state-building. In such an environment, there is no incentive for the victorious side to put its control over political power in jeopardy by subjecting that control to democratic electoral competition. The outcome of democratic elections is uncertain, and the side that just defeated their rival group on the battlefield would not want to put its control over political power at risk through election.

With the rebel victory, the military organization of the incumbent regimes crumbles, and the elites of the incumbent government either go into exile or are captured and killed (Quinn et al. 2007). Rebel victory usually results in the complete overhaul of state institutions as they eliminate their rivals. Therefore, victorious rebels have no incentive to open up the political

system and allow the elites of defeated government to compete for political power and resources (Gurses and Mason 2008). Victorious rebels can use their military strength and control over resources that they gained by defeating the government to expand and strengthen their own civilian support base. They often seize assets of the defeated government's economic allies and redistribute a share of those to their own civilian supporters. They can also enact redistributive policies that benefit their supporters at the expense of those who supported the defeated government. For an example, after defeating the Kuomintang (National People's Party) in China in 1949 the Chinese Communist Party (CCP) redistributed land among peasants and subjected large landowners to "people's courts," where peasants could voice their long-standing grievances against landlords. Many of the landlords were killed. The use of coercion and the control over economic resources that the former rebels now enjoy would make it difficult for civilians to shift their support in favor of the defeated side. Rationally speaking, the civilian population would be better off supporting the victorious side because the defeated side is less able to reorganize. By supporting the victorious rebels, the civilians can avoid repression and perhaps gain a share of the economic resources that come with the victory. With respect to grievances, a rebel victory might not redress the grievances of poor people all the time, and victorious rebels are often repressive. Nevertheless, rebels can seize assets of the old economic elite and redistribute them to their followers. They can also dismantle the defeated government's repressive machinery. The rebel victory redresses the grievances at least at the elite level as new elites now can enjoy access to political power and economic resources.

Government victory is different from rebel victory in many respects. Government victory could lead to the destruction of rebel organization, but Quinn et al. (2007) suggest that defeated rebels have the option of hiding among the civilian population and waiting until they can revive

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their strength to renew their challenge to the government. This option is not available to a defeated government because elites of the defeated government are either killed or flee into exile. The elites of the defeated government do not usually have the anonymity that would enable them to blend into the population and wait for that time in the future when they can renew their armed challenge to the victorious rebel's government. Therefore, a defeated rebel movement is more likely to survive in the aftermath of government victory. Moreover, decisive military victory by the government, in and of itself, does nothing to resolve the grievances that led to the conflict in the first place. The victorious government may have an incentive to address the grievances of the rebellious population and they may engage in reforms designed to reduce the grievances during the civil wars, but government victory does not necessarily bring a change in the composition of the ruling coalition. Furthermore, the destructiveness of a civil war (economic and social) could degrade the institutional capacity and resource base that the victorious government relies on to address popular grievances. Therefore, it will be difficult for a victorious government to undertake reforms necessary to resolve the popular grievances that motivated civil war in the first place. If grievances or relative deprivation are the main causes of the rebellion, as suggested by Gurr (1968) and Muller (1980), the rebel movement is likely to revive and persist even after a decisive government victory. As empirical evidence suggests, civil war is more likely to recur following government victory than rebel victory (Quinn et al. 2007).

Following government victory, defeated rebels could pose a threat to the victorious government's hold on political power and resources in the post-conflict environment. Under such circumstance, the victorious government has two different options to deal with the threat of future conflict. First, it can use repression to maintain the status quo by force. Second, it can pursue a democratic transition and try to diminish the risk of future conflict by incorporating into

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the government elements of the now-defeated opposition and its civilian support base. Should a victorious government weigh the potential threat of renewed war against its capability and the cost of war, it might conclude that it would be better off by integrating the defeated rebel groups (or at least their civilian supporters) into a new political order designed by the incumbent regime. Incorporating enough of the rebels' supporters into the polity would make it difficult for rebels to build a viable rebel organization at a later date (Tilly 1978). For the victorious government, democratic transition is costly because the elites of the incumbent government could still lose elections, and they would have to share economic resources with the defeated group. But the risks of being defeated in a renewed civil war are higher than the risks of being defeated in elections. In democracy, there is always a chance to compete in elections to re-claim power and resources.

After defeating the government, the rebels have an unchallenged opportunity to dismantle the institutions of the old regime and adopt new institutions that make it difficult for the remnants of the defeated government to reorganize and challenge the new regime. They also can redistribute the assets of the economic elites who were allied with the defeated government. Therefore, victorious rebels are more able to preempt renewed conflict without having to put their claims to power at risk through democratic elections. The concern here is not with the balance of power between the former rivals established through conflict termination. It is the fear that the defeated rebels may have the incentive and the capability to revive the armed conflict at some point in the future, whereas defeated governments are less able to do so. Democracy here is the institutional mechanism to convince the now-defeated rebels to join the political process rather than to rebuild their strength for another attempt at civil war. This leads to hypothesis that:

Transition Hypothesis 2: *Transition toward democracy after civil war is less likely following rebel victory compared to government victory.*

The case of the revolutionary insurgency fought by the Janatha Vimukthi Peramuna (JVP) against the Sri Lankan government is discussed here to illuminate how a victorious government can minimize the risk of renewed conflict by allowing the defeated rebels to join the political process. The Janatha Vimukthi Peramuna (JVP), a Marxist party, waged an armed insurgency in Sri Lanka only to be crushed by the government of Sri Lanka Freedom Party (SLFP) in 1971. The government of Sri Lanka then prohibited the JVP from participating in the democratic political process. After the proscription, the JVP became an underground organization, and the rebel movement survived among the peasants and the rural population in the southern part of Sri Lanka. Because of the threat of a renewed civil war, the government legalized JVP as a political party on February 15, 1977. As a small political party JVP failed to dissuade the government from inviting in Indian Peace Keeping Forces (IPKF) to mediate the conflict with the Tamils in the North. As a consequence, the JVP renewed its war against the United National Party (UNP) government in 1987. The conflict ended with brutal government suppression of the rebel movement, and again JVP was proscribed as a political party from participating in the democratic process. Even though JVP suffered military defeat two times, support for the movement did survive. The JVP leaders started to blend into the population to revive their capability. Rather than risk a third conflict, the government of Sri Lanka gradually allowed JVP to participate in the political process. Since 1994, JVP has been contesting elections at the regional and national levels. In the 1994 elections, they won one seat but managed to win 10 parliamentary seats in the 1999 elections. Since 1999, JVP has been a member of the governing coalition. The political parties that tried to marginalize JVP have secured their

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political interests by cohabitating with JVP itself. The United People's Freedom Alliance (UPFA) presidential candidate needed the JVP support to win 2005 presidential elections (Mishler et al. 2007). In the 2004 parliamentary election, the UPFA secured 105 seats out of 225 seats in the Sri Lankan parliament, while JVP won 39 seats. The case of JVP in Sri Lanka indicates that an armed rebel group, even if defeated on the battlefield, can resort to armed conflict later and inflict costs on the victorious side. Transition toward democracy is more likely to follow a government victory than a rebel victory because defeated rebels are more of a threat to resume civil war than are defeated governments. Had the Sri Lankan government continued to marginalize JVP, the JVP might have even wider popular support for an armed insurgency, thus posing a greater threat to the interests of ruling elites. By contrast, transition toward democracy did not occur after rebel victory in Cuba in 1959 and in Liberia after 1991 to name a few cases. In both instances, the rebel victories led to the destruction of the organizational capacity of the defeated government and leaders went into exile.

Ethnic Conflict and Transition toward Democracy

For each of the outcomes, the probability of transition toward democracy will vary depending on whether the previous civil war was ethnic or not and secessionist or revolutionary. The causes and dynamics of ethnic civil wars are different from those of non-ethnic or revolutionary civil wars (see, Gurr 1990; Kaufman 1996; Lake and Rothchild 1996; Sambanis 2001; Gurr and Moore 1997; Fearon and Laitin 2003; Fearon 2004). In ethnic conflict, groups in conflict draw their supporters from their respective ethnic bases by using shared ethnic identity to mobilize support. Ethnic identity is less changeable than, say, economic interests. According to Gurr (1990: 96), compared to civil wars motivated by political-economic reasons, ethnic wars are harder to resolve by compromise because identity cannot be changed easily. Licklider (1995)

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found empirical evidence that the ethnic civil wars are more difficult to resolve through negotiated settlement and that the settlements to such wars are less durable those that end ideological conflicts. Ethnic civil wars are fought along ethnic lines and such wars are "particularly difficult to negotiate, largely because ethnic enmities tend to be so deep and the stakes so high" (Lake and Rothchild 1996: 71). This is because ethnically based loyalties in a civil war are less likely to change from one side to the other with the ebb and flow of conflict (Manning 2007). In ethnic civil wars, the stakes are high because the stakes are indivisible. The stakes are high and indivisible if the rebels are trying to control the state. Put differently, the winner of an ethnic civil war expects to control the state with the military defeat of the rival ethnic groups. Unlike non-ethnic conflicts, termination of an ethnic conflict does not lead to the changes in the distribution of loyalties of civilian supporters between the competing sides. Civilian support is more fixed in ethnic conflict (also see Kaufman 1996), and that makes it easier for the defeated side to mobilize support for renewed conflict at some point in the future. Licklider (1995: 687) also suggests that military victory in ethnic civil wars may lead to genocide after the war.

An ethnic group can establish its monopoly over state power and resources only after a decisive military victory. Since one group's access to power leads to the exclusion of another group, ethnic conflicts are more nearly zero-sum. Therefore, previous studies often come to a conclusion that negotiated settlement is less likely to occur in ethnic civil wars than in ideological civil wars. Studies by Licklider (1995), Mason and Fett (1996), Mason et al. (1999), and DeRouen and Sobek (2004) found some evidence that ethnic civil wars are less likely to end either through negotiated settlement or a rebel victory. As such, government victory is the most likely outcome of an ethnic civil war. The findings in these studies, however, are not that robust.

Even if ethnic conflicts are harder to end through negotiated settlement, some of the ethnic conflicts such as in Lebanon, South Africa and Chittagong Hill Tracts conflict in Bangladesh ended in negotiated settlement. If the theory developed in this study correctly specifies that the balance of power between rival groups is crucial for a democratic transition to take place, the theory predicts that the transition toward democracy is more likely to follow after ethnic civil wars that establish a balance of power through settlements. After all, negotiated settlement in ethnic civil wars suggests that the dominant ethnic group as well as the challenger group found some means to share state power, which is not the case when ethnic civil war ends in a decisive military victory. This leads to the following hypothesis:

   Transition Hypothesis 3a: *Post-civil war transition toward democracy is more likely after settlement of ethnic civil wars than after military victory.*

   Secessionist vs. Revolutionary Ethnic War: All ethnic civil wars are not alike. Transition toward democracy following ethnic civil war depends on factors such as the goals of the ethnic groups in conflict and the involvement of international community in the conflict resolution processes. Depending on the goals of the rebels, ethnic civil war can be revolutionary or territorial (Horowitz 1985; Fearon 2004: 288). In revolutionary civil wars, rebels wage armed conflict against the hegemony of rival ethnic group and seek to replace the old regime with their own regime. In territorial civil wars, ethnic group seeks not to overthrow the incumbent government but to gain independence from it and establish a new sovereign nation-state out of a portion of the territory of the nation-state in which that ethnic group currently resides. Some territorial conflicts can be over territorial autonomy so that the groups in conflict can enjoy a degree of cultural and political autonomy as well as have a larger share of the resources in their homeland (Horowitz 1985: 23-5; Fearon 2004; Buhaug 2006). For instance, Chechens, Kurds,

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and Karens are fighting for their autonomy in Russia, Iran, and Myanmar respectively. In Ethiopia, a rebel group successfully seceded and established Eritrea as a new sovereign state. The stakes of revolutionary ethnic wars are fundamentally different from those of secessionist ethnic civil wars. This distinction between ethnic revolution and ethnic territorial conflict is important to understanding the dynamics of transition toward democracy following ethnic civil war.

Previous studies suggest that whether the objective of ethnic groups in the civil war depends on the relative size of ethnic groups, the number of groups in conflict and their geographical concentration (Horowitz 1985: 36-41, also see Wimmer et al. 2009). According to Horowitz (1985:37), "some groups are so small in size and so geographically concentrated that it makes little sense for them to devote energy to political activity much beyond their locality. Other groups, however, may be large and influential enough to make plausible claims to power at the center. In general, there is a propensity for groups to concentrate their efforts on the highest level of activity that seems to promise success". Horowitz's main point is that the driving force behind secession or autonomy is territorial concentration. Ethnic groups that are fighting for territorial or cultural autonomy typically are concentrated within a distinct territorial enclave. A large segment of the population in the enclave is not directly governed by the political center. Neither is the group part of the power-sharing coalition at the center. This ethno-political power configuration is the outcome of an exclusionary state and segmented leaders (Horowitz 1985; Wimmer 2002; Wimmer et al. 2009). Groups that are excluded can be mobilized for a secessionist objective with the argument that independence will free them from exclusionary rule by the center (Horowitz 1985; Wimmer et al. 2009). Concentrated ethnic groups have more capacity to mobilize their supporters because they can establish secure base camps within the

enclaves from which they can mount and sustain guerrilla insurgency operations to achieve their objective.

Kaufman (1996) and Chapman and Roeder (2007) suggest that partition is the best solution for wars of nationalism because partition leads to the creation of two relatively homogenous states in terms of ethnicity. Nevertheless, groups that are fighting territorial wars are not always successful. There are very few cases of secession in which ethnic groups successfully seceded and new sovereign states were created. Among those are Bangladesh out of Pakistan in 1971, Namibia out of South Africa in 1991, Eretria out of Ethiopia in 1991, and Bosnia and Croatia out of Yugoslavia in 1995. According to Horowitz (1985:272-77) the success of secessionist movements depends on external actors, which he suggests have limited motives for supporting separatists. Even if ethnic groups did not achieve secession, the secessionist movement can transform the structure of politics and group relations dramatically (Horowitz 1985: 277). Separatist movements in one region can lead to separatist movements in other regions (Horowitz 1985: 278; Walter 2006). The spiral effect, however, depends on whether the government chooses to fight such wars or accommodate the ethnic groups and address their grievances. In this regard, Walter (2006: 313) suggests that governments are much more forward looking, and they carefully calculate the effect of concessions (if they have granted any) on future challenges and future losses. The decision of the government to accommodate the territorial demands of ethnic groups depends on the number of ethnic groups in a country and the combined value of the territory under dispute (Walter 2006). According to Walter (2006), when there is only one challenger, there is an incentive to accommodate rather than fight and pay the costs of war. Governments have stronger incentives to fight against early separatists in order to deter potential separatists in the future. Ethnic groups that are fighting a territorial war do not

want to bring the government down at the center. Their objective is to make government concede to their demands and they use guerrilla tactics to achieve their objective (Buhaug 2006: 695). This could be the reason why Fearon (2004: 288) found that conflict over territorial autonomy is likely to endure for a longer period than conflict over control of the government.

Whether ethnic groups successfully achieve a separate sovereign state or achieve some degree of territorial autonomy through negotiation within the current configuration, territorial conflict does not bring substantial change in the composition of the central government, at least compared to revolutionary ethnic conflict. Territorial ethnic conflicts are less threatening to the survival of the incumbent governing coalition, at least compared to revolutionary ethnic conflicts that involve demands for a share of state power and an access to resources. Territorial autonomy is a kind of power-sharing in which ethnic groups enjoy a certain degree of autonomy at the local level without posing a threat to the incumbent government at the center (Lake and Rothchild 1996: 61). As suggested by Walter (2006) government allows an ethnic group territorial autonomy only if there is an incentive to accommodate that group. If doing so helps to reduce fear of future uncertainty from the government's perspective, there is no incentive to concede some degree of territorial autonomy. Since the aim of a territorial conflict is to secure territorial autonomy, if not a secession, bargaining between the government and the ethnic group in conflict usually concentrates on issues related to the forms and degree of autonomy but less so the composition of the government at the center. An ethnic conflict with demands for autonomy does not create fear of armed overthrow of the government at the center. Therefore, elites of the incumbent regime can manage to hold onto power and resources without a democratic transition even after resolving territorial conflicts through negotiation.

Groups that are relatively large in size and not geographically concentrated can make a plausible claim to power at the center (Horowitz 1985:37). In other words, a claim to power at the center becomes more feasible when an ethnic group is large and its supporters are dispersed throughout the nation and intermixed geographically with other groups. An ethnic group that is dispersed throughout the country has no secure territorial bases, but their relative strength based on size of the population puts them in a better position to challenge for control of the state (Horowitz 1985: 36-41, also see Buhaug 2006). Therefore, ethnic conflict in which an ethnic group aims to capture power at the center (i.e., ethnic revolution as opposed to ethnic secession) constitutes a legitimate threat to the interests and survival of the governing elites.

Whether a democratic transition would take place or not after revolutionary ethnic wars depends whether a balance of power is established between the rival ethnic groups through the negotiated settlement. Transition toward democracy is more likely to follow negotiated settlement of ethnic revolutions than military victory. Theoretically, if the insurgents are able to overthrow the government (rebel victory) in an ethnic revolution (such as in Rwanda and Burundi), the defeated government can more easily recuperate its strength than a defeated government in a non-ethnic (revolutionary) civil war because the elites of the defeated government can mobilize their own network of ethnic supporters. Because mobilization is based on shared ethnic identity, a defeated government can do so more readily following defeat in ethnic revolution than a government defeated in ideological (non-ethnic) civil wars. A revival of armed insurgency is feasible also because the stakes are indivisible and the defeat usually leads to the absolute exclusion from access to power and resources for the defeated ethnic group and its elites. In an ideological revolution, supporters of the defeated government can shift support to the new (rebel) government more easily than ethnic supporters of defeated government can shift

their support to the government of the rival ethnic group (i.e. the victorious ethnic rebels) in an ethnic revolution. In the latter case, the defeat does not lead to defection of the losers' civilian support base. The persistence of the defeated government's support base poses a threat to the economic and political interests of the new regime. Elites in the new regime may not be able to maintain their political power and their control over economic resources if they are confronted with the potential of an armed uprising by the very elites they just overthrew. As suggested by Licklider (1995), military victory may lead to genocide, but doing so does not help to win over the ethnic supporters of the defeated side. If there is a risk of genocide, international actors like the UN are likely to get involve to protect civilians. Therefore, in most of the cases where the incompatibility underlying an ethnic conflict was related to change in the government, not secession (e.g., South Africa (1976-1994), Burundi (1988) and Lebanon (1958)), the conflicts were terminated in a settlement with some form of power-sharing in the government. When ethnic wars are resolved through settlement, rival ethnic groups can have access to state power and resources. The power-sharing insulates the rival ethnic groups from fear of exclusion, which creates a more favorable environment for democratic transition. This leads to hypotheses that:

Transition Hypothesis 3b: *Transition toward democracy is less likely after ethnic civil wars with territorial incompatibility compared to those with governmental incompatibility.*

Transition Hypothesis 3c: *Post-civil war transition toward democracy is more likely after ethnic revolutions that ended in settlement than ethnic revolutions that ended in military victory.*

Third Party Intervention and Transition toward Democracy

The theoretical argument developed in this study suggests that the balance of power between former protagonists determines the prospects for a democratic change to take place in the aftermath of civil war. The balance of power is structured first by whether the conflict ended in government victory, rebel victory or negotiated settlement. But the type of civil war termination is also influenced by third-party states that intervene militarily during a civil war. A biased third-party intervention (i.e., intervention in support of either the rebels or the government) brings material change in the war fighting capability of one of the protagonists and shifts the balance of power in favor of the side that received the support (also see Mason and Fett 1996; Gents 2008).[3]

It is assumed that the intervention is intended to bring the conflict to an earlier end, but this is not always the case. Empirical evidence suggests that biased intervention is likely to extend the duration of the conflict rather than bring it to an earlier conclusion (Balch-Lindsay and Enterline 2000; Regan 2002). Balch-Lindsay and Enterline (2000) find a positive relationship between biased military intervention and the duration of civil wars, which is supported in the study by Regan (2002). Regan (2002:71) suggests that intervention tends to increase duration of civil wars regardless of the target (government vs. rebel) or the type of intervention (economic vs. military). Previous studies suggest that longer duration is associated with negotiated settlement of civil wars (Mason and Fett 1996; Mason et al. 1999; Balch-Lindsay and Enterline 2000; Regan 2000; Gent 2008). This, however, does not mean that the negotiated settlement is more likely following third-party intervention. By treating intervention as biased (on the side of government or rebels) or neutral, Mason et al. (1999) find that intervention

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[3] The study Svensson (2009) suggests that biased mediators, not the unbiased mediators, act to protect their side's interests through institutional arrangements. But, mediation and intervention are not alike as mediators often lack the military capacity to impose the settlement proposal.

reduces the probability of settlement in both instances. According to Mason and Fett (1996: 553-554), biased intervention decreases the likelihood of settlement for three reasons. First, any one participant, including third-party intervener, can unilaterally veto a settlement by refusing to cease fighting. Second, it will take longer to reach a settlement agreement when there are more parties involved in the negotiations (also see Cunningham 2008). When the time required to reach a settlement increases, the net payoffs from settlement decrease as the costs of fighting continue to accrue while negotiations are on-going. Third, outside intervention increases the resource base of the side supported by the intervener, which helps to offset the costs of conflict for that party. Under such circumstance, the side supported by the intervener has an incentive to take its chances on achieving victory rather than agree to a settlement. Explaining the outcome of civil wars as a function of third-party interventions, Gent (2008) finds that government-biased intervention has no significant effect on a civil war outcome but a rebel-biased intervention increases the chances of a rebel victory as well as a negotiated settlement. For protracted conflicts with third-party intervention, however, the chances of negotiated settlement of civil war increase (Mason et al. 1999: 264).

For illustrative purposes, consider the following examples of how intervention can affect the outcome of conflict. Cuba intervened in Angola in 1975 in support of the MPLA government. Cuban intervention brought additional resources to the Angolan government to fight a war against the UNITA rebels. Cuba maintained its presence until 1991. The civil war in Angola terminated in negotiated settlement in 1991. In other instances, however, a third-party intervener led to a decisive military victory. Angola intervened on the side of rebels in a conflict between Lissouba and Sassou-Nguesso on October 12, 1997 in the Republic of Congo, which was terminated in a rebel victory. In 1978 France supported the government of Zaire in its war

against the Congolese National Liberation Front (FLNC). This conflict terminated in a decisive government victory.

From the previous literature and the cases discussed here, two interesting phenomenon emerge on third-party intervention and civil war outcomes. First, intervention has a direct and negative effect on the probability of settlement in the earlier phase of conflict. Second, intervention has an indirect and positive effect on negotiated settlement. If intervention extends the civil war for a longer period, negotiated settlement becomes more likely. As such, to the extent that third-party intervention contributes to producing a balance of power between protagonists, intervention makes a negotiated settlement to a civil war more likely. As discussed earlier, transition toward democracy is more likely when civil war ends in negotiated settlement.

However, third-party intervention can have an independent effect on the prospects for transition toward post-civil war democracy. When intervention brings additional resources to one side in the conflict, that support helps the favored side to absorb additional costs of conflict. A withdrawal of the third-party from the post-civil war state can bring a drastic change in the balance of power that led the warring parties to negotiate a settlement rather than continue fighting. The emergent balance of power between the insurgents and the government was not endogenous to the war waging capability of the protagonists themselves. The third-party intervener helped to produce that equilibrium. The departure of the third-party intervener after the war ends creates a power vacuum between the former protagonists and the stronger side has an incentive to resume war against the weaker side. Therefore, the transition toward democracy is less likely to follow biased intervention by a third-party state, if the intervener withdraws soon after the conflict terminates.

One could argue that the continuous presence of a third-party intervener in the post-conflict state could force civil war protagonists to accept the resulting balance of power and agree to a transition toward democracy. A continuous military presence, however, might not be possible for all third-party states, especially for democratic interveners, because of domestic audience costs (Bueno de Mesquita and Downs 2006). In a democracy, political leaders have to be responsive to voters and focus more on domestic issues in order to increases their chances of getting reelected in the next election cycle. Politicians want to avoid diverting national resources from domestic policy programs to foreign interventions in civil conflicts (Bueno de Mesquita and Downs 2006). Even if a democratic regime intervenes into civil war to promote its interests, maintaining its presence is politically costly for the leader of a democratic regime. As such, a third-party intervener may not be able to extend its support to stabilize the balance of power between rival groups and force them to agree to a democratic transition by maintaining its military presence. Perhaps authoritarian regimes could take on the extra burden of maintaining a military presence, as Cuba did maintaining in Angola for more than 16 years. But authoritarian regimes do not often use their presence to promote democracy in post-conflict states. As such, a third-party intervener may not be able to extend its support for democracy by maintaining its military presence in the post-conflict state. This, however, does not mean that third-party state will not intervene again in the future. At the request of President Tombalbaye, France intervened in Chad on Aug 28, 1968 to repress Front for the National Liberation of Chad (FROLINAT). FROLINAT and the Chadian government signed a peace agreement on March 16, 1979. France pulled its troops out of Chad on March 20, 1979 (TPI Project 2007).[4] On August 9, 1983 France

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[4] Third Party Interventions in Intrastate Disputes (TPI) Project is co-directed by Dr. Mark J. Mullenbach at the University of Central Arkansas and Dr. Bill Dixon at the University of Arizona. This project provides detail description of intrastate and interstate conflicts in details. This project can be accessed online at http://faculty.uca.edu/%7Emarkm/tpi_homepage.htm

intervened again on the side of government and withdrew its troops on September 16, 1984 (TPI Project 2007). But Chad did not make the transition toward democracy in either instance.

Second, while the prospects for a transition toward democracy can be influenced by third-party interveners, a consensus among domestic political actors is crucial for a democratic change to take place. The main problem with third-party intervention and its impact on post-conflict democratic transition is that civil war protagonists know that the third-party will withdraw at some point after the conflict ends. Since third-party induced balance of power is not endogenous to the capability of civil war actors, at least one of the civil war protagonists might prefer to return to war to settle their differences once the intervener withdraws. The withdrawal disrupts the balance of power that led to conflict termination in the first place. As such, transition toward democracy is less likely following biased third-party intervention.

Transition Hypothesis 4: *Biased third party intervention decreases the likelihood of transition toward democracy after civil-war.*

United Nations Missions

A negotiated settlement establishes a balance of power, but further consideration of the credible commitment problem which is inherent in negotiated settlement suggests the importance of maintaining balance of power in order to achieve a transition toward democracy. The post-conflict environment is contentious, and civil war protagonists are uncertain about their future. They simply cannot trust their rivals to abide by the peace agreement once they demobilize their armed forces (Stedman 1997; Walter 2002; Fortna 2004b; also see Hartzell and Hoddie 2007). The critical challenge in the aftermath of the peace agreement is to make the peace agreement self-enforcing, which is unlikely to happen if former protagonists cannot trust each other. More importantly, they fear that their rival will cheat on the terms of the agreement which would leave

them worse off than if they had simply refused to agree to the peace settlement in the first place. As long as this credible commitment problem persists, the peace will remain fragile and tenuous. The balance of power might not hold under such uncertainties, and the prospects for a transition toward democracy become rather dim.

Nevertheless, civil war protagonists can agree to the peaceful resolution of civil wars when security guarantees are provided by a credible third party state or international organization such as the United Nations (Walter 2002; Fortna 2004b; Hartzell and Hoddie 2007). UN peacekeeping is unique only to the negotiated settlement to civil wars. From 1946 to 2005, UN initiated 34 peacekeeping operations after civil wars; only 11 times were peacekeeping forces inserted following military victory (either by government or rebel). Most of the time, UN missions are commissioned after mutual agreement between the rival groups. The objective of these missions is to enforce the terms of the settlement, protect human rights, and oversee the resettlement of internally displacement civilians and refugees. In order to facilitate the peace process, the UN mission can supervise the disarmament, demobilization and reintegration of rebel armed forces (Doyle and Sambanis 2006). UN missions also play a crucial role in engaging former rivals in the institution building process. The deployment of UN missions comes with international support for the peace process as well as coercion for actors that would deviate from the peace process. The international community can threaten defectors with economic sanctions or reprisal against aggressors (Walter 2002:42; also see Fortna 2004b:26-27). Such missions serve as a buffer between former protagonists, which helps to keep antagonists' military forces away from each other (Fortna 2004b). UN missions play a crucial role in improving the protagonists' sense of security by reducing uncertainty about the future. By establishing a buffer between the former protagonists, engaging them in the peace process and increasing costs of

defection from the peace agreement, UN missions help to resolve the credible commitment problem. Therefore, security guarantees from the UN missions and the presence of such missions in the post-civil war state will make the peace more durable (Walter 2002; Fortna 2004b; also see Hartzell and Hoddie 2007; Doyle and Sambanis 2006). In this way, the presence of the UN mission preserves the balance of power between former rivals, eliminates security dilemmas and creates incentives for cooperation. The UN peacekeeping missions have played this role in a number of conflicts (see Table 1).

The presence of a UN mission in a post-conflict state fosters peace, but scholars are skeptical as to whether UN missions expedite the political liberalization process in the post-war states. Operationalizing peacebuilding success that meets the minimum standards of democracy (political openness), Doyle and Sambanis (2000 and 2006) find a positive relationship between UN peacekeeping and the promotion of democracy. The success of the mission in achieving peace, according to Doyle and Sambanis (2000, 2006), is related to the mobilization of local political actors and local capacity. This positive relationship is, perhaps, correlated with post-conflict elections that provide a convenient exit point for the UN missions (Reilly 2002; Kumar 1998). The purpose of UN missions in post-war states is first to establish political order, eliminate security dilemmas and help to establish state capacity to enforce the rule of law throughout the territory. Promoting liberal democracy involves constraints on the authority of government as well as increases in the burden of public accountability. Therefore, trying to promote democracy prior to establishing a functioning state might hinder the very aim of the UN missions. Therefore, Paris (2004), Paris and Sisk (2007) argue that UN missions should rebuild state institutions before any political liberalization takes place. This discussion suggests that the UN missions should take democracy promotion as a long-term strategy.

Table 2.1: Selected Cases of UN Peace-building Missions in Post-conflict States.[5]

Country	Terminated	Mission Name	Mission Duration	States Involved	Security forces	Million $
Cambodia	Settlement (1991)	UNTAC	02/1992-09/1993	46	15,991	1,600
Central African Republic	Settlement (1997)	MINURCA	04/1998-02/2000	14	1,364	60.2
Angola	Settlement (1994)	UNAVEM III	02/1995-06/1997	31	4220	887.1
Burundi	Government Victory (1988)	ONUB	06/2004-12/2006	50	5665	678.3
Sierra Leone	Settlement (1996)	UNAMSIL	10/1999-12/2005	40	17500	2,800
Republic of Congo (Zaire)	Rebel Victory (1997)	MONUC	11/1999-	57	18352	1,094.25
Haiti	Rebel Victory (1994)	UNMIH	09/1993-06/1996	35	6912	320

UN missions influence the democratic transition process in post- conflict states by resolving the credible commitment problem, which helps to preserve the balance of power, and creates incentives to the civil war actors to negotiate a transition toward democracy. The success of the UN missions at bringing democracy in the post-conflict states, however, is influenced by its mandate, which is generally negotiated between civil war rivals and the Security Council of the UN. The mandate of the UN missions varies depending on types of missions: observer missions, traditional missions, multidimensional peacekeeping and peace enforcement missions (Fortna 2004; also see Doyle and Sambanis 2006). A monitoring or observer mission is designed to monitor a truce with military or civilian observers. The monitoring mission lacks the mandate to use force to safeguard the agreement, and such missions have very few resources. Traditional

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[5] Data collected from using Department of Peace Keeping Operation of the United Nations. Available at http://www.un.org/Depts/dpko/dpko/, accessed on January 25, 2007.

peacekeeping missions involve both military and civilian components. This mission type has the mandate to facilitate post-conflict settlement and help with the demobilization and disarmament of military forces. Multidimensional peacekeeping missions are broad in their mandate and resources because such a mission is designed to implement a negotiated peace agreement. Such a mission plays an important role in building economic and political institutions. And finally, the peace enforcement mission is designed to impose peace by force if needed.

Even though most of these missions are sent where an institutionally weak state fought a severe conflict (Diehl et al. 1996; Gilligan and Stedman 2003; Doyle and Sambanis 2000 and 2006), the effect of these missions on post-civil war democracy varies substantially, given variations in mandate and resources (funding and participations of other states) available for these missions. Their success also varies with the characteristics of the conflict and the post-conflict state. For instance, observer and traditional peacekeeping missions operate with limited mandate and resources. These missions play a very limited role in building the institutions of the post-civil war state. By contrast, multidimensional peacekeeping missions have extensive mandates and resources, and these missions help to restore peace, monitor and facilitate the integration of the former rebels into the society, help to bring former rivals into a democratic process and build the institutions of post-war states. Therefore, the chances of success of the UN missions in promoting democracy in post-war states increase when the mission has a mandate to play the institution building role. After all, the ability of the UN mission to solve the credible commitment problem or alleviate the fear of renewed conflict and create an environment for democratic transition depends on the mandate of the mission.

UN presence in the post-war states helps to create an environment that is conducive to the transition toward democracy. The UN missions help to resolve the credible commitment problem

between protagonists by ensuring that cheating on the peace agreement will have costs. It creates incentives for former protagonists to respect the peace process. The assurance that their rival will abide by the terms of the peace agreement helps to eliminate fear of future uncertainty. As such, UN peacekeeping missions help to protect and stabilize the balance of power between the insurgents and the government. UN missions cannot stop a determined aggressor from cheating on the peace process. Nevertheless, undermining the balance of power preserved by the UN missions and thus re-engaging conflict would be costly for former rivals because it could lead to the withdrawal of international recognition or trade sanctions and elimination of international aid for the faction that defects from the agreement (Walter 2002: 42; also see Fortna 2004b). Former rivals have incentives to cooperate with each other because UN missions bring international recognition to actors who cooperate with the mission. Cooperation would also bring international assistance for reconstruction and development projects. Furthermore, a UN mission has some degree of legitimacy in comparison to a biased third-party intervener. This legitimacy gives UN missions the space to engage local political actors and use local capacity to mobilize parties that have a stake in the post-conflict state (Doyle and Sambanis 2000 and 2006. Unlike biased third-party interventions during civil wars, UN missions are neutral, and this gives them a degree of political legitimacy that makes them acceptable to former adversaries. All of these factors influence the decision that protagonists will make with regard to transition toward democracy. When peace is secured, former protagonists can be confident that they can secure their political and economic interests through democratic processes if they agree to a democratic change. From this discussion, I derive hypotheses that:

Transition Hypothesis 5a: *UN peace-building missions increase the prospects of the transition toward democracy in the post-conflict states.*

Transition Hypothesis 5b: *The likelihood of post-civil war transition toward democracy varies with the mandate of the UN missions.*

Conclusion

The theoretical framework presented here helps us to conceptualize under what conditions a democracy is more or less likely to emerge in the aftermath of civil war. I explained that the balance of power between the insurgents and the government influences the post-conflict transition toward democracy. Using this conceptual framework, I explained how transition toward democracy is more likely following negotiated settlement than military victory and how it is less likely following rebel victory than government victory. Then, I developed this conceptual framework further to explain how an ethnic conflict fought for a territorial demands is less likely to bring about democratic change in the aftermath of conflict than an ethnic revolution that sought to change the government. The theoretical framework also allows me to explain how the balance of power created by a biased third-party intervention is not likely to hold in the post-conflict environment and, thus, does not resolve the fear of renewed civil war. Thus, transition toward democracy is less likely following biased third-party intervention than if no intervention occurred. The theory, however, suggests quite opposite effects regarding the role of UN missions. UN missions provide institutional guarantees on the implementation of peace agreements and protect the balance of power between former rivals, which create a favorable environment for democratic transition to take place in a post- conflict state.

CHAPTER III

TESTING TRANSITINO TOWARD DEMOCRACY HYPOTHESES

One of the main puzzles that this study aims to resolve is what factors explain the

transition toward democracy in the aftermath of civil war. Post-conflict transition toward

democracy is conditioned by the balance of power between civil war actors and the stability of

that balance of power. Civil war protagonists want to establish a stable balance of power between

contending factions that reduces future uncertainty about the possibility of renewed civil war and

that ensures them a fair chance to claim power through elections in the post-war government. As

such only under certain conditions does a transition toward democracy become the optimal

choice for civil war actors as a means to promote their interests as well as avoid future

uncertainty of a renewed conflict. In this chapter, I develop a research design to test the

stipulated hypotheses which were derived using the balance of power framework. I begin with a

description of the dataset followed by the definition of post-civil war states and the

operationalization of dependent, independent and control variables. Results and analysis are

presented in the analysis section.

The Dataset

In the previous chapter, several hypotheses on transition toward post-civil war democracy

were derived. To determine what factors play a role in explaining post-conflict transition toward

democracy, I analyzed data from 1946 to 2005. I used Sambanis' (2004) dataset to identify civil

war cases. Coding a civil war onset and termination has been a contentious issue among

researchers, particularly on the issue of battle death threshold as the primary inclusion criterion.

A list of civil wars from the Correlates of War (COW) was widely used since Small and Singer

introduced the dataset in 1982. In order to be included in the COW list of civil wars, a conflict

must have generated 1,000 battle deaths in a year. Sarkees and Singer (2001) updated the COW

dataset until 2001 and an annual threshold of 1,000 deaths has not been abandoned. But minor violence that surpassed 1,000 battle deaths only over the total duration of the conflict is not coded civil war in COW dataset. The UCDP/PRIO Armed Conflict Dataset (ACD) uses at least 25 battle-related deaths to code a civil war onset (Gleditsch et al. 2002:4). Growing numbers of scholars are using ACD dataset as it includes more civil war incidents in the dataset that never reached more than 1,000 battle deaths. Since my core theoretical argument is related to the balance of power between civil war protagonists, perhaps 25 battle deaths per year may not indicate a relative balance of power between civil war protagonists that would make them agree to a democratic change.

Sambanis' (2004) dataset better fits this empirical study for three reasons. First, in his dataset, a civil war onset is coded if the conflict causes at least 500 - 1,000 deaths in the first year, or the conflict is coded civil war only in that year if the cumulative battle deaths reaches 1,000 in the next 3 years. Furthermore, the weaker party should be able to inflict at least 100 deaths during the course of the conflict. Compared to the ACD dataset, Sambanis' dataset gives importance to the severity of conflict as well as the role of a weaker party in the conflict process. The role of a weaker party and the severity of conflict, perhaps, are indicators of relative strength of civil war actors that would shift the balance of power between rival factions and consequently influence the transition toward democracy. Second, he codes termination of the conflict as one side's victory or the signing of a peace treaty, or a truce or lapse in fighting that lasts for two years. Finally, if different groups are engaged in conflict at the same time, he combines them into a single civil war episode, making it easier to code the start of the post-conflict period. Sambanis' dataset is covers 1946 – 2002 with 151 civil war onsets and 121 complete terminations. Going through his codebook and other sources such as Kessing's Archive of World Events, I find that

the Algerian civil war should be coded as ended in 1997 after Islamic Salvation Front (FIS)

proposed a peace deal in January 1996 and ended its war with government in October of 1997.

Similarly, the Moro National Liberation Front (MNLF) rebellion in the Philippines ended in

negotiated settlement after government and the rebels reached a peace deal on September 2,

1996. Updating the dataset until the end of the year 2005, I find that the anti-Taylor resistance in

Liberia should be coded terminated in negotiated settlement after the Liberians United for

Reconciliation and Democracy (LURD) and the government signed the Accra Peace Agreement

in Accra, Ghana on 18 August 2003. The Casamance (MFDC) civil war in Senegal should be

coded terminated in settlement when the government and MFDC reached a peace settlement on

December 30, 2004. Excluding the IRA conflict in the United Kingdom (1971-1998) and

internationalized civil war in Cyprus (1963-1967 and1974-1974), and Israel (1987-1997), the

dataset used in this study covers 125 post-civil war cases in 71 countries from 1946 - 2005.

Post-Civil War State

A post civil war state is a state where civil war has occurred but has terminated either in

government victory, rebel victory or negotiated settlement between the government and the

rebels. A civil war is not considered ended if a temporary truce is followed by war. The unit of

analysis is a post-conflict year, which is observed in the dataset immediately after civil war ends.

Because the unit of analysis is a post-conflict year, I have identified the first observation in the

dataset according to the month of termination. If the civil war is terminated by June, a post-

conflict year begins with the same year of the termination. For civil wars terminated in July or

later, the first post-conflict year begins with the next year. For instance, the Baganda rebellion in

Uganda ended in June 1966 and the post-conflict years began in 1966. The Sandinista National

Liberation Front (FSLN) civil war ended in July 1979 and the post-conflict years began in 1980.

For the states with a multiple spells of civil wars, each new civil war termination is coded as a new case. For instance, the spells of post-conflict years following the FSLN victory in Nicaragua in 1979 ended in 1990 when the civil war between the Sandinista government and Nicaraguan Democratic Forces (Contras and Miskitos) terminated.[6] Specifying the termination of civil war cases does not affect the total count of post-conflict years as cases are observed continuously until the last observation year in the dataset. For instance, we observe post-conflict years for Nicaragua from 1979 until 2005. Nevertheless, identification of post-conflict years has some implication for survival analysis. With the new spell of civil war termination, a new count of post-conflict years begins. In other words, with a new spell of civil war termination right censoring occurs with the previous post-war spell. This is imperative in my analysis of transition toward democracy and survival of democracy in the post-conflict states. Experiencing a new civil war and its subsequent termination indicates a new shock (perhaps a renewed shock to the political structure) and thus a new opportunity for political actors to advance the nation toward democratization.

<div align="center">Dependent Variable</div>

The dependent variable in this analysis is transition toward democracy (TTD) in the post-conflict states. I use "CHANGE" variable in the Polity IV dataset (Marshall and Jaggers 2005) to identify TTD in post-conflict states. This variable indicates a change in the institutionalized democracy score (-10 to +10) in which a positive change indicates a movement from non-democracy to democracy, and a negative change indicates a regression toward authoritarianism. This movement, nevertheless, does not necessarily indicate a regime change. Change in this

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[6] If peace spell and peace duration were the phenomenon of interest, peace spell should end with the start of a new war. In this study, the phenomenon of interest is democratization in the aftermath of conflict. Each conflict termination is important because it creates a new opportunity to bring political actors together and devise institutions of a post-conflict state.

variable may occur even in the same regime if the regime moves toward democracy or autocracy. Smith (2004) and Gurses (2007) used a similar measure (also see Gurses and Mason 2008). Using this variable, I derive a dichotomous variable TTD, which is coded 1 if "CHANGE" in the Polity dataset is at least a positive 3-point, otherwise "0".

With the diffusion of democracy in the international system, different quantitative measures of democracy have been developed. These quantitative measures rely heavily on elections and election outcomes. According to Cohen (1971:8), democracy is "constituted by participation." The core of democracy is equality and participation in the political process (Dahl 1971 and 1998). Przeworski et al. (2000) look at the organization of multiparty elections and election outcomes to define democracy. They use a dichotomous regime classification by employing four rules to determine whether a country is democratic or non-democratic. To be democratic, there must be an elected executive and an elected legislature along with more than one political party and alternation in government. If a ruling party or a coalition wins three or more consecutive terms of office or a previously authoritarian leader or a party wins the transition elections, Przeworski et al. code the entire country year as non-democratic retrospectively. If there is alternation in the executive, they recode the entire country year as democratic. In their measure of democracy, elections and election outcomes play crucial roles in determining the democratic standing of a particular country. This is appropriate especially when one is looking at whether a particular country is making progress toward democracy. But the problem with this measure of democracy is that the classification of regime type depends on the timing of the coding. For instance, after termination of a civil war in 1992, Mozambique had three multiparty elections in 1994, 1999, and 2004. If the entire period were under observation, say until 2005, Przeworski et al. would recode post-conflict Mozambique as an undemocratic

country (See, Figure 1). This is because Mozambique Liberation Front (FRELIMO) won all three elections. If the observation years were restricted to prior to the 2004 election, Przeworski et al. would code post-conflict Mozambique as a democratic country. Another problem with this approach to measure democracy is that it lumps all regime types either in the camp of democratic or non-democratic. On the one hand, this coding lumps post-conflict states achieving high levels of democracy (like South Africa and Mozambique) as non–democratic. On the other hand it fails to make note of substantial progress toward democracy in post-conflict countries like Uganda, Guinea-Bissau and Cambodia. In other words, this coding rule misses significant movements that fail to pass an arbitrary threshold (also see Gurses 2007).

Figure 3.1: Different Measures of Democracy*

Kenya after the termination of Rifta violence in 1993

	1994	1995	1996	1997	1998	1999	2000	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005
Freedom House	■	■	■	■	■	■	■	■				
Polity IV	■	■	■	■	■	■	■	■				
Vanhanen												
Przeworski et al.												

Mozambique after the termination of civil war in 1992

	1993	1994	1995	1996	1997	1998	1999	2000	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005
Freedom House	■												
Polity IV	■	■											
Vanhanen	■	■	■										
Przeworski et al.	■	■	■	■	■	■	■	■	■	■	■	■	■

South Africa after the termination of civil war in 1993

	1994	1995	1996	1997	1998	1999	2000	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005
Freedom House												
Polity IV												
Vanhanen										■	■	■
Przeworski et al.	■	■	■	■	■	■	■	■	■	■	■	■

El Salvador after the termination of conflict in 1992

	1992	1993	1994	1995	1996	1997	1998	1999	2000	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005
Freedom House														
Polity IV														
Vanhanen														
Przeworski et al.														

White = Democratic

Black = Non-democracy (* Partially derived from Bogaards 2007).

The Ugandan case is interesting to present for illustrative purposes. After the termination of civil war in 1986 in rebel victory, Museveni of the National Resistance Movement (NRM) promised to a return to democratic rule within three years. In 1996, the Ugandan people cast their votes for president in a "no-party movement system." The no-party system in Uganda further

weakened the democratic nature of executive recruitment when Museveni was reelected as president in 2001. People overwhelmingly supported the transition to a multiparty system in the 2005 referendum. Museveni was reelected president for the third time in a row in 2006. Employing Przeworski et al. coding criteria, the Ugandan case would be coded as authoritarian for two reasons. First, Museveni was elected president for three times consecutively. Second, he was elected president in the transitional multiparty election of 2006. Nevertheless, the 2005 referendum was a crucial event in Ugandan politics after the termination of conflict in 1986 because it opened up the political system by legalizing the formation of political parties and allowing them to seek political offices through electoral means. The dichotomous measure of Przeworski et al. would not consider such domestic political dynamics, whereas Polity IV dataset indicates a positive 3-point change in the Polity scale of Uganda in 2005.

Vanhanen (1997 and 2003) in his studies on the process and prospects of democratization used election turnout and vote share of smaller parties in parliamentary/presidential elections to derive an index of democracy. The vote share measures two important dimensions of democracy: participation and competition. The participation part of the index is derived by looking at the "percentage of the total population who actually voted in the election" whereas competition is derived "by subtracting the percentage of the votes won by the largest party from 100" (Vanhanen 1997:34). The index of democracy, then, is derived by multiplying the participation index and competition index. Vanhanen's index of democracy aims, first, to measure the degree of democracy within democracies, and second, to differentiate between democracies and non-democracies. To differentiate democracies from non-democracies, he establishes a cut off point for participation and competition. The dominant or the largest party must receive less than 70% of the votes cast to ensure space for smaller parties and meaningful competition. At the same

time, the participation threshold is set at a 10% turnout (Vanhanen 2003: 57). Vanhanen (2003: 65) admits that these thresholds are subjective, but that they are helpful to make a distinction between more or less autocratic systems and those that have met the minimum threshold of democracy. Vanhanen's index of democracy is biased toward a fractionalized party system. For instance, South Africa is one of the best examples of post-conflict peace building and democratization. Since the termination of violent civil war in 1993, the African National Congress (ANC) has continuously dominated the democratic process, winning three consecutive elections. In the election of 2004, ANC secured more than 70% of the votes and seats in the National Assembly. These figures put South Africa among non-democratic states by Vanhanen's coding. The same measure, however, would count Zimbabwe after 2001 as a democratic state because President Mugabe received only 56.2% of votes compared to 92.7% of the vote in the 1996 election (see Figure 1). Looking at the institutional characteristics of Zimbabwe, the year 1996 is by no means different from the year 2002. This is reflected in Polity IV and Freedom House measure of democracy (the polity score was minus 6 and minus 7 for 1996 and 2002 respectively). As a matter of fact, authorities in Zimbabwe put restrictions on the opposition political movement. The human rights situation is very critical. The state of democracy in South Africa is far better compared to Zimbabwe. But Vanhanen's criteria of measuring democracy would not allow Zimbabwe to be coded as non-democratic or South Africa as a democratic state.

The Freedom House measure of democracy, originally compiled by Gastil (1990), lists all free, partially free, and not free countries that hold free elections with full suffrage. The Freedom House measure is based on ten criteria for political rights and fifteen criteria for civil liberties. Polity, on the other hand, looks at competitiveness of executive recruitment (XRCOMP), openness of executive recruitment (XROPEN), constraint on the chief executive (XCONST),

competitiveness of political participation (PARCOMP), and regulation of participation (PARREG). The final Polity score is derived by subtracting the democracy measure from the autocracy measure, which is calculated separately. This gives a range of -10 (autocracy) to +10 (democracy). A country is considered a democratic state if the institutionalized democracy score is positive seven and above (Jaggers and Gurr 1995). This threshold, however, is arbitrary. A score of at least six on the institutionalized democracy scale is very common in the literature (see, Ward and Gleditsch 1998; Gartzke and Gleditsch 2004; Pickering and Peceny 2006). The Freedom House and Polity measures of democracy are correlated with each other (Jaggers and Gurr, 1995:475). Both measures of democracy are subjective and perhaps neither measures democracy as such (Bogaards 2007). Nevertheless, these two measures of democracy are the best available now that reflect the state of democracy more consistently than other measures of democracy (see, Figure 1).

The main objective of this chapter is to explain what makes post-conflict states take a considerable step toward democracy. The focus here is on the progress toward democracy, not passing some threshold measure of institutionalized democracy itself. As such, the black (non-democracy) and white (democracy) categorization shown in Figure 1 for different measures of democracy used in the current literature is problematic. This is particularly true because "the scale upon which actual democracies are appraised cannot be a single and simple one. Once having given up the supposition that democracy must be either altogether present or not present at all, it requires only a further adjustment of our expectations to recognize that it may be present in different respects and to different degrees in each respect" (Cohen 1971:8). This argument is well articulated by Epstein et al. (2006:552) in their criticism of Przeworski et al. They introduce an intermediate category of a "partial democracy" which possesses some of the characteristics of

full democracies. Epstein et al. (2006) make the point that partial democracies account for an increasing portion of regime transitions. After all, "democracy is a process, not an end state. And as is often the case, the journey is more important than the destination" (Epstein et al. 2006: 552). Gates et al. (2006) also make this point clear in their explanation of Polity change. Partial democracies reflect institutional inconsistency falling short on one of the three dimensions of institutionalized democracy, which are the executive dimension, the executive constraints dimension, and the participation dimension. This is exactly the case with the post-conflict states struggling to establish the democratic political processes. The Przeworski et al. dataset lumps regimes into two camps: democracy and autocracy. The Freedom House measure does not reflect some of the most important changes toward democracy. This measure is also not available prior to 1972. Vanhanen's index of democracy is appealing, but it ignores the institutionalized aspects of democracy and penalizes a country with a dominant party that secures 70% of votes. Furthermore, this dataset is available only up to 2000. The Polity dataset captures movement along the continuum between autocracy and democracy very well in comparison to other measures of democracy. This dataset is available from 1800 to 2005 from the Polity Project website (Marshall and Jaggers 2005). Therefore, conceptualizing TTD as a 3-point positive change in the Polity scale is the best alternative to capture the democratic progress made by the post-conflict states. Gurses and Mason (2007) have used similar measure in their study of prospect for post-civil war democracy. To some extent, this 3-point threshold appears inherently arbitrary to code TTD. However, a substantial look at the political events that mark at least 3-point change versus a 1 or 2-point change reveals an important difference: the former indicates holding free and fair multiparty elections with a substantial change in the constitution.

Some illustrative cases are in order. The conflict in Guinea-Bissau terminated in 1999 with the signing of Abuja Peace Agreement. The military gave up political power, allowing a successful transition toward democracy. A national unity government formed in January and elections for the presidency and the legislature took place in November 1999. Eight political parties won seats in the national assembly. Kumba Ialá , the candidate of the opposition Social Renewal Party, won the presidential election in the second round of voting. The relationship between the civilian government and the military, however, remained strained as the military continued to act autonomously and refused to allow any civilian involvement in military matters. As such, Guinea-Bissau showed some progress toward democracy but the democratically elected government was still not able to control the military. The Polity dataset reports a 3-point change from 1998 to 1999 (Polity score went from 0 to 3).

In Uganda, after a rebel victory in 1986, the National Resistance Movement (NRM) leader Museveni promised a return to democracy. Not until a decade after the termination of conflict in 1986 did Uganda show some commitment to electoral democracy under a "no-party" or "movement system." Two presidential elections (1996, and 2001) and three legislative elections (1989, 1996, 2001) were held under the "no party" system. The international community, providing extensive technical and financial support to hold elections in Uganda, supported Museveni's proposal not to allow political parties to campaign for any political office (Barya 2006). Without a party system, there is no organized opposition to constrain the executive. Therefore, even if the international community praised these elections as free and fair, the government severely restricted fundamental rights of civil associations. The no-party system weakened the institutions of political parties and thereby strengthened the political influence of Museveni. Therefore, for the entire period from 1996 to 2005, there is no change in Uganda's

Polity score. With the political support of Museveni, people voted overwhelmingly in support of a multiparty system in a 2005 referendum (Barya 2006). As such, substantial constitutional changes were made in the aftermath of the 2005 referendum to allow political parties to campaign for political offices. The Polity IV Country Report 2005 indicates 3-point change in the Polity score of Uganda in 2005 (it went up from -4 to -1).

In contrast, consider a case like Bolivia in 1956. Bolivia held its first post-conflict election in 1956 after the termination of civil war in 1952. In the election, the candidate of the ruling National Revolutionary Movement (MNR), V.P. Hernan Siles Suazo, was elected president (Stearns 2001: 939). The post-civil war election did not bring regime change in Bolivia. Nevertheless, the Polity dataset indicates a one point increase in the Polity score (-4 to -3). Bolivia in 1956 was not a democratic polity but a one-point change in the Polity score indicates some form of political participation. However, the change was not substantial enough to constitute a transition toward democracy.

In Nicaragua, after the resolution of the Contra War in a negotiated settlement in 1990, all political forces entered into the democratic process. The revolutionary government of the Sandinista Party handed over political power to the National Opposition Union (UNO) candidate, Violetta Chamorro, following the UNO's electoral victory in the 1990 presidential election (Booth et al. 2006). Nicaragua made the transition toward democratic government from revolutionary government. In 1990, the Polity score for Nicaragua went up to +6 (it was a seven point change from -1 to +6). Chamorro, after assuming political power, worked hard on political reconciliation. She allowed Sandinista General Humberto Ortega to remain as head of the military, ensuring no anti-Sandinista bloodbath would happen. In the Chamorro years, Nicaragua moved "toward national reconciliation and democratic consolidation" (Booth et al. 2006:88).

One could argue that operationalization of TTD with a 3-point change in the Polity score is arbitrary. This is true because it lumps changes greater than 3-points into the same category. Polity IV Dataset Manual (Marshall and Jaggers 2005: 34) explains "democratic transition" in terms of change from autocracy (-10 to 0) to partial democracy (1-6), and partial democracy to full democracy (7-10). Democratic transition as operationalized in the Polity dataset ignores considerable changes that occur without passing one of the two (arbitrary) thresholds of regime change. For instance, the Polity score for Jordan moved up to -4 from -9 in 1989 (increase of 5-point) without a shift in regime type. Similarly, Uganda's Polity score moved up to -1 from -4 in 2005 (increase of 3-point). Even if these countries did not make a transition to partial democracy as specified in Polity dataset, substantial political reforms took place. In Jordan, the first general elections since 1967 were held, and the Muslim Brotherhood won 37 out of 80 seats (Stearns, 2001:982). Similarly, Uganda moved to multi-party democracy in 2005 from a "no party" system. These countries meet the Gates et al. (2006) definition of polity change. They operationalized polity change in terms of at least one of the following: (a) a movement from one category to another in the executive constraint, (b) a change of at least two units in the executive constraints, or (c) a 100% increase or 50% decreases in participation. Therefore, a positive 3-point change in the Polity score meets a minimal operational definition of transition toward democracy in post-conflict states. This operationalization still leaves out cases like El Salvador, India, Bangladesh and Sri Lanka, where rebels were integrated into the democratic process but no change was recorded in the Polity score.[7] Perhaps these are the cases where democracy was functioning to some extent and rebels did not gain enough electoral support to replace the incumbent regime. To not include these cases in the dataset would be to introduce bias toward cases with change in the Polity score. To resolve this issue, I coded TTD if a post-conflict state is

[7] Dropping these four cases would not influence the statistical results.

at least a semi-democracy as specified in the Polity Dataset even if Polity change is less than 3-points. Nevertheless, these post-conflict states must hold post-conflict elections to integrate rebels into the democratic process. In the dataset, I coded 92 (72.44%) spells of TTD out of 125 spells of civil war terminations. The spells of TTD will be coded "failure" in survival models.

Independent Variables

The main theoretical argument is that the post-conflict TTD is influenced by the balance of power between civil war actors and the stability of that balance of power. In this regard, Hypothesis 1 stipulates that transition toward democracy is more likely to follow a negotiated settlement than a decisive military victory. Similarly, Hypothesis 2 suggests that TTD is more likely following government victory than rebel victory. To test hypothesis 1 and 2, I use variables related to civil war terminations.

The way the conflict terminates is a good indicator of the balance of power. Government victory is operationalized as a dummy variable coded "1" if civil war ends in the government victory and the government is still in power with no negotiated settlement, otherwise "0." Rebel victory is also operationalized as a dummy variable coded "1" if insurgents defeat the government militarily or the central government collapses and the rebels assume power, otherwise "0". If a military stalemate exists and the government and the insurgents negotiated a peace settlement, I would code "1" otherwise "0." I do not code "truce" as a separate category of civil war termination. However, Doyle and Sambanis (2000) and Sambanis (2004) coded some cases like Papua New Guinea (1988-1991) and Sri Lanka (1987-1989) as terminated in "truce", which were later terminated in negotiated settlement and government victory respectively. Therefore, after in-depth study of cases coded as terminated in 'truce," I have recoded conflicts in Algeria (1992-1997) and Papua New Guinea (1988-1991) as terminated in negotiated

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settlement, and conflicts in Morocco (1975-1989), Philippines (1971-1996), and Sri Lanka (1987-1989) as terminated in government victories. Compared to other cases recoded either in government victories or negotiated settlements, recoding the conflict in Morocco (1975-1989) was not easy and therefore I use criteria such as the government maintaining its stand not to hold a referendum on the issue of Western Sahara.[8]

After identifying relevant cases for this study, the dataset used in this study includes 55 cases (44%) that terminated in government victory, 28 cases (22.40%) in rebel victory, and 41 cases (32.80%) in negotiated settlement. This dataset indicates that more than half of the post-civil war cases in the dataset (63 cases) are recorded as terminated from 1990 to 2005 and more than 50% of those civil wars (32 cases) terminated in a negotiated settlement. The data for coding all three types of conflict termination are taken from Doyle and Sambanis (2000), detail narratives for cases provided by Sambanis (2004), Encyclopedia of World Events (Stearns 2001), Keesing's Archive of World Events, and National Science Foundation funded Third Party Interventions in Intrastate Disputes Project (TPI Project) case narratives.

Hypothesis 3a stipulates that TTD is more likely following negotiated settlement of ethnic conflicts rather than military victory in such conflicts. Making the distinction between ethnic conflicts with a demand for territorial autonomy and revolutionary ethnic conflicts, hypothesis 3b suggests that post-civil war TTD is more likely following ethnic revolutions. Hypothesis 3c suggests that post-civil war TTD is more likely following negotiated settlement of ethnic revolutions rather than military victory in such conflicts. To test these ethnic conflict hypotheses, first, I make the distinction between ethnic and non-ethnic conflicts. Following Doyle and Sambanis (2000 and 2006), I code "1" for ethnic civil war if the pattern of rebel recruitment and alliance follows ethnic lines, otherwise "0". In the dataset, I identified 81 cases

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[8] Dropping this case would not influence the statistical results.

(63.78%) as ethnic civil wars. To identify the issue incompatibility of ethnic conflicts, I use Buhaug's (2006) dataset. Following Buhaug's (2006) categorization of governmental and territorial incompatibility in civil wars, I code "1" for governmental conflict if the rebels sought to overthrow the central government or bring about change in the composition of the government, otherwise "0". I code 86 cases (68.80%) as governmental incompatibility and the rest of the conflicts as territorial incompatibility.[9] An interaction of the ethnic conflict variable and the government incompatibility variable produces a variable called "ethnic governmental incompatibility", which would be ethnic revolutions. I code 45 cases (36%) as having both the ethnicity and the governmental incompatibility issues. Because of the use of this interaction variable in the dataset, I should use all three of these variables (government incompatibility, territorial incompatibility and ethnic governmental incompatibility) to test Hypothesis 3b. To test hypothesis 3a I use a negotiated settlement of ethnic conflict variable that is coded "1" if an ethnic civil war ended in negotiated settlement, otherwise "0". Out of 81 cases identified as ethnic conflict, 43 cases (almost 42%) are coded as ending in negotiated settlement. To test hypothesis 3c, I use a negotiated settlement of ethnic revolution variable that is coded "1" if an ethnic revolution ended in negotiated settlement, otherwise "0". Out of 45 cases of ethnic revolutions, 28 cases (62.22%) are coded as ending in negotiated settlement.

Hypothesis 4 stipulates that third-party intervention makes TTD less likely in post-conflict states. To test this argument, I introduce a dummy variable "external intervention." The external intervention variable is coded "1" if any third party (parties) intervened militarily on behalf of the government or the insurgents during a civil war.[10] Out of 125 spells of conflict, I

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[9] Governmental incompatibility includes ethnic as well as non-ethnic civil wars.
[10] The distinction between whether an intervention was on the side of the rebels or the government is not relevant in this study because civil war actors essentially get in their pre-intervention state of balance of power after the withdrawal of third-party state.

code 61 cases (48.80%) as having third parties interventions. I use Sambanis' data (2004) and TPI Project case narratives to code third party interventions.

Finally, Hypothesis 5a proposes that the UN missions increase the chances of post-conflict TTD. To test Hypothesis 5, I code a variable UN Peacebuilding Mission if such a mission was deployed, irrespective of mandates. This variable is coded "1" if such missions were deployed in the post-conflict states, otherwise "0". I code UN missions only for years when such missions were present in the post-conflict state. Out of 125 civil wars observed in the dataset, UN missions were deployed in 34 cases (27.20%). The UN mission variable comes from Doyle and Sambanis (2006).

UN missions can have a varying degree of mandates that range from traditional peace monitoring responsibility to active political missions such as in East Timor, where the UN assumed administrative responsibility in the region and imposed peace by the use of force. Not all UN missions are effective at bringing conflict to an end and creating an environment for a democratic transition. In the theoretical argument on the role of UN missions, I discussed the different mandates of such missions and the possibility that missions with different mandates might have differing effects on the prospects for post-civil war TTD (Hypothesis 5b). In order to understand conditions under which the UN is likely to promote democratic transition, it should be useful to understand the differing degree of UN commitment and involvement across different mandate types. Following Doyle and Sambanis (2006), I coded strength of the UN missions as "1" for a weak mission, "2" for a strong mission and "0" if no UN mission is deployed. The strength is coded by examining the mandate of the mission, its technical and military capabilities, and the level of international commitment. I coded "1" for observer missions in which civilian officials or military officers monitor a peace treaty, otherwise "0." A multidimensional

peacekeeping mission is coded "1" for a mission in which a peace treaty authorizes use of civilian and military units to rebuild political, economic and social institutions, otherwise "0." A traditional peacekeeping mission is coded "1" if military units were allowed to monitor peace treaty, otherwise "0." And finally, a variable UN Peacekeeping operation is coded "1" for presence of either traditional or multidimensional peace keeping operation, otherwise "0". The effect of different mandates on TTD also helps as a robustness check in the statistical models estimated.

<center>Control Variables</center>

To obtain non-spurious and robust results for the hypotheses tested, I use several control variables. While negotiating a democratic transition with former rebels, a government might be fighting another conflict with another rebel group. This could pose an obstacle in the democratic transition process because the government and the former rebels have to find a common ground on how to deal with the group that is still fighting. Therefore, I control for ongoing civil war. This variable is coded "1" for ongoing civil war, otherwise "0". This variable is coded using lists of civil wars provided by Sambanis (2004) and Doyle and Sambanis (2006).

Ethnic fractionalization has gained currency in democracy as well as civil war studies. Previous studies suggest that ethnically homogenous or highly fractionalized societies are less likely to experience civil war   (see, Sambanis 2001; Doyle and Sambanis 2000; Sambanis 2004; Hegre et al. 2001; Fearon 2004; Horowitz 1985). Therefore, I control for ethnic fractionalization using the Ethnic and Linguistic Fractionalization Index (ELFI) coded by Doyle and Sambanis (2000), which ranges from 0 (minimum) to 1 (maximum). Since the theory developed in this dissertation suggests that the balance of power is important for post-civil TTD to take place, democratic transition may be less likely in relatively homogenous and highly fragmented

societies. In other words, ethnic fractionalization might have a quadratic (inverted "U" curve) effect on post-civil war TTD. Therefore, I also used the square of ELFI, which captures any quadratic relationship.

Scholars have found that conflict intensity, measured in terms of human costs, increases the chances of peace failure (Doyle and Sambanis 2000 and 2006; Hartzell, Hoddie, and Rothchild 2001; Walter 2002 and 2004). I controlled for war costs by using the log of battle related deaths. The risk of peace failure is also affected by the duration of the civil war (Hartzell and Hoddie 2007). Both variables come from Doyle and Sambanis (2000) and are updated using TPI Project case narratives. I also control for population size with the natural log of this variable, as coded in World Bank World Development Indicator (WDI) and updated using Penn World Table Version 6.2 (Heston et al. 2006).

Given the relationships between GDP per-capita and TTD that is discussed in the comparative democratization literature (Lipset 1959; Helliwell 1994; Epstein et al. 2006), I control for GDP per-capita. To avoid endogeneity problems, this variable is lagged by one year. I take the natural log of this variable to avoid a possible heterogeneity problem, which is possible because different countries have different levels of economic development. Even if the balance of power between former rivals influences TTD in the aftermath of conflict, higher levels of economic development should encourage citizens of post-war states to demand political rights and pressure government to democratize. Higher levels of economic development also reduce the risk of a return to war by raising the opportunity costs to potential participants in a renewed rebellion.

One consistent finding on the effect of natural resources on democracy and civil war is that greater dependence on natural resources, such as oil exports, tends to strengthen

authoritarian state institutions. As a consequence, oil exporting countries are more susceptible to

civil war onset because revenues from oil exports create incentives for conflict over the control

of state power (Le Billon 2001; Collier and Hoeffler 2004; Ross 2001, Buhuag and Gates 2002;

Fearon and Laitin 2003). In resource rich nations that experienced civil war, former rivals might

seek to monopolize state power, making peace implementation difficult in the aftermath of civil

war (Doyle and Sambanis 2006). Since oil export dependence is related to authoritarianism and

peace failure, it could hinder TTD in the aftermath of civil war. Therefore, I control for oil

dependence. This variable is coded "1" if a country's oil exports make up more than 33% of total

exports, otherwise "0." This variable comes from Doyle and Sambanis (2006).

Regional standards of democracy or the neighborhood influence have gained currency in

the study of democratic transition and democratic survival. Previous studies have found that

democratic transition is more likely in a region populated by democratic states (see, Huntington

1991: 100-5; Gleditsch 2002; Gleditsch and Ward 2006). Because neighboring states are often

involved directly or indirectly in the conflict process (by either providing military support to civil

war actors or providing sanctuaries to the rebels), neighboring states can influence the prospects

for post-civil war democratic transition (Enterline and Greig 2005; also see Brinks and Coppedge

2006). To control for regional influences on TTD in the post-civil war states, I created a variable

called "regional standard of democracy." To derive this variable, first, I count the number of

contiguous countries (less than 150 nautical miles in distance) and take an average of their

institutionalized democracy score (Polity IV) for each year under observation. The logic of

controlling for the regional democratic standard is to find out whether institutionalized

democracy in the neighboring states would have any impact on the prospects for TTD in a post-

civil war state. The average neighboring polity score ranges from -10 to +10. The numbers of contiguous countries are derived using EuGene (Bennett and Stam 2000).

Finally, previous studies have consistently found a positive relationship between past democratic experience and democratic transition (Acemoglu and Robinson 2001; Fish 1995; Epstein et al. 2006). I operationalized past democratic experience as a dummy variable and code "1" if post-conflict states had at least +4 score on the Polity Scale at any time after the end of the World War II, otherwise "0". I also control for the Cold War's effect on TTD after civil wars. Conflicts terminated in 1990 and after are coded "1", otherwise "0".

<div align="center">Statistical Methods</div>

Transition toward democracy is a crucial political event in the history of a state emerging out of violent conflict. In this study, the event (failure=1) is defined as at least a 3-point positive change in the Polity score. In this instance, a nation has to experience a civil war and have that conflict end to enter the dataset. To explain the TTD, I employed survival analysis. Survival analysis is time to event analysis in which the dependent variable measures the time that units spend before experiencing events (Box-Steffensmeier and Jones 2004: 1). This method allows one to analyze what factors influence the time until an event occurs (Cleves et al. 2004).

There are three main advantages to using survival analysis. First, it allows analysis before all events have been observed, namely the presence of censored observations. Second, cases enter at a different time during the study. With the use of survival analysis, a researcher can accommodate cases not enrolled into the study at the same time. Second, when a case enters into the dataset, it is "at risk" of experiencing an event (failure). In some instances, some of the cases are not observed long enough to fail, and thus such cases are censored. Survival analysis equips researchers with the methodological tools to control for such cases not observed long enough to

fail within a given time period (Cleaves et al. 2004; Box-Steffensmeier and Jones 2004). Third, when the dependent variable involves time components, it is unreasonable to use linear regression with the assumption of normally distributed residuals (Cleves et al. 2004). The obvious reason is that the time to event failure is always positive, which does not meet the theoretical expectations of a normal distribution.

The choice of a survival model, however, is conditioned by the theoretical expectations of the researcher. The theory should tell the researcher what the shape of the baseline hazard should be, and the researcher should employ the parametric model that best explains the shape of the baseline hazard. Among parametric survival models, the Weibull regression model assumes a monotonically increasing, decreasing or constant hazard function. Log-normal and log-logistic models assume non-monotonic hazard functions. The log-normal model assumes the "errors" to have a bell shape symmetrical distribution (normal distribution). In the log-logistic model, the distribution of "errors" is assumed to follow a logistic distribution. When there are no theoretical expectations about the shape of the hazard function, a researcher can use the semi-parametric Cox regression model because it does not specify the shape of the baseline hazard (Box-Steffensmeier and Jones 2004:47).

The theoretical argument developed in this dissertation regarding the incident of TTD is likely to follow a certain hazard shape rather than being unknown. An incident of TTD (event failure) in post-conflict states might face a higher probability in the early periods, after which the risk of failure might gradually decrease in later periods. Alternatively, the probability of an event failure might be low early in the post-war period and then increase as time passes. The point is that the failure rate of incidents of TTD will be low/high, then increase/decrease, eventually flattening out at some later point. In post-conflict states, we often witness efforts to establish new

institutions and hold post-conflict elections very soon after the conflict ends. The theoretical

argument developed in this dissertation suggests that conflict termination and TTD do not occur

concurrently. Indeed, TTD might not occur at all in a post-conflict society. Note that the primary

interest in this dissertation is the effects of covariates on the dependent variable, not the shape of

the hazard. When interest is on covariates, not the baseline hazard, the use of a semi-parametric

or parametric model is more appropriate (see, Cleaves et al. 2004, Box-Steffensmeier and Jones

2004).

Semi-parametric methods compare subjects at the time when a failure occurs. As such, if

a subject does not fail, no comparison will be made. This issue becomes more glaring when the

data contain time varying covariates. The semi-parametric or Cox regression ignores the

variation in the time varying covariates when a subject survives and no other failure is recorded

within the time interval. Parametric methods use probabilities, not the comparison. They exploit

all information in the data and uses variation in the covariates in the interval to estimate

parameters. Therefore, parametric models are more likely to produce efficient estimates (for

detailed discussion, see Cleaves et al. 2004: 198-200).

The dataset used in this study contains several time varying covariates. The value of these

variables used to explain TTD could change from year to year before a failure occurs. Therefore,

the theoretical argument made above regarding the expectations of the shape of hazard and the

presence of time varying covariates in the right hand side of the equations suggest that either a

Weibull or log-normal/log-logistic regression model is appropriate for this study. One way to

choose among the parametric models that best explain data is to use Akaike Information

Criterion (AIC) and/or Bayesian Information Criterion (BIC) values (Cleaves et al., 2004:246-

250; Box-Steffensmeier and Jones 2004:86). The model that produces the lowest score is the best

fit for analyzing the data. A change in the Polity score was analyzed using four different models with different three parameterizations: Weibull, log-normal and log-logistic parametric models. The AIC and BIC values are reported in Table 3.1.

By pure AIC and BIC minimization criterion, the log normal and the log logistic model seem to fit the data better for Model 1, Model 3 and Model 4. By pure BIC criterion, Weibull seems to fit the data better for Model 2. Nevertheless, the scale parameters (p) in the Weibull models are greater than one and statistically significant in all models. This indicates that the failure rate is likely to increase over time. In this study, I expected that the failure rate should increase over time. Therefore, I employed Weibull parameterization to estimate the models. All of these models are estimated using the accelerated failure time (AFT) format. In the AFT format, the covariates are exposed to the extreme values while relaxing the assumption of constant hazard (Cleaves et al. 2004). Since, the impact of covariates on the dependent variable is the primary interests here, AFT format is the appropriate metric form.

Table 3.1: Comparison of AIC and BIC Values for Parametric Models.

Parametric Models	Model 1		Model 2		Model 3		Model 4	
	AIC	BIC	AIC	BIC	AIC	BIC	AIC	BIC
Weibull	216.90	282.95	230.42	302.92	229.00	290.33	218.28	270.19
Log Normal	210.75	281.52	225.66	302.99	223.67	285.00	210.11	262.01
Log Logistic	211.27	277.32	225.85	303.18	224.29	285.62	210.46	262.36

To deal with the temporal dependence of covariates used in the models to analyze TTD, I used country specific clustering. By using a country specific cluster, independence will be assumed only between clusters, not between observations within a cluster. This methodological tool produces robust standard errors that are greater than normal standard errors estimated from a model assuming statistical independence between observations (for detail discussion, see Box-

Steffensmeier and Jones 2004: 114-116). The estimated robust standard errors also help to avoid over-estimated p-values for the estimated parameters.

Findings and Analysis

To test proposed hypotheses, I estimated a series of survival models in accelerated failure time (AFT) metric form, which estimates the failure, not the hazard ratio. An estimate of failure time is preferred to explain how soon a TTD can be expected to occur in a post-civil war state. Since this study tries to explain factors that influence the TTD, a negative sign for an estimated coefficient in the Weibull models indicates a fast moving process toward democratic transition. A positive sign for the estimated coefficient indicates an impediment or a setback to a democratic transition.[11] The results from Weibull models are in Table 3.2, Table 3.3 and Table 3.4. Table 3.2 reports four different models with different combinations of explanatory and control variables. Table 3.3 reports 3 different models, each of which focuses more on issues related to TTD after ethnic civil wars. The models reported in Table 3.3 look specifically ethnic civil wars cases. Empirical findings related to mandates and strength of the UN missions are reported in Table 3.4. In all models, the reference category is a civil war terminated in a decisive government victory.[12]

Civil War Termination and Transition toward Democracy

The theoretical argument developed above emphasized the importance of the balance of power between protagonists as a determinant of the prospects for TTD in the aftermath of civil war. When a civil war terminates in a negotiated settlement it indicates that neither of the civil

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[11] This interpretation of coefficient is opposite from what has been commonly used in the peacebuilding literature. In peacebuilding literature, peace failure is a variable of interest and a positive coefficient suggests survival of a peace spell, which suggests durability of peace.

[12] Model 1 in Table 3.2 was replicated with time window of five years after civil war termination. Estimated coefficients were slightly different in terms of magnitude but sign and statistical significance of the coefficients are identical to Model 1 in Table 3.2.

war actors was able to prevail over the other militarily, and they could both optimize their political and economic interests through democratization, compared to continuing to fight a war they cannot win. Hypothesis 1 states that TTD is more likely to follow a negotiated settlement. In all models presented in Table 3.2, the estimated coefficient for negotiated settlement variable is negative and significant at the 0.05 level of confidence or better, which lends support for the theoretical argument. The estimated coefficient for a negotiated settlement is -0.838 (Model 3). The effect is equal to 2.670 { $[\exp(-\hat{p}\,\hat{\beta})] = \exp(-1.172 * -0.838)$} in terms of a hazard ratio. It suggests that negotiated settlement is likely to increase the probability of TTD by decreasing the survival time by 167.015% [100 x (1-($\exp(-\hat{p}\,\hat{\beta})$))] compared to those cases terminated in the government victory (p<0.01).

In Hypothesis 2, I expected that the TTD would be less likely following a rebel victory than a government victory. In all models, the estimated coefficient for rebel victory is negative which suggests that, contrary to the theoretical expectations, rebel victories accelerate the time to democratic transition, compared to government victories. However, none of the parameters reach statistical significance. As such, the null finding for rebel victory does not support the theoretical claim regarding the fear of renewed war and TTD following government victory. In other words, the findings suggest that there is no difference between government victory and rebel victory with respect to the time to democratic transition, but negotiated settlement produces TTD sooner than either type of military victory.

Table 3.2: Transition toward Democracy after Civil Wars, 1946-2005.

	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3	Model 4
Negotiated Settlement (1, 0)	-0.993**	-0.514*	-0.838**	-0.669**
	(0.366)	(0.239)	(0.310)	(0.344)
Rebel Victories (1, 0)	-0.456	-0.190	-0.267	0.136
	(0.454)	(0.373)	(0.457)	(0.470)
United Nations Missions (1, 0)	-1.365***	-1.085***	-1.370***	-1.576***
	(0.348)	(0.314)	(0.332)	(0.344)
Intervention (1, 0)	-0.390	-0.226	-0.226	-0.226
	(0.263)	(0.212)	(0.269)	(0.273)
Govt. Incompatibility (1, 0)	-11.598***	-10.54***	-12.50***	-
	(1.272)	(1.041)	(1.322)	
Ethnic Conflict (1, 0)	-11.800***	-10.60***	-12.65***	-
	(1.228)	(1.070)	(1.299)	
Ethnic Conflict x Govt. Incompatibility	11.573***	10.24***	12.55***	-
	(1.306)	(1.057)	(1.353)	
Civil War Duration	-0.001	0.000	-	-
	(0.002)	(0.002)		
Battle Death (log)	0.140**	-	-	-
	(0.069)			
Population (log)	0.151	-	-	-
	(0.098)			
Battle Death Proportion of Population	-	2.992	2.887	2.569
		(4.367)	(3.368)	(4.013)
Past Democratic Experience (1, 0)	-	-1.045***	-	-
		(0.230)		
Cold War (1, 0)	-	-0.169	-	-
		(0.304)		
Oil (1, 0)	1.323**	-	-	1.062
	(0.504)			(0.398)
Neighboring Democracy	-	-0.052*	-	-
		(0.023)		
Ethnic Fractionalization	-	-0.128	-1.551	-4.411*
		(1.841)	(2.483)	(2.626)
Ethnic Fractionalization Squared	-	0.860	1.958	4.124*
		(1.577)	(2.180)	(2.235)
Ongoing Civil War (1, 0)	-0.339			
	(0.286)			
GDP $(\log)_{t-1}$	-0.439**	-	-0.136	-0.215*
	(0.147)		(0.109)	(0.115)
Constant	15.09***	13.99***	19.09***	6.659**
	(2.139)	(1.100)	(3.046)	(2.333)
Scale Parameters	1.198	1.356	1.172	1.185
Wald χ^2	209.80	248.92	212.68	97.43
Probability of χ^2	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.000
Observations	827	928	827	827
Number of Subjects at Risk	97	110	97	97
Failures	51	56	51	51

Robust standard errors in parentheses. * $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$, *** $p < 0.001$

The negative but insignificant coefficient for rebel victory suggests that rebel groups seek to establish themselves as legitimate political actors and to play within the rules of the political game in the post-civil war political process. After all, victorious rebels have to establish themselves as a legitimate authority, and then try to accommodate other politically mobilized forces in the political process. When the causes of conflict are related to political, social and economic grievances, victorious rebels have to address these issues, which might subsequently leads to TTD. The effect, however, does not achieve the requisite level of statistical significance in the models presented here.

Figure 3.2: The Effect of Negotiated Settlement on Transition toward Democracy, 1946-2005.
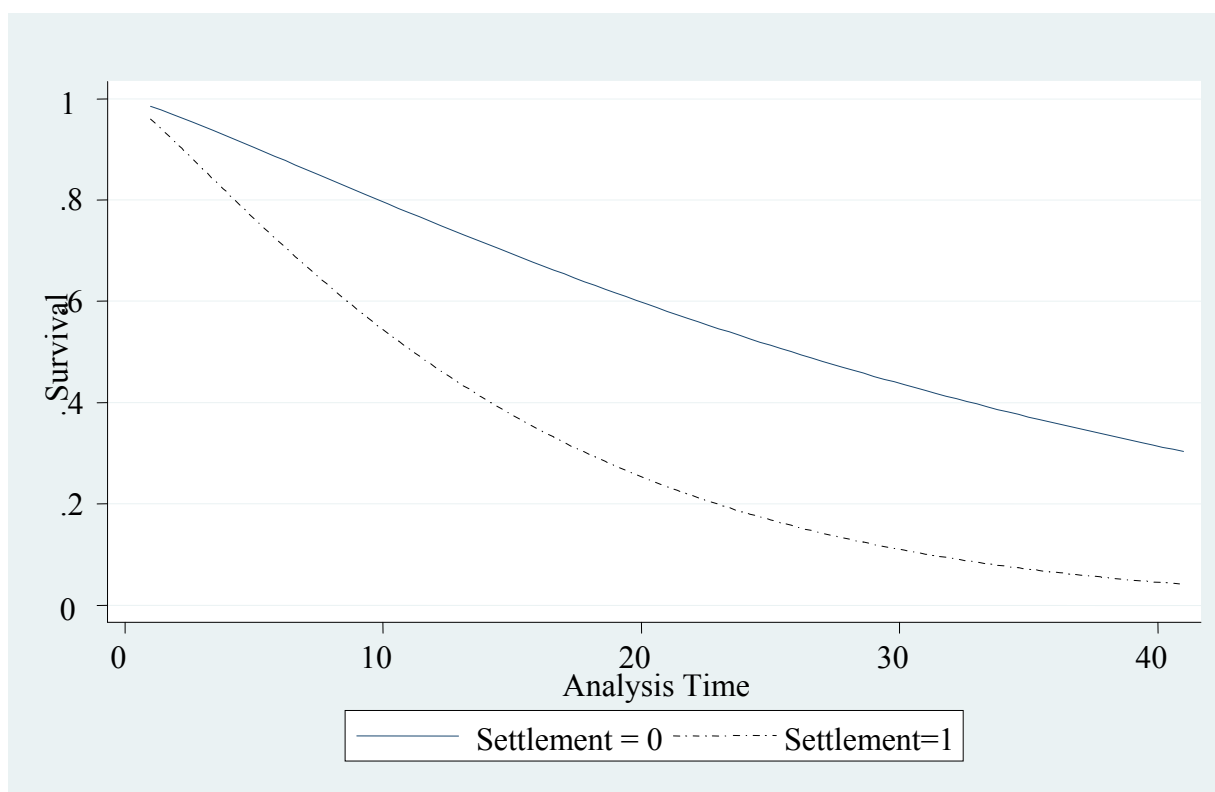
The effect of civil war termination on TTD can be visualized in Figure 3.2. The figure was produced by allowing negotiated settlement to vary from "0" to "1" while holding all other variables constant. The survival time, as displayed in Figure 3.2, is much steeper when civil war

terminates in negotiated settlement. This indicates that TTD in post-conflict states is more likely when the conflict terminates in negotiated settlement.

Ethnic Revolutions

Hypothesis 3a suggests that TTD is more likely following the termination of ethnic conflicts in negotiated settlements. The estimated coefficient for ethnic conflicts terminated in negotiated settlement is -1.122 (Model 1, Table 3.3; $p < .01$). The effect is equal to a hazard ratio of 5.256, indicating that a TTD is 425% more likely after a negotiated settlement to an ethnic conflict, as compared to a government victory. Hypothesis 3b predicts that a TTD is more likely following ethnic revolutions as compared to ethnic conflicts over territorial issues. In the empirical tests, I find that governmental incompatibility and ethnic incompatibility are negative and significant ($p<0.000$). The interaction between these two variables is positive and significant (Model 2, Table 3). Because Hypothesis 3 suggests an interactive relationship, I should use the marginal effect of ethnic conflict with governmental incompatibility (ethnic revolution), which is calculated by subtracting the coefficient of the governmental incompatibility variable from the interaction between governmental and ethnic incompatibility. The marginal effect is equal to -0.36 (Model 2, Table 3.2) and it is statistically significant ($p<0.000$). This effect is equal to 1.505 in terms of a hazard ratio. As such, the probability of TTD is 62.932% more likely following ethnic revolutions over control of the government than after ethnic conflicts over territorial issues. This finding however is very weakly supported when analyses were performed only for ethnic civil war cases (Model 1, Table 3.3). The estimated coefficient is - 0.438, which is equal to 1.91 in terms of a hazard ratio ($p<0.10$, one tail test). For ethnic revolutions that are terminated in a settlement, however, I find robust support for my hypothesis at the 0.001 level of significances (Model 2, Table 3.3). The estimated coefficient is -1.342, which suggests that TTD is likely to be 574% sooner compared to cases where ethnic revolutions were terminated in

government victory. The empirical tests suggest that the TTD is more likely to follow after a

settlement to an ethnic conflict as compared to a military victory. However, all ethnic conflicts

are not the same and building democracy after civil war is not as difficult when one ethnic group

challenges the hegemony of another ethnic group. TTD is even more likely when ethnic

revolutions end in settlement. By contrast, a demand for territorial autonomy does not pose a

credible threat to a government dominated by one ethnic group, and such governments are not

easily induced to democratize.

Table 3.3: Transition toward Democracy after Ethnic Civil Wars, 1946-2005.

	Model 1		Model 2	
	Coef.	St. Error	Coef.	St. Error
Negotiated Settlement of Ethnic Wars (1, 0)	-1.122	0.389***		
Negotiated Settlement of Ethnic Revolutions (1, 0)			-1.342	0.312****
Rebel Victories (1, 0)	-0.614	0.512	-0.388	0.442
UN Missions (1, 0)	-1.007	0.329***	-1.322	0.287****
Government Incompatibility (1, 0)	-0.438	0.284†		
Civil War Duration	0.002	0.002	0.003	0.002***
Battle Death (log)	0.126	0.070*	0.091	0.056*
Population (log)	0.049	0.090	0.099	0.075
Oil (1, 0)	1.112	0.550**	0.993	0.441**
GDP $(\log)_{t-1}$	-0.339	0.186*	-0.375	0.158**
Ethnic Fractionalization	-3.861	2.972	-2.127	3.550
Ethnic Fractionalization Squared	3.720	2.343	2.209	2.760
Past Democratic Experience (1, 0)	-1.046	0.320****	-1.472	0.311****
Constant	9.950	3.681***	9.758	3.359***
Scale Parameters	1.479		1.422	0.165
Wald χ^2	138.29		91.19	
Probability of χ^2	0.000		0.000	
Observations	442		442	
Number of Subjects at Risk	65		65	
Failures	30		30	

Robust standard errors reported. * $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$, *** $p < 0.001$. † one tail p<0.10.

Third Party Intervention and Transition toward Democracy

In Hypothesis 4, I presented arguments that biased third-party interveners are exogenous to the war fighting capability of the civil war protagonists, and post-civil war TTD is less likely following third-party intervention. Related to this, I presented arguments that the civil war actors expect to maximize their utility once a third-party state leaves the post-conflict arena. In the statistical tests performed, I find that the coefficient for biased third-party intervention is negative in all models but statistically insignificant. This finding lends supports to the theoretical argument that third-party intervention does not help to create a durable balance of power. Even if a third-party intervener intends to bring the war to an end and help its favored side improve its relative power, its effect on democratic change is not significant. This finding is consistent with literature on third-parties and democratization (Bruce Bueno de Mesquita and Downs 2006, Enterline and Greig 2005, Pickering and Peceny 2006). Perhaps, when third-parties intervene either on the rebel side or the government side, they are more interested in promoting their interests than in creating a domestic political environment marked by a relative balance of power between civil war protagonists.

UN Missions and Transition toward Democracy

The effect of the UN missions on the TTD in the post-conflict states is statistically significant and negative across all models, which supports Hypothesis 5a. Unlike biased third-party intervener, UN missions help to establish and sustain the peace. These missions bring political actors together, which promotes political reconciliation among civil war protagonists. Building peace and reconciliation are essential to the promotion of democracy. And without democracy, the peace is less likely to endure (Hegre et al. 2001). The finding suggests that UN missions help to promote democracy after the end of the civil wars. The estimated coefficient for UN missions is -1.370, which is equal to 2.670 in terms of a hazard ratio (Table 3, Model 3,

p<0.001). This indicates that UN missions increase the probability of democratic transition by decreasing the survival time by almost 167.015% compared to those cases where the UN does not get involved in terminating the conflict and establishing peace and security. Figure 3.3 presents this relationship graphically. The effect of UN peacebuilding missions on democracy is represented by a dotted line, which indicates the effectiveness of such missions in encouraging the transition to democracy in the post-conflict states.

Figure 3.3: UN Peacebuilding Missions and Transition toward Democracy, 1946-2005.
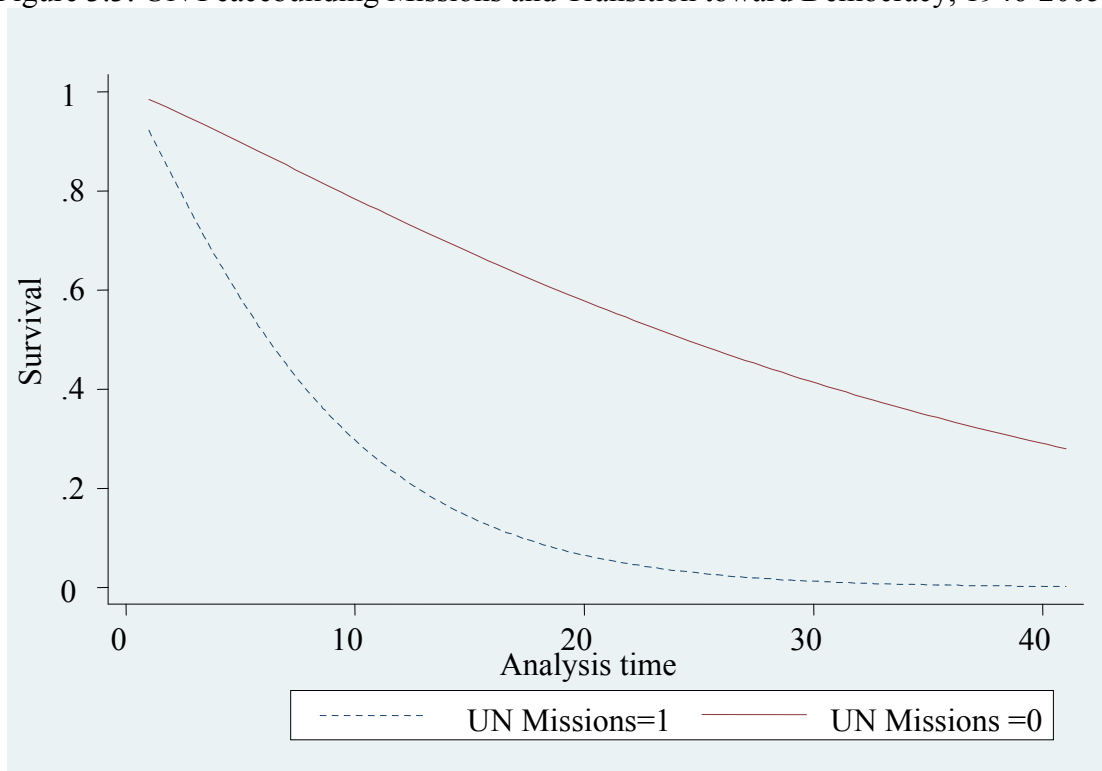
Since there is variation in the terms of the mandate of UN Missions and the relative strength of those missions, the mere presence of a UN Missions might not help to bring about a democratic change in a post-conflict state. Therefore, Hypothesis 5b predicts that the prospects for post-civil war TTD should vary depending on type and strength of UN missions. Table 3.4 reports five different survival models to measure the effect of the strength and the mandate of

UN missions on post-civil war TTD. The strength of the UN mission indicates the scope of mandate, the military component as well as the levels of international commitment. In the analysis performed, the estimated coefficient for the strength of the mission is -0.405 (p<0.05). For a weak mission, the hazard ratio is equal to 1.651 compared to 2.726 for a strong mission. A strong UN mission is likely to reduce the time to TTD by 172.585% compared to 65.10% for a weak mission.

In the survival analysis, I find that UN peacekeeping operations as a whole and multi-dimensional peacekeeping operations in particular have statistically significant effects on the prospects for democratization. They are more effective than other mission types at bringing about democratic transition in a post-conflict state. As operationalized in the research design, both traditional and multi-dimensional operations are coded as UN peacekeeping operation. Therefore, these operations might indicate the presence of a UN mission with capacity that might range from monitoring a truce with a military component to a broader mandate that includes the use of civilian and military units to rebuild political, economic and social institutions. The estimated coefficient for UN operations is -0.718, which suggests that the UN mission is likely to reduce the time to a TTD by almost 141%. For a multi-dimensional peacekeeping operation, the estimated coefficient is equal to -1.224 with hazard ratio of 4.60. This suggests that multi-dimensional peacekeeping operations are likely to reduce the time to TTD by almost 336%, which is more than two times the effect of UN peacekeeping operations. I did not find support for traditional peacekeeping operations and observer missions accelerating the time to TTD. These two findings are unexpected but not surprising. The success of the UN mission depends on its mandate and its capacity to rebuild social, economical and political institutions. Under observer and traditional peace keeping mandates, UN missions do not play an influential role in

building institutions. The findings suggest that the mandate and the strength of the UN missions are critical for the success for the UN missions to bring about a democratic transition in a post-civil war state.

The findings on UN peacekeeping missions and transition toward democracy in the aftermath of civil war complement the post-conflict peace building literature. One of the consistent arguments in the peacebuilding literature is that UN peacekeeping missions, particularly multi-dimensional peacekeeping missions, contribute to sustainable peace after civil war termination (Doyle and Sambanis 2000 and 2006). The positive relationship between UN peacebuilding missions and democracy in the post-conflict states fills the gap in the causal process. UN missions contribute to sustainable peace by promoting democracy after the termination of conflict. In other words, sustainable peace in the post-conflict states is mediated through the success of the UN missions in promoting democracy in the aftermath of conflict. It is also possible that the UN missions help to establish the peace, which facilitates TTD. The causal process could go either way. Nevertheless, it is clear that UN peacekeeping missions with strong mandates help to build democracy and peace in the aftermath of conflict termination. And, it is a democracy that helps to keep peace.

Table 3.4: UN Missions and Transition toward Democracy after Civil Wars, 1946-2005.

	Mission Strength	Multi PKO	PKO	Traditional PKO	Observer Missions
Negotiated Settlement (1, 0)	-0.829***	-0.810***	-0.979***	-0.914***	-1.041****
	(0.316)	(0.305)	(0.313)	(0.305)	(0.296)
Rebel Victories (1, 0)	-0.312	-0.268	-0.375	-0.197	-0.282
	(0.421)	(0.398)	(0.418)	(0.451)	(0.425)
UN Operations (0-2)	-0.405**				
	(0.194)				
Multidimensional PKO (1,0)		-1.224****			
		(0.344)			
PKO (1, 0)			-0.718**		
			(0.365)		
Traditional PKO (1,0)				0.488	
				(0.588)	
Observer Missions (1, 0)					0.340
					(0.418)
Intervention (1, 0)	-0.159	-0.249	-0.172	-0.338	-0.338
	(0.255)	(0.232)	(0.260)	(0.260)	(0.265)
Ethnic Conflict (1,0)	-10.99****	-10.82****	-11.18****	-12.25****	-12.36****
	(1.306)	(1.310)	(1.363)	(1.425)	(1.469)
Govt. Incompatibility (1,0)	-10.72****	-10.46****	-10.91****	-12.14****	-12.25****
	(1.336)	(1.367)	(1.395)	(1.484)	(1.483)
Ethnic x Govt. Incomp.	10.71****	10.42****	10.98****	11.91****	12.09****
	(1.388)	(1.362)	(1.449)	(1.522)	(1.526)
Battle Death (log)	0.101	0.103*	0.113*	0.0827	0.0964
	(0.0675)	(0.0593)	(0.0668)	(0.0721)	(0.0716)
War Duration	0.00153	0.00166	0.00184	0.00147	0.00178
	(0.00195)	(0.00191)	(0.00202)	(0.00189)	(0.00197)
GDP (log)t-1	-0.191	-0.196*	-0.201	-0.189	-0.201
	(0.121)	(0.118)	(0.126)	(0.121)	(0.127)
Cold War (1, 0)	-0.820***	-0.754***	-0.790***	-0.954***	-0.910***
	(0.310)	(0.280)	(0.303)	(0.293)	(0.286)
Democratic Experience (1, 0)	-0.961****	-0.934****	-0.938****	-1.088****	-1.063****
	(0.279)	(0.256)	(0.275)	(0.273)	(0.276)
Oil	0.985**	0.972**	1.097***	1.071**	1.157***
	(0.406)	(0.389)	(0.413)	(0.417)	(0.429)
Constant	18.02****	17.84****	18.26****	19.66****	19.84****
	(3.175)	(3.161)	(3.316)	(3.260)	(3.382)
Scale Parameters	1.238	1.203	1.226	1.216	1.204
Wald χ2	179.25	1.296	186.97	166.83	156.59
Probability of χ2	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.000
Observations	837	837	837	837	837
Number of Subjects at Risk	98	98	98	98	98
Failures	51	51	51	51	51

Robust standard errors in parentheses. * $p < 0.10$, ** $p < 0.05$, *** $p < 0.01$, **** $p < 0.001$

Among the several control variables, I find that the prospects for TTD are higher in those post-civil war states that had some past democratic experience. The coefficient for past democratic experience is -1.045 (Table 3.2, Model 2), which is equal to a hazard ratio of 3.274 (p<0.001). As such, past democratic experience is likely to increase probability of a TTD by almost 312% compared to those post-conflict states without any past democratic experience. I find that the effect of the regional standard of democracy is negative and statistically significant (p<0.01). The estimated coefficient for the regional democratic standard is -0.052, which is equal to a hazard ratio of 1.06 (Table 3.2, Model 2). I extrapolated this empirical evidence to explain the varying effect of neighboring democratic standards on TTD in the aftermath of civil war. Neighboring states of Rwanda from 1980 to 1984 had average polity score of -5, which suggests that the Rwanda had more authoritarian neighbors and this should decrease the chances of a TTD by almost 30% in Rwanda. The average polity score of neighboring states of Moldova from 1994 to 1995 was +5, which should increase the probability of TTD in Moldova by 42.3%.

Consistent with the current literature on the resource curse on democracy and civil war, I find that the effect of oil export dependence is positive and significant at least the 0.05 level of significance. Oil export tends to decrease the probability of TTD by almost 72% (Table 3.4, Model 4). Balance of power is important for civil war protagonists to reach to a deal to TTD but former rivals might fail to convince each other on the issue related to sharing revenue from oil, which hinders democratic institution building in the aftermath of civil war.

Among other control variables, ethnic fractionalization is negative while the square of the term is positive across all models but insignificant in all but Model 4 (Table 3.2). In that model, both variables are significant at the 0.10 level. Even though the effect of these two variables on post-civil war TTD is inconsistent across models, Model 4 suggests a curvilinear relationship.

With increases in ethnic fractionalization the chances of TTD increase, but TTD is less likely in a highly homogenous and heterogeneous post-war states. Perhaps, this finding suggests that ethnic divisions can create a balance of power, but there is a limit to the extent that ethnic groups can pose a threat to the dominance of another ethnic group. When a society is ethnically homogenous, there is no one to challenge the dominance of the larger ethnic group. Similarly, when ethnicity is highly fragmented, ethnic groups might find it difficult to coordinate for a democratic change.

I find the effect of GDP per capita (1 year lagged) to be inconsistent across models. It is negative and significant at the 0.05 level in Model 1 and at the 0.10 level in Model 4 (Table 3.2). This suggests that higher levels of economic development encourage TTD in the aftermath of conflict. I find that the effect of the Cold War on post-civil war TTD is negative across all models but significant only when a separate model is estimated with different mandates of the UN mission. Civil war duration is positive and significant only in Model 2 (Table 3.3), which suggests that TTD is less likely the longer the previous war lasted, but this finding does not hold in other models. Similarly, I find some positive and significant effect of battle deaths on post-civil war TTD. This variable is positive in Model 1 (Table 3.2), in both models in Table 3.3 and Model 2 and 3 (Table 3.4). The estimated coefficient for battle deaths is 0.140 in Model 1 (Table 3.2), which is statistically significant ($p<0.05$). In the analysis performed, the log of population is negative but not significant. The estimated coefficient for ongoing civil war is negative but this variable is also statistically insignificant (Table 3.2, Model 1).

<center>Conclusion</center>

The statistical analysis performed to test the theoretical arguments on the TTD after civil war termination helps us to conceptualize under what conditions a democracy is more or less

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likely to emerge in the aftermath of civil war. I find empirical support for the argument that the balance of power between the insurgents and the government and the stability of that balance of power influence the post- conflict TTD. A negotiated settlement to a civil war indicates the balance of power between former rivals. I find strong support for TTD being more likely and occurring sooner following negotiated settlement as opposed to military victory. I find strong support for TTD being more likely and occurring sooner following the deployment of UN missions. Similarly, I find that TTD is more likely following ethnic conflicts that are terminated in a settlement as opposed to military victory. I also find some support that TTD being more likely following ethnic revolutions compared to ethnic territorial conflicts. But, ethnic revolutions that ended in settlement are more likely to make the TTD than those that ended in military victory. I did not find support for third-party intervention encouraging democratization, which is consistent with the theoretical expectation that third-party induced balance of power does not hold in post-conflict years. I did not find any effect of rebel victory on post-civil war TTD. This is contrary to the theoretical expectations but not surprising as the rebels win a civil war by destroying the institutional capacity of the incumbent regime.

An outbreak of civil war destroys a state's economic and institutional capacity. In the post-conflict years, it is challenging to assemble state institutions and bring a post- conflict state back to a normal functioning status. This, however, does not diminish the chances for TTD. This study illustrates that democracy can be built after a violent civil war if such a war establishes a balance of power between the insurgents and the government. Building democracy helps to avoid future uncertainty of political marginalization. Relieving that fear creates incentives for former rivals to promote democratic institutions. Democracy eliminates future uncertainty and assures all former protagonists access to political power through democratic processes.

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Transition toward democracy occurs in a situation where state institutions are weak and the post-conflict environment is not hospitable to democracy. Former rivals constantly engage in accusation and bargaining to promote their own interests at the expense of their rivals. Low levels of economic development combine with the culture of hatred and violence to create a legitimacy crisis, which might contribute in the collapse of a TTD achieved after a civil war. Therefore, the more important question, after TTD, is how to sustain that transition in the hostile post-conflict environment and thus avoid a relapse into authoritarianism or renewed civil war. In the next chapter, I develop a conceptual framework to explain factors that determine the survival of TTD achieved out of a civil war.

CHAPTER IV

FROM TRANSITION TO SURVIVAL OF TRANSITION TOWARD

DEMOCRACY IN POST-CIVIL WAR STATES

In the previous two chapters, I addressed the question of how a TTD can emerge in the inhospitable environment of a post-civil war state. In the aftermath of civil war, the former protagonists have a range of options on how they could maximize their political and economic interests. Democratic change was not the only choice available for them. They had other options such as returning to armed conflict or capturing state power and establishing an authoritarian government. In this regard, I suggested that the former rivals prefer TTD over other options when there is a stable balance of power between them. The balance of power reduces the fear of future uncertainty among former protagonists to the extent that the balance of power is institutionalized through power-sharing deals. Furthermore, the presence of a UN mission helps to stabilize that balance of power by creating an environment of political dialogue so that former rivals can negotiate a constitution and establish the institutions of the post-civil war state. In the empirical tests performed, I found statistically significant support for my theoretical argument that the balance of power and the stability of that balance of power are imperative for a TTD to take place in the aftermath of civil war.

When former rivals accept democratic transition as a tool to protect their interests in a post-conflict state, each side has to fear that their rivals will not only defeat them at the polls but cheat on the democratic bargain and use their democratically won political power to repress the electoral losers. UN missions are not designed to serve the post-civil war states for an indefinite period of time. Therefore, the contributions they make to stabilizing a democratic transition are in danger of dissolving once the mission departs. Similarly, the winner of democratic elections

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may find it less than optimal to abide by the power-sharing deals, such as sharing positions in the cabinet, that were designed to facilitate a transition from war to democracy. As such, credible commitment problems reappear after democratic elections take place and winners are identified. The incentives for electoral victors to renege on their pre-election power-sharing agreements undermine the prospects for the survival of post-civil war TTD. This could be the reason why scholars such as Paris (2004) and Diamond (2005) are cautious about political liberalization immediately in the aftermath of civil wars.

In order to create a favorable environment for the survival of post-civil war TTD, former protagonists need to transform themselves into viable political parties, embrace democratic political culture and be confident in the democratic political process. There are instances in which former rebel groups find it difficult to refrain from violence when they are participating in the democratic process. For instance, *Communist Party of Nepal- Maoist* (CPN-M, an insurgent party) did not refrain from violence completely in the period between the signing of a peace settlement and the post-war elections for a constituent assembly. CPN-M used violence against supporters of its rivals prior to the election and in the post-election period. Collier et al. (2008: 470) find empirical support for the proposition that electoral defeat creates strong incentives for the losers to return to violence. Had the Maoists lost their bid in Nepal's 2008 elections, that would have created strong incentives for them to return to armed conflict, and the democratic change that was negotiated between the rebels and the government might have failed. The Maoist party performed exceptionally well in the 2008 election in comparison to other political parties, and their success enabled them to form a coalition government under their leadership. This created an environment of trust among rival parties and created incentives for the Maoist to respect the democratic process and pursue their political goals within that process. The most

important factor that helps to sustain democratic change in post-civil war states is the assurance between rival groups that no one will try to monopolize state power in the expense of other groups. This requires a commitment from rival groups that they will pursue their political goals through the democratic process, even if they lose the first round of elections.

For a new democracy to survive, Diamond (1999: 66) suggests the importance of normative and behavioral commitments to the democratic system. He emphasizes that each actor's right to compete for power should be protected, and there should be no extra-constitutional efforts to overthrow the democratically elected government (Diamond 1999: 69). Parties coming out of civil war have a history of hostility and conflict with each other, and credible commitment problems characterize relations among parties. Power-sharing deals incorporated in the peace agreement and the presence of credible third-party enforcers such as a UN mission help to resolve some of the credible commitment problems (Walter 2002; Fortna 2004; Hartzell and Hoddie 2007). Power-sharing deals ensure that the rivals will have access to power and resources in the post-war environment, and the presence of a credible third-party enforcer ensures that former rivals will not cheat on the terms of the peace agreement. But most of the time political power-sharing deals (e.g., executive power-sharing) are designed to facilitate the transitional phase; they are not usually viewed as the final institutional arrangement for the post-war state. Power-sharing institutions more often serve as the framework within which a final constitutional order can be negotiated. Moreover, UN missions usually leave after the inaugural post-conflict elections (Kumar 1998), and their departure might create a vacuum where distrust and hostility between former protagonists can reemerge. Therefore, after accepting democratic change and reorganizing themselves as political parties, relations between parties are still plagued by the distrust and hostility that characterized their war-time rivalry.

This might pose two threats to the survival of post-civil war TTD. First, one side may win democratic elections and use its democratically won power to dismantle the institutions of democracy and repress the opposition. For instance, a TTD took place in Zimbabwe when elections were held in April 1980. The Zimbabwean African National Union- Patriotic Front (ZANU-PF) won the elections, and Robert Mugabe became the prime minister. At the time of democratic transition, Zimbabwe officially adopted a policy of reconciliation (Stearns 2001: 1069). But the policy of reconciliation fell apart after Mugabe declared a state of emergency in July of 1980 to repress his main rival party, the Zimbabwe African People's Union (ZAPU). The rivalry between ZAPU and ZANU dated back to the struggle for independence, and both sides did not trust each other. The armies of ZAPU and ZANU developed a rivalry for the support of their respective ethnic groups as ZAPU recruited soldiers from Ndebele-speaking regions in the west and ZANU recruited from Shona regions (Catholic Commission for Justice and Peace and Legal Resources Foundation 1999). This rivalry hindered the merger of ZAPU and ZANU fighters into a national army as both sides accused the other of having hidden weapon stores. ZAPU renewed guerrilla war against Mugabe's government because of the threat of reprisal from the Mugabe government. A brief description of the Zimbabwe case illustrates that renewed conflict is an option for the parties that lose the first round of elections, while dismantling democratic institutions and returning to authoritarianism is the option available to the victors in the first round of elections. The insurgency in Zimbabwe ended in a settlement in 1987 that led to the merger of ZANU and ZAPU into one political party. In the post 1987 period, Zimbabwe further relapsed into authoritarianism because Mugabe began to remove the constitutional restrictions that were negotiated in the Lancaster House Accord. He abolished the reserved seats for the white minority in parliament and assumed the office of executive president (Stearns 2001:

1069). The case of Zimbabwe illustrates the credible commitment problem facing parties in a post-civil war democracy: in the post-1987 period Mugabe dismantled the institutions of democracy and created a fear of exclusion for his political rivals and their ethnic minority constituencies.

The other path to failure of TTD is the choice by one of the civil war protagonists to resume civil war. The fear of being repressed once they lose the democratic election might create incentives for the weaker side to return to civil war. The return of UNITA rebels to conflict after the 1992 election in Angola indicates that UNITA did not trust that the MPLA would abide by the terms of the settlement and honor their commitment to democracy, at least to the extent that UNITA could expect to have a reasonable chance to win future elections. Therefore, for UNITA, returning to civil war was preferred to abiding by the outcome of the elections because its armed force was still intact and UNITA doubted that its candidates would win future elections (Hartzell and Hoddie 2007: 110-125). Neither UNITA nor the MPLA trusted each other's commitment to sustaining democracy. Each side still believed they could win the war. The belief that they could do better by returning to armed conflict than by accepting the results of the election led to the failure of the post-war TTD in Angola in 1992.

In this chapter I begin by noting that post-civil war democracies are quite fragile in comparison to new democracies that emerge out of relatively peaceful transitions from authoritarian regimes. The post-civil war environment is contentious, and the democratic transition that is achieved after civil war is susceptible to failure. By survival of democracy, I refer to the durability of a new democratic regime and its ability to avoid failure in the form of a relapse into authoritarianism or a resumption of civil war. Once a post-civil war state makes a democratic transition, it faces a number of challenges that put it at a risk of failure in the form of

either a relapse into a renewed civil war or a relapse into some form of authoritarianism. A post-civil war state has to travel across a bumpy road before it becomes a fully consolidated democracy. Therefore, the empirical question is: under what conditions will post-civil war TTD survive? What are the factors that influence former rivals' decision to support the democratic system instead of choosing one of the other options such as a return to armed conflict or authoritarianism? In the section below, I present a theory that will identify a set of conditions that make post-civil war TTD more or less likely to survive. Some of these factors are residual influences of the war itself, such as the costs and duration of the previous war. Some factors are related to the post-conflict institutional choices: the type of democratic institutions that former rivals agree to adopt. Some of the factors are related to ethnic divisions and competition among ethnically mobilized groups. And finally, I discuss the issue of the level of economic development and how it might influence the prospects for the survival of a TTD by creating incentives for former rivals as well as citizens to sustain the democratic system rather than return to armed conflict.

<p style="text-align:center">Expected Utility and Survival of Post-Civil War Transition toward Democracy</p>

A post-civil war TTD might fail either in the form of a relapse into authoritarianism or a resumption of armed conflict. When one side uses the power it won through the democratic process to suppress the opposition, this leads to an authoritarian reversal from democracy. And the fear of being repressed in the future might create incentives for the opposition to return to war. In both instances, the prospects for survival of post-civil war democracy depend on the decision calculus of former protagonists. To the extent that former rivals are confident in pursuing their political interests through the democratic process and to the extent that former rivals find that a return to war is more costly than abiding by the outcomes of the democratic

process, the post-war TTD is likely to survive. But, how do former rivals choose between sustaining TTD versus returning to conflict or authoritarianism? What factors do influence their decision calculus?

The decision calculus of former protagonists is influenced by how they calculate their expected utility from sustaining democracy versus their expected utility from defecting from the democratic bargain. The expected utility model has been used to predict whether civil wars end in a decisive military victory or a negotiated settlement (Mason and Fett 1996; Mason et al. 1999), civil war duration (DeRouen and Sobek 2004) and civil war recurrence (Quinn et al. 2007). Because civil war actors make the decision based on information (e.g., the costs of war) currently available to them, we can use the same framework to model the decision calculus by which former protagonists choose between sustaining the post-war TTD or returning to war or authoritarianism.

Based on the experience of the previous war, both sets of protagonists have some idea of what costs they can expect to suffer if they choose to resume armed conflict after the post-war TTD. Similarly, a decision to return to authoritarianism by the victor in the post-conflict democratic election might lead to renewed civil war as the opposition groups find it less costly to return to conflict in comparison to the repression that they are likely to face under an authoritarian government dominated by their former enemies. Any deviation from the democratic transition would be costly to the party that chooses that option rather than sustain the post-conflict democracy. If the victor in the democratic election chooses to dismantle democracy and revert to authoritarianism, the opposition groups are likely to prefer renewed war in order to protect their interests. As such, the ultimate consequence would be to return to conflict.

If the electoral loser chooses to resume fighting, they expect to achieve victory with some probability, and they expect to be defeated with some probability. If they fight, they expect to absorb costs at some rate over the span of time that they expect it will take for them to achieve a victory. They have an expected payoff from accepting the status quo – democracy. But the TTD occurred because of a balance of power between former protagonists: both concluded that neither could achieve military victory. This suggests that both sides should estimate the chances of either of the former rivals securing a decisive military victory in a renewed civil war to be very slim if the previous civil war ended in a negotiated settlement. When the chances of victory in a renewed civil war are estimated to be very low, that actor can avoid the costs of war by accepting the democratic status quo. Even if former rivals choose to return to war, they accrue some costs of conflict, which will decrease their net payoffs from victory, should they ever achieve victory. The decision calculus of former protagonists, therefore, depends on two factors: first, their estimate of the costs and benefits of returning to war and securing a decisive military victory and, second, their estimate of costs and benefits of sustaining democracy. When the prize of victory in war is more attractive than sustaining the current democracy, groups contesting for power and resources might abandon democracy and return to conflict. In the section below, I use this framework to identify factors that affect the estimates of costs and benefits of rival groups on sustaining TTD *versus* relapse into authoritarianism that could lead to a renewed civil war.

<center>War Costs and Survival of Transition toward Democracy</center>

Civil war is an information revealing process. After fighting a protracted civil war, former protagonists know the resolve and capability of their rivals better than they did at the beginning of the conflict. Insurgent groups know that they can mount violent opposition to the state, but they also know that they are not likely to defeat the incumbent government if the previous war

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ended in a negotiated settlement. Similarly, they know that the battle deaths in the previous civil

war limit their ability to recruit, which reduces their capacity to win if they decide to fight a

renewed civil war. After rebel victory, according to Quinn et al. (2007), the elites of the previous

regime usually either go into exile or are killed by the victorious rebels. This is not necessarily

the case with a government victory, because defeated rebels can simply blend into the

population, rebuild their strength, and await a change in the political opportunity structure that

would enable them to renew their campaign of organized armed conflict. Therefore, even if the

previous civil war ended in government victory, this is not likely to eliminate completely all

vestiges of the rebel movement (Quinn et al. 2007). As such, there remains a greater fear of

renewed war after a government victory than after a rebel victory. Victorious governments can

try to avoid a resumption of armed conflict by initiating a democratic transition. In this regard,

capturing state power through democratic means is appealing to the victor in democratic

elections, but they have to consider the possibility that any attempt to use that power to dismantle

democracy and establish them as unchallenged authoritarian rulers gives opposition groups an

incentive to resume armed conflict. Because the balance of power and fear of future uncertainty

create an environment for the TTD, the estimate of costs and benefits of renewed conflict and the

probability of victory should influence the decision of former protagonists on whether or not to

sustain the TTD in a post-war state.

<center>Duration of the Conflict</center>

The duration of war affects the civil war outcome, and a decisive military victory by

either side becomes less likely the longer the war lasts (Mason and Fett 1996; Mason et al. 1999;

DeRouen and Sobek 2004). Quinn et al. (2007) find that civil war is less likely to recur the

longer the previous civil war lasted. The core of the argument is that the accumulating costs of

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conflict offset the benefits; and the longer the war lasts, the more of those costs accrue to the civil war protagonists. Furthermore, the longer it lasts, the less likely they are to achieve decisive victory (Mason and Fett 1996; Mason et al. 1999; DeRouen and Sobek 2004). If neither side could win the previous war, their estimate of their chances of winning a renewed civil war are also likely to be low. As such, renewed civil war is less likely to alter the already established balance of power between former protagonists. A victor in the previous civil war may expect to win a renewed civil war, but that victor will accumulate additional costs of conflict, which could offset the net benefits of resuming armed conflict and, therefore, make renewed war less attractive even to a party that won the previous civil war. If the balance of power and the fear of future uncertainty lead to a TTD, former protagonists are less likely to abandon democracy if doing so imminently increases the prospects of renewed civil war. This leads to the conclusion that the longer the previous civil war lasts, the less attractive a resumption of armed conflict will appear to the protagonists, compared to sustaining democracy. Similarly, if authoritarian reversal of democratic transition leads to an increased risk of renewed conflict and that conflict is expected to last longer, the victor of democratic elections has stronger incentives to sustain a democratic transition rather than turn the democratic system into an authoritarian one.

A protracted civil war is costly for civilians as well. They are the ones who get mobilized as insurgent fighters or government soldiers and supporters. They pay a large portion of the costs of war, in terms of lives lost and resources destroyed. When a conflict becomes widespread, even noncombatants get caught in the crossfire between rebels and government (see Mason and Krane 1989; Mason 2004). The majority of casualties in civil wars are civilians (Lacina and Gleditsch 2005). The civilian suffering caused by conflict continues even after former adversaries end the fighting. This is because military forces often target the health care system infrastructure to

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weaken the insurgency, which results in the depletion of human and capital resources to support the healthcare system in post-war states (Ghobarah et al. 2003 and 2004). The disruption of transportation infrastructure also affects the capacity of a health care system to reach populations in need of clean water, food, medicine, and relief supplies (Ghobarah et al. 2004: 86). As a result, civilian suffering caused by civil war extends well beyond the period of active warfare in terms of public health indicators such as disability and deaths (Ghobarah et al. 2003 and 2004). Therefore, it may be more difficult for former rivals to mobilize enough supporters for a renewed civil war than for the original conflict. This should offset to some degree their estimate of both their prospects for achieving victory in a renewed conflict and the benefits they expect to receive from a decisive victory in renewed conflict. Once people enjoy the benefits of democracy and relative peace, it is less costly for former adversaries to ask for their votes than to ask for their support for a resumption of armed conflict, especially when the evidence from the previous civil war suggests that the rebels are not likely to win. This leads to the first survival hypothesis:

> Survival Hypothesis 1: *The longer the duration of the previous war, the lower the chances of failure of transition toward democracy in the post-conflict states.*

Costs of Conflict

The experience of a protracted civil war reduces incentives for former protagonists to return to conflict in comparison to their incentives to sustain a TTD. In this regard, the conflict intensity or destructiveness should increase incentives to sustain democracy rather than return to conflict. Peace scholars have tried to explain the effect of conflict intensity on the duration of peace or the likelihood of recurrence of a civil war. Doyle and Sambanis (2000: 785) suggests that battle related deaths and population displacement lower the society's stock of social and human capital and deepen the social-psychological barriers to building peace. Similarly, higher casualty levels produce pronounced feelings of insecurity, lower levels of trust, and deep

concerns about the future (Hartzell and Hoddie 2003: 322). Hartzell and Hoddie (2003) find that after negotiating a settlement to end a civil war, the higher the level of human costs in the previous war, the less likely the former protagonists are to abide by the settlement and refrain from resuming armed conflict. Walter (2004) also found a positive relationship between battle-related deaths and the probability of civil war recurrence. Nevertheless, the expected utility model suggests that higher casualty rates exhaust the pool of human resources available for renewed war and, therefore, should constrain opposition groups' willingness and ability to mobilize supporters for a resumption of armed conflict. This expectation is contrary to the empirical evidence presented in the studies just cited. The cost-benefit calculus of former protagonists suggests that higher casualties from the previous war should positively affect the survival of democracy. Higher casualties should lead former protagonists to downgrade their estimates of the prospects recruiting enough supporters to initiate and sustain a renewed rebellion. High casualty rates should also lead them to downgrade their estimates of the net benefits of resumed war compared to the net benefits of sustaining the post-civil war democratic transition. Higher casualty rates in the previous civil war should make survival of a post-civil war TTD more likely for two reasons.

First, when former protagonists participate in the democratic process, they recruit voters. But there is no guarantee that the same appeal that persuades people to vote for their party will be sufficient to persuade them to undertake the far more dangerous step of participating in or otherwise supporting an armed insurgency. We can assume that under most circumstances, civilians believe that they would be better off living under a (peaceful) democratic regime than they would be in an environment of renewed armed conflict. As long as democracy prevails, they should be less subject to mobilization for armed conflict (see also Wantchekon 2004: 21).

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Second, higher casualty rates in the now-ended civil war should make potential recruits less enthusiastic about enlisting in the military forces of either the government or the rebels (Quinn et al. 2007). And finally, each battle death in a previous war creates a recruiting dilemma for civil war protagonists because higher casualties in the previous war limit the pool of potential recruits available for a resumption of war (Quinn et al. 2007). Even if this "recruitment dilemma" argument applies regardless of regime type in place, former protagonist will find it more difficult to convince potential recruits to join the armed conflict when democratic institutions are available to deal with their grievances.

The flow of refugees into neighboring states also limits the pool of potential recruits. Even if the refugees return, they are less likely to support either of combatants because, in the first place, they fled to escape the conflict and, in the second place, they returned because former protagonists ceased fighting and agreed to a democratic transition. Therefore, after fighting a costly war and instituting a democratic regime as an alternative to armed conflict, former civil war protagonists should find it more difficult to convince civilians to support renewed violence. Therefore, I expect that the higher casualties in the previous war and the opportunity to participate in the democratic politics reduce the likelihood of the failure of a TTD.

Survival Hypothesis 2: *The higher the casualties in the previous civil war, the lower the chances of failure of transition toward democracy in the post-conflict states.*

Institutional Choice and Survival of Transition toward Democracy

The decision calculus by which former rivals estimate the expected payoffs from sustaining democracy includes consideration of whether the post-conflict regime includes institutional assurances that one's rivals will not be able to use democratically won power to marginalize rival parties. Politically mobilized groups need some assurance that they will have a

fair chance to claim access to power and resources through democratic processes. Only the victor in the democratic election has the capacity to return to authoritarianism. The fear of returning to authoritarianism gives the losers in the election incentives to return to conflict. Therefore, the issue here is whether the institutions of democracy can constrain democratic winners from returning to authoritarianism and whether the institutions of democracy assure losers in elections that they will still have access to power and resources through democratic processes.

Perceived fear of political exclusion is one of the factors that could undermine the survival of post-civil war democracy. When politically mobilized groups are fearful about their future under the current regime, they have fewer incentives to sustain democracy and more incentives to return to armed conflict. In this regard, the institutional design of the post-war democracy is critical to minimizing such fear and creating incentives for former rivals to sustain democracy rather than revert to authoritarianism or resume armed conflict. Institutions shape the behavior of political actors by creating incentives or constraining their political behavior (Downs 1959; Norris 2006:7-9). And a post-conflict TTD can be sustained by devising institutions that ensure political inclusions (Horowitz 1985; Reilly 2002 and 2005). In this regard, the choice of electoral systems and the choice between presidential *versus* parliamentary systems of government are two of the most fundamental institutional choices that could reduce the fear of political exclusion and increase incentives for former protagonists to sustain democracy.

Electoral Institutions

Electoral institutions create structural conditions that influence not only the incentives facing political actors but also the likelihood of success or failure of democracy. When properly designed, electoral institutions can provide actors with the assurance that they can compete fairly, have a reasonable chance of winning, and a chance to win in the future if they lose now. In

a post-civil war state, the design of the electoral system, therefore, can increase the incentives of political actors to sustain democracy and pursue their political interests through democratic processes rather than revert to armed conflict or authoritarianism.

Electoral institutions can be instrumental in sustaining a TTD in a post-civil war state if such institutions are inclusive and translate the true preference of the voters into election results. Electoral institutions can systematically benefit some while marginalizing others (Lijphart 1999; Reilly 2001; Horowitz 2003: 125-27; Norris 2006:9). One such institutional choice is between majoritarian or plurality electoral systems and proportional representation (PR) electoral systems. In the plurality system, the candidate with the largest share of the vote in each constituency is elected, and the party with the largest number of legislative seats forms the government. As a result, the majoritarian or plurality electoral system creates a "manufactured" majority or an "effective one-party government with a working legislative majority while simultaneously penalizing minor parties, especially those with spatially dispersed support" (Lijphart 1999; Norris 2006:42). In the PR electoral system, legislative seats are allocated among political parties according to the proportion of votes cast for each party. As such, PR electoral system focuses on inclusion of all politically mobilized groups and emphasize "the need for bargaining and compromise within parliament, government, and the policy making process" (Norris 2006: 50). In comparison to a plurality system, the disproportionality is lower in PR electoral systems. The adoption of a PR system does not systematically advantage larger parties with more legislative seats at the expenses of smaller parties (Lijphart 1999: 167). The choice of the electoral system structures political conflict by influencing the outcomes of elections and the distribution of political power and resources between parties in the legislature (Lijphart 1994; Mozaffer 1998; Norris 2006).

In many post conflict states, elections were held using a PR electoral system (Mozaffer 1998; Reilly 2002). The use of a PR system in a post-conflict state creates a greater opportunity for the insurgent groups and ethnic minorities to gain representation, as the share of votes is more or less directly translated into seats in the legislature, depending on district size and other electoral rules. This not only opens the political space for a wider range of groups to achieve representation in the legislature, including insurgent groups and minorities, but also increases their stake in sustaining the democratic political process. The odds of a politically mobilized group being excluded from representation in the legislature are lower in a PR system than in a plurality system. The PR electoral system addresses the fear of political marginalization by making it easier for opposition forces to win seats and thus prevent a monopoly of power by any one party. PR elections also make it more difficult for any one group to gain enough seats to be able to restore authoritarianism. If no single party is able to muster a working majority in the legislature, a coalition government has to be formed, with the support of one or more minority parties being necessary for a coalition government to enact legislation and stay in power (also see Reilly 2005). To build a governing coalition in a multiparty legislature, the dominant party will have to share executive power with minority parties in its coalition. Minority parties in multiparty parliaments have a better chance of getting a share of executive power (*i.e.,* cabinet positions) than they do in a majoritarian system chosen by plurality electoral rules. This makes democracy more durable because more parties and their constituents have a stake in its preservation.

By contrast, plurality elections typically result in one party winning a clear majority. The majoritarian electoral system is designed in such a way so that the faction or party that is capable of securing a plurality of votes in a majority of the districts can monopolize political power.

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Under those circumstances, the majority party can enact legislation without consulting or considering the preferences of any other parties (Norris 2006: 250; also see Lijphart 1999). In other words, majority party can enact legislation that weakens the democratic elements of the regime, restricts competition in future elections, and restricts minority parties' chances of ever winning an election. Thus, under majoritarian rules, a majority party can enact legislation that effectively dismantles democracy and reverts the nation to authoritarianism, with the majority party as the permanently dominant party. Unless there are constitutional protections of minority rights, a minority party may eventually conclude that under plurality electoral rules it is relegated to permanent opposition status and subject to a "tyranny of the majority", whereby the majority party can enact legislation that discriminates against that minority party and its constituents.

For instance, the use of a majoritarian system in Sri Lanka allowed the Singhalese mainstream political parties such as United National Party (UNP) and the Sri Lanka Freedom Party (SLFP) to promulgate a new constitution in 1972 that promoted *Singhalese* preferences in the civil service, in college admissions, and in the military officer corps. That majority also made *Singhalese* the official language of Sri Lanka (Manogaran 1987: 156; Horowitz 1989: 22). The Singhalese mainstream political parties adopted policies that sought to promote the interests of Singhalese majority against the interests of Tamil minority. The resulting sense of exclusion that grew among the Tamil population and Tamil political parties paved the way for ethnic conflict. In contrast to a PR electoral system, a majoritarian electoral system may permanently exclude opposition (rebel) groups or minorities from political power (Lijphart 1999; Horowitz, 1985: 629-33). A party that holds a majority of seats in the legislature usually dominates the political process. That party can use its majority power to enact legislation that further marginalizes minority parties by reducing their chances of winning in the future, and limiting their access to

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resources. In the post 1987 period, Robert Mugabe enacted legislation that gradually marginalized minority whites and opposition groups, and transformed Zimbabwe into a one party state. A majority party can push the system toward authoritarianism, which gives losers more incentive to return to armed conflict.

Since the end of conflict in Mozambique in 1992, Mozambique Liberation Front (FRELIMO) has been gradually emerging as a dominant party. However, opposition groups, including the rebel group Mozambican National Resistance (RENAMO), have gained enough influence in the legislature to check the power of FRELIMO. This became possible because the PR electoral system increased the chances of electoral success for opposition, smaller and minority parties. Similarly, the adoption of the PR electoral system in South Africa's 1996 constitution increased the chances of electoral success and a share of executive power for the minority parties representing different religious and ethnic groups. Adoption of the PR system provided some assurance of representation for the formerly dominant white minority, which reduced their incentive to defect from the system and resume armed conflict.

PR systems, however, do not always produce desirable results. PR systems promote inclusive representation of a wider range of groups, which makes it difficult for any one party to maintain a legislative majority. As a result, it could be difficult to forge and maintain a legislative majority. As suggested by Horowitz (1985), PR systems in ethnically divided societies can result in a system of ethnic parties, where elections amount to a census and the electoral outcome is pre-determined. Politically mobilized groups are awarded seats in the legislature if they meet the voting threshold required by the law. Because seats are awarded on the basis of the share of votes received by each party in the PR system, politically mobilized groups can appeal for votes from a narrower constituency base, such as an ethnic group or a

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social class. As a result, multiple political parties can survive with parochial interests, which can hinder the development of political parties with broad constituency bases. This could also contribute fluid multiethnic coalitions as the support of the smaller political parties can be crucial to the stability of the government (Mozaffar et al. 2003). Fluid coalitions divert political capital to building and maintaining multi-ethnic coalitions which can hinder the ability of the legislature to enact effective policy in a timely manner. Nevertheless, the PR electoral system reduces the number of excluded groups that compete for representation in the political system, ensures social inclusion and brings diversity in the composition of the legislature and participation in the policy making process (Norris 2006: 76; Lijphart 2004). As a consequence of this, the PR system produces a fractionalized party system, which may contribute to unstable governing coalitions (Farrell, 2001:193; Lijphart, 2004; Norris 2006). Thus, even if minority parties do not feel excluded, citizens may lose faith in the democracy. In the post-conflict period, people want their government to focus on issues related to peace and security, restore state institutions to provide basic goods and services and promote economic growth. Frequent changes in the governing coalition and the inability of a highly fragmented legislature to get anything done do not help the post-war government gain the wider popular support it needs to sustain democracy.

The PR election system ensures representation based on percentage of votes received. If former protagonists can retain a war-time level of civilian support by adopting a PR system, then it is less costly for them to sustain democracy than to fight a costly war. After all, the PR electoral system creates incentives for rival groups to sustain the post-war TTD because of that system's capacity to engage politically active groups in the political process and to develop public confidence in democratic institutions. From this discussion, I derive a survival hypothesis that:

Survival Hypothesis 3: *The adoption of a proportional representation electoral system increases the likelihood of survival of transition toward democracy in the post-conflict state.*

Parliamentary vs. Presidential Form of Government

In order to sustain democracy in the post- conflict environment, former protagonists need institutional incentives to refrain from abandoning democracy in favor of non-democratic alternatives. Besides electoral rules, the other critical institutional choice for the post-conflict society is the choice between parliamentary and presidential forms of governments. In a parliamentary system, governments must maintain majority support in the legislature. A party that enjoys a legislative majority can form a single-party government. If none of the parties enjoy a majority of seats in the legislature, a coalition of parties with majority supports in the legislature can form the government. Presidential systems are different from parliamentary systems. The president is elected separately and is not subject to removal by a confidence vote in the legislature. In a presidential system, the president and his cabinet do not need majority support in the legislature to stay in power. Parliamentary and presidential systems create different opportunities for politically mobilized groups to compete for political power and access to resources. The differing ways in which these two system types structure the competition for political power and access to resources affect the prospects for the survival of post-conflict TTD.

Lijphart (2004:7) suggests that "parliamentary systems have collective or collegial executives, whereas presidential systems have one-person, non-collegial executives." In a presidential system, the winning candidate wins all of the executive power, and the losers are relegated to loyal opposition status. They have no voice in the operations of the executive branch (Lijphart 2004: 8). This creates powerful incentives for parties to capture the presidency, and the

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result can be the exclusion of other political parties from any share of executive power. This is not the case in parliamentary systems because "the government can be partitioned to accommodate a plurality of political parties" (Cheibub 2007: 9).

Linz (1994) suggests that presidential elections have an element of a zero-sum game, characterized by a "winner take all" outcome in which the winning candidate takes exclusive control of the executive branch and the loser is deprived of any role in the executive. In presidentialism, the roles of the president as both chief executive and head of the state overlap, which gives the president the power to promote his partisan interests as the national interests and exclude the opposition and their interests (Linz 1994; Przeworski et al. 1996). After losing the presidential election, the party of the loser can win seats in the legislature but their capacity to influence in the policy making process, especially allocating resources to the benefit of their constituents, is limited to the extent that the president and his or her party enjoy a legislative majority. According to Przeworski et al. (1996: 44) a single party legislative majority is more frequent in a presidential system than in a parliamentary system. In general, a president has more control over legislative agenda settings than a prime minister in a multi-party parliamentary system; and a president with a legislative majority can push constitutional reforms in order to limit the ability of opposition parties to compete for the presidency (and the legislature) in future elections. After being elected president in 1999, Hugo Chavez of Venezuela gradually pushed the regime toward authoritarianism by excluding opposition groups from the policymaking process. Similarly, Robert Mugabe in Zimbabwe gradually dismantled the institutions of democracy after changing the constitution in 1987 to replace the parliamentary system with a presidential system. Therefore, a presidential system is more likely to relapse into

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authoritarianism than a parliamentary system. The fear of being marginalized could also push the losing parties to abandon democracy and resume armed conflict.

In a presidential system, separate elections for the president and the legislature might create a condition of 'dual legitimacy' (Linz 1994). There are instances in which one party wins the presidency but not a majority in legislature. Under such circumstances, the president and his or her party do not enjoy the unchallenged ability to allocate resources to the benefit of that party's constituency. When one party wins the presidency and other parties the legislative majority, the presidential system of government may not be able to reconcile inter-branch conflicts. The politics of consensus may be more difficult to achieve under presidentialism when different parties control the executive and the legislative assembly (Lijphart 1994 and 2004). If the president's party does not control a majority of the seats in the legislature, gridlock could emerge between the executive and the legislative branches of the government (Linz 1994; Przeworski 1996; Lijphart 1999 and 2004; Cheibub 2007). Given the contentious post-conflict environment, however, the winner anticipates being able to use power of the presidency with little or no checks on that power, at least compared to the prime minister in a parliamentary system. Legislative immobility, therefore, could provide incentives for a president to dismantle the institutions of democracy, perhaps with the support of the military. According to Cheibub (2007), presidential systems were often preferred in many African and Latin American countries after the military dictatorship. This creates structural conditions for the influence of the military in politics because the military rarely withdraws completely from politics once it gets involved. This makes presidential democracies more unstable and susceptible to failure.

In the context of the post-civil war environment, control over the military can be a contentious issue among political parties because competition for the presidency or for the

position of the prime minister is often between leaders of one or more of the existing parties in the pre-war government and the leaders of the insurgent party that forms out of the rebel movement. During the civil war, the ruling coalition mobilized the military against the insurgents. Similarly, the rebels had their own military wing and the insurgent leader had command over that military wing and its operations. As suggested in the previous chapter, the TTD is most likely following a negotiated settlement to the war, with provisions for power-sharing institutions in the settlement agreement. These power sharing institutions include military power-sharing, which is intended to eliminate fear of future uncertainty. But, the military may object to sharing power with the former rebels, often with the backing of established political parties, as is the case of Nepal. Since the president is the commander-in-chief of the armed forces, he can usually count on the backing of at least a faction of the military in favor of the president's party. This possibility cannot be ignored, especially in the context of the contentious post-conflict environment, where rival groups try to take control of military for their own benefit. This fear is minimized to some extent in the parliamentary system because the prime minister is not the commander in-chief of the armed force. The cabinet makes the decision on issues related to the use of armed force and the head of state has the ultimate authority. Therefore, the higher risk of relapse into some form of authoritarianism is related to the fear that the president will try to marginalize the opposition with the backing of the military. Under these circumstances, the opposition parties may conclude that renewed conflict is the only way to protect their interests.

Parliamentary government, on the other hand, rewards cooperation between the executive and legislative branches of government and makes them collectively responsible to the voters (Norris 2006; Lijphart 1999 and 2004). In order to form a cabinet, a party must gain support

from a majority of the members of the legislature. If a single party is in the majority (the result of plurality elections), it can form a single party cabinet. If none of the parties wins a majority of seats, then a coalition cabinet must be formed from two or more political parties that might represent diverse political agendas, ethnicities and social cleavages. Parties in the coalition government agree to minimum common programs. Such mechanism helps the parliamentary government enjoy majority support in the legislature. Even with this mechanism, the chief executive and cabinet are subject to confidence votes in parliament, and they can be removed from office by a simple majority vote of the legislature. Parties with representation in the legislature have a greater chance of becoming a part of the governing coalition because the legislative majorities are less frequent in the parliamentary system than in the presidential system (Przeworski et al. 1996). Furthermore, the effective number of legislative parties is slightly higher in parliamentary systems than in presidential systems (Przeworski et al. 1996: 44). As such the survival of the government, not the democracy, creates incentives for parties in the legislature to cooperate and share positions in the government in order to avoid a no confidence vote. Removing a president from office is not so easy because presidents are not subject to removal by a simple confidence vote (Linz and Stepan 1996; Mainwaring and Scully 1995; Cheibub 2007). Extraordinary measures, such as impeachment, are required for the legislature to remove a president. Therefore, a parliamentary system encourages power-sharing across politically mobilized groups more so than a presidential system. As such, it is more able to bring political reconciliation in the post-conflict state by providing politically mobilized groups with the capacity to constrain their former rivals from using political power to marginalize them. This should enhance the confidence of former enemies that their rival will not be able to use power gained in a democratic victory to dismantle democracy. The adoption of a parliamentary system,

not a presidential system, increases the prospects for cooperation and coalition building that eliminates the fear of a return to authoritarianism and increases the prospects for the survival of democratic change in the post-conflict state. This discussion leads to hypothesis that:

> Survival Hypothesis 4: *The adoption of a parliamentary government increases the likelihood of survival of transition toward democracy in the post-conflict state than those that adopt presidential government.*

Economic Requisites for Survival of Transition toward Democracy

The level of economic development also influences the survival of a post-civil war TTD. Przeworski et al. (1996) have presented evidence that economic development might not have a substantial impact on democratic transition itself, but democracy thrives and becomes consolidated in nations with higher levels of economic development. Indeed, several studies have presented evidence that the level of economic development is the single best predictor of democratic survival (Lipset 1959; Helliwell 1994; Przeworski and Limongi 1997; Gasiorowski and Power 1998; Przeworski et al. 2000; Bernhard et al. 2001). Lipset (1959: 75) clearly states that "the more well-to-do a nation, the greater the chances that it will sustain democracy." Helliwell (1994: 225) argues that "democracy takes root and survives where levels of economic development and education are high." Przeworksi and Limongi (1997) add a qualification on the relationship between the level of economic development and the survival of democracy. They claim that after a certain level of economic development is attained (at the level of about $6,000 per capita GDP) even authoritarian regimes become more stable. Nevertheless, they conclude that "once established, democracies are likely to die in poor countries and certain to survive in wealthy ones" (Przeworski and Limongi 1997: 167).

Civil war is a poor nation phenomenon, and empirical evidence suggests that the best predictor of whether a nation is at risk of a civil war is its level of economic development

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(Elbadawi and Sambanis 2002; Sambanis 2004; Fearon and Laitin 2003; Collier and Hoeffler 2004). The risk of a renewed civil war is also related to the level of economic development (Collier and Hoeffler 2004; Collier et al. 2008; also see Walter 2004). If civil wars occur largely in poor nations, and the war itself destroys the economy further, then the post-civil war states are even less likely to sustain democracy than they were before the war.

For a TTD to survive in the post- conflict environment, economic development plays a crucial role. During the conflict, both the government and the rebels consume economic resources. Civil war destroys economic infrastructure such as roads, bridges and human capital, which diminishes the prospects for economic growth in post-war states (Collier 1999; Murdoch and Sandler 2002; Kang and Meernik 2005). Furthermore, the post-conflict violence and the political uncertainty that accompanies the establishment of new institutions create an unfavorable environment for investment (Flores and Nooruddin 2009). The destructive effects of civil war also create incentives for investors to relocate their assets to other nations, creating capital flight in a nation that was short on capital to start with and suffered through the destruction of part of its capital stock during the war (Collier 1999). According to Collier (2007: 17), "the major risk of development in reverse comes from civil war: the typical civil war is enormously costly for both the economy and its neighbors and lasts a long time." For these and related reasons, it is difficult for the post-conflict government to restore the nation's economy even to the prewar levels of production, consumption, and investment. Besides, the pre-war level itself was not very robust, given that civil war is a poor nation phenomenon (Elbadawi and Sambanis 2002; Collier and Hoeffler 2004). If a higher level of economic development is critical for any new democracy to survive, then we should expect democratic transition to be even more fragile in post-civil war

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states. Civil war destroys the economy and creates a very inhospitable environment for the survival of TTD.

The economic hardship that characterizes the post-civil war environment severely limits the economic capacity of the government to meet growing societal demands. The demands that confront the post-war state are not just the typical societal demands for basic public services, jobs, health care and education. The post-war government faces additional demands related to the support and resettlement of refugees and internally displaced civilians. In Mozambique, some 1.5 million people fled to neighboring countries and about 4 million people were internally displaced (Tollenaere 2006). According to Internal Displacement Monitoring Center, the armed conflict in Nepal caused more than 50,000 displacements over the ten years of the Maoist insurgency. Internal displacement is even worse among African countries that fought brutal civil wars. By the end of 2003, there were more than 12.8 million internally displaced civilians in twenty African countries (IDP Project 2004).

At the same time, reintegrating the armed rebels into the society also imposes extra financial burdens on the post-civil war state. To reintegrate the ex-combatants into the society and promote democratic institutions, El Salvador needed about $250 million in 1993 (Hartzell and Hoddie 2007: 107). According to the Ministry for Peace and Reconstruction, post-conflict Nepal needs around $471.44 million for reconstruction and rehabilitation. People often expect that the post-conflict democratic government will redress their grievances by delivering public goods. The low level of economic development makes it difficult for the post-war regime to address demands for redistribution at the same time that the government is confronted with the imperatives of rebuilding infrastructure, resettling displaced people and managing the disarming, demobilization, and reintegration into civilian society of former combatants. These problems are

unique to post-war states. Post-civil war states with relatively high levels of economic development will be able to address those demands more easily. Higher levels of economic development would enable the post-civil war state to restore more quickly the institutional capacity for redistributive policies that was either destroyed or rendered dysfunctional during the war. Restoring that capacity is critical for the survival of post-civil war democracy.

The level of economic development is important not only to address the redistributive demands but also to foster civilian support for democracy. Booth and Richard (1996) suggest that civilian support for democratic norms and values was higher in post-war Central American countries where the economic performance of the post-war democratic government was better. Perhaps citizens' participation in the political process and their support for democratic norms are related to the capacity of the post-conflict democratic government to deliver public goods, a capacity that was disrupted during the civil war.

Flores and Nooruddin (2009: 5-6) suggest that post-civil war economic recovery is related to investment in physical and human capital, and investors want security for their investments. But post-civil war democracies often lack the institutional strength to limit political competition to peaceful means. Moreover, such systems lack credible and effective constraints on the capacity of newly elected leaders to change policy in order to enhance their own political interests, even at the expense of the nation as a whole. According to Flores and Nooruddin (2009) this is related to credible commitment problems between former rivals: they cannot commit credibly to protect private property and investments. But a TTD becomes possible only after former rivals resolve credible commitment problems through power-sharing arrangements and the presence of a credible third party enforcer. Former protagonists try to manage their residual hostilities through the design of inclusive institutions, which should have a positive

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impact on the confidence of investors. Investors might prefer to wait for some time before they invest in the post-war economy, but economic activities related to rebuilding infrastructure and demobilizing armed forces and integrating them into the society help to set the nation on a path of gradual economic recovery.

Higher levels of development raise the opportunity costs for civilians to join an insurgency as a way to redress their grievances (Collier and Hoeffler 2004). The higher the quality of life available to citizens (such as access to school, jobs and health care), the lower are their incentives to participate in a renewal of civil war (Collier and Hoeffler 2004; also see Walter 2004). Aspiring insurgent groups find it difficult to organize and mobilize civilian supporters when the post-war state can extract enough resources from the society to deliver public goods. The economic opportunities, created by higher level of development and growth, significantly increase opportunity costs for former rivals as well as citizens to participate in the dangerous and highly risky enterprise of renewed civil war. Under democracy, civilians are empowered with voting rights, and in principle, they can influence redistributive policies by participating in the democratic process. If the post-war economy is strong enough that a democratic regime can deliver public goods, sustaining democracy becomes far less costly and far less risky than participating in the armed insurgency. One of the reasons that the rebels agree to end a civil war is that the armed insurgents will be integrated into the society, and they will be given the means to earn a decent livelihood. More importantly, they expect to share a fair portion of the nation's economic resources. To the extent that democracy enhances these prospects, the prospects for democratic survival are enhanced as well.

The opportunity cost argument presented by Collier and Hoeffler is more concerned with the behavior of non-elites. Elites involved in the conflict process also benefit from democracy.

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According to Wantchekon (2004: 22), former protagonists' desire for democracy is primarily driven by the prospects for revenue expropriation (Wantchekon 2004:22). Civil war protagonists agree to democracy because they can legally expropriate revenue at a certain rate, which was impossible during a prolonged civil war (Wantchekon 2004). Conflict reduces investment and creates incentives for civilians to relocate their capital to other countries to avoid illegal expropriation by the warring factions. Wantchekon (2004) suggests that democracy creates an environment for capital reinvestment by securing property rights and giving civilians rights to choose their own government. That government in turn proposes a tax rate on returns to capital investment. The rate of expropriation depends on rate of return on capital investment. The winner of democratic elections can turn to authoritarianism to maximize its share of revenue by excluding the opposition from sharing in the expropriated revenues. But their expected net share decreases proportionately if the opposition groups return to war. Furthermore, uncertainties related to the anarchy of civil war as well authoritarianism reduce incentives for investment. If former protagonists, who are now part of the democratic process, can benefit from capital investment and its return, they need to ensure property rights and create a favorable environment for investment. The incentive of higher levels of revenue expropriation, therefore, is related to elites' commitment to sustaining democracy. The higher rate of revenue expropriation is related to the level of economic development. Elites' share of revenue expropriation decreases with lower levels of economic development. This might create incentives for the winner of elections to exclude rivals in order to increase its own share of revenue expropriation. This discussion on level of economic development leads to hypothesis that:

> Survival Hypothesis 5: *The higher the level of economic development, the lower the* risk *of failure of transition toward democracy in post-conflict states.*

Ethnicity and Survival of Transition toward Democracy

Previous studies suggest that democratic survival is difficult to achieve in ethnically divided societies (Rabushka and Shepsle 1972; Horowitz 1985; Lijphart 2004; Sisk 1995; Reilly 2001). According to Lijphart (2004: 96-97) "deep societal divisions pose a grave problem for democracy, and it is therefore generally more difficult to establish and maintain democratic government in divided than in homogeneous countries." The pessimistic view on failure of democracy in ethnically divided societies is often referred to as the fear of ethnic outbidding. Ethnic outbidding constitutes a zero sum game. In an ethnically divided society, political leaders have strong incentives to use ethnic identity to mobilize voters for electoral success. Rabushka and Shepsle (1972) present a rational actor argument against the likelihood of stable democracy in ethically divided society. According to Rabushka and Shepsle (1972) political leaders find the rewards of 'outbidding' on ethnic issues – i.e., moving toward extremist rhetoric and policies – to be greater than the incentives for moderation. In an ethnically divided society, access to and distribution of resources can be monopolized only at the expense of other competing ethnic groups. Therefore, ethnic parties "play the ethnic card" and mobilize voters based on ethnic loyalties (Horowitz 1985; Reilley 2001; also see Posner 2007: 1321-2). Efforts to build a broader support base beyond its own ethnicity could put a party at risk of being outflanked by challengers from within its own ethnic group. Furthermore, a party that tries to appeal across ethnic boundaries is likely to gain fewer votes from other ethnic groups than it loses more votes from its own ethnic groups (Horowitz 1985; Posner 2007). As such ethnic outbidding is a primary mechanism through which ethnic divisions become polarized, creating conditions in which democratic competition becomes less likely to succeed (Lijphart 2004:96-7; Rabushka and Shepsle 1972).

Ethnic divisions are one of the common characteristics of many civil war states. Though ethnic diversity is not a problem in itself, the way the ethnicity is politicized could seriously undermine the prospect of democratic stability in ethnically divided societies. For any society that is ethnically divided, the cheapest way of attracting voter loyalty is to organize parties that are based on ethnic identity (Horowitz 1985). The rivalry between ethnic groups reinforces ethnic identity and loyalty more prominently in post-war states that are ethnically divided. Horowitz (1985: 291) argues that ethnically divided societies tend to produce party systems that reinforce ethnic identity rather than moderate ethnic conflict (also see Mozaffer et al. 2003). These ethnic parties mobilize their own ethnic bases rather than reaching out across ethnic lines to build multi-ethnic parties (Horowitz 1985). The act of voting, therefore, is an opportunity to affirm one's ties to the respective ethnic group and a means to express group solidarity. According to Horowitz (1985: 327) this limits the ability of any ethnic party to attract additional votes from other ethnic groups in the subsequent rounds of elections because of ethnic outbidding.

The prospects for survival of post-civil war democracy, however, are not always so bleak for ethnically divided societies. The pessimistic view is partly related to the assumption of two ethnic groups and two ethnic parties, in which case electoral competition always favors the majority group. Nevertheless, many post-civil war states are highly fragmented along ethnic lines. One ethnic group can have multiple parties competing against each other. According to Horowitz (1985: 349-50) different factors, including pronounced social divisions within the ethnic group and leadership rivalries, influence the emergence of intra-ethnic competition and multiple parties within an ethnic group. For instance, Sri Lanka Freedom Party, United National Party and Janatha Vimukthi Peramuna are major three political parties that represent the

Sinhalese ethnic group in Sri Lanka. With the emergence of multiple parties within one ethnic group, no one can win the election with a clear majority. As a result, multi-ethnic coalitions become more likely. To the extent that the democratic system in place increases the chances of being part of the governing coalition, politically mobilized ethnic groups have stronger incentives to protect the democratic system. Therefore, Horowitz (1985: 366-369) suggests the possibility of coalitions of multiple ethnic groups that can moderate the ethnic tension and bridge the differences, which in turn could create an environment in which ethnic groups find democratic competition as a way to protect their interests. After fighting a civil war, a coalition of multiple ethnic parties may be difficult to achieve and sustain. Although, Horowitz (1985) discounts the possibility for the emergence of non-ethnic parties or multi-ethnic parties with support bases that reach across ethnic boundaries, the fragmentation of ethnic groups and parties within ethnic groups could help to sustain TTD by creating a condition for multi-ethnic coalitions.

The emergence of multiple ethnic parties in ethnically divided societies, however, depends on the institutional design of the post-civil war democracy and how these institutions structure the party system (i.e. multiple parties from each ethnic group vs. one party per group) and shape the incentives for ethnic parties to form coalitions with parties from other ethnic groups. Proportional representation elections with large districts can lead to the emergence of multiple parties within an ethnic group (Mozaffer et al. 2003). As suggested by Lijphart (1994 and 2004) and others, ethnic groups in divided societies can maximize their chances of becoming a part of winning coalition if a PR electoral system is adopted. The use of a PR electoral system increases the chances of winning seats in the legislature, compared to a majoritarian system. The electoral rules within the PR system matter on how votes are translated into legislative seats.

These rules are related to a district size, the threshold requirement, closed versus open list system etc. These rules influence the degree of proportionality.

Another institutional choice that increases chances of multi-party coalition is the choice between the parliamentary versus presidential system. As argued by Linz (1994) the presidential system is a "winner take all system" in which minority ethnic groups cannot expect to win the presidency as well as become a part of the governing coalition. Ethnic minorities can influence the legislative process depending on their presence in the legislature but policy enactment depends on the president himself. This is not the case in the parliamentary system in which shifting loyalties within the governing parties increase the chances for an ethnic minority to become a part of the governing coalition.

The adoption of PR electoral rules and a parliamentary system, however, should not be equated with consensus based politics or consociational democracy. Consociationalism as explained by Lijphart (1969) is an elite cartel. Elites agree to control their constituency in exchange for a guaranteed share of power and a share of the flow of material resources controlled by the state. Such power-sharing is a useful and often desirable tool to make the transition from war to peace (Sisk and Stefes 2005). A guaranteed place in the decision making process, however, does not get post-civil war states beyond "mutual hostage-taking" (Sisk and Stefes 2005: 317). Consensus based democracy is inherently undemocratic in that it gives veto power to each group and hardens ethnic identity (Rothchild and Roeder 2005; Sisk and Stefes 2005; also see Lustick 1997). It renders society even more fragmented based on ethnic identity (Rothchild and Roeder 2005; also see Lustick 1997). According to Rothchild and Roeder (2005), in the context of fractionalized post-war states, power-sharing based on consensus leads to institutional instability and the escalation of conflict. As an alternative to power-sharing,

Rothchild and Roeder (2005) suggest the importance of creating centripetal institutions with division of power. In this regard, they suggest the importance of separation of powers between branches of governments and a range of specialized agencies dealing with specific but delimited policy areas. Dividing state power in such a way helps to create institutions based on a majority, but a group that is in a majority status in one policy area will be a member of political minority on other policy areas (Rothchild and Roeder 2005:17). The use of the PR electoral systems with parliamentary government divides power among politically mobilized groups based on their capacity to mobilize voters. These institutional mechanisms ensure that minority groups will not be relegated to permanent opposition status. This creates incentives for ethnic groups in divided societies to protect democracy because it enhances their chances of becoming a part of the governing coalition. From this discussion, I derive survival hypotheses that:

> Survival Hypothesis 6a: *Higher ethnic fractionalization increases the likelihood of survival of transition toward democracy in the post-conflict state.*

> Survival Hypothesis 6b: *The likelihood of survival of post-civil war transition toward democracy increases if ethnically factionalized states adopt PR electoral systems and parliamentary government.*

Conclusion

The critical challenge for the survival of post-civil war TTD is the fear that democratic winners will use their power to convert democracy to authoritarianism, excluding democratic losers. That confronts the democratic losers with the choice of accepting the status quo or returning to conflict. The fear of authoritarian reversal of democratic transition could lead to a renewed civil war. In this regard, I developed the argument that the costs of war and the low probability of gaining a decisive military victory after a protracted war increase the incentives for

former rivals to sustain TTD. Democratic institutions that constrain the use of political power create incentives for former rivals to preserve that system. Similarly, democratic institutions that promote cooperation and inclusion help to promote trust among political rivals, which creates incentives for former rivals to sustain democracy. My explanation of the survival of TTD suggests that the former adversaries prefer democracy over authoritarianism or renewed war when the cost of conflict is high and the prospects of military victory are low, and when the institutions of post-war democracy are inclusive and provide incentives for cooperation. In this regard, I presented explanations on how inclusive electoral systems and parliamentary forms of government provide a more conducive environment for the survival of democracy. I argued that these institutional configurations also explain how ethnically divided society can sustain democracy in post-war states. At the same time, I delineated how the level of economic development influences the chances for democratic survival by creating incentives for former rivals as well as general public to support democracy.

In the next Chapter, I present the research design to test the stipulated hypotheses on survival of post-conflict TTD.

CHAPTER V

RESEARCH DESIGN AND QUANTITATIVE ANALYSIS

The previous chapter suggested that the factors that make TTD more likely in the

aftermath of civil war are different from those that sustain post-civil war TTD. In developing my

arguments on the survival of post-civil war TTD, I used an expected utility framework to

determine what factors the former rivals use to estimate the costs and benefits of sustaining

democracy. In this regard, I examined how their estimates of the costs and benefits vary with the

duration and costs of previous civil wars, the institutional incentives created by the democratic

regime, the level of economic development and ethnic divisions. I suggested that the factors that

increase both the costs of defecting from democracy as well as access to power and resources

create stronger incentives for former rivals to sustain post-civil war democracy.

The purpose of this chapter is to test hypotheses related to the duration of post-civil war

TTD. For this purpose, I define the duration of a TTD as a movement away from democracy. I

identify episode of movement away from democracy as a 3-point negative change in the

POLITY2 variable in the Polity dataset over a three year period.[13] Smith (2004) and Gurses

(2007) used similar criteria to measure duration of democratic regime. The movement away from

democracy is the event of interest, which makes the use of survival analysis the appropriate

statistical method to test stipulated hypotheses. This technique allows us to explain the effect of

independent variables on the probability of failure of TTD, given that the TTD has survived for a

given amount of time. The *unit of analysis,* therefore, is the duration, in years, of TTD achieved

after the termination of a civil war. The dataset necessarily includes only those cases that have

experienced a TTD after the termination of civil war. In other words, the dataset includes only

cases that have experienced a positive 3-point change over one year in the Polity score in the

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[13] A resumption of civil war is not coded as a democratic failure.

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years following the termination of a civil war in that country. For theoretical reasons, all states

that did not experience post-conflict democratic episodes as defined in this study are excluded.

This study analyzes all post-conflict democratic episodes that occurred between 1946 and 2005.

These inclusion criteria produced a dataset of 52 countries with 65 democratic spells, 18 of

which failed before right censoring occurs in year 2005.[14]

The Dependent Variable

The dependent variable is the duration of TTD or the survival of post-civil war TTD in

years, counted after a post-civil war state makes TTD. Operationalization of a post-civil war

TTD was outlined in detail in an earlier chapter. Here, I define a failure of that TTD as a 3-point

negative change in the POLITY2 variable from the Polity dataset over a three year period. This

is a movement away from democracy, not a failure of democracy *per se*. For instance, POLITY2

score for Guatemala increased from +3 to +8 (5-points increase) in 1996, which is recorded as a

post-civil war democratic transition in the dataset. Since 1996, this transition has survived until a

right censoring occurs in 2005 (the last year of observation in the dataset). Similarly, a

democratic transition is recorded for Algeria in 1989 with +7 point change in Algeria's

POLITY2 score. But that democratic transition in Algeria failed in 1992 with a 5-point

movement away from democracy (5-point negative change in the POLITY2 score). Table 4.1

summarizes operationalization of spells of the TTD and its survival.

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[14] If a post-conflict state experiences a continuous positive change (3-points) in the polity score without a subsequent negative change of 3-points, the democratic years are treated as continuous. For instance, the Polity score of Angola in year 1991 went up by 4-points and then by another 3-points in 1992. Since these changes occurred back to back without democratic failure as defined in this study, this does not constitute two different cases in this study.

Table 5.1: Operationalization of Survival of a Transition toward Democracy in Post-civil War States.

Country	Transition Year	Change in Polity Score	Transition Failed/ Year
Guatemala	1996	5-point (+3 to +8)	Right Censored
Algeria	1989	7-points (-9 to -2)	Yes/1992
Algeria	1995	4-points (-7 to -3)	Right Censored
Lebanon	1970	3-points (+2 to +5)	Yes/1974
Sierra Leone	2002	3-points (+2 to +5)	Right Censored

Independent Variables

Hypothesis 1 suggests that the longer duration of the previous civil war increases the incentives for former adversaries to sustain democracy. To test this hypothesis, I use civil war the duration variable from Sambanis (2004). This variable is measured in months and ranges from 1 month to 308 months.

Hypothesis 2 stipulates that higher casualties in the previous war decrease the chances of failure of post-civil war TTD. To test this hypothesis, I used total people killed in the period of conflict. This variable comes from Sambanis (2004) and is updated using TPI Project case narratives. In the dataset, the minimum deaths count is 500 (Central African Republic) and the maximum is 3,000,000 (Cambodia). For computational ease, this variable is logged.

The theoretical argument related to survival of democracy suggests that institutions do matter in creating incentives for civil war actors to sustain the TTD. In this regard, Hypothesis 3 stipulates that the use of a PR electoral system influences the survival of a post- conflict TTD by creating a more inclusive electoral process. To test this argument, I use Golder's (2005) electoral system dataset. Golder's data are available from 1946 to 2000. I updated this dataset to 2005 by using CIA Factbook and African Election Database. For the purpose of this study, I have coded a proportional electoral system as "1" if legislative elections are held using a proportional or mixed electoral system, otherwise "0". Out of 578 country years of democratic survival, I have coded about 73% of country years as having a proportional electoral system. Almost half of the country

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years coded as having the PR electoral system are coded after the end of the Cold War. This suggests efforts were made to integrate the political opposition and minorities into the mainstream democratic process in states where civil war was terminated after the end of the Cold War.

Related to institution-induced incentives, Hypothesis 4 summarizes how the choice of the parliamentary form of government is likely to increase the survival of democracy, compared to presidential democracy. To test this argument, I used "institution" variable from the Political Regime Dataset developed by Cheibub and Gandhi (2004) and used by Cheibub (2007). This variable contains a six fold measure of political regime type: parliamentary form of government (coded "0"), mixed democracy (coded "1"), a presidential system (coded "2"), a civilian regime (coded "3"), a military dictator (coded "4") and a monarchy (coded "5"). Because I operationalized TTD as a 3-point change in the POLITY2 variable (not necessarily passing the threshold of "+6" on Polity 2), some of the post-civil war states do not fall into either the parliamentary or the presidential category. The codings of parliamentary and presidential systems in Cheibub and Gandhi (2004) and Cheibub (2007) reflect institutionalized democracies, not transitional democracies. Many of the post-civil war democracies are undergoing the transition process. And these democracies are yet to be institutionalized. Nevertheless, these democracies have some form of institutional constellation that can be categorized as either parliamentary or presidential or mixed. For instance, I coded a TTD as occurring in Algeria in 1989. President Bendjedid was a military dictator, but he introduced a variety of democratic reforms including a referendum in 1989 to create a multiparty system (Stearns 2001:992). I code a democratic failure in Algeria in 1992 when President Chadli Bendjedid resigned. After his resignation on January 11, 1992, the High Committee of States assumed all presidential power

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and cancelled upcoming elections. The cancellation was designed to block the sweeping electoral victory of the Islamic Salvation Front (FIS), which had emerged as winner in the first round of voting on Dec. 26, 1991 (Stearns 2001:992). Polity IV dataset records a positive 7 point change in 1989 and a negative 7 in 1991 in Algeria's polity score. Gandhi and Cheibub (2004) and Cheibub (2007) code Algeria as a military dictatorship, but I coded Algeria as having a presidential system from 1989 to 1992. Similarly, Angola from 1991 and Cambodia from 1998 are coded as having a civilian ruler in Gandhi and Cheibub (2004) and Cheibub (2007) datasets, but I code Angola as having a presidential system and Cambodia as a parliamentary system of government. Going through all post-conflict democracies that do not meet the Gandhi and Cheibub (2004) and Cheibub (2007) specification of parliamentary and presidential democracies, I recoded those cases as having either a presidential or a parliamentary system of government depending on the concentration of executive power. As such, parliamentary government is coded "1" if post-conflict states have a parliament and executive power is concentrated in the office of the prime minister chosen by that parliament, otherwise "0". Similarly, I coded "1" for the presidential government if the executive power is concentrated in the office of a president elected separately from the legislature, otherwise "0". For those cases that have characteristics of both the parliamentary and the presidential system, I coded mixed democracy as "1" otherwise "0." For recoding these cases, I used CIA Factbook, The Encyclopedia of World History (Stearns 2001) and TPI Project case narratives. For the purpose of statistical analysis, I used the presidential system as a reference category.

Hypothesis 5 relates the survival of a post-war TTD to higher levels of economic development. To test this hypothesis, I used GDP per-capita. To avoid endogeneity and heterogeneity problem, this variable is lagged by one year and then logged. This variable is taken

from World Bank World Development Indicators and updated using Gates et al. (2006) and Penn World Table 6.2 (Heston et al., 2006).

As discussed earlier, the estimate of the costs and benefits of defecting from democracy is also influenced by ethnic factors. Hypothesis 6a suggests that the chances of democratic survival increase with higher levels of ethnic fractionalization. To test this hypothesis, I use the ethnic and linguistic fractionalization index (ELFI) from Sambanis (2004). This variable ranges from "0" (perfectly ethnically homogenous) to "1" (perfectly ethnic heterogeneous). The ethnic fractionalization variable is interacted with the PR system and the parliamentary system to test hypothesis 6b. Several studies suggest that ethnic conflict is least likely in highly fragmented societies and in ethnically homogeneous societies, with the risk of conflict being greatest where there is a relative small number of relative large ethnic groups (Doyle and Sambanis 2000; Elbadawi and Sambanis 2002; Sambanis 2004; Hegre et al. 2001). Therefore, I also use the square of ethnic and linguistic fractionalization variable.

Control Variables

In the statistical analysis, I control for several variables that are likely to influence the results. Because TTD in the aftermath of civil war is related to the balance of power between the government and the insurgents, the type of conflict termination might affect the survival of TTD to the extent that balance of power prevalent during the conflict is replicated in the post-war political process. Therefore, I control for the type of civil war termination. Civil war terminates either in government victory, rebel victory or negotiated settlement. Government victory is operationalized as a dummy variable coded "1" if civil war ends in the government victory and the government is still in power with no negotiated settlement, otherwise "0." Rebel victory is also operationalized as a dummy variable coded "1" if insurgents defeat the government militarily or the central government collapses and the rebels assume power, otherwise "0". If a

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military stalemate exists and the government and the insurgents negotiate a peace settlement, I code the negotiated settlement dummy "1", otherwise "0." In the statistical models, government victory is used as a reference category. The outcome variables are from Sambanis (2004) and are the same as those used in an earlier chapter to explain post-civil war TTD.

I also control for the presence of UN peacekeeping missions. In an earlier chapter, I found a statistically significant impact of UN missions on post-civil war TTD. UN missions generally leave soon after post-war elections are held, but their influence may continue through the legacies created by bringing former rivals together, managing the demobilization and reintegration of the armies of rival factions, and building the institutions of the post-war government. In the post-Cold War era especially their legacy involves efforts to build a functioning post-war state that can perform the routine functions of government such as tax collection, provision of basic public goods such as schools, health facilities and law enforcement. Even after liquidating a mission in a post-conflict state, the UN oversees and assists democracy and governance reform initiatives through its United Nations Development Program (UNDP). The UNDP has been greatly involved in post- conflict states through programs to strengthen democratic governance, build local capacity and political awareness, empower socially mobilized groups, and provide technical assistance for development initiatives. All of these programs help to strengthen the institutions of the democratic system and at the same time create a greater stake in its survival for the former rivals. For the empirical analysis, the UN mission variable is the same as the one used to explain how the UN missions influence the transition toward post-civil war democracy. The UN mission variable is coded "1" if a mission was deployed in a given year (irrespective of mandates), otherwise "0".

I also control for neighborhood standards of democracy. Previous studies have found a neighborhood effect whereby the presence or absence of democracy in neighboring countries can affect the prospects for the survival of democracy in a given nation (Huntington 1991; Gasiorowski and Power 1998; Lai and Melhonian-Hoover 2005; Gleditsch and Ward 2002). According to Gleditsch (2002) a spatial clustering of democracies within the international system increases the chances of the survival of democracy in that cluster. One of the reasons for the contagion effect is the transmission of ideas, norms and political pressure, which is similar to Huntington's (1991) snowballing effect in the third-wave of democratization and democratic breakdown. Because post-civil war democracies are not yet institutionalized, the regional standard of democracy might influence the survivability of these democracies. Therefore, I control for regional standard of democracy. To derive this variable, first, I counted number of contiguous countries (less than 150 nautical miles in distance) and take an average of their institutionalized democracy score (Polity IV) for each year under observation. The average neighboring polity score ranges from -10 to +10. The number and identity of contiguous countries are derived using EuGene (Bennett and Stam 2000). This variable is also used as a control variable in TTD research design.

Previous studies have established a strong relationship between population pressure and civil war onset and duration (Collier and Hoeffler 2004; Urdal 2008). A large population can simply reduce the amount of resources available for the members of society and the post-war state may lack the resources necessary to meet the demands for basic needs among the population. In short, larger populations strain the resources and institutional capacity of the state. The resulting legitimacy crisis can force the democratic government to resort to repression to gain control over mobilized opposition groups in the population. The scarcity of resources and

the resort to repression could create stronger incentives for the opposition to abandon democracy and return to conflict, especially since a large population also increases the pool of potential recruits for an armed rebellion. Therefore, I also control for size of population. I take the natural log of this variable. This variable is coded from World Bank World Development Indicator (WDI) and updated using Penn World Table Version 6.2 (Heston et al. 2006).

Other studies have pointed to the "resource curse" as contributing to the risk of democratic failure in the form of an extra-constitutional reversion to authoritarianism or a relapse into civil war. States with greater natural resource wealth such as oil tend to suffer from civil war because oil producers tend to have a weaker state apparatus, and the revenues from oil tends to raise incentives for controlling state power (Ross 2001; Collier and Hoeffler 2004; Fearon and Laitin 2003). Oil export dependence makes peace implementation difficult in the aftermath of civil war (Doyle and Sambanis 2006). Since oil export dependence is related to authoritarianism and peace failure, it could derail the democratic process in post-conflict states as well. Therefore, I control for oil dependence. This variable is coded "1" if a country's total oil exports make up more than 33% of total exports, otherwise "0." This variable comes from Doyle and Sambanis (2006). I also control for the Cold-War's effect on democratic survival. For all civil wars terminated in 1990 and thereafter I code the Cold War dummy variable as "1", otherwise "0".

I also control for GDP growth rate. Since the economic growth rate tends to be lower in post-civil war states (Kang and Meernik 2005), it tends to depress the level of economic development. This variable comes from World Bank World Development Indicators, updated using Gates et al. (2006) and Penn World Table 6.2 (Heston et al., 2006). This variable is lagged by one year.

I also control for time elapsed between when the civil war ended to when a post-civil war TTD occurred. This control is necessary for theoretical and methodological reasons. Theoretically, the longer it takes for a TTD to take place after a civil war, the less that transition is influenced by the war and its outcome and the more other influences unrelated to the conflict come into play as explanations of the transition. In short, the longer the elapsed time between civil war termination and TTD, the weaker any of the civil war effects would be on the transition. By the same token, the effect of civil war on likelihood of democratic survival should diminish gradually as post-civil war democracy thrives and becomes consolidated. Methodologically, it is desirable to hold constant the effect of time elapsed before a TTD in order to control for any intervening effects on the survival of democracy. Therefore, I control for time spent before the TTD. This variable is operationalized as number of months between the end of civil war and the TTD. This variable is coded using the months and year of civil war termination and post-conflict TTD.

Method

I use survival analysis to test the hypotheses concerning the survival of post-civil war TTD. I do expect that the chances of movement away from democratic transition are higher in the years immediately following the transition and that the risk of failure of TTD gradually decreases over time as the institutions of the post-conflict state gain legitimacy and become fully consolidated (see Diamond 1999). As with the choice of survival models used to test the transition hypotheses, I employ Weibull models to test the democratic survival hypotheses. The scale parameter (p) in all Weibull models presented in this analysis is greater than 1, which suggests that the Weibull model best fits the data. All models estimated to explain the survival of TTD are estimated using the accelerated failure time (AFT) format, which estimates the failure

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time, not the hazard ratio. An estimate of failure time is preferred to explain how soon a failure of a TTD is expected to occur once a post-civil war state makes the TTD. I also use country-specific clusters to assume statistical independence only between clusters, not between observations.

Findings and Analysis

The main threat to the survival of a post-civil war TTD is the fear that the rivals will use democratic power won in elections to dismantle the institutions of democracy and establish themselves as authoritarian rulers. The fear of authoritarian relapse creates incentives for the democratic loser to abandon democracy and return to armed conflict. As long as former rivals are certain that they will have a reasonable chance to gain access to power and resources through democratic competition now and in future election cycles, they have incentives to sustain democracy. I developed this argument by utilizing an expected utility framework to identify factors that affect actors' estimates of the costs and benefits of sustaining democracy. I expected that the risk of failure of a post-civil war TTD would be higher immediately after the transition takes place because former protagonists do not yet trust their rivals to abide by the rules of the democratic process.

As expected, Figure 5.1 summarizes that the chances of movement away from a post-conflict TTD are higher in the earlier period of the transition and then declines after the first five years. Now, I turn to the empirical findings from the event history models.

Figure 5.1: Smoothed Hazard Estimates for Survival of Post-Civil War Transition toward
Democracy.
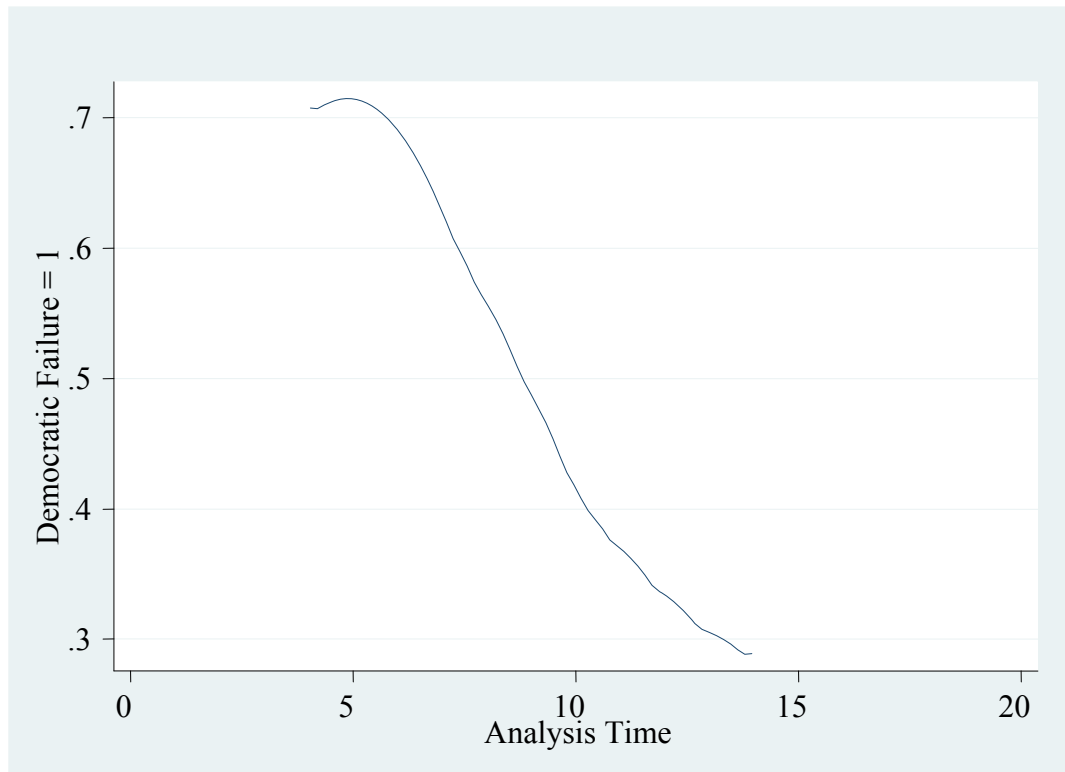
Results from Weibull models are presented in Table 5.2, Table 5.3 and Table 5.4. In
Table 5.2, Model 1 and Model 2 report all explanatory variables in combination with different
control variables. Model 3 drops out variables related to types of government, namely
parliamentary system and the mixed system, which were insignificant in previous two models.
Along with other variables, Model 4 in Table 5.3 uses an interaction term between the PR system
and parliamentary system but does not control for mixed system of government as this variable is
insignificant in Model 1 and 2 (Table 5.2).

Are Factors that Bring Democracy in Post-Civil War States Different from those that Sustain
Democracy?

The theory of post-civil war survival of TTD presented earlier suggests that the factors
that predict TTD in the post-civil war states may not necessarily be the same factors that predict

survival of that transition. Therefore, I begin by examining whether the factors that bring a TTD are the same as those that sustain that transition. In earlier empirical tests, I found that the presence of UN missions and a negotiated settlement to end the war have significant effects on the prospects for a post-civil war TTD. Therefore, I included conflict termination and UN mission variables in the models designed to test survival hypotheses. Types of conflict termination variables are used in Model 2 (Table 5.2) and a UN mission variable is used in Model 4 (Table 5.3). I do not find any statistically significant support for the type of conflict termination affecting the prospects for democratic survival: neither the negotiated settlement nor the rebel victory is statistically significant. Thus, the prospects for democratic survival are not affected by whether the civil war ended in a government victory, a rebel victory or a negotiated settlement.   Similarly, I did not find support for the effect of UN missions on the survival of TTD. These findings pose an important challenge to the current literature regarding the link between negotiated settlement and the UN missions and the durability of peace in the post-war states. In their study, Doyle and Sambanis (2000, 2006) suggest the importance of the UN mission for peace and democracy in the post-civil war states. The findings presented here require an alternative explanation. One explanation could be that UN missions are not designed to serve in post-civil war states for a long period of time. UN missions are generally terminated after the first post-conflict elections (Kumar 1998). Therefore, the effect of the UN missions on the survival of TTD dissipates once they depart. It is also possible that the Doyle and Sambanis (2000, 2006) did not examine the long-term effect of UN mission on post-war democracy and peace.

Another explanation could be related to the design of the institutions of post-civil war states. It is possible that the legacies of the UN missions are absorbed in the design of inclusive

institutions in post-civil war states. Therefore, the insignificant finding on the effect of UN

missions does not mean that the UN missions do not play influential roles in facilitating the post-

civil war democratic transition process. Rather, their effect occurs in the form of encouraging the

adoption of PR elections and parliamentary governments, which enhance the prospects for

survival of TTD. In an earlier chapter, I found a statistically significant effect of UN missions on

the TTD. However, the empirical tests performed in this study suggest that the negotiated

settlement and the UN missions are more likely to influence TTD than survival of that transition.

The insignificant effects of the UN mission as well as negotiated settlement on the survival of

post-civil war TTD suggest that the structural conditions that bring the TTD in the post-civil war

state are not the same ones that help to sustain that democracy.

<div align="center">Testing the Costs of War Argument</div>

The main theoretical proposition presented in Chapter 3 was that the costs of the previous

civil war affect the survival of the TTD (Hypothesis 2). To test this hypothesis, I operationalized

costs of war in terms of battle related deaths. In the test performed, the sign on battle related

death is negative across all models but none of them are statistically significant. The battle deaths

variable is significant at the 0.10 level in Model 2 and at the 0.05 level in Model 3. The level of

significance improved in Model 3 when the dummy variables for type of democratic institutions

(i.e., parliamentary versus presidential versus mixed systems) are dropped from the model. The

estimated coefficient for battle deaths is -0.141, which is equal to 0.801 in terms of a hazard ratio

$\{[\exp(-\hat{p}\,\hat{\beta})] = \exp(-1.573 * (-0.141))\}$. This suggests that an increase in battle related

deaths is likely to decrease the survival of post-civil war TTD by reducing the survival time by

almost 23.3% $[100 \times (1-(\exp(-\hat{p}\,\hat{\beta})))]$. This finding is contrary to the theoretical expectation,

which suggests that higher levels of battle deaths in the previous civil war tend to decrease the

prospects for the survival for post-civil war TTD. This finding is compatible with studies by

Fortna (2004) and Walter (2004) on the duration of the peace after civil war. Both find similar

effects of battle deaths on duration of peace. Walter attributes this effect to war hardening

conflictual identities among the protagonists, making it more difficult for them to overcome the

credible commitment problems that make the risk of a relapse into armed conflict more likely.

My findings suggest a similar effect on post-civil war democracy: the more deadly the previous

civil war, the more conflictual identities between former protagonists are intensified, which

makes losers in democratic elections less inclined to trust that the victors will not abuse their

democratically won powers. Recently, Quinn et al. (2007) also found that the chances of peace

failure increase with increases in the battle related deaths. Higher battle death rates harden

hostilities from years of war, making it difficult to cooperate even in a democratic setting. This

finding, however, is inconsistent across models.

The relationship between battle deaths and survival of TTD is inconsistent, but it suggests

that higher battle deaths in the previous civil war make the failure of TTD more likely. The

democratic process gives former rivals space to breath and allows them to connect to the people

and pursue their goals by cooperating with their former rivals. It is possible that the former rivals

find it difficult to cooperate with each other when each side has incurred higher casualties during

the civil war. After all, "when they have been killing each other with considerable enthusiasm

and success for some time" former protagonists find it difficult to compromise (Licklider 1994).

The most important aspect of the democratic process is electoral support, and it is easy for

parties to ask for votes if they promise that those involved in the killings of their relatives and

friends will be punished if that party wins the election. As such, each side has stronger incentives

to promise retribution, which creates stronger incentives for the winner of democratic elections

to capture power and start to repress opposition groups.

Table 5.2: Survival of Transition toward Democracy after Civil Wars, 1946-2005.

	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3
Civil War Duration (Months)	0.004*	0.003	0.005*
	(0.003)	(0.003)	(0.003)
Battle Deaths (Log)	-0.113	-0.112*	-0.141**
	(0.074)	(0.064)	(0.071)
Ethnic & Linguistic Fractionalization Index	4.644*	5.856**	
	(2.621)	(2.631)	
Ethnic & Linguistic Fractionalization Index^2	-2.761	-4.587	
	(2.300)	(2.840)	
Parliamentary System (1, 0)	0.257	0.270	
	(0.479)	(0.404)	
Mixed System (1, 0)	-0.293	-0.371	
	(0.472)	(0.536)	
PR System (1, 0)	1.496**	1.168**	1.295**
	(0.600)	(0.538)	(0.503)
GDP Per Capita (log)$_{t-1}$	0.429**	0.481***	0.377**
	(0.193)	(0.172)	(0.161)
GDP Per Capita Growth$_{t-1}$			-0.013
			(0.034)
Negotiated Settlement (1, 0)		0.422	
		(0.723)	
Rebel Victory (1, 0)		0.741	
		(0.615)	
Time to Democratic Transition (Months)	0.001		
	(0.002)		
Population (log)	-0.349**	-0.269*	-0.171
	(0.172)	(0.159)	(0.143)
Cold War (1, 0)	0.888***	0.967****	0.915***
	(0.322)	(0.289)	(0.310)
Oil (1, 0)	-1.182**	-1.111**	-1.169**
	(0.498)	(0.481)	(0.512)
Neighboring Democracy	0.023		
	(0.042)		
Constant	-2.829	-5.588	-2.587
	(3.190)	(4.288)	(3.107)
Scale Parameter	1.713	1.898	1.573
Wald χ^2	66.13	86.55	42.79
Probability of χ^2	0.000	0.000	0.000
Observations	578	578	578
Number of Subjects at Risk	65	65	65
Failures	18	18	18

Robust standard errors are in parentheses. All tests are two tail tests. * $p < 0.10$,
** $p < 0.05$, *** $p < 0.01$, **** $p < 0.001$.

Hypothesis 1 suggests that longer duration of the previous civil war decreases the probability of victory and increases the incentives for former rivals to sustain the TTD. In the tests performed, the sign on the war duration variable is positive across all models but significant at the 0.10 level only in Model 1 and Model 3 in Table 5.2 and Model 4 in Table 5.3. This suggests that, indeed, a post-civil war TTD is more likely to survive the longer the preceding civil war lasted. The estimated coefficient for civil war duration is 0.004, which is equal to 0.993 in terms of a hazard ratio. This suggests that the probability of the post-civil war TTD surviving increases by almost 0.68% for each additional month the preceding civil war lasted. To further illustrate the effect of duration on the survival of TTD, I estimated the percentage change in survival time using the mean value of the duration of the civil wars in the dataset. In the dataset used in this study, the mean value of civil war duration is 71.64 months, which is likely to decrease the failure of post-civil war TTD by almost 39%. The risk of failure decreases by almost 8% for a civil war that lasted about 12 months. It does appear that the longer duration of the preceding civil war increases incentives for former rivals to sustain a TTD. The effect of war duration on survival of TTD, however, is very weak.

Testing Institutional Arguments

As discussed in the theory section, institutional choices that promote cooperation and political inclusion affect the survival of post-conflict TTD. By adopting inclusive democratic institutions, former rivals expect to minimize the fear of political exclusion and increase their access to economic resources and political power.

Table 5.3: Survival of Transition toward Democracy after Civil Wars, 1946-2005.

	Model 4
Civil War Duration (Months)	0.003*
	(0.001)
Battle Deaths (Log)	0.005
	(0.062)
Ethnic & Linguistic Fractionalization Index (ELFI)	2.906****
	(0.511)
Parliamentary System (1, 0)	1.838**
	(0.724)
PR System (1, 0)	3.586****
	(0.884)
GDP Per Capita (log)$_{t-1}$	0.367***
	(0.138)
ELFI x Parliament System	-2.172
	(1.434)
ELFI x PR System	-4.187**
	(1.738)
PR System x Parliament System	-1.758**
	(0.824)
Population (log)	-0.313***
	(0.120)
Cold War (1, 0)	0.923****
	(0.208)
Oil (1, 0)	-0.792**
	(0.380)
Neighboring Democracy	0.0689*
	(0.039)
UN Missions (1, 0)	-0.595
	(0.519)
Constant	-3.273
	(2.227)
Scale Parameter	2.300
Wald χ^2	220.59
Probability of χ^2	0.000
Observations	578
Number of Subjects at Risk	65
Failures	18

Robust standard errors are in parentheses. All tests are two tail tests. * $p < 0.10$,
** $p < 0.05$, *** $p < 0.01$, **** $p < 0.001$.

Hypothesis 3 stipulates that the survival of a TTD is likely to increase with the adoption of a PR electoral system. Similarly, Hypothesis 5 proposes that a TTD is more likely to survive with a parliamentary system of government than with a presidential system of government. In the statistical tests performed, I find that the PR electoral system is positive and significant at least at the 0.05 level of significance across all models. The estimated coefficient for the PR system is 1.3, which means that the presence of a PR electoral system reduces the risk of failure of post-civil war TTD by 89% (Model 3, $p<0.05$). This lends support to the argument that the choice of electoral institutions is important and the chances of democratic survival increase if the electoral system is more inclusive. This relationship is depicted graphically in Figure 5.2. This Figure is generated by allowing PR system to vary from 0 to 1 while holding other variables constant.

Figure 5.2: PR System and Survival of Transition toward Democracy, 1946-2005.
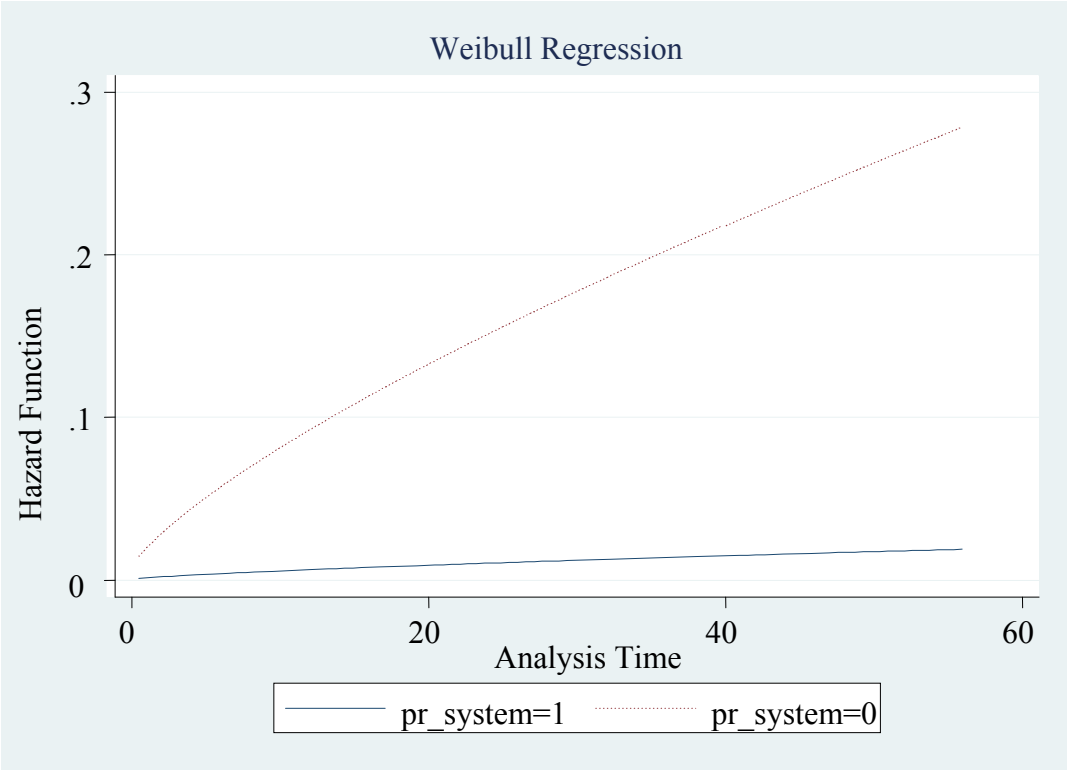
As shown in the Figure, the hazard rate of democratic failure for the PR System is almost flat compared to the majoritarian electoral system. This suggests that a post-civil war democratic transition is more likely to fail with the adoption of a majoritarian electoral system rather than a PR electoral system. This supports the theoretical argument that the inclusiveness of political participation that is enhanced by the PR electoral system increases the incentives for former rivals to sustain a democratic transition.

I expected that parliamentary democracy, not presidential democracy, would increase the prospects for the survival of a post-civil war TTD (Hypothesis 4). Because the type of government can be presidential, parliamentary, or mixed (with characteristics of both the presidential and the parliamentary system), I used the presidential system as the (omitted) reference category. In the analyses presented, the coefficient for parliamentary form of government is positive but insignificant across all models which do not include the interaction term between the parliamentary system and the PR electoral system. Similarly, the estimated coefficient for a mixed system is negative but insignificant. As such, neither the parliamentary nor the mixed system of government improves the prospects for the survival of a post-civil war TTD when compared to the presidential system. This finding is contrary to the theoretical expectation. One of the main arguments in the theoretical discussion, however, is that the former rivals will have a chance to be a part of a governing coalition in a parliamentary system if the electoral institutions are inclusive such that no one party can claim a majority in the legislature. Therefore, an interaction variable between the PR system and the parliamentary system is included in Model 4 (Table 5.3). The coefficient for the interaction variable is negative 1.758 and it is significant at the 0.05 level of significance, which suggests that post-civil war TTD is more likely to fail with the adoption of the PR system in conjunction with parliamentary institutions.

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Nevertheless, when this interaction term is introduced into the model, the parliamentary system becomes statistically significant at the 0.05 level with a coefficient of 1.84. This finding suggests the presence of some risk associated with the combination of PR elections and parliamentary government. That risk of failure is significantly moderated by the adoption of a parliamentary system. This effect can be visualized in Figure 5.3.

Figure 5.3: Effect of Parliamentary System on Survival of Transition toward Democracy,1946-2005.
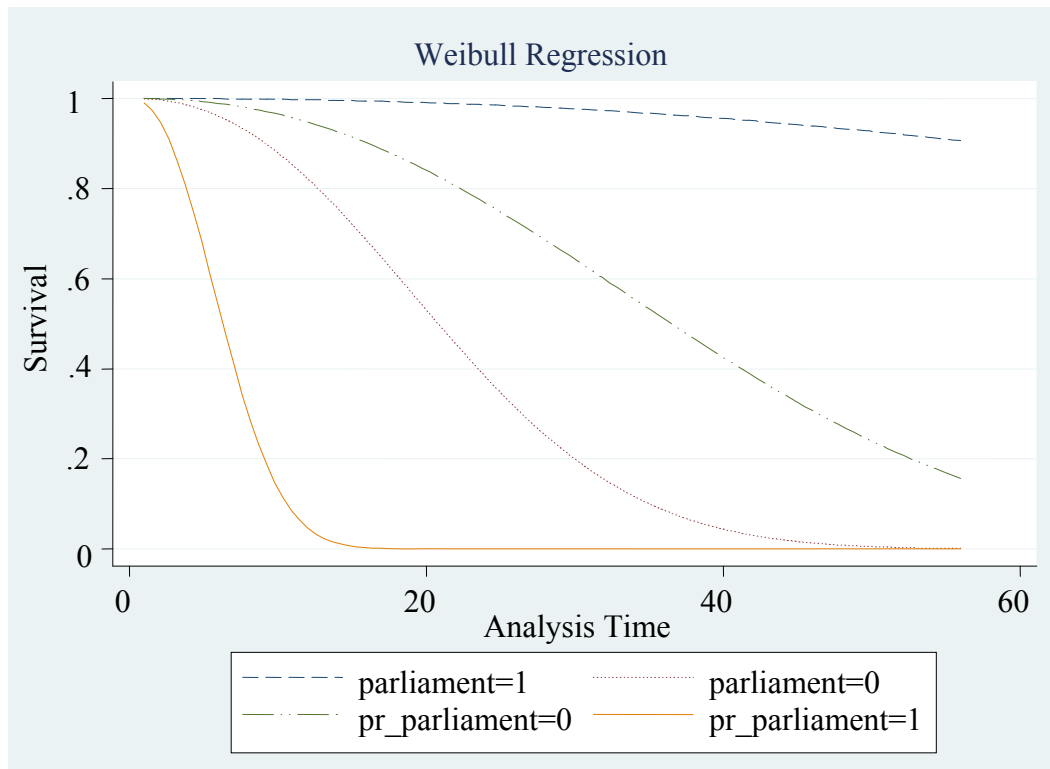
Figure 5.3 was produced by allowing the parliamentary system to vary from 0 to 1 and an interaction of the parliamentary system and the PR system to vary from 0 to 1. As shown in the figure, the survival rate of post-civil war TTD with parliamentary systems is higher compared to non-parliamentary systems. The survival rate decreases when the parliamentary system and the PR system are combined together. The risk of a democratic failure, however, is likely to be offset because of the parliamentary system.

Testing the Level of Economic Development Argument

Hypothesis 5 suggests that higher levels of economic development should create incentives for former rivals to sustain post-civil war democracy. A higher level of economic development is critical for rebuilding the nation's economic infrastructure, addressing societal demands and funding the peace process. In the empirical tests performed, I find that the level of economic development is positive and significant across all models at least at the 0.05 level of significance. The estimated coefficient of GDP per capita is 0.481, which suggests that the risk of failure of post-civil war TTD decreases by almost 60% (Model 2, p<0.001) with every 1 unit change in the log of level of economic development.

Figure 5.4 provides a visual representation of this relationship by setting the log of GDP per capita (one year lag) at its minimum, mean and maximum value of 19.04, 23.48 and 27.14 respectively. As shown in Figure 5.4, the survival rate of post-civil war TTD increases substantially as the level of economic development increases from the lowest levels to the highest levels. As such, post-civil war democracies with the lowest levels of economic development are more susceptible to democratic failure in comparison to those democracies with higher levels of economic development. The level of economic development is the most consistent predictor of democratic survival (Lipset 1959; Przeworski and Limongi 1997). Therefore, one can argue that the relationship between the level of economic development and survival of TTD is not a new finding. Nevertheless, this study specifically looks at those states where the economy is already shattered because of war. Those states are expected to have weak prospects for democratic survival.   By considering the fact that a higher level of economic development enables the post-civil war state to rebuild infrastructure, resume delivery of public goods and services, we expected economic development to have a positive impact on survival of

TTD. With higher levels of economic development, the democratic regime can gain political legitimacy by addressing redistributive demands and rebuilding economic infrastructure and providing an environment for capital reinvestment that promotes economic growth.

Figure 5.4: Level of Economic Development and Survival of Transition toward Democracy, 1946-2005.
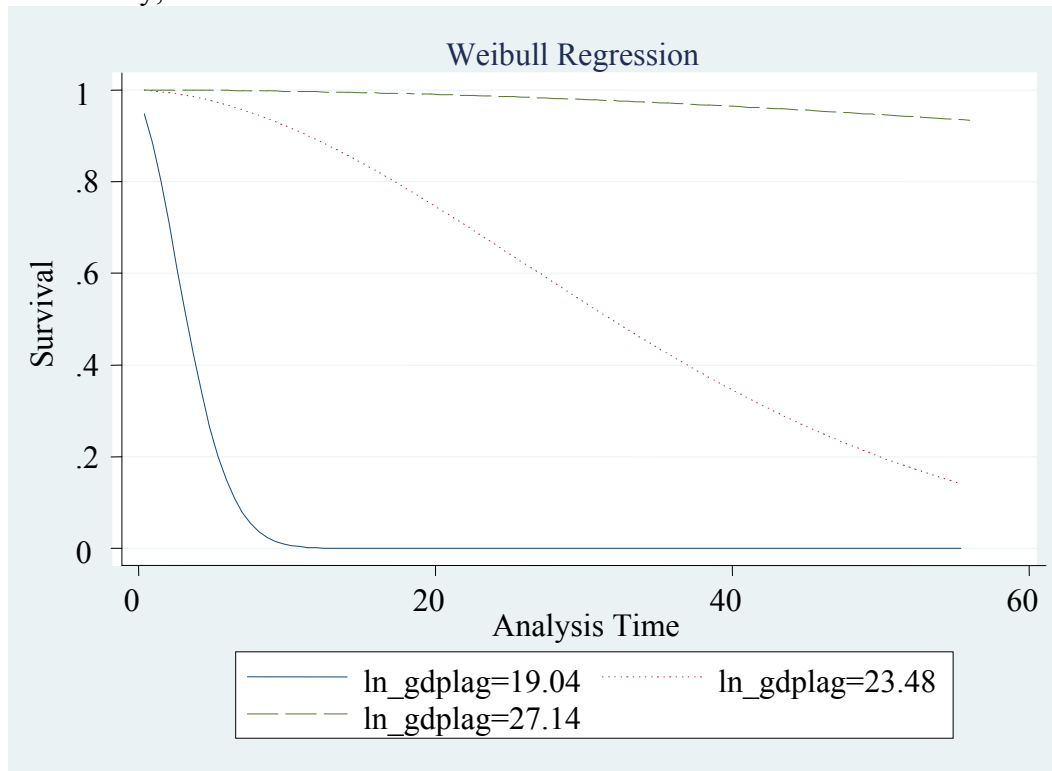
In the analysis performed, however, I did not find any effect of economic growth rates on the survival of post-civil war TTD (Model 3). The findings of this study suggest that the democratic failure in many of post-civil war states is related to lower levels of economic development. Nevertheless, the risk of democratic breakdown decreases over time if the post-civil war state gradually rebuilds its economic strengths and achieves a higher level of economic development.

Table 5.4: Institutional configuration and Survival of Transition toward Democracy after Civil Wars in Ethnically Fragmented Societies, 1946-2005.

	Model 6	Std. Errors
Ethnic & Linguistic Fractionalization Index (ELFI)	3.179	0.467****
ELFI x PR System x Parliamentary System	124.672	25.16****
Parliamentary System (1, 0)	2.464	0.769***
GDP Per Capita (log)t-1	0.307	0.121***
PR System (1, 0)	4.058	0.852****
ELFI x Parliament System	-3.119	1.388**
ELFI x PR System	-5.224	1.487****
PR System x Parliament System	-48.995	9.304****
Population (log)	-0.244	0.128*
Cold War (1, 0)	0.824	0.229****
Oil (1, 0)	-0.754	0.34**
Neighboring Democracy	0.055	0.026**
Constant	-3.047	1.834*
Scale Parameter	2.391	
Wald χ2	303.00	
Probability of χ2	0.00	
Observations	576	
Number of Subjects at Risk	65	
Failures	18	

Robust standard errors are in parentheses. All tests are two tail tests. * p < 0.10, ** p < 0.05, *** p < 0.01, **** p < 0.001.

Testing the Ethnic Fractionalization Argument

In Hypothesis 6a, I propose that ethnic fractionalization should have a positive impact on the survival of post-civil war TTD. That expectation was based on the possibility of the emergence and mobilization of multiple ethnic groups such that the post-war democratic process is not dominated by one ethnic group. The emergence of multiple ethnic groups that are politically mobilized could lead to the cooperation among ethnic groups. In this regard, inclusive institutions are pivotal. Therefore, Hypothesis 6b proposes a positive effect of the choice of PR electoral systems and parliamentary institutions in the ethnically divided post-war states. In the analysis performed, I find that ethnic fractionalization is statistically significant across all models. The estimated coefficient for ethnic fractionalization is 5.856, which means the chances of democratic survival increase by almost 100% (Model 2, p<0.05) for a perfectly heterogeneous

society. Ethnic fractionalization has a positive and independent effect on the survival of post-civil war TTD. This finding supports Hypothesis 6a. The square of ethnic fractionalization is not significant. This suggests that ethnic fractionalization has no quadratic effect on the survival of post-civil war TTD. When the ethnic fractionalization variable is interacted with the two institutional variables, ethnic fractionalization is still positive and significant at the 0.001 level but its impact on the interaction with the parliamentary system variable (in Model 6, Table 5.4) is negative and significant at the 0.05 level. Similarly, the interaction of ethnic fractionalization with the PR electoral system variable is negative and significant across all models at the 0.05 level. As such, adopting the parliamentary system only or the PR electoral system only could pose a serious threat to the survival of a post-civil war TTD in ethnically heterogeneous states. Nevertheless, the PR system and the parliamentary system variables are positive and statistically significant (p<0.0001) in the same model. Similarly, an interaction of ethnic fractionalization which the PR system and the parliamentary system together is highly significant (p<0.000), which suggests that ethnic fractionalization actually increases the prospects for the survival of post-civil war TTD if PR electoral rules and the parliamentary institutions are established.

<div align="center">Effects of Control Variables</div>

Among control variables used in the analysis, I find some support for the regional standard of democracy improving the prospects for democratic survival. The survival rate increases by almost 61% if the average regional standard of democracy is at least +6 on the Polity autocracy-democracy scale (Table 5.3, Model 4, p<0.05). Since this variable became significant only when the institutional interaction variables were included in the model, I conclude that post-civil war democratic survival is related to internal factors such as inclusive political institutions, rather than external factors such as the regional standard of democracy.

Regional standards of democracy support the survival of post-civil war TTD when competing groups within the nation adopt inclusive institutions that increase their chances of becoming part of a governing coalition.

The effect of the Cold War is positive and statistically significant. This suggests that a TTD that took place after the end of Cold War is more likely to survive by almost 78% (Model 1, $p<0.01$) in comparison to TTD following civil wars that took place during the Cold War. Similarly, I find that oil dependence is negative and significant across all models. This finding corroborates the earlier study of Ross (2001) on the impact of the resource curse on democracy and democratic institutions. The risk of failure of TTD in post-conflict oil-exporting states is 529% greater than the risk of failure in states that are not dependent on oil revenue. The effect of population on the survival of post-civil war TTD is negative and significant across all models except Model 3. The estimated coefficient for population is -0.349 (Model 1), which suggests that the risk of post-civil war TTD failing increases by almost 80% with a one unit increase in the log of population. This suggests that population pressure jeopardizes the survival of TTD in post-civil war states by straining the state's resource base and institutional capacity. Finally, I find that time to TTD is positive but not significant. The survival of a post-civil war TTD is not affected by the time that elapses between the end of the war and the event of TTD.

Conclusion

This study started with a puzzle: what factors predict whether or not a post-civil war state will make the TTD? And what accounts for the survival of post-civil war TTD? Building upon previous studies on civil war, peace building and democracy, I argued that the balance of power between former rivals and the desire of former rivals to eliminate fear of future uncertainty encourage TTD in post-civil war states. But a post-civil war TTD is at risk of failing in the form of either a relapse into a renewed civil war or a relapse into authoritarianism. That risk is a

function of the fear that a rival who won a democratic election can dismantle the institutions of democracy and exclude the democratic losers. The fear of being excluded might create incentives for the democratic losers to prefer renewed civil war over possible discrimination and repression by the incumbent government. By using expected utility logic, I identified factors such as the costs of war, institutional inclusiveness and level of economic development that affect the decision calculus of former protagonists on whether they would be better off by sustaining post-civil war TTD.

In the empirical tests, I find support for the theoretical arguments that the former protagonists are likely to prefer democracy over its alternatives to the extent that they find that the institutions of the post-civil war state promote cooperation and political inclusion. For ethnically divided societies, designing inclusive institutions (particularly the adoption of parliamentary government and PR electoral rules) is even more important. Higher levels of economic development create stronger incentives for former protagonists as well as civilian masses to sustain democracy. Higher levels of development also help post-war states gain legitimacy by building state capacity and restoring the capacity to provide public goods to the citizens.

The relationship between the costs of war and the survival of TTD is consistent with studies on the duration of peace after civil war. The odds of survival of a TTD increase in those states that fought a prolonged civil war. But a TTD is more likely to fail following wars with higher numbers of battle related deaths. The positive relationship between war duration and the survival of TTD is related to war weariness: rivals reach the conclusion that they cannot win a war and therefore a democratic system would better protect their interests. On the other hand,

higher levels of battle deaths make it difficult for rivals to work together by undermining trust and reinforcing conflictual identities, as suggested by Walter (2004).

The quantitative analysis conducted in this chapter provides strong support for the argument that the former rivals make their decision of whether or not to sustain a post-civil war TTD based on their estimates of the political payoffs they think can be achieved through the democratic process. Their estimate of the payoffs – in terms of political power and access to economic resources - depends on institutional inclusiveness and the levels of economic development. Since most of the post-conflict states that made the TTD are struggling to sustain a democratic change, these findings have some policy implications. The next chapter elaborates on the implication of the findings for the theoretical debate as well as policy implications for post-conflict democratization.

CHAPTER VI

CONCLUDING REMARKS

This dissertation began with two related empirical puzzles: what factors predict TTD in

the aftermath of the civil war? And if a TTD takes place, what factors explain whether or not the

post-civil war TTD will survive in the inhospitable post-civil war environment. In the theoretical

arguments, I emphasized the decision calculus of former protagonists on whether to accept a

democratic transition as an alternative to the continued civil war. The theory I have proposed to

explain the TTD in the aftermath of the civil war emphasizes the importance of the establishment

of a balance of power between former protagonists and the stability of that balance of power as

preconditions for a democratic transition to take place. Balance of power is established when the

civil war terminates in settlement. I suggest how power-sharing agreements and the presence of

UN peacekeeping missions help to eliminate the fear of future uncertainty when balance of

power is established. I have explored how the negotiated settlement, the type of incompatibility

in ethnic conflict, third-party intervention in the civil war and the introduction of UN missions

affect the establishment and stability of a balance of power between civil war protagonists, and

how these factors create an environment in which former protagonists can negotiate a democratic

transition without being fearful about their future under that democratic regime.

But the dynamics that encourage a TTD in the aftermath of the civil war are different

from the dynamics that influence the survival of that transition. The post-conflict environment is

not hospitable for the survival of that transition. Former rivals are still somewhat fearful about

the possibility that their rivals would use their democratically won power to marginalize them

politically. The effort to marginalize rivals through the use of democratically won power could

lead to authoritarianism. Similarly, the fear of being marginalized in the democratic process

could induce an actor to resume civil war. I depicted authoritarian reversal and renewed civil war as two possible pathways to failure of post-civil war democratic transitions. I explained the survival of post-civil war TTD as a function of the decision calculus of former protagonists, given the residual effects of the civil war itself such as the perceived costs of the civil war. The design of inclusive institutions moderates the leftover hostilities and ensures former protagonists access to political power and economic resources. Higher levels of economic development increase the costs for assembling the armed force for renewed conflict. Economic development also increases the capacity of the post-war government to address societal grievances that caused the conflict in the first place. I suggested that the civil war protagonists find it less costly to sustain democracy when they estimate that the cost of a renewed civil war is high and when the institutions of the post-war state allow a fair competition for access to power and resources.

The empirical analysis performed in this study lends strong support for the theoretical arguments related to TTD and survival of that democratic transition in post-civil war states. A negotiated settlement to a civil war increases the chances of TTD in the aftermath of the civil war, and this finding holds when controlling for factors that could affect both the negotiated settlement and democratic transition. The analysis performed suggests no statistically significant difference between the government victory and the rebel victory to cause a TTD. The balance of power approach used to explain a TTD suggests a higher likelihood of TTD when an ethnic civil war terminates in negotiated settlement. Transition toward democracy is also more likely when ethnic groups are fighting to change the government in comparison to fighting for territorial or cultural autonomy. Similarly, TTD is more likely to occur in post-civil war states when UN missions are deployed. Further analysis, however, reveals the importance of the mandate of the UN missions by suggesting that peacekeeping operations in general and multidimensional

peacekeeping operations in particular are more effective in comparison to traditional peacekeeping operations and observer missions. In the analysis performed, I did not find support for third-party intervention during a civil war enhancing the prospects of TTD. This finding is consistent with the theoretical arguments. Third-party interveners could play an important role in establishing the balance of power between former protagonists, but most of the time these interveners leave immediately after the conflict ends. Their withdrawal undermines the stability of the balance of power between rivals, making the progress from war termination to TTD more tenuous.

Consistent with the theoretical expectations, the empirical tests suggest that the dynamics that affect the survival of post-civil war TTD are different from those that encouraged the TTD itself. Negotiated settlement and the UN missions do not affect the survival of post-civil war TTD. The cost of war, measured in terms of duration of the previous civil war, is likely to increase the survival of post-civil war TTD, but war cost measured in terms of battle deaths has the opposite effect. Similarly, institutional choice does matter in creating incentives for former protagonists to sustain a TTD. In this regard, the choice of a PR electoral system, not a majoritarian system, increases the chances for the survival of TTD. Institutional incentives discussed in terms of the choice between the presidential and the parliamentary forms of government have no significant independent effects. However, the choice of a parliamentary system can have a positive impact on survival if a PR electoral system is adopted at the same time. Similarly, post-civil war democracy is likely to survive in societies with a high degree of ethnic fragmentation. The adoption of PR electoral rules and parliamentary government can increase the durability of TTD in ethnically divided societies. Finally, the level of economic development has a positive and significant effect on the durability of post-civil war TTD.

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The theory presented in this study contributes to the current debate in the field of post-civil war democratization and peace building. The literature that deals with post-civil war states mostly focuses on peace building efforts. Paris (2004) suggests that post-war states cannot afford democracy until post-conflict stability is achieved. Therefore, democracy should be deferred for some time. Establishing a functioning state in the aftermath of the civil war is important, but it is equally important to set the rules of the game so that the former protagonists can pursue their political and economic interests through institutionalized means that they perceive as producing fair outcomes. Efforts to stabilize the post-war state may not materialize if the institutional foundations are not created to address issues of access to political power and resources. Too much focus on stabilizing the post-civil war state without laying down the institutional foundations of democracy could backfire because the dilemma might create incentives for rival groups to return to war or pave the pathways for the emergence of an authoritarian regime. In order to foster stability and peace in the post-civil war state, it is important to set the rules of the game so that groups engaged in the conflict know how to pursue their interests legitimately. Transition toward democracy defines the rules of the game, creates incentives for civil war protagonists to transform themselves into legitimate political parties in order to compete for power and resources through institutional means. Promoting a democratic process with inclusive institutions helps to build the confidence of former rivals that, with democracy in place, they do not have to resort to violence to pursue their political and economic interests.

This study has broader implications in the study of post-civil war democratization and peacebuilding. The post-civil war peacebuilding literature treats peacebuilding efforts and democratization as mutually exclusive political processes, and peacebuilding should be

prioritized over democracy building. The logic behind this argument is that the post-civil war environment is not hospitable for TTD and democratic stability. This study, however, suggests that TTD can be achieved in post-civil war states and that transition can survive in the post-conflict environment. In the broader debate, this finding can be very helpful for policy makers as well as researchers on how the contentious issues of building peace and democracy can be handled together as mutually inclusive political processes.

The international community has devoted substantial attention and resources to promoting democracy in post-civil war states. The success of these efforts depends on understanding the pathways to promoting and sustaining that democracy. This study has some policy implication for the international community as well as for other governmental and non-governmental actors in regard to fostering democracy in post-civil war states. I begin with policy implications related to TTD.

First, since the TTD is more likely following a negotiated settlement, policy makers should look for ways to end civil wars through negotiated settlement. In this regard, power-sharing deals (e.g., positions in the transitional government) may be catalysts for bringing former rivals together and creating incentives to join the political process. However, power-sharing deals alone may not realistically convince protagonists on the matter of security concerns. Rebels group cannot trust the government to abide by the peace agreement if the rebels disarm. The security dilemma is a critical barrier to achieving a negotiated settlement to end a civil war. In this regard, the international community, through the mechanism of a peacekeeping mission, can play the crucial role of guarantor of security. Peacekeepers help to solve the credible commitment problems and stabilize the balance of power between warring parties. Power-

sharing deals can be meaningful only when there is a provision for security guarantees provided by unbiased external actors.

Second, UN missions not only resolve the credible commitment problem, they are also influential in promoting democracy in post-civil war states. A UN mission brings former protagonist together and engages them in the political process, provides them with crucial information and helps them in designing the institutions of the post-war state. Therefore, the international community should involve the UN in managing post-conflict peacebuilding and democracy building efforts. UN mission, however, are less critical to the survival of post-civil war TTD than they are to the transition itself. UN missions often are decommissioned after post-conflict elections.

And third, TTD in ethnically divided societies can be challenging but not impossible. In this regard, this study suggests the importance of making a clear distinction between ethnic revolutions and ethnic territorial conflicts. Transition toward democracy is more likely following ethnic revolutions rather than ethnic secessionist wars. In this regard, international actors may have a greater space to push for a democratic change when rebellious ethnic groups seek to be the part of the political process. For policy makers and practitioners, therefore, it is imperative to identify the type of ethnic conflict because ethnic revolutions are riper for resolution and for democratization than secessionist wars.

The findings from this study suggest that the factors that bring about TTD in post-civil war states are not the same as the factors that sustain that democratic transition. Therefore, the international community and actors that have a stake in the stability of the post-war regime should shift their attention to those factors that promote the survival of a new democracy. Since the survival of TTD in post-civil war states is related to the design of inclusive institutions,

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particularly the PR electoral rules and parliamentary institutions, the international community

should promote these choices in post-civil war nations. Findings from this study suggest that the

survival of TTD in ethnically divided societies is not as difficult as it appears, if the right

institutional choices are made. In this regard, PR electoral rules and parliamentary institutions

are especially important because these two institutions increase the chances of being represented

in the legislature and becoming a part of the governing coalition. In this regard, international

actors (including the UN) can play a vital role in encouraging warring parties to adopt PR

election rules and parliamentary institutions because they promote the inclusion of all politically

mobilized groups. Civil society organizations can also take the initiative as catalysts in this

regard. Most of the time, civil wars shatter civil society organizations. Therefore, international

actors need to focus on rebuilding and strengthening civil society at the first place in order to

strengthen the role of civil society in post-conflict democracy rebuilding efforts. Given that the

TTD is more likely to survive in post-civil war states with higher levels of economic

development, the international community can also support the survival of TTD by extending

economic supports in the form of "peace funds" to reconstruct infrastructure in post-war states.

The policy implications suggested here are useful for the international community and other

actors involved in the conflict management process so that they can design responses that have

the most potential to succeed.

In the light of the findings, it is appropriate to make a concluding remark on the subject

of post-civil war democracies. More specifically, what are the prospects for democratic survival

in post-civil war states like Nepal? The theory and findings on the survival of post-civil war TTD

suggest a rather perilous future for Nepal's post-civil war democracy. Since the conflict in Nepal

lasted for about 10 years and produced about 13 thousands battle deaths, the costs of war are not

so great as to make the failure of Nepal's TTD inevitable. The biggest threat for the survival of

TTD in Nepal, however, lies in designing inclusive institutions and promoting economic

development. After the negotiated settlement of the Maoist insurgency, different groups have

organized under ethnic identity, and identity politics has dominated the post-conflict peace

processes. For the survival of Nepal's fragile democracy, the political interests of political parties

(including the Maoist party) and ethnically mobilized groups should be addressed by designing

inclusive institutions. In this regard, only PR elections and parliamentary institutions promise to

make Nepal's democracy more durable. Promoting economic development in Nepal, however,

will be the biggest challenge. Persistent and widespread poverty that predates the civil war could

lead to democratic failure and perhaps a renewed conflict, especially if Nepal does not make

dramatic steps toward the redistribution of wealth. Nepal is an agrarian economy and the Maoists

capitalized on the inequality of land ownership to mobilize peasants for their armed insurgency.

Ethnic groups supported the insurgency in hopes that they would gain equal access to resources

(especially land). The best way to give them some assurance of access is through proportional

representation in the Nepalese polity. Therefore, ending inequality in resource distribution and

promoting the interests of ethnic minorities are crucial for the success of Nepal's quest for

democracy and peace in the aftermath of the Maoist insurgency. Perhaps, external support to

rebuild infrastructure is crucial to promoting economic development in Nepal. External actors

and donor agencies can play a crucial role in this regard. Nevertheless, the role of these actors

should focus on supporting institutional choices that promise to bring about a more equitable

redistribution of resources. When resources are equitably distributed, people not only demand

political rights and liberties but also guard their political rights and liberties. In comparison to the

concentration of wealth in the hands of a few landed elites, equitable redistribution of resources

promotes economic activities and subsequently helps to achieve higher levels of economic development. As such, redistribution of land is crucial to the promotion of economic development and democratic stability in post-war states like Nepal.

APPENDIX A

LIST OF CIVIL WARS USED IN THE STUDY FROM 1946-2005.

S.N.	Country	Begin Date	End Date	Conflict
1	Afghanistan	4/1978	2/1992	Mujahideen vs. PDPA
2	Afghanistan	2/1992	1996/9	Taliban vs. Burhanuddin Rabbani
3	Afghanistan	10/1996	2001/11	Taliban Govt. vs. United Front
4	Algeria	7/1962	1963/1	Algeria vs. Former Rebel Leaders
5	Algeria	12/1992	1997/10	Islamic Salvation Army (AIS)
6	Angola	11/1975	1991/5	Angola vs. UNITA
7	Angola	9/1992	1994/11	UNITA
8	Angola	1/1997	2002	UNITA/Cabinda; FLEC (1994-1999)
9	Argentina	6/1955	1955/9	Peron v. military
10	Argentina	1/1973	1977/12	Military junta vs. Montoneros, ERP, Dirty War
11	Azerbaijan	4/1991	1994/10	Nagorno-Karabakh
12	Bangladesh	1/1974	1997/12	Chittagong Hills/Shanti Bahini
13	Bolivia	4/1952	1952/4	MNR rebellion in La Paz
14	Burundi	10/1965	1969/4	Hutu uprising
15	Burundi	4/1972	1972/12	Hutu uprising
16	Burundi	8/1988	1988/8	Org. massacres on both sides
17	Cambodia	3/1970	1975/1	FUNK; Khmer
18	Cambodia	5/1975	1991/10	Khmer Rouge, FUNCINPEC, etc
19	Cambodia	12/1978	1979/1	Khmer Rouge vs. KUFNS
20	Central African Rep	4/1996	1997/1	Factional fighting
21	Chad	10/1965	1979/6	FROLINAT, various …
22	Chad	3/1980	1994/6	FARF; FROLINAT
23	Chad	6/1994	1997/8	FARF; FROLINAT
24	China	3/1946	1949/1	PLA, Taiwanese v. Nationalist soldiers
25	China	2/1947	1947/3	Taiwanese v. Nationalist soldiers
26	China	2/1950	1951/4	re-annexation
27	China	3/1956	1959/3	Tibetan uprising
28	China	1/1967	1968/9	Red Guards
29	Colombia	4/1948	1966	La Violencia
30	Congo – Brazzaville	5/1993	1997/10	Lissouba v. Sassou-Nguesso
31	Congo – Brazzaville	8/1998	1999/12	Cobras v. Ninjas

32	Congo-Zaire	7/1960	1965/11	Katanga, Kasai, Kwilu, Eastern
33	Congo-Zaire	7/1967	1967/11	Kisangani mutiny
34	Congo-Zaire	11/1977	1978/5	FLNC; Shabba 1 & 2
35	Congo-Zaire	10/1996	1997/5	AFDL (Kabila)
36	Congo-Zaire	8/1998	2001/1	RCD, etc v. govt
37	Costa Rica	3/1948	1948/4	NLA
38	Cuba	6/1958	1959/1	Castro revolution
39	Djibouti	11/1991	1994/12	FRUD
40	Dominican Republic	4/1965	1965/9	Mil. coup
41	Egypt	2/1994	1997/9	Gamaat Islamiya; Islamic Jihad
42	El Salvador	10/1979	1992/1	FMLN
43	Ethiopia	1/1976	1991/5	Ogaden; Somalis, Erteria etc.
44	Georgia	1/1991	1992/7	Abkhazia (& Gamsakhurdia)/South Osetia
45	Greece	12/1944	1949/10	EDES/ELAS; EAM
46	Guatemala	10/1966	1972/12	Communists;
47	Guatemala	3/1978	1994/4	Communists; Indigenous
48	Guinea-Bissau	6/1998	1999/5	Vieira v. Mane mutiny
49	Haiti	10/1991	1995/12	Cedras v. Aristide
50	India	2/1984	1993/12	Sikhs
51	Indonesia	7/1950	1950/12	Rep. S. Moluccas
52	Indonesia	9/1953	1953/11	Darul Islam
53	Indonesia	12/1956	1960/12	Darul Islam, PRRI, Permesta
54	Indonesia	12/1975	1999/10	East Timor
55	Indonesia	1976	1978/	OPM (West Papua)
56	Indonesia	1990	1991/	Aceh
57	Indonesia	1999	2002/12	Aceh
58	Iran	9/1978	1979/12	Khomeini
59	Iran	3/1979	1984/7	KDPI (Kurds)
60	Iraq	6/1959	1959/10	Shammar
61	Iraq	9/1961	1970/3	KDP, PUK (Kurds)
62	Iraq	3/1974	1975/4	KDP, PUK (Kurds)
63	Iraq	1/1985	1996/10	Kurds; Anfal
64	Iraq	3/1991	1993/12	Shiite uprising
65	Jordan	2/1970	1971/7	Fedeyeen/Syria v. govt
66	Kenya	1963	1967/	Shifta war (Somalis)
67	Kenya	10/1991	1993/9	Rift valley ethnic violence
68	Korea	10/1948	1949/4	Yosu Rebellion
69	Laos	10/1960	1973/2	Pathet Lao

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70	Lebanon	5/1958	1958/9	Nasserites v. Chamoun
71	Lebanon	4/1975	1991/9	Aoun; militias; PLO; Israel
72	Liberia	12/1989	1990/11	Doe v. rebels
73	Liberia	1/1992	1996/7	NPLF; ULIMO; NPF; LPC; LDF
74	Liberia	5/1999	2003/8	anti-Taylor resistance
75	Mali	6/1990	1992/4	Tuaregs; Maurs
76	Moldova	12/1991	1992/7	Transdniestria
77	Morocco/Western Sahara	12/1975	1991/	Polisario
78	Mozambique	1976	1992/10	RENAMO; FRELIMO
79	Myanmar	9/1948	1951/7	Karen rebellion I
80	Myanmar	9/1948	1988/	Communist insurgency
81	Myanmar	1960	1995/3	various ethnic groups; Karen rebellion 2
82	Nicaragua	10/1978	1979/7	FSLN
83	Nicaragua	2/1981	1990/4	Contras & Miskitos, FDN
84	Nigeria	1/1967	1970/1	Biafra
85	Nigeria	12/1980	1985/4	Muslims; Maitatsine rebellion
86	Oman	1/1971	1975/12	Dhofar rebellion
87	Pakistan	1/1973	1977/7	Baluchistan
88	Pakistan	11/1994	1999/10	MQM:Sindhis v. Mohajirs
89	Papua New Guinea	11/1988	1998/4	BRA (Bougainville)
90	Paraguay	3/1947	1947/8	Febreristas, Libs, Comms
91	Peru	7/1980	1996/12	Sendero Luminoso, Tupac Amaru
92	Philippines	9/1950	1952/7	Huks
93	Philippines	1971	1996/9	MNLF, MILF
94	Philippines	9/1972	1992/9	NPA
95	Russia	12/1994	1996/8	Chechnya 1
96	Rwanda	11/1963	1964/2	Tutsi uprising
97	Rwanda	9/1990	1993/8	Hutu vs. Tutsi groups
98	Rwanda	4/1994	1994/7	RPF; genocide
99	Senegal	1/1989	2004/12	MFDC (Casamance)
100	Sierra Leone	3/1991	1996/11	RUF, AFRC, post-Koroma coup violence
101	Somalia	5/1988	1991/1	SSDF, SNM (Isaaqs)
102	South Africa	6/1976	1994/4	ANC, PAC, Azapo
103	Sri Lanka	4/1971	1971/5	JVP
104	Sri Lanka	7/1983	2002/12	LTTE, etc.
105	Sri Lanka	9/1987	1989/12	JVP II

106	Sudan	10/1963	1972/3	Anya Nya
107	Sudan	7/1983	2002/7	SPLM, SPLA, NDA, AnyanyaII
108	Syria	6/1979	1982/2	Muslim Brotherhood
109	Tajikistan	4/1992	1997/6	Popular Democratic Army; UTO
110	Thailand	1/1966	1982/12	Communists (CPT)
111	Turkey	8/1984	1999/2	PKK (Kurds)
112	Uganda	5/1966	1966/6	Baganda rebellion
113	Uganda	10/1978	1979/4	Tanzanian war
114	Uganda	1/1981	1986/1	NRA/Museveni, etc
115	Uganda	1/1990	1992/7	Kony (pre-LRA)
116	Vietnam	1/1960	1975/4	NLF
117	Yemen	5/1994	1994/7	South Yemen
118	Yemen AR	2/1948	1948/3	Yahaya rebellion
119	Yemen AR	11/1962	1970/6	Royalists
120	Yemen PR	1/1986	1986/1	Faction of Socialist Party
121	Yugoslavia	5/1991	1991/12	Croatia/Krajina
122	Yugoslavia	3/1992	1995/11	Rep. Srpska/Croats
123	Yugoslavia	3/1998	1999/3	Kosovo
124	Zimbabwe	12/1972	1979/12	ZANU, ZAPU
125	Zimbabwe	1/1983	1987/12	Ndebele guerillas

APPENDIX B

UN MISSIONS AFTER CIVIL WARS, 1946-2005.

S.N	Civil War Country	Type of Termination	Mission Name	Mission Duration	Costs (in Million $)
1	Afghanistan	Rebel Victory (2002)	United Nations Assistance Mission in Afghanistan (UNAMA)	03/2002-	
2	Angola	Settlement (1991)	United Nations Angola Verification Mission (UNAVEM II)	05/1991-02/1995)	175.8
3	Angola	Settlement (1994)	United Nations Angola Verification Mission (UNAVEM III)	02/1995-06/1997	887.1
4	Angola	Government Victory (2002)	United Nations observer Mission in Angola (MONUA)	06/1997-02/1999	293.7
5	Bosnia	Settlement (1999)	United Nations Mission in Bosnia and Herzegovina (UNMIBH)	12/1995-12/2005	not available
6	Burundi	Government Victory (1988)	United Nations Operation in Burundi (ONUB)	06/2004-12/2006	*678.3*
7	Cambodia	Settlement (1991)	United Nations Transitional Authority in Cambodia (UNTAC)	02/1992-09/1993	1600
8	Central African Republic	Settlement (1997)	United Nations Mission in the Central African Republic (MINURCA)	04/1998 -02/2000	60.2
9	Côte d'Ivoire	Settlement (2003)	United Nations Operation in Côte d'Ivoire (UNOCI)	4/2004-	472.89
10	Croatia	Settlement (1999)	United Nations Transitional Authority in Eastern Slavonia, Baranja and Western Srimium (UNTAES)	01/1996-01/1998	435.2

11	East Timor	Settlement (1999)	United Nations Mission of Support in East Timor (UNMISET)	05/2002-05/2005	565.5
12	East Timor	Settlement (1999)	United Nations Transitional Authority in East Timor (UNTAET)	10/1999-05/2002	476.8 (Partial)
13	El Salvador	Settlement (1992)	United Nations Observer Mission in El Salvador(ONUSAL)	07/1991 -04/1995	107.11
14	Guatemala	Settlement (1994)	The United Nations Verification Mission in Guatemala (MINUGUA)	01/1997-05/1997	3.9
15	Haiti	Rebel Victory (1994)	United Nations Stabilization Mission in Haiti (MINUSTAH)	06/2004-	489.21
16	Haiti	Rebel Victory (1994)	United Nations Mission in Haiti (UNMIH)	09/1993-06/1996	320
17	Haiti	Rebel Victory (1994)	United Nations Support Mission in Haiti (UNSMIH)	06/1996-06/1997	62.1
18	Haiti	Rebel Victory (1994)	United Nations Transition Mission in Haiti (UNTMIH)	07/1997-11/1997	20.6 (Partial)
19	Kosovo	Settlement (1999)	United Nations Interim Administration Mission in Kosovo (UNMIK)	06/1999-	200
20	Lebnon	Settlement (1958)	United Nations Observation Group in Lebanon (UNOGL)	06/1958 -12/1958	3.7
21	Liberia	Settlement (1996)	United Nations Observer Mission in Liberia	09/1993-09/1997	103.7
22	Liberia	Settlement(2003)	The United Nations Mission in Liberia (UNMIL)	09/2003-	714.88

23	Morocco/Western Sahara	Government Victory (1991)	United Nations Mission for the Referendum in Western Sahara (MINURSO)	04/1991-	44.94
24	Mozambique	Settlement (1992)	United Nations Operation in Mozambique (ONMOZ)	12/1992-12/1994	492.6
25	Namabia	Settlement (1989)	United Nations Transition Assistance Group (UNTAG)	04/1989-03/1990	368.6
26	Nepal	Settlement (2006)	United Nations Mission in Nepal	02/2007-	93
27	Republic of Congo (Zaire)	Government Victory (1965)	United Nations Operationin the Congo (ONUC)	07/1960 -06/1964	400.1
28	Republic of Congo (Zaire)	Rebel Victory (1997)	United Nations Mission in the Democratic Republic of the Congo (MONUC)	11/1999-	1,094.25
29	Rwanda	Settlement (1994)	United Nations Assistance Mission for Rwanda (UNAMIR)	10/1993-03/1996	453.9
30	Sierra Leone	Settlement (1996)	United Nations Mission in Sierra Leone (UNAMSIL)	10/1999-12-2005	2800
31	Somalia	Rebel Victory (1991)	United Nations Operation in Somalia II (UNOSOM II)	03/1993-03/1995	1600
32	Sudan	Settlement (2002)	United Nations Mission in the Sudan (UNMIS)	03/2005-	1,079.53
33	Tajikistan	Settlement(1994)	United Nations Tajikistan Office of Peace-building (UNTOP)	06/2000-	
34	Timor-Leste	Settlement (1999)	United Nations Integrated Mission in Timor-Leste	07/2006-	184.82

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