When wars end

Francisco Villamil

War, peace, and political violence

UC3M, Fall 2022

Not all is written when a war breaks out

- When do civil wars end?

Not all is written when a war breaks out

- When do civil wars end?
- How do they end?

Not all is written when a war breaks out

- When do civil wars end?
- How do they end?
- Why do they break out again?

Not all is written when a war breaks out

- When do civil wars end?
- How do they end?
- Why do they break out again?
- How can we enforce peace?

Not all is written when a war breaks out

- When do civil wars end?
- How do they end?
- Why do they break out again?
- How can we enforce peace?
  - → How do we prevent war?

The *duration* of civil wars

- Why do some wars last so much longer than others? (Fearon 2004)

The *duration* of civil wars

- Why do some wars last so much longer than others? (Fearon 2004)
- When we look at data, two types of particularly long conflicts

The *duration* of civil wars

- Why do some wars last so much longer than others? (Fearon 2004)
- When we look at data, two types of particularly long conflicts
  - → Conflicts where rebel groups receive funding from contraband activities: diamonds, coca, opium…

The *duration* of civil wars

- Why do some wars last so much longer than others? (Fearon 2004)
- When we look at data, two types of particularly long conflicts
  - → Conflicts where rebel groups receive funding from contraband activities: diamonds, coca, opium…
  - → 'Sons-of-the-soil' conflicts: ethnic minority in the periphery against a dominant ethnic group that supports migrants into the periphery

The *duration* of civil wars

- Why do some wars last so much longer than others? (Fearon 2004)
- When we look at data, two types of particularly long conflicts
  - → Conflicts where rebel groups receive funding from contraband activities: diamonds, coca, opium…
  - → 'Sons-of-the-soil' conflicts: ethnic minority in the periphery against a dominant ethnic group that supports migrants into the periphery
- Why?

The *duration* of civil wars & commitment problems

- What is different about conflict termination in civil wars vs interstate wars?

The *duration* of civil wars & commitment problems

- What is different about conflict termination in civil wars vs interstate wars?
- Why would I stop fighting and reach a **negotiated settlement**?

The *duration* of civil wars & commitment problems

- What is different about conflict termination in civil wars vs interstate wars?
- Why would I stop fighting and reach a **negotiated settlement**?
  - → (Which means I'll have to disarm)

The *duration* of civil wars & commitment problems

- What is different about conflict termination in civil wars vs interstate wars?
- Why would I stop fighting and reach a **negotiated settlement**?
  - → (Which means I'll have to disarm)
- Usually about the incentives of fighting actors to negotiate or about how credible it would be

The *duration* of civil wars & commitment problems

- What is different about conflict termination in civil wars vs interstate wars?
- Why would I stop fighting and reach a **negotiated settlement**?
  - → (Which means I'll have to disarm)
- Usually about the incentives of fighting actors to negotiate or about how credible it would be
- Explains the previous two types

The *duration* of civil wars & commitment problems

- What is different about conflict termination in civil wars vs interstate wars?
- Why would I stop fighting and reach a **negotiated settlement**?
  - $\rightarrow$ (Which means I'll have to disarm)
- Usually about the incentives of fighting actors to negotiate or about how credible it would be
- Explains the previous two types
 - $\rightarrow$ Wartime contraband is making me rich even if fighting is costly

The *duration* of civil wars & commitment problems

- What is different about conflict termination in civil wars vs interstate wars?
- Why would I stop fighting and reach a **negotiated settlement**?
  - $\rightarrow$ (Which means I'll have to disarm)
- Usually about the incentives of fighting actors to negotiate or about how credible it would be
- Explains the previous two types
  - $\rightarrow$ Wartime contraband is making me rich even if fighting is costly
  - $\rightarrow$ I'm sending migrants of my group to your region, which will increase in local power in the future

# The *duration* of civil wars & commitment problems

- What is different about conflict termination in civil wars vs interstate wars?
- Why would I stop fighting and reach a **negotiated settlement**?
  - → (Which means I'll have to disarm)
- Usually about the incentives of fighting actors to negotiate or about how credible it would be
- Explains the previous two types
  - → Wartime contraband is making me rich even if fighting is costly
  - → I'm sending migrants of my group to your region, which will increase in local power in the future
- There is another explanation to **sons-of-the-soil** longer duration: ethnic exclusion → group solidarity & mobilization → longer wars

The *duration* of civil wars & warfare technology
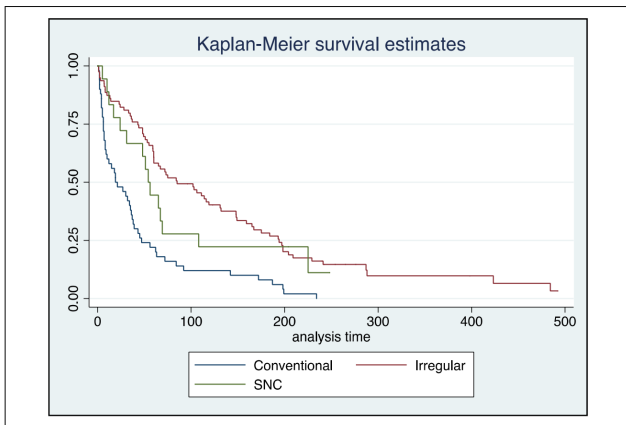
Figure 1. Duration of civil wars by technology of rebellion, in months (TR dataset).

Balcells & Kalyvas (2014)

The *duration* of civil wars & warfare technology
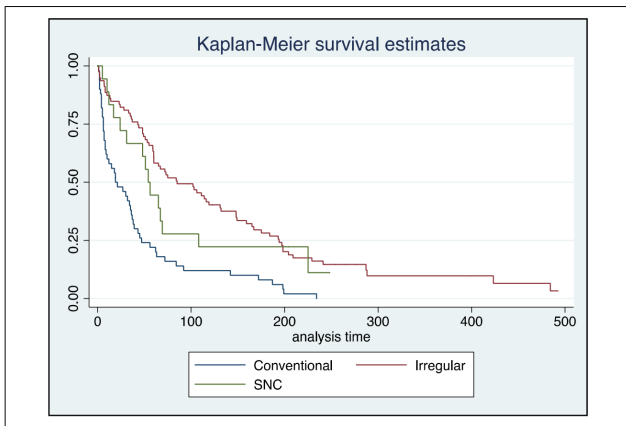
Figure 1. Duration of civil wars by technology of rebellion, in months (TR dataset).

- Also impacts outcome: **irregular wars** are more likely to be won **by governments** and **conventional wars by rebels**

Balcells & Kalyvas (2014)

Colombia and Farc sign historic peace deal

Marxist rebels to form political party as western-hemisphere's longest-running conflict ends

Colombia's president Juan Manuel Santos (left) and Farc commander Rodrigo Londono shake hands after signing the peace accord
© AP

John Paul Rathbone and **Andres Schipani** in Cartagena SEPTEMBER 27 2016
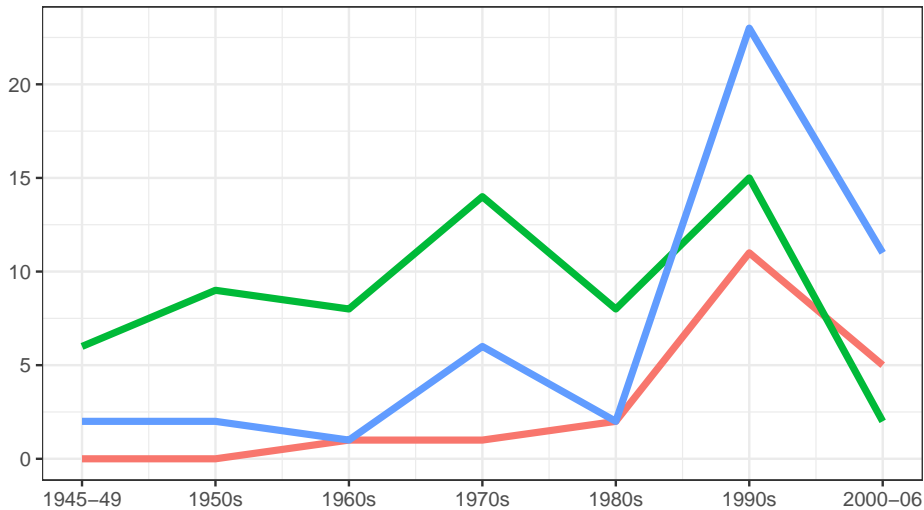
💬 7 🖨

How can wars end?

- Military victory

How can wars end?

- Military victory
- Negotiated settlement

How can wars end?

- Military victory
- Negotiated settlement
- Ceasefires

Why the change after 1990?

- How can the international system influence incentives to negotiate?

Why the change after 1990?

- How can the international system influence incentives to negotiate?
1. Changes in external support

Why the change after 1990?

- How can the international system influence incentives to negotiate?
1. Changes in external support
2. Instruments to solve the credible commitment problem

Why the change after 1990?

- How can the international system influence incentives to negotiate?
1. Changes in external support
2. Instruments to solve the credible commitment problem
   - → International Peacekeeping
     (became widespread after 1990)

Why the change after 1990?

- How can the international system influence incentives to negotiate?
1. Changes in external support
2. Instruments to solve the credible commitment problem
   - $\rightarrow$ International Peacekeeping
     (became widespread after 1990)

- Recent trends on this?

External peace interventions

- International organizations play a role
  - $\rightarrow$ Mediation, credible commitments, enforcing or strenghtening peace, etc

External peace interventions

- International organizations play a role
  - $\rightarrow$ Mediation, credible commitments, enforcing or strenghtening peace, etc
- Different types of interventions
  - $\rightarrow$ Depending on what you want to achieve, international law, etc

Peacekeeping, peace enforcement, peacebuilding

- **Peacekeeping:** deployment of international personnel to help maintain peace and security

Peacekeeping, peace enforcement, peacebuilding

- **Peacekeeping:** deployment of international personnel to help maintain peace and security
- **Peace enforcement:** the use of force to maintain peace

Peacekeeping, peace enforcement, peacebuilding

- **Peacekeeping:** deployment of international personnel to help maintain peace and security
- **Peace enforcement:** the use of force to maintain peace
  - → Peacekeeping as 'Chapter Six and a Half' (Hammarskjöld)

Peacekeeping, peace enforcement, peacebuilding

- **Peacekeeping:** deployment of international personnel to help maintain peace and security
- **Peace enforcement:** the use of force to maintain peace
  - $\rightarrow$ Peacekeeping as 'Chapter Six and a Half' (Hammarskjöld)
  - $\rightarrow$ (Chapter VI: "pacific settlement of disputes"; C VII: "action with respect to threats to the peace")

Peacekeeping, peace enforcement, peacebuilding

- **Peacekeeping:** deployment of international personnel to help maintain peace and security
- **Peace enforcement:** the use of force to maintain peace
  - $\rightarrow$ Peacekeeping as 'Chapter Six and a Half' (Hammarskjöld)
  - $\rightarrow$ (Chapter VI: "pacific settlement of disputes"; C VII: "action with respect to threats to the peace")
- **Peacebuilding:** create the conditions so peace is self-kept

Peacekeeping

- Examples of peacekeeping ?

Peacekeeping

- Examples of peacekeeping ?
- Deployment of international personnel to help maintain peace and security

Peacekeeping

- Examples of peacekeeping ?
- Deployment of international personnel to help maintain peace and security
- Some include efforts to terminate violence, others only refer to post-violence actions, some include only UN-missions and other also regional organizations, ...

Peacekeeping

- Examples of <mark>peacekeeping</mark> ?

- Deployment of international personnel to help maintain peace and security

- Some include efforts to terminate violence, others only refer to post-violence actions, some include only UN-missions and other also regional organizations, ...

- Before 1990: few missions, focus on interstate disputes

Peacekeeping

- Examples of peacekeeping ?

- Deployment of international personnel to help maintain peace and security

- Some include efforts to terminate violence, others only refer to post-violence actions, some include only UN-missions and other also regional organizations, ...

- Before 1990: few missions, focus on interstate disputes

- After 1990: no more deadlock in Security Council, focus on peace *within* states, not between

Total size of United Nations peacekeeping forces

OurWorldInData.org/peacekeeping/ • CC BY
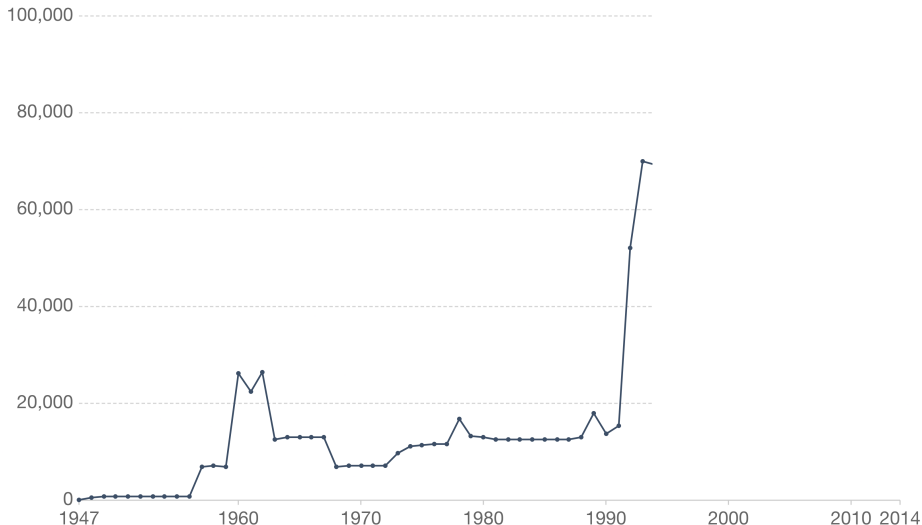
Late 1990s pessimism

Late 1990s pessimism

Dutch Blue Helmets in Bosnia

- Srebrenica Massacre (July 1995)

- >8000 Bosniaks killed by the Bosnian Serb Army in a
  UN-designated "safe area" protected by Dutch Blue Helmets

Late 1990s pessimism

- On June 1993, 24 Pakistani peacekeeping soldiers were killed in Mogadishu, followed by the Battle of Mogadishu in October

Late 1990s pessimism

- On June 1993, 24 Pakistani peacekeeping soldiers were killed in Mogadishu, followed by the Battle of Mogadishu in October
- Big failures is Bosnia, Rwanda, Angola, etc

Late 1990s pessimism

- On June 1993, 24 Pakistani peacekeeping soldiers were killed in Mogadishu, followed by the Battle of Mogadishu in October
- Big failures is Bosnia, Rwanda, Angola, etc
- A deep pessimism replaces the previous optimism about the role of the UN as a conflict resolution institution

Late 1990s pessimism

- On June 1993, 24 Pakistani peacekeeping soldiers were killed in Mogadishu, followed by the Battle of Mogadishu in October
- Big failures is Bosnia, Rwanda, Angola, etc
- A deep pessimism replaces the previous optimism about the role of the UN as a conflict resolution institution
- This pessimism was present in both theory and practice

Late 1990s pessimism
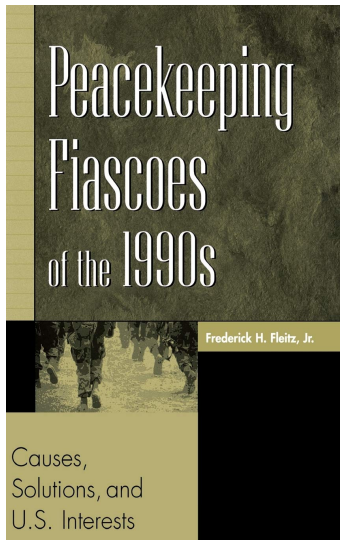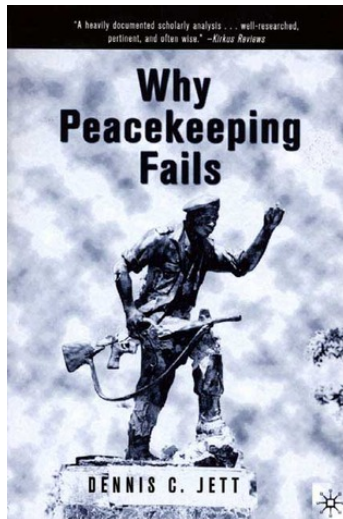
Give War a Chance

Edward N. Luttwak

PREMATURE PEACEMAKING

AN UNPLEASANT truth often overlooked is that although war is a great evil, it does have a great virtue: it can resolve political conflicts and lead to peace. This can happen when all belligerents become exhausted or when one wins decisively. Either way the key is that the fighting must continue until a resolution is reached. War brings peace only after passing a culminating phase of violence. Hopes of military success must fade for accommodation to become more attractive than further combat.

Total size of United Nations peacekeeping forces
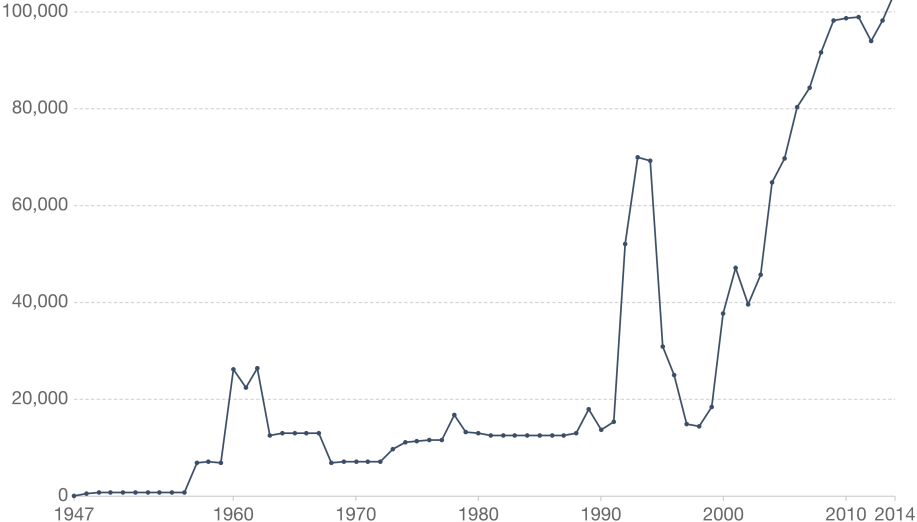
Source: United Nations Peacekeeping

OurWorldInData.org/peacekeeping/ • CC BY

Does it keep peace?

- Can we study peacekeeping?

Does it keep peace?

- Can we study peacekeeping?
  - $\rightarrow$ What kind of missions are more effective? Does it have the same effect on battle violence than on violence against civilians? Effect on state violence vs rebel violence? (etc)

Does it keep peace?

- Can we study peacekeeping?
  - $\rightarrow$ What kind of missions are more effective? Does it have the same effect on battle violence than on violence against civilians? Effect on state violence vs rebel violence? (etc)
- The problem: **selection bias**

Does it keep peace?

- Can we study peacekeeping?
    - → What kind of missions are more effective? Does it have the same effect on battle violence than on violence against civilians? Effect on state violence vs rebel violence? (etc)
- The problem: **selection bias**
    - → Peacekeeping operations are not sent to a random selection of conflicts, but perhaps to the worst cases

Does it keep peace?

- Can we study peacekeeping?
  - $\rightarrow$ What kind of missions are more effective? Does it have the same effect on battle violence than on violence against civilians? Effect on state violence vs rebel violence? (etc)
- The problem: **selection bias**
  - $\rightarrow$ Peacekeeping operations are not sent to a random selection of conflicts, but perhaps to the worst cases
  - $\rightarrow$ We cannot look only at the outcome of conflicts with PKO (we know that the Bosnia mission failed in protecting civilians, but do we know what would have had happened without them?)

New wave in the 2000s

- Previous studies only focused on cases with PKO (hence the pessimism), new ones a bit more sophisticated

New wave in the 2000s

- Previous studies only focused on cases with PKO (hence the pessimism), new ones a bit more sophisticated
- Main finding: PKO are effective

New wave in the 2000s

- Previous studies only focused on cases with PKO (hence the pessimism), new ones a bit more sophisticated
- Main finding: PKO are effective
- Also in practice, strong increase in PKO missions after around 2000: Kosovo, Sierra Leone, DRC...

New wave in the 2000s

- Previous studies only focused on cases with PKO (hence the pessimism), new ones a bit more sophisticated
- Main finding: PKO are effective
- Also in practice, strong increase in PKO missions after around 2000: Kosovo, Sierra Leone, DRC...
- Self-critical reports on Rwanda and Bosnia, Kofi Annan had been head of the Dept of PKO, new US Ambassador, 'Brahimi Report,' increased UN resources to PKO, ...

What do we know?

- Peace lasts longer when there are international peacekeeping troops

What do we know?

- Peace lasts longer when there are international peacekeeping troops
- PKO missions are effective in both civil and interstate wars

What do we know?

- Peace lasts longer when there are international peacekeeping troops
- PKO missions are effective in both civil and interstate wars
- PKO are effective both at creating initial peace and at sustaining it

What do we know?

- Peace lasts longer when there are international peacekeeping troops
- PKO missions are effective in both civil and interstate wars
- PKO are effective both at creating initial peace and at sustaining it
- Some missions take longer to exit because of fear violence will resume (e.g. Kosovo), but PKO have been also successful at creating durable peace

What do we know?

- Peace lasts longer when there are international peacekeeping troops
- PKO missions are effective in both civil and interstate wars
- PKO are effective both at creating initial peace and at sustaining it
- Some missions take longer to exit because of fear violence will resume (e.g. Kosovo), but PKO have been also successful at creating durable peace
- Many successful cases: Croatia, El Salvador, Mozambique, etc

Where do peacekeepers go?

- We said that PKO missions are not sent at random: they might select into the 'hard cases' (or avoid very difficult conflict)

Where do peacekeepers go?

- We said that PKO missions are not sent at random: they might select into the 'hard cases' (or avoid very difficult conflict)
- What do we know about this?

Where do peacekeepers go?

- We said that PKO missions are not sent at random: they might select into the 'hard cases' (or avoid very difficult conflict)
- What do we know about this?
1. Interests of the permanent 5 in the UN Security Council

Where do peacekeepers go?

- We said that PKO missions are not sent at random: they might select into the 'hard cases' (or avoid very difficult conflict)
- What do we know about this?
1. Interests of the permanent 5 in the UN Security Council
2. Interests of the international community in transforming conflict-torn countries into liberal democracies

Where do peacekeepers go?

- We said that PKO missions are not sent at random: they might select into the 'hard cases' (or avoid very difficult conflict)
- What do we know about this?
1. Interests of the permanent 5 in the UN Security Council
2. Interests of the international community in transforming conflict-torn countries into liberal democracies
3. In some cases, humanitarian reasons

Where do peacekeepers go?

- We said that PKO missions are not sent at random: they might select into the 'hard cases' (or avoid very difficult conflict)
- What do we know about this?
1. Interests of the permanent 5 in the UN Security Council
2. Interests of the international community in transforming conflict-torn countries into liberal democracies
3. In some cases, humanitarian reasons
4. PKO usually go to the hard cases

Where do peacekeepers go?

- We said that PKO missions are not sent at random: they might select into the 'hard cases' (or avoid very difficult conflict)
- What do we know about this?
1. Interests of the permanent 5 in the UN Security Council
2. Interests of the international community in transforming conflict-torn countries into liberal democracies
3. In some cases, humanitarian reasons
4. PKO usually go to the hard cases
5. Demand from local actors

How does peacekeeping work?

- If local actors want to fight, they will, and if they don't want to fight, they won't

How does peacekeeping work?

- If local actors want to fight, they will, and if they don't want to fight, they won't

- So how does peacekeeping work?

How does peacekeeping work?

- If local actors want to fight, they will, and if they don't want to fight, they won't
- So how does peacekeeping work?
- Sustaining ceasefires and negotiated settlements by

How does peacekeeping work?

- If local actors want to fight, they will, and if they don't want to fight, they won't
- So how does peacekeeping work?
- Sustaining ceasefires and negotiated settlements by
1. Raising costs of unilateral violence

How does peacekeeping work?

- If local actors want to fight, they will, and if they don't want to fight, they won't
- So how does peacekeeping work?
- Sustaining ceasefires and negotiated settlements by
1. Raising costs of unilateral violence
2. International observers

How does peacekeeping work?

- If local actors want to fight, they will, and if they don't want to fight, they won't
- So how does peacekeeping work?
- Sustaining ceasefires and negotiated settlements by
1. Raising costs of unilateral violence
2. International observers
3. External pressure for compliance

Different types of peacekeeping?

- Typical image: UN blue helmets

Different types of peacekeeping?

- Typical image: UN blue helmets
- But many other different organizations also organize PKO: EU, NATO, coalitions of states and other regional organizations (African Union and Eastern Africa Standby Force, Economic Community of West African States, etc)

Different types of peacekeeping?

- Typical image: UN blue helmets
- But many other different organizations also organize PKO: EU, NATO, coalitions of states and other regional organizations (African Union and Eastern Africa Standby Force, Economic Community of West African States, etc)
- Also, different levels of peacekeeping

Different types of peacekeeping?

- Typical image: UN blue helmets
- But many other different organizations also organize PKO: EU, NATO, coalitions of states and other regional organizations (African Union and Eastern Africa Standby Force, Economic Community of West African States, etc)
- Also, different levels of peacekeeping
1. Monitoring ceasefire or settlement conditions

Different types of peacekeeping?

- Typical image: UN blue helmets
- But many other different organizations also organize PKO: EU, NATO, coalitions of states and other regional organizations (African Union and Eastern Africa Standby Force, Economic Community of West African States, etc)
- Also, different levels of peacekeeping
1. Monitoring ceasefire or settlement conditions
2. Troop deployment, buffer zone, ...

Different types of peacekeeping?

- Typical image: UN blue helmets
- But many other different organizations also organize PKO: EU, NATO, coalitions of states and other regional organizations (African Union and Eastern Africa Standby Force, Economic Community of West African States, etc)
- Also, different levels of peacekeeping
1. Monitoring ceasefire or settlement conditions
2. Troop deployment, buffer zone, ...
3. Multidimensional peacekeeping (military & civilian)

Different types of peacekeeping?

- Typical image: UN blue helmets
- But many other different organizations also organize PKO: EU, NATO, coalitions of states and other regional organizations (African Union and Eastern Africa Standby Force, Economic Community of West African States, etc)
- Also, different levels of peacekeeping
1. Monitoring ceasefire or settlement conditions
2. Troop deployment, buffer zone, ...
3. Multidimensional peacekeeping (military & civilian)
4. Peace enforcement

Peacebuilding strategies

- Key goal: avoinding conflict **recurrence**
- Peacebuilding strategies follow similar logics to the study of civil war onset

Peacebuilding strategies

- Key goal: avoinding conflict **recurrence**
- Peacebuilding strategies follow similar logics to the study of civil war onset
1. **Greed**-**based**: postconflict peace more stable if there is economic growth

Peacebuilding strategies

- Key goal: avoinding conflict **recurrence**
- Peacebuilding strategies follow similar logics to the study of civil war onset
1. **Greed**-**based**: postconflict peace more stable if there is economic growth
2. **Opportunity**-**based**: focus on strenghtening state capacity after a conflict, and commitment problems in power-sharing

Peacebuilding strategies

- Key goal: avoinding conflict **recurrence**

- Peacebuilding strategies follow similar logics to the study of civil war onset

1. **Greed**-**based**: postconflict peace more stable if there is economic growth

2. **Opportunity**-**based**: focus on strenghtening state capacity after a conflict, and commitment problems in power-sharing

3. **Grievance**-**based**: postconflict peace more stable if there are power-sharing agreements

- Of all of this, power-sharing and other negotiated settlements are often part of peacebuilding strategies

The role of power-sharing

- What is power-sharing ?

The role of power-sharing

- What is power-sharing ?
- Larger question on how to **manage divisions**

The role of power-sharing

- What is power-sharing ?
- Larger question on how to **manage divisions**
- Applies to political but especially to ethnic divisions

The role of power-sharing

- What is power-sharing ?
- Larger question on how to **manage divisions**
- Applies to political but especially to ethnic divisions
  - $\rightarrow$ Options: hegemony, ethnic cleansing, self-determination, assimilation, individual pluralism (no management), power-sharing

The role of power-sharing

- What is power-sharing ?
- Larger question on how to **manage divisions**
- Applies to political but especially to ethnic divisions
  - $\rightarrow$ Options: hegemony, ethnic cleansing, self-determination, assimilation, individual pluralism (no management), power-sharing
- Different types: political, territorial, military, economic...

The role of power-sharing

- Opinions and studies on power-sharing:

The role of power-sharing

- Opinions and studies on power-sharing:
1. Early studies: making democracy work

The role of power-sharing

- Opinions and studies on power-sharing:
1. Early studies: making democracy work
   - → Lijphart, cases of Switzerland/Belgium, consociationalism...

The role of power-sharing

- Opinions and studies on power-sharing:
1. Early studies: making democracy work
   - → Lijphart, cases of Switzerland/Belgium, consociationalism...
2. Second wave: avoiding conflict in multi-ethnic states

The role of power-sharing

- Opinions and studies on power-sharing:
1. Early studies: making democracy work
   - → Lijphart, cases of Switzerland/Belgium, consociationalism...
2. Second wave: avoiding conflict in multi-ethnic states
   - → Focus beyond W Europe (Lebanon, Cyprus, South Africa, ...), role of institutions

The role of power-sharing

- Opinions and studies on power-sharing:
1. Early studies: making democracy work
   - → Lijphart, cases of Switzerland/Belgium, consociationalism...
2. Second wave: avoiding conflict in multi-ethnic states
   - → Focus beyond W Europe (Lebanon, Cyprus, South Africa, ...), role of institutions
3. Third wave: post-conflict power-sharing

The role of power-sharing

- <mark>Peace agreements</mark> can include provisions of political, territorial, military, and economic power-sharing

The role of power-sharing

- Peace agreements can include provisions of political, territorial, military, and economic power-sharing
- Each of this dimensions is different
- Early studies found that multi-dimensional agreements are more effective in preventing conflict recurrence

The role of power-sharing

- Peace agreements can include provisions of political, territorial, military, and economic power-sharing
- Each of this dimensions is different
- Early studies found that multi-dimensional agreements are more effective in preventing conflict recurrence
- However, their effect might depend on **timing** and be more problematic in cases of ethnic conflict

The role of power-sharing

- Peace agreements can include provisions of political, territorial, military, and economic power-sharing
- Each of this dimensions is different
- Early studies found that multi-dimensional agreements are more effective in preventing conflict recurrence
- However, their effect might depend on **timing** and be more problematic in cases of ethnic conflict
- For example: Territorial power-sharing (autonomy) seems to prevent conflict onset but not recurrence: once conflict has taken place, the commitment problem is worse and effective agreements might need government power-sharing as well

Khartoum clinches peace deal with most Sudan rebel groups

Accord aims to end almost two decades of fighting in Darfur and violence in South Kordofan and Blue Nile

From right, Abdalla Hamdok, Sudan's prime minister, Salva Kiir, South Sudan's president, and General Abdel Fattah al-Burhan with copies of the peace deal in Juba, South Sudan, on Sunday © REUTERS

Andres Schipani in Nairobi AUGUST 31 2020

At least 151 people killed in renewed violence in Sudan's Blue Nile state

Reuters

KHARTOUM, Oct 20 (Reuters) - At least 151 people were killed and 86 injured in fighting in Sudan's Blue Nile state over recent days, medical sources said on Thursday, the latest outbreak of violence to rock remote conflict-weary regions.

Despite a peace deal signed in 2020 with some of Sudan's rebel groups in the western Darfur region and in Blue Nile and southern Kordofan, tribal fighting has steadily increased.

Analysts blame the fighting on unresolved issues of land and citizenship as well as the militarisation of tribal groups. It threatens to further destabilise the country which has been in political and economic turmoil since the military seized power and disbanded a civilian-led government a year ago.

The conflict *trap*

- Around half of civil war onsets are instances of conflict recurrence

The conflict *trap*

- Around half of civil war onsets are instances of conflict recurrence
- The main difference with explanations of 'fresh' civil war onset: what happens *during* the first conflict affects a second outbreak

The conflict *trap*

- Around half of civil war onsets are instances of conflict recurrence
- The main difference with explanations of 'fresh' civil war onset: what happens *during* the first conflict affects a second outbreak
- Again, different perspectives:

The conflict *trap*

- Around half of civil war onsets are instances of conflict recurrence
- The main difference with explanations of 'fresh' civil war onset: what happens *during* the first conflict affects a second outbreak
- Again, different perspectives:
  - → Grievance-based: postconflict peace more stable if there are power-sharing agreements

The conflict *trap*

- Around half of civil war onsets are instances of conflict recurrence
- The main difference with explanations of 'fresh' civil war onset: what happens *during* the first conflict affects a second outbreak
- Again, different perspectives:
  - → Grievance-based: postconflict peace more stable if there are power-sharing agreements
  - → Greed-based: postconflict peace more stable if there is economic growth

The conflict *trap*

- Around half of civil war onsets are instances of conflict recurrence
- The main difference with explanations of 'fresh' civil war onset:
  what happens *during* the first conflict affects a second outbreak
- Again, different perspectives:
  - → Grievance-based: postconflict peace more stable if there are
    power-sharing agreements
  - → Greed-based: postconflict peace more stable if there is economic
    growth
  - → Opportunity-based: focus on strenghtening state capacity after a
    conflict, and commitment problems in power-sharing

The conflict *trap*

- Around half of civil war onsets are instances of conflict recurrence
- The main difference with explanations of 'fresh' civil war onset: what happens *during* the first conflict affects a second outbreak
- Again, different perspectives:
  - → Grievance-based: postconflict peace more stable if there are power-sharing agreements
  - → Greed-based: postconflict peace more stable if there is economic growth
  - → Opportunity-based: focus on strenghtening state capacity after a conflict, and commitment problems in power-sharing
  - → Reality? A bit of everything

Is ethnic power-sharing effective?

- Regional autonomy vs central power-sharing

Is ethnic power-sharing effective?

- Regional autonomy vs central power-sharing
- Effectiveness depends:

Is ethnic power-sharing effective?

- Regional autonomy vs central power-sharing
- Effectiveness depends:
  - $\rightarrow$ Autonomy concessions work before conflict outbreak

Is ethnic power-sharing effective?

- Regional autonomy vs central power-sharing
- Effectiveness depends:
  - → Autonomy concessions work before conflict outbreak
  - → But they do not prevent recurrence

Is ethnic power-sharing effective?

- Regional autonomy vs central power-sharing
- Effectiveness depends:
  - → Autonomy concessions work before conflict outbreak
  - → But they do not prevent recurrence
  - → If there has already been a war, central power-sharing needed

Map of the Philippines showing the still majority Moro Muslim areas in Mindanao

This map shown the Christian and Islam areas in the Philippines
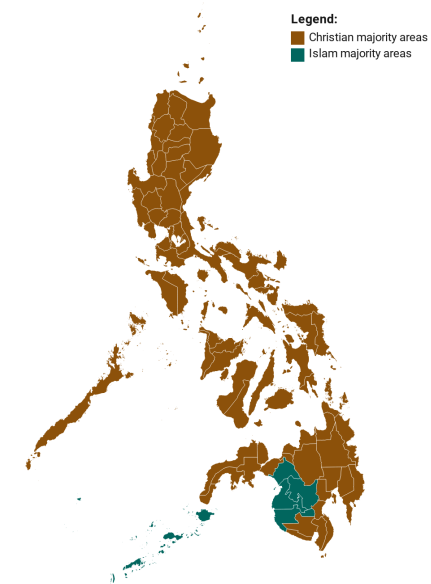
Legend:
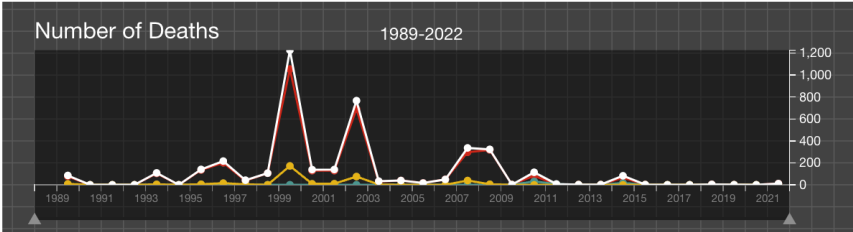- Christian majority areas
- Islam majority areas

Moro conflict
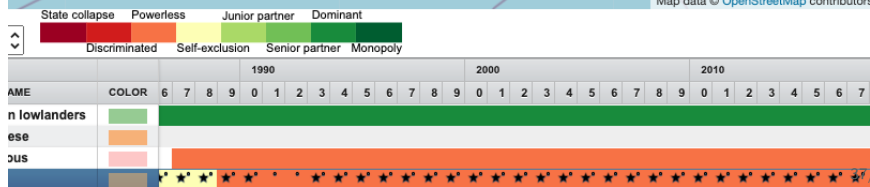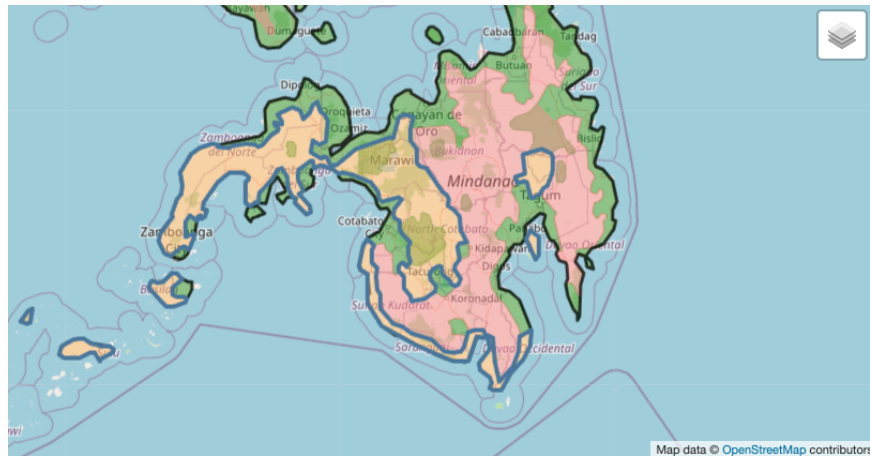
- MNLF (1968)
- Moro Islamic Liberation Front (1977)

1996 Final Peace Agreement (MNLF)

Moro Islamic Liberation Front
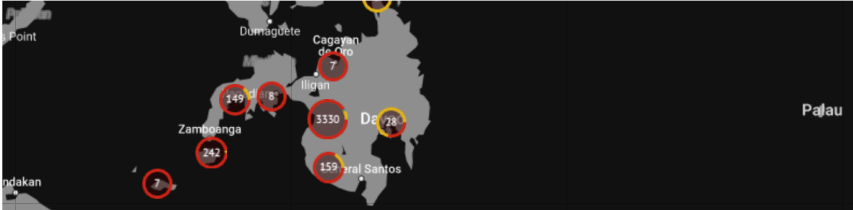
Access to central power?

The role of power-sharing

- A similar problem with a powerful power-sharing device:
  democratization

The role of power-sharing

- A similar problem with a powerful power-sharing device:
  democratization
- In principle, it should be good:

The role of power-sharing

- A similar problem with a powerful power-sharing device: democratization

- In principle, it should be good:
  - → legitimizes postwar governments, gives rebels a platform to seek political goals peacefully, etc

The role of power-sharing

- A similar problem with a powerful power-sharing device: democratization

- In principle, it should be good:
  - $\rightarrow$ legitimizes postwar governments, gives rebels a platform to seek political goals peacefully, etc

- However, particularly if institution are weak, democracy could be counter-productive

The role of power-sharing

- A similar problem with a powerful power-sharing device: democratization

- In principle, it should be good:
  - → legitimizes postwar governments, gives rebels a platform to seek political goals peacefully, etc

- However, particularly if institution are weak, democracy could be counter-productive
  - → Increasing social tensions, polarization, bringing about electoral violence...

The role of power-sharing

- A similar problem with a powerful power-sharing device: democratization

- In principle, it should be good:
  - $\rightarrow$ legitimizes postwar governments, gives rebels a platform to seek political goals peacefully, etc

- However, particularly if institution are weak, democracy could be counter-productive
  - $\rightarrow$ Increasing social tensions, polarization, bringing about electoral violence...
  - $\rightarrow$ Postwar elections might undermine peace if held too son, and democratization during a war might bring about civilian victimization