

# ELECTING PEACE

From Civil Conflict to Political Participation

— AILA M. MATANOCK —





"Matanock's terrific book sheds light on the relatively new phenomenon of crafting peace agreements that include provisions for the political participation of former rebels. She uses new data to deftly weave together analysis of peace agreements, peacekeeping, peace duration, elections, and election monitoring – topics that are typically considered separately – and provide a comprehensive and compelling argument for the importance of formally integrating former rebels into post-conflict governance."

*Tanisha Fazal, University of Minnesota*

"Almost half of all elections globally occur in the shadow of violent conflict, and post-conflict elections have become vital international tools of peacebuilding and democratization. Yet these elections, fraught with tension and high stakes, have an unenviable track record: as often as not, they lead to conflict recidivism and democratic decline. Against this backdrop, Aila Matanock's *Electing Peace* sounds a clarion call not to keep the faith. The key is to create a path for yesterday's combatants to become tomorrow's politicians. When such a path is seen as credible by warring parties, they are more likely to trade tanks for campaign buses and guns for microphones. This is a must-read for academics and policymakers who aspire to build peace through democracy in conflict-afflicted countries."

*Irfan Nooruddin, Georgetown University*

"Aila Matanock helps solve one of the hardest problems associated with civil wars: how to get a successful peace agreement without the help of a third party military intervention. Using new cross-national data on peace agreements and detailed analysis of Guatemala and El Salvador, Matanock shows us how electoral participation can help combatants enforce agreements. Bravo!"

*Barbara F. Walter, University of California, San Diego*

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Aila M. Matanock

*University of California, Berkeley*



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## Electing Peace

Settlements to civil conflict, which are notably difficult to secure, sometimes contain clauses enabling the combatant sides to participate as political parties in post-conflict elections. In *Electing Peace*, Aila M. Matanock presents a theory that explains both the causes and the consequences of these provisions. Matanock draws on new worldwide cross-national data on electoral participation provisions, case studies, and interviews with representatives of all sides of the conflicts in these cases and others (including with former combatant leaders). She shows that electoral participation provisions, nonexistent during the Cold War, are now in almost half of all peace agreements. Moreover, she demonstrates that these provisions are associated with an increase in the chance that peace will endure, potentially contributing to a global decline in civil conflict, a result which challenges prevailing pessimism about post-conflict elections. Matanock argues that electoral processes and democracy promotion programs pave the way for international actors to help secure settlements by detecting and sanctioning noncompliance. Matanock's theory and evidence also suggest a broader conception of international intervention than currently exists, identifying how these inclusive elections can enable external enforcement mechanisms and provide an alternative to military coercion by peacekeeping troops in many cases.

Aila M. Matanock is Assistant Professor of Political Science at the University of California, Berkeley. Her research addresses international intervention, civil conflict, and weak states. Her Stanford University dissertation, on which this book is based, won the 2013 Helen Dwight Reid Award from the American Political Science Association for the best dissertation from the previous two years in international relations, law, and politics.



## Acknowledgments

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When I began this project, I did not realize exactly what writing a book would entail; I also did not know how much assistance I would receive along the way. In conducting the research, I greatly appreciate several sources of funding and institutional support that made this book possible. These include grants during graduate school from the Eisenhower Institute, the National Science Foundation, the National Consortium for the Study of Terrorism and Responses to Terrorism at the University of Maryland, and, at Stanford, the Freeman Spogli Institute for International Studies, the Graduate Research Opportunities Fund, and the Stanford Center on International Conflict and Negotiation. They also include funding through the Institute on Global Conflict and Cooperation for final fieldwork and from the Scowcroft Institute of International Affairs for final archival research.

In addition, I am grateful to the many individuals who were willing to speak with me about their experiences leading rebel groups and governments through these transitions from battlefield to ballot box or their experiences supporting these processes as international policymakers – we covered much more detail from many cases than could be corralled into the pages of this book. I also thank those who provided initial contacts, including Alfonso Cuéllar and Marta Ruiz in Colombia, Mike McDonald in Guatemala, and Erika Murcia in El Salvador; Brenna Powell did the same and so much more in Northern Ireland. All who gave their time were invaluable to developing my thinking.

Many students with whom I have had the pleasure of working have contributed to the research for this project, which required tremendous data collection, and some also provided comments on various pieces of the project. I appreciate this outstanding assistance from Ben Allen, Katie Beall, Caroline Brandt, David Dow, Natalia Garbiras-Díaz, Chelsea Johnson, Adam Lichtenheld, Andrew Reddie, and many others, including those who helped collect data for the Rebel Group Electoral Participation (MGEP) dataset.



I am also indebted to those who helped this research become a book. Comments from John Haslam at Cambridge University Press and the anonymous reviewers have considerably strengthened the manuscript at the final stages; Teresa Lawson and Bridget Samburg similarly contributed at earlier stages.

Pieces of this project appeared as a stand-alone article, “Bullets for Ballots,”<sup>1</sup> and paper, “External Engagement,”<sup>2</sup> presenting parts of the theory and empirics from this book. The journal editors and anonymous reviewers’ comments on these also provided useful advice that I greatly appreciate.

My colleagues have been crucial in my writing this book. The University of California, Berkeley provides an intellectual community that is both engaging and supportive. My colleagues here have offered excellent advice on all dimensions of this book, from the ideas to the evidence. I am especially grateful to Sarah Anzia, Leo Arriola, Pradeep Chhibber, Thad Dunning, Ron Hassner, Michaela Mattes, Bob Powell, and Jason Wittenberg for reading and providing crucially insightful feedback on much of the manuscript. Susan Hyde, even before she came to Berkeley, Katerina Linos, and Alison Post deserve special thanks for reading sections multiple times and offering invaluable advice. My colleagues, together with four from other universities, Jon Pevehouse, Jack Snyder, Beth Simmons, and Barbara Walter, attended a “book bash” in October 2014, which was generously funded by the Institute of International Studies. That conference and the written comments from the participants significantly improved this book, and I so appreciated their time and thoughtfulness. Other colleagues, including Mike Allison, Dinorah Azpuru, Laia Balcells, Emily Beaulieu, Ana Bracic, Dawn Brancati, Jessica Maves Braithwaite, Inken von Borzyskowski, Sarah Bush, Erica Chenoweth, Sarah Daly, Christian Davenport, Daniela Donno, Michael Doyle, Nisha Fazal, Tom Flores, Page Fortna, Scott Gates, Anita Gohdes, Caroline Hartzell, Reyko Huang, Stathis Kalyvas, Judith Kelley, David Lake, Roy Licklider, Desireé Nilsson, Irfan Nooruddin, Nicholas Sambanis, Mimmi Söderberg Kovacs, Paul Staniland, Abbey Steele, and Libby Wood, also gave freely of their time in ways that greatly contributed to this book, in some cases even reading many chapters of my manuscript. I am grateful for their kindness, and I consider myself lucky to be a part of the wonderful community of scholars working on these topics.

<sup>1</sup> Matanock 2017. I appreciate *International Security* for allowing me to use material from “Bullets for Ballots” in this book.

<sup>2</sup> Matanock 2016b.

I have had the opportunity to present pieces of this project, and each has made this book stronger, due to the incisive comments provided by discussants and audience members, who number too many to name here. These presentations took place at national conferences of the organizations that foster our political science and peace science communities, as well as at seminars at Columbia University, Duke University, the Elliott School at George Washington University, Emory University, the Gerald R. Ford School of Public Policy at the University of Michigan, the Naval Postgraduate School, the Peace Research Institute Oslo, Stanford University, Universidad de Los Andes, University of California, Berkeley, University of California, Los Angeles, University of California, Merced, University of California, San Diego, the University of Chicago, University of Texas, Austin, Uppsala University, Yale University, the Conflict Consortium's Virtual Workshop, and more.

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# Contents

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<i>List of Figures</i>	<i>page</i> vii
<i>List of Tables</i>	viii
<i>Acknowledgments</i>	ix
<b>Part I Introduction and Theory</b>	<b>1</b>
1 Credible Transitions from Civil Conflict: Provisions for Combatant Participation in Post-Conflict Elections	3
2 Electoral Participation Provisions: A Theory of External Engagement	26
3 International Involvement over Time: Changes with the End of the Cold War and Patterns Thereafter	73
<b>Part II Causes of Electoral Participation Provisions</b>	<b>97</b>
4 Trading Bullets for Ballots: Examining the Inclusion of Electoral Participation Provisions	99
5 Shifting Expectations of Engagement: Paving a Path for Peace Agreements Based on Electoral Participation Provisions	135
<b>Part III Consequences of Electoral Participation Provisions</b>	<b>181</b>
6 Participating for Peace: Examining the Effect of Electoral Participation Provisions on Peace	183
7 Engaging through Elections: External Observation and Incentives around Elections during Implementation	216



<b>Part IV Conclusion</b>	257
8 Securing Peace: Conclusions about Electoral Participation and External Engagement in Post-Conflict States	259
<i>Appendix: Formalizing the Model</i>	279
<i>Bibliography</i>	285
<i>Index</i>	317
<i>Online Appendix (Data and Analysis) at <a href="https://dataverse.harvard.edu/dataverse/matanock">https://dataverse .harvard.edu/dataverse/matanock</a></i>	

# Figures

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1.1 Electoral Participation Provisions and Peace Agreements over Time	<i>page 8</i>
2.1 Settlement Payoffs to Combatants Depending on Compliance	33
2.2 Settlement Payoffs to Combatants Depending on Compliance and External Enforcement	39
2.3 Electoral Participation Provisions Establishing Coordination Cycles	53
2.4 Efficient Mechanism for External Enforcement	57
2.5 Set of Choices Producing Electoral Participation Provisions	58
3.1 Peace Agreements over Time	79
3.2 International Election Observation over Time	86
3.3 International Election Observation over Time by Region	87
3.4 Democracy and Governance Aid over Time	91
3.5 Democracy and Governance Aid over Time by Region	92
3.6 International Election-Related Aid Reactions	94
4.1 Predicted Probability of Conflict Termination through Electoral Participation Provisions	125
4.2 Rebel Group Vote Share in the Election after Peace Agreements with Participation Provisions	129
6.1 Kaplan-Meier Survival Estimates of Peace	199
6.2 Predicted Probabilities of Conflict Recurrence	206
A.1 Civil Conflict Termination without International Involvement	280
A.2 Civil Conflict Termination with International Involvement	284

## Tables

---

1.1 Essential Steps of External Engagement Theory	<i>page</i> 10
2.1 Examples of Leverage	47
2.2 Empirical Implications for Causes and Consequences of Electoral Participation Provisions	62
4.1 Electoral Participation Provisions with Expectations of External Engagement	116
4.2 Inclusion of Electoral Participation Provisions in Peace Agreements	118
4.3 Implementation of Electoral Participation Provisions in Peace Agreements	121
4.4 Conflict Termination through Electoral Participation Provisions (Multinomial Logistic – Relative to Ongoing Conflict and Accounting for Other Outcomes)	124
4.5 Other Correlates of Inclusion of Electoral Participation Provisions in Peace Agreements (Implemented)	128
4.6 Correlation between Electoral Participation Provisions and Other Substantive Provisions in the Peace Agreement	132
5.1 Mechanisms from the Main and Alternative Theories Tested through Case Studies	137
5.2 Evidence on Which Actor Requests Electoral Participation Provisions	140
6.1 Cases with Electoral Participation Provisions May Be Harder to Settle	195
6.2 Conflict Recurrence after Peace Agreements	200
6.3 Electoral Participation Provisions and Conflict Recurrence	201
6.4 Electoral Participation Provisions, Expectations of External Engagement, and Conflict Recurrence	205
6.5 Different Measures of Conflict Recurrence after Peace Agreements	208
6.6 Conflict Recurrence after Peace Agreements (Implemented)	209
6.7 External Engagement in First Post-Conflict Elections	212
6.8 All Electoral Provisions and Conflict Recurrence	214

*Part I*

Introduction and Theory



