UNIVERSITY OF TORONTO DEPARTMENT OF POLITICAL SCIENCE SUMMER 2019

POL 410H1 (F) TOPICS IN COMPARATIVE POLITICS III: CIVIL WAR AND ETHNIC VIOLENCE: REBUILDING STATES AND SOCIETIES AFTER WAR

Instructor: Gerald Bareebe

Email: gerald.bareebe@mail.utoronto.ca

Lectures:

Monday & Wednesday: 2-4pm PM Location: SS 581

Office hours: Mondays: 11-12 PM. Room 3007, Sidney Smith

Course Description

This course explores the dynamics of civil conflict and ethnic violence and the challenges and dilemmas of transitioning to a stable post-conflict order. The course will introduce students to a broad knowledge of the concepts, theoretical traditions, and debates in the study of civil war and provide them with the analytical tools for understanding and evaluating different explanations of the causes, trajectories, consequences, and challenges of civil conflicts.

The first half of the course examines the origins, dynamics, and processes of civil war. Since the end of the Cold War, intrastate conflict has become the most common form of political violence. We will explore important theoretical questions, including why people, groups, and states fight. Then we will analyze different approaches to conflict resolution, including intervention, political settlements, power sharing, and reconciliation. The second half of the course examines particular challenges of rebuilding states and societies after war. We will explore the different dilemmas posed in these contexts, including with regard to rebuilding institutions and state capacity, reintegrating ex-combatants, promoting economic growth, and addressing accountability for past crimes. The course approaches these issues with a focus on the emerging academic literature and central theoretical debates, while grounding the discussions in an empirical base of case studies within which students will identify key themes and issues.

Course Evaluation

Course Requirement	Percentage of Total Grade	.Due Date
Participation/attendance	20%	TBA
Essay proposal	25%	May 22
Presentation	20%)	TBA
22-Page critical essay	(35%)	June 12

Assignment Policies

Assignments are to be handed in at the beginning of class on the date specified above. Late assignments will receive a 5% per day penalty, including weekends. Late papers are to be emailed to the instructor and a confirmation of receipt via email will be provided. Please keep a copy of work handed in until the marked copy is returned to you.

Extensions on term work will only be granted in exceptional circumstances beyond your control (i.e. documented illness, injury, death of a family member). Requests for extension should be made as soon as possible. This is a short course, which necessitates remaining on top of assignment deadlines. More information on extensions/missed exams due to circumstances beyond your control can be found here: artsci.utoronto.ca/current/petitions/common.

Research Paper Proposal (25%). I will provide a list of topics for the major research paper, mostly related topics and case studies relevant to the course but which we will not be formally covering. Students may also select their own topics with the instructor's approval. Once chosen you will be asked to draft a short 5 to 7 page proposal outlining your topic, your research questions, the structure of your essay and a list of 8 to 10 sources (secondary and primary) that you will be using to support your research, choices, including some discussion as to how these sources will inform your discussion. Your proposal should also include a thesis statement and supporting arguments. The draft should be no more than 7 pages in length, double-spaced, including the bibliography. It will be due at the start of class on May 22.

Presentations (20%): On the first day of classes, you will join one of 5 teams, each consisting of a maximum of 5 students. Your team will have one hour to make a presentation on a topic that will be decided/distributed on the first day of class. Every individual in the team will have a segment of no more 12 minutes to make his/her presentation. The presentation should put the substance across in a hard and punchy way. This is a skill set that will save you for the rest of your life. The presentation is worth 20% of your final grade. More details on presentations will be provided on the first day of class.

Participation (20%): As a seminar, regular attendance, preparation and participating in the discussions is absolutely essential to success. Review of all the required readings is expected, and a skimming of at least one or two of the recommended readings and documents is highly advised. To keep the reading load manageable, for the required readings be sure at least to get the author(s) central point and be aware of his or her supporting evidence.

Major Research Paper (35%): Building on your proposal, the major research paper will be an 18-22-page paper on your chosen topic. Students will be expected to use an array of secondary and primary sources, including books, scholarly journal articles, newspapers and

periodicals, and other relevant documents. Your paper will be evaluated on the quality and breadth of your research, clarity and originality of analysis, writing style and proper formatting and the correct use of citations. The effectiveness of a paper's argument/analysis will be inhibited if not built on a solid research foundation, or if it is not well organized structurally or if not written clearly. Your paper must have a clear argument (thesis statement). It is expected that you will do your first paper draft, and research paper on the same topic. Using the theoretical approaches and empirical material taught in the course, you must argue in favor or against any case of your choice. Expectations for the paper and paper proposal will be discussed further during the course, and a list of suggested cases will be made available early in the course. The major research paper will be due on June 12.

- The paper should be ~5000 words (18-22 pages), not including notes and bibliography;
- You must utilize *at least* twelve sources, seven of which were included in your proporsal (if you unable to meet this requirement due to changes in response to feedback provided by the instructor, you are required to come to my office hours to discuss this in-person at least one week before the due date);
- Use 12-point Times New Roman font, double spaced, with normal margins;
- Complete, proper, and consistent citation practices are required; and
- Assignments must use Chicago Style Citations (instructions and guides to be posted to Quercus).

POLICY REGARDING LATE SUBMISSIONS, PENALTIES AND ACCOMODATIONS

Part of professionalism is effective time management and respect for deadlines. **Except for reasons that the University recognizes as warranting consideration, extensions will not otherwise be granted.** Late papers will be docked on a *sliding scale per day* (weekends are included as submission is electronic via Turnitin and can be done 24/7). The deductions will be as follows:

- The first two days late the penalty is 5% per day
- 3rd and 4th day late the penalty is 7% per day
- The 5th to 7th day late inclusive the penalty is 10% per day
- After one week the assignment receives a zero unless supported by accommodation documentation as listed below.

For ANY special considerations/deadline extensions either for illness or on compassionate grounds, what is required is an email to either of the course instructors from your College Registrar or your Accessibility Services Counsellor (if you are registered there). Due to privacy and recordkeeping requirements please do NOT sent me directly confidential medical notes. Where accommodation is granted this includes setting a new deadline. Please keep in mind your instructor also has obligations to grade and return assignments in a timely fashion, and I need the appropriate time to give each its proper assessment.

Assignment submission

Quercus: We are using Quercus in this course. You should access the course regularly to check for announcements, broadcasts, etc. You will need your UTORid and password. Login

at http://portal.utoronto.ca. For technical help and information, please contact: quercus@utoronto.ca.

Turnitin: Normally, students will be required to submit their final research paper to Turnitin.com for a review of textual similarity and detection of possible plagiarism. In doing so, students will allow their essays to be included as source documents in the Turnitin.com reference database, where they will be used solely for the purpose of detecting plagiarism. The terms that apply to the University's use of the Turnitin.com services are described on the Turnitin.com website.

Writing Resources: The University of Toronto provides a number of valuable resources to students to assist with writing. Undergraduate students taking summer courses are able to book appointments with the five writing centers, which remain open during the summer, including: Innis College, University College, New College, Woodsworth College and Victoria College writing centers. Appointment information is available at: http://writing.utoronto.ca/

Accessibility: The University of Toronto is committed to accessibility and will make every attempt to provide reasonable and appropriate accommodations to persons who have disabilities. If you require accommodations for a disability, or have any accessibility concerns about the course, the classroom or class materials, please contact Accessibility Services (http://discover.utoronto.ca/students-with-a- disability) and/or the instructors as soon as possible.

Classroom etiquette:

At the core of this course is meaningful and constructive dialogue, which requires mutual respect, willingness to listen and tolerance of different views. Class discussions are expected to be civilized and respectful to different viewpoints. To maintain a healthy learning environment, this classroom has a **zero-tolerance policy** on racism, sexism, homophobia, transphobia, anti-Semitism, Islamophobia, discrimination and harassment. Each student will be addressed by their preferred pronouns. Violating this policy will result in expulsion from the classroom. Please familiarize yourself with the University of Toronto Scarborough principles of Equity and Diversity: https://www.utsc.utoronto.ca/edo/welcome-equity-and-diversity-office-utsc. Students are also expected to refrain from use of cellphones and laptops during class time, with exception of the use of laptops to take notes. Use of laptops or electronic devices for other purposes will be deemed disruptive to students' learning.

Academic Integrity: Academic integrity is fundamental to learning and scholarship at the University of Toronto. Participating honestly, respectfully, responsibly, and fairly in this academic community ensures that the U of T degree that you earn will be valued as a true indication of your individual academic achievement and will continue to receive the respect and recognition it deserves. Familiarize yourself with the University of Toronto's *Code of Behaviour on Academic Matters*

(http://www.governingcouncil.utoronto.ca/policies/behaveac.htm). It is the rule book for academic behaviour at the U of T, and you are expected to know the rules. Potential offences include, but are not limited to:

In papers and assignments:

- Using someone else's ideas or words without appropriate acknowledgement.
- Copying material word-for-word from a source (including lecture and study group notes) and not placing the words within quotation marks.
- Submitting your own work in more than one course without the permission of the instructor.
- Making up sources or facts.
- Including references to sources that you did not use.
- Obtaining or providing unauthorized assistance on any assignment including:
 - o working in groups on assignments that are supposed to be individual work;
 - o having someone rewrite or add material to your work while "editing".
- Lending your work to a classmate who submits it as his/her own without your permission.

On tests and exams:

- o Using or possessing any unauthorized aid, including a cell phone.
- o Looking at someone else's answers
- o Letting someone else look at your answers.
- o Misrepresenting your identity.
- o Submitting an altered test for re-grading.

Misrepresentation:

- Falsifying or altering any documentation required by the University, including doctor's notes.
- Falsifying institutional documents or grades.

The University of Toronto treats cases of academic misconduct very seriously. All suspected cases of academic dishonesty will be investigated following the procedures outlined in the *Code*. The consequences for academic misconduct can be severe, including a failure in the course and a notation on your transcript. If you have any questions about what is or is not permitted in this course, please do not hesitate to contact us. If you have questions about appropriate research and citation methods, seek out additional information from us, or from other available campus resources like the U of T Writing Website. If you are experiencing personal challenges that are having an impact on your academic work, please speak to us or seek the advice of your college registrar.

Course Outline

Discuss syllabus, assignments and course overview May 6th

On the first week of class, I will provide an overview of the course, including expectations for assignments, draft paper proposal, format for class presentations, and final research paper. I will discuss potential research topics and answer questions about course assignments. We will then form teams so that you can start preparing for your presentations.

Conceptualizing Violent Conflict

Required readings:

Sambanis, Nicholas (2004) "What Is Civil War? Conceptual and Empirical Complexities of an Operational Definition." *The Journal of Conflict Resolution* 48, no. 6: 814-858.

Kalyvas, N. Stathis (2003) "New' and 'Old' Civil Wars: A Valid Distinction?" World Politics 54, no.1: 99-118.

Kaldor, Marie (2012) "New War, Old War. Organized Violence in a Global Era. Polity Press; 3rd edition. Read chapters 1 and 2

Themner, Lotta, and Peter Wallensteen, (2012), "Armed Conflict, 1946-2011," *Journal of Peace Research*, 49(4): 565-575.

Recommended Readings:

Jack Snyder & Robert Jervis (1999) "Civil War and the Security Dilemma," Barbara Walter & Jack Snyder, eds., *Civil Wars, Insurgency, and Intervention*, Columbia, 15-37.

James D. Fearon and David P. Laitin (2003) "Ethnicity, Insurgency, and Civil Wars," *American Political Science Review* 97: 75-90.

Stathis Kalyvas, 2006. The Logic of Violence in Civil War. New York, Cambridge University Press, pp. 16-51.

Economic Causes and Triggers of Civil Wars

May 8th

Case studies: Nigeria, Liberia, Sudan, Congo, Indonesia, Colombia

Required readings:

Miguel, Edward, Shanker Satyanath, and Ernest Sergenti. "Economic Shocks and Civil Conflict: An Instrumental Variables Approach." *Journal of Political Economy* 112 (2004): 725--753.

Collier, Paul, and Anke Hoeffler (2004) "Greed and Grievance in Civil War." *Oxford Economic Papers* 56, no. 4: 563-595.

Blattman, Chris, and Edward Miguel, (2010), "Civil War," *Journal of Economic Literature*, 48 (1): 3-57. [Section 1, and 2].

Justino, Patricia (2009), "Poverty and Violent Conflict: A Micro-Level Perspective on the Causes and Duration of Warfare", *Journal of Peace Research*, 46(3), 315–333

Recommended Readings:

Cederman, Lars-Erik, Andreas Wimmer, and Brian Min (2010) "Why Do Ethnic Groups Rebel? New Data and Analysis." *World Politics* 62, no. 1: 87-119.

Havard Hegre, Gudrun Ostby and Clionadh Raleigh (2009) "Poverty and Civil War Events: A Disaggregated Study of Liberia," *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 53: 598-623.

Collier, Paul, et al., (2009), "Beyond Greed and Grievance: Feasibility and Civil War," *Oxford Economic Papers* 61(1): 1-27.

Justino, Patricia, (2010) "War and Poverty", in *Handbook of the Economics of Peace and Conflict*, by Michelle Garfinkel and Stergios Skaperdas (Eds.), Oxford University Press.

Resource Curse

May 13th

Case studies: DRC, Liberia, Sudan

Required readings:

Ross, Michael (2004) "What Do We Know about Natural Resources and Civil Wars?" *Journal of Peace Research*, 41:3, 337-56.

David and Gagne (2006/2007) "Natural Resources: A Source of Conflict?" *International Journal* 62(1):5-17.

Ross, Michael (2004) "How Do Natural Resources Influence Civil War? Evidence from Thirteen Cases." *International Organization* 58, no. 1: 35-67.

O. Olsson, "Diamonds are a Rebel's Best Friend," *The World Economy*, 29(8), August 2006, pp. 1133-1150.

Recommended readings:

Hanna Fjelde (2009) "Buying Peace? Oil Wealth, Corruption and Civil War, 1985-99," *Journal of Peace Research* 46: 199-218.

Humphreys, Macartan (2005) "Natural resources, conflict, and conflict resolution: Uncovering the mechanisms." Journal of Conflict Resolution. 49(4): 508–537.

Identity and Violence: Ethnicity, Nationalism & Genocide May 15th

Case studies: former Yugoslavia, Rwanda, Burundi, Myanmar, Sri Lanka

Required readings:

Power, Samantha *A Problem from Hell: America in the Age of Genocide* ch 1, 1-16 and ch 10-(Rwanda), 9 (Bosnia), 247-328 ch. 11 and ch.12 (Kosovo), 443-473. (**Online as eBook**).

Fearon, James and Laitin, David. 2000. "Violence and the Social Construction of Ethnic Identity," *International Organization* 54-4: 845–877.

John Hagan and Wenona Rymond-Richmond 92009) "The Collective Dynamics of Racial Dehumanization and Genocidal Victimization in Darfur." American Sociological Review 73(6), 875–902.

Nils B. Weidmann (2011) "Violence 'from above' or 'from below'? The Role of Ethnicity in Bosnia's Civil War," The Journal of Politics 73: 1178-1190.

Recommended readings:

James D. Fearon and David P. Laitin., (2003) "Ethnicity, Insurgency, and Civil Wars," *American Political Science Review* 97: 75-90.

V.P. Gagnon (1994/95) "Ethnic Nationalism and International Conflict: The Case of Serbia," *International Security*, 19:3 (Winter), 130-66.

Halvard Buhaug, Lars-Erik Cederman and Jan Ketil Rød (2008) "Disaggregating Ethno-Nationalist Civil Wars: A Dyadic Test of Exclusion Theory," International Organization 62: 531-551.

United Nations Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide. Available at: www.hrweb.org/legal/genocide.html

Monica Duffy Toft (2003) *The Geography of Ethnic Violence: Identities, Interests and the Indivisibility of Territory*, Princeton: Princeton University Press. (read first chapter).

VICTORIA DAY OFF (May 20th)

Civil War Duration and Termination May 22nd

Paper proposals due

Required readings:

Håvard Hegre (2004) "The Duration and Termination of Civil War," *Journal of Peace Research*, 41:3 (Summer), 243-52.

James D. Fearon (204) "Why Do Some Civil Wars Last So Much Longer than Others?" Journal of Peace Research 41: 275-301.

Daniel Byman (2000) "Forever Enemies? The Manipulation of Ethnic Identities to End Ethnic

Wars," Security Studies 9: 149-190.

Thomas Chapman and Philip G. Roeder (2007) "Partition as a Solution to Wars of Nationalism:

The Importance of Institutions," American Political Science Review 101: 677-692.

Recommended readings:

Kaufmann, Chaim (1996) "Possible and Impossible Solutions to Ethnic Civil Wars." *International Security* 20, no. 4: 136-175.

Paul Collier, et al. (2003) "Why Is Civil War so Common?" in *Breaking the Conflict Trap*, 93-118, at http://econ.worldbank.org/files/26672_complete.pdf

Violence and State Failure May 27th

Case studies: DR-Congo, Liberia, Sudan, Somalia and Sierra Leone

Required readings:

Paul Collier (2003) "What Makes a Country Prone to Civil War?" in: *Breaking the Conflict Trap: Civil War and Development*, World Bank, 53-91.

Marten, Kimberley (2012) Warlords: Strong-Armed Brokers in Weak States. Ithaca: Cornell University Press.

Goodwin, Jeff (200). *No Other Way Out. States and Revolutionary Movements*, 1945-1991. Cambridge University Press. Chapter 1.

Ron, James. 2003. Frontiers and Ghetto. University of California Press, Intro, chapter I.

Recommended readings:

Gourevitch, Philip (1998) We wish to inform you that tomorrow we will be killed with our families: stories from Rwanda. New York: St Martin's Press (Chapter 1 and 2)

Zartman, William I (ed) (1995) *Collapsed states: the disintegration and restoration of legitimate authority*. Bourder: Lynne Rienner. Intro, chapter I.

Third-Party intervention/ Humanitarian Intervention in Civil Wars May 29th

Case studies: Former Yugoslavia, Syria, Libya, Sudan

Required readings:

Robert Pape (2012) "When Duty Calls: A Pragmatic Standard of Humanitarian Intervention," *International Security* 37:1 (Summer), 41-80.

Regan, Pat., (1998) "Choosing to Intervene: Outside Interventions in Internal Conflicts," *Journal of Politics* 60: 754-79.

Gareth Evans & Ramesh Thakur, Robert Pape (2013) "Correspondence: Humanitarian and the Responsibility to Protect," *International Security*, 37: 4 (Spring), 199-214.

Kaufmann, Chaim., (1996) "Intervention in Ethnic and Ideological Civil Wars: Why One Can Be Done and the Other Can't," *Security Studies*: 62-100.

Lewicki, Roy J., Stephen E. Weiss, and David Lewin (1992) "Models of conflict, negotiation and third-party intervention: A review and synthesis." *Journal of Organizational Behavior* 13(3):209-252.

Recommended readings:

Barak, Oren (2005) "The failure of the Israeli-Palestinian peace process, 1993-2000." *Journal of Peace Research* 42(6):719-736.

Civil War Settlements, Effects and Peace ProcessesJune 3rd

Required readings:

Stephen John Stedman (1997) "Spoiler Problems in Peace Processes," International Security, 22(2), 5-53.

Shanna A. Kirschner and Jana von Stein (2009) "The Pieces of Peacemaking: Understanding the Implementation of Civil War Settlements", Civil Wars, 11 (3): 279-301.

Jones, Bruce D. (2001) *Peacemaking in Rwanda: The Dynamics of Failure*. Lynne Rienner. Intro, ch.1.

León, Gianmarco, (2012), "Civil Conflict and Human Capital Accumulation: The Long-term Effects of Political Violence in Peru," *Journal of Human Resources*, 47(4): 991-1022.

Akbulut-Yuksel, Mevlude, (2013), "Children of War: The Long- Run Effects of Large- Scale Physical Destruction and Warfare on Children," *Journal of Human Resources* 49(3): 634-662

Recommended readings:

* Philippe Le Billon and Eric Nicholls (2007) "Ending 'Resource Wars': Revenue Sharing, Economic Sanction or Military Intervention", International Peacekeeping, 14(5), 613-632.

Marie-Joëlle Zahar (2010) "SRSG Mediation in Civil Wars: Revisiting the Spoiler Debate", Global Governance, 16: 265-280.

Chamarbagwala, R., & Morán, H. E. (2011). "The human capital consequences of civil war: Evidence from Guatemala." *Journal of Development Economics*, 94(1), 41-61.

Justino, Patricia and Philip Verwimp, (2013), "Poverty Dynamics, Violent Conflict, and Convergence in Rwanda," *Review of Income and Wealth* 59(1): 66-90.

Peace Building and State Building: Theories and Concepts
June 5th

Case studies: Afghanistan, Iraq, Rwanda, Cambodia, Sri Lanka

Required readings:

Stefan Wolff (2011) "Post-Conflict State Building: the debate on institutional choice", *Third World Quarterly*, 32(10), 1777-1802.

Roland Paris, *At War's End: Building Peace after Civil Conflict* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2004), pp. 13-51.

Roland Paris (2010) "Saving Liberal Peacebuilding", *Review of International Studies* 36:2. pp. 337-365.

Astri Suhrke (2007) "Reconstruction as Modernisation: The 'Post-Conflict' Project in Afghanistan", Third World Quarterly, 28(7), 1291-1308.

Larry Jay Diamond (2005) "Lessons from Iraq", Journal of Democracy, 16(1), 9-23.

Recommended readings:

Ashraf Ghani, Clare Lockhart and Michael Carnahan (2006) "An Agenda for State-building in the Twenty-First Century", Fletcher Forum of World Affairs, 30(1), 101-123.

Nicholas Sambanis and Michael Doyle (2006) *Making War and Building Peace: United Nations Peace Operations* Princeton: Princeton University Press, Chapter 2.

Michael Wesley (2008) "The State of the Art on the Art of State Building", Global Governance, 14, 369-385.

John Heathershaw (2008) "Unpacking the Liberal Peace: The Dividing and Merging of Peacebuilding Discourses", Millennium, 36, 597-621.

Institution building: Restoring Governance in Post-Conflict Societies

May 10th

Case studies: Guatemala, El Salvador, Rwanda and Côte d'Ivoire

Required reading:

Marina Ottaway (2002) "Rebuilding State Institutions in Collapsed States", Development and Change, 33(5), 1001-1023.

Sarah Cliffe ad Nick Manning (2008) "Practical Approaches to Building State Institutions" in Charles T. Call with Vanessa Wyeth (eds) Building States to Build Peace (Boulder, CO: Lynne Rienner Publishers), 163-186.

Sven Gunnar Simonsen (2005) "Addressing ethnic divisions in post-conflict institution-building: Lessons from recent cases", Security Dialogue, 36(3), 297-318.

*Derrick W. Brinkerhoff (2005) "Rebuilding Governance in Failed States and Post-Conflict Societies: Core Concepts and Cross-Cutting Themes", Public Administration and Development, 25, 3-14.

Recommended reading:

Tobias Debiel and Ulf Terlinden (2005) Promoting Good Governance in Post-Conflict Societies, Discussion Paper (Eschborn, Germany: GTZ). Access online at: Documents http://inef.unidue.de/page/documents/GG_PConfl_TD-UT.pdf

Derrick W. Brinkerhoff and Jennifer M. Brinkerhoff (2002) "Governance Reforms and Failed States: Challenges and Implications", International Review of Administrative Sciences, 68, 511-531

Stephen D. Krasner (2004) "Sharing sovereignty: New institutions for collapsed and failing states", International security, 29(2), 85-120.

Democratization and Elections

June 12th

Case studies: Uganda, Rwanda, Cambodia, East Timor, and Sri Lanka

Required readings:

Marina Ottaway (2003) "Promoting Democracy after Conflict: The Difficult Choices', International Studies Perspectives, 4, 314-322.

Jochen Hippler (2008) "Democratization After Civil Wars – Key Problems and Experiences", Democratization, 15(3), 550-569.

Francis Fukuyama (2005) "Building Democracy After conflict: 'Stateness' First", Journal of Democarcy, 16(1) 84-88.

Blattman, C. (2009). "From violence to voting: War and political participation in Uganda." *American Political Science Review*, 103(2), 231-2

Recommended readings:

Geoffrey Robinson, "East Timor Ten Years on: Legacies of Violence," *Journal of Asian Studies* 70:4 (2011), pp. 1007-1021.

Anna Jarstad and Timothy Sisk (2008) From War to Democracy: Dilemmas of Peacebuilding (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, Chapter 4.

Jarrett Blanc, Aanand Hylland and Kare Vollen (2006) "State Structures and Electoral Systems in Post-Conflict Situations, IFES, pp. 7-90 (skim the later parts). http://www.ifes.org/~/media/Files/Publications/ManualHandbook/2007/555/State Structure Electoral Systems.pdf

Christoph Zurcher, et. al., (2001) Costly Democracy: Peacebuilding and Democratization after War, Chapter 6, pp. 112-130.

Soth Plai Ngarm and Tania Miletic, "Cambodia's Post-War Struggle for Peace," CDA Cumulative Impact Study, 2009, focus on pp. 25-46.

Sharika Thiranagama, "Claiming the State: Postwar Reconciliation in Sri Lanka," *Humanity* 4:1 (2013), pp. 93-116.

Virginia Page Fortna, "Peacekeeping and Democratization," in Jarstad and Sisk, Chapter 2.