PEACEKEEPING AND THE PEACEKEPT:
DATA ON PEACEKEEPING IN CIVIL WARS 1989-2004
Virginia Page Fortna
Columbia University

DATA NOTES

for
Does Peacekeeping Work? Shaping Belligerents' Choices After Civil Wars
(Princeton University Press, 2008)
and
"Peacekeeping and Democratization" in Jarstad and Sisk, Eds. *From War to Democracy:*
***Dilemmas of Peacebuilding* (Cambridge University Press, 2008)**

The main analyses in these projects use data encompassing all cease-fires of at least one month in civil wars (as defined by Doyle and Sambanis 2000; 2006)[1] between January 1, 1989 and December 31, 1999. The list of cases is adapted from the Doyle and Sambanis (D&S) data on civil wars. The duration of peace is observed through the end of 2004.

Data for cases from 1945 to 1988 were used for the analysis described in *Does Peacekkeeping Work?* Appendix B.[2] In other words, this data set includes cases from 1945-1999, but only those from 1989-1999 are used in most analyses (see pcw below).

Because my interest is in attempts to stop the war, whether or not they succeed, some D&S wars are split into separate observations to reflect significant breaks in the fighting.[3] The criterion for

---

[1] They define a civil war as an armed conflict that meets the following criteria:
   a) the war has caused more than 1,000 battle deaths
   b) the war represented a challenge to the sovereignty of an internationally recognized state
   c) the war occurred within the recognized boundary of that state
   d) the war involved the state as one of the principal combatants
   e) the rebels were able to mount an organized military opposition to the state and to inflict significant casualties on the state.

[2] Data for these earlier cases are from Doyle and Sambanis 2000.

[3] Note that while the revised (2006) D&S list of cases is more comprehensive and systematic, the original (2000) version of their data suits my purposes better. The original data emphasized peacebuilding attempts, and therefore coded more short-lived cease-fires. The new version combines episodes of fighting in stop and start war into single cases. My list of cases thus builds

adding cases in this manner was to include cease-fires that held for at least one month. While adding even shorter-lived cease-fires would be ideal, I could only be relatively confident of catching cease-fires that lasted at least this long in a systematic manner.[4]

Please note that replication data for "Peacekeeping and Democratization" includes one case of a cease-fire of less than one month (id 1335, Yugoslavia-Croatia, November 1991). This case was later dropped (drop coded 1) and does not appear in analyses in *Does Peacekeeping Work?*

In a few cases, one or more factions reached a cease-fire while others do not. These partial cease-fire cases are marked (partcf=1).

VARIABLES

Identification and Dates

Note: Because these data record time-varying covariates, some cases (cease-fires and resulting peace spells) include more than one observation (or line in the data).

id   case identification number

ccode COW country code

cname conflict name

t0   observation start date
           = cfdate for firstob
           marks beginning of time period for cases with time-varying variables

---

on the 2000 list, with revisions made in part according to the 2006 D&S data.

[4] As noted in *Does Peacekeeping Work?*, Chapter 1, "ideal" data that included all cease-fires no matter how short-lived would almost certainly show even stronger results for peacekeeping, as most of these take place in the absence of peacekeepers. Even with a strong bias toward finding short-lived cease-fires when peacekeepers are present, my research indicates that fewer than a quarter of cease-fires that lasted less than one month took place while peacekeepers were deployed.

t1   observation end date
        = end of time period for cases with time-varying variables
        for last observation in case record: = faildate if war resumes; otherwise Dec 31 2004

cluster codes to cluster all occurrences of a conflict together
clust2 codes to cluster all conflicts in a country together
For example, the Sikh and Assam conflicts in India have separate codes for cluster but the same code for clust2 (following Dubey 2002). clust2 also clusters all the conflicts in the former Yugoslavia together, and all those in the former Soviet Union together (following D&S).

firstob first observation in a case record
        = 1 for first observation; otherwise 0

cfdate date of cease fire
        recorded for firstob only
(see note on dates below)

partcf partial cease-fire
        0 =   all factions participated in cease-fire
        1 =   not all factions participated in cease-fire

faildate date of new war if any
        recorded for firstob only, corresponds to t1 in last period of case if failed=1

I code peace as failing if D&S code a new war in the same country and research indicates that it involved the same or similar parties, or if UCDP code a restart to a war they consider previously terminated, or if my own research provided evidence of full-scale fighting after the date of a cease-fire. In some cases it is ambiguous whether fighting should be considered a full-scale return to war. When such decisions had to be made, I coded cases in a way that would cut against the argument that peacekeeping is effective. In other words, if peacekeepers were present, I erred on the side of coding a resumption of war and if no peacekeepers were present I erred on the side of coding no failure of peace. These ambiguities are described in the specific case notes, below.

If peace held through December 31 2004, the observation is censored at that point.

A word on dates:
In many cases the exact date of a cease-fire agreement or the date of resumed fighting is unknown. In others there may be no exact date, the fighting stopped or escalated over a period of days or weeks (or even months), so that coding stop and start dates is arbitrary. Where possible, I have noted the precise date of a cease-fire agreement, or the date of large-scale return to fighting. In other cases, a specific date is picked arbitrarily according to the best information available. For example if research indicates a cease-fire in May, I use May 15th; at the end of May, May

31st, etc. I note whether dates coded refer to a specific event, or are arbitrary estimate (see estdate). As was often the case, where different sources indicated different dates, I coded cases in a way that would cut against the argument that peacekeeping is effective, coding longer spells of peace if peacekeepers were absent, and shorter ones if they were present.

failed marks observations in which war resumes
>0 = no new war this period
>1 = new war at end of this period

morewar marks cases in which war resumes
>0 = no new war for this case
>1 = new war for this case

Note: **failed** pertains to the particular observation, **morewar** to the whole case (and is coded only for firstob=1)

estdate marks whether exact dates are known or estimated
>0= exact dates coded
>1= cfdate estimated
>2= faildate estimated
>3 = both cfdate and faildate estimated

drop
=.5 cases that are arguably not civil wars (India at partition, and Algeria at independence)
>Note: only relevant for pre-1989 (pcw=0) cases
= 1 case dropped from some analyses (id 1335 Yugoslavia-Croatia)

pcw post-Cold War case
>0 = cease-fire date before 1 January 1989
>1 = cease-fire date after 1 January 1989

NOTE: most analyses use only pcw=1 cases. The pcw=0 cases are used only to determine the baseline difficulty of maintaining peace (see *Does Peacekeeping Work?* pp.26-7 and appendix B).[5]

---

[5] For pre-1989 (pcw=0) cases, cfdate and faildate info are from Dubey 2002, with a few revisions, for example, id 1270 Uganda (Museveni's victory) recoded to fail with emergence of UPDA.

<u>Peacekeeping Variables</u>

Note: the time-varying version of these variables can vary across observations within a case, as peacekeeping missions deploy, change mandate, or depart. Peacekeeping operation dates go by authorization dates, unless I have information that a mission actually deployed much later, in which case I use deployment dates.

The time-constant version (variable name marked with C) is constant across the duration of the cease-fire (i.e., for all observations in a case) and marks the highest level achieved across time.

pkop   peacekeeping or peacebuilding mission type, time varying
0 = no peacekeeping

1 = political mission – consisting of a special representative or a handful of observers (e.g., the OSCE mission in Nagorno-Karabakh). Also includes UN "political and peacebuilding missions" run through the Dept. of Political Affairs (DPA), as opposed to the Dept. of Peacekeeping Operations (DPKO), (e.g., the UN's mission in Papua New Guinea-Bougainville).
Note: these missions are not generally considered peacekeeping missions, and do not fit the definition used in this project (see pkop1). This coding allows for differentiation between these cases, and those with no international peacebuilding involvement after a cease-fire.

2 = monitoring mission – unarmed missions, mandated to watch and report what they see. These are generally relatively small missions (personnel numbering in the hundreds). UNAVEM II in Angola, or MINURSO in Western Sahara are examples.

3 = interpositional mission (a.k.a. traditional peacekeeping) – lightly armed missions, mandated to monitor but also to separate forces or to disarm and demobilize factions. These missions are generally somewhat larger than monitoring missions. MINURCA in the Central African Republic is an example.

4 = multidimensional mission – in addition to monitoring and interpositional roles, these missions include substantial civilian components to organize elections, monitor human rights, reform police, etc. UNTAG in Namibia and ONUMOZ in Mozambique are examples. Also includes transitional administration missions (such as UNTAC in Cambodia)

5 = enforcement mission – substantial military force mandated to use force for purposes other than self-defense. Not necessarily deployed with the consent of both sides. UNAMSIL in Sierra Leone and the NATO missions in the Balkans are examples.

Mission types follow D&S categories, but were checked and recoded by me based on the

mandates of individual missions.[6] See case specific notes for changes from D&S coding.

In some cases there is more than one peacekeeping mission present at one time. Both missions are coded (see pk_other), though the statistical analyses use the highest mission type present.

For pre-1989 (pcw=0) cases pkop codings are from D&S2000.

pkop1   peacekeeping mission type, time-varying
    0 =   no peacekeeping or only a peacebuilding mission present (pkop = 0 or 1)
    2 =   monitoring mission present (pkop = 2)
    3 =   interpositional peacekeeping mission present (pkop = 3)
    4 =   multidimensional peacekeeping mission present (pkop = 4)
    5 =   enforcement mission present (pkop = 5)

Note: my analyses use pkop1 as peacebuilding missions do not fit project's definition of peacekeeping

Note: some enforcement missions also include civilian components that would otherwise be coded as multidimensional peacekeeping. Highest level of mission is coded. See *Does Peacekeeping Work?* p. 109, fn. 6.

pkopC1   peacekeeping mission type, time-constant
    values as above for pkop1

pk_dum   peacekeeping dummy, time-varying
    0 =   no peacekeeping (pkop1=0)
    1 =   peacekeeping (pkop1>1)

pk_dumC   peacekeeping dummy, time-constant
    values as above

pkwho   peacekeeping mission by whom, time-varying
    1 =   UN
    2 =   regional organization (OAU, OAS, ECOWAS, OSCE, NATO)
    3 =   ad hoc mission led by great or regional power (e.g., US, Russia/CIS, Australia, France, Syria, etc.)

---

[6] Most UN mission mandates are available in UN 2006 *Blue Helmets* and/or online at <http://www.un.org/Depts/dpko/dpko/index.asp>. Special thanks to Lise Howard for her advice on how to code a number of missions.

pkwhoC   peacekeeping mission by whom, for time-constant peacekeeping
         as above

pk_other   other peacekeeping mission, if any, time varying

Note: pkop1 codes higher of the two mission types, pk_other codes lower mission type

other_who   otherpeacekeeping mission by whom, time-varying
         1 =   UN
         2 =   regional organization
         3 =   ad hoc mission led by great or regional power

chapter   peacekeeping by UN Charter Chapter type, time-varying
         0 =   no peacekeeping (pkop1=0)
         1 =   consent based, Chapter VI pk (1<pkop1<5)
         2 =   enforcement mission, Chapter VII (pkop1=5)

the following dummy variables are derived from chapter:
consent   1 if chapter =1; otherwise 0
enforce   1 if chapter =2; otherwise 0

chapterC   peacekeeping by Chapter type, time-constant
         values as above for chapter

the following dummy variables are derived from chapterC:
consentC   1 if chapterC =1; otherwise 0
enforceC   1 if chapterC =2; otherwise 0

cf_int   cease-fire through intervention of peacekeepers
         0 = cease-fire not brought about by military intervention of peacekeepers
         1 = cease-fire brought about by military intervention of peacekeepers (e.g. Bosnia, East
         Timor)

chap_int   chapter with enforcement missions that created cease-fires distinguished
         0 = no pk
         1 = consent-based peacekeeping (chapter = 1)
         2 = enforcement peacekeeping did not create cease-fire (chapter = 2 and cf_int = 0)
         3 = enforcement peacekeeping did create cease-fire (chapter = 2 and cf_int = 1)

Note cf_int is time constant, but chap_int is time varying, only =3 for as long as the mission that
imposed the cease-fire is in country.

pastchap   past peacekeeping, by Chapter
　　　0 = no peacekeeping, or peacekeeping mission still present
　　　1= Chapter VI mission deployed previously, but has departed
　　　2= Chapter VII mission deployed previously, but has departed
Note: An observation can have a current Chapter VI mission and a past Chapter VII mission

UNpk_dum   UN peacekeeping dummy
　　　= pk_dum if pkwho = 1; 0 otherwise

noUNpk_d   non-UN peacekeeping dummy
　　　= pk_dum if pkwho $\neq$ 1; 0 otherwise

UNchapter   UN peacekeeping by Chapter
　　　= chapter if pkwho= 1; 0 otherwise

noUNchap   non-UN peacekeeping by Chapter
　　　= chapter if pkwho $\neq$ 1; 0 otherwise

<u>Other Variables</u>

outcome war outcome
  1 = victory for government
  2 = victory for rebels
  3 = truce; includes cease-fires, agreements on a peace process (i.e., agreeing on general principles or on a timetable for negotiations) that do not themselves settle underlying political issues, interim arrangements that leave final status negotiations on major issues unsettled, and cases in which the fighting ends with a unilateral cease-fire or just a fizzling out of the violence (what the Uppsala Conflict Data Project (UCDP) refers to as termination through "low activity")
  4 = settlement; requires agreement on fundamental political issues

Note: I follow the distinctions made by D&S between these categories, but have coded these outcomes myself (differences from D&S codings are noted in the case notes, below).

Note: outcome can change over time within cases, for example, as truces are replaced by settlements.

the following dummy variables are derived from outcome:
victory 1 if outcome = 1 or 2; otherwise 0
gvictory 1 if outcome = 1; otherwise 0
rvictory 1 if outcome = 2; otherwise 0
truce 1 if outcome = 3; otherwise 0
treaty 1 if outcome = 4; otherwise 0

faction many factions involved in war
  0 = only 2 factions in war (government and rebels)
  1= war involved 3 or more factions
From D&S2000

lmtnest mountainousness of terrain
  = log(% mountainous+1)
From Fearon & Laitin 2003

battle battle deaths
dead total deaths (including civilian)
ridp refugees and internally displaced persons
Deaths and displaced data from D&S2000 or filled in from other sources

logdead natural log of battle and civilian deaths in war
  = ln(dead)

logcost   natural log of deaths and displaced
      = ln(dead + ridp)

Note that logdead and logcost variables are the same across cases within D&S wars (that is, cases split because of short-lived cease-fires). I did not have fine-grained enough data to split the deaths and displacement information when wars were split into separate episodes.

warstart   war start date
from D&S 2006 war start month, and war start year
Note: because D&S do not include start day, I assume (arbitrarily) the 15th of the month, or if start month is missing in D&S, I assume start date is June 1 (again arbitrarily) of the start year.

wardur   war duration (in years)
      = (cfdate-warstart)/365

Note: for cases added to D&S because of a short-lived cease-fire, war duration is calculated from the start of the initial episode to the cease-fire date. That is, it is cumulative.

Note: for a few pre-1989 (pcw=0) cases, cfdates from old data set occur before the revised start dates. In these cases I revise cfdates (generally as D&S2006 end month, 15, end year, unless S2004 provides more precise info on dates), but I did not go back to revise all cfdates in this way.

garm   government army size (in thousands)
From D&S2000. Filled in for new cases (e.g., Kosovo, Guinea-Bissau, Senegal, India-Assam) from SIPRI Yearbooks.

past_ag   past agreement
     0 =   no past war, or past war ended in victory for one side
     1 =   a past war ended in a truce or settlement
past wars are previous wars since 1944 in D&S (determined with "cluster" (not clust2) variable) or past rounds of fighting in wars split by cease-fires of more than 1 month (i.e., included in this data set)

oil   significant oil exports
     0 =   less than one third of export revenues from fuels
     1 =   more than one third of export revenues from fuels
From Fearon and Laitin 2003
Note: only coded 1 if meets this standard for the years of the war (in some cases a country earlier or later met the standard – there was never variation over the years of the war)

contraband   contraband financing for rebels
     0 =   no significant contraband financing of rebel movement
     1 =   significant contraband financing of rebel movement

From Fearon & Laitin 2003 (supplemented with my own research to fill in missing data – see data notes on individual cases)

contrapk   interaction term
    = contraband * pk_dum

sambsec   secessionist war
    0 =   non-secessionist conflict
    1=   secessionist conflict

Based on data from Sambanis and Zinn 2002. Note that their definition includes self-determination movements (e.g., in South Africa). Missing data (esp. pre 1960) filled in from Brogan 1990; 1992; Kohn 1999, Gilroy, etc.

wartype   identity conflict
    0 =   ideological, revolutionary, or other conflict
    1 =   ethnic, religious, or identity conflict
From D&S2000

Fcasename   casename in Fearon 2004 and Fearon and Laitin 2003 data

Faim   Fearon war aim
    1 =   rebels aim at center
    2 =   rebel aims mixed or ambiguous
    3 =   rebels aim at exit or autonomy
from Fearon and Laitin 2003.

the following dummies are based on Faim
Fcenter   = 1 if Faim = 1, otherwise 0
Fexit   = 1 if Faim = 3, otherwise 0

Note: can either compare Fcenter and Fexit to the ambiguous/mixed cases, by including both dummies, or by including just one, can lump the mixed cases in with the excluded category

Fethwar   Fearon ethnic war
    0 =   not ethnic
    1 =   mixed or ambiguous
    2 =   ethnic war

infst   infant mortality rate, start of war
From D&S2000, values from start of war. Filled in for new cases from World Bank Development Indicators (WDI).

gdpcap   GDP per capita
from D&S2000, filled in for new cases from WDI.

illit   illiteracy rate, start of war
        = percent of population over age 15 who are illiterate
from D&S2000, filled in for new cases from WDI

illitend   illiteracy rate, end of war
as above

lifes   life expectancy, start of war
from D&S2000, filled in for new cases from WDI

lifee   life expectancy, end of war
from D&S2000

Relations with Permanent Five (Perm5) members of the Security Council

p5_col   former colony of Perm5 member
        0 = not a former colony of the UK, Britain, France, China or Russia
        1 = former colony of the UK, Britain, France, China or Russia
From Gilligan and Stedman 2003

p5_ally   alliance with Perm5 member
        0 = no agreement
        1 = defense pact, neutrality agreement, or entente with at least one Perm5 member
Generated in EUGene[7], using COW alliance data

p5_contig   contiguity with Perm5 member (up to 400 miles)
        0 = not contiguous
        1 = contiguous by land or up to 400 miles of water (mincon<6)
"mincon" is generated from EUGene's dyadic minimum contiguity scores

p5_contig1   contiguity with Perm5 member (up to 150 miles)
        0 = not contiguous
        1 = contiguous by land or up to 150 miles of water (mincon<5)

Note: p5_contig and p5_contig1 only different for cases in Algeria and the Philippines. *Does*

---

[7] Bennett and Stam 2003. Variables generated in EUGene (directed dyads) use first year of war. In cases where start of war precedes independence (Yugo-Croatia, Azerbaijan, India partition, Malaysia), I use first year of independence (there is no variation in any of these cases from year of independence to year of cease-fire).

Peacekeeping Work? generally uses p5_contig1, while "Peacekeeping and Democratization" uses p5_contig.

major   major power (aka Perm5 member) involvement in war
               1 =   major power participation in war, including direct intervention or
                           "extensive political support"; otherwise 0
From D&S2000

gp_bel   great power (aka Perm5 member) belligerent
        1 =   Perm 5 member sent troops to war; otherwise 0
Coded from information in Kohn 1999.

Note gp_bel is more restrictive than major – requires that a great power actually sent troops, not just extensive political support. So, for example, Russia's involvement in Afghanistan is coded 1 for both variables, while US support for Israel is coded 1 for major but 0 for gp_bel.

neighbor   neighbor intervenes
      0 = no intervention by non-great power neighbor
      1 = intervention by a non-great power neighbor,
From Regan 2002. He defines intervention as 'convention breaking military and/or economic activities in the internal affairs of a foreign country targeted at the authority structures of the government with the aim of affecting the balance of power between the government and opposition forces."

nabor_reb   neighbor intervenes on side of rebels
      0 =   no neighbor intervention, neutral intervention, or intervention only on
                  government's side
      1 =   neighbor intervenes to help rebels

Note: these variables from Regan may miss some intervention. For the sake of consistency and replicability, I did not recode when I knew from case research that interventions were missed in Regan's data (e.g., in Sierra Leone). Doing so would likely introduce bias as I was more likely to know about intervention in cases in which peacekeepers were deployed. I did however fill in for some missing data (Mexico - no intervention; Namibia - Angola intervenes on behalf of SWAPO; Yugoslavia/Croatia - Serbian intervention). Also, Bosnia is recoded for Yugoslavia's intervention (coded under Yugoslavia's country code in Regan making intervention impossible in his data). Note also that there are a few cases in which Regan's book provides more information than his data set (e.g., Israel and Papua New Guinea are discussed in the book but not the data). I use the additional information where possible.

Note: Regan's neighbor intervention variables capture only intervention by states other than great powers (aka Permanent 5 members), so do not include cases in which a neighboring great power

intervened (e.g., Georgia). The following variable could be used to help identify such cases:

gp_intvn   great power intervenes (Regan)
  0 = no great power (aka Permanent 5 member) intervenes
  1 = great power (aka Permanent 5 member) intervenes

p5_affinI   max "affinity" score with member of Perm 5
  = max sun3cati score with US, Britain, France, China, USSR/Russia in year war starts (or first year with non-missing data).[8]
  =1 for conflicts in Perm 5 (e.g. for Chechyna, Northern Ireland)

where "sun3cati" is the value in Gartzke and Jo 2002 "Affinity of Nations" (v. 3.0) data using 3 category UN voting (includes abstentions as well as yes and no votes).

Democracy Variables

Polity-based variables (Marshall and Jaggers 2002):

Note: All polity scores use the Polity variable polity2 (which interpolates values for polity scores -77 and -88).

polityle   democracy at war end (lagged)
  = polity IV score in year before cfdate

Note: I use the year before the war ends because Polity scores taken in the year of the cease-fire may reflect democratization that takes place in the immediate aftermath of war.

polityst   democracy at war start
  = polity IV score for startyear

Note: for cases in which polity scores are not available because the country was not independent at the start of the war (or even its end, in wars of independence) I use the first available polity score.

---

[8] Note: p5_affinI data extracted using start dates from D&S2000, not D&S2006 but usually only one or two year's difference from dates in D&S2006, so unlikely to change results substantially. For cases not in D&S2000, affinity scores use the D&S2006 start year (or 1996 for start years after that date). Wars that start before independence or wars just outside the Gartzke & Jo data range of 1946-1996 use first non-missing year of data (e.g., Cambodia's values are from 1996 instead of 1997.

demztion1   democratization one year out
= (polity score 1 year after cease-fire) - polityle

demztion2   democratization two years out
= (polity score 2 years after cease-fire) - polityle

demztion5   democratization five year out
= (polity score 5 years after cease-fire) - polityle

gurrlag5   polity average over five years before war
from D&S2000

Freedom House based variables:

free1   change in freedom house aggregate score, one year out
= (fhlecl+fhlepr) - (fhp1cl+fhp1pr)

free2   change in freedom house aggregate score, one year out
= (fhlecl+fhlepr) - (fhp2cl+fhp2pr)

free5   change in freedom house aggregate score, one year out
= (fhlecl+fhlepr) - (fhp5cl+fhp5pr)

where:
fhlecl is the Freedom House (fh) civil liberties (cl) score in the year before the cease-fire (le or lag end)

fhlepr is the political right score for the same year

fhp1cl , fhp2cl, and fhp5cl are the civil liberties scores for 1, 2, and 5 years after the cease-fire year, respectively

fhp1pr, fhp2pr, and fhp5pr are the political rights scores for 1, 2, and 5 years after the cease-fire year, respectively

Note for Namibia, the baseline is Freedom House scores in the year of the cease-fire (1989) rather than the year before because data are missing for 1988.

Freedom House scores run from 1 as most free through 7 as least free, so I have inverted the change variables (baseline minus 5 years out, for example, rather than 5 years out minus baseline), so that higher scores of free1, free2, and free5 denote moves toward democracy, rather than away from democracy – to match demztion scores above.

morewar1   war resumes less than one year after cf
                = 1 if faildate<(cfdate+365); 0 otherwise

morewar2   war resumes less than two years after cf
                = 1 if faildate<(cfdate+730); 0 otherwise

morewar5   war resumes less than 5 years after cf
                = 1 if faildate<(cfdate+1825); 0 otherwise

lntime3   predicted ease of case
        = natural log of predicted time to another war
Predictions based on Weibull analysis of cases from 1945-1988 using the following variables as predictors: infst, polityle, wartype, sambsec, logcost, victory, treaty, contraband, nabor_reb, faction (see *Does Peacekeeping Work?* Appendix B and pp.26-28)

Data were stset for hazard analysis with following command in STATA:
```
stset t1, id(id) failure(failed) time0(t0) origin(time t0)
```

Additional variables used in "Terrorism, Civil War Outcomes, and Post-War Stability: Hypotheses and (Very) Preliminary Findings" (unpublished manuscript, 2008)

rterrorist   rebel terrorist group
       0 = no terrorist rebel group (Stanton codes coercion as 0)
       1 = terrorist rebel group (Stanton codes coercion as 1)
Terrorist rebel group defined as those who use symbolic violence against civilians with the aim of coercing the government to make political concessions. See terrorism paper for more discussion of this definition.
Coded from Stanton 2008 coercion variable.

rterrorist1   rebel terrorist group, high casualties
       0 = no terrorist rebel group (Stanton codes coercion as 0, or coercion = 1 but civilian
              casualties deliberately kept low)
       1 = terrorist rebel group (Stanton codes coercion as 1, and casualties high)
Used as robustness check for coercion cases in which casualties deliberately kept low (India-Assam, Papua New Guinea, Philippines-Communists)

shortlived90   peace lasts less than 90 days
       0 = peace fails (faildate) more than 90 days after cease-fire (cfdate), or peace holds to
              December 31 2004 (i.e., case censored)
       1 if peace fails (faildate) less than 90 days after cease-fire (cfdate)

shortlived365 peace lasts less than 365 days
       0 = peace fails (faildate) more than 365 days after cease-fire (cfdate), or peace holds to
              December 31 2004 (i.e., case censored)
       1 if peace fails (faildate) less than 365 days after cease-fire (cfdate)
(note: same as morewar1)

The Cases

Sources consulted include Doyle and Sambanis 2000 (D&S2000); 2006 (D&S2006); Dubey 2002; Fearon 2004; Fearon and Laitin 2003; Gilroy n.d.; Sambanis 2004 (S2004); and other case specific sources as noted below.

id 10   **Afghanistan-Mujahideen**

cfdate	April 25 1992	Date Mujahedeen capture Kabul.
outcome	Rebel victory	
faildate	Aug 10 1992	Dubey 2002. D&S2006 code end of this war & start of next in February. Using their dates would favor the pk argument.
pk	none	

id 15 **Afghanistan-Taliban**

cfdate	Mar 7 1993	Islamabad Accord. Gilroy.
outcome	Settlement	
faildate	April 15 1993	Broken mid-April (date arbitrary). Gilroy.
pk	none	Agreement called for Org. of Islamic Conference & Pakistan to supervise the cease-fire but no evidence any monitors ever sent.

Note: D&S2006 code a war "end" when the Taliban take Kabul in late Sept 1996, and the immediate start of a new war, but there was no actual break in the fighting at this point. So for my purposes, no case. Adding an extremely short-lived case here would bolster the pk argument.

id 40 **Algeria-FIS/AIS**

cfdate	Oct 15 1997	Unilateral cease-fire by AIS (armed wing of FIS). Cease-fire made permanent in 1999, later leads to a peace agreement. Not accepted by other factions.
outcome	Truce Settlement	Truce until settlement reached in 1999.
faildate	.	
pk	none	
partcf	1	Partial cease-fire as only one rebel faction stopped fighting. D&S2006 code one war among all these factions ongoing as of 2004.

id 60 **Angola**
UNITA

cfdate	May 31 1991	Bicesse Accords.
outcome	Settlement	
faildate	Oct 11 1992	Dubey 2002. Elections held Sept 29-30, country back to full scale war in October.
pk	2	Observer mission – UNAVEM II, May 1991-Feb 1995.
pkwho	UN	

id 70 **Angola**
UNITA

cfdate	Nov 20 1994	Lusaka Accords.
outcome	Settlement	
faildate	Dec 4 1998	date from Dubey 2002. Lusaka accords officially broken in December 1998. UCDP code new war in 1998. D&S2006 code new war in Jan 1997, noting ongoing violence in 1997 – S2004 notes large scale resumption of fighting, with relatively high numbers of deaths, in December 1998, but also says that large scale resumption of fighting began by March 1998.
pk	2	Observer mission – UNAVEM II until Feb 8 1995.
	4	Then multidimensional – UNAVEM III until June 30 1997 Note: UNAMEM mandated as multidimensional, but not really staffed for the job, so could be considered 3.
	3	Then scaled down mission – MONUA (meant to be just observers but military units remain) to Feb 1999.
pkwho	UN	

id 95 **Azerbaijan-Nagorno Karabakh**

cfdate	Aug 31 1993	Cease-fire. Gilroy.
outcome	Truce	
faildate	Oct 5 1993	Cease-fire holds till Oct 5. Gilroy.
pk	none	

id 100 **Azerbaijan-Nagorno Karabakh**

cfdate	May 16 1994	Date of informal ceasefire. Gilroy. UCDP list May 9.
outcome	Truce	
faildate	.	
pk	0	Until May 1 1995.
	1	Representatives. OSCE mission "responsible for monitoring the cease-fire" Gilroy. D&S2000 code as

observer mission, but this is a tiny mission, only about 5 OSCE people, apparently only civilians. Larger peacekeeping mission discussed but never sent. OSCE representative mission deployed in early May 1995.[9] Still there at least through August 2003, no evidence it had left as of end of 2004.

pkwho   OSCE

id 120 **Bangladesh-CHT**

cfdate   Aug 1 1992   Date of first unilateral cease-fire by Shanti Bahini, extended from then thru 1997 peace agreement. D&S2006 code end of war in 1997, but very little fighting 1992-1997. UCDP put cease-fire Nov 11 1992.

outcome   Truce   Truce until settlement Dec 2 1997.
      Settlement

faildate   .

pk   none

id 1325 **Bosnia** (formerly "Yugoslavia-Bosnia")[10]

cfdate   Jan 1 1995   Gilroy. See also UN 2006 *Blue Helmets*, p.537.

outcome   Truce

faildate   May 1 1995   Truce lasts 4 months. Gilroy. *Blue Helmets* says some fighting in March, but intensifies by May 1.

pk   3   Part of UNPROFOR's mandate covered Bosnia, but only as traditional pkers (provided airport security, protected humanitarian delivery, monitored no-fly zone and safe areas, authorized to use force only in self-defense). The parts of UNPROFOR in Croatia and Macedonia are renamed in March 1995, but the Bosnian piece remains as UNPROFOR.

pkwho   UN

partcf   1   Cease-fire not in effect in Bihac region, but takes hold in rest of Bosnia.

id 1330 **Bosnia** (formerly "Yugoslavia-Bosnia")

cfdate   Dec 14 1995   General Framework Agreement for Peace (Dayton

---

[9] According to OSCE press release on March 17 1995 <http://www.osce.org/item/4972.html>.

[10] Former names of cases listed for identification with D&S data.

Accords). UCDP use Nov 21 1995 (date negotiated rather than signed).

outcome	Settlement	
faildate	.	
pk	5&2	Enforcement. NATO IFOR December 1995-Dec 20 1996; then SFOR to present. also UNMIBH (police monitoring) Dec 1995 to Dec 31 2002. Note: British and French Rapid Reaction Force that takes back Sarajevo in Sept not coded – this was an intervention during fighting, not a mission to keep peace.
pkwho	NATO & UN	

Burma see Myanmar, below

id 220 **Cambodia**

cfdate	Oct 23 1991	Paris Peace Agreement
outcome	Settlement	
faildate	.	Coup July 6 1997 leads to violence, but according to S2004, violence is below level for full-scale war (345 deaths). Considering this a failure would strengthen my findings for the time-varying analysis, but weaken the time-constant findings.
pk	2	UNAMIC advance mission of monitors and mine clearance specialists, until March 15 1992 when UNTAC operational;
	4	Then multidimensional UNTAC until Sep 24 1993;
	2	Small "UN military liaison team" of 20 monitors from UNTAC's withdrawal until May 15 1994. *Blue Helmets*, p.473.
	0	After liaison mission departs.
pkwho	UN	

id 230 **Central African Republic**

cfdate	Jan 25 1997	Bangui Accords.
outcome	Settlement	
faildate	.	Coup May 28 2001 leads to 250-300 deaths, but consistent w/ Cambodia coding, this not a full-scale resumption.
pk	3	MISAB Feb 1997 to Mar 27 1998;
	3	Then UN mission: MINURCA (also 3 until withdrawal on Feb 15 2000. Note: MINURCA's mandate expanded to include election monitoring & securing ballots, but did not

		actually run the election.
	1	BONUCA "peace-building mission" (DPA) after MINURCA withdraws.
pkwho	OAU & UN	Note: info on MISAB is sketchy – may be an ad hoc African mission rather than an OAU mission

id 250 Chad

cfdate	Aug 11 1994	Dubey 2002 and UCDP termination date. D&S2006 also indicate end of one phase of war in 1994. (S2004 uses date of Libyan withdrawal, but this doesn't appear to have affected internal fighting much).
outcome	Settlement	Series of agreements with various factions in 1994 (and some in 1992). Note: D&S2000 code as rebel victory.
faildate	Mar 15 1997	UCDP codes war restarting in 1997. Gilroy notes fighting in March (15th arbitrary). D&S2006 code new war in June 1994, same month as they code old one ending. Using their dates would favor peacekeeping argument.
pk	none	Note: D&S2000 code a non-UN interpositional mission and mention an OAU mission, but no mention of it in S2004 or Gilroy's research. OAU peacekeeping force was in 1981-82. (See Fortna 1992). There was a 9 member UN military observer team (UNASOG) that observed Libya's withdrawal from the Aouzou strip in May and June 1994 – but this was before this cease-fire, and in any case an interstate mission.

Note: D&S2006 put end of war in Aug 1997, could code a cease-fire at this point, but on and off fighting Oct 1998 thru 2000 and heavy fighting Jan 2001 (Gilroy). UCDP code conflict thru 2002. Adding a case with a 1997 cease-fire and a 2001 faildate would favor peacekeeping argument.

id 310 Congo-Brazzaville

cfdate	Jan 30 1994	UCDP termination date. Gilroy notes peace agreement in Dec 1994 and S2004 puts cease-fire at end of Jan 1995. These other dates would favor peacekeeping argument.
outcome	Settlement	
faildate	June 25 1997	UCDP, Gilroy & other sources note resumption. Date from Dubey 2002.
pk	none	

id 312 **Congo-Brazzaville**

cfdate	Oct 15 1997	D&S2006 end war in Oct 1997 (15th arbitrary).
outcome	Rebel victory	Sassou-Nguesso defeats President Lissouba.
faildate	Aug 15 1998	D&S2006 list new war (15th arbitrary).
pk	none	

id 315 **Congo-Brazzaville**

cfdate	Dec 29 1999	D&S2006 code end, UCDP note Accord de Cessez-le-Feu et de Cessation des Hostilités.
outcome	Truce	
faildate	Mar 15 2002	UCDP code restart in 2002, S2004 puts this in March (15th arbitrary).
pk	none	

id 370 **Congo-Democratic Republic** (formerly "Congo-Zaire")

cfdate	May 17 1997	Date Kabila takes capital.
outcome	Rebel victory	
faildate	Aug 2 1998	S2004.
pk	none	

Note: Lusaka Accords of 10 July 1999 never implemented. They led to establishment of initial MONUC mission, but not deployed before cease-fire broke down (mission consisted of 40 liaison officers until much later in the conflict).

id 1345 **Croatia** (formerly "Yugoslavia-Croatia")
(see also Yugoslavia-Croatia, below for earlier cases)

cfdate	March 30 1994	Cease-fire agreement. Gilroy
outcome	Truce	
faildate	May 15 1995	Gilroy notes cease-fire holds till May (15th arbitrary). Dubey 2002 puts faildate in August. Latter date favors peacekeeping argument.
pk	3	UNPROFOR to March 31 1995. UNPROFOR is a multidimensional mission elsewhere, but its mandate in Croatia at this point was only interpositional.
	4	Then UNCRO, multidimensional (human rights monitoring, refugee return, other civilian tasks).
pkwho	UN	

id 1350 **Croatia** (formerly "Yugoslavia-Croatia)

cfdate	Nov 12 1995	Erdut agreement Nov 12 1995. Dubey 2002. End of war date not entirely clear. D&S2006 say December. UCDP list Erdut agreement and Gilroy notes things calm after summer 1995.
outcome	Truce	Interim arrangement, not full settlement.
faildate	.	
pk	4	UNCRO to Jan 15 1996;
	5	Then UNTAES (Chapter VII, mandated to use force and did so[11]) to Jan 15 1998;
	2	Then UNPSG (police monitoring) to Oct 15 1998;
	2	Then turns over to OSCE, same mandate as UNPSG (mission strength reduced Oct 31 2000).
pkwho	UN, then OSCE	

id 425 **Djibouti**

cfdate	Feb 28 1992	Afars declare unilateral cease-fire.
outcome	Truce	
faildate	July 19 1992	FRUD renounces cease-fire in March, but fighting doesn't resume until July 19. Gilroy.
pk	3	250 French peacekeepers act as buffer (part of a larger garrison in Djibouti), until withdrawn in late November after fighting resumes. Possible this was an enforcement mission, but small size suggests not.
pkwho	France	

id 430 **Djibouti**

cfdate	Dec 26 1994	Accord de Paix.
outcome	Settlement	
faildate	.	UCDP code restart in 1999, but list only minor conflict in that year – probably doesn't qualify as war resumption. No mention in Gilroy or S2004.
pk	none	There had been French peacekeepers in 1992 (see above) but withdrawn Nov 1992.

---

[11] Lise Howard notes that this was the first time in recent history UN blue helmets did peace enforcement (as opposed to the UN authorizing others to do it). Communication with author.

id 450 **Egypt**

cfdate	Sept 15 1997	Luxor massacre in September, after which militant groups largely turned away from violence (15th arbitrary).
outcome	Truce	UPCD list termination type as "low activity."
faildate	.	
pk	none	

Note: D&S2006 add a case for Egypt (not in D&S2000), though S2004 notes it's debatable whether it qualifies as civil war on death toll (estimates of total killed are c. 1200 but 200 of those from before D&S2006 start date).   UCDP codes a minor conflict. This case is dropped from some analyses due to missing data, since most data sets (including Fearon & Laitin 2003) do not code this as a civil war. Some variables filled in for this case: coded as a non-identity conflict – Muslim groups make up rebellion, but difference is one of theology and its role in government, not ethnic or identity distinction between rebels and rest of Egyptian society. 3+ factions (Government, Gamaat Islamaya, Islamic Jihad), 1244 dead, according to S2004. UK colony. No evidence of contraband financing. Substantial military support from US, so major=1.

id 470 **El Salvador**

cfdate	Jan 16 1992	Chapultec Accords.
outcome	Settlement	
faildate	.	
pk	2	ONUSAL monitoring mission from cease-fire to 27 May 1993. (ONUSAL originally established in May 1991 as human rights monitoring mission).
	4	Then mission expanded to be multidimensional. Mandate itself could be interpreted as traditional peacekeeping, with only an electoral component added, but mission actually involved in judicial reform, police reform, etc.[12]
	0	Withdrawn April 30 1995
pkwho	UN	

id 480 **Ethiopia-Eritrea**

cfdate	May 21 1991	Eritrean secession succeeds when EPLF takes control of Eritrea, as its allies EPRD take capital.
outcome	Rebel victory	
faildate	.	Now-independent Eritrea fights Ethiopia in the interstate war starting in May 1998, but the ruling power in Ethiopia

---

[12] According to Lise Howard. Communication with author.

at that point is the secessionist movement's erstwhile friends, not those it fought before. Considering May 1998 a failure of the peace would favor peacekeeping argument.

pk	none	

id 510 **Ethiopia-ideology**

cfdate	May 21 1991	Rebels take capitol.
outcome	Rebel victory	
faildate	.	
pk	none	

id 520 **Georgia-Abkhazia**

cfdate	July 27 1993	Dubey 2002 and Gilroy.
outcome	Truce	
faildate	Sept 16 1993	Dubey 2002 and Gilroy.
pk	1	UNOMIG agreed to but only 5 deployed as of Sept 16 1993. Gilroy.

id 525 **Georgia-Abkhazia**

cfdate	May 14 1994	One of several agreements reached spring 1994. This one requests CIS pkers and extension of UNOMIG's mandate.
outcome	Truce	UCDP calls it a partial peace agreement because only part of the "incompatibility is regulated" by the agreement.
faildate	.	Abkhaz offensive May 20 1994 but doesn't resume to full-scale war. Some fighting in 1998 and in 2001, but again, not full-scale (or even mentioned in UCDP).
pk	3&2	UNOMIG observer mission, and CIS traditional peacekeepers – consented to only reluctantly by Georgian Government, but mandate limited (not enforcement). Cohen 1999. Both missions deployed to present.
pkwho	CIS & UN	

id 530 **Georgia-Ossetia**

cfdate	July 14 1992	Cease-fire and Russian-led peacekeeping force agreed to. Gilroy.
outcome	Truce	
faildate	.	
pk	3+1	Russian-led, plus a very small OSCE mission to monitor CIS.
pkwho	CIS & OSCE	

id 565 **Guatemala**

cfdate	Apr 26 1991	Mexico Accords. UCDP & Gilroy.
outcome	Truce	Agreement on peace process, issues not settled
faildate	Dec 15 1991	Cease-fire fails by December at the latest (15th arbitrary). Gilroy.
pk	none	

id 570 **Guatemala**

cfdate	Mar 20 1996	UNRG cease-fire, reciprocated by Government. D&S2006 end war in April 1994 but UCDP puts intermediate violence thru 1995 (and code war end in 1995, but note peace process thru Dec 1996)
outcome	Settlement	This agreement and those leading up to it settle most issues
faildate	.	
pk	1	MINUGUA present as human rights observers from earlier agreement, to Jan 20 1997;
	3	Then MINUGUA's mandate expanded to traditional peacekeeping mission;
	0	MINUGUA withdraws end of May 1997.
pkwho	UN	

id 574 **Guinea-Bissau**[13]

cfdate	Aug 26 1998	Cease-fire reached in Praia, Cape Verde.
outcome	Truce	
faildate	Oct 31 1998	Fighting resumed 2 months later (31st arbitrary).
pk	none	

id 576 **Guinea-Bissau**

cfdate	Nov 2 1998	Peace agreement reached in Abuja.
outcome	Settlement	
faildate	Jan 31 1999	
pk	none	Abuja calls for ECOMOG peacekeepers, but they do not deploy until after peace fails

---

[13] For details of the Guinea Bissau cases see Adebajo 2002, chapter 5.

id 578 **Guinea-Bissau**

cfdate	Feb 3 1999	Vieira & Mane sign another cease-fire.
outcome	Truce	
faildate	6 May 1999	Mane launches coup.
pk	2	712 ECOMOG troops deploy (600 there by Feb 12). Not exactly clear what their mandate was, but referred to as "observers." Given the small numbers and the fact that (unlike in ECOMOG mission in Sierra Leone, e.g.), they did not engage in fighting, seems they acted only as monitoring mission.
pkwho	ECOWAS	

Note: by strict coding rules, not clear that fighting on May 6 fits criteria for full-scale renewal of civil war (see Cambodia and Central African Republic) – not clear how many die in this fighting, but as it only lasts 1 day probably not many). However, Mane's coup represents failure of ECOMOG mission, so to code this case as having no faildate would incorrectly suggest successful peacekeeping. The coding inconsistency here (w/ Cambodia and CAR) cuts against the peacekeeping argument since in those cases peacekeepers had left before the coup.

id 580 **Guinea-Bissau**

cfdate	May 7 1999	Mane takes capital (also UCDP termination date).
outcome	Rebel victory	
faildate	.	
pk	2	ECOWAS mission until June 7 1999.
	1	UNOGBIS DPA peacebuilding mission since then (Joao Honwana is special representative).
pkwho	ECOWAS, UN	

Note: some missing data for these cases, because Guinea-Bissau not in original D&S data. Some variables filled in from Fearon and Laitin 2003 and my own research on the case: Government (but not rebels) supported by neighbors; total deaths c. 2000 with 350,000 displaced; Conflict over army (not clearly identity-based) – though Fearon and Laitin 2003 code as mixed or ambiguous. Not a Perm-5 former colony (Portugal was colonial power).

id 590 **Haiti**

cfdate	Sept 18 1994	Military agrees to return to civilian rule. D&S2006 put end in Dec 1995 with US restoration of order and elections but UCDP doesn't include anything more than minor fighting, over in 1991.
outcome	Truce	Aristide restored to power eventually but in Sept 1994 only

		a truce.
faildate	.	Unrest (starting Sept 30 2004) does not qualify as resumption of war. Over 100 dead by end of November, according to ICG Crisis Watch.[14] Reports after that cite isolated deaths (5 or so per month thru April 2005). NYT reports 700 killed in "political and gang violence" but most of it seems to be violent crime, not organized political violence, and some of it after these data are censored.[15]
pk	5+5	US-led enforcement mission, MNF to Mar 31 1995
	5	UNMIH Chapter VII mission until June 31 1996;
	3	Then UNSMIH police training to July 31 1997;
	2	Two civilian police monitoring missions (UNTMIH and MIPONUH) there consecutively until March 15 2000
	0	then no peacekeepers until...
	5	US-led MIF enforcement Feb 29 to June 1 2004;
	5	Then MINUSTAH UN Chapter VII mission, to present.
pkwho	US, UN, US, UN	(also a joint UN-OAS civilian peacebuilding mission)

id 635 **India-Assam**

cfdate	Apr 20 1991	S2004 notes unilateral cease-fire by ULFA.
outcome	Truce	
faildate	Sep 15 1991	Cease-fire broken by September at latest (15th arbitrary). S2004.
pk	none	

id 637 **India-Assam**

cfdate	Dec 17 1991	UCDP termination. ULFA unilateral cease-fire.
outcome	Truce	
faildate	Jan 1 1994	UCDP restart conflict in beginning of 1994 (Jan 1 arbitrary).
pk	none	
partcf	1	Another faction maintains activity, according to UCDP.

Note: Assam case not in D&S2000, so some data filled in: clearly identity based, and secessionist, 3+ factions (several rebel groups operate), approx 5000 dead according to S2004, UK colony, p5 contiguous, Ploughshares armed conflict report notes drug trade supporting

---

[14] International Crisis Group *CrisisWatch* No.16, December 1, 2004. Available online at <http://www.crisisgroup.org/home/index.cfm?id=3143&l=1>.

[15] *New York Times* May 28, 2005 p.A5.

rebels.[16]

id 640 **India-Sikh**

cfdate	Dec 31 1993	Precise end date unclear (Dec 31st arbitrary). Government puts down rebellion by end of 1993. Gilroy, D&S2006, and UCDP.
outcome	Govt victory	
faildate	.	
pk	none	

id 680 **Indonesia-Aceh**

cfdate	Dec 31 1991	D&S2006 give no date. UCDP puts at end of year (Dec 31st arbitrary).
outcome	Govt victory	
faildate	May 15 1999	Violence escalates in May (15th arbitrary)
pk	none	

id 690 **Indonesia-E. Timor**

cfdate	Oct 22 1999	INTERFET restored security throughout E. Timor by this date (Smith 2003, p.19). S2004 put end of war at deployment of UNTAET.
outcome	Rebel victory	
faildate	.	
pk	5	INTERFET Australian led, UN sanctioned enforcement mission (a.k.a. MNF) until Feb 23 2000 when transfers authority to...
	4	UNTAET (transitional administration) until May 20 2002; Then UNMISET to present, both multidimensional (though latter much smaller).
pkwho	Australia-led, UN	

id 740 **Iraq-Kurds**

cfdate	Mar 1 1993	Date unclear, UCDP codes termination in 1993, Gilroy notes that for most of 1993 the situation was peaceful. (March 1 is arbitrary).
outcome	rebel victory	Kurds gain autonomy
faildate	Mar 15 1995	Gilroy notes fighting resumes in March (15th arbitrary).

---

[16] Available online at <http://www.ploughshares.ca/libraries/ACRText/ACR-IndiaNE.html>.

		UCDP puts date of restart in 1996.
pk	5	US-led coalition (Operation Provide Comfort) enforcing safe haven in Kurdistan since end of Gulf war in 1991.
pkwho	US-led	

id 745 Iraq-Kurds

cfdate	Oct 15 1996	D&S2006 end war in Oct 1996 (15th arbitrary).
outcome	rebel victory	
faildate	.	Kurds do not fight in any serious way during US-Iraq war in 2003. UCDP codes Kurdistan conflict as "still terminated" as of 2004.
pk	5	Enforcement by US-led coalition. Operation Provide Comfort ends at the end of Dec 1996, replaced by much smaller Operation Northern Watch.
pkwho	US-led	

id 750 Iraq-Shia

cfdate	Dec 15 1993	End date unclear (15th arbitrary). D&S2006 put end of rebellion in December 1993, Gilroy notes hostilities through at least November. UCDP code fighting through 1996. Gilroy notes some clashes at least thru 1999 but major rebellion quelled by March 26 1991.
outcome	Govt victory	
faildate	.	Shiites take power after US-Iraq war. UCDP list of terminated conflicts notes "termination" of Iraq-SCIRI war after 7 years (i.e. 2003), but, as with Kurdish war, no serious fighting between Shia & Saddam Hussein's forces in US-Iraq war.[17]
pk	none	

id 760 Israel-Palestinians

cfdate	Sept 13 1993	Oslo Agreement. S2004 puts end date at end of Oslo process in 1997, but a longer peace spell here cuts against peacekeeping argument.
outcome	Settlement	
faildate	Sept 28 2000	Al Aksa Intifada starts with Sharon's visit to Temple Mount.
pk	none	UNTSO technically still present from interstate Arab-Israeli

---

[17] Nora Bensahel, RAND Corporation. Email communication with author.

wars, but inactive for years. (UNDOF also still present, but doesn't deal with Palestinian conflict)

id 830 Lebanon

cfdate	Oct 13 1990	Taif Agreement. UCDP. S2004 dates end of war in Sept 1991 with Lebanese-Syrian agreement, but Gilroy notes most militias disarmed & Lebanese army in control of most areas by May 2 1991 at latest.
outcome	Settlement	
faildate	.	
pk	5	Syrian enforcement mission.
pkwho	Syria	

id 840 Liberia

cfdate	Nov 28 1990	Bamako Agreement. D&S2006 add break in 1990 to older data.
outcome	Settlement	Agreement calls for elections and disarmament.
faildate	Oct 15 1992	Bamako falls apart in October (15th arbitrary). Gilroy. D&S2006 put new war in Jan 1992, but not clear from S2004 notes why.
pk	5	ECOMOG enforcement mission.
pkwho	ECOWAS	

id 850 Liberia

cfdate	Aug 17 1996	Abuja Agreement – leads to elections that Taylor wins. S2004 puts end date at Taylor's election in July 1997
outcome	Settlement	
faildate	May 15 1999	D&S2006 code another war in May (15th arbitrary). LURD made up of some ULIOM fighters from before Abuja agreement.
pk	5+2	ECOMOG throughout & UNOMIL until Sept 30 1997.
	5	ECOMOG present until after faildate.
pkwho	UN & ECOWAS	

id 868 Mali

cfdate	Jan 6 1991	Tamanrasset Accords. UCDP notes war termination.
outcome	Settlement	
faildate	May 15 1991	Gilroy notes fighting in May (15th arbitrary) after a coup in March. UCDP put resumption of war in 1994, but Gilroy

notes significant fighting in 1991 and 1992.

pk	none	

id 870 Mali

cfdate	Mar 31 1995	Rebels announce dissolution at end of March (31 arbitrary), marking end of war. Gilroy. UCDP put end at end of December 1994. D&S2006 code no month.
outcome	Settlement	Announcement follows from peace process on substantive issues.
faildate	.	
pk	none	

id 890 Moldova – Trans-Dniester

cfdate	Jul 21 1992	Peace agreement signed between Yeltsin & Moldovan President (Russia backed the rebels in Trans-Dniester). Gilroy.
outcome	Settlement	
faildate	.	
pk	5	CIS enforcement force. Deployed troops were all from Russia, Moldova and Trans-Dniester.
pkwho	CIS/Russia	

id 900 Morocco-W. Sahara

cfdate	Sep 6 1991	Cease-fire agreed to in June takes effect.
outcome	Truce	
faildate	.	
pk	2	MINURSO to present.
pkwho	UN	

id 910 Mozambique

cfdate	Oct 4 1992	General Peace Agreement signed.
outcome	Settlement	
faildate	.	
pk	4	ONUMOZ to December 1994.
	0	
pkwho	UN	

Myanmar (a.k.a. Burma) is an exceptionally complicated case, with several rebellions and shifting alliances among them. S2004 notes that only four of these meet the 1000 battle death threshold. One of these, the communist insurgency ended before 1989. The other three are the Kachin, Karen, and Shan rebellions. I follow UCDP in coding two cease-fires in the Karen case (id 158 and 160), and one in the Kachin case (id 165). UCDP lists the Shan conflict ongoing through 2002, though the Government seems to have reached an agreement with one Shan rebel group (the Shan State Progressive Party) in September 1989. (This case not added for lack of information). Note that because D&S2000 combined these cases, control variables are for all three conflicts together.

id 158 **Myanmar-Karen**

cfdate	April 28 1992	UCDP note a break in the fighting from 1993 through 1994, with termination date April 28 1992. They note that the Government declared a unilateral cease-fire and negotiated with KNU to get them to accept it.
outcome	Truce	
faildate	June 1 1995	Date unclear (June 1 arbitrary), but according to UCDP war restarts sometime in 1995.
pk	none	

id 160 **Myanmar-Karen**

cfdate	June 15 1995	Dubey 2002.
outcome	Truce	UCDP low activity.
faildate	Feb 15 1997	UCDP restart 1997. Government offensive in Feb. Gilroy (15th arbitrary, exact date unclear). Note, old version of peacekeeping data had no more war in Burma but S2004 and UCDP indicate that there was substantial fighting among the same groups starting in 1997.
pk	none	

id 165 **Myanmar-Kachin**

cfdate	Oct 15 1993	Gilroy notes cease-fire with KIO (Karenni Independence Organization) in Oct (15th arbitrary).
outcome	Truce	
faildate	.	Lasts to date. UCDP codes no activity after 1992.
pk	none	

id 920 **Namibia**

cfdate	Apr 1 1989	Cease-fire made official (de facto in place since Aug 1988, but clashes Mar 31 and Apr 1). Fortna 1993, p.369.
outcome	Settlement	
faildate	.	
pk	4 0	UNTAG, multidimensional, until Mar 21 1990.
pkwho	UN	

Note: UCDP and others do not include this as a war, but S2004 confirms it meets the criteria. Also could argue this cease-fire really in 1988, but a) not really in effect until April 1991, and b) this mission represents the start of the UN's post-cold war peacekeeping behavior.

id 940 **Nicaragua**

cfdate	April 19 1990	Demobilization agreement between Government & Contras. Gilroy. D&S2006 code war end in April but S2004 says they end the war at elections, which were in Feb.
outcome	Settlement	
faildate	.	
pk	3+3 0	OAS-UN & ONUCA until January 24 1992.
pkwho	UN & OAS	

id 1007 **Pakistan** Mohajirs

cfdate	Oct 15 1999	D&S2006 (15th arbitrary)
outcome	truce	low activity
faildate	.	
pk	none	

Note: missing data because this case not in D&S2000. Some data filled in from Fearon and Laitin 2003 and research on the case: two factions, approx 4500 dead (S2004), not secessionist (urban Mohajir immigrants fighting against "feudal" domination by Sindhi's in Punjab). UK colony, Perm5 contiguous. UCDP codes only minor conflict, but codes a termination (low activity) in 1990 (before D&S2006 say war starts) and a restart in 1995. Extending the Pakistan-Mohajir war and adding this break would strengthen the peacekeeping argument.

id 1008 **Papua New Guinea**

cfdate	Mar 15 1990	Cease-fire in March (15th arbitrary). Gilroy.
outcome	Truce	
faildate	Sep 15 1990	Clashes in September (15th arbitrary) after Government returns troops to island. Gilroy.
pk	none	

id 1009 **Papua New Guinea**

cfdate	Jan 21 1991	Honiara Declaration
outcome	Truce	Agreement on peace process but not itself a settlement
faildate	April 15 1991	Gilroy notes accord failed by early March. S2004 notes resumption in April 1991 (though they no longer include this break in the fighting because of their new emphasis). Later date goes against peacekeeping argument (15th arbitrary).
pk	none	

id 1010 **Papua New Guinea**

cfdate	Oct 10 1997	Burnham Truce. Gilroy. Later turned into a "cease-fire" (not clear what the difference was) in Jan 1998, and a "permanent cease-fire" April 30 1998. But there doesn't seem to have been any fighting after Oct 1997 (UCDP code no deaths after1996). See also S2004. D&S put end of war in April 1998.
outcome	Truce	
faildate	.	
pk	0	No peacekeepers until...
	2	Truce Monitoring Group – led by New Zealand, deployed Nov 24 1997 to April 30 1998, 250 troops. TMG is replaced by Peace Monitoring Group – led by Australia, to June 30 1998
	1	Small transitional office after PMG, then UN DPA peace-building missions (UN Political Office Bougainville, then called UN Observer Mission in Bougainville) Australian transitional mission was about 20 civilians, UNPOB & UNOMB just 2-5 people. Mandate ends June 30 2005 after elections.[18]
pkwho	New Zealand, Australia, UN	

id 1030 **Peru**

cfdate	Dec 31 1996	D&S2006 put end date at end of 1996 (Dec 31 arbitrary). Cease-fire date is arguable. Sendero Luminoso was in decline after arrest of Guzman in Sept 1992. Could use

---

[18] Information on all of these peacekeeping missions from Papua New Guinea expert, Anthony Regan, Australian National University (at USIP in 2005). Email correspondence with author (May 31, 2005).

arrest of Durand in July 1999 when remnants of Sendero Luminoso no longer a threat. Gilroy. (UCDP note intermediate levels of violence through 1999. Earlier date cuts against peacekeeping argument.

outcome	Govt victory	
faildate	.	
pk	none	

id 1050 **Philippines-Communists** (NPA & NDF)

cfdate	Dec 31 1995	End date unclear (Dec 31 arbitrary). D&S2006 list Sept 1992 but S2004 does not say why. Dubey 2002 lists Dec 15 1993 (which was start of a temporary cease-fire, according to Gilroy). UCDP code war through 1995. Gilroy notes clashes in April 1993 but many rebels surrender by July 1993, but also fighting (and temporary cease-fires through at least Oct 1994. UCDP coding suggests this fighting continued well into 1995.
outcome	Truce	Cease-fire agreement or fighting fizzles, unclear which.
faildate	May 15 1999	UCDP code restart in 1997, another stop, and restart in 1999. Gilroy notes clashes with NDF in May 1999 (though small scale). (15th arbitrary)
pk	none	

Note: using D&S2006 dates would cut against peacekeeping argument, but there seems to be plenty of evidence of fighting beyond that point. Could also add another case for the UCDP gap in 1998, this would favor peacekeeping argument.

id 1055 **Philippines-Mindanao**

cfdate	Nov 7 1993	MNLF & Government sign 3 month cease-fire.
outcome	Truce	
faildate	Dec 22 1993	Attacks by Christians on mosques, and by Muslims against Government forces, etc., escalate a few days before Christmas (22nd arbitrary). Gilroy.
pk	none	

id 1058 **Philippines-Mindanao**
MNLF MILF

cfdate	Dec 31 1990	UCDP codes no activity by either group in 1991 or 1992 (Dec 31 arbitrary).
outcome	Truce	Low activity.

faildate	Jan 1 1993	Exact date in 1993 unclear (Jan 1 arbitrary).
pk	none	

id 1060 **Philippines-Mindanao**

cfdate	Sept 2 1996	Agreement with MNLF.
outcome	Settlement	
faildate	Nov 15 2001	MNLF violates cease-fire in November 2001 (15th arbitrary). Gilroy.
pk	none	
partcf	1	Partial cease-fire, MILF doesn't stop fighting.

Mindanao case is messy because several factions, some of which maintain cease-fires while others do not. D&S2006 (unlike D&S2000) code war as ongoing because MILF continued to fight. Faildate could be start of 2000 (SIPRI lists over 1000 dead that year), but that fighting seems to be MILF not MNLF. MILF reaches cease-fire after this data ends, in 2001.

id 1070 **Romania**

cfdate	Dec 23 1999	Ceaucescu captured, executed 2 days later.
outcome	Rebel victory	
faildate	.	
pk	none	

Note: D&S2006 drop this case – S2004 explains it "had more the flavor of rioting and short-lived popular revolt" and that whether crossed 1000 deaths is unclear – though 3 of the 4 sources they list suggest it did. UCDP lists as minor case. I include it as it works against the peacekeeping hypothesis.

id 1085 **Russia-Chechnya**

cfdate	June 1 1996	Cease-fire negotiated between Chechen leader Yandarbiyev and Yeltsin begins at midnight on May 31. Gilroy.
outcome	Truce	
faildate	July 7 1996	Cease-fire held till early July (7th arbitrary). Gilroy.
pk	none	

id 1090 **Russia-Chechnya**

cfdate	Aug 23 1996	Cease-fire signed Aug 22, takes effect the next day. Agreements on Russian withdrawal, etc. over following week. Gilroy.
outcome	Truce	

faildate	Sept 15 1999	Russia attacks in September (15th arbitrary).
pk	none	

id 1105 Rwanda

cfdate	July 31 1992	Cease-fire signed in Arusha, comes into effect at end of the month. Gilroy.
outcome	Truce	
faildate	Jan 1 1993	Fighting halted until roughly Jan 1993 (1st arbitrary).
pk	2	OAU NMOG, 50 members, in place from July 1992-July 1993. Gilroy.
pkwho	OAU	

id 1110 Rwanda

cfdate	Aug 4 1993	Arusha Accords. Cease-fire actually in effect since March 16 (or maybe even July 1992) Gilroy. I use later date as it cuts against peacekeeping argument.
outcome	Settlement	
faildate	Apr 6 1994	Date Habarimana's plane shot down, and genocide begins.
pk	2	OAU's NMOG II observer mission until Oct 5 1993;
	3	Then UNAMIR, interpositional mission.
pkwho	OAU, UN	

id 1115 Rwanda

cfdate	July 18 1994	RPF controls whole country and declares unilateral cease-fire.
outcome	Rebel victory	
faildate	Jan 1 1998	(date arbitrary) Fighting between RPF Government and Interhamwe & former Government forces kills over 1500 in 1998, according to SIPRI. Keesings reports fighting in January 1998.[19] Gilroy. D&S2006 do not code a new war, though S2004 notes it could be considered one.
pk	3	UNAMIR II there until April 16 1996. Note: UNAMIR's mission had many dimensions, so could be considered multidimensional, but it was not staffed to implement them.[20]
	0	

---

[19] See also Bercovitch and Jackson 1997, pp. 252-3.

[20] Lise Howard, email correspondence with author.

pkwho   UN

Note: French mission "Operation Turquoise" deployed to southwestern Rwanda and Zaire on June 22 1994, however it deployed to an area where there was no fighting between the RPF and the FAR (and where genocide already complete) – in effect a humanitarian mission, not a mission to keep peace.[21]

id 1118 **Senegal**

cfdate	July 8 1993	UCDP notes a cease-fire.
outcome	Truce	Cease-fire or low activity.
faildate	June 1 1995	UCDP note war restarts in 1995 (June 1 arbitrary).
pk	none	

D&S2006 code an end to this war in Dec 1999 (S2004 notes a cease-fire that month), but UCDP code intermediate level conflict in 1999, 2000, and 2001 (and again in 2003), so no clear break in 1999. UCDP also code two earlier terminations and restarts (in 1990 restart 1993; 1993 restart 1995) Adding these cases would bolster peacekeeping argument. Some missing data for this case (because not included in D&S2000) filled in from Fearon & Laitin 2003. Other data filled in from my own research: French colony, secessionist war (Casamance), 3+ factions (MFDC had separate hardline and moderate factions). French military support for Government so major=1.[22]

id 1120 **Sierra Leone**

cfdate	Nov 30 1996	Abidjan Accords.
outcome	Settlement	
faildate	15 May 1997	Fighting resumes within weeks, but accords only collapse completely after Sankoh arrested in March (15th arbitrary).
pk	none	750 person UN Neutral Monitoring Group called for but not implemented. ECOMOG not yet deployed.

id 1125 **Sierra Leone**

cfdate	July 7 1999	Lomé Agreement.
outcome	Settlement	
faildate	May 2 2000	RUF attacks UN & advances on Freetown.
pk	5+2	ECOMOG and small UNOMSIL observer mission.
	5	When ECOMOG pulls out in December 1999, UNOMSIL

---

[21] For an assessment see Jones 2001, pp.122-27.

[22] Ploughshares Armed Conflict Report. Available online at <http://www.ploughshares.ca/libraries/ACRText/ACR-Senegal.html>.

converted to UNAMSIL (peace enforcement) authorized Oct 22 1999 (though only really deploys over course of December).

pkwho   ECOWAS & UN, UN

Note: new cease-fire and British and further UN enforcement missions not included here because they take place after 2000. See case studies in *Does Peacekeeping Work?* for further discussion.

Note: some inconsistencies in D&S2006 with regard to this case. They do not code changes of power in Sierra Leone as new wars (nor do I), but do elsewhere (as in Afghanistan). Also they treat some peacebuilding attempts in this case (e.g. Abidjan) as war ends but not others (e.g. Lomé), included here.

id 1140 **Somalia**

cfdate	27 Jan 1991	Barre flees capital.
outcome	Rebel victory	
faildate	5 Sep 1991	Dubey 2002. Gilroy notes fighting among clans started within two days of Barre leaving the country. S2004 puts start of the new war in May with Somaliland declaration of independence. I follow Dubey 2002 in putting war resumption in September, as this cuts against peacekeeping argument.
pk	none	UNOSOM & US-led force (UNITAF) deploy after this cease-fire falters, for humanitarian or peace creation purposes.

Note: from Gilroy's research, it appears no cease-fires go into effect while international forces present in Somalia.

Note: UCDP code a break in fighting in 1996 but note that this is not because the war stopped, but because fighting no longer involved the Government forces (as Somalia had no Government). So for my purposes, there was no cease-fire. Also, various rounds of fighting in Somaliland (see Gilroy's notes) – but this is not considered a civil war in D&S and others because fighting took place between various groups in a territory with no recognized Government. There is therefore no data on these cases.

id 1160 **South Africa**

cfdate	April 26 1994	D&S2006 put end of war in April. April 26 is start date of elections.
outcome	Settlement	
faildate	.	

| pk | 1 | UN sends Special Representative (Brahimi) and helps with electoral observation but no peacekeepers to speak of. Note: D&S2000 coded this as monitoring mission. Following their coding would bolster the peacekeeping argument. |

id 1185 Sri Lanka-Tamil

cfdate	Jan 7 1995	Cease-fire takes effect.
outcome	Truce	
faildate	April 19 1995	Cease-fire holds until April 19.
pk	1	Ad hoc monitors from Canada Norway & the Netherlands, but not clear how many. Gilroy. They withdraw after cease-fire fails. Note: this case takes place well after Indian peacekeeping force withdraws.
pkwho	adhoc, Canada et al.	

id 1190 Sri Lanka-JVP II

cfdate	Dec 29 1989	Date of Government raid on JVP headquarters that kills most of its leaders. JVP defeated by end of Jan. I use Dec date in keeping with D&S2006 because it cuts against peacekeeping argument.
outcome	Govt victory	
faildate	.	
pk	none	Indian peacekeepers present July 1987, begin withdrawing Sept 1989. Remnants there until March 1990, but appear to have been mostly involved in LTTE (Tamil) conflict and in any case on their way out as Government defeats JVP.

id 1202 Sudan

cfdate	May 1 1989	SPLA announces a unilateral one month cease-fire provided Government does not carry out troop movements in the South. Cease-fire extended several times. Gilroy
outcome	Truce	
faildate	Oct 31 1989	Fighting at end of Oct 1989. Gilroy (date arbitrary)
pk	none	

id 1204 Sudan

| cfdate | 28 March 1995 | Two month cease-fire brokered by Jimmy Carter, then extended. Gilroy. |

outcome	Truce	
faildate	Aug 15 1995	Fighting breaks out by mid-August (15th arbitrary).
pk	none	

id 1206 **Sudan**

cfdate	July 15 1998	Three month cease-fire negotiated by British Minister of State Derek Fatchett, then extended. Gilroy.
outcome	Truce	
faildate	Feb 15 1999	Fighting resumes mid Feb (15th arbitrary).
pk	none	

id 1208 **Sudan**

cfdate	April 15 1999	Another cease-fire in mid April (15th arbitrary). Gilroy.
outcome	Truce	
faildate	May 15 1999	Fighting reported in mid May (15th arbitrary).
pk	none	

id 1220 **Tajikistan**

cfdate	27 June 1997	Moscow Declaration. Previous cease-fire agreements during peace process from 1994 on had little effect on actual fighting. I follow D&S2006 in changing war end from 1994 (as it was in D&S2000) as this cuts against peacekeeping argument.
outcome	Settlement	
faildate		
pk	5+2	Russian-led CIS troops thru June 2000, UNMOT observing CIS thru April 2000.
	0	
pkwho	CIS+UN	

id 1235 **Turkey-Kurds**

cfdate	Mar 20 1993	Unilateral and unconditional cease-fire by PKK, originally for 25 days but then extended indefinitely. Gilroy.
outcome	Truce	
faildate	May 24 1993	PKK rebels break Ocalan's order, killing 31 Government soldiers, ending the truce. Fighting then escalates.
pk	none	

Note: UCDP also code a break in Turkey-Kurd war in 1992. Adding this case would favor

peacekeeping argument.

id 1240 **Turkey-Kurds**

cfdate	Sep 1 1999	PKK leader Ocalan calls for cease-fire to start. S2004 puts end of war at Ocalan's arrest in Feb 1999, but PKK carried out bombing campaign in March & April. Gilroy. PKK has largely observed Ocalan's cease-fire, though Turkish Government has not. Gilroy. UCDP code war ongoing as of 2003, but full-scale war largely over with PKK cease-fire.
outcome	Govt victory	Could argue a truce, since PKK agrees to cease-fire, but with head of organization in jail, forces are essentially defeated.
faildate	.	
pk	none	

id 1273 **Uganda-Kony**

cfdate	Feb 15 1989	Museveni declares 3 month moratorium on fighting guerillas (15th arbitrary). Gilroy.
outcome	Truce	
faildate	May 15 1989	Government offensive and scorched earth campaign begins after 3 months cease-fire concludes (15th arbitrary).
pk	none	

id 1275 **Uganda-LRA**

cfdate	July 15 1992	(15th arbitrary). D&S2006; S2004: (temporary) defeat of LRA in July.
outcome	Govt victory	
faildate	Jan 15 1995	D&S2006 (15th arbitrary). UCDP puts restart in 1994, later date cuts against peacekeeping argument.
pk	none	

id 970 **United Kingdom-N. Ireland**

cfdate	Aug 31 1994	Gilroy. Note: UCDP code a break in fighting from 1992-1997.
outcome	Truce	IRA announces cease-fire, Protestant groups also cease-fire.
faildate	Feb 15 1996	
pk	none	

id 975 United Kingdom-N. Ireland

cfdate	Apr 10 1998	Good Friday Agreement.
outcome	Settlement	
faildate	.	
pk	none	

id 1320 Yemen

cfdate	July 10 1994	Yemen Government captures all of South Yemen, crushing secessionist movement. Gilroy & S2004.
outcome	Govt victory	
faildate	.	
pk	none	Note: D&S2000 code peacekeeping mission for this case but no evidence of one since the 1960s.

id 1335 Yugoslavia-Croatia

cfdate	Nov 23 1991	First UN brokered cease-fire goes into effect. Gilroy. (14th cease-fire of the war – others very short if they went into effect at all)
outcome	Truce	
faildate	Dec 7 1991	Cease-fire lasted until early December (7th arbitrary) (though Vukovar falls in November – using later of these dates works against peacekeeping argument) Gilroy.
pk	none	No peacekeepers in the Balkans yet.
drop	1	Cease-fire lasts less than 1 month

Note: case included in "Peacekeeping and Democratization," but dropped from analyses in *Does Peacekeeping Work?* after I noticed cease-fire less than 1 month.

id 1340 Yugoslavia-Croatia

cfdate	Jan 3 1992	Vance's cease-fire goes into effect. Gilroy.
outcome	Truce	
faildate	Jan 22 1993	Offensive in Krajina. D&S2006 start new war in Feb 1992 but S2004 notes it is open to interpretation when a new war event began – using their date to add a new case would bias in favor of peacekeeping argument as UNPROFOR was not authorized until Feb 15 1992, and did not start arriving until March (fully deployed by June).
pk	3	UNPROFOR
pkwho	UN	

id 1355 **Yugoslavia-Kosovo**

cfdate	Oct 12 1998	Cease-fire brokered by Holbrooke.
outcome	Truce	
faildate	Dec 1 1998	Cease-fire more or less holds until December (1st arbitrary).
pk	2	OSCE force of 2,000 (Kosovo Verification Mission) agreed to (along with NATO monitoring from the air) but only 1,200 deploy. Not clear how many deploy before cease-fire broken in December – all are evacuated in March 1999. Mandate is human rights observation. O'Neill 2002, pp.24-25.
pkwho	OSCE	

id 1360 **Yugoslavia-Kosovo**

cfdate	June 9 1999	D&S2006 put end of "civil" war in March 1999 when NATO campaign makes it international (S2004), but no cease-fire at this point. War actually ends with agreement between NATO and Milosovic June 9 1999, setting up UNMIK and KFOR.
outcome	Rebel victory	
faildate	.	
pk	5&4	NATO KFOR enforcement & UNMIK (transitional administration).
pkwho	NATO & UN	

Note: the Kosovo cases are dropped from some analyses due to missing data because not in D&S2000 or Fearon and Laitin 2003, but their inclusion would strengthen the peacekeeping argument since no resumption of full-scale war while peace enforcement present. Some data filled in: Clearly identity based. 2 factions (KLA, & Government). Approximately 7500 dead and 1,000,000 refugees or displaced, according to S2004. Various reports of drug financing for KLA, so contraband coded 1.[23]

---

[23] See, for example, *The Guardian* April 14, 1999.

Cases in D&S2006 Not Included Here:

Angola-Cabinda (FLEC)
Included in D&S2006, Fearon and Laitin 2003, and UCDP, but S2004 notes that it probably does not actually meet death criteria. Not added because of insufficient data. UCDP suggest several stops and starts, such that adding this conflict would strongly support the peacekeeping argument. (as UNAVEM mission did not deal with the Cabinda conflict).

Kenya
D&S2006 list a war ending in 1993, but S2004 notes as ambiguous case. Not included in Fearon and Laitin 2003 or UCDP. Not included here, because while evidence that Government supported and instigated violence, this is a case of violence between rival ethnic groups, the Pokot and Turkana, not violence between organized rebels and the state. End date also unclear, D&S note ongoing violence after 1993.

Mexico
Listed in D&S2000 but S2004 notes not enough deaths to qualify as full-fledged civil war. UCDP notes breaks in 1994 and 1996 – including this conflict would thus add one short lived break with no peacekeepers, and one case of peace lasting with no peacekeepers.

References

Adebajo, Adekeye. 2002. *Building Peace in West Africa: Liberia, Sierra Leone, and Guinea-Bissau, International Peace Academy Occasional Paper Series*. Boulder: Lynne Rienner.

Bennett, D. Scott, and Allan C. Stam. 2003. EUGene: Expected Utility Generation and Data Management Program, Version 3.0.

Bercovitch, Jacob, and Robert Jackson. 1997. *International Conflict: A Chronological Encyclopedia of Conflicts and Their Management 1945-1995*. Washington DC: Congressional Quarterly.

Brogan, Patrick. 1990. *The Fighting Never Stopped: A Comprehensive Guide to World Conflict since 1945*. New York: Vintage Books.

_____ 1992. *World Conflicts: Why and Where they are Happening*. London: Bloomsbury.

Cohen, Jonathan, ed. 1999. *A Question of Sovereignty: The Georgia-Abkhazia Peace Prcess*. Vol. 7, *Accord*. London: Conciliation Resources.

Doyle, Michael W., and Nicholas Sambanis. 2000 (D&S2000). International Peacebuilding: A Theoretical and Quantitative Analysis. *American Political Science Review* 94 (4):779-801.

Doyle, Michael W., and Nicholas Sambanis. 2006 (D&S2006). *Making War and Building Peace: United Nations Peace Operations*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.

Dubey, Amitabh. 2002. Domestic Institutions and the Duration of Civil War Settlements. Paper read at Annual Meeting of the International Studies Association, March 24-27, at New Orleans.

Fearon, James D. 2004. Why Do Some Civil Wars Last So Much Longer than Others? *Journal of Peace Research* 41 (3):275-302. Data available at <http://www.stanford.edu/~jfearon/>.

Fearon, James D., and David D. Laitin. 2003. Ethnicity, Insurgency, and Civil War. *American Political Science Review* 97 (1):75-90. Data available at <http://www.stanford.edu/~jfearon/>.

Fortna, Virginia Page. 1992. *Regional Organizations and Peacekeeping*. Occ. Paper 11, The Henry L. Stimson Center, October 1992.

_____ 1993. United Nations Transition Assistance Group in Namibia. In *The Evolution of UN Peacekeeping: Case Studies and Comparative Analysis*, edited by W. J. Durch. New

York: St. Martin's Press,

Freedom House. *Freedom in the World Comparative Rankings: 1975-2005*. Available from <www.freedomhouse.org>. <http://65.110.85.181/uploads/FIWrank7305.xls>.

Gartzke, Erik, and Dong-Joon Jo. 2002. The Affinity of Nations Index, 1946-1996, Version 3.0.

Gilligan, Michael, and Stephen John Stedman. 2003. Where do the Peacekeepers Go? *International Studies Review* 5 (4):37-54.

Gilroy, Megan. n.d.   Case notes collected for this project by research assistant Megan Gilroy. Available from upon request.

Jones, Bruce D. 2001. *Peacemaking in Rwanda: The Dynamics of Failure*. Boulder: Lynne Rienner.

Kohn, George Childs. 1999. *Dictionary of Wars*. Revised ed. New York: Checkmark Books.

Marshall, Monty G., and Keith Jaggers. 2002. Polity IV Project: Political Regime Characteristics and Transitions, 1800-2002. College Park, MD: Center for International Development and Conflict Management (CIDCM), University of Maryland.

O'Neill, William G. 2002. *Kosovo: An Unfinished Peace*, *International Peace Academy Occasional Paper Series*. Boulder: Lynne Rienner.

Regan, Patrick M. 2002. Third Party Intervention and the Duration of Intrastate Conflict. *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 46 (1):55-73.

Sambanis, Nicholas and Annalisa Zinn, 2002, "The Escalation of Self-Determination Movements: From Protest to Violence" Prepared for Presentation at the Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association, Boston, MA, August 29 - September 1, 2002.

SIPRI. various years. *SIPRI Yearbook: World Armaments and Disarmament*. Stockholm: Almquist & Wiksell.

Sambanis, Nicholas. 2004 (S2004). "Civil War Coding Notes" for What is Civil War? Conceptual and Emprical Complexities of an Operational Definition. *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 48 (6):814-858, and Doyle and Sambanis 2006 (see above). Available at http://pantheon.yale.edu/~ns237/index/research/CivilWarCodingNotes.pdf.

Smith, Michael G. 2003. *Peacekeeping in East Timor: The Path to Independence*, *International Peace Academy Occasional Paper Series*. Boulder: Lynne Rienner.

Stanton, Jessica. 2008. Strategies of Violence and Restraint in Civil War, Political Science, Columbia University, New York.

Uppsala Conflict Data Program (UCDP). Data available at <http://www.pcr.uu.se/research/UCDP/>.

United Nations. 1996. *The Blue Helmets: A Review of United Nations Peace-keeping*. 3d ed. New York: United Nations.

World Development Indicators (WDI). Data Available online at <http://devdata.worldbank.org/dataonline/>.