Contents

List of figure and tables  ix

Acknowledgments

Introduction  1
  The Politics of Peacebuilding  2
  The Argument and its Significance  3
  Structure of the Book  8

1 Rethinking the Peacebuilding Puzzle  11
  What is Peacebuilding?  12
  The Transitional Governance Approach to Transformative Peacebuilding  13
  What Do We Know About Peacebuilding?  17
  Rethinking the Peacebuilding Puzzle  22
  A Unique Approach to Understanding Peacebuilding  27

2 Political Order in Post-Conflict States: A Theoretical Framework  41
  The Pursuit of Political Order  43
  The Neopatrimonial Equilibrium  47
  Elites and Transformative Events  50
  Elite Settlements: The Continuation of War by Other Means  53
  Transitional Governance: A Process of Inherent Contradictions  56
  Neopatrimonial Political Order: A Hybrid Form of Governance  61
  The Peacebuilding Pathway  66

3 From Violent Conflict to Elite Settlement  70
  The Cambodian Civil War  72
  The Paris Peace Agreement on Cambodia  77
  The East Timorese Resistance to Occupation  80
  The East Timor Independence Referendum  90
## Contents

The Afghan Civil War 93  
The Afghanistan Bonn Agreement 101  
Elite Settlements in Comparative Perspective 103

### 4 International Intervention and Elite Incentives 107

Transitional Governance in Cambodia 111  
The Cambodian Elections of 1993 115  
Transitional Governance in East Timor 120  
The East Timorese Elections of 2001 130  
Transitional Governance in Afghanistan 133  
The Afghan Elections of 2004 and 2005 142  
Transitional Governance in Comparative Perspective 147

### 5 Neopatrimonial Post-Conflict Political Order 152

Post-Intervention Cambodia: Exclusionary Neopatrimonialism and the Threat of Violence 154  
Post-Intervention East Timor: Inclusionary Neopatrimonialism and Latent Conflict 164  
Post-Intervention Afghanistan: Competitive Neopatrimonialism and Persistent Insecurity 174  
Neopatrimonial Political Order in Comparative Perspective 186

Conclusion: The Paradoxes of Peacebuilding 190  
The Mirage of Modern Political Order in Post-Conflict States 191  
Transformative Peacebuilding Elsewhere 194  
Whither Peacebuilding? 198  
Sequencing the Pursuit of Effective and Legitimate Governance 200  
Six Principles and a Caveat for Modifying Peacebuilding Practice 205  
Future Research and Theoretical Implications 218  
Conclusion 222

**Appendix: Interviews Conducted** 224

**Bibliography** 230

**Index** 256