THE ANALYSIS OF THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN THE CONTENT OF PEACE ACCORDS AND POST-ACCORD STABILITY: COMPARATIVE CASE STUDY OF GUATEMALA AND EL SALVADOR

by

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ABSTRACT

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Keywords: Peace accords, comprehensiveness of peace accords, post-accord stability, Guatemala, El Salvador

This study explored the relationship between the content of peace accords and post-accord stability. This relationship has rarely been studied before. In this regard, this research addressed the gap in the literature by examining to what extent the inclusion of socio-economic, political, security-related and social-fabric related issues in peace accords impacts these socio-economic, political, security-related and social-fabric related issues in the post-accord period. The two cases of post-conflict countries, Guatemala and El Salvador, were comparatively analyzed. The Guatemalan and Salvadoran peace accords were content-coded. Subsequently, the level of post-accord stability in these countries was measured by using various indicators for socio-economic, political, security-related and social-fabric related issues.

Findings revealed that there is not a strong relation between the inclusion of socio-economic, political, security-related and social-fabric related issues in peace accords and the level of these issues in the post-accord period. In other words, the comprehensiveness of peace accords does not necessarily lead to stability in the post-accord period. There are other factors like specificity and applicability of provisions, implementation-related issues, sense of ownership of the peace accords by the society that influence the relationship between peace accords and post-accord period.

Findings have also implications for designing more efficient peace agreements.

ÖZET

BARIŞ ANTLAŞMALARININ İÇERİĞİ İLE ANTLAŞMA SONRASI İSTİKRAR ARASINDAKİ İLİŞKİ ANALİZİ: GUATEMALA VE EL SALVADOR ÜZERİNE KARŞILAŞTIRMALI ÇALIŞMA

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Anahtar Kelimeler: Barış antlaşmaları, barış antlaşmalarının kapsamlılığı, antlaşma sonrası istikrar, Guatemala, El Salvador

Bu araştırma, barış antlaşmalarının içeriği ile antlaşma sonrası istikrar arasındaki ilişkiyi incelemiştir. Bu bağlamda, sosyo-ekonomik, politik, güvenlikle ilgili ve sosyal doku ile ilgili konuların barış antlaşmalarına dahil edilmesinin, antlaşma sonrası dönemde yaşanan sosyo-ekonomik, politik, güvenlikle ilgili ve sosyal doku ile ilgili gelişmeleri ne ölçüde etkilediği irdelenmiş, ve daha önce üzerinde pek araştırma yapılmamış olan bu konu ele alınarak literatüre katkıda bulunmak amaçlanmıştır. Araştırmada, çatışma sonrası dönemini yaşamakta olan iki ülke, Guatemala ve El Salvador, örnek olarak seçilmiş ve karşılaştırmalı bir şekilde analiz edilmiştir. Bu iki ülkenin barış antlaşmaları içerik analizi yöntemi kullanılarak incelenmiştir. Akabinde, bu ülkelerin antlaşma sonrası istikrar düzeyleri, yine bu ülkelerin sosyo-ekonomik, politik, güvenlikle ilgili ve sosyal doku ile ilgili meselelerini anlamak için kullanılan çeşitli göstergeler aracılığıyla ölçülmüştür.

Sonuçlara göre, sosyo-ekonomik, politik, güvenlikle ilgili ve sosyal doku ile ilgili konuların barış antlaşmalarına dahil edilmesi ile antlaşma sonrası dönemde bu konularda gözlemlenen gelişmeler arasında kuvvetli bir bağ yoktur. Diğer bir deyişle, barış antlaşmalarının kapsamlı olması, antlaşma sonrası dönemde mutlaka istikrar ile sonuçlanmamaktadır. Barış antlaşmaları ile antlaşma sonrası istikrar arasındaki ilişkiyi etkileyen başka faktörler de bulunmaktadır: antlaşma maddelerinin belirliliği ve

uygulanabilirliği, barış antlaşmalarının uygulanmasına ilişkin konular, barış antlaşmalarının toplum tarafından sahiplenilmesi (aidiyet hissi).

Araştırmanın sonuçları aynı zamanda daha verimli barış antlaşmalarının hazırlanması konusunda baz alınacak niteliktedir.

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CHAPTER 1

LITERATURE REVIEW

"There never was a good war, or a bad peace."
(Benjamin Franklin)

As the statement emphasizes, throughout history, war was cursed and peace was appreciated without very much asking 'what sort of peace' and 'how we will arrive there' questions. The more complex the world and contemporary developments become, the more effort is needed to understand the 'transitions' between war and peace, and vice versa. (Keen 2001: 11). Regarding the transition to a durable peace, different stages, components and aspects of peaceful processes and developments have been studied (Hampson 1996; Kumar 1997; Darby and Mac Ginty 2000; Stedman, Rothchild and Cousens 2002; Darby and Mac Ginty 2003; Borer, Darby and McEvoy-Levy 2006; Bekoe 2008; Call and Cousens 2008; Del Castillo 2008). Nevertheless, peace processes have rarely been studied in relation to the post-conflict period of war-torn countries. These two are considered as consecutive periods by some; intertwined processes, by others. Apart from these diverse understandings, it important to note that analyses of peace processes and post-conflict outcomes in post-conflict period eventually need to be done in a mutual manner, because they are interrelated with each other. In this sense, the focus of this study is the relationship between peace processes and post-conflict period.

Many use this term of "peace accord / agreement" by referring to its meaning of being an end product of a peace process. However, peace agreements are the end products, but they are not the end of the conflict. As Ball (1996:608) says, peace accords are 'the means through which the parties hope to resolve the unfinished business of war'. Rather than indicating the end of a process, peace accords 'instead

signal beginning of a new phase of peace work' (Borer, 2006:5) and, as critical tools of peace processes, particularly lay the ground for post-conflict outcomes. As formal end products of negotiations between the parties of a conflict, peace agreements include a different variety of provisions which address economic, political, social, security-related, military-related areas; regulations are proposed for these areas to achieve post-conflict stability. Because each provision in peace agreements may uniquely impact economic, political, security-related and social issues, this study concentrates on the question whether or how the inclusion of these provisions impacts economic, political, security-related and social indicators of post-conflict stability.

Viewed in this sense, the following chapter presents the literature on the characteristics and functions of the peace agreements in relation to post-accord period; and on the socio-economic, political, security-related and social fabric-related components of post-accord stability. Lastly, the Post-Accord Stability Framework, created in the light of this literature, is introduced in this chapter.

1.1.Peace Agreements

Many studies have been conducted on peace processes. It is commonly argued that peace processes which include long term and complex course of actions among warring parties are not clear-cut, linear progressions. Peace processes are actually embodied in a broad spectrum of stages. Naraghi-Anderlini et al. (2001) look into peace process in three phases: preparations and pre-negotiations, negotiations and transformation, and settlement and consolidation. Another, but more detailed analysis of peace processes in five phases of preparing for peace, negotiations, process of managing violence, peace accords and post-accord reconstruction is offered by Darby and Mac Ginty (2003). Peace agreements happen to be critical tools of these multi-faceted peace processes as a sign of 'formal commitment between hostile parties to end a war' (Naraghi-Anderlini 2004: 16). Defining peace agreements as 'an integral part of conflict resolution', Wallensteen (2002: 8) emphasizes the essentialness of an agreement among conflicting parties in to be able to mention about conflict resolution.

For what constitutes a peace agreement, literature suggests five – overlapping, as characteristic of the process – categories (Bell 2003; Yawanarajah and Ouellet 2003):

- Pre-negotiation agreements: issues, procedures and agenda describing how peace will be negotiated in order to manage peace process and structure negotiations.
- Framework/Substantive/Comprehensive Agreements: addressing the underlying substantive issues of a dispute. Often symbolized by a ''handshake moment' signifying a 'historical compromise'', these agreements reiterate parties' commitments to peaceful means for resolving the conflict and to work on and address substantive matters such as democratization, justice issues, etc.
- Implementation agreements: They elaborate on and work out the details of Comprehensive Agreements.

Literature on peace agreements to a great extent addresses the issue of peace implementation which is the process of putting peace agreements into practice. The implementation of peace agreements (Darby and Mac Ginty 2000, Ghani and Lockhart 2007) and particularly determinants of successful implementation (Stedman et. al 2002; Hoddie and Hartzell 2003; Bekoe 2008) and reasons of the failure of peace agreements in fulfilling their functions (Borer et. al 2006) have been examined. The analyses have also concentrated on legal discussions of peace agreements regarding institutional, procedural and status related issues (Bell 2006). In these studies, the likelihood of relapse into war after signing peace accord – mostly stemming from implementation problems and decreasing commitments of parties to the deal – has been one of the primary concerns (see Hartzell 1999; Walter 2002).

Undoubtedly, the implementation analyses constitute an essential part of research on peace agreements. However, peace implementation cannot be regarded separately from the content of peace agreements which deserves particular emphasis, since agreement documents are considered as being composed of preliminary plans for the peace implementation period. The content of peace agreements are composed of the three main concerns of procedure, substance and organization (Yawanarajah and Ouellet 2003; Darby and Mac Ginty 2000):

- Procedural components determine processes and measures that facilitate the implementation of substantive components.
- Substantive/structural components include the political, economic and socio-structural issues that are going to be addressed after peace agreement is made. Change on these issues is needed to have a just and peaceful future.
- Institutional/Organizational components provide mechanisms to guide actors carry out intended activities to promote peace consolidation. There are two types of institutional components: implementation mechanisms (which provide monitoring function and a political platform where parties resolve implementation-related disputes) and peacebuilding mechanisms (which provide capacity to prevent future conflicts).

A variety of provisions can be included in peace agreements. In their text, *Contemporary Peacemaking: Conflict, Violence and Peace Processes,* Darby and Mac Ginty (2003) indicate that the extent of agreements is significant in the sense of the degree to which they embrace territorial, legal and security-related issues that are very central to a conflict. Peace agreements "…generally share universal themes – ceasefires, the inclusion of armed participants in negotiations, disarmament, amnesty for political prisoners and reform of the security branches of government" (Darby 2000: 5). One can find another consistent pattern of inclusion of some provisions, i.e. about security and constitutional issues, since the end of Second World War. As a result of his study examining 200 peace accords signed since this war, De Varennes (2003: 153) concludes that agreements generally include independence/ autonomy/ power-sharing, human rights guarantees and 'fair' distribution of resources/employment. In addition to these issues, to some extent, there is tendency to enlarge the content of peace agreements and the scope of provisions to socio-economic and issues related to the developmental dimension of conflicts (Darby and Mac Ginty, 2003). Ghani and Lockhart (2007: 289) underline that all peace agreements need to contain "the following seven major topics: the political process; the legal framework; the internal reorganization of the state; provision of security; inclusive economic and social development; a partnership with the international community; implementation". In other words, rather than just including security, political reform and military issues peace agreements become more inclusive by also dealing with economic, political and social issues.

Peace agreements may vary in their clarity, inclusiveness or comprehensiveness. Some of the peace agreements include various substantive elements which are conducive to forming a lasting peace by addressing social, political and economic issues in post-conflict period (Quellet, 2004). Naraghi-Anderlini et al. (in Alker et al. 2001: 235) emphasize that these issues should not be underestimated, since they can make 'a substantial difference to the medium to the long-term success of the peace'. Moreover, Stedman (in Stedman et. al, 2002) argues that some other peace agreements may not be inclusive, because issues which become important during post-accord period may not be easily anticipated during complex peacemaking processes. Another reason can be the urgency to reach a peace agreement which may gain priority over the quality of its provisions in order to stave off no agreement alternative to a weak agreement.

Regarding the existence of a relationship between the content of peace agreements and the post-accord period, there are opponent and somehow proponent views among researchers. Ball (1996: 619) maintains that peace agreements just "provide a framework for ending hostilities and a guide to the initial stages of post-conflict reform"; but, fostering other structural conditions for durable peace fall into another period of "post-accord" or "post-settlement". Scholars assert that peace agreements may stop the physical violence but do not eliminate all overt violence such as criminal violence, ethnic street fighting, assault or intimidation and excessive use of force (Darby ad Mac Ginty 2000; McEvoy-Levy 2006). They additionally argue that peace accords rarely are able to provide positive peace[1] by eliminating structural inequalities on the ground (Newman and Schnabel 2002; Wallensteen 2002; Lederach 2005; Borer 2006). On the proponents' side, some of the researchers state that beyond short term bargains between parties, long term changes need to be considered in peace agreements to ensure sustainable peace (Hampson 1996; Darby and Mac Ginty 2003; Call and Cousens 2008). They consider inclusiveness of peace agreements valuable for the post-accord phase; however, their research interests have not gone further.

The question following these discussions is "what does comprehensiveness of peace agreements actually mean or signify for post-accord phase?" There are different

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[1] Defined by Galtung (1969), positive peace is something more than the absence of violence. It is the elimination of unequal opportunities, injustice and all structural inequalities.

arguments in this regard. International community and the United Nations consider peace agreements as important tools for post-conflict peace and stability. An Agenda for Peace (1992) concludes that peace accords can contribute to post-conflict stability by including provisions for strengthening state institutions and promoting political participation. It is believed that peace agreements provides legal and political basis for subsequent peace consolidation activities. Moreover, Wennmann (2007) highlights the importance of including economic provisions in peace accords and their potential to guide post-conflict economic governance.

Viewed in this light, analyzing the content of peace agreements are crucial in understanding the peace work or post-accord phase[2] better. Implying the relationship between the agreements and post-accord period, Hampson (1996: 217) furthers the argument by arguing that "the design of an agreement, particularly with regard to its provisions...can significantly affect the prospects of achieving a viable peace process and a durable settlement". At this point, the curiosity whether specifically the comprehensiveness of peace agreements (by including social, economic, political, and security-related issues) have any effect on post-accord phase become the inspiration of this study.

1.2. Post-Accord Stability

"The post-conflict peace is typically fragile: around half of all civil wars are due to post-conflict relapses."[3]

After violence comes to an end which is hopefully ensured by the sign of a peace agreement, a new and difficult period of reparation and reconstruction begins to be realized with the aim of recovering the socially, politically and economically broken structures of war-torn societies. The practice of calling this period *"post-accord/post-agreement/post-conflict/post-war"[4]* has been criticized by some scholars arguing that

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[2] The post-accord phase refers to the period after an accord/agreement is reached.

[3] Collier, P., Hoeffler, A. and Söderbom, M. (August 2006: 2)

[4] These terms are used interchangeably throughout this study.

chronological categorizations and a linear approach to conflict cycles undermine the complex processes of conflict (Darby and Mac Ginty 2000; Lederach 2002). Nevertheless, the usefulness of these terms is acknowledged. Thus, for the purpose of this study, this category – which begins with the cessation of open warfare between parties in the conflict and with signing a peace agreement (Junne and Verkoren 2004) – is used.

Notwithstanding the nonexistence of an agreed definition of the term "post-conflict setting", the term is often referred to a country that has experienced armed conflict and is now in a recovery period. It is characterized by complex activities ranging from security and governance to transitional justice and socio-economic development, such as political and institutional reforms, rebuilding devastated economy and infrastructure, reforming military and security sphere, healing and reconciliation, reweaving social fabric of the country (Ball 1996; Borer 2006; McEvoy-Levy 2006). These aims and efforts of recovering war-torn countries in all senses have been examined in the literature within the topic of "(post-conflict) peacebuilding" which is defined as long-term activities, strategies and processes to promote a durable peace without recurrence of war (Lederach 2002; Lambourne 2004). The post-conflict period is mostly analyzed in relation to this peace building focus that is internalized in local and international institutions, relief organizations, and development agencies.

Rather than "the efforts, strategies" to rebuild the country, this study concentrates on "post-accord outcomes" per se with which countries emerging from long years of armed conflict are living. In earlier periods of history, wars were mostly between states, strategically planned and ideological; while contemporary conflicts are internal, triggered by opposing claims of identity, competing desire for political power and access to resources (Bojicic-Dzelilovic, 2002). In addition, while interstate conflicts and peace agreements formulated to end these conflicts are generally about territorial issues, security-related issues, governance matters and states' interests; internal grievances, destroyed social relations, economic interactions, and power relations lie behind the internal conflicts and peace accords signed by the parties to these conflicts (Wallensteen 2002). Thus contemporary intrastate conflicts are prone to be more fragile and more detrimental to the societal and political infrastructure and economic balances of related country. Considering that conflicts affect all spheres of life; being subjected to long

years of continuous internal violence and chaos, war-torn countries are politically, economically and socially damaged.

Just like conflicts, post-accord issues are all complex and inter-related; so, it is difficult to break them down into fixed and linear categories. Nevertheless, it is possible to analyze the post-accord period, first, in *socio-economic* and *political* senses (Kumar 1997). Regarding the socio-economic dimension of the post-conflict environment, the economies of war-torn countries are often terribly weakened after long years of conflict. The damaged physical and institutional infrastructure, big budget deficits, high military expenditure together with the unfavorable conditions for investment and savings deteriorate the economy and also disrupt socio-economic wellbeing of the countries. (Kumar 1997; Collier 1999). Together with the economic deterioration, poverty and socio-economic inequalities emerge in war-torn countries (Collier et. al 2003). The situation of social services (access to basic needs, education, health and nutrition), unemployment, return of refugees and internally displaced persons are among the important socio-economic concerns of post-accord environment. Another critical area of the post-conflict period, the political aspect, includes the governance of the country, political authority, power-distribution and the situation of legal and judicial system. Also free and fair elections, participation (of civil society and local agents) in decision-making processes, and the situation of human rights constitute significant parts of the political dimension.

In addition to the socio-economic and political issue areas of post-accord period, *security-related aspect* and *social fabric-related issues* are keys to determine this period after the peace agreements are signed. With regard to the security aspect, despite the fact that the period after peace accord is signed is characterized by the end of the armed confrontation between warring parties, there are still issues to be addressed in relation to collective and individual security in a particular conflict-affected country. DDR (disarmament, demobilization and reintegration of ex-combatants), reduction in the army and military budget, ensuring public security and violence prevention can be counted as examples of these issues. Moreover, violent conflicts also affect and weaken social fabric of societies; social bonds and relations among community members are destroyed by violent atrocities, hatred and stereotypes. For this reason, post-accord

period is critical also in terms of reweaving these social bonds and nurturing a culture of peace again.

In order to have a profound understanding of post-accord period, it is essential to develop a holistic approach in which socio-economic, political, security-related and relational aspects need to be considered jointly as representative parts of the whole. In this sense, this study uses the term of "post-accord stability" to denote the existence of an improving and durable situation in all of these socio-economic, political, security-related and relational aspects of post-conflict environment. The conceptual rationale for these groupings is addressed below.

1.2.1. Socio-Economic Dimension of Post-Accord Stability

"Without economic hope, peace cannot take hold."[5]

Emerging from long years of violent conflicts, societies and economies are seriously destroyed; lives and livelihoods are disrupted. Naraghi-Anderlini et. al (2001:234) point out that "restructuring of the national economy leading to improved sources of livelihood and resulting in economic recovery that effectively benefits people in urban and rural areas is a priority concern for all sides". Economic issues and recovery of economy are crucial to post-conflict environment. In addition to the purely economic problems coming with high military spending, lack of investment and savings, big budget deficits and overvalued exchange rate (see Kumar 1997; Collier 1999), socio-economic issues stand as one of the prominent concern area of post-conflict countries. In most of the post-conflict contexts, humanitarian conditions of people, resettlement and integration of internally displaced people and refugees, employment and livelihood sustaining, situation of services such as nutrition, healthcare, water, and education, and access to these services are the common socio-economic matters (Forman 2002; Kreimer et al. 1998).

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[5] Forman, J. M. 2002: 125

With wars coming to an end, societies undergo changes in the post-accord period; also, they change their environment while adapting to new peace environment. However, their living standards and socio-economic well-being are quite influential in their ability to recover themselves. In this regard, Stedman et. al (2002: 186) emphasize that,

> [p]eace agreements are commitments signed by leaders, but the population must also be persuaded to make a commitment to peace. Some signal that there will be a "peace dividend"[6] – that the benefits will outweigh the costs – must be palpable for people to make even the minimal investment in rebuilding their lives and supporting politically those promoting peace.

Therefore, it is possible to state that social and economic development is also critical in enabling people to support the post-accord peace. In other words, without addressing socio-economic components of people's lives, it is hard to achieve peace and stability in the post-conflict period.

Among various socio-economic issues, poverty often appears to be a particularly endemic one. According to a recent observation made by Chen et al. (2008), the effects of civil war during conflict have been studied; but very few studies have analyzed the outcomes of civil wars after peace accords are signed. The issue of poverty can be given as an example of those effects and outcomes. Scholars often mention poverty and deprivation as either reasons of most intra-state conflicts or effects during conflicts (Kumar 1997; Newman and Schnabel 2002; Bekoe 2008). Moreover, international development and relief organizations are quite interested in poverty eradication as a part of their agenda (i.e. top objective of Millennium Development Goals[7]). However, poverty is mostly studied as a general development-related topic, rather than being associated with the post-accord period and studied as a post-conflict outcome.

Compared to the past, the issue of poverty has gotten more and more linked to issues of peace and stability (World Bank Group 2003). Most post-conflict countries face the difficulty of widespread poverty which 'undermines social cohesion, political

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[6] The peace dividend is about the resources previously spent on defence and arms becoming available for peacetime purposes (economic and social development) with the reducing risk of war.
[7] See http://www.undp.org/mdg/basics.shtml

stability and economic productivity' (United Nations 2007: 61). As it has an effect on almost every aspect of post-conflict context, poverty becomes an essential issue to be inevitably discussed in relation to post-conflict environment.

Known simply as whether people have enough resources to meet their needs or not, measures of poverty consists of income-based and non-income dimensions (World Bank 2008). Regarding the former, the term poverty refers to inadequate income[8] to meet minimum consumption needs and lack of employment to sustain livelihoods. Also, in addition to the income dimension, living standards and basic access to education, healthcare, water and shelter are used as other indicators to understand poverty. These concepts comprising the non-income dimension are referred to and measured by the "human development" concept which is reviewed in the following pages.

As mentioned in relation to poverty, living standards and basic access to education, healthcare, food and shelter are significant issues characterizing the post-accord period (Kreimer et al. 1998). Considering the ruined capacity of government after war to administer basic services (education, healthcare, water and sanitation), people's access to these services need to be focused in the earliest stages of post-accord period (Stedman et. al 2002). Newman and Schnabel (2002) also put emphasis on to economic policies and employment opportunities as parts of socioeconomic development. Government's policies to create job opportunities for unemployed people and alternatives for income generation are crucial in this regard. At this point, some scholars maintain that peace accords – to prevent a relapse into conflict – should provide opportunities for new livelihoods rather than breeding poverty (Darby and Mac Ginty 2003). In this sense, peace accords need to be examined according to their level of addressing socio-economic development.

Moreover, human development is another significant component of the socio-economic realm of post-accord period. Historically, the concept of development in literature is mostly used to refer to the economic development and growth. It is too often associated – especially by economists – with physical capital, investment, increase in per capita GDP, efficiency of resource allocation (ul-Haq 1995). In development

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[8] It is also called income below "poverty line".

perspective, the key factor differentiating developed countries from less developed countries is per capita income. After the Cold War came to an end, the United Nations Development Programme's (UNDP) first *Human Development Report 1990, introduced first by* Mahbub ul Haq, brought a new conceptual framework in the literature of development. The discussions were about incorporating also the human dimension into the development issues. In this context, the concept of *human development* emerged as a holistic model which embraces "development that not only generates economic growth but distributes its benefits equitably; that regenerates the environment rather than destroying it; that empowers people rather than marginalizing them" (UNDP 1994:3). Considering the fact that structural violence which "is built into the structure and shows up as unequal power and consequently as unequal life chances" (Galtung 1969:170) is a serious threat mostly to the human well-being and human capacity, the human development came to be known by its premises of giving priority to the poor, enlarging their choices and opportunities, as well as ensuring their participation in decisions that affect their lives. It is referred to as a more inclusive framework than the traditional development understanding in the sense that it includes development issue and also aims to "enable all individuals to enlarge their human capabilities to the fullest and to put those capabilities to the best use in all fields – economic, social, cultural and political." (UNDP 1994:13).

Amartya Sen (1992; 1999a; 1999b) contributed this framework by underlying that the realization and maximization of human capability and potential is much more important to achieve a better life than only focusing on income, goods and services. Naming this understanding 'social development' Stiglitz (2002: 171) also emphasizes the importance of also looking into the social indicators (level of education, health, etc.) of inclusive and equitable development which may be ignored if one only focuses on economic aspects.

Human development, despite not only pertaining to post-accord period, constitutes an indispensible part of post-accord phase; because, despite the absence of overt violence, insecurity in all senses which is a serious threat to human well-being is still felt in this phase. Havermas (2002:123) also emphasizes the necessity to consider peace processes and development in relation to each other by adding that

"...development issues are very relevant for peace and reconciliation, especially in the post-conflict stages."

Human development is an all-encompassing term which refers to safety from such chronic threats (like hunger, disease and repression), social progress (access to knowledge, better nutrition and health services), economic development (with less inequality), efficiency (resource use and availability), equity, participation and freedom (empowerment, gender equality, democratic governance, civil and political rights) and security in daily life. Four composite indices[9] are used to measure human development:

- **The Human Development Index** measures the average development pattern of a country in three basic dimensions of human development: a long and healthy life (longevity); access to knowledge; and a decent standard living. In this light, life expectancy at birth, adult literacy and enrolment in primary, secondary and tertiary level education, and gross domestic product (GDP) per capita are measured to learn about these three basic dimensions.

- **The Human Poverty Index** measures human deprivation and human poverty related to 'survival, knowledge and decent standard of living'[10].

- **The Gender Related Development Index** measures gender inequality.

- **The Gender Empowerment Measure** measures 'the extent of women's political participation and decision-making, economic participation and decision making-power and the power exerted by women over economic resources'[11].

Thus, human development concept is another indicator which has a significant place in understanding the socio-economic developments of the post-accord period.

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[9] Retrieved from UNDP, *Composite Indices – HDI and beyond,* Human Development Reports, Statistics. Accessed on Dec 5, 2008 via http://hdr.undp.org/en/statistics/indices/

[10] Ibid.

[11] Ibid.

1.2.2. Political Dimension of Post-Accord Stability

Post-war countries are inevitably going through profound changes in all senses; political developments in political field constitute one other significant aspect of those changes. As mentioned before, as a result of war, state and its institutions lose their capacity to establish security, managing transparent and democratic governance, providing basic services, developing economy and protecting justice and rights of its citizens to a great extent (UN 2007). They have different level of capacities at different periods. In this sense, in order to capture the situation of political realm in the post-accord period, government effectiveness[12] – which is about the state's capability of administering resources, policies, expenditures, bureaucracy and public services – is one of the political indicators used in this study.

Many post-settlement governments are known to have poor human rights records (Putnam 2002). In addition to government effectiveness, the issue of human rights, therefore, emerges as another aspect of political realm in the post-accord period. Bell (2003) points out that almost all peace agreements include provisions about human rights; they address past human rights abuses, establishment of human rights commissions and reform of existing institutions (police, judiciary, etc.). Among these, political participation including political rights and civil liberties need to be concentrated on as other comprehensive indicators. According to Freedom House[13], political rights enabling 'people to participate freely in the political process through the right to vote, compete for public office and elect representatives who have a decisive impact on public policies and are accountable to the electorate' and civil liberties allowing 'for the freedoms of expression and belief, associational and organizational rights, rule of law, and personal autonomy without interference from the state' lie at the heart of human rights[14]. Analyzing the situation of political rights and civil liberties in post-conflict environment not only reflects the situation of human rights but also gives

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[12] It is a indicator used by Kaufman et. al (2008) in their Worldwide Governance Indicators (WGI) research project.

[13] Freedom House. Retrieved on Dec 06, 2008 via: http://www.freedomhouse.org/template.cfm?page=265

[14] Freedom House focuses on these two concepts to measure 'freedom' which is derived from human rights issue.

idea about the state of democracy, accountability and rule of law in post-conflict country being talked about (O'Donnell 2004).

1.2.3. Security-Related Dimension of Post-Accord Stability

Addressed to a great extent in the peace agreements, security aspect is another main dimension of the post-accord stability. Just as socio-economic well-being and good governance are necessary to enable post-accord peace, security is indispensable for peaceful co-existence in the post-accord period. As mentioned before, reorganization of the armed forces, disarmament, demobilization, reintegration of ex-combatants to civil life, police reform, measures for public security are components of post-accord security (Mezzera et al. 2009).

In the literature, it is argued that the absence of a climate of security is likely to hinder the development of all other areas like economy, democracy, rule of law, reconciliation, and harmony and trust among individuals (Cañas and Dada in Arnson 1999; Darby and Mac Ginty 2003). Similarly, scholars, while focusing on the link between security and development, discuss that basic security is a precondition for political, social and economic development (Overton 2000; Krause and Jütersonke 2005). Therefore, it is important to note that without addressing security-related issues in the post-accord period, a stable peace cannot be achieved.

The extent of addressing security-related issues is tracked through the amount of reduction in the armed forces and military budget; number of disarmed and demobilized combatants; and the reorganization of military forces under the civilian control (Darby and Mac Ginty 2003). Nevertheless, there is an important gap in measuring the situation of security-related issues in evaluating the post-accord stability. For instance, to what extent the reintegration of ex-combatants is achieved are not measured comprehensively.

1.2.4. Social Fabric-Related Dimension of Post-Accord Stability

Characterized by continuous killings, severe atrocities and every other kind of violent action, conflicts give horrible damages not only to the physical integrity of human beings but also to their psychological and social well-being. People tend to believe that the termination of a conflict stops all the pain and misery. However, the effects of violent conflicts continue to be a part of the lives of survivors of the conflict for a long time; since violent conflicts destroy the social fabric of the societies (Maynard 1997; Wessells 1999; Kantowitz 2006; Berkman 2007; World Bank 2008). Conflicts damage social capital – defined as norms, values and social relations that bonds communities together (Colletta and Cullen 2000) – and divide societies by undermining interpersonal and communal trust.

Literature reveals that when social fabric-related issues, particularly social exclusion and divided social relationships, are not addressed, they pave the wave for an emerging violence (Berkman 2007; Kantowitz and Riak 2008). Therefore, besides the economic, political and security dimensions, the social-fabric related issues constitute a crucial component of the post-conflict atmosphere in a war-torn society. In this regard, the following issues need to be addressed to enable post-accord stability: reconciliation and reconciliation mechanisms; truth commissions; social empowerment; promotion of tolerance, inclusiveness and participatory principles; level of trust; inter-group dialogue; and cooperation (Wake in Galama & Van Tongeren 2002).

Despite the literature's great emphasis on the importance of social-fabric related issues and practical attempts to eliminate hostility and distrust in divided societies, it is observed that there are not enough measures to capture the situation of these issues over time. Fuentes (2005) highlights that issues like trust, social cohesion, social capital or the quality of social fabric in a society are tangible and difficult to measure; thus, they tend to be left out in the measurement exercises. The existing surveys and indices such as the Global Peace Index[15] measuring peacefulness, level of distrust among citizens and level of disrespect for human rights; the World Values Survey[16] examining values,

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[15] For more information, see http://www.visionofhumanity.org/gpi/home.php

[16] For more information, see http://www.worldvaluessurvey.org/

perceptions and level of trust in institutions; the European Values Study[17] indicating values such as democracy, dignity and freedom were not employed in this research since they do not provide comprehensive and detailed information and time-series data about a social fabric-related issue in question.

1.3.Conclusion

In light of the literature on peace agreements and post-accord stability, the following table is generated in order to give a sense of what composes the post-accord stability.

POST-ACCORD STABILITY FRAMEWORK			
SOCIO-ECONOMIC ISSUES	**POLITICAL ISSUES**	**SECURITY-RELATED ISSUES**	**SOCIAL FABRIC-RELATED ISSUES**

. Macro economic situation
. Poverty
. Access to services
   -Education
   -Health
   -Shelter
   -Food
. Physical infrastructure
. Human Development
. Return/ Resettlement of refugees and IDPs
. Employment
. Gender equality
. Natural resources and environment
	. Governance
	   -State effectiveness
	   -Law making and enforcement
	   -Rule of law
	   -Transparency
	   -Accountability
	. Judicial System
	. Human rights and their protection
	. Political participation and democratization
	   -Elections
	   -Political parties
	   -Local governance
	   -Civil society
	   -Media
	. Cultural rights
		. Ceasefire
		. Disarmament
		. Demobilization
		. Re-integration of ex-combatants
		. Public Security
		. Armed forces and military structure
		. Restoration of territorial integrity
			. Reconciliation and reconciliation mechanisms
			. Truth Commissions
			. Social cohesion and social harmony
			. Trust and cooperation
			. Inter-group dialogue and communication
			. Culture of peace
			. Psychosocial wellbeing of individuals and communities

Table 1.1: Post-Accord Stability Framework

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[17] For more information, see http://www.europeanvalues.nl/

To conclude, notwithstanding these arguments in the literature accepting the existence of a relation between content of peace agreements and post-accord phase, it is critical to note that there is a dearth of research and a huge gap in the literature about inclusiveness of peace accords and the potential effect of this inclusiveness on post-accord period. More studies, thus, need to be conducted about to what extent peace agreements can be helpful and referable in understanding the period after the signing of a peace agreement better. In this regard, this research seeks to elaborate upon this discussion by addressing the question of whether including provisions on peace accords has an impact on post-accord situation in war-torn countries.

CHAPTER 2

METHODOLOGY

Methods help the researcher respond to a particular research question in a systematic way. In this section of the study, after presenting the research question, the qualitative and exploratory nature of the study is elaborated. Then, the design of the present research is explained by discussing the case selection and the rationale behind this selection, the data collection and the characteristics of this data to be employed, and the methods to analyze data for this study. The application of these methods and the strategy followed in analyzing the collected data are other topics within this chapter.

The main research strategy used in this research is qualitative data analysis focusing on secondary data sources. The peace accords of two cases – Guatemala and El Salvador – were coded and, existing data about their post-accord developments are assembled. Following the analysis of peace accords and post-accord issues, the results of these two cases are comparatively analyzed.

2.1.Research Question

Broadly, the aim of this study is to scrutinize the relationship between peace accords and developments in the post-accord period. Specifically, it is possible to formulate the main research question as following:

"To what extent does the inclusion of provisions referring to socio-economic, political, security-related and social fabric-related issues in peace accords impact these socio-economic, political, security-related and social fabric-related developments in the post-accord period?"

Before continuing to elucidate the methods in answering this research question, it is necessary to note that the focus of this research question is on exploring the possible existence of a relationship between the provisions of peace accords and post-conflict issues. It is not focused on assuming and testing the existence of a direct causal link between them. Beyond a doubt, this relationship between peace accords and post-conflict order may be influenced by a host of mediating factors. For instance, an important mediating variable between peace accords and post-conflict environment is the implementation of peace accords and problems at this implementation phase, such as a lack of resources to implement the provisions, the incomplete fulfillment of mandated tasks, the limited commitment of implementers or the presence of spoilers (Wennmann 2007; Stedman in Stedman et. al 2002). These limitations are addressed in greater detail at the end of this chapter. Thus, this study is an endeavor to discover the characteristics of the relationship between peace accords and post-conflict issues, rather than an attempt to establish a direct causality between them.

2.2. Qualitative and Exploratory Nature of the Study

Qualitative research attempts to interpret and understand the complex and multi-dimensional world from different perspectives. Strauss and Corbin (1990) claim that qualitative research can be conducted both to explore any phenomenon about which little is yet known, and to gain new perspectives or in-depth knowledge on issues about which much is already known. Instead of converting the social world into figures and numbers, as quantitative studies do, qualitative research aims to gain insight into attitudes, behaviors, value systems, concerns, motivations, ideas, or lifestyles by examining social context, diversity, nuance and processes (Neuman 2003). In dealing with unstructured information or data, the qualitative researcher thus tries to capture the real meaning and to place this meaning into a larger social context. Hence, qualitative research is characteristically exploratory, flexible, data-driven and context-sensitive (Mason 2002). Additionally, with the aim of investigating a seldom examined issue and developing preliminary ideas for future research, qualitative research is often referred as exploratory in nature.

Considering the research question, which shapes the appropriate methodological approach, it can be stated that the qualitative research design is logical for this study. This study aims to provide a deeper understanding of the peace processes by exploring the relationship between peace accords and the situation in the post-accord period. It attempts to make sense of the substantive components of peace agreements and of what kind of developments take place in the post-accord period. Quantitative design such as statistical or numerical methods can fail in extracting rich issues and nuanced themes from the peace accords and in portraying the situation of these issues in the post-conflict period. Richness and texture of the raw data of peace accords can be much more effectively obtained by using qualitative methods, rather than quantitative ones. Nevertheless, although the main design of the research is qualitative, the utilization of the numerical data collected from different indices in order to measure the situation of post-conflict issues can be considered as a quantitative component of the research design.

Besides the qualitative aspect of this study, the research also carries an exploratory purpose in the sense that it aims to shed light on a little-explored topic. In addition, like most of the qualitative studies (Patton 2002), this study is characterized by the inductive approach which prioritizes emergent meanings from the data and, thus, complements the exploratory quality of the research.

2.3.Research Design

This part of the chapter presents detailed information on the design of the research. The selection of the cases and the criteria behind this selection, data sources and the methods of gathering these sources, and specific methods and techniques chosen to analyze the data collected during the research and the rationale behind the usage of them are discussed. The application of these methods and analysis of the peace accords and post-accord issues shall be reviewed in the subsequent chapter.

2.3.1. Case Selection and Rationale

Guatemala and El Salvador are the main cases of this research to be comparatively analyzed. Peace accords and post-accord issues of each country constitute the empirical data.

These cases were purposefully picked according to several criteria. The first factor is the 'comprehensiveness' of their peace accords. Comprehensiveness is defined with two dimensions which are the involvement of major parties in negotiation process and the inclusion of substantive issues underlying the dispute in the negotiation process and peace accords (VanderZee, to be published in 2009). Regarding the second dimension which is the focus of this study, both the Guatemalan and Salvadoran peace accords are referred to as comprehensive in academia and practice, since they address the underlying substantive issues of the conflicts in these countries. Hence this criterion of 'comprehensiveness' is important to understand the level of inclusion of socio-economic and political issues in peace accords which this study examines by focusing on the peace accords of Guatemala and El Salvador.

In addition to the selection of two comprehensive peace processes, their occurrence in the same region or continent, Central America, allows the researcher to compare their peace agreements and post-conflict outcomes precisely by providing minimization and control of possible variations due to different regional or geographical contexts of cases. It lets the researcher to make more reliable generalizations, which would not be possible and even misleading when the cases are of different regional contexts.

The conflict history of El Salvador and Guatemala constitutes another aspect of the commonality of these cases. Both cases have emerged out of a violent civil war between government and revolutionary factions. As Arnson (1990) points out, Guatemala and El Salvador share a common history of authoritarian rule, widespread poverty which triggered a protest by revolutionary movements and civil wars deeply affected by the Cold War dynamics. Like the internal conflict as a result of the tension between the guerilla movement, the Guatemalan National Revolutionary Unity (*the Unidad Revolucionaria Nacional Guatemalteca*) (URNG), and the state characterizes

the background for the Guatemalan peace accords; peace accords are signed after a period of internal armed conflict between the rebel forces, the Farabundo Martí National Liberation Front (*Frente Farabundo Martí para la Liberación Nacional*) (FMLN), and the Salvadorian government in El Salvador. This likeness of cases' backgrounds again raises the opportunity for the researcher to deduce general outcomes from the analysis of their peace accords and post-accord developments.

Another motive behind the selection is that the peace accords were signed quite close in time and they are both UN-sponsored peace agreements. While the peace accords of Guatemala are signed between 1994 and 1996, those of El Salvador are signed, a bit earlier between 1990 and 1992. Further, the United Nations has been actively involved in supervising and monitoring the compliance with the agreement, demobilizing rebel forces, mediating in the Salvadoran peace talks and facilitating the dialogue between the government of Guatemala and the URNG (Ardón and Eade 1999). Some academics such as (Arnson 1999) suggest that the United Nations, with its impartiality, leverage and ability to mobilize resources, played a significant role in the 'successful'[18] outcomes of peace process in Guatemala and El Salvador.

Final reason behind selecting these cases is the fact that enough time has passed after the signing of the Guatemalan and the Salvadoran peace agreements to observe post-accord outcomes in a healthier way. As Collier et al. (2003:7) state, about '50 percent of post-conflict countries' revert back to violent conflict within five years or in the first decade of peace. Considering this interruption of most post-conflict periods by a relapse into violence or conflict, the continuousness of this period – as in Guatemala and El Salvador – without a serious relapse becomes a source of preference.

2.3.2. Data to be used

The literature on qualitative research is traditionally weighted towards the issues of data collection (Miles and Huberman 1994). Seen in this light, this section of the study introduces the data to be employed in the research and the sources of data are

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[18] Issue of 'success' in peace processes is addressed in the discussion chapter.

introduced. Many types of information about the social world have been collected and are available to the researcher (Neuman 2003). In this research, already existing data are used. Thus, rather than a data collection process, the existing data are brought together and analyzed.

Data to be used are selected by taking into consideration the aim of learning more about the socio-economic and political issues addressed in the peace accords and their situation in the post-accord period. In this respect, first, written texts of peace agreements (of Guatemala and El Salvador) are treated as data to be analyzed. Secondly, related and available indices, datasets and reports are utilized for the analysis of post-accord level of socio-economic and political issues. Since first hand field observation, which would be the best way of capturing the situation of post-conflict outcomes, is not an appropriate way of gathering data considering the time and resource limitations of this research, secondary data from indices and reports are collected to track the socio-economic and political developments in the post-accord period of Guatemala and El Salvador.

2.3.2.1. Peace accords

Qualitative data can be collected in three different forms which are open-ended interviews, direct observation and written documents or materials (Patton 2002). In this research, the written documents of peace agreements constitute the data to be analyzed. They are taken from the source of the United Nations Department of Public Information and The Peace Agreements Digital Collection of United States Institutes of Peace (USIP) which includes the English version of Guatemala and El Salvador agreements.

Between 1994 and 1996, 13 individual agreements under the Agreement on a Firm and Lasting Peace are signed in Guatemala (See Appendix A for the list of Guatemalan agreements). The content of these agreements about the negotiation process, human rights, resettlement of the uprooted population groups, establishment of a Truth Commission, identity and rights of indigenous peoples, social and economic situation, democratic governance and role of armed forces, ceasefire, constitutional reforms and the electoral regime, legal integration of the URNG, implementation and

verification issues – constitute the data to be used in this study. Moreover, for El Salvador, in addition to Chapultepec Final Peace Agreement (1992), previous agreements signed in Geneva, Caracas, Mexico and New York regarding the negotiation agenda, timetable, human rights, democratization and all other set of issues and New York Acts are treated as data (See Appendix A for the list of El Salvador's agreements) in this study.

For both cases, not only the final peace agreements but also frameworks agreements, acts for negotiation and ceasefire agreements are selected to be analyzed as data in this research, since the only products of years of peace negotiations in Guatemala and El Salvador are not only the final agreements. Also, although this study aims to understand the place of the socio-economic and political provisions in the peace accords, it is not possible to achieve this aim without having the sense of whole picture of all issues such as negotiation issues or security issues which are addressed not necessarily in the final agreements of Guatemala and El Salvador. Thus, all documents signed by the parties in the two-year-period peace negotiations are analyzed in this study.

These agreements are broken down into pieces which are treated as separate codes. Since the peace agreement documents are not uniform texts, not just the articles of peace agreements but every meaningful pieces of the document (phrase, paragraph, etc.) are coded. Along with the aim of seeing the level of emphasis on socio-economic and political issues in the whole agreement, all sections of a peace agreement are reviewed. Coding, coding procedures and steps for analysis will be discussed later in the methods for analysis part.

2.3.2.2. Issues of the post-accord period

In order to have a sense of the post-accord stability in Guatemala and El Salvador, it is essential to learn more about the level of social, economic, security-related, political and relational issues which constitute significant pieces of post-accord period. In this sense, the situation and changes of these issues need to be known or measured in order to get a complete sense of post-accord environment.

Considering that this research is conducted in a limited time and with limited resources, first-hand field observation and information about post-accord periods of Guatemala and El Salvador is not available. Hence, again already existing data collected from relevant datasets and reports are used throughout research. These datasets and reports provide statistical and non-statistical or verbal information about post-accord issues across time and countries. However, due to the non-existence of available and especially comprehensive dataset or index to measure the security-related issues (such as public insecurity, demobilization, reintegration of demobilized forces, gang violence, etc.) and relational developments (like trust among the members of the society or the level of cohesion) in post-accord period, mostly datasets in which socio-economic and political issues are measured are taken as a resource in order to capture the state of post-accord stability in Guatemala and El Salvador. Of the indicators in these datasets, some seek to provide a multidimensional measure of societal progress such as Human Development Index and Physical Integrity Rights Index. They are composite and thematically aggregated indicators. Some other indicators provide traditional one-dimensional measures of social, political and economic development like GDP and unemployment rate.

The process of looking up and choosing what indicators reflect the post-accord outcomes is largely deductive; related literature about the socio-economic and political issues of post-accord period and earlier knowledge about exiting indices were employed. This deductive selection and the definitional issues of the indicators are discussed more under the next section about gaps between the analysis of peace accords and post-accord indicators.

As a part of the data collection phase in this study, the list of indices, datasets and reports, the indicators taken from them and the definitions of these indicators are illustrated according to their types in the following Table 2.1 (See Appendix B for more information):

SOCIO-ECONOMIC INDICATORS			
Indicator	**Type of the indicator**	**Source/Data provider**	**Data provider's definition (of the indicator)**
Literacy rates (for youths and adults)	Socio-economic indicator	The UNESCO Institute for Statistics, providing statistics in the fields of education, science and technology, culture and communication.	The percentage of the population who can both read and write with understanding a short simple statement on his/her everyday life
Public expenditure on education as percentage of GDP	Socio-economic indicator	The UNESCO Institute for Statistics, providing statistics in the fields of education, science and technology, culture and communication.	Total public expenditure on education expressed as a percentage of the GDP in a given financial year
Public expenditure on education as percentage of total government expenditure	Socio-economic indicator	The UNESCO Institute for Statistics, providing statistics in the fields of education, science and technology, culture and communication.	Total public expenditure on education expressed as a percentage of total government expenditure in a given financial year
Education Index	Socio-economic indicator	The Human Development Index, a composite index that measures the average achievements in a country in three basic components of human life and development which are a long and healthy life, knowledge and a decent standard of living.	The measurement of a country's relative achievement in both adult literacy and combined primary, secondary and tertiary gross enrolment
Life expectancy at birth	Socio-economic indicator	The Human Development Index, a composite index that measures the average achievements in a country in three basic components of human life and development which are a long and healthy life, knowledge and a decent standard of living.	The average number of years of life remaining at a given age, signifying long and healthy life (measured by years)
General government expenditure on health (as percentage of total government expenditure)	Socio-economic indicator	The WHO Statistical Information System (WHOSIS), a database bringing together core health statistics for the 193 WHO Member States	The sum of outlays for health maintenance, restoration or enhancement paid for in cash or supplied in kind by government entities, such as the Ministry of Health, other ministries or social security agencies (without double counting government transfers

			to social security and extra-budgetary funds)
GDP index	Socio-economic indicator	The Human Development Index, a composite index that measures the average achievements in a country in three basic components of human life and development which are a long and healthy life, knowledge and a decent standard of living.	GDP is a measure of an economy's economic performance, total output within the borders of a nation in a year. Its index is calculated using adjusted GDP per capita (PPP US$)
Human Development Index	Socio-economic indicator	The Human Development Index, a composite index that measures the average achievements in a country in three basic components of human life and development which are a long and healthy life, knowledge and a decent standard of living.	Measures the average achievements in a country in three dimensions of human development: a long and healthy life, knowledge and a decent standard of living.
Massive Movement of Refugees or Internally Displaced Persons creating Complex Humanitarian Emergencies	Socio-economic indicator	Failed States Index of the Fund For Peace measures state vulnerability and risk of violence with various social, economic and political indicators	A social indicator that measures the level of forced uprooting of large communities as a result of violence and/or repression, causing food shortages, disease, lack of clean water, land competition, and turmoil that can escalate into larger humanitarian and security problems
Uneven Economic Development along Group Lines	Socio-economic indicator	Failed States Index of the Fund For Peace measures state vulnerability and risk of violence with various social, economic and political indicators	An economic indicator that measures "group-based inequality, or perceived inequality, in education, jobs, and economic status; group-based impoverishment as measured by poverty levels, infant mortality rates, education levels; rise of communal nationalism based on real or perceived group inequalities"
Sharp and/or Severe Economic Decline	Socio-economic indicator	Failed States Index of the Fund For Peace measures state vulnerability and risk of violence with various social, economic and political indicators	An economic indicator which looks at patterns of economic decline of the society as a whole as measured by per capita income, GNP, debt, child mortality rates, poverty

			levels, and other economic measures; drop in the economic values and national currency; extreme poverty imposed by economic programs; growth of shadow economies with drug trade, smuggling; corruption and illicit transactions; and state's failure to pay salaries of civil servants, armed forces or to pay pensions of the citizens
Worker's Rights	Socio-economic indicator	The Cingranelli-Richards (CIRI) Human Rights Dataset which measures human rights practices by the government through 15 internationally recognized human rights indicators	Indicates workers' freedom of association at their workplaces and the other rights like a prohibition on the use of any form of forced or compulsory labor, a minimum age for the employment of children, and acceptable conditions of work (wage, hours of work, and occupational safety and health)
Women's Economic Rights	Socio-economic indicator	The Cingranelli-Richards (CIRI) Human Rights Dataset which measures human rights practices by the government through 15 internationally recognized human rights indicators	Addresses women's economic rights such as equal pay for equal work, free choice of profession, the right to gainful employment, equal opportunities with men in hiring and promotion practices, job security, the right to work at night, the right to work in occupations classified as dangerous, non-discrimination by employers, the right to be free from sexual harassment in the workplace, the right to work in the military and the police force
Women's Social Rights	Socio-economic indicator	The Cingranelli-Richards (CIRI) Human Rights Dataset which measures human rights practices by the government through 15 internationally recognized human rights indicators	Refer to rights such as equal inheritance, the right to enter into marriage based on equality, the right to travel abroad, the right to have a passport, the right to initiate a divorce, the right to own a property, the right to participate in communal and cultural activities, the right to an education, freedom from female genital mutilation

Indicator	Type of the indicator	Source/Data provider	Data provider's definition (of the indicator)
			without their consent, freedom from forced sterilization
National population below the national poverty line	Socio-economic indicator	World Development Indicators (WDI), an online statistical database of the World Bank about progress of development	The percentage of the country's population living below the national poverty line which shows 'the local perceptions of the level of consumption or income needed not to be poor' (WDI 2008)
Population below $1,25 a day (below the international poverty line)	Socio-economic indicator	World Development Indicators (WDI), an online statistical database of the World Bank about progress of development	It demonstrates the population below $1.25 a day which is the new extreme poverty line set in 2005 PPP terms, which represents the mean of the poverty lines found in the poorest 15 countries ranked by per capita consumption. (WDI 2008)
Labor force participation rate (female)	Socio-economic indicator	World Development Indicators (WDI), an online statistical database of the World Bank about progress of development	The proportion of the female population (ages 15–64) who is economically active and who supply labor for the production of goods and services
Labor force participation rate (male)	Socio-economic indicator	World Development Indicators (WDI), an online statistical database of the World Bank about progress of development	The proportion of the male population (ages 15–64) who is economically active and who supply labor for the production of goods and services
Unemployment level	Socio-economic indicator	The LABORSTA, a database of International Labour Office which provides labor statistics	This level is calculated by relating the number of persons who are unemployed at a time to the total of employed and unemployed persons in the group at the same date
POLITICAL INDICATORS			
Indicator	**Type of the indicator**	**Source/Data provider**	**Data provider's definition (of the indicator)**
Criminalizatio n and/or De-legitimization of the State	Political indicator	Failed States Index of the Fund For Peace measures state vulnerability and risk of violence with various social, economic and political indicators	A political indicator that signifies endemic corruption by ruling elites, lack of transparency, accountability and political representation, and loss of trust in state

			institutions and processes (e.g. boycotted elections, mass demonstrations, civil disobedience, inability of the state to collect taxes, resistance to military conscription, rise of armed insurgencies)
Progressive Deterioration of Public Services	Political indicator	Failed States Index of the Fund For Peace measures state vulnerability and risk of violence with various social, economic and political indicators	A political indicator that measures the inability of state to provide basic services essential services, such as health, education, sanitation, public transportation, to protect citizens from terrorism and violence and to provide; narrowed state apparatus which just serves the ruling elites, such as the security forces, presidential staff, central bank and diplomatic service
Suspension or Arbitrary Application of the Rule of Law and Widespread Violation of Human Rights	Political indicator	Failed States Index of the Fund For Peace measures state vulnerability and risk of violence with various social, economic and political indicators	A political indicator which shows emergence of authoritarian or military rule where constitutional and democratic institutions suspended; outbreak of political violence; rising number of political prisoners or dissidents who are denied due process in line with international norms and practices; and widespread abuse of legal, political and social rights of individuals, groups or cultural institutions
Political rights	Political indicator	Freedom House, NGO promoting democratic values around the world, has publication called 'Freedom in the World' which provide indicators of political rights (7-point scale) and civil liberties (7-point scale) based on some checklists	Measures the electoral process (whether it is free and fair, whether there are fair electoral laws, equal campaigning opportunities, fair polling, and honest tabulation of ballots); political pluralism and participation (whether there are right to organize political parties and other groupings, opposition vote, free political choice and rights of minority groups); and functioning of the

			government (whether there are representative legislative, corruption in the government, and transparency)
Women's Political Rights	Political indicator	The Cingranelli-Richards (CIRI) Human Rights Dataset which measures human rights practices by the government through 15 internationally recognized human rights indicators	Includes women's right to vote, the right to run for political office, the right to be elected and appointed for a government position, the right to join political parties, the right to petition government officials.
Civil Liberties	Political indicator	Freedom House, NGO promoting democratic values around the world, has publication called 'Freedom in the World' which provide indicators of political rights (7-point scale) and civil liberties (7-point scale) based on some checklists	Measures freedom of expression and belief (whether there are free media and free cultural expression, free religious expression, academic freedom, free private discussion); associational and organizational rights (whether there are freedom of assembly, freedom of political organization, free trade unions); rule of law (whether there are independent judiciary, protection from terror and torture, equal treatment before law, whether police is under civilian control); and personal autonomy and individual rights (whether there are social rights and freedoms)
Voice and Accountability	Political indicator	The Worldwide Governance Indicators (WGI) research project measuring governance through six indicators of voice and accountability, political stability and absence of violence, government effectiveness, regulatory quality, rule of law, and control of corruption	Measures the extent to which a country's citizens are able to participate in selecting their government; freedom of expression; freedom of association; and a free media
Government Effectiveness	Political indicator	The Worldwide Governance Indicators (WGI) research project measuring governance through six indicators of voice and accountability, political stability and absence of violence, government effectiveness, regulatory quality, rule of law, and	Measures the quality of public services; the quality of the civil service and the degree of its independence from political pressures; the quality of policy-making; and government's commitment to the implementation of such policies

		control of corruption	
Regulatory Quality	Political indicator	The Worldwide Governance Indicators (WGI) research project measuring governance through six indicators of voice and accountability, political stability and absence of violence, government effectiveness, regulatory quality, rule of law, and control of corruption	Measures the government's ability to formulate and implement market-friendly policies and regulations that promote private sector development
Rule of Law	Political indicator	The Worldwide Governance Indicators (WGI) research project measuring governance through six indicators of voice and accountability, political stability and absence of violence, government effectiveness, regulatory quality, rule of law, and control of corruption	Measures the quality of contract enforcement, the police, and the courts, as well as the likelihood of crime and violence.
Control of Corruption	Political indicator	The Worldwide Governance Indicators (WGI) research project measuring governance through six indicators of voice and accountability, political stability and absence of violence, government effectiveness, regulatory quality, rule of law, and control of corruption	Measures to what extent public power is used for private gain, including every forms of corruption, as well as the takeover of the state by private or elites' interests
Rights to Freedom of Assembly and Association	Political indicator	The Cingranelli-Richards (CIRI) Human Rights Dataset which measures human rights practices by the government through 15 internationally recognized human rights indicators	Measures right of citizens to assemble freely and to associate with other people in political parties, trade unions or cultural organizations. It evaluates the extent to which the freedoms of assembly and association are subject to governmental restrictions (as opposed to strictly legal protections).

Political Participation (Electoral Self-determination)	Political indicator	The Cingranelli-Richards (CIRI) Human Rights Dataset which measures human rights practices by the government through 15 internationally recognized human rights indicators	Indicates citizens' enjoyment of the freedom of political choice, the right to change laws and officials that govern them through free and fair elections which citizens enjoy.

SOCIAL-FABRIC RELATED INDICATOR

Indicator	**Type of the indicator**	**Source/Data provider**	**Data provider's definition (of the indicator)**
Legacy of Vengeance-Seeking Group Grievance or Group Paranoia	Social fabric-related indicator	Failed States Index of the Fund For Peace measures state vulnerability and risk of violence with various social, economic and political indicators	This social indicator assesses history of aggrieved communal groups based on recent or past injustices; atrocities against communal groups, specific groups discriminated and persecuted by state authorities; institutionalized political exclusion; and public scapegoating and stereotyping of groups believed to have gained wealth, status or power

SECURITY INDICATORS

Indicator	**Type of the indicator**	**Source/Data provider**	**Data provider's definition (of the indicator)**
Physical Integrity Rights Index (rights to freedom from extrajudicial killing, disappearance, torture, and political imprisonment)	Security indicator	The Cingranelli-Richards (CIRI) Human Rights Dataset which measures human rights practices by the government through 15 internationally recognized human rights indicators	This is an aggregated index created from the rights to freedom from extrajudicial killing, disappearance, torture, and political imprisonment indicators
Political Instability and Violence	Security indicator	The Worldwide Governance Indicators (WGI) measuring governance through six indicators of voice and accountability, political stability and absence of violence, government effectiveness, regulatory quality, rule of law, and control of corruption	Measures people's perceptions of the likelihood of the government' being destabilized or overthrown by unconstitutional or violent means

Table 2.1: The list of datasets and indicators

2.3.3. Methods for Analysis

2.3.3.1. Analysis of peace agreements

The data of peace agreements collected in this study are analyzed using tools of qualitative analysis. This method is defined as the process of "working with data, organizing it, breaking it into manageable units, synthesizing it, searching for patterns, discovering what is important and what is to be learned, and deciding what you will tell others" (Bogdan and Biklen 1982:145). Similarly, Miles and Huberman (1994:10) describes qualitative data analysis as consisting of three activities: 'data reduction' which is the process of selecting, simplifying, abstracting and transforming the raw case data; 'data display' referring to the organized assembly of information to facilitate the drawing of conclusions; and 'conclusion drawing/verification' which is about drawing meaning from data and building a logical chain of evidence. As a method helping researcher reveal the content, meanings and themes in the text, for the present research, qualitative data analysis is the most appropriate way of analyzing the peace agreement documents. Also, coding, as a technique of arranging and combining data into themes and categories so that they can be easily raised to a higher stage for analytical and systematic comparisons, is used.

The separate stages of the data analysis can be summarized in the following manner. First, as mentioned before, the peace agreements of Guatemala and El Salvador were divided into smaller units/text segments separately. Since the texts of peace accords are not uniform or standardized – meaning that they are not only comprised of provisions, but also paragraphs and sections –, these smaller units represents every meaningful pieces (phrase, sentence or paragraph) in the texts of peace accords of Guatemala and El Salvador. I individually coded[19] these discrete text segments, because that would give me the separate themes which are needed for the further stages of analysis.

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[19] While dividing the peace agreements' texts, some coding decisions were made in order to guarantee a systematic and coherent analysis. The record of these decisions, the codebook, can be found in the Appendix C.

At this point, it is important to note that like most of qualitative studies, the analysis of peace agreements in this study is inductive – meaning that the critical themes, patterns and categories emerge out of data. Since imposing a predetermined coding scheme deductively would result in the oversimplification or the loss of specificities of Guatemala and El Salvador peace process contexts and peace accord details, an inductive approach is applied in this research. This inductive way of coding is often referred as "open coding" in the tradition of grounded theory (Strauss and Corbin 1998: 223) to emphasize the significance of being open to data. Thus, this open coding technique, of fracturing and conceptualizing the data and allowing the categories emerge from this data, used by grounded theory approach is employed in this research.

Continuing with the analytic stages, while coding the discrete units of text, I recorded the repetition of the units as the number of times these units are mentioned in the whole peace agreements' texts (see the table 2.2 below for an example). These numbers of the codes (that are related to each other) add up to a higher total which reflects the frequency of the categories that are formed. The rationale behind frequency calculation is that it allows me to conduct frequency comparisons among socio-economic, political, security and other issues of peace agreements which emerge from the raw data as categories.

Units of text	Frequency (number of times of being mentioned)
"Judicial system"	6
"Career judicial service"	2
"to establish a Commission on the Truth, which shall be composed of three individuals appointed by the Secretary-General of the United Nations after consultation with the Parties"	1

Table 2.2: Example of the coded units of peace agreements and their frequency

In the next phase of the analytic process, I extracted themes from the individually coded data. In other words, each text unit is identified with a discrete theme. Then, same themes are eliminated by adding up the number of times they are mentioned to a higher total. Once themes have come out from the data, the stage of examining 'recurring regularities' (Patton 2002:465) among themes and assessing how themes interact with each other starts. Thus, in this stage, large number of themes is sorted into some order

and groups. These themes are collapsed into major themes, which later are clustered under categories according to their relatedness with each other for analytical purposes.

Regarding categorizing data, Maxwell (1996: 97) mentions three types of categories: "organizational categories" which are not related to the actual issues, but categories formed by looking at how these issues are obtained; "theoretical categories" which are abstractly formed and theory-driven categories; and "substantive categories" are the ones which give insight about what is going on, stay close to the data categorized and don't imply a more abstract theory. For the present research, it is appropriate to form substantive categories since this study aims to see a categorization around distinct issue areas. These categories are formed by collapsing and integrating smaller categories. The criterion behind a category's becoming an actual category is having at least two sub-categories. However, there are also some exceptional categories which don't have any sub-category but can't be clustered under another category as well.

Subsequently, the upper level (more general) categories are derived from the research aim through deductive thinking; they are formed according to the concepts and discussions described in the literature review. As the research aims to find out the proportion of the socio-economic issues and political issues out of whole major issues in the peace accords, general categories are formed and labeled as socio-economic issues, political issues, and other issues emerging from data. In addition, every meaningful piece of the peace agreements' being labeled with their frequency and added up to these general categories allows me to make various frequency comparisons for Guatemala and El Salvador, separately and comparatively[20].

The findings of the coding and categorizing process include numerical results and percentage distribution about the peace agreements. Thus, the analysis section presents these results in the form of graphs, charts, pie-charts and tables which provide visual facilitation for unwieldy and bulky details. It also includes aggregated and disaggregated graphs of categories for both cases separately. Moreover, in the analysis section, the summary and highest categories are used as main headings in the findings

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[20] Comparative study of the cases (Guatemala and El Salvador) is elaborated more in the discussion section.

and, if necessary, sub-categories are labeled as subheadings. In addition, the presentation of findings is supported with appropriate quotes that illustrates the meaning of the categories developed, elucidates the research findings and supports the qualitative dimension of the study.

2.3.3.2. Analysis of post-accord indicators

For the analysis of post-accord indicators, secondary data analysis is employed. Among the two different ways of collecting data, one can choose to utilize primary sources where data are collected directly by the researcher, as well as the secondary data which have already been collected by others (Bryman 2008). Secondary data analysis is basically the reanalysis of information that has been originally compiled for other purposes than the one the present researcher intends to use it for (Neuman 2003). While some information is in the form of statistical or numerical documents, some may be in the form of published compilations available on records. Thus, the present researcher can search through collections of information with a research question and reassemble this data in new ways to address the research question. Moreover, the secondary data has advantages of saving time, money and effort by offering a work that has already been done and by keeping the researcher away from data collection problems.

In addition to its attempt to understand the issues mentioned in the peace accords, this research aims to capture the level of post-accord outcomes (or post-accord stability) which signifies the level of recovery and improvement in socio-economic and political areas of post-conflict environment in Guatemala and El Salvador. In this regard, available socio-economic and political indicators from various pre-existing indices (presented in the Table 2.1), and the measured values of these indicators for Guatemala and El Salvador were collected. The findings of these indices may not be finite and conclusive, but are an effective means of capturing the landscape of post-accord issues.

The collection of these measured values of socio-economic and political indicators is followed with two arrangements or dimensions of analysis: listing the socio-economic and political indicators and listing their measured values across time periods. First, the post-accord indicators, presented in Table 2.1, are listed separately for

Guatemala and El Salvador. Secondly, the measured values of these indicators are listed and classified according to three time periods:

- *pre-agreement* (which refers to the oldest data available in indices)
- *five years after the peace accord* (which allows me to see the accomplishments of the stated targets in the peace accords that countries aim to reach in five years time after signing the accord)
- *ten years after the peace accord* (which gives idea about the level of improvement in the post-accord environment in the long-term)

The aim behind inserting the second dimension of three time periods is to see the relative changes in the level of one specific post-accord issue across time, since using one-shot measured values (value of the indicator at one specific year) can be misleading and do not indicate improvement or deterioration. Thus, the researcher has a better sense about the patterns on related post-accord indicator by including measurements repeated in different time intervals like five and ten years.

The literature supports the selection of these time intervals in the way that five year period and first decade of peace are regarded as critical phases (see Collier et al. 2003; Kumar 1997) since most of the peace accords fail within five or ten year period. Moreover, the United Nations mandates are generally completed around these time periods. For example, MINUGUA (United Nations Verification Mission in Guatemala) was a ten-year mission performed in Guatemala. In addition, the implementation timetables outlined in the Guatemalan and Salvadoran peace accords sometimes specify five and ten years as target periods to achieve commitments made in the peace accords. The following clause taken from the Salvadoran peace accords can be given as an example: "Over the following five years, the final figures for the National Civil Police, estimated tentatively at some 10,000 officers at the basic level and about 500 at the executive and senior levels, shall be attained"[21].

The secondary data of these calculated measures of post-accord indicators are displayed in tables and graphs in the analysis section.

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[21] Retrieved from the text of the Chapultepec Peace Agreement, Chapter II, National Civil Police, Transitional Regime Economic and Social Questions, Section 7. B (c).

2.3.3.3. Gaps between the analysis of peace accords and post-accord indicators

It is important to mention some gaps in the relationship between socio-economic and political issues in the peace agreements and the state of these issues in the post-accord environment. The indicators used to measure the level of socio-economic and political issues in the post-accord period are not necessarily parallel to how these issues are approached and discussed in the peace accords. This discrepancy should be considered as a two-directional matter.

The post-accord indicators, listed in the Table 2.1, do not exactly match up with the categories emerging from the peace accords' data. In other words, they are not configured in a way that matches the themes that came out of peace accords. For example, "political rights", one of the minor categories emerged out of the Guatemalan and Salvadoran peace accords, encompasses themes like right to vote, right to change the government, the lawful and free exercise of political rights and personal documentation which is necessary to exercise political rights. However, the indicator of "political rights" – which measures the state of political rights in Guatemala and El Salvador – is defined by the Freedom House as an indicator covering political rights and participation, and also the functioning of the government, corruption and transparency. In addition, these issues of corruption, transparency and government practices were categorized under different categories in this study, in contrast to the Freedom House's incorporating those issues into "political rights" theme.

Viewed in this light, the fact that each index has a different definition of particular socio-economic and political issues increases the divergence between these issues of peace agreements and their measurements. However, it is also not reasonable to change the formation of categories in accordance with the definition of indices, just to eliminate the discrepancy between categories and the indicators. Then, it would be an indices-oriented or indices-dependent categorization rather than an original one particular to Guatemala and El Salvador. Reversing this logic – choosing indicators based on how they are discussed in peace agreements – again feeds the discrepancy.

Secondly, it is essential to touch upon what the peace accords tell us about the indices. As mentioned before, one reason behind the discrepancy between categories

and the indicators is the limited availability of the indicators and datasets which comprehensively measure social, economic, political, security-related and relational aspects of the post-conflict environment. For example, there are no datasets or indices about the situation of reintegration of the rebel forces into civil life although this issue of reintegration is rife throughout in the peace agreements. Moreover, indicators are imperfect; hence, comprehensively discussed issues in the peace accords do not always find that comprehensive measurement of their levels. Therefore, the analysis is restrained by the limited availability and quality of this information.

2.4. Limitations

When the methodological constraints are considered, the present study is not free of some difficulties or problems. In addition to the gaps in the analysis mentioned in the previous section, there are other concerns related to the qualitative data analysis, secondary data analysis and research question, some of which are mentioned throughout this chapter but rephrased in this section too.

- Like most of the qualitative studies, this research does not promise generalizable results, since it has a qualitative nature and limited number of cases analyzed.
- As Patton (2002) states, the qualitative data analysis challenges the researcher in making sense of massive amounts of data. To code the raw data; to turn this data into meaningful categories, to analyze and interpret them holistically requires time and creativity. Also, content coding and categorizing inherently involves some bias and subjective interpretation on part of the coder. Being far from the Central American culture and context and having own sense of socio-economic, political and other concepts contributes to the subjectivity dimension of limitations in this research.
- The reliability of this research is another concern in this study. Content coding requires another coder other than the researcher to re-code the same data in the same way so that the inter-coder reliability of the research assured. However, due to the limited amount of time and resources, only one coder analyzed the data in this research.

- There is a limitation stemming from secondary data which are used to a great extent in this study. Although secondary data analysis is advantageous with regard to its being free from the cost and time required to collect data, the researcher's lack of direct participation in the process of data collection and first-hand observation leads to some unfamiliarity with the real-life context (Bryman, 2008). Also, while problems of data availability is an impediment to a full-fledged analysis, as discussed in the previous sections, the validity of the data may constitute a matter of concern which results from lack of the data quality control of the researcher.

- As aforementioned, since the relationship between peace accords and post-conflict order may be influenced by a host of mediating factors, this study aims to discover the characteristics of the relationship between peace accords and post-conflict issues, as establishing a direct causality between them is impossible.

- Comprehensive datasets or indices to measure the security-related issues (such as demobilization, reintegration of demobilized forces, etc.) and social fabric-related issues (like trust among the members of the society or the level of cohesion) in post-accord period mostly are not available. Thus, while there are enough indicators to capture the situation of socio-economic and political issues, only one indicator is used for each of security-related and social fabric-related issues to capture their quality in the post-accord period. The lack of availability of more indicators for security-related and social fabric-related issues limits the researcher to analyze the post-accord developments in a full-fledged manner.

- In relation to the previous point, it is important to note that there are limitations of working with databases and indices in general. As a result of the review of available indices and indicators, it can be observed that there is bias towards economic, political and governance-related issues and institutions as being keys to post-conflict stability. Thus, this bias undermines the comprehensive understanding of post-conflict period. The discussion chapter will elaborate on these limitations.

CHAPTER 3

CASE BACKGROUNDS

This section of the study provides background information for Guatemala and El Salvador which enhances familiarity with the context in which peace agreements are signed and post-conflict developments occur.

As also mentioned in the methods chapter, both of these two Central American republics experienced internal tensions which initially stemmed from, as Torres-Rivas (in Garreton and Newman 2001: 100) puts, 'successive and repeated failures of several generations to address two basic complementary demands: political democracy as a means of addressing social exclusion; and agrarian reform which in turn was a means of achieving social justice in a decidedly feudal and servile-agrarian society'. Faced with violent state repression, these demands radicalized and turned these tensions into a violent civil war in both countries.

The following sections give background details separately for Guatemala and El Salvador.

3.1. Background of Guatemala

3.1.1. Historical Background of the Conflict

Gained its independence from being a Spanish colony in 1821, Guatemala has survived almost four decades (1960s – 1990) of internal war which is the longest civil war in the history of Central America. It is a country where 22 different ethnic groups

co-habits (Alvarez and Prado 2002). These groups, mainly the Mayan, Garifuna and Xinca peoples, have been exposed to systematic oppression and political domination of Ladino people[22] who constitute an 'agro-elite' minority and landowners dominating the Guatemalan politics and economy (Paris 2004: 129). In this respect, Guatemala's history was characterized with extreme socio-economic inequalities, massive political repression, the accumulation of power in the hands of a few, and marginalization of the majority.

In 1944 elections, a left-wing government led by Juan José Arévalo and Jacobo Arbendz came to power and implemented social and agrarian reforms covering social security, rural development, labor laws, and redistribution of land to peasants. However, these reforms were seen as a threat to the landowners including US banana company United Fruit. Perceived as a communist threat (especially by the US during the Cold War period), Arbendz government were overthrown in 1954 by a US-orchestrated invasion and replaced with a series of right-wing military and civilian governments in order to protect landowners and power interests of the military. These governments led to the emergence of a guerilla movement in the 1960s which was initially started by a military group[23] and then supported by student activists, labor unionists, and opposition parties (Paris 2004). In early 1982, various activists and insurgency groups united in the Guatemalan National Revolutionary Unity (*Unidad Revolucionaria Nacional Guatemalteca*) (URNG). The state army which became a counterinsurgent platform at that time punished all forms of opposition with deadly violence. The state-sponsored violence continued until the 1970s; later, in the 1980s, the state army developed a 'scorched earth' policy which resulted in more than 75.000 people (mainly the Mayas) being massacred, 400 villages being destroyed and hundreds of people being internally displaced (Remijnse 2001: 455).

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[22] They refer to the mestizo or hispaniziced people identifying with the Spanish cultural heritage.

[23] This group, composed of young officials dissatisfied with the collaboration of the government with the US, founded a guerilla organization known as "Movimiento Revolucionario 13 de Noviembre" (MR-13). (Torres-Rivas in Garreton and Newman 2001)

After the 1980s, the URNG was weakened by the military's counter-insurgent. In 1982, the government of Rios Montt created local civil defense patrols (PACs) aiming to militarize the country – mostly peasants – to fight against the guerilla movement (Torres-Rivas in Garreton & Newman 2001). Guerillas were not totally eliminated but pushed back into the mountains (Azpuru in Arnson 1999). After this violent period, facing international isolations and economic depression, the military allowed for a civilian rule and called a new constitution and elections. This period is characterized by the country's 'democratic opening' (Azpuru in Arnson 1999: 102) as a result of constitutional changes such as lifting the ban on parties with communist ideology, recognition of different ethnic groups, and creation of new juridical and electoral offices. After the inauguration of Cerezo's civilian government – which prioritizes the end of political violence and the establishment rule of law – and then Serrano's government in early 1990s, the URNG began to propose negotiations and dialogue to end the war. With the promotion of political openness in these years, direct negotiations started in 1991; it was derailed for three years but resumed later in 1994 (Jonas 2000).

The civil war period in Guatemala was characterized by great human rights violations and mass displacement of the Guatemalan population, especially indigenous population, led by both parties to the conflict. Tortures, disappearances, killings and rape were daily experiences for indigenous communities (Lykes et al. 2007). The population lacked basic services, inadequate resources and economic opportunities. In addition, the war left a climate of fear and social isolation which seem to persist for long years and to be hardly recovered despite the cessation of the conflict.

3.1.2. Negotiations and Peace Process

Three successive presidential administrations in Guatemala negotiated to end the civil war. These negotiations and peace process, including different negotiating procedures, various negotiating teams and mediators, overall took six years.

One of the key characteristics of the Guatemalan peace process was the participation of many national actors – who are the Guatemalan government, the armed

forces, the URNG, the business elite, the Catholic Church, official peace and reconciliation commissions and Civil Society Assembly[24] (representing various social sectors in the Guatemalan society) – and international actors – who are the United Nations as a monitoring and verification body, the U.S as a supporter of the peace process by the end of the Cold War, regional governments and individual states (Mexico, Costa Rica, Ecuador, Norway, Spain, Venezuela, Colombia)[25] facilitating the accords, the IMF and World Bank investing in the country for post-conflict reconstruction, and the international NGOs facilitating the talks in peace process (Caumartin 2005). An interesting feature of the Guatemalan peace process was the third-party intervention of "the Group of Friendly Nations" (Mexico, Costa Rica, Ecuador, Norway, Spain, Venezuela, and Colombia), which is not a common type of intervention observed in peace processes, in facilitating and negotiation process. While this multiplicity of actors can be seen as a contributing factor to the comprehensiveness and inclusiveness of the process, the varying degrees of the incoherence, weakness and internal divisions each actor has prolong and complicate the peace process.

Diplomatic attempts on the regional level to solve the Central American conflicts and the Esquipulas II Agreement[26] – which call for the end to civil wars in the region and the initiation of national dialogues – contributed to the preliminary negotiations between the Guatemalan government and the URNG (Torres-Rivas in Garreton and Newman 2001). Began in 1990, next stage of peace process was about setting a very general agenda of resolution and declaring peaceful intentions to end the civil war (Caumartin 2005). The following agreements were signed in this regard:

- Basic Agreement on the Search for Peace by Political Means (The Oslo Agreement) (March 1990)

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[24] It is an advisory body established following the 1994 Framework Accord for the Resumption of Negotiation. It was mandated to produce recommendations on the substantive topics of negoatiations.

[25] Not commonly obserserved in peace processes, an interesting feature of the Guatemalan process was the third-party intervention of "the Group of Friendly Nations" – composed of these countries (Mexico, Costa Rica, Ecuador, Norway, Spain, Venezuela, Colombia) – in facilitating and negotiation process (Padilla in Alker et. al 2001)

[26] It is encouraged by the Contadora Group (Mexico, Colombia, Venezuela and Panama) and signed in 1987.

- Agreement on the Procedure for the Search for Peace by Political Means (The Mexico Agreement) (April 1991)
- Agreement on a General Agenda (April 1991)
- Framework Agreement on Democratisation in the Search for Peace by Political Means (The Queretaro Agreement) (July 1991)

After three years of stalled negotiations, bilateral talks between the government and the URNG - mediated by the UN and supported by the 'Group of Friends' were resumed with the signing of the January 1994 Framework Accord for the Resumption of the Negotiating Process between the Government of Guatemala and the URNG. Over the next couple of years, parties reached several agreements[27] on human rights (March 1994); resettlement of uprooted population and their welfare (June 1994); the establishment of a truth commission to investigate past human rights abuses (June 1994); recognition and protection of indigenous identity and rights (March 1995); socio-economic and agrarian issues (May 1996); civilian control of the armed forces (September 1996); constitutional reforms and electoral regimes (December 1996); ceasefire (December 1996); legal integration of URNG (December 1996); and implementation and verification of peace accords (December 1996).

After the signing of Human Rights Accord which called for immediate establishment of verification mechanisms to monitor human rights, the UN installed a monitoring mission called MINUGUA[28] whose mandate was gradually expanded to cover the supervision of all aspects of the peace accords (Paris 2004). Moreover, the signing of the accord on identity and rights of indigenous population was a 'landmark achievement' for a country which has a dense indigenous population who were subjected to brutal atrocities and suffering throughout the conflict (Jonas 2000: 14). Overall, as Stanley and Holiday (in Stedman et al. 2002) note, the Guatemalan civil society perceived the peace process as a means of fostering a democratic, equitable and culturally inclusive Guatemala.

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[27] See Appendix A for the full names of the agreements

[28] It stands for the UN Human Rights Verification Mission in Guatemala.

The parties negotiated the complex list of items, the most of which are substantive issues aiming to address the causes of the conflict with democratization and greater equity.

3.1.3. Post-Conflict Environment

Achieved to end the armed conflict and reach a substantive agenda as a result of six years of peace talks with the involvement of various actors, Guatemala has entered into a new process of reconstructing the country and recovering the wounds of its society. Although the attainment of the final peace accord and the settlement of the conflict was a ground-breaking development in Guatemalan history, the process of building peace faced difficult challenges such as compliance with timetables and application of provisions. For this reason, the implementation of the Guatemalan peace accords has continued at a slow pace (Azpuru in Arnson 1999).

Been through a state-sponsored violence, mass atrocities and systematic exclusion over three decades, the Guatemalan society has been characterized by traumatized individuals, deeply divided relations and culture of violence which persist to be observed despite the official cessation of the conflict. Fifteen months after the signing of peace accords, the assassination of Bishop Juan Gererdi[29], who is known by his reconciliation attempts, (Azpuru in Arnson 1999) reveals this persisting rupture in social relations. It also underlines the challenge of institutionalizing reforms, especially eliminating impunity and strengthening the judicial system; a culture of fear and impunity still exists in the Guatemalan society. Moreover, discrimination against indigenous people in Guatemala which was evident throughout the Guatemalan history was recognized in the peace accords; and their rights started to be incorporated into civil and political life of the country. Nevertheless, Preti (2002) draws attention to the UN reports mentioning that five years after the signing of the peace accords, indigenous

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[29] In 1998, the Recovery of Historical Memory (REMHI) project, a catholic church project which Bishop Gerardi conducts, presented the results of its work in the report 'Guatemala: Never Again'. This report revealed the explanation of witnesses and victims of repression during the Civil War and blamed the government and the army for the vast majority of the violations.

people are still subjected to ethnic and cultural discrimination which undermines their human rights.

In addition, structural violence, which refers to inequalities and injustices in the distribution of resources and power, continues to exist in the post-accord period of Guatemala. Great level of poverty, unemployment, structural inequalities and injustices in the Guatemalan society reveals the necessity to improve living standards of the society for a peaceful society. For instance, land tenure distribution remains as the most unequal system in Latin America (Jonas 1999; Azpuru in Arnson 1999), although measures are included to deal with the land problems in Guatemala.

Further, it has been observed that there is an emerging level of violence in the forms of youth gang violence, crime and delinquency which were fed by the structural problems mentioned above. Moser and McIlwaine (as cited in Preti 2002: 109) underscore that Guatemala has become 'a substantially more violent country since the end of armed conflict'. Thus, it is possible to state that although the civil war ended, a climate of insecurity and violence has prevailed in the post-conflict phase of Guatemala.

3.2. Background of El Salvador

3.2.1. Historical Background of the Conflict

Lasted more than a decade, El Salvador's civil war was rooted in the social and economic structures developed after the country's independence in 1821. The inequitable nature of these structures was reinforced in the early 1900s by the development of coffee based export economy and the emergence of 'coffee elite' who controlled most of the land areas in the country and dominated the economy by exploiting cheap wage labor of the rural population (Eriksson, Kreimer and Arnold 2000: 17). In spite of the overall economic growth attained in the 1960s and 1970s, socio-economic situation of the rural majority was deteriorating. Social and economic reforms to change this unequal land system and to challenge the domination of 'coffee oligarchy' failed and were suppressed by the Salvadoran army who was allowed to control the government by the elites while they maintain their social and economic

power (Paris 2004: 122; Eriksson et al. 2000). Viewed in this way, in addition to the socio-economic polarization in the country, the 48 years of uninterrupted and dominant military regime (since 1932) which is 'unparalleled in Latin America', and also the fraud and corruption in the elections of 1972 and 1977 triggered the unrest in El Salvador (Torres-Rivas in Garreton and Newman 2001: 102).

Fed by economic marginalization, poverty, unemployment, land shortages, and political repression, an urban uprising rose in 1978. Faced with a brutal state repression, communist revolutionary groups formed a coalition, the Farabundo Martí National Liberation Front (*Frente Farabundo Martí para la Liberación Nacional*) (FMLN), launched an armed rebellion against the Salvadoran regime in 1980. Thus, a civil war which lasted more than a decade and cost about 75.000 lives, many more thousands of wounded and disabled, one quarter of the population internally displaced and 45.000 refugees broke out (Lopez 2003; Eriksson et al. 2000).

Unlike in Guatemala, in El Salvador the state army was weak, whereas the guerilla forces had a wide peasant support; but the US-given military and financial aids to the state army extended the war which at the end could not be won by any party (Torres-Rivas in Garreton and Newman 2001). After this stalemate period, negotiations began in late 1980s and concluded with a peace agreement.

3.2.2. Negotiations and Peace Process

With the victory of the Nationalist Republican Alliance (ARENA) in the presidential elections of 1989 which committed itself to dialogue with the FMLN (Whitfield in Arnson 1999), a phase of transition to peace began. After few unsuccessful rounds of negotiations, the parties jointly requested the then-UN Secretary General Javier Pérez de Cuéllar's help for mediating negotiations. Thus, for the first time, the UN mediated the peace accords and played a significant role in their verification and providing good offices (Del Castillo 2008).

In April 1990, a framework agreement where parties put forward substantive proposals for the negotiations was signed. Later in Geneva, the government of El

Salvador and the FMLN agreed on four main negotiation objectives of political solution to the armed conflict, democratization, respect for human rights and reunification of the Salvadoran society (Ardón and Eade 1999). Further, in May 1990, the negotation agenda, which will address a series of political agreements on the armed forces, human rights, the judicial system, the electoral system, constitutional reform, economic and social issues, and verifications issues, was established (Whitfield in Arnson 1999). After a cease-fire agreement and twenty months of intense negotiations, the final peace accord, known as Chapultepec Peace Agreement, was signed between the Salvadoran government and the FMLN.

A key factor in parties' reaching these agreements in twenty months period was pressure from the external actors on the negotiation process (Whitfield in Arnson 1999). The US by threatening to cut the military, economic and financial aids it provides to the Salvadoran government and the United Nations by using its authority, leadership, and mediator role, particularly pushed this negotiation process. Nonetheless, despite the involvement of these actors, the Salvadoran negotiations were conducted almost exclusively between the Salvadoran government and the FMLN. For this reason, other internal actors and the Salvadoran society did not develop a sense of 'ownership' of the peace process, and thus, the Salvadoran peace process is considered as weak (Whitfield in Arnson 1999).

Regarding the content of peace accords, it is seen that the accords mainly dealt with political and public security concerns as well as socio-economic issues. Political and security- related provisions address military reform measures, placing the military under the civilian control, establishing a National Civilian Police and a training academy, and strengthening the electoral and judicial systems. Moreover, socio-economic measures touch upon the agrarian problems, land reform, alleviation of the costs of the structural adjustment and the establishment of economic and social consultation forums where different parts of the society come together and work for the social and economic development of El Salvador. In the peace accords, the socio-economic provisions were considerably vaguer than security and justice related ones. This was due to the FMLN's prioritization of democratic political reforms, government resistance to discuss its economic policy and a reluctance to get involved in detailed discussions which may challenge the negotiation process (Eriksson et al. 2000). Overall,

it can be said that the peace accords addressed the security aspect of the conflict more than the structural socio-economic problems or poverty.

3.2.3. Post-Conflict Environment

The early post-accord phase was characterized by the implementation of peace accords which was monitored by the United Nations Observer Mission to El Salvador (ONUSAL) that was disbanded in 1996.

While pre-negotiation period and negotiation dynamics differed in Guatemala and El Salvador, their post-accord phases have shown some similarities such as the successful demobilization of former combatants and the transformation of their organizations into political parties (Arnson and Azpuru in Darby and Mac Ginty 2003). Although the president of El Salvador was again elected from the ARENA in the March 2000 elections, the FMLN's winning '31 of 84 seats' in the legislative assembly and turning into a legitimate opposition of ARENA was a good achievement (Del Castillo 2008:104). Democratization in the country showed progress. Further, the establishment of a truth commission to fight against legacy of violence and human rights violations in El Salvador was another similarity with Guatemala. *Commission on the Truth* was installed in El Salvador to address the issues of truth and justice; however, the deeper reconciliation within the society remains unachieved.

El Salvador transformed its economy through economic liberalization policies guided by the International Monetary Fund, the World Bank and the Inter-American Development Bank which offered financial assistance to El Salvador (Paris 2004). However, despite this economic growth, pervasive criminal violence, kidnapping and homicide – which stem from unemployment and poverty particularly in rural areas – appear as a big problem in the post-war period of El Salvador and lead to dangerous atmosphere and fear in the Salvadoran society.

Furthermore, human rights violations have declined and openly monitored in El Salvador. For instance, according to the 2008 human rights report for El Salvador arranged by the US Department of State (2009), there were no reports of arbitrary and

unlawful killings or politically motivated disappearances. However, these reports also underline the inefficiency, corruption, and absence of rule of law in the judicial system, which contribute to impunity. Additionally, these reports conclude that the suffering of women from societal, cultural, economic and gender-based discrimination, sexual abuse, trafficking, rape, and domestic violence remains to be a widespread and serious problem in the Salvadoran society.

CHAPTER 4

ANALYSIS AND FINDINGS

In this section, the findings from the qualitative data analysis are presented. Two separate analyses were conducted in order to assess the relationship between peace agreements and post-accord period: analysis of peace accords and analysis of post-accord indicators. Accordingly, initial analyses are based on the emergent themes and categories from peace accords of Guatemala and El Salvador. Subsequently, the situation of their post-accord issues is explained by looking at the changes in post-accord indicators. The figures and tables are utilized in presenting the findings.

4.1. Analysis of Peace Accords

4.1.1. Analysis of Peace Accords of Guatemala

4.1.1.1. Aggregated findings for Guatemala

In this section, the aggregated – i.e. not clustered under more general categories – findings emerged out of the Guatemalan peace agreements are presented.

As a result of the analyses of the Guatemalan peace agreements, 34 different categories which include different set of issues were formed. Before continuing with the further categorization as well as the elaboration of these minor categories, the analysis reveals the breakdown of 2559 coded items (text segments) of the Guatemalan peace agreements (see Appendix D, Table-1 for the list of aggregated categories). The frequency or the proportion of a specific category as percentage of total number of

coded items (2559) is revealed in Figure 4.1 below. In other words, the number written next to a category reflects the percentage of a specific category among whole other set of issues in the peace accords. Each category includes various particular issues which are not listed in the body of the thesis due to their massiveness, but will be quoted and touched upon while elaborating on categories.

Aggregated List of Categories (Guatemala)

Category	Frequency (% of all accords)
Integration of URNG members	7,4
Democratic governance	6,9
Judicial branch and justice system	6,8
Armed forces	5,6
Cultural rights of indigenous people	5,6
Verification & monitoring	4,7
Land issues & rights	4,7
Public security	4,0
Rural development & agrarian situation	3,8
Implementation process	3,6
Social and political participation	3,3
State institutions and policies	3,1
Education	3,0
Resettlement & integration of the…	2,9
Negotiation process	2,8
Reconciliation & Truth Commission	2,7
Demobilization	2,5
Equality, justice & diversity	2,5
Social and economic well-being	2,4
Women's rights/gender	2,1
Legislative branch	2,0
Health	1,8
Executive brach	1,7
Transparency, accountability and rule of…	1,7
Ceasefire	1,6
Technical details of agreements	1,4
Political rights	1,4
Housing	1,4
Human rights	1,3
Economic growth and poverty	1,3
Labor issues	1,3
Support of the international community	0,9
Environment & resources	0,9
Job creation & income generation	0,9

Figure 4.1: Aggregated list of categories that emerged from the peace accords of Guatemala

As mentioned above, Figure 4.1 displays the list of minor categories according to their frequencies of being mentioned in all peace accords of Guatemala. Accordingly, the category of **integration of URNG members**, which refers to the demobilization of the guerilla forces and their integration in the political, economic, social and cultural life of the country, appears to be the most frequently mentioned issue in the Guatemalan peace accords, with the proportion of 7.4%. It is followed by the high mention of **democratic governance** which includes text units about democracy, decentralization and local governance, and free, fair and transparent elections. For example, the text segments like "Improving the electoral regime will help to strengthen the legitimacy of public authority and facilitate the country's democratic transformation"[30] or "to reformulate the whole conception of State organs and institutions with a view to strengthening democracy in line with present-day constitutional trends"[31] are coded under this category of democratic governance. Subsequently, the category of **judicial branch and justice system**, which includes issues like modernization of the justice administration and people's access to justice and legal assistance, takes a higher rank with the percentage of 6.8 of all accords. Other categories listed in the figure above will be explained more in following sections.

4.1.1.2. Disaggregated categories of Guatemala

The emergent minor categories seen in the Figure 4.1 were clustered under more general (major) categories which are socio-economic issues, political issues, social fabric-related issues, security-related issues and agreement-related issues (See Table 4.1). These major categories and their sub-categories (minor categories listed above) are explained separately in following sections.

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[30] Retrieved from the text of the Agreement on a Firm and Lasting Peace. (Guatemala)

[31] Retrieved from the text of the Agreement on Constitutional Reforms and the Electoral Regime. (Guatemala)

SOCIO-ECONOMIC ISSUES	Frequency (#)	Frequency (% of all accords)
Land issues & rights	121	4,7
Rural development & agrarian situation	96	3,8
Education	77	3
Resettlement & integration of the uprooted people	73	2,9
Social and economic well-being	62	2,4
Women's rights/gender	54	2,1
Health	47	1,8
Housing	36	1,4
Labor issues	32	1,3
Economic growth and poverty	33	1,3
Job creation & income generation	23	0,9
Environment & resources	24	0,9
Sum (of socio-economic issues)	**678**	**26,5**
POLITICAL ISSUES	**Frequency (#)**	**Frequency (% of all accords)**
Democratic governance	177	6,9
Judicial branch and justice system	175	6,8
Cultural rights of indigenous people	143	5,6
Social and political participation	84	3,3
State institutions and policies	79	3,1
Legislative branch	50	2
Transparency, accountability and rule of law	43	1,7
Executive branch	43	1,7
Civil and political rights	37	1,4
Human rights	33	1,3
Sum (of political issues)	**864**	**33,8**
SOCIAL FABRIC-RELATED ISSUES	**Frequency (#)**	**Frequency (% of all accords)**
Reconciliation & Truth Commission	68	2,7
Equality, justice & diversity	63	2,5
Sum (of social fabric-related issues)	**131**	**5,1**
SECURITY-RELATED ISSUES	**Frequency (#)**	**Frequency (% of all accords)**
Integration of URNG members	189	7,4
Armed forces	144	5,6
Public security	102	4
Demobilization	65	2,5
Ceasefire	40	1,6
Sum (of security-related issues)	**540**	**21,1**
AGREEMENT-RELATED ISSUES	**Frequency (#)**	**Frequency (% of all accords)**
Verification & monitoring	121	4,7
Implementation process	92	3,6

Negotiation process	72	2,8
Technical details of agreements	37	1,4
Support of the international community	24	0,9
Sum (of agreement-related issues)	**346**	**13,5**
SUM (of all items)	**2559**	**100%**

Table 4.1: Disaggregated list of categories that emerged from the peace accords of Guatemala

4.1.1.2.1. Category of socio-economic issues (Guatemala)

Below is the frequency chart[32] of one of the five major categories, the category of socio-economic issues, which comprehensively encompass a wide range of issues in Guatemala.
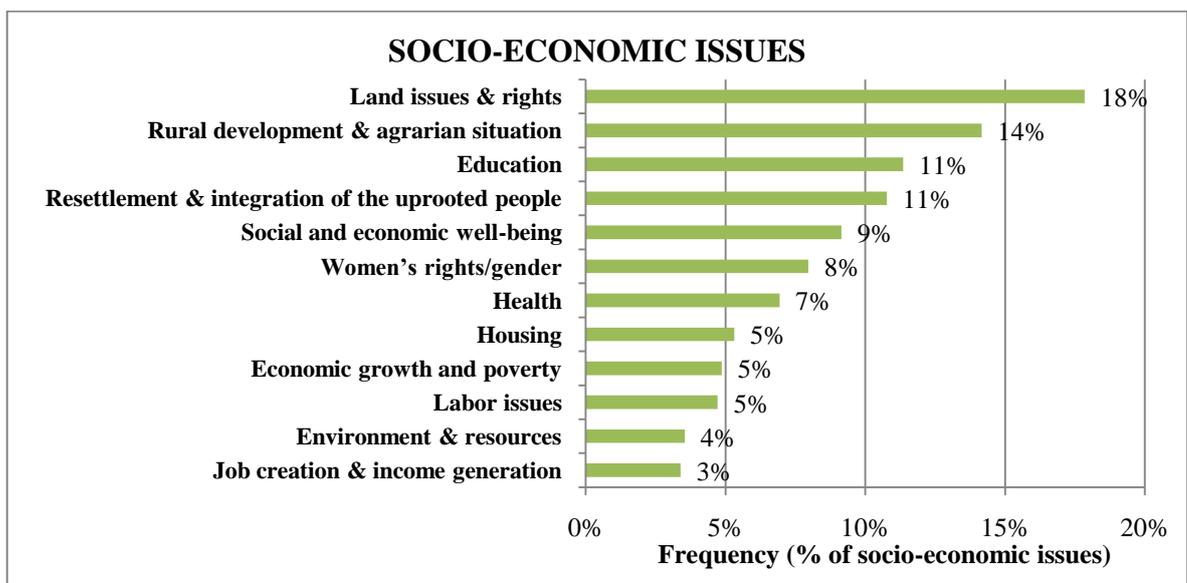
Figure 4.2: The category of socio-economic issues of the Guatemalan peace accords[33]

The category of socio-economic issues is the group of issues where peace accords touch upon social and economic well-being and needs of the population, restoration and

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[32] In this chart and the following similar charts, for the sake of the simplicity, numbers that are below 0.5 are rounded off to 0; and numbers that are above 0.5 are rounded off to 1.

[33] For the pie-chart versions of this figure and the subsequent figures for peace accords, please see Appendix D.

provision of essential services to population, employment and productivity, economic reconstruction, the use of resources, resettlement issues and gender equality. According to the figure above, under this category, **issues and concerns about land** which is the basis of economic stability and rural development stand as the most frequently discussed topic with the 18 per cent of all 678 items of socio-economic issues. In this context, the Guatemalan peace accords mention about issues like land use and ownership, landholding rights of people, especially, of indigenous population, and the development of land market. This issue is mainly dealt with while negotiating the Agreement on Social and Economic Aspects and the Agrarian Situation. As figure above displays, the other minor category under socio-economic issues, **rural development and agrarian situation,** is situated in the second rank after the land issues with the frequency of 14 percent. This category is reflected by the text units of the agreements such as "[to] develop a rural development investment programme with emphasis on basic infrastructure (highways, rural roads, electricity, telecommunications, water and environmental sanitation) and productive projects"[34] or "to solve the problems of agrarian reform and rural development"[35]. **Education** (11%) follows the topic of rural development, with the thematic emphasis of reforming the educational system by also incorporating the support of educational outreach workers, increasing access to education and raising the literacy rate. With a similar percentage, the category of **resettlement and integration of the uprooted population** represents the information for productive integration and secure resettlement of this population, in the peace accords. Moreover, while **social and economic well-being** refers to the provisions making general commitments to social and economic development and investment like the code "the key role which the raising of fiscal revenues and the priority channelling of public spending towards social investment are to play in the implementation of the commitments laid down in the Peace Agreements"[36] and the provision and quality of social services according to the needs and interests of Guatemalans; subsequent category of **women's rights/gender**, by the percentage of 8,

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[34] Retrieved from the text of the Agreement on Social and Economic Aspects and the Agrarian Situation (Guatemala).

[35] Retrieved from the text of the Agreement on Social and Economic Aspects and the Agrarian Situation (Guatemala).

[36] Retrieved from the text of the Agreement on the Implementation, Compliance and Verification Timetable for the Peace Agreements (Guatemala).

covers the themes like elimination of discrimination against women, equal opportunities for women like men and women's rights and participation in all spheres. Additionally, the figures above reveals the frequencies of the other categories of **health**; **housing**; **economic growth and poverty** mentioning about the modernization of economy, GDP values and fight against poverty; **labor issues** referring to the social security system, labor rights, laws and protection; **environment and resources** highlighting natural resources management and preservation of environment; **job creation and income generation** indicating the issues of employment, job and income creation, and occupational training, in all peace accords of Guatemala.

4.1.1.2.2. Category of political issues (Guatemala)

The other major category that emerged from the Guatemalan peace accords is the category of political issues which has an institutional emphasis and which covers highly inter-related issues: state and its functioning with its principles (i.e. rule of law), institutions, branches and policies; democratization; decentralization; free and fair elections; strengthening justice system; respect for and institutional protection of human rights; respect and recognition for cultural rights of the indigenous people in Guatemala; participation in social and economic development and in decision-making; and political rights.
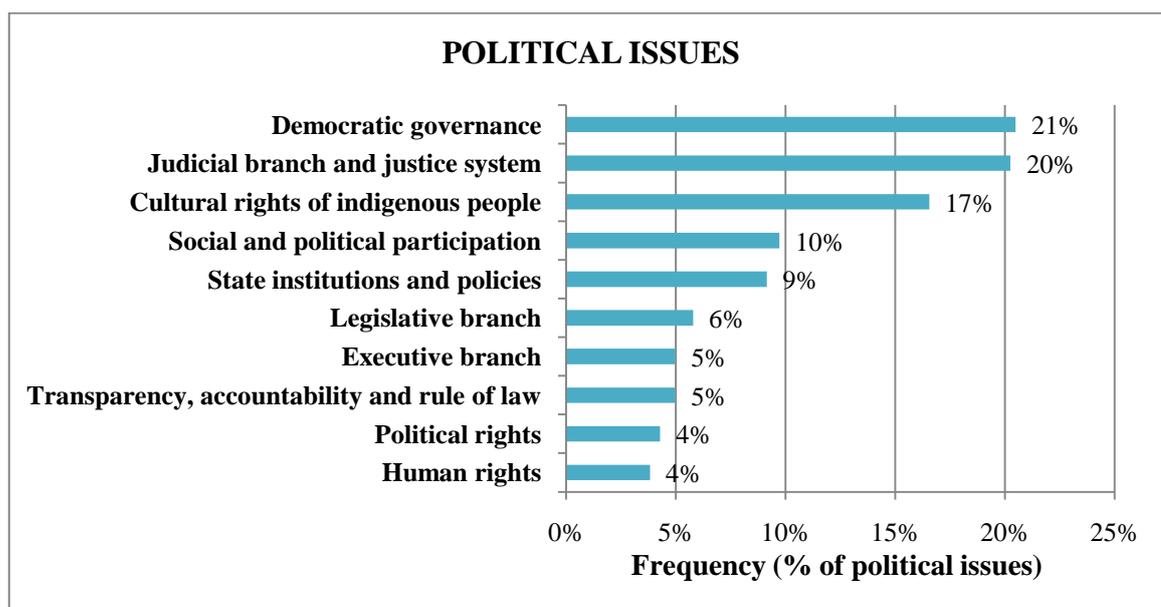

Figure 4.3: The category of political issues of the Guatemalan peace accords

As Figure 4.3 illustrates, one out of every five political items in the peace accords refers to **democratic governance**. With the highest frequency among political issues, this minor category of democratic governance focuses on the democratization of State structures; strengthening local governments, transfer of the decision-making power to local communities and strengthening 'civilian power'[37]; and the modernization of the electoral regime, people's access to voting, and transparency of elections. The following example which signifies the democratic governance can be given from the peace accords:

> "The Government also undertakes to expand on its plan for decentralization of public administration, and to enhance its capacity to implement them, gradually transferring decision-making power in the management of resources and administration of services to local communities and governments."[38]

After democratic governance, the category of **judicial branch and justice system** rests as the second most frequent category, with 20 percent of political issues. In both Guatemala and El Salvador, the corrupt judicial system, especially directed at minorities and vulnerable groups, contributed to the misery and conflict to a great extent (De Zeeuw 2001). Seen in this light, strengthening judicial branch and justice system have weight in peace agreements of Guatemala with the emphasis on impartial and independent justice administration by 'preventing the judiciary from producing or covering up a system of impunity and corruption'[39] , facilitating citizens' – including the indigenous peoples' – access to justice system and effective proceedings for crimes committed in conflict.

Thirdly, **cultural rights of the indigenous people**, by 17 percent, constitute another frequently mentioned topic in the Guatemalan peace accords. Text items related to the Guatemalan Government's and the rebel forces' respect, recognition and promotion of indigenous identity, spirituality and languages are included under this

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[37] Retrieved from the text of the Agreement on the Strengthening of Civilian Power and on the Role of the Armed Forces in a Democratic Society (Guatemala).

[38] Retrieved from the text of the Agreement on Resettlement of the Population Groups Uprooted by the Armed Conflict (Guatemala).

[39] Retrieved from the text of the Agreement on the Strengthening of Civilian Power and on the Role of the Armed Forces in a Democratic Society (Guatemala).

minor category of indigenous peoples' cultural rights which is situated under the major category of political issues. With this emphasis on cultural rights, particularly with the Agreement on the Identity and Rights of Indigenous Peoples, parties to the conflict promised to provide legal protection for indigenous people, namely, Maya, Garifuna and Xinca people.

As the findings suggest and the figures above reveals, there are other issues under the category of political issues drawn out of the Guatemalan peace accords. These issues and their coverage can be specified as **social and political participation** which refers to the participation of community, grassroots organizations, non-State actors, development councils, uprooted population, labor organizations and rural enterprises in decision-making and socio-economic development; **state institutions and policies** which is about the functioning of the departments of the Republic, public administration reform, professionalization of civil servants and ministries, tax and fiscal policies; **legislative branch** which includes concerns and reforms about the Congress, legislative commissions and the constitution; **executive branch** which covers the President's role and reforms for other executive bodies; **transparency, accountability and rule of law** in state's functioning, budget and policies; **political rights** covering right to vote, right to change the government and provision of personal documentation which is necessary to exercise political rights (especially for the uprooted persons); and finally **human rights** with the mention of respect and recognition for human rights, guaranteeing 'Guatemalans the rights to life, liberty, justice, security, peace and the full development of the individual'[40], right to expression, freedom of association, freedom of movement, and the importance of institutional protection and monitoring for human rights.

4.1.1.2.3. Category of social fabric-related issues (Guatemala)

Social fabric-related issues constitute one of the other major categories pulled out from the Guatemalan peace agreements. This category encompasses issues that address healing social fabric which is destroyed by the violent conflict and reweaving social bonds among peoples by eliminating hatred, stereotypes and divisions. Hence, trust,

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[40] Retrieved from the text of the Agreement on a Firm and Lasting Peace. (Guatemala)

communication, ethnic harmony, social cohesion and integrity among members of society, justice, psychosocial wellbeing of communities and individuals, and situation of reconciliation can be situated under this category. Figure 4.4 below displays the frequencies of individual issues belonging to this category of social-fabric related issues.

SOCIAL FABRIC-RELATED ISSUES

Reconciliation & Truth Commission	51%
Equality, justice & diversity	47%

Frequency (% of social fabric-related issues)
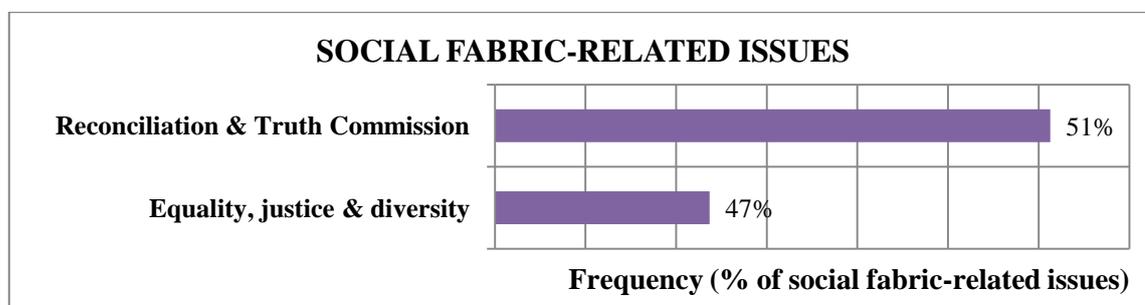
Figure 4.4: The category of social fabric-related issues of the Guatemalan peace accords

Among issues related to social fabric, text segments about **reconciliation and Truth Commission** make up 52 % of these issues. In this context, references of peace accords to the importance of national reconciliation, dialogue, understanding and conflict resolution mechanisms in Guatemala are included in this category. For example, peace accords emphasize that "promotion of a culture of harmony and mutual respect that will eliminate any form of revenge or vengeance is a prerequisite for a firm and lasting peace"[41]. Additionally, particularly with the Agreement on the Establishment of the Commission to Clarify Past Human Rights Violations and Acts of Violence that Have Caused the Guatemalan Population to Suffer, the establishment of a Truth Commission is proposed. Hence, also the provisions and text segments related to this commission – i.e. its installation, proceedings, measures and recommendations – are coded under the minor category of reconciliation and Truth Commission.

Moreover, **equality, justice and diversity** constitute another minor category, with 48 percent, under the major category of social fabric-related issues. References of the Guatemalan peace accords to the elimination of social, ethnic, sexual and every other forms of discrimination – especially directed towards indigenous people and women; to the prevention of intolerance, polarization, injustice and inequalities; and to the

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[41] Retrieved from the text of the Agreement on the Establishment of the Commission to Clarify Past Human Rights Violations and Acts of Violence that Have Caused the Guatemalan Population to Suffer (Guatemala).

promotion of non-discriminatory social, political and economic policies which enhance mutual tolerance and diversity in Guatemala are counted under this category.

4.1.1.2.4. Category of security-related issues (Guatemala)

The fourth category is characterized with the security-related issues. This category encompasses matters such as ensuring safe and secure environment, public safety, police and security forces, disarmament and integration of ex-combatants.

SECURITY-RELATED ISSUES

Category	Frequency
Integration of URNG members	35%
Armed forces	27%
Public security	19%
Demobilization	12%
Ceasefire	7%

Frequency (% of security-related issues)
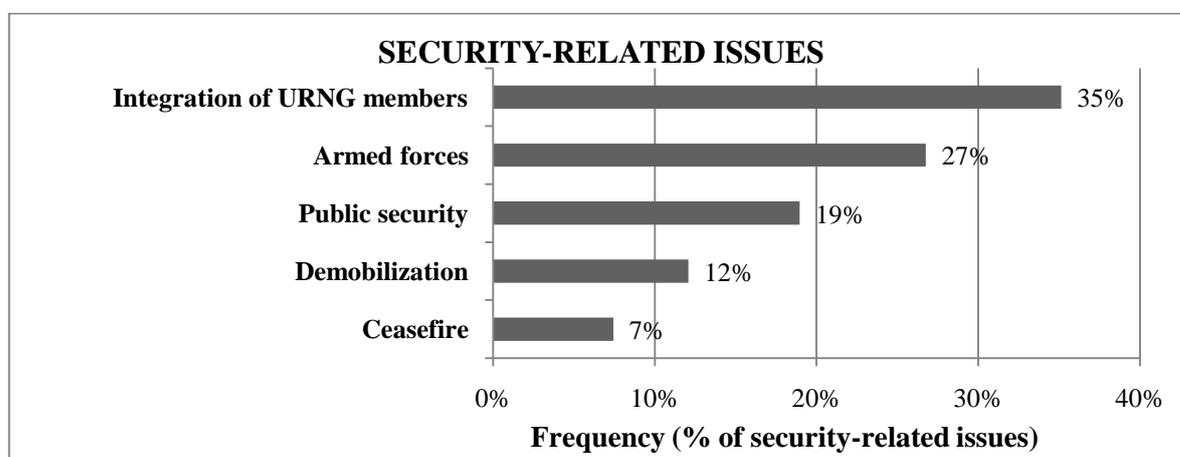
Figure 4.5: The category of security-related issues of the Guatemalan peace accords

Within the context of Guatemalan peace accords, as the figure above displays, **integration of URNG members** (rebel forces' members) has the highest frequency – of 35 percent – of being mentioned among security-related issues in these accords. All aspects of the integration of URNG into the civil, political, socio-economic and institutional life of the country – which are especially addressed under the Agreement on the Basis for the Legal Integration of URNG – are included under this category.

The category related to **the armed forces**, where arms and munitions, the organization of troops and military personnel, reduction in the defense spending and military budget are discussed, comes subsequently with 27 percent of security-related issues.

Furthermore, the following minor category of **public security**, by 19 %, represents the focus on issues such as regulations for public order; modernization of public security forces – particularly of the National Civil Police; restrictions for illegal security forces and owning and bearing of offensive weapons; and police personnel recruitment and professionalization in Guatemala.

With respect to the frequency, the category of public security is succeeded by **demobilization** which has a self-explanatory concentration of demobilizing and disarming the ex-combatants, and which also constitutes the activity that URNG members went through prior to their integration into the society.

The next category of **ceasefire**, with 7 percent, represents the ceasefire process and separation of URNG and the armed forces.

4.1.1.2.5. Category of agreement-related issues (Guatemala)

The category of agreement-related issues in Guatemalan peace accords is composed of **international verification and monitoring** (carried out by the United Nations and the MINUGUA[42] for verifying human rights in Guatemala); process and procedures for **the implementation of peace accords**; **negotiation process**, agenda, timetable and commitments of the parties in the process; **technical issues of agreements** like entry into force of the agreements or dissemination of them; and **support of the international community** – which is mainly the UN and the Group of Friends[43] – and parties' cooperation with this international community. The frequencies of these discrete issues found at the end of thematic analysis and clustering are illustrated by the Figure 4.6 below.

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[42] The full name is the United Nations Mission for the Verification of Human Rights and of Compliance with the Comprehensive Agreement on Human Rights in Guatemala.

[43] During the peace process in Guatemala, the parties request the Governments of Colombia, Mexico, Norway, Spain, the United States of America and Venezuela to form a group of friends and to support the peace process. This group is called the Group of Friends of the Guatemalan Peace Process.

AGREEMENT-RELATED ISSUES

Verification & monitoring	35%
Implementation process	27%
Negotiation process	21%
Technical details of agreements	11%
Support of the international community	7%

Frequency (% of agreement-related issues)
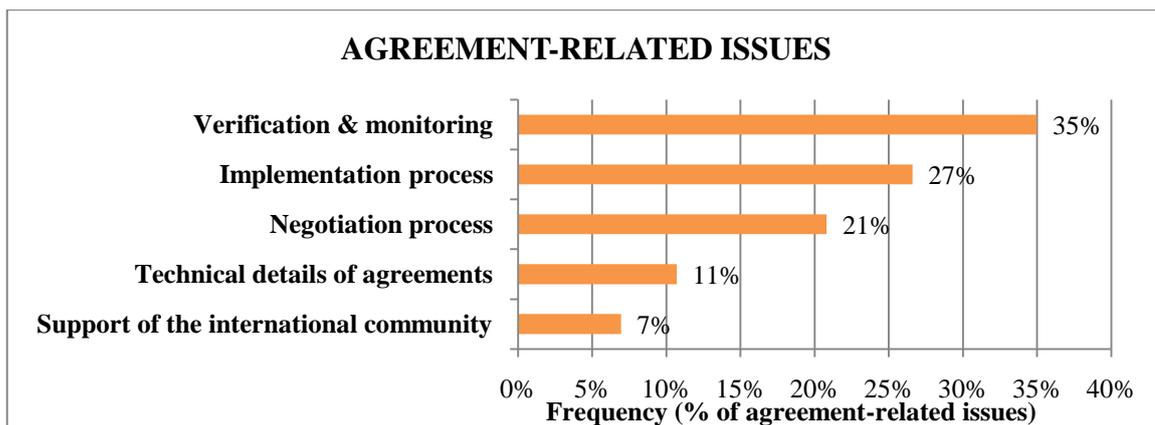
Figure 4.6: The category of agreement-related issues of the Guatemalan peace accords

4.1.1.3. Comparison of major categories (Guatemala)

After going into detail of five separate categories drawn out of Guatemalan peace accords, making a frequency comparison among those categories will be useful for further analytical comparisons and conclusions by helping understand the whole picture of peace agreements in Guatemala. Thus, the figures below show the comparison among major categories.

MAJOR CATEGORIES (GUATEMALA)

POLITICAL ISSUES	34%
SOCIO-ECONOMIC ISSUES	26%
SECURITY-RELATED ISSUES	21%
AGREEMENT-RELATED ISSUES	14%
SOCIAL FABRIC-RELATED ISSUES	5%

Frequency (% of all accords)
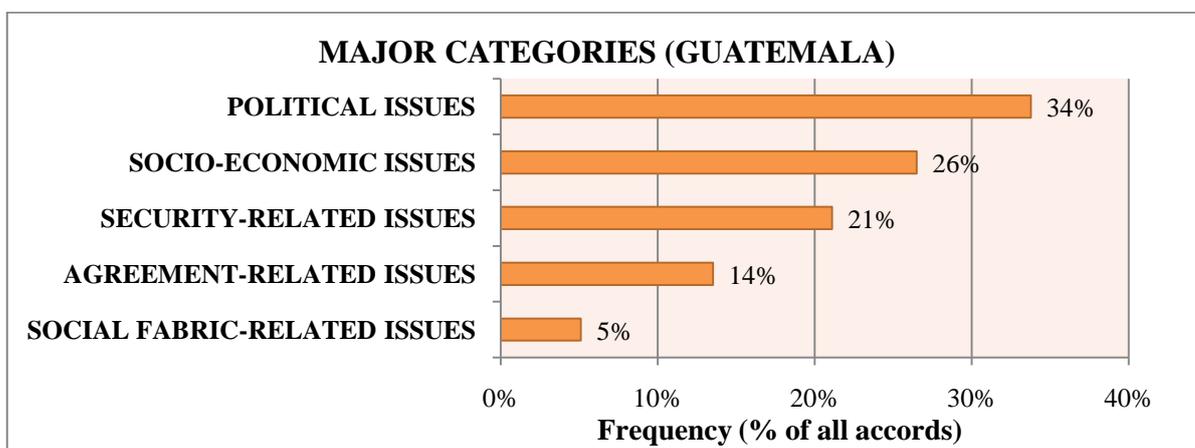
Figure 4.7: The frequency comparison of major categories in the Guatemalan peace accords

MAJOR CATEGORIES (GUATEMALA)
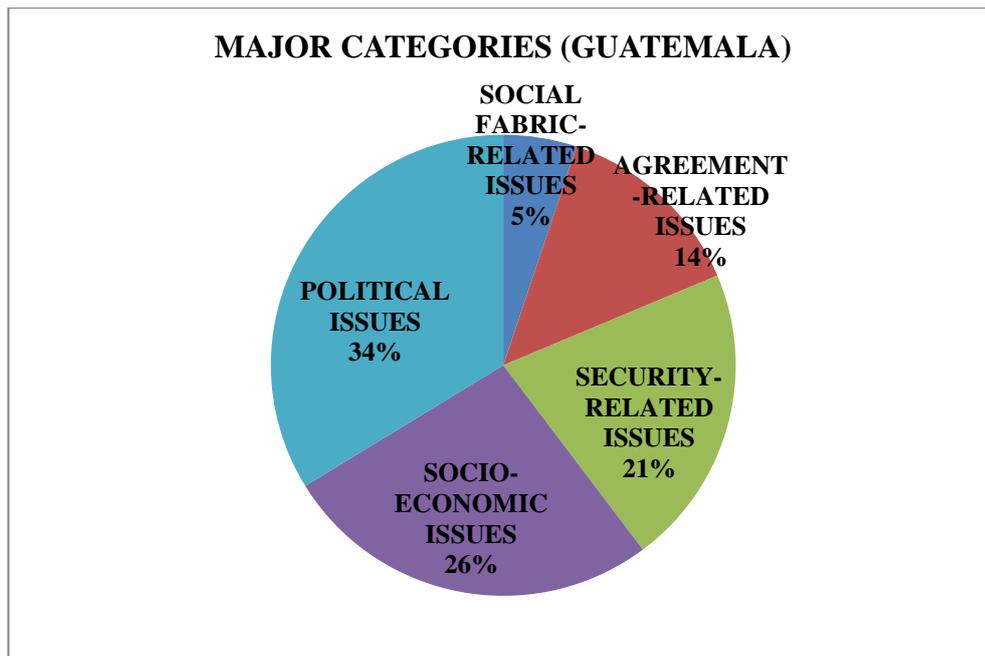
Figure 4.8: The frequency comparison of major categories in the Guatemalan peace accords

As illustrated in Figure 4.7 and 4.8 above, the percentages of frequencies reveal that the greatest emphasis is given to the political issues, with 34 percent of all issues in the Guatemalan peace accords. Socio-economic issues constitute another frequent category compared to other issues, with 26 percent of all matters discussed in the Guatemalan peace agreements. It is followed by the category of security-related issues, with 21 percent. While technicalities of the peace agreements correspond to 14 percent of peace agreements, only 5 percent of all peace accords mention about social-fabric related issues. Above listed research findings are discussed in the subsequent chapter.

4.1.2. Analysis of Peace Accords of El Salvador

4.1.2.1. Aggregated findings for El Salvador

In this section, the aggregated list of categories drawn out of the peace agreements of El Salvador is presented (see Appendix D, Table-2 for the list of aggregated categories). Eighteen different categories were formed as a result of the analyses of the Salvadoran peace agreements. Figure 4.9 illustrates the breakdown of the 2046 coded

items of these agreements, with their proportions as percentage of all coded items or their frequencies of being mentioned in all items of the Salvadoran peace accords.

Aggregated List of Categories (El Salvador)

| Category	Frequency
Public security	28,9%
Armed forces	13,2%
Implementation & verification	10,3%
Cessation of the conflict	9,9%
Judicial system	6,0%
Negotiation and agreement technicalities	5,9%
Agrarian situation and land issues	3,7%
Human rights	3,3%
Reconciliation & Truth Commission	2,9%
Socio-economic development	2,7%
Reintegration of FMLN	2,5%
Legislative branch	2,5%
Democracy and elections	2,5%
Executive branch	2,2%
Participation in social and economic development	1,7%
Political rights	0,9%
Rule of law	0,7%
Public administration	0,3%

Frequency (% of all accords)

Figure 4.9: The aggregated list of categories that emerged from the peace accords of El Salvador

According to this graph, with 29 percent, the category of **public security** appears as a far more frequently mentioned topic than all others in the Salvadoran peace accords. This minor category of public security, which makes references to public security forces – mainly the National Civil Police – and public security academy, will be elaborated more in the subsequent section of the analysis about security-related issues. As the above-illustrated results reveal, issues related to **the armed forces** form the second frequent category, with the proportion of 13 percent, after the topic of public security. Then come **implementation and verification issues** and category of **cessation of the conflict,** each of which is 10 percent of all coded items. Other categories introduced in the figure above will be elucidated more in following sections.

4.1.2.2. Disaggregated categories of El Salvador

The minor categories found as a result of the analysis of the Salvadoran peace accords, illustrated in Figure 4.9, are clustered under more general categories which are socio-economic issues, political issues, social fabric-related issues, security-related issues and agreement-related issues (See Table 4.2). These major categories and the issues under them are further explained in following sections.

SOCIO-ECONOMIC ISSUES	Frequency (#)	Frequency (% of all accords)
Agrarian situation and land issues	75	3,7
Participation in social and economic development	34	1,7
Socio-economic development	55	0,3
Sum (of socio-economic issues)	**164**	**8,0**
POLITICAL ISSUES	Frequency (#)	Frequency (% of all accords)
Judicial system	122	6
Human rights	67	3,3
Legislative branch	51	2,5
Democracy and elections	51	2,5
Executive branch	44	2,2
Political rights	18	0,9
Rule of law	15	0,7
Public administration	6	0,3
Sum (of political issues)	**374**	**18,3**
SOCIAL FABRIC-RELATED ISSUES	Frequency (#)	Frequency (% of all accords)
Reconciliation & Truth Commission	60	-
Sum (of social fabric-related issues)	**60**	**2,9**
SECURITY-RELATED ISSUES	Frequency (#)	Frequency (% of all accords)
Public security	592	28,9
Armed forces	270	13,2
Cessation of the conflict	203	9,9
Reintegration of FMLN	52	2,5
Sum (of security-related issues)	**1117**	**54,6**
AGREEMENT-RELATED ISSUES	Frequency (#)	Frequency (% of all accords)
Implementation and verification	210	10,3
Negotiation and agreement technicalities	121	5,9

Sum (of agreement-related issues)	331	16,2
Sum (of all items)	**2046**	**100%**

Table 4.2: Disaggregated list of categories that emerged from the peace accords of El Salvador

4.1.2.2.1. Category of socio-economic issues (El Salvador)

Socio-economic issues of El Salvador are mainly negotiated under the fifth chapter, titled Economic and Social Questions, of the Chapultepec Peace Agreement in 1992. According to the figures below, under the category of socio-economic issues identified with 164 coded items, the Salvadoran peace accords address agrarian situation and land issues, socio-economic development and participation in social and economic development. Under the category of **agrarian situation and land issues**, corresponding to the 46 percent of all socio-economic issues, the Salvadoran peace accords focus on the agrarian problem in the country by addressing the issues of agrarian legislation, financial support and 'loans for agricultural and industrial production'[44] and technical assistance for smallholders and farmers to increase agricultural productivity. In addition, land-holding situation, land transfer for meeting the needs of peasants without land and land tenure system are topics incorporated into the category of socio-economic issues. Moreover, **socio-economic development** is the other minor category which includes references of the peace agreements to economic and social development of the country; to community assistance and development projects; to 'The National Reconstruction Plan'[45] aiming to reconstruct damaged structure and ensure the development of the zones affected by the conflict; and to development of sectors and public services. Further, being quite interrelated with this second category of socio-economic development, **participation in social and economic development** appears as the third frequently mentioned component of socio-

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[44] Retrieved from the text of the Chapultepec Peace Agreement, Chapter V, Economic and Social Questions, The Agrarian Problem (section).

[45] Retrieved from the text of the Chapultepec Peace Agreement, Chapter V, Economic and Social Questions, National Reconstruction Plan (section).

economic category. Here, the emphasis is basically on a participatory forum[46] including social, political, governmental and business sectors working for social and economic development of the country and aiming to tackle problems in this sense.


SOCIO-ECONOMIC ISSUES

Agrarian situation and land issues — 46%
Socio-economic development — 34%
Participation in social and economic development — 21%

Frequency (% of socio-economic issues)
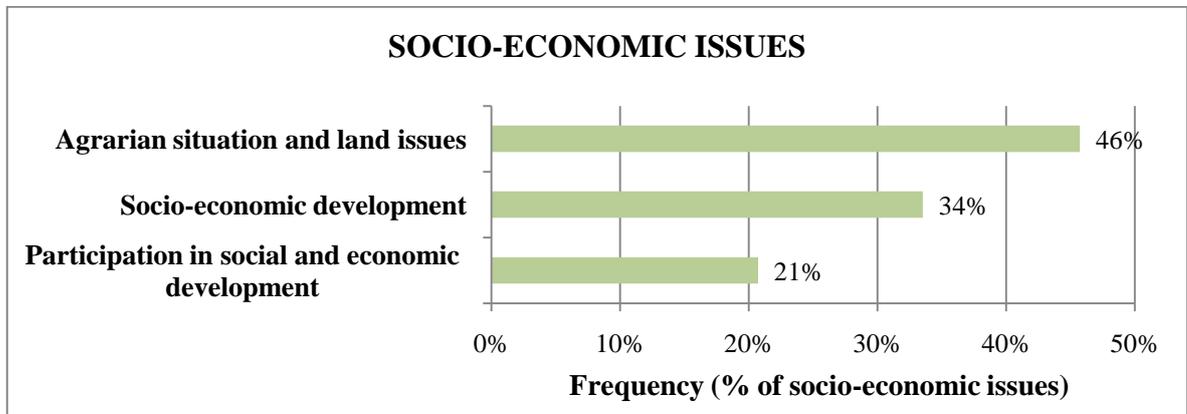
Figure 5.1: The category of socio-economic issues of the Salvadoran peace accords

4.1.2.2.2. Category of political issues (El Salvador)

The other major category of political issues came out from the Salvadoran peace accords includes issues about the judicial system, human rights, legislative and executive branch of the Salvadoran government, democracy and elections, political rights, rule of law and public administration.

POLITICAL ISSUES

Judicial system — 33%
Human rights — 18%
Legislative branch — 14%
Democracy and elections — 14%
Executive branch — 12%
Political rights — 5%
Rule of law — 4%
Public administration — 2%

Frequency (% of political issues)
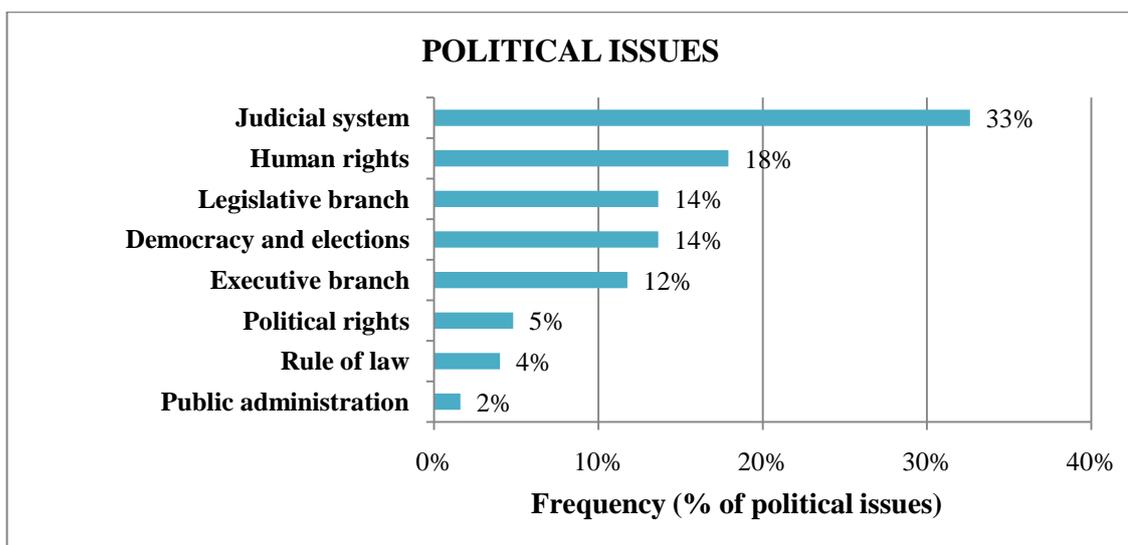
Figure 5.2: The category of political issues of the Salvadoran peace accords

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[46] It is called 'Forum for economic and social consultation' in the original document of the Chapultepec Peace Agreement, Chapter V, Economic and Social Questions.

Of all these political issues illustrated in the figure above, **judicial system** has the highest proportion of 33 percent with the emphasis on reform for free and fair judiciary. This minor category of judicial system covers the Salvadoran peace accords' mention of judicial proceedings; establishment of 'the National Council of the Judiciary' to foster fair and independent judiciary; establishment of a judicial training school to improve the professionalism of judges and other judicial officials; and ending impunity. This category is followed by the category of **human rights**, 18 percent of political issues, which focuses on respect and institutional protection[47] of the life, integrity, security or freedom of the individual.

Furthermore, while the category of **legislative branch** covers constitutional reforms and issues about legislative assembly; **democracy and elections** apparently refers to the text segments mentioning about democratic values and democratization, electoral process and the establishment of an independent 'Supreme Electoral Tribunal'[48] dealing with electoral matters and reforms to the electoral code. The subsequent category of **executive branch** includes few sub-themes like the role of the President of the Salvadoran Republic and the State Intelligence Agency and its transparent structure. Issues about **political rights** constitute another sub-heading under the major category of political issues. Themes like the lawful and free exercise of political rights, documentation for displaced persons and returnees, freedom of association, freedom of press and political parties' 'right to monitor the compilation, organization, publication and updating of the electoral roll'[49] are counted under the minor category of political rights.

Moreover, the peace accords' reference to the rule of law and the subordination of the armed forces to civilian authority are taken into consideration in calculating the proportion of **rule of law**, which is 4 percent of all political issues. Lastly, **public administration**, as the least frequent category, includes references to the restoration of public administration in conflict zones as soon as possible.

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[47] The National Counsel for the Defence of Human Rights is established in order to monitor human rights violations and promote judicial protection for human rights.

[48] Retrieved from the text of the Mexico Agreements, Section III, Electoral System.

[49] Retrieved from the text of the Mexico Agreements, Section called 'The Legislative assembly of the Republic of El Salvador'.

4.1.2.2.3. Category of social fabric-related issues (El Salvador)

Corresponding to 3 percent of all Salvadoran peace accords – as displayed by Figure 5.3 – the category of social-fabric related issues has only one sub-theme, namely, **reconciliation and truth commission**. Within this framework, the promotion of reunification, social cohesion and national reconciliation is discussed in the peace accords. Specifically, parties emphasized the use of mass media in promoting reconciliation which can be found in the following text segment: "[both parties undertake to] Promote, through the various mass media at their disposal, a national publicity campaign in favour of the reunification and reconciliation of Salvadorian society"[50]. On the other hand, references to Truth Commission constitute the majority of text items coded under this category of social fabric-related issues. In this sense, the establishment of 'a Commission on the Truth'[51], its mandate and investigations are discussed in the Salvadoran peace accords.
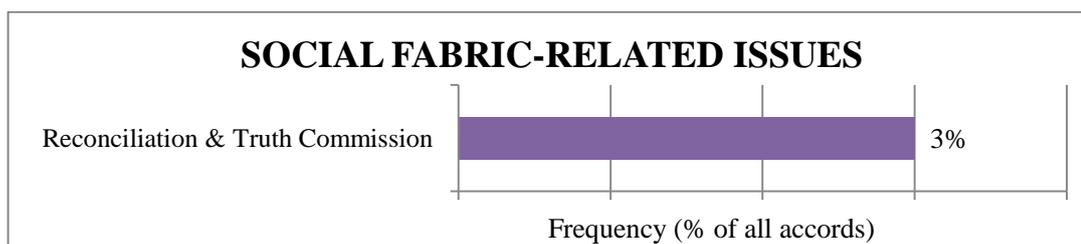

Figure 5.3: The category of social fabric-related issues of the Salvadoran peace accords

4.1.2.2.4. Category of security-related issues (El Salvador)

The category of security-related issues drawn out of the Salvadoran peace accords is another major category which includes references of those accords to public security, armed forces, cessation of the conflict and reintegration of FMLN. Among these references, **public security** represents the highest frequency with 53 percent of security-

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[50] Retrieved from the text of the Chapultepec Peace Agreement, Annex F to Chapter VII of Cessation of the Armed Conflict.

[51] Retrieved from the text of the Mexico Agreements, Section IV, Commission on the Truth.

related issues. As mentioned earlier in the section about aggregated findings for El Salvador, the minor category of public security largely includes text segments addressing the establishment of a new civilian force (the National Civil Police) and training for the police personnel and recruits at an independent police academy (the National Public Security Academy). Additionally, monitoring of and regulations for private security services are touched upon under this category.

Provisions about **armed forces** have the second highest proportion, with 24 percent, among security-related issues. They focus on reorganization of armed forces and its personnel for the new situation of peace; reduction in military manpower; training system for armed forces; military reforms; evaluation of armed forces' members' past performances for 'purification'[52]; and dissolution of paramilitary bodies and counter-insurgency battalions.

Moreover, the category of **cessation of the conflict**, with 17 percent of frequency, incorporates the discussion about ceasefire, ending the military activities, separation of forces and concentration places for armed forces.

As displayed in Figure 5.4 below, the other minor category under the security-related issues is **the reintegration of FMLN.** Mostly, 'reintegration of former FMLN members within a framework of full legality, into the civil, institutional and political life of the country'[53] is mentioned under this category. In this sense, text segments related to FMLN's legalization as a political party, political and civil rights of FMLN members, and social and economic integration of FMLN members are coded under this category of reintegration of FMLN.

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[52] Retrieved from the text of the Chapultepec Peace Agreement, Chapter I, Armed Forces, Purification (section).

[53] Retrieved from the text of the Geneva Agreement.

SECURITY-RELATED ISSUES

Public security — 53%
Armed forces — 24%
Cessation of the conflict — 18%
Reintegration of FMLN — 5%

Frequency (% of security-related issues)
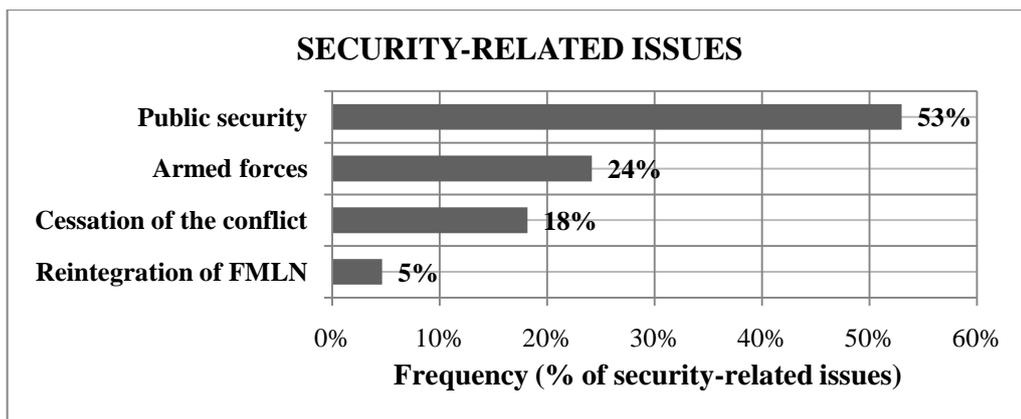
Figure 5.4: The category of security-related issues of the Salvadoran peace accords

4.1.2.2.5. Category of agreement-related issues (El Salvador)

The category of agreement-related issues formed as a result of the analysis of the Salvadoran peace accords is composed of **implementation and verification** issues which address the implementation of peace agreements, national verification (by The National Commission for the Consolidation of Peace, COPAZ) and international verification (by ONUSAL[54] and the UN) of peace agreements; and **negotiation and agreement technicalities** such as negotiation process, agenda, timetable, entry into force of the agreements or dissemination of them. The figure below displays the frequencies of these issues visually.

AGREEMENT-RELATED ISSUES

Implementation and verification — 63%
Negotiation and agreement technicalities — 37%

Frequency (% of agreement-related issues)
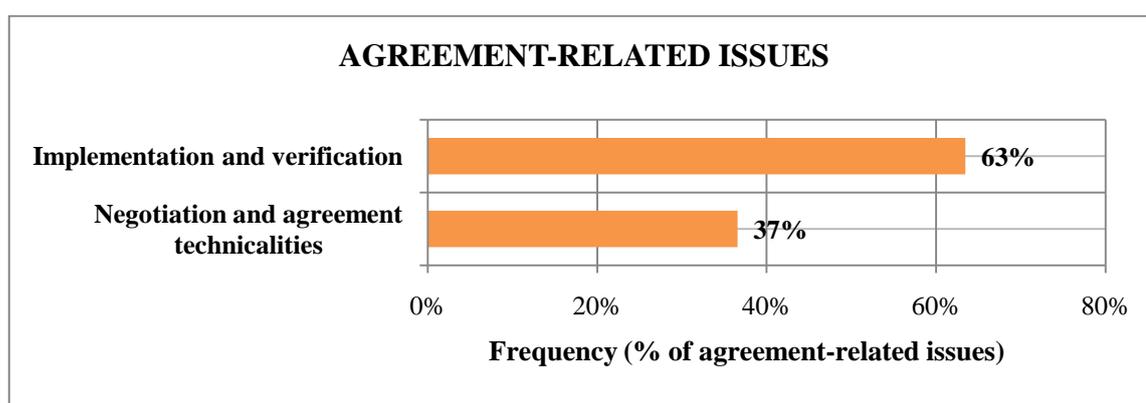
Figure 5.5: The category of agreement-related issues of the Salvadoran peace accords

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[54] The UN Observer Mission in El Salvador.

4.1.2.3. Comparison of major categories (El Salvador)

In this section, the findings of the frequency comparison among the major categories of the Salvadoran peace accords are illustrated in Figure 5.6 and Figure 5.7.
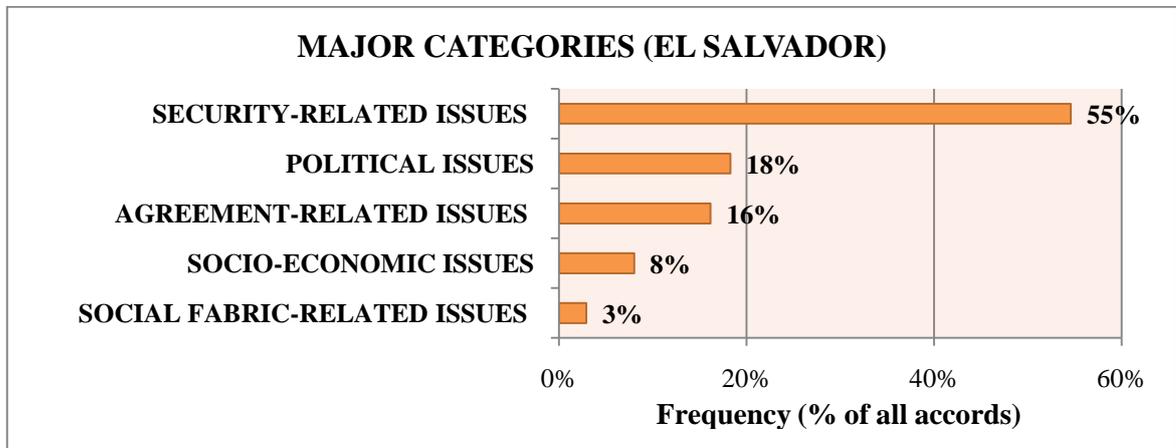

Figure 5.6: The frequency comparison of major categories in the Salvadoran peace accords
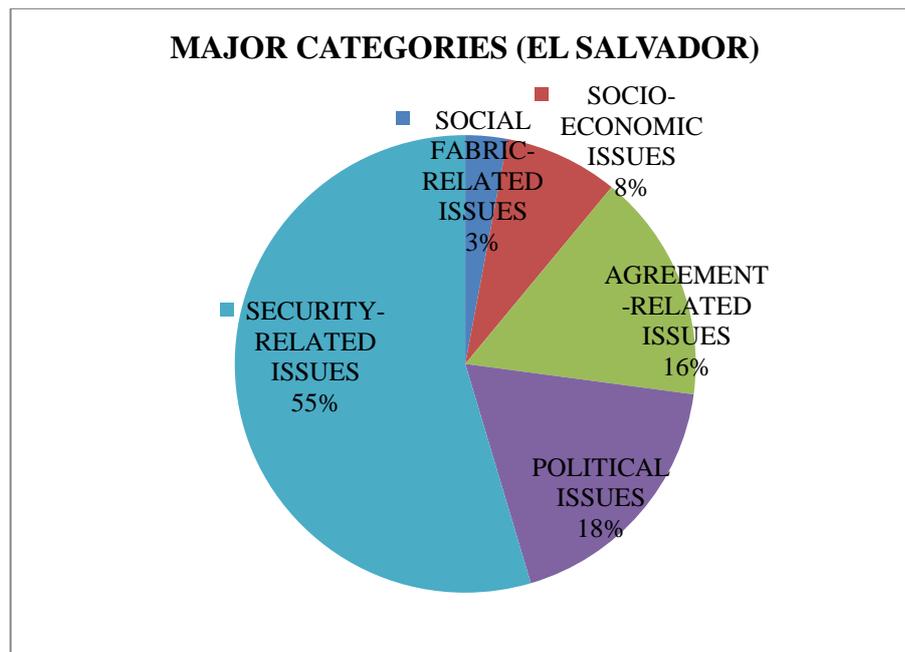
Figure 5.7: The frequency comparison of major categories in the Salvadoran peace accords

According to the distribution of categories illustrated in figures above, security-related issues – with 55 percent of all issues in the Salvadoran peace accords – are more frequently mentioned than the rest of the categories. Political issues constitute the next frequent category, with 18 percent of all matters discussed in the Salvadoran peace

accords. In addition, the 16 percent of all issues discussed in peace accords corresponds to the agreement-related issues. On the other hand, by looking at their proportions which are under 10 percent, it can be said that the socio-economic and social fabric-related issues are comparatively not frequently addressed in the Salvadoran peace accords. The findings of the analysis of the Salvadoran peace accords presented above are discussed in the following chapter.

4.1.3. Comparison of Cases

After going into the details of the categorization of all issues pointed in the Guatemalan and the Salvadoran peace accords, a general comparison between these cases is necessary in order to get a sense of the frequencies of their major categories in relation to each other. The meaning of the extent that one case includes or addresses a specific category will be evaluated and discussed in the discussion chapter.

According to Figure 5.8 (showing the frequencies of the major categories of each case as of percentages) and Figure 5.9 (numerical representation of the above-presented findings), while the categories of socio-economic, political and social fabric-related issues are more frequently addressed in the Guatemalan peace accords than the Salvadoran ones, El Salvador is well ahead of Guatemala with regard to the proportion of security-related issues in its peace accords. Concerning the agreement-related issues, as Figure 5.9 displays, almost same amounts of text segments (around 340 items) are coded as a result of the analysis of the Guatemalan and Salvadoran peace accords.
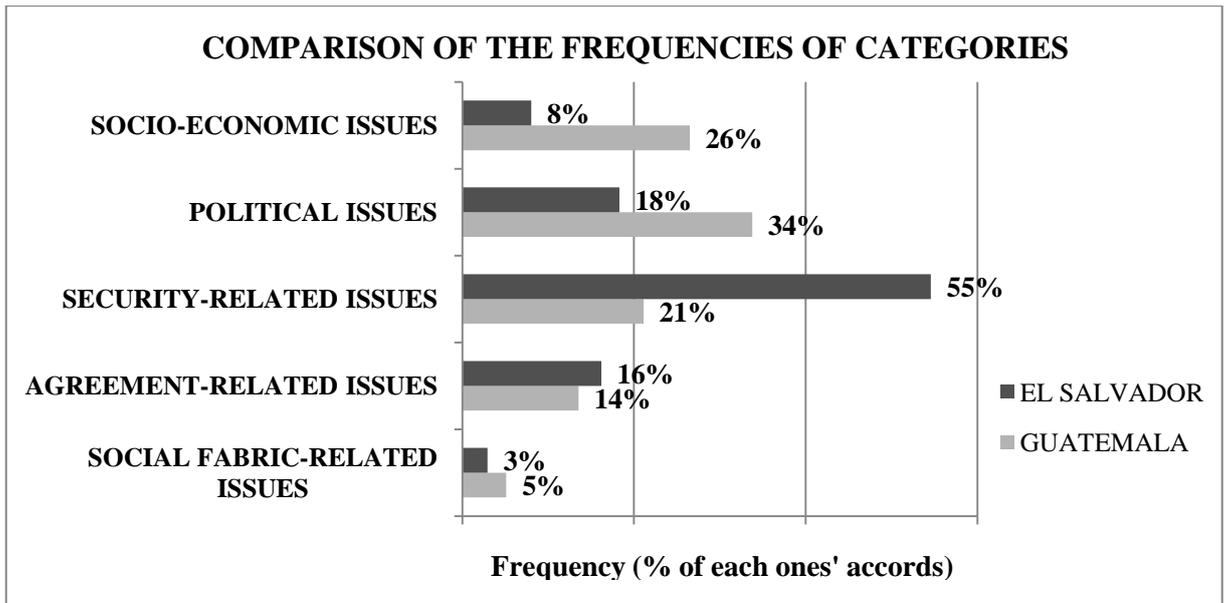
**Figure 5.8: The frequency (%) comparison of major categories of El Salvador and Guatemala**
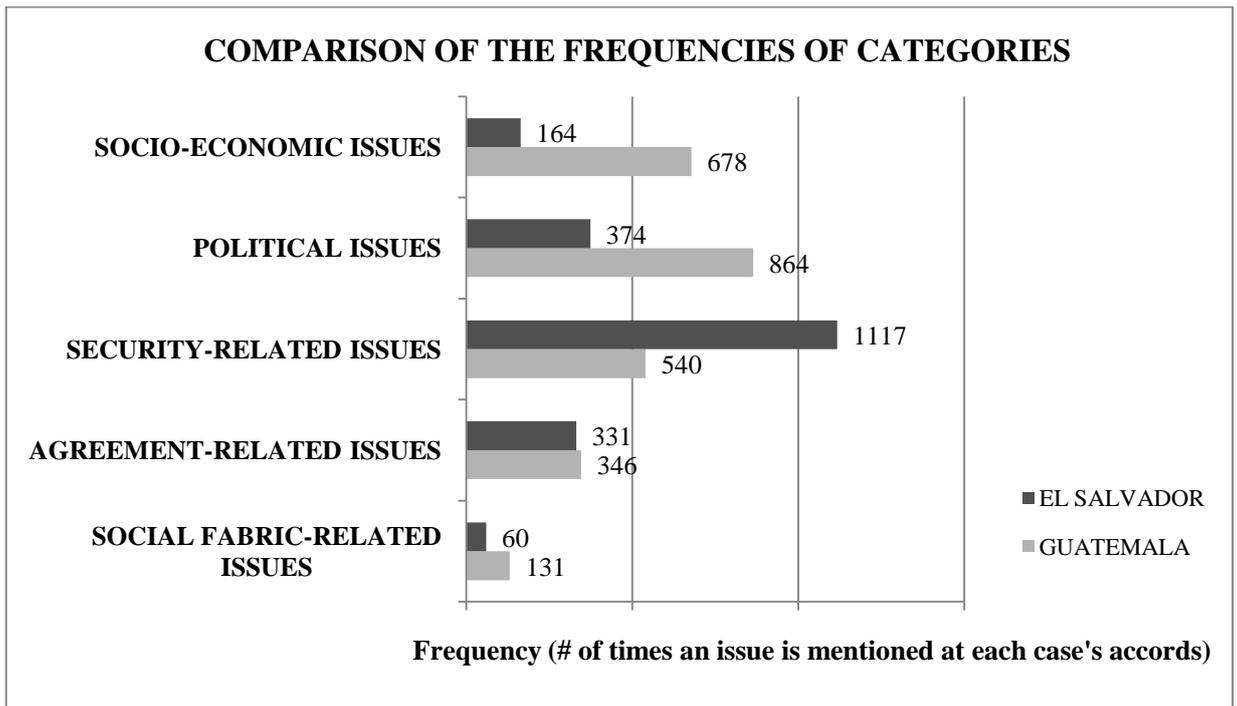
Figure 5.9: The frequency (#) comparison of major categories of El Salvador and Guatemala

4.2. Analysis of Post-Accord Indicators

In this section, the findings of the analysis of post-accord indicators are presented. Among the 35 different post-accord indicators previously listed in the methodology section (see Table 3.1), 12 representative indicators are chosen to reflect the post-conflict environment in Guatemala and El Salvador, as following:

Indicators for socio-economic issues:
1. Public expenditure on education as percentage of total government expenditure
2. Human development Index
3. Sharp and/or Severe Economic Decline
4. Unemployment level
5. Women's Social Rights
Indicators for political issues:
1. Criminalization and/or De-legitimization of the State
2. Suspension or Arbitrary Application of the Rule of Law and Widespread Violation of Human Rights
3. Political rights
4. Voice and Accountability
5. Government Effectiveness
Indicators for social fabric-related issues:
1. Legacy of Vengeance-Seeking Group Grievance or Group Paranoia
Indicators for security-related issues:
1. Physical Integrity Rights Index (rights to freedom from extrajudicial killing, disappearance, torture, and political imprisonment)

Table 4.3: The list of indicators employed in the research

In the following sections, available measured values of these indicators for Guatemala and El Salvador are explained and comparatively displayed by graphs across years in order to capture relative changes. In the graphs, each year at which the value of an indicator is available is illustrated separately. However, this research, for the sake of simplicity, focuses on the overall variations in the graphs by referring to:

- the period before 1992 as **the pre-agreement period**;
- years between 1993 and 2001 as **five year period (after the peace accords were signed)**;
- years after 2002 as **ten year period(after the peace accords were signed)**.

4.2.1. Analysis of Socio-Economic Indicators

4.2.1.1. Public expenditure on education as percentage of total government expenditure

One of the important components of the post-conflict period is education. As many structures get damaged during the conflict, services such as education or health are generally influenced from the chaotic period of conflicts; thus, evaluating the situation of education in post-conflict period becomes important.

Here, education aspect is captured by the indicator of public expenditure on education[55]. The values of the public expenditure on education in Guatemala and El Salvador taken from the UNESCO Institute for Statistics are expressed as percentage of total government expenditure. Figure 6.1 below illustrates the values of this socio-economic indicator.

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[55] Literacy, which is on the list of indicators mentioned in the methodology section, could have been chosen to be explained here as another education indicator. It is not discussed in this chapter separately, since the composite indicator of human development index – the following section – already includes literacy component in it.
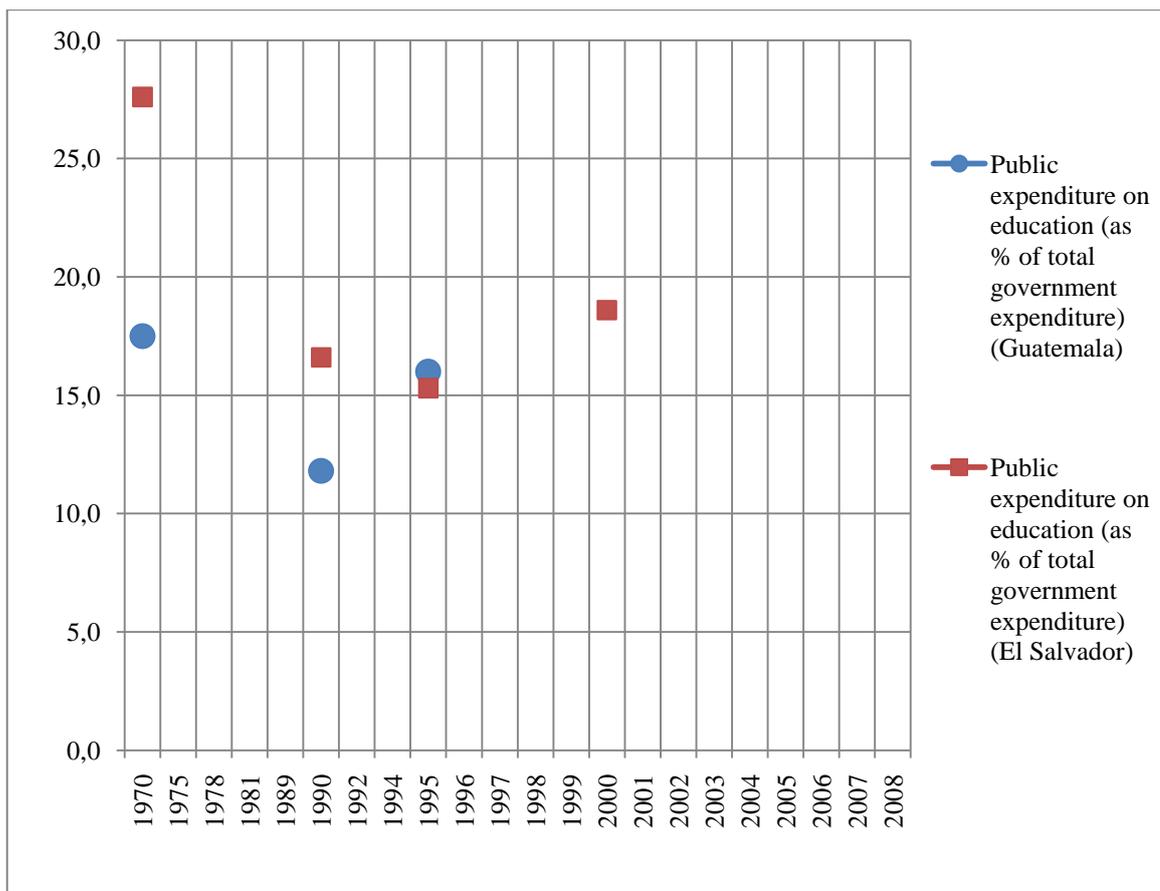
Figure 6.1: Public expenditure on education as percentage of total government expenditure in Guatemala and El Salvador

According to the graph above, although in 1970s Guatemala's and El Salvador's public expenditure on education started relatively higher than the following years, their allocation of resources on education decreased to a great extent in pre-agreement period. In five years time after the peace agreements were signed, the expenditures of the Guatemalan and Salvadoran governments on education have increased only to some extent. While the expenditure on education in Guatemala increased nearly 5 percent during the negotiations of peace agreements, a gradual increase is seen in the percentage of education among all government expenses of El Salvador. However, based on the available information collected, the situation of education in Guatemala and El Salvador doesn't look very promising when these countries' expenditures on education – which are around 17 percent of total government expenditures – are taken into account.

4.2.1.2. Human Development Index

Human development can be analyzed as another socio-economic indicator which needs attention in the post-accord period. In this sense, the Human Development Index, a composite index formulated by the United Nations Development Program (UNDP), provides broad assessment addressing three basic dimensions of human life which are life expectancy at birth, educational attainment and literacy, and GDP per capita. The higher the *HDI* rank, the closer the country is to *high* human *development*.

As Figure 6.2 reveals, both in Guatemala and El Salvador, there is a gradual and steady rise in the level of human development as time progresses. These countries' ranks correspond to "medium human development" category according to UNDP Statistics and categorization. Accordingly, although human development level of these cases grew rapidly in the pre-agreement period and gradually in 5 years and 10 years period; however, their human development performance are still poor to some extent.
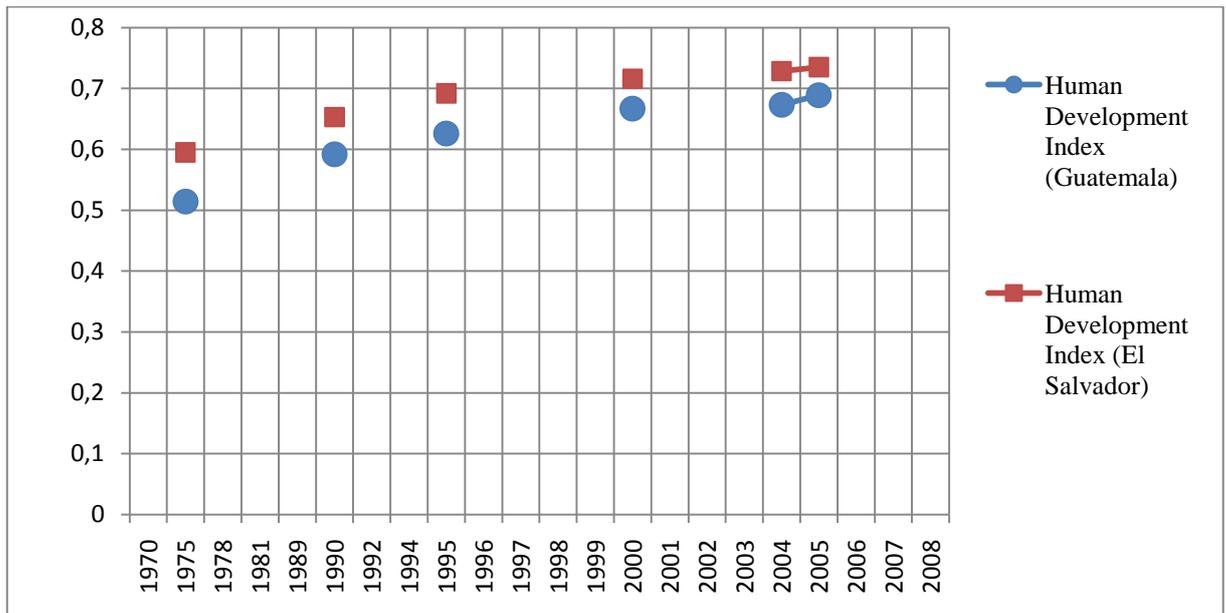

Figure 6.2: Human Development Index for Guatemala and El Salvador

4.2.1.3.Sharp and/or severe economic decline

Another socio-economic indicator chosen to capture the level of socio-economic issues in the post-accord period is "sharp and/or severe economic decline" used by the

Failed State Index. Compared to the previous indicators presented above, this indicator reflects more of the economic dimension of the post-accord period. It refer to the pattern of economic decline in a society as a whole referring to income, poverty, social hardship experienced by people, debt, hidden economies, and government's failure to pay salaries of people. Since first available data about this indicator is for 2005, the 2005 value of this indicator is taken as a reference point in describing changes across years.

According to the graph below formed by the available data (corresponding to 2005 and after), the situation ten years after the Guatemalan peace accords are signed is identified with a severe economic decline (in the beginning) which yet recovers each following year. On the other hand, the level of economy in El Salvador improves rapidly between 2005 and 2006, and then it starts to deteriorate. To put it differently, while Guatemala's values for economic development portray an improving tendency, values for El Salvador suggest that the economic situation in the country has a worsening tendency.
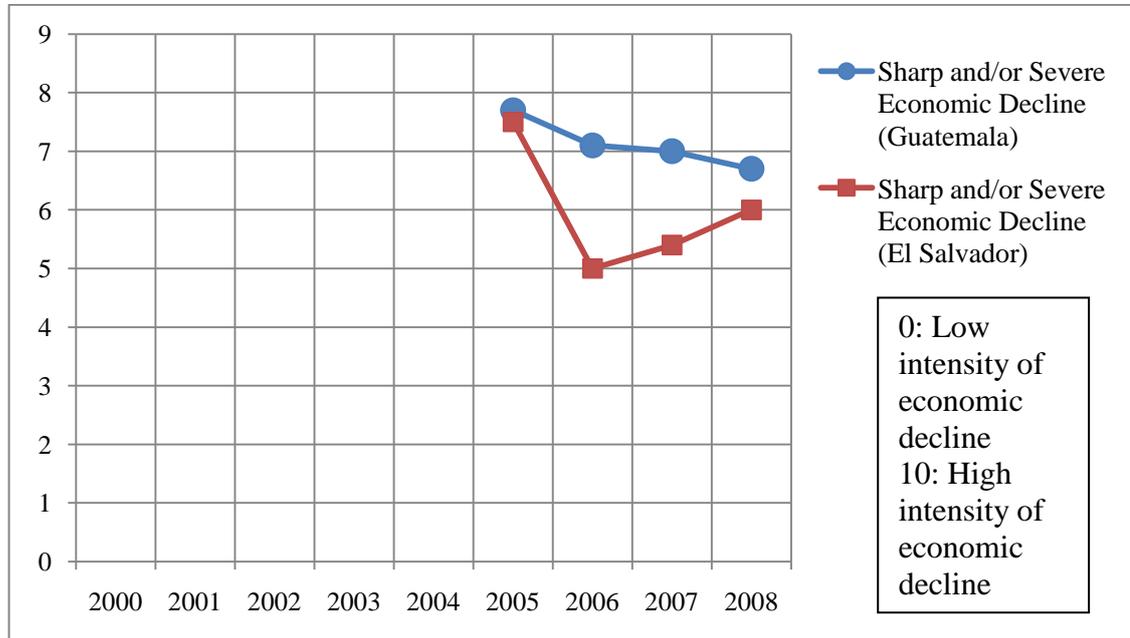

Figure 6.3: Sharp and/or Severe Economic Decline for Guatemala and El Salvador

4.2.1.4. Unemployment level

Unemployment is another critical aspect of the socio-economic environment in post-conflict period. Without doubt, having a grasp of employment level, job opportunities and people's access to sources of income in a country contributes to the understanding of socio-economic developments in that particular country. Viewed in this way, data[56] taken from the International Labour Office (LABORSTA) and reflected in the graph below are utilized to learn about the level of unemployment in Guatemala and El Salvador.

As indicated by the figure below, like the pre-agreement level of unemployment in Guatemala was quite low, the unemployment level five years after the Guatemalan peace accords were signed stayed low and even started to decrease; however, in ten year period after the peace agreements were signed, the unemployment rate in Guatemala rocketed from 60 thousands up to 180 thousands (people). On the other hand, the unemployment rate in El Salvador has always been higher than that of Guatemala. In the five and ten year periods after the Salvadoran peace agreements were signed, the unemployment rate showed an increasing trend, apart from some temporary fluctuations.

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[56] It show the level of umployment calculated by relating the number of persons who are unemployed at a time to the total of employed and unemployed persons in the group at that specific date.
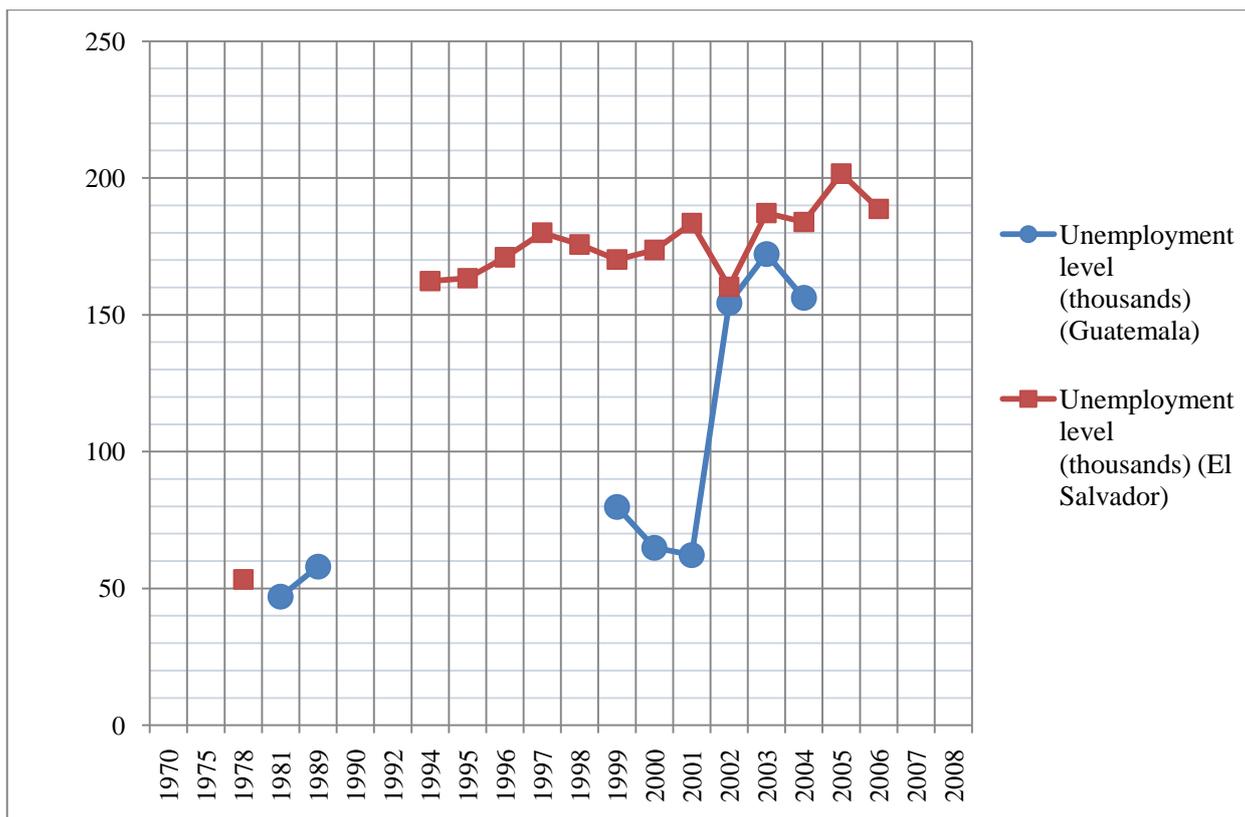
Figure 6.4: Unemployment level for Guatemala and El Salvador

4.2.1.5. Women's social rights

The last indicator for socio-economic issues is the indicator called "women's social rights"[57]. Used by the Cingranelli-Richards (CIRI) Human Rights Dataset, women's social rights can be considered as a political indicator particularly as a measure of human rights situation in a country. However, for analytical purposes, it is treated as a part of gender issues and socio-economic development within this study.

As displayed by the graph below, while the pre-agreement measure of women's social rights in Guatemala was 1, it increased to 2 after the peace accords were signed.

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[57] The indicator of women's social rights indicates rights such as equal inheritance, the right to enter into marriage based on equality, the right to travel abroad, the right to have a passport, the right to initiate a divorce, the right to own a property, the right to participate in communal and cultural activities, the right to an education, freedom from female genital mutilation without their consent, freedom from forced sterilization.

According to the coding scheme of CIRI[58], these values mean that in the pre-agreement period of Guatemala, women had some social rights which were not yet enforced efficiently. Additionally, there was some level of discrimination against the Guatemalan women in this period. On the other hand, the term after the peace accords were signed is characterized by the existence and effective enforcement of women social rights in Guatemala; while still there is a low level of discrimination against women. However, recently, particularly in 2007, the situation of this indicator deteriorated again.

Furthermore, the pre-agreement phase of El Salvador is mostly identified with the low level of respect for and practice of women's social rights. Also, the situation of this indicator shows no progress for a long while, to be precise, until 2004. In 10 years period, a temporary improvement is observed according to the figure below; however, the discrimination based on sex and negligence of women's social rights increases again in El Salvador.

Overall, it can be concluded that Guatemala has a better record of respect for women's social rights in comparison to El Salvador. Nevertheless, neither in Guatemala nor in El Salvador, women's social rights are fully respected, guaranteed and enforced.

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[58] Coding scheme is as follows:
(0): There were no social rights for women in law and that systematic discrimination based on sex may have been built into law.
(1): Women had some social rights under law, but these rights were not effectively enforced.
(2): Women had some social rights under law, and the government effectively enforced these rights in practice while still allowing a low level of discrimination against women in social matters.
(3): All or nearly all of women's social rights were guaranteed by law and the government fully and vigorously enforced these laws in practice.
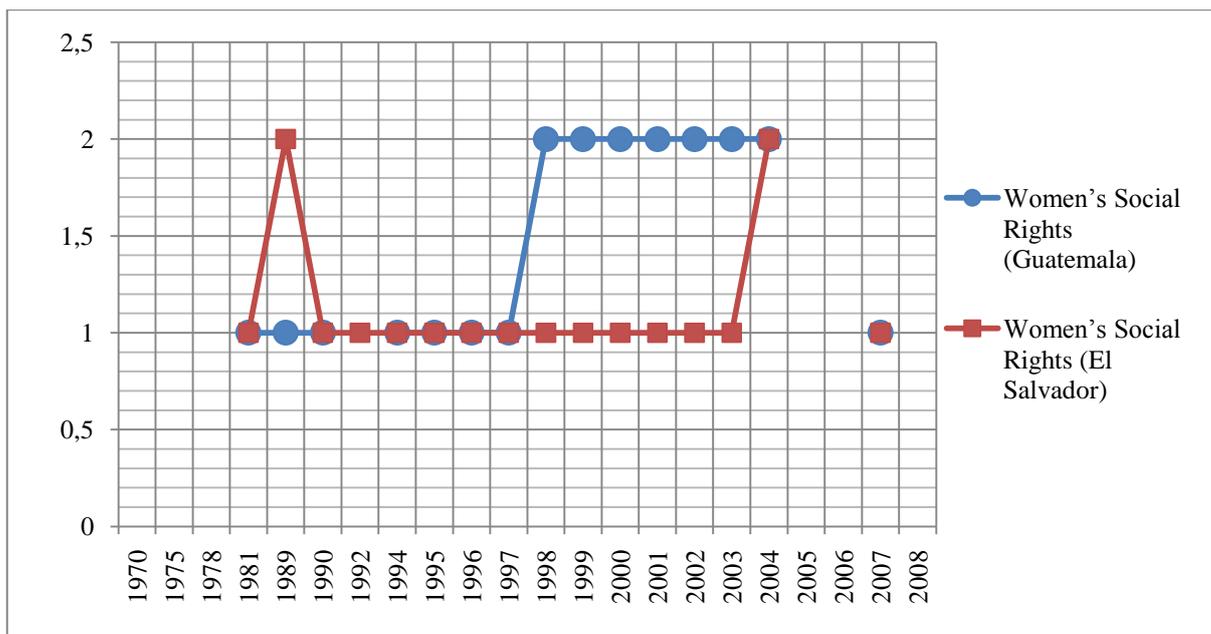
Figure 6.5: Women's Social Rights for Guatemala and El Salvador

4.2.2. Analysis of Political Indicators

4.2.2.1. Criminalization and/or de-legitimization of the state

After introducing five socio-economic indicators above, this research devotes this section of the analysis chapter to the political indicators of post-accord environment.

One way of measuring the political issues in post-accord period is using values provided by the indicator of "criminalization and/or de-legitimization of the State" formulated by the Failed States Index. Touching upon a wide range of issues, this indicator gives information about the state vulnerability; corruption by officials; lack of transparency, accountability and democratic representation; inability of state to function properly; loss of trust in state and its institutions; and rise of armed insurgencies. Data are available for the terms of 2005, 2006, 2007 and 2008.

As the figure below reveals, the period ten years after the peace accords in both Guatemala and El Salvador is characterized with an alarming and high level of criminalization and de-legitimization of state in both cases. Although after 2005, an improving pattern is observed for the cases in question, the Salvadoran and Guatemalan

state institutions, government, state functioning and its principles are mostly deprived of reliability, credibility and efficiency.

As compared to values of Guatemala, those of El Salvador are slightly better. However, measures for state legitimacy and efficiency of Guatemala show a decreasing tendency, while there is no progress in this respect in El Salvador.
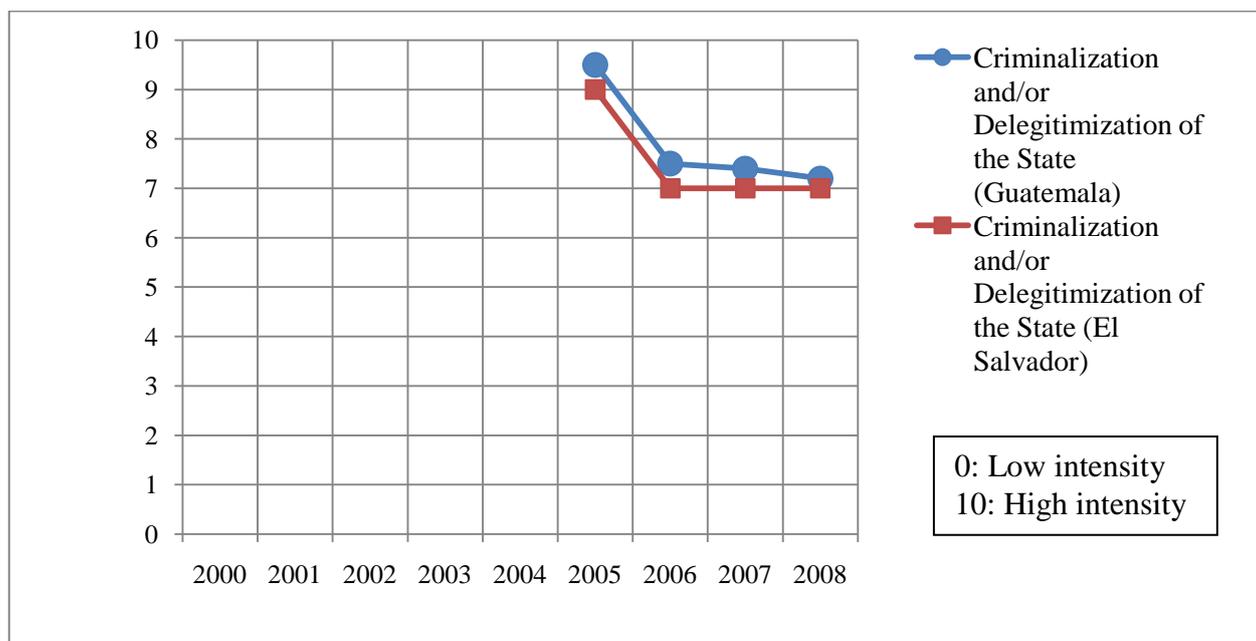
Figure 6.6: Criminalization and/or De-legitimization of the State in Guatemala and El Salvador

4.2.2.2. Suspension or arbitrary application of the rule of law and widespread violation of human rights

Being the next indicator for political issues, again used by the Failed States Index, "suspension or arbitrary application of the rule of law and widespread violation of human rights" indicates and measures the emergence of authoritarian tendencies in ruling the state which suspend democratic institutions, processes and the application of rule of law; outbreak of political violence; increasing number of political prisoners; politicization of judiciary; and violation of human rights of individuals, groups and cultural institutions. Similar to the previously mentioned indicators of the Failed States Index, values for this indicator are only available starting from 2005 to 2008.

According to the Figure 6.7 which reflects the situation of rule of law and human rights in Guatemala and El Salvador with reference to above listed aspects of this situation, 2005 – ten year period after peace agreements were signed – portrays a high intensity of human rights abuse and violation of rule of law in these countries. Democratic values and free and fair principles are not sufficiently integrated into the state functioning. Even though some recovery was recorded after 2006, still there is a worrying level of political violence, undemocratic environment and human rights violations in Guatemala and El Salvador.
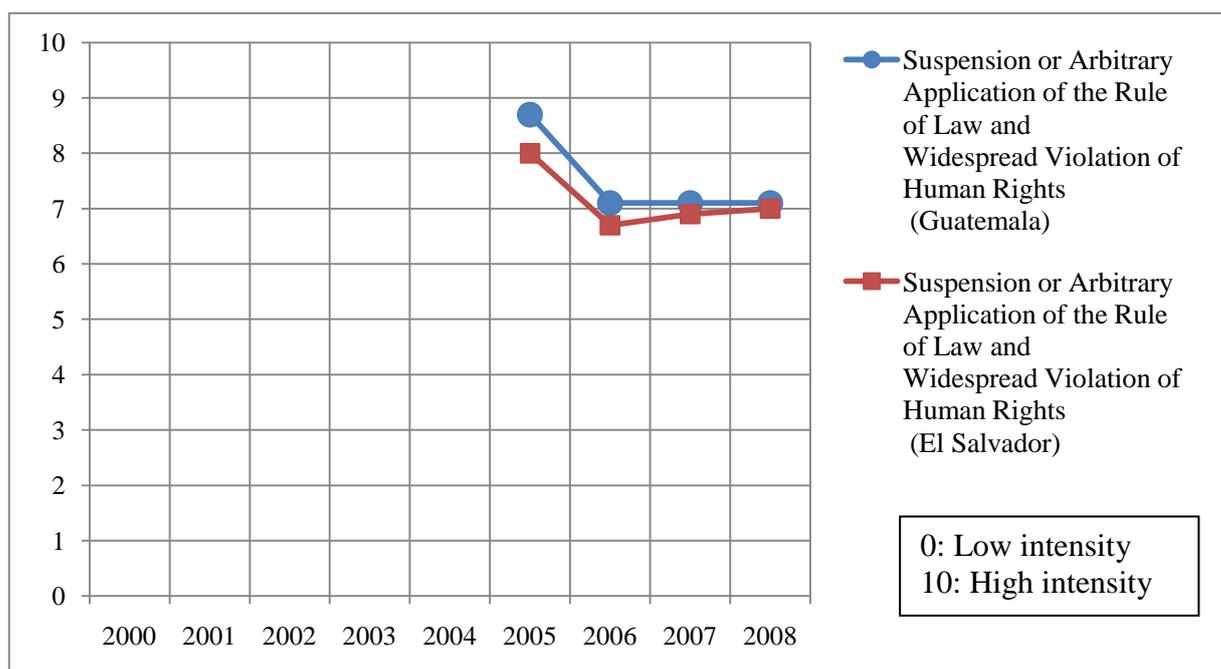
Figure 6.7: Suspension or Arbitrary Application of the Rule of Law and Widespread Violation of Human Rights in Guatemala and El Salvador

4.2.2.3.Political rights

Political rights have an important place in understanding the political issues in post-accord period. According to the Freedom House which uses this indicator, political rights measures electoral process (whether it is free and fair, whether there are fair electoral laws, equal campaigning opportunities and fair polling); political pluralism and participation (whether there are rights to organize political parties and other groupings, opposition vote, free political choice and rights of minority groups); and whether there are representative legislative, corruption in the government, and transparency.

Freedom House has political rights ratings between 1 and 7, each of which has general characteristics (see Appendix B for the full list of rating characteristics). Accordingly, the political rights ratings of Guatemala illustrated in the figure below, which correspond to either 3 or 4, mean that corruption, violence and political discrimination against minorities might have weakened political rights. Factors like unfair elections, one-party dominance and military involvement in politics can damage political rights in Guatemala; nevertheless, the state and individuals still enjoy political rights to some extent in this country.

On the other hand, the graph shows that El Salvador is freer than Guatemala with regard to political rights. As the figure illustrates, ratings of political rights in El Salvador are better in the post-accord period compared to the pre-agreement phase. Value of the political rights indicator was mostly 3 in the pre-agreement period of El Salvador which means that above explanations made for the situation of political rights in Guatemala are applicable also to the situation in El Salvador. The post-accord rating of 2 – which is very close to the highest level of political rights – stands for a good level of freedom and fairness in political rights, elections and transparency which might be influenced by corruption, political violence and discrimination or undemocratic political processes in El Salvador.
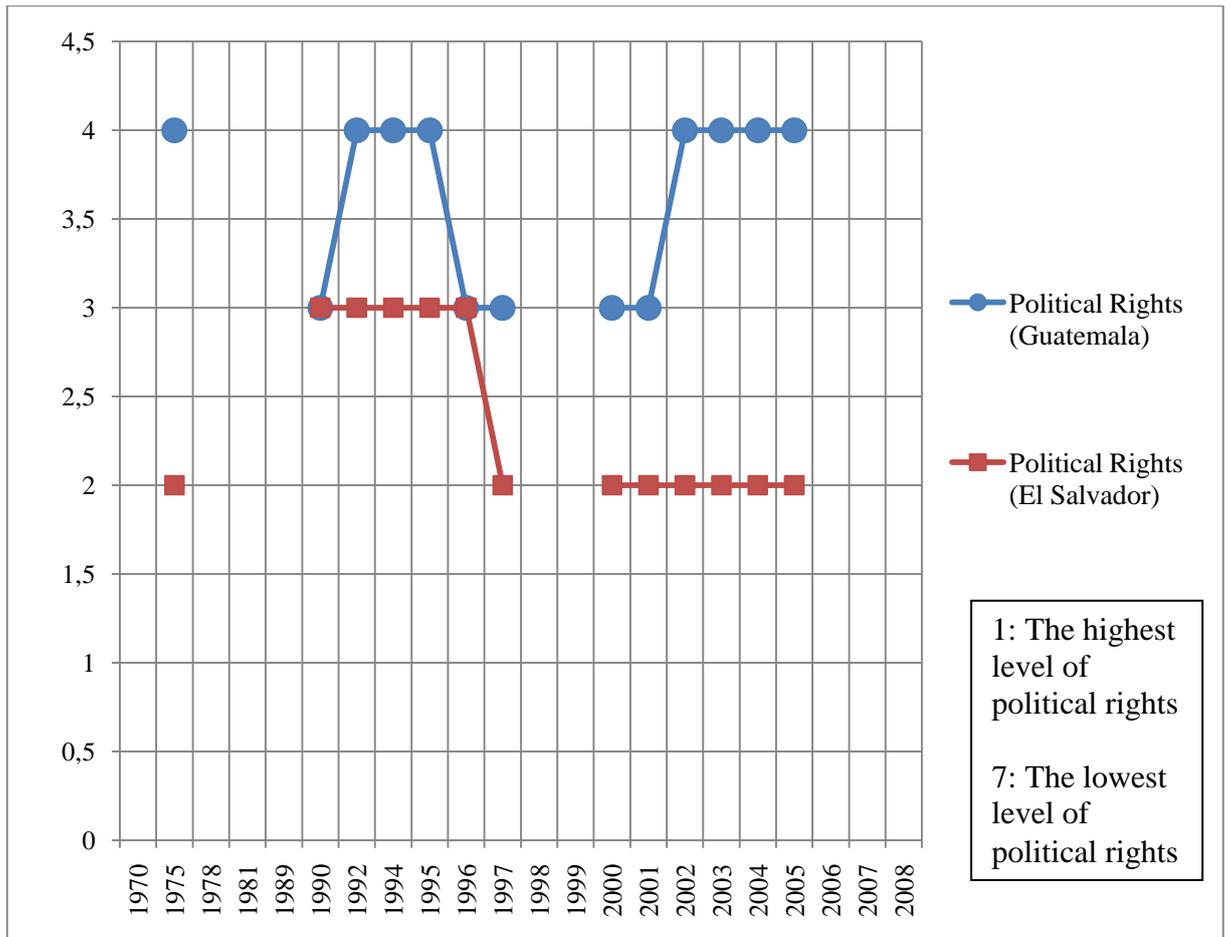
Figure 6.8: Political Rights in Guatemala and El Salvador

4.2.2.4. Voice and accountability

"Voice and accountability" generated by the Worldwide Governance Indicators (WGI) research project is taken as another political indicator in this research. Similar to the previous indicator of political rights, voice and accountability measures political, civil and human rights, particularly the extent to which citizens are able to participate in selecting their government, as well as freedom of association, freedom of express, and a free media.

Viewed in this light, the values for voice and accountability in Guatemala and El Salvador, presented by the following graph, overall portrays a fluctuant picture. It is observed that the five year period after the Guatemalan peace accords were signed is identified with a serious worsening in political, civil and human rights situation in Guatemala. Although some improvement in promoting respect and protection for

political and civil rights and democratic elections is recorded in ten year period, Guatemala is far from achieving better outcomes.

Apart from being higher, thus, better than the Guatemalan values for voice and accountability, the Salvadoran values display almost similar variations across time periods. In other words, the worsening trend of voice and accountability, particular to the pre-agreement period, later recovers to some extent.
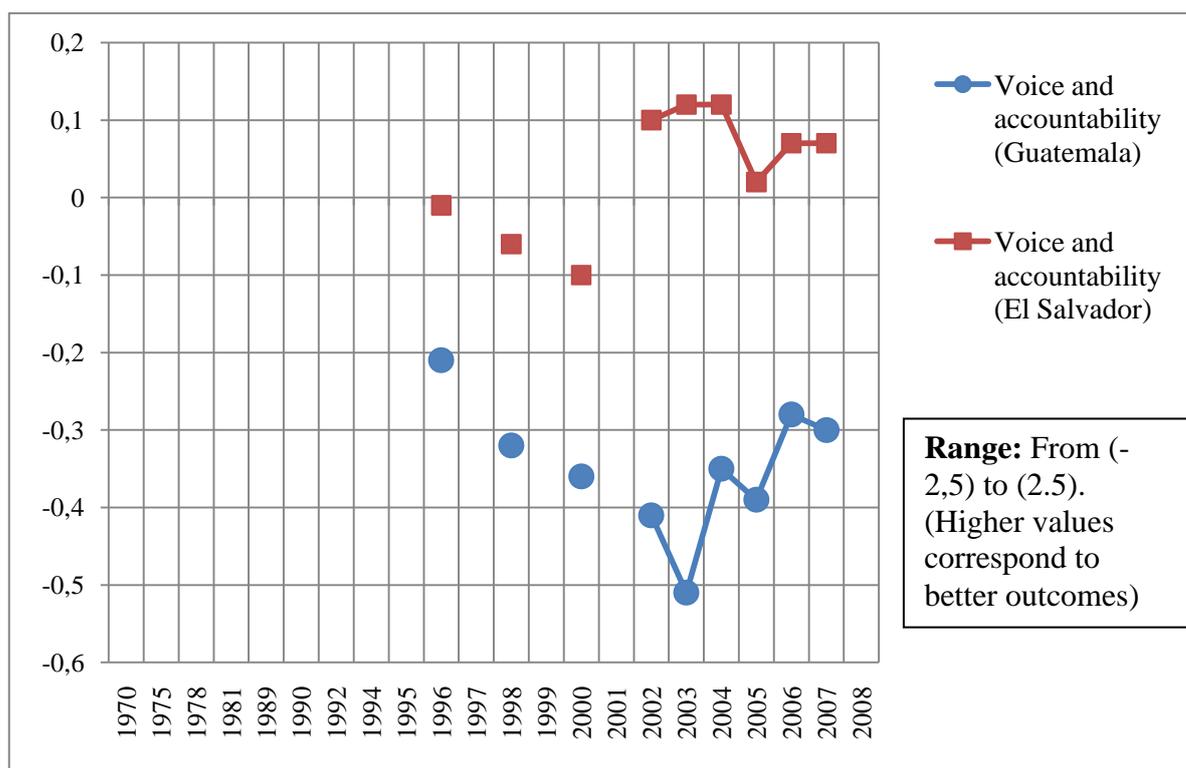
Figure 6.9: Voice and Accountability in Guatemala and El Salvador

4.2.2.5. Government effectiveness

The final political indicator analyzed in this research is "government effectiveness" which is again developed by the Worldwide Governance Indicators (WGI) research project. Measuring the quality of public services; the quality of public service delivery and the degree of its independence from political pressures; the competence of bureaucracy; and government's success in policy-making and implementation, this indicator provides information about effectiveness of government policies and services, and institutional practices.

As demonstrated by the Figure 7.1, although just after the Guatemalan peace agreements were signed there was a temporary improvement in the effectiveness of the country's government, the overall period is characterized by a worsening pattern in the quality of government policies and public services. Only after 2005, the situation of government services got improved.

According to the values corresponding to the developments in El Salvador, despite the highness of the first available value in 1996, the first five years of the post-accord period points the inefficiency in the Salvadoran government's services and policies. Later, in ten year period, the level of this inefficiency started to diminish.

Being closer to the rating of (-2.5), both countries values for their governments' effectiveness reveal that there are still problems about the quality of services, policies and their implementation in the post-accord period of Guatemala and El Salvador.
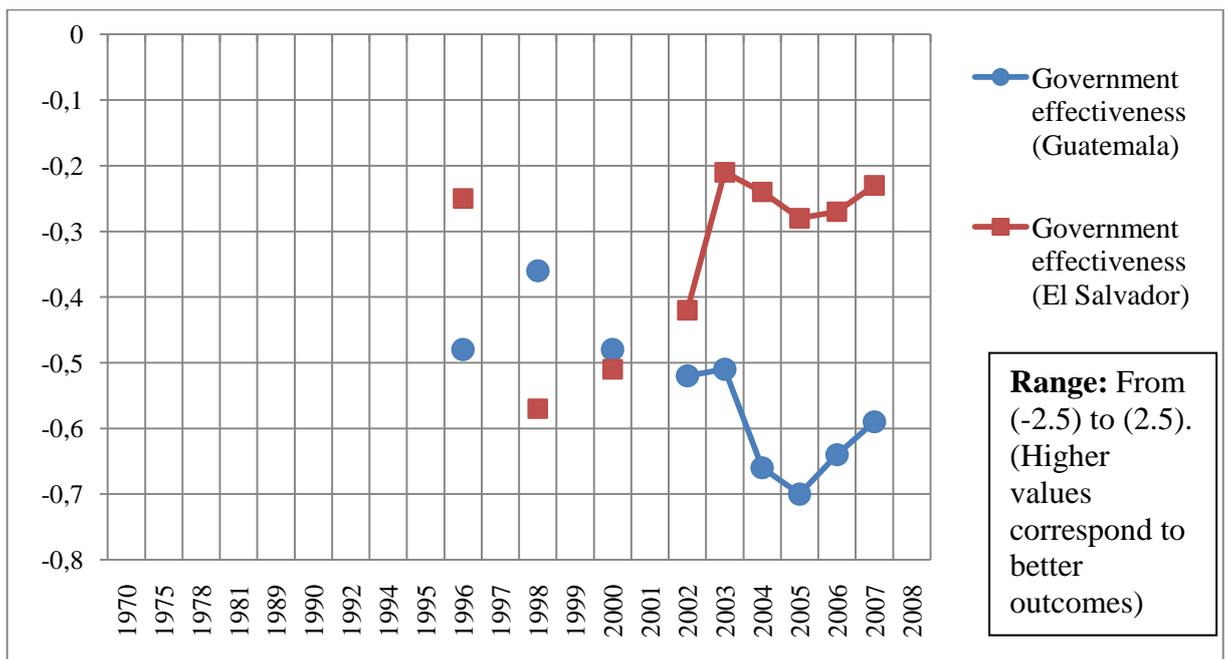
Figure 7.1: Government Effectiveness in Guatemala and El Salvador

4.2.3. Analysis of Social Fabric-Related Indicators

This section presents the analysis of an indicator which measures social cohesion and trust in a particular country. Although the aim of this study is to focus on mainly the socio-economic and political issues, understanding the post-accord situation of social fabric-related issues and security-related issues – discussed subsequent to the analysis of social fabric indicator – gives opportunities to complete the parts of post-accord stability puzzle.

4.2.3.1. Legacy of vengeance-seeking group grievance or group paranoia

Like socio-economic and political issues, relational issues in a society are critical in assessing post-accord stability (Kantowitz 2006). Particularly, the legacy of the past atrocities and hatred in a society constitutes a great danger to this stability desired to be achieved after the conflict ends. In this respect, the indicator of "legacy of vengeance-seeking group grievance or group paranoia" created by the Failed States Index evaluates the extent to which the culture of vengeance, hatred and social exclusion are dominant among community members, in the context of measuring risk of violence in a society. This indicator gives clues about threats to social cohesion and reconciliation by specifically addressing atrocities and injustices committed with impunity against communal groups; discrimination and persecution of specific groups by state authorities; institutional and social exclusion; and public scapegoating and stereotyping of groups believed to have gained wealth, status or power (see Appendix B for detailed information).

According to Figure 7.2 generated with the data available on 2005 and after, there is a diminishing pattern of culture of vengeance and social exclusion in Guatemala throughout these years. There is not much threat to reconciliation in El Salvador compared to Guatemala; however, the situation of group cohesion and trust in El Salvador worsened in 2006 and then had a steady line of progress.

The ratings of this indicator reveal that both cases are closer to the high intensity level of group grievance than to the existence of social inclusion and cohesion among members of their societies.
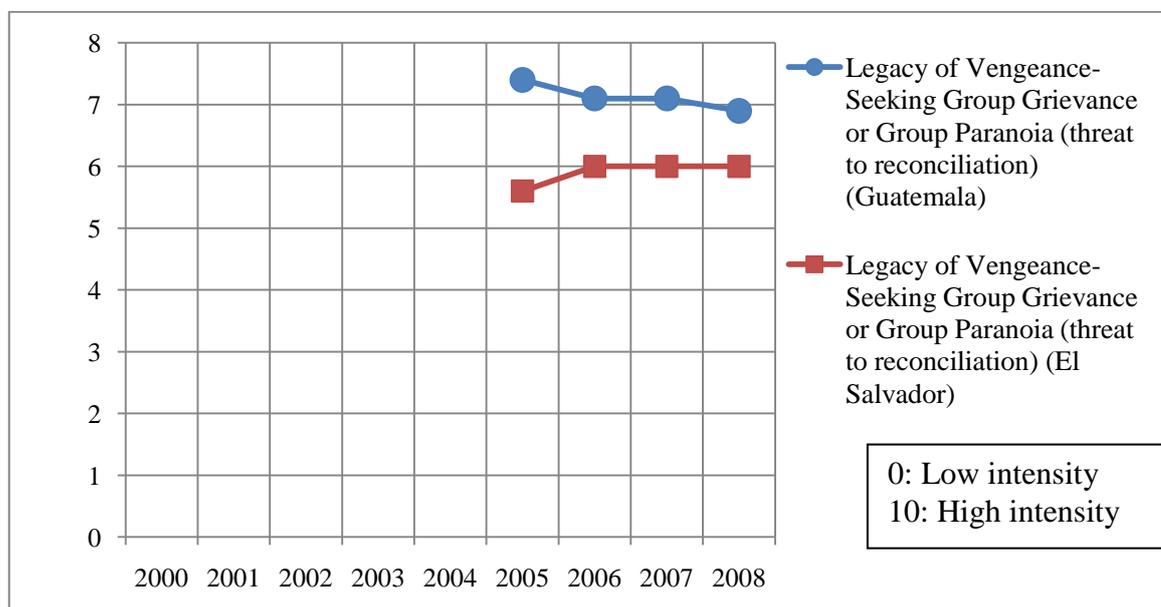
Figure 7.2: Legacy of Vengeance-Seeking Group Grievance or Group Paranoia

4.2.4. Analysis of Security Indicators

This section is dedicated to the analysis of security indicators. The desired way of analyzing security aspect would be the incorporation of indices and their indicators which measure the situation of armed forces, public security, reintegration of rebel movement members into civil life, and demobilization activities. However, due to the absence of comprehensive indices which measure those issues about security, an indirect way of capturing security dimension of post-accord period is chosen by taking the indicator of "physical integrity rights index" as an indicator for security issues. It is expanded more in the following section.

4.2.4.1.Physical integrity rights index

Created by CIRI, the physical integrity rights index is a composite index – like Human Development Index – which is the aggregation of indicators for the rights to

freedom such as extrajudicial killing, disappearance, torture, and political imprisonment. This index gives idea about the government's respect for these rights and physical security of individuals. Particularly, this indicator measures people's rights to freedom, by examining threats to freedom such as unlawful killings by government officials, disappearances, mental and physical degrading treatment or punishment by police, and being classified as political prisoners.

According to the figure below, in 1981 and 1989 there was no respect for physical integrity at all in El Salvador, due to the ongoing violent conflict where many extrajudicial killings, disappearance, torture, and political imprisonments occurred. With the start of the peace processes and parties' signing peace agreements, the level of the Salvadoran government's respect to physical integrity rights enormously and rapidly increased. In the following five years, ratings fluctuated between 5 and 7 which are close to high level of respect; however, in ten year period, after pursuing a steady progress for while, physical integrity situation started deteriorating.

On the other hand, the post-accord situation of physical integrity rights in Guatemala shows an improving pattern despite the deterioration observed at the end of a five year period. The ten year period after the Guatemalan peace accords were signed is characterized with a gradual rise of the ratings of the Guatemalan government's respect and protection of physical integrity rights. Although the situation of individual's physical rights is not that promising in Guatemala when it is compared to the ratings of El Salvador, the recent increasing trend of respect for physical rights in Guatemala is not seen in the ratings of El Salvador which constitute a diminishing pattern in recent years.
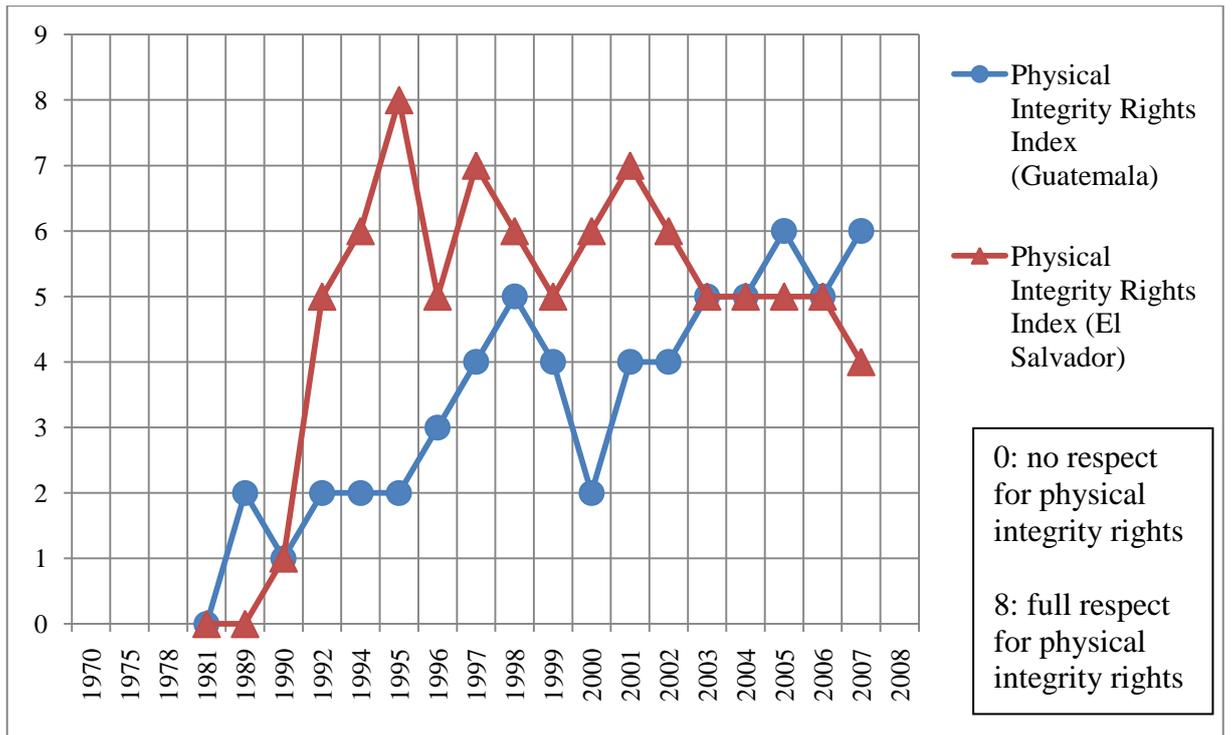
Figure 7.3: Physical Integrity Rights Index in Guatemala and El Salvador

CHAPTER 5

DISCUSSION

The main aspiration of this study was to explore the relationship between peace accords and post-accord stability. Through analyzing the provisions related to the socio-economic, political, security-related and social fabric-related issues of the Guatemalan and Salvadoran peace accords and the state of these issues in the post-accord period, this research aimed to find out whether and how these provisions interact with and impact the post-conflict outcomes. With that aim, this chapter will evaluate and discuss the research findings presented in the previous chapter in relation to the literature as well as implications and directions for future research.

5.1. Discussion on the Relation between Peace Accords and Post-Accord Outcomes

In the analyses chapter, 34 different category of issues from the Guatemalan peace agreements and 18 different minor categories from the Salvadoran agreements emerged as a result of the first round of peace accord analyses. These minor categories are further clustered under five major categories of socio-economic, political, security-related, social fabric-related and agreement-related issues. Taking into account these minor and major categories of issues, the following sub-sections discuss the relationship between the presence of these issues in peace agreements and the quality and stability of those issues afterwards, in the post-conflict environment.

5.1.1. Relation between Socio-Economic Provisions and Socio-Economic Developments in Post-Accord Phase

5.1.1.1. Discussion on the relation between socio-economic provisions and socio-economic developments in post-accord phase of Guatemala

As presented in the findings section, the socio-economic category which addresses a wide range of different topics from rural development to environmental issues constitutes the second most frequent category of the Guatemalan peace accords. When we look at the available measures of five socio-economic indicators of post-accord period presented in previous chapter, it can be concluded that there is, in general, either a modest improvement or a steady pattern of development in the state of these socio-economic issues.

The issue of education was comprehensively dealt with in the Guatemalan peace accords; and the Guatemalan government has increased its public expenditure on education in ten years after the peace accords were signed. Darby and Mac Ginty (2003) add that like education also social spending on health has increased in Guatemala. Thus, while it is hard to know whether the improvement in education was solely a result of the way this issue was addressed in the peace agreements, the relation between the education component of peace agreements and educational situation in post-accord period can be seen positive.

As to the human development level in the post-accord period in Guatemala, although there is not a direct mention about this concept in the peace agreements, the categories in the peace accords relating to social and economic well-being, economic growth and poverty, health and education give information about issues directly related to Guatemala's human development. Considering these issues' high frequency of mention in the peace accords and country's steadily growing but still poor performance (considering its global ranking among all countries) on human development, one cannot claim a strong correlation between comprehensiveness of peace accords and the actual situation.

Considering the indicator for economic decline in Guatemala, since there are few available values starting from 2005, it is hard to claim a relationship between the frequency of economic components in the accords and relative changes of the indicator of sharp economic decline. This indicator illustrates an improvement in the economic situation of Guatemala, whereas the peace accords are characterized by the low frequency of the reference to economic growth and poverty. However, although the overall economic situation measured by this indicator improves with the end of the armed conflict, a great level of poverty and hardship persists in Guatemala, as mentioned in the previous chapter of case backgrounds. Thus, one of the reasons of this persistence may be the inability of peace accords to address extreme poverty in the society.

While an improvement or steady pattern is observed in the state of most of the socio-economic issues in post-accord phase, the unemployment rate increased dramatically in ten years after the peace accords were signed in Guatemala. Regarding the peace accords, among the socio-economic issues (see Figure 4.2) and also among all issues (see Figure 4.1), the category of job creation and income generation appears as the least frequent category and includes very general and superficial references to unemployment. Jonas (2000:17) also underlines that the Peace Accord on Socioeconomic and Agrarian issues 'contains no measures to create jobs or address the alarming rate of unemployment and underemployment, which in the 1990s was 66 percent'. Thus, one can conclude that the insufficient reference to unemployment and non-existence of specific measures in the Guatemalan peace accords for how to tackle with the unemployment rate trivialized this problem of unemployment in the post-accord phase of the country.

Moreover, there may be a correlation between the growing amount of respect for women's social rights in the post-accord period of Guatemala and the fair frequency of references to women's rights (which is 8 percent of socio-economic issues) in the peace accords. However, the fact that respect for women's rights started to decrease again after 2007 could be explained by either the non-existence of a correlation (between the references to women's rights in the peace accords and the post-accord situation of these) or different reasons such as lack of specificity of gender-related measures (in peace agreements) which caused difficulties in implementing gender-related provisions.

Suhrke, Wimpelmann and Dawes (2007) confirm this argument by noting that the Guatemalan agreements are among very few agreements which include references to the protection of women's rights; however, most of these references are quite general and without specific mechanisms and benchmarks for implementation.

Furthermore, it is also possible to discuss the most frequently mentioned category of land issues and rights in the Guatemalan peace accords, despite the absence of a post-accord indicator to measure it. Paris (2004) points out that the government failed to carry out its commitments in the peace accords to tackle with the disputes over land issues and country's long-standing land tenure problem – "over 70 percent of arable land is still owned by less than 3 percent of the population" (p.133). As the reason of this failure, Kälin and Ferris (2007) show the absence of a judicial system which is able to enforce fair measures and eliminate land-based confrontations among the Guatemalan society. Thus, one can conclude that the mere presence and frequentness of land-related provisions are not enough to have stability in land issues of the post accord period. Further, with respect to Kälin and Ferris's point above, it is important to note that the emergent minor and major categories obtained from the peace accords are not totally independent from each other; the level of stability of one specific issue in the post-accord period may influence the developments about another issue.

5.1.1.2. Discussion on the relation between socio-economic provisions and socio-economic developments in post-accord phase of El Salvador

The provisions mentioning socio-economic issues constitute only 8 percent of all provisions in the Salvadoran peace accords. As discussed in the case backgrounds chapter, both parties to the armed conflict decided to prioritize other concerns, i.e. security and political issues, rather than the socio-economic ones, which resulted in vaguely formulated references to socio-economic issues. These references were listed in the analysis chapter as agrarian and land issues, socio-economic development and participation in social and economic development. Since these sub-categories do not have corresponding post-accord indicators, a general discussion is provided in this section.

The provisions of the Salvadoran accords in the economic and social spheres were more limited than those related to military reforms and political changes; they were not able to attack the causes of social and economic exclusion. For instance, the Forum for Socioeconomic Consensus was a platform, established by the Salvadoran peace accords, which aimed to create a dialogue between workers and owners and mutual suggestions for social and economic policy; however, it never achieved its potential and ultimately lost its significance (Cañas and Dada in Arnson 1999). Further, as analyzed in the previous chapter, the indicators about the public expenditure on education, human development index, and respect for women's rights in El Salvador did not show much progress in the post-accord period. Moreover, the economic situation deteriorates and unemployment rates reach a radical level in this post-accord phase of El Salvador. In this regard, one can argue for a correlation between the absence of comprehensive socio-economic components in the Salvadoran peace agreements and the unstable situation of socio-economic developments in the post-accord period.

The Salvadoran peace accords and the signers of them, indeed, trusted that the political and institutional democratization of the country – the central objective of these accords – would then achieve the social and economic transformation of the country (ibid). In this regard, they prioritized the references to political issues in the peace accords and did not give much place to the socio-economic issues. However, the unpromising socio-economic developments in post-accord phase of El Salvador, mentioned above, show that country could not achieve a socio-economic transformation. Thus, it is possible to argue that sometimes parties' prior objectives and expectations from peace process affect the formulation of peace accords and, so, the post-accord period.

5.1.2. Relation between Political Provisions and Political Developments in Post-Accord Phase

5.1.2.1. Discussion on the relation between political provisions and political developments in post-accord phase of Guatemala

As the findings reveal, political issues are the most frequently mentioned matters in the Guatemalan peace accords. Among these issues, democratic governance (including democratic representation and transparency issues) constitutes a high frequency of being addressed in the Guatemalan accords; on the other hand, Guatemala's post-accord phase is characterized by high level of criminalization and de-legitimization of state. Further, compared to the fair inclusion of provisions about state institutions and policies, executive branch and legislative branch in the peace accords, their post-accord reflections – based on the values of the indicator of government effectiveness – do not seem improved. Thus, there does not appear to be a strong relationship between the inclusion of governance indicators and the post-accord situation of governance in Guatemala. In this regard, it is likely that the implementation phase plays a greater role in determining the destiny of democratic governance in post-accord environment.

Moreover, while the Guatemalan peace accords are identified with widespread mention of political categories of judicial branch and system, transparency, accountability and rule of law, and human rights; as the post-accord indicator of suspension or arbitrary application of the rule of law and widespread violation of human rights portrays, the independence of judiciary, human rights and rule of law have been highly disregarded in the ten year period after the signing of the Guatemalan peace accords. In this respect, it can be concluded that the frequency of judicial issues and human rights matters mentioned in the peace accords does not contribute much to determining the quality of the justice system, respect for rule of law and human rights in the post-accord period, at least in the Guatemalan case.

Considering the judicial reforms, O' Neill (as cited in Suhrke et al. 2007) gives the Dayton Agreement as an example on how the absence of provisions for judicial reform in this agreement explains why such efforts come so late in Bosnia. However, he

also draws attention to the Guatemalan case where the mere inclusion of these reforms is not sufficient for their implementation. Therefore, implementation-related problems stemming from the absence of concrete and specific mechanisms in the peace accords can be put forward as a reason disturbing the relationship between peace accords and post-accord stability.

Furthermore, the Guatemalan accords did touch upon political rights, but not to a great extent. When relative changes in the state of political rights in Guatemala – measured by the indicators of political rights and voice and accountability – are considered, post-accord progress of political rights can be described as neither improving nor worsening since the peace agreements. The Guatemalans enjoy political rights and political pluralism to some extent; in other words, there are still discriminations against minorities, unfairness and corruption in the political arena. Therefore, it seems that the presence of a positive relationship between the content of peace accords and post-accord situation can be claimed with respect to the issue of political rights.

Cultural rights of the indigenous people and social and political participation cannot be discussed, since there are not available indicators to measure their situation in the post-accord period.

5.1.2.2. Discussion on the relation between political provisions and political developments in post-accord phase of El Salvador

The second largest category, political issues constitute 18 percent of the Salvadoran peace agreements. While issues related to the judicial system had the highest emphasis in the accords and human rights are the second highest minor category, the ten year period after the signing of the Salvadoran peace accords is characterized by the high intensity of human rights abuse and violation of rule of law in these countries (which is measured by the indicator of 'suspension or arbitrary application of the rule of law and widespread violation of human rights'). In other words, despite the frequent reference to independent judiciary, elimination of impunity, professionalizing the judges and, respect and institutional protection of human rights in

the peace accords, the post-accord situation of the independence and fairness of the judicial institutions and respect for human rights does not seem to be prioritized. Thus, the relationship between these political provisions in the agreements and their post-accord situation does not seem very strong in El Salvador.

Further, the Salvadoran accords include the other categories of democracy and elections, and political rights to some extent and superficially, but not in depth. The post-accord indicator of 'criminalization and/or de-legitimization of the State' reveals that El Salvador does not have a good record of democratic representation and a legitimate fuctioning of state. The voice and accountability indicator – focusing on civil rights, human rights, freedom of expression and freedom of association – also reflects values and outcomes far from being an improved quality. On the other hand, the political rights indicator of the Freedom House identifies the Salvadoran post-accord period with a great level of political rights five years after the signing of the peace accords, which means that there are free and fair elections, political pluralism and participation. Cañas and Dada (in Arnson 1999) also note that peace process opened up a space for democratic participation and a climate of tolerance in El Salvador. Nevertheless, considering the parties' central objective in the peace accords which was the political transformation and democratization in El Salvador, one would expect a better picture in the post-accord period of El Salvador. Overall, it seems that there is not a strong correlation between the presence and the frequency of democracy, elections and political rights in the Salvadoran peace accords and their post-accord stability. Implementation related problems or institutional obstacles may be the intermediate factors that affect this relationship.

Last but not least, although it is hard to interpret due to matching problems between peace accord provisions and their measurements, one can argue for the existence of a relationship between the category of legislative and executive branch in the Salvadoran accords and the imperfect but improving trend of government effectiveness indicator, which reflects the post-accord efficiency of the policy making and implementation in El Salvador.

5.1.3. Discussion on Social Fabric-Related and Security-Related Issues

The aim of this research is primarily to explore how the inclusion of socio-economic and political provisions in peace accords impact the socio-economic and political developments in the post-accord period. Nevertheless, it is important to touch upon the social fabric-related issues and security-related concerns in order to make sense of the whole peace process in Guatemala and El Salvador; since socio-economic and political issues cannot be investigated regardless from the climate of security and social relations. The fact that security and social fabric-related issues do not have comprehensive post-accord measures and indicators does not mean that these issues are insignificant. The absence of comprehensive measures will be discussed later in this chapter.

5.1.3.1. Discussion on the relation between social fabric-related provisions and social fabric-related developments in the post-accord period of Guatemala and El Salvador

One of the aspirations of peace processes is to heal the social fabric damaged by a legacy of violence and social cleavages during an armed conflict; to this end, the Guatemalan and Salvadoran peace accords include different degrees of references to social fabric-related issues. As the findings reveal, the category of social fabric-related issues is the least frequent part of the Guatemalan peace accords. The only indicator found to measure the social fabric related issues, the legacy of vengeance-seeking group grievance or group paranoia, shows that there is a high intensity level of culture of vengeance and group grievance ten years after the peace accords were signed in Guatemala. Moreover, among the analytical categories that emerged from the Salvadoran accords, the social fabric-related issues were the least frequent. Similar to the Guatemalan case, the post-accord measurement of these issues by the indicator of legacy of vengeance-seeking group grievance or group paranoia reveals a high level of grievance and distrust among the members of society in El Salvador. This raises the question of whether and how peace agreements can address issues of social relationships, arguably requisite for successful democratization and post-conflict development processes (Kantowitz and Riak 2008).

To conclude, the low frequency of reference to social fabric-related issues in the Guatemalan and Salvadoran peace accords may have played a role in determining the low level of social cohesion and trust in post-accord period of these countries. However, at the same time one can argue that the situation of social cohesion in ten years period would not improve much, even if there were many provisions referring to it in the peace accords. Having deep-rooted origins in pre-conflict and conflict period, social fabric-related problems do not cease to exist immediately after the peace agreements are signed. On the other hand, social fabric-related issues of the internal conflicts which remain unaddressed in peace processes may trigger new problems. The cases of Guatemala and El Salvador have been characterized by rapidly growing youth gang violence – after the signing of their peace accords – which both resulted from and led to the damage of social fabric in these societies (Fuentes 2005). In this regard, insufficient mention of social fabric-related issues in the peace accords could be seen as a contributing factor to this emergent violence committed by the youth who are not integrated in the society after the wars in Guatemala and El Salvador.

5.1.3.2. Discussion on the relation between security-related provisions and security-related developments in the post-accord period of Guatemala and El Salvador

The figures and outcomes of security-related issues are quite interesting in Guatemala and El Salvador. The security-related issues constitute the third largest category in the Guatemalan peace accords. Nevertheless, as the aggregated list of issues (see Figure 4.1 in the analysis chapter) displays, provisions related to the integration of URNG members, armed forces and public security have highest frequencies of being mentioned in the Guatemalan accords. When we look at the post-accord results of the physical rights index indicator, the government's attempt to protect the physical security of individuals increased after the peace accords are signed. This gradually improving pattern, despite a temporary decrease in 2000, continued ten years after the Guatemalan peace accords were signed. On the other hand, the security-related category is far more emphasized and prioritized than any other category in the Salvadoran peace accords. The post-accord phase, just after the peace agreements were signed, was characterized by the full respect for individual's physical rights. However, in the long-term, a

deteriorating trend started to be observed with respect to physical integrity rights in El Salvador.

Overall, in the absence of comprehensive indicators which measure security aspect of the Guatemalan and Salvadoran post accord period fully, i.e. measuring the success of integration of URNG members or the armed forces reforms, based on the values indicated by the physical rights index, one can argue that there is not a relationship or correlation between the security-related issues' frequency of being mentioned in the peace accords and post-accord stability of those issues. While the extent and specificity of the security provisions are great, the post-accord security is poor (i.e. the Salvadoran example). While there is limited reference to security dimension, the post-accord security in the long term is better (i.e. the Guatemalan case).

Stedman et al. (2002:19) define the peace process of El Salvador as 'flawed success' where crime- and poverty-ridden insecurity prevails. Despite the incredible emphasis on security and the existence of detailed and sweeping security provisions in the Salvadoran accords, because of the implementation failures, institutional problems and infrastructure problems like the lack of capable people to run the posts created by this new institutional order (Cañas and Dada in Arnson 1999), new public security institutions established by these accords have been unable to function effectively, provide security and fight against crime in the country. It is clear once again that it is not always easy to put the comprehensively written texts into practice or, as Cañas and Dada (in Arnson 1999:82) state, 'to infuse the essence and spirit of peace accords into daily life'.

5.2. Comparison of the Cases in Relation to Each Other

The Guatemalan and Salvadoran peace accords provide different degrees of commitment on different issues. As discussed in the analysis chapter, while Guatemala prioritizes more the categories of socio-economic, political and to some extent social fabric-related issues in its peace accords, the Salvadoran agreement prioritizes security-related issues to a great extent. With regard to the post-accord graphs, it could be a misleading starting point of discussion to claim that El Salvador's performance on these

outcomes is almost always better than Guatemala's; since looking at the relative changes over time after their peace agreements were signed is more important than looking at which country is better in general. Relative changes in the values of indicators (i.e. whether there is an increase and decrease between two different values of a country across years) measured for Guatemala and El Salvador are compared. In this respect, based on the measurements of the indicators, Guatemala, in general, is doing slightly better than El Salvador in the categories that its peace accords prioritized (socio-economic, political and social fabric-related issues). Also in the long-term, in ten year period from the signing of peace agreements to now, Guatemala is characterized by an improving pattern in its security issues, specifically in physical integrity rights. Nevertheless, both countries have a high level of insecurity – due to criminal violence – and dramatic unemployment level.

In the light of these findings, contrary to the prevailing understanding of El Salvador's being a successful case (Krause and Jütersonke 2005; Kälin and Ferris 2007; Darby and Mac Ginty 2003), one can suggest that El Salvador has not achieved much in improving security-related issues, social fabric-related issues and socio-economic issues, particularly employment and gender equality issues after the signing of its peace accords. The most important reasons for these failures can likely be attributed to: lack of specificity of the related provisions; implementation problems; failure to address the root causes of the conflict in the peace process (such as land problems, socio-economic inequalities); and, priorities of the parties in negotiating peace agreements[59].

Moreover, although the Guatemalan peace agreements included more references to the root causes of the armed conflict, i.e. by adding clauses about indigenous rights, socio-economic well-being, agrarian issues and social co-existence, emerging criminal violence and ongoing existence of inequalities and injustices disprove these agreements' effect on the post-accord stability. It can be also argued that the very comprehensiveness of these agreements may have overwhelmed the implementers in the post-accord period. Also, the lack of specific measures and mechanisms in the accords adds to the difficulties of the implementation period. Nevertheless, revealed by

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[59] The priorities are about the parties' decisions to postpone to discuss the socio-economic issues and to prioritize the security-related and political issues in El Salvador which were mentioned in the case backgrounds chapter.

the post-accord indicators, the improving pattern of Guatemala's post-accord performance in the long term could be explained by an argument that the comprehensiveness of the agreements is not ineffective or useless, but shows its effect only in the long-term.

5.3. Conclusions

In this section, some important issues and questions about the peace accords, the post-accord stability and their relationship are discussed and summarized by taking the findings and the existent literature into consideration.

The research question this study strove to address examined the impact of the inclusion of provisions about socio-economic, political, security-related and social fabric-related issues in peace accords on the level of these issues in the post-accord period. In light of the findings and above discussion, the data do not offer one sharp answer. While some specific issues in the peace accords denote a positive relationship to post-conflict outcomes, some others do not. However, there are at least six main conclusions that can be drawn from this work: 1) Not only the mere inclusion of provisions, but also their scope, precision, specificity, and applicability matters for the post-accord phase, particularly for the implementation. 2) There is a need for responsibility taking in the realization and implementation of peace accords 3) Sense of ownership of the peace accords by the society is critical in their continuance to be a guide for post-accord period 4) Interrelated areas of socio-economic, political, security-related and social fabric-related issues need to be addressed in post-accord period 5) Peace accords serve the function of outlining and guiding the post-accord agenda 6) There is a systematic bias of the international community towards economic, political, institutional and security-related issues as being keys to post-accord stability. These conclusions are discussed below.

Regarding the relationship between the peace accords and post-accord stability, the inclusion of provisions in peace accords, their frequency of mention in peace accords, their comprehensiveness or even the whole peace accord are not the only factors which have an influence on the socio-economic, political, security and social

realms of the post-conflict countries. In this regard, as Stedman et al. (2002) state, not only the comprehensiveness of the content of provisions, but also their scope, precision, and applicability matter. Some commitments in the Guatemalan and Salvadoran peace accords failed to be implemented, because they did not specify mechanisms and tools to facilitate the transformation of well-worded agreements into real life (Suhrke et al. 2007). This study supported this assertion, finding that the vagueness and lack of specificity of the content of peace agreements constitute a hindrance to the effective implementation, which then is potentially an important factor that contributes to the lack of effective post accord stabilization processes.

Moreover, the process of negotiating peace accords is another factor that affects the formulation and the implementation of peace accords, and the post-conflict stability. For instance, despite the significance of making the peace process all-inclusive and comprehensive with the participation of society's various segments in the negotiations (Wallensteen 2002; Dary and Mac Ginty 2000), inclusive negotiations of the peace accords cause impediments to the formulation of agreements and the implementation period. In Guatemala, a series of detailed and comprehensive agreements nicely emerged from a participatory process that represented many groups in society. However, the inclusion of cumbersome processes of consultation and the less attention paid to the implementation of these comprehensive accords – defined by the phrase of "everyone participates, no one is responsible" (Stedman et al. 2002:32) – confirm that the mere feature of comprehensiveness of peace accords is not sufficient for a durable peace in the post-accord period.

Another factor that is critical for the relationship between the peace accords and the post-conflict stability is the issue of "ownership" of the peace process (Arnault in Arnson 1999: 292). As mentioned in the literature, although the peace accords are signed between the high level officials, the ones who are affected by the reforms and consequences following the peace accords are the members of the society. Thus, not only formulating comprehensive peace accords, but also creating a sense of ownership of the peace process and accords by the society is essential for a peaceful post-accord period. For instance, even though the participatory negotiation process is cumbersome in Guatemala, as abovementioned, the level of ownership of the peace agreements by

the members of the Guatemalan society is greater than the level of ownership in El Salvador at the end of its isolated negotiations.

As the Post-Accord Stability Framework conceptualized in the light of existing literature also underlines, the four pillars of socio-economic, political, security-related and social fabric-related issue areas are significant dimensions of the post-accord which require to be addressed with the start of peace process. As also acknowledged by literature, the Guatemalan and Salvadoran cases show that the socio-economic and political issues constitute a critical part of both the roots of the conflict and the post-accord period. While the socio-economic and political problems which are handled in the peace process – i.e. education or democratization – provide some relief and stability in the Guatemalan and Salvadoran societies, the unaddressed issues such as unemployment, socio-economic inequality and the impunity constitute an obstacle in front of the long-term success of peace.

Furthermore, the comprehensiveness of the peace agreements mostly is about calling for an additional reference to the social, political and economic issues in the peace accords, by assuming that security is already aimed to be addressed in most of the peace accords. However, the analysis of the Guatemalan and Salvadoran cases which suffer from severe level of youth gang violence suggests that the issue of public security needs to be particularly emphasized in peace processes through specific and competent mechanisms of domestic security. In addition, as Cañas and Dada (in Arnson 1999) highlighted, without a secure climate, community rebuilding and reconciliation are unlikely to be achieved; thus, security is important also in order to achieve social fabric-related issues and reconciliation. Also Darby (2006) describes post-accord violence as a serious problem which increases the population's disillusionment with the peace process and polarization in society – which is already high even after the signing of peace accords – by giving the example of criminal violence in Guatemala and El Salvador. In addition, acknowledged by the literature, the significance of addressing social fabric-related issues also appears to be very central in achieving post-accord peace and security in divided societies of Guatemala and El Salvador. Social exclusion and divisions, when not addressed, can feed the emergence of violence such as the case of gang violence conducted by socially excluded youth in Guatemala and El Salvador (Berkman 2007).

After highlighting the importance to address the socio-economic, political, security-related and social fabric-related issues in achieving post-accord stability, it is necessary to raise the questions such as what purpose do peace accords really serve; what is their role in achieving post-accord stability; and should they address all of these issues and be a guide for post-accord. Peace agreements are considered as integral parts of ending an armed conflict; without them it is unlikely to mention about a conflict's coming to an end. On the other hand, Wallensteen (2002) points out that an agreement, even if comprehensively formulated and successfully implemented, may not be sufficient to establish a durable peace. Based on the analyses of the Guatemalan and Salvadoran cases, this study supports this assertion that more than an agreement among parties is required in order to achieve a long-lasting peace in the post-agreement period. This is the case not only because peace agreements are not sufficient to establish a consolidated peace by itself, but also because it is unrealistic to expect countries to accomplish recovering from mass violence and suffering just through a comprehensive peace accord in few years.

On the other hand, it is possible to suggest that a peace agreement is more than a document prepared just to end a war between warring parties. Most of the time parties and sometimes the other segments of the society come together and put an exhaustive effort to produce a peace agreement which holds the potential to be conducive to a stable peace (Mezzera et al. 2009). Thus, it is likely to argue that although peace accords are not able to provide positive peace (Newman and Schnabel 2002; Wallensteen 2002; Lederach 2005; Borer 2006), they mostly lay the grounds of the post-accord period by outlining what must be done to recover the war-affected country and by guiding the relevant authorities and institutions in achieving the stabilization of socio-economic, political, security-related and social fabric-related issues in the post-accord phase. As discussed before, this study suggests that peace accords can achieve more than these functions only if they are owned by the members of society who are convinced to become the new society envisaged in the peace accords. Also, since "good policy badly executed becomes bad policy" (in our case a peace agreement) (Holbrooke 1999:337), a successful implementation is likely to increase the chances of peace accords to become more efficient in the post-accord period.

As last but not least, the methodology of and the analyses conducted through this research can be seen as a finding in itself in the sense that it reviewed available datasets and indices while examining the relationship between peace accords and post-accord stability. As a result of this review of available data and datasets, it is possible to conclude that these indices and datasets are not only imperfect but also biased. One can criticize the international community that puts out these indices and its biased agenda which systematically focuses on security-related, economic, political and institutional issues rather than focusing on everyday life of citizens as being keys to post-accord stability. This systematic bias leaves out issues such as cultural rights, social fabric-related issues or indigenous population, which prevents them to be understood, documented, measured and improved.

5.4. Contributions

Theoretical and practical contributions of this study, some of which were previously stated in this chapter, are briefly discussed in this section.

5.4.1. Theoretical Contributions

This research addressed the gap in the literature about the relationship between the comprehensive content of peace agreements and the post-accord developments. It is particularly valuable in terms of examining the conceptual assumption that inclusive and comprehensive peace accords lead to stability in the post-accord period, by analytically scrutinizing and questioning the peace agreements and post-accord periods of Guatemala and El Salvador. It contributes to the literature by suggesting that comprehensiveness of the peace agreements does not play much role in determining the destiny of the post-accord issues.

Additionally, as a result of this study, it is concluded that type of security issues changes from armed conflict to public insecurity, which is possibly related to the socio-economic inequalities and social fabric of the society. Thus, this study highlights the

importance of the relationship between security issues and socio-economic developments. In addition, it suggests that there is a need for a better conceptual understanding of the way in which social relationships and fabric of the society are affected by armed conflict (Kantowitz 2006) and whether or how peace agreements can address these issues.

5.4.2. Practical Contributions

Observing that the implementation-related problems stand as the biggest obstacle in front of the realization of the peace agreements in the Guatemalan and Salvadoran peace process, this research contributes to the practice in terms of suggesting that the implementation process must be much more detailed, carefully conducted and a priority. In addition, there is a need for responsibility taking in order to have an effective and successful implementation process.

Further, to facilitate the implementation process, this study suggests that peace agreement drafters and negotiating parties need to put more effort on the formulation of more specific, precise and applicable provisions which can be technically and practically assisted by the international agencies or other competent actors. In addition, the revision and evaluation of peace accords by national authorities and relevant institutions are likely to help these bodies to understand the deficits in the implementation period and afterwards, and give clues about what must be done in the long-term process of peace building.

5.5. Future Research

This research aimed to investigate whether there is a relationship between the inclusion of socio-economic, political, security-related and social fabric-related issues in peace accords and the situation of these issues in the post accord period. Further research is needed to understand how the implementation of these issues addressed in the peace agreements changes or affects the quality of post-accord outcomes.

Moreover, as touched upon throughout this study, there is a big disconnect between the assumption that how comprehensive peace accords promote stable peace and how or whether this is at all measured. There is a need for further attempts to develop separate comprehensive indicators that actually address what is in the content of peace agreements – i.e. DDR, reintegration of ex-combatants, efficiency of the justice system – and measure a country's performances on the these issues over time and in comparison to other countries. In particular, the comprehensive measurement and analysis of social fabric-related issues per se such as trust, communication, social cohesion and integrity among members of society, justice, psychosocial wellbeing of communities and individuals, and situation of reconciliation which are missing from the literature, especially, constitute a significant avenue for future research. These attempts will ultimately provide support to the international community for their concern of monitoring changes in these issues and evaluating them. Lord Kelvin (as cited in World Bank 2007) says, "if you cannot measure it, you cannot improve it". Thus, measurement is essential also for improving post-accord issues. Comprehensively and transparently constructed indicators are invaluable for policy makers, researchers and business people around the globe by giving a deeper understanding of countries' performances, by making it more difficult for the governments to disregard their failures, by offering insights of how reforms can lead to successful outcomes and by helping the reformers influentially insist on the need for change.

Considering the aforementioned conclusion that international community has a systematic bias towards security-related, institutional and economic issues, there is also a particular need for further research about better mechanisms for understanding, measurement and evaluation of these issues and all other set of neglected aspects of post-accord environment in order to have a deeper understanding of post-conflict cases.

The List of Peace Agreements of Guatemala and El Salvador

I.   The Peace Agreements of Guatemala

- Framework Agreement for the Resumption of the Negotiating Process between the Government of Guatemala and the *Unidad Revolucionaria Nacional Guatemalteca* (URNG) (01/10/1994 – Mexico City)

- Agreement on a Timetable for Negotiation of a Firm and Lasting Peace in Guatemala (03/29/1994 – Mexico City)

- Comprehensive Agreement on Human Rights (03/29/1994 – Mexico City)

- Agreement on Resettlement of the Population Groups Uprooted by the Armed Conflict (06/17/1994 - Oslo)

- Agreement on the Establishment of the Commission to clarify past human rights violations and acts of violence that have caused Guatemalan population to suffer (06/23/1994 - Oslo)

- Agreement on Identity and Rights of Indigenous Peoples (03/31/1995 – Mexico City)

- Agreement on Social and Economic Aspects and the Agrarian Situation (05/06/1996 – Mexico City)

- Agreement on the Strengthening of Civilian Power and on the Role of the Armed Forces in a Democratic Society (09/19/1996)

- Agreement on the Definitive Ceasefire (12/04/1996 - Oslo)

- Agreement on Constitutional Reforms and the Electoral Regime (12/07/1996 - Stockholm)

- Agreement on the Basis for the Legal Integration of URNG (12/12/1996 - Madrid)

- The Agreement on the Implementation, Compliance and Verification Timetable for the Peace Agreements (12/29/1996 – Guatemala City)

- The Agreement on a Firm and Lasting Peace (The Final Peace Accord) (12/29/1996 – Guatemala City)

II. The Peace Accords of El Salvador

- Geneva Agreement (04/04/1990)
- General agenda and timetable for the comprehensive negotiating process (Caracas Agreement) (05/21/1990)
- Agreement on human rights (04/27/1991)
- Mexico Agreements (04/27/1991)
- New York Agreement (09/25/1991)
- The Compressed Negotiations (12/31/1991)
- New York Act (12/31/1991)
- New York Act II (01/16/1992)
- Chapultepec Peace Agreement (01/16/1992)

DATA AND DATASET INFORMATION

Data Provider: The UNESCO Institute for Statistics, the statistical branch of the United Nations Organization for Education, Science and Culture (UNESCO), established in July 1999 in order to reform UNESCO's statistical capacities. It provides statistics in the fields of education, science and technology, culture and communication.
 	
Website: http://stats.uis.unesco.org/unesco/ReportFolders/ReportFolders.aspx
 	
Source of the data: Data provided by UNESCO Member States through the UIS annual data collection.
 	
Indicators used in this research:
   - Literacy rates for adults (15+)
   - Literacy rates for youths (15-24)
   - Public expenditure on education as percentage of GDP
   - Public expenditure on education as percentage of total government expenditure

Data Provider: The Human Development Index measures the average achievements in a country in three basic dimensions of human development: a long and healthy life, knowledge and a decent standard of living. It is calculated for 177 countries and areas for which data is available. In addition human development indicators are presented for another 17 UN member countries for which complete data was not available. **Website:** http://hdr.undp.org/en/statistics/indices/hdi/ **Source of the data:** Data is acquired from the archives of Human Development Report Office **Indicators used in this research:**

- **The education index:** It measures a country's relative achievement in both adult literacy and combined primary, secondary and tertiary gross enrolment. First, an index for adult literacy and one for combined gross enrolment are calculated. Then these two indices are combined to create the education index, with two-thirds weight given to adult literacy and one-third weight to combined gross enrolment. (Range: Between 0 and 1,00)
- **Life expectancy at birth**: the average expected lifespan of an individual, signifying the long and healthy life
- **The GDP index:** It is calculated using adjusted GDP per capita (PPP US$). (Range: Between 0 and 1,00)

Data Provider: The WHO Statistical Information System (WHOSIS) is an interactive database bringing together core health statistics for the 193 WHO Member States. It comprises more than 100 indicators. The data are also published annually in the World Health Statistics Report.

Website: http://www.who.int/whosis/en/

Source of the data: The international sources used are the International Monetary Fund (IMF), government financial statistics and international financial statistics; OECD health data; and the United Nations national accounts statistics. National sources include national health accounts reports, public expenditure reports, statistical yearbooks and national accounts reports, nongovernmental organization reports, central bank reports, academic studies, data provided by central statistical offices and ministries, and statistical data on official web sites.

Indicators used in this research:
- General government expenditure on health (as percentage of total government expenditure): It is the sum of outlays for health maintenance, restoration or enhancement paid for in cash or supplied in kind by government entities, such as the Ministry of Health, other ministries, parastatal organizations or social security agencies (without double counting government transfers to social security and extra-budgetary funds). It includes transfer payments to households to offset medical care costs and extra-budgetary funds to finance health services

and goods.

Data Provider: Failed States Index of the Fund For Peace** measures state vulnerability and risk of violence with various social, economic and political indicators. Twelve indicators of the index are as following:

Social Indicators

1. Mounting Demographic Pressures

2. Massive Movement of Refugees or Internally Displaced Persons creating Complex Humanitarian Emergencies

3. Legacy of Vengeance-Seeking Group Grievance or Group Paranoia

4. Chronic and Sustained Human Flight

Economic Indicators

5. Uneven Economic Development along Group Lines

6. Sharp and/or Severe Economic Decline

Political Indicators

7. Criminalization and/or De-legitimization of the State

8. Progressive Deterioration of Public Services

9. Suspension or Arbitrary Application of the Rule of Law and Widespread Violation of Human Rights

10. Security Apparatus Operates as a "State Within a State"

11. Rise of Factionalized Elites

12. Intervention of Other States or External Political Actors

(Each indicator is scaled between 0 (low intensity) and 10 (high intensity))

Since 2005, the index has been published annually by the Fund for Peace and the magazine Foreign Policy. Only 2005, 2006, 2007 and 2008 reports are available.

**The Fund For Peace is an independent educational, research, and advocacy organization aiming to prevent war and alleviate the conditions that cause war. Since 1996, it has specialized primarily on reducing conflict stemming from weak and failing states.

Website:

http://www.fundforpeace.org/web/index.php?option=com_content&task=view&id=99&Itemid=140

Source of the data: Thousands of articles and reports that are processed by Conflict Assessment System Tool (CAST) of The Fund For Peace.

Indicators used in this research:

- **Massive Movement of Refugees or Internally Displaced Persons creating Complex Humanitarian Emergencies: "**Forced uprooting of large communities as a result of random or targeted violence and/or repression, causing food shortages, disease, lack of clean water, land competition, and turmoil that can spiral into larger humanitarian and security problems, both within and between countries"

- **Legacy of Vengeance-Seeking Group Grievance or Group Paranoia: "**History of aggrieved communal groups based on recent or past injustices, which could date back centuries; patterns of atrocities committed with impunity against communal groups; specific groups singled out by state authorities, or by dominant groups, for persecution or repression; institutionalized political exclusion; public scapegoating of groups believed to have acquired wealth, status or power as evidenced in the emergence of "hate" radio, pamphleteering and stereotypical or nationalistic political rhetoric"

- **Uneven Economic Development along Group Lines: "**Group-based inequality, or perceived inequality, in education, jobs, and economic status; group-based impoverishment as measured by poverty levels, infant mortality rates, education levels; rise of communal nationalism based on real or perceived group inequalities"

- **Sharp and/or Severe Economic Decline:** "A pattern of progressive economic decline of the society as a whole as measured by per capita income, GNP, debt, child mortality rates, poverty levels, business failures, and other economic measures; sudden drop in commodity prices, trade revenue, foreign investment or debt payments; collapse or devaluation of the national currency; extreme social hardship imposed by economic austerity programs; growth of hidden

economies, including the drug trade, smuggling, and capital flight; increase in levels of corruption and illicit transactions among the general populace; failure of the state to pay salaries of government employees and armed forces or to meet other financial obligations to its citizens, such as pension payments"

- **Criminalization and/or De-legitimization of the State:** "Massive and endemic corruption or profiteering by ruling elites; resistance of ruling elites to transparency, accountability and political representation; widespread loss of popular confidence in state institutions and processes, e.g., widely boycotted or contested elections, mass public demonstrations, sustained civil disobedience, inability of the state to collect taxes, resistance to military conscription, rise of armed insurgencies; growth of crime syndicates linked to ruling elites"

- **Progressive Deterioration of Public Services:** "Disappearance of basic state functions that serve the people, including failure to protect citizens from terrorism and violence and to provide essential services, such as health, education, sanitation, public transportation; state apparatus narrows to those agencies that serve the ruling elites, such as the security forces, presidential staff, central bank, diplomatic service, customs and collection agencies"

- **Suspension or Arbitrary Application of the Rule of Law and Widespread Violation of Human Rights:** "Emergence of authoritarian, dictatorial or military rule in which constitutional and democratic institutions and processes are suspended or manipulated; outbreak of politically inspired (as opposed to criminal) violence against innocent civilians; rising number of political prisoners or dissidents who are denied due process consistent with international norms and practices; and widespread abuse of legal, political and social rights, including those of individuals, groups or cultural institutions (e.g., harassment of the press, politicization of the judiciary, internal use of military for political ends, public repression of political opponents, religious or cultural persecution)

Data Provider: Freedom House is a non-governmental organization promoting democratic values around the world and is headquartered in New York, United States. It measures freedom according to two broad categories: political rights and civil liberties. Freedom in the World provides indicators of political rights (7-point scale) and civil liberties (7-point scale) based on checklists of underlying indicators listed below. The indicators are complemented with country narratives justifying the scores. Nations in

Transit (FNT) and Countries at the Crossroads (CCR) are series of more detailed narrative country reports including common sets of quantitative indicators on democratic and economic issues, typically scored on a 7-point scale with 1 representing the highest and 7 the lowest level of freedom. Reports are annually published.

CHECKLIST (cited from the Freedom House website):
POLITICAL RIGHTS:
A. Electoral Process

1. Is the head of state and/or head of government or other chief authority elected through free and fair elections?

2. Are the legislative representatives elected through free and fair elections?

3. Are there fair electoral laws, equal campaigning opportunities, fair polling, and honest tabulation of ballots?

B. Political Pluralism and Participation

1. Do the people have the right to organize in different political parties or other competitive political groupings of their choice, and is the system open to the rise and fall of these competing parties or groupings?

2. Is there a significant opposition vote, de facto opposition power, and a realistic possibility for the opposition to increase its support or gain power through elections?

3. Are the people's political choices free from domination by the military, foreign powers, totalitarian parties, religious hierarchies, economic oligarchies, or any other powerful group?

4. Do cultural, ethnic, religious, and other minority groups have reasonable self-determination, self-government, autonomy, or participation through informal consensus in the decision-making process?

C. Functioning of Government

1. Do freely elected representatives determine the policies of the government?

2. Is the government free from pervasive corruption?

3. Is the government accountable to the electorate between elections, and does it operate with openness and transparency?

Additional discretionary Political Rights questions:

A. For traditional monarchies that have no parties or electoral process, does the system provide for consultation with the people, encourage discussion of policy, and allow the right to petition the ruler?

B. Is the government or occupying power deliberately changing the ethnic composition of a country or territory so as to destroy a culture or tip the political balance in favor of another group?

CIVIL LIBERTIES:

D. Freedom of Expression and Belief

1. Are there free and independent media and other forms of cultural expression? (Note: in cases where the media are state-controlled but offer pluralistic points of view, the survey gives the system credit.)

2. Are there free religious institutions, and is there free private and public religious expression?

3. Is there academic freedom, and is the educational system free of extensive political indoctrination?

4. Is there open and free private discussion?

E. Associational and Organizational Rights

1. Is there freedom of assembly, demonstration, and open public discussion?

2. Is there freedom of political or quasi-political organization? (Note: this includes political parties, civic organizations, ad hoc issue groups, etc.)

3. Are there free trade unions and peasant organizations or equivalents, and is there effective collective bargaining? Are there free professional and other private organizations?

F. Rule of Law

1. Is there an independent judiciary?

2. Does the rule of law prevail in civil and criminal matters? Are police under direct civilian control?

3. Is there protection from police terror, unjustified imprisonment, exile, or torture, whether by groups that support or oppose the system? Is there freedom from war and insurgencies?

4. Is the population treated equally under the law?

G. Personal Autonomy and Individual Rights

1. Is there personal autonomy? Does the state control travel, choice of residence, or choice of employment? Is there freedom from indoctrination and excessive dependency on the state?

2. Do citizens have the right to own property and establish private businesses? Is private business activity unduly influenced by government officials, the security forces, or organized crime?

3. Are there personal social freedoms, including gender equality, choice of marriage partners, and size of family?

4. Is there equality of opportunity and the absence of economic exploitation?

"GENERAL CHARACTERISTICS OF EACH POLITICAL RIGHTS RATING :

Rating of 1 - Countries and territories that receive a rating of 1 for political rights come closest to the ideals suggested by the checklist questions, beginning with free and fair elections. Those who are elected rule, there are competitive parties or other political groupings, and the opposition plays an important role and has actual power. Minority groups have reasonable self-government or can participate in the government through informal consensus.

Rating of 2 - Countries and territories rated 2 in political rights are less free than those rated 1. Such factors as political corruption, violence, political discrimination against minorities, and foreign or military influence on politics may be present and weaken the quality of freedom.

Ratings of 3, 4, 5 - The same conditions that undermine freedom in countries and territories with a rating of 2 may also weaken political rights in those with a rating of 3, 4, or 5. Other damaging elements can include civil war, heavy military involvement in politics, lingering royal power, unfair elections, and one-party dominance. However, states and territories in these categories may still enjoy some elements of political rights, including the freedom to organize quasi-political groups, reasonably free referenda, or other significant means of popular influence on government.

Rating of 6 - Countries and territories with political rights rated 6 have systems ruled by military juntas, one-party dictatorships, religious hierarchies, or autocrats. These regimes may allow only a minimal manifestation of political rights, such as some

degree of representation or autonomy for minorities. A few states are traditional monarchies that mitigate their relative lack of political rights through the use of consultation with their subjects, tolerance of political discussion, and acceptance of public petitions.

Rating of 7 - For countries and territories with a rating of 7, political rights are absent or virtually nonexistent as a result of the extremely oppressive nature of the regime or severe oppression in combination with civil war. States and territories in this group may also be marked by extreme violence or warlord rule that dominates political power in the absence of an authoritative, functioning central government."

Website: www.freedomhouse.org

Source of the data: Freedom in the World (FRW), Freedom of the Press (FRP), Nations in Transit (FNT) and Countries at the Crossroads (CCR)

Indicators used in this research:
- Political Rights: free and fair elections, representative legislative, free vote, political parties, no dominant group, respect for minorities
- Civil liberties: Freedom of speech, of assembly and demonstration, of religion, equal opportunity, of excessive governmental intervention

Data Provider: The Worldwide Governance Indicators (WGI) research project covering 212 countries and territories and measuring six dimensions of governance over the period 1996-2006: Voice and Accountability, Political Stability and Absence of Violence, Government Effectiveness, Regulatory Quality, Rule of Law, and Control of Corruption. Defining governance as the set of traditions and institutions by which authority in a country is exercised, WGI captures the political, economic, and institutional dimensions of governance by these six aggregate indicators.

1. **Voice and Accountability:** the extent to which a country's citizens are able to participate in selecting their government, as well as freedom of expression, freedom of association, and a free media
2. **Political Instability and Violence:** perceptions of the likelihood that the

government will be destabilized or overthrown by unconstitutional or violent means, including domestic violence and terrorism

3. **Government Effectiveness**: the quality of public services, the quality of the civil service and the degree of its independence from political pressures, the quality of policy formulation and implementation, and the credibility of the government's commitment to such policies

4. **Regulatory Burden:** the ability of the government to formulate and implement sound policies and regulations that permit and promote private sector development

5. **Rule of Law:** the extent to which agents have confidence in and abide by the rules of society, and in particular the quality of contract enforcement, the police, and the courts, as well as the likelihood of crime and violence

6. **Control of Corruption:** the extent to which public power is exercised for private gain, including both petty and grand forms of corruption, as well as "capture" of the state by elites and private interests

The six governance indicators are measured in units ranging from about -2.5 to 2.5, with higher values corresponding to better governance outcomes

Website: http://info.worldbank.org/governance/wgi/resources.htm

Source of the data: The Worldwide Governance Indicators rely on 33 sources, including surveys of enterprises and citizens, and expert polls, gathered from 30 different organizations around the world. These provide data derived from hundreds of questions on governance. The individual data sources underlying the aggregate indicators are taken from a diverse variety of survey institutes, think tanks, non-governmental organizations, and international organizations.

Indicators used in this research: All six indicators are used in this study.

Data Provider: World Development Indicators (WDI) is an online statistical database of the World Bank and annual compilation of data about progress of development. It provides a comprehensive overview of development by drawing on data from the World Bank and more than 30 partners. WDI has more than 800 indicators about world view,

people, environment, economy, states and markets and global links.

Website: http://devdata.worldbank.org/wdi2005/Section2.htm

Source of the data:
- "The poverty measures are prepared by the World Bank's Development Research Group. The national poverty lines are based on the Bank's country poverty assessments. The international poverty lines are based on nationally representative primary household surveys conducted by national statistical offices or by private agencies under the supervision of government or international agencies and obtained from government statistical offices and World Bank Group country departments. The World Bank Group has prepared an annual review of its poverty work since 1993."
- "The labor force participation rates are from the ILO database *Estimates and Projections of the Economically Active Population, 1950–2010*, Fourth edition. The ILO publishes estimates of the economically active population in its Yearbook of Labour Statistics"

Indicators used in this research:
- **National population below the national poverty line:** the percentage of the country's population living below the national poverty line. (National poverty lines are used for making estimates consistent with the country's specific social and economic circumstances and when international comparisons of poverty rates are not intended. It reflects the local perceptions of the level of consumption or income needed not to be poor.)
- **Population below $1,25 a day (below the international poverty line):** Population below $1.25 a day. The new extreme poverty line is set at $1.25 a day in 2005 PPP terms, which represents the mean of the poverty lines found in the poorest 15 countries ranked by per capita consumption.
- **Labor force participation rate (female):** the proportion of the female population ages 15–64 that is economically active and who supply labor for the production of goods and services during a specified period.
- **Labor force participation rate (male):** the proportion of the male population

ages 15–64 that is economically active and who supply labor for the production of goods and services during a specified period.

Data Provider: The LABORSTA is an International Labour Office database operated by the ILO Bureau of Statistics which has data and metadata on labour statistics for over 200 countries or territories. The databases cover household income and expenditure statistics, economically active population, employment, unemployment, employment (or labour force) by detailed occupational group and sex, obtained from population censuses or labour force surveys, comparable employment and unemployment estimates, public sector employment, hours of work, wages, labour cost, consumer prices, statistical sources and methods.

Website: http://laborsta.ilo.org/STP/guest

Source of the data: Labor Force survey

Indicators used in this research:
-   **Unemployment level**: This level is calculated by relating the number of persons in the given group who are unemployed during the reference period (usually a particular day or a given week) to the total of employed and unemployed persons in the group at the same date.

Data Provider: The Cingranelli-Richards (CIRI) Human Rights Dataset contains quantitative data on government respect for 15 internationally recognized human rights for 195 countries, annually from 1981-2007. This dataset is designed for use by scholars and students who seek to test theories about the causes and consequences of human rights violations, as well as policy makers and analysts who seek to estimate the human rights effects of a wide variety of institutional changes and public policies including democratization, economic aid, military aid, structural adjustment, and humanitarian intervention.

CIRI data are not for use in analysing overall human rights conditions – only human rights practices by government.

CIRI Variables & descriptions:
1. Political and Other Extrajudicial Killings/ Arbitrary or Unlawful Depravation of

Life

2. Disappearance

3. Torture and Other Cruel, Inhumane, or Degrading Treatment or Punishment

4. Political Imprisonment

5. Freedom of Speech and Press

6. Freedom of Religion

7. Freedom of Domestic Movement

8. Freedom of Foreign Movement and Travel

9. Freedom of Assembly and Association

10. Electoral Self-Determination

11. Worker Rights

12. Women's Political Rights

13. Women's Economic Rights

14. Women's Social Rights

15. Independent Judiciary

Website: http://ciri.binghamton.edu/index.asp

Source of the data: Primary sources are from US State Department and Amnesty International. US State Department is used for most indicators, with Amnesty International evidence being the primary source for Physical Integrity rights (freedom from extrajudicial killing, disappearance, torture, and political imprisonment).

Producer: David Cingranelli, Binghamton University, Binghamton, NY USA. David L. Richards, ETS, Princeton, NJ USA.

(Cingranelli, D. L. and Richards, D. L. Richards.(2008). *The Cingranelli-Richards Human Rights Dataset Version 2008.03.12*. http://www.humanrightsdata.org)

Indicators used in this research:
- **Physical Integrity Rights Index:** This is an aggregated index created from the rights to freedom from extrajudicial killing, disappearance, torture, and political imprisonment indicators, by CIRI. It ranges from 0 (no government respect for

these four rights) to 8 (full government respect for these four rights).

- **Right to Freedom of Assembly and Association:** right of citizens to assemble freely and to associate with other persons in political parties, trade unions, cultural organizations, or other groups. This variable evaluates the extent to which the freedoms of assembly and association are subject to actual governmental limitations or restrictions (as opposed to strictly legal protections). [**Coding Scheme**: Citizens' rights to freedom of assembly and association are: (0) Severely restricted or denied completely to all citizens, (1) Limited for all citizens or severely restricted or denied for select groups, (2) Virtually unrestricted and freely enjoyed by practically all citizens]

- **Political participation (Electoral Self-determination):** to what extent citizens enjoy freedom of political choice and the legal right and ability in practice to change the laws and officials that govern them through free and fair elections. This right is sometimes known as the right to self-determination. Enjoyment of this right means that citizens have both the legal right and the ability in practice to change the laws and officials that govern them through periodic, free, and fair elections held on the basis of universal adult suffrage. [**Coding Scheme**: The right of citizens to change their government through free and fair elections is: (0) Not respected (neither free nor fair elections), (1) Limited (moderately free and fair elections), (2) Generally respected (very free and fair elections)]

- **Worker Rights:** workers' freedom of association at their workplaces and the right to bargain collectively with their employers. It indicates that workers rights should include prohibition on the use of any form of forced or compulsory labor; a minimum age for the employment of children; and acceptable conditions of work with respect to minimum wages, hours of work, and occupational safety and health. [**Coding Scheme**: Workers' rights are: (0) Severely restricted, (1) Somewhat restricted, (2) Fully protected]

- **Women's Economic Rights:** This indicator includes equal pay for equal work, free choice of profession or employment, the right to gainful employment, equality in hiring and promotion practices, job security (maternity leave, unemployment benefits, no arbitrary firing or layoffs, etc...), non-discrimination by employers, the right to be free from sexual harassment in the workplace, the right to work at night, the right to work in occupations classified as dangerous,

the right to work in the military and the police force. [**Coding Scheme**: (0) There were no economic rights for women in law and that systematic discrimination based on sex may have been built into law. (1) Women had some economic rights under law, but these rights were not effectively enforced. (2) Women had some economic rights under law, and the government effectively enforced these rights in practice while still allowing a low level of discrimination against women in economic matters. (3) All or nearly all of women's economic rights were guaranteed by law and the government fully and vigorously enforces these laws in practice.

- **Women's Political Rights:** These rights include the right to vote, the right to run for political office, the right to hold elected and appointed government positions, the right to join political parties, the right to petition government officials. [**Coding Scheme**: (0) None of women's political rights are guaranteed by law. There are laws that completely restrict the participation of women in the political process.(1) Political equality is guaranteed by law. However, there are significant limitations in practice. Women hold less than five percent of seats in the national legislature and in other high-ranking government positions. (2) Political equality is guaranteed by law. Women hold more than five percent but less than thirty percent of seats in the national legislature and/or in other highranking government positions. (3) Political equality is guaranteed by law and in practice. Women hold more than thirty percent of seats in the national legislature and/or in other high-ranking government positions.

- **Women's Social Rights:** Women's social rights include equal inheritance, the right to enter into marriage on a basis of equality with men, the right to travel abroad, the right to obtain a passport, the right to confer citizenship to children or a husband, the right to initiate a divorce, the right to own, acquire, manage, and retain property brought into marriage, the right to participate in social, cultural, and community activities, the right to an education, the freedom to choose a residence/domicile, freedom from female genital mutilation of children and of adults without their consent, freedom from forced sterilization. [**Coding Scheme**: (0) There were no social rights for women in law and that systematic discrimination based on sex may have been built into law. (1) Women had some social rights under law, but these rights were not effectively enforced. (2)

Women had some social rights under law, and the government effectively enforced these rights in practice while still allowing a low level of discrimination against women in social matters. (3) All or nearly all of women's social rights were guaranteed by law and the government fully and vigorously enforced these laws in practice.

- **Independent Judiciary:** This indicator is intended to be used. However, since the information about this indicator for Guatemala and El Salvador was not available, it is not included in the study.

CODEBOOK (decisions taken while coding the peace agreements):

1. Every small meaningful phrase in the texts of peace agreements, which constitutes the coding unit, is coded. Titles, sentences and paragraphs are coded in this sense.

2. Names, titles and signatures of individuals mentioned in the texts of peace agreements are not coded.

3. Endnotes in the texts of peace agreements are not coded.

4. Place names are not coded.

5. Coding is mainly manifest coding. In other words, when the researcher saw a phrase twice in different places, she wrote the code once and "2" to the frequency column.

6. If a pronoun is used in a phrase, to what/who that pronoun refers are specified next to that code in brackets. And these notes are taken into consideration in identifying themes for these codes. For example:

Code:	**Theme that is extracted from this code:**
"Their institutional regime and operations shall also be consistent with the principles deriving from the rule of law" [their = armed forces']	Armed forces consistent with the rule of law principle

7. For analytical purposes, some codes are broken down into more pieces. For instance, for the phrase "to eliminate discrimination against women in political, social, economic terms", three codes are entered as following:
   - "discrimination against women in political … terms"
   - "discrimination against women in … social … terms"
   - "discrimination against women in … economic terms"

8. If one phrase in the texts of peace agreements includes different issues which are

the focus of this study, they are coded separately in order not to lose information in extracting themes. For instance, if poverty, participation and human rights are mentioned in one sentences, this sentence are breakdown into pieces that includes separate issues.

9. Sometimes, the subject of the phrases is not mentioned in these specific phrases. Then, subjects are written in brackets next to the code and categorization is done accordingly. An example code would be => "respect for human rights" [by the members of armed forces]

10. If there is a phrase such as "government measure to improve education", its theme is placed under the category of education (which is a part of socio-economic category), not under governmental reforms (which is under political category).

11. Some issues are addressed under the major title of "Constitutional reforms" in peace agreements. Those issues are not necessarily categorized under the category constitutional reforms (which is a part of political issues category), since there are different issue areas analyzed under this title, such as military jurisdiction.

ADDITIONAL TABLES AND FIGURES

I.   Additional Tables and Figures of Guatemala

Aggregated List of Categories (Guatemala)	Frequency (#)	Frequency (% of all accords)
Job creation & income generation	23	0,9
Environment & resources	24	0,9
Support of the international community	24	0,9
Labor issues	32	1,3
Economic growth and poverty	33	1,3
Human rights	33	1,3
Housing	36	1,4
Political rights	37	1,4
Technical details of agreements	37	1,4
Ceasefire	40	1,6
Transparency, accountability and rule of law	43	1,7
Executive brach	43	1,7
Health	47	1,8
Legislative branch	50	2,0
Women's rights/gender	54	2,1
Social and economic well-being	62	2,4
Equality, justice & diversity	63	2,5
Demobilization	65	2,5
Reconciliation & Truth Commission	68	2,7
Negotiation process	72	2,8
Resettlement & integration of the uprooted population	73	2,9
Education	77	3,0
State institutions and policies	79	3,1
Social and political participation	84	3,3
Implementation process	92	3,6
Rural development & agrarian situation	96	3,8
Public security	102	4,0

Land issues & rights	121	4,7
Verification & monitoring	121	4,7
Cultural rights of indigenous people	143	5,6
Armed forces	144	5,6
Judicial branch and justice system	175	6,8
Democratic governance	177	6,9
Integration of URNG members	189	7,4
SUM (all items)	**2559**	100%

Table-A: Aggregated list of categories that emerged from the peace accords of Guatemala
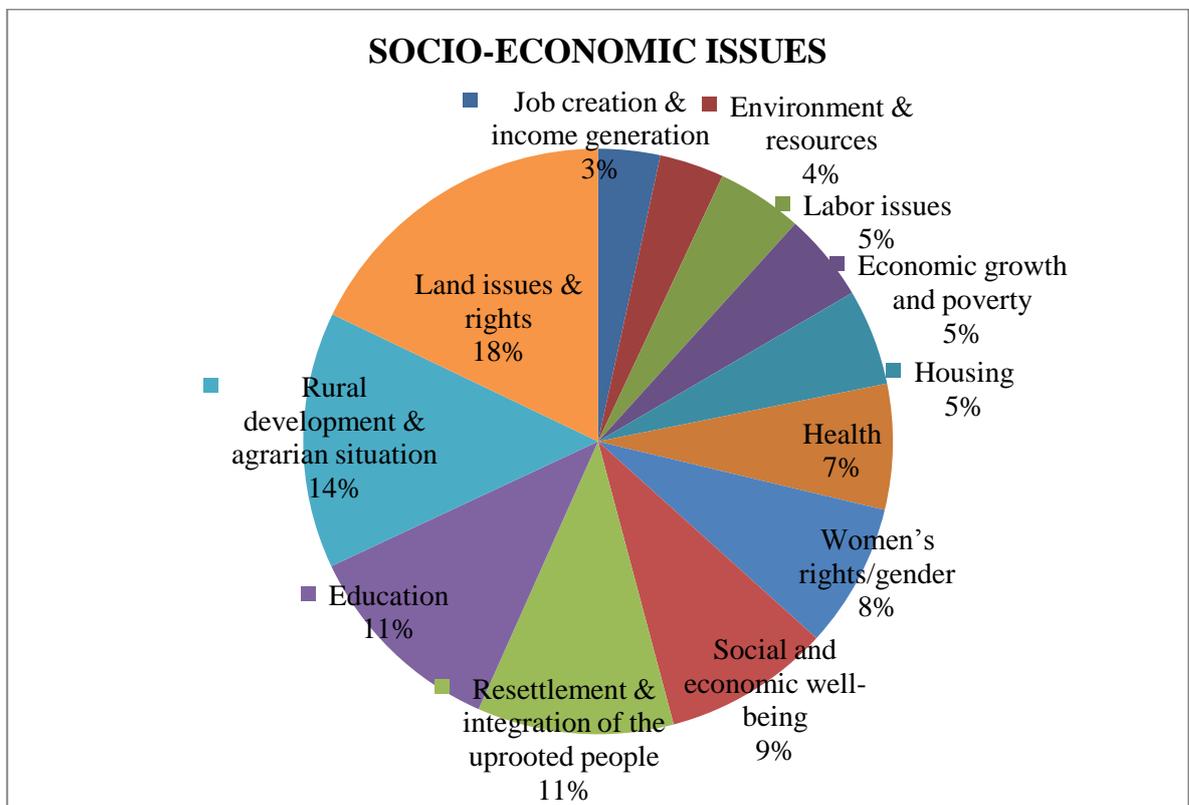
Figure-A: The category of socio-economic issues of the Guatemalan peace accords
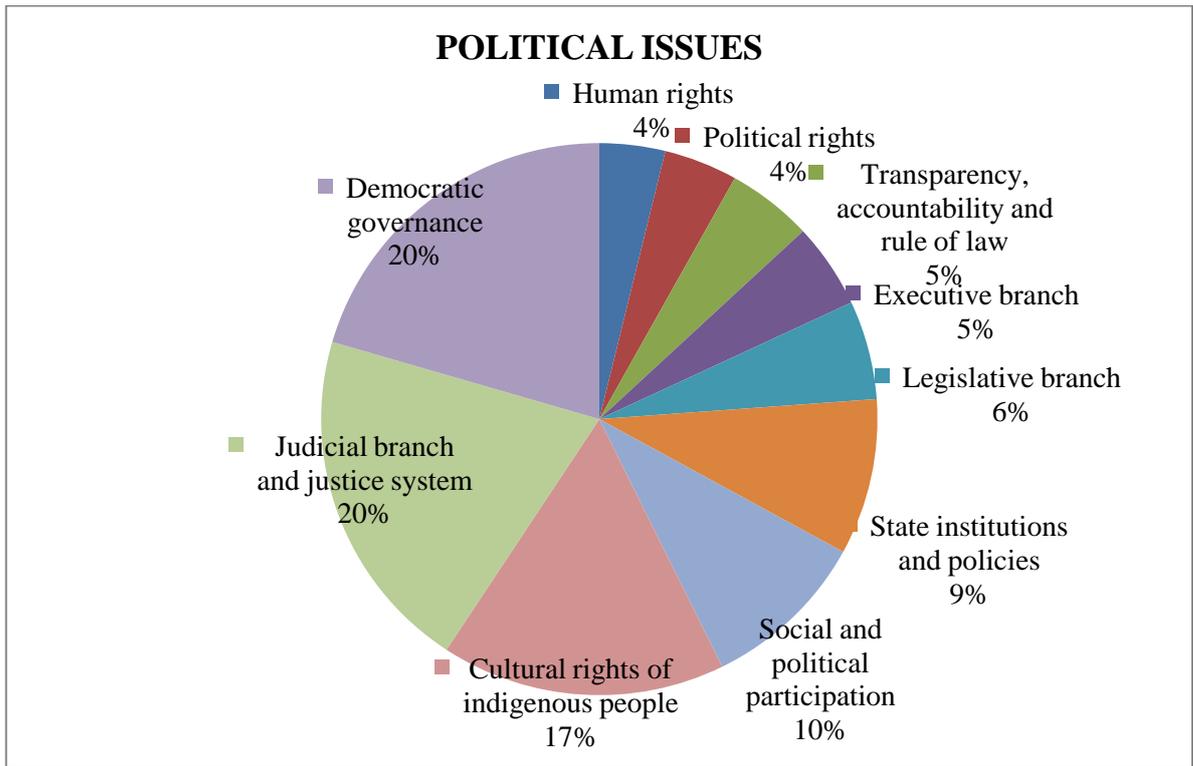
POLITICAL ISSUES

Figure-B: The category of political issues of the Guatemalan peace accords

SOCIAL FABRIC-RELATED ISSUES
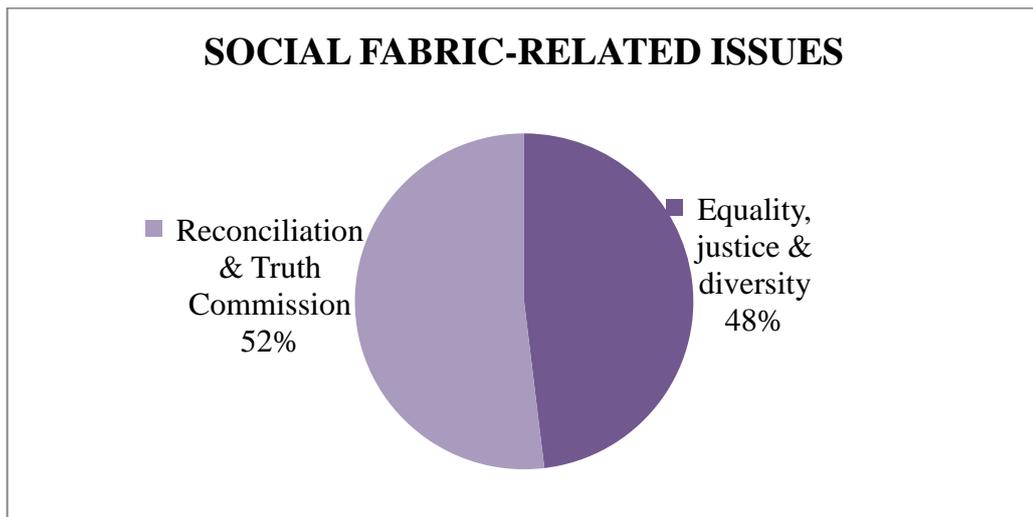
Figure-C: The category of social fabric-related issues of the Guatemalan peace accords
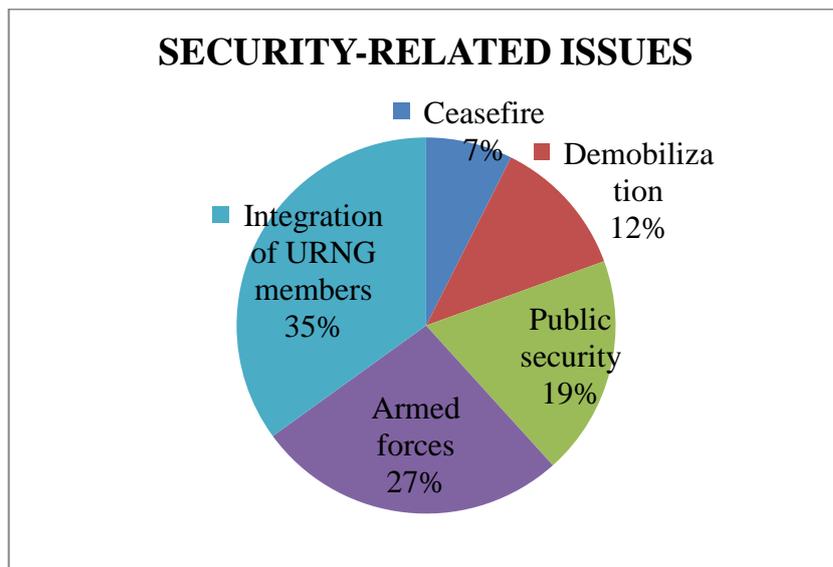
**Figure-D: The category of security-related issues of the Guatemalan peace accords**
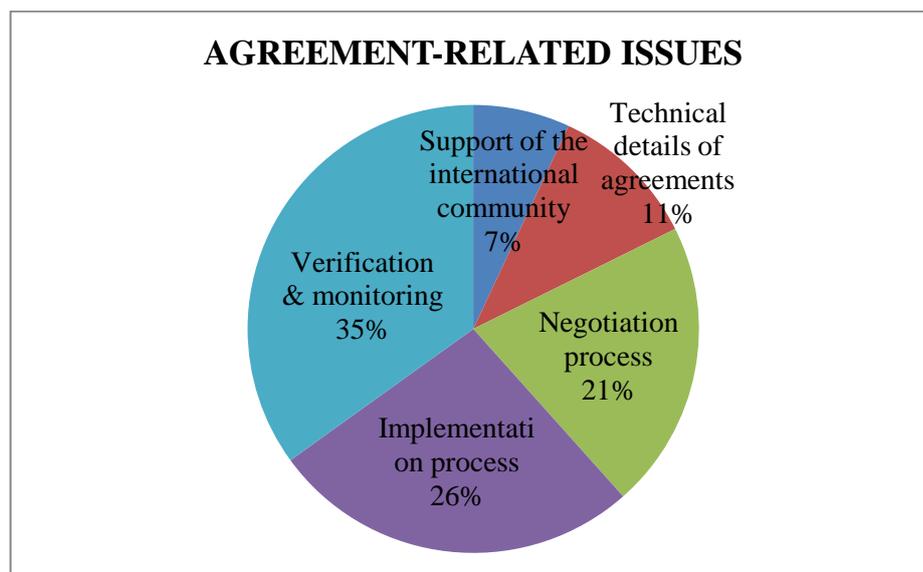
Figure-E: The category of agreement-related issues of the Guatemalan peace accords

II. Additional Tables and Figures of El Salvador

Aggregated List of Categories (El Salvador)	Frequency (#)	Frequency (% of all accords)
Public administration	6	0,3
Rule of law	15	0,7
Political rights	18	0,9
Participation in social and economic development	34	1,7
Executive branch	44	2,2
Democracy and elections	51	2,5
Legislative branch	51	2,5
Reintegration of FMLN	52	2,5
Socio-economic development	55	2,7
Reconciliation & Truth Commission	60	2,9
Human rights	67	3,3
Agrarian situation and land issues	75	3,7
Negotiation and agreement technicalities	121	5,9
Judicial system	122	6,0
Cessation of the conflict	203	9,9
Implementation & verification	210	10,3
Armed forces	270	13,2
Public security	592	28,9
SUM (all items)	**2046**	**100%**

Table-B: Aggregated list of categories that emerged from the peace accords of El Salvador
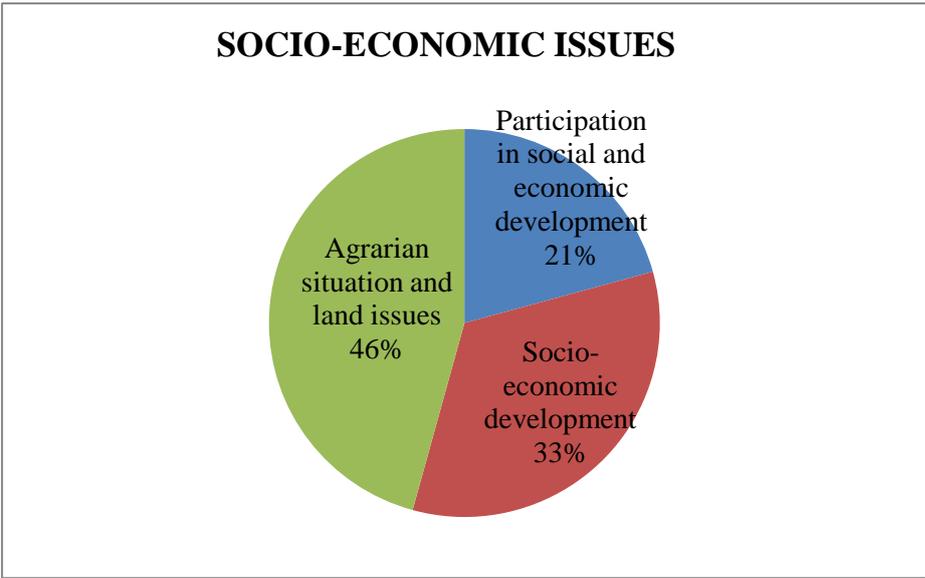
Figure-F: The category of socio-economic issues of the Salvadoran peace accords
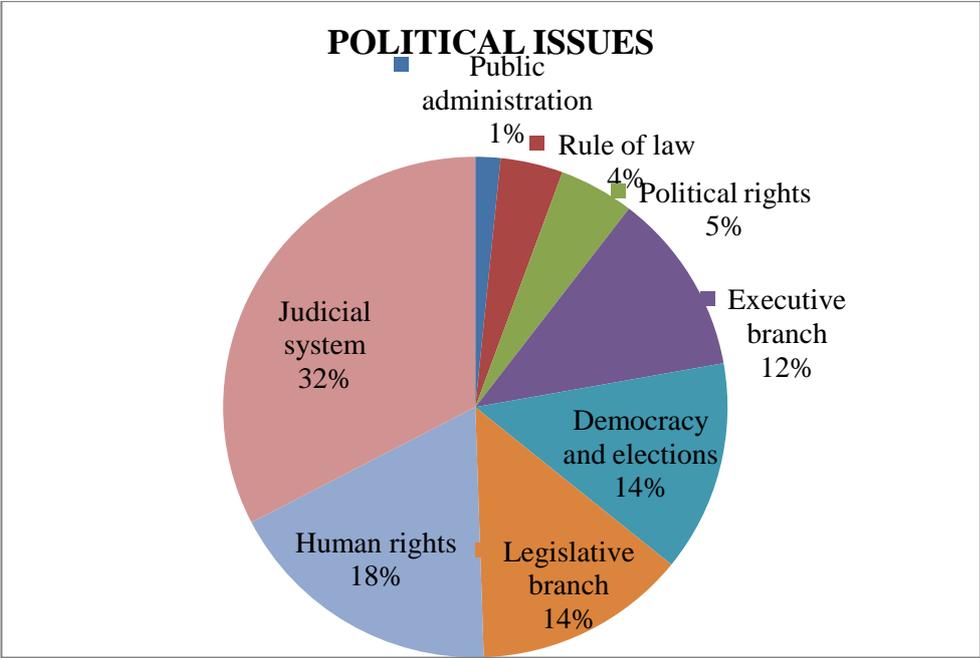

**Figure-G: The category of political issues of the Salvadoran peace accords**
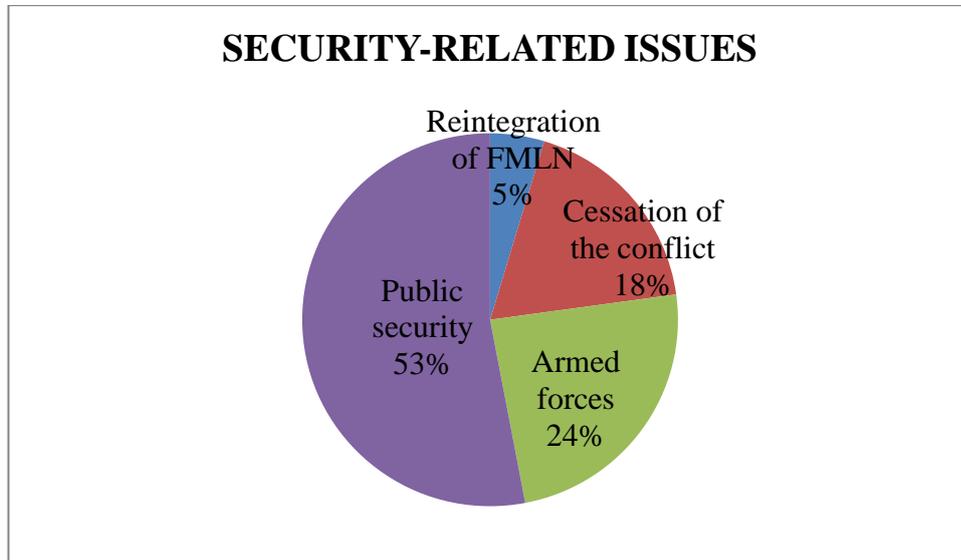
Figure-H: The category of security-related issues of the Salvadoran peace accords
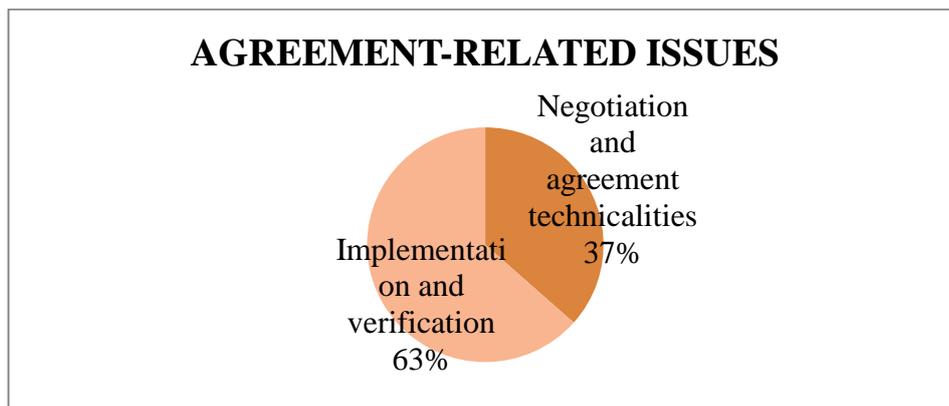

Figure-I: The category of agreement-related issues of the Salvadoran peace accords

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