



# PEACE AGREEMENTS DATABASE AND DATASET V3

- codebook -

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Please cite as:

Bell, Christine, Sanja Badanjak, Juline Beujouan, Tim Epple, Robert Forster, Astrid Jamar, Sean Molloy, Kevin McNicholl, Kathryn Nash, Jan Pospisil, Robert Wilson, and Laura Wise (2020). PA-X Peace Agreements Database and Dataset, Version 3. [www.peaceagreements.org](http://www.peaceagreements.org)



This version: January 31, 2020

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## About the database

The database may be viewed and searched at <https://www.peaceagreements.org/search>

The search page allows for search by substantive categories and word searches, either in simple or complex search modes. There are also the options of downloading the search results in .pdf format and downloading the portions of the dataset that correspond to the search criteria.

The dataset may be downloaded from the website in csv or Excel format.

The two data versions are identical in content.

## New in Version 3

In Version 3, the 'Sexual orientation' variable has been removed and replaced with two new variables, one accounting for positive and the other for negative references to LGBTI persons or groups.

New agreements were added, 17 from 2019 and 17 from previous years.

Peace process numbers have been recoded to facilitate data entry – the conversion table is available on the website.

The website now features a suite of visualisations based on the data.

## New in Version 2

The key feature introduced in Version 2 is a more detailed differentiation of agreements as they relate to conflict types (see Agreement/Conflict Type below). As we have found that there are numerous instances of very localized negotiation practices, we sought a way to incorporate them into the database. These localized practices are often related to resolving issues that are tangential to the main conflict but are vital for the communities they refer to.

In many cases, these instances can be seen as embedded in the main conflict, and we signal this by referencing the relevant conflict code as defined by the Uppsala Conflict Data Programme ([www.ucdp.uu.se](http://www.ucdp.uu.se), Pettersson, Therése, and Kristine Eck. 2018. "Organized Violence, 1989–2017." *Journal of Peace Research* 55(4): 535–47.). In instances where the local negotiations are not clearly linked to a conflict, and it is therefore less clear whether the scale of the conflict matches that in the remainder of the database, the UCDP conflict code was not assigned.

Several categories of issues have been further expanded: political parties reform from V1 is now split into instances of general reform and references to parties, and reform with a view to allow the transition from rebel group to political party. Socio-economic development is now refined to include issues of development in general, post-conflict reconstruction, and humanitarian assistance. In transitional justice, references to amnesties are now split to reflect the practices of granting amnesties as well as their explicit ban.

For more details concerning the differences between Version 1 and Version 2 of PA-X, see Changelog on the PA-X website.

## Key definitions

***Peace Agreement:*** formal, publicly available document, produced after discussion with conflict protagonists and mutually agreed to by some or all of them, addressing conflict with a view to ending it

***Conflict's protagonists:*** state actors and non-state actors who are involved in violent conflict, or their associated political representatives

***Conflict:*** armed violence, causing more than 25 conflict-related deaths in one year

***Peace or Transition Process:*** a formal attempt to bring political and/or military protagonists of conflict, to some sort of mutual agreement as to how to end the conflict

# Basic information

## Con: Country/Entity

The country or jurisdiction in which the conflict originated; where the conflict has a territorial element, the entity to which the conflict relates. This is the case for both intrastate agreements in intrastate conflict and for interstate agreements in intrastate conflicts, i.e. 'pure' interstate agreements signed as a result of intrastate negotiations in a conflict.

For 'pure' interstate agreements, the states signing or publicly agreeing the agreement are listed.

Special cases:

- Northern Ireland intrastate agreements are always listed as 'Ireland/UK/Northern Ireland'.
- All agreements related to conflicts in Slovenia, Croatia, Bosnia-Herzegovina, Serbia and Kosovo have been allocated the entity 'Yugoslavia (former)' in addition to the country names. This is in order to reflect the cross-border cooperation between other Yugoslav successor republics and self-declared autonomous republics or non-state actors within Bosnia, and the complex conflict dyads throughout Yugoslavia's collapse.

The country and entity names do not always match the official country names, for reasons related to the particular conflicts and peace processes.

## Contp: Conflict type

Type of conflict the agreement is addressing:

- Government
- Territory
- Government/territory
- Inter-group
- Other

'Government' refers to ideological or political disputes, and 'Territory' to purely territorial disputes.

All intrastate disputes over territory are coded 'Government/territory', as they involve an incompatibility over the territory and over the government and are sometimes resolving by dealing with just one of these issues.

Agreements are coded as 'territorial' even beyond secessionist conflicts, where claims contest or are related to governance of specific regions, even if secessionist or irredentist claims are not made.

Inter-group conflicts are between non-state groups; the agreements pertaining often deal with provisional revolutionary interim governments, e.g. in cases when a government is defeated militarily and the non-state groups 'divide the spoils'.

Special Cases:

- Darfur: Due to the strong territorial dimension of the conflict, all Darfur agreements have been coded as government/territory even though the conflict is not a classical secessionist dispute.
- Somalia: Most of the Somalia agreements have been coded as government/territory due to the strong federal dimension of the conflict as it has progressed. Nevertheless, due to the ideological underpinnings of the initial conflict, some of the early Somalia agreements have been coded as 'government' only.

### PP name: Peace process Name

Name of peace process.

### PP: Peace Process Number

The number code for the peace process

### Reg: Region

Region in which the conflict addressed by the agreement is taking place.

Regions listed: Africa (excl. MENA), Americas, Asia and Pacific, Europe and Eurasia, Middle East and North Africa, Cross-regional, Other

### AgtId: Agreement ID

Unique identifying number for each of the agreements.

### Agt: Agreement Name

The name of the agreement as found in the text of the agreement. Where appropriate, popular names of the agreements are included in parenthesis.



## Dat: Date Signed

Listed in the dataset as YYYY-MM-DD

The date on which the agreement was signed or agreed.

Sometimes, particularly in the case of 'declarations' from meetings, the database contains a date period, e.g. 4-8 May 2015. In this case the last date is entered as the date of the agreement.

## Status: Agreement Definition and Status

Character variable, describes the type of agreement.

- Multiparty signed/agreed. Agreement signed or clearly assented to by more than one group of the opposing protagonists (but not necessarily all of the opposed groups). It is irrelevant that a party later recanted, if they previously agreed to the agreement. We also count initial agreement which required further things to happen (e.g. wider referendum etc.) as 'signed/agreed' if there is evidence that the parties had agreed to it, albeit with implementation contingent on future processes.

This category includes agreements by political leaders (where these are separate from military actors) where there are clear connections and communications and relationships between political leaders and military protagonists and disputes over who really represents the divided groups. Constitutions and Constitutional Amendments which are part of the database are often included on this basis.

- Unilateral agreement: agreement produced by 'one side' but in response to agreement with other side (e.g. as part of an 'exchange of documents' or 'informal choreography'). These also include documents produced by international actors, after talking to both sides, to reflect the 'agreement' between them, or inter-state agreements which set the frame for negotiations or provide for their implementation, for example, UN Security Council Resolutions. These 'agreements' reflect agreement between the parties, even though they are not parties to the resolution.
- Status unclear: if it is unclear how much of the agreement was signed, or who agreed it, but there is some indication from surrounding documentation that it was signed/agreed, its status is coded as 'status unclear'. Where entered as status unclear, the database itself includes the reason as part of the description of the agreement. Accessing the database entries for such agreements is required for these clarifications, as they are not part of the database output.

- Agreement with Subsequent Status: a proposed agreement which has been based on talking to the parties and a 'best guess' of what they will agree to which, while not accepted by the parties as an agreement, nonetheless became the basis for subsequent developments, for example: because it formed a 'pre-negotiation exploration' which set the frame of later negotiations, or because it was later adopted as a framework for government. These are thus coded as 'agreement with subsequent status'. For these agreements, the "Stage" variable is necessarily coded as "Other", as they often look comprehensive in nature, but in fact operate as 'pre-negotiation' soundings.

#### NOT INCLUDED:

- Agreement clearly not signed or agreed
- Agreement signed by one side and not the other, which has no clear subsequent status

### Lgt: Agreement length (pages)

Agreement length, in pages. This is taken from the agreement pdf, and includes any title pages, empty pages, pages with photos, and similar.

### N characters: Agreement length (characters)

Agreement length, by number of characters in agreement text.

### Agtp: Agreement/conflict type.

This is a character variable, describing the primary nature of the agreement and conflict.

- Inter: Interstate/interstate conflict. Interstate treaty relating to interstate conflict. E.g. Iraq/Kuwait, or North/ South Korea
- InterIntra: Interstate/mixed or intrastate conflict. These agreements are clearly only inter-state in nature (treaty), but rather than referring to a single inter-state conflict, they refer to intra-state conflict/conflicts, whose major components originate within existing (de-facto or legal) state borders. Parties to these are most often states or international actors e.g. Israel-Jordan Treaty in support of the PLO- Israel Peace Agreements; African Great Lakes agreements; European Union unilateral Action Plan on Former Yugoslavia; communiques, conclusions, and declarations produced by international conferences on Afghanistan. This category enables differentiating such interstate agreements from 'pure interstate agreements', which relate to international conflict.
- Intra: Intrastate agreement relating to intrastate conflict; refers mainly to conflicts within a state's borders, e.g. Northern Ireland. Please note that these may have more



than one state party, but if they are not pure inter-state agreements, but have internal parties, then they are coded as 'intrastate agreements'.

- IntraLocal: These are agreements that are related to or an intrastate conflict, but are aiming to resolve local issues rather than what is perceived as a conflict-wide issue. Please note that some of these do not satisfy the 25 battle-related deaths criterion for conflict. The agreements that do not satisfy this criterion can be identified as they do not have an attached UCDP conflict code.

Note on Bosnia: Most agreements relating to the former Yugoslavia are categorised as 'intrastate/intrastate', unless clearly inter-state in nature, relating to intrastate conflict (e.g. European Union unilateral plan on Former Yugoslavia). Whilst acknowledging the declared independence of several republics (Croatia, Bosnia and Herzegovina), to classify inter-former republic agreements as 'inter-state/inter-state' makes a judgement on the timing of statehood and disguises the influence of neighbouring governments over self-declared autonomous regions (e.g. the FRY and the Republic of Serbian Krajina in Croatia). Therefore, we treat these as intra-state secessionist conflicts with reference to the dissolution of former Yugoslavia.

## Stage: Agreement stage

This is a character variable that provides information on the stage of the peace process that the agreement is signed in. We have identified seven main stages of the process that agreements may be part of: pre-negotiation/process; substantive-comprehensive; substantive-partial; implementation/renegotiation; renewal; cease-fire/related; other.

- Pre: Pre-negotiation/process. Agreements that aim to get parties to the point of negotiating over the incompatibilities at the heart of the conflict. Note that these agreements can happen at any time in a process (even after a comprehensive peace agreement has been signed), if parties have moved back into 'talking about how they are going to talk'. Therefore, this characterization does not imply temporal precedence.
- SubPar: Framework-substantive, Partial. Agreements that concern parties that are engaged in discussion and agreeing to substantive issues to resolve the conflict, but only deal with some of the issues in ways that appear to contemplate future agreements to complete.
- SubComp: Framework-substantive, Comprehensive. Agreements that concern parties that are engaged in discussion and agreeing to substantive issues to resolve the conflict and appear to be set out as a comprehensive attempt to resolve the conflict.
- Imp: Implementation/renegotiation. Aiming to implement an earlier agreement. Note that this category does not include ceasefires.
- Ren: Renewal. These are short agreements (typically of just one page), which do nothing other than 'renew' previous commitments. Note that this category

does not include ceasefire renewals which are contained in the ceasefire category (see below).

- Cea: Ceasefire/related. This category contains agreements which provide in their entirety for a ceasefire, or association demobilisation, or an agreement that is purely providing a monitoring arrangement for, or extension, of a ceasefire.
- Other: This is a residual category, capturing all agreements that do not fit the remaining definition. The user is advised to refer to the database for examples of the agreements in this category.

### StageSub: subcoding of stage

Each of the categories in the previous variable is split into subcategories. This means that the subcategories are category-specific. Only agreements in, for example, ceasefire category can be classified into a ceasefire subcategory.

Pre-negotiation/process subcategories:

- Proc: Process; agreement sets out a process for talking or having meetings.
- Prin: Principles; sets out principles for talks, or the main issues for talks.
- Conf: Confidence-building measure; deals with a specific issue that even if substantive is related to the object of getting people into talks (e.g. opening an airport, holding a particular inquiry, or releasing particular prisoners)
- PreMix: Mixed; a mixture of process, principles, and/or confidence building measures.
- PreOth: Other; any other pre-negotiation or process oriented subject matters.

Framework/substantive - partial subcategories:

- Iss: Core issues – deals with a core issue, e.g. human rights, or powersharing
- MultIss: Partial but multiple issues – clearly not comprehensive, but deals with a range of issues rather than one issue
- FrparOth: Other partial framework - another form of framework/substantive agreement that is not comprehensive and that does not fit in the other categories.

Framework/Substantive Subcategories

- FrAg: Comprehensive – purports or appears to be comprehensive, as laying out a broad framework for resolving the conflict (note that no agreement is entirely comprehensive, as they all leave some matters to future processes or for development); this group does not include constitutions
- FrCons: Constitution - document that operates as a comprehensive interim or final constitution in name or function.

#### Implementation/renegotiation subcategories:

- ImpMod: Implementation modalities – establishes implementation modalities, e.g. mechanisms or timetables etc. for implementing commitments, or if an inter-state agreement – mechanisms for support for implementation (e.g. peace-keeping).
- ExtSub: Substantive Extending - extends agreement to new or outstanding issues, extends the agreement to incorporate any new issues that have arisen
- ExtPar: Partial Extending - extends agreement to new parties, extends past commitments to a new group
- ImpOth: Other – any other agreement that predominantly addresses implementation but does not fit into any other category

#### Renewal subcategories:

- Reimp: Renewal of an implementation agreement
- Repre: Renewal of a pre-negotiation agreement
- Resub: Renewal of an agreement dealing with substantive issues
- Reoth: Renewal of other type of agreement

Note that ceasefire renewals are treated as a subcategory of ceasefire agreements.

#### Ceasefire/related sub-categories

- Ceas: ceasefire agreement, mainly or wholly providing for a ceasefire, including issues such as definitions of violations.
- Rel: Ceasefire-related - agreements that are related to ceasefires, for example, monitoring or extension arrangements
- CeaMix: Ceasefire-mixed - agreement that combines ceasefire and provisions related to or touching on broader issues of process.

## Part: Parties

The parties who directly sign the agreement, often the parties to the conflict and their regional allies. This was coded in 'cut and paste' form, exactly as written in the original peace agreement.

Some agreements are not signed, for example, in a 'National Dialogue' forum, or where the 'agreement' is in fact a joint declaration. These cases are noted, and the parties are listed, for example: 'Not signed, agreement mentions the following parties as having produced it: [text from agreement]'.

Finally, some agreements just mention that the participants are a generic group, e.g. ‘for the participants in the UN talks on Afghanistan’. In this case, the names and positions of the people who have actually signed the document are noted.

Constitutions are a special case: where signed, the signatories are listed; where unsigned – this is noted and the political body/bodies which passed/ratified the constitution is stated.

### ThrdPart: Third Parties

Parties who sign the agreement as third parties, such as observers, guarantors, or witnesses; these can be states, international organizations, and non- governmental organizations.

The actual term used for the third party is entered in the database with a colon: and the name of the party. In other words, the name of the third party is preserved exactly as written in the original peace agreement. For example, ‘Agreement witnessed by: H.E. Lt. Gen. Riek Machar Teny-Dhurgon (PHD, Vice President of Southern Sudan).’

### OthAgr: Other Agreement

Names of any other agreements that the document in question mentions, as found in the text.

### Loc1ISO

Indicates primary location of intrastate conflict and returns the ISO country designation. In cases of interstate conflict, indicates one of the two main locations, assigned randomly to location 1 or location 2. The fields are left empty in cases of agreements that deal with multiple locations and conflicts, such as the Great Lakes Agreements.

### Loc2ISO

Only used in cases of interstate conflict, indicating one of the primary locations of intrastate conflict, and returning the ISO country designation. The two main locations are assigned randomly to location 1 or location 2.

### Loc1GWNO

Indicates primary location of intrastate conflict and returns the Gleditsch-Ward country code. In cases of interstate conflict, indicates one of the two main locations, assigned randomly to location 1 or location 2. The fields are left empty in cases of agreements that deal with multiple locations and conflicts, such as the Great Lakes Agreements.

For more on GWNO codes, see:

Gleditsch, Kristian S., and Michael D. Ward. 1999. "Interstate System Membership: A Revised List of the Independent States since 1816." *International Interactions* 25(4): 393–413.

## Loc2GWNO

Only used in cases of interstate conflict, indicating one of the primary locations of intrastate conflict, and returning the Gleditsch-Ward country code. The two main locations are assigned randomly to location 1 or location 2.

For more on GWNO codes, see:

Gleditsch, Kristian S., and Michael D. Ward. 1999. "Interstate System Membership: A Revised List of the Independent States since 1816." *International Interactions* 25(4): 393–413.

## UcdpCon

Uppsala Conflict Data Program Conflict ID. Note that the Conflict IDs applied are from 2017 and onward, after the UCDP introduced a new system of conflict designation.

It is possible that this field is empty – this happens in cases of conflicts not registered in the UCDP conflict data.

For more information on the UCDP data and conflict codes and definition see:

Pettersson, Therése, and Kristine Eck. 2018. "Organized Violence, 1989–2017." *Journal of Peace Research* 55(4): 535–47.

Also see <http://ucdp.uu.se/downloads/>

## UcdpAgr

Uppsala Conflict Data Program peace agreement ID. For more information on these data, see

Högbladh, Stina. 2011. "Peace Agreements 1975-2011 - Updating the UCDP Peace Agreement Dataset Peace in the UCDP Dataset." *States in Armed Conflict 2011: Uppsala University: Department of Peace and Conflict Research Report* 99: 39–56.

Pettersson, T., Högbladh, S. and Öberg, M. (2019) 'Organized violence, 1989–2018 and peace agreements', *Journal of Peace Research*, p. 002234331985604. doi: 10.1177/0022343319856046.

Also see <http://ucdp.uu.se/downloads/>

## PamAgr

Kroc Institute's Peace Accords Matrix agreement ID. It is possible that this field is empty – this happens in cases of agreements not part of the PAM data. The PAM focuses on comprehensive agreements only, so the bulk of PA-X documents do not have the PAM agreement code.

For more information on PAM, see:

Joshi, Madhav, Jason Michael Quinn, and Patrick M Regan. 2015. "Annualized Implementation Data on Comprehensive Intrastate Peace Accords, 1989–2012." *Journal of Peace Research* 52(4): 551–62. <http://journals.sagepub.com/doi/10.1177/0022343314567486>.

Also see <https://peaceaccords.nd.edu/research>

## CowWar

Correlates of War: War Number. Many PA-X agreements come from peace processes in conflicts that do not meet the high battle-related deaths criterion of the Correlates of War project, so the war numbers are not provided for many of the agreements.

For more information on the Correlates of War war list, see:

Sarkees, Meredith Reid, and Frank Whelon. Wayman. 2010. *Resort to War : A Data Guide to Inter-State, Extra-State, Intra-State, and Non-State Wars, 1816-2007*. Washington D.C.: CQ Press. [https://www.worldcat.org/title/resort-to-war-a-data-guide-to-inter-state-extra-state-intra-state-and-non-state-wars-1816-2007/oclc/768956479&referer=brief\\_results](https://www.worldcat.org/title/resort-to-war-a-data-guide-to-inter-state-extra-state-intra-state-and-non-state-wars-1816-2007/oclc/768956479&referer=brief_results) (March 30, 2018).

Also see <http://cow.dss.ucdavis.edu/>

# Groups

## GCh: Children/Youth

If the agreement holds no references to children, child rights, youth, young people, or similar, the value is set to 0. If such references exist, the variable takes the values as follows:

1 = there is only a mention of children, child rights, youth, young people, or similar; the provision is purely rhetorical

2 = the agreement contains provisions that concern children, child rights, youth, young people, or similar, and the provision(s) give more detail on the mode of implementation and/or contain an anti-discrimination provision

3 = the provisions on children, child rights, youth, young people are present, substantive and substantial, giving detail and indicating commitment to implementation; the presence of rhetorical statements does not preclude this score, as long as it is also accompanied by some substantive provisions and anti-discrimination provisions.

The agreement provisions on children/youth are further split into:

### GChRhet: Rhetorical

Binary variable. Takes the value of 1 if there is any reference to preambular or other rhetorical commitments to children or youth and their inclusion; otherwise, 0.

### GChAntid: Anti-discrimination

Binary variable. Takes the value of 1 if the agreement contains a commitment to or provision for anti-discrimination or equality on the basis of youth or age; otherwise, 0.

### GChSubs: Substantive

Binary variable. Takes the value of 1 if the agreement contains comprehensive mechanisms or commitments to children or youth; otherwise, 0.

### GChOth: Other

Binary variable. Takes the value of 1 if the agreement provides other provisions for children or youth which do not fall into previous sub-categories; otherwise, 0.

## GDis: Disabled persons

If there are no mentions of any form of disability or injury, this variable takes the value of zero. If such issues are mentioned in the agreement, the values are as follows:

1 = issues of disability or injury are merely mentioned, the provision can be said to be rhetorical, without detail or substance.

2 = the agreement contains provision(s) on disability or injury, and these are detailed or include a clear anti-discrimination clause.

3 = the agreement deals with issues of disability or injury in a substantive and substantial way, providing details on implementation modalities; alternatively, the agreement makes both fairly detailed provisions and includes an anti-discrimination clause.

The provisions on disabled persons, disability, injury further split into:

### **GDisRhet: Rhetorical**

Binary variable. Takes the value of 1 if there is any reference to preambular or other rhetorical commitments to disabled persons and their inclusion; otherwise, 0.

### **GDisAntid: Anti-discrimination**

Binary variable. Takes the value of 1 if the agreement contains a commitment to or provision for anti-discrimination or equality on the basis of disability; otherwise, 0.

### **GDisSubs: Substantive**

Binary variable. Takes the value of 1 if the agreement contains comprehensive mechanisms or commitments to disabled persons; otherwise, 0.

### **GDisOth: Other**

Binary variable. Takes the value of 1 if the agreement provides other provisions for disabled persons which do not fall into previous sub-categories; otherwise, 0.

## GAge: Elderly/Age

This variable accounts for any mentions of older persons, age-based stipulations, or similar. When no such mentions are present, the value of this variable is zero. Please note: provisions in the agreement text that mention 'elders' in the sense of 'leaders' are not included in the coding of this variable.



When provisions on the elderly and/or age are present, the values on this variable are as follows:

1 = issues related to the elderly or age are merely mentioned, the provision can be said to be rhetorical, without detail or substance.

2 = the agreement contains provision(s) on the elderly and/or age; these provisions are detailed or include a clear anti-discrimination clause.

3 = the agreement deals with issues related to the elderly and/or age in a substantive and substantial way, providing details on implementation modalities; alternatively, the agreement makes both fairly detailed provisions and includes an anti-discrimination clause.

This issue is further developed in the following variables:

#### **GAgeRhet: Rhetorical**

Binary variable. Takes the value of 1 if there is any reference to preambular or other rhetorical commitments to older persons or the elderly and their inclusion; otherwise, 0.

#### **GAgeAntid: Anti-discrimination**

Binary variable. Takes the value of 1 if the agreement contains a commitment to or provision for anti-discrimination or equality on the basis of age; otherwise, 0.

#### **GAgeSubs: Substantive**

Binary variable. Takes the value of 1 if the agreement contains comprehensive mechanisms or commitments to elderly or older persons; otherwise, 0.

#### **GAgeOth: Other**

Binary variable. Takes the value of 1 if the agreement provides other provisions for older or elderly persons which do not fall into previous sub-categories; otherwise, 0.

### **GMig: Migrant workers**

This variable accounts for references to migrant workers (be they permanent, seasonal, or in casual employment), people travelling into/out of the country for employment, or re-mittances. If none of these are mentioned in the peace agreement, this variable takes the value of 0. If there is mention of these issues, the variable is coded as follows:

1 = issues related to migrants are merely mentioned, the provision can be said to be rhetorical, without detail or substance.

2 = the agreement contains provision(s) on migrants; these provisions are detailed or include a clear anti-discrimination clause.

3 = the agreement deals with issues related to migrants in a substantive and substantial way, providing details on implementation modalities; alternatively, the agreement makes both fairly detailed provisions and includes an anti-discrimination clause.

This variable further produces the following subcategories, coded as binary variables:

#### **GMigRhet: Rhetorical**

Binary variable. Takes the value of 1 if there is any reference to preambular or other rhetorical commitments to migrant workers and their inclusion; otherwise, 0.

#### **GMigAntid: Anti-discrimination**

Binary variable. Takes the value of 1 if the agreement contains a commitment to or provision for anti-discrimination or equality on the basis of employment status or origin; otherwise, 0.

#### **GMigSubs: Substantive**

Binary variable. Takes the value of 1 if the agreement contains comprehensive mechanisms or commitments to migrant workers; otherwise, 0.

#### **GMigOth: Other**

Binary variable. Takes the value of 1 if the agreement provides other provisions for migrant workers which do not fall into previous sub-categories; otherwise, 0.

### **GRa: Racial/ethnic/national groups**

This variable accounts for any mention in the agreement of race, ethnic groups, national minorities, clans or similar 'tribal' (in the sense of clan) organisation, communities with specific ethnic identity markers (including named groups), or ethnic nationalism. If 'tribal' is a reference to an indigenous group, this is coded as mention of indigenous groups, and not accounted for here. The value on the variable is 0 when no such mentions exist. Otherwise, it is coded as follows:

1 = racial/ethnic/national groups are merely mentioned, the provision can be said to be rhetorical, without detail or substance.

2 = the agreement contains provision(s) on racial/ethnic/national groups; these provisions are detailed or include a clear anti-discrimination clause.

3 = the agreement deals with issues related to racial/ethnic/national groups in a substantive and substantial way, providing details on implementation modalities; alternatively, the agreement makes both fairly detailed provisions and includes an anti-discrimination clause.

This category further splits into the following variables:

#### **GRaRhet: Rhetorical**

Binary variable. Takes the value of 1 if there is any reference to preambular or other rhetorical commitments to racial/ethnic/national groups, minorities, clans or tribes and their inclusion. This includes references to ethnic nationalism; otherwise, 0.

#### **GRaAntid: Anti-discrimination**

Binary variable. Takes the value of 1 if the agreement contains a commitment to or provision for anti-discrimination or equality on the basis of race, ethnicity or nationality; otherwise, 0.

#### **GRaSubs: Substantive**

Binary variable. Takes the value of 1 if the agreement contains comprehensive mechanisms or commitments to racial/ethnic/national groups, minorities, clans or tribes; otherwise, 0.

#### **GRaOth: Other**

Binary variable. Takes the value of 1 if the agreement provides other provisions for racial/ethnic/national groups, minorities, clans or tribes which do not fall into previous sub-categories; otherwise, 0.

### **GRe: Religious groups**

Accounting for any reference is made to religious groups, be it in terms of those groups or in terms of the inclusion of 'religions'; if no such references are made, the variable is coded as 0.

Note: The coding of this variable does not include definitions of state (e.g. as a religious state) nor does it include powersharing among religious groups. For these, see variables for definition of the state (StDef) and political powersharing (Polps).

When there are mentions of religious groups, this variable takes the following values:

1 = religious groups are merely mentioned, the provision can be said to be rhetorical, without detail or substance.

2 = the agreement contains provision(s) on religious groups; these provisions are detailed or include a clear anti-discrimination clause.

3 = the agreement deals with issues related to religious groups in a substantive and substantial way, providing details on implementation modalities; alternatively, the agreement makes both fairly detailed provisions and includes an anti-discrimination clause.

This category is further split into the following subcategories:

#### **GReRhet: Rhetorical**

Binary variable. Takes the value of 1 if there is any reference to preambular or other rhetorical commitments to religious groups or inclusion of 'religions'; otherwise, 0.

#### **GReAntid: Anti-discrimination**

Binary variable. Takes the value of 1 if the agreement contains a commitment to or provision for anti-discrimination or equality on the basis of religion, creed or faith; otherwise, 0.

#### **GReSubs: Substantive**

Binary variable. Takes the value of 1 if the agreement contains comprehensive mechanisms or commitments to religious groups; otherwise, 0.

#### **GReOth: Other**

Binary variable. Takes the value of 1 if the agreement provides other provisions for religious groups which do not fall into previous sub-categories; otherwise, 0.

### **GInd: Indigenous people**

This category accounts for any references to indigenous people in the document. If no such references are present, the value is 0. When indigenous people are mentioned in the agreement, the values are as follows:

1 = indigenous peoples are merely mentioned, the provision can be said to be rhetorical, without detail or substance.

2 = the agreement contains provision(s) on indigenous people; these provisions are detailed or include a clear anti-discrimination clause.

3 = the agreement deals with issues related to indigenous people in a substantive and substantial way, providing details on implementation modalities; alternatively, the agreement makes both fairly detailed provisions and includes an anti-discrimination clause.

This category is further split into the following binary variables:

#### **GIndRhet: Rhetorical**

Binary variable. Takes the value of 1 if there is any reference to preambular or other rhetorical commitments to indigenous people; otherwise, 0.

#### **GIndAntid: Anti-discrimination**

Binary variable. Takes the value of 1 if the agreement contains a commitment to or provision for anti-discrimination or equality on the basis of indigenous identity or origin; otherwise, 0.

#### **GIndSubs: Substantive**

Binary variable. Takes the value of 1 if the agreement contains comprehensive mechanisms or commitments to indigenous people; otherwise, 0.

#### **GIndOth: Other**

Binary variable. Takes the value of 1 if the agreement provides other provisions for indigenous people which do not fall into previous sub-categories; otherwise, 0.

### **GOth: Other groups**

This category captures any other groups that may be mentioned in the agreement. Note that these are not groups of people classed in terms of issues that affect them (e.g. prisoners, martyrs), but rather a group that appears to be grouped in terms of inherent attributes ('status equality' factors). For details regarding the types of groups in this category, refer to the relevant peace agreements in the online database.

The variable takes the value of 0 when no such references are present, otherwise as follows:

1 = other groups are merely mentioned, the provision can be said to be rhetorical, without detail or substance.

2 = the agreement contains provision(s) on other groups; these provisions are detailed or include a clear anti-discrimination clause.

3 = the agreement deals with issues related to other groups in a substantive and substantial way, providing details on implementation modalities; alternatively, the agreement makes both fairly detailed provisions and includes an anti-discrimination clause.

This category is also split into the following binary variables:

#### **GOthRhet: Rhetorical**

Binary variable. Takes the value of 1 if there is any reference to preambular or other rhetorical commitments to any other status equality groups not already captured in the groups section; otherwise, 0.

#### **GOthAntid: Anti-discrimination**

Binary variable. Takes the value of 1 if the agreement contains a commitment to or provision for anti-discrimination or equality on the basis of any other status equality markers not already captured in the groups section; otherwise, 0.

#### **GOthSubs: Substantive**

Binary variable. Takes the value of 1 if the agreement contains comprehensive mechanisms or commitments to any other status equality groups not already captured in the groups section; otherwise, 0.

#### **GOthOth: Other**

Binary variable. Takes the value of 1 if the agreement provides other provisions for any other groups, to any other status equality groups not already captured in the groups section, which do not fall into previous sub-categories; otherwise, 0.

### **GRef: Refugees/ displaced persons**

Variable accounts for references to refugees, displaced persons, including repatriation that appear in the peace agreement. The provisions specifically addressing refugees'

issues, such as return, and land claims are included in the positive coding of this variable. Further, it includes references to internally displaced persons or displaced persons. When no references to these groups are present, the value on this variable is 0.

For those agreements that contain references to these groups, the coding is as follows:

1 = refugees/displaced persons are merely mentioned, the provision can be said to be rhetorical, without detail or substance.

2 = the agreement contains provision(s) on refugees/displaced persons; these provisions are detailed or include a clear anti-discrimination clause.

3 = the agreement deals with issues related to refugees/displaced persons in a substantive and substantial way, providing details on implementation modalities; alternatively, the agreement makes both fairly detailed provisions and includes an anti-discrimination clause.

This category is further split into the following:

#### **GRefRhet: Rhetorical**

Binary variable. Takes the value of 1 if there is any reference to preambular or other rhetorical commitments to refugees or displaced persons and their inclusion; otherwise, 0.

#### **GRefSubs: Substantive**

Binary variable. Takes the value of 1 if the agreement contains comprehensive mechanisms or commitments to refugees or displaced persons; otherwise, 0.

#### **GRefOth: Other**

Binary variable. Takes the value of 1 if the agreement provides other provisions for refugees or displaced persons which do not fall into previous sub-categories; otherwise, 0.

### **GSoc: Social Class**

This variable accounts for any references to social class or social origin in the peace agreement. When no such references are found, the value of the variable is 0, otherwise:

1 = social class or social origin are merely mentioned, the provision can be said to be rhetorical, without detail or substance.

2 = the agreement contains provision(s) on social class or social origin; these provisions are detailed or include a clear anti-discrimination clause.

3 = the agreement deals with issues related to social class or social origin in a substantive and substantial way, providing details on implementation modalities; alternatively, the agreement makes both fairly detailed provisions and includes an anti-discrimination clause.

This category further splits into the following:

#### **GSocRhet: Rhetorical**

Binary variable. Takes the value of 1 if there is any reference to preambular or other rhetorical commitments to persons from different social classes or social origin and their inclusion; otherwise, 0.

#### **GSocAntid: Anti-discrimination**

Binary variable. Takes the value of 1 if the agreement contains a commitment to or provision for anti-discrimination or equality on the basis of social class or social origin; otherwise, 0.

#### **GSocSubs: Substantive**

Binary variable. Takes the value of 1 if the agreement contains comprehensive mechanisms or commitments to persons from different social classes or social origin; otherwise, 0.

#### **GSocOth: Other**

Binary variable. Takes the value of 1 if the agreement provides other provisions for to persons from different social classes or social origin which do not fall into previous sub-categories; otherwise, 0.



# Gender

## GeWom: Women, girls and gender

This is a binary variable, taking the value of 1 if any of the peace agreement provisions are specifically addressing women, their inclusion, and their rights. This includes references to girls, widows, mothers, sexual violence (or forms thereof), gender violence, UNSC 1325 or CEDAW, lactating women. If no such provisions are present in the agreement, the value of the variable is 0.

## GeMe: Men and Boys

This is a binary variable, taking the value of 1 if any of the peace agreement provisions specifically address men or boys in those terms or similar. When no such provisions are present, the variable takes the value of 0.

Split into:

### GeMeNu: Gender neutrality wording

Binary variable, takes the value of 1 if it includes any gender-neutral wording, such as 'women and men', 'girls and boys', 'daughters and sons'. This does not include other references that are merely 'masculinised', such as 'fraternal hospitality, and 'state brotherhood.'

If no such provisions appear in the agreement, the value on this variable is 0.

### GeMeOth: other

Binary variable, takes the value of 1 if it includes provisions related to men than go beyond gender-neutral language.

If no such provisions appear in the agreement, the value on this variable is 0.

## GeLgbti: LGBTI references

### GeLgbtiPos: Positive LGBTI references

Binary variable, takes the value of 1 if it includes any positive references to LGBTI persons or groups.

If no such provisions appear in the agreement, the value on this variable is 0.

### GeLgbtiNeg: Negative LGBTI references

Binary variable, takes the value of 1 if it includes any negative references to LGBTI persons or groups.

If no such provisions appear in the agreement, the value on this variable is 0.

### GeFa: Family

Binary variable, takes the value of 1 if there is a provision related to families that goes beyond incidental mentions of specific family members or intra-family relationships, dealing with the family as a unit.

This does not include symbolic references to family such as the defence of the motherland.

If no such provisions appear in the agreement, the value on this variable is 0.

# State definition

## StDef: State definition

This is a binary variable, taking the value of 1 if the peace agreement addresses the issue of state definition, that is matters that go to how the state defines itself in ideational, territorial or other terms. If this is a topic that is not at all addressed by the peace agreement, the value on this variable is 0.

Split into:<sup>1</sup>

### StGen: Nature of State (general)

This binary variable takes the value of 1 if the peace agreement includes any provision that explains the state's core principles (e.g. democratic) or 'ethos of the state' or its 'identity'. General references to the territorial sovereignty and inviolability of the state are also part of the positive coding. If no provisions of this type appear in the agreement, the variable takes the value of 0.

### StCon: State configuration

Binary variable, takes the value of 1 if the peace agreement includes any declarations and references regarding the territorial nature of the state in terms of whether it is unitary, federal etc. References here thus express how the state is configured and structured. If no such provisions or declarations appear in the agreement, the value on this variable is 0.

### StSd: Self determination

This binary variable takes the value of 1 if the peace agreements includes any reference or provision on the state's 'self-determination'. If no such provisions appear in the peace agreement, the value on this variable is 0.

### StRef: Referendum

Binary variable that takes the value of 1 if there are any provisions in the peace agreement that refer to a referendum which would change the nature, territory, jurisdiction

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<sup>1</sup> Note: some issues will be in more than one subcategory, e.g. a referendum may relate to independence/secession or accession, and so will be entered in each of the subcategories. They should thus not be considered mutually exclusive.

of the state, or similar matter. If no such provisions appear in the agreement, the value on this variable is 0.

Note: references to the agreement itself being subject to a referendum are not part of the positive coding here, as there is a variable accounting for this (see variable Im-Ref).

### StSym: State symbols

This binary variable takes the value of 1 if the peace agreement includes any mention of state symbols. If no such provisions appear in the agreement, the value on this variable is 0.

### StInd: Independence/secession

This binary variable takes the value of 1 if the peace agreement includes any mention of independence of the state or secession of the state (provision on changing the identity of the state). If no such provisions appear in the agreement, the value on this variable is 0.

### StUni: Accession/unification

Binary variable, takes the value of 1 if the peace agreement includes any mention of accession or unification with another state (again, provisions on changing the identity of the state). If no such provisions appear in the agreement, the value on this variable is 0.

Note: Agreements which provide for secession and then accession may be coded in both categories StInd, and StUni.

### StBor: Border delimitation

Binary variable, takes the value of 1 if the peace agreement includes any specific provisions concerning (external) border delimitation. If no such provisions appear in the agreement, the value on this variable is 0.

### StXbor: Cross-border provision

Binary variable, takes the value of 1 if the peace agreement includes any mention of substantive cross-border linkages and connections which involve external involve-

ment in governance (e.g. involvement of a neighbouring state in 'governance', provision for sub-state groups to have connection with 'kin' groups in neighbouring states). If no such provisions appear in the agreement, the value on this variable is 0.

# Governance

## Pol: Political Institutions (new or reformed)

This variable accounts for any instances of the agreement including any mention of mechanisms reforming or establishing new political institutions, e.g. legislature, executive. This variable also includes provisions for interim administration, and/or new democratic institutions. If no provisions concerning these issues appear in the agreement, the value on this variable is 0.

Note: This variable does not include provisions concerning electoral commissions or other similar bodies, or references to reforming political parties. These are accounted for in separate categories (see below).

When political institutions are mentioned in the agreement, it is coded as follows:

1 = the agreement notes that there is a need for new or interim political institutions, or states that further discussions or legislation are to produce new institutional arrangements; these are very vague provisions, with no details on the suggested institutions or any timeline for their coming into existence.

2 = the agreement provides some detail on the implementation of new or interim institutional arrangement, or provides a timeline for implementation;

3 = the agreement provides details on the institutional arrangements that are to be put in place, and often includes a timeline and responsibilities of those involved; the composition and manner of staffing the institutions is provided.

Split into:

### PolGen: General References to Political institutions

Binary variable, takes the value of 1 if the peace agreement mentions political institutions generally, without explicitly providing for new or temporary institutional arrangements; otherwise, 0.

### PolNewInd: New political institutions

Binary variable, takes the value of 1 if the peace agreement foresees new political institutions. If no such institutions are foreseen the value on the variable is 0.

### PolNewTemp: temporary institutional arrangement

Binary variable, with the value of 1 if the peace agreement proposes a temporary or interim setup of political institutions. If no such institutions are proposed, the value on the variable is 0.

### ConRen:Constitutional renewal/affirmation

Accounts for any references which point to the affirmation of the rule of the constitution, or renews commitments to work within its frame. If no such provisions appear in the agreement, the value of this variable is 0.

When these provisions are present, the variable is coded as follows:

1 = rhetorical, or briefly mentioning constitutional renewal.

2 = some details on the way in which constitutional renewal is planned to happen; language indicating some commitment to constitutional renewal.

3 = plenty of details on timing, responsibilities, procedures of constitutional renewal.

### Cons: Constitutional reform/making

Accounts for any references pointing to the need to reform the constitution, or provide for reform, revision, amendment, new constitution-making process, or contain or comprise of a constitution. If no such provisions appear in the agreement, the value on this variable is 0.

When these provisions are present, the variable is coded as follows:

1 = rhetorical, or very brief mention of constitutional reform.

2 = some details on the manner of implementing constitutional reform

3 = details and language indicating commitment, including timing, responsibilities, procedures

### Ele: Elections

This category accounts for whether the agreement includes any mention of elections, other than provision for electoral commissions. If no such provisions appear in the agreement, the value on this variable is 0.

When these references appear, they are coded as follows:

1 = rhetorical, agreement simply notes that there ought to be elections at some point, or that elections are important for the settlement.

2 = some details on the way in which elections are to be conducted are provided, or a timeline for holding elections is put in place; alternatively, if there is only mention of international technical assistance, the agreement provisions may also be coded here.

3 = plenty of details on timing, responsibilities, procedures of elections are provided. It is clear when the elections will take place, who will take part, which institutions are taking part in organizing them, whether technical assistance (if any) is provided.

## ElecComm: Electoral Commission

This variable accounts for provisions concerning the (re)establishment of an electoral commission. It should be noted that this only includes true electoral commissions, set up as permanent or recurring bodies that are charged with the task of organizing elections, keep track of electoral rolls, ensuring the integrity of the electoral process, and finally, which have the task of counting votes and announcing the electoral results. Various ad hoc commissions that deal with redistricting, inquiries into the state of electoral rolls, and similar, are not considered electoral commissions. When no provisions on electoral commissions are present, the variable takes the value of 0. When these provisions are present, the variable is coded as follows:

1 = an electoral commission is only mentioned, without any details on its funding, support, powers, tasks.

2 = some details are provided on the tasks and powers of the electoral commissions, but not enough to make it clear that the commission has the potential to be an independent and adequately funded and staffed institution.

3 = plenty of details on the functioning, funding, staffing, and powers of the electoral commission are provided; there are references to timing and modalities of establishing the electoral commission. There is no indication that the electoral commission would not be fully independent.

## PolPar: Political parties reform

This variable accounts for whether the peace agreement is addressing the regulation and reform of political parties, inclusive of the transformation of rebel groups and movements into political parties that are to take part in the post-conflict politics. When no such provisions are present in the agreement, the variable takes the value of 0. Otherwise, the variable is coded as follows:

1 = political parties are mentioned as organizations that can be freely formed or citizens' freedom to form parties is affirmed; also coded here: mentions of the need to reform parties or to allow armed groups to transition into political parties

2 = some details are provided on the issues that are relevant to political parties, such as forming parties, creating them on the basis of existing armed groups, or regulating the party organization and funding

3 = there are plenty of details on party reforms, rights, and roles, which also include any transition from armed group, need to reform the manner of party financing, internal organization, and similar. Details are given on the timing and scheduling of said changes and reforms.

This category further expands to



### PolParTrans: rebels transitioning to political parties

Binary variable, takes the value of 1 if the peace agreement mentions arrangements or necessity for rebel groups to transition/transform into political parties; otherwise, 0.

### PolParOth: Other instances of political party reform/regulation.

Binary variable, takes the value of 1 if the peace agreement mentions arrangements for political party reform/regulation; otherwise, 0.

## Civso: Civil Society

Binary variable, takes the value of 1 if the peace agreement includes any provisions specifically addressed at the inclusion of civil society, for example, through Peace Building Commissions, or through general calls for inclusion. This includes references to 'civic space' (or similar), and includes references to the participation of third sector/NGOs, transnational civil society organisations (e.g. UNICEF), consultation, and provisions that state that the peace agreement shall be distributed/spread in society. If no such provisions appear in the agreement, the value on this variable is 0.

Note: Flows of humanitarian assistance (e.g. granting safe passage for delivery of humanitarian aid) mentioning involvement of international or transnational non-governmental organisations are coded under both civil society and (where appropriate) mobility. Provision of humanitarian assistance is coded under development/socio-economic reconstruction.

## Tral: Traditional/Religious Leaders

Binary variable, takes the value of 1 if the peace agreement includes any mention of traditional/religious leaders or other similar language that clearly relates to traditional/community leaders. If no such provisions appear in the agreement, the value on this variable is 0.

Note: Specific references to traditional and religious laws are also included in the 'Justice Sector' reform section.

## Pubad: Public Administration (Civil Service)

This category accounts for whether the peace agreement includes any provision for 'public administrators', civil service, civil servants, or similar, including special commissions to look at administration or to act as civil service /public administrators on a temporary basis. This does not include temporary commissions that are tasked with specific

issues, (e.g. commission to find missing relatives, or commission to look into border disputes) or cross-border commissions in international agreements. If no provisions on the civil service appear in the agreement, the value on this variable is 0. Otherwise, the variable is coded as follows:

1 = the civil service is mentioned, or the need to reform it is mentioned.

2 = Some details on the setup or reform of the civil service are provided; alternatively, a timeline or schedule for approaching the problem of setting up or reforming the civil service is provided.

3 = The agreement makes the setup and principles of the civil service clear, with plenty of details on organizational matters. Note that these cases are very rare and are found most often in constitutions that are considered comprehensive peace agreements.

## Powersharing

General note on this section of the dataset:

Political power-sharing is defined around Lijphart's criteria, focusing on establishing an executive grand coalition, proportional representation in legislatures, mutual veto (or weighted majorities) in areas of group 'vital interest', and segmental (by concept, e.g. 'sport', 'education') autonomy. To these elements we also add coding on whether there are institutions within the state which also provide for power-sharing with international actors.

Territorial power-sharing is defined around divisions of power on a territorial basis. Economic power-sharing is defined on the basis of joint participation in economic institutions, or territorial fiscal federalism.

Military power-sharing refers to provisions which share power in the institutions of police, army or security ministries.

The concept of 'sharing of power' does not refer in a general sense to anything that can be considered as enabling the sharing of power, but rather refers to the specific divisions and amalgamations of power that ensure groups some sort of equal 'participation' in the state's structures, and/or shared 'ownership' of resources.

### Polps: Political Powersharing

Variable accounts for any mention of political powersharing in the peace agreement. When no powersharing is present, the value is 0, but otherwise takes one of the following values:

1 = political powersharing is mentioned, but no details are given

2 = some details are provided, but no clear indication of how/when political powersharing is to be implemented

3 = plenty of details on political powersharing, inclusive of details of institutional arrangements

This category is further split into:

Note: these first two categories capture whether the powersharing is in the mechanism of the central state (e.g., it is for Bosnia, but not for Northern Ireland), or the sub-state level (Bosnia also has powersharing in the 'federation' entity, Northern Ireland is another example of sub-state powersharing).

#### **PpsSt: State level powersharing**

Binary variable, takes the value of 1 if the peace agreement includes any mention of powersharing in the nation-wide institutions of central government through inclusion of the particular groups or parties. If no such provisions appear in the agreement, the value on this variable is 0.

Note: where detailed provision is made this entry will cross refer to the content of the sub-categories.

#### **PpsSub: Sub-state level powersharing**

Binary variable, takes the value of 1 if the peace agreement includes any mention of powersharing at the level of a unit within the state, be it federal, local, or municipal or community. If no such provisions appear in the agreement, the value on this variable is 0.

Note: where detailed provision is made this entry will cross refer to the content of the sub-categories.

#### **PpsEx: Executive coalition.**

Binary variable, takes the value of 1 if the peace agreement includes any provision for 'government of national unity', or 'grand coalition', where groups have specified access to be in the government. This includes matters such as: shared or proportional cabinet, shared presidency or specifications that different groups will hold different offices. If no such provisions appear in the agreement, the value on this variable is 0.

#### **PpsOro: Proportionality in the legislature.**

Binary variable, takes the value of 1 if the peace agreement includes any provision for legislatures which are proportional among groups. [This variable does not account for the inclusion of one-off 'set-aside' places for particular groups to have one or two reserved seats, if not part of a broader powersharing arrangement (e.g. TWA in Burundi).] It does include provisions with clear balances of power in legislatures. If no such provisions appear in the agreement, the value on this variable is 0.

#### PpsOthPr: Other Proportionality.

Binary variable, takes the value of 1 if the peace agreement includes any provisions for proportionality in other institutions, e.g. the judiciary, police, or others. If no such provisions appear in the agreement, the value on this variable is 0.

#### PpsVet: Form of veto or communal majority.

Binary variable, takes the value of 1 if the peace agreement includes any provision for one group to effectively 'block' another, in particular in areas of 'vital interests' (e.g. language). This may not be very visible as a veto, appearing rather as a weighted majority', or a requirement for 'consensus' decision-making. If no such provisions appear in the agreement, the value on this variable is 0.

#### PpsAut: Segmental autonomy.

Binary variable, takes the value of 1 if the peace agreement includes any mention of different groups being given their own decision making or decision-making bodies over things like language and religion, i.e. conceptual autonomy of particular spheres of life. If no such provisions appear in the agreement, the value on this variable is 0.

Note: Conceptual autonomy included as part of a territorial devolution of power is not coded here, but rather as Territorial Powersharing.

#### PpsInt: International involvement.

Binary variable, takes the value of 1 if the peace agreement includes any international involvement in the governance arrangements, so that power is effectively shared with members of the international community – e.g. international judges on ethnically balanced courts etc. If no such provisions appear in the agreement, the value on this variable is 0.

#### PpsOth: Other form of political powersharing

Binary variable, takes the value of 1 if any other type of powersharing arrangement is included in the peace agreement. Otherwise, the value on this variable is 0.

### Terps: Territorial powersharing

This category accounts for whether the peace agreement includes any mention of territorial powersharing, as in division of territory to ensure group accommodation. If no such

provisions appear in the agreement, the value on this variable is 0. Otherwise, the agreements are coded as follows:

1 = territorial powersharing is mentioned, but no details on boundaries, implementation, timelines, or similar are given

2 = some details on the manner of implementing territorial powersharing are given

3 = the provision(s) provide plenty of details on territorial powersharing, modalities, timelines.

This category is further split into:

#### **TpsSub: Federal or similarly sub-divided**

Binary variable, takes the value of 1 if the peace agreement includes territorial powersharing involving division into more than one sub-unit.

Note: The word 'federal' does not need to be used, neither is it determinative of the coding. This category includes situations when the sub-units may not have symmetric powers, and the sub-units are understood as all part of the federal framework.

#### **TpsLoc: Local/Municipal**

Binary variable, takes the value of 1 if the peace agreement includes provisions concerning devolution of power to local or municipal districts, below the level of the sub-state regional government, when and only when this is done to accommodate a group. If no such provisions appear in the agreement, the value on this variable is 0.

Note: If the agreement includes autonomy arrangements rather than federalism, then the main autonomy arrangement is coded in 'autonomy', and only lower-level arrangements are included here, and then only if they are about group accommodation.

#### **TpsAut: Autonomy**

Binary variable, takes the value of 1 if the peace agreement provides for only one sub-unit, or more than one, with some or all of the following characteristics: a state-like name; its own governance structures, symbols, and constitution; a high degree of separation from the central state; and is agreed in a manner that makes it distinct from any other territorial sub-division. The term autonomy does not need to be used, although may be an indicator of an autonomy arrangement, but is not determinative. If no such provisions appear in the agreement, the value on this variable is 0.

### TpsOth: Other

Binary variable, takes the value of 1 if the peace agreement includes any other provision(s) that concern territorial powersharing. If no such provisions appear in the agreement, the value on this variable is 0.

Note: This category thus includes 'special status' regions that are not autonomous units per se, but for example, internationally administered areas that are still disputed, or some other similar arrangement. Provisions for internal border delimitation are also be coded here, as long as the border delimitation provisions are part of a territorial powersharing arrangement designed to accommodate groups.

## Eps: Economic powersharing

The variable accounts for whether the peace agreement includes any mention of any explicit wealth-sharing arrangements aimed at inter-group accommodation. If no such provisions appear in the agreement, the value on this variable is 0. Otherwise, it is coded as follows:

1 = economic powersharing is mentioned, but no details are given concerning the modalities of powersharing or manner of implementation.

2 = some details concerning the modalities and/or implementation of economic powersharing are provided

3 = the agreement contains plenty of details concerning the modalities and/or implementation of economic powersharing.

This category further splits into:

### EpsRes: Sharing of resources

Binary variable, takes the value of 1 if the peace agreement includes any explicit wealth-sharing arrangements between contenders for power. If no such provisions appear in the agreement, the value on this variable is 0.

### EpsFis: Fiscal federalism

Binary variable, takes the value of 1 if the agreement makes any provision for institutions of fiscal federalism.

### EpsOth: Other

Binary variable, takes the value of 1 if the peace agreement includes any other provision that sets up a form of economic powersharing, or any mechanism the purpose of which is to enable the sharing of power over economic resources between contenders for power (which may include between different level of governments - state and territory – where these represent different 'groups' as part of a territorial

powersharing deal). If no such provisions appear in the agreement, the value on this variable is 0.

## **Mps: Military powersharing**

This variable accounts for whether the peace agreement includes any specific agreements to 'share' military power between different contenders for power. If no such provisions appear in the agreement, the value on this variable is 0. Otherwise, the coding is as follows:

1 = military powersharing is mentioned in the text of the agreement, but no further details are provided

2 = some details concerning the modalities and/or implementation of military powersharing are provided

3 = the agreement contains plenty of details concerning the modalities and/or implementation of military powersharing.

Split into:

### **MpsMe: Merger of forces**

Binary variable, takes the value of 1 if the peace agreement includes any provision to merge forces of different protagonists to conflict. For example, ex- former combatants of rebel groups become integrated into the National Army. If no such provisions appear in the agreement, the value on this variable is 0.

### **MpsJt: Joint Command Structure**

Binary variable, takes the value of 1 if the peace agreement includes any provision for former combatants/army to have a new combined command structure. If no such provisions appear in the agreement, the value on this variable is 0.

### **MpsPro: Proportionality**

Binary variable, takes the variable of 1 if the agreement contains any provisions on proportionality in the military. Combined proportionality of ethnic groups in police services and policing functions are also covered by this category, as is proportionality in army or other military structures (e.g. joint commissions to supervise implementation of power-sharing)

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### MpsOth: Other

Binary variable, takes the value of 1 if the peace agreement includes any other type of military powersharing; otherwise, takes the value of 0.



# Human rights and equality

The variables in this section only include clear references to human rights as rights, and not any provision that could be considered as 'relating to' or 'delivering' a right.

## HrGen: Human Rights/ Rule of Law

Binary variable, takes the value of 1 if the peace agreement includes any general references and rhetorical commitment to human rights, principles of humanitarianism/law, to international law, or the 'rule of law'. If no such provisions appear in the agreement, the value on this variable is 0.

Note: This is a 'catch all' category which captures more general commitments to human rights or similar, which are not also accounted for by the specific references below.

## EqGen: Equality

This variable accounts for whether the peace agreement includes any general commitments to 'equality', 'non-discrimination' or similar.<sup>2</sup> If no such provisions appear in the agreement, the value on this variable is 0. If such provisions do appear, they are coded as follows

1 = rhetorical provision or mention of equality in the agreement

2 = substantive provisions on equality

3 = detailed substantive provisions on equality, suggesting commitment.

## HrDem: Democracy

This variable accounts for any references to general commitments to 'democracy'. If no such provisions appear in the agreement, the value on this variable is 0. If these provisions do appear, they are coded as follows:

1 = rhetorical provisions/ mention of democracy

2 = substantive provisions on democracy

3 = detailed substantive provisions, indicating commitment.

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<sup>2</sup> General references to equality are not to be equated with mentions of fairness in the agreements. This variable thus refers to the mentions of equality in a human rights context.

## Prot: Protection measures

Provisions are coded in this category if the agreement mentions protection measures directed at a particular group, such as children, witnesses, and similar. If the agreement mentions no such measures, the value on this variable is 0. When these are present, they are coded as follows:

1 = rhetorical provisions or mention of protection measures.

2 = substantive provisions concerning the manner in which protection measures are implemented.

3 = detailed provisions for the implementation of protection measures.

This category further expands to the following:

### Prot Civ: Protection of civilians

Binary variable, takes the value of 1 if the peace agreement includes any references to protection of civilians, including UNSCR 1674 and 1894 (resolutions on protection of civilians). If no such provisions appear in the agreement, the value on this variable is 0.

### ProtGrp: Protection of groups

Binary variable, takes the value of 1 if the peace agreement includes includes any references to protection of groups. If no such provisions appear in the agreement, the value on this variable is 0.

### ProtLgl: Protection of rights and legal frameworks

Binary variable, takes the value of 1 if the peace agreement includes includes any references to protection of rights and legal frameworks. If no such provisions appear in the agreement, the value on this variable is 0.

### ProtOth: Other protection measures

Binary variable, takes the value of 1 if the peace agreement includes any references to other kinds of protection measures. If no such provisions appear in the agreement, the value on this variable is 0.

## HrFra: Human Rights Framework

This variable accounts for any provisions aiming to establish a human rights framework to guide the post-conflict period, e.g. by making provision for a bill of rights or for incorporation of human rights standards.<sup>3</sup> If no such provisions appear in the agreement, the value on this variable is 0. When these provisions are found in the agreement, they are coded as follows:

1 = rhetorical provisions or mention of a human rights framework

2 = substantive provisions concerning a human rights framework

3 = detailed provisions for a human rights framework, indicating commitment.

This category further splits into:

### HrfSp: Isolated rights

Binary variable, takes the value of 1 if the peace agreement defines any isolated rights which are defined as provision(s) for rights, clearly expressed in rights terms, and appearing at 'random' places in the agreement, e.g., provision that 'All children should have the right to an education.' A positive score on this variable thus captures the existence of those specific rights, while indicating that there is no 'rights framework'. If no such isolated rights provisions appear in the agreement, the value on this variable is 0.

### HrfBor: Bill of Rights.

Binary variable, takes the value of 1 if the peace agreement includes a bill of rights or similar 'list' to operate with some sort of restriction on government in the agreement. Provisions announcing a commitment to develop a bill of rights, or similar, are also be coded here. If no such provisions appear in the agreement, the value on this variable is 0.

### HrfTinc: Incorporation of human rights treaties, humanitarian law, or international criminal law treaties (Treaty Incorporation).

Binary variable, takes the value of 1 if the peace agreement includes any reference to the incorporation of international treaties. This includes even quite general references that 'everything will be done in accordance with. . .' If no such provisions appear in the agreement, the value on this variable is 0.

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<sup>3</sup> Where both isolated rights and a bill of rights (or similar) are present in the agreement, this is reflected in both categories.

HrfOth: Other.

Binary variable, takes the value of 1 if human rights provisions appear in a peace agreement other than above. If no such provisions were identified in the agreement, the value on this variable is 0.

## HrCp: Civil and political rights

Binary variable, takes the value of 1 if the peace agreement includes any mention of civil and political rights. By definition, the value on this variable is positive if any of the variables that comprise the category are also positive. This variable and the section below thus note which specific rights are included in the peace agreement, in any of the forms above (isolated rights, in a bill of rights, treaty).

Split into:

CprLife: Life

Binary variable, takes the value of 1 if the peace agreement includes any mention of the right to life; 0 otherwise.

CprTort: Torture

Binary variable, takes the value of 1 if the peace agreement includes any mention of the freedom from torture; 0 otherwise.

CprEq: Equality

Binary variable, takes the value of 1 if the peace agreement includes any mention of equality; 0 otherwise.

Note: Only specific rights provisions are included here. The 'equality' section above is used for any general rhetorical commitments to equality, and cross referred to here if necessary.

CprSlav: Slavery

Binary variable, takes the value of 1 if the peace agreement includes any mention of the ban of slavery; 0 otherwise.

#### CprLib: Liberty and security of person

Binary variable, takes the value of 1 if the peace agreement includes any provisions concerning liberty and security of person; 0 otherwise.

#### CprDet: Humane treatment in detention

Binary variable, takes the value of 1 if the peace agreement includes any mention of the right to humane treatment in detention; 0 otherwise.

#### CprFmov: Freedom of movement

Binary variable, takes the value of 1 if the peace agreement includes any mention of the freedom of movement; 0 otherwise.

#### CprFspe: Freedom of speech

Binary variable, takes value of 1 if the peace agreement includes any mention of freedom of speech; 0 otherwise.

#### CprFass: Freedom of association

Binary variable, takes the value of 1 if the peace agreement includes any mention of the freedom of association; 0 otherwise.

#### CprTria: Fair trial

Binary variable, takes the value of 1 if the peace agreement includes any mention of the right to a fair trial; 0 otherwise.

#### CprPriv: Privacy and family life

Binary variable, takes the value of 1 if the peace agreement includes any mention of right to privacy and family life; 0 otherwise.

#### CprVote: Vote and take part

Binary variable, takes the value of 1 if the peace agreement includes any mention of the right to vote and participate in public life; 0 otherwise.

### CprReli: Thought, opinion, conscience and religion

Binary variable, takes the value of 1 if the peace agreement includes any mention of freedom of thought, opinion, conscience, and religion; 0 otherwise.

### CprOth: Other

Binary variable, takes the value of 1 if the peace agreement includes any other mention of civil and political rights; 0 otherwise.

## HrSec: Socio-economic rights

Binary variable, takes the value of 1 if the peace agreement includes any mention of socio-economic rights, the usage of “language of rights or obligation” in general terms, or mention of specific socio-economic rights as rights. If no such provisions appear in the agreement, the value on this variable is 0.

This category is further split into subcategories that identify the type of socio-economic rights that are mentioned in the peace agreement

### SerProp: Property

Binary variable, takes the value of 1 if the peace agreement includes any mention of the right to property; 0 otherwise.

### SerWork: Work

Binary variable, takes the value of 1 if the peace agreement includes any mention of the right to work; 0 otherwise.

### SerHeal: Health

Binary variable, takes the value of 1 if the peace agreement includes any mention of the right to health; 0 otherwise.

### SerEdu: Education

Binary variable, takes the value of 1 if the peace agreement includes any mention of the right to education; 0 otherwise.

### SerStdI: Adequate standard of living

Binary variable, takes the value of 1 if the peace agreement includes any mention of the right to an adequate standard of living; 0 otherwise.

### SerShel: Shelter/housing

Binary variable, takes the value of 1 if the peace agreement includes any mention of the right to shelter/housing; 0 otherwise.

### SerSs: Social security

Binary variable, takes the value of 1 if the peace agreement includes any mention of the right to social security; 0 otherwise.

### SerCult: Cultural rights

Binary variable, takes the value of 1 if the peace agreement includes any mention of cultural rights; 0 otherwise.

### SerOth: Other

Binary variable, takes the value of 1 if the peace agreement includes any other provisions on socio-economic rights that did not fit into any of the other categories above; 0 otherwise.

## HrNi: NHRI (National Human Rights Institution)

This category accounts for any agreement provision concerning a national body that monitors human rights, including provisions establishing national human rights institutions, or institutions for promoting democracy, such as human rights commissions, ombudsman mechanisms, and equality commissions.<sup>4</sup> If no such provisions appear in the agreement, the value on this variable is 0. Otherwise, the variable is coded as follows:

1 = rhetorical provision, or mention of national human rights institutions

2 = substantive provisions on national human rights institutions, providing more details.

3 = detailed, substantive provisions on national human rights institutions, indicating commitment.

This category is further developed in the following variables:

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<sup>4</sup> Bodies for preventing genocide/crimes against humanity in the future are not included here (included in variables on past provision), nor are any references to electoral commissions, which are coded in a separate category.

### HrNiMe: Mentions of NHRI

Binary variable that takes the value of 1 if a peace agreement makes any reference to national human rights institutions; otherwise, 0.

### HrNiNe: New or fundamentally revised NHRI

Binary variable that takes the value of 1 if the peace agreement foresees the establishment of completely new national human rights institutions, or if it fundamentally revises the institutional arrangement that was already in place.

### HrNiOth: Other NHRI

All other types of references to national human rights institutions that are made in peace agreements. This includes, but is not limited to, appointments of particular persons to the NHRI.

## Hrli: Regional or international human rights institutions

This variable accounts for any agreement provision concerning a new regional or international human rights body to monitor human rights, and/or special referral to existing international or regional institutions.<sup>5</sup> If no such provisions appear in the agreement, the value on this variable is 0. If these provisions are present, they are coded as follows:

1 = rhetorical provision or mention of regional or international human rights institutions.

2 = substantive provisions on regional or international human rights institutions

3 = detailed, substantive provisions on regional or international human rights institutions, indicating commitment

This category is further split into the following subcategories:

### HrliMon: Monitoring calls.

Binary variable, takes the value of 1 if the peace agreement includes a call for a new or existing regional or international human rights body to monitor human rights. If no such provisions appear in the agreement, the value on this variable is 0.

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<sup>5</sup> Note that bodies dealing with the past are included in the category on past provision and are not coded here.



### HrliBod: Body tasked.

Binary variable, takes the value of 1 if the peace agreement includes a clear role for a new or existing regional or international human rights body. If no such provisions appear in the agreement, the value on this variable is 0.

### HrliOth: Other regional or international human rights institutions

Binary variable, with the value of 1 if any other regional or international human rights institutions are mentioned in the agreement, which do not fit into any of the categories above. Otherwise, the value on this variable is 0.

### HrMob: mobility/access

Binary variable, takes the value of 1 if the peace agreement includes any provision explicitly guaranteeing/restricting mobility or access in non-rights terms (e.g. safe passage, unrestricted travel, transit routes, flows of humanitarian assistance), unless relating strictly to media access (then see Med: sub-category Medlog). The provisions coded here are focused on enabling or restricting mobility rather than simply referring to movement in general terms. If no such provisions appear in the agreement, the value on this variable is 0.

Note: Only non-rights clauses are captured here. Provisions specifying rights to freedom of movement are coded under the relevant civil and political rights heading. Further, flows of Humanitarian assistance are coded in both mobility and civil society when not expressed in rights terms.

### HrDet: Detention Procedures

Binary variable, takes the value of 1 if the peace agreement includes rules, protocols or procedures for detaining individuals, otherwise 0. Note that specific rights pertaining to detention are coded elsewhere in the civil and political rights sections above.

### Med: Media and communication

This category takes into account whether the peace agreement includes any mention of media and communication. If no such provisions appear in the agreement, the value on this variable is 0. Note that references to freedom of speech are not included here but in the civil and political rights sections above.

When these provisions appear in the agreement, they are coded as follow:

1 = rhetorical provisions, mention of media and communication, but no details or substantive content

2 = substantive provisions on media and communication

3 = detailed substantive provisions, indicating commitment

This category is further split into the following subcategories:

#### **MedGov: Governance of Media.**

Binary variable, takes the value of 1 if the peace agreement includes any mention of persons and processes relating to 'governance' of media (such as who has powers over what, or where powers are allocated over media and communication or consideration of where power should lie, or how territorial divisions should affect to particular processes, ministries or groups, or restoration of media. If no such provisions appear in the agreement, the value on this variable is 0.

#### **MedSubs: Media Roles**

Binary variable, takes the value 1 if the peace agreement includes substantive provisions dealing with particular roles for media, particular access for media, reform of media and communication, or media campaigns. If no such provisions appear in the agreement, the value on this variable is 0.

#### **MedLog: Media Logistics**

Binary variable, takes the value 1 if the peace agreement includes media and communications provisions dealing with enabling particular logistics (eg of ceasefires, or movement of INGOs relating to media). If no such provisions appear in the agreement, the value on this variable is 0.

#### **MedOth: Media Other**

Binary variable, takes the value 1 if the peace agreement includes media and communications provisions other than those outlined in the categories above. If no such provisions appear in the agreement, the value on this variable is 0.

### **HrCit: Citizenship**

This variable accounts for any agreement references to citizenship, as relating to any change in citizenship status or where the term is used to note that a provision applies differently to citizens rather than other people. If no such provisions appear in the agreement, the value on this variable is 0. When these provisions are present, they are coded as follows:

1 = rhetorical provision, or simple mention of citizenship rights

2 = substantive provisions on citizenship

3 = detailed substantive provisions on citizenship

Split into:

**CitGen: Citizen, general.**

Binary variable, takes the value 1 if the peace agreement includes general references to citizens other than when using the word in place of 'all people'. If no such provisions appear in the agreement, the value on this variable is 0.

**CitRights: Citizens, specific rights**

Binary variable, takes the value of 1 if the peace agreement includes any specific provisions tying rights to 'citizens'. If no such provisions appear in the agreement, the value on this variable is 0.

**CitDef: Citizenship delimitation**

Binary variable, takes the value of 1 if the peace agreement includes any specific provisions defining citizenship or delimiting what it includes or not. If no such provisions appear in the agreement, the value on this variable is 0.

**CitOth: Citizenship other**

Binary variable, takes the value of 1 if the peace agreement includes any specific provisions on citizenship not covered in the other categories. If no such provisions appear in the agreement, the value on this variable is 0.

# Justice Sector Reform

## JusCr: Criminal Justice and Emergency law

Binary variable, takes the value of 1 if the peace agreement includes any provisions dealing with criminal justice such as review or reform of criminal justice; repeal or review of emergency law. If no such provisions appear in the agreement, the value on this variable is 0.

Not that this includes any specific legal changes such as changes to specific laws, for example, both smaller-scale laws and changes to laws on genocide, or changes to the legal order that deal with criminal law.

This category is further divided into the following subcategories:

### JusCrSp: Reform to specific laws

Binary variable, takes the value of 1 if the peace agreement includes any specific provisions reforming criminal law, or outlining how such reforms are made. If no such provisions appear in the agreement, the value on this variable is 0.

### JusCrSys: Criminal Justice System Reform

Binary variable, takes the value of 1 if the peace agreement includes any specific provisions providing for reform to the criminal justice system. If no such provisions appear in the agreement, the value on this variable is 0.

### JusCrPow: Delimitation of powers in Criminal Justice System

Binary variable, takes the value of 1 if the peace agreement includes any specific provisions delimiting powers among institutions within the criminal justice system. If no such provisions appear in the agreement, the value on this variable is 0.

## JusEm: State of Emergency Provisions

Binary variable, takes the value of 1 if the peace agreement includes any specific provisions on the rules regarding state of emergency provisions. If no such provisions appear in the agreement, the value on this variable is 0.

### JusJu: Judiciary and courts

Binary variable, takes the value of 1 if the peace agreement includes any provisions addressing the courts and the judiciary, including their roles, jurisdictions, structures and mechanisms, as well as provisions outlining the mandate of the judiciary and the judiciary's relationship to other parts of the state apparatus, provisions on appointment of persons to the judiciary, including mechanisms and criteria for such appointments. Courts in question can be administrative, district courts, supreme, constitutional, family, tribal, and other. This category also covers references to the justice system and the administration of justice. If no such provisions appear in the agreement, the value on this variable is 0.

### JusPri: Prisons and detention

Binary variable, takes the value of 1 if the peace agreement includes any mention of specific measures dealing with prisons, including staffing of prisons. If no such provisions appear in the agreement, the value on this variable is 0.

### JusTra: Traditional/ Religious Laws

Binary variable, takes the value of 1 if the peace agreement includes any specific reference to traditional laws, or customary laws, or religious laws including family law (including such as Shariah or Hawakeer). This category also covers provisions restricting/prohibiting or permitting discrimination on the basis of customs, traditions, traditional practices. If no such provisions appear in the agreement, the value on this variable is 0.

# Socio-Economic Reconstruction

## Dev: Development or socio-economic reconstruction

This variable ranges from 1 to 3, with 0 for agreements that have no provision for development, 1 for those that only have a cursory, rhetorical mention; 2 for those that provide some detail on arrangements to support development or reconstruction, via humanitarian aid or otherwise. The highest score of 3 is assigned to those agreements which provide details on economic development and reconstruction plans, as well as clear responsibilities and timelines.

Note: Only those instances that do not fit any of the subcategories below are included in this variable. Further, it only includes references to general socio-economic reconstruction, and not specific measures for groups such as refugees and prisoners. References to trade are not be coded here, but in the variable on business. The same goes for references to natural resources should not be coded here – code these in natural resources

This category further expands to

### DevSoc: Socio-Economic Development

This is a binary variable, indicating whether the agreement contains any provisions for development in general (1, 0 otherwise).

### DevHum: Humanitarian assistance

This is a binary variable, indicating whether the agreement contains any provisions for humanitarian assistance (1, 0 otherwise). Note that financial aid is not included here, but in the variable on international funds (see below).

### DevInfra: Infrastructure and reconstruction

This is a binary variable, indicating whether the agreement contains any provisions for infrastructure development and reconstruction (1, 0 otherwise).

## NEC: National economic plan

This category covers agreement provisions for a national economic plan or similar. To constitute something ‘similar’ it needs to be: a clear economic plan promoted at central government level, which has a plan-like quality and is a clear distinctive initiative, rather than just a commitment to ‘development’ etc. Matters such as budget allocation, specific national economic plans, development fund creation and management, economic goals including Millennium Development Goals, Vision 2016 and similar, reconstruction funds and their jurisdiction, and development targets when specific numeric ones are mentioned. If any of these types of provisions is included, the value on this variable is 1, and otherwise 0.

Note: Sovereign Wealth Funds are coded under Taxation and NOT National Economic Plan. Similarly, references to international funding of reconstruction/development can be found in the International funds category. Any references to borrowing and international finance are in a separate category as well.

### NatRes: Natural resources

Binary variable, takes the value of 1 if the peace agreement includes any mention of natural resources, including generic references, hydrocarbons, pasture, forestry, exclusive economic zones (EEZs), transportation and processing of natural resources, and hydro-electric power generation. The category does not include references to dams. If no provisions related to natural resources, as listed above, appear in the agreement, the value on this variable is 0.

### IntFu: International funds

Binary variable, takes the value of 1 if the peace agreement includes any provision for international funds or assistance, otherwise 0. This may include the setting up of internationally-funded mechanisms for assistance, direct financial assistance, donor conferences, and any references to international donors. This may also include humanitarian aid from foreign sources and calls for such aid to be provided. Note that references to sovereign borrowing are not included here, and are covered in the category on International Finance. The category is also agnostic on the matter of commitment of funds, as it may include calls for additional international funds, commitments on the part of third parties, or mechanisms for collection and disbursing existing funds. For more on the types of provisions, see the International Funds category in the database output.

### Bus: Business

Binary variable, takes the value of 1 if the peace agreement includes any mention of measures specifically addressed at business, including references to assisting with goods and trade. If no such provisions appear in the agreement, the value on this variable is 0.

1 = rhetorical provisions or mention of business

2 = substantive provisions on business, but no detailed mechanisms

3 = detailed substantive provisions, with mechanisms, means of enforcement

## Tax: Taxation

The category includes any agreements that mention measures specifically addressed at taxation, public finances, or fiscal matters, including Sovereign Wealth Funds. If no such provisions appear in the agreement, the value on this variable is 0.

1 = taxation and fiscal matters are just mentioned

2 = some details are provided on the arrangements for taxation and fiscal matters

3 = detailed substantive provisions, indicating commitment

This category further splits into:

### **TaxPo: Power to Tax**

Binary variable, takes the value of 1 if the peace agreement includes any provisions dealing with transferring or reserving powers to tax. If no such provisions appear in the agreement, the value on this variable is 0.

### **TaxRef: Reform of Taxation**

Binary variable, takes the value of 1 if, not coming under the 'power to tax' category, the peace agreement includes any provisions dealing with improving systems of revenue accumulation; the removal of restrictions; permissible tax exemptions; and/or redistribution of revenue generated as a result of taxation. If no such provisions appear in the agreement, the value on this variable is 0.

### **TaxOth: Other**

Binary variable, takes the value of 1 if it includes any reference to taxation not covered by the other categories. If no such provisions appear in the agreement, the value on this variable is 0.

## Ban: Banks

Binary variable, takes the value of 1 if the peace agreement includes any specific mention of banks. This includes any reference to banking, be it central, commercial, or personal. It also includes any references to international finance and sovereign borrowing. If no such provisions appear in the agreement, the value on this variable is 0.

This variable is further split into:

### **CenBan: Central bank**

Binary variable, takes the value of 1 if the peace agreement sets up, institutes or reaffirms a central bank, currency board, or if it in any way defines the role



of these institutions, including but not restricted to matters or monetary policy, monitoring and regulation of the banking system as conducted by a central bank.

#### **BanPers: Personal or commercial banking**

Binary variable that takes the value of 1 if the peace agreement is dealing with matters of personal banking, access to accounts and funds, ease of banking transfers and activities of commercial banks.

#### **BanInt: International finance**

Binary variable that takes the value of 1 when the peace agreement explicitly deals with the country/countries in conflict taking part in the international financial markets as borrowers and beneficiaries of IMF and/or World Bank assistance. This is markedly different from the variable on international funds (see above), as the latter deals with international donors and aid, while this category captures sovereign borrowing.

#### **BanXb: Cross-border financial flows**

This binary variable takes the value of 1 if the agreement explicitly addresses the problems of cross-border financial flows, the ease of conducting financial transfers across borders, and the potential for interstate cooperation on facilitating these flows.

# Land, property, and environment

## LaRef: Land reform/rights

Binary variable, takes the value of 1 if the peace agreement includes any mention of measures to address land reform or rights, including property returns.

Further split into:

### LaRefMan: Land reform, transfer, and management

Binary variable, takes the value of 1 if the peace agreement includes provisions related to land reform and the management of land, including management mechanisms, land distribution plans and mechanisms, dispute resolution mechanisms, aims and mandates of land management, mentions of customary land regulations, and issues of land management. If no such provisions appear in the agreement, the value on this variable is 0.

### LaRefRet: Property return, restitution, and dispute mechanisms.

Binary variable, takes the value of 1 if the peace agreement includes any mention of measures regarding the return of property, restitution guarantees/mechanisms for lost/confiscated/destroyed property to property owner. If no such provisions appear in the agreement, the value on this variable is 0.

### LaRefOth: Other

Binary variable, takes the value of 1 if the peace agreement includes mention of other land rights, including affirmation of property ownership rights, guarantees of 'consulting' landowners on utilization of their property by the state, framing of land rights in relation to other rights and laws, providing consent for land owners to utilize their land, and status of disputed areas. If no such provisions appear in the agreement, the value on this variable is 0.

## LaNom: Pastoralist/nomadism rights

Binary variable, takes the value of 1 if the peace agreement includes any specific provision for nomadic or pastoralist peoples or communities, including grazing rights. If no such provisions appear in the agreement, the value on this variable is 0.

## LaCH: Cultural heritage

Binary variable, takes the value of 1 if the peace agreement includes any reference to cultural heritage, including both 'tangible' heritage (statues, museums, national treasures), and 'intangible heritage' (language, culture, traditions). This includes particular references to language, where it is about protecting ancient or traditional languages. If no such provisions appear in the agreement, the value on this variable is 0.

Split into the following categories:

### LaCHTa: Cultural Heritage: Tangible

Binary variable, takes the value of 1 if the peace agreement includes any reference to tangible aspects of cultural heritage including museums, artefacts, antiques, monuments, handicrafts, schools (madrassa/madaris) and universities. Also includes curriculums (textbooks), other than 'pure' references to promotion of cultural heritage or bodies to do same (in which case code as LaChPro below). If no such provisions appear in the agreement, the value on this variable is 0.

### LaCHIt: Cultural Heritage: Intangible

Binary variable, takes the value of 1 if the peace agreement includes any reference to intangible aspects of cultural heritage including national languages, dances, song, sport, the protection of traditions, including highlighting aspects such as ethnicity and religious practice. If no such provisions appear in the agreement, the value on this variable is 0.

### LaCHPro: Cultural Heritage, Promotion of values

Binary variable, takes the value of 1 if the peace agreement includes any reference to the promotion of cultural heritage including an appeal to values as well as mechanisms for promotion of cultural/religious values. If no such provisions appear in the agreement, the value on this variable is 0.

### LaCHOth: Cultural Heritage Other

Binary variable, takes the value of 1 if the peace agreement includes any reference to the promotion of cultural heritage other than falling in those categories above. If no such provisions appear in the agreement, the value on this variable is 0.

## LaEn: Environment

Binary variable, takes the value of 1 if the peace agreement includes any reference to the environment, using that word or similar, as well as pollution, natural

disasters, epidemics, ecology, food security, and governmental bodies related to environmental affairs, parks and wildlife management. References to epidemics are also included here. If no such provisions appear in the agreement, the value on this variable is 0.

### Wat: Water or riparian (river) rights/access

Binary variable, takes the value of 1 if the peace agreement includes any mention or provision dealing with access to water, dams, harbours, watersheds, canals, sea ports or the sea, wells, or rivers. If no such provisions appear in the agreement, the value on this variable is 0.

# Security Sector

## SsrGua: Security Sector (General)

Binary variable, takes value of 1 if the peace agreement contains provisions dealing with the security guarantees or general references to or provisions related to security that do not fit under the specific variables dealing with DDR and SSR. If no such provisions appear in the agreement, the value of this variable is 1.

## Ceasefire: Ce

This variable takes the value of 1, 2, or 3 if the peace agreement includes any reference to ceasefires or the cessation of hostilities, as outlined below. If no such provisions appear in the agreement, the value of this variable is 0.

1 = general reference to ceasefires, but no mention of a concrete mechanism or process

2 = reference to a concrete mechanism or process, but in more general, less enforceable terms

3 = reference to a concrete ceasefire mechanism or process, detailed and enforceable

The category further splits into:

### CeProv: Ceasefire provisions

Binary variable, takes the value of 1 if the peace agreement includes provisions for an actual ceasefire, with some mechanism. If no such provisions appear in the agreement, the value on this variable is 0. This variable is set to 1 if the previous one (Ceasefire, Ce) is at 2 or 3.

### CeGen: General references to ceasefires

Binary variable, takes the value of 1 if the peace agreement includes any general references to ceasefires, the end of hostilities, or resorting to violence that are not providing clear stipulations for an actual ceasefire. If no such provisions appear in the agreement, the value on this variable is 0. This variable is set to value of 1 if the overall category (Ceasefire, Ce) is equal to 1.

### SsrPol: Police

Numeric variable, takes the value of 1, 2 or 3 if the peace agreement includes any mention or provisions addressing policing, and reform of the police, gendarmerie or of the army where they have been providing policing functions, e.g. where army are handing over functions to police. If no such provisions appear in the agreement, the value on this variable is 0. When the variable is different from 0, the values were coded as follows:

1 = general reference to police, no mention of a concrete mechanism/process

2 = reference to a concrete mechanism or process, but in a more general manner and with less enforceable terms

3 = reference to police, with a concrete mechanism or process that is enforceable and specified in detailed

### SsrArm: Armed Forces

Numeric variable, takes the value of 1, 2 or 3 if the peace agreement includes any provisions addressing the structural reform of the armed forces other than military powersharing (unless other structural reform is included), including when these are referred to using other terms such as Security or Defence Forces. This does not include immediate changes incidental to ceasefire or similar logistical arrangements. If no such provisions appear in the agreement, the value on this variable is 0. When the variable is different from 0, the values were coded as follows:

1 = general references to armed forces, no mention of a concrete mechanism/process

2 = reference to a concrete mechanism or process, but in a more general manner and with less enforceable terms

3 = reference to armed forces, with a concrete mechanism or process that is enforceable and specified in detailed

### SsrDdr: DDR

Numeric variable, takes the value of 1, 2 or 3 if the peace agreement includes any mention of provisions related to Demilitarisation, Disarmament, Demobilisation and Reintegration, in these or other words, e.g. 'normalisation', return to normal life, or mine clearance. If no such provisions appear in the agreement, the value on this variable is 0. When the variable is different from 0, the values were coded as follows:

1 = general references to DDR, no mention of a concrete mechanism/process

2 = reference to a concrete mechanism or process, but in a more general manner and with less enforceable terms

3 = reference to DDR, with a concrete mechanism or process that is enforceable and specified in detailed

Split into:

#### **DdrDemil: Demilitarisation**

Binary variable, takes the value of 1 if the peace agreement contains provisions that deal with issues of demilitarisation, weapons removal or mine clearance that are not an actual DDR programme. If no such provisions appear in the agreement, the value on this variable is 0.

#### **DdrProg: DDR Programme**

Binary variable, takes the value of 1 if the peace agreement provides for an actual DDR programme, or a DDR process that clearly lays out procedures of disarmament, demobilisation or reintegration. If no such provisions appear in the agreement, the value on this variable is 0.

#### **SsrInt: Intelligence service**

Numeric variable, takes the value of 1, 2 or 3 if the peace agreement includes any mention or reference to intelligence services. If no such provisions appear in the agreement, the value on this variable is 0. When the variable is different from 0, the values were coded as follows:

1 = general references to intelligence services, no mention of a concrete mechanism/process

2 = reference to a concrete mechanism or process, but in a more general manner and with less enforceable terms

3 = reference to services, with a concrete mechanism or process that is enforceable and specified in detailed

#### **SsrPsf: Rebel/opposition/Para-statal forces**

Binary variable, takes the value of 1 if the peace agreement includes any mention or references to how rebel/opposition group/forces, or para-statal forces are to be dealt with, included in new political structures, commissions and bodies, or restructured. This includes commitments and actions by rebel/opposition group/forces, or para-statal forces, to participate in processes e.g. future dialogue or enforcement mechanisms, but excludes a mere reference to a group's name without any further stipulation. If no such provisions appear in the agreement, the value on this variable is 0.

### SsrFf: Withdrawal of foreign forces

Binary variable, takes the value of 1 if the peace agreement includes any provision for removal of foreign forces, including acts clearly preparatory to removal. If no such provisions appear in the agreement, the value on this variable is 0.

### Cor: Corruption

Numeric variable, takes the value of 1, 2 or 3 if the peace agreement includes any mention of measures to address corruption, including references to auditing (e.g. the establishment of an auditor general) and mechanisms for 'transparency and accountability'. Provisions for auditing and audit bodies are included here. If no such provisions appear in the agreement, the value on this variable is 0. When the variable is different from 0, the values were coded as follows:

1 = general references to corruption, no mention of a concrete mechanism/process

2 = reference to a concrete mechanism or process, but in a more general manner and with less enforceable terms

3 = reference to corruption, with a concrete mechanism or process that is enforceable and specified in detailed

### SsrCrOcr: Crime/Organised crime

Numeric variable, takes the value of 1, 2 or 3 if the peace agreement includes any reference to crime or organised crime. The variable does not include specific references to illicit drug trafficking, since they are dealt with in SecDrugs. If no such provisions appear in the agreement, the value on this variable is 0. When the variable is different from 0, the values were coded as follows:

1 = general references to crime or organized crime, no mention of a concrete mechanism/process

2 = reference to a concrete mechanism or process, but in a more general manner and with less enforceable terms

3 = reference to crime or organized crime, with a concrete mechanism or process that is enforceable and specified in detailed

### SsrDrugs: Drugs

Numeric variable, takes the value of 1, 2 or 3 if the peace agreement includes any reference to (illicit) drugs and/or drug trade/trafficking. If no such provisions appear in the agreement, the value on this variable is 0. When the variable is different from 0, the values were coded as follows:



1 = general references to drugs or drug trade/trafficking, no mention of a concrete mechanism/process

2 = reference to a concrete mechanism or process, but in a more general manner and with less enforceable terms

3 = reference to drugs or drug trade/trafficking, with a concrete mechanism or process that is enforceable and specified in detailed

### Terr: Terrorism

Binary variable, takes the value of 1 if the peace agreement includes any reference to terrorism, anti-terrorism measures, or terrorist activities. If no such provisions appear in the agreement, the value on this variable is 0.

# Transitional Justice

## TjGen: Transitional Justice General

Includes any general reference to transitional justice that is general and is not specific enough to relate to the categories below. All general references should provide for actually doing something or needing to do something on the past.

It takes the value of

1 = weak and rhetorical commitments or a call of action, such as stating that something should be done without indication on how to address the issue, stating that the issue should be addressed in future negotiations, commitments without indication on how it would be addressed.

2 = substantive commitments, i.e. entries that provide for specific set of actions, measures or institutions.

3 = providing for the adoption of mechanisms with detailed modalities, or strong unusual provisions that are tailored to the specific context.

If no such provisions appear in the agreement, the value on this variable is 0.

## TjAm: Amnesty/pardon

Includes any reference to amnesties or pardons, or similar. It might include provisions of prohibition of amnesty.<sup>6</sup>

It takes the following values:

1 = weak and rhetorical references to amnesty and pardon, lifting of sanctions, and for any provisions dealing with powers relating to granting of amnesty or pardon to executive or legislative actors for undefined crimes.

2 = substantive commitments to grant amnesty or pardons to lift sanctions,

3 = providing for the adoption of mechanisms with detailed modalities, or strong unusual provisions that are tailored to the specific context.

If no such provisions appear in the agreement, the value on this variable is 0.

The amnesties category is further split into:

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<sup>6</sup> For now, negative entries have not been weighted, so it would still appear as 1. The list of these agreements is available from the project team.

### TjAmPro: Amnesty/pardon proper

Binary variable, takes the value of 1 if the peace agreement includes any provisions providing for amnesties or pardons, staying or stopping prosecution, and their modalities (may include provisions of prohibition of amnesty). Includes also 'pardons'. If no such provisions appear in the agreement, the value on this variable is 0.

### TjSan: Relief of other Sanctions

Binary variable, takes the value of 1 if the peace agreement includes any provisions dealing with staying or lifting sanctions other than prosecutions or criminal process (e.g. blacklisting). If no such provisions appear in the agreement, the value on this variable is 0.

### TjPower: Power to amnesty

Binary variable, takes the value of 1 if the peace agreement includes any provisions dealing with powers relating to granting of amnesty or pardon to executive or legislative actors for undefined crimes (hence not necessarily related to the past violence). If no such provisions appear in the agreement, the value on this variable is 0.

### TjAmBan: Amnesty prohibition

Binary variable, takes the value of 1 if the peace agreement includes any provisions that place a ban/prohibition on amnesty. If no such provisions appear in the agreement, the value on this variable is 0.

## TjCou: Courts

Includes any provisions relating to forms of judicial accountability.

It takes the value of:

1 = weak and rhetorical commitments;

2 = substantive commitments to deal with judicial accountability in national and international courts,

3 = providing for strong commitments to deal with judicial accountability in national court that include detailed modalities.

If no such provisions, the value on this variable is 0.

This category splits into:

### **TjJaNc: National Courts**

Binary variable, takes the value of 1 if the peace agreement includes any provisions dealing with judicial accountability in national courts (pro-active, is there a clear mention of a national court having jurisdiction, or being given provision to deal with that past). If no such provisions appear in the agreement, the value on this variable is 0.

### **TjJalc: International Courts**

Binary variable, takes the value of 1 if the peace agreement includes any provisions dealing with judicial accountability in international courts (pro-active, is there a clear mention of a national court having jurisdiction, or being given provision to deal with that past). Any hybrid judicial mechanisms are also coded here. If not such provisions appear in the agreement, the value on this variable is 0.

### **TjMech: Mechanism**

Calls for or provides for a body other than one very specifically tailored to the other categories of some sort to 'deal with the past' (specifically such as for example regional conservatories, Truth and Reconciliation Commissions, etc.). General references to 'need to provide something' are not enough and are coded in TJGen. General references to provide a body are included.

It takes the values of:

1 = weak and rhetorical commitments,

2 = substantive commitments to adopt a TJ mechanism,

3 = providing for the adoption of mechanisms with detailed modalities.

If no such provisions appear in the agreement, the value on this variable is 0.

### **TjPrire: Prisoner release**

Includes any mention or provisions specifically providing for the release of prisoners, for example, providing for it, or noting that it has happened or will happen, or taking clear precursory steps of exchanging lists or similar. It excludes provisions related to hostages.

It takes the value of

1 = brief commitments to release prisoners and list prisoners to be released,

2 = when adopting of a measure or mechanism to release prisoners,

3 = when providing for the adoption of a mechanism with detailed modalities to release prisoners.

If no such provisions appear in the agreement, the value on this variable is 0.

### TjVet: Vetting

Includes any mention of provisions for vetting and lustration processes. Vetting and lustration are understood as the assessment of the integrity of public officers, the consequent exclusion of public servants who have been involved in human rights violations, or alternatively the mass disqualification of public servants who would have been involved in the abuses under the prior regime.

It takes the value of

1 = weak and rhetorical commitments,

2 = substantive commitments to vetting measures,

3 = when providing for the adoption of mechanisms with detailed modalities.

If no such provisions appear in the agreement, the value on this variable is 0.

### TjVic: Victims

Includes any provisions specifically providing assistance to victims in these or other terms (e.g. those who have suffered to do with the conflict). It takes the value of

1 = for weak and rhetorical commitments;

2 = substantive commitments to deal with victims,

3 = providing for strong commitments to deal with victims that include detailed modalities.

If no such provisions appear in the agreement, the value on this variable is 0. Note: The protection of victims is not coded here but in the category on protective measures. Missing persons provisions are also not included here but are dealt with in a separate category.

### TjMis: Missing

Includes any measures addressing finding or getting information about the missing and the dead, where not a sub-part of a holistic mechanism.

It takes the value of

1 = weak and rhetorical commitments,

2 = substantive commitments to vetting measures,

3 = when providing for the adoption of mechanisms with detailed modalities.

If no such provisions appear in the agreement, the value on this variable is 0.

## TjRep: Reparations

If the peace agreement includes any provision for reparations, takes the following values:

1 = weak and rhetorical commitments,

2 = substantive commitments to symbolic reparations,

3 = when providing for the adoption of mechanisms with detailed modalities.

If no such provisions appear in the agreement, the value on this variable is 0.

This category further splits into:

### TjRSym: symbolic reparations

Binary variable, takes the value of 1 if the peace agreement includes any provision for symbolic reparations, or similar matters (e.g. building of memorial sites, organisation of commemoration events, creation of national commemoration day, and apologies, etc). If no such provisions appear in the agreement, the value on this variable is 0.

### TjRMa: Material reparations (includes compensation)

Binary variable, takes the value of 1 if the peace agreement includes any provision for material reparations, compensation or similar matters (e.g. monetary compensation, access to land, education grants, access to health security, increased access to public services with new hospitals, new schools, etc. when specifically designed for affected communities). If no such provisions appear in the agreement, the value on this variable is 0.

## TjNR: Reconciliation

Takes into account any provisions concerning reconciliation, with values as follows:

1 = includes general references to reconciliation (unless it is clearly just a synonym of peace);

2 = provisions going beyond a mere 'call' for reconciliation to establish some sort of reconciliation measure or activity in its own right, for example 'to bring people together in a spirit of unity', where the phrase clearly describes reconciliation;

3 = detailed reconciliation measure.

If no such provisions appear in the agreement, the value on this variable is 0.

Note: This does not include references that particular activities such as SSR **for** reconciliation and powersharing **for** reconciliation, etc. This includes references that link

to other categories in the transitional justice categories (e.g. amnesty or mechanisms) which are not included here unless they clearly provide for active efforts in relation to reconciliation (e.g. The National Council for National Unity and Reconciliation in Burundi 18/03/2005), or references such as 'Government of Unity and Reconciliation', 'Charter of National Unity' which do not go further.

## Implementation

### ImUN: UN Signatory

Binary variable, takes the value of 1 if the peace agreement includes any signature, in whatever capacity, of any UN official, or official of UN organizations (or in the case of unsigned declarations the UN is clearly one of the declaring parties). If no such signatures appear in the agreement, the value on this variable is 0.

### ImOth: Other International Signatory

Binary variable, takes the value of 1 if the peace agreement includes any signature, in whatever capacity, of any other international actor, state representative, or representative of an international organisation (e.g. AU). This may include 'non-state' actors, for example Sant'Egidio community. If no such signatures appear in the agreement, the value on this variable is 0.

### ImRef: Referendum for agreement

Binary variable, takes the value of 1 if the peace agreement includes any reference to the agreement itself being subject to referendum. If no such provisions appear in the agreement, the value on this variable is 0.

### ImPK: International Mission/Force/Similar

Binary variable, takes the value of 1 if the peace agreement includes any provision to deploy peacekeepers or other international teams with a similar function. If no such provisions appear in the agreement, the value on this variable is 0.

### ImE: Enforcement Mechanism

Binary variable, takes the value of 1 if the peace agreement includes any mechanism by which the agreement specifically provides for its own enforcement as a whole (for example, review committee, referral to an international body). This is about whether

an agreement deals with its own failure. If no such provisions appear in the agreement, the value on this variable is 0.

### ImSrc: Source

Binary variable, takes the value of 1 if the source of the text of the agreement is noted in the database. For a list of sources, see <https://www.peaceagreements.org/about>