# Financing Domestic Peace

Peace Agreement Texts and the Durable Resolution of Civil War

Daniel Balke, UC Berkeley

Civil wars the deadliest form of political violence

Several theories on how they can be resolved, many centered on peace agreement (PA) design

Motivation

Third-party guarantees (Walter 1997)

Power-sharing (Hoddie/Hartzell 2003)

Cost-increasing/Fear-reducing (Mattes and Savun 2009)

Electoral participation/Int'l monitoring (Matanock 2017)

The kitchen sink – but only the finest china! (Fortna 2003)

Yet little attention to role of financial accounting

PA implementation costs money: rural dev., DDR, protecting vulnerable people, 'repairing' victims

### Theory

Failure to pay for peace provisions hinders implementation: 'Where is what you promised?'

Flawed implementation reduces probability of peace consolidation: 'Life was better in the bush.'

Non-consolidation ↑ probability of war recurrence, ↓ peace duration

Detailed financial accounting in PA text may help resolve these issues

Three mechanisms may be at play. Specific text:

Theory

Makes it harder to shirk from peace deal commitments

Creates potential audience costs for belligerent/foreign supporters

Serves as focal point that induces discussion on the *how* of implementation

# Research Question and Hypothesis

**RQ:** Does the extent of financial accounting in civil war PA text correlate with duration of peace in civil war-affected countries?

**Hypothesis:** ↑ specificity of financial accounting in PA texts, ↑ duration of peace in civil waraffected countries.

# Plausibility Probe: Colombia

- Pillar 1 of landmark 2016 accord pledges comprehensive program of rural development: schools, roads, development
- Implementation has been slow:
   "Money is a major obstacle to meeting all the promises." (NYT)
- Aug. 29: FARC #2 announces 1-3k dissident combatants will take up arms and continue the war
- "The parties shouldn't have gotten up from the table until the plan was costed and specific sources of financing were matched to those costs." (Director of monitor group)



## **Independent Variable:** Specificity of financial accounting in PA text. Count of indicators, e.g.:

Identification/Estimation of implementation costs

Specification of funding sources (gov't, donors)

Explication of fiscal source (budget line, new tax)

**Dependent variable:** Duration of post-PA peace

Whether or not PA held for at least five years

Number of months PA held

#### Methods

Collect all PA texts from 1975-2018 (N = 355)

Subset to civil war PAs (N = 324)

Methods

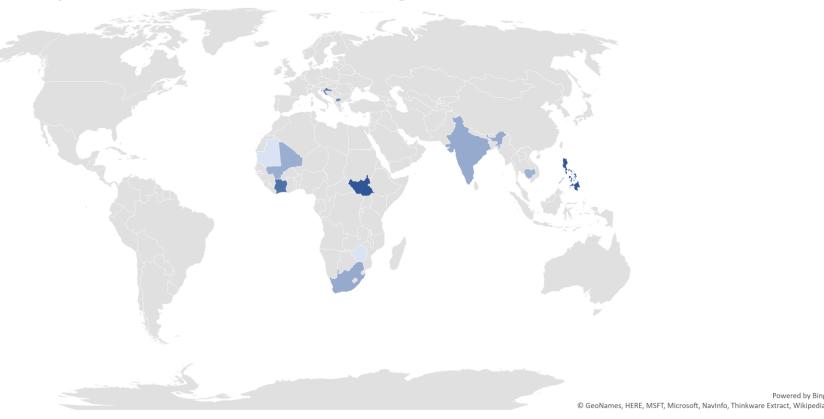
Subset to full (N=67), partial (N=171), and process (N=85) agreements

Take initial, random sample of 15 of each type of PA

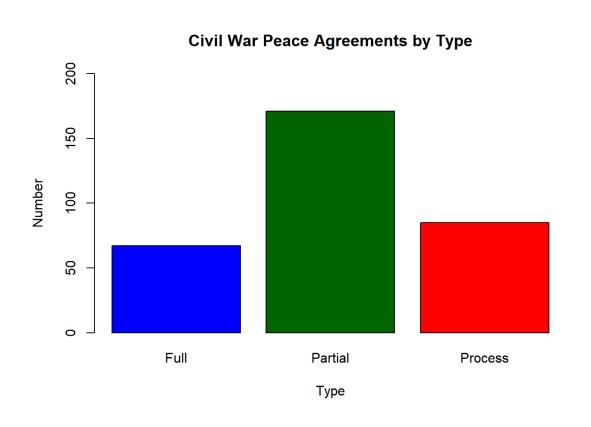
Hand code full PA sample to ensure variation on IV/DV

#### Random Sample of Full Civil War Peace Agreements: 1975-2018

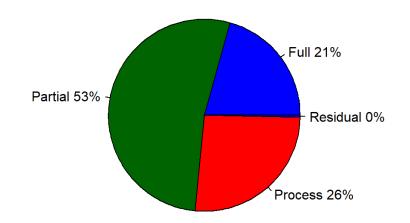
Burundi 2008 Cambodia 1991 Comoros 2002 Cote d'Ivoire 2007 Croatia 1995 India 1993 Macedonia 2001 Mali 1992 Mauritania 1979 Philippines 2014 South Africa 1993 South Sudan 2014 Zimbabwe 1979



### Descriptive Statistics: PA Types

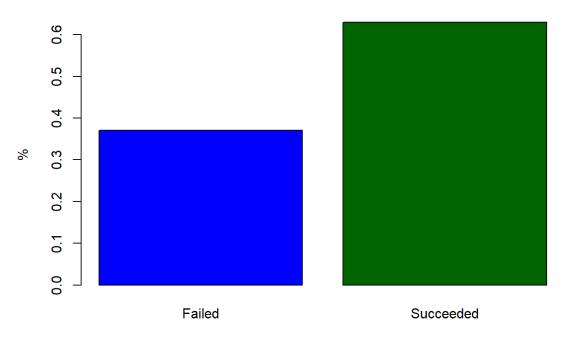


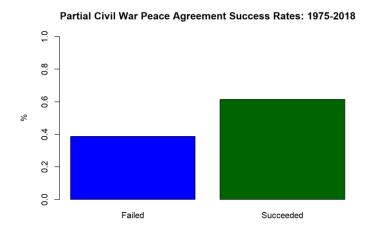
#### Percentage of Civil War Peace Agreements by Type

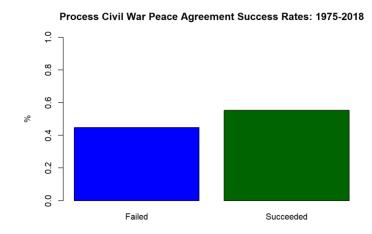


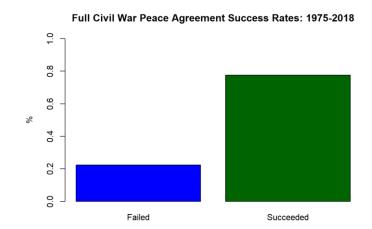
### Descriptive Statistics: Civil War PA Success Rates

#### Civil War Peace Agreement Success Rates: 1975-2018



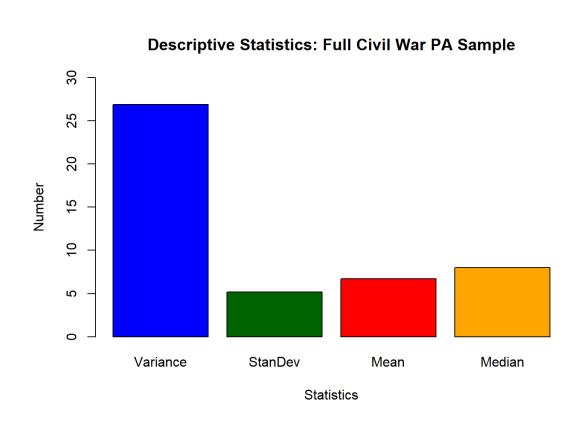


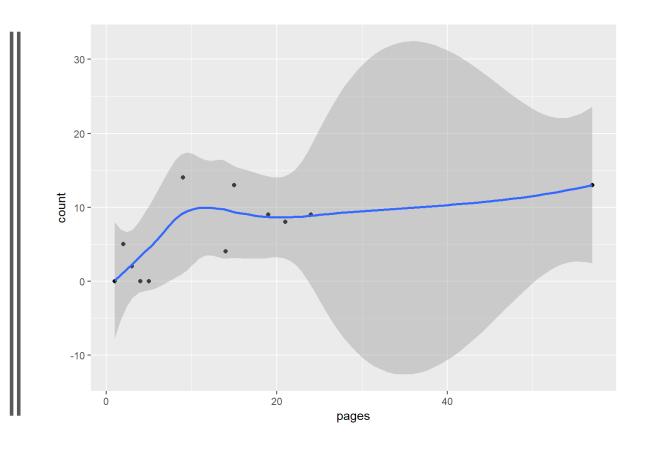




Descriptive Statistics: Civil War PA Success Rates by Type

# Descriptive Statistics: Variation on the IV





Sharpen theory and mechanisms: any good lit?

Hand code remainder of civil war full PA subset

Reign in indicator variables: 16 is too many!

Develop more robust coding rules: less nuance?

Code sample of partial and/or process PA?

#### Next Steps