



UMEÅ UNIVERSITY

PEACE PROCESSES OF THE 1990S

A Report for the Varieties of
Peace Research Program

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VARIETIES OF PEACE

Umeå Working Papers in Peace and Conflict Studies, no 10

ISSN 1654-2398

ISBN 978-91-7855-009-8

Publication date 2018-12-20. Copyright © Author

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Summary

This report is part of the Varieties of Peace Research Program, an ambitious initiative undertaken at the Department of Political Science, Umeå University, Sweden. The program attempts to push our contemporary understanding of peace far beyond the absence of war, and to provide nuance, or rather variation, to a long-running debate. The current report contributes to the program by characterizing and comparing civil-war peace processes that were initiated during the 1990s. In addition, the report offers a long-term analysis of the peace that has (or has not) ensued after these civil wars. The report is descriptive and comparative in its effort and is mainly intended to serve as a basis for further exploration and analysis. Nonetheless, the findings raise some interesting questions.

In practice, the report views peace agreements as expressions of peace processes. Data on peace agreements have been collected from the Peace Agreements Database (PA-X), and data on civil wars have been collected from the Uppsala Conflict Data Program (UCDP). The agreements have been characterized on a general level and on a conflict-specific level. Several trends and patterns in the general picture, as well as differences and similarities between the specific processes, have been found. The report's long-term analysis of peace offers a cautiously optimistic picture. On average, the investigated indicators point to improvements in peace. However, in several cases conditions have deteriorated. Such conclusions are, of course, based on the assumption that the examined data and the measured indicators are relevant to peace. However, it is not obvious that this is the case. Thus, when reading the report, it is worth keeping an open mind regarding the question: What is peace?

Acknowledgments

This report was written during my time as an intern for the Varieties of Peace research program at Umeå University. I would like to thank my supervisors Anna Jarstad, Patrik Johansson and Malin Åkebo, as well as the rest of the Varieties of Peace research team, for providing valuable comments and guidance throughout the writing process. Without it, the report would have been less than what it is. I am also grateful to the rest of the staff at the Department of Political Science for being supportive colleagues during my internship and for answering all my questions about life in the world of academia. Having said this, as author, I take full responsibility for the final report.

Viktor Johansson, 29 October, 2018.

Table of contents

Introduction	1
Outline of the report.....	1
Chapter one: Limitations, key concepts and sources	2
Scope	2
Definitions	2
Armed conflict and violence	2
The ending of armed conflict.....	3
Peace processes, agreements and trends.....	4
Types of agreements	4
Long-term peace trends.....	5
Sources	6
PA-X coding structure	6
Coding example	7
Work process	7
Chapter two: Results.....	8
Chapter outline	8
Section 1. The bigger picture: Civil wars and peace agreements during the 1990s.	8
1.1 The character of peace agreements	9
Section 2. Narrowing the perspective: Civil wars that ended during the 1990s..	11
2.1 The distribution of agreements per conflict	15
Section 3. Characterizing the agreements for civil wars that ended during the 1990s	17
3.1 The most common provisions of peace agreements.....	17
3.2 Process by process.....	20
Section 4. A different perspective: agreement characteristics relevant to the Varieties of Peace Research Program.....	24
4.1 The Varieties of Peace sub-projects	24
4.2 Characteristics of relevant agreements.....	26
Section 5. Peace trends	31
5.1 Casualties of organized violence	31

5.2 Political rights and civil liberties.....	32
5.3 Group Grievances.....	33
5.4 Cases and comparing between trends.....	36
Chapter three: summary and discussion	37
Bibliography	40
Appendix 1. Peace agreements	42
Appendix 2. Variable descriptions from the PA-X.....	57

List of tables

TABLE 1. ALL CIVIL-WAR PEACE AGREEMENTS SIGNED DURING THE 1990S.....	8
TABLE 2. THE 14 MOST COMMON PROVISIONS IN ALL 696 CIVIL WAR PEACE AGREEMENTS SIGNED DURING THE 1990S.....	9
TABLE 3. CIVIL WARS THAT ENDED DURING THE 1990S.....	12
TABLE 4. NUMBER OF PEACE AGREEMENTS CONCERNING EACH CONFLICT	16
TABLE 5. CIVIL WAR PEACE AGREEMENTS CONCERNING CIVIL WARS THAT ENDED DURING THE 1990S.....	17
TABLE 6. THE 14 MOST COMMON PROVISIONS IN THE 337 CIVIL WAR PEACE AGREEMENTS CONCERNING CIVIL WARS THAT ENDED DURING THE 1990S.....	18
TABLE 7. CHARACTERIZATION OF CIVIL-WAR PEACE PROCESSES.....	22
TABLE 8. SELECTED PROVISIONS OF THE 337 CIVIL WAR PEACE AGREEMENTS CONCERNING CONFLICTS THAT ENDED DURING THE 1990S.....	25
TABLE 9. CIVIL WAR PEACE AGREEMENTS WITH SELECTED PROVISIONS, SEPARATED BY TYPE OF AGREEMENT.....	29
TABLE 10. CIVIL WAR PEACE AGREEMENTS WITH SELECTED PROVISIONS, SEPARATED BY TYPE OF INCOMPATIBILITY.....	29
TABLE 11. LONG-TERM PEACE TRENDS.....	34

List of figures

FIGURE 1: COUNTRIES WHERE CIVIL WARS ENDED DURING THE 1990S, AND WHETHER OR NOT AGREEMENTS HAVE BEEN SIGNED DURING THE 1990S.....	14
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Introduction

This report is part of the Varieties of Peace (VoP) research program at the Department of Political Science, Umeå University, Sweden. The program aims to investigate the long-term consequences of initiatives of peace undertaken during the 1990s. Further, the program attempts to answer the following questions: what characterizes peace after the peace processes initiated during the 1990s and what types of variation do they portray? How can this variation be described and explained? (Jarstad et al., 2017, 1). The ambition of the program is to make peace beyond the absence of war researchable by focusing on civil war peace processes (Jarstad et al., 2017, 2).

With the aims, questions and ambitions of the VoP research program as a starting point, the aim of the current report is twofold. The first aim is to provide a descriptive and comparative overview of peace processes initiated during the 1990s. In this respect, specific focus has been placed on peace processes in conflicts that ended during the 1990s. The second aim is to provide a long-term perspective of peace after these processes. In fulfilling this aim, the study poses the following questions:

1. *Which internal armed conflicts occurred during the 1990s, which of these ended during the 1990s and how did they end?*
2. *Which peace processes occurred during the 1990s, what characterizes them, and which of them are relevant to the internal conflicts that ended during the 1990s?*
3. *What characterizes the long-term peace trend after these peace processes?*

Outline of the report

The remainder of this report is divided into three chapters: a conceptual chapter, a results chapter and finally a chapter for discussion and conclusions. *The first chapter* begins by clarifying the scope of the report, before moving on to discuss a few key concepts used throughout the report. It also discusses the main sources used.

The second chapter of the report presents the results, answering the three research questions. It starts with a broader perspective, briefly discussing all civil war agreements signed, and all civil wars active during the 1990s. It then narrows the perspective by detailing which internal conflicts ended during the 1990s and how they ended. After this, the chapter starts to characterize the agreements relevant to those internal conflicts that ended during the 1990s. The report then has another focus, identifying specific characteristics of the agreements that might be of relevance to the Varieties of Peace program. Finally, the second chapter ends by presenting a picture of, and discussing, the long-term peace trends that prevailed after civil wars that were identified as having ended during the 1990s.

The third chapter concludes the report by summarizing and discussing the results.

Chapter one: Limitations, key concepts and sources

Scope

The ambitions of the VoP research program, of which this report is a part, extend well beyond what can be covered in this report alone. Thus, in order to still contribute to the program, this report must offer a narrower focus. In identifying civil war peace processes, this report will limit itself to searching for civil war peace agreements signed during the 1990s. The focus on peace agreements does not mean that the report regards peace agreements to be peace processes *per se*. Rather, it views them as an expression of such processes. Although the report provides an overview of all civil war peace agreements signed during the 1990s, the focus of the report is on peace agreements associated with civil wars that *ended* during the 1990s. Focusing on conflicts that ended during the 1990s means that this report only focuses on a subset of all the conflicts that are of interest to the VoP program. Another limitation important to note is that this report will not investigate the level and quality of the implementation of the agreements. Although this means the report will ignore potentially interesting avenues, it does permit a coherent collection of relevant material and keeps the workload within the given resource limits.

Definitions

Since much of the data has been gathered from the Uppsala Conflict Data Program (UCDP) and the Peace Agreements Database (PA-X), many of the concept definitions have been borrowed directly from these sources.

Armed conflict and violence

The working definition of an armed conflict used in this report is from the UCDP, which define it as: *“a contested incompatibility that concerns government and/or territory where the use of armed force between two parties, of which at least one is the government of a state, results in at least 25 battle-related deaths in a calendar year”* (UCDP, 2017, 1).

The UCDP further distinguishes between four types of armed conflict: 1) Extrasystemic armed conflicts (mainly colonial wars), none of which occurred during the 1990s. 2) Interstate armed conflicts, which are fought between states and are not relevant to this report. 3) Internal armed conflicts, which are fought between the government of a state and one or more internal opposition group(s), without the intervention of another state. 4) Internationalized internal armed conflicts, which are fought between the government of a state and one or more internal opposition groups with the intervention of another state on one or both sides (UCDP, 2017, 9). The last two types are relevant here. However, the distinction between them is not necessary for this report. Thus, they have been merged into one type (henceforth referred to as *internal armed conflict* or *civil*

war), defined as follows: *an armed conflict that occurs between the government of a state and one or more internal opposition group(s) with or without intervention from other states on one or both sides.*

In addition to armed conflict, or state-based violence, the UCDP also tracks what it terms non-state violence and one-sided violence. Non-state violence is defined in the same way as armed conflict, with the exception that neither party is a state. One-sided violence is organized violence perpetrated by some organized armed group, be it a state or rebel group, against civilians. Data regarding casualties from these two types of violence are used in answering the third research question, as a compliment to armed conflict deaths only. Full descriptions of all UCDP definitions can be found at: ucdp.uu.se/downloads/

The ending of armed conflict

To establish when an armed conflict ended, the report utilizes the 25 battle-related deaths per year limit mentioned above. Thus, the last recorded year when a conflict reached the said limit is considered the year the conflict ended. In other words, for a conflict to be relevant to this study, the last recorded year that it led to 25 battle-related deaths must have been during the 1990s. For this, the report utilizes conflict data up to and including 2016. It is important to consider that this definition does not take into account whether or not the core conflict issue has been resolved. This means, for example, that incompatible claims for the political control of a certain territory can remain even after armed conflict has ceased. It is also important to remember that data such as battle-related deaths are often derived from insecure and unstable contexts. Thus, the reliability of the data is always questionable to some degree. In addition, by drawing the line at 25 battle-related deaths, the report considers conflicts that result in 24 fatalities per year or less as having terminated. With such considerations in mind, this definition is still valuable and useful because even though a limit of 25 is arbitrary, its consistent application permits a coherent selection of data that are less prone to biased conceptions of whether or not a conflict is over. Additionally, setting a much lower limit would create potentially insurmountable volumes of data.

Although peace agreements are reached in many conflicts and many conflicts end in peace agreements, not all conflicts include peace agreements. To discern how the identified conflicts ended, this report will utilize the UCDP Conflict Termination Dataset (Kreutz, 2010). This data distinguishes between six types of endings: peace agreement, ceasefire agreement, government victory, rebel victory, low activity, or with either actor ceasing to exist. The coding of these endings is based on the final year of activity and first year of non-activity. This means, for instance, if a ceasefire agreement is signed during the last year of active conflict, or the first year of non-activity, the conflict is coded as having ended in a ceasefire agreement. Finally, the PA-X definition of a peace agreement includes what the UCDP defines as a ceasefire agreement. Since the report utilizes the PA-X definition of a peace agreement, in which the UCDP

codes a conflict as having ended by a ceasefire agreement, it is viewed by this report as having ended in a peace agreement.

Peace processes, agreements and trends

The working definition of peace process utilized in this report is borrowed from PA-X: “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” (Bell et al., 2018, 1). Continuing from this definition, a peace agreement is defined as a: “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” (Bell et al., 2018, 1). In practice, this definition could include a wide array of documents that perhaps extend beyond a more traditional view of what defines a peace agreement. Illustrative examples include:

1. UN security council resolutions, if they somehow attempt to regulate or talk about regulating the behavior of the conflicting parties.
2. Constitutions, be they transitional or more permanent, that deal either with the behavior of the parties or with their incompatibilities.
3. Joint declarations, agreed accounts of meetings or conference papers (such as the International Conference on Yugoslavia), even where these do not create real obligations for the conflicting parties.
4. Agreements that only contain provisions for the cessation of hostilities, no matter the duration.

Types of agreements

The PA-X characterizes three types of agreements: Inter, InterIntra and Intra. Inter agreements are signed between states with regard to international conflicts (Interstate conflicts according to the UCDP) and are not relevant to this report. InterIntra agreements refer to agreements signed by states or other international actors. However, they refer to internal conflicts. Intra agreements refer to agreements signed by a state and other internal/national actors with regard to internal conflicts (Bell et al., 2018, 5). The last two types of agreements are both relevant to this report. They concern conflicts that match the UCDP definitions of internal and internationalized internal armed conflict.

The PA-X also codes agreements for the stated incompatibility the conflict concerns. For this, it uses four categories: 1) Territory (the incompatibility concerns the control of territory). 2) Government (concerns ideological or political disputes). 3) Government/territory (concerns conflicts in which the incompatibility is a mixture of the two former categories). 4) Other (in which the incompatibility does not match the three previous categories). All four categories are relevant to this report. The UCDP utilizes a similar coding for incompatibilities, with the following categories: territory, government and finally a category including both government and territory. There are

some differences in these coding procedures and they are discussed and exemplified in the next chapter.

For clarity, one illustrative example could be the four agreements signed in the conflict between the Cambodian government and the Khmer Rouge. They are all coded as concerning government. However, only three of the agreements are coded as InterIntra, while one is coded as Intra. What makes three of the agreements InterIntra agreements is the fact that, in addition to the conflicting parties, they have also been signed by external parties, in this case, Australia, Canada and some other countries. The one Intra agreement has only been signed by the conflicting parties.

Long-term peace trends

The peace trends at the end of Chapter two in this report were measured in an effort to capture peace over time from various perspectives of what constitutes peace. For this the report will examine three indicators: Deaths per year resulting from organized violence, group grievances, and political rights and civil liberties. To measure deaths per year resulting from organized violence, the report utilizes the UCDP Georeferenced Events Dataset (Mihai and Sundberg, 2017, Sundberg and Melander, 2013). This will include all three UCDP types of violence (state-based, non-state, and one-sided). To measure group grievances the report utilizes data from the Fund for Peace's Fragile States Index (Fund For Peace, 2017a, Fund For Peace, 2017b). This indicator focuses on divisions and schisms between societal groups (Fund For Peace, 2017a). To measure political rights and civil liberties the report looks at Freedom House scores. Freedom House measures levels of political rights and civil liberties in states (Freedom House, 2018b). These three datasets will not be merged but presented as separate and are seen as representative of different aspects and understandings of peace which, when analyzed together, provide a fuller picture. Full descriptions of the indicators can be found on the websites of the respective organizations: <https://freedomhouse.org/>; <http://fundforpeace.org/fsi/>; <http://ucdp.uu.se/>

Using the above-mentioned indicators to measure peace is an attempt to capture the conceptualizations of peace that have been discussed within the VoP program. It is based on a perception of peace as situations, ideas and relationships. Deaths per year resulting from organized violence are used to depict the situation. While keeping in mind that violence can be geographically limited within a country, higher levels of this indicator point to a less peaceful situation in the relevant country. Group grievances are seen to depict the relations within a country. Higher levels of group grievances are seen as indicating a less peaceful society. The conceptualization of peace as ideas, which has been discussed in the VoP, is intended to focus also on the individual, on his/her ideas, experiences and visions of peace. The report has not identified any indicator that satisfactorily captures this. Looking at political rights and civil liberties is based instead on the assumption that it is indicative of at least some of the governing ideas (not necessarily the popular ideas) within a country. These ideas are seen as

governing in the sense that political rights and civil liberties shape the lives of the people living under them. Thus, the indicators only capture the VoP conceptualizations of peace in crude and imperfect ways. They are discussed again in Chapter two, section five.

Sources

For the identification of relevant cases of civil war peace processes, this report utilizes publicly available and compiled information from the Uppsala Conflict Data Program (UCDP) and the Peace Agreements Database (PA-X) at the University of Edinburgh. The UCDP data provide information about relevant conflicts, while the PA-X data provide information about relevant peace agreements. Since the PA-X uses the UCDP definition of a conflict, the two databases are coterminous to that end. This therefore makes for coherent and relevant cross-examination.

Although there are other sources of peace agreements than the PA-X, there is good reason to choose it. In addition to its elaborate coding (225 codes), the PA-X pools documents on peace processes from several other databases including: the UN peacemaker database; the United States Institute of Peace; the International Conflict Research Institute; and Conciliation Resources. It also gathers data from case-specific resources on conflicts in Colombia, South Africa, Bosnia and India, for example, and directly from governments and actors involved in specific peace processes (PA-X, 2017a, PA-X, 2017b) Further, the PA-X is the largest and most inclusive database identified by this report, thus making it a reliable source for a descriptive and informative overview.

PA-X coding structure

The PA-X codes agreements using categories, sub-categories and divisions of sub-categories (sub-sub-categories). There are thirteen categories: groups, gender, state definition, governance, power sharing, human rights and equality, justice-sector reform, socio-economic reconstruction, land, property and environment, security sector, transitional justice, and implementation. There are 84 sub-categories and most of them are further divided into sub-sub-categories. The categories are not coded, only the sub and sub-sub-categories, totaling 225 codes. Further, there are two types of codes: binary and quaternary. The binary codes state whether a provision or a phrase or word is present (1) or not (0) present in the agreement. The quaternary codes in general speak of the level of commitment the agreement makes to a certain provision, or the level of detail to which a provision is described. These start at 0, meaning not included, up to 3, which generally means detailed descriptions and responsibilities. However, the exact definition of each quaternary level (0, 1, 2 or 3) varies slightly. All codes included in this report are detailed in Appendix 2 and a full set of descriptions is available in the Peace Agreements Database and Dataset Codebook, available at www.peaceagreements.org

Coding example

The Power sharing category includes a sub-category called Territorial power sharing. This quaternary sub-category states whether or not the agreement mentions territorial power sharing and, if so, the level of detail. It is further split into four binary sub-sub-categories detailing the nature of the territorial power sharing: federal or similarly sub-divided, local/municipal, autonomy, other. If at least one of the sub-sub-categories is coded as 1, the sub-category will also be coded as at least 1. Depending on the level of detail and the level of commitment that is signaled by the text, the sub-category is coded as either 1, 2 or 3.

Work process

The work process of this report can be summarized in the following six steps.

1. Setting the report's boundaries.
2. Identifying relevant sources.
3. Identification of internal armed conflicts that were active and peace agreements that were signed during the 1990s.
4. Identification of internal conflicts that ended during the 1990s and the agreements relevant to them.
5. Characterization from various perspectives, and comparisons, of the agreements.
6. Identifying and discussing indicators that are of relevance to the analysis of long-term peace trends.

Chapter two: Results

Chapter outline

This chapter examines, compares and characterizes civil war peace processes from the 1990s. It will begin by looking at the bigger picture and then systematically moving closer to a more narrow and detailed analysis. Intertwined with the discussion on civil war peace processes is a discussion on civil wars. Thus, this chapter starts by briefly discussing all civil wars and all civil war peace agreements during the 1990s. It then continues by presenting a narrower perspective, focusing on civil wars that ended during the 1990s and the agreements relevant to these conflicts. Finally, the chapter presents and discusses the long-term peace trends that developed after the conflicts that ended during the 1990s.

Section 1. The bigger picture: Civil wars and peace agreements during the 1990s.

The UCDP lists 108 armed conflicts as being active during the 1990s. Of these, 103 were internal armed conflicts which, in turn, were fought by 61 countries as the main warring parties (this excludes secondary warring parties). According to the UCDP, by type of incompatibility, 56 of these conflicts concerned territory and 47 concerned government. The PA-X data list 742 peace agreements concluded during the 1990s and, of these, 696 agreements concerned internal armed conflict. Table 1 shows the distribution of these 696 agreements separated by type of agreement and type of conflict incompatibility (according to PA-X classifications).

Table 1. All civil-war peace agreements signed during the 1990s.

Type of incompatibility	Type of agreement		
	Intra	InterIntra	Total
Territory	3 (0.4)	14 (2.0)	17 (2.4)
Government	232 (33.3)	29 (4.1)	261 (37.5)
Government/territory	334 (47.9)	76 (10.9)	410 (58.9)
Other	8 (1.1)	0 (0.0)	8 (1.1)
Total	577 (82.9)	119 (17.1)	696 (100)

Note: Numbers in parentheses are percentage of total. Source: Peace Agreements Database (PA-X, 2017a)

As seen in Table 1, *Intra* agreements are roughly five times more common (577) than *InterIntra* agreements (119). For types of conflict, we see that 410 agreements concern *government/territory* conflict, 261 agreements concern *government* conflict, 17 agreements concern *territory* conflict and only 8 concern *other*. The most common category-within-category is *Intra* agreements concerning *government/territory* conflicts (334), while there are 0 *InterIntra* agreements concerning the *other* conflict type.

1.1 The character of peace agreements

The PA-X data includes 225 different types of provisions. However, the purpose here is not to discuss every small detail of each agreement, but rather to provide a general characterization. Table 2 shows the 14 most common types of provisions in the agreements presented in Table 1. Descriptions of the variables are presented in the section below the table. It is important to keep in mind that the variables in the PA-X data are constructed in specific ways. Had they been different then the results of a study such as this would probably have been different.

There are many interesting things to note about table 2. The first is that the most common provision, ceasefires, is present in 48.9 percent of the agreements. This means that no single provision is present in as many as half of the agreements. It is also of interest to note the level of UN involvement. Considering that previous research has shown a post-Cold War surge in peacekeeping missions and UN involvement in internal conflicts (Jarstad, 2016, 87), you might expect to find a higher percentage of agreements with UN signatures. On the other hand, a lack of UN signatures does not necessarily mean that the UN was not involved. It is also of interest to consider what is *not* seen in Table 2. Considering, for example, the high degree of salience given to democracy by the UN in documents such as *An Agenda for Peace* (Boutros-Ghali, 1992) or *Agenda for Democratization* (Boutros-Ghali, 1996), you might expect democratization to be a common provision. Investigating the data, we find, nonetheless, that democracy is present in 23.4 percent of the agreements. This figure could perhaps reflect the number of agreements with UN signatures. However, only 36 of the 189 agreements signed by the UN contain provisions for Democracy (PA-X, 2017a).

It is also possible to characterize the agreements by presenting the least common provisions. Quite a few (19) of the 225 provisions are not present in any of the 696 agreements, and 14 provisions are only present in one agreement. This perhaps says more about the high number of potential codes in this specific database (PA-X) than it does about the general character of peace agreements.

Table 2. The 14 most common provisions in all 696 civil war peace agreements signed during the 1990s.

Number (and %) of agreements with provisions	Provisions						
	Ceasefire	Development	Rebel inclusion	Peace keepers	Civil society	Enforcement mechanism	Mobility
	340 (48.9)	282 (40.5)	270 (38.8)	269 (38.6)	267 (38.4)	262 (37.6)	230 (33.0)
	State definition	Security	DDR	Refugees	Human Rights framework	UN	Media & communications
	217 (31.2)	216 (31.0)	202 (29.0)	200 (28.7)	192 (27.6)	189 (27.2)	187 (26.9)

Note: Numbers in parentheses are the percentage of the 696 civil war agreements. Source: Peace Agreements Database (PA-X, 2017a)

1.1.1 Variable descriptions

These descriptions apply to Table 2 (above). Variables 1, 10, 11, 12 and 14 were originally coded (in the PA-X data) on a scale of 0–3 (more or less detailed/specific/commitment). However, in this report they are presented in simplified forms as binary (in other words, the provision is present/included or not present/included). For a fuller description of the variables, see Appendix 2 or Bell et.al (2018). Acronyms in parentheses are the original names of the variables in the PA-X data.

1. Ceasefire (Ce): If the peace agreement mentions ceasefires or the cessation of hostilities.
2. Development (Dev): If the agreement includes provisions that address socio-economic reconstruction, or development in general terms.
3. Rebel inclusion (SsrPsf): If the agreement mentions how rebel or opposition groups are to be dealt with, included in political structures or restructured.
4. Peacekeepers (ImPK): If the agreement includes provisions for the deployment of peacekeepers, or other international groups with a similar function.
5. Civil society (Civso): If the agreement includes provisions for the inclusion of civil society.
6. Enforcement mechanism (ImE): If the agreement contains mechanisms specifically providing for its own enforcement.
7. Mobility/Access (HrMob): If the agreement includes explicit provisions guaranteeing or restricting mobility or access. For instance, safe passage, transit routes, flow of humanitarian aid (not freedom of movement, as in civil liberties).
8. State definition (StDef): If the agreement addresses how the state defines itself, in territorial, ideational or other terms.
9. Security (SsrGua): If the agreement includes provisions dealing with security guarantees, not including DDR or SSR.
10. DDR (SsrDdr): If the agreement includes or mentions provisions to demilitarize, disarm, demobilize or reintegrate (DDR).
11. Refugees (Gref): If the agreement refers to refugees, displaced persons, repatriation.
12. Human Rights framework (HrFra): If the agreement contains provisions to establish a human rights framework to guide the period after the conflict.
13. UN (ImUN): If the agreement is signed by the UN.
14. Media & Communications (Med): If the agreement mentions media or communications. References to freedom of speech are not included here.

Not included in table 2 but part of the above discussion.

1. Democracy (HrDem): If the agreement makes reference to commitments to democracy.

Section 2. Narrowing the perspective: Civil wars that ended during the 1990s

The previous section provided a context for the current section. This section begins by answering the first research question: *which internal armed conflicts occurred during the 1990s, which of these ended during the 1990s and how did they end?* Of the 103 internal armed conflicts that were active during the 1990s, only 47 ended during the same decade, and these 47 conflicts played out in 32 countries (Allansson et al., 2017). Table 3 below lists all internal armed conflicts that ended during the 1990s, how they ended and when, the country where they were fought, and the parties involved in them. In addition, it also shows the difference in coding between the UCDP and the PA-X in terms of what incompatibility the conflict concerns. Figure 1 below shows the geographical dispersion of the conflicts on a country level.

In table 3, we see that only 16 of the conflicts listed ended in a peace or ceasefire agreement. The most common type of ending, with 19 such cases, was a victory for either side. The remaining conflicts ended with either low activity or with one of the actors ceasing to exist. In addition, 16 of the countries listed (marked with *) have not been a primary party to any armed conflict after 1999. The UK and Cambodia (marked with **) have not been primary parties to intrastate or internationalized intrastate conflicts after 1999 yet have been primary parties to interstate conflicts (conflicts between states). Although peace and conflict are not necessarily mutually exclusive, the way in which a conflict ends, and the elapsed time, can be of interest when comparing long-term peace trends between countries (see section 5 of this chapter).

When examining the coding of incompatibility between the two datasets we find several differences. One recurring difference is that most conflicts coded as territory by the UCDP are coded as government/territory by the PA-X. This is mainly because the PA-X regards most internal conflicts over territory to also concern government. For a number of conflicts, no agreements have been identified. Thus, the PA-X coding for these conflicts is unknown. For other conflicts (for instance, Indonesian government versus Fretilin) there is more than one PA-X coding (for instance, Other and Government/Territory). While the UCDP codes the incompatibility from a conflict perspective, the PA-X codes it based on the incompatibility that each specific agreement addresses. For a single conflict, there can be multiple agreements, and the different agreements, although about the same conflict, can contain provisions and wording that place them in different categories.

Table 3. Civil wars that ended during the 1990s.

Country (government)	Conflict end year	Incompatibility PA-X	Incompatibility UCDP	Type of Ending	Opposing forces
Azerbaijan	1995	Unknown	Government	Government victory	Military faction (forces of Suret Husseinov); OPON Forces
Bangladesh	1991	Gov/Ter	Territory	Ceasefire agreement	JSS/SB
Bosnia-Herzegovina*	1995	Gov/Ter	Territory	Peace Agreement	Serbian irregulars; Serbian Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina
	1995	Gov/Ter	Territory	Government victory	Autonomous Province of Western Bosnia
	1994	Gov/Ter	Territory	Peace Agreement	Croatian irregulars; Croatian Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina
Cambodia**	1998	Gov	Government	Government victory	KR; KPRLF; FUNCINPEC
Comoros*	1997	Gov/Ter	Territory	Rebel victory	MPA/Republic of Anjouan
Croatia*	1995	Gov & Gov/Ter	Territory	Peace Agreement	Serbian irregulars; Serbian Republic of Krajina
Djibouti*	1999	Gov/Ter	Government	Peace Agreement	FRUD; FRUD-AD
El Salvador*	1991	Gov	Government	Peace Agreement	FMLN
Ethiopia	1991	Gov	Government	Government victory	EPRDF; Military faction (Harar garrison)
	1991	Unknown	Territory	Rebel victory	EPLF
	1996	Unknown	Territory	Low activity	ARDUF
	1991	Unknown	Territory	Low activity	IGLF
Georgia	1993	Unknown	Government	Government victory	National Guard and Mkhedrioni; Zviadists
	1993	Ter & Gov/Ter	Territory	Peace Agreement	Republic of Abkhazia
Guatemala*	1995	Government	Government	Peace Agreement	URNG
Guinea-Bissau*	1999	Government	Government	Rebel victory	Military Junta for the Consolidation of Democracy, Peace and Justice
India	1993	Unknown	Territory	Low activity	Sikh insurgents
	1997	Unknown	Territory	Low activity	KNF
Indonesia	1999	Other & Gov/Ter	Territory	Peace Agreement	Fretilin
Iraq	1996	Unknown	Territory	Low activity	KDP; PUK
Laos*	1990	Unknown	Government	Government victory	LRM
Lebanon	1990	Unknown	Government	Government victory	Forces of Michel Aoun
Lesotho*	1998	Government	Government	Government victory	Military faction

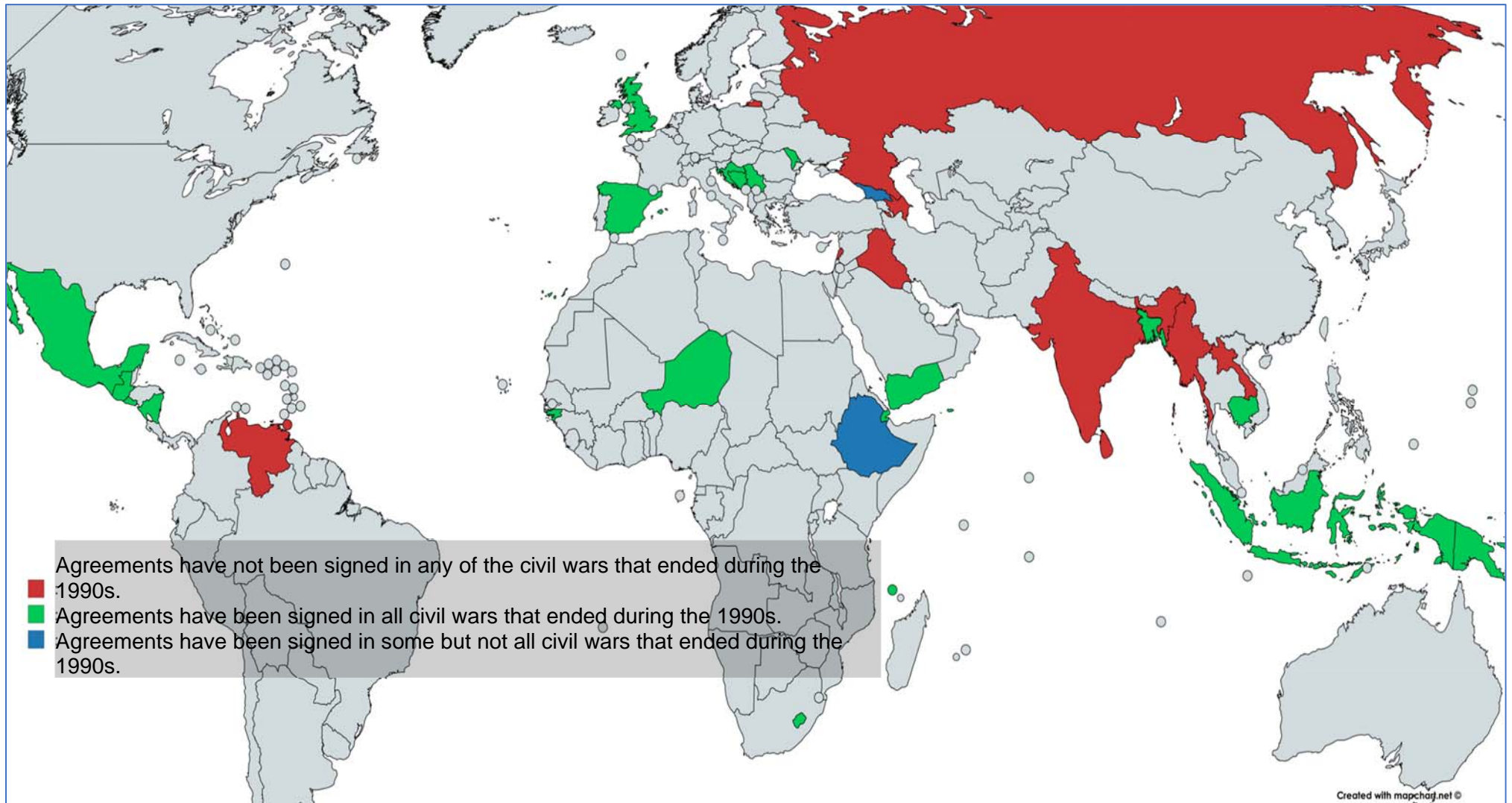
Mexico*	1996	Gov/Ter	Government	Low activity	EZLN; EPR
Moldova*	1992	Gov/Ter	Territory	Ceasefire agreement	PMR
Myanmar	1994	Unknown	Government	Low activity	ABSDF
	1996	Unknown	Territory	Government victory	NMSP; BMA
	1997	Unknown	Territory	Rebel victory	UWSA
Nicaragua*	1990	Government	Government	Ceasefire agreement	Contras/FDN
Niger	1994	Gov/Ter	Territory	Peace Agreement	CRA
	1995	Gov/Ter	Territory	Low activity	FDR
Papua New Guinea*	1996	Gov/Ter	Territory	Ceasefire agreement	BRA
Russia (Soviet Union)	1991	Unknown	Territory	Actor ceases to exist	Republic of Armenia
	1990	Unknown	Territory	Government victory	APF
	1993	Unknown	Government	Government victory	Parliamentary Forces
	1999	Unknown	Territory	Government victory	Wahhabi movement of the Buinask district
Serbia (Yugoslavia)*	1991	Gov/Ter	Territory	Ceasefire agreement	Republic of Slovenia
	1992	Gov/Ter	Territory	Actor ceases to exist	Croatian irregulars; Republic of Croatia
	1999	Gov/Ter	Territory	Peace Agreement	UCK
Spain*	1991	Gov/Ter	Territory	Low activity	ETA
Sri Lanka	1990	Unknown	Government	Government victory	JVP
Trinidad and Tobago*	1990	Unknown	Government	Government victory	Jamaat al-Muslimeen
United Kingdom**	1998	Gov/Ter	Territory	Ceasefire agreement	PIRA; RIRA
Venezuela	1992	Unknown	Government	Government victory	Military faction (forces of Hugo Chávez)
Yemen (North Yemen)	1994	Gov/Ter	Territory	Actor ceases to exist	Democratic Republic of Yemen

Note: Different groups of opposing forces are separated by a semicolon. Opposing groups listed are limited to those active in the conflict during the 1990s.

* Has not been a primary party to any armed conflict after 1999. ** Has not been a primary party to intrastate or internationalized intrastate conflicts after 1999 yet has been so to interstate conflict.

Source: UCDP/PRIO Armed Conflict Dataset version 17.2 (Allansson et al., 2017); UCDP Conflict Termination Dataset (Kreutz, 2010); Peace Agreements Database (PA-X, 2017a)

Figure 1: Countries where civil wars ended during the 1990s, and whether or not agreements have been signed during the 1990s.



Map created using Mapchart.net. Source: UCDP/PRIO Armed Conflict Dataset version 17.2 (Allansson et al., 2017); UCDP Conflict Termination Dataset (Kreutz, 2010); Peace Agreements Database (PA-X, 2017a)

2.1 The distribution of agreements per conflict

As seen in Table 3, not all internal armed conflicts end in a peace agreement. In addition, as seen in Figure 1, not all conflicts see the signing of peace agreements. In fact, the report has only identified agreements for 27 of the 47 conflicts listed in Table 3 (337 agreements in total). For six of the conflicts, only one agreement each has been identified, and for one of the conflicts, 86 agreements have been identified (42 of these 86 also relate to some other conflict). This section begins to detail the connection between the conflicts presented in Table 3 and the agreements concerning them.

To begin, it is important to note that the conflicts of the UCDP and the agreements of the PA-X are not explicitly connected in the datasets. Still, in most cases, this connection is evident from the signatories of the agreements, the text of the agreement or the agreement background provided by the PA-X and the conflict background provided by the UCDP. Yet, in some cases, this connection is not so evident. For example, the signatories to some agreements are sometimes only mentioned by name and not by affiliation. In such cases, additional background information has been obtained in order to make clear which agreement concerns which conflict (or conflicts, in some cases). For this information, sources such as court documents (for instance, the International Criminal Tribunal for the former Yugoslavia), scientific journal articles and newspaper articles (via searches in Factiva) have been used.

The majority of the agreements examined in this report are clearly connected to one specific conflict. That being said, the definition used for an internal armed conflict and the nature of certain agreements have the effect that some agreements cannot be linked to one conflict alone. This is most evident in the conflicts that took place within the former Yugoslavian republics. In addition, a few agreements relating to these conflicts have been signed, for example, between rebel groups only, without any state party. All this considered, the definition used for an internal armed conflict requires one side to be a state, and the fact that these agreements appear to regulate behavior between non-state groups only means they could be regarded as falling outside the defined boundaries. However, the texts of these agreements and their background stories reveal that they clearly relate to the conflicts presented in Table 3 and have therefore been included.

Out of the 337 agreements signed during the 1990s (that are identified as concerning internal armed conflicts that ended during the 1990s), 289 are about one conflict only. The remaining 48 concern either multiple conflicts within one state or different conflicts in different states. This presents challenges to the presentation of and comparison between different peace processes, as they overlap. Table 4 (below) shows the distribution of agreements on the relevant conflicts. Agreements about more than one conflict are counted once for each conflict they concern. Consequently, the aggregate number in Table 4 will exceed the total number of identified agreements. Table 4 offers only a brief numerical overview of the distribution of agreements per conflict. A more

detailed and specific list is provided in Appendix 1. Examining the information in Appendix 1 and comparing it to the data in Table 3, we find that of the 337 agreements, 282 concern conflicts that ended in a peace agreement (ceasefire agreements included). A number of these 282 agreements (especially those concerning conflicts within the former Yugoslavia) also concern conflicts that did not end in a peace agreement.

Table 4. Number of peace agreements concerning each conflict.

Conflict Government - Opposition group	No. of specific agreements	Agreement(s) concerning other conflict(s) as well.	Total
Bangladesh - JSS/SB	1	0	1
Cambodia - KR; KPNLF; FUNCINPEC	6	0	6
Comoros - MPA/Republic of Anjouan	2	0	2
Djibouti - FRUD; FRUD-AD	1	0	1
El Salvador - FMLN	14	1	15
Ethiopia - EPRDF; Military faction (Harar garrison)	1	0	1
Georgia - Republic of Abkhazia	31	0	31
Guatemala - URNG	18	1	19
Guinea Bissau - Military Junta for the Consolidation of Democracy, Peace and Justice	6	0	6
Indonesia - Fretilin	6	0	6
Lesotho - Military Faction	2	0	2
Mexico - EZLN; EPR	6	0	6
Moldova - PMR	5	0	5
Nicaragua - Contras/FDN	7	1	8
Niger - CRA	2	0	2
Niger - FDR	1	0	1
Papua New Guinea - BRA	28	0	28
Spain - ETA	1	0	1
United Kingdom - PIRA; RIRA	17	0	17
Yemen (North Yemen) - Democratic Republic of Yemen	1	0	1
Former Yugoslavia			
Bosnia-Herzegovina - Serbian irregulars; Serbian Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina	40	43	83
Bosnia-Herzegovina - Autonomous Province of Western Bosnia	0	3	3
Bosnia-Herzegovina - Croatian irregulars; Croatian Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina	44	42	86
Croatia - Serbian irregulars; Serbian Republic of Krajina	13	1	14
Serbia (Yugoslavia) - Republic of Slovenia	1	3	4
Serbia (Yugoslavia) - Croatian irregulars; Republic of Croatia	29	3	32
Serbia (Yugoslavia) - UCK	6	1	7

Source: Peace Agreements Database (PA-X, 2017a): UCDP/PRIO Armed Conflict Dataset version 17.2 (Allansson et al., 2017)

Section 3. Characterizing the agreements for civil wars that ended during the 1990s

This section, like section 1, presents the prevalence of the most common provisions for peace agreements signed during the 1990s. However, the focus here is narrowed down to only include agreements for internal conflicts that ended during the 1990s, i.e. the conflicts presented in the previous section. This focus has been adopted to answer part of the second research question: *Which peace processes occurred during the 1990s, what characterizes them, and which of them are relevant to the internal conflicts that ended during the 1990s?* The different categories in Table 5 are discussed in Chapter 1 (types of agreements) and the provisions shown in Table 6 are explained in the variable description section below the table.

Comparing Table 5 below to Table 1 (page 7), we see similar distributions of the different categories but still with some differences. Just like Table 1, *Intra* agreements form the majority and, similarly, *Intra* agreements concerning *government/territory* conflicts are the most common category-within-category. We see, however, that *Intra* agreements about *government* conflicts comprise a larger proportion of the agreements than *InterIntra* agreements about *government territory*. The low number of some of the categories unfortunately makes comparisons between them less meaningful.

Table 5. Civil war peace agreements concerning civil wars that ended during the 1990s.

Type of conflict incompatibility	Type of agreement		
	Intra	InterIntra	Total
Territory	3 (0.9)	0 (0.0)	3 (0.9)
Government	48 (14.2)	8 (2.4)	56 (16.6)
Government/territory	210 (62.3)	67 (19.9)	277 (82.2)
Other	1 (0.3)	0 (0.0)	1 (0.3)
Total	262 (77.7)	75 (22.3)	337 (100)

Note: Only agreements signed during the 1990s. Numbers in parentheses are a percentage of total/total. Source: Peace Agreements Database (PA-X, 2017a)

3.1 The most common provisions of peace agreements

In Table 6 (below) we see the 14 most commonly occurring provisions for peace agreements signed during the 1990s for internal conflicts that ended during the 1990s. Compared to Table 2 (showing common provisions for all civil war agreements signed during the 1990s), there are many similarities. Thirteen of the provisions in Table 2 recur in Table 6. Only the provision for Media and Communication is not also present in Table 6. Instead, we find a provision for Treaty incorporation. A possible explanation for the similarities between the results in Table 2 and Table 6 (besides the fact that Table 6 is a substrate of Table 2) is that it indicates a certain set of trends in civil war peacemaking that was prevalent during the 1990s (and perhaps still is).

Even though most of the provisions in Table 2 and Table 6 overlap, there are interesting differences in the degree to which they have been included. One possible explanation for these differences could be the proportion of data made up by a certain peace process. Although conflicts in the Former Yugoslavian republics (FYR) can be understood as being separate, the peace processes relevant to them are, in many instances and in many ways, intertwined. For the 696 agreements presented in Table 1, 25.8 percent (180 agreements) concern these conflicts. For the 337 agreements presented in Table 6, 53.4 percent (180 agreements) concern FYR conflicts. When examining, for instance, the presence of UN signatures in the 180 FYR agreements, the figure is 46.7 percent. For the non-FYR agreements presented in Table 1 and Table 5, the proportion of UN signatures is 20.3 percent (105 agreements) and 35.5 percent (84 agreements), respectively.

The provisions for Ceasefire, Refugees, Human Rights Framework and DDR can be broken down further in the agreements than being merely present or not present (Bell et al., 2018). Starting with the provisions for ceasefires, the data (PA-X, 2017a) reveal that only 39 of the 165 agreements containing such provisions provide concrete mechanisms or processes that are detailed and enforceable. Examining the 118 agreements that contain provisions for Refugees, the data show that 57 of these only offer rhetorical references to refugees. Nevertheless, 27 agreements provide detailed provisions regarding refugees while 34 agreements offer such provisions in a detailed and substantial way. Of the 106 agreements that contain provisions for a Human Rights Framework, 51 provide detailed provisions that indicate commitment while 39 provide mainly rhetorical references. Although provisions for DDR are included in 89 agreements, only 18 of these agreements offer concrete and enforceable mechanisms for DDR (PA-X, 2017a).

As discussed in section 1, what is also of interest is what is *not* seen in Table 6. For example, there are no provisions for democracy. Examining the data (PA-X, 2017a), we find that despite rising UN involvement in internal conflicts (Jarstad, 2016, 87) (48.9 percent of the agreements) and a high level of salience given to democracy during the 1990s (Boutros-Ghali, 1992, Boutros-Ghali, 1996), only 19.3 percent of the agreements make reference to commitments to democracy.

Table 6. The 14 most common provisions in the 337 civil war peace agreements concerning civil wars that ended during the 1990s.

Number (and %) of agreements with provisions	Provisions						
	Peace keepers	Ceasefire	UN	Development	Mobility/ access	Civil society	Enforcement mechanism
	Rebel inclusion	Refugees	State definition	Human Rights framework	Security	Treaty incorporation	DDR
	172 (51.0)	165 (48.9)	148 (43.9)	147 (43.6)	134 (39.8)	132 (39.2)	120 (35.6)
	119 (35.3)	118 (35.0)	112 (33.2)	106 (31.5)	96 (28.4)	91 (27.0)	89 (26.4)

Note: Only agreements signed during the 1990s. Numbers in parentheses are the percentage of the 337 civil war agreements. Source: Peace Agreements Database (PA-X, 2017a)

3.1.1 Variable descriptions

These descriptions apply to Table 6 (above). Variables 2, 9, 11 and 14 were originally coded (in the PA-X data) on a scale of 0–3 (more or less detailed/specific/commitment). However, in this report they are presented in simplified forms as binary. In other words, the provision is present/included or not. For a fuller description of the variables, see Appendix 2 or Bell et.al (2018). Acronyms in parentheses are the original names of the variables in the PA-X data.

1. Peacekeepers (ImPK): If the agreement includes provisions for the deployment of peacekeepers, or other international group with similar function.
2. Ceasefire (Ce): If the peace agreement mentions ceasefires or the cessation of hostilities.
3. UN (ImUN): If the agreement is signed by the UN or any UN official.
4. Development (Dev): If the agreement includes provisions that address socio-economic reconstruction, or development in general terms.
5. Mobility/Access (HrMob): If the agreement includes explicit provisions guaranteeing or restricting mobility or access. For instance, safe passage, transit routes, flow of humanitarian aid (not freedom of movement as in civil liberties).
6. Civil society (Civso): If the agreement includes provisions for the inclusion of civil society.
7. Enforcement mechanism (ImE): If the agreement contains mechanisms specifically providing for its own enforcement.
8. Rebel inclusion (SsrPsf): If the agreement mentions how rebel or opposition groups are to be dealt with, included in political structures or restructured.
9. Refugees (Gref): If the agreement refers to refugees, displaced persons, repatriation.
10. State definition (StDef): If the agreement addresses how the state defines itself, in territorial, ideational or other terms.
11. Human Rights framework (HrFra): If the agreement contains provisions to establish a human rights framework to guide the period after the conflict.
12. Security (SsrGua): If the agreement includes provisions dealing with security guarantees, not including DDR or SSR.
13. Treaty incorporation (HrTinc): If the agreement mentions incorporation of international treaties.
14. DDR (SsrDdr): If the agreement includes or mentions provisions to demilitarize, disarm, demobilize or reintegrate (DDR).

Not included in table 6 but part of the above discussion.

2. Democracy (HrDem): If the agreement makes reference to commitments to democracy.

3.2 Process by process

Table 3 shows the conflicts relevant to this report and Table 4 then reveals the distribution of peace agreements per conflict. Table 5 and Table 6 continue by presenting a general characterization of these agreements. To permit the characterization of and comparison between the different peace processes, Table 7 (below) presents the same data as in Table 6, albeit separated by conflict and in streamlined form. This means that the agreements in each conflict have been separately merged and are represented as 27 individual peace processes. In other words, the total number of agreements relevant to a specific conflict are seen as expressing a process. Table 7 characterizes the 27 peace processes by demonstrating whether the provisions presented in Table 6 (the 14 most common provisions) have formed a part of each process. Keep in mind the selection criteria: only civil war peace agreements, signed during the 1990s, for conflicts that ended during the 1990s.

Examining the entire data, they show that the average number of agreements per peace process is 14.4, the median is 6.0 and the range is 1–86. The average number of included provisions per peace process is 67.3, the median is 66 and the range is 7–172 (PA-X, 2017a). The data also show that an increase in agreements correlates with an increase in included provisions. Still, as correlation does not prove causation, it is not possible from this table alone to state with certainty that more agreements cause an increase in provisions, although it is possible. It could also be that an increase in provisions increases the risk of a peace process being prolonged and containing more agreements. Joshi and Quinn (2015, 20) show that when “agreements contain provisions across a greater number of policy areas, the conflict actors are less likely to pursue another agreement”. That being said, an increase in the number of included provisions in an agreement (in the PA-X data) does not necessarily equate to an agreement covering more policy areas.

Focusing on the 14 provisions identified in Table 6 (above), Table 7 shows that not one of these 14 provisions has been part of all 27 peace processes. *Security* is the provision that appears in the highest number of processes (23), while *UN* is the provision that appears in the fewest (14). This is interesting since *UN* is one of the most commonly occurring provisions in the general overview (see Table 6). If we isolate the 16 conflicts that ended in peace agreements (ceasefire agreements included), there is still no provision that forms part of all the processes. There are, nonetheless, eight conflicts in Table 7 whose peace processes include all 14 provisions and, of these, six ended in a peace agreement. The average number of agreements and provisions in processes concerning conflicts that ended in peace agreements is 20.4 and 85.6, respectively. The average for the remaining 11 processes is 5.5 and 40.5, respectively. This could be seen as an indicator that more agreements, or more elaborated agreements, more often lead to negotiated settlements. This seems, in part, to concur with the previously noted findings of Joshi and Quinn (Joshi and Quinn, 2015).

Hartzell and Hoddie (2003, 319) examined the prevalence of power sharing in peace agreements for civil wars that ended in a negotiated settlement between 1945 and 1998. They found that only one (1989 Gbadolite accord) of 38 political settlements did not mandate any form of power sharing. If we isolate the 16 peace processes included in this report, which concern conflicts that ended in a peace agreement, we find similar results. The PA-X data is divided into four types of power sharing: political, territorial, economic and military (Hartzell and Hoddie include all four in their analysis). If these four are merged into a single category, then 14 of the 16 processes include some form of power sharing provision (PA-X, 2017a). The one peace process in Hartzell and Hoddie's research that does not contain provisions for power sharing is outside the time frame of this report. The two processes in this report that do not contain such provisions (Moldova - PMR; Serbia - Republic of Slovenia) are, however, included in Hartzell and Hoddie's time frame. The reason for this difference is arguably the fact that Hartzell and Hoddie apply a narrower definition than this report of civil wars and peace agreements.

3.2.1 Variable descriptions

These descriptions apply to Table 7 (below). Variables 2, 9, 11 and 14 are originally coded (in the PA-X data) on a scale of 0–3 (more or less detailed/specific/commitment). However, in this report they are presented in simplified forms as binary. In other words, the provision is present/included or not. For a fuller description of the variables, see Appendix 2 or Bell et.al (2018). Acronyms in parentheses are the original names of the variables in the PA-X data.

1. Peacekeepers (ImPK): If the agreement includes provisions for the deployment of peacekeepers, or other international group with a similar function.
2. Ceasefire (Ce): If the peace agreement mentions ceasefires or the cessation of hostilities.
3. UN (ImUN): If the agreement is signed by the UN or any UN official.
4. Development (Dev): If the agreement includes provisions that address socio-economic reconstruction, or development in general terms.
5. Mobility/Access (HrMob): If the agreement includes explicit provisions guaranteeing or restricting mobility or access. For instance safe passage, transit routes, flow of humanitarian aid (not freedom of movement as in civil liberties).
6. Civil society (Civso): If the agreement includes provisions for the inclusion of civil society.
7. Enforcement mechanism (ImE): If the agreement contains mechanisms specifically providing for the enforcement of itself.
8. Rebel inclusion (SsrPsf): If the agreement mentions how rebel or opposition groups are to be dealt with, included in political structures or restructured.
9. Refugees (Gref): If the agreement refers to refugees, displaced persons, repatriation.
10. State definition (StDef): If the agreement addresses how the state defines itself, in territorial, ideational or other terms.
11. Human Rights framework (HrFra): If the agreement contains provisions to establish a human rights framework to guide the period after the conflict.
12. Security (SsrGua): If the agreement includes provisions dealing with security guarantees, not including DDR or SSR.
13. Treaty incorporation (HrTinc): If the agreement mentions the incorporation of international treaties.
14. DDR (SsrDdr): If the agreement includes or mentions provisions to demilitarize, disarm, demobilize or reintegrate (DDR).

Table 7. Characterization of civil-war peace processes.

Conflict				See 3.2.1 variable description above. 0 = provision not included. 1 = provision included.													
Government	Opposing forces	Number of agreements	Conflict end type	Peacekeepers	Ceasefire	UN	Development	Mobility/access	Civil Society	Enforcement mechanism	Rebel Inclusion	Refugees	State Definition	Human rights framework	Security	Treaty incorporation	DDR
Bangladesh	JSS/SB	1	Ceasefire agreement	0	0	0	1	0	1	1	1	1	1	0	0	0	1
Bosnia-Herzegovina	Serbian Irregulars; Serbian Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina	83	Peace agreement	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
Bosnia-Herzegovina	Autonomous Province of Western Bosnia	3	Government victory	0	1	0	1	1	0	0	0	1	1	1	0	1	0
Bosnia-Herzegovina	Croatian Irregulars; Croatian Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina	86	Peace agreement	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
Cambodia	KR; KPNLF; FUNCINPEC	6	Government victory	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
Comoros	MPA/Republic of Anjouan	2	Rebel Victory	1	0	1	1	1	0	1	0	0	1	0	1	0	0
Croatia	Serbian irregulars; Serbian Republic of Krajina	14	Peace agreement	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
Djibouti	FRUD; FRUD-AD	1	Peace agreement	0	0	0	1	1	1	0	1	1	1	0	1	0	1
El Salvador	FMLN	15	Peace agreement	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	0	1	1	1	1
Ethiopia	EPRDF; Military Faction (Harar Garrison)	1	Government victory	0	1	0	1	0	1	0	0	1	1	1	1	1	0
Georgia	Republic of Abkhazia	31	Peace agreement	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
Guatemala	URNG	19	Peace agreement	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
Guinea Bissau	Military Junta for the consolidation of Democracy, Peace and Justice	6	Rebel Victory	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	0	0	1	0	0
Indonesia	Fretilin	6	Peace agreement	1	1	1	0	1	1	1	0	0	1	1	1	1	1

Lesotho	Military Faction	2	Government victory	1	0	1	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	1	0	0
Mexico	EZLN; EPR	6	Low Activity	0	0	0	1	0	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	0
Moldova	PMR	5	Ceasefire agreement	1	1	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	1	1	1	0
Nicaragua	Contras/FDN	8	Ceasefire agreement	1	1	0	1	0	1	1	1	1	0	1	1	1
Niger	CRA	2	Peace agreement	1	1	0	1	1	1	0	1	1	1	1	1	1
Niger	FDR	1	Low Activity	0	1	0	1	0	0	0	1	1	0	0	0	1
Papua New Guinea	BRA	28	Ceasefire agreement	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	0	1	1	0	1
Serbia (Yugoslavia)	Republic of Slovenia	4	Ceasefire agreement	1	1	0	0	1	1	0	1	0	1	1	1	1
Serbia (Yugoslavia)	Croatian Irregulars; Republic of Croatia	32	Actor ceases to exist	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
Serbia (Yugoslavia)	UCK	7	Peace agreement	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
Spain	ETA	1	Low Activity	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	1	0	1	0
UK	RIRA/PIRA	17	Ceasefire agreement	0	1	0	1	0	1	1	1	0	1	1	1	1
Yemen (North Yemen)	Democratic republic of Yemen	1	Actor ceases to exist	0	1	0	0	1	1	0	0	1	0	0	0	0
			Total	18	21	14	21	18	22	19	19	20	21	19	23	18

Source: UCDP/PRIO Armed Conflict Dataset version 17.2 (Allansson et al., 2017); UCDP Conflict Termination Dataset (Kreutz, 2010); Peace Agreements Database (PA-X, 2017a)

Section 4. A different perspective: agreement characteristics relevant to the Varieties of Peace Research Program

This section investigates the same 337 civil war agreements presented in the previous section. However, another perspective is offered here. This section presents selected provisions identified in the agreements. This selection is based on the relevance of the provisions to the sub-projects in the VoP program. This has been done as an attempt to ground the report more clearly within the interests of the program. Some of the projects have selected specific countries or conflicts as their cases, and the immediate relevance of agreements that do not concern these cases might be limited. However, agreements outside the scope of the projects' selected cases could highlight interesting additional cases for inclusion in future studies.

The analysis is broken down into three steps. It begins with Table 8, which presents a general overview of the prevalence of the selected provisions. Following this, Table 9 presents the prevalence separated by type of agreement and, finally, Table 10 presents the provisions separated by type of conflict. The provisions are organized in Table 8 starting with the most commonly occurring provision in the top left corner and then in descending order to the bottom right corner. Tables 9 and 10 then follow the order of Table 8. In addition, as previously noted, the low numbers in the categories Territory and Other (see Table 10) mean they are not particularly relevant to comparisons. Before the analysis, there are some clarifying comments on the presented provisions and projects.

4.1 The Varieties of Peace sub-projects

The different sub-projects were first described in the text *Varieties of Peace. Presentation of a research program* (Jarstad et al., 2017). During the course of the program, these 10 initial projects have evolved and the selection of variables in this section is based on updated (unpublished) descriptions. Most of the sub-projects are qualitative. The variables presented in this report are binary and, in a sense, crude indicators of what the studied agreements entail. A qualitative investigation of the agreements could, of course, provide an added nuance and an in-depth understanding of their potential relevance. Nevertheless, this section offers an interesting comparative overview that may awaken some interesting questions. The report has not identified variables of interest for all the sub-projects but focuses on a few selected sub-projects.

Table 8. Selected provisions of the 337 civil war peace agreements concerning conflicts that ended during the 1990s.

Number (and %) of agreements with selected provisions.	Provisions						
	Peace keepers	UN	Civil society	Rebel inclusion	Security	Democracy	Constitutional reform
	172 (51.1)	148 (43.9)	132 (39.2)	119 (35.3)	96 (28.5)	65 (19.3)	55 (16.3)
Number (and %) of agreements with selected provisions.	Provisions						
	International funds	Equality	Religious groups	Traditional leaders	Political party reform	International power sharing	Liberty and security of person
	53 (15.7)	43 (12.8)	20 (5.9)	15 (4.5)	12 (3.6)	12 (3.6)	7 (2.1)

Note: Only agreements signed during the 1990s.

Source: Peace Agreements Database (PA-X, 2017a)

4.1.1 Variable descriptions

The descriptions below apply to tables 8 (above), 9 and 10 (below). Variables 6, 7, 9, 10 and 12 were originally coded (in the PA-X data) on a scale of 0–3. However, in tables 7, 8 and 9, they are presented in simplified forms as binary. In other words, the provision is present/included or not. For a fuller description of the variables, see Appendix 2 or Bell et.al (2018). Acronyms in parenthesis are the original names of the variables in the PA-X data.

3. Peacekeepers (ImPK): If the agreement includes provisions for the deployment of peacekeepers, or other international group with a similar function.
4. UN (ImUN): If the agreement is signed by the UN or any UN official.
5. Civil society (Civso): If the agreement includes provisions for the inclusion of civil society.
6. Rebel inclusion (SsrPsf): If the agreement mentions how rebel or opposition groups are to be dealt with, included in political structures or restructured.
7. Security (SsrGua): If the agreement includes provisions dealing with security guarantees, not including DDR or SSR.
8. Democracy (HrDem): If the agreement makes reference to commitments to democracy.
9. Constitutional reform (Cons): If the agreement refers to a need for reforming, revising, amending or making a new constitution.
10. International funds (IntFu): If the agreement contains any provision for international funds or aid.
11. Equality (EqGen): If the agreement contains general commitments to equality
12. Religious groups (GRe): If the agreement refers to religious groups or the inclusion of religions.
13. Traditional leaders (Tral): If the agreement mentions traditional or religious leaders.
14. Political party reform (PolPAR): If the peace agreement addresses the reform and regulation of political parties. This includes the transformation of rebel groups into political parties that are to take part in the politics post-conflict.
15. International power sharing (PpsInt): If the agreement contains any provisions for sharing of governance and political power with international actors.
16. Liberty and security of person (CprLib): If the agreement contains provisions that concern liberty or security of person.

4.2 Characteristics of relevant agreements

The project *Urban peacebuilding and international interventions* (project leader Anna Jarstad, unpublished) takes an interest in the effects of international involvement in local peace processes. The four variables *Peacekeepers*, *UN*, *International funds* and *International power sharing* capture such involvement and could therefore be relevant. Two cases discussed in the project description are South Africa and Bosnia-Herzegovina. Due to the conceptualization of conflict ending that has been utilized in this report, South Africa is not included although Bosnia-Herzegovina is. In Table 8 we see that 12 of the agreements contain provisions for international power sharing. The dataset reveals that of these twelve agreements, seven concern conflicts within Bosnia-Herzegovina, two concern Cambodia, one Comoros, one Georgia and one Ireland (PA-X, 2017a).

International power sharing appears to be a comparatively unusual provision. However, the modes of international involvement described by these provisions are numerous. To name a few, these include: 1) International appointment of judges to tribunals and courts (Bosnia-Herzegovina: The Vance-Owen Plan). 2) International executive power in local affairs (Bosnia-Herzegovina: Declaration Concerning the Constitution of the Federation of Bosnia and Herzegovina). 3) International oversight of elections and government agencies (Cambodia: Statement of the Five Permanent Members of the Security Council of the United Nations on Cambodia Incorporating the Framework for a Comprehensive Political Settlement of the Cambodia Conflict) (PA-X, 2017a).

The project *Elite responses to international involvement* (project leader Dzenan Sahovic, unpublished) is another project with an interest in international involvement. This project will initially focus on Bosnia-Herzegovina and will then continue by including and comparing other cases. The provisions relevant to this project are the same as those relevant to the previous project. Of the 53 agreements that contain provisions for international funds, 17 concern conflicts in Bosnia-Herzegovina and the remaining 36 concern conflicts in 14 other countries. A cross-comparison reveals that four of the 53 agreements contain provisions for international power sharing, 31 contain UN signatures, and 35 contain provisions for peacekeepers. 21 of the 53 agreements containing provisions for International funds contain both UN signatures and provisions for peacekeepers. In addition, 98 of the 172 agreements that contain provisions for peacekeepers also contain UN signatures. This indicates that peacekeepers, international funds and the UN went hand in hand in many of the civil war peace processes of the 1990s.

Regarding the variable *International funds*, we see interesting differences between types of agreements and types of incompatibilities (see tables 9 and 10). It is perhaps not surprising that InterIntra agreements contain a higher percentage of this provision. After all, the definition of this type of agreement (see Bell et al., 2018, 5) suggests a

higher international involvement and ownership of the process. This might, in turn, effect the availability of, or the willingness to provide, funds. There might, of course, be other interesting explanations for this difference that could be revealed by future studies. In Table 10, we see another interesting difference regarding the variable UN. Why do 57.1 percent of agreements concerning Government incompatibilities contain this provision compared to only 40.8 percent of agreements concerning Government/Territory incompatibilities? As previously mentioned, the PA-X codes most conflicts about territory as Government/Territory because it regards territorial conflicts as also concerning government. Could it be that territorial conflicts are more often seen and dealt with as internal affairs? If so, then this, in turn, would mean that that they are less likely to attract international involvement, or at least UN involvement.

As the title suggests, the project *Religious actors in post-conflict constitution building: are they important for the development of a peaceful society?* (project leader Abrak Saati, unpublished) focuses on the roles played by religious actors in post-conflict constitution building. Thus, *Constitutional reform*, *Religious groups* and *Traditional leaders* are variables that could be of interest. The project also takes an interest in the institutionalization of democratic institutions. The variable *Democracy* could therefore be relevant. The bulk of the 65 agreements that contain provisions for democracy do so using merely rhetorical language, and only 10 of the agreements contain detailed and substantive provisions for democracy. Table 10 shows an interesting difference to this variable, between various kinds of incompatibilities.

Regarding agreements that contain provisions for constitutional reform, a minority (nine) are merely rhetorical, while the majority (29) of them indicate commitment. The 20 agreements that contain provisions for religious groups are about conflicts in twelve countries. However, nine of these 20 agreements concern conflicts within one specific country: Bosnia-Herzegovina. The 15 agreements that contain provisions for traditional leaders concern conflicts in nine countries. Of the 65 agreements with provisions for democracy, two also contain provisions for traditional leaders, 29 contain provisions for constitutional reform and ten contain provisions for religious groups (PA-X, 2017a).

The project *How and why disasters and community-based disaster management influence peace - the case of Aceh, Indonesia* (project leader Veronica Strandh, unpublished) is interested in the role of civil society in creating lasting peace. Civil society is also one of the five main areas of explanatory variables that the VoP Program studies at large (Jarstad et al., 2017, 4). As they are included in 39.2 percent of the 337 agreements studied (see Table 8), provisions for *Civil society* appear to be rather common. In addition, they are included in 22 of the 27 peace processes (see Table 7). For this variable, there is little difference between the types of agreements (Table 9). However, between incompatibilities there is quite a large difference of 38.2 percentage points (Table 10). This is the largest observed difference in tables 9 and 10. It would be interesting to investigate why this provision is much more common in agreements

about conflict over government than in agreements about conflict over government/territory.

Table 9. Civil war peace agreements with selected provisions, separated by type of agreement.

Number (and %) of agreements per agreement type	Provisions													
	Peace keepers	UN	Civil society	Rebel inclusion	Security	Democracy	Constitutional reform	International funds	Equality	Religious groups	Traditional leaders	Political party reform	International power sharing	Liberty and security of person
Intra. 262 (100)	129 (49.2)	115 (43.9)	103 (39.3)	98 (37.4)	74 (28.2)	51 (19.5)	40 (15.3)	34 (12.9)	29 (11.08)	16 (6.1)	15 (5.7)	10 (3.8)	10 (3.8)	5 (1.9)
InterIntra. 75 (100)	43 (57.3)	33 (44.0)	29 (38.7)	21 (28.0)	22 (29.3)	14 (18.7)	15 (20.0)	19 (25.3)	14 (18.7)	4 (5.3)	0 (0.0)	2 (2.7)	2 (2.7)	2 (2.7)
Total no.	172	148	132	119	96	65	55	53	43	20	15	12	12	7

Note: Only agreements signed during the 1990s for internal conflicts that ended during the 1990s. Figures within parentheses are a percentage of agreements that include the provision within the agreement type. Source: Peace Agreements Database (PA-X, 2017a)

Table 10. Civil war peace agreements with selected provisions, separated by type of incompatibility.

Number (and %) of agreements per incompatibility	Provisions													
	Peace keepers	UN	Civil society	Rebel inclusion	Security	Democracy	Constitutional reform	International funds	Equality	Religious groups	Traditional leaders	Political party reform	International power sharing	Liberty and security of person
Territory. 3 (100)	3 (100.0)	2 (66.6)	0 (0.0)	1 (33.3)	0 (0.0)	0 (0.0)	0 (0.0)	1 (33.3)	0 (0.0)	0 (0.0)	0 (0.0)	0 (0.0)	0 (0.0)	0 (0.0)
Government 56 (100)	26 (46.4)	32 (57.1)	40 (71.4)	23 (41.1)	15 (26.8)	25 (44.6)	18 (32.1)	13 (23.2)	12 (21.4)	5 (8.9)	5 (8.9)	7 (12.5)	2 (3.6)	2 (3.6)
Gov./Terr. 277 (100)	143 (51.6)	113 (40.8)	92 (33.2)	95 (34.3)	81 (29.2)	40 (14.4)	37 (13.4)	39 (14.1)	31 (11.2)	15 (5.4)	9 (3.2)	5 (1.8)	10 (3.6)	5 (1.8)
Other 1 (100)	0 (0.0)	1 (100)	0 (0.0)	0 (0.0)	0 (0.0)	0 (0.0)	0 (0.0)	0 (0.0)	0 (0.0)	0 (0.0)	1 (100)	0 (0.0)	0 (0.0)	0 (0.0)
Total no.	172	148	132	119	96	65	55	53	43	20	15	12	12	7

Note: Only agreements signed during the 1990s, for internal conflicts that ended during the 1990s. Figures within parentheses are a percentage of agreements that include the provision within the incompatibility type. Source: Peace Agreements Database (PA-X, 2017a)

Security, Equality and Liberty and security of person are three potentially interesting variables for the sub-project: *Peace in the shadow of war? Tracing varieties of peace in Myanmar* (project leader Elisabeth Olivius, unpublished). The variable *Security* captures a more classical view of security, while *Liberty and security of person* relates more to the idea of human security (Bell et al., 2018). A cross-examination of the three variables shows that five out of seven agreements with *Liberty and security of person* provisions also contain provisions for *Equality* (PA-X, 2017a). Tables 9 and 10 show that there is very little difference between types of agreements and types of incompatibilities in the variable *Security*. For *Liberty and security of person*, the figures are so small within each type that it appears unwise to draw any conclusions from the differences between them. The fact that the figures are so low, however, raises questions about their cause and effect. Do these provisions have any effect? Why have they been included? Why are they so rarely included? Is it mainly due to the way the coding of the agreements is designed?

The project *Living peace and elite legacy* (project leader Johanna Söderström, unpublished) takes an interest in the post-agreement political participation of signatories to peace agreements. For this project the variables *Rebel inclusion* and *Political party reform* could be of interest. The variables do not capture the interests of the project in the direct sense. However, signatories of peace agreements are, in many cases (the PA-X data clearly shows this), leaders of armed groups or other groups important to the conflict or the peace process. Where this variable concerns the reforming of such groups into political parties or their inclusion in political processes, it might highlight agreements relevant to the project. *Rebel inclusion* is included in more than a third of the agreements, while *political party reform* is only present in 3.6 percent. The twelve agreements with provisions for *political party reform* concern conflicts in eight countries. Of these twelve agreements, nine have provisions for *rebel inclusion*. These nine overlapping agreements concern seven conflicts (two conflicts in Bosnia-Herzegovina) in six countries (Niger, Guatemala, Bosnia-Herzegovina, Cambodia, El Salvador, Djibouti).

Section 5. Peace trends

This section attempts to discuss and display (see Table 11 below) the long-term trends of peace after civil war for all the 32 countries identified in Table 3, page 12. These are all the countries that experienced civil wars that ended during the 1990s. When attempting to analyze the progression or regression, or the presence or absence of peace, there is, of course, a multitude of factors that could rightfully be investigated. This report examines casualties of organized violence, political rights and civil liberties, as well as group grievances. As stated in Chapter one, the selection of data included in this report is an attempt to capture the conceptualizations of peace that have been discussed within the VoP program. The indicators and what they are seen to represent are discussed further in the respective sections below.

When reading the indicators, it is important to consider possible overlaps in what they measure. The Freedom House Index considers if a population is affected by conflict or war (Freedom House, 2018b). Likewise, the measurement of group grievances poses questions regarding racially or religiously motivated violence (Fund For Peace, 2017a). Nevertheless, it is hard to state the extent to which this is reflected in the figures of casualties resulting from organized violence. In other words, there are grounds for exercising caution when drawing conclusions based on comparisons and apparent correlations between the three indicators presented in Table 11. This report does not claim to prove causation between the peace processes and the peace trends it has studied in this report. However, when studying the data in Table 11, it is interesting and potentially informative to take into account several background factors. The historic peace processes (Table 7), the conflict histories and the different types of conflict endings (Table 3) that have played out in each country are a few such factors.

5.1 Casualties of organized violence

To investigate peace based on an understanding of peace as a situation, the report looks at casualties (within each country) of organized violence. The casualty figures in Table 11 include state-based violence, non-state violence and one-sided violence (described in Chapter one: Armed conflict and violence). It is therefore a broader measurement than looking at battle-related deaths only. The figures are based on best estimates from the UCDP Geo-referenced Events Dataset. The included time frame is 2000 to 2016. This means that the figures do not relate to casualties that occurred during the conflicts listed in Table 3, page 12. Instead, these casualties occurred after the conflicts ended.

It is important to note four things about these figures. Firstly, the casualties are those reported to have occurred within the boundaries of each state. This means that, for example, casualties among UK armed forces fighting the Taliban in Afghanistan are not included in the UK casualty figures but would only be included in figures for Afghanistan. This also means that high casualty figures within a given territory should not be taken as a direct indicator of how violent the government of that country is.

Secondly, these figures do not take into account the population sizes of the countries. It should perhaps be expected that the same degree of violence in a more populous country would result in higher casualty figures than it would in a country with a smaller or less dense population. Thirdly, these figures can hide regional and local differences in the degree of violence within a country. The violence could, for instance, be concentrated in the capital, or in rural areas. Fourthly, since casualty figures cannot go below zero, these figures cannot represent peace beyond the absence of violence.

Table 11 below shows that in 10 of the 32 countries there have been no recorded casualties during the examined time frame. 19 of the countries have suffered casualties resulting from state-based violence, 13 from non-state violence and 20 from one-sided violence. Two countries have suffered casualties from state-based violence only, while no country has suffered from non-state based or one-sided violence only. Ten of the countries have suffered casualties from all three types of violence, while ten have suffered casualties from only two types of violence. Of all the countries that suffered casualties since 2000, eleven have zero recorded casualties in 2016 and seven have zero recorded casualties since 2013. The highest casualty count for the whole of the time frame 2000–2016 has been recorded in Iraq (75,808) followed by Ethiopia (55,033), India (27,981) and Sri Lanka (27,610).

5.2 Political rights and civil liberties

The Freedom House score included is based on assessments of political rights and civil liberties in each country (Freedom House, 2018b). It reflects a view of peace as constituted by ideas. This means that the governing political rights and civil liberties in a country reflect the governing political ideas in that country. This is not to say that they necessarily reflect popular ideas. Freedom House uses these indicators to measure how free a country is. However, in this report, they are seen as indicating how peaceful a country is. In other words, a freer country indicates that the governing ideas are more peace-oriented. As mentioned in Chapter one, this is not how peace as ideas has been conceptualized within the VoP. It is, nonetheless, an attempt to capture some of the ideas that can be seen as important to the peace in a country. Higher scores (1.0–7.0) are seen as indicating a less peaceful country. The specific years included are based on the year the conflict ended. In countries where more than one internal conflict ended during the 1990s, the latest end year has been noted. The usage of time intervals was inspired by Jarstad's (2016) mapping of post-civil war democratization. However, it is argued here that these scores could provide indications of peace trends, not just democratization. An examination of Freedom House data also reveals that the scores do not fluctuate much between consecutive years. Thus, it is less imperative to include every year.

Of the 32 countries included in this report, 20 were freer in 2017 than they were one year before the conflict ended (see Table 11). Only seven of the included countries were less free, while five were as free in 2017 as they were one year prior to the conflict

ending. Venezuela, followed by Russia, has seen the worst developments in freedom, with increases from 2.0 to 5.5 and 4.0 to 6.5, respectively. Serbia, followed by Croatia, has seen the greatest improvements in freedom, with a reduction from 6.0 to 2.5 and 4.0 to 1.5, respectively. One year prior to their respective conflict endings, four countries were considered free, 19 were considered partially free and nine were considered not free. Four countries have remained in the Not Free category through all four of the measurement instances and three have remained in the Free category. The average score improved from 4.4 (-1 year) to 3.7 (+10 years) to 3.8 (+15 years) to 4.0 (2017), compared to a global average in 2017 of 3.4.

5.3 Group Grievances

As part of the Fragile States Index, the Fund for Peace measures levels of group grievances. These measurements focus on divisions and schisms between groups. In particular, they focus on divisions based on social and political characteristics. Questions posed about such measurements include: How are intertribal and/or interethnic relations? Are groups being oppressed or do they feel oppressed? Are there any reports of racially motivated violence? (Fund For Peace, 2017a). Data for group grievances are available (and included in this report) for 2005 through to 2017 and high scores indicate a high level of grievance. The scores range from 1.0 to 10.0. The use of these data as indicators for peace is based on a view of peace understood as relations. Higher levels of group grievances are seen as indicating a less peaceful country. Since the indicator is a measurement of how “bad” relations are, low scores should not necessarily be seen as indicating a presence of good relations. It only indicates the absence of a certain kind of bad relation. Since these figures represent levels of group grievances in general, they probably conceal the levels of group grievances between specific groups (e.g. men to women, government to general public, elite to non-elite) and between the different geographical parts of a country.

15 of the included countries had lower levels of group grievances in 2017 compared to 2005, 15 had higher levels, and for two countries the scores remained the same. The highest recorded levels of group grievances (the worst relations) were found in Iraq (10.0) followed by Sri Lanka (9.8), Myanmar (9.8) Bangladesh (9.7) and Yemen (9.5). Lesotho (3.6), Trinidad and Tobago (3.9), UK (4.1) and Comoros (5.0) have the lowest recorded levels of group grievances (best relations). The average score went from 7.3 in 2005 to 7.1 in 2017, compared to a global average of 5.9 in 2005 and 6.0 in 2017.

Table 11. Long-term Peace Trends.

Country/Type of ending	End year of Conflict	Casualties of organized violence (and by type of violence) since year 2000, until and including 2016.	Freedom House score. -1 year/+10 years/+15 years/2017	Group grievances 2005–2017.
Azerbaijan	1995	419 casualties in total since 2000 (all state-based violence). Deaths: 2000–2005 = 51: 2006–2010 = 74: 2011–2015 = 157: 2016 = 137.	6.0 Not Free / 5.5 Not Free / 5.5 Not Free / 6.5 Not Free	Positive trend. From 7.3 in 2005 to 6.2 in 2017. Low 6.2. High 7.9.
Bangladesh	1991*	625 casualties in total since 2000 (277 state-based, 230 non-state, 118 one-sided). Deaths: 2000–2005 = 327: 2006–2010 = 145: 2011–2015 = 78: 2016 = 75.	5.0 Partly Free / 3.5 Partly Free / 4.0 Partly Free / 4.0 Partly Free	Positive trend. From 9.5 in 2005 to 8.4 in 2017. Low 8.4. High 9.7.
Bosnia-Herzegovina	1995*	0 recorded casualties since 2000.	6.0 Not Free / 3.5 Partly Free / 3.5 Partly Free / 4.0 Partly Free	Positive trend. From 8.6 in 2005 to 6.9 in 2017. Low 6.9. High 8.7.
Cambodia	1998	22 casualties since 2000 (14 state-based, 8 one-sided). Deaths: 2000–2005 = 5: 2006–2010 = 6: 2011–2012 = 11: 2013–2016 = 0.	6.5 Not Free / 5.5 Not Free / 5.5 Not Free / 5.5 Not free	Positive trend. From 7.0 in 2005 to 6.6 in 2017. Low 6.6. High 7.5.
Comoros	1997	0 recorded casualties since 2000.	4.0 Partly Free / 3.5 Partly Free / 3.5 Partly Free / 3.5 Partly Free	Positive trend. From 5.3 in 2005 to 5.1 in 2017. Low 5.0. High 5.6.
Croatia	1995*	0 recorded casualties since 2000.	4.0 Partly Free / 2.0 Free / 1.5 Free / 1.5 Free	Positive trend. From 6.5 in 2005 to 5.5 in 2017. Low 5.2. High 6.5.
Djibouti	1999*	36 casualties since 2000 (35 state-based, 1 one-sided). Deaths: 2008 = 35: 2014 = 1: 2015–2016 = 0.	5.5 Not Free / 5.0 Partly Free / 5.5 Not Free / 5.5 Not Free	Negative trend. From 5.5 in 2005 to 6.2 in 2017. Low 5.5. High 7.7.
El Salvador	1991*	0 recorded casualties since 2000.	3.5 Partially Free / 2.5 Free / 2.5 Free / 2.5 Free	Negative trend. From 6.0 in 2005 to 6.4 in 2017. Low 5.7. High 6.7.
Ethiopia	1996	55,033 casualties since 2000 (49,730 state-based, 3,601 non-state, 1,702 one-sided). Deaths: 2000 = 48,666: 2001–2005 = 3030: 2006–2010 = 1958: 2011–2015 = 885: 2016 = 494.	4.5 Partly Free / 5.0 Partly Free / 6.0 Not Free / 6.5 Not Free	Negative trend. From 7.0 in 2005 to 8.8 in 2017. Low 7.0. High 9.1.
Georgia	1993	651 casualties since 2000 (all state-based). Deaths: 2002–2004 = 27: 2008–2011 = 624: 2012–2016 = 0.	4.5 Partly Free / 4.0 Partly Free / 4.0 Partly Free / 3.0 Partly Free	Negative trend. From 7.4 in 2005 to 7.6 in 2017. Low 7.4. High 8.5.
Guatemala	1995*	160 casualties since 2000 (123 non-state, 37 one-sided). Deaths: 2001–2005 = 66: 2007–2009 = 47: 2011–2015 = 47: 2016 = 0.	4.5 Partly Free / 4.0 Partly Free / 4.0 Partly Free / 4.0 Partly Free	Negative trend. From 7.1 in 2005 to 8.8 in 2017. Low 6.7. High 8.8.
Guinea-Bissau	1999	0 recorded casualties since 2000.	4.0 Partly Free / 4.0 Partly Free / 5.0 Partly Free / 5.0 Partly Free	Positive trend. From 5.5 in 2005 to 5.2 in 2017. Low 5.2. High 6.0.
India	1997	27981 recorded casualties since 2000 (19371 state-based, 977 non-state, 7633 one-sided). Deaths: 2000–2005 = 14,633: 2006–2010 = 8,917: 2011–2015 = 3,651: 2016 = 780.	3.0 Partly Free / 2.5 Free / 2.5 Free / 2.5 Free	Negative trend. From 6.9 in 2005 to 8.3 in 2017 Low 6.9. High 8.5.
Indonesia	1999*	4902 casualties since 2000 (3,026 state based, 1,082 non-state, 794 one-sided). Deaths: 2000–2005 = 4,878: 2006–2008 = 11: 2011–2015 = 13: 2016 = 0.	5.0 Partly Free / 2.5 Free / 3.0 Partly Free / 3.0 Partly Free	Negative trend. From 6.3 in 2005 to 7.2 in 2017. Low 5.9. High 7.6
Iraq	1996	75,808 casualties since 2000 (60185 state-based, 684 non-state, 14,939 one-sided). Deaths: 2000–2005 = 16,208: 2006–2010 = 15,399: 2011–2015 = 33,073: 2016 = 11128	7.0 Not Free / 6.0 Not Free / 5.5 Not Free / 5.5 Not Free	Positive trend. From 9.8 in 2005 to 9.3 in 2017. Low 9.0. High 10.0
Laos	1990	93 casualties since 2000 (5 state-based, 88 one-sided). Deaths: 2000–2004 = 20: 2006 = 73. 2007–2016 = 0.	6.5 Not Free / 6.5 Not Free / 6.5 Not free / 6.5 Not Free	Negative trend. From 6.3 in 2005 to 6.4 in 2017. Low 6.0. High 7.0.

Lebanon	1990	1541 casualties since 2000 (857 state-based, 472 non-state, 212 one-sided). Deaths: 2000–2005 = 63; 2006–2008 = 785; 2011–2015 = 637; 2016 = 56.	5.5 Not Free / 5.5 Not Free / 4.5 Partly Free / 5.0 Partly Free	Negative trend. From 7.8 in 2005 to 8.2 in 2017. Low 7.8. High 9.4.
Lesotho	1998	0 recorded casualties since 2000.	4.0 Partly Free / 2.5 Free / 2.5 Free / 3.0 Partly Free	Positive trend. From 5.5 in 2005 to 3.6 in 2017. Low 3.6. High 5.6.
Mexico	1996	18,968 casualties since 2000 (18,542 non-state, 426 one-sided). Deaths: 2002–2005 = 433; 2006–2010 = 8,741; 2011–2015 = 8,485; 2016 = 1303.	4.0 Partly Free / 2.5 Free / 3.0 Partly Free / 3.0 Partly Free	Negative trend. From 6.1 in 2005 to 6.9 in 2017. Low 5.8. High 7.2.
Moldova	1992*	0 recorded casualties since 2000.	4.5 Partly Free / 3.5 Partly Free / 3.5 Partly Free / 3.0 Partly Free	From 7.3 in 2005 to 7.3 in 2017. Low 6.0. High 7.3.
Myanmar	1997	7,411 casualties since 2000 (4,742 state-based, 456 non-state, 2,213 one-sided) Deaths: 2000–2005 = 2,545; 2006–2010 = 1,654; 2011–2015 = 3,070; 2016 = 142	7.0 Not Free / 7.0 Not Free / 5.5 Not Free / 5.0 Partly Free	Negative trend. From 9.0 in 2005 to 9.8 in 2017. Low 8.7. High 9.8.
Nicaragua	1990*	0 recorded casualties since 2000.	5.0 Partly Free / 3.0 Partly Free / 3.0 Partly Free / 4.5 Partly Free	Positive trend. From 6.4 in 2005 to 6.2 in 2017. Low 5.9. High 6.7.
Niger	1995	980 casualties since 2000 (770 state-based, 210 one-sided). Deaths: 2004–2008 = 158; 2012–2015 = 523; 2016 = 299.	4.0 Partly Free / 3.0 Partly Free / 4.5 Partly Free / 4.0 Partly Free	Positive trend. From 8.5 in 2005 to 7.7 in 2017. Low 7.5. High 9.2.
Papua New Guinea	1996*	142 casualties since 2000 (138 non-state, 4 one-sided). Deaths: 2000–2002 = 85; 2012 = 57; 2013–2016 = 0.	3.0 Partly Free / 3.0 Partly Free / 3.5 Partly Free / 3.0 Partly Free	Positive trend. From 8.0 in 2005 to 6.0 in 2017. Low 6.0. High 8.0.
Russia	1999	13,003 casualties since 2000 (10,750 state-based, 2,253 one-sided). Deaths: 2000–2005 = 9,358; 2006–2010 = 2030; 2011–2015 = 1,542; 2016 = 73.	4.0 Partly Free / 5.5 Not Free / 6.0 Not Free / 6.5 Not Free	Negative trend. From 8.0 in 2005 to 8.5 in 2017. Low 7.1. High 9.3.
Serbia (Yugoslavia)	1999*	0 recorded casualties since 2000.	6.0 Not Free (Yugoslavia) / 2.0 Free / 2.0 Free / 2.5 Free (Serbia)	Positive trend. From 8.6 in 2005 to 7.3 in 2017. Low 7.3. High 8.6.
Spain	1991	238 casualties since 2000 (47 state-based, 191 one-sided). Deaths: 2000–2003 = 41; 2004 = 191 (bomb on train in Madrid); 2008–2011 = 6; 2012–2016 = 0.	1.0 Free / 1.5 Free / 1.0 Free / 1.0 Free	From 5.8 in 2006 to 5.8 in 2018. Low 5.7. High 6.3.
Sri Lanka	1990	27,610 casualties since 2000 (26,700 state-based, 223 non-state, 687 one-sided). Deaths: 2000–2005 = 3,995; 2006–2009 = 23,608; 2011–2013 = 7; 2014–2016 = 0.	4.5 Partly Free / 3.5 Partly Free / 3.0 Partly Free / 3.5 Partly Free	Positive trend. From 9.1 in 2005 to 8.7 in 2017. Low 8.7. High 9.8.
Trinidad and Tobago	1990	0 recorded casualties since 2000.	1.0 Free / 2.0 Free / 2.5 Free / 2.0 Free	Positive trend. From 5.2 in 2005 to 3.9 in 2017. Low 3.9. High 5.2.
United Kingdom	1998*	63 casualties since 2000 (3 state-based, 60 one-sided). Deaths: 2000–2004 = 7; 2005 = 51 (bomb in London) + 1; 2009–2011 = 3; 2012–2016 = 0.	1.5 Free / 1.0 Free / 1.0 Free / 1.0 Free	Negative trend. From 5.0 in 2005 to 6.4 in 2017. Low 4.1. High 6.4.
Venezuela	1992	190 casualties since 2000 (2 state-based, 7 non-state, 181 one-sided). Deaths: 2000–2005 = 165; 2006–2007 = 24; 2011 = 1; 2012–2016 = 0.	2.0 Free / 3.5 Partly Free / 4.0 Partially Free / 5.5 Not Free	Negative trend. From 6.8 in 2005 to 7.3 in 2017. Low 6.4. High 7.4.
Yemen	1994	16,820 casualties since 2000 (15,128 state-based, 1,511 non-state, 181 one-sided). Deaths: 2003–2004 = 34; 2008–2010 = 316; 2011–2013 = 4,212; 2014–2015 = 9,104; 2016 = 3154.	4.5 Partly Free / 5.0 Partly Free / 5.5 Not Free / 6.5 Not Free	Negative trend. From 7.0 in 2005 to 9.5 in 2017. Low 7.0. High 9.5.
			Average score: 4.4 / 3.7 / 3.8 / 4.0 World average in: 1990 = 3.8; 2000 = 3.5; 2010 = 3.3; 2017 = 3.4	Average score: From 7.3 in 2005 to 7.1 in 2017. Low 7.0. High 7.3. World average: From 5.9 in 2005 to 6.0 in 2017. Low 5.8. High 6.2.

Note: * indicates the conflict has ended (the last conflict in countries with more than one conflict ending) by peace agreement (ceasefire agreement included). Sources: Casualties (Sundberg and Melander, 2013); Conflict termination data (Kreutz, 2010); Freedom House score (Freedom House, 2018a); Group grievances (Fund For Peace, 2017a)

5.4 Cases and comparing between trends

Out of the ten countries with no recorded casualties since 2000, eight have seen positive trends for group relations. El Salvador, however, which has also not suffered any casualties since 2000, has seen an increase in group grievances along with an improvement in freedom. If we look more closely at the levels of group grievances for El Salvador, we see that they started at 6.0 in 2005 and then fluctuated between 5.7 and 6.7, before settling on 6.4 in 2017. This fluctuation could indicate that the negative trend is turning into a positive one. Out of the ten countries that experienced all three types of violence, seven have seen negative trends in group relations and three have seen positive trends. However, the reverse is true for trends of freedom for these countries. Seven of them have seen improvements while three have seen a deterioration in freedom.

The four countries with the highest casualty numbers from 2000–2016 (Iraq, Ethiopia, India and Sri Lanka) saw both negative and positive developments in freedom and group grievances. In Iraq, the casualty rates rose despite increases in freedom and improved group relations. However, Ethiopia saw negative developments in both freedom and group grievances, while casualty figures declined. India experienced improvements in freedom, an increase in group grievances and a decline in casualty figures. Sri Lanka experienced improvements in both freedom and group grievances and saw a decline in casualty figures (they dramatically increased from 2006–2009 then dramatically decreased from 2010 onwards).

Of the seven countries that were less free in 2017, compared to one year prior to their respective conflicts ending, three saw improvements in group relations while four saw a deterioration in group relations. Of the 20 countries that saw improvements in freedom, ten saw positive developments in group relations, nine saw negative developments, and for one country, relations fluctuated slightly but ended unchanged. Of the five countries whose freedom score in 2017 was the same as one year prior to the ending of their respective conflicts, two experienced improvements while two experienced a deterioration in group relations.

Looking at the whole picture (all three indicators), it is hard to discern any general trends. It is clear, however, that both freedom and group grievances improved on average, although by rather small margins. In addition, a majority (17) of the 32 countries have recorded zero casualties since 2013. With this in mind, it is perhaps permissible to say that peace in the included countries has, on average, improved.

Chapter three: summary and discussion

In brief, this report has taken an interest in civil war peace processes. Further, as explained at the beginning, this interest has been situated within a context, namely the Varieties of Peace Research Program (VoP). The aim, scope and research questions of the current report are influenced and associated with the goals of this program (see Jarstad et al., 2017). Thus, the delimitations of this report have been to focus on civil war peace processes during the 1990s, and specifically those processes associated with civil wars that ended during that decade. In addition to peace processes, this report has also explored a long-term perspective of peace trends in countries affected by civil war.

To operationalize the concept of civil war (or internal armed conflict) and to establish which conflicts were relevant, the report utilized data and conceptualizations from the Uppsala Conflict Data Program (UCDP). To operationalize the concept of peace processes, this report chose to view peace agreements as expressions of such processes. Agreements were collected via the database peaceagreements.org (PA-X). The agreements were then characterized on both a general level and a conflict-specific level. After characterization of the peace agreements from various perspectives, the report moved on to peace trends. This was operationalized with a pluralistic theoretical understanding of peace and investigated by collecting data on three indicators: battle-related deaths, freedom and group grievances. The results can be summarized in six main points around which the discussion will initially revolve: a general overview, conflicts, connecting agreements to conflicts, a process-by-process comparison, relevance to the VoP program, peace trends.

The general overview was the first step of the report. It showed that 696 civil war peace agreements were signed during the 1990s. The most common characteristic of these agreements was Ceasefire. This provision was present in almost half of the 696 agreements. Although the first step of the report provided a context for the rest of the report, it was a limited context, which excluded potentially interesting details. It could, for instance, have included agreements for interstate conflicts or extended beyond the 1990s. Considering the research questions and aim of the report, the chosen delimitation still seemed appropriate. A broader take on the issue, although interesting in itself, would be a departure from the key interests of the report. In a project that has limited resources, and to keep the workload within a reasonable limit, such departures must be kept to a minimum. Nonetheless, limited or not, the characterization poses some interesting questions, the main one being: why are certain provisions so common while others are so rare? Part of the answer will probably be found in the design of the coding. Still, how much of the answer this accounts for is unclear.

After the general characterization, the report went on to identify the internal armed conflicts that ended during the 1990s. Thus, it began to answer the first research question. This revealed that most civil wars active during the 1990s (103) did not end

during this decade, only 47 ended. 32 governments were one of the main warring parties to these conflicts. It was also shown that only 16 of these 47 conflicts ended in a peace agreement (ceasefire agreements included). It is, of course, vital to remember the operationalization of conflict ending used in this report. It is possible to use other ways to determine if an armed conflict has ended or not. Focus could, for instance, be placed on the incompatibilities rather than on the degree of battle-related deaths. In other words, the distinction between conflicts that ended during the 1990s and those that did not is crucial to the results of this report and should be considered when reading the results.

The third step of the report was to identify which agreements from the general overview concerned internal conflicts identified as having ended during the 1990s and then to characterize these agreements. This began to answer the second research question. It also narrowed down the number of agreements to 337, which concerned 27 (see Table 4) of the 47 identified conflicts (see Table 3). The characterization of these 337 agreements diverged from the characterization in the first step, mainly in proportions and little in type of agreement (tables 1 and 2 compared to tables 5 and 6). It also became evident that the distribution of agreements per conflict was not even. This is interesting for the analysis in the next step of the report.

In order to compare the different peace processes and to broaden the answer to the second research question, the report continued by analyzing the peace processes separately. To accomplish this, all agreements concerning a certain conflict were merged and characterized as a single peace process, rather than each agreement being analyzed separately. This showed how common the provisions identified in the previous step were in each process, i.e. a narrowing down of the perspective. Security provisions appeared in the highest number of peace processes. When comparing the prevalence of different provisions between different peace processes, it is important to keep in mind the skewed distribution of agreements per process, especially since the analysis showed that an increase in agreements correlated with an increase in provisions. The analysis also indicated that conflicts that ended in peace agreements (ceasefire agreements included) tended to include peace processes that had a higher number of both agreements and provisions. Even though this step provided a narrower perspective, it would have been possible to go even deeper. One option would have been to make short case studies in which the selection would be based on the initial findings. This may have provided some answers to the questions that have been raised throughout the report.

Thus far, the focus of the report had been on the most prevalent characteristics of peace agreements. Consequently, the next step was to provide another perspective and to connect the data more clearly to the VoP program. The report therefore identified specific provisions in the agreements that could be of interest to the different sub-projects within the program. The report managed to identify provisions relevant to six of the sub-projects (see Table 8). The fact that relevant provisions could not be

identified for all the sub-projects perhaps indicates the limitations of the study of peace agreements when it comes to furthering our understanding of peace. A further addition to this step was to analyze the prevalence of these provisions in the different types of agreements and types of incompatibilities. This revealed some interesting differences for some of the provisions (see tables 9 and 10). In order to draw coherent conclusions from these differences, this report would require a clear theoretical framework. Having said that, the differences raise several interesting questions, the main one being: why do agreements concerning certain types of incompatibilities contain certain provisions to a higher extent than agreements concerning other types of incompatibilities?

The results part of the report then concluded by presenting peace trends (see Table 11) in the 32 included countries (see Table 3). Three indicators, based on theoretical assumptions of what constitutes peace, were used to map changes of peace: casualties of organized violence, freedom and group grievances. On average, peace in the studied countries appears to have improved. There are, nonetheless, major disparities between the countries and a few have seen significant deterioration in some of the indicators. The report does not claim there is a causal relationship between the studied peace processes and the studied peace trends. Such a relationship could, of course, be investigated, perhaps by investigating the level of implementation of the different provisions in the studied agreements. Further, this analysis does not account for the population in each country and therefore does not say much about the relative effects of the changes. It does, however, begin to answer the third research question. Several other indicators and indexes could have been used, such as polity scores, the global peace index, as well as measurements of equality or happiness.

To conclude, the aim of this report has been to provide a descriptive and comparative overview of civil war peace processes during the 1990s and to provide a long-term perspective of peace after these conflicts. Electing to view peace agreements as an expression of peace processes could be seen as a focus on formal and official attempts at peace. This means that the report is unaware of less formal and unofficial initiatives and events in the everyday lives of war-affected people. This does not mean that the effects peace agreements could have between, for instance, governments and rebel groups on people's everyday lives, should be disregarded. It simply means that the concept of peace processes and, by extension, the concept of peace, reaches far beyond the confines of the official texts commonly known as peace agreements.

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Appendix 1. Peace agreements

This appendix lists all 337 agreements identified for internal armed conflicts that ended during the 1990s. It includes the parties to the conflict, the name of the agreement and the agreement date.

Agreements marked in grey are identified as concerning more than one conflict and have thus been listed on more than one occasion.

Conflict	Name of agreement	date of agreement
Bangladesh - JSS/SB	Agreement between the National Committee on Chittagong Hill Tracts Constituted by the Government and The Parbattya Chattagram Janasanghati Samity	1997-12-02
Cambodia - KR; KPNLF; FUNCINPEC	Declaration on the Rehabilitation and Reconstruction of Cambodia (Framework for a Comprehensive Political Settlement of the Cambodia Conflict or Paris Accords)	1991-10-23
Cambodia - KR; KPNLF; FUNCINPEC	Agreement Concerning the Sovereignty, Independence, Territorial Integrity and Inviolability, Neutrality and National Unity of Cambodia (Framework for a Comprehensive Political Settlement of the Cambodia Conflict or Paris Accords)	1991-10-23
Cambodia - KR; KPNLF; FUNCINPEC	Accord between the Cambodian People's Party (CPP) and the National United Front for an Independent, Neutral, Peaceful and Cooperative Cambodia (FUNCINPEC)	1991-11-20
Cambodia - KR; KPNLF; FUNCINPEC	Statement of the Five Permanent Members of the Security Council of the United Nations on Cambodia Incorporating the Framework for a Comprehensive Political Settlement of the Cambodia Conflict	1990-08-28
Cambodia - KR; KPNLF; FUNCINPEC	Final Act of the Paris Conference on Cambodia (Framework for a Comprehensive Political Settlement of the Cambodia Conflict or Paris Accords)	1991-10-23
Cambodia - KR; KPNLF; FUNCINPEC	Agreement on a Comprehensive Political Settlement of the Cambodia Conflict (Framework for a Comprehensive Political Settlement of the Cambodia Conflict or Paris Accords)	1991-10-23
Comoros - MPA/Republic of Anjouan	Accords d'Antananarivo	1999-04-23
Comoros - MPA/Republic of Anjouan	Addis Ababa Agreement	1997-12-13
Djibouti - FRUD; FRUD-AD	Accord de Paix et de reconciliation nationale	1994-12-26
El Salvador - FMLN	Montelimar Declaration	1990-04-03
El Salvador - FMLN	New York Act II	1992-01-13
El Salvador - FMLN	Joint Declaration Signed on 4 October 1994 by the Representatives of the Govt of El Salvador and of the Frente Farabundo Marti para la Liberacion Nacional (FMLN)	1994-10-04
El Salvador - FMLN	New York Agreement	1991-09-25
El Salvador - FMLN	General Agenda and Timetable for the Comprehensive Negotiating Process, Caracas	1990-05-21
El Salvador - FMLN	New York Act	1991-12-31
El Salvador - FMLN	Acuerdo Complementario del 5 de Febrero de 1993	1993-02-05
El Salvador - FMLN	Acuerdo Complementario del 22 de Diciembre de 1992	1992-12-22
El Salvador - FMLN	Agreement of the Tripartite Meeting Spanish: Acuerdo de la Reunión Tripartita	1993-09-08
El Salvador - FMLN	Understandings Regarding the New York Agreement ('The Compressed Negotiations')	1991-09-25

El Salvador - FMLN	Agreement on Human Rights	1990-07-26
El Salvador - FMLN	Timetable for the Implementation of the Most Important Outstanding Agreements	1994-05-19
El Salvador - FMLN	Press Communiqué Issued Following the Geneva Meeting Presided over by the Secretary General between Representatives of the Government of El Salvador and of the Frente Farabundo Martí para la Liberación nacional ('Geneva Agreement')	1990-04-04
El Salvador - FMLN	Chapultepec Agreement	1992-01-16
El Salvador - FMLN	Mexico Agreements	1991-04-27
Ethiopia - EPRDF; Military faction (Harar garrison)	Transitional Period Charter of Ethiopia	1991-07-22
Georgia - Republic of Abkhazia	Proposal for the Establishment of a Coordinating Commission	1994-05-11
Georgia - Republic of Abkhazia	Decision of 28 April 1998 on additional measures for the settlement of the conflict in Abkhazia, Georgia, The Council of Heads of State of the Commonwealth of Independent State	1998-04-28
Georgia - Republic of Abkhazia	Concluding Statement on the Outcome of the Resumed Meeting between the Georgian and Abkhaz parties	1997-11-19
Georgia - Republic of Abkhazia	Record of the first extraordinary session of the Coordinating Council of the Georgian and Abkhaz parties	1998-01-22
Georgia - Republic of Abkhazia	Protocol of the fourth (second special) session of the Coordinating Council of the Georgian and Abkhaz sides,	1998-05-22
Georgia - Republic of Abkhazia	Protocol of the fifth session of the Coordinating Council of the Georgian and Abkhaz sides	1998-09-02
Georgia - Republic of Abkhazia	Protocol of the sixth session of the Coordinating Council of the Georgian and Abkhaz sides	1998-12-18
Georgia - Republic of Abkhazia	Record of the first meeting of the Coordinating Council of the Georgian and Abkhaz Parties and Statute of the Coordinating Council	1997-12-18
Georgia - Republic of Abkhazia	Security Council Resolution 937 (1994) on Expansion and Extension of the Mandate of the UN Observer Mission in Georgia and its Cooperation with the CIS Peacekeeping Force	1994-07-21
Georgia - Republic of Abkhazia	Rules Governing the Work of the Working Groups	1997-06-12
Georgia - Republic of Abkhazia	Protocol on Ceasefire, Separation of Armed Formations and Guarantees on Inadmissibility of Forcible Activities ("Gagra Protocol")	1998-05-25
Georgia - Republic of Abkhazia	Agreement on a Ceasefire and Separation of Forces	1994-05-14
Georgia - Republic of Abkhazia	Protocol of the Meeting of Georgian and Abkhaz Sides	1998-12-21
Georgia - Republic of Abkhazia	Communiqué on the second round of negotiations between the Georgian and Abkhaz sides	1994-01-13
Georgia - Republic of Abkhazia	Minutes of the meeting between the Georgian and Abkhaz sides on stabilization of the situation along the line separating the sides	1998-09-24
Georgia - Republic of Abkhazia	Agreement on a Ceasefire in Abkhazia and Arrangements to Monitor its Observance (Sochi Agreement)	1993-07-27
Georgia - Republic of Abkhazia	Agreement on Ceasefire and the mechanisms of its implementation in Abkhazia	1993-09-27
Georgia - Republic of Abkhazia	Protocol of Consultations on the Regulation of the Conflict between Georgia and Abkhazia	1992-08-28
Georgia - Republic of Abkhazia	Istanbul Statement of the Georgian and Abkhaz Sides on Confidence-Building Measures	1999-06-09
Georgia - Republic of Abkhazia	Athens Meeting of the Georgian and Abkhaz Sides on Confidence-Building Measures	1998-10-18

Georgia - Republic of Abkhazia	Memorandum of understanding between the Georgian and Abkhaz sides at the negotiations held in Geneva	1993-12-01
Georgia - Republic of Abkhazia	Declaration on Measures of a Political Settlement of the Georgia-Abkhaz Conflict	1994-04-04
Georgia - Republic of Abkhazia	Statement on the meeting between the Georgian and Abkhaz parties	1997-08-14
Georgia - Republic of Abkhazia	Concluding statement on the results of the second meeting of the Georgian and Abkhaz sides, Geneva, 23–25 July 1998.	1998-07-25
Georgia - Republic of Abkhazia	Joint Statement of the Russian Federation and Georgia	1999-11-17
Georgia - Republic of Abkhazia	Protocol of Negotiations between the Governmental Delegations of the Republic of Georgia and the Russian Federation	1993-04-09
Georgia - Republic of Abkhazia	Protocol of the Third Session of the Coordinating Council of the Georgian and Abkhaz sides	1998-03-31
Georgia - Republic of Abkhazia	Final Document of the Moscow Meeting (Moscow Ceasefire)	1992-09-03
Georgia - Republic of Abkhazia	Protocol of the Eighth Session of the Coordinating Council of the Georgian and Abkhaz sides	1999-04-29
Georgia - Republic of Abkhazia	Protocol of the Seventh Session of the Coordinating Council of the Georgian and Abkhaz sides	1999-02-11
Georgia - Republic of Abkhazia	Quadripartite Agreement on Voluntary Return of Refugees and Displaced Persons	1994-04-04
Guatemala - URNG	Montelimar Declaration	1990-04-03
Guatemala - URNG	Framework Agreement on Democratization in the Search for Peace by Political Means ("The Queretaro Agreement")	1991-07-25
Guatemala - URNG	Agreement on Resettlement of the Population Groups uprooted by the Armed Conflict	1994-06-17
Guatemala - URNG	Agreement on a Timetable for Negotiations of a Firm and Lasting Peace in Guatemala	1994-03-29
Guatemala - URNG	Agreement on a General Agenda	1991-04-26
Guatemala - URNG	Agreement to establish Commission to clarify past human rights violations and acts of violence that caused the Guatemalan population to suffer	1994-06-23
Guatemala - URNG	Agreement on the Identity and Rights of Indigenous Peoples	1995-03-31
Guatemala - URNG	Agreement on the Social and Economic Aspects and Agrarian Situation	1996-05-06
Guatemala - URNG	Comprehensive Agreement on Human Rights	1994-03-29
Guatemala - URNG	Framework Agreement for the Resumption of the Negotiating Process between the Govt of Guatemala and the "Unidad Revolucionaria Nacional Guatemalteca" (URNG)	1994-01-10
Guatemala - URNG	El Escorial Agreement	1990-06-01
Guatemala - URNG	Basic Agreement for the Search for Peace by Political Means ("Oslo Agreement")	1990-03-30
Guatemala - URNG	Agreement on a Definitive Ceasefire	1996-12-04
Guatemala - URNG	Agreement on the Strengthening of Civilian Power and on the Role of the Armed Forces in a Democratic Society	1996-09-19
Guatemala - URNG	Agreement on Constitutional Reforms and the Electoral Regime (Stockholm Agreement)	1996-12-07
Guatemala - URNG	Agreement on a Firm and Lasting Peace	1996-12-29
Guatemala - URNG	Agreement on the Procedure for the Search for Peace by Political Means ("The Mexico Agreement")	1991-04-26
Guatemala - URNG	Agreement on the Implementation, Compliance and Verification Timetable for the Peace Agreements	1996-12-29
Guatemala - URNG	Agreement on the Basis for the Legal Integration of the Unidad Revolucionaria Nacional Guatemalteca	1996-12-12

Guinea Bissau - Military Junta for the Consolidation of Democracy, Peace and Justice	Additional Protocol to the Abuja Accord of 1 November 1998 Concerning the Formation of the Government of National Unity of Guinea-Bissau	1998-12-15
Guinea Bissau - Military Junta for the Consolidation of Democracy, Peace and Justice	Final Communiqué of the Lome Meeting on the Peace Process in Guinea-Bissau	1998-12-15
Guinea Bissau - Military Junta for the Consolidation of Democracy, Peace and Justice	Final communiqué of the joint Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS)/Community of Portuguese-speaking Countries (CPLP) consultative meeting on the situation in Guinea-Bissau	1998-08-25
Guinea Bissau - Military Junta for the Consolidation of Democracy, Peace and Justice	Agreement between the Government of Guinea Bissau and the Self-proclaimed military junta ("Abuja Accord")	1998-11-01
Guinea Bissau - Military Junta for the Consolidation of Democracy, Peace and Justice	Ceasefire Agreement in Guinea-Bissau	1998-08-26
Guinea Bissau - Military Junta for the Consolidation of Democracy, Peace and Justice	Memorandum of Understanding between the Government of Guinea Bissau and the Self-proclaimed Military Junta	1998-07-26
Indonesia - Fretilin	UN Security Council Resolution 1236	1999-05-07
Indonesia - Fretilin	UN Security Council Resolution 1246	1999-06-11
Indonesia - Fretilin	Agreement Between the Republic of Indonesia and the Portuguese Republic on the Question of East Timor	1999-05-05
Indonesia - Fretilin	Agreement Regarding the Modalities for the Popular Consultation of the East Timorese Through a Direct Ballot	1999-05-05
Indonesia - Fretilin	East Timor Popular Consultation Agreement Regarding Security	1999-05-05
Indonesia - Fretilin	Dili Peace Accord	1999-04-21
Lesotho - Military Faction	Joint Statement on the Acceptance, in Principle, of the Lesotho Elections Timetable	1999-12-03
Lesotho - Military Faction	Memorandum of Agreement between the Government of Lesotho and the Interim Political Authority (IPA)	1999-12-03
Mexico - EZLN; EPR	Protocole sur les principes de négociation en vue d'un accord de paix conclu par le Gouvernement et l'EZLN (Ejército Zapatista de Liberación Nacional)	1995-09-11
Mexico - EZLN; EPR	Agreement Regarding the Joint Proposals between the Federal Government and the EZLN	1996-02-16
Mexico - EZLN; EPR	Joint Proposals that the Federal Government and the EZLN agree to remit to the National Debating and Decision-Making Bodies in accordance with paragraph 1.4 of the Rules of Procedure	1996-02-16
Mexico - EZLN; EPR	Commitments for Chiapas by the State and Federal Governments and the EZLN under Paragraph 1.3 of the Rules of Procedure	1996-02-16
Mexico - EZLN; EPR	Joint Declaration that the Federal Government and the EZLN shall submit to National Debating and Decision-making Bodies	1996-02-16
Mexico - EZLN; EPR	Actions and Measures for Chiapas Joint Commitments and Proposals from the State and Federal Governments, and the EZLN	1996-02-16
Moldova - PMR	Joint Statement of the Presidents of the Russian Federation and Ukraine in Connection with the Signing of the Memorandum on the Bases for Normalization of Relations between the Republic of Moldova and Transdnistria	1997-05-08
Moldova - PMR	Agreement on the Principles for a Peaceful Settlement of the Armed Conflict in the Dniester Region of the Republic of Moldova	1992-07-21

Moldova - PMR	Agreement between the Russian Federation and the Republic of Moldova on Matters Related to Jurisdiction and Mutual Legal Assistance on Issues Regarding the Russian Federation Military Formations Temporarily Situated in the Territory of the Republic of Moldova (Agreed in Moscow 21.10.1994)	1994-10-21
Moldova - PMR	Agreement between the Russian Federation and the Republic of Moldova regarding the legal status, procedure and period for the withdrawal of the Russian Federation Military Units/Formations, temporarily situated in the territory of the Republic of Moldova	1994-10-21
Moldova - PMR	Memorandum on the Bases for Normalization of Relations between the Republic of Moldova and Transdnistria	1997-05-08
Nicaragua - Contrás/FDN	Protocolo de Verificación	1992-10-02
Nicaragua - Contrás/FDN	Effective and Definitive Ceasefire Agreement between the Government of Nicaragua and the Nicaraguan Resistance under the Auspices of his Eminence Miguel Cardinal Obando y Bravo	1990-04-18
Nicaragua - Contrás/FDN	Addendum to the Toncontin Agreement	1990-04-18
Nicaragua - Contrás/FDN	Definitive Ceasefire Agreement between the Government of the Republic of Nicaragua and the YATAMA Atlantic Front of the Nicaraguan Resistance under the Auspices of his Eminence Miguel Cardinal Obando y Bravo	1990-04-18
Nicaragua - Contrás/FDN	Acuerdo de Paz entre el Gobierno de Nicaragua y el Estado Mayor del Frente Norte 3-80 (Acuerdo de Managua)	1997-05-30
Nicaragua - Contrás/FDN	The Managua Protocol on Disarmament	1990-05-30
Nicaragua - Contrás/FDN	The Toncontin Agreement	1990-03-23
Nicaragua - Contrás/FDN	Montelimar Declaration	1990-04-03
Niger - CRA	Accord de Paix entre le Gouvernement de la République du Niger et la Coordination de la Résistance Armée (Ouagadougou Accord)	1994-10-09
Niger - CRA	Accord établissant une paix définitive entre le Gouvernement de la République du Niger et l'Organisation de la Résistance Armée	1995-04-15
Niger - FDR	Accord de N'Djaména entre le Gouvernement de la République du Niger et le Front Démocratique pour le Renouveau (FDR)	1998-08-21
Papua New Guinea - BRA	Protocol Concerning the Neutral Truce Monitoring Group	1997-12-05
Papua New Guinea - BRA	Agreement between New Zealand, Papua New Guinea, Australia, Fiji and Vanuatu concerning the Neutral Truce Monitoring Group for Bougainville	1997-12-11
Papua New Guinea - BRA	Agreement between Papua New Guinea and Fiji, Tonga, Solomon Islands, Vanuatu, Australia and New Zealand, concerning the Status of Elements of the Defence Forces of those countries deployed in the North Solomons Province of Papua New Guinea as part of the South Pacific Peacekeeping Force	1994-09-28
Papua New Guinea - BRA	Cairns Commitment on Implementation of the Agreement Concerning the Neutral Regional Truce Monitoring Group for Bougainville	1997-11-24
Papua New Guinea - BRA	The Hutjena Record	1999-12-15
Papua New Guinea - BRA	Fundamental Principles for the Future of Bougainville (The Hutjena Minute)	1999-06-30
Papua New Guinea - BRA	Cairns Joint Communique	1995-12-01
Papua New Guinea - BRA	Endeavour Accord	1990-08-05
Papua New Guinea - BRA	North Nasioi Agreement	1994-10-18

Papua New Guinea - BRA	Protocol Concerning the Peace Monitoring Group	1998-04-29
Papua New Guinea - BRA	Buin Declaration	1998-08-22
Papua New Guinea - BRA	Matakana and Okataina Understanding	1999-04-22
Papua New Guinea - BRA	Joint Bougainville Negotiating Position	1999-12-14
Papua New Guinea - BRA	Agreement to End Hostilities on Bougainville	1990-03-01
Papua New Guinea - BRA	Agreement covering Implementation of the Ceasefire (Arawa Agreement)	1998-04-30
Papua New Guinea - BRA	Bougainville Transitional Government Peace Plan	1996-02-01
Papua New Guinea - BRA	The Honiara Declaration	1991-01-23
Papua New Guinea - BRA	Memorandum of Understanding	1996-06-04
Papua New Guinea - BRA	Charter of Mirigini for a New Bougainville	1994-11-25
Papua New Guinea - BRA	The Burnham Truce	1997-10-10
Papua New Guinea - BRA	Draft Basic Agreement Concerning the Bougainville Reconciliation Government	1998-12-24
Papua New Guinea - BRA	The Burnham Declaration by Bougainville Leaders on the Re-Establishment of a Process for Lasting Peace and Justice on Bougainville	1997-07-18
Papua New Guinea - BRA	Lincoln Agreement on Peace, Security and Development on Bougainville	1998-01-23
Papua New Guinea - BRA	Honiara Commitments to Peace on Bougainville	1994-09-03
Papua New Guinea - BRA	The Tamba Accord	1994-08-27
Papua New Guinea - BRA	Waigini Communique	1995-05-18
Papua New Guinea - BRA	Memorandum of Understanding between Buka Community Leaders and the National Government Delegation	1990-10-05
Papua New Guinea - BRA	Statement by the President of the Security Council	1998-04-22
Spain - ETA	The Lizarra Declaration	1998-09-12
United Kingdom - PIRA; RIRA	Agreement between the Government of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland and the Government of Ireland establishing a British-Irish Council	1999-03-08
United Kingdom - PIRA; RIRA	Agreement between the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland and Ireland establishing a North/South Ministerial Council	1999-03-08
United Kingdom - PIRA; RIRA	Rules of Procedure	1996-07-29
United Kingdom - PIRA; RIRA	Agreement between the Government of Great Britain and Northern Ireland and the Government of Ireland establishing Implementation Bodies	1999-03-08
United Kingdom - PIRA; RIRA	Joint Communique	1995-11-28
United Kingdom - PIRA; RIRA	Agreement between the Government of Ireland and the Government of the United Kingdom establishing the Independent International Commission on Decommissioning	1997-08-26
United Kingdom - PIRA; RIRA	Joint Statement by the British and Irish Governments on Propositions on Heads of Agreement (Lancaster House)	1998-01-12
United Kingdom - PIRA; RIRA	A New Framework Agreement: A Shared Understanding between the British and Irish Governments to Assist Discussion and Negotiation Involving the Northern Ireland Parties	1995-02-22
United Kingdom - PIRA; RIRA	Declaration issued by the British and Irish Governments, Hillsborough	1999-04-01
United Kingdom - PIRA; RIRA	Joint Declaration Issued by The Prime Minister Rt Hon John Major MP and the Taoiseach Mr Albert Reynolds TD (Downing Street Declaration)	1993-12-15
United Kingdom - PIRA; RIRA	Agreement Reached on Departments and Cross-border Bodies	1998-12-18
United Kingdom - PIRA; RIRA	IRA Ceasefire Statement	1994-08-31
United Kingdom - PIRA; RIRA	Text of Document on Decommissioning	1997-06-25
United Kingdom - PIRA; RIRA	Combined Loyalist Military Command Ceasefire Statement	1994-10-13

United Kingdom - PIRA; RIRA	Northern Ireland: Ground Rules for Substantive All-Party Negotiations	1996-04-15
United Kingdom - PIRA; RIRA	The Agreement Reached in the Multi-Party Negotiations (Good Friday Agreement or Belfast Agreement)	1998-04-10
United Kingdom - PIRA; RIRA	Mitchell Report	1996-01-22
Yemen (North Yemen) - Democratic Republic of Yemen	Agreement on a Ceasefire in the Republic of Yemen	1994-06-30
Former Yugoslavia		
Bosnia-Herzegovina - Serbian irregulars; Serbian Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina	Agreement to restore the public utilities in and around the city of Sarajevo	1993-07-12
Bosnia-Herzegovina - Serbian irregulars; Serbian Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina	Agreement for withdrawal of forces from Igman and Bjelasnica	1993-08-14
Bosnia-Herzegovina - Serbian irregulars; Serbian Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina	Agreement on the Elimination of Sniping Activities in the Sarajevo Region	1994-08-14
Bosnia-Herzegovina - Serbian irregulars; Serbian Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina	Agreement on the Demilitarization of the 3km Total Exclusion Zone East of the River Drina	1994-05-21
Bosnia-Herzegovina - Serbian irregulars; Serbian Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina	Comprehensive Peace Agreement (Carter Agreement)	1994-12-21
Bosnia-Herzegovina - Serbian irregulars; Serbian Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina	Ceasefire Agreement for Bosnia and Herzegovina	1995-10-05
Bosnia-Herzegovina - Serbian irregulars; Serbian Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina	Agreement on the disarmament of the able-bodied population in the Zepa enclave	1995-07-24
Bosnia-Herzegovina - Serbian irregulars; Serbian Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina	Agreement on Prisoner Releases	1994-10-01
Bosnia-Herzegovina - Serbian irregulars; Serbian Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina	Agreement on the Demilitarization of Srebrenica and Zepa concluded between Lt Gen Ratko Mladic and Gen Sefer Halilovic on 8 May 1993 in the presence of Lt Gen Philippe Morillon	1993-05-08
Bosnia-Herzegovina - Serbian irregulars; Serbian Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina	Agreement for the Demilitarization of Srebrenica	1993-04-18
Bosnia-Herzegovina - Serbian irregulars; Serbian Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina	Agreement	1995-04-06
Bosnia-Herzegovina - Serbian irregulars; Serbian Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina	Comprehensive Ceasefire Agreement, Pleso	1994-12-23
Bosnia-Herzegovina - Serbian irregulars; Serbian Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina	Points of Agreement	1994-02-18
Bosnia-Herzegovina - Serbian irregulars; Serbian Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina	Agreement for S4 Checkpoint	1995-04-08
Bosnia-Herzegovina - Serbian irregulars; Serbian Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina	Agreement of 5 June 1992 on the reopening of the Sarajevo Airport for humanitarian purposes	1992-06-05
Bosnia-Herzegovina - Serbian irregulars; Serbian Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina	Agreement on mutual release of the prisoners along the line "all for all"	1992-07-05
Bosnia-Herzegovina - Serbian irregulars; Serbian Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina	Conclusions of the Peace Implementation Conference held at Lancaster House (London Conference)	1995-12-09
Bosnia-Herzegovina - Serbian irregulars; Serbian Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina	Final agreement reached between SRSG, Mr Akashi and the Bosnian Serb civilian and military authorities, Belgrade, 23 April 1994	1994-04-23
Bosnia-Herzegovina - Serbian irregulars; Serbian Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina	Agreement between General Smith and General Mladic	1995-07-19
Bosnia-Herzegovina - Serbian irregulars; Serbian Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina	Ceasefire Agreement	1992-05-05
Bosnia-Herzegovina - Serbian irregulars; Serbian Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina	UN Security Council Resolution 1031	1995-12-15
Bosnia-Herzegovina - Serbian irregulars; Serbian Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina	COREU from ICFY	1994-06-08
Bosnia-Herzegovina - Serbian irregulars; Serbian Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina	UN Security Council Resolution 1088	1996-12-12
Bosnia-Herzegovina - Serbian irregulars; Serbian Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina	UN Security Council Resolution 1035	1995-12-21

Bosnia-Herzegovina - Serbian irregulars; Serbian Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina	Sporazum o prekidu vatre u Bosni i Hercegovini	1992-05-18
Bosnia-Herzegovina - Serbian irregulars; Serbian Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina	Agreement by the Republic of Bosnia Herzegovina with regard to the Concentration of all Heavy Weapons in and Around Sarajevo	1992-06-01
Bosnia-Herzegovina - Serbian irregulars; Serbian Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina	Agreement by the Serbian Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina with regard to the opening of Sarajevo airport	1992-06-01
Bosnia-Herzegovina - Serbian irregulars; Serbian Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina	Joint Communique	1994-07-12
Bosnia-Herzegovina - Serbian irregulars; Serbian Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina	Agreed Basic Principles signed on 8 September 1995 at Geneva	1995-09-08
Bosnia-Herzegovina - Serbian irregulars; Serbian Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina	Further Agreed Basic Principles (additional to those issued 8 September 1995, in Geneva)	1995-09-26
Bosnia-Herzegovina - Serbian irregulars; Serbian Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina	Joint Declaration (on normalisation of relations between Federal Republic of Yugoslavia and Bosnia and Herzegovina)	1996-10-03
Bosnia-Herzegovina - Serbian irregulars; Serbian Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina	Work Programme of the Conference, International Conference on Yugoslavia (The London Conference)	1992-08-28
Bosnia-Herzegovina - Serbian irregulars; Serbian Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina	Statement of Principles, International Conference on Yugoslavia (The London Conference)	1992-08-26
Bosnia-Herzegovina - Serbian irregulars; Serbian Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina	Agreement on removal of Commands, Units and Institutions from Garrisons-Barracks of Zenica, Travnik, Konjic and Barracks and Institutions in Sarajevo	1992-05-10
Bosnia-Herzegovina - Serbian irregulars; Serbian Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina	Protocol (Ilidza Ceasefire)	1992-04-23
Bosnia-Herzegovina - Serbian irregulars; Serbian Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina	Framework on Police Restructuring Agreement, Reform and Democratization in the Republika Srpska	1998-12-09
Bosnia-Herzegovina - Serbian irregulars; Serbian Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina	Statement of Principles on Bosnia, International Conference on Former Yugoslavia (The London Conference)	1992-08-27
Bosnia-Herzegovina - Serbian irregulars; Serbian Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina	Specific Decisions by the London Conference, International Conference on Former Yugoslavia (The London Conference)	1992-08-27
Bosnia-Herzegovina - Serbian irregulars; Serbian Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina	Conclusions on Implementation of Existing Sanctions, International Conference on Yugoslavia (The London Conference)	1992-08-27
Bosnia-Herzegovina - Serbian irregulars; Serbian Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina	Agreement on Special Parallel Relations between the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia and Republika Srpska	1997-02-28
Bosnia-Herzegovina - Serbian irregulars; Serbian Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina	General Framework Agreement for Peace in Bosnia and Herzegovina (Dayton Peace Agreement)	1995-11-21
Bosnia-Herzegovina - Serbian irregulars; Serbian Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina	Agreement for the establishment of the Bosnian, Croatian and Serbian language texts of the Annexes to the General Framework Agreement	1995-12-14
Bosnia-Herzegovina - Serbian irregulars; Serbian Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina	Agreement on Initialling the General Framework Agreement for Peace in Bosnia and Herzegovina	1995-11-21
Bosnia-Herzegovina - Serbian irregulars; Serbian Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina	Meeting of Army Commanders (Military Implementation of COHA)	1995-01-11
Bosnia-Herzegovina - Serbian irregulars; Serbian Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina	Agreement on establishment of the cease-fire on the lines of contact made by LG Ratko Mladic and General Milivoj Petkovic	1993-05-16
Bosnia-Herzegovina - Serbian irregulars; Serbian Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina	General agreement to halt the conflict in Bosnia-Herzegovina of 15 June 1993	1993-06-15
Bosnia-Herzegovina - Serbian irregulars; Serbian Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina	Declaration of 19 September 1992 of Haris Silajdzic, Radovan Karadzic and Mate Boban	1992-09-19
Bosnia-Herzegovina - Serbian irregulars; Serbian Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina	Agreement	1993-07-01
Bosnia-Herzegovina - Serbian irregulars; Serbian Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina	Agreement on Establishing a Ceasefire and Cessation of Hostilities	1992-10-05

Bosnia-Herzegovina - Serbian irregulars; Serbian Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina	Protocol on Realisation of Agreement on Cessation of Hostilities of 31 December 1994 for Items 5, 6 and 8 and the Agreement on Freedom of Movement in the Area of Sarajevo of 17 March 1994	1995-01-23
Bosnia-Herzegovina - Serbian irregulars; Serbian Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina	Agreement on Complete Cessation of Hostilities	1994-12-31
Bosnia-Herzegovina - Serbian irregulars; Serbian Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina	Joint Declaration	1993-11-18
Bosnia-Herzegovina - Serbian irregulars; Serbian Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina	Croat-Serb Constitutional Principles for Bosnia-Herzegovina	1993-06-23
Bosnia-Herzegovina - Serbian irregulars; Serbian Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina	The Vance-Owen Plan	1993-05-02
Bosnia-Herzegovina - Serbian irregulars; Serbian Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina	The Public Announcement (Graz Agreement)	1992-05-06
Bosnia-Herzegovina - Serbian irregulars; Serbian Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina	Agreement on the Separation of Forces in the area of Sarajevo Airport (collection of Sarajevo agreements)	1992-12-22
Bosnia-Herzegovina - Serbian irregulars; Serbian Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina	Agreement Freedom of Movement for Civilians Linked with the Safety of the Airport	1992-12-13
Bosnia-Herzegovina - Serbian irregulars; Serbian Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina	Principles for Freedom of Movement (COHA implementation)	1995-01-31
Bosnia-Herzegovina - Serbian irregulars; Serbian Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina	Agreement (COHA Implementation)	1995-01-31
Bosnia-Herzegovina - Serbian irregulars; Serbian Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina	Joint Statement of Professor Mile Akmadzic and Professor Nikola Koljevic	1994-01-19
Bosnia-Herzegovina - Serbian irregulars; Serbian Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina	Agreement of 26 January 1994 on the Restoration of the Electricity System	1994-01-26
Bosnia-Herzegovina - Serbian irregulars; Serbian Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina	Text of the agreement signed at London on 17 July 1992 by Mr. Boban, Dr. Karadzic and Dr. Silajdzic	1992-07-17
Bosnia-Herzegovina - Serbian irregulars; Serbian Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina	Agreement relating to Bosnia and Herzegovina (Owen-Stoltenberg Peace Plan, or "Invincible plan")	1993-09-16
Bosnia-Herzegovina - Serbian irregulars; Serbian Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina	Joint Statement, Split, Croatia	1997-08-06
Bosnia-Herzegovina - Serbian irregulars; Serbian Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina	Agreement (ICRC Humanitarian Principles)	1992-06-06
Bosnia-Herzegovina - Serbian irregulars; Serbian Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina	Programme of Action on Humanitarian Issues agreed between the Co-Chairmen to the Conference and the Parties to the Conflict, International Conference on Yugoslavia (The London Conference)	1992-08-27
Bosnia-Herzegovina - Serbian irregulars; Serbian Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina	Geneva Agreement on humanitarian principles	1992-05-22
Bosnia-Herzegovina - Serbian irregulars; Serbian Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina	Agreement on the release and transfer of prisoners	1992-10-01
Bosnia-Herzegovina - Serbian irregulars; Serbian Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina	Joint statement issued at Geneva on 19 October 1992 by the President of Yugoslavia and the President of Bosnia and Herzegovina	1992-10-19
Bosnia-Herzegovina - Serbian irregulars; Serbian Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina	Confidence, Security-building and Verification (The London Conference)	1992-08-27
Bosnia-Herzegovina - Serbian irregulars; Serbian Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina	Declaration	1993-10-22
Bosnia-Herzegovina - Serbian irregulars; Serbian Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina	Text of US/Russia/UK/France/Spain Joint Action Programme (JAP) on Bosnia	1993-05-22
Bosnia-Herzegovina - Serbian irregulars; Serbian Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina	Bosnia-Herzegovina Ceasefire Agreement	1992-04-12
Bosnia-Herzegovina - Serbian irregulars; Serbian Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina	Statement of Principles for New Constitutional Arrangements for Bosnia and Herzegovina (Carrington-Cutiliero Plan of March 1992)	1992-03-18
Bosnia-Herzegovina - Serbian irregulars; Serbian Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina	Statement of understanding concerning the Comprehensive Cease-fire Agreement and the Agreement on Complete Cessation of Hostilities	1995-01-02
Bosnia-Herzegovina - Serbian irregulars; Serbian Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina	Joint statement issued by the President of the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina and the President of the Republic of Croatia on 27 March 1993 at Zagreb	1993-03-27

Bosnia-Herzegovina - Serbian irregulars; Serbian Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina	Exchange of letters providing for establishment of Stabilization Force (SFOR)	1996-12-02
Bosnia-Herzegovina - Serbian irregulars; Serbian Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina	Joint Statement	1993-11-07
Bosnia-Herzegovina - Serbian irregulars; Serbian Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina	Statement of 17 July 1993 by Dr Franjo Tudjman and Slobodan Milosevic	1993-07-17
Bosnia-Herzegovina - Serbian irregulars; Serbian Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina	Action Plan of the European Union for the Former Yugoslavia (EU Action Plan)	1994-02-28
Bosnia-Herzegovina - Serbian irregulars; Serbian Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina	Sarajevo Declaration on the Humanitarian Treatment of Displaced Persons	1992-04-11
Bosnia-Herzegovina - Serbian irregulars; Serbian Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina	Addendum to the Agreement on the Friendship and Cooperation between the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina and the Republic of Croatia	1992-09-23
Bosnia-Herzegovina - Serbian irregulars; Serbian Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina	Dayton Agreement on Implementing the Federation of Bosnia and Herzegovina, Dayton	1995-11-10
Bosnia-Herzegovina - Autonomous Province of Western Bosnia	Declaration	1993-10-22
Bosnia-Herzegovina - Autonomous Province of Western Bosnia	Joint Statement	1993-10-21
Bosnia-Herzegovina - Autonomous Province of Western Bosnia	Joint Statement	1993-11-07
Bosnia-Herzegovina - Croatian irregulars; Croatian Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina	Order (Establishment of local commissions)	1993-04-22
Bosnia-Herzegovina - Croatian irregulars; Croatian Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina	Conclusions	1992-10-26
Bosnia-Herzegovina - Croatian irregulars; Croatian Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina	Agreement	1994-03-04
Bosnia-Herzegovina - Croatian irregulars; Croatian Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina	Local Ceasefire Agreement Mostar - Bijela	1993-12-16
Bosnia-Herzegovina - Croatian irregulars; Croatian Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina	Agreement	1993-03-26
Bosnia-Herzegovina - Croatian irregulars; Croatian Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina	Record of agreements processes leading to peace between the HVO and BiH in Gornji Vakuf	1993-01-20
Bosnia-Herzegovina - Croatian irregulars; Croatian Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina	Agreement	1993-03-03
Bosnia-Herzegovina - Croatian irregulars; Croatian Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina	Agreement (Ceasefire)	1994-02-26
Bosnia-Herzegovina - Croatian irregulars; Croatian Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina	Agreement	1993-04-20
Bosnia-Herzegovina - Croatian irregulars; Croatian Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina	Press release	1992-10-23
Bosnia-Herzegovina - Croatian irregulars; Croatian Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina	Framework Agreement for the Federation (Washington Agreement or Contact Group Plan)	1994-03-01
Bosnia-Herzegovina - Croatian irregulars; Croatian Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina	Joint Statement; enclosure of Command Structure for the BiH Army and the HVO	1993-04-25
Bosnia-Herzegovina - Croatian irregulars; Croatian Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina	General Headquarters of the Army of Bosnia and Herzegovina (ABiH) and General Headquarters of the Croatian Defence Council (HVO): a signed agreement between the head of GHQ of the ABiH and head of GHQ of HVO	1993-02-11
Bosnia-Herzegovina - Croatian irregulars; Croatian Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina	Agreement to calm the situation of the ABiH and HVO	1993-05-21
Bosnia-Herzegovina - Croatian irregulars; Croatian Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina	Principles and Actions to be taken in Establishing the Future Federation Army of Bosnia Herzegovina	1994-03-12
Bosnia-Herzegovina - Croatian irregulars; Croatian Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina	Prisoner exchange agreement	1994-02-08
Bosnia-Herzegovina - Croatian irregulars; Croatian Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina	Agreement on an urgent cease-fire between the HVO and the BH Army in Central Bosnia	1993-01-30
Bosnia-Herzegovina - Croatian irregulars; Croatian Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina	Agreement reached between the HVO and the BH Army on 10 May 1993 in the presence of PMEZ and UNPROFOR	1993-05-10

Bosnia-Herzegovina - Croatian irregulars; Croatian Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina	Medjugorje Agreement	1993-05-18
Bosnia-Herzegovina - Croatian irregulars; Croatian Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina	Agreement on the Passage of Humanitarian Convoys (Makarska Agreement)	1993-07-10
Bosnia-Herzegovina - Croatian irregulars; Croatian Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina	Agreement on the cessation of hostilities in Bosnia and Herzegovina concluded between Gen. Milivoj Petkovic and Gen. Sefer Halilovic on 12 May 1993, in the presence of Lt. Gen. Philippe Morillon and ECOMM.HRC Jean-Pierre Thebault	1993-05-12
Bosnia-Herzegovina - Croatian irregulars; Croatian Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina	Agreement	1994-03-17
Bosnia-Herzegovina - Croatian irregulars; Croatian Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina	Peace Accord (Ceasefire at Camp Pleso)	1994-02-23
Bosnia-Herzegovina - Croatian irregulars; Croatian Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina	Negotiating team for the realization of the ceasefire agreement in Bosnia and Herzegovina	1993-05-25
Bosnia-Herzegovina - Croatian irregulars; Croatian Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina	Agreement among the parties to halt the conflict in Central Bosnia	1993-06-09
Bosnia-Herzegovina - Croatian irregulars; Croatian Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina	Agreement on the evacuation of the severely sick and wounded	1993-08-31
Bosnia-Herzegovina - Croatian irregulars; Croatian Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina	Release of all civilian prisoners and cleaning up of the battle field	1993-04-29
Bosnia-Herzegovina - Croatian irregulars; Croatian Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina	Vienna Agreements	1994-05-11
Bosnia-Herzegovina - Croatian irregulars; Croatian Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina	Agreement reached between the HVO and A BiH	1993-04-02
Bosnia-Herzegovina - Croatian irregulars; Croatian Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina	Agreement on the Federation of Bosnia and Herzegovina, Sarajevo	1996-03-30
Bosnia-Herzegovina - Croatian irregulars; Croatian Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina	Petersberg Declaration on the Federation of Bosnia and Herzegovina	1996-04-25
Bosnia-Herzegovina - Croatian irregulars; Croatian Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina	Declaration on Implementation of the Washington Agreement	1995-07-22
Bosnia-Herzegovina - Croatian irregulars; Croatian Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina	Declaration Concerning the Constitution of the Federation of Bosnia and Herzegovina (with Proposed Constitution of the Federation of Bosnia and Herzegovina attached)	1994-03-18
Bosnia-Herzegovina - Croatian irregulars; Croatian Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina	Decisions on Mostar of 12 February 1997	1997-02-12
Bosnia-Herzegovina - Croatian irregulars; Croatian Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina	Agreement on Restructuring the Police (Bonn- Petersburg Agreement)	1996-04-25
Bosnia-Herzegovina - Croatian irregulars; Croatian Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina	Sarajevo Joint Declaration	1993-11-12
Bosnia-Herzegovina - Croatian irregulars; Croatian Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina	Protocol	1992-08-08
Bosnia-Herzegovina - Croatian irregulars; Croatian Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina	Joint Statement	1992-06-15
Bosnia-Herzegovina - Croatian irregulars; Croatian Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina	Agreement between Lieutenant General Ante Roso, HVO Commander and Brigadier General JG Reith, CBE, British Forces Commander Reached at the Meeting Held on Monday, 22 November 1993 in Tomislavgrad	1993-11-22
Bosnia-Herzegovina - Croatian irregulars; Croatian Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina	Joint Statement	1992-07-08
Bosnia-Herzegovina - Croatian irregulars; Croatian Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina	Agreement on Friendship and Cooperation between the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina and the Republic of Croatia	1992-07-21
Bosnia-Herzegovina - Croatian irregulars; Croatian Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina	Agreement between the HVO Santici and representatives of the Muslim people of Ahmici, concluded at the home of Nenad Santic on 22 October 1992	1992-10-22
Bosnia-Herzegovina - Croatian irregulars; Croatian Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina	Trilateral New York Declaration of Bosnia and Herzegovina, Croatia and Turkey	1995-10-23
Bosnia-Herzegovina - Croatian irregulars; Croatian Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina	Announcement (Ceasefire for Vitez municipality)	1992-10-22

Bosnia-Herzegovina - Croatian irregulars; Croatian Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina	Dayton Agreement on Implementing the Federation of Bosnia and Herzegovina, Dayton	1995-11-10
Bosnia-Herzegovina - Croatian irregulars; Croatian Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina	General Framework Agreement for Peace in Bosnia and Herzegovina (Dayton Peace Agreement)	1995-11-21
Bosnia-Herzegovina - Croatian irregulars; Croatian Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina	Agreement for the establishment of the Bosnian, Croatian and Serbian language texts of the Annexes to the General Framework Agreement	1995-12-14
Bosnia-Herzegovina - Croatian irregulars; Croatian Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina	Agreement on Initialling the General Framework Agreement for Peace in Bosnia and Herzegovina	1995-11-21
Bosnia-Herzegovina - Croatian irregulars; Croatian Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina	Meeting of Army Commanders (Military Implementation of COHA)	1995-01-11
Bosnia-Herzegovina - Croatian irregulars; Croatian Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina	Agreement on establishment of the cease-fire on the lines of contact made by LG Ratko Mladic and General Milivoj Petkovic	1993-05-16
Bosnia-Herzegovina - Croatian irregulars; Croatian Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina	General agreement to halt the conflict in Bosnia-Herzegovina of 15 June 1993	1993-06-15
Bosnia-Herzegovina - Croatian irregulars; Croatian Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina	Declaration of 19 September 1992 of Haris Silajdzic, Radovan Karadzic and Mate Boban	1992-09-19
Bosnia-Herzegovina - Croatian irregulars; Croatian Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina	Agreement	1993-07-01
Bosnia-Herzegovina - Croatian irregulars; Croatian Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina	Agreement on Establishing a Ceasefire and Cessation of Hostilities	1992-10-05
Bosnia-Herzegovina - Croatian irregulars; Croatian Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina	Protocol on Realization of Agreement on Cessation of Hostilities of 31 December 1994 for Items 5, 6 and 8 and the Agreement on Freedom of Movement in the Area of Sarajevo of 17 March 1994	1995-01-23
Bosnia-Herzegovina - Croatian irregulars; Croatian Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina	Agreement on Complete Cessation of Hostilities	1994-12-31
Bosnia-Herzegovina - Croatian irregulars; Croatian Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina	Joint Declaration	1993-11-18
Bosnia-Herzegovina - Croatian irregulars; Croatian Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina	Croat-Serb Constitutional Principles for Bosnia-Herzegovina	1993-06-23
Bosnia-Herzegovina - Croatian irregulars; Croatian Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina	The Vance-Owen Plan	1993-05-02
Bosnia-Herzegovina - Croatian irregulars; Croatian Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina	The Public Announcement (Graz Agreement)	1992-05-06
Bosnia-Herzegovina - Croatian irregulars; Croatian Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina	Agreement on the Separation of Forces in the area of Sarajevo Airport (collection of Sarajevo agreements)	1992-12-22
Bosnia-Herzegovina - Croatian irregulars; Croatian Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina	Agreement Freedom of Movement for Civilians Linked with the Safety of the Airport	1992-12-13
Bosnia-Herzegovina - Croatian irregulars; Croatian Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina	Principles for Freedom of Movement (COHA implementation)	1995-01-31
Bosnia-Herzegovina - Croatian irregulars; Croatian Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina	Agreement (COHA Implementation)	1995-01-31
Bosnia-Herzegovina - Croatian irregulars; Croatian Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina	Joint Statement of Professor Mile Akmadzic and Professor Nikola Koljevic	1994-01-19
Bosnia-Herzegovina - Croatian irregulars; Croatian Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina	Agreement of 26 January 1994 on the restoration of the electricity system	1994-01-26
Bosnia-Herzegovina - Croatian irregulars; Croatian Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina	Text of the agreement signed at London on 17 July 1992 by Mr. Boban, Dr. Karadzic and Dr. Silajdzic	1992-07-17
Bosnia-Herzegovina - Croatian irregulars; Croatian Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina	Agreement relating to Bosnia and Herzegovina (Owen-Stoltenberg Peace Plan, or 'Invincible plan')	1993-09-16
Bosnia-Herzegovina - Croatian irregulars; Croatian Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina	Joint Statement, Split, Croatia	1997-08-06
Bosnia-Herzegovina - Croatian irregulars; Croatian Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina	Agreement (ICRC Humanitarian Principles)	1992-06-06
Bosnia-Herzegovina - Croatian irregulars; Croatian Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina	Programme of Action on Humanitarian Issues agreed between the Co-Chairmen to the Conference and the Parties to the Conflict, International Conference on Yugoslavia (The London Conference)	1992-08-27
Bosnia-Herzegovina - Croatian irregulars; Croatian Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina	Geneva Agreement on humanitarian principles	1992-05-22

Bosnia-Herzegovina - Croatian irregulars; Croatian Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina	Agreement on the release and transfer of prisoners	1992-10-01
Bosnia-Herzegovina - Croatian irregulars; Croatian Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina	Joint statement issued at Geneva on 19 October 1992 by the President of Yugoslavia and the President of Bosnia and Herzegovina	1992-10-19
Bosnia-Herzegovina - Croatian irregulars; Croatian Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina	Confidence, Security-building and Verification (The London Conference)	1992-08-27
Bosnia-Herzegovina - Croatian irregulars; Croatian Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina	Text of US/Russia/UK/France/Spain Joint Action Programme (JAP) on Bosnia	1993-05-22
Bosnia-Herzegovina - Croatian irregulars; Croatian Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina	Bosnia-Herzegovina Ceasefire Agreement	1992-04-12
Bosnia-Herzegovina - Croatian irregulars; Croatian Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina	Statement of Principles for New Constitutional Arrangements for Bosnia and Herzegovina (Carrington-Cutiliero Plan of March 1992)	1992-03-18
Bosnia-Herzegovina - Croatian irregulars; Croatian Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina	Joint Statement	1993-10-21
Bosnia-Herzegovina - Croatian irregulars; Croatian Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina	Statement of understanding concerning the Comprehensive Cease-fire Agreement and the Agreement on Complete Cessation of Hostilities	1995-01-02
Bosnia-Herzegovina - Croatian irregulars; Croatian Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina	Joint statement issued by the President of the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina and the President of the Republic of Croatia on 27 March 1993 at Zagreb	1993-03-27
Bosnia-Herzegovina - Croatian irregulars; Croatian Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina	Exchange of letters providing for establishment of Stabilization Force (SFOR)	1996-12-02
Bosnia-Herzegovina - Croatian irregulars; Croatian Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina	Joint Statement	1993-11-07
Bosnia-Herzegovina - Croatian irregulars; Croatian Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina	Statement of 17 July 1993 by Dr Franjo Tudjman and Slobodan Milosevic	1993-07-17
Bosnia-Herzegovina - Croatian irregulars; Croatian Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina	Action Plan of the European Union for the Former Yugoslavia (EU Action Plan)	1994-02-28
Bosnia-Herzegovina - Croatian irregulars; Croatian Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina	Sarajevo Declaration on the Humanitarian Treatment of Displaced Persons	1992-04-11
Croatia - Serbian irregulars; Serbian Republic of Krajina	Affidavit	1996-12-19
Croatia - Serbian irregulars; Serbian Republic of Krajina	UN Security Council Resolution 1023	1995-11-22
Croatia - Serbian irregulars; Serbian Republic of Krajina	Daruvar Agreement	1993-03-18
Croatia - Serbian irregulars; Serbian Republic of Krajina	Agreement (Economic Agreement)	1994-12-02
Croatia - Serbian irregulars; Serbian Republic of Krajina	Agreement (Erdut/Zagreb)	1993-07-15
Croatia - Serbian irregulars; Serbian Republic of Krajina	Ceasefire Agreement of 29 March 1994	1994-03-29
Croatia - Serbian irregulars; Serbian Republic of Krajina	Agreement in Implementation of Security Council Resolution 802 (1993)	1993-04-06
Croatia - Serbian irregulars; Serbian Republic of Krajina	Basic Agreement on the Region of Eastern Slavonia, Baranja, and Western Sirmium ("The Erdut Agreement")	1995-11-12
Croatia - Serbian irregulars; Serbian Republic of Krajina	Agreement on the Surrender of the 21st Corps	1995-08-08
Croatia - Serbian irregulars; Serbian Republic of Krajina	Agreement between the Government of the Republic of Croatia and the United Nations Peace Forces (UNPF) - United Nations Confidence Restoration Operation (UNCRO) on temporary measures in the areas formerly known as "Sector North" and "Sector South"	1995-08-06
Croatia - Serbian irregulars; Serbian Republic of Krajina	UN Security Council Resolution 1037	1996-01-15
Croatia - Serbian irregulars; Serbian Republic of Krajina	Guiding Basic Principles for Negotiations on a Settlement of Eastern Slavonia, Baranja and Western Sirmium	1995-10-03

Croatia - Serbian irregulars; Serbian Republic of Krajina	Programme of the Government of the Republic of Croatia for the Establishment of Trust, Accelerated Return, and Normalization of Living Conditions in the War-affected Regions of the Republic of Croatia	1997-10-03
Croatia - Serbian irregulars; Serbian Republic of Krajina	Addendum to the Agreement on the Friendship and Cooperation between the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina and the Republic of Croatia	1992-09-23
Serbia (Yugoslavia) - Republic of Slovenia	Proposal by the President of the Presidency of FSRY accepted by the Presidency of Slovenia regarding the Crisis in Slovenia	1991-07-02
Serbia (Yugoslavia) - Republic of Slovenia	Memorandum of Understanding on the Monitor Mission to Yugoslavia	1991-07-13
Serbia (Yugoslavia) - Republic of Slovenia	Joint Declaration of the EC Troika and the Parties directly concerned with the Yugoslav Crisis (Brioni Agreement)	1991-07-07
Serbia (Yugoslavia) - Republic of Slovenia	Memorandum of Understanding on the Extension of Monitoring Activities of the Monitor Mission to Yugoslavia	1991-09-01
Serbia (Yugoslavia) - Croatian irregulars; Republic of Croatia	Serb-Croat Joint Declaration	1994-01-19
Serbia (Yugoslavia) - Croatian irregulars; Republic of Croatia	Addendum to the Memorandum of Understanding of 27 November 1991	1992-05-23
Serbia (Yugoslavia) - Croatian irregulars; Republic of Croatia	JNA - Croatia Cease-fire Agreement of September 22	1991-09-22
Serbia (Yugoslavia) - Croatian irregulars; Republic of Croatia	Ceasefire Agreement (The Hague)	1991-10-18
Serbia (Yugoslavia) - Croatian irregulars; Republic of Croatia	Cease-fire Agreement of 23 November 1991	1991-11-23
Serbia (Yugoslavia) - Croatian irregulars; Republic of Croatia	Agreement on UNPROFOR Control of "Medak Pocket"	1993-09-15
Serbia (Yugoslavia) - Croatian irregulars; Republic of Croatia	Memorandum of Agreement	1991-10-08
Serbia (Yugoslavia) - Croatian irregulars; Republic of Croatia	Implementing Accord	1992-01-02
Serbia (Yugoslavia) - Croatian irregulars; Republic of Croatia	Complementary agreement to the agreement of 15-16 July 1993	1993-07-23
Serbia (Yugoslavia) - Croatian irregulars; Republic of Croatia	Agreement on the General Protocol between the Representatives of the JNA and the Dubrovnik Municipality	1991-11-19
Serbia (Yugoslavia) - Croatian irregulars; Republic of Croatia	Joint Statement (Igalo Ceasefire Agreement)	1991-09-17
Serbia (Yugoslavia) - Croatian irregulars; Republic of Croatia	Agreement between the JNA and the Representatives of Ilok	1991-10-14
Serbia (Yugoslavia) - Croatian irregulars; Republic of Croatia	Joint Statement (Zagreb)	1991-12-08
Serbia (Yugoslavia) - Croatian irregulars; Republic of Croatia	Cease-fire Agreement	1991-09-01
Serbia (Yugoslavia) - Croatian irregulars; Republic of Croatia	Agreement between the official delegates of the Republic of Croatia and the JNA	1991-11-22
Serbia (Yugoslavia) - Croatian irregulars; Republic of Croatia	The Vance Plan (UN Plan)	1991-12-01
Serbia (Yugoslavia) - Croatian irregulars; Republic of Croatia	Concept for a United Nations peace-keeping operation in Yugoslavia	1991-12-11
Serbia (Yugoslavia) - Croatian irregulars; Republic of Croatia	Belgrade Joint Communique of 11 September 1992 issued by Federal Republic of Yugoslavia President Cosic and Federal Republic of Yugoslavia Prime Minister Panic and witnessed by the Co-Chairmen (The London Conference)	1992-09-11
Serbia (Yugoslavia) - Croatian irregulars; Republic of Croatia	Agreement (Dubrovnik ceasefire)	1991-12-07
Serbia (Yugoslavia) - Croatian irregulars; Republic of Croatia	Joint Declaration (International Conference on the Former Yugoslavia)	1992-09-30

Serbia (Yugoslavia) - Croatian irregulars; Republic of Croatia	Agreement reached in Geneva under ICRC auspices on 28 and 29 July 1992	1992-07-29
Serbia (Yugoslavia) - Croatian irregulars; Republic of Croatia	Prisoner Exchange Agreement	1991-11-06
Serbia (Yugoslavia) - Croatian irregulars; Republic of Croatia	The Hague Statement on Respect of Humanitarian Principles	1991-11-05
Serbia (Yugoslavia) - Croatian irregulars; Republic of Croatia	Agreement Relating to the Establishment of a Protected Zone around the Hospital of Osijek	1991-12-27
Serbia (Yugoslavia) - Croatian irregulars; Republic of Croatia	Decisions on humanitarian convoy to evacuate wounded and sick from Vukovar hospital	1991-11-18
Serbia (Yugoslavia) - Croatian irregulars; Republic of Croatia	Joint Declaration made at Geneva on 20 October 1992 by the President of Croatia and the President of Yugoslavia (Geneva)	1992-10-20
Serbia (Yugoslavia) - Croatian irregulars; Republic of Croatia	Memorandum of Understanding (Geneva)	1991-11-27
Serbia (Yugoslavia) - Croatian irregulars; Republic of Croatia	Joint Commission to Trace Missing Persons and Mortal Remains	1991-12-16
Serbia (Yugoslavia) - Croatian irregulars; Republic of Croatia	Agreement on the Normalization of Relations	1996-08-23
Serbia (Yugoslavia) - Croatian irregulars; Republic of Croatia	Memorandum of Understanding on the Monitor Mission to Yugoslavia	1991-07-13
Serbia (Yugoslavia) - Croatian irregulars; Republic of Croatia	Joint Declaration of the EC Troika and the Parties directly concerned with the Yugoslav Crisis (Brioni Agreement)	1991-07-07
Serbia (Yugoslavia) - Croatian irregulars; Republic of Croatia	Memorandum of Understanding on the Extension of Monitoring Activities of the Monitor Mission to Yugoslavia	1991-09-01
Serbia (Yugoslavia) - UCK	Statement of the Contact Group	1998-04-29
Serbia (Yugoslavia) - UCK	Kosovo Peace Plan	1999-06-03
Serbia (Yugoslavia) - UCK	Undertaking of Demilitarization and Transformation by the Kosovo Liberation Army (UCK)	1999-06-21
Serbia (Yugoslavia) - UCK	Military Technical Agreement between the International Security Force and the Governments of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia and the Republic of Serbia	1999-06-09
Serbia (Yugoslavia) - UCK	UN Security Council Resolution 1244	1999-06-10
Serbia (Yugoslavia) - UCK	Interim Agreement for Peace and Self-Government in Kosovo (Rambouillet Accord)	1999-02-23
Serbia (Yugoslavia) - UCK	Action Plan of the European Union for the Former Yugoslavia (EU Action Plan)	1994-02-28

Source: UCDP/PRIO Armed Conflict Dataset version 17.2 (Allansson et al., 2017): UCDP Conflict Termination Dataset (Kreutz, 2010): Peace Agreements Database (PA-X, 2017a)

Appendix 2. Variable descriptions from the PA-X.

This appendix contains excerpts from the *PA-X Peace Agreements Database and Dataset codebook* (Bell et al., 2018). The excerpts are full descriptions of the variables referred to in this report in tables 2, 6, 7, 8, 9 and 10. They are listed according to their order of appearance in the codebook.

Religious groups (GRe) (Bell et al., 2018, 13-14): 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 de-tailed 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.

Refugees (Gref) (Bell et al., 2018, 16-17): 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; the agreement makes both fairly detailed provisions and includes an anti-discrimination clause.

State definition (StDef) (Bell et al., 2018, 21): 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.

Constitutional reform (Cons) (Bell et al., 2018, 25): 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.

Political party reform (PolPAR) (Bell et al., 2018, 26): 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.

Civil society (Civso) (Bell et al., 2018, 27): 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 organizations (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 organizations are coded under both civil society and (where appropriate) mobility. Provision of humanitarian assistance is coded under development/socio-economic reconstruction.

Traditional leaders (Tral) (Bell et al., 2018, 27): 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.

Political Power sharing (Polps) (Bell et al., 2018, 28): 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.

International power sharing (PpsInt) (Bell et al., 2018, 30): 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.

Territorial power sharing (Terps) (Bell et al., 2018, 30): 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, time-lines.

Economic power sharing (Eps) (Bell et al., 2018, 32): 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.

Military power sharing (Mps) (Bell et al., 2018, 32): 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.

Equality (EqGen) (Bell et al., 2018, 34): This variable accounts for whether the peace agreement includes any general commitments to 'equality', 'non-discrimination' or similar. 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.

Democracy (HrDem) (Bell et al., 2018, 34): 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.

Human Rights framework (HrFra) (Bell et al., 2018, 35): 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. 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.

Treaty incorporation (HrTinc) (Bell et al., 2018, 36): 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.

Liberty and security of person (CprLib) (Bell et al., 2018, 37): Binary variable, takes the value of 1 if the peace agreement includes any provisions concerning liberty and security of person; 0 otherwise.

Mobility/Access (HrMob) (Bell et al., 2018, 41): 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.

Media & Communications (Med) (Bell et al., 2018, 42): 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.

Development (Dev) (Bell et al., 2018, 47): Binary variable, takes the value of 1 if the peace agreement includes any provisions specifically addressing socio-economic reconstruction or development in general terms. 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.

International funds (IntFu) (Bell et al., 2018, 47-48): 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.

Security (SsrGua) (Bell et al., 2018, 52): 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) (Bell et al., 2018, 52-53): 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.

DDR (SsrDdr) (Bell et al., 2018, 54): Numeric variable, takes the value of 1, 2 or 3 if the peace agreement includes any mention of provisions related to Demilitarization, Disarmament, Demobilization and Reintegration, in these or other words, e.g. 'normalization', 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

Rebel inclusion (SsrPsf) (Bell et al., 2018, 55): 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.

UN (ImUN) (Bell et al., 2018, 62): 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.

Peacekeepers (ImPK) (Bell et al., 2018, 62); 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.

Enforcement mechanism (ImE) (Bell et al., 2018, 62): Binary variable, takes the value of 1 if the peace agreement includes any mechanism by which the agreement specifically provides for its own enforcement (for example, review committee, referral to an international body). If no such provisions appear in the agreement, the value on this variable is 0.



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