USAID/GUATEMALA PEACEBUILDING PROJECT IMPACT EVALUATION

Baseline Report

Prepared under Contract No. GS-10F-0033M/AID-OAA-M-13-00013, Tasking N066

This publication was produced by NORC at the University of Chicago at the request of the United States Agency for International Development. It was authored by D. Alex Hughes (University of California, Berkeley), Micah Gell-Redman (University of Georgia), and Luis A. Camacho (NORC at the University of Chicago). The views expressed in this publication do not necessarily reflect the views of the United States Agency for International Development or the United States Government.

DRG LEARNING, EVALUATION, AND RESEARCH ACTIVITY

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July 2020

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DISCLAIMER

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ACRONYMS

COCODE	*Consejo Comunitario de Desarrollo* (Community Development Council)
COMUDE	*Consejo Municipal de Desarrollo* (Municipal Development Council)
CRA	Conflict and Resilience Analysis
CV	Community Vision
DD	Diverse Decision Makers Intervention
DRG	Democracy, Human Rights and Governance
GOG	Government of Guatemala
IE	Impact Evaluation
MDES	Minimum Detectable Effect Sizes
RCT	Randomized Controlled Trial
TP	*Tejiendo Paz* (local name of Peacebuilding Project)
USAID	United States Agency for International Development

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

USAID/Guatemala's Peacebuilding Project (locally branded as *Proyecto Tejiendo Paz*, hereafter TP) seeks to reduce social conflict and violence, increase social cohesion and trust, and contribute to peacebuilding in the Western Highlands Region. The project relies on inclusive, community-led engagement, dialogue, and mapping to: (1) identify, prioritize, and develop action plans addressing sources of and increasing resilience to social conflict; (2) build partnerships between communities and external entities to implement plans prioritized by communities; and (3) strengthen local capacity to participate in managing, responding to, and mitigating local conflicts.

In partnership with USAID's Center of Excellence on Democracy, Human Rights and Governance (DRG), USAID's Office of Conflict Management and Mitigation, USAID/Guatemala, and the project implementer, Creative Associates International, NORC at the University of Chicago is conducting an impact evaluation (IE) to assess the overall effectiveness of project activities at the community level. The IE tests the key hypothesis that underpins the project's theory of change, namely that community-based initiatives to address conflict drivers can reduce social conflict and increase social cohesion. In addition, the IE assesses whether promoting increased women's participation in community deliberations can further contribute to reducing conflict and increasing cohesion.

To achieve these objectives, NORC's IE team randomly assigns 195 communities eligible to receive programming into one of three arms in equal numbers (65 communities each):

- TP, where communities receive the core project's programming as designed by USAID/Guatemala and the implementer;
- TP+DD, where communities receive the core project's programming plus an additional diverse decision makers intervention promoting increased women's participation; and
- Control, where communities do not receive any programming.

Randomization allows us to measure the impact of TP as designed, as well as the marginal effects of the diverse decision makers intervention. Diverse decision makers focuses on reducing the barriers to participation for women through a training program called women peace promoters (*asesoras de cambio*). The *asesoras de cambio* intervention is based on the premise that to create sustainable gender equality and lasting peace, women need to have increased capacity for civic participation and political mobilization.

As designed by TP's implementer, the *asesoras de cambio* will be identified through a rapid stakeholder assessment to be undertaken in all TP communities. Selected women will include community leaders, COCODE members, mothers and grandmothers, youth, midwives (*comadronas*), and ancestral authorities (*Ajq'ij*). TP will build their capacity to lead so that they can take on more active roles in community decision making and in supporting the resolution of social conflict. The *asesoras de cambio* will receive training on topics such as leadership, decision making, effective communication, conflict transformation, negotiation, critical reflection and dialogue, political expression and participation, and women's legal rights.

In the short term, we expect the diverse decision makers intervention to change decision-making processes and outcomes above and beyond core TP programming. We also expect to observe some changes in individuals' attitudes and beliefs, especially those related to the role of women in decision-making processes and the legitimacy of TP deliberation fora. In the long term, we expect the diverse

decisions makers intervention will contribute to a decrease in social conflict and an increase in social cohesion above and beyond core TP programming.

Data collection consists of a three-wave (baseline, midline, and endline) panel survey of individuals 16 years old and over. Our survey aims to capture the opinions and perspectives of youth—one of the key focus population of TP. Recognizing the challenges associated with obtaining informed consent from minors, we decided to limit the underage population included in the survey to 16-year-olds and 17-year-olds. The primary purpose of these surveys is to measure the incidence of conflict and the level of cohesion within communities, in a way that is identical between treatment and control. The questionnaire includes modules related to conflict, social cohesion and trust, integration across genders, responses to disasters, development and poverty, migration, views about community and regional leadership, women's leadership, youth's leadership, other political attitudes and behaviors, and personal and household socioeconomic characteristics.

Baseline fieldwork took place between September 10 and October 27, 2019. According to the evaluation design, midline measurement will take place immediately after the completion of community vision development activities in each community, and endline measurement will occur near the end of the project in 2023.

At baseline, teams attempted to conduct interviews in all 195 communities, but they did not receive authorization to carry out work in 11 communities in the Quiché Department. In most cases community authorities were unwilling to participate because participation did not entail any material benefits to the community. Another reason authorities gave was that their participation in past studies had not yielded any results for them. In addition, the authorities of two communities—Pocohil Primero and Mactzul Sexto in the Chichicastenango Municipality—asked enumerators to immediately leave their communities, threatening them with violence if they failed to do so. The data collection effort resulted in a dataset containing 3,866 valid cases. The most challenging aspect of fieldwork activities was scheduling, as several authorities changed the dates in which they would allow visits to their communities with little advance notice.

Below we summarize the most important baseline findings:

CONFLICT

- To measure conflict incidence, we ask respondents whether they are aware of conflict having occurred within their community in the last 12 months for each of four separate conflict types: land; water or water access; natural resources; and governance, politics, or municipal or community authorities.

- Respondents report at least one conflict having occurred in the majority of communities. However, conflict does not affect all people within communities equally. In the majority of communities, fewer than five respondents report conflicts; in many communities, between five and ten respondents report conflicts; and in a smaller but substantial number of communities, more than ten respondents report conflicts.

- We find similar patterns when we analyze the four specific types of conflict we ask about—land, governance, natural resources, and water—separately. That is, in almost all communities, at least some respondents report conflict, but only in a minority of communities does a large share of respondents report conflict.. The most common types of conflict are those over land and water.

- The majority of respondents who report a conflict say that they are not aware of the parties in conflict having attempted resolution. In the minority of instances in which resolution attempts are reported, by far, the most common modes/venues for attempted resolution are formal institutions at the community and municipal level, along with the courts.

- To gauge the extent to which conflict impacts daily life, we ask respondents if conflict had forced them to avoid certain behaviors or activities (e.g., travelling outside their community and attending community events) or exposed them to some negative experience (e.g., being threatened with physical violence and suffering property damages or losses). Due to space constraints we only asked general questions about all conflict, rather than about each of the four specific types of conflict mentioned above.

- The most common specific conflict impacts on our respondents' behaviors and experiences are children not attending school and respondents avoiding leaving their homes alone at night.

MIGRATION

- To gauge migration past experiences and prospects we ask a number of questions, including place of origin, plans to migrate abroad and within Guatemala, including desired destination, and reasons for wanting to migrate.

- Roughly one third of our respondents have not lived in the community in which they were interviewed for their entire lives. Of these, more than two thirds come from another part of Guatemala, and less than one third come from abroad.

- Roughly 20 percent say that in the past 12 months they have considered moving to another country. Of these, nearly all say their intended destination is Mexico. Fifteen percent say they considered moving to another part of Guatemala. Interestingly, the proportions of those reporting an intention to migrate corresponds closely to the proportions of those reporting having a household member who has migrated in the past 12 months.

- Economic motivations emerge as the most widely reported motivation for plans to migrate.

INTERPERSONAL TRUST AND SOCIAL COHESION

- To gauge interpersonal trust, we ask our respondents to state how trustworthy (1) their neighbors; (2) those who live in their community; and (3) those who live in other communities are. The most trustworthy group is those who live in the respondents' communities. Those who live in other communities are the least trustworthy group and respondents' neighbors are somewhere in between.

- Individuals' feelings of trust are complex. Respondents can be trusting of people living in their own communities while not being trusting of those living in other communities. We see that respondents who are very trusting of those living in other communities also tend to be very trusting of their own community. Respondents who do not trust those living in their communities are not likely to trust those living in other communities.

- To gauge social cohesion, we ask our respondents to imagine two hypothetical crises, a negative act of god (a flood, landslide, or earthquake) and a threat that affects mostly women in the community (the community is left without a midwife), and answer three questions about how the community would respond. The questions ask whether the response would be along familial

lines or encompassing of the community as a whole; along gender lines—separate male or female responses, or all-inclusive responses; and along age lines—separate youth or older adult responses, or all-inclusive responses.

- We find that the bulk of respondents say that their communities would respond by working together as a whole—rather than segregated along familial, gender, or age lines.

INTEGRATION ACROSS GENDERS

- Motivated by patterns of discrimination against women and gendered segregation in the region, we ask questions to gauge the integration of men and women in these communities.

- The preponderance of respondents say that they get along either "well" or "very well" with the men and women in their communities. However, there is evidence for gender-based responses; male respondents are more likely than female respondents to get along "very well" with other men, while female respondents are more likely than male respondents to get along "very well" with women.

- When it comes to interaction with people of a specific gender, the most frequent response is that individuals spend social time with others once per week. Patterns also show that individuals spend more time with others who share the same gender identity: men more frequently report spending social time with other men daily and weekly than do women, and women more frequently report spending social time with other women daily and weekly than do men.

VIEWS ABOUT WOMEN'S LEADERSHIP

- Views about women's leadership are quite positive. The vast majority of respondents agree with the statements "Women in my community participate in making decisions that affect the whole community;" "Women are accepted in leadership roles in your community;" "There should be more women's leadership in your community;" "When women in my community raise concerns, they are taken seriously;" and "Women in my community are as capable of being leaders as men."

- There are some differences in views about women's leadership across gender, with the views of females being slightly more positive than those of males. Overall, however, differences are not as stark as one would expect in a context where women have traditionally been excluded from leadership positions.

- We also ask respondents to share their views on the barriers to women's participation in community governance. The reasons that most respondents strongly agree with are lack of safety and respect for women in the political sphere; formal laws and policies preventing the participation of women; lack of education and literacy among women; and women's greater responsibilities at home. Difference across genders in these responses are modest.

CIVIC ENGAGEMENT

- Our survey also includes a number of questions gauging participation in meetings of various types of social and political groupings or organizations. We follow these questions by asking respondents whether they would have wanted to attend meetings but were unable to. Approximately one-third of those surveyed answered affirmatively.

- We ask individuals who said they were unable to attend to provide a reason. The most common reason is lack of time. Remarkably, more men than women report that work at home kept them from participating. More women than men report that it would be inappropriate for them to participate and that it might be dangerous for them to participate.

As of the writing of this report, the IE has been cancelled. We understand that current funding restrictions prevent USAID/Guatemala from contributing funding to IE activities in the short term. Our hope is that additional funding for the IE becomes available toward the end of the project in 2023, in time to carry out endline data collection, analysis, and reporting activities. Should the implementer abide by the full randomization schedule and additional funding become available, we would be able to estimate the impact of the *asesoras de cambio* intervention by comparing communities assigned to TP+DD with communities assigned to TP. We would also be able to estimate the impact of the standard TP project by comparing communities assigned to TP with communities assigned to the control group.

INTRODUCTION

USAID/Guatemala's TP seeks to reduce social conflict and violence, increase social cohesion and trust, and contribute to peacebuilding in the Western Highlands Region. The Western Region is currently experiencing a blight of social conflict generated by historical patterns of structural exclusion, internal armed conflict, and a lack of social cohesion. The 2015 comprehensive assessment of conflict in the region revealed patterns of intra-family violence, social conflict between the young and old, and conflict among the youth who lack livelihood opportunities. If left unaddressed, social conflict is known to decrease development; weaken local, social, and formal governance groups; and could ultimately diminish democratic governance.

To address these issues, TP relies on inclusive, community-led engagement, dialogue, and mapping to identify, prioritize, and develop action plans addressing sources of and increasing resilience to social conflict; build partnerships between communities and external entities to implement plans prioritized by communities; and strengthen Government of Guatemala (GOG) and non-governmental capacity to participate in managing, responding to, and resolving local conflicts.

TP's theory of change is:

> **If** the necessary conditions for constructive and inclusive community engagement are generated and sustained, **if** diverse sectors and stakeholders within Western Highlands communities can identify and work together to address social conflict at the familial, community, and municipal levels, **if** statutory and traditional authorities have increased capacity and understanding of local dynamics to efficiently and effectively respond to local conflicts in a transparent and fair manner, as well as improved communication and coordination mechanisms, **then** relationships will be strengthened and trust increased within communities, between communities, and between communities and other stakeholders (including traditional and statutory institutions), communities will increase cooperation and be able/willing to resolve conflicts peacefully, and communities will build reliance on existing, recognized, and legitimate mechanisms to reduce social conflict, **thereby** improving social cohesion and peacebuilding, and reducing social conflict and violence.

In partnership with USAID's Center of Excellence on DRG, USAID's Office of Conflict Management and Mitigation, USAID/Guatemala, and the projects implementer, Creative Associates International, NORC is conducting an IE to assess the overall effectiveness of TP activities at the community level. The IE tests the key hypothesis that underpins the project's theory of change, namely that community-based initiatives to address conflict drivers can reduce social conflict and increase social cohesion. In addition, the IE assesses whether an intentional focus on the participation of women—a group who has been historically, politically, and socially excluded in the Western Highlands and beyond—in community deliberations can further contribute to reducing conflict and increasing cohesion. Learning that mandating women's inclusiveness in peacebuilding activities increases the participation in, output of, and ultimately the likelihood of success of those activities would both validate previous scientific findings in a new context and provide compelling evidence that relatively straightforward program changes may improve program performance across the portfolio of USAID projects.

To achieve these objectives, NORC's IE team randomly assigned 195 communities into one of three arms: (1) communities receive the core TP programming (TP); (2) communities receive the core TP programming and the additional diverse decision makers intervention (TP+DD); and (3) communities receive no programming (i.e., these are pure control communities).

The remainder of this report is organized as follows. In the first section we (1) review evidence about the importance of local formal and informal institutions for development and peacebuilding, and the consequences of including women in decision-making processes. In the first section we also provide a brief overview of social conflict in the Western Highlands. In the third section, we present the study's research questions and hypotheses pertaining to both the DD intervention and the overall TP project. In the fourth section, we describe the DD intervention named *asesoras de cambio* and its associated theory of change. We present the evaluation framework to estimate the effectiveness of TP and TP+DD in the fifth section. The sixth section provides an overview of baseline data collection activities, including fieldwork outcomes and challenges. We describe our study sample along various characteristics, including key outcomes, in section seven. We conclude by laying out a plan for positioning the project to conduct IE follow ups should additional funding become available.

BACKGROUND

IMPORTANCE OF WOMEN IN LOCAL INSTITUTIONS

Obstacles to collaboration within communities are varied, but can include corruption, the presence of ethnic diversity that is not reflected in governance organizations, and economic and gender inequality. Improving the ability of communities to pursue common goals by directly addressing these hindrances may unlock the potential for peacebuilding that would otherwise be wasted. One promising method to pursue these goals is to change the institutional arrangements that govern community life.

Institutions—whether formal government-sanctioned bodies or informally constructed—are powerful tools for shaping human behavior. When institutions are poorly functioning, unfair, or opaque they can act as barriers to peace and prosperity. In contrast, when institutions function efficiently, justly, and with the oversight and consent of those individuals whom they represent, they can serve as a boon to local peacebuilding.

While there is no generally accepted panacea to improving institutional performance, the scholarship largely finds that greater transparency and community involvement improves the quality and function of institutions (Ostrom, 1990). Through transparency, participants and the institution can clearly define expectations for behaviors of both the institution and those influenced by it; through community involvement, collective-choice agreements come to represent the aims of the whole community. Even more, when the whole of the community is engaged within a transparent, engaging institution, it is likely that members from diverse parts of the community—parts that may be involved in forms of social conflict—will work closely to pursue a common goal. Across a diverse set of locations and community identities, experimental research has shown that working toward a common goal generates mutual feelings of well-being among members engaged in work, and thereby reduces feelings of social conflict between diverse community sectors (Allport, 1954; Bornman & Mynhardt, 1991; Eskilson 1995; Pettigrew 1998; Broockman & Kalla 2016).

Chattopadhyay and Duflo (2004) find that including women in village councils in India produced sweeping positive effects. When women are included in the decision-making process, the types of public projects undertaken by local institutions measurably shift. Women who live in the region Chattopadhyay and Duflo studied are primarily responsible for providing water to households, a task that in many areas consumed several hours of women's' days. Communities that were randomly assigned to include women in the decision-making process made measurably larger investments in public goods that secured water access—a direct result of the randomized controlled trial (RCT)

that included female decision makers. Even more strikingly, ten years after the RCT began, effects of including female decision makers continued to be measurable: areas that had been assigned female council leadership were more likely to elect female leaders (Chattopadhyay and Duflo, 2009). What is more, female leadership also increased career aspirations among women (Beaman, Duflo, Pande, Topalova, 2012) through role-model effects.

Olken (2010) finds two key results for how public decision-making causes changes in outcomes. First, participatory decision-making bodies caused higher satisfaction with outcomes and process (in contrast to more common elected-representative bodies). Second, when women were involved in the decision-making process, the development activities hued toward women's priorities, specifically toward expenditures on the development of water provision resources.

We draw two primary conclusions from the literature. First, participatory bodies (like those required by all forms of TP) cause increased satisfaction in the development process. Second, the inclusion of women in the decision-making process causes the policy to reflect preferences of women. Importantly, most experimental research has focused on *development* projects rather than on *peacebuilding* projects. This IE therefore seeks to contribute to improving our understanding of the effects of including women in peacebuilding processes. The 2018 United Nations Secretary-General Report on Women and Peace and Security identifies several of the potential benefits of including women as well as the relatively weak, and potentially decreasing role that women and other non-male genders play in peace agreements.

Below we lay out a strategy to evaluate whether TP, through its equality and local institutions focus, can both increase the performance of local institutions and reduce social conflict. Ultimately, success for TP would consist of demonstrable changes in the attitudes and behaviors that lead to social conflict, a change in the beliefs about how to resolve conflict, and eventually decreased occurrence of conflict events. We also lay out a strategy to assess whether deliberate inclusiveness of women in peacebuilding activities increases the effectiveness of TP.

SOCIAL CONFLICT IN THE WESTERN HIGHLANDS

As reported in the Guatemala Conflict Vulnerability Assessment (Adams, 2015), the Western Highlands region has witnessed an ongoing legacy of systematic social conflict. Conflict, sometimes rising to the level of physical violence is endemic to nearly all aspects of society in the Western Highlands region. Conflicts include intra-family violence including violence against women and children, clashes between older and younger generations within families, and political rifts that quickly transcend the family and manifest at the community level; governance conflicts related to gangs[1] and to para-state governance mechanisms emerging to cope with this and other problems; and sometimes long-standing conflicts related to land and other natural resources, climate change, and extractive industries.

[1] The Guatemala Conflict Vulnerability Assessment is deliberate in its description of youth-groups as "gangs," noting that "in most communities [they] are seldom visible… and are not killing people." These groups of organized youths "have emerged […] as a result of young people's response to internal community and family dynamics" (Adams, 2015, p. 14). These groups of youths are unaffiliated with notorious urban Guatemalan and Salvadoran gangs (e.g. Mara Salvatrucha and Mara 18) and instead the term is used locally as a catch-all term. The Conflict Vulnerability Assessment notes that, "Gangs in many rural communities (at the time of [the] study) were very different from the more virulent urban gangs in Guatemala City, but they all were cast erroneously as the same dangerous thing" (Adams, 2015, p. 14).

The Conflict Vulnerability Assessment finds that the conflict, if left unresolved, stands the possibility of further escalation to the point that it may realize active, violent conflict. However, even without the possible outset of violent conflict, the unresolved, simmering social conflict has deleterious effects on community structure and peacebuilding. What is more, recent research finds that longstanding conflict harms individual physical, emotional, and mental health. Thus, unaddressed social conflict poses a serious threat, possibly escalating into physical violence, but also causing worse human outcomes and threatening democratic stability.

Although the Western Highlands Region is experiencing broad-based, systematic social conflict, perhaps the leading finding from the Conflict Vulnerability Report is that the specific modalities of this conflict vary widely from community to community, and in some cases, even from family to family. While acknowledging that multiple sources of conflict create challenges from the perspective of the intervention and evaluation design, it also potentially allows peacebuilding interventions to specifically target the causes and forms of conflict felt most acutely in each community. As an example, several communities in Quiché have identified that the primary source of conflict is significant low-level criminal "gang" activity, whereas in San Marcos the leading cause of conflict concerns the implementation of hydropower. It seems quite evident that programming that seeks to ameliorate one form of these two conflicts would be poorly posed to address the other form.

Despite the varied experience of conflict, the Conflict Vulnerability Report suggests that there are systematic groups or types of conflict modalities. These groups, which the report identifies as generally including (a) intergenerational conflict, (b) employment conflict, (c) land-rights conflict, and (d) extractive enterprises conflict, *inter alia*, mean that TP and the IE team can plan to work with communities experiencing a relatively constrained set of conflict considerations.

RESEARCH QUESTIONS AND HYPOTHESES

TP seeks to strengthen communities by including all community members in efforts to identify, prioritize, address, and resolve sources of social conflict and violence. By addressing these issues, TP aims to increase social cohesion, reduce conflict, and promote peace. Calls for inclusive programming are present across a broad range not only of the USAID portfolio but also of a diverse set of peacebuilding and development organizations. While there is considerable evidence for the importance of inclusion in the case of development, the evidence is underdeveloped in the case of peacebuilding interventions. This IE is designed to create a specific contrast in women's ability to participate in conflict identification through the DD intervention to be implemented in a subset of TP communities. The IE will examine which parts of the conflict-reduction and peacebuilding process respond to a focus on inclusivity of women.

DIVERSE DECISION MAKERS

Research Question 1: What is the effect of including diverse sectors and stakeholders in the process of community-led peacebuilding?

There are four pathways by which increasing the diversity of local decision makers might reduce conflict or increase cohesion. We report these in Table 1.

First, including previously excluded women's groups could **change the preferences** of local leaders. The core idea here is that members of excluded groups might simply pursue different goals than their counterparts. Perhaps the strongest evidence for this comes from India, where mandating women's participation in local governing councils improved the quality of drinking water

(Chattopadhyay and Duflo, 2004) and made it more likely that women would achieve political representation, even after the quotas were removed (Bhavnani, 2009). While studies using observational data find less clear-cut evidence (Franceschet and Piscopo, 2008), there seems to be consensus that, at least on some issues, women do govern differently (Piscopo, 2014).

Second, including previously excluded groups could **change the beliefs** about the role of the community population in the practice of peacebuilding and decision making. Contact theory (Allport, 1954) holds that when groups of people engage in a common purpose, feelings of mutual well-being increase and feelings of negative sentiments towards others decrease. The benefits of this contact hypothesis have been demonstrated in broad and varied circumstances. Recently, Broockman and Kalla (2016) showed that even incidental contact between out-groups and dominant groups in the United States have the power to lastingly improve attitudes and beliefs toward those out-groups. Pettigrew (1998) identifies a litany of examples of successful blunting of social conflict as a result of intergroup contact: interracial works in South Africa (Bornman and Mynhardt, 1991); white school children coming to know Southeast Asian immigrants (Wagner et al., 1989; McKay and Pitman, 1993; Riordan, 1987); and heterosexual people coming to know homosexual people (Eskilson, 1995; Herek and Capitanio, 1996). Improvements in intergroup attitudes and beliefs have been demonstrated across a remarkably broad set of circumstances.

Third, increasing the representation of excluded groups might **change who participates** in decision-making processes. Evidence from India on this point is particularly compelling. Increasing greater ethnic/economic diversity in India led to a greater level of transfers to groups that had previously been under-represented (Pande, 2003), possibly by increasing the influence of those voters. Also in India, increasing women's representation led to an overall increase in women's participation in politics (Bhavani, 2009). Note that, while increasing the participation of a previously excluded group may seem unambiguously beneficial, it brings with it a potential unintended consequence. A more diverse set of preferences can impede coordination, making it difficult for communities to provide basic goods that benefit all residents (Alesina, Baqir, and Easterly, 1999). Our intervention and outcome measures should be designed with this theoretical ambiguity in mind.

Fourth, increasing diversity might **change the dynamics** between members of the legislative or consultative body itself. For example, when united with a common purpose and closely working together, members of a consultative body may develop new and positive opinions toward members with whom they previously conflicted. Changing the dynamics within the legislative or consultative body is perhaps the most controversial of the four pathways, and the one for which evidence from the field is the most ambiguous. The literature in social psychology and organizational behavior has indicated a number of possible mechanisms linking diversity to leadership outcomes, but the evidence for many of these is inconsistent. Moreover, very few of these theories have been tested in field settings in developing countries. Perhaps the most pertinent example is a study of community-driven development in Liberia, (Fearon et al., 2015), which found that increasing community participation in monitoring development led to greater cooperation only among leadership groups with gender diversity.

While the theory linking this fourth mechanism to conflict and cohesion is the least developed, it has significant potential to improve peacebuilding policy. Diversity quotas are widespread, but understanding their impact at the local level remains limited. Our intervention can make a significant contribution to this area of knowledge by collecting outcome measures that provide a detailed picture of how internal leadership dynamics change in response to increased diversity.

Table 1. Expected process differences as a result of including women

HYPOTHESIS	MEASUREMENT
Changing Preferences	• Distinct conflict modes identified by community • Differences in best response to conflict
Changing Beliefs	• Changes in beliefs about appropriateness of women's participation • Change in beliefs about nature of underlying conflict
Changing Participation	• Turnout of women at community meeting • Participation of women in community vision creation • Participation of women in execution of community vision
Changing Dynamics	• Increased *active* participation by women • Change nature of conversation *among men* • Increased women's participation beyond community-led peacebuilding

PROJECT IMPACT

If inclusive programming changes the process of conflict resolution and peacebuilding, we anticipate that it will also have measurable impacts in terms of overall project impact. Each change in preferences, beliefs, participation, and dynamics identified in the previous subsection points to increases in legitimacy and the development of a broad base of support for community deliberation fora. These community deliberation fora—whose successful functioning is a primary outcome of Objective 1 in the project description—aim to build resilience by increasing communities' capacity for managing and resolving conflict.

Research Question 2: What is the effect of including diverse sectors and stakeholders in the outcomes of community-led peacebuilding?

When diverse actors work collaboratively and in good faith to solve a common problem, the work serves to humanize the out-group, reducing negative feelings between groups, increasing social cohesion, and reducing social conflict (Allport, 1958, p. 264). Even more, recruiting diverse groups of individuals to be a part of decision-making bodies has been shown to increase the provision of goods to minority groups (Chattopadhyay and Duflo, 2004). In the context of an inclusive community peacebuilding project, the provision of goods to whole communities rather than more limited sectors within a community is of paramount importance.

We identify three social cohesion and peace outcomes that may change by targeting diverse decision makers.

First, citizens may view projects as being **increasingly legitimate** because the conflict assessment and initial conflict identification involved a broader set of participants. Normative accounts of political legitimacy distinguish between a de facto political body and one whose existence is somehow justified (Rawls, 1993). Broadening the basis of who identifies conflict is likely to increase the perceived justification for the existence of TP's community visions (CVs) and subsequent conflict resolution outcomes.

Second, communities that start project activities with a diverse set of decision makers may be **increasingly capable** of undertaking action and implementing CVs. In communities where the process is more legitimate, community members will be more willing to undertake the costs and actions necessary to make CVs thrive. This increased contribution and resulting capacity might be measurable in terms of conflicts resolved, number of individuals involved in CV implementation, or

successful requests for resources made to municipal-level authorities, like Consejos Municipales de Desarrollo (COMUDE).

Third, project activities undertaken by communities with a diverse set of leaders may result in **increased peace and social cohesion**. More legitimate activities are likely to be more effective in resolving issues that arise from social conflict and fostering social cohesion. At the most acute levels, we might expect that communities where women are involved in the decision-making process would experience lower rates of physical violence in general, and especially against women in those communities. As the 2015 conflict assessment makes clear, though, many forms of conflict in these communities are not rising to the levels of physical conflict. In these areas, contingent on the type of community conflict, we might also expect improvements in measured levels of non-violent conflict.

We summarize these expectations in the table below:

Table 2. Expected outcome differences as a result of including women

HYPOTHESIS	MEASUREMENT
Increased Legitimacy	• More positive attitudes and beliefs about the legitimacy of community decision-making fora • More positive attitudes about community orientation toward social conflict
Increased Capacity	• Number of conflicts resolved through the community vision • Results requests made and/or granted to Municipal authorities
Increased Peace and Social Cohesion	• Reduced feeling of dis-confidence broadly through community • Reduced feeling of dis-confidence especially in diverse group • Reduced recorded events of violence • Reduced presence of out-migration

INTERVENTION

TP aims to create community-led action to reduce social conflict and create resilient social and formal institutions to address the sources of conflict. Furthermore, TP expressly aims to engage historically marginalized groups in that process. And so, it is natural for this IE to assess the effectiveness of deliberately broadening the set of people who are involved in community-led intervention activities.

In their present state, decision-making bodies in communities (frequently the COCODES) include very little gender diversity—nearly all seats are held by male members of the community. In many communities, women hold positions in semi-formal auxiliary committees, but these committees lack the authority and funding that is attendant to the formal groups.

The core TP approach focuses on involving diverse sets of stakeholders in ad hoc community stakeholder meetings where they participate in identifying conflicts and developing CVs to address conflicts. The diverse decision makers version of TP (TP+DD) focuses on reducing the barriers to participation for one particular marginalized group—women. To support women's inclusion in stakeholder meetings, TP will undertake an intervention called women peace promoters (*asesoras de cambio*) in 65 TP+DD communities. The *asesoras de cambio* intervention is based on the premise that to create sustainable gender equality and lasting peace, women need to be given the tools to increase their potential for civic participation and political mobilization.

As designed by TP's implementer, the *asesoras de cambio* will be identified through a rapid stakeholder assessment to be undertaken in all TP communities. Selected women will include community leaders, COCODE members, mothers and grandmothers, youth, *comadronas*, and ancestral authorities (*Ajq'ij*). TP will build their capacity to lead so that they can take on more active roles in community decision making and in supporting the resolution of social conflict. The *asesoras de cambio* will receive training on topics such as leadership, decision making, effective communication, conflict transformation, negotiation, critical reflection and dialogue, political expression and participation, and women's legal rights.

The main responsibilities of the *asesoras de cambio* as initially envisioned by the project team include:

- Create women's groups in their communities, with a focus on supporting the implementation of the Conflict and Resilience Analysis (CRA) and contributing to the development and implementation of CVs.2
- Serve as a liaison between the project and other community stakeholders, particularly other women.
- Promote the active participation of women in peacebuilding and civic processes.
- Replicate training received with other groups of women.

THEORY OF CHANGE

The key component of the theory of change we identify in this IE is derived from USAID/Guatemala's theory of change:

> **If** diverse sectors and stakeholders within Western Highlands communities can identify and work together to address social conflict at the familial, community, and municipal levels, **then** relationships will be strengthened and trust increased within communities, thereby improving social cohesion and peacebuilding, and reducing social conflict and violence.

Dialogues that recognize conflict necessarily reflect the beliefs and understanding of dialogue participants. If a dialogue were to include only a single, homogeneous group of actors, the identified conflict and its remedy would be highly likely to reflect the beliefs of that single group of actors.

TP program activities expressly focus on bringing diverse sets of stakeholders to participate in these dialogues. However, community/contextual challenges might mean that some stakeholders, despite interest in participating, may be unable to make their voice heard. Our intent in the IE, then, is to provide capacity-building training and explicitly invite women leaders to engage in forming the conflict-understanding dialogue and peacebuilding program (i.e., in the CRA and CV development processes) through the *asesoras de cambio* intervention. Importantly, we do not view this as a distinct theory of change from that of the core program. Instead, we view this IE as testing one of

[2] According to project documentation, the CRA analysis will identify emerging sources and drivers of conflict, potential triggers, and mitigating factors; primary actors and their roles in driving and mitigating conflict; sources of resilience; existing conflict management processes; communication patterns; anticipated challenges and opportunities; and external influences. The CRA thus serves as the main source of information for the subsequent development of CVs.

the core hypotheses of the theory: what happens if program activities remove barriers to participation for a historically marginalized group?

IMPACT EVALUATION DESIGN

The methodology for this IE involves three steps. First, TP's implementer identified a set of communities to be considered for programming and evaluation. Second, the IE team randomly assigned 65 communities to each of the following groups: TP (standard project); TP+DD (standard project plus *asesoras de cambio* intervention); and control (no programming). Third, the IE team will collects data at three points to estimate the impact of the intervention: (1) at baseline, before the start of project activities; (2) at midline, immediately after the completion of community vision development activities in each community; and (3) at endline, near the end of the project in 2023. We describe these three steps below followed by "do no harm" considerations.

ELIGIBLE COMMUNITIES

TP's implementer identified 195 communities eligible for programming in 15 municipalities in the Western Highland. Five districts are located in Huehuetenango, six districts in Quiché; three districts in San Marcos; and one district in Totonicapán. In line with TP's Cooperative Agreement, the implementer selected the departments and municipalities in coordination with USAID/Guatemala. Next, the implementer conducted meetings with representatives from the 356 communities located in geographic areas where the project could operate and collected data to score these communities along three selection criteria: (1) presence of conflict and vulnerability, (2) social and political will to work with the project, and (3) potential and opportunities for project impact. Finally, the implementer combined this information using an eligibility index, ranked communities according to the index, and made the final selection of 195 communities.

RANDOMIZATION

Communities were randomly assigned to the three groups—TP, TP+DD, and control—using block random assignment. The IE team used information from TP's community selection database to create groupings (referred to as blocks in the technical language of the IE) of similar communities within each municipality. Within these blocks of communities, the IE team assigned one community to each of the intervention conditions. Blocked randomization, as it was conducted in this intervention, ensures the randomization produces groups of 65 communities that are highly similar on measurable characteristics except for the differences in the intervention they receive. Blocked randomization maximizes statistical power and the IE's ability to measure differences in outcomes due to program activities.

The IE team used information from TP's community selection database that is predictive of conflict and program uptake to conduct the block randomization:

- *Women's Participation in Governance* – How frequently do women participate in governance?
- *Total Problem Frequency* – How frequently are there problems in the community?
- *Problems Due to Natural Resources* – How frequently do problems related to natural resources (e.g., hydroelectric dams or forestry) occur in the community?
- *Problems Due to Land Use* – How frequently do problems related to land-use occur in the community?

- *Existence of Reported Domestic Violence* – How frequently does domestic violence occur in the community?
- *Community Plans for Conflict Resolution* – Does the community have a plan to respond to problems that might arise?
- *Community Organized for Conflict Resolution* – Is there a community organization to resolve problems?
- *Total COMUDE/Community Representative Support* – How many of the working groups of COMUDE/community representatives at community selection meetings recommended that this community be selected for inclusion in the program?

We checked for covariate balance (i.e., checked whether the randomization was successful in creating balance between the communities assigned to different treatment conditions) using the current standard procedure: a test to predict treatment assignment using available covariates (Gerber and Green, 2012). In particular, we estimated three models of the following form:

$$\begin{aligned} Assignment\ Condition_k = {} & \beta_0 + \beta_1 WomensParticipation_k + \beta_2 CommunityOrganized_k \\ & + \beta_3 PlanToSolve_k + \beta_4 TotalProblemFrequency_k \\ & + \beta_5 ProblemsWithNaturalResources_k \\ & + \beta_6 ProblemsWithLandUse_k + e_k \end{aligned}$$

where there is one model estimated for each of the three intervention arms (control, TP, TP+DD). One can conclude randomization was successful when it is not possible to predict treatment with data on hand. As we report in Table 3, that was the case here. The probabilities for all tests are higher than 0.05, so we conclude that there is no evidence to suggest an unsuccessful randomization.

Table 3. Estimation results for treatment assignment regressions

	DEPENDENT VARIABLE:		
	ASSIGNED CONTROL (1)	ASSIGNED TP (2)	ASSIGNED TP+ (3)
Women Participate In Governance	0.020 (0.052)	0.038 (0.052)	-0.058 (0.052)
Community is Organized	0.004 (0.005)	-0.007 (0.005)	0.004 (0.005)
Community has a Plan	0.026 (0.039)	-0.012 (0.038)	-0.014 (0.038)
Total Mesa Recommendations	0.014 (0.038)	-0.035 (0.038)	0.021 (0.038)
Total Problem Frequency	-0.008 (0.042)	0.027 (0.042)	-0.020 (0.042)
Problems due to Natural Resources	-0.024 (0.043)	-0.010 (0.042)	0.035 (0.043)

	DEPENDENT VARIABLE:		
	ASSIGNED CONTROL (1)	ASSIGNED TP (2)	ASSIGNED TP+ (3)
Problems due to Land	0.018 (0.050)	-0.0001 (0.050)	-0.018 (0.050)
Constant	0.265 (0.186)	0.346* (0.185)	0.389** (0.185)
Observations	195	195	195
R2	0.009	0.020	0.015
Adjusted R2	-0.028	-0.017	-0.022
Residual Std. Error (df = 187)	0.479	0.477	0.478
F Statistic (df = 7; 187)	0.238	0.543	0.414

Note: *p<0.1; **p<0.05; ***p<0.01

DATA COLLECTION

Data collection consists of a three-wave (baseline, midline, and endline) panel survey. The primary purpose of these surveys is to measure the incidence of conflict and the level of cohesion within communities, in a way that is identical between treatment and control. Baseline data collection took place between September and October 2019. Midline measurement will take place immediately after the completion of community vision development activities in each community. This measurement is particularly important to gauge the expected impacts of the DD intervention on decision-making processes and outcomes. We also expect to begin observing changes in individuals' attitudes and beliefs, especially those related to the appropriateness of women's participation in decision-making processes and the legitimacy of TP deliberation fora. It is unlikely that we will observe impact on behaviors and conflict at this stage. Endline measurement will occur near the end of the project in 2023. At endline, if TP or TP+DD have meaningfully affected experienced social conflict, we expect all indicators of social conflict, primary measures of attitudes and behaviors, and primary measures of behavioral experience of social conflict to decrease, and social cohesion to increase.

The required number of completed cases for the three rounds of data collection are listed below. We set the sample size for endline using the power calculations presented in the Appendix. The minimum detectable effect sizes (MDES) of our main test comparing individuals from communities assigned to TP with individuals from communities assigned to TP+DD is 0.224 standard deviations. We calculate midline and baseline target sample sizes assuming a 10 percent attrition rate between each round.

(1) Baseline: 3,900 (20 cases per community)

(2) Midline: 3,510 (18 cases per community)

(3) Endline: 3,120 (16 cases per community)

At baseline, households were randomly selected using a random walk procedure, whereby enumerators followed a set of rules for choosing routes to follow in a given settlement and selected dwellings to attempt interviews. Within each dwelling, one randomly selected individual 16 and over was selected for interviewing. Quotas were used to ensure that the sample resembled the population in terms of gender (male and female) and age groups (16-29, 30-49, and 50 plus). Baseline respondents will be re-contacted in subsequent rounds.

The questionnaire includes modules related to conflict, social cohesion and trust, integration across genders, responses to disasters, development and poverty, migration, views about community and regional leadership, women's leadership, youth's leadership, other political attitudes and behaviors, and personal and household socioeconomic characteristics, such as economic situation, educational attainment, and asset ownership.

We plan to supplement the survey data with project implementation data collected by the project itself and with data from secondary sources. Project implementation data includes (a) who attends the meetings, (b) who among those in attendance participates, and (c) TP staff ratings of community engagement. We will use these implementation data to construct process-level outcomes and check that the DD intervention produced the anticipated first-order effects. We plan to use data collected from reports from local government, police, and other sources, as well as local news organizations and government and civil society entities to track social conflict and violence at the community level.

DO NO HARM CONSIDERATIONS

Post-conflict contexts are inherently sensitive, a fact expressly acknowledged in the community-inclusive design of TP. In the Western Highlands, the known patterns of intrafamily violence, social conflict between the young and old, conflict between indigenous groups and extractive industries—to name only a few—mean that peacebuilding programming and this supporting IE must be conducted in a conflict-aware manner. There are four areas of particular concern for both the project and IE: (1) communities that will not receive any intervention, (2) municipal structures that guide and fund community decision processes, (3) individuals who do not receive program benefits within the communities that receive treatment, and (4) traditional and formal authorities that function within communities.

The IE team and its partner data collection firm will take several preemptive and ongoing actions to mitigate the risk of harm among control communities—those communities that receive no direct benefit from the program, but are nonetheless part of the baseline, midline, and endline data collection. First, the supervisors, enumerators, and interviewers of our data collection partner will receive training in human subject research ethics, including issues of confidentiality and informed consent. Second, we will present our data collection activities as an independent study sponsored by USAID and will not mention TP or the IE in our field personnel training and data collection activities. In doing so, we will minimize the possibility that communities that do not receive a direct benefit from TP become aware of the project. Third, our partner will follow their standard protocol of securing municipal and community approval before beginning to gather any information in a given location.

A second way that information flows might cause harm could occur at the municipal level. Community organizations, when meeting with municipal leaders, may come to find out that TP program activities are being undertaken in some communities, but not others. This concern is present in nearly all peacebuilding and development programming that cannot enroll every community. Both TP and other ongoing programs in the region have well-developed strategies to

communicate with municipal and community leadership about this concern that build on participatory community selection processes.

Two final concerns exist within communities assigned to be a part of TP program activities. On the one hand, program resource constraints necessarily mean that program activities and any associated benefits may not accrue evenly across all members of the community. On the other hand, increasing the participation of historically marginalized groups risks antagonizing traditional or historical power structures within communities. These concerns are inherent to any program activity that TP might undertake and not due to the undertaking of this IE, and therefore fall on TP's implementer to address.

BASELINE DATA COLLECTION

NORC partnered with the Centro de Investigaciones Económicas Nacionales (CIEN) to carry out data collection. CIEN is a think-and-action tank headquartered in Guatemala City. CIEN specializes in data collection for project evaluation, among other things. All data collection activities were conducted under close NORC supervision.

NORC prepared the survey instrument in English and CIEN translated it into Spanish. The survey was administered in Spanish as well as in three Mayan languages: Ixil, Mam, and K'iché. The survey was not translated into the indigenous languages at the recommendation of CIEN. Their experience indicates that these languages are not sufficiently standardized to ensure full intelligibility between dialects. Our strategy was to train fully bilingual enumerators with the Spanish instrument and have them work on standard ways to administer the survey in a given indigenous language in language-specific groups.

The survey instrument went through extensive revisions before the final testing pilot was conducted as part of enumerator training. CIEN's experts answered and subsequently reviewed pen-and-paper versions of the survey, resulting in several adjustments prior to the survey being programmed for administration using computer-assisted personal interviewing. Specifically, we used the SurveyCTO platform programmed onto 6.3-inch Android smartphones. After programming, the survey was again reviewed by CIEN and NORC staff to ensure correct skip logic and other programming features, and identify any outstanding issues. The programmed survey was then pre-tested in two rural communities in the Chimaltenango Department and underwent an additional round of revisions before enumerator training.

The primary training exercise for the field personnel was conducted in Guatemala City from September 3 to 9, 2019. The first four days were in-class trainings, which involved reviewing each questionnaire, interviewing techniques, field protocols, and mock interviews. The next three days involved a pilot in the field, a reconciliation and debrief following the pilot, and one day of additional training.

Four teams began data collection on September 10, 2019. Each team consisted of one supervisor and four enumerators. CIEN used the following protocol to secure approvals prior to conducting fieldwork: In August, an advanced logistics team visited all municipalities to present the study and secure approvals to conduct fieldwork. Upon securing approvals at the municipal level and receiving contact information for community authorities, the team visited each community to present the study and request permission to conduct fieldwork. Most community authorities did not grant permission right away, because they had to consult with others in their communities. During fieldwork, and prior to the arrival of the enumeration teams in each community, a logistics

coordinator and supervisors re-contacted community authorities to request permission to conduct fieldwork. Permission to collect data was received from 184 of 195 communities. Fieldwork ended on October 27, 2019.

FIELDWORK OUTCOMES

Field teams attempted to conduct interviews in 195 communities, but as mentioned above, they did not receive authorization to carry out work in 11 communities. All of these communities were located in the Quiché Department (eight in the Chichicastenango Municipality, two in San Juan Cotzal Municipality, and one in the San Andrés Sajcabajá Municipality). The total number of contact attempts was 6,540. Teams did not find anyone at home in 11.7 percent of cases; the person initially contacted in a given household rejected participating in the interview in another 10.9 percent of cases; and an additional 11.1 percent of cases did not qualify for the survey because of sample quotas or because they did not have household members 16 years old and over. The teams were able to identify an eligible survey respondent in 4,336 households and conduct interviews in 3,964 of those households. The difference is explained by refusals (192 cases); inability to contact the selected respondent (96 cases); disqualifications due to cognitive limitations (16 cases); and other reasons (68 cases).

Following data collection, an additional 98 records were deleted through data cleaning because of completeness and quality issues. The resulting total number of valid cases in the baseline dataset is 3,866. All data are available in Stata format with a codebook defining variables and their values.

FIELDWORK CHALLENGES

For the most part, fieldwork activities proceeded without major difficulties. The most challenging aspect was scheduling, as several authorities changed the dates in which they would allow visits to their communities with little advance notice. This required the logistics coordinators and the supervisors to contact authorities in other communities to reschedule their visits. It also required splitting teams to be able to conduct fieldwork in two communities at the same time and visiting a given community on more than one occasion to complete the activities. Teams experienced GPS connectivity problems using SurveyCTO, and therefore used handheld GPS devices to capture coordinates.

In addition, as mentioned above, 11 communities did not allow enumeration teams to carry out data collection activities. In most cases community authorities were unwilling to participate because participation did not entail any material benefits to the community. Another reason authorities gave was that their participation in past studies had not yielded any results for them. In line with discussions with USAID, NORC and CIEN plan to distribute two-page briefs summarizing survey results to all participating communities.[3]

Lastly, during the course of fieldwork, teams suffered a small number of security incidents. Armed robbers stole two tablets and a phone from an enumeration team. And the authorities of two communities—Pocohil Primero and Mactzul Sexto in the Chichicastenango Municipality—asked

[3] As of the submission of this report, we are preparing the two-page briefs and will share them with USAID for feedback. We plan to distribute them as soon as the GOG eases travel restrictions imposed in response to the COVID-19 pandemic.

enumerators to immediately leave their communities, threatening them with violence if they failed to do so.[4]

FINDINGS

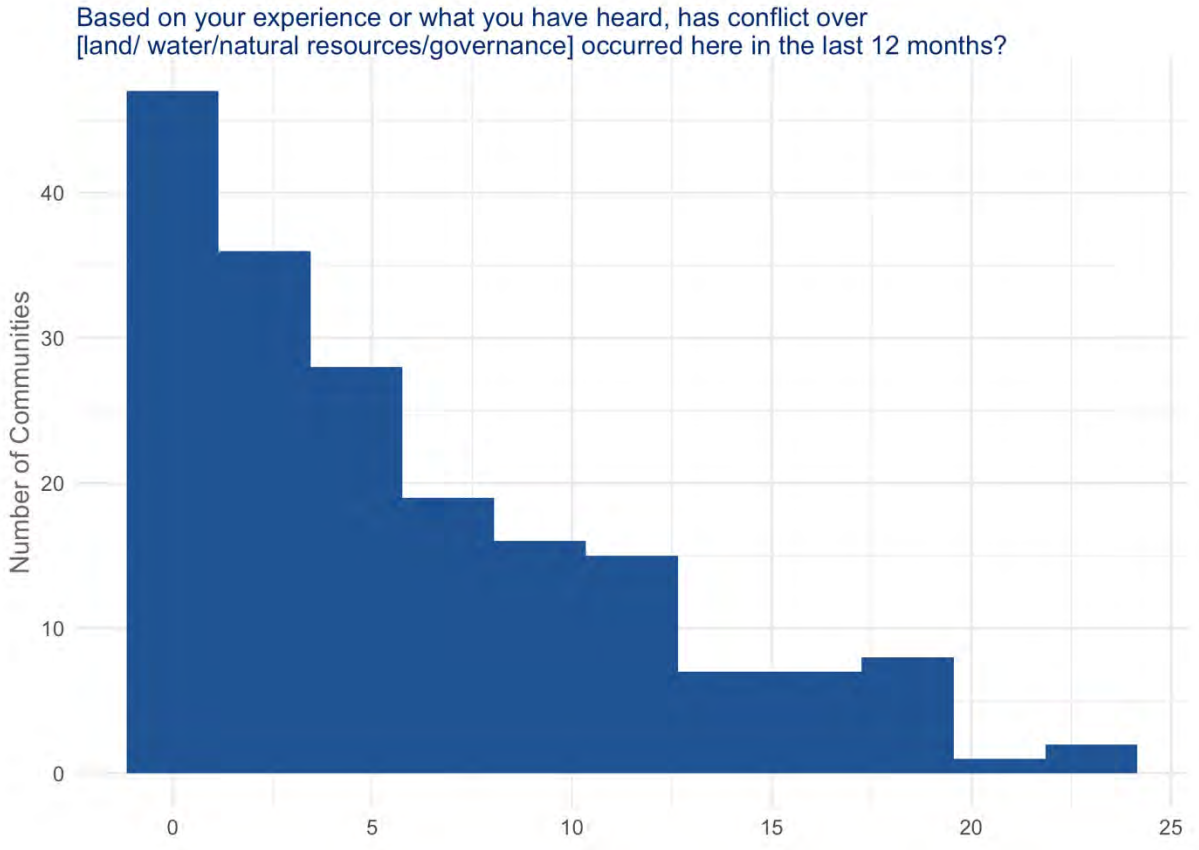
CONFLICT

To begin to understand conflict, we first ask respondents whether they are aware of conflict having occurred within their community in the last 12 months for each of four separate conflict types. These types are land; water or water access; natural resources; and governance (i.e., political conflict or conflict with municipal or community authorities).

First, we show the distribution of all reported conflict by community in Figure 1. For each community, we count the number of individuals who report the incidence of any type of conflict and assign the value of the count to the community. The horizontal axis shows the number of individuals within a community who report the incidence of any type of conflict. We then plot the number of communities with a given number of conflict reports. The figure illustrates that (a) the majority of communities had less than five reports of conflict in the last 12 months; (b) many communities had between five and ten reports of conflict; and (c) a smaller but substantial number of communities had more than ten reports of conflict.

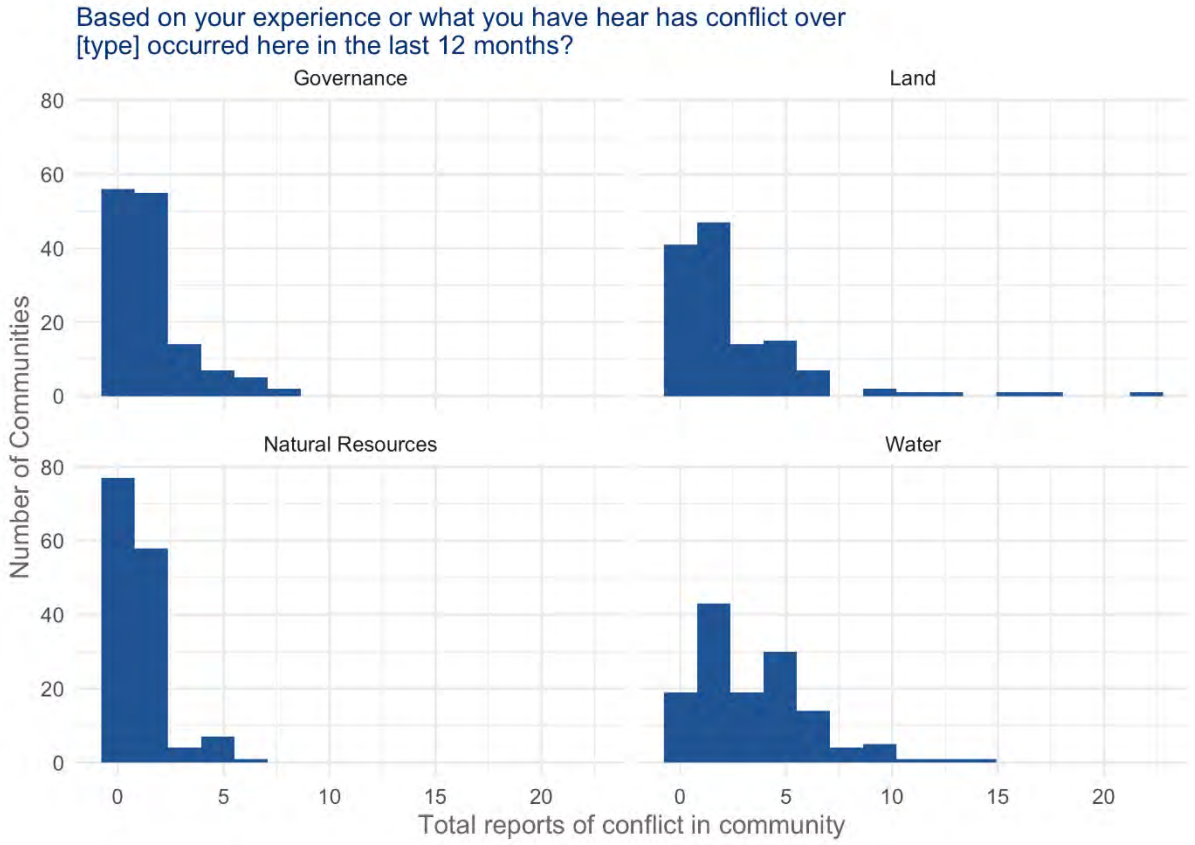
[4] Enumerator teams visited all communities only with approval from authorities—they granted initial approval for the study following visits from the advanced logistics team and confirmed approval during scheduling calls and on the day of visits. However, in these two communities, COCODE presidents seem to have provided approval unilaterally when their communities' procedures call for involving other authorities—e.g., auxiliary mayors—in the process. These other authorities, together with some community members, expelled the teams from the communities. In future data collection efforts we will confirm with authorities that they have followed their communities' usual procedures to grant approval for fieldwork visits.

Figure 1. Reported conflict by community



The following figure repeats this exercise for each conflict type. The behavior of these domain-specific conflict reports is roughly the same for each domain. In general, the majority of communities have few reports of conflict. The long right tail of each distribution shows the few communities that have many reports of conflict of a single type. These figures fit well with a model of conflict as a relatively rare event that is nonetheless present throughout the region under study.

Figure 2. Reported conflict by community for four conflict types



More nuanced data are recorded within each conflict type. If a respondent reports a given type of conflict, we ask them whether the conflict impacted them directly, and whether there was an attempt at resolution. For those respondents who report that resolution was attempted, we ask for the venue in which this attempted resolution occurred.

Figure 3 illustrates the proportion of respondents who, having reported a given type of conflict, subsequently say they were directly impacted by it. We see that as few as 30 percent of the respondents say they were directly impacted by governance-related conflict, while slightly over 60 percent of respondents were directly impacted by water-related conflict. In turn, Figure 4 illustrates the proportion of respondents who, having reported a given type of conflict, subsequently say that the parties in the conflict attempted to resolve it. Just over 30 percent of the respondents say parties attempted resolution for governance-related conflict (i.e., political conflict or conflict with municipal or community authorities), while about 64 percent of respondents say parties attempted resolution for land-related conflict.

Figure 3. Proportion of respondents directly impacted by conflict, by conflict type

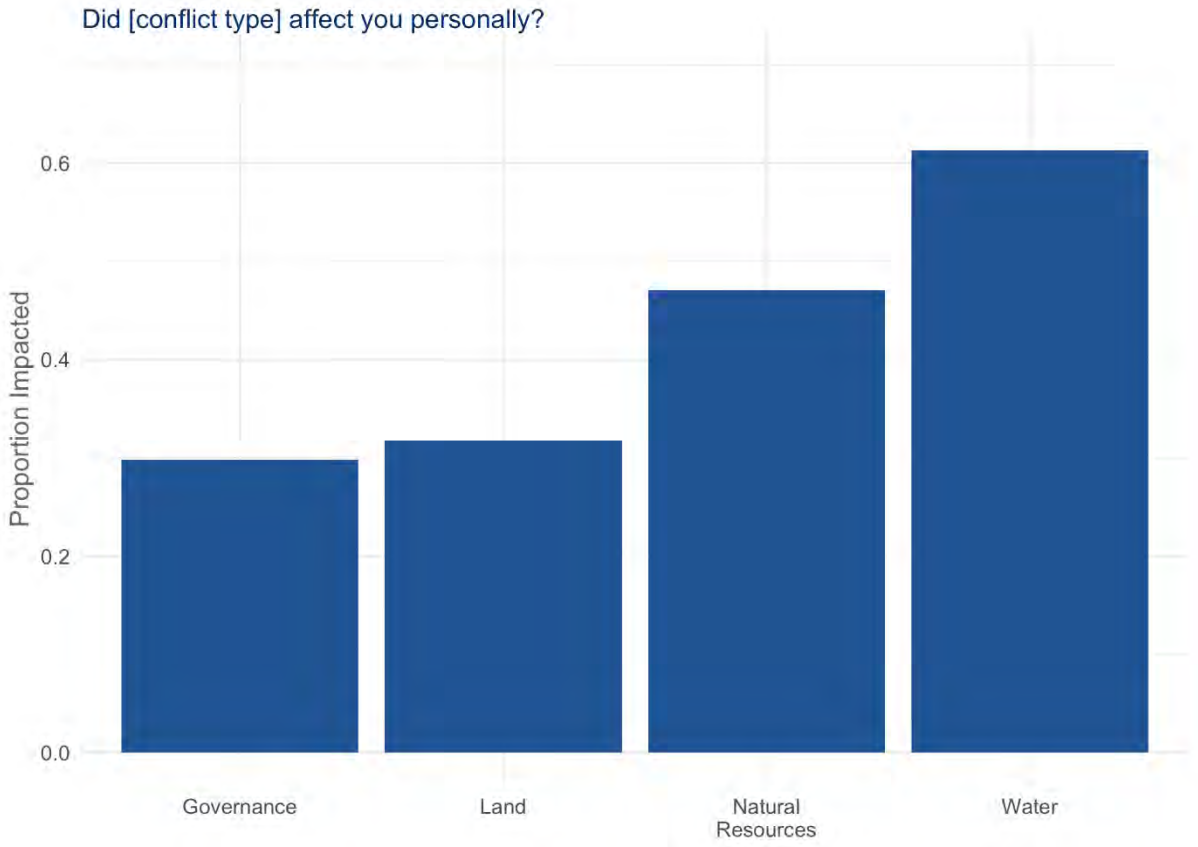
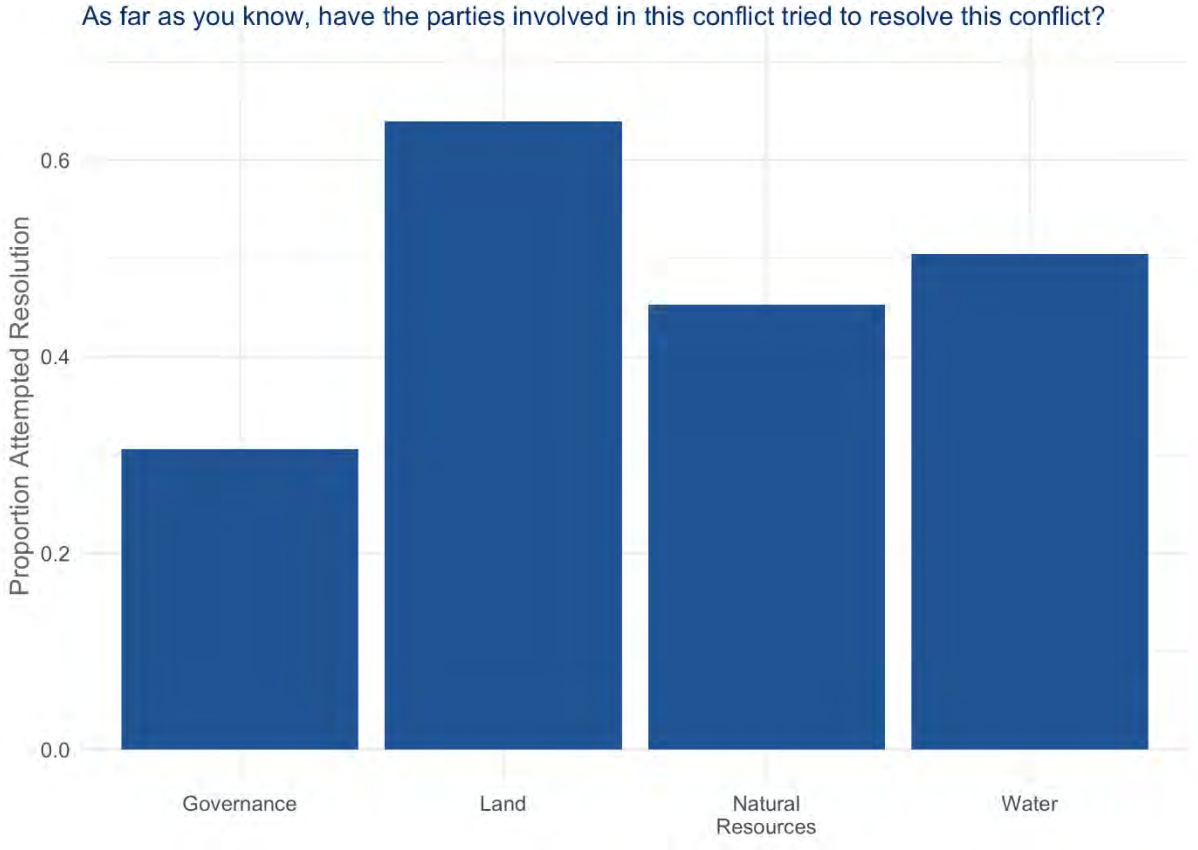


Figure 4. Proportion of conflicts with attempted resolution, by type of conflict



The following table provides a list of modes/venues where the reported attempts at resolution are occurring and their frequencies. By far, the most common modes/venues for attempted resolutions are formal institutions at the community and municipal level, along with the courts.

Table 4. Conflict resolution modes/venues

RESOLUTION MODE/VENUE	COUNT
Formal community authority (COCODE, others)	346
Judicial system (courts, lawyers)	328
Municipal government (municipal authority/office, COMUDE)	259
Traditional authority (indigenous authorities, others)	89
Informal, person-to-person without outside actor	55
Police	43
National government (including *Comisión de Diálogo Presidencial*, CPD, and *Comisión Presidencial de Derechos Humanos*, COPREDEH)	31
Departmental government	27
Church	5

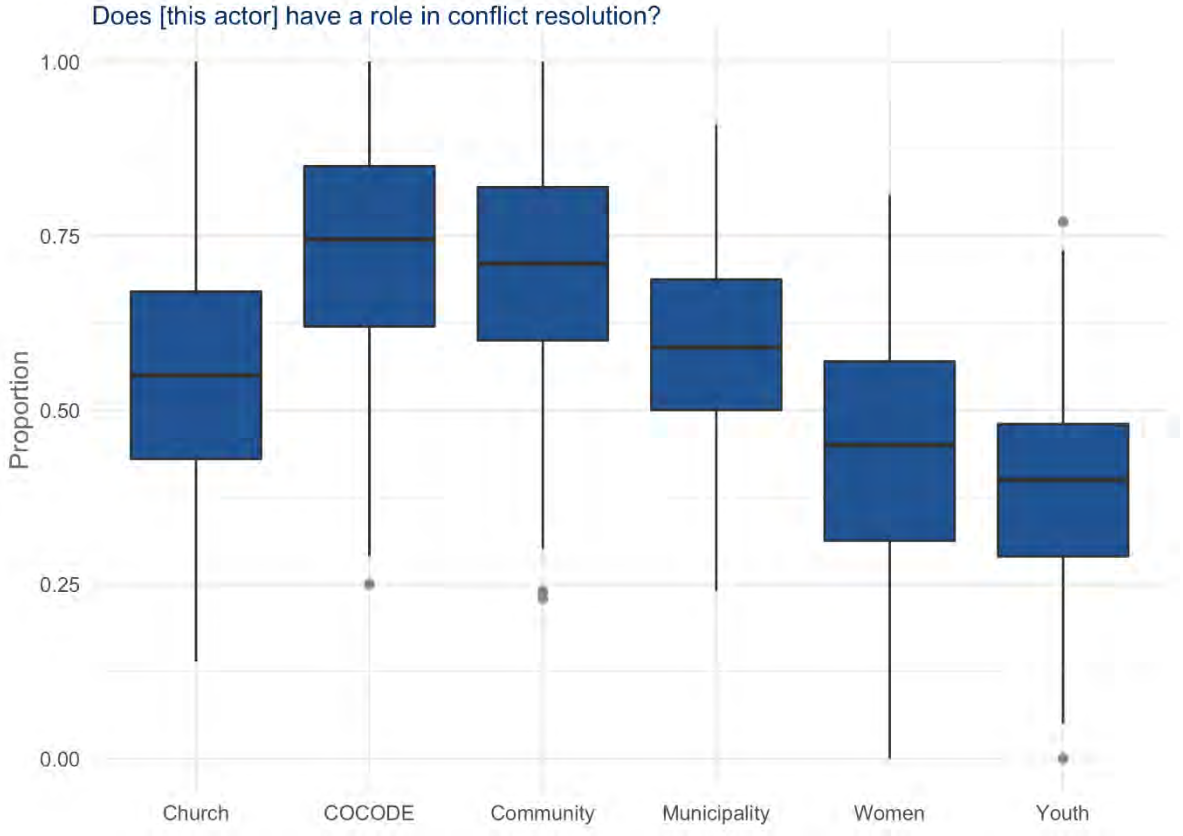
We also have information on the specific impacts of conflicts on our respondents' behaviors and experiences. These questions are open to all respondents and refer to any conflict that their community might be experiencing—i.e., they do not refer to a particular type of conflict. Table 5 shows the number of respondents who say that conflict has impacted them in the way specified by each question. The most common conflict impacts are children not attending school and avoiding leaving the house alone at night.

Table 5. Conflict impacts

CONFLICT IMPACTS	COUNT
Children do not attend school	333
Avoid leaving house alone at night	237
Choose not to participate in social events	168
Avoid using public transportation	151
Choose not to attend religious service	151
Avoid travelling outside community	146
Threat of physical violence	146
Experience hunger	142
Experience damage to property	120
Forced to leave home	62

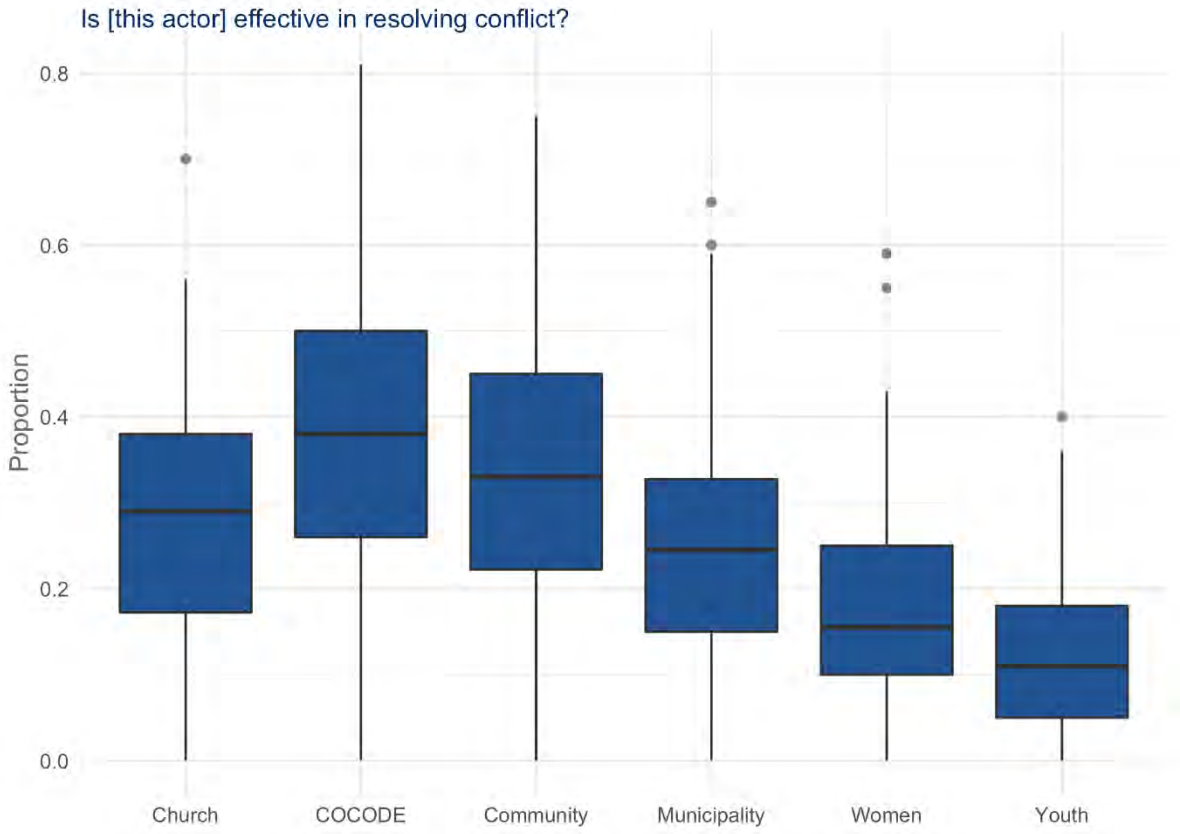
Next, we report on questions that we ask to all respondents about several actors who could be involved in conflict resolution. We first ask respondents whether or not each of these actors played a role in resolving conflicts that affected their community in the past 12 months. We label this as actor relevance. The boxplots in Figure 5 show the variation in the community-level proportion of respondents who believe a given actor is relevant. The lower and upper ends of the whiskers respectively indicate the lowest and the maximum proportions excluding any outliers, which are represented by dots. The thin lines at the bottom and top of the boxes respectively indicate the first and thrid quartiles, while the solid line in the boxes indicates the median. The actors most widely viewed as relevant to responding to conflict are community authorities and the COCODE. Actors viewed as least relevant are women and youth. The figure shows that there is substantial variability in views about actor revelevance across communities.

Figure 5. Respondents who believe actors are relevant for conflict resolution



Of course, labeling an actor as relevant for resolving conflict is not the same as viewing that actor as being effective in resolving conflict. Separately, we ask respondents to say whether or not that actor was effective in resolving conflict. The boxplots in Figure 6 show the variation in the community-level proportion of respondents who believe a given actor is effective. The actor most widely viewed as effective in resolving conflict is the COCODE. The actor viewed as least effective is the youth, but the women as a whole are similarly regarded. The figure also shows that there is substantial variability in views about actor effectiveness in resolving conflict across communities.

Figure 6. Respondents who believe actors are effective in resolving conflict



MIGRATION

We ask respondents questions about their own migration history, as well as the migration history of the members of their household. Roughly one third of our respondents have not lived in the community in which they were interviewed for their entire lives. Of these, more than two thirds come from another part of Guatemala, and less than one third come from abroad.[5] We gathered information on country of origin for these 200 respondents, not reported here. We also ask respondents about the reasons that led them to migrate to the community in which they were interviewed. We do not present those results here in order to focus on future migration behavior.

Of our respondents, roughly 20 percent say that in the past 12 months they have considered moving to another country. Of these, nearly all say their intended destination is Mexico. Fifteen percent say they considered moving to another part of Guatemala. Interestingly, the proportions of those reporting an intention to migrate corresponds closely to the proportions of those reporting having a household member who has migrated in the past 12 months. Roughly 20 percent of respondents report that a household member has migrated to another country in the past 12 months. About 11 percent report that a household member has migrated to another part of Guatemala. As for the case of intention to migrate, nearly all respondents told us that the household member who left migrated to Mexico.

[5] We also gather information on department or country of origin for respondents who report having migrated as well as on the reasons that led them to migrate to the community in which they were interviewed. We do not present those results here in order to focus on future migration behavior.

We ask respondents why they are thinking about migrating. As is typically true in surveys of potential migrants, economic motivations emerge as the most widely reported, followed by reasons related to family or marriage. Table 6 provides a list of the migration reasons mentioned and their frequencies.

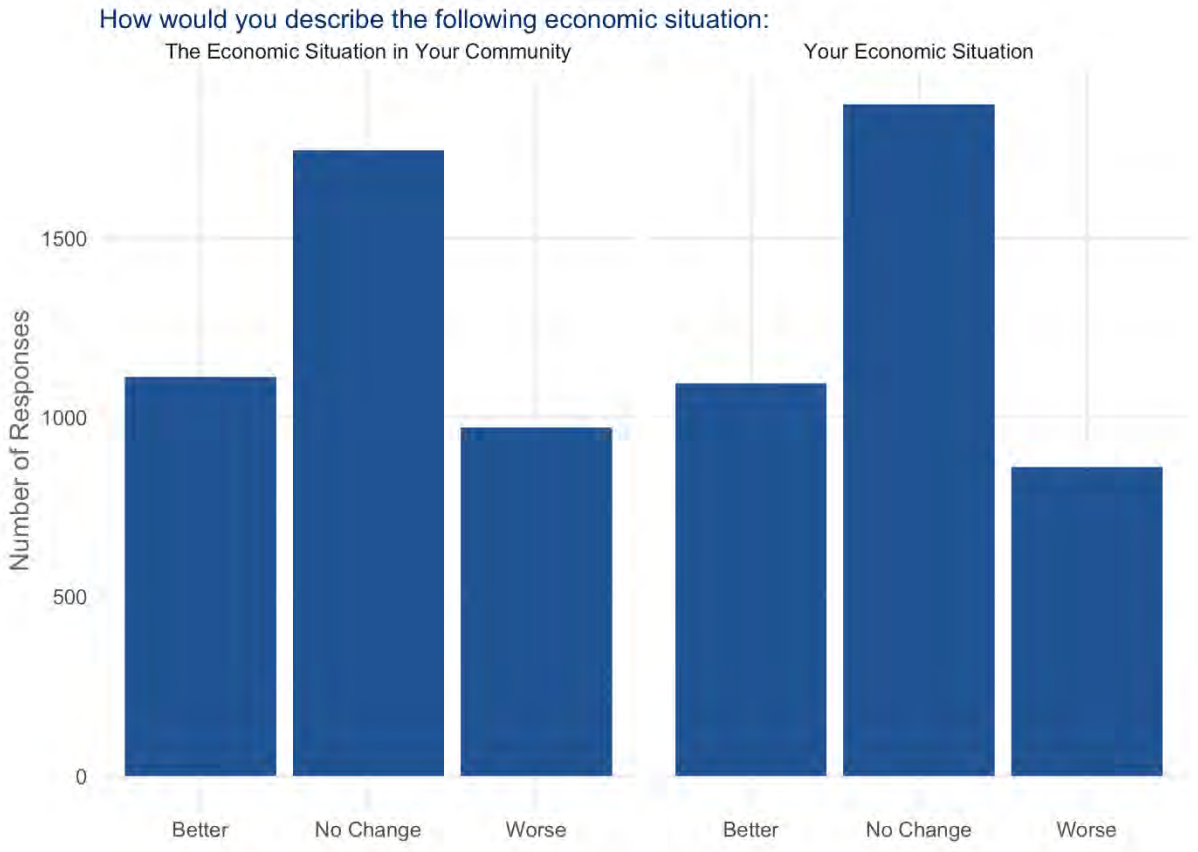
Table 6. Migration reasons

DESCRIPTION	COUNT
Lack of economic opportunity	664
To look for work	500
Family reason or marriage	107
Community disputes: land	8
Famine	7
Property destroyed	4
Threat of violence	1
Ethnic conflict	1

ECONOMIC SITUATION, EDUCATIONAL ATTAINMENT, AND ASSET OWNERSHIP

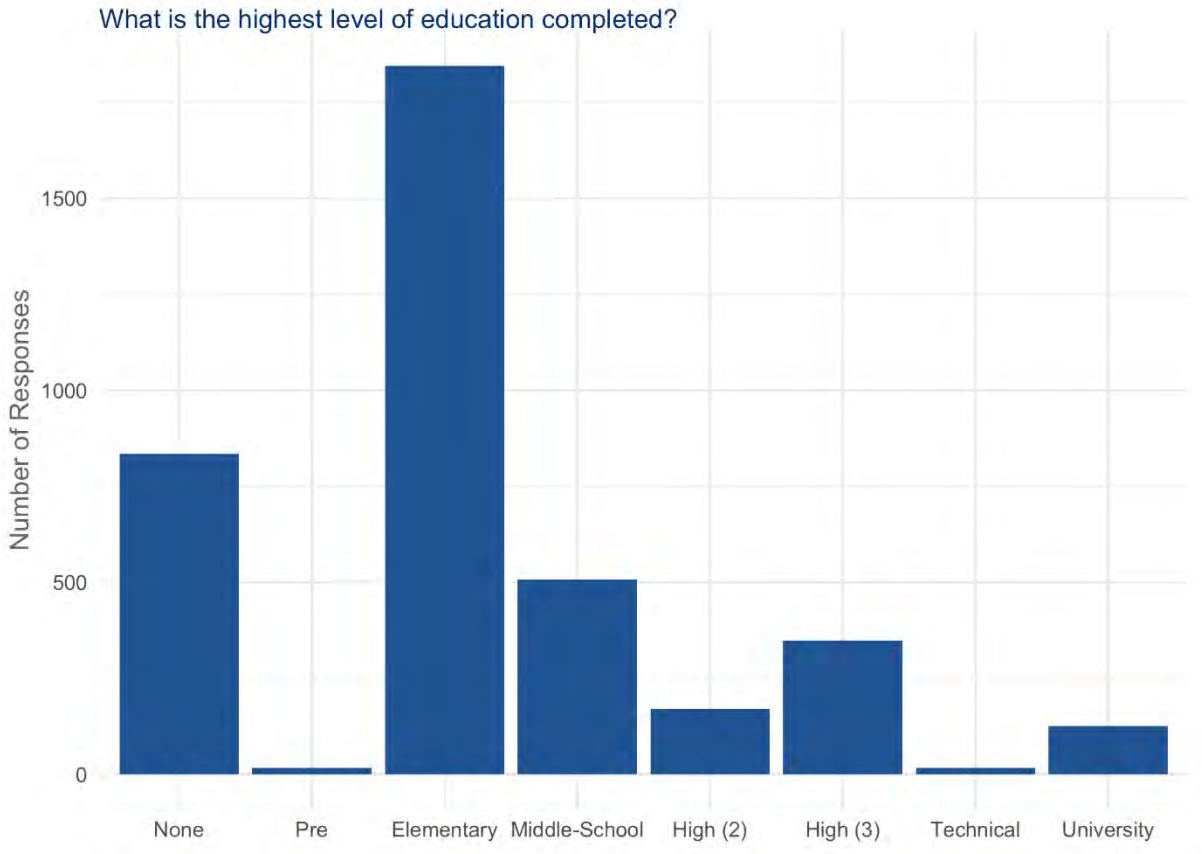
We ask respondents two standard questions about the economy. We asked first about their views of the economy within their community, compared to the previous year. We then asked for the same year-over-year comparison, but focused on the respondent's personal economic situation. The results for these questions appear in the following figure. Most respondents say that the economic situation in their communities and their own economic situation have not changed.

Figure 7. Perceptions of change in economic situation



Overall levels of education are low. The table shows the proportion of respondents in each education category. The categories labeled "High (2)" and "High (3)" refer to the *diversificado* level. This is roughly the equivalent of high school, and comes in both a two- and a three-year curriculum. Overall, the overwhelming majority of respondents have never had high-school level instruction. We collected more finely measured data on years of education, not presented here.

Figure 8. Distribution of educational attainment



As is standard for development surveys, we ask respondents whether or not their household owns each of a list of household assets. The frequency of respondents who own each item is presented in Table 7. The first point to note is the pervasiveness of mobile technology. Nearly all respondents have a cellphone and most respondents also have a television. The least commonly owned items are cars, buses, mopeds, and trucks. We plan to use asset ownership information to calculate a proxy index for poverty, which is one of TP's higher-order, longer-term impacts.

Table 7. Household asset ownership

ASSET	COUNT
Cellphone	3,554
TV	2,144
Blender	1,700
Cable	1,462
Fridge	1,011
Stove	971
Iron	903
Bicycle	809

ASSET	COUNT
Motorbike	690
Pick-up	427
Car	257
Bus	144
Moped	76
Truck	49

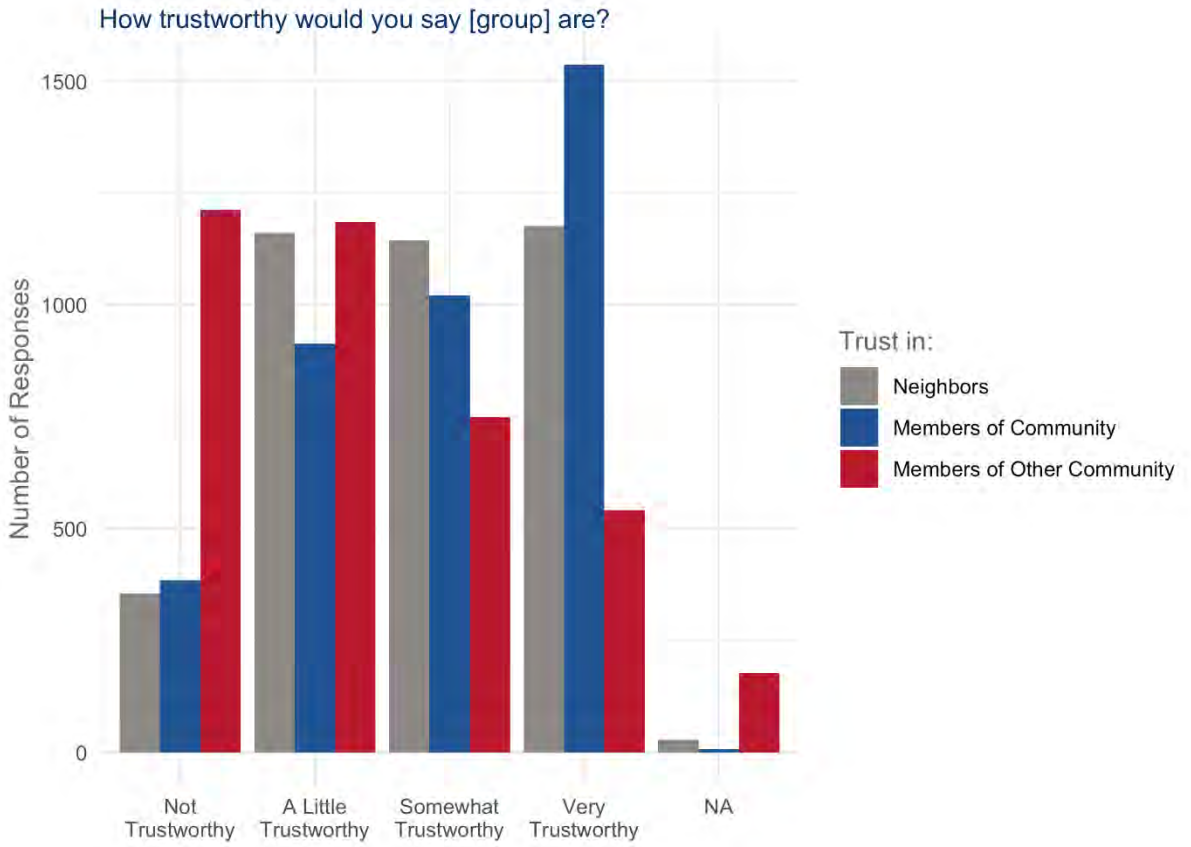
As a quick test of the validity of these asset measures, we report the correlation between education and ownership of a refrigerator. Of those with no high school instruction, roughly 18 percent report owning a refrigerator. Of those with at least one year of high school instruction or technical education, approximately 50 percent report owning a refrigerator.

INTERPERSONAL TRUST AND SOCIAL COHESION

To begin to understand interpersonal trust in TP communities, we simply ask survey respondents to state how trustworthy (1) their neighbors; (2) those who live in their community; and (3) those who live in other communities are. The pattern of responses paint a remarkable picture of interpersonal trust in these communities. By far, the most trustworthy group is those who live in the respondents' communities. Those who live in other communities are the least trustworthy group and respondents' neighbors are somewhere in between. In general, interpersonal trust diminishes with the distance between the respondents and the reference group they are asked to assess, so it is surprising to find that our respondents trust their neighbors less than those who live in their communities.

There is a divergence in respondents' patterns of trust for those who live in their community and those who live in other communities (i.e., outside of their community). Respondents are much less trusting of an unspecified member of another community than they are of individuals who are either in their community or are their neighbors. This pattern of beliefs brings into focus the possibility of a latent conflict. Respondents have specific, positive feelings about the people who live in their own community, but they do not extend these positive feelings toward those who are not part of their own community.

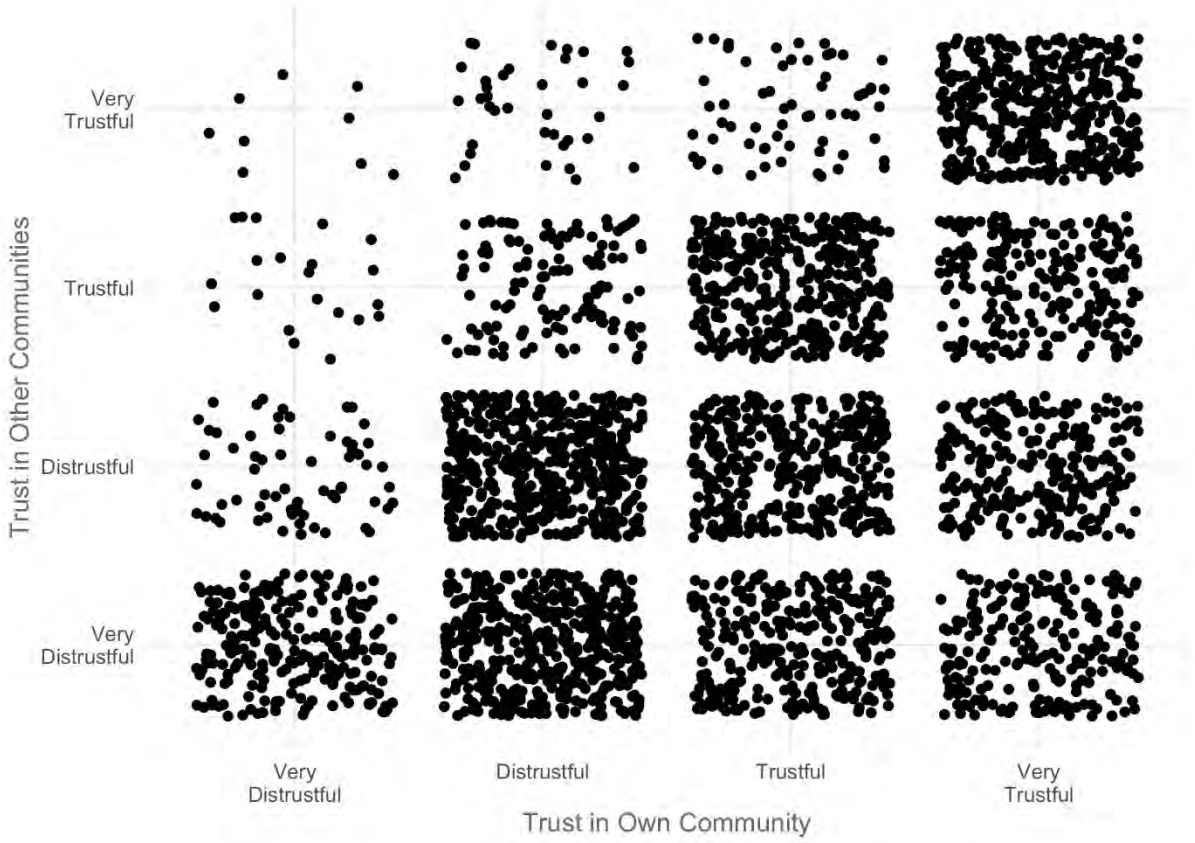
Figure 9. Trust in three reference groups



Do individuals' feelings of trust cohere? That is, are some people very trusting of every other person (regardless of whether that other is a community member or a member of another community), while other people are very distrustful of everyone? To examine this question, Figure 10 plots each respondent's answers to two questions as a single point. The position along the x-axis indicates the individual's level of trust in those who live in their own communities, and the position along the y- indicates the level of trust in those who live in other communities. If individuals have some general level of trust that they share for every person, without regard to familiarity or co-membership in a community, then the preponderance of the data would fall along the plot's diagonal.

This does not seem to be the case. Instead, the figure shows that respondents can be trusting and very trusting of people living in their own communities (those in two rightmost columns) while not being trusting of those living in other communities. In addition, we see that respondents who are very trusting of those living in other communities (those in the top row) also tend to be very trusting of their own community. Respondents who do not trust those living in their communities (those in the leftmost column) are not likely to trust those living in other communities.

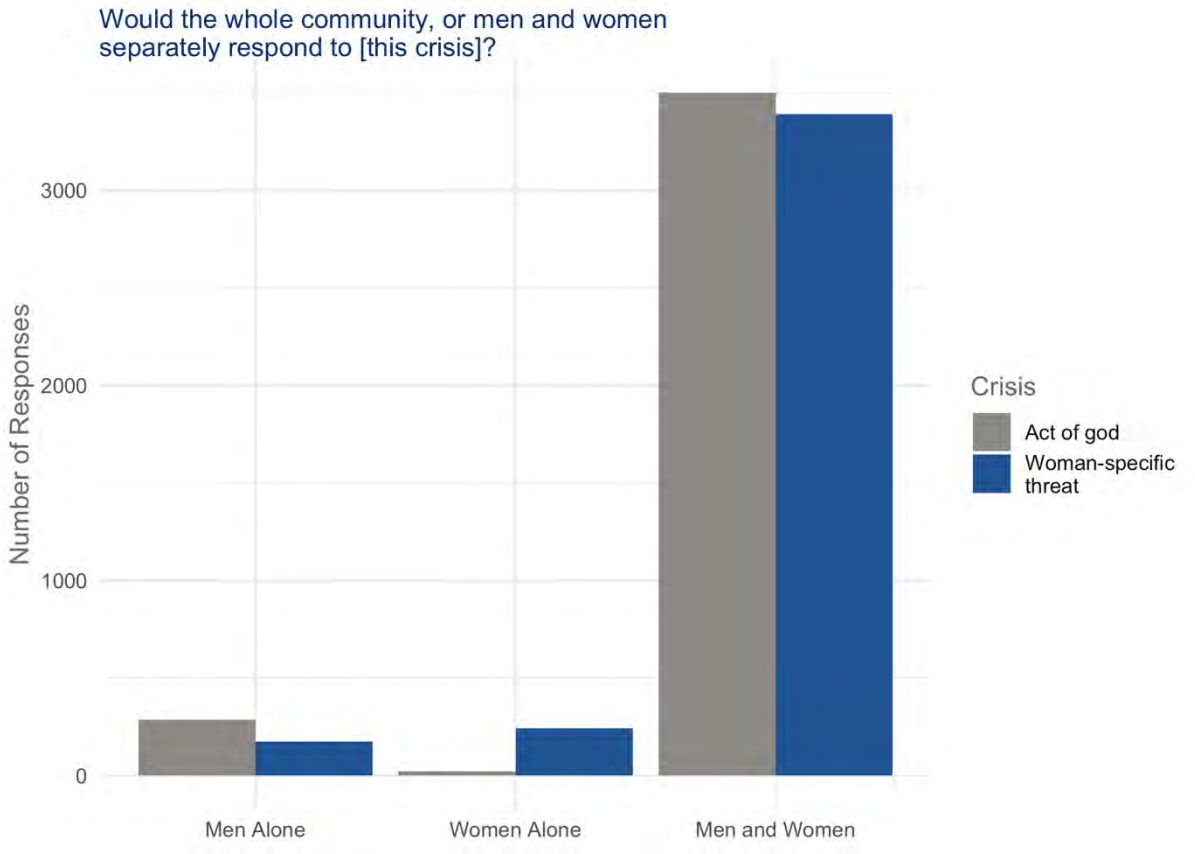
Figure 10. Trust in those living in own community and other communities



A novel feature of this baseline survey is the use of hypothetical prompts asking community members to imagine a negative circumstance and what the community response would be. More specifically, we ask community members to imagine an exogenous act of god (a flood, landslide, or earthquake) and a threat that affects mostly women in the community (the community is left without a midwife) and then ask them three follow-up questions about how the community would respond. The questions ask whether the response would be along familial lines or encompassing of the community as a whole; along gender lines—separate male or female responses, or all-inclusive responses; and along age lines—separate youth or older adult responses, or all-inclusive responses. We plan to use these items to construct one measure of social cohesion.

Figure 11 presents the breakdown of responses to the follow-up questions about gender-based responses to the act of god and the threat affecting most women. The bulk of respondents say that their communities would respond by working together as whole—rather than segregated along gender lines—to both types of crises. Interestingly, while there are some respondents who say that the response to the act of god would be male-specific, very few say that the response to the women-specific threat would be male-specific.

Figure 11. Responses to Two Hypothetical Crises



INTEGRATION ACROSS GENDERS

Motivated by patterns of discrimination against women and gendered segregation in the region, we wonder about the social integration of men and women in these communities. To measure this we ask two types of questions to all respondents: (1) "Would you say that you generally get along well with the (men/women) in the community?"; and (2) "In your spare time, how frequently do you spend time with (men/women) in your community who aren't a part of your family?"

We measure these attitudes because we expect that communities where respondents have positive views of and constant interactions with people from both genders are likely to be integrated on other social dimensions that we are not able to measure. Figures 12 and 13 respectively present the results of questions on how well the respondent gets along with men and women. Figures 14 and 15 respectively present the results of questions on how frequently the respondent spends time with men and women.

Figure 12. Social relationships with men

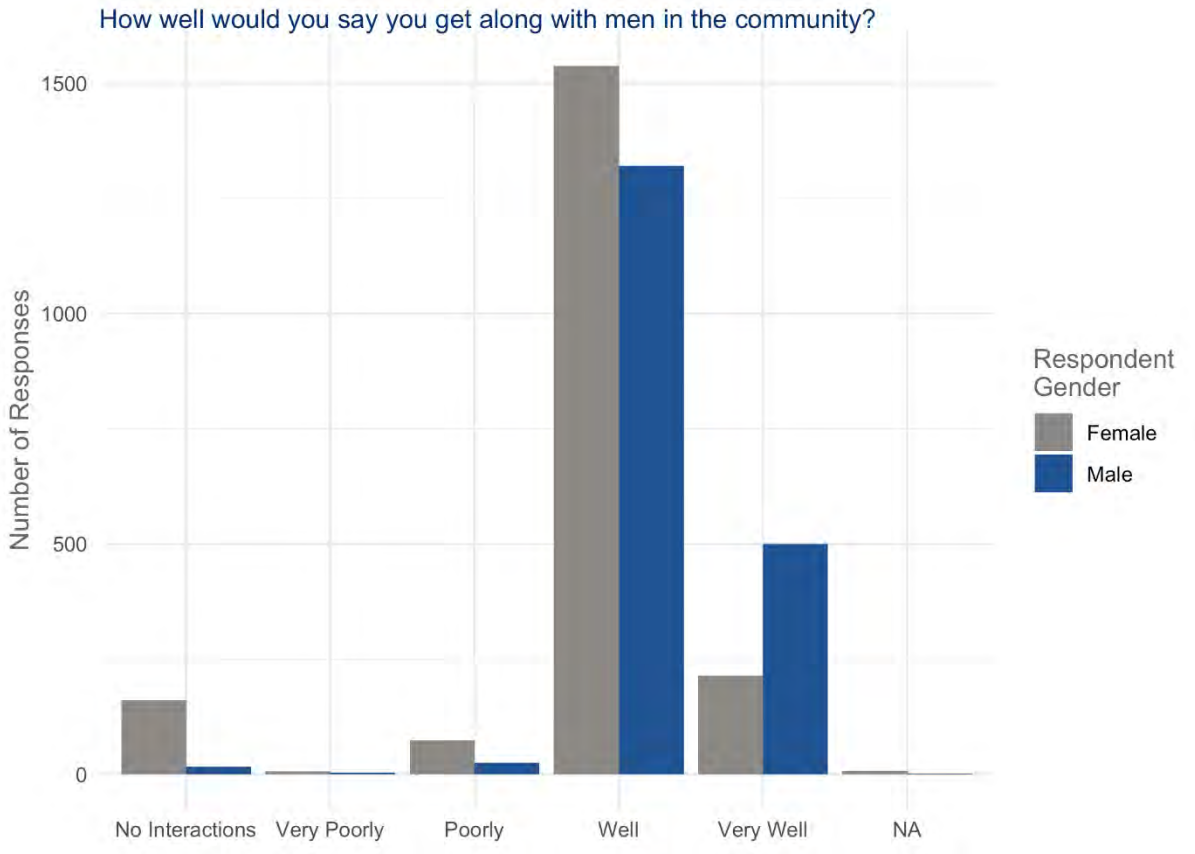


Figure 13. Social relationships with women

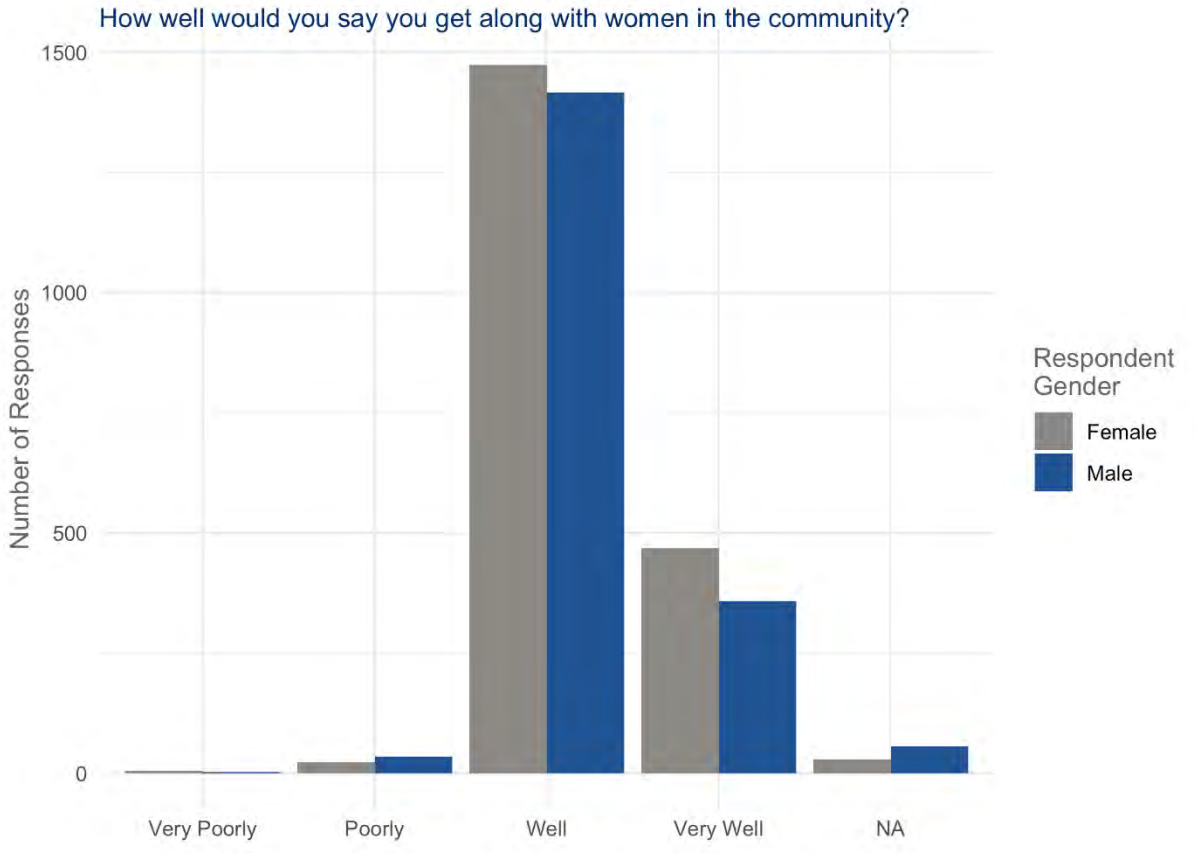


Figure 14. Social interaction with men

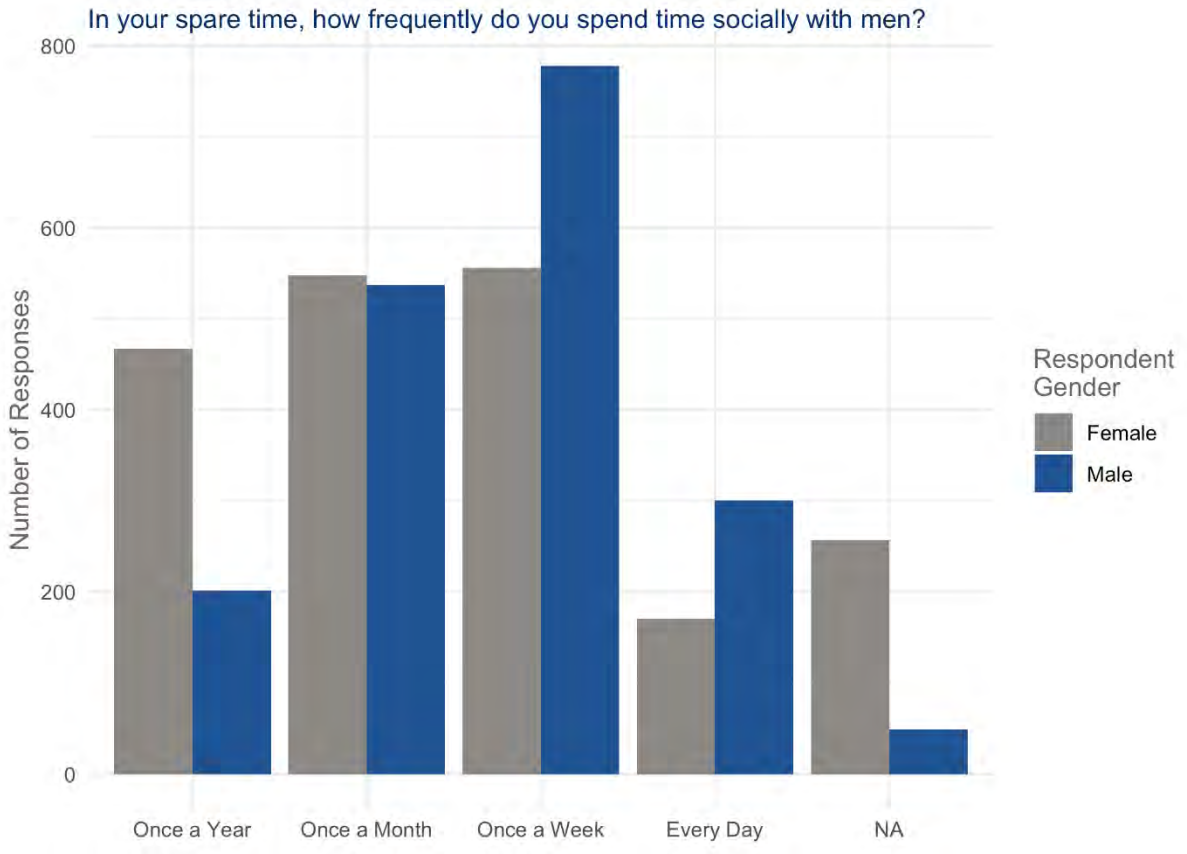
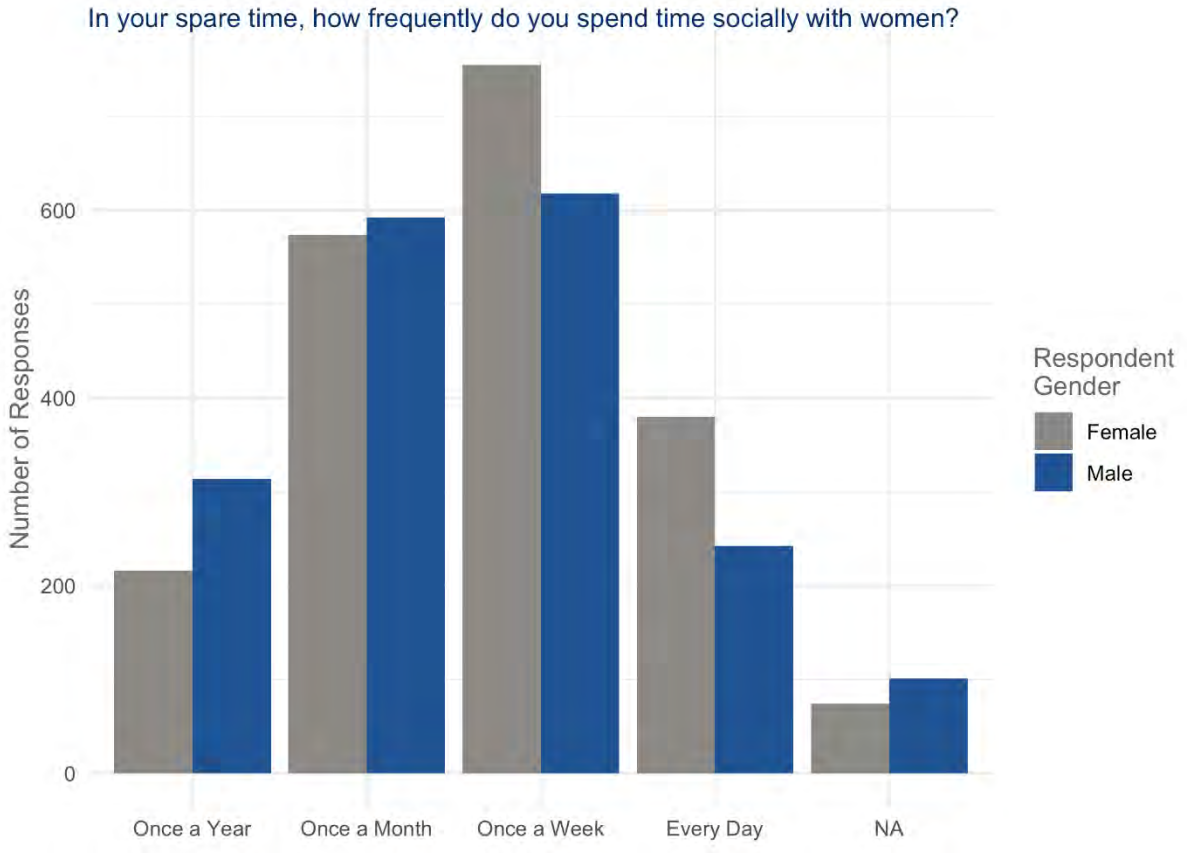


Figure 15. Social interaction with women



Several patterns are apparent in these responses. The preponderance of respondents say that they get along either "well" or "very well" with the men and women in their communities. However, even in this reported assessment, there is evidence for gender-based responses. Among those who report getting along "very well" with men in the community, male respondents are more than twice as likely to report getting along very well than female respondents. When the question turns to ask how well people get along with women, the gender-based differences are less acute. Female respondents are marginally more likely to note that they get along "very well" with other women than male respondents.

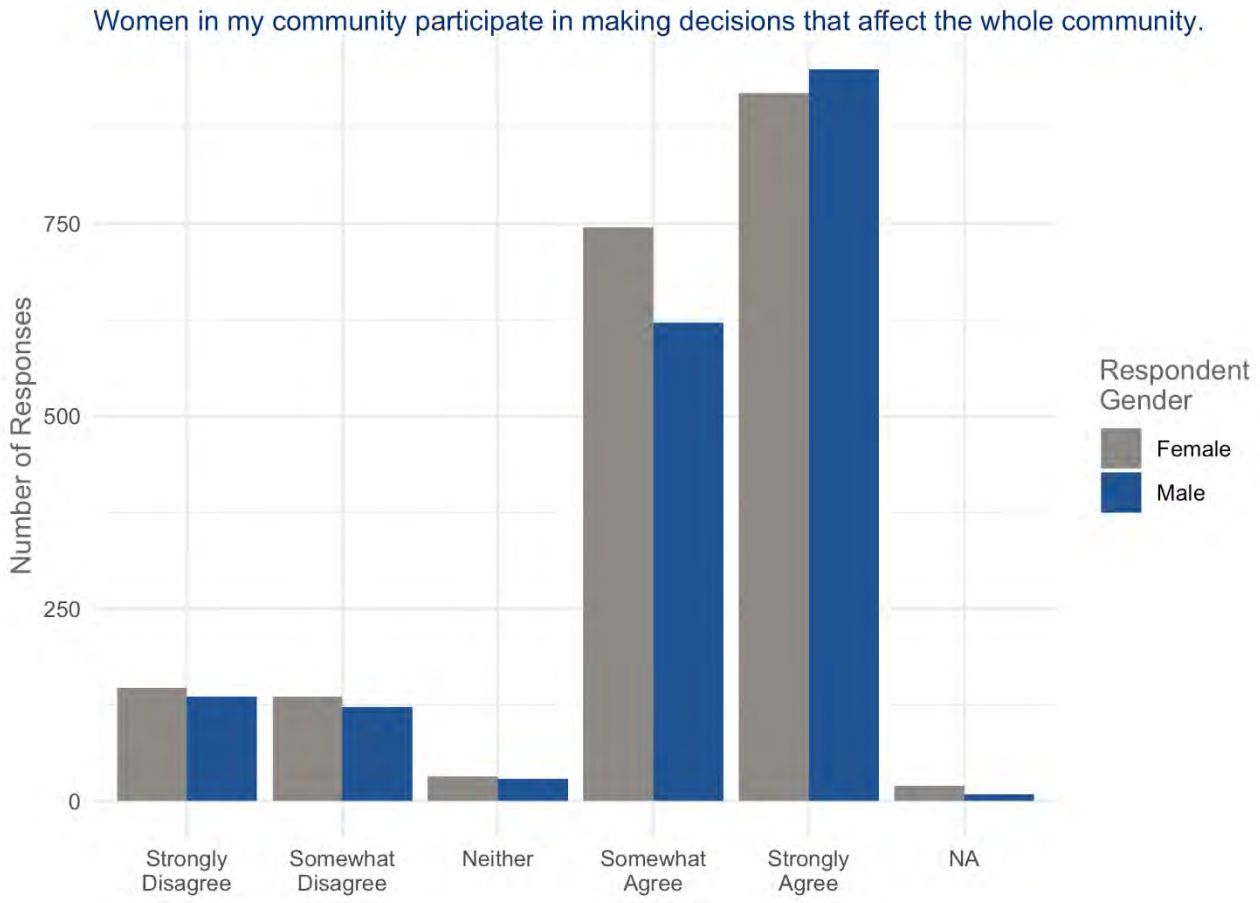
When it comes to interaction, the most frequent response is that individuals spend social time with others once per week; the most likely explanation is that individuals see one another socially at religious services. Patterns also show that individuals spend more time with others who share the same gender identity: men more frequently report spending social time with other men daily and weekly than do women, and women more frequently report spending social time with other women daily and weekly than do men.

VIEWS ABOUT WOMEN'S LEADERSHIP

One question that this project seeks to answer is, "Does increasing the participation of women in decision making lead to changes in the norms about who should appropriately participate in community governance?" An important precursor to understanding this question is knowing the baseline views toward the appropriateness of men's and women's participation in leadership. Our survey includes several questions to gauge these views.

Figure 16 presents the results of a question asking respondents about their level of agreement with the statement "Women in my community participate in making decisions that affect the whole community." This serves as a proxy for gauging the current level of women engagement in community affairs. As the figure shows, the vast majority of respondents "somewhat agrees" "or "strongly agrees" with this statement, regardless of gender. This first result is a bit surprising given prior reports of segregation of women from leadership positions in communities as well as their limited participation in community affairs. One possibility is that these reports are overstated. Another is that the responses to our survey suffer from social desirability bias, where responses reflect what is deemed socially acceptable or desirable, rather than truth. In any case, randomization allows us to identify effects even in these circumstances.

Figure 16. Women's participation in decision making



Next, we present the results to two questions asking respondents about their level of agreement with the following statements: "Women are accepted in leadership roles in your community" (Figure 17) and "There should be more women's leadership in your community" (Figure 18). In general, respondents are quite acceptant of women in leadership roles. There are slight differences in responses across genders, with females' views being a bit more positive than those of males. Further, respondents generally agree with the statement that there should be more women's leadership in their community. However, there is a more sizable difference between the levels of support for a more prominent role for women by gender. Men "strongly agree" with the statement at a 25 percent lower rate than women, and say they "somewhat agree" with this statement at a rate 10 percent lower than women.

Figure 17. Acceptance of women's leadership

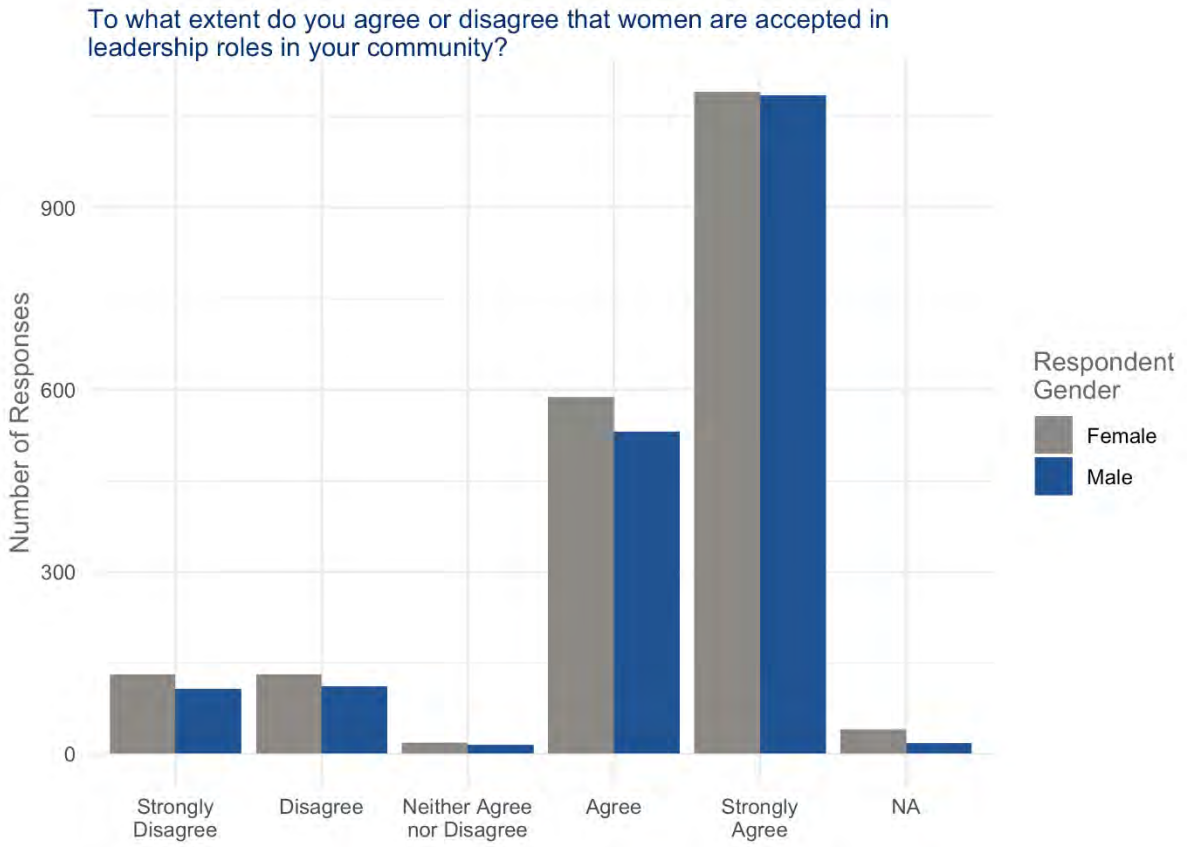


Figure 18. Views about more women's involvement in leadership

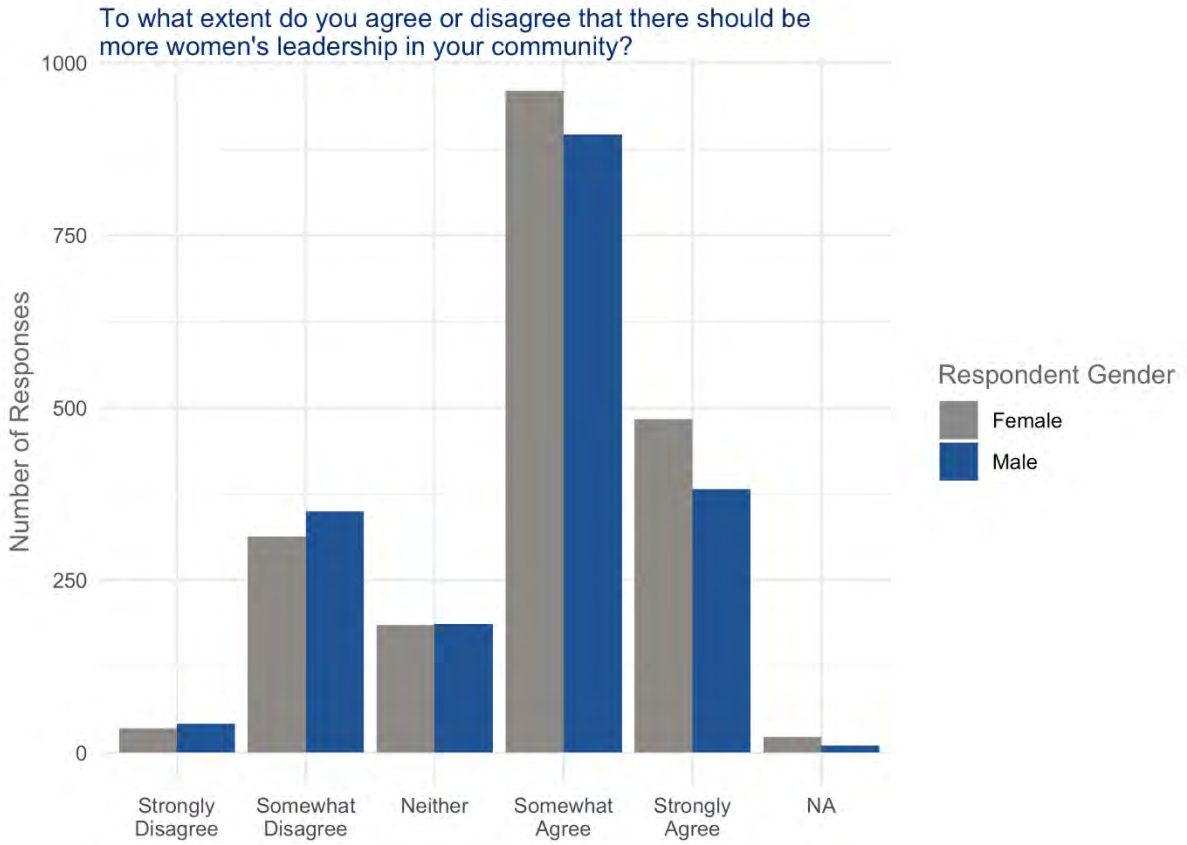
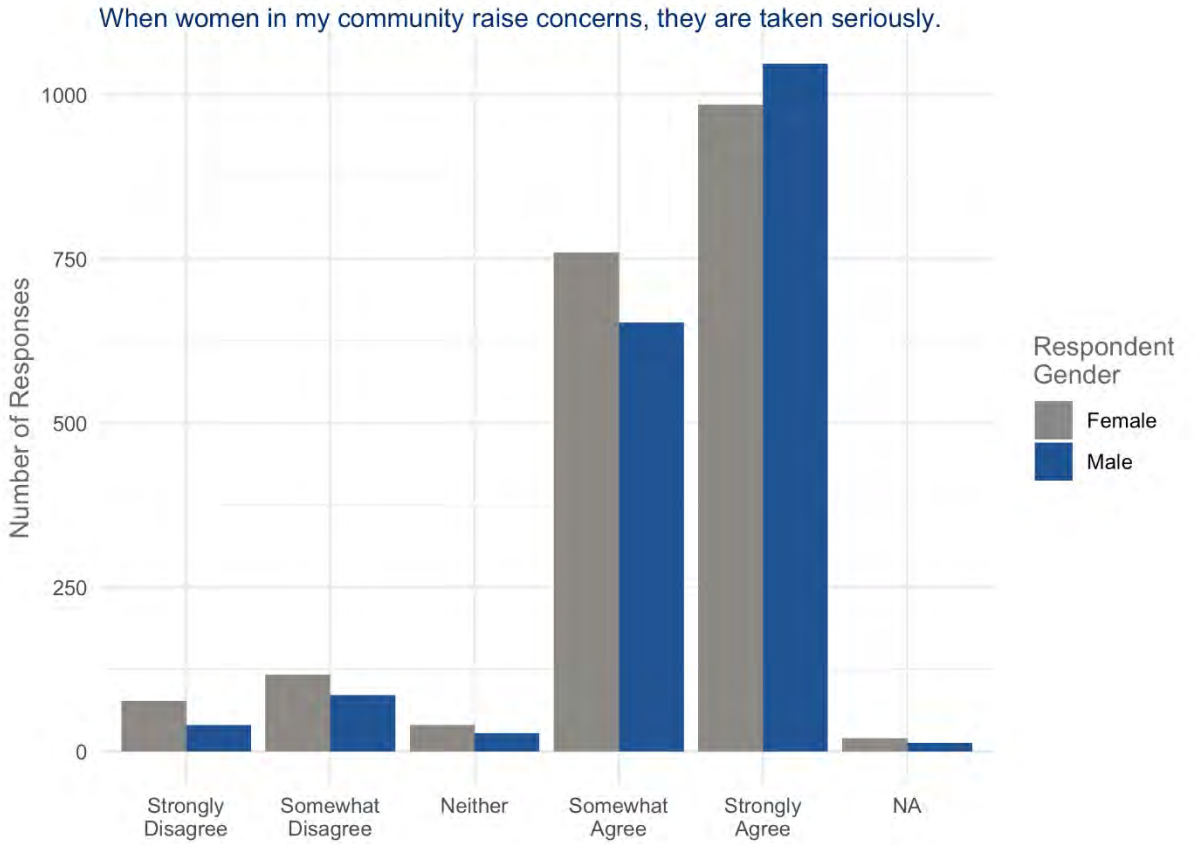


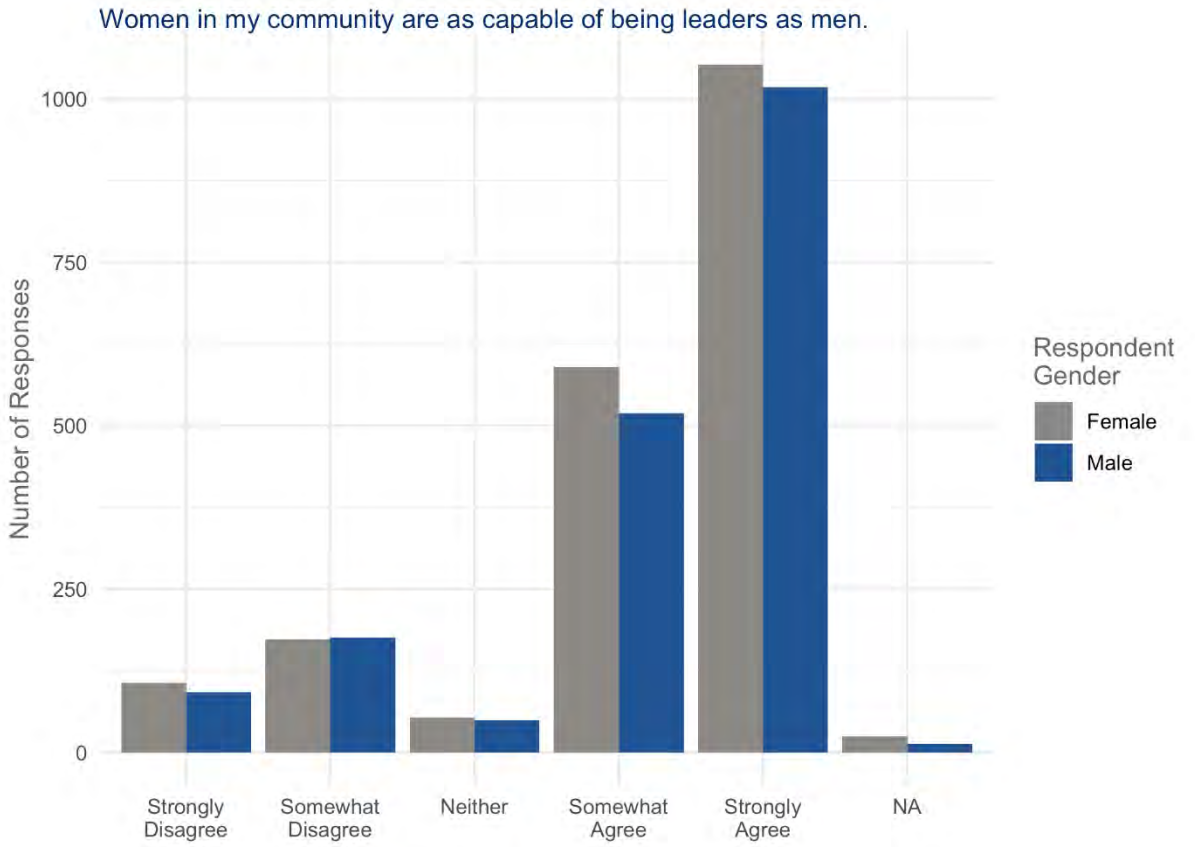
Figure 19 presents the results of a question asking respondents about their level of agreement with the statement "When women in my community raise concerns, they are taken seriously." With this question we try to gauge the extent to which women's voices are taken into account in community decision making. As the figure shows, there is a clear consensus that when women's issues are raised, they are taken seriously. However, there is some gap between how well men and women believe they are responding to these concerns. A greater proportion of men than women "strongly agree" that women's concerns are taken seriously, while a greater proportion of women "somewhat agree." This difference is slight, but signals either some difference in the expectations for what it means to take a concern seriously, or what an appropriate response to a serious concern is or should be.

Figure 19. Views about women's concerns being taken seriously



Finally, we report responses to a question asking respondents about their level of agreement with the statement "Women in my community are as capable of being leaders as men." As Figure 20 shows, views are once again quite positive; there is a clear consensus that women are as capable as men when it comes to leadership. There are some differences in responses across genders, with females' views being a bit more positive than those of males. Differences, however, are not as stark as one would expect in a context where women have traditionally been excluded from leadership positions.

Figure 20. Views about women's leadership ability



We also ask respondents to share their views on the barriers to women's participation in community governance. We present respondents with a number of statements summarizing potential reasons and ask them to state their level of agreement. The potential reasons we present them are: (1) lack of political skills and training among women; (2) cultural norms and stereotypes about the role of women; (3) cultural norms that men are better suited to being leaders than women; (4) lack of safety and respect for women in the political sphere; (5) formal laws and policies preventing the participation of women; (6) lack of solidarity among women; (7) lack of education and literacy among women; and (8) women's greater responsibilities at home.

We do not present figures with the results to economize space. In general, the majority of respondents "somewhat agree" or "strongly agree" with all the reasons provided—in other words, respondents would not discount any of the reasons provided. The reasons that most respondents "strongly agree" with are: lack of safety and respect for women in the political sphere; formal laws and policies preventing the participation of women; lack of education and literacy among women; and women's greater responsibilities at home. Importantly, difference across genders in responses is only modest.

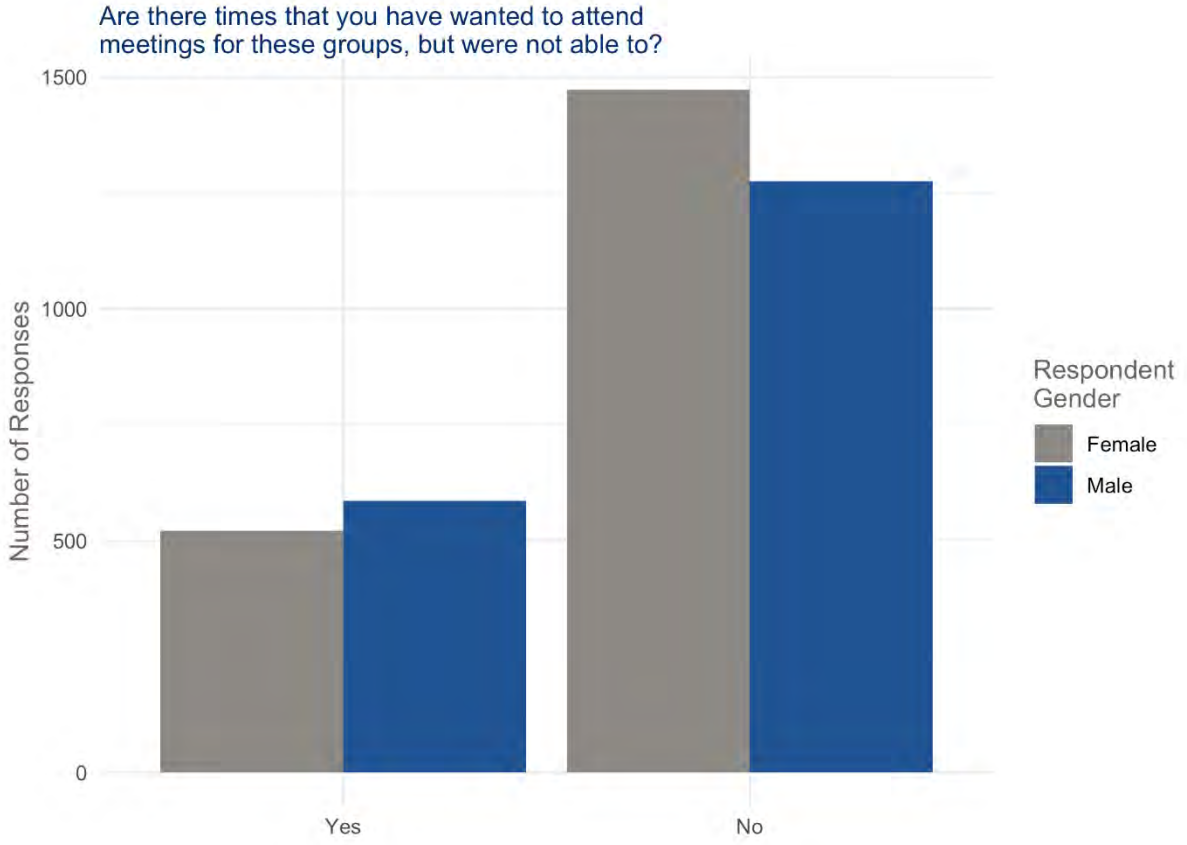
CIVIC ENGAGEMENT

Our survey also includes a number of questions gauging civic and political engagement. These questions ask respondents to indicate the frequency at which they participate in meetings of various types of social and political groupings or organizations, including religious services, community committees, political parties, and so forth. Instead of presenting those responses, here we focus on two items that we ask immediately following the meeting questions. First we ask respondents

whether they would have wanted to attend meetings but were unable to. If they say they were unable to attend, we ask them the reason.

As is shown in Figure 21, the preponderance of respondents do not believe that there are things that keep them from participating in meetings if they wanted to. However, approximately one-third of those surveyed say that there are barriers to their participation in meetings. One important point about the way this question is asked bears description: This question asks, "Are there times that you have wanted to participate in meetings, but were not able to?" There are two ways that an individual could respond, "No." First, they might never have wanted to participate in meetings; second, they might have wanted to participate and have always been able to participate. In particular, this would be challenging for the cases where one group has no expectation of participating.

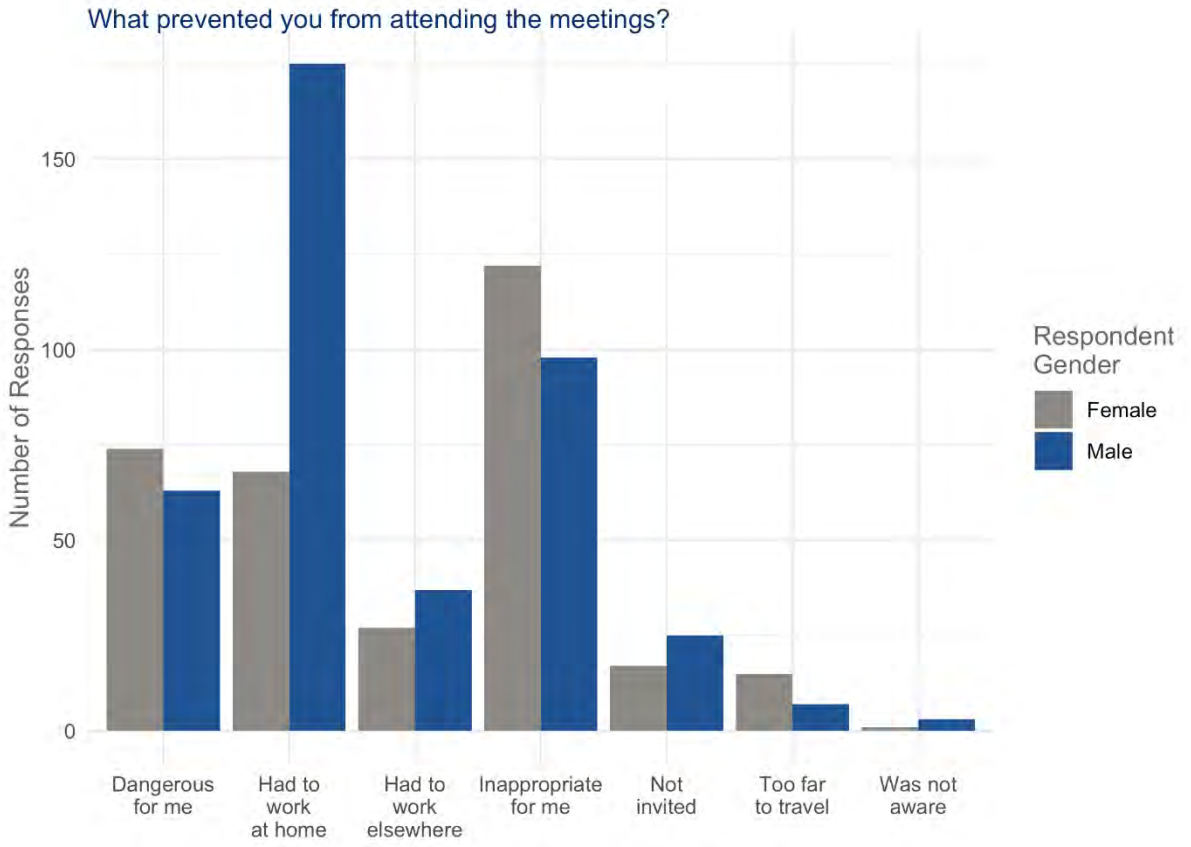
Figure 21. Inability to attend social and political meetings



Among those who are not able to participate in meetings, far and away the most common reason identified is a lack of time. The way that this question was asked, it is possible for a respondent to reply to more than a single category. As a result, individuals could both respond, "I don't have time," and, "I had to work at home," and they could have in mind the very same obstacle that kept them from participating.

In Figure 22, we remove responses related to "'no time" to attend so that it is possible to focus on the more specific reasons. We also present responses disaggregated by gender. Considerably more men than women report that work at home kept them from participating, a surprising result on its face. Other results are consistent with a cultural sense of appropriateness for men's and women's participation in these events: more women than men identified that it would be inappropriate for them to participate and that it might be dangerous for them to participate.

Figure 22. Reasons for not attending meetings



CONCLUSION

This study lays the groundwork to assess the overall effectiveness of TP activities at the community level, as well as whether an intentional focus on the participation of women in community deliberations can further contribute to reducing conflict and increasing cohesion. We seek to expand the evidence base by demonstrating that women's involvement in local decision-making processes can not only contribute to development outcomes but also to peacebuilding activities. In this baseline report, we describe the rationale and background for the study and the DD intervention, *asesoras de cambio*, our experimental approach to measure impact, the baseline data collection process, and our analysis of the baseline data.

We draw several conclusions from our baseline analysis:

- There is considerable heterogeneity in the distribution of conflict within the Western Highlands region. In some communities there is little evidence of conflict presence, while in others there is evidence of acute levels of conflict.
- Conflict related to land and conflict related to water were more likely to be present in communities than conflict related to governance and conflict related to natural resources.
- Most survey respondents state that COCODES and community leadership play a leading role in conflict resolution. In stark contrast, very few respondents state that women and youth play a role in the conflict resolution. Few respondents feel that these groups (or any other group) is actually effective in resolving conflict.

- Most community members believe that members of their community are somewhat or very trustworthy. This indicates a general willingness to trust others. However, there is lower trust for neighbors. And, there is a notable lack of trust between members of distinct communities: respondents most frequently said that members of other communities are not trustworthy.

- Trust in respondents' own communities and other communities is relatively tightly aligned. When respondents distrust those in their own community, they are also very unlikely to trust those who live in other communities. When respondents trust those in their own community, there is roughly a 50-50 chance that they will also trust other communities.

- There is a broadly held view among both men and women that women have a role to play in leadership in the community. However, other evidence indicates that women's actual involvement in leadership and civic organizations is more limited than men's.

As of the writing of this report, the IE has been cancelled. The IE team does not know whether the *asesoras de cambio* intervention will be implemented as designed by the TP team or supplemented with recommendations the IE team offered during TP's 2019/2020 work plan review process. Further, the IE team does not know whether the *asesoras de cambio* intervention will be implemented in line with the IE design—in only 65 communities randomly assigned to the TP+DD treatment arm. We understand that current funding restrictions prevent USAID/Guatemala from contributing funding to IE activities in the short term.

Our hope is that additional funding for the IE becomes available toward the end of the project in 2023, in time to carry out endline data collection, analysis, and reporting activities. We remain hopeful for two reasons. First, TP's monitoring, evaluation, and learning plan includes performance indicators whose quantification requires survey data collection in TP communities. Assuming that the project is planning to use funds to this end and a minimal approach to data collection consisting only of the survey, we would only need additional funding to collect data in the 65 control communities plus data analysis and reporting activities. Second, full U.S. foreign assistance is likely to resume in the medium term, as governments in the Northern Triangle undertake action to address illegal immigration.

Should the implementer abide by the full randomization schedule and additional funding become available, we would be able to estimate the impact of the *asesoras de cambio* intervention by comparing communities assigned to TP+DD with communities assigned to TP. We would also be able to estimate the impact of the standard TP project by comparing communities assigned to TP with communities assigned to the control group. To assess DD's expected effects on decision-making processes and outcomes at midline, we propose analyzing project monitoring data, such as event attendance records, as well as coding and analyzing CRA and CV documents.

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APPENDIX: POWER CALCULATIONS

We propose to undertake a minimum of 16 surveys in each of 195 communities (130 to be split evenly between treatment arms and 65 to serve as control) to evaluate the impact of TP and TP+DD. The resulting total number of surveys is 3,120. Two core comparisons are of interest within this design. On the one hand, we measure individual attitudes and beliefs in communities assigned to treatment and control arms. On the other hand, we measure community level outcomes, e.g., occurrences of social conflict that rise to the level of physical violence. All measurements are described in Table 1 and Table 2. Here we describe the statistical power associated with these comparisons.

Often, in laboratory experiments, minimum detectable effect sizes (MDES) that are less than 0.2 are characterized as "small" or desirable, meaning that the experiment is well powered to detect even small effects. MDES between 0.2 and 0.6 are characterized as "medium" effect sizes, meaning that an experiment is well powered to detect only relatively larger effects.

Comparison 1: What are the differences in individual-level outcomes (e.g., attitudes and beliefs) when comparing individuals who live in communities assigned to **TP** with individuals who live in communities assigned to **TP+DD**? Alternatively, what are the differences when comparing individuals who live in communities assigned to **TP** with individuals who live in communities assigned to **control**?

In Table A1 we report the power analysis for the test of differences in outcomes between individuals who live in communities assigned to TP and individuals who live in communities assigned to TP+DD. Two features make measuring an effect more difficult. First, there are necessarily fewer communities to power the test, as it is limited to the 130 TP or TP+DD communities. Second, because all communities are receiving TP, there is less contrast between the comparison groups: differences in effect at this level will be caused solely by the diverse decision makers interventions. Despite these limitations, the MDES for this comparison is 0.224 under plausible assumptions, which is just short of being a "small" effect.

Table A1. Statistical Power for Individual-level CBPT vs. CBPT+DD Tests

ASSUMPTIONS		COMMENTS
Alpha Level (α)	0.05	Probability of a Type I error
Two-tailed or One-tailed Test?	2	
Power (1-β)	0.80	Statistical power (1-probability of a Type II error)
Rho (ICC)	0.20	Proportion of variance in outcome that is between clusters
P	0.50	Proportion of Level 2 units randomized to treatment: $J_T / (J_T + J_C)$
R_1^2	0.10	Proportion of variance in Level 1 outcomes explained by Level 1 covariates
R_2^2	0.20	Proportion of variance in Level 2 outcomes explained by Level 2 covariates

ASSUMPTIONS		COMMENTS
g*	4	Number of Level 2 covariates
N per cluster	16	Mean number of Level 1 units per Level 2 unit (harmonic mean recommended)
Number of Clusters	130	
M (Multiplier)	2.82	Computed from T_1 and T_2
T_1 (Precision)	1.98	Determined from alpha level, given two-tailed or one-tailed test
T_2 (Power)	0.84	Determined from given power level
MDES	**0.224**	**Minimum Detectable Effect Size**

Comparison 2: What are the differences in individual-level outcomes (e.g., attitudes and beliefs) when comparing individuals who live in communities assigned to any form of **TP** (i.e., TP and TP+DD) with individuals who live in communities assigned to **control**?

As we report in Table A2, to be able to detect effects at the household or individual level between communities that receive any TP programming (core TP or TP+DD) and control communities, the treatment must cause a standardized difference in outcomes of at least 0.193. The increase in power achieved by a comparison against control communities is achieved through a limitation of the questions that can be asked, as it provides information regarding the overall effectiveness of receiving any TP programming.

Table A2. Statistical Power for Individual-level Any CBPT vs. Control Tests

ASSUMPTIONS		COMMENTS
Alpha Level (α)	0.05	Probability of a Type I error
Two-tailed or One-tailed Test?	2	
Power (1-β)	0.80	Statistical power (1-probability of a Type II error)
Rho (ICC)	0.20	Proportion of variance in outcome that is between clusters
P	0.66	Proportion of Level 2 units randomized to treatment: $J_T / (J_T + J_C)$
R_1^2	0.10	Proportion of variance in Level 1 outcomes explained by Level 1 covariates
R_2^2	0.20	Proportion of variance in Level 2 outcomes explained by Level 2 covariates
g*	4	Number of Level 2 covariates
N per cluster	16	Units observed in each cluster
Number of Clusters	195	

ASSUMPTIONS		COMMENTS
M (Multiplier)	2.82	Computed from T_1 and T_2
T_1 (Precision)	1.97	Determined from alpha level, given two-tailed or one-tailed test
T_2 (Power)	0.84	Determined from given power level
MDES	**0.193**	**Minimum Detectable Effect Size**

Comparison 3: What are the differences in community-level outcomes (e.g., rates of physical violence) when comparing communities assigned to **TP** with communities assigned to **TP+DD**? Alternatively, what are the differences when comparing communities assigned to **TP** with communities assigned to **control**?

Beyond attitudes and beliefs, these outcomes are indicators about the functioning of local government, peacebuilding, and conflict resolution instruments. Importantly, they are also community-level indicators of acutely experienced conflict, for example, a comparison of the rate of violent conflict in treatment communities compared to control communities. Measuring community-level outcomes is a difficult task with only 65 communities in each treatment condition. As we report in Table A3, the DD interventions must cause a standardized difference in outcomes of at least 0.393 to be detected under this design.

Table A3. Statistical Power for Community-Level CBPT vs. CBPT+DD Tests

ASSUMPTIONS		COMMENTS
Alpha Level (α)	0.05	Probability of a Type I error
Two-tailed or One-tailed Test?	2	
Power (1-β)	0.80	Statistical power (1-probability of a Type II error)
P	0.50	Proportion of the sample randomized to treatment: $n_T / (n_T + n_C)$
R^2	0.20	Percent of variance in outcome explained by covariates
k*	0	Number of covariates used
n (Total Sample Size)	130	
M (Multiplier)	2.50	Computed from T_1 and T_2
T_1 (Precision)	1.65	Determined from alpha level, given two-tailed or one-tailed test
T_2 (Power)	0.84	Determined from given power level
MDES	**0.393**	**Minimum Detectable Effect Size**

Comparison 4: Finally, what are the differences in community-level outcomes (e.g., rates of physical violence) when comparing communities that are assigned to any form of **TP** (i.e., TP and TP+DD) with communities assigned to **control**?

This comparison is slightly better powered than the preceding one and can similarly be used to address questions about the reductions in conflict and increase in social cohesion that arises as a result of any form of peacebuilding programming. While this is a complex comparison, because the treatment arms contain distinct forms of intervention, the comparison does provide information about the overall effectiveness of the program activities. As we report in Table 6, to detect community-level effects between treatment communities and control communities, the treatment must cause a standardized difference in outcomes of at least **0.338**.

Table A4. Statistical Power for Community-level Any CBPT vs. Control Tests

ASSUMPTIONS		COMMENTS
Alpha Level (α)	0.05	Probability of a Type I error
Two-tailed or One-tailed Test?	2	
Power ($1-\beta$)	0.80	Statistical power (1-probability of a Type II error)
P	0.66	Proportion of the sample randomized to treatment: $n_T / (n_T + n_C)$
R^2	0.20	Percent of variance in outcome explained by covariates
k*	0	Number of covariates used
n (Total Sample Size)	195	
M (Multiplier)	2.50	Computed from T_1 and T_2
T_1 (Precision)	1.65	Determined from alpha level, given two-tailed or one-tailed test
T_2 (Power)	0.84	Determined from given power level
MDES	**0.338**	**Minimum Detectable Effect Size**

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