

Drivers of Conflict Study in Ciudad Delgado, El Salvador

Conducted By:

The Conflict and Development Foundation
& The Center on Conflict and Development at Texas A&M University



In Collaboration With:

Shelter the Homeless International Projects (SHIP)



Final Report

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Table of Contents

Executive Summary	3
Introduction and Background	3
Hypothesis and Research Methodology	3
Summary of Results	4
Participant Profile	5
Food Insecurity	6
Main Causes of Violence	7
Main Types of Conflict	8
Conclusions	8
Bibliography	8
Attachments	9
Survey Instrument (Spanish)	9

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Executive Summary

Introduction and Background

This study was the first internship program being supported by the HESN Match of the Howard G. Buffett Foundation in Latin America. The program promoted focused research on conflict in El Salvador, a mutual priority country that from 1980-1992 suffered one of the most intense civil wars in contemporary Latin American history.

The Conflict and Development Foundation (CDF) and the Center on Conflict and Development at Texas A&M University (ConDev) are conducting research that can help improve the effectiveness of development programs and policies for conflict-affected and fragile countries. With matching funds from the Howard G. Buffet Foundation, CDF offered an internship program to collect data and prepare a conflict analysis of Ciudad Delgado. Preparing a conflict analysis is a critical first step in crafting a development program that effectively prevents conflict or speeds recovery.¹ The purpose of this study was to: (a) identify drivers of conflict and main types of conflict affecting Ciudad Delgado and surrounding communities; (b) determine to what degree those conflicts have affected the participant's households in the past two years; and (c) determine if aspects of underdevelopment such as social inequality, poverty and food insecurity make it more likely for a community to experience certain types of conflict such as gang violence, threat, theft, kidnapping, drug trafficking, extortion, police abuse and others.

Data was collected through 163 surveys during a 10-week internship program by an intern that traveled to Ciudad Delgado and surrounding communities (Soyapango and Nuevo Cuscatlán). Results have been analyzed by ConDev research assistants at Texas A&M University determining that the main drivers of conflict are: (a) poverty; (b) lack of education; and (c) lack of jobs and the main types of conflict affecting their communities are (a) gang violence; (b) theft; and (c) extortion.

Hypothesis and Research Methodology

The primary hypothesis of this study was that certain aspects of underdevelopment such as social inequality, poverty, and food insecurity cause certain types of conflict, like violence. The research methodology was based on a quantitative-qualitative, exploratory, non-experimental study with non-probability sampling (surveying) that helped establish existing relationships between conflict and aspects of underdevelopment such as social inequality, poverty and food insecurity. The units of analysis included three communities, based on a survey in SHIP's headquarters and households (with a sample of 163), with assistance from SHIP's staff. The respective instrument (polling questionnaires) was developed by the Center on Conflict and Development. Information collected was entered into an Excel database by a Texas A&M University research assistant, and analyzed by a Texas A&M University graduate student using a statistical software (Stata). Data gathered through this project will be part of a dataset on drivers of conflict that will also include similar data from studies being conducted in Guatemala.

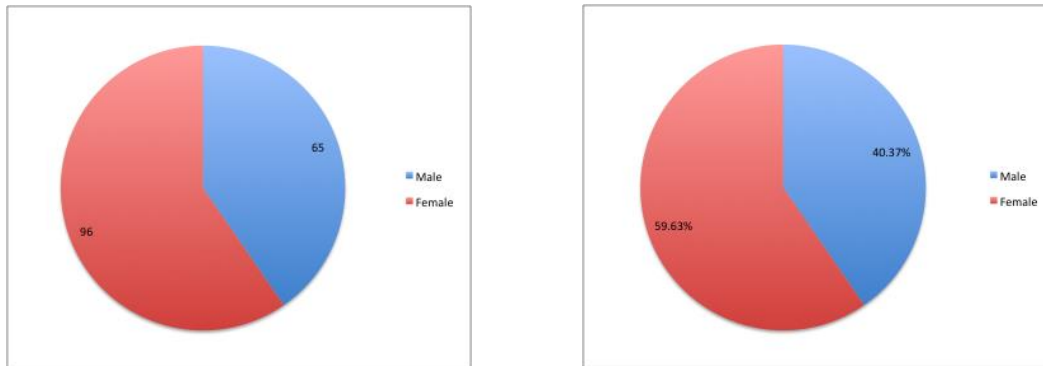
¹ James Putzel, *Do No Harm: International Support for Statebuilding* (Paris: OECD, 2010). See the Conflict Sensitivity Consortium. Available at: <http://www.conflictsensitivity.org/>. See also the Collaborative Learning Project's "Do No Harm" project. Available at: http://www.cdainc.com/cdawww/project_profile.php?pid=DNH&pname=Do%20No%20Harm.

Summary of Results

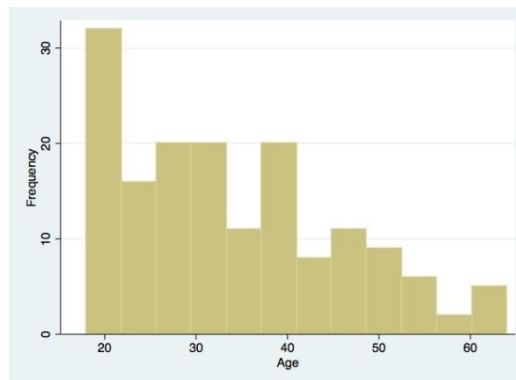
Results from this study helped establish that the main types of conflict affecting the target communities were **gang violence, theft, and extortion**. The study also helped determine that factors such as **poverty, lack of education and lack of jobs** have an impact on expressions of social conflict like violence. Results are shown in the graphics below.

Drivers of Conflict Study – Survey Results

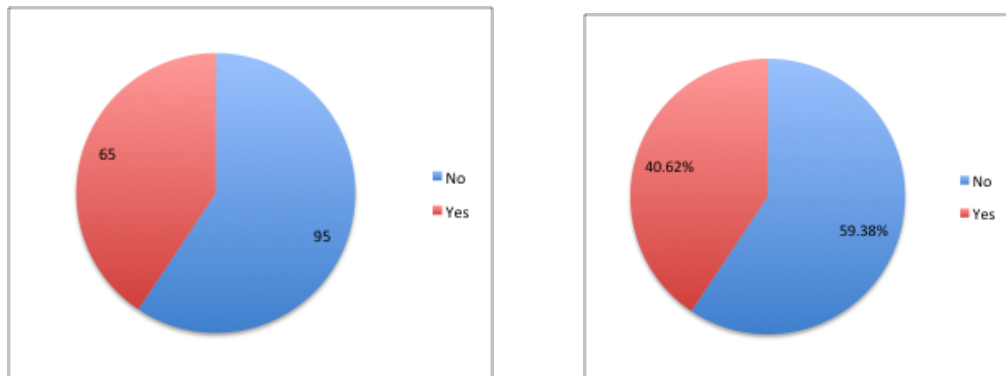
Graphic 1: Gender. Out of the 161 respondents, 40.37% were male, 59.63% were female.



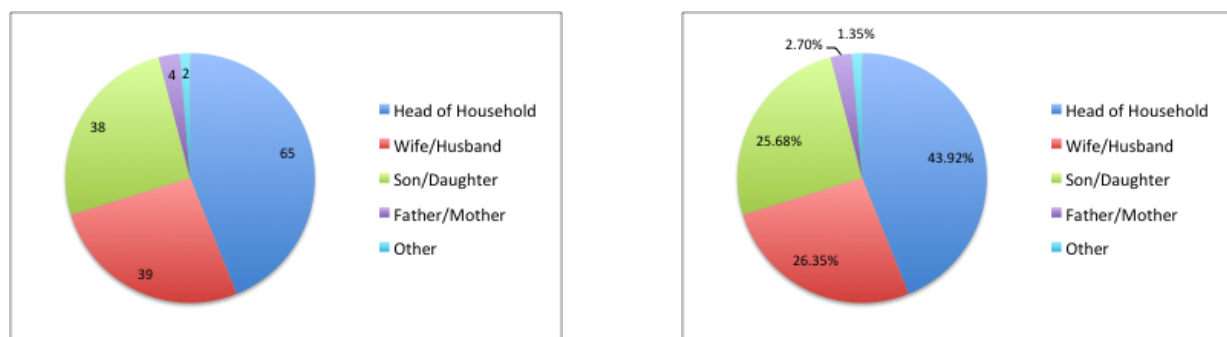
Graphic 2: Age. The age range is between 18 and 64. The mean is 34 years, the mode is 38 years.



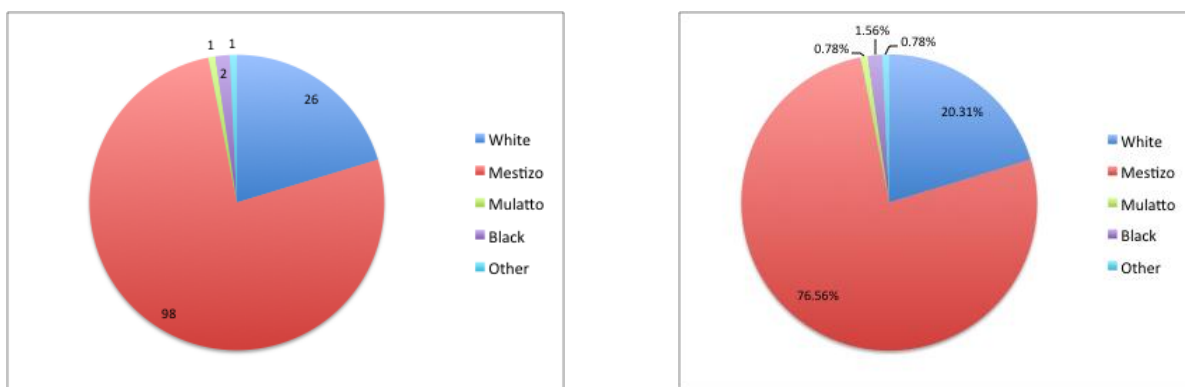
Graphic 3: Head of Household. 40.62% of respondents were heads of household, 59.38% were not.



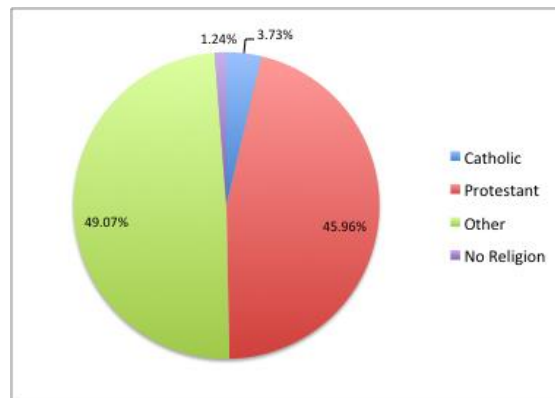
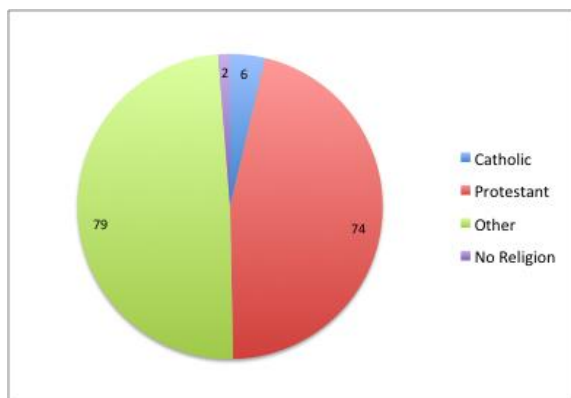
Graphic 4: Other Dependents. 43.2% of respondents identified themselves as head of household, 26.35% were wives/husbands, 25.68% were sons/daughters, 2.70% were fathers/mothers, and 1.35% were other.



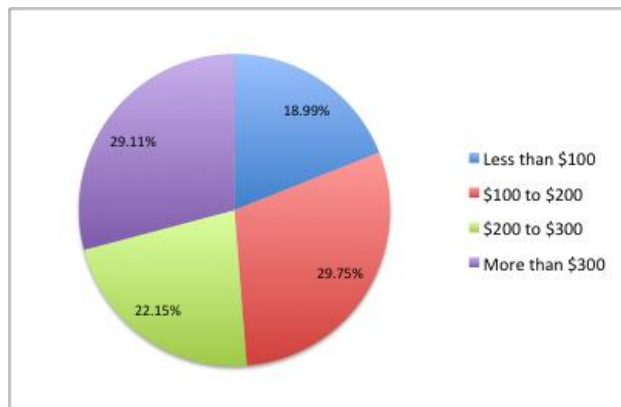
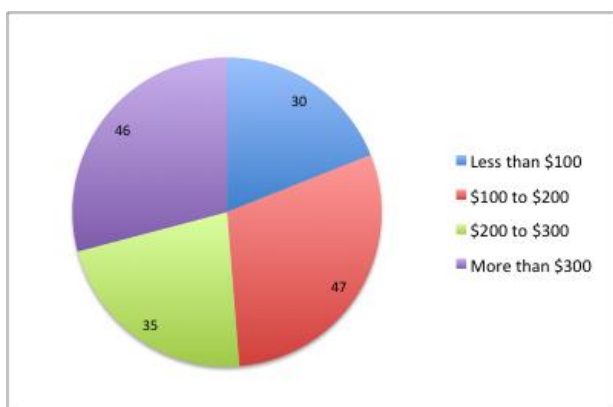
Graphic 5: Ethnicity. 20.31% of respondents identified as white, 76.56% as mestizo, 1.56% as black, .78% as mulatto, and .78% as other.



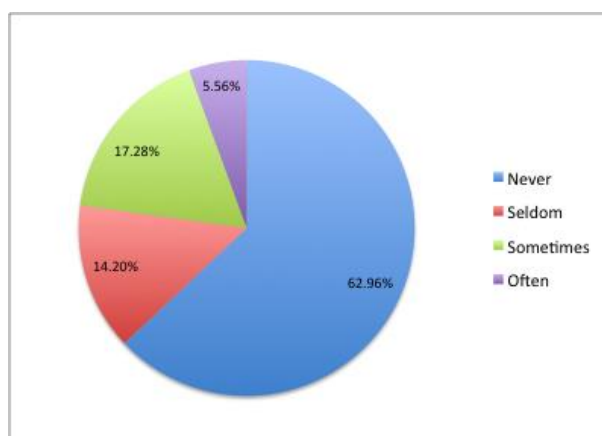
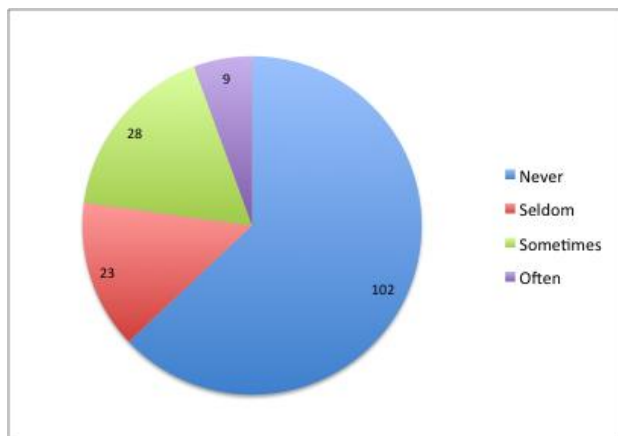
Graphic 6: Religion. 45.96% of respondents were Protestant, 3.73% were Catholic, 1.24% claimed no religion, and 49.07% responded as other. A large number of respondents who claimed “Other” specified their religion as Christian.



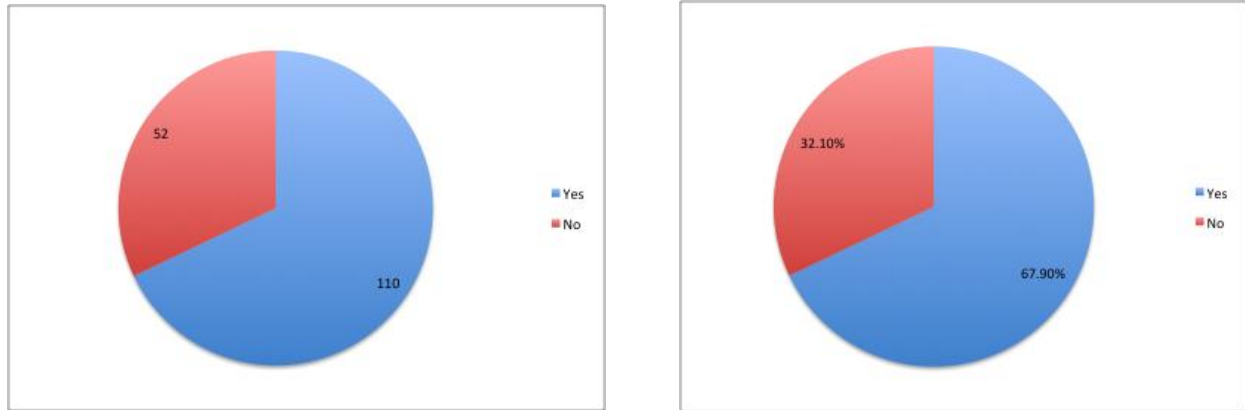
Graphic 7: Monthly Income. 18.99% of respondents earn less than \$100 per month, 29.75% earn between \$100 and \$200 per month, 22.15% earn between \$200 and \$300 per month, and 29.11% earn more than \$300 per month. Amounts were calculated using official exchange rates from Quetzales to US Dollars.



Graphic 8: Went to Sleep Hungry. 62.96% of respondents stated that they never went to sleep hungry, 14.20% stated that they seldom went to sleep hungry, 17.28% stated that they sometimes went to sleep hungry, and 5.56% stated that they often went to sleep hungry.

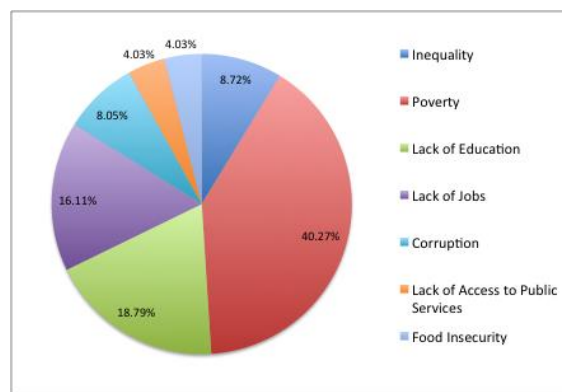


Graphic 9: Worry for Food. 67.90% of respondents said that they did worry for food, 32.10% said that they did not.

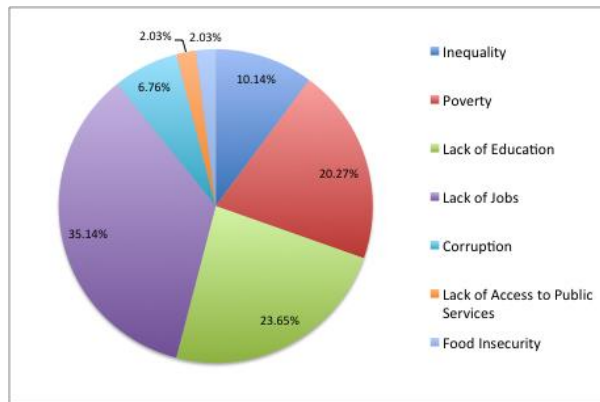


Graphic 10: Causes of Violence.

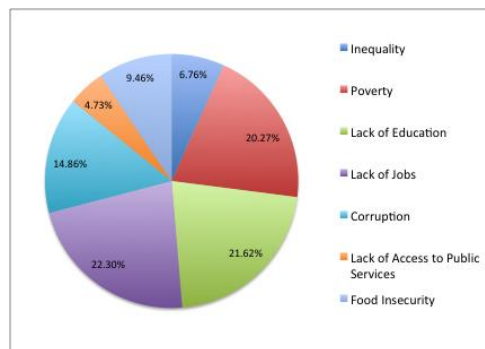
Graphic 10(a): First Cause of Violence. 40.27% of respondents listed poverty as the main cause of violence, 18.79% listed lack of education, 16.11% listed lack of jobs, 8.72% of respondents listed inequality, 8.05% listed corruption, 4.03% listed lack of access to public services, and 4.03% listed food insecurity.



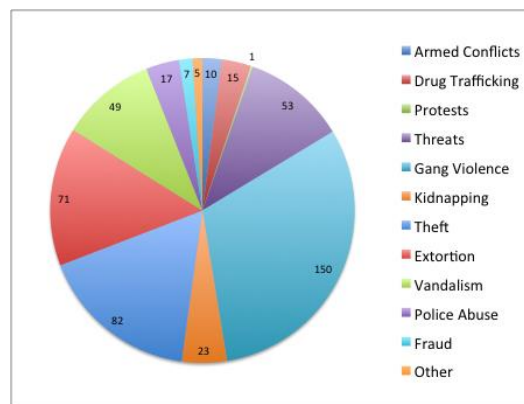
Graphic 10(b): Second Cause of Violence. 10.14% of respondents listed inequality as a second greatest cause of violence, 20.27% listed poverty, 23.65% listed lack of education, 35.14% listed lack of jobs, 6.76% listed corruption, 2.03% listed lack of access to public services, and 2.03% listed food insecurity.



Graphic 10(c): Third Cause of Violence. 6.76% of respondents listed inequality as the third greatest cause of violence, 20.27% listed poverty, 21.62% listed lack of education, 22.30% listed lack of jobs, 14.86% listed corruption, 4.73% listed lack of access to public services, and 9.46% listed food insecurity.



Graphic 11: 150 respondents listed gang violence as a main type of conflict, 82 listed theft, 71 listed extortion, 53 listed threats, 49 listed vandalism, 23 listed kidnapping, 17 listed police abuse, 15 listed drug trafficking, 10 respondents listed armed conflicts, 7 listed fraud, 1 listed protests, and 5 listed other types of conflict.



Conclusions

We can conclude that in these communities, aspects of underdevelopment such as poverty, lack of education, unemployment, inequality, corruption, and food insecurity are drivers of conflict. This study determined that the main types of conflict were gang violence, theft, and extortion. In post-war Salvadoran societies that are trying to sustain peace for more than a decade, understanding how types and practices of democracy may contribute to or help exacerbate intractable conflict is of critical concern. As Salvadorans are now engaged in difficult phases of post-conflict reconstruction, negotiated

settlements of long-term conflict brings about new challenges as well as opportunities for social transformation. The demand to rebuild divided societies emerging from serious long-term conflict is overwhelming, and recent efforts reflect the complex nature of the process of peace building (Jeong, 2005). Some of the challenges that El Salvador will need to face in future years are indeed linked to problems that originated from the root of conflict: How to deal with insecurity, how to broaden dialogue on development issues, and how to increase access to opportunities to more of the population, not just the elite.

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CDF Y SHIP
Encuesta sobre Conflicto para Ciudad Delgado, El Salvador

P1 Número del entrevistado _____

P2 Lugar de la entrevista _____

P3 Fecha de la entrevista _____

P4 Género del entrevistado

- ☐ Masculino
☐ Femenino

P5 Edad del entrevistado _____

P6 ¿Es usted la cabeza del hogar? (Si responde Sí, favor omitir la siguiente pregunta).

- ☐ Sí
☐ No

P7 Si no lo es, ¿cuál es su relación con la cabeza del hogar?

- ☐ Esposa o Esposo
☐ Padre o Madre
☐ Hijo o hija
☐ Otro (favor especificar) _____

P8 ¿Cuál es su religión?

- ☐ Católico
☐ Protestante
☐ Otro _____
☐ Ninguna

P9 Favor describir a los miembros de su hogar

	Edad	Género	Aún en la Escuela	Grado	Empleado o Trabaja por sí mismo
1	_____	_____	Sí / No	_____	Sí / No
2	_____	_____	Sí / No	_____	Sí / No
3	_____	_____	Sí / No	_____	Sí / No
4	_____	_____	Sí / No	_____	Sí / No
5	_____	_____	Sí / No	_____	Sí / No
6	_____	_____	Sí / No	_____	Sí / No
7	_____	_____	Sí / No	_____	Sí / No
8	_____	_____	Sí / No	_____	Sí / No
9	_____	_____	Sí / No	_____	Sí / No
10	_____	_____	Sí / No	_____	Sí / No

P10 ¿Cuál es el promedio de los ingresos familiares mensualmente?

Menos de \$100	\$100 - \$200	\$200 - \$300	Mas de \$300
_____	_____	_____	_____

P11 En su hogar, ¿alguien se ha ido a dormir con hambre durante el último mes?

- ☐ Nunca
- ☐ Raramente
- ☐ Algunas veces
- ☐ Seguido

P12 Durante los 12 meses pasados, ¿a usted le preocupó que se quedaran sin alimentos en su hogar antes de poder comprar comida adecuada?

- ☐ Sí
- ☐ No

P13 ¿A qué grado han afectado su hogar los siguientes conflictos durante los últimos dos años?

	Nunca	Ocasionalmente	Muy Frecuentemente	Siempre	Sin Opinión
Conflictos armados	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Protestas	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Violencia por Maras	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Robos	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Vandalismo	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Fraude	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Amenazas	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Tráfico de drogas	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Secuestros	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Extorsiones	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Abuso policial	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Otros _____	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

P14 ¿Cuáles de estos conflictos cree usted que es la mayor amenaza para su hogar?

- ☐ Conflictos armados
- ☐ Protestas
- ☐ Violencia por maras
- ☐ Robos
- ☐ Vandalismo
- ☐ Fraude
- ☐ Amenazas
- ☐ Tráfico de drogas
- ☐ Secuestros
- ☐ Extorsiones
- ☐ Abuso policial
- ☐ Otro _____

P15 ¿En su opinión, qué causa la violencia? Favor enumerar las 3 causas principales, colocando el número 1 en la causa mayor

- | | |
|---|-------------------------|
| ____ Inseguridad alimentaria | ____ Falta de educación |
| ____ Corrupción | ____ Desigualdad |
| ____ Pobreza | ____ Falta de empleos |
| ____ Falta de acceso a servicios públicos (agua, salud, infraestruc.) | ____ Otros |

P16 Favor seleccionar la respuesta más adecuada

	Totalmente de Acuerdo	De Acuerdo	Ni de Acuerdo ni en Desacuerdo	Disagree	Totalmente en Desacuerdo	No Sé
Me siento seguro caminando por mi vecindario en la noche.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Me siento seguro cuando estoy solo en mi casa en la noche.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
El nivel de violencia en las calles ha aumentado los últimos dos años.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
A veces oigo balazos de armas de fuego en mi vecindario.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
La policía reduce el nivel de violencia en las calles.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Puedo confiar en la policía.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Hay muchos desempleados en mi vecindario.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Los adolescentes van a la escuela regularmente.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>