Prizewinning Dissertation 2018

No.18-IS

"As devastating as any war"?: Discursive trends and policy-making in aid to Central America's Northern Triangle

Isabella Shraiman

Department of International Development

London School of Economics and Political Science

Houghton Street

London

WC2A 2AE UK

Tel: +44 (020) 7955 7425/6252

Fax: +44 (020) 7955-6844

Email: d.daley@lse.ac.uk

Website: http://www.lse.ac.uk/internationalDevelopment/home.aspx

MSc in International Development and Humanitarian Emergencies 2018

Dissertation submitted in partial fulfilment of the requirements of the degree

"As devastating as any war"?: Discursive trends and policy-making in aid to Central America's Northern Triangle

Word Count: 10,099

ABSTRACT

This dissertation investigates what factors and assumptions shape how the context of chronic violence in the NTCA is problematized by aid actors, and how this problem definition sets aid agendas. Taking Foucault's framework of discourse as productive, the research features a mixed methods content analysis of aid documents. Three interlocking factors are identified: bureaucratic politics, philosophies of aid, and geopolitical interests act as discursive formations, or 'rules', structuring and limiting what is imagined and said about the situation in the NTCA, and linking problematization discourse around the NTCA to aid programming on the ground.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Abbreviations

CARSI – Central America Regional Security Initiative

CSO – Civil Society Organization

ECHO – European Civil Protection and Humanitarian Aid Operations

ICRC – International Committee of the Red Cross

IHL – International Humanitarian Law

IO – International Organization

IPA – Interpretive Policy Analysis

MSF – Médecins Sans Frontières

NGO – Non-Governmental Organization

NTCA – Northern Triangle of Central America

SGBV – Sexual and Gender Based Violence

USAID – United States Agency for International Aid

USDOS – United States Department of State

Table of Contents

I.   INTRODUCTION

This dissertation will investigate how discursive frames impact policymaking in aid to the Northern Triangle of Central America (NTCA). The human imperative demands that the depth of human suffering in this be made visible and alleviated. Current aid frameworks must be challenged to make room for impactful response in non-traditional contexts of violence. The purpose of this research is to identify and critically assess how different factors in the aid system inform the construction of a response and the implementation of aid in non-traditional contexts of violence, in order to challenge static definitions of emergency and contribute to an understanding of aid as socially constructed. By looking at the case of the NTCA, where levels of violence exceed the mortality rates seen in some war zones; where economic, social, and infrastructural development has been slowed or even reversed due to high rates of violence; and which is seeing patterns of displacement and migration similar to regions affected by civil war, this dissertation aims to contribute to the understanding of the dynamics between conceptual framing and policy design in aid interventions. The focus on a non-traditional situation of violence is relevant because non-conflict violence causes over six times more fatalities worldwide than armed conflict (Geneva Declaration Secretariat, 2015). The study of an outlier case over a more traditional example of a humanitarian crisis allows for the observation of discursive formations and their impact on policy design because the NTCA does not pigeonhole neatly into existing models and protocols. Analysing the processes by which aid actors problematize the contexts into which aid is channelled, whether or not they are labelled a humanitarian emergency, how emergency is imagined, and the relationship between problem definition and design of aid policy is key to a more nuanced understanding of the international aid system and the outcomes of its programming on the communities it aims to help.

Research Aim

The main question being investigated in this dissertation is thus: *what factors shape how the situation in the NTCA is conceptualized, and how does this impact the design and implementation of aid policy to the region?* The research seeks to identify the discursive trends in how different actors in the aid space problematize and prescribe solutions to the NTCA, and what factors function to shape these discursive formations and policymaking processes. To this end, a quantitative and a qualitative content analysis of donor, NGO, IO, and other aid actor documentation was used to map discursive trends around representation and treatment of the situation in the NTCA. The trends identified in this content analysis were then analysed to

extrapolate factors active in shaping aid discourse in the NTCA, and linked to larger sectoral debates around the 'emergency imaginary', the purpose of aid, and the importance of framing in policy design. **This dissertation argues that a trifecta of factors – bureaucratic politics, aid philosophies, and geopolitical constraints – act as the rules by which different actors structure their discourse around the NTCA, and shape aid policies designed and implemented to treat the issue of chronic violence in the region.** The NTCA is only recently reappearing on the radar for development academics: aid money has been thrown at the region without a nuanced understanding of the phenomena of violence experienced there, and so academics – in conjunction with communities – are stepping into this operational blind spot to co-produce alternative narratives of security and violence in this space (J. Pearce, personal communication, July 3, 2018). This research aims to contribute to this effort by analysing problematization discourse and its impact on aid policy, by conducting an original analysis of NTCA aid documents.

Essay Plan

This essay begins by briefly defining the key concepts. It then presents a literature review of the theoretical frameworks which informed the approach and methodology. A detailed methodological section follows, outlining the research process and approach to the content analysis. Then, the case of the NTCA and current aid work in the region is presented, before continuing with the findings of the quantitative and qualitative document analyses. Next, the analysis chapter discusses the discursive trends presented in Chapter V and develops the argument. Finally, this dissertation concludes with a reflection on the importance of framing on aid policymaking.

1.2 Definitions

Both 'aid' and 'violence' are multifaceted terms which are interrogated throughout the paper. To a certain degree their elusive nature is central to the research question at hand: how actors define aid and violence in the context of the NTCA shape their discursive problematizations of the situation and therefore inform the type of policy they pursue.

Aid

Aid in this dissertation is used as a catch-all term referring to development, humanitarian, and military assistance, given by donor governments, multilateral organizations, IOs, and international and local NGOs. It is also used to refer to development and humanitarian programming, expertise transfers, in-kind grants, and development loans. While the author recognizes the huge variety and nuanced distinctions being grouped together, the umbrella term is useful to holistically represent assistance aimed at treating the violence in the NTCA. The ways in which different types of aid policy is developed and implemented is at the heart of this investigation, so casting a wide net to include as many different programming permutations is useful to providing a comprehensive but still granular analysis of how different actors formulate policy in aid to the NTCA.

Violence

The most important element of the conception of violence used throughout this research is the idea of violence as the opposite of peace (Pearce, 2016). Informed by the field of human security, this dissertation seeks to avoid inputting assumptions about the nature of violence grounded in certain social ontologies associated with pre-shaped concepts of organized violence or war. This allows for difference in experience of violence according to time and space, culture, and experience, and avoids creating hierarchy of victims based on what is seen as conventional armed violence (Idler, 2017). The concept of chronic violence is especially useful for discussing the situation in the NTCA. Violence is chronic when it is reproduced across time and social spaces, from the intimate, to the community, to the nation state itself, and is maintained at higher than average levels compared globally (J. Pearce, personal communication, July 3, 2018). When the term violence is used throughout this dissertation, it is informed by this idea of chronic violence and the variety of expressions violence takes. Conceptualizing the NTCA as chronic violence acts as a link to the idea of the humanitarian/development nexus, placing this case firmly to the ambiguous grey zone between two modes of aid.

II.   LITERATURE REVIEW

This dissertation draws on thinking from a variety of different fields, especially humanitarian studies, violence and conflict studies, and framing theory. This chapter aims to briefly review the main approaches from each of these three fields which form the theoretical and methodological basis for this study.

Humanitarian Studies: Social Constructionism, Principles, and Emergency Discourse

Humanitarianism as a concept and a practice is socially constructed, which simultaneously is defined by and reinforces definitions of suffering, appropriate response, scales of compassion, and relationships to beneficiaries (Gordon & Donini, 2015). Only certain types of suffering are defined as a humanitarian emergency, usually in ways which cast the event as apolitical, sudden, and mediate the humanitarian-donor-viewer's proximity to the event (Calhoun, 2010). These humanitarian events necessitate a certain form of response reliant on a white saviour model of international aid, effacing the capacity of local or regional bodies to respond and triggering massive influxes of outside money and goods into a region, with mixed effects. Another key point in the humanitarian literature is the debate surrounding the humanitarian-development nexus. The humanitarian arena is being crowded by various players with different interpretations of the goal of humanitarianism - Dunantist alleviation of suffering versus Wilsonian activist approaches; the role of the principles; and the threshold for and design of interventions (Sezgin & Dijkzeul, 2015)(Barnett & Weiss, 2011). Actors' interpretation of the purpose and limitations of humanitarianism also impact the labelling of an event as a humanitarian emergency.

There are two main factors at play in the labelling of emergency: conscious label manipulation and the unconscious effect of the 'emergency imaginary' as theorized by Craig Calhoun (2010). The former refers back to questions around the political utility of labelling or not labelling an event an emergency, according to the security, economic, or institutional interests of involved parties (Charny, 2009)(Duffield et al., 2001). The latter explores the ways in which humanitarians imagine crisis against a background of 'ostensible normalcy' (Calhoun, 2010). Calhoun's theory of the 'emergency imaginary' can be related to the concept of trauma discourse in emergency management, where the process of framing an event as 'traumatic' is an act of normalization, in the sense that the labelling as trauma renders the event governable by imposing established knowledge upon it (Brasset &Vaughan-Williams, 2012). This label triggers a series of procedures and logics to manage the event, like government coordination, international

intervention, humanitarian mobilization, etc. Even though the discourse surrounding traumatic events emphasizes the exceptionalism of the event, the labelling process is an act of normalization, because 'trauma' and 'emergency' as concepts have come to function as a "grid of intelligibility around which a range of practices, discourses, perceptions, and interventions to manage catastrophic events are structured and organized" (Brasset & Vaughan-Williams, 2012, p.4).

What is or is not labelled a humanitarian emergency has enormous impact on the degree and type of support channelled to survivors: this dissertation is not aimed at evaluating the effectiveness of international aid in the NTCA or in general, but rather at unpacking how the label of 'humanitarian emergency' is bestowed and analysing how this labelling (or lack thereof) shapes aid policy. Questions of what kinds of actors get to decide this; what factors influence discursive problematization of an aid context; the political utility of labelling emergency; and how discursive shifts in the humanitarian arena impact the social construction of the humanitarian concept are therefore central to this research.

Multiple Violences: Towards a More Inclusive Conceptualization of Harm

Violence as a phenomenon is the opposite of peace, a "medium of communication in social and political realms" (Pearce, 2016, p. 32). The form of conflict can change across time, space and cultures because "violence is systemic in nature but unique in its expression" (Idler, 2017)(Arévalo de León & Tager, 2016, p. 23). Violence has changed in terms of monopolies on violence (Kapferer, 2005); of whose security is targeted; of scope of violence from interstate to civil to undeclared wars (World Bank, 2011); of levels of violence (Goldstein, 2012); of sites of violence (EIUSS-IDRC, 2012); and of the types of violence considered cause for concern (Idler, 2017). Focus has expanded from conventional to non-conventional violence, from political to social violence: however, in reality these are fluid categories which are overlapping in action and produce hybrid actors[1] and manifestations of violence (Unger, Dudouet, Dressler, & Austin, 2016). Academics have called for conceptualizing a plurality of violences, with feedback loops between them, in order to design policy which will better protect victims from the multiplicity

---

[1] Anecdotal evidence from the NTCA exemplifies the ambiguity between victim and perpetrator characteristic of contexts of chronic violence, with accounts of young boys forcibly recruited into gangs, committing various violences, before being extrajudiciously murdered by security forces while asleep in bed (Pearce 2018).

of violences they may experience at the intimate, community, or national level, and to make room for analysis of non-traditional contexts which nonetheless experience the symptoms of chronic violence (Pearce, 2016).

In addition to engaging with a wide and nuanced definitional framework for violence, the question of what motivates violence is also important. "Violences reproduce and mutate in everyday lives, particularly in those of the poorest" (Pearce, 2016, p.32), underlining the developmental roots of violences which cannot be ignored in looking at the humanitarian implications of a situation like the NTCA. Developmental theorists like Joan Maria Esteban and Debraj Ray (2017) and Edward Miguel (2004; 2007) have written extensively on the nature of the relationship between poverty and violence, highlighting the role of inequality as trigger, while the Greed versus Grievance theories have been debated at length to establish the motivation for individual engagement in violence (see Hoeffler, 2011; Collier & Hoeffler ,2002; Keen, 2000). In addition to economic factors, it is important to include urban grievances and social exclusion in understandings of violence (Unger, Dudouet, Dressler, & Austin, 2016).

The questions raised by this literature around the multiple expressions of and causes of violence are important to understanding how different actors interpret the chronic violence in the NTCA and how this impacts their problematization and treatment of the situation. The reduction of this case to just a singular type of violence with a singular motivation erases the complexity of the context, hindering actors' ability to design interventions which sufficiently protect victims and address the root causes of the chronic violence.

Framing Theory and Discourse Analysis: How Interpretation and Labelling Impacts Policymaking

The primary assertion of framing theory is that any issue or event can be viewed from different perspectives, with different implications for opinion or policy (Chong & Druckman, 2007). Issue frames are defined as "structures of ideas that we use to understand the world" (Lakoff & Wehling, 2012, p.2) or "persistent patterns of cognition, interpretation, and presentation, of selection, emphasis, and exclusion" which impact how events are understood and reacted to (Goffman, 1974, p.7). According to framing theorist Robert M. Entman, "to frame is to select some aspects of perceived reality and make them more salient in a communicating text, in such a way as to promote a particular problem definition, causal interpretation, moral evaluation, and/or treatment recommendation for the item described'' (1993, p.52).

Framing theory can be applied to the aid sector in order to understand how and why certain events are problematized, and why certain policies are prescribed in certain contexts. In addition to framing theory, this study also draws from the methodology of policy discourse analysis, specifically from Interpretive Policy Analysis (IPA) to understand how meaning is produced, framed, and communicated in policy (Yannow, 2000) and therefore how this shapes the design, implementation, and impact of aid policy in the NTCA. If policy-making is understood as a social process based on assumptions and situational sense-making, not a rational process based on objective facts, then it becomes crucial to analyse the assumptions underlying the framing of the *problématique* in order to understand the design choices made.

The principles of framing theory can be linked to the Foucauldian concept of productive discourse. In Foucault's seminal methodological work, *The Archaeology of Knowledge*, he explores the idea of discursive formations, or a "complex group of relations that function as a rule: it lays down what must be related, in a particular discursive practice…for such and such a concept to be used, for such and such a strategy to be organized" (1969, p.74). One of the most powerful processes of discursive formations are the rules of inclusion and exclusion, which govern what can or cannot be said about a subject (p.216). According to Foucault, discourse is productive: this means that the language used to describe a situation shapes the problem to be solved. This creates a direct causal relationship between the language used to problematize a situation and the policy enacted to treat it. A Foucault-inspired analysis is relevant to understand how and why different actors interpret and speak of the situation in the NTCA in different ways, and how different discourses around the violence address different facets and generate different policy proposals. To this end, this dissertation will loosely follow the steps laid out by Kendall and Wickham (1999) for a Foucauldian discourse analysis and seek to understand the 'rules' (or factors or assumptions) which govern how different actors represent and respond to the chronic violence in the NTCA.

III. METHODOLOGY

This investigation adopts a mixed methods content analysis, analysing a series of documents relevant to aid programmes in the NTCA, in order to identify discursive trends around problematization of the NTCA and map the relationships between problematization and aid policy design. These findings are then used to analyse the impact which problem framing has on aid policy to the NTCA, and the factors at work in structuring discourse and policy in the region. A content analysis is an appropriate methodology for the research aim of this dissertation because it represents a systematic and replicable way (Riffe, Lacy, & Fico, 1998) to identify and map discursive formations and investigate the sense-making processes which influence how aid policy is designed in the NTCA. As per IR theorist Arash Heydarian Pashakhanlou's contention, the methodology combined quantitative, qualitative, manual, and computer-assisted techniques in research to maximize the validity of the findings (2017).

It is important here to note the limitations of a content analysis. As a documentary analysis of the discourses present in project proposals, operational reports, and strategy documents, it does not seek to measure impact on the ground or to provide evaluations of the types of discursive formations and subsequent aid treatments identified through the research. Evaluating the effectiveness of aid to the NTCA is beyond the scope of this dissertation, but further research linking discourse to impact evaluations would provide a valuable extension of the arguments made here.

Research began with a scoping literature review to identify relevant theoretical frameworks, appropriate methodological approach, and structure the research questions and line of inquiry. Background research into the NTCA was also conducted at this stage to identify key debates in aid policy and map current programming in the region, including a comprehensive review of aid funding to the region. Next, a few open-ended interviews were conducted with selected practitioners and academics to ensure that the research plan aligned with both realities on the ground and contemporary theoretical debates and would thus serve as a valuable contribution to the field. Following this methodological validation, the content analyses were conducted and the results analysed. Many of the insights gleaned from these conversations also served to inform the analysis and develop the argument explaining the trends in discourse and aid policy observed in the documents. The following chapter seeks to provide a detailed explanation for the methodology employed.

A) Document Selection

Sixty-six documents were coded and analysed for this research (full list at Appendix I). The documents range from 2010 to 2017, a timeframe which corresponds with the intensification of violence in the NTCA and of corresponding anti-violence programming in the region. The documents were used to represent actors' interpretation of the situation in the NTCA. Projects and actors were identified through a comprehensive review of aid funding reports (see Chapter IVb) from the UN Financial Tracking System, ECHO, USAID, IADB, and WB budget documents as well as a Refworld search of anti-violence programmes in the NTCA and conversations with practitioners in the region; documents were sourced from the projects and actors identified in the budgetary review. The documents surveyed are by no means exhaustive of all of the organizations and projects being run in the NTCA. However, they do aim to provide a diversity of examples, ranging from large-scale international organizations to local community groups, encompassing a variety of programming approaches, and funded by both large institutional donors as well as small individual private donors. The sources analysed were selected to provide a variety of document types, including strategic plans, operations reports, donor reporting, online project pamphlets, fact sheets, and budgetary documents. All of the documents are publically available. Most were sourced directly from organizations' websites or archives, and the others from the database Refworld using keyword searches such as <Northern Triangle violence prevention>, <Northern Triangle programming>, <Central America humanitarian project>, and <Central America development project>. The selected documents were split into three groups according to type of actor: US agencies, including government bodies and government-funded contractors (30); IOs (18); and NGOs, including both large international and small local actors (18). These groups were used to identify trends in the discourse and enhance comparability across documents. The logic behind such a grouping was based on origin of funding, with the NGO group differentiated from IOs based on need for competitive fundraising and use of private donors.

Two limitations must be mentioned at this point. Firstly, a small amount of the documents analysed were only available in Spanish. In order to ensure comparability across documents in different languages, the quantitative analysis was duplicated in Spanish. For the qualitative analysis, only English language sources were used in order to ensure that variation in nuance and tone was consistently coded. Secondly, was the issue of availability of documents, as different actors had different types/amounts of documents publically available. Some of the smaller actors only provide brief synopses of ongoing projects on their websites, while others, like MSF, USAID, or ECHO have detailed operations reports or strategy documents published

online. In order to account for this variation in length and detail of documents, the author chose to increase the sample size and type variety of documents analysed.

B) Quantitative analysis

The quantitative portion of the content analysis was performed using the language coding software Nvivo 12. This software was selected because early research into quantitative methods for content analysis and reading of papers with similar methodologies suggested it to be an appropriate tool for this type of analysis. This content analysis sought to answer two main questions: How is the situation in the NTCA represented and problematized? What solutions are proposed? To this end, the author created two trees (problematization and solutions), and conducted a word frequency search of all 66 documents to establish nodes along each tree. Once the nodes were identified, the author conducted a text search of all documents to track frequency of words or phrases associated with each node (see Tables 3.b.1 and 3.b.2) and thus identify what type of language was being used to represent and treat violence in the NTCA. These words and phrases were then coded as sub-nodes. For the documents in Spanish, key words within each node were translated into Spanish and run in the same text searches.

Table 3.b.1 – Problematization of Violence Tree

Node	Sub-Nodes
Criminality	Crime; gang; drug; trafficking; narcotics; extortion; homicide; murder; *crimen; maras; drogas; tráfico; narcóticos; extorsión; homicidio; asesinato*
Security	Security; insecurity; threat; *seguridad; inseguridad; amenaza*
Poverty	Poverty; poor; underdeveloped; inequality; unemployment; informal; malnutrition; *pobreza; pobre; subdesarrollado; desigualdad; desempleado; informal; desnutrición*

Human Rights	Human rights; sexual assault; sexual violence; femicide; gender violence; *derechos humanos; asalto sexual; violencia sexual; femicídio; violencia de genero*
Poor Governance	Corruption; bribery; governance; impunity; *corrupción; soborno; gobernación; impunidad*
Population Movement	Migrant; migrate; flee; stateless; asylum; *migrante; migrar; escapar; sin estado; asilo*
Humanitarian Emergency	Emergency; humanitarian; crisis; refugee; urgent; *urgencia; humanitario; crisis; refugiado; urgente*

Table 3.b.2 – Prescribed Solutions Tree

Node	Sub-Nodes
Economic Growth	Growth; economy; jobs; skills; employment; private sector; *crecimiento; economía; empleo; habilidades; sector privado*
Civil Society	Advocacy; activist; civil society; community group; *abogacía; activista; sociedad civil; grupos comunitarios*
Institutional Reform	Reform; institutional capacity; judiciary; justice; rule of law; legislate; *reforma; capacidad institucional; judicial; justicia; imperio de la ley; legislar*
Policing/Security Solutions	Police; prison; prosecute; incarceration; military; army; security sector; intelligence; *policía; cárcel; enjuiciar; encarcelación; ejército; sector de seguridad; inteligencia*
Protection	Protection; safeguard; refuge; *protección, refugio; salvaguardar*

The data collected from the text searches were used to create hierarchy charts for each group to determine the word frequency of each node and identify trends in language use along each tree (see figures in Chapter 5.a). Next, hierarchy charts for each individual document were created used to inform a manual rating for node intensity according to a numerical scale (see Table 3.b.3). Value was assigned based on the document's Nvivo hierarchy chart, but also on document theme, length, and tone in order to accurately capture the intensity of the language coded at each node.

Table 3.b.3 – Language Intensity Scale

0	No references coded
1	Barely Intense
2	Somewhat Intense
3	Intense
4	Very Intense
5	Extremely Intense

The group average at each node was taken and used to create radar charts using Microsoft Excel which demonstrate the node intensity for each type of actor's documents (see figures in Chapter Va). These charts show what type of language is used by different types of actors when they represent the situation in the NTCA and what types of language are used to discuss solutions arising from the problematization. Because this intensity scale was manually coded, some degree of subjectivity was unavoidable. In order to limit this element of human error, the documents were independently coded by a second researcher and the results discussed and harmonized.

C. Qualitative analysis

Following the quantitative content analysis described above, the author conducted an IPA and a Foucauldian discourse analysis to generate thicker description and deepen analysis of how violence in the NTCA is represented and treated and what this tells us about power and decision-making in the aid space. For the IPA, two documents from each actor group were selected for a closer critical reading. The actors were selected based on size of operations and degree of focus

on violence response or violence-prevention programming, and the degree of detail available from their documents. These documents were coded accorded to IPA methodology as discussed in the literature review and aimed to identify the different discourses surrounding violence in the NTCA. The documents were 'interviewed' according to the following questions:

1. <u>How is the situation in the NTCA represented?</u> How is the violence problematized? How do the documents present the cause of the problem, and why is it that they consider it a problem?

2. <u>What treatment follows from this problematization of the NTCA?</u> What are the necessary solutions and why? What are the objectives and priorities of this solution?

3. <u>What plan of action is designed to achieve these objectives?</u> What instruments are prescribed? Who are the primary problem solvers?

Finally, the discursive trends identified through the quantitative analysis and IPA were analysed according to Foucauldian discourse analysis principles. The discourses were analysed in light of power relationships within and across aid actors to understand why and how these discourses are produced. Specific power relationships explored were organizational structure, institutional mandates and values, and geopolitical and aid politics contexts.

IV. CASE STUDY

Background and History of the Region

The case of the NTCA illustrates many of the themes around defining violence and conceptualizing the role of humanitarianism which were discussed in Chapter II. The NTCA fits within the larger context of Latin America, which "as the most urbanised region of the global South, with a prolonged history of wars, civil wars, military dictatorships, organised state repression, insurgencies, criminal and interpersonal and gendered violences…brings into sharp focus the way these 'plural violences' intersect" (Pearce, 2016, p.33). The homicide rates in the NTCA rival the mortality rates of active war zones, including Syria (Siegfried, 2016). The chronic violence has also caused mass forced displacement of people fleeing violence in pursuit of safe haven and economic opportunities to support their families: an estimated 10% of the NTCA's 30 million population had emigrated as of 2016 (Siegfried, 2016). Violence in the NTCA is not only experienced as homicide, but is expressed in a variety of ways in different spaces in society. Territorial wars over neighbourhoods and trafficking routes are a part of everyday life, as is the forced recruitment of young boys and the use of threats of violence in schools and other public places as a tool of community control (Cara Labrador & Renwick, 2018)(Eguizábal et al., 2015). The gangs, known as *maras*, use extortion of local businesses to fund their activities and cement control over their territories: a 2015 investigation by Honduran newspaper *La Prensa* found that citizens of the NTCA paid an estimated $651 million USD in extortion rents per year (*La Prensa,* 2015). Extremely high rates of SGBV, femicide, and domestic abuse extend chronic violence into the intimate and private spheres.

The legacies of past violences is only one of many factors causing the current state of chronic violence seen today in the NTCA: weak rule of law, corruption, and the growth of criminal networks formed in US cities and extending throughout Central America also play a role (Cara Labrador & Renwick, 2018). The prominence of criminal networks is due to geopolitical factors, like US policies of deporting violent criminals; high US demand for illegal drugs; War on Drug policies in Mexico and Colombia which relocated drug routes instead of eliminating them; and unchecked trafficking of firearms from the US to the NTCA due to lax regulations (Eguizábal et al., 2015). Institutions and the rule of law are extremely weak in the region: Transparency International ranks all three NTCA countries in its bottom half of its

corruption perception rankings (Transparency International, 2016). Levels of corruption and impunity are very high, especially in the police force and judiciary: up to 95% of crimes in gang-controlled areas go unpunished (Eguizábal et al., 2015). This contributes to the widespread lack of trust in the national police and militaries, which have not been seriously reformed since their massive human rights abuses in the civil war period[2] (Cara Labrador & Renwick, 2018).

Current aid to the NTCA

Aid to the NTCA has evolved greatly over time depending on geopolitical contexts, donor objectives, and global attention. Aid in the 1990s emphasized reconstruction and market integration after the region's devastating civil wars, but as the criminal networks discussed above took root and flourished in the NTCA and larger patterns of securitization unfolded, aid to the area, especially American aid, took an increasingly securitized edge. The Mérida Initiative was a US security and policing aid strategy in Central America, the Caribbean and Mexico founded under President Bush to combat drug trafficking and organized crime and encourage judicial reform, anti-corruption activities, maritime security and institution building. In 2010 under the Obama administration, this was spun off to form CARSI (continued by the current administration), which focuses on policing and security and judicial sector reform to combat organized crime in Central America. According to USDOS's CARSI factsheet from August 2010, CARSI's five goals are to:

1. Create safe streets for the citizens in the region;
2. Disrupt the movement of criminals and contraband within and between the nations of Central America;
3. Support the development of strong, capable and accountable Central American governments;
4. Re-establish effective state presence and security in communities at risk; and
5. Foster enhanced levels of security and rule of law coordination and cooperation between the nations of the region

---

[2] While Honduras does not have the same legacy of civil war, it was used as the base for the US-backed contras in the Nicaraguan civil war, suffered a coup in 2009 and endured a severely contested election in 2017, generating many of the same problems with the institutionalization of violence and corruption as in Guatemala and El Salvador (Cara Labrador & Renwick, 2018).

Apart from USDOS's counter-narcotics programming, most of the aid work in the region is framed as development, focusing on economic empowerment of women and indigenous minorities; skills training for unemployed youth; judicial sector and rule of law reforms; and CSO mobilization over humanitarian approaches to relief of suffering engendered by the "epidemic of violence" (Siegfried, 2016). Only a few organizations, like the ICRC and MSF, are running the types of humanitarian programs seen in other high-violence places like war zones. Because the situation in the NTCA is mostly conflated with criminal violence, this produces dilemmas for aid organizations on how to respond to the suffering. Many organizations have taken to using the catch-all phrase 'other situation of violence" to describe the phenomenon witnessed in the NTCA, in recognition that "conventional distinctions between violence caused by armed conflict or war and that caused by criminal violence has become blurred across the region in terms of its humanitarian impact on the civilian population" (Assessment Capacities Project, 2014, p.1). However, even labelling the NTCA a humanitarian crisis does not necessarily produce humanitarian programming, since criminal violence is not defined as armed violence under IHL and other norms governing humanitarian practice. This creates issues in negotiating access or ensuring safety of humanitarian workers because the work isn't covered under IHL and host governments are reluctant to accept humanitarian aid (Siegfried, 2016).

As a part of the research, the author conducted a review of funding documents of major donors and of major reporting systems[3] in order to ascertain the degree of money being channelled to humanitarian versus development versus military aid (see Appendix II). As evidenced by the charts below, humanitarian aid represents only a fraction of funding channelled to the NTCA: the reasons for this will be explored at length in Chapter VI. It must also be noted that this aid has been delivered in a historical context of declining aid to Latin America, especially from non-US donors, but also from the US (Siegfried, 2016).

---

[3] This included USAID reporting, ECHO, UN Financial Tracking System, and WB and IADB records for the period 2010 to 2017. DFID reporting was also reviewed, but the author found no record of any funding of anti-violence work in the NTCA for the period under study.

V. FINDINGS

A) Quantitative Content Analysis[4]

According to the content analysis methodology described in Chapter III, graphs were produced to map different discursive patterns in the language used to represent the violence and to derive solutions for this problematization of the situation in the NTCA[5]. Figure 5.a.1 clearly illustrates the very distinct discourses which the different types of actors use to represent the chronic violence in the NTCA, where the numbers along the radial axes represent the language intensity scale described in Table 3.b.3.

Figure 5.a.1 – Discursive Representation of the Situation in the NTCA
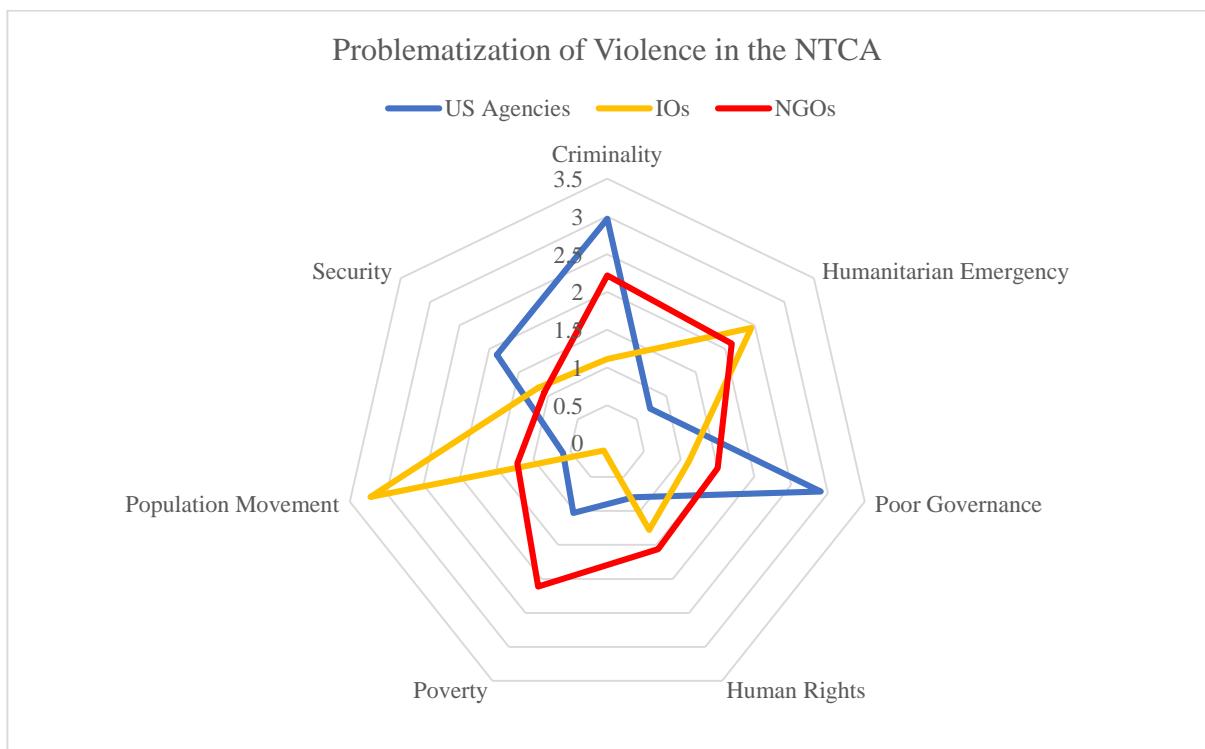
US Agencies emphasize criminality and poor governance, with almost no reference to the situation as a humanitarian crisis. IO discourse emphasizes population movement and to a

---

[4] All graphs in this chapter are represented in tabular form in Appendix III.
[5] For Nvivo hierarchy charts showing frequency of each node per group of documents, see Appendix IV.

lesser degree, humanitarian emergency, with very little discussion of root causes like poverty and poor governance. NGOs present the most balanced discourse, with lesser degrees of intensity at all nodes, but still emphasizing poverty, criminality, and humanitarian emergency as the major discursive trends in the documents.

The second test was run to identify the discursive trends around the solutions prescribed by actors, which logically derive from the framing discourses presented above. Figure 5.a.2 illustrates the language used to discuss treatments for the situation in the NTCA[6].

Figure 5.a.2 – Prescribed Treatment for Violence in the NTCA
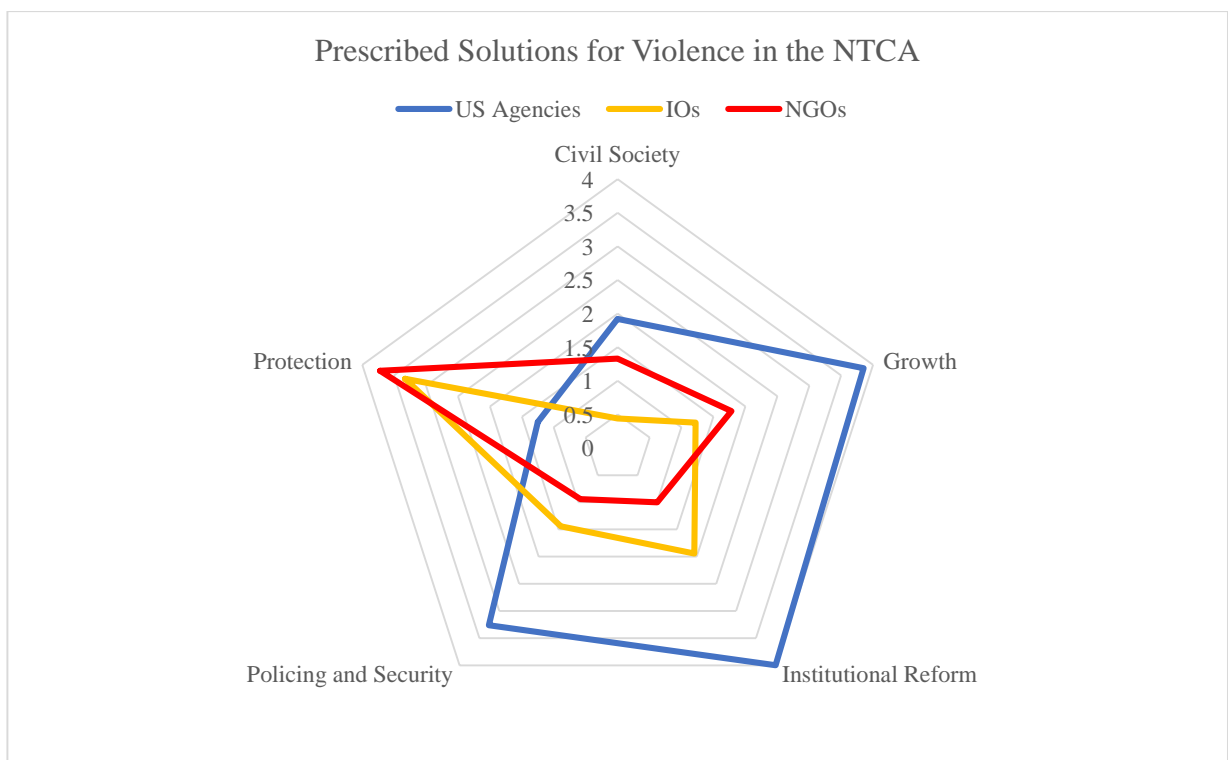
US Agencies prescribe a broad program encompassing policing and security solutions, institutional reform at the national level, economic growth and market integration, and to a lesser extent, civil society strengthening. Protection is essentially absent from these programs, which is in line with their discursive framing of the situation which does not recognize the violence as a humanitarian emergency. IOs and NGOs present similarly narrow-focused solutions heavily emphasizing protection, which also matches their framing of the NTCA as a

---

[6] For Nvivo hierarchy charts showing frequency of each node per group of documents, see Appendix IV.

humanitarian emergency. However, IO solutions slant slightly towards policing/security solutions and institutional reform, which resonates with their discursive problematization of the population movement, and the inability of current systems to cope with the migratory flows of people. Meanwhile, NGOs tend slightly towards growth and civil society development, fitting with their framing of the situation stemming from poverty and governance failures.

B) Qualitative

A qualitative IPA was performed on six of the documents coded in order to deepen the understanding of the types of discursive frames used to represent and treat violence in the NTCA. The methodology for this analysis is described in Chapter IIIc. The findings of the qualitative content analysis support the framings identified by the quantitative tests, but add nuance and detail to the different actors' causal models of the problem, relationship to the violence, and the objectives embedded in the prescribed solutions.

US Agencies

The US agency documents coded for the IPA were the USDOS Strategy for Engagement in Central America under the Obama Administration and the USAID Central America and Mexico Regional Development Strategy for 2015-2019. The discursive trends identified in the qualitative analysis largely align with those found in the quantitative analysis, namely an emphasis on the criminal nature of the violence (see Figure 5.a.1), with the insecurity caused by gangs representing "by far the greatest threat" to US interests and security (USAID Regional Development Strategy, p.5). Both documents pinpoint increasing migratory flows as informing US aid strategy to the region. USAID identifies five key developmental challenges in the region: ineffective governance; insecurity specifically related to criminal violence; slow economic growth and failure to integrate into larger markets; climate change and vulnerability to natural disasters; and the prevalence of HIV/AIDs. The documents show how causal model their authors developed with three of these challenges: economic stagnation, poor governance, and violence are mapped as parallel processes, with violence performing reinforcing feedback loops into the other two factors, which together cause migration towards the US.

This problematization of the situation in the NTCA as criminal violence, poor governance, and economic stagnation creating a security threat to the US informs the solutions proposed in these documents. The analysis showed that these US agencies aimed to "promote regional

prosperity through regional integration, deepen security cooperation to reduce gang violence and the influence of organized crime, and provide technical assistance to promote good governance and fiscal management", aligning neatly with the problematization laid out above (USDOS, p.4). The development hypothesis of such a policy objective is that increasing regional free trade and market integration will stimulate growth and create new opportunities, while governance and police reforms will increase citizen security, both of which will combine to promote more participation in the NTCA economy and thus dampen migration flows to the US. The solutions discourse pulled from these documents – growth, institutional reform, and policing and security – match the results of the quantitative test (see Figure 5.a.2).

The last step of the IPA was to identify the plan of action proposed to achieve these solutions, yielding a strategy which is essentially a combination of market liberalization and War on Drugs tactics. US agencies heavily promote private sector investment as the main vehicle for change (USDOS, Strategy for Central America - Obama). Three main types of programs are prescribed for the NTCA: prosperity or growth programs, security programs, and governance programs. The prosperity programs promote trade facilitation under existing free trade agreements; increased regional coordination of customs, border control, and law enforcement; improved primary and secondary education and vocational training; and business development through easier access to financial credit, markets, and supply chains. Security programs include professionalization reforms for police forces and increased counter-narcotics efforts through attacking supply chains and coordinating border security. Governance programs aim to target corruption; increase judiciary capacity and transparency; increase prison capacity; professionalize the civil service; strengthen CSOs; and improve fiscal capacity.

International Organizations

The IO documents analysed for the IPA were the ICRC Migration Factsheet for North and Central America and the ECHO Operations Factsheet for Central America and Mexico. The representations of violence identified included intense use of an emergency discourse, with ECHO describing a situation of near constant "silent emergency" on a scale similar to war zones, causing mass forced displacement and lack of access to basic services (ECHO, Central America and Mexico Factsheet, p.1-2). The ICRC did not refer to in-country conditions as an emergency but does label the conditions along migration routes, including detention, as a humanitarian crisis and refers to principles of IHL and *non-refoulement*. This use of an

emergency discourse and emphasis on population movement in problematizing the violence in the NTCA fits with the results of the quantitative analysis (see Figure 5.a.1).

These documents indicated that IO objectives were to provide for the humanitarian needs of migrants and address systemic vulnerability through poverty reduction, capacity building, and access to basic services so as to reduce push factors for migration. The solutions discourse centred on protection of victims, with a secondary emphasis on institutional reform. The protection and institutional reform match the results of the quantitative tests, but neither of the documents referred to policing or security solutions, which was the third most intense node in the quantitative results (see Figure 5.a.2). The prevalence of policing solutions discourse in the quantitative analysis was due to the inclusion of WB and IADB documents for programs funding policing programs. However, the protection and institutional reform discourse do match with IO framing of the NTCA as an emergency and as a population movement issue. The plan of action developed in these documents require large-scale international aid, and include basic service provision, including health and education, and a reform of national and regional legal mechanisms for a rigorous application of IHL and refugee law to the case of NTCA migrants.

Non-Governmental Organizations

The NGO documents analysed were the NRC Honduras Country Programme, which began in December 2014 to provide aid to Hondurans displaced by violence, and the MSF Operational Report on the NTCA, which started providing humanitarian aid along migration routes in 2012. Both documents feature a heavy use of emergency discourse to describe the situation, saying that "organized violence has created a humanitarian crisis as devastating as any war" (NRC, Honduras 1, p.1). MSF compares the situation in the NTCA to its work in warzones, reporting a "pattern of violent displacement, persecution, sexual violence, and forced repatriation akin to the conditions found in the deadliest armed conflicts in the world today", where forced displacement is both a coping mechanism for violence at home, and another risk factor exposing migrants to additional violence and abuse from criminal gangs and national authorities (MSF, Northern Triangle Report, p.4). However, both documents also emphasize the unique nature of this "new kind of violence", stemming from crime as opposed to traditional warfare (NRC, Honduras 1, p.1). These documents portray a poverty-violence cycle triggering displacement, where lack of recognition of the NTCA as a humanitarian crisis escalates the intensity and suffering in the region. This problematization of the NTCA aligns

with the quantitative analysis, with intense discursive trends around emergency, poverty, and criminality (see Figure 5.a.1).

The IPA indicated that NGOs prescribe treatment around protection, civil society, and institutional reform. Protection programmes include access to medical services, education, and legal counsel for those impacted by the violence. Civil society programmes called for empowerment of migrants to advocate for their rights and respect for human rights and refugee law. Institutional reform programmes provided support to national governments in creating and implementing legal frameworks for protection of rights of displaced persons. These solutions fit with the results of the quantitative analysis, except for the missing element of growth programmes (see Figure 5.a.2). This discrepancy can be explained by the nature of the NGOs selected for the IPA: both NRC and MSF are primarily humanitarian organizations, whereas other organizations included in the quantitative analysis are double-mandate, meaning they are more likely to include economic development in their programming as opposed to these two examples.

VI. ANALYSIS

This Chapter aims to answer the research questions laid out in the introduction, and analyse how discourse shapes aid policy in the case of the NTCA.[7] The goal of this discussion is not to present recommendations for aid to the NTCA, but to understand how the discourses identified in Chapter V are formed, and what their implications are for aid policy in the region. This discussion highlights three main, interlocking factors shaping discourse around the NTCA: bureaucratic politics, organizational philosophy of aid, and geopolitical interests. While these three factors will be discussed separately, it is crucial to recognize their interdependent nature: an organization's mission values inform its internal bureaucratic processes, while the geopolitical interests of donors and the power relationships of the aid arena shape organizational goals and internal power dynamics.

A) Behind the frames: understanding how the NTCA is interpreted

As evidenced by the results of the content analysis, IOs and NGOs are significantly more likely to label the NTCA a humanitarian crisis than US agencies. This is due to the dynamics of the three factors listed above within and across each organization and type of organization. Internal bureaucracies, organizational aid philosophies, and geopolitics shape how each organization defines 'emergency', its own role in responding to emergency, and thus how it conceptualizes the situation in the NTCA and the types of aid policies it implements. These three themes emerged from conversations with practitioners and academics, close readings of documents, and application of theoretical frameworks described in Chapter II.

Bureaucratic Politics

The bureaucratic politics model was developed by international relations theorists to explain public policymaking, whereby policy outcomes arise from the results of bargaining games between small groups of government actors (see Allison, 1969). This model can be of use understanding policy outcomes in any sector featuring institutionalized decision-making,

---

[7] It must be emphasized here that the author does not aim to disparage any of the organizations surveyed, or to claim that any discursive interpretation or model of response is superior to any other.

and is particularly interesting in the aid sector when combined with the concept of the humanitarian arena developed by Dorothea Hilhorst and Bram Jansen, which characterizes the humanitarian space as site of everyday politics as well as aspirational principled service delivery (2010). This dissertation extends the concept of the humanitarian arena to development aid as well, which shares the aspirational element of humanitarianism in its desire to improve livelihoods. By combining the IR bureaucratic politics model with the concept of an aid arena, the author seeks to understand how the interplay between institutional processes and individuals' interests and opinions shape the framing of the NTCA and the subsequent interventions applied.

The documents present each organization's external positioning on the NTCA, but do not necessarily reflect the internal conversations about how to interpret and treat the situation. This dissertation does not aim to document or analyse these internal processes, but conversations with practitioners suggested that the internal bureaucracies of each organization does contribute to how the NTCA is problematized and therefore how each organization develops its response. For example, in an interview with an anonymous source who previously worked in a large INGO's Latin American regional office, the practitioner explained how the team had debated at length whether or not the NTCA presented a humanitarian crisis. The general consensus was that the suffering was of a humanitarian magnitude, but that because the NTCA context did not align with the organization's existing crisis model, it was decided not to switch to humanitarian programming and to instead continue the existing work in economic development and civil society empowerment of vulnerable communities (Anonymous, personal communication, May 25, 2018). This is not to imply that this organization ignored the escalating violence and insecurity in the NTCA, but rather that its programs were reframed and value added to target what the organization understood as the root causes of violence in the region. This episode demonstrates how the decision to label an event an emergency is in part a strategic process, influenced by the organization's self-perceived capacity to implement humanitarian programming in a given context, if shifting programming might decrease operational capacity and potentially challenge fundraising ability or raise issues of default on contractual requirements with donors or implementing partners.

Organizational priorities form another element of bureaucratic politics which impact how the situation in the NTCA is interpreted and responded to. These can be shaped both by the institutional values and interests of the organization itself, and by the values and interests of the individuals working within it. For example, a conversation with Oxfam's Honduras country director, George Redman, showed how Oxfam's institutional values impacts the

organization's conception of and response to the situation in the NTCA. Oxfam aims to eradicate poverty and enshrine respect for equality and human rights (Oxfam website, n.d.). The institutional values' emphasis on poverty reduction and a rights-based approach shapes how Oxfam defines humanitarian emergencies in general, and how it interprets the unique NTCA context: quantitative documentary analysis and the interview with Mr. Redman indicate that poverty is a recurrent discursive trend, and that prescribed solutions accordingly emphasize livelihoods and economic development and civil society activism alongside protection (see Figures 5.a.1 and 5.a.2)(G. Redman, personal communication, June 26, 2018). Another important element in understanding bureaucratic politics is organizational decision-making processes. While it falls outside the scope of this dissertation to investigate decision-making procedures in the organizations studied, it is theorized that chains of command, management practices, and decision-making authority, as well as funding and budgetary practices, relationships to donors, interactions with various [other] governmental bodies, and coordination among aid actors also impact how internal organizational bureaucracies function to frame the NTCA and develop aid policy to the region.

Philosophies of Aid

Philosophy of aid is used to refer to the combination of the mission statement and core values of an organization, the role of religious faith in organizational motivation (if applicable), where it sits on the humanitarian/development nexus, and how it interprets the role of humanitarianism. This self-reflective factor shapes the day-to-day decision making of an organization, as well as the framing processes used to define problems, interpret causes, and prescribe treatment for operational contexts like the NTCA. Organizational values can act to filter operational priorities and *modus operandi*, as well as shape how organizations build causal models of a situation. For example, many NGOs have a double mandate, which explains the secondary slant discovered through the content analysis towards growth and civil society strengthened in the types of solutions prescribed in the NTCA (see figure 5.a.2).

The same anonymous interviewee cited above highlighted one of the tensions at the heart of humanitarian work, which is replicated across contexts: humanitarianism as activism versus humanitarianism as 'bed for the night'. This debate is not just about the nature of humanitarianism, Wilsonian versus Dunantist, but about humanitarianism's relationship to development, to local civil society and transnational activism, and to the structures of local, national and global power which regulate the legitimacy and access humanitarians need to

deliver its services. Although mortality rates may be comparable, in a non-traditional context of violence like the NTCA, humanitarian service delivery might need to look quite different than in a warzone. A 'bed for the night' or medical treatment may not be the most pressing needs in a middle income urban setting (as opposed to along migrant routes), meaning that Dunantist humanitarians may not see a role for their brand of aid in the NTCA. These organizations may choose to redirect their limited resources to just the migrant routes or to another context altogether, while dual mandate organizations may choose to focus on development aid to target what they interpret to be the root causes of insecurity in the NTCA. For example, Oxfam's institutional values point its understanding of the NTCA towards an investigation of root causes, which Mr. Redman equated with more of a development than a humanitarian agenda (G. Redman, personal communication, June 26, 2018).

For a more activist Wilsonian organization, even advocacy is not necessarily straight forward in this context: should they practice advocacy themselves, or strengthen local CSOs? Who should be the target of their advocacy in a system characterized by multiple violences committed at all levels of experience by multiple actors? Different organizations with different philosophies of aid tread these debates in different ways, influenced by their own bureaucratic processes and other interests acting upon their work. For example, MSF's mission statement emphasizes its commitment to the Dunantist principles, but also to a culture of *témoignage,* under the belief that publically bearing witness to atrocities can help halt abuses (MSF website, n.d.). This organizational philosophy of aid (along with MSF's proud tradition of independence from governmental and institutional donors) shape the way MSF frames the situation in the NTCA and the programming it implements. Specifically, MSF demonstrates very intense discourses of emergency, population movement, and protection, using evocative language comparing the NTCA to "conditions found in the deadliest armed conflicts in the world today" and aiming to encourage recognition of the NTCA as a humanitarian crisis, which follow both their commitment to traditional humanitarian service delivery and to bearing witness to atrocities (MSF, Northern Triangle Report, p.4).

Geopolitics

Geopolitical pressures form the last of three factors shaping actor discourse and aid policy in the NTCA. Different types of actors encounter different geopolitical constraints, from

government agencies like USAID to multilateral actors like the WB to NGOs, who may not have geopolitical interests of their own, but they are impacted by the geopolitical interests of their donors. This factor impacts whether or not actors are willing to label the NTCA a humanitarian emergency. For example, the content analysis showed that US agencies have been loath to attach the label humanitarian crisis to the NTCA. This is likely because the US government treating the situation as a humanitarian emergency would compel it to recognize Central American migrants as refugees, with the protections and responsibilities that status entails; accepting these asylum claims is electorally undesirable in contemporary US politics, and so these geopolitical constraints directly inform how the situation in the NTCA is understood. Similarly, the national governments of the NTCA might be less willing to accept aid labelled as humanitarian because it might challenge their sovereignty and jeopardize foreign investments (G. Redman, personal communication, June 26, 2018).

Beyond just influencing whether or not the NTCA is labelled as a humanitarian crisis, geopolitical pressures shape how the region is problematized and treated. USAID-funded projects fit with US security interests in the region, as evidenced by the strategic alignment between USAID strategy and programme documents and CARSI policy. In contrast to American geopolitical constraints vis-à-vis the NTCA, EU donors do not have the same security and migration fears, so ECHO does not have same wariness of labelling the NTCA a humanitarian crisis. US geopolitical objectives are to stabilize and secure the NTCA, whereas EU objectives are to develop deeper "strategic partnerships" with Latin American and Caribbean governments and convert trade deficits into surpluses (EU-CELAC webpage, n.d.)(G. Redman, personal communication, June 26, 2018). This goal requires maintaining strong relationship with existing NTCA administrations while also pressuring for increased accountability and transparency in state apparatuses. This balancing act explains the ECHO regional strategy for NTCA presents a very holistic approach to aid in the area, using language relevant to all five nodes (see Appendix III).

B) Foucauldian Discourse Analysis and the NTCA

From a loosely Foucauldian lens, bureaucratic politics, aid philosophies, and geopolitical constraints represent different 'rules' which define the limits of thought and imagination around the situation in the NTCA. Taking Foucault's concept of productive discourse and applying it to the ways in which different actors in the aid space talk about the NTCA,

illuminates his argument that how an issue is spoken of causally determines how it is acted upon. In the NTCA, a securitized discourse produces a security problem to be treated through aid for increased policing and judicial reform, whereas a poverty discourse fashions an economic problem to be treated through growth and poverty reduction programmes. Bureaucratic processes, aid philosophies, and geopolitical constraints act here to determine the production of statements or documents about the NTCA. They also represent the rules that link the discourse around the NTCA to the material practices of aid in the region, or how the problematization translates to concrete aid policies on the ground. These rules operate differently upon each actor, based on the individual characteristics of the organization. For example, there are different bureaucratic politics in each organization, meaning that this rule will shape discourse and therefore policy in unique ways for each actor.

C) NTCA Discursive Frames and Development Sector Theory

Another interesting element to come out of this analysis is the relationship between philosophies of aid and models of violence. Humanitarian and development agendas are influenced by traditional models of statehood, like the Weberian monopoly of force model, and more recent debates around failed states as measured through the absence of such a monopoly. However, these benchmarks of the failed state are not very helpful to understanding the reproduction of violences in the NTCA, because the violence monopoly paradigm does not allow for different institutions within elected governments to be perpetrators of violence in a multi-actor violences context (J. Pearce, personal communication, July 3, 2018). Because aid – both humanitarian and development – tends to conceive of the state as monolithic set of institutions which either succeeds or fails, ignoring issues of contestation of power and security models within a state, most aid will struggle to interpret and respond to a complex, non-traditional context of multiple violences like the one in the NTCA.

As mentioned in Chapter II, emergency is labelled through conscious label manipulation and/or through the emergency imaginary. Both can be observed in the discourse surrounding the NTCA. Geopolitics – like the US government's desire to not recognize migrants as refugees – and internal bureaucratic processes, have led certain organizations to consciously avoid language and policies evoking a humanitarian crisis in reference to the NTCA. On the other hand, labelling the NTCA a humanitarian emergency by other organizations has equated it with other violent emergency contexts, activating certain response protocols and rendering the situation governable by imposing the organization's established trauma paradigms and

knowledges on it, potentially erasing key distinctions which separate the violences experienced in the NTCA from more classic situations of aid to warzones. The effect of the 'emergency imaginary' has led some organizations to portray the NTCA, and especially migrants fleeing violence, as an 'emergency' against the 'background' or stability and normalcy in Central America or Latin America more broadly. As in Calhoun's theory, this emergency imaginary tends to erase the root causes – historical inequalities reproduced in neoliberal economies; legacies of trauma from prior civil conflict; and US policies around immigration, drug policing, and firearms trade – and to mute the voices of local actors and communities who experience the violence first-hand and may be developing their own coping strategies for the violence.

VII. CONCLUSION

A key motivation in undertaking this investigation was the desire to understand how aid is conceived of and delivered in the NTCA. The content analyses performed demonstrate the extent to which different actors with purportedly the same aspirational motivation to reduce violence and improve livelihoods in the NTCA can vary in their interpretations and representations of the same facts. Aid, like other types of social and political policymaking, is a social process, based on situational sense-making and assumptions about the nature of emergency, theoretical models of development and humanitarian action, and operational and institutional constraints. At first glance, the sheer variety of discourses and policy types in the NTCA can seem incoherent: however, close analysis yields a pattern to the formation of the rhetoric and programming of aid in the region.

The purpose of this dissertation was not to judge between discursive models used by different actors or to declare a winning approach to programming in the NTCA. There was no systematic review of project evaluations or fieldwork conducted to ascertain outcomes and impacts of different programmes. However, this could yield a fruitful line of future research and provide insights on how aid organizations should approach the NTCA. Enlightening parallels could then be drawn to other contexts of multiple violences, ranging from protracted multi-actor conflicts like the DRC to inner-city violent contexts like Chicago.

How a recipient context is framed by donors and aid organizations is key to the types of policies implemented. The NTCA serves as a telling example of this: not only does the distinction between a 'humanitarian' versus a 'development' context shape the type of aid delivered, but deeper patterns around the construal and representation of root causes, key characteristics, and populations of concern also function to mould aid policy in the region. These frames stem from the factors described above – bureaucratic processes, aid philosophies, and geopolitics. Understanding the interplay of these factors in an organization is thus necessary to analysing or predicting the types of aid programs implemented in any given context. Discursive frames set aid agendas. They determine where money gets allocated, how projects are developed, and how they are implemented and evaluated. They also determine who is cast as victim and beneficiary, what the genealogy of a problem is, who is the legitimate problem solver, what are the legitimate instruments at hand, and can either reproduce or

challenge power structures in beneficiary communities and the aid system. Analysing discursive trends and their formations is thus central not only to understanding aid to the NTCA, but to understanding aid policy in general.

Word Count: 10,099

VIII. REFERENCES

Assessment Capacities Project. (July 2014). *Other Situations of Violence in the Northern Triangle of Central America, Humanitarian impact.* Retrieved from https://reliefweb.int/sites/reliefweb.int/files/resources/Other%20Situations%20of%20 Violence%20in%20the%20Northern%20Triangle.pdf

Arévalo de León, B. & Tager, A.G. (2016). Armed social violence and
peacebuilding: towards an operational approach. In B. Unger, V. Dudouet, M. Dressler & B.Austin (Eds.), *"Undeclared Wars" – Exploring a Peacebuilding Approach to Armed Social Violence. Berghof Handbook Dialogue Series No. 12.* (1-29). Berlin: Berghof Foundation.

Barnett, M. (2014). The humanitarian act: how humanitarian? *International Social Science Journal, Vol. 65*(215/216), 13-24.

Barnett, M. & Weiss, T.G. (2011). *Humanitarianism Contested: Where Angels Fear to Tread.* Abingdon: Routledge.

Berdal, M.R., & Malone, D. (Eds). (2000). *Greed & Grievance: Economic Agendas in Civil Wars.* Boulder, Colorado: Lynne Rienner Publishers.

Borah, P. (2011). Conceptual issues in framing theory: a systematic examination of a decade's literature. *Journal of Communication Vol. 61,* 246-263.

Brasset, J. & Vaughan-Williams, N. (2012). Governing traumatic events. *Alternatives: Global, Local, Political, Vol. 37*(3), 183-187.

Cara Labrador, R. & Renwick, D. (2018). Central America's violent Northern Triangle. *Council on Foreign Relations.* Retrieved from https://www.cfr.org/backgrounder/central-americas-violent-northern-triangle

Charny, J. (2009). The rhetoric of 'humanitarian crisis'. *Refugees International.* Retrieved from https://reliefweb.int/report/afghanistan/rhetoric-humanitarian-crisis.

Chong, D. & Druckman, J.N. (2007). Framing theory. *Annual Review of Political Science Vol.10*, 103–26.

Collier, P. & Hoeffler, A. (2002). Greed and grievance in civil war. *The World Bank Policy Research Working Paper.*

Duffield, M., Macrae, J. & Curtis, D. (2001). Editorial: politics and humanitarian aid". *Disasters, Vol.25*(4), 269-274.

Eguizábal, C., Ingram, M.C., Curtis, K.M, Korthuis, A, Olson, E.L., & Phillips, N. (2015). Crime and violence in Central America's Northern Triangle: how US policy responses are helping, hurting, and can be improved." *Wilson Center.* Retrieved from https://www.wilsoncenter.org/sites/default/files/FINAL%20PDF_CARSI%20REPORT_0.pdf

Entman, R.M. (2004). *Projects of Power: Framing news, public opinion, and U.S. foreign policy.* Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

European Institute for Security Studies (EUISS) & International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC). (2012). *Urban Violence and Humanitarian Challenges*. Retrieved from http://www.iss.europa.eu/uploads/media/Urban_violence_and_humanitarian_challenges.pdf.

Foucault, M. (2002). *Archaeology of Knowledge.* London: Routledge.

Geneva Declaration Secretariat. (2015). *Global Burden of Armed Violence: Every Body Counts.* Retrieved from http://www.genevadeclaration.org/measurability/global-burden-of-armed-violence/globalburden-of-armed-violence-2015.html.

Goffman, E. (1974). *Frame analysis: An essay on the organization of experience.* Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

Gordon, S. & Donini, A. (2015). Romancing principles and human rights: are humanitarian principles salvageable? *International Review of the Red Cross, Vol. 97*(897-898), 77–109.

Goldstein, J.S. (2012). *Winning the War on War: The Decline of Armed Conflict Worldwide.* New York, NY: Plume.

Hajer, M. (2006) Doing discourse analysis: coalitions, practices, meaning. In van den Brink, M., and Metze, T. (Eds.) *Words matter in policy and planning: discourse theory and method in the social sciences*. (65-74). Utrecht: Netherlands Geographical Studies.

Henriques, J. Hollway W., Urwin C. Venn, C. & Walkerdine, V. (1984). *Changing the Subject: Psychology, Social Regulation and Subjectivity.* London: Methuen.

Heydarian Pashakhanlou, A. (2017). Fully integrated content analysis in international relations. *International Relations Vol.31*(4), 447-465.

Hoeffler, A. (2011). 'Greed' versus 'Grievance': A useful conceptual distinction in the study of civil war? *Studies in Ethnicity and Nationalism, 11*(2), 274-284.

Idler, A. (2017). The changing character of conflict platform: understanding, tracing and forecasting change across time, space and cultures. Working Paper, presented at University of Oxford on 26 May, 2017.

'Imperios de la extorsión' están en Honduras y El Salvador. (2015, July 1). *La Prensa.* Retrieved from http://www.laprensa.hn/honduras/854572-410/imperios-de-la-extorsi%C3%B3n-est%C3%A1n-en-honduras-y-el-salvador

Kapferer, B. (2005). New formations of power, the oligarchic-corporate State, and anthropological ideological discourse." *Anthropological Theory Vol.5*(3), 285–99. doi:10.1177/1463499605055961.

Keen, D. (2000). Incentives and disincentives for violence. In Berdal, M. & Malone, D. (Eds). *Greed and Grievance: Economic Agendas in Civil Wars*. (19-43). Boulder, CO: Lynne Rienner.

Kendall, G. and Wickham, G. (1999). *Using Foucault's Methods.* Sydney: Sage Publications.

Médecins Sans Frontières. (n.d). Working principles. Retrieved from https://www.msf.org/who-we-are

Mukhopadhyay, B. (2006). Humanitarianism: caring as control". Conference Paper delivered at the American Sociological Association's 2006 Annual Meeting, Montreal, Canada.

Oxfam. (n.d.). Our purpose and beliefs. Retrieved from https://www.oxfam.org/en/our-purpose-and-beliefs.

Pearce, J. (2012, June 26). Violence is a development issue. *Oxfam Policy and Practice.* Retrieved from https://policy-practice.oxfam.org.uk/blog/2012/06/violence-is-a-development-issue.

Pearce, J. (2016). The "Violence Turn" in peace studies and practice. In B. Unger, V. Dudouet, M. Dressler & B.Austin (Eds.), *"Undeclared Wars" – Exploring a Peacebuilding Approach to Armed Social Violence. Berghof Handbook Dialogue Series No. 12.* (31-40). Berlin: Berghof Foundation.

Riffe, D., Lacy, S. & Fico, F.G. (1998). *Analyzing media messages: Using Quantitative Content Analysis in Research.* London: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates.

Siegfried, K. (2016). Gang violence in Central America is a humanitarian crisis. *IRIN.* Retrieved from https://www.irinnews.org/analysis/2016/09/01/gang-violence-central-america-humanitarian-crisis

Sezgin, Z. & Dijkzeul, D. (Eds.) (2015). *The New Humanitarians in International Practice: Emerging Actors and Contested Principles.* Oxford: Routledge.

Transparency International Corruption Perceptions Index 2016. Retrieved from
    https://www.transparency.org/news/feature/corruption_perceptions_index_2016

Unger, B., Dudouet, V., Dressler, M. & Austin, B. (Eds.). (2016). *"Undeclared Wars"–
    Exploring a Peacebuilding Approach to Armed Social Violence.* Berghof Handbook
    Dialogue Series No. 12. Berlin: Berghof Foundation.

U.S. Department of State. (n.d.) Central America Regional Security Initiative. Retrieved from
    http://www.state.gov/p/wha/rt/carsi/.

World   Bank.   (2011).   World   Development   Report.   Retrieved   from
    https://siteresources.worldbank.org/INTWDRS/Resources/WDR2011_Full_Text.pdf

Yannow, D. (2000). *Conducting Interpretive Policy Analysis*. Newbury Park, CA: Sage
    Publications.

APPENDIX I - Full List of Coded Documents, Classified by Group

*Used for qualitative IPA analysis.

Group 1: US Agencies

Citation used in text	Full reference (in APA)	Coding Ref
CAI, El Salvador crime and violence prevention.	Creative Associates International, Inc. (n.d.) El Salvador crime and violence prevention. Retrieved from https://www.creativeassociatesinternational.com/projects/el-salvador-crime-and-violence-prevention-project/	CAI-ES-1
CAI, El Salvador Alianza Joven.	Creative Associates International, Inc. (n.d.) El Salvador Alianza Joven Regional 2. Retrieved from https://www.creativeassociatesinternational.com/projects/el-salvador-alianza-joven/	CAI-ES-2
CAI, Honduras Convive.	Creative Associates International, Inc. (n.d.) Honduras Convive. Retrieved from https://www.creativeassociatesinternational.com/past-projects/honduras-convive/	CAI-H-1
CAI, Honduras Alianza Joven.	Creative Associates International, Inc. (n.d.) Honduras Alianza Joven. Retrieved from https://www.creativeassociatesinternational.com/past-projects/honduras-alianza-joven/	CAI-H-2
CAI, Regional Youth Aliance.	Creative Associates International, Inc. (n.d.) Regional Youth Alliance (USAID-SICA). Retrieved from https://www.creativeassociatesinternational.com/past-projects/central-america-regional-youth-alliance/	CAI-R-1
CARSI Factsheet.	Central America Regional Security Iniative. (n.d). Retrieved from https://www.state.gov/documents/organization/261079.pdf	CARSI-R-1

Checchi Consulting, El Salvador 1.	Checchi Consulting. (n.d). El Salvador Justice Sector Strengthening Activity USAID (2013 - 2018). Retrieved from www.checchiconsulting.com/index.php?option=com _projects&country_id=5&ltemid=8#112	CC-ES-1
Checchi Consulting, El Salvador 2.	Checchi Consulting. (n.d). El Salvador Justice Sector Strengthening Activity USAID (2008 - 2012). Retrieved from www.checchiconsulting.com/index.php?option=com _projects&country_id=5&ltemid=8#112	CC-ES-2
Checchi Consulting, Guatemala.	Checchi Consulting. (n.d). Guatemala - Security and Justice Sector Reform Project USAID (2012 - 2018). Retrieved from www.checchiconsulting.com/index.php?option=com _projects&country_id=6&ltemid=8	CC-G-1
CRS, US Strategy for Engageme nt in Central America.	Meyer, P.J. (2017, June 8). US Strategy for Engagement in Central America: Policy Issues for Congress. *Congressional Research Services.* Retrieved from https://fas.org/sgp/crs/row/R44812.pdf	CRS-R-1
DAI, El Salvador.	Development Alternatives, Inc. (n.d.). El Salvador-Puentes para el Empleo (Bridges to Employment project). Retrieved from https://www.dai.com/our-work/projects/usaid-el-salvador-puentes-para-el-empleo-bridges-employment-project	DAI-ES-1
DAI, Honduras 1.	Development Alternatives, Inc. (n.d.). Honduras-Unidos por la Justicia (United for Justice). Retrieved from https://www.dai.com/our-work/projects/honduras-united-for-justice	DAI-H-1
DAI, Honduras 2.	Development Alternatives, Inc. (n.d.). Honduras-Asegurando la Educación (Securing Education). Retrieved from https://www.dai.com/our-work/projects/honduras-	DAI-H-2

	securing-education	
IAF, El Salvador 1.	Inter-American Foundation. (2015). Fundación para el Desarrollo Juvenil (FDJ) Public Statement. Retrieved from https://www.iaf.gov/our-work/where-we-work/country-portfolios/el-salvador/2015-fdj	IAF-ES-1
IAF, El Salvador 2.	Inter-American Foundation. (2015). Asociación de Desarrollo Social Comunitario del Cantón El Morro (ADESCO El Morro) Public Statement. Retrieved from https://www.iaf.gov/our-work/where-we-work/country-portfolios/el-salvador/2015-adesco-el-morro	IAF-ES-2
IAF, Strategic Investments in Central America.	Inter-American Foundation. (2016). Strategic Investments in Central America. Retrieved from https://iaf.gov/about-the-iaf/reporting-and-accountability/cbj-fy-2017/strategic-investments-in-central-america	IAF-R-1
RTI, Alianzas.	RTI International (n.d.). Alianzas multi-sector alliances Program. Retrieved from https://www.rti.org/impact/alianzas-multi-sector-alliances-program	RTI-R-1
RTI, Guatemala.	Bland, G. & Wetterberg, A. (2013). From philanthropy to corporate social responsibility in Guatemala: assessing shifts through *Alianzas. Development in Practice, Vol.23*(1). 3-20.	RTI-G-1
Tetra Tech, Guatemala.	Tetra Tech, Inc. (n.d.). Local governance project, Guatemala. Retrieved from http://www.tetratech.com/en/projects/local-governance-project-guatemala	TT-G-1
USAID, El Salvador 1.	USAID. (2015, July 14). Crime and Violence Prevention Project. Retrieved from https://www.usaid.gov/documents/1862/crime-and-violence-prevention-project	USAID-ES-1
USAID, El	USAID. (2017, November). USAID El Salvador Country	USAID-

Salvador 2.	Fact Sheet. Retrieved from www.usaid.gov/el-salvador	ES-2
USAID, El Salvador 3.	USAID. (n.d.). El Salvador Crime and Violence Prevention Project Factsheet. Retrieved from https://www.usaid.gov/sites/default/files/documents/1862/Fact%20Sheet%20-%20Crime%20and%20Violence%20Prevention%20%28March-2016%29.pdf	USAID-ES-3
USAID, El Salvador 4.	USAID. (n.d.). El Salvador Country Development Cooperation Strategy 2013-2017. Retrieved from https://www.usaid.gov/sites/default/files/documents/1862/CDCS%203-3-14%20Public%20Version%20FINAL.pdf	USAID-ES-4
USAID, Guatemala 1.	USAID. (2017, November). USAID Guatemala Country Fact Sheet. Retrieved from www.usaid.gov/guatemala	USAID-G-1
USAID Guatemala 2.	USAID. (2012, March 16). Guatemala Country Development Cooperation Strategy 2012-2016. Retrieved from https://www.usaid.gov/sites/default/files/documents/1862/GuatemalaCDCS.pdf	USAID-G-2
USAID, Honduras 1.	USAID. (2017, November). USAID Honduras Country Fact Sheet. Retrieved from www.usaid.gov/honduras	USAID-H-1
USAID, Honduras 2.	USAID. (2016, May 11). Honduras Country Development Cooperation Strategy 2015-2019. Retrieved from https://www.usaid.gov/sites/default/files/documents/1862/HondurasCDCS_2015-2019.pdf	USAID-H-2
USAID, Honduras 3.	USAID. (n.d.). Political Transition Initatives – Honduras. Retrieved from https://www.usaid.gov/political-transition-initiatives/honduras	USAID-H-3
USAID, Impact Evaluation.	Berk-Seligson, S., Orcés, D., Pizzolitto, G., Seligson, M.A., & Wilson, C.J. (2014, October). Impact evaluation of USAID's community-based crime and violence prevention approach in Central America: Regional	USAID-R-1

	Report for El Salvador, Guatemala, Honduras and Panama. *Latin American Public Opinion Project.* Retrieved from https://www.vanderbilt.edu/lapop/carsi/Regional_Report_v12d_final_W_120814.pdf	
USAID, Regional Development Cooperation Strategy.*	USAID. (n.d.). Central America and Mexico Regional Development Cooperation Strategy 2015-2019. Retrieved from https://www.usaid.gov/sites/default/files/documents/1862/FINAL_CAM_RDCS_public.pdf	USAID-R-2
USAID, Development and Humanitarian Assistance Budget.	USAID. (n.d.). FY2016 Development and Humanitarian Assistance Budget Fact Sheet. Retrieved from https://www.usaid.gov/sites/default/files/documents/1869/FY2016DevelopmentBudget_FactSheet.pdf	USAID-R-3
USDOS, Strategy for Central America – Trump.	USDOS. (n.d.). US Strategy for Central America. Retrieved from https://www.state.gov/p/wha/rt/strat/index.htm	USDOS-R-1
USDOS, Strategy for Central America – Obama.*	USDOS. (n.d.). US Strategy for Central America. Retrieved from https://obamawhitehouse.archives.gov/sites/default/files/docs/central_america_strategy.pdf	USDOS-R-2
USDOS, Programs and Engagement.	USDOS. (2017, May). U.S. Programs and Engagement Promote a Prosperous, Secure, and Well-Governed Central America. Retrieved from https://www.state.gov/p/wha/rt/strat/index.htm	USDOS-R-3

Group 2: IOs

Citation used in text	Full reference (in APA)	Coding Ref
ECHO, HIP Central America/ Mexico 2013.	ECHO. (2013, July 3). Humanitarian Implementation Plan (HIP) Central America/Mexico. Retrieved from http://ec.europa.eu/echo/files/funding/decisions/2013/HIPs/central_america_en.pdf	ECHO-R-1
ECHO, Central America and Mexico Factsheet.*	ECHO. (n.d.) Central America and Mexico Humanitarian Factsheet. Retrieved from https://ec.europa.eu/echo/where/latin-america-carribean/central-america_en	ECHO-R-2
IADB, El Salvador 1.	IADB. (2015, May 12). Ciudad Mujer Fase II – Perfil de Proyecto. Retrieved from https://ewsdata.rightsindevelopment.org/files/documents/92/IADB-ES-L1092.pdf	IADB-ES-1
IADB, El Salvador 2.	IADB. (n.d.) Programa de Fortalecimiento del Ejercicio de la Acción Penal – Perfil de Proyecto. Retrieved from https://www.iadb.org/Document.cfm?id=36592142	IADB-ES-2
IADB, Guatemala.	IADB (2014, June 3). Alianzas Públicas-Privadas para Reducir la Violencia contra la Mujer en Guatemala – Abstracto de Cooperación Técnica. Retrieved from https://www.iadb.org/Document.cfm?id=38880171	IADB-G-1
IADB, Honduras.	IADB. (2017, December 7). Apoyo a la prevención social de la violencia y promoción de la convivencia ciudadana en Honduras – Certificación. Retrieved from https://www.iadb.org/Document.cfm?id=EZSHARE-1502126083-22	IADB-H-1
ICRC, Regional	ICRC. (2014). Action and Results: January 2014-August 2014.	ICRC-R-1

Operations Report.	Retrieved from https://www.icrc.org/en/download/file/3669/mexico-rd-icrc-january-august-2014-english.pdf	
ICRC, Regional Factsheet.*	ICRC. (2017, December 14). Migration: Our Work in Americas. Retrieved from https://www.icrc.org/en/document/migration-our-work-americas	ICRC-R-2
IOM, El Salvador.	IOM. (n.d.). El Salvador. Retrieved from https://www.iom.int/countries/el-salvador	IOM-ES-1
IOM, Guatemala.	IOM. (n.d.). Guatemala. Retrieved from https://www.iom.int/countries/guatemala	IOM-G-1
IOM, Honduras.	IOM. (n.d.). Honduras. Retrieved from https://www.iom.int/countries/honduras	IOM-H-1
IOM, Iniciativa sobre migración.	IOM. (n.d.). Iniciativa conjunta sobre migración y desarrollo. Retrieved from http://costarica.iom.int/site/icmd-iniciativa-conjunta-sobre-migraci%C3%B3n-y-desarrollo	IOM-R-1
IOM, Plan estratégico trinacional.	Pisani, M. & Peraza, J. (2017). Plan estratégico trinacional para Guatemala, Honduras, y El Salvador Triángulo Norte 2017-2021. *IOM.* Retrieved from https://www.iom.int/sites/default/files/our_work/DOE/MCOF/Plan%20Estrategico%20MCOF%20-Guatemala%20Honduras%20Y%20El%20Salvador.pdf	IOM-R-2
IOM, Programa mesoamérica	IOM. (n.d.). Programa Mesoamérica. Retrieved from http://www.programamesoamerica.iom.int/es/%C2%BFq%C3%BAe-hacemos.	IOM-R-3
UNHCR, Regional update.	UNHCR. (2017, September 19). Regional update – Americas. Retrieved from http://www.unhcr.org/59c288587.pdf	UNHCR-R-1
UNHCR, Strategy	UNHCR. (2015, December 24). Protection and Solutions Strategy for the Northern Triangle of Central America,	UNHCR-R-2

for the NTCA.	2016-2018. Retrieved from http://reporting.unhcr.org/sites/default/files/Protection%20and%20Solutions%20Strategy%20for%20the%20Northern%20Triangle%20of%20Central%20America%202016-2018.pdf	
UNHCR, The Americas.	UNHCR. (2015). Global Appeal – The Americas. Retrieved from http://www.unhcr.org/ga15/index.xml	UNHCR-R-3
World Bank, El Salvador 1.	World Bank. (2014). Re: Republic of El Salvador: Regional Approach to Municipal Citizen Security in Central America's Northern Triangle Project. Retrieved from	WB-ES-1
World Bank, El Salvador 2.	World Bank. (2010). Re: El Salvador: JSDF Grant for Addressing Youth Violence through Cultural and Music Learning Project. Retrieved from	WB-ES-2

Group 3: NGOs

Citation used in text	Full reference (in APA)	Coding Ref
CDH, JUPREV.	Centro de Desarollo Humano. (n.d.) Juventudes en redes para la prevención de las violencias sociales (JUPREV). Retrieved from http://www.centrocdh.org/my-product/integracion-social-formacion-e-insercion-laboral-de-jovenes-en-el-salvador-con-posibles-acciones-en-otros-paises-de-la-zona/	CDH-ES-1
FEPADE, El Salvador.	Fundación Empresarial para el Desarollo Educativo. (n.d.). SolucionES. Retrieved from https://fepade.org.sv/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=27&Itemid=42	FEPADE-ES-1
Mercy Corps, Guatemala.	Mercy Corps. (n.d.). Convivimos Guatemala. Retrieved from http://convivimos.mercycorps.org/	MC-G-1
MSF, El	MSF. (2018, July 3). MSF facilitates access to healthcare in	MSF-ES-1

Salvador.	communities of San Salvador and Soyapango – Project Update. Retrieved from https://www.msf.org/el-salvador-msf-facilitates-access-healthcare-san-salvador-and-soyapango	
MSF, Honduras.	MSF. (n.d.). Honduras Country Programme. Retrieved from https://www.msf.org.uk/country/honduras	MSF-H-1
MSF, Northern Triangle Report.*	MSF. (2017, May). Forced to Flee Central America's Northern Triangle: A Neglected Humanitarian Crisis. Retrieved from https://www.msf.org/sites/msf.org/files/msf_forced-to-flee-central-americas-northern-triangle_e.pdf	MSF-R-1
NRC, Honduras 1.*	NRC. (n.d.). Country programme in Honduras. Retrieved from https://www.nrc.no/globalassets/pdf/fact-sheets/2017/honduras/july/nrc-country-factsheet-honduras.pdf	NRC-H-1
NRC, Honduras 2.	NRC. (n.d.). To hide or flee? Education and the humanitarian situation in Honduras. Retrieved from https://www.nrc.no/globalassets/pdf/reports/to-hide-or-flee---the-humanitarian-situation-in-honduras.pdf	NRC-H-2
NRC, Briefing Note.	NRC. (2016, December). Extreme violence, treacherous journeys and invisible borders: Children on the move in and from the Northern Triangle of Central America. Retrieved from https://www.nrc.no/resources/reports/extreme-violence-treacherous-journeys-and-invisible-borders/	NRC-R-1
Oxfam, El Salvador.	Oxfam. (n.d.). El Salvador. Retrieved from https://www.oxfam.org/en/countries/el-salvador	Oxfam-ES-1
Oxfam, Guatemala.	Oxfam. (n.d.). Guatemala. Retrieved from https://www.oxfam.org/en/countries/guatemala	Oxfam-G-1
Oxfam, Honduras.	Oxfam. (n.d.). Honduras. Retrieved from https://www.oxfam.org/en/countries/honduras	Oxfam-H-1

Plan Internatio nal, El Salvador.	Plan International. (n.d.). Child Protection in El Salvador. Retrieved from https://plan-international.org/el-salvador/child-protection-el-salvador	Plan-ES-1
Save the Children, El Salvador.	Save the Children. (n.d.). Help Save Children in El Salvador. Retrieved from https://www.savethechildren.org/us/what-we-do/where-we-work/latin-america/el-salvador	Save-ES-1
Save the Children, Guatemal a.	Save the Children. (n.d.). Help Save Children in Guatemala. Retrieved from https://www.savethechildren.org/us/what-we-do/where-we-work/latin-america/guatemala	Save-G-1
Save the Children, Honduras .	Save the Children. (n.d.). Help Save Children in Honduras. Retrieved from https://www.savethechildren.org/us/what-we-do/where-we-work/latin-america/honduras	Save-H-1
Trocaire, Guatemal a.	Trocaire. (n.d.). Guatemala. Retrieved from https://www.trocaire.org/whatwedo/wherewework/guat emala	Trocaire-G-1
Trocaire, Honduras .	Trocaire. (n.d.). Honduras. Retrieved from https://www.trocaire.org/whatwedo/wherewework/hon duras	Trocaire-H-1

APPENDIX II – – Large Donor Aid to NTCA 2010-2017, Financial Tracking Charts

Note: These charts represent only aid sourced from large donors, specifically government agencies, international organizations, and multilateral development banks. NGOs primarily funded by private individual donations were not included due to difficulty sourcing comparable data. These charts may not be comprehensive, due to the self-reporting nature of most funding tracking systems used to collect data. They are intended only as a visual guide to aid funding trends in the NTCA for the period under study.

Total Large Donor Humanitarian versus Development Aid, 2010-2017

Total D

Total H

0   200,000,000   400,000,000   600,000,000   800,000,000

Total Large Donor Funding by Aid Sector, 2010-2017

Total Governance

Total Cultural

Total Protection

Total Health

Total Education

Total Military

Total Economic/Social Investment

Total Advocacy

0   100,000,000 200,000,000 300,000,000 400,000,000
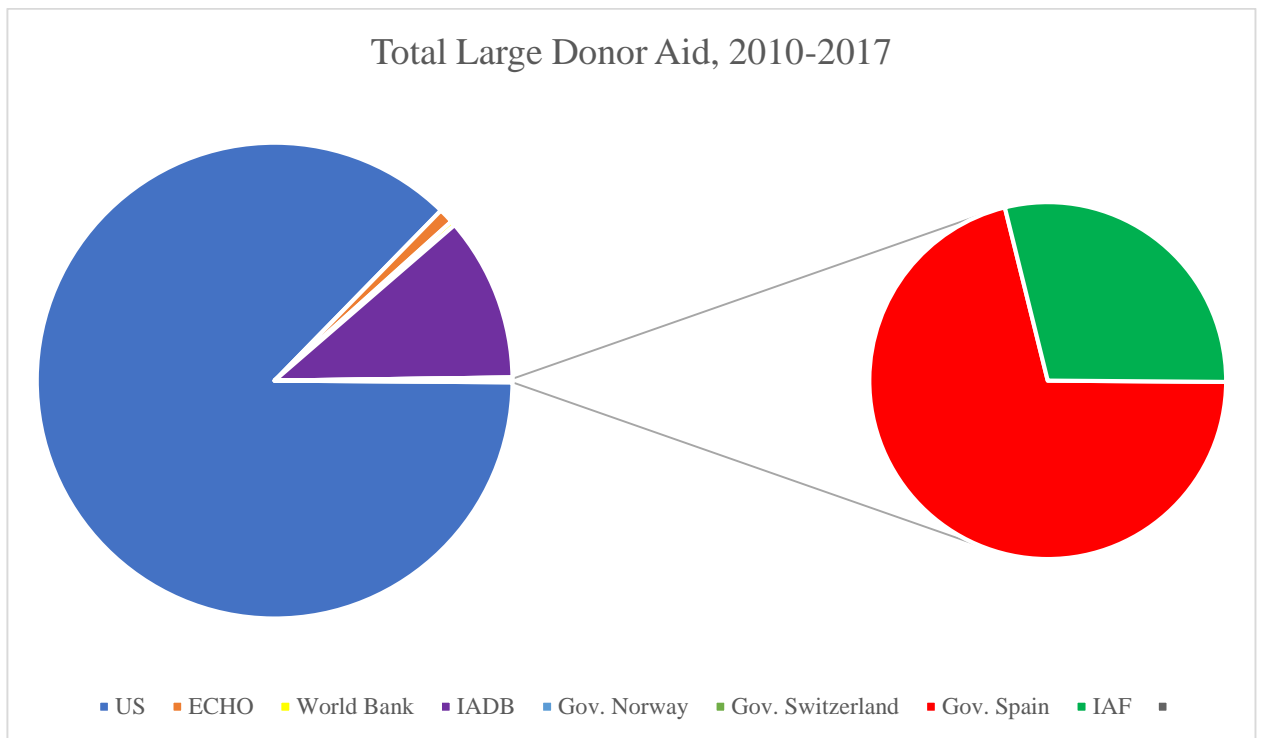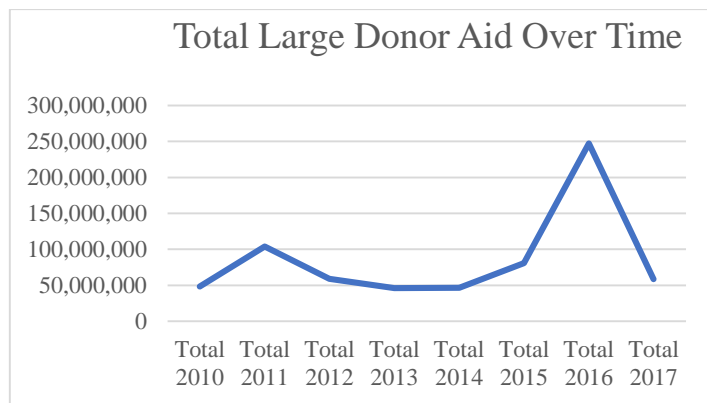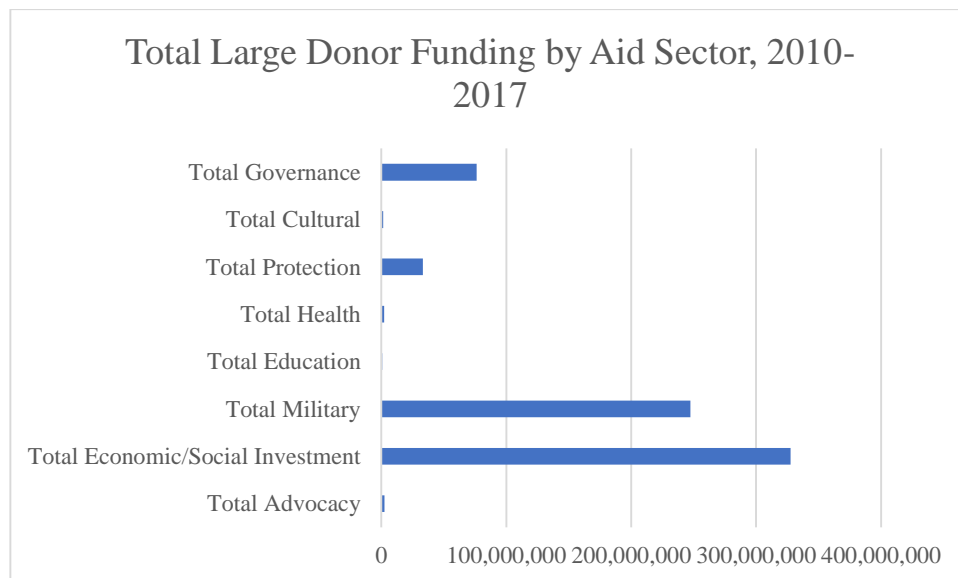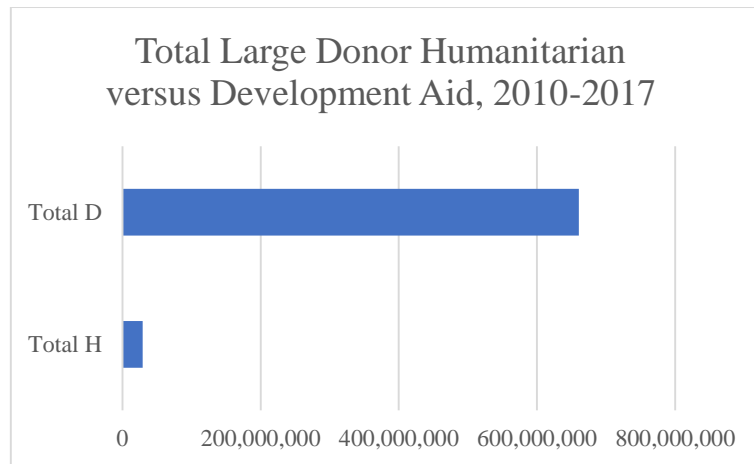
Sources:

- ECHO Humanitarian Aid Agreements 2010-2017. Accessible from: http://ec.europa.eu/echo/node/2190
- IADB project database. Accessible from: https://www.iadb.org/en/projects
- USAID financial tracking system. Accessible from: https://explorer.usaid.gov/
- UN Financial Tracking System. Accessible from: https://fts.unocha.org/
- WB project database. Accessible from: http://projects.worldbank.org/

APPENDIX III – Tabular Representation of Coded Language Values

*(SP) = Spanish document

US Agency Documents

Problematization	Numerical Rating for					Pop	
Document Code	Criminality	Emergency	Governance	HHRR	Poverty	Mvmt	Security
TT-G-1	0	0	5	0	2	0	1
RTI-R-1	0	3	4	0	3	0	0
RTI-G-1	0	2	4	1	3	0	1
CC-G-1	3	0	3	2	0	0	0
CC-ES-1	3	0	4	2	0	0	0
CC-ES-2	3	0	2	3	0	0	0
CAI-H-1	4	0	1	1	1	0	3
CAI-H-2	0	0	1	0	0	0	0
USAID-H-1	4	1	2	0	0	1	3
CAI-ES-1	3	0	0	0	0	0	1
CAI-ES-2	4	0	0	0	0	0	0
CAI-R-1	5	0	2	0	0	0	1
USAID-ES-1	5	0	2	0	0	0	1
USAID-ES-2	4	0	3	0	0	0	1
CARSI-R-1	5	0	1	0	0	0	2
DAI-ES-1	3	0	0	0	0	1	0
DAI-H-1	4	0	3	0	0	0	0
DAI-H-2	2	1	1	0	0	0	3
USDOS-R-1	3	0	4	0	1	0	3
USDOS-R-2	3	0	4	0	1	0	3
USDOS-R-3	3	1	5	1	2	1	4
IAF-R-1	1	2	3	0	2	4	2
USAID-H-2	3	1	5	2	2	2	4
USAID-G-1	3	1	4	1	2	1	4
USAID-ES-3	4	1	4	2	0	2	3
USAID-H-3	4	1	5	2	3	1	3
CRS-R-1	4	1	5	2	2	2	3
USAID-G-2	4	2	5	2	3	1	5
USAID-ES-4	5	2	3	2	2	1	3
USAID-R-4	0	3	2	1	2	1	2
AVERAGE	2.966666667	0.73333333	2.9	0.8	1.03333	0.6	1.86666667

Solutions	Numerical Rating for				
Document Code	**Civil Society**	**Growth**	**Instnl Reform**	**Policing/ Sec**	**Protectio n**
TT-G-1	2	2	5	0	1
RTI-R-1	0	4	0	0	0
RTI-G-1	3	5	3	2	1
CC-G-1	1	0	4	4	1
CC-ES-1	1	0	4	3	1
CC-ES-2	0	0	4	3	0
CAI-H-1	2	0	1	0	0
CAI-H-2	0	3	0	0	0
USAID-H-1	1	1	0	4	3
CAI-ES-1	0	0	1	3	0
CAI-ES-2	2	0	2	0	0
CAI-R-1	1	1	1	0	1
USAID-ES-1	0	4	0	1	0
USAID-ES-2	0	4	0	0	0
CARSI-R-1	1	1	0	4	0
DAI-ES-1	0	4	0	1	0
DAI-H-1	0	0	5	4	1
DAI-H-2	0	2	2	2	2
USDOS-R-1	1	3	5	4	2
USDOS-R-2	1	3	5	4	2
USDOS-R-3	1	4	4	3	1
IAF-R-1	1	4	2	0	0
USAID-H-2	4	3	4	2	2
USAID-G-1	3	4	5	2	1
USAID-ES-3	3	5	3	2	1
USAID-H-3	3	5	5	4	2
CRS-R-1	2	4	5	5	1
USAID-G-2	1	4	5	3	1
USAID-ES-4	2	5	3	2	1
USAID-R-4	1	4	3	0	1
AVERAGE	1.916666667	3.84615385	4	3.25427	1.25

IOs

Problematization	Numerical Rating for						
Document Code	**Criminality**	**Emergency**	**Governance**	**HHRR**	**Poverty**	**Pop Mvmt**	**Security**
IADB-H-1	0	2	0	3	0	0	2
IADB-G-1	0	0	0	2	0	0	0
IADB-ES-1	0	0	0	2	0	0	1

IADB-ES-2	2	0	0	2	0	0	2
ICRC-R-1	0	3	0	0	0	5	1
UNHCR-R-2	2	4	2	2	0	5	1
WB-ES-1	3	3	2	1	0	5	5
WB-ES-2	2	3	3	1	0	4	1
ECHO-R-1	4	5	1	2	1	2	3
UNHCR-R-3	3	5	4	2	0	5	1
IOM-R-1 (SP)	0	0	0	1	0	4	0
IOM-R-2 (SP)	0	4	1	2	0	5	0
IOM-R-3 (SP)	0	2	0	2	0	5	0
IOM-H-1	0	1	2	0	0	3	0
IOM-G-1	1	2	3	1	0	5	2
IOM-ES-1	0	2	1	0	0	4	0
ECHO-R-2	2	5	0	0	1	1	1
ICRC-R-2	1	3	1	0	0	5	1
AVERAGE	1.111111111	2.4444444	1.111111111	1.2777778	0.1111111	3.22222222	1.16667

Solutions	Numerical Rating for				
Document Code	Civil Society	Growth	Instnl Reform	Policing	Protection
IADB-H-1	0	0	3	5	4
IADB-G-1	0	0	4	1	3
IADB-ES-1	0	0	3	5	2
IADB-ES-2	0	0	4	5	3
ICRC-R-1	0	0	0	0	5
UNHCR-R-2	2	0	0	0	5
WB-ES-1	0	3	0	4	2
WB-ES-2	0	3	0	0	0
ECHO-R-1	3	3	3	3	5
UNHCR-R-3	1	3	2	1	5
IOM-R-1 (SP)	0	0	4	0	3
IOM-R-2 (SP)	0	0	4	0	5
IOM-R-3 (SP)	0	0	4	0	5
IOM-H-1	0	2	0	0	0
IOM-G-1	1	5	2	2	4
IOM-ES-1	0	2	0	0	0
ECHO-R-2	0	0	2	0	5
ICRC-R-2	1	1	0	0	4
AVERAGE	0.444444444	1.2222222	1.944444444	1.4444444	3.3333333

NGOs

Problematization	Numerical Rating for						
Document Code	Criminality	Emergency	Governance	HHRR	Poverty	Pop Mvmt	Security
MSF-H-1	1	3	0	4	3	0	0
Oxfam-G-1	0	2	1	0	4	0	0
Oxfam-H-1	0	1	2	1	4	0	1
Oxfam-ES-1	0	3	2	0	2	1	2
Save-G-1	1	2	1	0	4	2	1
Save-H-1	2	2	1	0	3	2	1
Save-ES-1	2	3	1	0	4	2	1
MSF-ES-1	1	2	0	1	0	1	3
FEPADE-ES-1 (SP)	4	0	3	0	3	0	0
MC-G-1	3	0	3	0	2	0	0
CDH-H-1 (SP)	2	0	0	4	0	0	0
Trocaire-H-1	3	3	2	4	4	0	1
Trocaire-G-1	3	3	1	5	1	1	2
NRC-H-1	5	3	2	2	2	3	1
NRC-H-2	5	3	4	3	1	2	2
NRC-R-1	5	4	2	1	0	3	2
Plan-ES-1	0	0	1	1	0	0	0
MSF-R-1	3	4	1	2	1	5	2
AVERAGE	2.222222222	2.1111111	1.5	1.5556	2.1111	1.2222	1.0556

Solutions	Numerical Rating for				
Document Code	Civil Society	Growth	Instnl Reform	Policing	Protection
MSF-H-1	0	2	0	0	4
Oxfam-G-1	0	4	0	0	4
Oxfam-H-1	4	3	2	0	1
Oxfam-ES-1	2	2	0	0	4
Save-G-1	0	3	2	0	4
Save-H-1	0	0	0	0	5
Save-ES-1	0	3	0	0	4
MSF-ES-1	0	0	0	0	4
FEPADE-ES-1 (SP)	0	4	3	3	0
MC-G-1	3	2	3	4	1
CDH-H-1 (SP)	4	0	2	0	2
Trocaire-H-1	2	3	3	0	5
Trocaire-G-1	4	0	2	2	5
NRC-H-1	1	2	0	1	5
NRC-H-2	1	2	0	4	5
NRC-R-1	2	1	0	2	5
Plan-ES-1	0	1	0	0	4

MSF-R-1	1	0	1	1	5
AVERAGE	1.333333333	1.7777777 8	1	0.9444 4	3.7222 2

APPENDIX IV – Nvivo Hierarchy Charts Showing Node Frequency

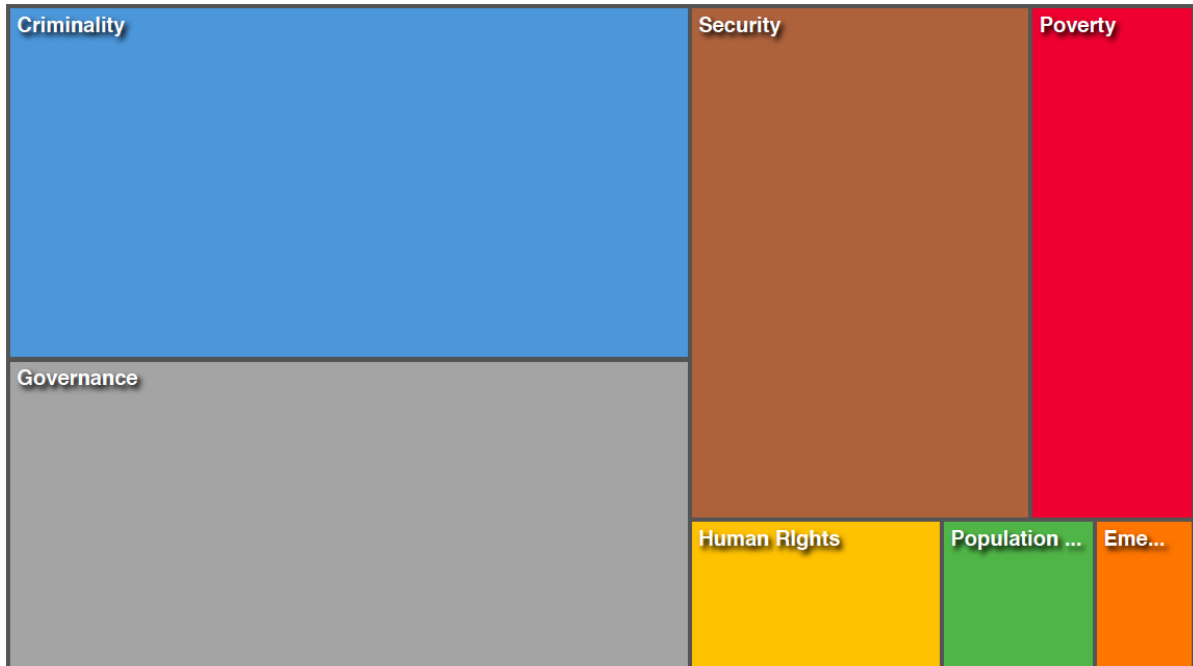*Figure AIVa - Problematization Language Frequency, US Agencies*

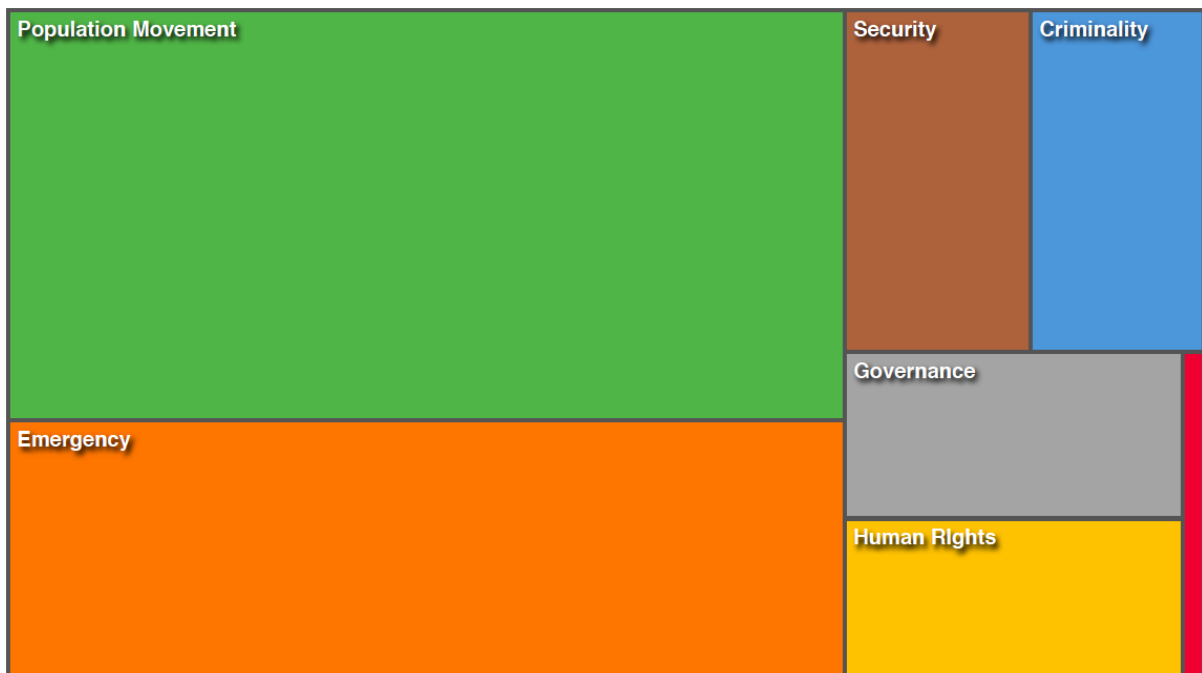*Figure AIVb - Problematization Language Frequency, – IOs*

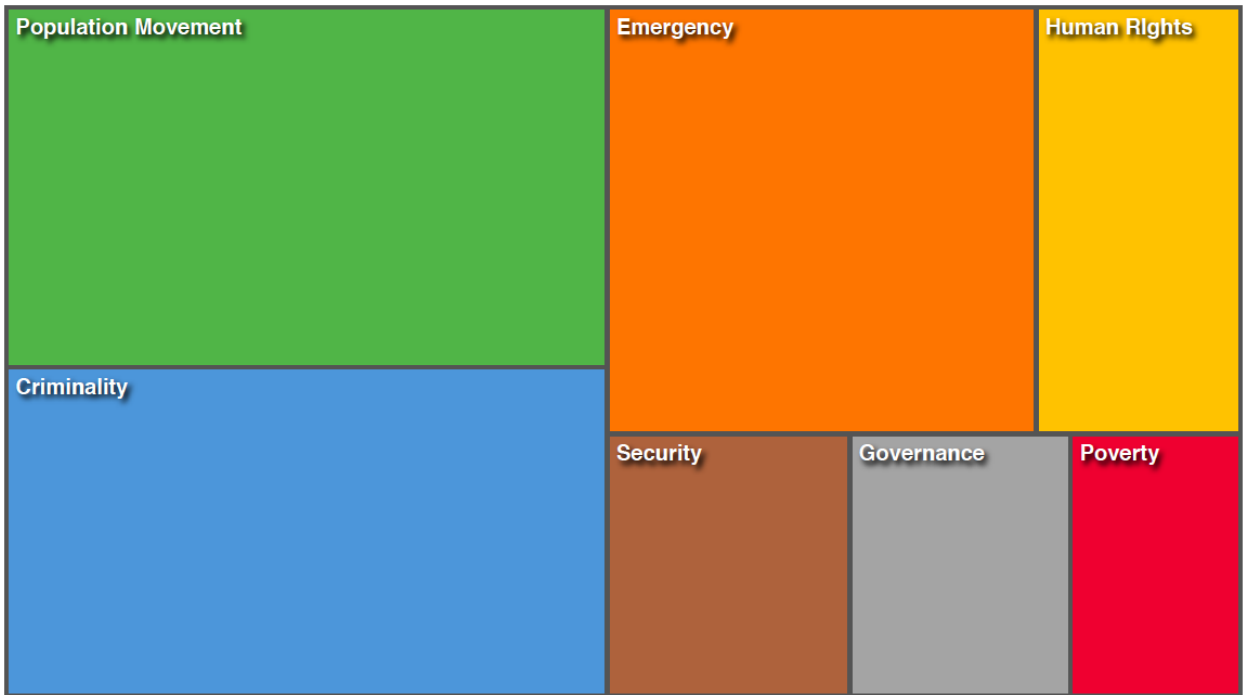*Figure AIVc - Problematization Language Frequency, NGOs*

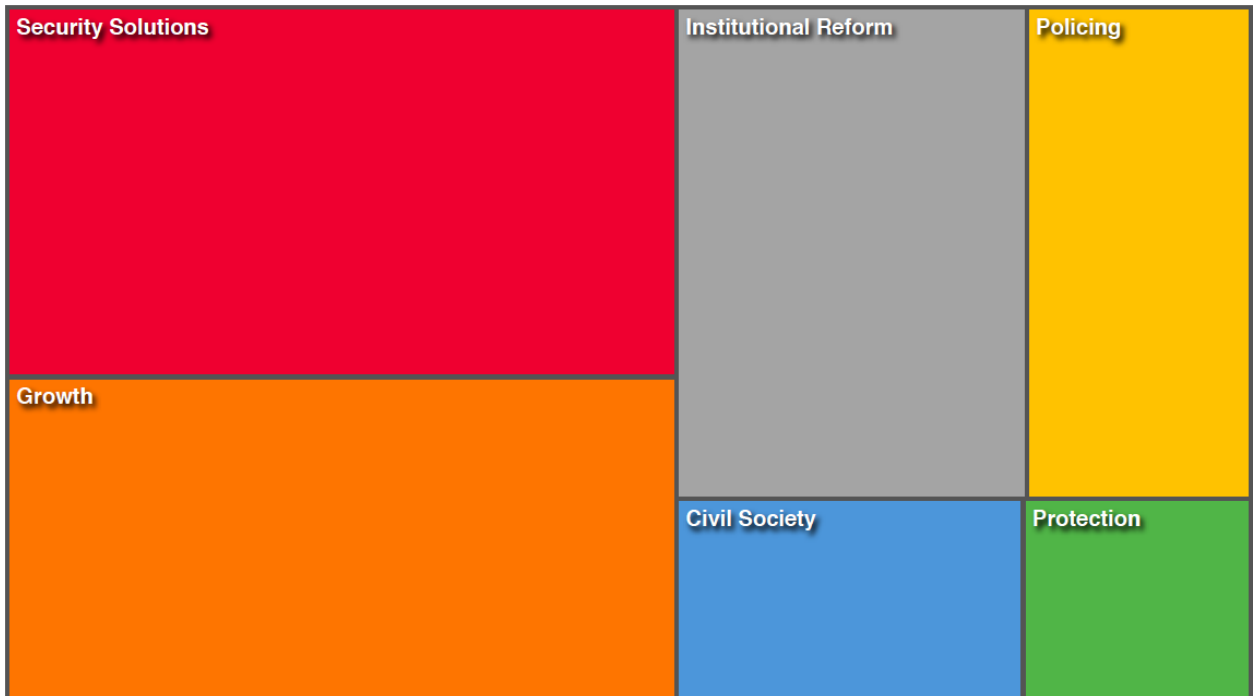*Figure AIVd - Solutions Language Frequency, US Agencies*
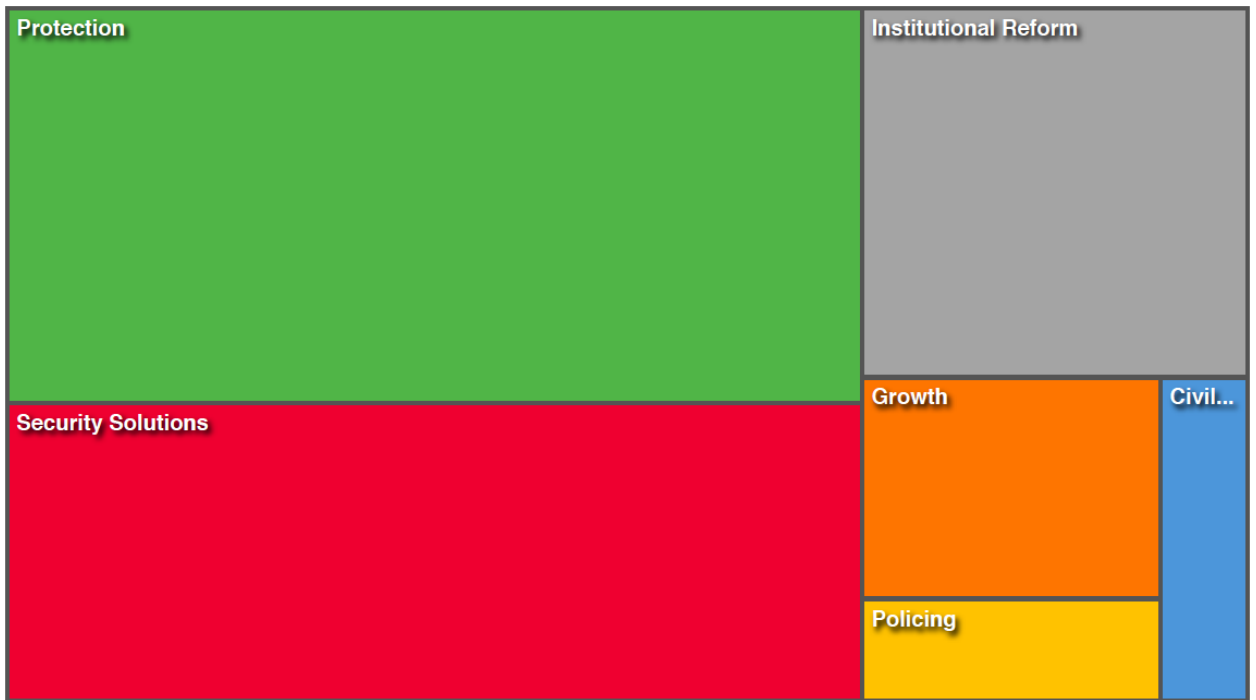
Figure AIVe - Solutions Language Frequency, IOs

Figure AIVf - Solutions Language Frequency, NGOs