

## Index

- Abad Faciolince, Hector, 360–361
- Abibe highlands, 176–177
- Abrams, Jason, 306–307
- ACASA. *See* Asociación Campesina de San José de Apartadó
- accountability, 198, 261, 284, 326  
for human rights violations, 338  
justice and, 268  
post-conflict accountability mechanisms, 233  
rebels and, 338  
Rome Statute and, 296  
softer forms of, 328–329
- active neutrality, 177, 182
- Additional Protocol II to Geneva Conventions, 328
- administrative capacity, 36
- administrative data, 199
- Afghanistan, 194, 349
- Afrocolombian people, 82–85, 310–311
- AGC. *See* Autodefensas Gaitanistas de Colombia
- Agencia Colombiana para la Reintegración (Colombian Agency for Reintegration), 371
- agencies, 32
- Agenda Pública de Paz y Desarrollo para el Departamento (Public Agenda for Peace and Development for the Department), 180–181
- Agreement on Resettlement of the Population Groups Uprooted by the Armed Conflict, 223–224
- Agroarte, 372
- Akhavan, Payam, 325–326
- Albarracín, Juan, 137
- Albertus, Michael, 72
- Alfonso Negret, Carlos, 154–155
- Alfonso Velasquez, Carlos, 358–359
- Alfredo Ramos, Luis, 176, 181
- allegiances, 99, 181  
territorial control and, 96–97  
of winning population, 94–95
- Allende, Salvador, 327
- amnesty, 8, 69–70, 213–216, 227–228, 407  
blanket amnesties, 326–327, 333, 342  
conditional, 234  
conflict recurrence and, 334  
moderate, 331–335  
no amnesty for crimes of sexual violence, 256–257  
preconditions for, 333  
transitional justice and, 238–240
- Amnesty International, 153–154, 181, 313
- Angola, 215
- Antioquia, 145–149  
peace initiatives in, 162–169  
peacebuilding in, 171–172  
victimization rate in, 163
- Antioquian Urabá, 358
- Anti-Terrorism and Police Intervention Unit, 116
- Apartadó, 176–179, 183
- apologies, 242–243
- approval ratings, 245, 290, 297
- Arbour, Louise, 309
- Argelia, 165
- Aristide, Bertrand, 332
- armed actor presence, 192
- Armed Conflict Dataset* (UCDP/PRIO), 3–4
- armed strikes, 121
- Arnault, Jean, 229

- Arroyave, Alirio, 173
- Asamblea Constituyente de Tarso (Constituent Municipal Assembly of Tarsus), 161, 171–172
- Asamblea Constituyente Infantil y Juvenil (Constituent Children's and Youth Assembly), 175
- Asamblea Departamental Constituyente de Antioquia (Departmental Constituent Assembly of Antioquia), 180–181
- Asamblea Municipal Constituyente de Tarso, 166–168, 172–176, 178–185
- Asamblea Provincial Constituyente del Oriente Antioqueño (Constituent Provincial Assembly of Eastern Antioquia), 180–181
- Asociación Campesina de San José de Apartadó (ACASA) (Peasants' Association of San José de Apartadó), 182–183
- Asociación de Mujeres Productoras del Campo (ASOMUPROCA), 263
- assassination, 6, 129, 155, 177
- AUC. *See* Autodefensas Unidas de Colombia
- Autodefensas Gaitanistas de Colombia (AGC), 154–155, 294
- Autodefensas Unidas de Colombia (AUC), 113, 126–127, 130, 312
- Colombian government negotiations with, 285–286
- demobilization of, 114–115
- level of power of, 117–118
- Avella, Aida, 265
- Ávila, A., 122
- Avruch, K., 349
- Bacrím. *See* Bandas Criminales Emergentes
- Bajo Cauca, 165, 168
- Bakiner, Onur, 15
- Bakke, K. M., 137
- Bandas Criminales Emergentes (Bacrím), 113–114, 126–127
- approximate number of, 116
- concentration of power of, 121
- counter-insurgent warfare and, 128
- criminal economies and, 117
- economic strength of, 118–123
- franchising and, 120–121
- geographical extent of, 115–116
- guerrillas difference in political objectives with, 128
- lost counterinsurgency legitimacy of, 118
- military capacity of, 115, 118–123
- neutralization of leaders of, 127
- as paramilitary forces, 114
- political strength of, 118–123
- post-conflict period and, 114
- security forces and, 117–118
- territorial control by, 114–115
- victims of, 117
- bargaining model of conflict, 330
- Barnett, Michael, 194
- Barómetro program, 26
- battlefield losses, 52
- battlefield pressure, 52
- BCB. *See* Bloque Central Bolívar
- Bedoya, Harold, 358
- Berman, E., 194
- Berrebi, 75
- Betancourt, Ingrid, 265
- Betancur, Belisario, 54
- Bickford, Louis, 308
- black people, 82–83
- Bloque Central Bolívar (BCB), 115
- Bloque Norte, 115
- Bodies of Sense* (exhibit), 381–383, 386–387
- Bogotá, 190–205
- Bojayá massacre, 242–243
- Bolívar, 162
- bottom-up processes, 23–24
- Bowen, Elinor R., 27–29, 36
- Boyle, Michael, 151–152
- Bravo, Carlos, 75
- Brazil, 128
- Brigadas Internacionales de Paz (International Peace Brigades), 181
- Britain, 222–223
- brokerage services, 70
- Brunori, Alberto, 156
- budgeting, 199
- Bulte, Erwin, 156
- bureaucracy, 97–98
- capacity of, 198
- corruption and, 102
- performance of, 100–101
- bureaucratic authority, 27–28
- business sector, 60
- El Caguan peace process, 49, 55–56
- CAJAR. *See* Corporación Colectivo de Abogados José Alvear Restrepo
- Cali Cartel, 126–127, 130, 398

- Cambodia, 266
- capacity, 94
- administrative capacity, 36
  - Bacrím, military capacity, 115, 118–123
  - building, 10
  - bureaucratic, 198
  - implementation, 33–34
  - socio-economic, 261–263
  - state, 92, 94–95
    - problems associated with, 38
  - State capacity to carry out policies, 23
- Caracas peace process, 54–55
- Casa de la Memoria (Medellín Memorial Museum), 360, 368–369, 371
- creation-reflection laboratories at, 371–372, 376–379, 382–383
- Casanare, 244
- Castaño, Ruby, 266–267
- casualties, 57
- Catholic Church, 59–60
- LGBTI community and, 250–251
  - National Conciliation Commission and, 60
- Cauca, 145–149, 162
- CCJ. *See* Colombian Commission of Jurists
- CDCS. *See* Country Development Cooperation Strategy
- cease-fires, 54–55, 63
- bilateral, 287
  - unilateral, 286
- Cédras, Raoul, 332
- census data, 71–72
- Center for International Security and Cooperation (CISAC), 24–25
- Center for the Victims of Torture, 223
- Central African Republic, 341
- Centro de Formacion para La Paz (CEPAR), 372
- CEPACT. *See* Corporación de Estudios y Proyectos de la Asamblea Municipal Constituyente de Tarso
- CEPAR. *See* Centro de Formacion para La Paz
- Cesar, 162
- CEV. *See* Commission for the Clarification of Truth, Coexistence and Non-Recurrence
- Chad, 340
- Chapultepec Accords, 338
- child soldiers, 9, 80–81
- children, victimization of, 81–82, 87
- Chile, 307
- La Chinita massacre, 242–243
- Chocó, 162, 244
- Christian Democratic Party (PDC), 68–69
- chronic unemployment, 262
- Cien Municipios de Paz (One Hundred Peace Municipalities), 173
- CISAC. *See* Center for International Security and Cooperation
- Citizen Mandate for Peace referendum, 60–61
- civil actors, 350
- civil society, 15, 267–268, 372–373
- FARC and, 61
  - well-organized, 283
- civil unrest, 93
- civil wars, 46, 87
- Angola and, 215
  - barriers to civil war settlements, 49–50
  - barriers to peace talks in, 47–49
  - disincentives for diplomatic efforts in, 50
  - military activity, 55
  - motivation for, 46–47
  - peace agreements and, 1
  - recurrence of, 74, 258
  - reduction in likelihood of, 258
  - sovereignty and, 91
  - studies of, 135–137
  - violence of, 57–58
    - negative externalities of, 58
- civilians, 57–58
- civilian deaths, 62
  - counter-insurgent warfare and, 94–95
  - pressure for peace talks, 58
  - violence and, 59
- Clan Del Golfo, 147–149
- Clayton, Govinda, 53
- Clerk, F. W. de, 222–223
- clientelism, 122, 174–175
- CMPVI. *See* Commission for Monitoring, Promoting and Verifying the Implementation of the Final Agreement
- CNRR. *See* National Commission for Reparation and Reconciliation
- coca crops, 125–126, 128, 374–375, 394–408
- cocaine, 7–19, 263, 374–375
- cocoa cooperatives, 176
- Cold War, 4, 327
- collective actions, 178
- collective memory, 355–357
- Collier, Paul, 75

- Colombia Barometer Initiative, 208–210
- Colombia Census data, 9
- Colombia Land Reform Institute (INCORA), 72–73
- Colombia Responde, 201–202
- Colombia Strategic Development Initiative (CSDI), 195
- Colombian Agency for Reintegration (Agencia Colombiana para la Reintegración), 371
- Colombian Commission of Jurists (CCJ), 285–286
- Colombian Communist Party, 358–359
- Colombian Conference of Bishops, 60
- Colombian Congress, 64–65, 268
- Colombian Final Accord  
innovative nature of, 208  
main passages from, 226  
non-recurrence guarantee of, 225–227  
noteworthy articles of, 213–214  
PAM and, 211–212  
stipulations of, 209–210  
transitional justice and, 210–213, 227–228  
war crimes and, 229
- Colombian Final Agreement, 209, 211, 232–235
- Colombian government, 1. *See also* Government of Colombia  
background on FARC peace talks with, 285–287  
divisions in, 49–50  
FARC peace agreement with, 1–2, 6, 46  
lack of trust in FARC, 49  
negotiations with AUC, 285–286  
peace agreements signed by, 5–6  
reforms to, 49  
security and, 7  
state-building and, 92–94
- Colombian Peace Accords, 332
- Colombian society, 2
- Colombian treasury, 88
- colonial institutions, 92–93
- colonization, 4–5
- Comisión de la Verdad y Reconciliación (CVR), 340–341
- Comisión Intercongregacional de Justicia y Paz (Inter-Congregational Commission for Justice and Peace), 177, 179, 181
- Comité de Impulso (Impetus Committee), 173–174, 178–184
- Comite de Memoria Zona Tres, 372
- Commission for Monitoring, Promoting and Verifying the Implementation of the Final Agreement (CMPVI), 258–259
- Commission for the Clarification of Truth, Coexistence and Non-Recurrence (CEV), 8, 211, 218–219, 269
- Commission for the Clarification of Truth, Coexistence and Non-Recurrence, 241
- Commission for the Search of Truth, Coexistence and Non-repetition of the Past, 369, 375–376
- Commission on the Truth for El Salvador, 224–225
- Commission to Monitor, Promote, and Verify Final Accord Implementation (CSIVI), 209
- community policing, 96  
experiments in, 97
- complexity paradox, 29–30, 33
- comprehensive peace agreements (CPAs), 15, 214–215, 221  
no more conflict campaigns in, 226  
reparations and, 222–223  
reparations programs and, 225  
war crimes and, 229
- comprehensive rural reform, 210
- Comprehensive System of Truth, Justice, Reparations, and Non-Recurrence (SIVJNR), 8, 211, 231–232, 247, 369
- Comprehensive System of Guarantees of Non-Recurrence, 225–227
- Comprehensive System of Justice, 216–218
- Comprehensive System of Reparations, 221–225
- Comprehensive System of Truth, 218–221  
success of, 247  
victim-centered nature of, 237–238
- Comuna 13 neighborhood, 190–205
- Comunidad de Paz de San José de Apartadó (Peace Community of San José de Apartadó), 161, 164–165, 171–172, 176–185
- concessions, 48
- conflict management literature, 46–47, 51–52, 63–64
- conflict managers, 328–331
- conflict transformation, 161
- conflicts  
amnesty and conflict recurrence, 334  
bargaining model of, 330

- conflict spirals, 51
- conflict-related deaths, 4
- death toll of, 311–312
- gendered violence and, 251–253
- horizontal, 36
- intensity of, 168–169
- interstate conflicts, 48–49
- municipal level support for peace
  - referendum by level of armed conflict violence, 77
- negotiation and, 51–52
- political economy of, 24
- recurrence, 339
- resolution, 7
- SGBV and, 252–253
- stages of, 164–165
- vertical, 36
- victims of, 69–70, 210
- Consejo de Alcaldes del Oriente Antioqueño (Council of Mayors of Eastern Antioquia), 180–181
- consensus, 32–33
- consolidation model, 193
- consolidation program municipalities, 191
- Constituent Assembly of Tarso, 174
- Constituent Children's and Youth Assembly (Asamblea Constituyente Infantil y Juvenil), 175
- constituent movement, 175
- Constituent Municipal Assembly of Tarsus (Asamblea Constituyente de Tarso), 161, 171–172
- Constituent Provincial Assembly of Eastern Antioquia (Asamblea Provincial Constituyente del Oriente Antioqueño), 180–181
- Constitutional Court, 154, 216, 233, 245–246, 315
- control municipalities, 191, 193
- coordination
  - problems of, 23
- Córdoba, 122
- Corporación Colectivo de Abogados José Alvear Restrepo (CAJAR), 285–286
- Corporación de Estudios y Proyectos de la Asamblea Municipal Constituyente de Tarso (CEPACT) (Corporation of Studies and Projects of the Municipal Constituent Assembly of Tarsus), 174–175, 182
- Corporacion Juridica Libertad (Legal Freedom Corporation), 371
- Corporación Nuevo Arco Iris (New Rainbow Corporation), 118
- Corporation for the Development & Peace of the Valle and Cauca, 60
- Corporation of Studies and Projects of the Municipal Constituent Assembly of Tarsus (Corporación de Estudios y Proyectos de la Asamblea Municipal Constituyente de Tarso, CEPACT), 174–175, 182
- corrective justice, 308–315
- corruption, 97, 102–104, 399
  - bureaucracy and, 102
  - exposure to corrupt practices, 101
  - of police, 102
  - trust in state institutions and, 104
  - underreported, 203
  - women and, 257
- Cortés, D., 100
- Council of Mayors of Eastern Antioquia (Consejo de Alcaldes del Oriente Antioqueño), 180–181
- counter-insurgency literature, 94, 194
- Counterinsurgency Manual (U.S. Military), 194
- counter-insurgent warfare, 94–95
  - Bacrím and, 128
  - DSP and, 188–191
- County Development Cooperation Strategy (CDCS), 197
- CPAs. *See* comprehensive peace agreements
- Creation-Production Committee, 381–383
- creation-reflection laboratories, 371–372, 376–379, 382–383
- crimes against humanity, 283
- crimes of aggression, 283
- criminal economies, 117–118
- criminal justice models, 406–407
- criminal resurgence, 191–192
- criminal violence, 8
- Croatia, 223–224
- crop loans, 70
- cross-group solidarity. *See* solidarity
- Crowley, Wickham, 95
- CSDI. *See* Colombia Strategic Development Initiative
- CSIVI. *See* Commission to Monitor, Promote, and Verify Final Accord Implementation

- Cuba, 1  
 Cuban Revolution, 4  
 Cunningham, D. E., 52  
 CVR. *See* Comisión de la Verdad y Reconciliación
- Dabeiba, 165  
 Daly, Sarah Zukerman, 137  
 DANE. *See* Departamento Administrativo Nacional de Estadística
- Dario, Diogo, 55–56  
 Davenport, Christian, 342  
 DDR. *See* disarmament, demobilization, and reintegration
- decision points, 28  
 Decree 900 (2017), 216  
 Decree 1290 (2008), 234  
 Decree 2252, 154  
 Defensoría del Pueblo (Ombudsman's Office), 129, 152, 227
- Deglow, Annekatrin, 155  
 Delgado, Álvaro, 358–359  
 de-mining initiatives, 168
- demobilization, 215, 232, 311  
   of AUC, 114–115  
   of FARC, 10–11, 62, 118–119, 130–131, 238  
     organized crime after, 127–128  
   of insurgents, 233  
   large scale, 268  
   legal framework, 312  
   of paramilitary forces, 239, 312  
   political participation of demobilized rebels, 235  
   problems with, 247
- democratic institutions, 251  
 Democratic Security Plan (Plan Patriota), 188–191, 193–194  
 democratic security policy (DSP), 5, 56–57, 286
- Departamento Administrativo Nacional de Estadística (DANE) (National Administrative Department of Statistics), 162–163  
 Departamento Nacional de Planeación (National Planning Office), 140–141  
 Departmental Constituent Assembly of Antioquia (Asamblea Departamental Constituyente de Antioquia), 180–181
- depredations, 172  
 descriptive analysis, 30
- devious objectives, 55–56  
 Diocese of Apartadó, 179  
 diplomatic efforts, 47  
   disincentives for, 50  
   prospects for, 51  
 disarmament, 311  
 disarmament, demobilization, and reintegration (DDR), 287, 331  
 discrimination, 102–105  
 displacements, 176–177, 260–261, 270  
   forced, 314–315  
   support for peace referendum and, 78–79
- distrust of government, 10  
 document-tracking, 370, 372–374, 385–386  
 domestic politics, 47  
 domestic pressure, 59–60  
 drug cartels, 4, 50, 263  
 drug trafficking, 4, 124, 128, 252–253  
   combating, 113  
   communities controlled by, 96  
   control of, 119  
   domestication of, 130  
   FARC and, 7, 50  
   micro-trafficking, 118–119  
   solutions to, 210  
   tolerance of private drug trafficking armies, 118
- drug violence, 2  
 DSP. *See* democratic security policy  
 Duque, Ivan, 11, 88, 229, 247–248, 250, 326, 330  
 durability of peace, 306–310
- ECHO. *See* European Community Humanitarian Office
- economic activity, 58–59  
 economic development, 4, 194–195, 257, 291, 398  
 economic growth, 6, 257  
 economic marginalization, 68–69, 75  
 economic rights, 260–261  
*The Economist* (magazine), 125  
 Ecuador, 7–19  
 education, 254, 263, 403  
 Ejército de Liberación Nacional (ELN) (National Liberation Army), 176, 286, 317, 351
- El Salvador, 74–75, 220, 224–225, 307  
 elections, 49, 122  
   clientelism and, 174–175  
   electoral politics, 351  
   FARC and, 75, 124, 248

- Guaviare gubernatorial election,  
122  
peaceful, 227–228  
plebiscite vote, 2014 presidential election  
and, 85–86  
Los Urabeños and, 123  
violence and, 74–77  
electoral reforms, 62  
elites, 287–288  
influence on legitimacy of transitional  
justice for FARC commanders,  
294–296  
influence on public support for peace  
process, 292–293  
in-group, 289  
local, 93  
out-group, 289  
trust in, 289, 295  
ELN. *See* Ejército de Liberación Nacional  
emergency grain, 70  
La Empresa, 118–119  
Erdut Agreement, 223–224  
ERPAC, 116–117  
Escobar, Pablo, 126–127, 130, 400  
Escuela Nueva, 263  
*El Espectador* (newspaper), 115–116  
ethnic politics literature, 75  
European Community Humanitarian Office  
(ECHO), 181  
ex-ante indicators, 29–30  
execution, 32  
extended contact theory, 289–290, 297  
extortion, 4, 117, 119, 124, 129, 200  
extraction-protection agreements, 57–58  
extrajudicial killings, 57  
extrajudicial truth-finding mechanisms, 211
- failed peace attempts, 46  
failure, probability of, 36  
FARC. *See* Revolutionary Armed Forces of  
Colombia  
Farmer, Paul, 309–310  
farms, 4  
Federación Nacional Universitaria (FUN)  
(National University Federation),  
351–352  
fertility rates, 257–258  
Final Agreement for the End of the Conflict  
and the Construction of a Stable and  
Lasting Peace, 209, 359.30. *See also*  
Comprehensive System of Truth,  
Justice, Reparations, and Non-  
Recurrence  
changes to, 237  
imagined “gender ideology” in, 243–244  
reparations and, 241–242  
revised, 246  
Rome Statute and, 239  
truth-finding bodies and, 241  
Final Peace Agreement, 30, 37–38  
financial assistance, 173  
Fisher, Robert J., 349  
focus groups, 199, 201–202  
forced disappearances, 9, 78–79, 87  
forced displacement, 314–315  
forced prostitution, 252  
Ford Foundation, 360–361  
foreign policy, 257–258  
Forest Ranger (Guardabosques), 189  
Forum of Rwandan Women Parliamentarians,  
266  
franchising, 120–121  
Francisco (commander), 294–296  
Freire, Paulo, 349–350  
*El Frente Nacional*. *See* National Front  
FUN. *See* Federación Nacional Universitaria  
Fundación Ideas para la Paz (Ideas for Peace  
Foundation), 120  
Fundación Social, 100–101  
Funes, Mauricio, 222–223  
fuzzy set style, 39
- Gallego, Jorge, 75  
Galtung, J., 349  
Galula, David, 194  
García-Sánchez, M., 99–100  
Gartner, Scott Sigmund, 57  
Gato, Lukamba Paulo, 215  
Gaviria, César, 54–55  
Gaviria, Guillermo, 180–181  
Geertz, Clifford, 355  
gender, 256, 404, 631.140. *See also* sexual and  
gender-based violence (SGBV)  
conflict and gendered violence, 251–253  
equality, 252, 254–255, 257  
equity, 251  
“gender ideology,” 243–244  
gender inclusive strategies, 259  
gender relationships, 11  
gender-justice reparations, 308  
institutionalizing gender bias, 266  
post-conflict period and, 250–251

- gender (cont.)  
 stereotypes, 260–261  
 Subcommittee on Gender, 255–256  
 “General Agreement for the Ending of the Conflict and the Building of a Stable and Lasting Peace,” 6  
 General Peace Agreement for Mozambique, 223–224  
 Geneva Conventions, Additional Protocol II to, 328  
 genocide, 283, 339  
*Geographies of Truth* (exhibit), 369, 379, 381, 386–387  
 geography, 379–380, 396–399  
 Giovanni, 127  
 Giraudy, Agustina, 93  
 Gleditsch, K. Skrede, 52–53  
 Global North, 309–310  
 GOC. *See* Government of Colombia  
 governance, 23–24, 91, 191–192, 195–197, 257.  
*See also* Regional Governance Activity  
 Government of Colombia (GOC), 191, 195–197, 208–209  
 governments, 47–48, 53, 55  
 grassroots, 261–263  
   advancing political participation at level of, 264–266  
   leadership, 175  
   pressure for negotiation, 57–61  
 Greig, J. Michael, 52–53, 58  
 Grenada, 166–168  
 gross crimes, 286  
 “Group of 19,000,” 233  
 group-based decision-making, 32–33  
 Guarantees of Non-Recurrence programs, 8, 211  
 Guardabosques (Forest Ranger), 189  
 Guatemala, 339  
 guerrillas, 1–2, 4, 129, 311  
   Bacrim difference in political objectives with, 128  
   Colombian, 4  
   gradual repulsion of, 188  
   peasant-based guerrilla movements, 396  
   weakening of, 5, 98  
   wealth of, 125  
 Guevara, Che, 353  
 Gutiérrez, Nancy Patricia, 154–155  
 Haiti, 332  
 Hamber, Brandon, 309  
 Havana, Cuba, 1, 235–236, 255, 284  
 Havana Agreement, 317–320  
 Havana peace talks, 56–57, 208–209  
 Hayner, Priscilla, 306–307  
 Herbert C. Kelman, 349  
 Hernández, Angela María, 182–183  
 hierarchies, 23–24, 34–35, 39  
 Hindu-Muslim riots, 75  
 Historical Memory Group, 233, 241, 267, 314  
 Hölderlin, Friedrich, 185  
 Holocaust, 357, 361  
 homicide rates, 134  
   intensity of, 140  
   leader homicide, 140  
   in Nariño, 146–150  
   victimization and, 142  
   violence and, 135  
 horizontal governance schemes, 23  
 horizontal institutions, 39  
 Hultman, Lisa, 57–58  
 human rights, 154–155, 306–308, 336  
   activists, 10–11, 244  
   atrocities, 1  
   defenders, 153  
   enforcement, 326  
   organizations, 152  
   promotion of, 226, 306–310  
   prospects for, 319–320  
   protection of, 60, 189  
   Protection Protocol for human rights organizations, 226–227  
   reparations and, 308  
   trials, 238–240  
   violations, 211, 239  
     accountability for, 338  
     commissioned by landowners, 238  
     prosecution for, 214  
 Human Rights Watch, 138–139, 244, 269–270, 313  
 Hurtado, Oscar, 174  
 hybrid peace, 169–171, 185  
 hybridization, 168–172, 180–182  
 ICC. *See* International Criminal Court  
 Ideas for Peace Foundation (Fundación Ideas para la Paz), 120  
 ideological self-placement, 101, 108  
 IDP. *See* internally displaced persons  
 IEPI. *See* Indicator of Prospective Efficiency in Implementation  
 illegal gold mining, 118–119, 124, 128  
 illegal markets, 4



- Immigration and Refugee Board of Canada, 152
- Impetus Committee (Comité de Impulso), 173–174, 178–184
- impunity, 211
- inclusionary bodies, 240
- INCORA. *See* Colombia Land Reform Institute
- indemnification, 315–316
- INDEPAZ. *See* Instituto de Estudios para el Desarrollo y la Paz
- Indicator of Prospective Efficiency in Implementation (IEPI), 29–30
- actors in peace agreements, according to IEPI, 35
- analysis of, 33–34
- calculation of, 32–33
- formula for, 34–35
- indigenous people, 82–83
- individual well-being, 197
- industrialization, 4
- informal markets, 128
- informants, 189
- informational challenges, 48
- Informe especial de Derechos Humanos Situación de lideresas y líderes sociales, de defensoras y defensores de derechos humanos y de excombatientes de las Farc-EP y sus familiares* (INDEPAZ), 140
- infrastructure, 59–60
- Infrastructures for Peace, 161
- Institute for Integrated Transitions, 371
- institutes, 32
- institutional achievements, 270–271
- institutional viability, 173–174
- Instituto de Estudios para el Desarrollo y la Paz (INDEPAZ), 134–135, 140
- insurgents, 189
- anti-insurgency policy, 56–57
- civilians targeted by, 57–58
- counter-insurgent warfare and, 94–95
- demobilization of, 233
- governments negotiating with, 47–48
- during wars, 95
- Inter-American Commission on Human Rights, 360–361
- Inter-Congregational Commission for Justice and Peace (Comisión Intercongregacional de Justicia y Paz), 177, 179, 181
- internal instability, 92
- internally displaced persons (IDP), 250, 252, 262
- international borders, 7
- International Committee of Red Cross, 191
- international community, 2, 96
- International Criminal Court (ICC), 235–236, 244, 268, 283, 335–336
- International Criminal Law, 336
- International Peace Academy (IPA), 24–25
- International Peace Brigades (Brigadas Internacionales de Paz), 181
- international peace missions, 349
- Inter-Parliamentary Union (IPU), 254–255
- interpersonal trust, 11
- interstate conflicts, 48–49
- Investigation Unit of the Special Jurisdiction for Peace (JEP), 218, 269–270
- IPA. *See* International Peace Academy
- IPU. *See* Inter-Parliamentary Union
- Iraq, 194, 349
- Irish Republicans, 343
- Israeli-Palestinian conflict, 75
- Ituango, 165
- jail time, 294–296
- JEP. *See* Investigation Unit of the Special Jurisdiction for Peace; Special Justice for Peace
- Jews, 357
- Jimeno, Myriam, 352
- joint action, 27
- Jorge 40, 115
- Joshi, Madhav, 26, 32–33, 38, 215
- Juridical Framework for Peace, 235–236, 238–239, 246
- jus post bellum*, 327–331
- justice, 113–114. *See also specific types of justice*
- accountability and, 268
- bottom-up, 310
- comprehensive system of, 216–218
- geography and, 396–399
- indicators of, 405–406
- justice needs and demands of Colombians, 310–311
- peace agreements, transforming justice under, 267
- persistence of, 330
- pro-justice movements, 329
- truth commissions and, 331
- Justice and Peace Law 975 (2005), 229, 233–235, 268
- application of, 284

- Justice and Peace Law 975 (2005) (cont.)  
 general transition model of, 313  
 implementation of, 314  
 initial logic of, 318–319  
 Justice Palace, 242
- Kaplan, Oliver, 72  
 Keels, Eric, 74–75  
 kidnapping, 9, 79–80, 87, 129  
 Kim, Hunjoon, 307–308, 335–336  
 Kissinger, Henry, 327  
 Kroc Institute for International Peace Studies,  
 25–26, 209, 258–259
- labor force, 254–255, 257–258  
 Laboratorio de Paz Provincia del Oriente  
 Antioqueño (Peace Laboratory of  
 Eastern Antioqueño Province), 180–181  
 labor-repressive agriculture, 93  
 land  
 access to, 3–4, 69–70  
 dispossession, 9  
 land tenure, 69–74, 86  
 money laundering and, 4  
 plebiscite vote and land ownership, 71  
 restitution, 138–139, 237, 316–317  
 women and, 263  
 restructuring land ownership, 270  
 land reform, 68–69, 72–73, 86, 235  
 beneficiaries, 73  
 degrees of, 73  
 peasants and, 71  
 plebiscite vote and, 74  
 rural/urban divide and, 70–71  
 support for peace referendum by, 73  
 types of, 71  
 violent opposition to, 74  
 Land Restitution Unit, 263  
 landowners, 69–70, 237  
 human rights violations commissioned by, 238  
 influence of, 70–71  
 political manipulation by, 73  
 private militias formed by, 76  
 LAPOP. *See* Latin American Public Opinion  
 Project  
 large-scale war, 4  
 lasting peace, 187, 204  
 Latin American Public Opinion Project  
 (LAPOP), 98–99  
 Latin American states, 92–93  
 Law 1257 (2008), 268  
 Law 1312 (2009), 233  
 Law 1448 (2011) (Victims' Law), 234–235, 246,  
 314–315  
 Law 1592 (2012), 233–234  
 Law 1719 (2014), 268  
 Law on the Agreement on Contribution  
 to Historical Truth and Reparations,  
 233  
 Lederach, J. P., 170, 179, 349  
 Lee, Melissa M., 100–101  
 left-wing groups, 49–50  
 legal documentation, 223–224  
 Legal Freedom Corporation (Corporacion  
 Juridica Libertad), 371  
 Legislative Act, 240  
 legitimacy-building, 109  
 lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender and  
 intersex community (LGBTI), 250–251,  
 255  
 Ley, Sandra, 75–76  
 Ley de Víctimas y Restitución de Tierras  
 (Victims and Restitution of Lands  
 Law), 162  
 LGBTI. *See* lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender  
 and intersex community  
 liberal peace paradigm, 259–260  
 Liberation War Museum, 309  
 Liberia, 220, 223, 340  
 Libertadores de Vichada Bacrím, 117–118  
 literacy rates, 254  
 lived experiences, 101–102  
 Lleras, Vargas, 123  
 local approaches, 169  
 local elites, 93  
 Londoño Echeverri, Rodrigo, 242–243  
 Lopez, Clara, 265  
 lower-level combatants, 286  
 Loyle, Cyanne, 342  
 Lozano, Tony, 183–184  
 Luna, Juan Pablo, 93  
 Lusaka Protocol 1994, 215
- M-19, 61, 242, 285, 351  
 Mac Ginty, R., 161  
 Magdalena, 162  
 Maldonado, Gerardo, 75  
 Malone, 24–25  
 Management Systems International (MSI),  
 195–197  
 Mancuso, Salvatore, 115  
 Mandela, Nelson, 343

- Mao Tse-Tung, 94  
 Marcha Patriótica, 129–130  
 Marulanda, Manuel, 60–61  
 mass unrest, 92  
 massacres, 177, 222–223, 225, 242–243, 339  
 Matanock, A. M., 99–100  
 maximalist agreements, 37  
 McEwen, Craig A., 51  
 MDM. *See* Medición de Desempeño Municipal  
 Mechoulam, Delphine, 56–57, 59–60  
 Medellín, 190–205  
 Medellín Cartel, 130, 398  
 Medellín Memorial Museum (Casa de la Memoria), 360, 368–369, 371  
     creation-reflection laboratories at, 371–372, 376–379, 382–383  
 mediation, 53, 63  
 Medición de Desempeño Municipal (MDM), 140–146  
 Megateo, 117–118, 127  
 Mejía, Daniel, 195  
 Melander, Erik, 215  
 memorials, 308–309, 407  
 Mendez, Myriam, 360–361  
 mental health, 223  
 Mexico, 75, 128  
 Milburn, Thomas W., 51  
 military attacks, 56  
 military courts, 238  
 military force, 93–94  
 military presence, 96–97, 99–100  
 Ministerio de Defensa Nacional, 135  
 ministries, 32  
 Ministry of Post-Conflict, 36  
 Mockus, Antanas, 352  
 Mogotes-Santander, 173  
 money laundering, 4  
 Monson Cifuentes, Luz Marina, 218–219  
 Monte Sole Peace School, 309  
 Montería, 113–114  
 Movement of Victims of State Agents (MOVICE), 313  
 Mozambique, 223–224  
 EL Mozote massacre, 222–223, 339  
 MSI. *See* Management Systems International  
 Mujeres Caminando por la Verdad, 372  
 Mujeres por la Paz, 255  
 multilevel models, 102–104  
 multiparty agreements, 32  
 multiplicative ownership, 33  
 municipal administration, 175  
 Municipal Food and Nutrition Councils, 35  
 municipal governments, 10  
 Municipal Unit of Victim Attention and Reparation (Programa de Atención a Víctimas del Conflicto Armado), 368  
 museographic experiences, 381–385  
 Mutatá, 164–165  
 Myers Index, 100–101  
  
 Naidu, Ereshnee, 309  
 narcotics trafficking, 1, 50, 394–408  
 Nariño, 146–150, 162, 165, 244  
 National Action Party (PAN), 75–76  
 National Administrative Department of Statistics (Departamento Administrativo Nacional de Estadística, DANE), 162–163  
 National Centre for Historical Memory, 234–235, 241, 253  
 National Commission for Reparation and Reconciliation (CNRR), 233–235, 313–314  
 National Conciliation Commission, 60  
 National Council for Reconciliation and Coexistence, 35  
 national decision-making commissions, 33  
 National Food and Nutrition Council, 35  
 National Front, 3–4  
 National Guarantees Board for Human Rights Defenders and Social and Communal Leaders, 227  
 National Historical Memory Center, 263  
 National Liberation Army (Ejército de Liberación Nacional, ELN), 1, 54, 176, 251, 286, 317, 351  
 National Plan for Human Rights Education, 226–227  
 National Planning Office (Departamento Nacional de Planeación), 140–141  
 National Police, 115  
 National Policy for Territorial Consolidation and Reconstruction (PNCRT), 195  
 National Training Service (SENA), 201  
 National University Federation (Federación Nacional Universitaria, FUN), 351–352  
 National University of Colombia, 348, 352–353  
 natural resource royalty revenues, 198  
 negotiation, 283. *See also* *specific negotiations*

- negotiation (cont.)  
 Colombian government negotiations with  
 AUC, 285–286  
 commonness of, 329–330  
 conflicts and, 51–52  
 difficulty of, 47, 49  
 grassroots pressure for, 57–61  
 motivation for, 46–47  
 public opinion on, 297  
 tensions in, 325–326  
 transitional justice and, 235–238  
 violence and, 46, 50–51  
 Nepal, 68–69, 222–225  
 Netquest, 290–291  
 networks, 120  
 New Havana Agreement (Nuevo Acuerdo de la Habana), 184  
 New Rainbow Corporation (Corporación Nuevo Arco Iris), 118  
 NGOs. *See* non-governmental organizations  
 9/11 attacks, 5  
 “No Mas Campaign,” 60–61  
 Nobel Peace Prize, 85–86, 231, 327  
 nominal variation, 30  
 non-chronological time, 380  
 non-governmental organizations (NGOs), 285–286, 315  
 non-state actors, 91  
 Norte, 165, 168  
 Northern Ireland, 222–223, 343  
 Nuevo Acuerdo de la Habana (New Havana Agreement), 184  
  
 OACP. *See* Office of the High Commissioner for Peace  
 Observatorio de Restitución y Regulación de Derechos de Propiedad Agraria, 139  
 Observatorio de Tierras, 134–135, 139–140  
 Observatory for Disarmament, Demobilization and Reintegration Processes (ODDR), 115–116  
 Occidente, 165  
 Ochali, 374–375  
 ODDR. *See* Observatory for Disarmament, Demobilization and Reintegration Processes  
 O’Donnell, G., 135  
 Office of the High Commissioner for Peace (OACP), 225  
 Office of the Prosecutor (OTP), 268  
 Ombudsman’s Office (Defensoría del Pueblo), 129, 152, 227  
  
 One Hundred Peace Municipalities (Cien Municipios de Paz), 173  
 Operation Agamemnon, 127  
 Operation Check Mate, 188–189  
 Operation Genesis, 188–189  
 Operation Orion, 188–205  
 Operation Sodoma, 188–189  
 opposition leaders, 152  
 Opus Dei university, 359  
 ordinal values, 33–34  
 organizational complexity, 22–23, 36  
 organizational design, 22–23, 27–29  
 organizational efficiency, 39  
 organized crime, 75–76, 113  
 after demobilization of FARC, 127–128  
 networked structure of, 120  
 in post-conflict period, 123–124  
 threats of, 126–130  
 organized resistance, 5  
 Oriente, 165–168, 176  
 Ortiz, C. M., 176–177  
 OTP. *See* Office of the Prosecutor  
  
 Pacific Route of Women and Network of Universities for Peace and Coexistence, 60  
 Pacifying Police Units (UPP), 96  
 PAM. *See* Peace Accords Matrix  
 PAN. *See* National Action Party  
 paramilitary forces, 4, 75, 147–149  
 Bacrím considered, 114  
 confessions by, 235  
 counterinsurgent, 4  
 demobilization of, 239, 312  
 former, 313  
 massacres by, 177  
 media and, 118  
 political killings by, 50  
 rank-and-file, 233  
 rise of, 396  
 Uribe, A., on, 113  
 Páramos, 165  
 Parapolítica, 121–122  
 parapolitics scandal, 190  
 pardonable crimes, 233  
 Pastrana, Andrés, 55–56, 60–61, 290  
 patriarchal systems, 260–261, 270–271  
 Patriotic Union, 225  
 patron-client politics, 70–71  
 Pax Christi, 181  
 Payne, Leigh A., 318

- Paz y Tercer Mundo (Peace and Third World), 181
- PDC. *See* Christian Democratic Party
- Peace Accords Matrix (PAM), 9, 15, 25–26, 208–209, 399, 406
- on Colombian agreement, 29
  - Colombian Final Accord and, 211–212
- peace agreements, 5–6, 56, 95
- actors in, 35
  - civil wars and, 1
  - complexity of Colombian agreement, 29–35
  - database of, 25–26
  - electorate rejection of, 61–62
  - execution of, 32
  - failed peace attempts, 46
  - FARC peace agreement with Colombian government, 1–2, 6, 46
  - fear of violation of, 48
  - implementation phase of, 25–26
  - investment in, 270–271
  - organizational design and, 27–29
  - public rejection of, 63–64, 68
  - transforming justice under, 267
  - women and, 259, 271
- Peace and Reconciliation Foundation, 116
- Peace and Third World (Paz y Tercer Mundo), 181
- Peace Community of San José de Apartadó (Comunidad de Paz de San José de Apartadó), 161, 164–165, 171–172, 176–185
- Peace Council, 36
- peace implementation, 209, 405
- capacity for, 33–34
  - consequences for successful, 33
  - degrees of, 210
  - difficulty of, 25
  - entities responsible for, 32
  - implementation fairs, 37
  - organizational design of, 38
  - overcoming problems in, 36–37
  - peacebuilding and, 25
  - probability of, 28
  - problematization of, 27
  - problems associated with state capacity, 38
  - reducing complexity of policies to be implemented, 36
  - references to, 32
  - swift pace of, 215–216
- peace infrastructures, 169–171, 184–185
- peace initiatives, 162–169, 178–184
- peace keeping, 25
- Peace Laboratory of Eastern Antioqueño Province (Laboratorio de Paz Provincia del Oriente Antioqueño), 180–181
- peace literature, 22, 24–26, 38
- peace process, 405, 408
- El Caguan, 49, 55–56
  - Caracas, 54–55
  - elite influence on public support for, 292–293
  - peasant support for, 69–74
  - support for, 292
  - Tlaxaca, 54–55
  - Uribe, A., campaign against, 243–244, 287, 320, 326
  - women and, 254–257
- peace referendum, 87–88
- child soldiers and support for, 80–81
  - displacements and support for, 78–79
  - forced disappearances and support for, 78–79
  - kidnapping and support for, 79–80
  - municipal level support for peace referendum by level of armed conflict violence, 77
  - Santos, J., and, 85–86, 88
  - sexual violence and support for, 78
  - support for, by land reform, 73
  - support for, by rural percentage of municipality, 72
  - victimization of children and, 81–82, 87
  - victimization of women and, 82, 87
- peace talks, 46–47, 59–61, 134. *See also specific peace talks*
- civil wars, barriers to peace talks in, 47–49
  - civilian pressure for, 58
  - failure of, 61
  - history of, 53–54
  - settlement efforts and, 61–62
  - willingness for, 57–58
- Peace Tribunal (Tribunal para la Paz), 238–239, 269
- peacebuilding, 33, 96, 204, 348, 354, 393–394
- in Antioquia, 171–172
  - dynamic processes of, 178
  - integrated framework for, 179
  - legitimizing, 23–24
  - local peacebuilding experiences, 161

- peacebuilding (cont.)  
 local turn in, 348–351  
 peace builders, 328–331  
 peace implementation and, 25  
 sustainability of, 176  
 sustainable local, 161  
 transformative justice and, 270  
 transitional justice and, 9, 259–261  
 by UN, 258
- peacemaking, 5–6, 161
- Peasant Soldiers (Soldados Campesinos), 189
- peasants  
 land reform and, 71  
 peasant-based guerrilla movements, 396  
 process of expelling, 176–177  
 in rural areas, 69–70  
 subordination of peasant cultivators, 70–71  
 support for peace process, 69–74
- Peasants' Association of San José de Apartadó (Asociación Campesina de San José de Apartadó, ACASA), 182–183
- Pelusos, 121
- Pereira, Gabriel, 318
- peripheries, 93–94, 125–126
- Perliger, Arie, 152, 156
- Peru, 307, 340–341
- Peters, Guy, 27, 29
- Petro, Gustavo, 61, 265
- Pijarvey, 117–118, 127
- Pinochet, Augusto, 327
- El Placer, 225
- Plan Colombia, 5, 56, 98, 188
- Plan Estratégico de Tarso (Strategic Plan for Tarsus), 175
- Plan for Collective Action, 153
- Plan Patriota (Democratic Security Plan), 188–191, 193–194
- Planeta Rica, 202–203
- plebiscite vote, 2, 69, 76, 320  
 land ownership and, 71  
 land reform and, 74  
 low turnout for, 6  
 in rural areas, 71–72  
 surprising defeat of, 68  
 2014 presidential election and, 85–86  
 types of violence and, 77–81  
 Uribe, A., and, 85
- PNCRT. *See* National Policy for Territorial Consolidation and Reconstruction
- polarization, 38
- police corruption, 102
- Police Peacebuilding Unit, 360
- police presence, 96–97, 100, 106, 137–138
- police reforms, 190
- policy design, 23, 37
- policy implementation, 22–23, 27
- political crimes, 233, 239
- political divide, 69
- political economy, 24
- political killings, 50
- political participation, 210
- political prisoners, 332–333
- political slaughter, 3
- political violence, 3–4, 354, 359
- post conflict states, 7
- post-conflict institutions, 259
- post-conflict period, 113, 337–338  
 Bacrím and, 114  
 gender and, 250–251  
 organized crime in, 123–124  
 post-conflict accountability mechanisms, 233  
 post-conflict economic development  
 assistance, 291
- post-peace agreement period, 188
- post-war peace building process, 2–3
- poverty, 137–138, 260–261, 396–397
- power parity, 52
- Pressman, Jeffrey, 27–30, 33
- Prevention and Alert for Rapid Response System (SPARR), 227
- prisoners release, 213–216, 227–228
- private militias, 71–72, 76
- probability theory, 27–28
- Process 8000, 121–122
- Programa de Atención a Víctimas del Conflicto Armado (Municipal Unit of Victim Attention and Reparation), 368
- pro-peace protests, 59–60
- property restitution, 223
- property rights, 260–261
- prosecutions, 238–240, 333–341
- Prosecutor's Unit against Emerging Gangs (Unidad de Fiscalías contra las Bandas Emergentes), 123
- prospective analysis, 23–24
- protracted social conflicts, 349
- Pruitt, Dean, 51
- Public Agenda for Peace and Development for the Department (Agenda Pública de Paz y Desarrollo para el Departamento), 180–181
- public endorsement, 210

- public goods, 3–5, 96–98  
   natural resource royalty revenues for, 198  
   under-provision of, 203
- public opinion, 283, 315  
   dynamics of, 290  
   elite influence on public support for peace  
     process, 292–293  
   elites and, 287–288  
   formation of, 289–290  
   on negotiation, 297  
   on transitional justice, 296  
   Zaller model of, 288–289
- public order, 4, 96
- Public Policy for the Prevention of Human Rights Violations, 227
- public policy implementation, 37. *See also* peace implementation
- public policy literature, 22–23
- public pressure, 59, 61
- public services, 102–105
- public universities, 347–348, 351–354, 361
- punishable crimes, 233
- Puntilleros, 121
- Putumayo, 225
- Quinn, Jason Michael, 215
- Raizal people, 82–85
- Ramírez, Marta Lucía, 265
- random-intercept models, 102
- rape, 252
- Rapoport, David, 74–75
- Rastrojos, 116–117, 120–121
- realpolitik, 327
- rebels, 47–48, 247, 332–333  
   accountability and, 338  
   capability of, 53  
   cost imposed by, 52  
   governments avoiding talks with,  
     53  
   large numbers of women in rebel groups,  
     256  
   pressure on governments from, 55  
   protections against sweeping prosecution of,  
     333–334
- Rebolledo Valeta, Hermes, 123
- reconciliation, 262, 294–295
- Reconciliation Tribunal, 286
- reconstruction, 91, 348, 375
- Red Cross, 188–189, 191
- Red de Informantes, 189
- REDEPAZ, 173
- referendum, 244
- refugees, 223
- Regan, Patrick M., 53
- Regional Governance Activity (RGA), 187, 191,  
   193, 195–199, 202–203
- Registraduría Nacional del Estado Civil, 9, 71,  
   76–77
- Registro Único de Víctimas (RUV) (Sole List  
   of Victims), 9, 76–77, 162
- rehabilitation, 315–316
- rehabilitative justice, 260
- Reik, B. M., 289
- reintegration, 29, 311
- relativism, 380
- rent delays, 70
- reparations, 221–225, 237, 340–343, 407  
   compensatory reparations model, 316  
   gender-justice reparations, 308  
   human rights and, 308  
   mandatory victim reparations, 268  
   provisions relating to, 268  
   with transformative aims, 308–315  
   transitional justice and, 241–242
- Reparations for Victims and Land Restitution  
   Law 1448 (2011), 268
- reparative justice, 306
- Reporte semestral Observatorio de Restitución y  
   Regulación de Derechos de Propiedad  
   Agraria. Dinámicas del asesinato de  
   líderes rurales: las covariables  
   municipales* (report), 139
- resolution 1325 (2000) (UN), 256
- responsibilities  
   Final Peace Agreement and, 37–38  
   fragmentation of, 35, 37  
   multiple, 38
- restitution, 315–316
- restorative justice, 2, 8, 306
- retributive justice, 2, 305–306, 395–396  
   effects of non-retributive justice measures,  
     310  
   limited, 320  
   top-down, 310  
   transitional justice and, 8
- Rettberg, Angelika, 59
- Revolutionary Armed Forces of Colombia  
   (FARC), 1, 98, 351  
   ambitions for territorial control, 128  
   apologies issued by, 242–243  
   approval ratings of, 297

- Revolutionary Armed Forces of Colombia (FARC) (cont.)
- background on Colombian government peace talks with, 285–287
  - civil society and, 61
  - damage to infrastructure from, 59–60
  - demands of, 49
  - demobilization of, 10–11, 62, 118–119, 130–131, 238
    - organized crime after, 127–128
  - drug trafficking and, 7, 50
  - elections and, 75, 124, 248
  - elite influence on legitimacy of transitional justice for FARC commanders, 294–296
  - fighting effectiveness of, 56–57
  - V Front, 176–177
  - key victories for, 55
  - lack of trust in Colombian government, 49
  - as legal organization, 123–126
  - military power of, 317
  - military pressure on, 286
  - pardons for, 243–244
  - peace agreement with Colombian government, 1–2, 6, 46
  - peace agreement with Santos, J., 68
  - power vacuums left by, 138
  - proposed rules for financing FARC's political party, 237
  - ramping up violence, 54
  - reparations and, 241–242
  - San José de Apartadó and, 177
  - Uribe, A., policy towards, 56–57
  - women in, 251
- RGA. *See* Regional Governance Activity
- Richmond, Mac, 349
- Richmond, Oliver, 55–56, 161
- rights-based justice mechanisms, 328–329
- right-wing groups, 75, 247–248, 335
- Rio de Janeiro, 96–97
- Rios Montt, Efraín, 339
- Risk Report 010 – 17, 154
- Rivera, Guillermo, 218
- The Roads of Truth* (exhibit), 374, 381, 383–387
- Romani people, 82–83
- Rome Statute, 236, 239, 283, 285, 335
  - accountability and, 296
  - violations outlined in, 336
- Rubin, Jeffrey, 51
- Ruhe, Constantín, 53
- rule of law, 347
  - tools for post-conflict states, 312–313, 331
- rural areas, 4, 86–87
  - peasants in, 69–70
  - plebiscite vote in, 71–72
  - rural reform, 6
  - rural residents, 200
  - war-weariness among rural populations, 71–72
- rural development, 247
- rural/urban divide, 69–71
- RUV. *See* Registro Único de Víctimas
- Rwanda, 265
- Salehyan, I., 52
- San José de Apartadó, 176–177, 183–184
- sandplay, 371
- Santos, Enrique, 56–57
- Santos, Francisco, 286
- Santos, Juan Manuel, 6, 11, 137, 231, 286, 289–290
  - administration of, 326
  - apologies issued by, 242–243
  - approval ratings of, 245, 290
  - Nobel Peace Prize and, 85–86
  - opposition to, 69
  - peace agreement with FARC, 68
  - peace referendum and, 85–86, 88
  - support for, 85
  - trust in, 295–296
- Schindler, Oskar, 357
- Scott, James, 70–71
- security, 7. *See also* democratic security policy
  - barriers to, 187
  - crime-related insecurity, 200–201
  - forces, 97–98, 118
    - Bacrím and, 117–118
  - general trends in, 135
  - importance of state presence in, 137–138
  - policies, 98
  - of social leaders, 138–139
  - spending, 137
  - subnational, 135–137
  - Uribe, A., security initiatives of, 189
- Segura, Renata, 56–57, 59–60
- Seguridad Social en Salud (SGSSS), 137–138
- Selection Committee, 240
- self-censorship, 352–353
- self-determination, 182
- SENA. *See* National Training Service
- Serbia, 340
- Serpa, Horacio, 60–61



- settlement efforts, 47  
 barriers to, 49–50  
 core elements of, 62  
 peace talks and, 61–62  
 willingness to seek, 63
- Ševčenko, Liz, 309
- sexual and gender-based violence (SGBV), 252  
 conflicts and, 252–253  
 culture of impunity regarding, 261  
 documentation of, 267  
 epidemic of, 266–267  
 statistics on, 253  
 systematic use of, 250  
 trauma caused by, 271
- sexual violence, 11, 87, 270, 310–311  
 culture of impunity regarding, 266–270  
 no amnesty for crimes of, 256–257  
 sexual abuse, 252  
 sexual assaults, 253  
 sexual crimes, 9  
 support for peace referendum and, 78
- SGBV. *See* sexual and gender-based violence
- SGSSS. *See* Seguridad Social en Salud
- Shining Path, 340–341
- Sierra Leone, 220, 222–223
- signaling games, 355
- Sikkink, Kathryn, 307–308, 335–336
- SJP. *See* Special Jurisdiction for Peace
- smuggling, 4
- social cohesion, 5
- social contract, 97
- social identity theory, 288–289
- social leaders, 141, 154–155  
 inability to protect, 156  
 killings of, 135, 140, 152  
 security of, 138–139
- social media, 289–290
- social networks, 251
- social oversight efforts, 198
- social peace, 317–318
- social relationships, 11
- social spending, 137
- societal divisions, 403
- socio-economic capacity, 261–263
- socioeconomic power, 264
- socio-economic rights, 262
- Sodaro, Amy, 308
- Soldados Campesinos (Peasant Soldiers), 189
- Soldados de mi Pueblo (Soldiers of my town), 189
- Sole List of Victims (Registro Único de Víctimas, RUV), 162
- solidarity, 350, 354–355  
 formation of, 356  
 in-group, 355  
 reestablishment of, 355–356  
 victims and, 356
- Somos Defensores programme, 154
- South Africa, 222–223, 307, 317, 340
- sovereignty, 91, 398
- SPARR. *See* Prevention and Alert for Rapid Response System
- Special Administrative Unit for Victim Assistance and Reparation (Unidad Administrativa Especial de Atención y Reparación a Víctimas), 162
- Special Jurisdiction for Peace (SJP), 8, 211, 216–218, 238–241, 325  
 opposition to, 338
- Special Justice for Peace (JEP), 228, 335
- Special Unit for the Search for Persons Deemed as Missing (SUSPM), 8, 211, 218–219
- spoilers, 328–329, 342
- stalemate  
 hurting, 46–47, 51–52, 400–401  
 power parity and, 52
- state control, 106, 152
- state institutions, 92  
 performance of, 100–101  
 personal experiences with, 101  
 quality of, 97–98  
 trust in, 99, 102, 107, 199–200  
 average level of, 106  
 corruption and, 104  
 development and, 106–107  
 ideological self-placement and, 108
- state legitimacy, 97
- state presence, 137–138
- state-building, 6, 91–94, 96
- statebuilding, 349
- Stedman, Stephen John, 25
- stipulations, 209–210  
 number of, 210  
 of reparations system, 221–222  
 transitional justice, 211  
 of Truth, Coexistence and Non-Recurrence Commission, 219–220
- Strategic Plan for Tarsus (Plan Estratégico de Tarso), 175

- structure-processes, 170
- student organizations, 351–352
- Subcommission on Gender, 255–256
- subnational governments, 198
- subsistence floor, 70
- substantive representation, 264–266
- suffrage, 264
- SUSPM. *See* Special Unit for the Search for Persons Deemed as Missing
- symbolic resources, 376
  
- Tarazá, 165
- Tarso, 166–168, 172–176, 180–181
- Tarso: *Hacia un Nuevo Milenio* (Tarsus: *Towards a New Millennium*), 173
- taxation, 93, 113–114
- technocratic approaches, 169, 185
- temporality, 380
- Territorial Consolidation program, 187
- territorial control, 96, 109
  - alliances and, 96–97
  - by Bacrím, 114–115
  - FARC ambitions for, 128
  - importance of, 96
  - limits of, 125
  - military presence and, 99–100
  - wartime dynamics of territorial control, 95–96
- territorial peace, 317–318
- terror, 5
- terrorism, 75, 135, 137
- third-party conflict management efforts, 47
- Tirado, Alvaro, 360–361
- TJRC. *See* Transitional Justice Research Collaborative
- Tlaxaca peace process, 54–55
- Top-Down implementation perspective, 23–24
- torture, 9, 223
- transformative justice
  - peacebuilding and, 270
  - transformative transitional justice, 259–261
  - women and, 251
- transitional justice, 1, 88, 210, 246, 310, 319–320, 393–394
  - challenges to, 228
  - Colombian Final Accord and, 210–213, 227–228
  - comparative perspective on, 15
  - current status of, 245–246
  - different forms of, 10–11
  - durability of peace and, 306–310
  - effects of, 306
  - elements of
    - amnesty, 238–240
    - apologies, 242–243
    - human rights trials, 238–240
    - reparations, 241–242
    - symbolic measures, 242–243
    - truth-finding bodies, 241
  - elite influence on legitimacy of transitional justice for FARC commanders, 294–296
  - evolution of, 311–317
  - forms of, 305
  - global transitional justice norm, 283
  - international community and, 2
  - key components of, 271
  - long-term, 229
  - mainstream, 261
  - maximalism of, 246
  - negotiation and, 235–238
  - opposition to, 231–232
  - peacebuilding and, 9, 259–261
  - planned, 15
  - public opinion on, 296
  - reception of, 243–245
  - restorative justice methodologies and, 8
  - retributive justice methodologies and, 8
  - risk factors, 232
  - stipulations, 211
  - success of, 2
  - transformative transitional justice, 259–261
    - UN and, 261–262, 312–313
- Transitional Justice Research Collaborative (TJRC), 332, 336–337
- Transitional Local Zones for Normalization (ZVTN), 214
- transparency, 199
- TRC. *See* Truth and Reconciliation Commission
- treatment municipalities, 191
- Tribunal para la Paz (Peace Tribunal), 238–239, 269
- Trinquier, Roger, 194
- Truth, Coexistence and Non-Recurrence Commission, 219–220
- Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC), 220, 307
- truth and reconciliation processes, 208
- Truth Commission, 219–221

- truth commissions, 62, 369  
 challenge of, 376  
 justice and, 331  
 reparations and, 340–342
- truth telling, 2, 267
- truth-finding bodies, 241
- truth-seeking, 369–370  
 initiatives, 372–373  
 key points of, 374  
 mechanisms, 374–376  
 time and, 380
- Tumaco, 7–19
- UARIV. *See* Unit for the Attention and Integral  
 Reparation of Victims
- UBPD. *See* Unit for the Search of Disappeared  
 People
- UCDP. *See* Uppsala Conflict Data Project
- UDHR. *See* Universal Declaration of Human  
 Rights
- UN. *See* United Nations
- UN High Commission for Refugees  
 (UNHCR), 181
- under-employment, 262
- UNHCR. *See* UN High Commission for  
 Refugees; United Nations High  
 Commissioner for Refugees
- Unidad Administrativa Especial de Atención y  
 Reparación a Víctimas (Special  
 Administrative Unit for Victim  
 Assistance and Reparation), 162
- Unidad de Fiscalías contra las Bandas  
 Emergentes (Prosecutor's Unit against  
 Emerging Gangs), 123
- Unidad de Víctimas (Victims Unit), 117,  
 182–183, 263
- Unidad Nacional de Protección (UNP),  
 139–155
- Unión Patriótica (UP), 49–50, 129, 177, 242
- Unique Register of Victims, 225
- Unit for the Attention and Integral Reparation  
 of Victims (UARIV), 225
- Unit for the Search of Disappeared People  
 (UBPD), 218–219
- United Nations (UN), 26, 38  
 Agenda for Peace, 348–349  
 amnesty policy, 214  
 peacebuilding by, 258  
 resolution 1325 (2000), 256  
 transitional justice and, 261–262, 312–313  
 UN Human Rights Commission, 138
- United Nations Development Programme,  
 170–171, 262
- United Nations High Commissioner for  
 Refugees (UNHCR), 223
- United Nations Special Representative of the  
 Secretary-General on Sexual Violence  
 in Conflict, 259
- United States (US), 5, 128  
 Counterinsurgency Manual (U.S. Military),  
 194  
 military analysts from, 188  
 Plan Colombia, 56, 188
- United States Agency for International  
 Development (USAID), 191, 194–195  
 policy guidance from, 198  
 theory of change from, 197
- units, 32
- Universal Declaration of Human Rights  
 (UDHR), 327
- Universidad Pontificia Bolivariana, 357–358
- UNP. *See* Unidad Nacional de Protección
- UP. *See* Unión Patriótica
- UPP. *See* Pacifying Police Units
- Uppsala Conflict Data Project (UCDP), 329
- Urabá, 164–168, 176
- Los Urabeños, 113–114, 116–119, 121  
 armed strikes by, 121  
 elections and, 123  
 franchising, 120–121  
 weakening of, 127
- Uribe, Alvaro, 56–57, 98, 134, 137, 231–232,  
 290  
 campaign against peace process, 243–244,  
 287, 320, 326  
 Duque protégé of, 247–248, 250  
 hardline security policies of, 286  
 on paramilitary forces, 113  
 plebiscite vote and, 85  
 security initiatives of, 189  
 security policy of, 106
- Uribe, María Teresa, 179–180
- La Uribe negotiations, 49–50
- La Uribe peace effort, 54
- US. *See* United States
- USAID. *See* United States Agency for  
 International Development
- Usuga Clan, 127
- V Front, 176–177
- Vallenpaz, 60
- Vargas, Juan F., 137–138

- veedurías, 199
- Velasco, J. D., 122
- Venezuela, 7–19
- Vicente, Pedro C., 75
- Victimas (Victim's Agreement), 325
- victimization rate, 162–164
- in Antioquia, 145–146, 163
  - in Urabá, 166–168
- victims, 314–316, 355
- of Bacrim, 117
  - of conflicts, 126, 210
  - homicide rates and, 142
  - leader victimization data, 140
  - MDM, before and after peace, 142–146
  - SIVJRNR, victim-centered nature of, 237–238
  - solidarity and, 356
  - territorial dynamics of victimization, 162–169
  - of torture, 223
  - Unique Register of Victims, 225
  - victim identity, 81–84
  - victim registry, 224–225
  - victims agreement, 211
  - visit to Havana, Cuba, 236
- Victim's Agreement (Victimas), 325
- Victims and Land Restitution Act, 318
- Victims and Restitution of Lands Law (Ley de Víctimas y Restitución de Tierras), 162
- Victims' Law (Law 1448, 2011), 234–235, 246, 314–315
- victims' rights, 315–316, 319, 328
- Victims Unit (Unidad de Víctimas), 117, 182–183, 263
- Vietnam War, 327
- Vigía del Fuerte, 165
- Villa Grimaldi Peace Park, 309
- Villamizar, Andrés, 138–153
- Villazón, Edgardo Amaya, 139–153
- violence, 52, 200–201, 380. *See also* sexual violence
- of civil wars, 57–58
  - negative externalities of, 58
  - civilians and, 59
  - cost of, 50–51, 402
  - criminal, 75
  - deepening hostility from, 51
  - elections and, 74–77
  - FARC ramping up, 54
  - homicide rates and, 135
  - land reform, violent opposition to, 74
  - municipal level support for peace
    - referendum by level of armed conflict
    - violence, 77
  - negotiation and, 46, 50–51
  - normalization of, 271
  - overall levels of, 77
  - patterns of, 137
  - perpetrators of, 62
  - physical scars left by, 62
  - political, 69–74
  - reductions in, 257
  - resistance to, 171
  - return to, 54, 401–402
  - structural, 309–310, 349, 375–376
  - types of, 69
    - plebiscite vote, 77–81
    - underreporting of, 266–267
    - voting patterns and, 68–69
    - waves of, 311
- La Violencia* (The Violence), 3, 400
- violent extremism, 347–348, 354, 361
- Violent Non State Actors (VNSAs), 74
- Vista Hermosa, 203
- VNSAs. *See* Violent Non State Actors
- Voors, Maarten J., 156
- Walker, Margaret Urban, 308
- war crimes, 214–215, 229, 283–284, 334
- war on drugs, 5
- war on terror, 5
- wars. *See also* civil wars
- consequences of, 9
  - insurgents during, 95
  - perils of, 38
  - wartime dynamics of territorial control, 95–96
  - war-weariness among rural populations, 71–72
  - women in, 260
- Wasserman, Moises, 360–361
- Weiberg, Leonard, 74–75
- WIDF. *See* Women's International Democratic Federation
- Wildavsky, Aaron, 27–30, 33
- Wilkinson, Steven I., 75
- winning hearts and minds, 193
- winning population's allegiance, 94–95
- women, 404, 408. *See also* gender corruption and, 257
- education and, 254
  - experiences in combat, 11

- in FARC, 251
- foreign policy and, 257–258
- IDPs, rates of women as, 252, 262
- in labor force, 254–255, 257–258
- land restitution and, 263
- married, 253
- peace agreements and, 259, 271
- peace process and, 254–257
- political participation of, 264, 270
- rebel groups, large numbers of women in, 256
- status of, 271
- suffrage for, 264
- transformative justice and, 251
- victimization of, 82, 87
- in wars, 260
- women's groups, 267–268
- Women for Prosperity, 266
- Women's Association of Rural Producers (Asociacion de Mujeres Productoras del Campo, ASOMUPROCA), 263
- Women's International Democratic Federation (WIDF), 259
- World Development Indicators, 254–255
- XI Indepaz, 116
- Zaller, John, 288–289, 293
- Zartman, I. William, 51–52, 64
- Zhang, Nan, 100–101
- Zuluaga, Óscar Iván, 290
- Zürcher, Christoph, 194
- ZVTN. *See* Transitional Local Zones for Normalization