

Cambridge University Press

978-1-107-12758-6 - Organized Violence after Civil War: The Geography of Recruitment in Latin America

Sarah Zukerman Daly

Frontmatter

[More information](#)

---

## Organized Violence after Civil War

Nearly half of all countries emerging from civil conflict relapse into war within a few years of signing a peace agreement. The postwar trajectories of armed groups vary from organizational cohesion to dissolution, demilitarization to remilitarization. In *Organized Violence after Civil War*, Daly analyzes evidence from thirty-seven militia groups in Colombia, demonstrating that the primary driving force behind these changes is the variation in recruitment patterns within, and between, the warring groups. She documents the transition from war to peace through interviews with militia commanders, combatants, and victims. Using rich ex-combatant survey data and geo-coded information on violence over fifty years of war, Daly explains the dynamics inside armed organizations and the strategic interactions among them. She also shows how the theory may be used beyond Colombia, both within the region of Latin America and across the rest of the world.

Sarah Zukerman Daly joined the University of Notre Dame faculty in 2013 as assistant professor in Political Science after receiving her Ph.D. in the subject from Massachusetts Institute of Technology. Her doctoral dissertation received the 2011 Lucian Pye Award for the Best Dissertation in Political Science from MIT. Her research interests lie in the fields of civil war, peace processes, international security, and ethnic politics with a regional focus on Latin America. Daly has served as a fellow in the Political Science Department and at the Center for International Security and Cooperation at Stanford University, at the Saltzman Institute of War and Peace Studies at Columbia University, and at the Belfer Center for Science and International Affairs at Harvard University.

Cambridge University Press

978-1-107-12758-6 - *Organized Violence after Civil War: The Geography of Recruitment in Latin America*

Sarah Zukerman Daly

Frontmatter

[More information](#)

---

Sarah Daly argues that organizational characteristics of armed groups in Colombia strongly affect whether they remilitarize after a peace agreement. Their extensive ties enable members of local groups to remilitarize, but members of non-local groups disperse and lose this capacity. Networks and geography are more important than access to weapons, which is almost universal. Daly's extraordinary fieldwork with extremely violent former group members provides convincing quantitative and qualitative support for this important argument. *Organized Violence after Civil War* is an extraordinary work of political science.

– Robert O. Keohane, Woodrow Wilson School of Public and International Affairs, Princeton University

This study provides a novel and thoughtful explanation of an important question for societies emerging from warfare – why do some groups silence their guns after agreeing to peace, while others remilitarize and return to violence? The argument highlights the role of the geography of recruitment – whether militant groups recruit and deploy fighters locally or from farther afield. The theory put forth is both parsimonious and subtle, and the empirical evidence adduced for it from the case of paramilitary groups in Colombia is extremely impressive. This book is certainly a must-read for any scholar of Colombia or any scholar of paramilitaries, but it will also find an important audience among scholars interested in the complicated dynamics of civil conflict and the behavior of non-state actors as they navigate the often stormy seas of postconflict transition.

– Page Fortna, Columbia University

*Organized Violence after Civil War* explores why some – but not all – armed groups remilitarize after demobilization. Daly argues that the explanation lies in the geography of recruitment – whether the group recruited members from the locale where it was deployed – and in its strategic interaction with other groups after conflict's end. She shows that her theory accounts for why about half of Colombia's three dozen paramilitary groups remobilized, drawing on a wide range of data, from interviews with imprisoned leaders to surveys of demobilized combatants to unpublished government documents. This is an extraordinary achievement based on remarkable field research over several years.

– Elisabeth Jean Wood, Yale University

Civil wars have a strong tendency to recur, yet we know little about why. Drawing on a stunning array of data from extensive fieldwork in Colombia, Sarah Zukerman Daly shows that the geography of armed group recruitment explains why countries at peace slip back into violence. Groups that recruit locally remain cohesive after wars end whereas groups that recruit outside their own region wither away as their members depart. Regions comprised of locally based groups thus maintain a stable and peaceful balance of power, whereas regions where local groups neighbor non-local groups become unstable and prone to violence. Anyone seeking to understand the recurrence of violence after civil war should read this excellent book.

– Alexander B. Downes, George Washington University

Cambridge University Press

978-1-107-12758-6 - Organized Violence after Civil War: The Geography of Recruitment in Latin America

Sarah Zukerman Daly

Frontmatter

[More information](#)

## Cambridge Studies in Comparative Politics

### General Editors

Kathleen Thelen *Massachusetts Institute of Technology*

Erik Wibbels *Duke University*

### Associate Editors

Robert H. Bates *Harvard University*

Gary Cox *Stanford University*

Thad Dunning *University of California, Berkeley*

Anna Grzymala-Busse *University of Michigan, Ann Arbor*

Stephen Hanson *The College of William and Mary*

Torben Iversen *Harvard University*

Stathis Kalyvas *Yale University*

Margaret Levi *Stanford University*

Peter Lange *Duke University*

Helen Milner *Princeton University*

Frances Rosenbluth *Yale University*

Susan Stokes *Yale University*

### Other Books in the Series

Michael Albertus, *Autocracy and Redistribution: The Politics of Land Reform*

Ben W. Ansell, *From the Ballot to the Blackboard: The Redistributive Political Economy of Education*

Leonardo R. Arriola, *Multi-Ethnic Coalitions in Africa, Business Financing of Opposition Election Campaigns*

David Austen-Smith, Jeffrey A. Frieden, Miriam A. Golden, Karl Ove Moene, and Adam Przeworski, eds., *Selected Works of Michael Wallerstein: The Political Economy of Inequality, Unions, and Social Democracy*

Andy Baker, *The Market and the Masses in Latin America: Policy Reform and Consumption in Liberalizing Economies*

Lisa Baldez, *Why Women Protest? Women's Movements in Chile*

Kate Baldwin, *The Paradox of Traditional Chiefs in Democratic Africa*

Stefano Bartolini, *The Political Mobilization of the European Left, 1860–1980: The Class Cleavage*

Robert Bates, *When Things Fell Apart: State Failure in Late-Century Africa*

Mark Beissinger, *Nationalist Mobilization and the Collapse of the Soviet State*

Nancy Bermeo, ed., *Unemployment in the New Europe*

(continued after index)

Cambridge University Press

978-1-107-12758-6 - Organized Violence after Civil War: The Geography of Recruitment in Latin America

Sarah Zukerman Daly

Frontmatter

[More information](#)

---

Cambridge University Press

978-1-107-12758-6 - Organized Violence after Civil War: The Geography of Recruitment in Latin America

Sarah Zukerman Daly

Frontmatter

[More information](#)

---

# Organized Violence after Civil War

## *The Geography of Recruitment in Latin America*

SARAH ZUKERMAN DALY

*University of Notre Dame, Indiana*



CAMBRIDGE  
UNIVERSITY PRESS

Cambridge University Press  
978-1-107-12758-6 - Organized Violence after Civil War: The Geography of Recruitment in Latin America  
Sarah Zukerman Daly  
Frontmatter  
[More information](#)

CAMBRIDGE  
UNIVERSITY PRESS

32 Avenue of the Americas, New York, NY 10013-2473, USA

Cambridge University Press is part of the University of Cambridge.

It furthers the University's mission by disseminating knowledge in the pursuit of education, learning, and research at the highest international levels of excellence.

[www.cambridge.org](http://www.cambridge.org)

Information on this title: [www.cambridge.org/9781107127586](http://www.cambridge.org/9781107127586)

© Sarah Zukerman Daly 2016

This publication is in copyright. Subject to statutory exception and to the provisions of relevant collective licensing agreements, no reproduction of any part may take place without the written permission of Cambridge University Press.

First published 2016

*A catalogue record for this publication is available from the British Library.*

*Library of Congress Cataloguing in Publication Data*

Names: Daly, Sarah Zukerman.

Title: Organized violence after civil war : the geography of recruitment in Latin America / Sarah Zukerman Daly (University of Notre Dame, Indiana).

Description: New York, NY : Cambridge University Press, 2016. |

Series: Cambridge studies in comparative politics |

Includes bibliographical references.

Identifiers: LCCN 2015028167 | ISBN 9781107127586 (hardback)

Subjects: LCSH: Latin America – Politics and government – 1980– |

Colombia – Politics and government – 1974– | Militia movements – Latin

America. | Militia movements – Colombia. | Paramilitary forces – Latin

America. | Paramilitary forces – Colombia. | Civil war – Latin America. |

Political violence – Latin America. | Soldiers – Latin America. |

Remilitarization – Latin America. | BISAC: POLITICAL SCIENCE / Government / General.

Classification: LCC F1414.3.D36 2015 | DDC 980.03–dc23

LC record available at <http://lcn.loc.gov/2015028167>

ISBN 978-1-107-12758-6 Hardback

Cambridge University Press has no responsibility for the persistence or accuracy of URLs for external or third-party Internet Web sites referred to in this publication and does not guarantee that any content on such Web sites is, or will remain, accurate or appropriate.

Cambridge University Press  
978-1-107-12758-6 - Organized Violence after Civil War: The Geography of Recruitment in  
Latin America  
Sarah Zukerman Daly  
Frontmatter  
[More information](#)

---

*For my family*

Cambridge University Press

978-1-107-12758-6 - Organized Violence after Civil War: The Geography of Recruitment in Latin America

Sarah Zukerman Daly

Frontmatter

[More information](#)

---

Cambridge University Press  
978-1-107-12758-6 - Organized Violence after Civil War: The Geography of Recruitment in Latin America  
Sarah Zukerman Daly  
Frontmatter  
[More information](#)

Contents

|  |               |
|--|---------------|
| <i>List of Figures</i>   | <i>page</i> x |
| <i>List of Tables</i>  | xi            |
| <i>List of Maps</i>  | xiii          |
| <i>Acknowledgments</i>   | xv            |
| <i>List of Abbreviations</i>   | xix           |
| 1 Introduction: A Farewell to Arms?  | I             |
| 2 Theory of the Postwar Trajectories of Armed Organizations                                      | 12            |
| 3 Violence and Peace in Colombia   | 44            |
| 4 Geography of Recruitment and Postwar Organizational Capacity                                   | 72            |
| 5 Strategic Interactions between Armed Groups and Remilitarization                               | 97            |
| 6 The Path to Demilitarization: Configuration of Local Militias in Antioquia                     | 138           |
| 7 Remilitarization, Strong and Weak: Local and Non-local Militias in Catatumbo and Urabá/Córdoba | 172           |
| 8 Beyond Colombia: Transitions from War to Peace in Comparative Perspective                      | 218           |
| 9 Conclusion   | 248           |
| <i>Appendix</i>  | 259           |
| <i>References</i>  | 279           |
| <i>Index</i>   | 299           |

Figures

|     |  |                |
|-----|--|----------------|
| 2.1 | Configuration of Local Groups and State                                      | <i>page</i> 25 |
| 2.2 | Configuration of Local and Non-local Groups and State                        | 25             |
| 2.3 | Configuration of Non-local Groups and State                                  | 26             |
| 2.4 | Remilitarization Predictions   | 31             |
| 3.1 | FARC’s Military Strength   | 58             |
| 4.1 | Prewar Networks by Levels of Command   | 78             |
| 4.2 | Socialization and Training by Recruitment Type                               | 84             |
| 4.3 | Recruitment Patterns and Geographic Dispersion Postwar                       | 88             |
| 4.4 | Predicted Postwar Networks   | 95             |
| 5.1 | Paramilitary Organizations Subway Map  | 104            |
| 6.1 | Ex-combatants’ Relationships with Their Ex-commanders, Medellín              | 147            |
| 6.2 | Model Neighborhood, La Sierra, Medellín                                      | 162            |
| 6.3 | Mural of Commander “Don Berna” and Representatives of Medellín Civil Society | 164            |
| 6.4 | Involvement in the Community, Medellín                                       | 165            |
| 6.5 | Embeddedness in Medellín: How Does the Community View Former Fighters?       | 168            |
| 7.1 | Distribution of Power, Urabá   | 210            |

Tables

|      |   |               |
|------|---|---------------|
| 1.1  | The Relationship between Recruitment Geographies and Postwar Remilitarization or Demilitarization   | <i>page 5</i> |
| 3.1  | A Brief History of Violence in Colombia since the Mid-twentieth Century                             | 45            |
| 3.2  | State and Non-state Armed Actors in the Colombian Conflict  | 51            |
| 4.1  | Recruitment Patterns and Postwar Organizational Capacity  | 74            |
| 4.2  | Combatants' Prewar Networks   | 80            |
| 4.3  | Postwar Physical Proximity of Ex-combatants   | 87            |
| 5.1  | Paramilitary Organizations  | 106           |
| 5.2  | Average Shift in Power by Regional Configuration  | 113           |
| 5.3  | Remilitarization and Demilitarization of Thirty-Seven Paramilitary Groups by Regional Configuration | 118           |
| 5.4  | Municipalities Experiencing Remilitarized Violence by Regional Configuration                        | 122           |
| 5.5  | Intensity of Remilitarization by Recruitment Geography  | 123           |
| 5.6  | Intensity of Remilitarized Violence by Regional Configuration                                       | 124           |
| 5.7  | Tactical Terrain and Remilitarization: Organizational Level   | 129           |
| 5.8  | Group Motivations and Remilitarization  | 133           |
| 5.9  | Resources and Remilitarization: Organizational Level  | 134           |
| 5.10 | Recruitment and Remilitarized Violence, Propensity Score Matching                                   | 137           |
| 7.1  | Bloque Catatumbo's Recruitment and Postwar Relocation Patterns                                      | 179           |
| 8.1  | Recruitment, Clustering, and Networks at Faction Level, Sierra Leone                                | 239           |
| 8.2  | Recruitment, Clustering, and Networks at Subfaction Level, Sierra Leone                             | 239           |

Cambridge University Press  
978-1-107-12758-6 - Organized Violence after Civil War: The Geography of Recruitment in Latin America  
Sarah Zukerman Daly  
Frontmatter  
[More information](#)

|     |  |               |
|-----|--|---------------|
| xii |  | <i>Tables</i> |
| A.1 | Determinants of Individual Recruitment into Local and Non-local Groups | 268           |
| A.2 | Recruitment Geography and Postwar Cohesion                             | 268           |
| A.3 | Determinants of Postwar Networks                                       | 271           |
| A.4 | Determinants of Organizations' Recruitment Geography                   | 273           |
| A.5 | Tactical Terrain and Remilitarization: Municipal Level                 | 274           |
| A.6 | Resources and Remilitarization: Municipal Level                        | 276           |
| A.7 | Determinants of Organizational Remilitarization                        | 276           |
| A.8 | Determinants of Remilitarized Violence: Municipal Level                | 277           |

Cambridge University Press  
978-1-107-12758-6 - Organized Violence after Civil War: The Geography of Recruitment in Latin America  
Sarah Zukerman Daly  
Frontmatter  
[More information](#)

Maps

|     |  |                |
|-----|--|----------------|
| 2.1 | Case Study Areas   | <i>page</i> 39 |
| 4.1 | Paramilitary Zones of Operation                            | 76             |
| 5.1 | Geographies of Recruitment                                 | 101            |
| 5.2 | Variation in State Presence                                | 110            |
| 5.3 | Presence of Guerrillas                                     | 111            |
| 5.4 | Incidence of Remilitarized Violence                        | 121            |
| 5.5 | Intensity of Remilitarized Violence                        | 125            |
| 5.6 | Rough Terrain and Remilitarization                         | 130            |
| 5.7 | Border Sanctuaries and Remilitarization                    | 131            |
| 5.8 | Drugs and Remilitarization                                 | 135            |
| 6.1 | Medellín Case Study: Armed Groups' Zones of Operation      | 151            |
| 7.1 | Catatumbo Case Study: Armed Groups' Zones of Operation     | 182            |
| 7.2 | Number of Ex-combatants by Comuna, Medellín                | 191            |
| 7.3 | Urabá/Córdoba Case Study: Armed Groups' Zones of Operation | 197            |
| 7.4 | Remilitarized Groups in Urabá: Zones of Operation          | 212            |
| A.1 | Poverty and Remilitarization                               | 275            |

Cambridge University Press

978-1-107-12758-6 - Organized Violence after Civil War: The Geography of Recruitment in Latin America

Sarah Zukerman Daly

Frontmatter

[More information](#)

---

Cambridge University Press

978-1-107-12758-6 - Organized Violence after Civil War: The Geography of Recruitment in Latin America

Sarah Zukerman Daly

Frontmatter

[More information](#)

## Acknowledgments

This book was born in the field. I went on a short trip to Colombia to understand the onset of insurgency and left instead struck by a puzzle of seemingly anarchic variation in the postwar trajectories of militia organizations. Imposing order on this variation has kept me fascinated for the years since. Diverse sources of mentorship, support, and friendship have facilitated this scholarly journey.

The inspiration, guidance, and insights of my advisors – Roger Petersen, Jorge Domínguez, Chappell Lawson, and Barry Posen – present themselves on the pages of this manuscript. I benefited immensely from their generosity of mentorship, spirit of inquiry, and commitment to causal processes about important realities on the ground.

For invaluable feedback on every aspect of the manuscript, I sincerely thank Alexander Downes, Virginia Page Fortna, Matthew Kocher, and Elisabeth Jean Wood who participated in a book workshop in the midst of the worst winter in South Bend, IN. I express my heartfelt thanks to Fotini Christia and to my Notre Dame colleagues, Jaimie Bleck, Robert Dowd, Tanisha Fazal, Sean McGraw, Monika Nalepa, David Nickerson, Emilia Powell, Patrick Regan, and Guillermo Trejo, who offered me both their constructive comments and their encouragement. I wish to acknowledge the Kellogg Institute that generously hosted the workshop and Therese Hanlon who skillfully organized it. My great appreciation goes to Lewis Bateman and two anonymous reviewers for providing me critical guidance and helping me turn my draft manuscript into a published book. I express my gratitude to Kathleen Thelen and Erik Wibbels for including this book in the Cambridge Studies in Comparative Politics series. I share my appreciation to the production team at Cambridge University Press, and Jon Preimesberger, Jim Fuhr, and the exceptional Teresa Lawson.

I would like to thank several individuals who proved critical to my experience in the field in Colombia. For their willingness to share their time, data,

Cambridge University Press

978-1-107-12758-6 - Organized Violence after Civil War: The Geography of Recruitment in Latin America

Sarah Zukerman Daly

Frontmatter

[More information](#)

penetrating perspectives, and rich experience, I am deeply grateful to Daniel Acosta, Marcelo Álvarez, Karen Aparicio, Jaime Bermúdez, Luis Fernando Cepeda, Juan Carlos Cordón, Hernando Corral, Camila Cuellar, Alejandro Eder, Diego García, Juan Carlos Garzón, Jorge Gaviria, Paola González, José Manuel Hernández, Jimena Holguín, María Victoria Llorente, Frank Pearl, Gustavo Pita, Juan Antonio Pungiluppi, William Quintero, Karlymg Rodríguez, Fabio Sánchez, Alejandro Santo Domingo, and Juan Pablo Trujillo.

Ex-combatants, perpetrators of violence, victims, and community members shared their difficult stories with me. They invited me into their domains, permitted my inquiries, and offered their histories. I am deeply grateful to them. I am indebted to Andrea Pineros and Isabel Cardona, and I would also like to acknowledge the assistance of Tomás Martín and Andrés Ucros. I extend an additional thank you to my academic affiliation in the field, the Universidad de los Andes. I wish to acknowledge my collaborators on the ex-combatant recidivism project, Laura Paler, Cyrus Samii, and the Fundación Ideas para la Paz, and the valuable assistance of Carolina Serrano.

I enjoyed and benefited immensely from my time at various research centers that provided fertile environments for the development of my research. I thank the exceptional scholars and staff at the Kellogg Institute for International Studies at the University of Notre Dame; the Center for International Security and Cooperation (CISAC) at Stanford University, and especially my mentors from my undergraduate years through to the present, Lynn Eden, James Fearon, Scott Sagan, and Stephen Stedman, and my postdoctoral advisor, Jeremy Weinstein; the Arnold A. Saltzman Institute of War and Peace Studies at Columbia University, with a very special thanks to Virginia Page Fortna, a guru in research and in life; the Center on International Cooperation at New York University and particularly Bruce Jones; the Belfer Center for Science and International Affairs at Harvard University; the Center for International Studies, Security Studies Program, and my esteemed colleagues at MIT; and the International Peace Research Institute, Oslo. I am grateful for my invaluable relationships with my friends and colleagues at these institutions and elsewhere.

At Notre Dame, the project has benefited from my fellow academics, my students, my mentor, Scott Mainwaring, and my department chair, Michael Desch, who supported the transformation of this dissertation into a book manuscript. The manuscript was advanced by the important research assistance of Juan Albarracín, Sandra Botero, Lucia Tiscornia, and Omar Coronel at Notre Dame; at Columbia, the manuscript was furthered with the help of Yin-Hsiu Chen.

I received useful feedback at seminars and workshops at Stanford University, the University of Notre Dame, Columbia University, Princeton University, George Washington University, Boston University, Harvard University, the Naval War College, Arizona State University, American University, New York University, Duke University, Yale University, MIT, the International Peace Research Institute, Oslo, and the Universidad de los

Cambridge University Press

978-1-107-12758-6 - Organized Violence after Civil War: The Geography of Recruitment in Latin America

Sarah Zukerman Daly

Frontmatter

[More information](#)*Acknowledgments*

xvii

Andes. I also gained helpful comments at the Annual Meetings of the American Political Science Association, Midwest Political Science Association, Latin American Studies Association, Empirical Studies of Conflict Program, and Households in Conflict Network.

In addition to those already mentioned, my project benefited from excellent comments and thoughtful advice from David Abernethy, Ana María Arjona, Adam Auerbach, Robert Bates, Christopher Blattman, Lisa Blaydes, Fotini Christia, Andrew Coe, Teresa Cravo, Martha Crenshaw, Kristin Fabbe, Vanda Felbab-Brown, Francisco Flores, Thomas Flores, Scott Gates, Kelly Greenhill, Carl Henrik Langebaek, David Holloway, Lise Morjé Howard, Macartan Humphreys, Patrick Johnston, Robert Keohane, Steven Levitsky, Janet Lewis, Austin Long, Yotam Margalit, Kimberly Marten, Reo Matsuzaki, Steven Miller, Vipin Narang, Desiree Nilsson, Ragnhild Nordås, Melissa Nobles, Brenna Powell, Andrew Radin, Rachel Beatty Riedl, William Reno, Angelika Rettberg, Robert Rotberg, Fabio Sánchez, Stephen Saideman, Nicholas Sambanis, Anoop Sarbahi, Ben Ross Schneider, Lee Seymour, Jacob Shapiro, Paul Staniland, Abbey Steele, Scott Straus, Yuhki Tajima, Kimberly Theidon, Maya Tudor, Juan Vargas, Jocelyn Viterna, Stephen Walt, and Melissa Willard-Foster.

This research would not have been possible without the support provided by the Andrew W. Mellon Foundation, American Council for Learned Societies, Harry Frank Guggenheim Foundation, Smith Richardson Foundation, Center for International Security and Cooperation at Stanford University, Harvard University's Belfer Center for Science and International Affairs, the MIT Entrepreneurship Center's Carroll L. Wilson Fund, the United States Institute of Peace, National Science Foundation, Social Science Research Council, Fulbright U.S. Program, Empirical Studies of Conflict Program (with funding from the Air Force Office of Scientific Research under Award No. FA9550-02-1-0314), Government of Sweden's Ministry of Foreign Affairs, and MIT's Center for International Studies.

Finally, to my husband, Bobby, my sons, Weston and Sebastian, and the rest of my family, for keeping wind to my back throughout this process. This book is dedicated to them.

Cambridge University Press

978-1-107-12758-6 - Organized Violence after Civil War: The Geography of Recruitment in Latin America

Sarah Zukerman Daly

Frontmatter

[More information](#)

---

Abbreviations

|           |   |
|-----------|---|
| ACCU      | Autodefensas Campesinas de Córdoba y Urabá (Peasant Self-Defense Forces of Córdoba and Urabá)   |
| ACR       | Agencia Colombiana para la Reintegración (Colombian Agency for Reintegration), previously called Alta Consejería para la Reintegración (High Council for Reintegration) |
| ANAPO     | Alianza Nacional Popular (National Popular Alliance)  |
| ARENA     | Alianza Republicana Nacionalista (Nationalist Republican Alliance, El Salvador)   |
| ASEDSUR   | Asociación de Desmovilizados de Urabá (Association of Demobilized of Urabá)   |
| AUC       | Autodefensas Unidas de Colombia (United Self-Defense Forces of Colombia)  |
| BACRIM    | Bandas Criminales Emergentes (Emerging Criminal Gangs)  |
| BCN       | Bloque Cacique Nutibara (Cacique Nutibara Bloc)   |
| CAD       | Comités de Autodefensa y Desarrollo (Committees of Self-Defense and Development)  |
| CDC       | Comités de Defensa Civil (Civil Defense Committees)   |
| CDF       | Civil Defense Forces (Sierra Leone)   |
| CEDE      | El Centro de Estudios Sobre Desarrollo Económico (Center of Economic Development Studies)   |
| CERAC     | Centro de Recursos Para el Análisis de Conflictos (Conflict Analysis Resource Center)   |
| CIA       | Central Intelligence Agency (United States)   |
| CINEP/PPP | Centro de Investigación y Educación Popular / Programa por la Paz (Center for Research and Popular Education / Peace Program)   |
| CNRR      | Comisión Nacional de Reparación y Reconciliación (National Commission for Reparation and Reconciliation)  |

|         |  |
|---------|--|
| CODHES  | Consultoría para los Derechos Humanos y el Desplazamiento (Consultancy for Human Rights and Displacement)        |
| CRS     | Corriente de Renovación Socialista (Socialist Renewal Current)   |
| CTI     | Cuerpo Técnico de Investigación (Technical Investigation Unit)   |
| DANE    | Departamento Administrativo Nacional de Estadística (National Administrative Department of Statistics)           |
| DAS     | Departamento Administrativo de Seguridad (Administrative Department of Security)                                 |
| DDR     | Disarmament, demobilization, and reintegration   |
| DEA     | Drug Enforcement Administration (United States)  |
| DECAS   | Defensa Civil Antisubversiva (Anti-subversive Civil Defense Forces)  |
| DIPOL   | Dirección de Inteligencia Policial (Directorate of Police Intelligence)  |
| ELN     | Ejército de Liberación Nacional (National Liberation Army)   |
| EPL     | Ejército Popular de Liberación (Popular Liberation Army)   |
| ERG     | Ejército Revolucionario Guevarista (Guevarista Revolutionary Army)   |
| ERP     | Ejército Revolucionario del Pueblo (Revolutionary People's Army)   |
| ERPAC   | Ejército Revolucionario Popular Antiterrorista Colombiano (Antiterrorist Popular Revolutionary Army of Colombia) |
| FARC    | Fuerzas Armadas Revolucionarias de Colombia (Revolutionary Armed Forces of Colombia)                             |
| FDN     | Frente Democrático Nicaragüense (Nicaraguan Democratic Front)  |
| FIDH    | Fédération Internationale des Ligues des Droits de l'Homme (International Federation for Human Rights)           |
| FIP     | Fundación Ideas para la Paz (Ideas for Peace Foundation)   |
| FMLN    | Frente Farabundo Martí para la Liberación Nacional (Farabundo Martí National Liberation Front, El Salvador)      |
| FPSG    | Resistance Front against GAM Separatists (Indonesia)   |
| FRELIMO | Frente de Libertação de Moçambique (Mozambique Liberation Front)   |
| FSLN    | Frente Sandinista de Liberación Nacional (Sandinista National Liberation Front, Nicaragua)                       |
| GAM     | Gerakin Aceh Merdeka (Free Aceh Movement, Indonesia)   |
| ICBF    | Instituto Colombiano de Bienestar Familiar (Colombian Family Welfare Institute)                                  |

|                      |  |     |
|----------------------|--|-----|
| <i>Abbreviations</i> |  | xxi |
| ICG                  | International Crisis Group   |     |
| ICTJ                 | International Center for Transitional Justice  |     |
| IEPRI                | Instituto de Estudios Políticos y Relaciones Internacionales (Institute of Political Studies and International Relations)        |     |
| IGAC                 | Instituto Geográfico Agustín Codazzi (Agustín Codazzi Geographic Institute)  |     |
| INPEC                | Instituto Nacional Penitenciario y Carcelario (National Penitentiary and Prison Institute)                                       |     |
| IOM                  | International Organization for Migration   |     |
| IRA                  | Irish Republican Army  |     |
| JAC                  | Juntas de Acción Comunal (Community Action Committees)   |     |
| JAL                  | Juntas Administradora Locales (Local Administration Boards)  |     |
| LRA                  | Lord's Resistance Army (Uganda)  |     |
| M-19                 | Movimiento 19 de Abril (19th of April Movement)  |     |
| MAPP                 | Misión de Apoyo al Proceso de Paz (Mission to Support the Peace Process)   |     |
| MAQL                 | Movimiento Armado Quintín Lame (Quintín Lame Armed Movement)   |     |
| MAS                  | Muerte a Secuestradores (Death to Kidnappers)  |     |
| MEVEC                | Mecanismo de Verificación Conjunto de Bandas Criminales Emergentes (Joint Verification Mechanism for Emerging Criminal Gangs)    |     |
| MILF                 | Moro Islamic Liberation Front (Philippines)  |     |
| MILPAS               | Milicias Populares Anti-Somocistas (and later on, Anti-Sandinistas) (Anti-Somoza / Anti-Sandinista Popular Militias) (Nicaragua) |     |
| MNLF                 | Moro National Liberation Front (Philippines)   |     |
| MPLA                 | Movimento Popular de Libertação de Angola (People's Movement for the Liberation of Angola)                                       |     |
| MRTA                 | Tupac Amaru Revolutionary Movement (Movimiento Revolucionario Tupac Amaru, Peru)   |     |
| NBI                  | Necesidades Básicas Insatisfechas (unsatisfied basic needs)  |     |
| NGO                  | Nongovernmental organization   |     |
| NRM                  | National Resistance Movement (Uganda)  |     |
| OEA/OAS              | Organización de los Estados Americanos (Organization of American States)   |     |
| PAC                  | Patrullas de Autodefensa Civil (Civil Self-Defense Patrols, Guatemala)   |     |
| PCP-SL               | Partido Comunista de Perú–Sendero Luminoso (Communist Party of Peru–Shining Path)  |     |
| PEPES                | Perseguidos por Pablo Escobar (People Persecuted by Pablo Escobar)   |     |

Cambridge University Press  
978-1-107-12758-6 - Organized Violence after Civil War: The Geography of Recruitment in Latin America  
Sarah Zukerman Daly  
Frontmatter  
[More information](#)

xxii

*Abbreviations*

|        |   |
|--------|---|
| PRT    | Partido Revolucionario de los Trabajadores (Revolutionary Worker’s Party)                                 |
| RENAMO | Resistência Nacional Moçambicana (Mozambican National Resistance)   |
| RUF    | Revolutionary United Front (Sierra Leone)   |
| SAME   | Sistema de Acompañamiento, Monitoreo, y Evaluación (System of Accompaniment, Monitoring and Evaluation)   |
| SENA   | Servicio Nacional de Aprendizaje (National Training Service)  |
| SIJIN  | Policia Nacional de Colombia (Colombian National Police)  |
| SIMCI  | Sistema Integrado de Monitoreo de Cultivos Ilícitos (Integrated Illicit Crops Monitoring System)          |
| SLA    | Sierra Leone Army   |
| SSR    | Security-sector reform  |
| UNDP   | United Nations Development Programme  |
| UNITA  | União Nacional para a Independência Total de Angola (National Union for the Total Independence of Angola) |
| UNODC  | United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime  |
| UP     | Unión Patriótica (Patriotic Union)  |
| UPA    | Uganda People’s Army  |
| URNG   | Unidad Revolucionaria Nacional Guatemalteca (Guatemalan National Revolutionary Unity)                     |
| USAID  | United States Agency for International Development  |
| YATAMA | Yapti Tasba Masraka Nanih Aslatakanka (“Sons of Mother Earth,” Nicaragua)                                 |