Index

Footnote entries are indicated by the letter n followed by the footnote number. Tables are indicated by the letter t. Figures and maps are indicated by fig and map respectively.

abbreviations, xix–xxii
ACR (Agencia Colombiana para la Reintegración). See reintegration programs (ACR); surveys
Afghanistan, 241n54
Águilas (remilitarized paramilitary units), 185, 185n69, 186–88, 225
Angola
MPLA in, 1, 2
relocation in, 20–21
remilitarization in, 2
socialization in, 243
UNITA in, 2, 243n57, 243–44
Antioquia, (Colombian department)
Bloque Cacique Nutibara and, 150–51
Bloque Catatumbo recruiting in, 173
Bloque Libertadores del Sur and, 189
Murillo Bejarano and, 148
paramilitaries in, 804.2, 183–84
peace process in, 172n1
power balances in, 150–51, 155
Uribe as governor of, 61–62
wars in, 804.2, 140–42
Arauca, (Colombian department), 181n51, 181–83
ARENA (Alianza Republicana Nacionalista) (El Salvador), 3, 229n34
Arrow Group (Uganda), 233–34, 234n43
ASEDSUR (Asociación de Desmovilizados de Urabá), 197
AUC (Autodefensas Unidas de Colombia), 5113.2, 58n37, 58–59, 266
autodefensas (Colombian paramilitary forces) defined, 7n15
ELN collaboration with, 152
Law 48 and, 53
in Medellín, 158, 166–67
state collaboration with, 53, 152
in Urabá, 196n111
See also bloques; Frente entries
Autodefensas Campesinas de Casanare, 62853, 100
Autodefensas Campesinas de Colombia, 58n17
Autodefensas Campesinas de Córdoba y Urabá, 58n37
Autodefensas Campesinas de Magdalena Medio–Puerto Triunfo, 150–51, 152–54
Autodefensas Campesinas de Meta y Vichada, 62853, 100, 123, 127
Autodefensas Campesinas de Ortega, 50, 117–18, 132
Autodefensas Campesinas Unidas de Norte, 189
Autodefensas de Chepe Barrera, 55–56
Autodefensas de Mamor, 55–56
Autodefensas de Palmor, 55–56
Autodefensas del Sur del Cesar, 55–56
Autodefensas Héroes del Pacífico, 189
Autodefensas Independientes, 58n37
Autodefensas Unidas de Colombia. See AUC
BACRIM (Bandas Criminales Emergentes), 114, 114n13, 116–17, 117n20, 123, 210
Bailey, Norman, 129
bandas (organized crime units: gangs), 143–44
Barco, Virgilio, 53
bargaining process
divergent outcomes in, 14–15, 17–18, 70
failures of, 24, 33, 98, 206–9, 210n184, 215–16
networking and, 75
paramilitary power in, 60, 63–67, 70
power distribution and, 110–13
remilitarization and, 206–9
as research focus, 250–51
territorial, 153, 153n54
theories of, 12–15, 24, 33, 98
weakness in, 24, 33, 98
See also paramilitaries
Barrera, Chepe, 55–56
Betancur, Belisario, 51t3.2, 54
bloques (Colombian paramilitary forces)
autonomy of, 51t3.2
vs. guerrillas, 50
listed, 51t3.2, 107t5.1
peace accords and, 50
subway map of, 103–5, 104fig5.1
See also autodefensas; Frente entries;
specific Bloques
Bloque Arauca, 181n51, 181–83, 216
Bloque Bananero, 56–57, 150, 193, 198–99, 200–1, 203–6
Bloque Cacique Nutibara
Bloque Metro and, 143n17
Bloque Noroccidente Antioqueño
and, 134–55
case study of, 140
Comuna 13 and, 190–92
corporación democracia, 146–47, 148–49
creation of, 141–42
demilitarization of, 138, 157–61, 222
demobilization of, 145–47
disarmament of, 145, 145n22
drug trafficking by, 160–61
vs. ELN, 150–51
embeddedness of, 55–56, 149, 162–67
Frente Bajo Cauca and, 154–55
guerrillas and, 142, 143–44, 150–51
illegal activities of, 159, 159n82
La Sierra neighborhood and, 162–63, 162fig6.2
local recruitment geography of, 142–43
local vs. non-local returnees in, 147–48
in Medellín, 145–46
membership in, 144
military strength of, 153
networks of, 156, 158
as NGO, 161, 168
non-local combatants in, 190–92
non-state actors and, 155, 157–61
organizational capacity of, 167–69
peace accords with, 145–50
post-conflict reconnaissance maintained by, 149
postwar cohesion and, 150
as postwar governance model, 252
remobilization and, 157, 168
social leverage of, 163–67
state collaboration with, 155–57, 169, 170–71
territories ceded to, 153
bloque Cacique Pipintá, 62n53
Bloque Calima, 56–57, 192, 193–95
Bloque Catatumbo
atrocities committed by, 139
Camilo as commander of, 176
Catatumbo brigade, 180n46, 180–81
Colombian army veterans joining, 176–77
creation of, 173
disarmament of, 178–79, 181–84
embeddedness of, 184, 204
Frente Bananero and, 174
geography of recruitment of, 173–78, 198–99
guerrillas and, 181, 186
local groups and, 202–3
military effectiveness of, 85–86, 139
non-local combatants in, 174–76, 177, 179n7.1
non-local networks in, 178–80
operating zone of, 181, 182map7.1
organizational erosion of, 181–83
peace accords with, 181
remilitarization of, 138, 185, 186–89, 188n86
rump units of, 180n47, 180–81, 185, 183n69, 186–88
social networks of, 183–84
state collaboration with, 181, 181n50
Urabá and, 192
weakening of, 202–3
See also Catatumbo
Bloque Centauros, 55–56, 56n31, 85, 100, 134n54, 215
Bloque Central Bolívar, 56–57, 58n37
Bloque Córdoba
Bloque Héroes de Tolová and, 125–26
embeddedness of, 206
geography of recruitment of, 198–99
guerrillas and, 181
information problems in, 206
offsprings of, 208
origins of, 200
peace accords with, 196–97
postwar cohesion and, 203–6
power shifts and, 125–26, 202–3, 209
recruit bases of, 198–99
remilitarization of, 200
renegotiation and, 202
as study focus, 117
weakening of, 207–9
Bloque Cundinamarca, 153n54
Bloque Élmer Cárdenas
atrocities committed by, 139
vs. Bloque Héroes de Tolová, 209–11
boundaries of, 99
civic organizations formed by, 193
command structure of, 214, 214n211
creation of, 196–97
demobilization of, 145–50, 209
disarmament and, 201
El Alemán as commander of, 211
embeddedness of, 204–5
financial assets of, 214–15, 216
in guerrilla strongholds, 103
informational structures of, 203–6
local recruitment geography of, 198
name variations of, 116n17
networks of, 145–50, 203–6, 205n136
operating area of, 150
politicization of, 206
postwar cohesion of, 203–6
as study focus, 117
in Urabá, 193
Urabéños and, 211, 213–14
violence perpetrated by, 204, 205
See also Construpaz; Urabéños
Bloque Goyenche, 153n54
Bloque Héroes de Granada, 142, 143n17, 146, 150–51
Bloque Héroes de Tolová
Bloque Córdoba and, 125–26
vs. Bloque Élmer Cárdenas, 209–11
disarmament and, 201
expansion of, 210
geography of recruitment of, 198–99
informational problems of, 206
informational structures of, 203–6
Los Traquetos and, 208–9
postwar cohesion of, 200–1
recruit bases of, 198–99
remilitarization of, 196–97
state power and presence and, 210, 210n184
strengthening of, 208–9
as study focus, 117
Urabá paramilitaries and, 193
See also Paisas
Bloque Libertadores del Sur, 56–57, 123, 189–90
Bloque Metro, 143, 143n17
Bloque Noroccidente Antioqueño, 150–51, 154–55
Bloque Norte, 55
Bloque Pacífico, 99, 189–90
See also Autodefensas Héroes del Pacífico
Bloque Sur de Bolívar, 181, 185
Bloque Tolima, 53, 62n53, 123, 127, 133n54
Bloque Vencedores de Arauca, 100, 132
Bloque Vencedores de San Jorge (remilitarized group), 208–9
See also Bloque Córdoba
Bloque Vichada, 127
Bonito, Pedro. See Hasbún, Raúl
Borda, Orlando Fals, 19n19, 20n21
Bosnia, 255n15
Camilo (Bloque Catatumbo commander), 176
case studies
areas of, 39map2.1
functions of, 138
goals of, 139
as research methodology, 37, 38–41, 43,
138, 138n1
See also Norte de Santander; Medellín; Urabá/Córdoba
Castaño, Carlos, 53, 48–59, 61, 199–200
Castaño, Fidel, 50–51
Catatumbo (Colombian region), 101, 181, 186
See also Norte de Santander
CDF (Civil Defense Forces) (Sierra Leone), 235, 236–40, 238n51, 239t8.1, 245–46
CEDE (Centro de Estudios sobre Desarrollo Económico), 42, 119, 133, 269, 269n15
CERAC (Centro de Recursos Para el Análisis de Conflictos), 38n32
Chamorro, Violeta, 231, 242
Chechen War (Second), 234–35
Christia, Fotini, 17
chulavitas (paramilitary group), 49n9
CINEP/PPP (Corporación Nuevo Arco Iris, Centro de Investigación y Educación Popular/Programa por la Paz), 38n32
civil war onset, 13n2, 15n9, 15–16, 50, 117n19, 249–50
civil war recurrence, 205, 12, 14, 15n9, 15–16, 99, 117n19, 218–20
Civil War (U.S.), 82, 235
CODHES (Consultoría para los Derechos Humanos y el Desplazamiento), 38n32
cohesion. See postwar cohesion
Colombian Agency for Reintegration. See ACR
Colombian National Police (SIJIN), 41, 51t3.2, 116, 119, 133, 186, 187
Comandos Populares, 199
combos (neighborhood gangs), 142, 142n14, 143–44
communism
in Colombia, 1, 51t3.2, 224, 240n15, 226, 226n18, 227, 228
in Peru, 233, 246–47
in the Philippines, 241n54
post-communist Europe, 61n48
Comuna 13 (Medellín locality), 100–1, 149, 155, 190n91, 190–92, 191map7.2
Construpaz (Bloque Élmer Cárdenas civic association), 204, 205–6, 213–14
Contras (FDN), 2, 23, 230–31, 242–43
See also Nicaragua
Convivirs (Cooperativas de Vigilancia y Seguridad Privada) (private security cooperatives), 204, 205–6, 213–14
Contradec (Bloque Elmer Cárdenas civic association), 204, 205–6, 213–14
Contra (FDN), 2, 23, 230–31, 242–43
See also Nicaragua
Convivirs (Cooperativas de Vigilancia y Seguridad Privada) (private security cooperatives), 51t3.2, 53–54, 174, 199–200
Córdoba (Colombian department), 38–40, 173, 209–11
Corporación Avanzando Unidos por Colombia (Coravuncol), 263
Corporación Democracia (Bloque Cacique Nutibara civic association), 146–47, 148–49, 156, 162–69
Costa Rica, 231
cross-national research, 50, 218–19, 247, 249
CRS (Corriente de Renovación Socialista), 51t3.2, 55
CTI (Cuerpo Técnico de Investigación), 38n32
Cuchillo (paramilitary leader), 56n31
DANE (Departamento Administrativo Nacional de Estadística), 132
Da’ul Islam revolt, 234
DAS (Departamento Administrativo de Seguridad), 38n32
DDR (Disarmament, demobilization, and reintegration), 51t3.2, 90, 201, 223, 253
DEA (Drug Enforcement Agency) (U.S.), 141
DECAS (Anti-subversive Civil Defense)
(Peruvian paramilitaries), 233, 233n41
defection, 13–14, 20, 63, 85, 127
del Río, Rito Alejo, 53, 204n155
demilitarization
of Bloque Cacique Nutibara, 138, 157–61, 222
characteristics of, 3, 114
vs. civil war correlates, 15
demobilization and, 216
embeddedness and, 170–71
geography of recruitment and, 51.1, 97–99
illegal activities during, 159–60
in Indonesia, 20–21, 234
of local groups, 30, 98, 216
long-term dynamics of, 34
organizational capacities after, 170–71
organizational interactions and, 30
of paramilitaries, 117–19, 118t5.3
peace accords and, 170–71
in Peru, 246–47
power balances and, 24n26, 29, 31, 97–99
regional configurations and, 10, 99, 118t5.3, 139
as research focus, 249–50
in Sierra Leone, 237–40
demobilization
defeat prior to, 22n25
demilitarization and, 216
drug trafficking and, 189
of FARC, 54, 65
five-year observational period for, 32
migration patterns after, 86–89
non-locals dispersing after, 83
of non-state actors, 32
organizational capacities after, 30–31, 97–98, 198
of paramilitaries, 61, 65, 86–87
peace accords and, 134
power shifts after, 30–31, 97–98
recruitment geographies and, 267
remilitarization and, 198, 216
remobilization vs., 169
renegotiation and, 32
social networks after, 82–83
See also case studies, specific Bloques
DIPOL (Dirección de Inteligencia Policial), 38n32
Index

disarmament
of EPL, 199
of guerrillas, 49–50, 54, 54n22
incomplete, 23, 35, 114n11
indoctrination and, 81, 82–83
international ideology of, 253
in Nicaragua, 242
norms of, 90
organizational cohesion after, 94, 232–33
of paramilitaries, 57, 67, 68–69, 70, 204, 206, 259
peace accords and, 134
remobilization after, 226–27
state power and, 23–24
See also demilitarization; demobilization; specific Bloques
dispersion. See postwar dispersion
displacement, 1–2, 19020, 26, 50n16, 86–87, 102n3, 119, 187, 225
Doble Cero (paramilitary commander), 141n9, 204n155, 207
Don Berna. See Murillo Bejarano, Diego Fernando
Don Mario (Urabeños leader), 195n108, 211, 214
See also El Alemán
Downes, Alexander, 17
drug cartels
Cali cartel, 283, 51t3.2
in Catatumbo, 186
guerrillas and, 114
independence of, 114
Medellin cartel, 283, 51t3.2, 141–42, 194
Medellin’s combos and, 142
Norte del Valle cartel, 51t3.2, 114, 123, 189
paramilitaries and, 114
remilitarization and, 216
Sinaloa cartel (Mexico), 47
the state vs., 190n89
in zones of weak militarization, 189–90, 190n89
drug trafficking
autodefensas taxation and, 152
as banda specialty, 143
by Bloque Cacique Nutibara, 160–61
Bloque Pacífico and, 189
data regarding, 269n14
demobilization and, 189
FARC and, 57
guerrillas engaging in, 57
in Medellin, 160, 160n89
Oficina de Envigado and, 141, 141n9
organizational decay and, 169
by paramilitaries, 47, 50n16, 50–51, 60, 64, 66, 132
post-demobilization, 189
prevalence of, 228
remilitarization and, 132, 133, 135
imperial violence in, 128
Ejército de Liberación Nacional (National Liberation Army). See ELN
Ejército Popular de Liberación (Popular Liberation Army). See EPL
El Alemán (Freddy Rendón Herrera), 58, 196–97, 198, 203–4, 206n165, 211, 214
See also Don Mario
El Salvador, 3, 47, 229n14
ELN (Ejército de Liberación Nacional) vs. Bloque Cacique Nutibara, 150–51
Bloque Catatumbo and, 181, 186
collaboration with autodefensas, 152
Corporación Nuevo Arco Iris faction of, 55
emergence of, 49, 51t3.2
ex-guerrillas interviewed, 37–40
in Medellin, 140
mobilization of, 172–73, 227–28
as non-state actor, 51t3.2
in Norte de Santander, 172–73
operational methods of, 49–50
origins of, 227
peace accords with, 35–36, 51t3.2, 54
violent-event data on, 272
embeddedness
of Bloque Cacique Nutibara, 55–56, 149, 162–67
of Bloque Catatumbo, 184, 204
of Bloque Córdoba, 206
of Bloque Elmer Cárdenas, 204–5
of Corporación Democracia, 162–63
remilitarization and, 170–71
in Guatemala, 232–33
in Indonesia, 245
of local groups, 19, 27–29, 77, 91, 143–44
in Medellin, 168fig.6.5
in Peru, 246–47
recruitment and, 19
social networks and, 19–20
EPL (Ejército Popular de Liberación) allied with paramilitaries, 55
battalions defecting to FARC, 55
Bloque Catatumbo and, 181, 186
as Comandos Populares, 55
dismantlement of, 199
emergence of, 49, 51t3.2
EPL (Ejército Popular de Liberación) (cont.)
Esperanza, Paz y Libertad party of, 55, 205, 205n157
ex-guerrillas interviewed, 37–40
FARC and, 55, 196n110, 199
in Medellín, 140
non-local brigades remaining with, 55
as non-state actor, 51t3.2
in Norte de Santander, 46t3.1,
55, 172–73
operational methods of, 49–50
peace accords with, 51t3.2, 54
in Urabá/Córdoba, 199
ERPAC (Ejército Revolucionario Popular Antiterrorista Colombiano), 215
See also Cuchillo; Frente Héroes del Llano y Guaviare
Escobar, Pablo, 2n3, 51t3.2, 141, 152, 159, 160
See also Medellín cartel
Esperanza, Paz y Libertad (EPL political party), 55, 205, 205n157
esperanzados (ex-EPL guerrillas), 199n123,
199–200, 205
See also EPL
Ethiopia, 6–7, 20–21
Fals-Borda, Orlando, 19n19, 20n21
FARC (Fuerzas Armadas Revolucionarias de Colombia)
vs. Autodefensas Campesinas de Magdalena Medio–Puerto Triunfo, 152–54
vs. Bloque Cacique Nutibara, 150–51
Bloque Catatumbo and, 181, 186
cohesion of, 228n31
demobilization of, 54, 63
drug trafficking and, 57
emergence of, 49, 51t3.2
EPL and, 55, 196n110, 199
ex-guerrillas interviewed, 37–40
illegal activities of, 152
in Medellín, 140
military strength of, 57, 58fn3.1
negotiating with the state, 256
as non-state actor, 51t3.2
in Norte de Santander, 55, 172–73
operational methods of, 49–50
origins of, 228
peace accords with, 35–36, 51t3.2, 54, 57
political party of, 54
recruit bases of, 256
remilitarization of, 54, 55, 57
UP and, 54
weakening of, 57
in zones of study, 102
FDN (Frente Democrático Nicaragüense).
See Contras
female combatants, 48, 240
FIP (Fundación Ideas para la Paz), 38n32, 74, 116
See also surveys
FMLN (Frente Farabundo Martí para la Liberación Nacional) (El Salvador), 3, 47,
228n34
Fortna, Virginia Page, 14
FPSG (Resistance Front against GAM Separatists (Indonesia), 234, 245
France, 82, 235
FRELIMO (Frente de Liberación de Moçambique), 3, 240–41
Frentes
See also autodefensas; paramilitaries
Frente Alex Hurtado, 196n112
Frente Alto San Jorge, 203, 208
See also Bloque Córdoba
Frente Alto Sinú, 208
See also Bloque Córdoba
Frente Bajo Cauca, 150–51, 154–55
Frente Bananero
Bloque Catatumbo and, 174
as Frente Alex Hurtado, 196n112
networks of, 195
Superban and, 193, 206
in Urabá, 196–97, 199
Frente Farabundo Martí para la Liberación Nacional. See FMLN
Frente Frontera, 180–81
See also Bloc Catatumbo
Frente Héroes del Llano y Guaviare, 100, 150, 215
Frente Julio Peinado, 181
Frente Ocaña, 180–81
See also Bloque Catatumbo
Frente Turbo, 193, 196–97, 204n155
See also Bloque Bananero
Frente Vichada, 55–56, 100, 145n24
FSLN (Frente Sandinista de Liberación Nacional) (Nicaragua). See Sandinistas
Fuerzas Armadas Revolucionarias de Colombia. See FARC
Fundación Ideas para la Paz. See FIP
Gaitán, Jorge Eliécer, 51t3.2
GAM (Gerakin Aceh Merdeka) (Indonesia), 234
Index

García, Ever Veloza (HH), 56, 193–95, 194n100, 204n155
Gaviria, César, 199
geographic proximity, 20–22, 28n29, 50, 72, 82, 87t4.3, 102, 150, 192
government of recruitment of Bloque Catatumbo, 173–78
demilitarization and, 51t1.1, 97–99
determinants of, 273tA.4
in enemy-controlled areas, 102n3
hypotheses of, 29–30
mapped, 101map5.1
natural resources and, 102–3
network structures and, 18–20, 198
overviews, 3–11, 74–77, 257
peace accords and, 172
policy implications of, 27–31
postwar cohesion and, 97
postwar violence and, 172
remilitarization and, 51t1.1, 97–99, 123t5.5, 136–37, 139
as research focus, 252
territory size and, 102
government of recruitment study methodologies. See research methodologies
government of recruitment theory bargaining process and, 223
beyond Colombia, 229–30
causal process verification, 138
hypotheses, 29–31
implications for scholarship of, 248–57
of remilitarization (overview), 18–29
symmetric/asymmetric warfare and, 228n3
Gilpin, Robert, 36–37
González, Fernán, 19n20
Gould, Roger, 17
Goyeneche, Diego José Martínez, 53
Griffith, James, 83
Guadalupe Salcedo guerrillas, 224
Guardia Nacional (Nicaragua), 231, 242–43
Guatemala, 6–7, 20–21, 23, 231, 232–33, 244–45
Guerra, Julio, 226, 227–28
guerrillas (left-wing rebels)
Bloque Cacique Nutibara and, 142, 143–44, 150–51
Bloque Córdoba and, 181
communism and, 224, 226, 227, 228
defined, 7n15
dismantlement of, 49–50
drug cartels and, 114
drug trafficking by, 57
La Violencia and, 38, 49, 221n4, 221–22, 222n8
listed, 51t3.2
military offensives against, 224
National Front agreement and, 51t3.2, 222–23
operational methods of, 49–50
paramilitary activity in areas controlled by, 102, 103
as paramilitary target, 48
peace accords with, 51t3.2, 54
power shifts and, 105–10
presence of, 111map5.3
recruit bases of, 221
remilitarizing, 223–24
the state and, 54–55, 221–22, 223–24
strong militarization of, 226–28
violent-event data on, 42–43
weak militarization of, 224–25
See also ELN; EPL; FARC; M-19; UP
Gutiérrez Sanín, Francisco, 47
Hasbún, Raúl (Pedro Bonito), 194n100, 196–97, 201n140, 206
Héroes de Tolová. See Bloque Héroes de Tolová
Héroes del Llano y Guaviare. See Frente Héroes del Llano y Guaviare
Herrera, Freddy Rendón (El Alemán), 58, 196–97, 198, 203–4, 206n165, 214
HH (Ever Veloza García), 56, 193–95, 194n100, 204n155
High Council of Reintegration. See ACR homicide rates, 141, 157, 187, 266, 270
Honduras, 231
Humphreys, Macartan, 228n28, 230n37, 235, 253
hypotheses
1.1, 75
1.2, 77
1.3, 86, 102
1.4, 89, 95
2.2, 117
2.3, 30, 196
2.4, 122
2.5, 119
2.6, 123
2.7, 97, 111–12
2.8, 113
2.9, 97, 112
hypotheses of geography of recruitment theory of remilitarization

hypotheses on dynamics within organizations, 29–30, 32

hypotheses on interactions between organizations, 30–31, 32–33

hypotheses on regional dynamics, 30, 98 overview, 29–31

ICBF (Instituto Colombiano de Bienestar Familiar), 38n32

ICG (International Crisis Group), 66n68, 157, 238–39, 241n54

ICTJ (International Center for Transitional Justice), 38n32

Ideas for Peace Foundation. See FIP

ideological indoctrination, 83n9, 83–84

ideological motivation, 16, 18–19, 42, 81–82, 132, 270

ideologies conservative, 1, 48, 222–23
counterinsurgent, 132
functions of, 56, 59
liberal, 222–23
organizational cohesion and, 93
recruitment and, 55–57, 102, 132, 268tA.1
remilitarized violence and, 133
weakening support for, 56

IEPRI (Instituto de Estudios Políticos y Relaciones Internacionales), 38n32

IGAC (Instituto Geográfico Agustín Codazzi), 128, 269n15

implications of geography of recruitment scholarship

implications for macro peace literature, 248–51

implications for meso scholarship, 252

implications for micro peace literature, 251 overview, 248–57

implications for policies regarding remilitarization, 253–57

Indonesia, 3, 31n0, 6–7, 20–21, 234, 245

information asymmetries bargaining process and, 24
causes of, 26, 27
of local groups, 25–28, 30
networks and, 254
of non-local groups, 25–28, 30, 73
non-state actors and, 29
organized violence and, 14–15
power shifts and, 31, 98

as research focus, 250

the state and, 254n11
vertical ties and, 94–96
See also case studies

INPEC (Instituto Nacional Penitenciario y Carcelario), 116, 266

interviews conditions of, 8n20
as research methodology, 11, 37–40, 38n32, 43, 78–79, 219–20, 266, 270

IOM (International Organization for Migration). See surveys

IRA (Irish Republican Army), 3, 31n10

Ireland, 3

Isaza, Ramón (El Viejo), 152–54, 153n54

JAC (Juntas de Acción Comunal), 40, 159n82, 163, 166n104, 260–61

JAL (Juntas Administradoras Locales), 40, 163, 163n98, 206

Justice and Peace Law (Law 975)

commanders’ testimony under, 57n35, 68n76, 160, 194–98, 202, 203–4 defined, 10n22, 42n34, 67
information gathered via, 42, 266

Kalyvas, Stathis, 17

Keen, David, 134

Kocher, Matthew, 17

L group configurations, 5t1.1, 29–30, 72, 98, 124f.6

La Violencia (Colombian civil war)

aftermath as study focus (overview), 37–43
fatalities during, 11n1, 31n1, 220
guerrillas in, 38, 49, 221n4, 221–22, 222n8
guerrillas mobilizing after, 1 overview, 220–28
paramilitaries in, 49
recruitment patterns in, 226–28
research strategies concerning, 11

Law 35, 54

Law 48, 49, 51n2, 53

Law 975. See Justice and Peace Law

Law 1424, 68n75, 266–67, 267n12

León, Juanita, 49–50

Levy, Jack, 36

liberales limpios (pure liberals), 224n15

L-L group configurations, 102–3, 1075.1, 112–13, 113n9, 113n5, 118n5, 3, 119, 119n22, 1225.4, 1245.6, 136–37, 246, 275

L-L-S group configurations, 30, 35, 98
L-NL group configurations, 100, 112–13, 113n9, 113t5.2, 118t5.3, 119, 121, 122t5.4, 124t5.6, 136–37, 241, 245, 246, 275
L-NL-L group configurations, 100
L-NL-S group configurations, 30, 35, 98
local groups
analysis levels of, 190
configurations and the state, 25fig2.1
defined, 18, 202
See also group configurations under “L”, e.g. L-L; guerrillas; mixed groups; non-local groups; specific Autodefensas; specific Bloques; specific Frentes
LRA (Lord’s Resistance Army)
(Uganda), 233–34
L-S group configurations, 241, 241n54
M-19 (Movimiento 19 de Abril), 50–51, 51t3.2, 54, 54n24
Machos (cartel armed apparatus), 114
Magdalena Medio guerrillas. See Autodefensas Campesinas de Magdalena Medio–Puerto Triunfo
Mancuso, Salvatore, 181, 185, 188
MEVEC (Mecanismo de Verificación Conjunto de Bandas Criminales Emergentes), 116
MILF (Moro Islamic Liberation Front) (Philippines), 3n10
military defeat, 127, 241
military effectiveness, 20, 73, 83, 85–86
MILPAS (Milicias Populares Anti-Somocistas) (Nicaragua), 230–31, 232, 242
mixed groups (groups mixing local and non-local recruitment strategies) configurations of, and the state, 25fig2.2
organizational capacity and, 32
in Peru, 233
power shifts and, 24
prevalence of, 23
See also geography of recruitment
MAQP-OAS (Organization of American States Peace Mission), 38–40, 43, 116, 126, 265n10
See also surveys
MAQL (Movimiento Armado Quintín Lame), 51t3.2, 54–55
MAS (Muerte a Secuestradores), 50–51, 51t3.2, 274–77
McAdam, Doug, 17
mechanisms between organizations, 30–31, 97–98
Medellín
autodefensas in, 158, 166–67
Bloque Cacique Nutibara in, 145–47, 165fig6.4
case study of, 38–40
combatant-commander relationships in, 147fig6.1
demilitarization in, 100
drug cartel of, 213, 51t3.2, 141–42, 194
drug trafficking in, 160, 160n89
embeddedness in, 168fig6.5
gangs in, 140–41
guerrillas in, 140–41
homicide rates in, 141, 157
illegal activities in, 159–60, 244
local groups in, 100, 150–51
paramilitary social networks in, 184
power balances in, 103
reintegration in, 142n14, 158
state weakness in, 103
state-building in, 155–57
zones of operation in, 151map6.1
See also Comuna 13
Mellizos brothers, 181, 185, 188
Movimiento 19 de Abril. See M-19
Movimiento Armado Quintín Lame. See MAQL
Mozambique, 3, 240–41
MPLA (Movimiento Popular de Libertação de Angola). See Angola
MRTA (Movimiento Revolucionario Tupac Amaru) (Peru), 233
Muerte a Secuestradores (Death to Kidnappers paramilitary group). See MAS multivariate results, 274–77
Murillo Bejarano, Diego Fernando (Don Berna) (Adolfo Paz), 141–42, 148, 163, 164fig6.3, 169, 196–97
Myanmar, 2–3, 66n68, 135–36, 241n54
Namibia, 20–21
narco trafficking. See drug trafficking
National Front agreement (1958), 49, 51t3.2, 220–21, 222–23, 223n11, 224n14
NBI (Unsatisfied Basic Needs), 102, 132, 272–74
networks among Medellín paramilitaries, 170–71 atrocity levels and, 94 bargaining process and, 75 components of, 18–19 geographical, 20n21 and geography of recruitment, 17–20 of ideologically driven groups, 93 of local and non-local groups, 29, 30, 72, 80–82, 94–96 of local groups, 19–20, 33, 77–82, 170–71 mapping of, 198–200 of non-local groups, 19, 33 organizational capacities and, 22, 74t4.1 postwar violence and, 33 prewar networks, 77–82, 78fig4.1, 80t4.2 rank and, 78–79 remilitarization and, 23–24, 122–25, 132 as research focus, 254 power shifts and, 40, 112, 241 as research focus, 254 security outsourced to, 228–29 the state and, 7, 14–15, 35, 59, 99, 135, 216, 228–29 listed, 51t3.2 organized violence and, 14–15, 29 power shifts and, 40, 112, 241 as research focus, 254 security outsourced to, 228–29 the state and, 7, 14–15, 35, 59, 99, 182, 188–89, 216 Norte de Santander (Colombian department)
Bloque Catatumbo in, 172–73, 174–76, 178, 181, 184–86
demobilization in, 100–1 ELN in, 172–73 EPL in, 46fig3.1, 55, 172–73 FARC in, 55, 172–73 IOM reports on, 175, 181, 183–84 paramilitary social networks in, 184 power shifts in, 40, 188 remilitarization in, 100–1 state buildup in, 100–1, 188–89 as study focus, 38–40 territorial divisions in, 181 Urabá combatants in, 193 NRM (National Resistance Movement) (Uganda), 233–34
OAS (Organization of American States). See MAPP-OAS
Ochoa, Martha Nieves, 50–51

© in this web service Cambridge University Press www.cambridge.org
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Index</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Oficina de Envigado, 141, 141n9, 159, 211n187</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Operation Sovereignty, 224, 228</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Organización Nueva Generación, 123, 189–90, 190n89</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Organization of American States. See MAPP-OAS</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>organizational bankruptcy, 241</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>organizational capacities</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>among guerrillas, 224, 226–27</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>erosion of, 167–69, 170–71</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>geographical proximity and, 82–83</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>geography of recruitment and, 18–24, 32, 168, 202, 210–21, 230–41, 267–68</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>of local and non-local groups, 74t4.1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>of local groups, 22, 30–31</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>militarization and, 22, 74t4.1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>networks and, 74t4.1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>overviews, 89–95</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>postwar networks and, 74t4.1, 89–95</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>power shifts and, 23–24, 30–31, 97–98</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>preservation/erosion of, 72–73</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>recruitment patterns and, 74t4.1, 82–83</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>remilitarization and, 123–24</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>variation in, 224–25</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>organizational remilitarization determinants, 276tA.7</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Organski, A. F. K., 36–37</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PAC (Patrullas de Autodefensa Civil) (Guatemala), 232–33, 244</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Paisas (remilitarized group), 40, 178, 210–11, 211n187, 214n209, 215</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pakistan, 6–7</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Palacio de Justicia siege, 54</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Paler, Laura, 38, 41, 77, 265</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pájaros (paramilitary group), 49n9</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>paramilitaries (Colombian right-wing militias)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bargaining power of, 60, 63–67, 70</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>character of, 47t5, 47–48</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>criminal activity and, 65, 66, 132–34, 159n86</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>declining in power, 60–61</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>defined, 71t5</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>demilitarization of, 67, 68–69, 70, 118t5.3</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>demobilization of, 69, 70, 91</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>disarmament of, 57, 67, 68–69, 70, 204, 206, 259</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>drug cartels and, 114</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>emergence of, 50–53, 511t3.2</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>expansion of, 55–57, 59</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fragmented interests among, 66, 66n68</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>franchises among, 54, 56</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>vs. guerrillas, 57</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>history (overview), 49–60</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>informational structures of, 206–9</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>La Violencia and, 49</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>as laboratory for theory</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>development, 219–20</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>leaders imprisoned, 67–68</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>legal status of, 47t1, 47–48</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>legislators' support for, 61</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>listed, 51t3.2, 107t5.1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>locations of, 100, 101nmap5.1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Medellín’s combos and, 142</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>negotiating with the state, 61n50, 61–64, 62n3</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>non-unitary nature of, 216–17</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>numbers of members of, 48, 48n6</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>objectives of, 59</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>operational methods of, 1, 57</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>overview, 7</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>peace accords with, 9, 44–47, 51t3.2, 63–67, 68n15, 69–71</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>politicization of, 59, 91</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>in prewar networks, 78</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rank among, 65–66, 78–79</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>recruitment by, 55–57, 75–77, 81–82</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>reintegration of, 67, 67n72, 68–69</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>remilitarization and, 55, 70, 114, 117–19, 118t5.3</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>social activities of, 59–60</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>social mobilization against, 64–65</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>state collaboration with, 59, 170–71, 206</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>state view of, 48–49</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>subway map of, 103–5, 104n5.1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>support for, divided, 65n64</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>terminologies for, 47, 48–49</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>U.S. opposition to, 60–61</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>zones of operation, 76n4p.1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>See also case studies; drug trafficking; ERPAC; MAS; Paisas; reintegration; reintegration programs; surveys; Urabeños; specific Autodefensas; specific Frentes</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>parches (neighborhood gangs), 142, 143–44</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Paris Commune (1871), 82</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Parkinson, Sarah, 17</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pastrana, Andrés, 51t3.2, 57</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pastrana Borrero, Misael, 51t3.2</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Paz, Adolfo. See Murillo Bejarano, Diego Fernando</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PCP-SL (Partido Comunista de Perú-Sendero Luminoso), 233, 246–47</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Index

peace accords
demilitarization and, 170–71
demobilization and, 134
disarmament and, 134
with EPL, 51t3.2, 54
with FARC, 35–36, 51t3.2, 54, 57
go geography of recruitment and, 172
literature of, 248–51
military defeat and, 127
negotiations vs. military victory leading to, 228–29, 229n36
peacekeeping and, 126–27
remilitarization and, 9, 216
remilitarized violence and, 15–16, 124–25, 134, 216
renegotiation of, 29
resource endowments and, 16, 17
unexpected outcomes of, 69–70
See also National Front agreement; paramilitaries; renegotiation; specific groups’ peace accords
People’s Movement for the Liberation of Angola. See MPLA
PEPES (People Persecuted by Pablo Escobar), 141–42
Peru, 53n20, 233, 233n41, 246–47
Petersen, Roger, 17
Petro, Gustavo, 54
Philippines, 3, 53n20, 241n54
Pirata (paramilitary leader), 56n31
Plan Colombia, 60n46, 60–61
Posen, Barry, 23
postwar cohesion
bloques and, 150, 200–1, 203–6
in Guatemala, 232–33
in Mozambique, 240–41
in Nicaragua, 241
recruitment and, 9–10, 72, 220
socialization and, 73
variation in, 97
postwar dispersion, 22, 33–34, 88
postwar networks
data regarding, 94
determinants of, 267–71, 271tA.3
go geography of recruitment and, 198
of local and non-local groups, 89, 91, 91n16
organizational capacities and, 74t4.1, 89–95
predicted, 95fig4.4
preservation of, 92
prewar, 267–68
research on, 91
survey questions on, 89–90, 92
See also networks
postwar violence, 112, 1–3, 21, 172
See also remilitarized violence
power balances, in Medellín, 103
power balances and shifts
among guerrillas, 105–10
armed organizations’ break up and, 253–56
Bloque Córdoba and, 113–16, 202–3, 209
demilitarization and, 24n26, 29, 31, 97–99
after demobilization, 30–31, 97–98
local and non-local groups and, 30–31
among mixed groups, 24
negotiation advantages and, 31
non-state actors and, 40, 112, 241
in Norte de Santander, 40
regional configurations and, 110–13, 113t5.2
remilitarization and, 31, 113n9, 172, 202, 220
as research focus, 255
in Sierra Leone, 245–46
state power and, 241
in Urabá, 210fig7.1
in Urabá/Córdoba, 202, 207–9
preventative war mechanism, 36
prison surveys. See surveys
Programa Paz y Reconciliación (Medellín reintegration program), 14n14
proximity of ex-combatants, postwar, 87t4.3
psychologists. See reintegration programs (ACR); surveys
Quintín Lame guerrilla group. See MAQL
rank (military), 65–66, 68, 78–79, 89, 93, 178, 253, 270
Rastrojos (cartel armed apparatus), 114, 123, 189–90, 190n89
recidivism. See surveys
recruitment
in American Civil War, 82
among local and non-local groups, 80–82
derterminants of, 268tA.1
embeddedness and, 19
go geographic patterns of, 18–24, 29–30, 72
into illegal armed groups, 102
of locals by non-local groups, 31n31
networks of, 80–82
organizational capacity and, 31t1
organizational capacity effected by, 18–24
patterns of, 31t1
postwar migration and, 86–87, 88fig4.3
regional configurations and, 3
remilitarized violence and, 13t5.10
socialization and training by type of,
84fig.4.2
See also case studies; geography of recruitment theory; hypotheses of geography of recruitment theory of
recruit bases
of FARC, 256
of guerrillas, 221
as heterogeneous, 53n20
interaction between, 220
in municipalities, 93n20
network structures and, 19
in Peru, 53n20
in Sierra Leone, 236
See also case studies
recruitment geography. See geography of recruitment
recruitment mapping. See mapping of recruitment
recruitment model nuances
armed non-state actors and, 35–36
divergent outcomes, 33–34
long-term dynamics, 34
mixed recruitment strategies, 32–33
overview, 32–37
peace considerations and, 35–36
power transition predictions, 36–37
state power considerations, 34–35
wartime alliances and hostilities as, 36
regional configurations
of armed groups, 32–33
defined, 24, 99
demilitarization and, 99, 118t5.3, 139
of local and non-local groups, 3, 51t1, 10,
24–29, 12–33
paramilitary demilitarization and, 118t5.3
physical geography and, 99
power shifts and, 29, 110–13, 113t5.2
recruitment and, 3
remilitarization and, 24–29, 71, 118t5.3
remilitarized violence and, 122t5.4
research methodologies for, 99–110,
272–73
reintegration
of paramilitaries, 67, 67n72, 68–69
postwar migration and, 86–87
rank and, 63–66, 68
as research focus, 253, 254–55
in Sierra Leone, 253n14
in Sudan, 253n15
See also case studies; Corporación Democracia
reintegration programs (ACR)
conditions for entry into, 68n75
ex-paramilitary participation in, 68, 90–91,
127, 204, 264–65, 270
family surveys and, 262–63
in Medellín, 142n14
participation required, 266–67
populations participating in, 261n4
psychologists administrating, 41, 41n33,
93n19, 262n5, 263
relocation and, 20–21
services provided by, 67n72, 261–62
See also surveys
remilitarization
in Angola, 2
bargaining process and, 206–9
beyond Colombia, 241
of Bloque Calima, 193–95
of Bloque Catatumbo, 138, 185, 186–89,
188n86
of Bloque Córdoba, 123, 138
of Bloque Élmer Cárdenas, 138
of Bloque Héroes de Tolová, 196–97, 209–11
characteristics of, 2n6, 3, 113–16
in Colombia, 1–2
demobilization and, 198, 216
drug cartels and, 216
drug trafficking and, 132, 133, 135map.5.8
of FARC, 54, 55, 57
five-year observational period for, 34,
116–17, 167–68
of Frente Héroes del Llano y Guaviare, 215
graphy of recruitment and, 51t1, 18–29,
97–99, 136–37, 139
group interactions (overview), 97–137
in Guatemala, 23, 232–33, 244–45
illegal activities during, 214–15, 113n15
implications for policy regarding, 252–57
in Iraq, 3
of local and non-local groups, 30, 98
of local groups, 98, 226–28
long-term dynamics of, 34
measuring, 116–17
vs. militarization, 114–15
mobilization and, 129
motivations for, 131t5.8
at municipality level, 123–24,
125–26, 136–37
remilitarization (cont.)
in Myanmar, 2–3
name variations and, 116n17
network structures and, 23–24, 81
in Nicaragua, 2, 241–43
of non-local groups, 30, 98, 224–25
organizational analysis and, 117–19
organizational remilitarization, 136, 276tA.7
outside groups’ operational zone, 192–96
peace accords and, 134
postwar migration and, 112n8
poverty and, 275mapA.1.
power shifts and, 31, 97–99, 113n9, 172, 202, 220
predictions regarding, 31fig2.4, 32
regional configurations and, 10, 24–29, 71, 122t5.4
as remilitarized violence, 113
renegotiation and, 29, 172, 202
as research focus, 249–50
resources and, 132–33, 134t5.9, 276tA.6
social networks and, 132
surveys regarding, 261
intensity variation in, 125map5.5
at the municipality level, 122t5.4, 123–24, 125–26, 224
network structures and, 122–25
peace accords and, 15–16, 124–25, 134, 216
postwar organizational weakness
causing, 198
reduction and, 137t5.10
regional analysis and, 119–22
regional configurations and, 122t5.4, 124t5.6
regional dynamics and, 30
remilitarization as, 113
as research focus, 249–50
research strategies concerning, 123–24
regional dynamics and, 128–29
remobilization
data regarding, 42–43, 116
demobilization vs., 169
after disarmament, 267
disincentives against, 168–69
ELN and, 227–28
FARC and, 228
in Guatemala, 244–45
locally, 150–51
in Nicaragua, 243
of non-local groups, 225
paramilitary negotiations and, 63, 64
peace accords and, 214
peace processes and, 126
recruitment geographies and, 267
in Sierra Leone, 238–39
social networks and, 82, 122, 224
socialization and, 82
See also remilitarization; specific Bloques
RENAMO (Resistência Nacional Moçambicana), 3, 240–41
renegotiation
by Catatumbo paramilitaries, 184
demobilization and, 32, 155
by Héroes del Llano y Guaviare, 215
peace bargains, 24
postwar, 117–18, 154
remilitarization and, 29, 172, 202
successful/unsuccessful, 51t1.1
See also case studies
research methodologies
components of, 11
dispersion data, 88
fieldwork areas visited, 38–40
overviews, 37–43, 74–75
for postwar social networks, 92
for power shifts, 110–13
for recruitment and remilitarized violence, 136–37, 137t5.10
for regional configurations, 99–110
research design and, 37–43
research strategy, 8
for resources, 133
for territorial terrain, 128–29, 272–74
See also case studies; interviews; selection issues; surveys; violent-event data
resource endowment
in Colombian conflict, 228
data regarding, 269, 272, 274
financial, 93, 132–33, 134t5.9, 160–61, 194n105
ideologies and, 132
peace accords and, 16, 17
Index

tactical terrain and, 127–32
in theories of armed organizations, 16–17
See also case studies
Reyes Posada, Alejandro, 50n16
rising power mechanism, 36–37
Rojas Pinilla, Gustavo, 51t3.2
Rondas Campesinas (Peru), 233, 233n41, 246–47, 247n64
RUF (Revolutionary United Front) (Sierra Leone), 235, 236–40, 239t8.1, 245–46
SAME (Sistema de Acompañamiento, Monitoreo, y Evaluación), 259–60
See also IOM; reintegration; surveys
Samii, Cyrus, 38, 41, 77, 265
Sánchez, Fabio, 42, 269n15
Sandinistas (FSLN) (Nicaragua), 2, 230–31, 231n38, 242–43, 243n56
Santos, Juan Manuel, 51t3.2, 57
Savimbi, Jonas, 243–44
Second Chechen War, 234–35
SEI (Sistemas Especializados de Información), 265n8
See also surveys
self-defense forces. See autodefensas
Selznick, Philip, 170–71, 214
SENA (Servicio Nacional de Aprendizaje), 199n123, 200n133
shadow of future civilian/ex-combatant contact, 21, 21n24, 28, 63, 167, 183–84
Sierra Leone army of, 235
cohesion in, 237–40, 238n51, 239t8.1
dispersion in, 237–40
international presence in, 246n61
Kamajor units in, 236, 236n48, 237
local vs. non-local recruitment in, 230n37, 236, 239t8.1
networks in, 236–37, 239t8.1, 239t8.2
paramilitary recruit profiles in, 82
power balances in, 245–46
rebels becoming militias in, 230n37
reintegration in, 255n14
remilitarization prevented in, 245–46, 246n62
research data on, 236n46
research strategies concerning, 11
socialization in, 239–40, 245–46
SIJIN. See Colombian National Police
SIMCI (Sistema Integrado de Monitoreo de Cultivos Ilícitos), 133, 269
SLA (Sierra Leone Army), 235
social networks. See networks; postwar networks
socialization among local and non-local groups, 82–83
in Angola, 243
cohesion and, 83, 239–40
conflict experience and, 73
disarmament and, 226–27
evaluation of, 83
importance of, 6
of local groups, 84
military effectiveness and, 82–86
postwar cohesion and, 73
remobilization and, 82
in Sierra Leone, 239–40, 245–46
Somoza, Augusto, 230–31, 231n38
Sri Lanka, 20–21
SSR (security-sector reform), 255
Staniland, Paul, 17
state power and presence
disarmament and, 23–24
vs. drug cartels, 190n89
fragmented, 7
vs. guerrillas, 223–24
hypotheses regarding, 30, 98
importance of, 229–30
information asymmetries vs., 254n11
local and non-local group configurations and, 25fig2.2
local group configurations and, 25fig2.1
militarization of, 24
non-local groups configurations and, 26fig2.3
militarization of, 24
Operation Sovereignty and, 224, 228
power distribution and, 24
power sharing and, 221n4
in recruitment models, 34–35
regional configurations and, 34–35
remilitarization and, 124–25
shifts in, 29, 172, 220–21, 241
territories lacking in, 228–29
variation in, 110m5.2
weakened, 71n7, 48–49, 102, 103, 105, 228–29, 229n15
See also case studies; Corporación Democracia; Medellín; National Front agreement (1958); non-state actors; specific Bloques
state-building, 139, 155–57, 170–71, 172n1, 216, 220–21, 223, 236–57

© in this web service Cambridge University Press
Step 1
of geography of recruitment theory, 311.1, 18–24, 32, 42, 97, 202, 220, 230–41
hypotheses on dynamics within organizations, 29–30
recruitment and cohesion, 97, 234
recruitment patterns and organizational capacity, 311.1

Step 2
of geography of recruitment theory, 202, 220, 241
demilitarization, 311.1, 24–29, 73, 202, 220, 241
hypotheses on interactions between organizations, 30, 32–33, 97
hypotheses on mechanisms between organizations, 30–31
regional configurations and remilitarization, 311.1
strong remilitarization. See Bloque Élmer Cárdenas; Bloque Héroes de Tolová; ERPAC; Frente Héroes del Llano y Guaviare; guerrillas; Paisas; Urabeños; specific Bloques
subway map of paramilitary organizations, 103–5, 104fig5.1
Sudan, 255n15
Superban (Frente Bananero successor), 193, 193n96, 195, 201n140, 206
Supreme Court (Colombia), 53, 54n24
surveys
of civilians (IOM), 41, 166, 205, 260–61
of ex-combatants (ACR), 102n21, 41, 88n15, 89, 90–95, 265
of ex-combatants (ACR/IOM), 260
of ex-combatants (author/ACR), 41, 261
of ex-combatants (IOM), 9–10, 102n21, 41, 74, 75, 87n14, 88n15, 259, 260
of ex-combatants’ families (ACR), 41, 92, 262–61
of ex-paramilitaries (FIP), 41, 79–81, 80n4, 81n9, 83–84, 90, 92n17, 263–64, 267
in Medellin (IOM), 147n33, 163, 166, 184
prison survey (author/MAPP-OAS), 41, 91n16, 264n7, 264–65
of reintegration psychologists (ACR), 263
of reintegration psychologists (author/ACR), 41, 93, 93n19, 93n20, 263

Index

- tactical terrain, 127–32, 129t5.7, 130maps5.6, 131maps5.7, 272–74, 274tA.5
- Tajikistan, 134–35
- Tela accord (Nicaragua), 230–31
- theories of armed groups’ postwar trajectories
  - bargaining theory and, 12–16, 25–26
  - civil war onset/recurrence and, 15–16
  - divergence among paramilitaries, 56–57
  - literature of, 16–18
  - network structures in, 17–20
  - overview, 12–43
  - of remilitarization, 218–19
  - resource endowment and, 16–17
- Tolima (Colombian department), 54–55, 224, 225–26
- transitions (war to peace)
  - actors remaining in arms during, 35
  - armed organizations during, 4–11
  - benefits of, 134
  - beyond Colombia, 228–47
  - local groups and, 216
  - network structures in, 3
  - state power during, 34–35
  - Traquetos (remilitarized group), 208–9
- Trejo, Guillermo, 17
- UCUDP (Uppsala Conflict Data Program)
  - dataset, 250n5
- Uganda, 233–34, 234n43
- UNDOC (United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime), 133, 269
- See also SIMCI
- UNDP (United Nations Development Programme), 38n32
- UNITA (União Nacional para a Independência Total de Angola).
  - See Angola
- United States
  - CIA and, 141
  - Civil War in, 82, 235
  - Contras and, 231, 242
  - DEA and, 141
  - deployment patterns in, 235
  - extraditions to, 453.1, 68, 69, 141, 148, 169
  - vs. the Medellin drug cartel, 141
  - paramilitaries opposed by, 60–61
  - Plan Colombia of, 60n46
  - recruitment in, 82, 235
  - unsatisfied basic needs (NBI), 102, 132, 272–74
- UP (Unión Patriótica), 511.2.2, 54
- See also FARC
Index

UPA (Uganda People's Army), 233–34
Uraba/Córdoba (Colombian regions)
case study of, 172, 197map7.3,
202, 209–11
demobilization in, 206–7, 207n169
distribution of power in, 210fig7.1
EPL in, 199
ex-paramilitaries from, 195–96
FARC in, 194
Frente Bananero in, 194, 196–97, 199
Frente Turbo in, 56
gangs in, 244
informational structures of, 206–9
local group cohesion in, 200–1
paramilitaries in, 196n110, 196n111, 196–98
peace agreements in, 206–7
power shifts in, 198, 202, 207–9
reintegration in, 194, 200
remilitarized zones in, 212map7.4
resources of, 196
state cooperation in, 206
as study focus, 38–40
violence spillover into, 209–11
zones of operation in, 197map7.3
in zones of study, 102
See also Bloque Bananero; Bloque Córdoba;
Blotte Élmer Cárdenas; Bloque Héroes
de Tolová; Catatumbo
Urabeños (remilitarized group), 40, 175,
211–15, 212n198, 213n201, 214n209
Uribe, Álvaro
as Antioquia governor, 61–62
extraditions ordered by, 68
governing policy of, 64n62
vs. guerrillas, 57, 105n6
National Consolidation Plan, 105n6
negotiations conducted by, 1
paramilitaries and, 63
social pressures against, 64–65
URNG (Unidad Revolucionaria Nacional
Guatemalteca), 232–33
USAID (United States Agency for International
Development), 38n32
Valencia, Guillermo León, 513.2
variation in the incidence of remilitarization,
117–22, 118t5.3
Vencedores de San Jorge (remilitarized group),
208–9
Verdad Abierta project (FIP), 74
violence and peace overview, 44–49
violent-event data, 42–43, 272
Walter, Barbara, 23, 69, 250n5
weak remilitarization, 29, 186–90, 202, 208,
224–25
See also Bloque Catatumbo; Bloque
Córdoba; Bloque Héroes
de Tolová; Catatumbo
Weinstein, Jeremy, 16, 26, 26n27, 100, 161,
235, 250, 253
Wolf, Navarro, 54
Wood, Elisabeth Jean, 17
YATAMA (Yapti Tasba Masraka Nanih
Aslatanka) (Contra faction)
(Nicaragua), 231
Zimbabwe, 14