

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
 Bacrim, 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-Repetition, 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 (SIVJRNR), 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
 Country 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
 Bacrín 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, Efraim, 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
- Sikink, 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 Bacrím, 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