



## UvA-DARE (Digital Academic Repository)

### Alliances between civilians and combatants in civil wars

Gómez Uribe, D.

**Publication date**  
2022

[Link to publication](#)

#### **Citation for published version (APA):**

Gómez Uribe, D. (2022). *Alliances between civilians and combatants in civil wars*. [Thesis, fully internal, Universiteit van Amsterdam].

#### **General rights**

It is not permitted to download or to forward/distribute the text or part of it without the consent of the author(s) and/or copyright holder(s), other than for strictly personal, individual use, unless the work is under an open content license (like Creative Commons).

#### **Disclaimer/Complaints regulations**

If you believe that digital publication of certain material infringes any of your rights or (privacy) interests, please let the Library know, stating your reasons. In case of a legitimate complaint, the Library will make the material inaccessible and/or remove it from the website. Please Ask the Library: <https://uba.uva.nl/en/contact>, or a letter to: Library of the University of Amsterdam, Secretariat, Singel 425, 1012 WP Amsterdam, The Netherlands. You will be contacted as soon as possible.

R





# REFERENCES

- Albertus, M., and Kaplan, O. (2013). Land reform as a counterinsurgency policy: Evidence from Colombia. *Journal of Conflict Resolution*, 57(2), 198–231.
- Anderson, J. L. (1997). *Che Guevara : A Revolutionary Life*. New York, NY: Grove Press.
- Archer, M. S., and Archer, M. S. (1995). *Realist Social Theory: The Morphogenetic Approach*. Cambridge university press.
- Archila Neira, M. (1997). El frente nacional: Una historia de enemistad social. *Anuario Colombiano De Historia Social Y De La Cultura*, (24), 189–215.
- Arenas, J. (1971). *La guerrilla por dentro*. Ediciones Tercer Mundo.
- Arendt, H. (1970). *On Violence*. Houghton Mifflin Harcourt.
- Arjona, A. (2014). Civilian resistance to rebel governance. HiCN working paper 170. HiCN Households in Conflict Network, Retrieved from <http://www.hicn.org/wordpress/wp-content/uploads/2012/06/HiCN-WP-170.pdf>
- Arjona, A. (2016). *Rebelocracy: Social Order in the Colombian Civil War*. New York, NY: Cambridge University Press.
- Arjona, A. (2017). Civilian cooperation and non-cooperation with non-state armed groups: The centrality of obedience and resistance. *Small Wars and Insurgencies*, 28(4–5), 755–778.
- Arjona, A. (2019). Subnational Units, the Locus of Choice, and Concept Formation. *Inside Countries: Subnational Research in Comparative Politics*, 214–242.
- Arjona, A., Kasfir, N., and Mampilly, Z. (2015). *Rebel Governance in Civil War*. Cambridge University Press.
- Attorney General Office of Colombia (2011). Francisco Gaviria. Judicial hearing for the Unit of Justice and Law, March 15, 2011.
- Badel, A., and Peña, X. (2010). Decomposing the gender wage gap with sample selection adjustment: Evidence from colombia. *Documento CEDE*, (2010–37)
- Balcells, L. (2011). Continuation of politics by two means: Direct and indirect violence in civil war. *Journal of Conflict Resolution*, 55(3), 397–422.
- Balcells, L. (2017). *Rivalry and Revenge*. Cambridge University Press.
- Balcells, L., and Kalyvas, S. N. (2014). Does warfare matter? severity, duration, and outcomes of civil wars. *Journal of Conflict Resolution*, 58(8), 1390-1418.
- Bandura, A. (1983). Psychological mechanisms of aggression. *Aggression: Theoretical and Empirical Reviews*, 1, 1-40.
- Bapat, N. A., and Bond, K D. (2012). Alliances between militant groups. *British Journal of Political Science*, 42(4), 793–824.
- Barter, S. (2014). *Civilian Strategy in Civil War: Insights from Indonesia, Thailand, and the Philippines* (1st ed.). New York: Palgrave Macmillan US. doi:10.1057/9781137402998
- Bartra, A. (2000). *Guerrero bronco : Campesinos, ciudadanos y guerrilleros en la costa grande*. México: Era.
- Bernal, F. (2004). Crisis algodonerá y violencia en el departamento del Cesar. *Cuaderno PNUD-MPS*, (2)

- Bernard, H. R. (2017). *Research Methods in Anthropology: Qualitative and Quantitative Approaches*. Rowman and Littlefield.
- Bergsmann, S. (2001). The Concept of Military Alliance. In E. Reiter and H. Gärtner (Eds.) *Small States and Alliances* (pp. 25–37). Physica, Heidelberg.
- Biernacki, P., and Waldorf, D. (1981). Snowball sampling: Problems and techniques of chain referral sampling. *Sociological Methods and Research*, 10(2), 141–163.
- Borda, S. (2013). The search for a negotiated peace in Colombia and the fight against illegal drugs. *Norwegian Peacebuilding Resource Center NOREF*.
- Botero, R. L. (2016). *Tierras y conflictos rurales: Historia, políticas agrarias y protagonistas* Centro Nacional de Memoria Histórica.
- Bowles, S., and Gintis, H. (2002). Social capital and community governance. *Economic Journal*, 112(483), F419–F436. doi:10.1111/1468-0297.00077
- Braithwaite, A., and Ruiz, L. B. (2018). Female combatants, forced recruitment, and civil conflict outcomes. *Research and Politics*, 5(2), 2053168018770559.
- Bridge, G. (2004). Mapping the bonanza: Geographies of mining investment in an era of neoliberal reform. *The Professional Geographer*, 56(3), 406–421. doi:10.1111/j.0033-0124.2004.05603009.
- Brittain, J. J., and Petras, J. F. (2010). *Revolutionary Social Change in Colombia: The Origin and Direction of the FARC-EP*. London: Pluto Press.
- Cohen, D. K. (2013). Explaining rape during civil war: Cross-national evidence (1980–2009). *American Political Science Review*, 461–477.
- Ch, R., Shapiro, J., Steele, A., and Vargas, J. F. (2018). Endogenous taxation in ongoing internal conflict: The case of Colombia. *American Political Science Review*, 112(4), 996–1015.
- Christia, F. (2012). *Alliance Formation in Civil Wars*. Cambridge University Press - M.U.A.
- CNMH. (2009). *Recordar y narrar el conflicto. herramientas para reconstruir memoria histórica*. Bogotá: Centro Nacional de Memoria Histórica.
- CNMH. (2013). *Basta ya! Colombia: Memorias de guerra y dignidad: Informe general*. Bogotá: Centro Nacional de Memoria Histórica.
- CNMH (2014). *Guerrilla y población civil: Trayectoria de las FARC 1949-2013* Centro Nacional de Memoria Histórica
- CNMH. (2015). *Desarme, desmovilización y reintegración*. Bogotá: Centro Nacional de Memoria Histórica.
- Costalli, S., and Ruggeri, A. (2015). Indignation, ideologies, and armed mobilization: Civil war in Italy, 1943–45. *International Security*, 40(2), 119–157.
- Cramer, C., and Wood, E. J. (2017). Introduction: Land rights, restitution, politics, and war in Colombia. *Journal of Agrarian Change*, 17(4), 733–738.
- Daly, S. Z. (2012). Organizational legacies of violence: Conditions favoring insurgency onset in Colombia, 1964–1984. *Journal of Peace Research*, 49(3), 473–491.
- Daly, S. Z. (2016). *Organized Violence After Civil War: The Geography of Recruitment in Latin America*. Cambridge University Press.

- Dasgupta, S. (2009). Paramilitary groups: Local alliances in counterinsurgency operations. *Brookings Counterinsurgency and Pakistan Series Paper*, 6.
- DDHH observatory Colombia. (2006). Observatorio del Programa Presidencial de Derechos Humanos y DIH.
- Eaton, K. (2006). The downside of decentralization: Armed clientelism in Colombia. *Security Studies*, 15(4), 533-562. doi:10.1080/09636410601188463
- El Diario Vallenato*. (1997, July 11.). Las listas negras.
- El Espectador*. (2019a, August 29). Iván Márquez, “santrich”, “el paisa” y “romaña” vuelven a la guerra. Retrieved from <https://www.elespectador.com/colombia2020/pais/ivan-marquez-santrich-el-paisa-y-romana-vuelven-la-guerra-articulo-878350>
- El Espectador* (2019b, September 13). Fiscalía declara como crimen de lesa humanidad asesinato de periodista Guzmán Quintero. Retrieved from <https://www.elespectador.com/noticias/judicial/fiscalia-declara-como-crimen-de-lesa-humanidad-asesinato-de-periodista-guzman-quintero/>
- El Pilón*. (2013, March 31). Mes del ‘Juan Andrés Álvarez’ en justicia y paz. Retrieved from <https://elpilon.com.co/mes-del-juan-andres-alvarez-en-justicia-y-paz/>
- El Pilón*. (2014, August 17). Codazzi, tierra de contrastes. Retrieved from <https://elpilon.com.co/codazzi-tierra-de-contrastes/>
- El Pilón*. (2016, December 13). Corte suprema confirma condena contra Hugues rodríguez. Retrieved from <https://elpilon.com.co/corte-suprema-confirma-condena-hugues-rodriguez/>
- El Tiempo*. (1992, March 29). Carbón del Cesar: Negro futuro. Retrieved from <https://www.eltiempo.com/archivo/documento/MAM-78904>
- El Tiempo*. (2000, November 28). Temen que ataques espanten a la Drummond . Retrieved from <https://www.eltiempo.com/archivo/documento/MAM-1284986>
- El Tiempo*. (2001, June 30). Ataque contra la Drummond . Retrieved from <https://www.eltiempo.com/archivo/documento/MAM-433820>
- El Tiempo*. (2006, July 29). Los paramilitares convierten a oficinas de instrumentos públicos en objetivo militar. Retrieved from <https://www.eltiempo.com/archivo/documento/CMS-3034793>
- El Tiempo*. (2008, May 2008). ‘Mauricio Pimineto, el séptimo condenado por el escándalo de la parapolítica.’ Retrieved from <https://www.eltiempo.com/archivo/documento/MAM-2938825>
- El Tiempo*. (2010, May 15). ‘Supuesto paramilitar Hugues Rodríguez, fugitivo en Colombia, vive cómodo en Estados Unidos’. Retrieved from <https://www.eltiempo.com/archivo/documento/CMS-7710732>
- El Tiempo*. (2017, July 04). Niegan libertad condicional a coronel que fue socio de ‘Jorge 40’. Retrieved from <https://www.eltiempo.com/justicia/delitos/niegan-libertad-condicional-a-coronel-socio-de-jorge-40-105248>
- El Tiempo*. (2018, August 31). La mina del comandante barbie’. Retrieved from <https://www.eltiempo.com/archivo/documento/MAM-3074806>

- Elhawary, S. (2008). Violent paths to peace?, rethinking the conflict-development nexus in Colombia. *Colombia Internacional*, (67), 84-100.
- Escalona, R. (1980). *Señor gerente*. Song.
- Fals Borda, O. (1965). Violence and the breakup of tradition in Colombia. *Obstacles to Change in Latinoamericana*, 188–203.
- Fiscalía General de la Nación (2017). Unidad de Justicia y Paz, 2007, Versión libre de Salvatore Mancuso, alias El Mono, mayo 17 de 2007)
- Franco Alzate, J. A. (2009). Desplazados y terratenientes en la colonización antioqueña del sur 1780-1930: Apellidos de colonizadores pobres y de capitalistas colonizadores.
- Freudenburg, W. R. (1986). The density of acquaintanceship: An overlooked variable in community research? *American Journal of Sociology*, 92(1), 27–63.
- Fujii, L. A. (2011). *Killing Neighbors: Webs of Violence in Rwanda*. Cornell University Press.
- Galeano, E. H. (1972). *Las venas abiertas de América Latina* Departamento de Publicaciones, Universidad de la República.
- Galvis-Aponte, L. A., (2010). Diferenciales salariales por género y región en Colombia: Una aproximación con regresión por cuantiles. *Documentos De Trabajo Sobre Economía Regional Y Urbana; no.131*,
- Garay, L. J., Barberly, F., Perry, S., Ramírez, C., and Vargas, F. (2011). Cuantificación y valoración de las tierras y los bienes abandonados o despojados a la población desplazada en Colombia. Comisión De Seguimiento a La Política Pública Sobre El Desplazamiento Forzado,
- García Reyes, P., and Vargas Reina, J. (2014). Land transactions and violent conflict, a review of the cases of Turbo, Antioquia and El Carmen de Bolívar, Bolívar. *Análisis Político*, 27(82), 22–44.
- Gates, S. (2002). Recruitment and allegiance: The microfoundations of rebellion. *Journal of Conflict resolution*, 46(1), 111–130.
- Geographic Institute Agustín Codazzi (2021). Map of Colombia. Available: <https://www.colombiaenmapas.gov.co> Retrieved: March 2021
- Gilligan, M. J., Pasquale, B. J., and Samii, C. (2014). Civil war and social cohesion: Lab-in-the-Field evidence from Nepal. *American Journal of Political Science*, 58(3), 604–619. doi:10.1111/ajps.12067
- Goddard, S. E. (2006). Uncommon ground: Indivisible territory and the politics of legitimacy. *International Organization*, 60(1), 35–68. doi:10.1017/S0020818306060024
- Goertz, G., and Mahoney, J. (2012). Concepts and measurement: Ontology and epistemology. *Social Science Information*, 51(2), 205–216
- Gómez, D. (2018). *Los años del retorno: Violencia, desplazamiento forzado y organización campesina en la comunidad de El Toco en el Cesar*. Colombia: PAX Netherlands.
- González, F., Quiroga, D., and Porras, E. (2014). Territorio y conflicto en la costa Caribe. *Bogotá: Odecofi-Cinep*,
- González, T., and Smith, R. P. (2009). Drugs and violence in Colombia: A VECM analysis.
- Gottwald, M. (2004). Protecting Colombian refugees in the Andean region: The fight against invisibility. *International Journal of Refugee Law*, 16(4), 517–546.



- Gowrinathan, N., and Mampilly, Z. (2019). Resistance and Repression under the Rule of Rebels: Women, Clergy, and Civilian Agency in LTTE Governed Sri Lanka. *Comparative Politics*, 52(1), 1–20.
- Grajales, J. (2011). The rifle and the title: Paramilitary violence, land grab and land control in Colombia. *The Journal of Peasant Studies*, 38(4), 771–792. doi:10.1080/03066150.2011.607701
- Grajales, J. (2013). State involvement, land grabbing and counter-insurgency in Colombia. *Development and Change*, 44(2), 211–232.
- Granovetter, M. (1985). Economic action and social structure: The problem of embeddedness. *American Journal of Sociology*, 91(3), 481–510.
- Guáqueta, A. (2002). Political economic dimensions of the Colombian conflict. In K. Ballentine and J. Sherman (Eds.), *The Political Economy of Armed Conflict: Beyond Greed and Grievance*. New York: Lynne Rienner Publishers.
- Gutiérrez Sanín, F. (2003). Heating up and cooling down: Armed agencies, civilians, and the oligopoly of violence in the Colombian war. Bogotá: Santa Fe Institute,
- Gutiérrez Sanín, F. (2008). Telling the difference: Guerrillas and paramilitaries in the Colombian war. *Politics and Society*, 36(1), 3–34. doi:10.1177/0032329207312181
- Gutiérrez Sanín, F. (2010). Colombia the re-structuring of violence. In F. Gutiérrez Sanín, and G. Schönwälder (Eds.), *Economic liberalization and political violence: Utopia or dystopia?* (pp. 209–243) Pluto Press.
- Gutiérrez Sanín, F. (2014a). Estructura organizacional de los paramilitares y derechos de propiedad en del campo (1982–2007). *Análisis Político*, 27(82), 3–21. doi:10.15446/anpol.v27n82.49281
- Gutiérrez Sanín, F. (2014b). *El orangután con sacoleva: Cien años de democracia y represión en Colombia (1910-2010)* IEPRI.
- Gutiérrez Sanín, F. (2014c). Propiedad, seguridad y despojo: El caso paramilitar. *Estudios Socio-Jurídicos*, 16(1), 43–74. doi:10.12804/esj16.1.2014.01
- Gutiérrez Sanín, F., Acevedo, T., and Viatela, J. M. (2007). *Violent liberalism: State, conflict and political regime in Colombia, 1930-2006: An analytical narrative on state-making*. Crisis States Research Centre.
- Gutiérrez Sanín, F., and Barón, M. (2005). Re-stating the state: Paramilitary territorial control and political order in Colombia (1978-2004). Crisis States Research Centre, London School of Economics, (Crisis States Research Centre working papers series 1 (66)). Retrieved from <http://eprints.lse.ac.uk/28178/>
- Gutiérrez Sanín, F., and Vargas, J. (2017). Agrarian elite participation in Colombia's civil war. *Journal of Agrarian Change*, 17(4), 739–748. doi:10.1111/joac.12235
- Guzmán Campos, G., Fals Borda, O., and Umaña Luna, E. (2005). *La violencia en Colombia / tomo I*. Bogotá: Taurus Historia.
- Hay, C. (2002). *Political Analysis*. Basingstoke: Palgrave.
- Hechter, M. (1987). Nationalism as group solidarity. *Ethnic and racial studies*, 10(4), 415–426.



- Helmke, G., and Levitsky, S. (2004). Informal institutions and comparative politics: A research agenda. *Perspectives on politics*, 2(4), 725–740.
- Hobsbawm, E. J. (1963). The revolutionary situation in Colombia. *The World Today*, 19(6), 248–258.
- Hyndman, J. (2001). The field as here and now, not there and then. *Geographical Review*, 91(1–2), 262–272.
- Internal Displacement Monitoring Centre (2021). Displacement data: Available: <https://www.internal-displacement.org> Retrieved: March 2021
- Ibanez, A. M. (2009). Forced displacement in Colombia: Magnitude and causes. *The Economics of Peace and Security Journal*, 4(1).
- INCORA. (1962). *Primer año de reforma agraria: Informe de actividades del INCORA*.
- Jaccard, N., and Molinares, C. (2016). *La maldita tierra. guerrilla, paramilitares, mineras y conflicto armado en el departamento de Cesar*. Bogotá: Centro Nacional de Memoria Histórica.
- JEP. (2021). *Auto no. 033 de 2021*. Bogotá.
- Jurídica Yira Castro. (2016). *Ya supimos por dónde viene el agua al coco: Relato de resistencia al despojo y análisis del proceso de restitución de tierras en el Magdalena*. Bogotá.
- Kalmanovitz Krauter, S., and López Enciso, E. (2006). *La agricultura colombiana en el siglo XX*. Bogotá: Banco de la República.
- Kalyvas, S. N. (2003). The ontology of political violence: Action and identity in civil wars. *Perspectives on Politics*; APSA, 1(3), 475–494. doi:10.1017/S1537592703000355
- Kalyvas, S. N. (2006). *The Logic of Violence in Civil War*. Cambridge University Press.
- Kalyvas, S. N., and Balcells, L. (2010). International system and technologies of rebellion: How the end of the cold war shaped internal conflict. *The American Political Science Review*, 104(3), 41–429. doi:10.1017/S0003055410000286
- Kalyvas, S. N., and Kenny, P. D. (2010). Civil wars. In *Oxford Research Encyclopedia of International Studies*.
- Kaplan, O. (2013). Protecting civilians in civil war: The institution of the ATCC in Colombia. *Journal of Peace Research*, 50(3), 351–367.
- Kaplan, O. (2017). *Resisting War: How Communities Protect Themselves*. Cambridge University Press.
- Karl, R. A. (2017). *Forgotten Peace: Reform, Violence, and the Making of Contemporary Colombia*. Oakland, California: University of California Press.
- Kasarda, J. D., and Janowitz, M. (1974). Community attachment in mass society. *American Sociological Review*, 39, 328–339.
- Kasfir, N. (2005). Guerrillas and civilian participation: The national resistance army in Uganda, 1981–86. *Journal of Modern African Studies*, , 271–296.
- Krause, J. (2018). *Resilient Communities: Non-Violence and Civilian Agency in Communal War*. Cambridge University Press.
- Land Restitution Unit (2016). “La unidad de restitución de tierras”. Retrieved from <https://www.restituciondetierras.gov.co/la-unidad>

- Latham, M. E. (1998). Ideology, social science, and destiny: Modernization and the Kennedy-Era alliance for progress. *Diplomatic History*, 22(2), 199–229. doi:10.1111/1467-7709.00114
- Lavaux, S. (2007). Natural resources and conflict in Colombia: Complex dynamics, narrow relationships. *International Journal*, 62(1), 19–30.
- LeGrand, C. C. (1984). De las tierras públicas a las propiedades privadas: Acaparamiento de tierras y conflictos agrarios en Colombia, 1870–1936. *Lecturas De Economía*, (13), 13–50.
- LeGrand, C. C. (1986). *Frontier expansion and peasant protest in Colombia, 1850-1936*. Albuquerque, N.M: University of New Mexico Press.
- Leongómez, E. P. (2011). *Las FARC (1949-2011): De guerrilla campesina a máquina de guerra*. Grupo Editorial Norma.
- Lichtenheld, A. G. (2020). Explaining population displacement strategies in civil wars: a cross-national analysis. *International Organization*, 74(2), 253–294.
- Liendo, N., and Braithwaite, J. M. (2018). Determinants of Colombian attitudes toward the peace process. *Conflict Management and Peace Science*, 35(6), 622–636.
- Luna, L. G., and Villarreal, N. (1994). *Historia género y política movimientos de mujeres y participación política en Colombia 1930-1991* Seminario Interdisciplinar Mujeres y Sociedad, Universidad de Barcelona.
- Mampilly, Z. (2011). *Rebel Rulers: Insurgent Governance and Civilian Life During War*. Cornell University Press.
- Mampilly, Z. (2015). Performing the Nation-State: Rebel Governance and Symbolic Processes. In A. Arjona, Z. Kasfir and Z. Mampilly (Eds.) *Rebel Governance in Civil War* (pp. 74–97). Cambridge University Press.
- Mao, Z. (1978). *On Guerrilla Warfare*. New York, N.Y.: Anchor Press.
- Marks, Z. (2014). Sexual violence in Sierra Leone’s civil war: ‘Virgination’, rape, and marriage. *African Affairs*, 113(450), 67–87.
- Masala and Scheffler (2017). Alliances. In M.D. Cavelty and T. Balzacq (Eds.). (2017). *Routledge Handbook of Security Studies*. Routledge.
- Mason, T. D. (1998). “Take two acres and call me in the morning”: Is land reform a prescription for peasant unrest? *The Journal of Politics; J of Pol*, 60(1), 199–230. doi:10.2307/2648008
- Masullo, J. (2017). A theory of civilian noncooperation with armed groups. civilian agency and self-protection in the Colombian civil war. Unpublished PhD Thesis, European University Institute.
- Masullo, J., Mouly, C., and Garrido, M. B. (2019). Alternative forms of civilian noncooperation with armed groups: The case of Samaniego in Colombia. *Civil Resistance and Violent Conflict in Latin America* (pp. 111–136) Springer.
- Masullo, J. (2021). Civilian Contention in Civil War: How Ideational Factors Shape Community Responses to Armed Groups. *Comparative Political Studies*, 54(10), 1849–1884.

- Masullo, J. (2021). Refusing to Cooperate with Armed Groups Civilian Agency and Civilian Noncooperation in Armed Conflicts. *International Studies Review*, 23(3), 887–913.
- Mazurana, D., Jacobsen, K., & Gale, L. (2013). Research Methods in Conflict Settings: A View from Below. In D. Mazurana, K. Jacobsen, & L. Andrews Gale (Eds.), *Research Methods in Conflict Settings: A View from Below* (p. Iii). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Medina Gallego, C. (1990). *Autodefensas, paramilitares y narcotráfico en Colombia : Origen, desarrollo y consolidación : El caso "Puerto Boyacá"*. Bogotá: Ed. Documentos periodísticos.
- Medina Gallego, C. (2005). La economía de guerra paramilitar: Una aproximación a sus fuentes de financiación. *Análisis Político*, 18(53), 77–87.
- Medina Gallego, C. (2009). *Conflicto armado y procesos de paz en Colombia : Memoria casos FARC-EP y ELN* (1st ed.). Bogotá: Universidad Nacional de Colombia, Facultad de Derecho, Ciencias Políticas y Sociales, Centro de Extensión, Instituto Unidad de Investigaciones Jurídico-Sociales «Gerardo Molina».
- Medina Gallego, C. (2010). FARC-EP y ELN. una historia política comparada (1958–2006). Bogotá: Universidad Nacional De Colombia.
- MME. (2016). *Producción, regalías y comercio exterior*.
- Molano, A. (1994). *Trochas y fusiles* (1st ed.). Bogotá: Instituto de Estudios Políticos y Relaciones Internacionales.
- Moor, M., and van Sandt, J. J. (2014). *The Dark Side of Coal: Paramilitary Violence in the Mining Region of Cesar, Colombia*. PAX.
- Mouly, C., Garrido, M. B., and Idler, A. (2016). How peace takes shape locally: The experience of civil resistance in samaniego, colombia. *Peace and Change*, 41(2), 129–166.
- Nordstrom, C. (1997). *A Different Kind of War Story*. University of Pennsylvania Press.
- Observatorio de Tierras. (2020). *Observatorio de restitución y regulación de derechos de propiedad agraria*. Retrieved March 09, 2020, from <https://www.observatoriodetierras.org/>
- OECD. (2015). *OECD review of agricultural policies: Colombia 2015*. doi:<https://doi.org/https://doi.org/10.1787/9789264227644-en>
- Oquist, P. H. (1980). *Violence, Conflict, and Politics in Colombia*. New York, NY: Academic Press.
- Parkinson, S. E., and Wood, E. J. (2015). Transparency in intensive research on violence: Ethical dilemmas and unforeseen consequences. *Qualitative and Multi-Method Research*, 13(1), 22–27
- Peace and Justice Unit (2008) FGN, Unidad de Justicia y Paz, febrero 20 y 21 de 2008.
- Peña-Huertas, R., Ruiz, L. E., Parada, M. M., Zuleta, S., and Álvarez, R. (2017a). Legal dispossession and civil war in Colombia. *Journal of Agrarian Change*, 17(4), 759–769. doi:10.1111/joac.12233
- Pérez, J. M. (2010). *Luchas campesinas y reforma agraria: Memorias de un dirigente de la ANUC en la costa Caribe* Puntoaparte Editores, Bogotá, CO.
- Petersen, R. D. (2001). *Resistance and Rebellion: Lessons from Eastern Europe*. Cambridge University Press.

- Petersen, R., and Zukerman, S. (2010). Anger, violence, and political science. In M. Potegal, G. Stemmler, and C. Spiegelberger (Eds.) *International Handbook of Anger* (pp. 561–581) Springer.
- Pizarro, E. (2011). *Las FARC (1949-2011): De guerrilla campesina a máquina de guerra*. Grupo Editorial Norma.
- Posada Díaz, F. (1969). Colombia: Violencia y subdesarrollo. Colección Filósofos Colombianos.
- Quinche, J., Perdomo, P., and Vargas, J. (2018). Despojo paramilitar en el Magdalena: El papel de las élites económicas y políticas. *Bogotá, Observatorio De Restitución Y Regulación De Derechos De Propiedad Agraria, Reporte Semestral*, (1)
- Resolución Número RE 03639 De 28 De Noviembre De 2016, (Unidad de Restitución de Tierras 2016b).
- Reyes Posada, A. ([2009] 2016). *Guerreros y campesinos: El despojo de la tierra en Colombia*. Bogotá etc: Grupo Editorial Norma.
- Richani, N. (2005). Multinational corporations, rentier capitalism, and the war system in Colombia. *Latin American Politics and Society*, 47(3), 113-144. doi:10.1111/j.1548-2456.2005.tb00321.
- Richani, N. (2013). *Systems of Violence: The Political Economy of War and Peace in Colombia*. Suny Press.
- Rieff, D. (2012). *Contra la memoria*. Debate.
- Romero, M. (2000). Changing identities and contested settings: Regional elites and the paramilitaries in Colombia. *International Journal of Politics, Culture, and Society*, 14(1), 51–69. doi:10.1023/A:1007861013044
- Romero, M. (2003). *Paramilitares y autodefensas, 1982-2003*. Bogotá: Instituto de Estudios Políticos y Relaciones Internacionales, Universidad Nacional de Colombia ; Editorial Planeta Colombiana.
- Ronderos, M. T. (2014). *Guerras recicladas*. Aguilar.
- Rubin, M. A. (2020). Rebel territorial control and civilian collective action in civil war: Evidence from the communist insurgency in the Philippines. *Journal of Conflict Resolution*, 64(2–3), 459–489.
- Rummel, R. J. (1976). *Understanding Conflict and War: Vol. 2: The Conflict Helix*. Bev-Erly Hills: Sage.
- Safford, F. R. and Palacios, M. (2002). *Colombia : Fragmented Land, Divided Society*. New York, N.Y., etc: Oxford University Press.
- Salinas, Y., Hoyos, M., and Cristancho, A. (2018). *Tierra y carbón en la vorágine del gran Magdalena*. Bogotá: Centro Nacional de Memoria Histórica.
- Salinas, Y., and Zamara, J. M. (2012). *Justicia y paz: Tierras y territorios en las versiones de los paramilitares*. Bogotá: Centro de Memoria Histórica.
- Sambanis, N. (2004). What is civil war? conceptual and empirical complexities of an operational definition. *The Journal of Conflict Resolution*, 48(6), 814–858. Retrieved from JSTOR database. Retrieved from <http://www.jstor.org/stable/4149797>
- Samper Pizano, D. (2003). *Antología de grandes crónicas colombianas: 1529–1948*. Bogotá: Ed. Aguilar.

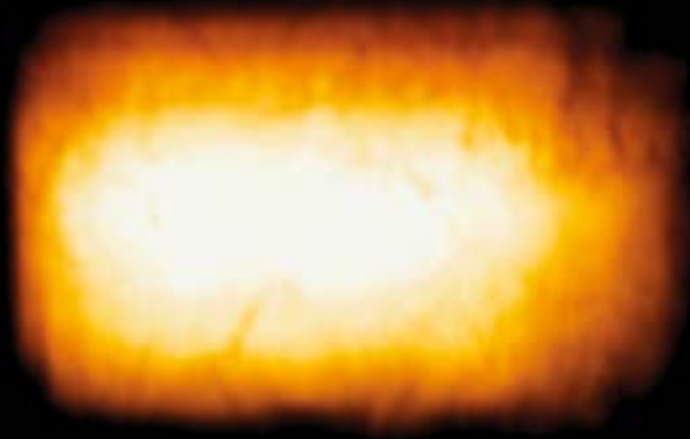
- Sánchez Baute, A. (2017). *Libranos del bien*. Barcelona: Alfaguara.
- Sánchez, G. (1988). Rehabilitación y violencia bajo el frente nacional. *Análisis Político*, (4), 21–42.
- Schwartz, R. A., and Straus, S. (2018). What drives violence against civilians in civil war? Evidence from Guatemala's conflict archives. *Journal of Peace Research*, 55(2), 222–235.
- Scott, James C. (1985). *Weapons of the Weak : Everyday Forms of Peasant Resistance*. New Haven: Yale University Press.
- Scott, James C. (1990). *Domination and the Arts of Resistance : Hidden Transcripts*. New Haven, Conn., etc: Yale University Press.
- Semana (2007, March 24). El comandante 'barbie'. Retrieved from <https://www.semana.com/nacion/articulo/el-comandante-barbie/84111-3>
- Semana. (2020, January 18). 'Un líder asesinado por día.' Retrieved from <https://www.semana.com/nacion/articulo/asesinato-de-lideres-sociales-uno-por-dia-en-2020/648542>
- Snyder, G. H. (2007). *Alliance Politics*. Cornell University Press.
- Staniland, P. (2014). *Networks of Rebellion: Explaining Insurgent Cohesion and Collapse*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press.
- Stanton, J. A. (2016). *Violence and Restraint in Civil War: Civilian Targeting in the Shadow of International Law*. Cambridge University Press.
- Steele, A. (2011). *Electing Displacement: Political Cleansing in Apartadó, Colombia*. Households in Conflict Network.
- Steele, A. (2017). *Democracy and Displacement in Colombia's Civil War*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press.
- Steele, A., and Schubiger, L. I. (2018). Democracy and civil war: The case of Colombia. *Conflict Management and Peace Science*, 35(6), 587–600.
- Sullivan, C. M. (2014). The (in)effectiveness of torture for combating insurgency. *Journal of Peace Research*, 51(3), 388–404.
- Sundar, N. (2012). 'Winning hearts and minds': Emotional wars and the construction of difference. *Third World Quarterly*, 33(4), 705–720.
- Superior District Court (2016). Proceso 20001-002-2014-0061-00, mayo 25 de 2016: Superior Court of the Judicial District of Cartagena, (2016).
- Tobón, A. (1972). *La tierra y la reforma agraria en Colombia*. Bogotá: La Oveja Negra.
- Tilly, C. (1999). From interactions to outcomes in social movements. *How Social Movements Matter*, 10, 253–270.
- URT. (2013). *Contexto de violencia de San Diego, Cesar*. Valledupar: REM 0005 del 24 de julio de 2013
- URT. (2016). *Informe de gestión 2016*. Bogotá.
- Valentino, B. (2000). Final solutions: the causes of mass killing and genocide. *Security Studies*, 9(3), 1–59.
- Valentino, B. (2004). *Final solutions: Genocide and mass killing in the 20th century*. Cornell University Press.

- Valentino, B., Huth, P., and Balch-Lindsay, D. (2004). “Draining the Sea”: Mass Killing and Guerrilla Warfare. *International organization*, 375–407.
- van Baalen, S. (2020). Local elites, civil resistance, and the responsiveness of rebel governance in Coˆte d’Ivoire. *Journal of Peace Research*, 0022343320965675.
- Vásquez, T. (1990). Dinámicas, tendencias e interacciones de los actores armados en el Magdalena medio, 1990-2001. Mauricio Archila Et Ál., Conflictos, Poderes E Identidades En El Magdalena Medio, 2001, 1951-1954.
- Vélez-Torres, I. (2014). Governmental extractivism in Colombia: Legislation, securitization and the local settings of mining control. *Political Geography*, 38, 68–78. doi:10.1016/j.polgeo.2013.11.008
- Vélez-Torres, I. (2016). Disputes over gold mining and dispossession of local afrodescendant communities from the alto Cauca, Colombia. *Third World Thematics: A TWQ Journal*, 1(2), 235–248.
- Verdad Abierta*. (2008, March 09). Conflicto armado 1981–1989. Retrieved from <https://verdadabierta.com/conflicto-armado-1981-1989/>
- Verdad Abierta*. (2010, October 26). ¿De dónde salieron los ‘paras’ en Cesar? Retrieved from <https://verdadabierta.com/ide-donde-salieron-los-paras-en-cesar/>
- Verdad Abierta* (2011, September 23). Muerte a secuestradores MAS: Los orıgenes del paramilitarismo. Retrieved from <Http://Www.Verdadabierta.Com/Victimarios/244-La-Historia/Auc/3556-Muerte-a-Secuestradores-Mas-Los-Origenes-Del-Paramilitarismo, El, 5>
- Verdad Abierta* (2017a, August 22). La historia del ‘Juan Andrés Álvarez’. Retrieved from <https://verdadabierta.com/la-historia-del-juan-andres-alvarez/>
- Verdad Abierta*. (2017b). Hugues Rodríguez, ¿el eslabón perdido del paramilitarismo en el Cesar? Retrieved from <https://verdadabierta.com/especiales-v/2017/restitucion-cesar/huges-rodriguez.html>
- Verdad Abierta*. (2018a, October 22). Campesinos de Platanal, sin un centımetro de tierra. Retrieved from <https://verdadabierta.com/campesinos-platanal-sin-centimetro-tierra/>
- Verdad Abierta*. (2018b, February 01). Capturan a Edgardo Percy Diazgranados por caso de despojo en Cesar. Retrieved from <https://verdadabierta.com/capturan-a-edgardo-percy-diazgranados-por-caso-de-despojo-en-cesar/>
- Verdad Abierta*. (2018c, October 2). La larga espera de los reclamantes de el Caimán. Retrieved from <https://verdadabierta.com/la-larga-espera-de-los-reclamantes-de-el-caiman/>
- Verdad Abierta*. (2018d, October 5). El Topacio, la “piedra preciosa” que reclaman en Becerril. Retrieved from <https://verdadabierta.com/topacio-la-piedra-preciosa-reclaman-becerril/>
- Verweijen, J. (2015). The ambiguity of militarization. The Complex Interaction between the Congolese Armed Forces and Civilians in the Kivu Provinces, Eastern DR Congo. PhD. Diss., Utrecht University,
- Victims Unit. (2016). *Victim unit - data on forced displacement*. <https://cifras.unidadvictimas.gov.co/Home/Desplazamiento>
- Victims Unit. (2017). *Registro  nico de v ctimas*. Retrieved March 07, 2020, from <https://www.unidadvictimas.gov.co/es/registro-unico-de-victimas-ruv/37394>

- Victims Unit (2020). Centro de documentación. Retrieved December 2020, from <https://www.unidadvictimas.gov.co/es/publicaciones-periodicas/15760>
- Viterna, J. (2013). *Women in War: The Micro-Processes of Mobilization in El Salvador*. Oxford University Press.
- Villegas, J., Restrepo, A., and Botero, F. (1978). *Baldíos: 1820–1936 [por]...[y] Antonio Restrepo. Putumayo: Indígenas, caucho y sangre*. Universidad de Antioquia, Centro de Investigaciones Económicas.
- Walt, S. M. ([1987] 2013). *The Origins of Alliances*. Cornell University Press.
- Weinstein, J. M. (2006). *Inside Rebellion: The Politics of Insurgent Violence* Cambridge University Press.
- Wickham-Crowley, T. P. (1987). The rise (and sometimes fall) of guerrilla governments in Latin America. Paper presented at the *Sociological Forum*, 2(3) pp. 473–499.
- Wickham-Crowley, T. (1991). *Exploring Revolution: Essays on Latin American Insurgency and Revolutionary Theory*. Armonk, N.Y. etc: M.E. Sharpe.
- Wickham-Crowley, T. (1992). *Guerrillas and Revolution in Latin America : A Comparative Study of Insurgents and Regimes since 1956*. Princeton, N.J: Princeton University Press.
- Wood, E. J. (2003). *Insurgent Collective Action and Civil War in El Salvador*. Cambridge etc: Cambridge University Press.
- Wood, E. J. (2008). The social processes of civil war: The wartime transformation of social networks. *Annu. Rev. Polit. Sci.*, 11, 539–561.
- Wood, E. J. (2009). Armed groups and sexual violence: When is wartime rape rare? *Politics and Society*, 37(1), 131–161.
- Zamosc, L. (1986). *The Agrarian Question and the Peasant Movement in Colombia: Struggles of the National Peasant Association, 1967–1981* Cambridge University Press.
- Zamosc, L. (2013). ANUC (Colombian Peasant Movement). In D.A. Snow, D. Della Porta, B. Klandermans and D. McAdam (Eds.) *The Wiley-Blackwell Encyclopedia of Social and Political Movements*. <https://doi.org/10.1002/9780470674871.wbespm248>
- Zeigler, S. M. (2016). Competitive alliances and civil war recurrence. *International Studies Quarterly*, 60(1), 24–37. doi:10.1093/isq/sqv002







## Alliances between Civilians and Combatants in War Zones

This dissertation project describes, documents and explains alliances between civilians and combatants in irregular civil wars. I build upon the importance of civilian agency and propose alliance as the core concept to understand agreements between autonomous civilian communities and armed groups for the exchange of material and strategic benefits. I offer a descriptive typology of alliances that vary in two dimensions: the level of cooperation (low or high) and the duration (short or long). The combination of these two dimensions leads to three different types of alliances: engagement, opportunism and concession. This dissertation offers a theoretical framework to explain alliance variation. I argue that the type of territory –controlled or contested– and the civilian position –status quo or revisionist– shape the forms that alliances take, affecting how alliances’ characteristics –cooperation and duration– vary. To test this theory, I conducted extensive fieldwork in war zones of Colombia. I draw on original empirical material from three rural communities that lived in rebel and paramilitary territories to document the behaviours that constitute the different types of alliances; and the driving forces that explain alliance variation across time and space. Using three methods of data collection -- memory workshops, interviews and archival research -- I provide evidence for 1) when and where civilians and combatants establish alliances; 2) the different civilian positions in war zones that constitute them as status quo or revisionists; and 3) how civilians’ status, in combination with whether armed groups control or contest territories, lead to different types of alliances.