

ANA M. ARJONA

Northwestern University
601 University Place
Evanston, IL 60208

Email: ana.arjona@northwestern.edu
www.anamarjona.net

MAJOR PROFESSIONAL INTERESTS

Political violence and civil war; institutions and individual behavior in contexts of violence and oppression; state building; organized crime; drug policy; Latin American politics; mixed methods research.

ACADEMIC EMPLOYMENT

Northwestern University

- Associate Professor, Department of Political Science 2018 – Present
- Assistant Professor, Department of Political Science 2012 – 2018
- Faculty Associate, Equality, Development and Globalization Studies 2012 – Present
- Faculty Associate, Institute for Policy Research 2016 – Present

Los Andes University

- Director, Center for the Study of Security and Drugs (CESED) July 2018- July 2019
- Visiting Associate Professor, School of Economics July 2018- July 2019

University of Notre Dame

Visiting Fellow, Kellogg Institute for International Studies Jan. – May 2016

Columbia University

Postdoctoral Fellow, The Earth Institute and Institute for Social and Economic Research and Policy Nov. 2010 – May 2012

Carlos III University, Madrid (Spain)

Lecturer, Department of Economics Jan. 2000 – June 2003

EDUCATION

Yale University

PhD, Political Science, with University Distinction 2010
Student Associate, Program on Order, Conflict, and Violence 2004–2010

Complutense University, Madrid, Spain

MA, Sociology Sept. 2001

Los Andes University, Bogotá, Colombia

BA, Economics, minor in Philosophy Sept. 1999
Undergraduate thesis selected as one of the four best theses in Economics 2000
written in Colombia in 1998 and 1999, Colombian Association of Economics

AWARDS, HONORS, AND FELLOWSHIPS

- Kaplan Institute for the Humanities, Faculty Fellow (2022-2023).
- Farrell Award for Excellence in Undergraduate Teaching, Northwestern University (2018).
- Conflict Research Society, Book of the Year Award to *Rebelocracy* (2018).
- Visiting Fellow, Kellogg Institute for International Studies, University of Notre Dame (Jan. – May 2016).
- Public Voices Fellowship with the OpEd project (2014–2015).
- Postdoctoral Fellow, The Earth Institute and Institute for Social and Economic Research and Policy, Columbia University (Nov. 2010 – May 2012).
- Dissertation University Distinction, Yale University (2010).
- Predoctoral Fellowship, MacMillan Center for International and Area Studies, Yale University (2008–2009; 2009–2010).
- Harry Frank Guggenheim Foundation, Dissertation-Writing Grant (2007–2008).
- Robert M. Leylan Prize Fellowship. Awarded to the five best dissertations-in-progress from across the social sciences and humanities at Yale University (2007–2008).
- John F. Enders Travel Grant for summer fieldwork (2006).
- Yale University, MacMillan Center for International and Area Studies, Dissertation Research Fellowship (2006).
- International Dissertation Field Research Fellowship (IDRF), Social Science Research Council (SSRC) (2006).
- Academy of Achievement. Invited Honor Student Delegate to the 44th Annual International Achievement Summit, New York (June 2005).
- Yale University, Program on Order, Conflict, and Violence Research Grant to conduct summer fieldwork in Colombia (summer 2004).
- Selected as one of the best professors across Carlos III University (Madrid, Spain) twice, based on student evaluations (Mention of the Vice-Presidency of Academic Affairs) (2001–2003).
- Undergraduate thesis selected as one of the four best theses in Economics written in Colombia in 1998 and 1999, Colombian Association of Economics (2000).

RESEARCH SUPPORT

- Farrell Fellowship, Northwestern University (2022-2023).
- “The Legacies of Civil War: A Longitudinal Study of Communities During and After War in Colombia.” Buffett Institute, Northwestern University (2021-2022).
- URAP grant, Northwestern University (2020).
- “Drugs and (dis)order: Building sustainable peacetime economies in the aftermath of war.” The Global Challenges Research Fund (GCRF) Research Councils UK Collective Fund. Awarded to SOAS, LSE & LSHTM in London; CESED in Colombia; AREU & OSDR in Afghanistan; and KRC & SHAN in Myanmar (UK 2018-2023).
- “The Effects of Wartime Governance on Local Politics: A Longitudinal Study of Communities During and After War in Colombia.” Folke Bernadotte Academy (Sweden) (2018-2020).
- “Criminal Governance in Latin America.” Northwestern University, Weinberg College Research Innovation Grants (W Award) (2016–2017).
- “Civilian Agency and Conflict in Colombia.” Northwestern University, EDGS (2013–2014).
- “Overcoming Violence through Local Institutions: A Comparative Study of Households and Communities in Colombia.” Canada International Development Research Centre (IDRC) (2012–2015), with Ana María Ibañez, Juan Camilo Cárdenas, and Patricia Justino.
- “Narco-Rulers and Civilian Choice.” Social Science Research Council (SSRC) and Open Society Foundations, Program on Drugs, Security and Democracy in Latin America (2012–2013).

- “Long-Term Reintegration of Former Combatants in Kosovo: Linking War and Postwar Outcomes.” Folke Bernadotte Academy Research Grant, Sweden (2010–2014).
- “Agency and Governance in Contexts of Violent Conflict.” Grant from the Department for International Development (DFID) and Economic and Social Research Council (ESRC), United Kingdom (2010–2013). PI for component on Colombia. With Patricia Justino, Stathis Kalyvas, Yvan Guichaoua, Jaideep Gupte, Laurence Piper, Jean-Pierre Tranchant, Jonah Schulhofer-Wohl, and Joanna Wheeler.
- “A Survey with Demobilized Fighters in Colombia.” Folke Bernadotte Academy Research Grant, Sweden (2006). With Stathis Kalyvas.
- “Survey with Demobilized Fighters in Colombia.” U.S. Institute of Peace Research Grant (2005). With Stathis Kalyvas.

PUBLICATIONS

Books

1. [*Rebelocracy: Social Order in the Colombian Civil War*](#). Cambridge University Press (Cambridge Studies in Comparative Politics Series), 2016.
 - Recipient of the Conflict Research Society's Book of the Year Award, 2018.
 - Author-meets-critics roundtable at MPSA, Chicago (March 2017); LASA, Lima, Peru (May 2017); and APSA, San Francisco (August 2017).
 - Reviewed in [Perspectives on Politics](#), [The Journal of Politics](#), [The London School of Economics \(LSE\) Review of Books](#), [Latin American Research Review](#), [Latin American Politics and Society](#) and [Canadian Journal of Latin American and Caribbean Studies](#).
 - Featured in the podcast [Latin America Today](#).
 - Included in Muse's list of [The 100 Greatest Latin American History & Politics Books](#).
2. [*Rebel Governance in Civil War*](#), with Nelson Kasfir and Zachariah Mampilly (Eds.). Cambridge University Press, 2015. Coauthor of the Introduction and Conclusion.
 - Reviewed in [Civil Wars](#) and [Perspectives on Politics](#).

Articles and book chapters

3. “[Violence and Voting in the U.S.: How School Shootings Impact Elections](#),” with Laura García and Matthew Lacombe, *American Political Science Review*, First View, pp. 1-20, 2021.
4. “[War-to-peace transitions and the behavioral legacies of civil war: A plea for looking beyond violence](#).” *International Journal of Drug Policy*, Volume 89, March 2021.
5. “[The Qualitative Transparency Deliberations: Insights and Implications](#)”, with Jacobs, A., T. Büthe et al. 2021. *Perspectives on Politics*, 19(1): 171-208, 2021.
6. “Subnational Units, the Locus of Choice, and Theory Building: The Case of Civilian Agency in Civil War.” In R. Snyder, A. Giraudy, and E. Moncada (Eds.), [Subnational Research in Comparative Politics](#), Cambridge University Press, 2019.
7. “[Civilian Cooperation and Non-Cooperation with Non-State Armed Groups: The Centrality of Obedience and Resistance](#).” *Small Wars and Insurgencies*, Vol. 28(04-05): 755 - 778, 2017. Reprinted in Duyvesteyn, Isabelle (Ed.), *Rebels and Legitimacy: Processes and Practices*, Routledge, 2018.

8. [“Institutions, Civilian Resistance and Wartime Social Order: A Process-Driven Natural Experiment in the Colombian Civil War.”](#) *Latin American Politics and Society*, Vol. 58(3): 99–122, 2016.
9. [“Conflict, Violence, and Democracy in Latin America,”](#) with Luis de la Calle. Introduction to the first bilingual issue of *Politica y Gobierno* (CIDE, Mexico), Vol. XXIII (1), 2016. Issue co-edited by Arjona and de la Calle.
10. [“Resistance Against Rebel Governance.”](#) In Ana Arjona, Nelson Kasfir, and Zachariah Mampilly (Eds.), *Rebel Governance in Civil War*. Cambridge University Press, 2015.
11. [“Wartime Institutions: A Research Agenda.”](#) *Journal of Conflict Resolution*, Vol. 58(8): 1360–1389, 2014.
12. [“Recruitment into Armed Groups in Colombia: A Survey of Demobilized Fighters,”](#) with S. Kalyvas. In Yvan Guichaoua (Ed.), *Understanding Collective Political Violence*. Macmillan Palgrave, 2012.
13. [“One National War, Multiple Local Orders: An Inquiry into the Unit of Analysis of War and Post-war Interventions.”](#) In M. Bergsmo and P. Kalmanovitz (Eds.), *Law in Peace Negotiations*. Oslo: Torkel Opsahl Academic Publisher, 2009.
14. [“Local Orders in Warring Times: Armed Groups’ and Civilians’ Strategies in Civil War.”](#) *Qualitative Methods*, Spring, 2008: 15–18.
15. [“Grupos Armados, Comunidades y Órdenes Locales: Interacciones Complejas.”](#) In Fernán González (Ed.), *Hacia la Reconstrucción del País: Desarrollo, Política y Territorio en Regiones Afectadas por el Conflicto Armado*. Bogotá: CINEP-ODECOFI, 2008.
16. [“Una Mirada Micro al Conflicto Armado en Colombia. Resultados de una encuesta a desmovilizados de guerrillas y grupos paramilitares.”](#) In Freddy Cante (Ed.), *Argumentación, Negociación y Acuerdos*. Bogotá: Editorial Universidad del Rosario, 2008.
17. [“Análisis Económico del Derecho Constitucional.”](#) In Mauricio Rubio, (Ed.), *Economía Jurídica. Análisis Económico del Derecho Iberoamericano*. Bogotá: Externado University, 2007.
18. [“Paramilitarismo: Una Perspectiva Teórica,”](#) with Stathis Kalyvas. In Alfredo Rangel (Ed.), *El Poder Paramilitar*. Bogotá: Grupo Planeta, 2005.
19. [“Introducción al Análisis Económico del Derecho,”](#) with Mauricio Rubio. *Precedente*, Vol. 2002-1: 117–150, 2002.

Literature review

20. [“Armed Groups’ Governance in Civil War: A Synthesis.”](#) The Program on States and Security, CUNY (2008).

Datasets

- Violence against politicians in Colombia, with Mario Chacón (in progress).
- [Rampage school shootings in the U.S.](#), with Laura Gracia-Montoya and Matthew Lacombe.

OTHER PUBLICATIONS

Entries in blogs and OpEds

1. "The effects of violence on inequality in Latin America and the Caribbean: A research agenda" ([Los efectos de la violencia sobre la desigualdad en América Latina y El Caribe: Una agenda de investigación](#)). *Foco Económico* (2022)
2. "Criminal, rebel, and militia governance in Latin America: A social, political and economic problem that requires more attention" ([La gobernanza criminal, rebelde y miliciana en América Latina: Un problema social, político y económico que requiere mayor atención](#)). *Foco Económico* (2021)
3. "The development of socioemotional skills in children and adolescents: an urgent priority for the education system during the pandemic" ([El desarrollo de las habilidades socioemocionales en niños, niñas y adolescentes: Una prioridad inaplazable del sistema educativo en la pandemia](#)). *Foco Económico* (2020).
4. "A plea for a long-term drug policy" ([Por una política de drogas de largo plazo](#))." Op-Ed *El Espectador* (2018).
5. "The impact of political assassinations on local democracy and governance in Colombia" ([El impacto de los asesinatos de políticos en la democracia y en los gobiernos locales en Colombia](#).) *Foco Económico* (2018).
6. "[The War on Drugs: A Time Bomb for Latin America](#)." *Foco Económico* (2017).
7. "[War Dynamics and the NO Vote in the Colombian Referendum](#)." *Political Violence @ A Glance* (2016).
8. "[¿Cuántos muertos estaríamos dispuestos a aceptar para buscar un acuerdo mejor?](#)" Op-Ed, *El Espectador* (2016).
9. "[Colombia's rampant racism deserves a national spotlight and international awareness](#)." Guest Post, *Latina Lista* (2015).
10. "[Por una pedagogía del conflicto en el proceso de paz en Colombia](#)." *Foco Económico* (2013).
11. "[Los efectos de la guerra sobre la calidad de los gobernantes](#)." *Foco Económico* (2011).
12. "[De Rebelocracias y Reclutas: Instituciones y Participación en el Conflicto Armado Colombiano](#)." *Foco Económico* (2011).
13. "[Presencia vs. violencia: problemas de medición de la presencia de actores armados](#)." *Foco Económico* (2011).

WORKING PAPERS

1. "[The Effects of Violence on Inequality in Latin America and the Caribbean: A Research Agenda](#)." Background Paper for the UNDP LAC Regional Human Development Report 2021. UNDP LAC Working Paper Series.

Violence has profound effects on individuals, communities, and countries. It affects mental health, child development, education outcomes, political participation, and social relations. It transforms formal and informal institutions, the quality of governance, public goods provision, and democracy. Yet, these effects do not impact all people equally: gender, race, ethnicity, class, age, and geographic location can determine people's risk of being a victim as well as how severe the consequences are that they will endure. When violence systematically affects the most disadvantaged and vulnerable populations, it can reinforce and amplify inequality. Surprisingly, the causal effect of violence on inequality has received scant attention. This background paper hopes to lay the foundations for a research agenda on the effects of violence on inequality in human development in Latin America and the Caribbean (LAC)—the most violent and most unequal region in the world. By connecting various literatures on the dynamics of violence in LAC with different bodies of work on the effects of violence on individual and collective outcomes, the paper discusses several channels by which violence can perpetuate and amplify various types of inequalities.

2. "The Impact of Political Killings on Democracy and Local Governance: Evidence from Colombia." With Mario Chacon (EAFIT, Colombia) and Laura García (University of Toronto).

This paper investigates the impact of selective killings of politicians on the quality of local democracy and governance in Colombia. We compile an original dataset on almost 2,000 killings of mayors and municipal council members over the last four decades and estimate the effects of this violence on political participation and the quality of municipal governments. Using municipalities where killing attempts failed as a comparison group, we find that political killings significantly decrease turnout, and undermine local governments' transparency, accountability, and service provision.

3. "The Violent Bias in the Study of Civil War." With Juan Pablo Castilla (Los Andes, Colombia).

The study of civil war has focused, for obvious reasons, on violence. Yet, civil war is about much more than violence. We argue that the focus on violence hinders our understanding of the most common type of armed conflict in the world today. In particular, equating civil war and violence leads to (i) a theoretical bias, whereby scholars overlook other aspects of war that could shape the outcome of interest; and (ii) an empirical bias that assumes, mistakenly, that when we measure violence we are measuring civil war. We illustrate our claims with studies on the Colombian conflict, a case that has been studied by many political scientists and economists. We conclude with ideas on how to move this research program forward.

4. "The Legacies of Civil War on Citizens' Preferences for the Rule of Law." With Juan Camilo Cárdenas (UMASS Amherst), Patricia Justino (WIDER & Institute of Development Studies, UK), Ana María Ibañez (Interamerican Development Bank).

Scholars and policy makers often assume that civil war erodes citizen support for the rule of law. This premise is at the core of research programs on, and policies for, post-conflict reconstruction. Yet, the weak support for the rule of law in war-torn societies has been assumed rather than investigated, and the mechanisms are seldom spelled out. This paper tests this assumption---and some of its implicit mechanisms---in the Colombian case. We focus on citizen support for extralegal measures in order to fight crime, a policy area where support for the rule of law is weak in many Latin American countries, especially those that have recently endured a civil war. Relying on different bodies of work, we identify the potential mechanisms by which civil war, or some of its dynamics, could erode citizen support for the rule of law. Based on these literatures, we would expect citizens living in areas that have endured the presence of non-state armed actors, more violence, higher levels of disorder, or more repressive rebel institutions---especially if those institutions translated into greater security---to be more prone to disregard the rule of law. Using

data on individuals and communities both during and after war in Colombia, we find that this is not necessarily the case. Our findings show a positive association at best, and a non-significant correlation at worst, between each of these factors and support for the rule of law. These results raise questions about widespread assumptions about war-torn communities and open new avenues of research on the political legacies of war, political behavior, and the rule of law. The results also have implications for post-conflict interventions aiming to foster the rule of law and democracy in post-conflict societies.

5. "[Attitudes of Former Members of the Farc-EP Towards Their Reincorporation Process](#)" (Actitudes de exintegrantes de las Farc-EP frente a la reincorporación). With Leopoldo Ferguson, Natalia Garbiras-Díaz, Juana Duque, Tatiana Hiller, Lewis Polo, and Michael Wientraub. CEDE Working Paper No. (24).
As of 2019, two years had passed since the demobilization of the Farc-EP. The reincorporation process of former combatants is one of the main challenges of implementing the Final Agreement signed between the Colombian state and the guerrilla organization in November 2016. Progress on reincorporation will ensure its sustainability. In this document we analyze the attitudes of former members of the Farc-EP with respect to this process during its early phases. To do so, we use the results of the National Reincorporation Registry (RNR), carried out between the National Reincorporation Agency (ARN) and the Farc component of the National Reincorporation Council (CNR). After showing that former members display positive attitudes towards their reincorporation process, and noting some others that raise concerns, we explore which characteristics of former members of the Farc-EP and their environment are associated with better attitudes and conditions for the implementation of this point of the peace agreement. We complement this analysis by contrasting activities of the population in the process of reincorporation with those of the civilian population, drawing parallels in terms of public policy challenges for both groups. The evidence presented in this document sheds light on possible future priorities to determine where efforts should be concentrated.
6. "Process-Driven Natural Experiments." With Silvia Otero (El Rosario University, Colombia)
This paper develops a novel methodology called Process-Driven Natural Experiments (PRODNEs), which combines elements from natural experiments, process-tracing, and small-N comparisons. As in natural experiments, a PRODNE takes advantage of an exogenous shock that randomly assigns a treatment but, in contrast to experiments, it entails the analysis of a small number of cases. Rather than estimating the average treatment effect by comparing treated and non-treated units, PRODNEs rely on within-case analysis on a few units using process-tracing, and comparing the trajectories or causal pathways across cases. We argue that PRODNEs can be useful for both theory-building and theory-testing in various types of research designs that rely on either process-tracing or experiments as the logic of causal inference. In this paper, we explain how PRODNEs relate to other methods and identify their advantages within different research designs. We argue that PRODNEs are an important addition to qualitative, quantitative, and multi-method methods, and allow for exploiting in creative ways the great inferential potential of natural experiments.
7. "Do Rebel and Criminal Governance Thrive Where the State is Weak?"
The literatures on civil war and organized crime argue that rebel and criminal groups thrive in localities where the state is weak. The emphasis is usually on state provision of basic services and security because these two factors are expected to determine civilian cooperation with the state as well as with rebel and criminal groups. Yet, these organizations also obtain the cooperation they need in local territories by becoming de facto rulers. In this paper, I advance two arguments. First, what allows rebels and criminals to rule local populations is not state weakness but poor governance, regardless of its source: high-quality non-state governance can shield communities from the entrenchment of rebel and criminal groups even if the state is absent. This is of particular

importance in developing countries because swaths of territory are often governed by non-state authorities. My second argument is that dispute resolution institutions, which have been largely overlooked, are as important as security and service provision because rebels and criminals can more easily consolidate their rule in localities where dispute resolution is highly inefficient or illegitimate. I test this argument as well as the causal mechanisms with original, longitudinal evidence on state capacity, governance, and rebel and criminal rule in areas where political and criminal armed actors have operated in Colombia. The paper has implications for our understanding of rebel and criminal behavior, the evolution of insurgency and organized crime, and policy debates about counterinsurgency, post-conflict reconstruction, and the prevention of organized crime.

8. "An institutionalist approach to civil war recruitment: Evidence from Colombia and Kosovo." Why do men and women join non-state armed groups? The literature on this topic provides multiple explanations, and the existing empirical evidence overwhelmingly shows that joiners are driven by very different motivations. Still, we lack a theoretical approach that can reconcile these findings. Moreover, we continue to ignore the conditions under which recruitment is most likely to take place. In this paper, I argue that recruitment is most likely to occur in localities where rebels (or other non-state armed groups) become de facto rulers. Just as institutions shape human choice in peacetime, there are multiple mechanisms by which *wartime* institutions influence civilians' decision to enlist. I test this argument with data on joiners and non-joiners in two very different civil wars: the Colombian war (1968-2016) and the Kosovo war (1998-1999). The paper provides a framework to explain not only *why* civilians join armed groups but also *where* are they most likely to do so. In addition, it offers an explanation of the seemingly contradictory findings of the existing literature. Being the first study of micro-level data on civilians and combatants in more than one conflict, the paper also makes an important empirical contribution to our understanding of participation in civil war.
9. "Defining and measuring the subnational state." With Sarah Moore.
10. "A research agenda on gender and data collection on civil war phenomena." With Sarah Moore and Kiran Stallone.

PROFESSIONAL TALKS

Invited talks, lectures, and keynote speaker

1. Oxford University (United Kingdom). "Climate Change and Violent Conflict: Mapping potential effects." Conference on Climate Protection (December 2022).
2. Oxford University (United Kingdom). "The Violent Bias in the Study of Civil War." T. E. Lawrence Program on Conflict and Violence (December 2022).
3. UNU-WIDER (Colombia). "The Effects of Violence on Inequality in Latin America and the Caribbean: A Research Agenda." Conference on Reducing Inequality (October 2022).
4. University of Syracuse. "The Legacies of Civil War on Citizens' Preferences for the Rule of Law." Rebel Governance Conference. (May 2022)
5. UNU-WIDER (Finland). "The Legacies of Civil War on Citizens' Preferences for the Rule of Law." Conference on "The puzzle of Peace." (May 2022).
6. Columbia University, Public Lecture, Society of Fellows. "Wartime Order and Its Legacies" (May 2022).
7. Latin American and Caribbean Studies, Northwestern University. "Violent Margins: Concepts, People & Places" (April 2022).

8. Brazilian Multidisciplinary Association for the Study of Drugs. "Drug Policy in Latin America" (November 2021).
9. The Hertie School (Germany). "The Violent Bias in Civil War Studies." International Security Research Colloquium (October 2021).
10. APSA Roundtable on the Future of Civil War Studies. Annual Meeting of the Political Science Association (September 2021).
11. United Nations Development Program. "The Effects of Violence on Inequality in Latin America and the Caribbean: A Research Agenda." (July 2021)
12. Vanderbilt University. "The Violent Bias in Civil War Studies." Comparative Politics Workshop (November 2020).
13. New York University & El Rosario University. "The multiple logics of violence." Colombia: Peace Building and Persistence of Violence Symposium (November 2020).
14. Regional Board for Technical Cooperation on Transversal and Socio-Emotional Competences (MESACTS). "The development of socioemotional skills: an urgent priority to address violence, educate citizens and address the crisis of the pandemic in Latin America." Keynote Lecture, Seminar on Transversal and Socioemotional Competences in public policy. (October 2020)
15. CESED, Los Andes University (Colombia). "Drug trafficking, massacres, and local orders." (September 2020).
16. La Silla Vacía (Colombian news website), seminar for leaders. "Drug trafficking, conflict and local orders: From rebel to criminal governance." (September 2020)
17. Latin American and Caribbean Cluster, Northwestern University. "The Violent Bias in Civil War Studies." (May 2020).
18. Yale University, Political Violence and its Legacies workshop. "The Violent Bias in Civil War Studies." (February 2020).
19. Institute for Public Policy, Northwestern University. "The Violent Bias in Civil War Studies." (November 2019).
20. Latin American Economics Association (Mexico). Violence and Inequality. Roundtable for UNDP Regional Report. (November 2019).
21. Danish Institute for International Studies (Denmark). "Rebel governance and social order." Public Lecture, Conference on Armed non-state actors: governance, financing and ideologies (September 2019).
22. Gottingen University (Germany). "The Violent Bias in Civil War Studies." Keynote Lecture, Workshop on Behavioral Insights in Development and Peace Building (August 2019).
23. University of Gothenburg (Sweden). "The Legacies of Wartime Institutions on Citizens' Preferences for Democracy and the Rule of Law." Governance and Local Democracy Conference (May 2019).
24. Harvard University. "The Violent Bias in Civil War Studies." Comparative Politics Workshop (April 2019).
25. Princeton University. "State Capacity and the Prevention of Rebel and Criminal Governance: The Centrality of Dispute Resolution Institutions." State Capacity and Public Goods Provision Conference (April 2019).
26. Universidad ICESI (Colombia). "Social Order in Civil War." (February 2019)
27. University of Amsterdam, Public Lecture. "Social Order in Civil War." (September 2018)
28. Pontificia Universidad Católica del Perú. "Colombia's Transition to Peace: Challenges at the Local Level" (October 2018)
29. Pontificia Universidad Católica del Perú. "Bias in the Study of Violence in Contexts of Armed Conflict" (October 2018)
30. Conflict Research Society, Keynote Speaker, Birmingham (UK). "Rebelocracy: Social Order in the Colombian Civil War." Conflict Research Society Annual Conference (September 2018).
31. Los Andes University, CEDE seminar, Colombia. "The Impact of Political Killings on Democracy and Governance: Evidence from Colombia." (August 2018)

32. University of Gotenburg (Sweden). "The Impact of Political Killings on Local Democracy and Governance: Evidence from Colombia." Program on Governance and Local Development (June 2018).
33. MIT. "The Violent Bias in Civil War Studies." Comparative Politics Workshop (April 2018).
34. New York University (Abu Dhabi). "The Effects of Selective Violence on Political Participation." Conference on the Legacies of Violence (April 2018).
35. Barnard College. "State Capacity and the Prevention of Rebel and Criminal Governance: The Centrality of Dispute Resolution Institutions." Conference on Criminal Governance (February 2018).
36. CIDE (Mexico). "Memory workshops as a tool to measure contextual factors in violence research." Conference on Documenting Criminal Violence (October 2017).
37. University of York (UK). "An Institutional Approach to Civil War Recruitment: Evidence from Colombia and Kosovo." Department of Political Science (June 2017).
38. University of Notre Dame. "Rebelocracy: Social Order in the Colombian Civil War." Conference on Organized Crime and Large-Scale Criminal Violence (May 2017).
39. Yale University. "Rebelocracy: Social Order in the Colombian Civil War." Program on Order, Conflict and Violence (May 2017).
40. Princeton University. "State Capacity and the Prevention of Rebel and Criminal Governance: The Centrality of Dispute Resolution Institutions." Comparative Politics Workshop (April 2017).
41. George Washington University. "State Capacity and the Prevention of Rebel and Criminal Governance: The Centrality of Dispute Resolution Institutions." Workshop on Intrastate Conflict and Violence (April 2017).
42. University of Chicago. "An Institutional Approach to Civil War Recruitment: Evidence from Colombia and Kosovo." Program on International Security Policy (February 2017).
43. University of Chicago. "The Colombian Armed Conflict: Origins, Dynamics, and the Referendum." Latin American Matters (January 2017).
44. University of Chicago. "Conducting Fieldwork in Contexts of Violence." Latin American and Caribbean Studies (January 2017).
45. Universidad Tecnológica de Bolívar (Cartagena, Colombia). "Local Governance and New Local Orders in Conflict Zones." Peace Lecture (December 2016).
46. University of Texas, Austin. "Reflections on Colombia's Peace Agreement: The Preferences of Conflict Zones." LLILAS Benson Latin American Studies and Collections (November 2016).
47. Northwestern University. "Reflections on Colombia's Peace Agreement: The Preferences of Conflict Zones." Latin American and Caribbean Studies (November 2016).
48. University of Chicago. "Rebel Governance, Wartime Order and Justice Institutions." Workshop on Rebel Courts, Harris School and Law School (October 2016).
49. Indiana University Bloomington. "Politics in Latin America." NIC Global Report (July 2016).
50. University of Chicago. "The Legacies of Wartime Institutions." State, Violence and Social Control Workshop, Department of Political Science (May 2016).
51. Yale University. "State Capacity and the Prevention of Non-state Armed Governance." Order, Conflict and Violence Workshop (May 2016).
52. University of Notre Dame. "Measuring Informal Institutions in Violent Contexts: Memory Workshops and Surveys." Kellogg Institute (May 2016).
53. University of Notre Dame. "Drugs and Politics: Challenges for Latin America." Kellogg Institute (May 2016).
54. Ohio State University. "State Capacity and the Prevention of Non-state Armed Governance." Comparative Politics Workshop (April 2016).
55. Yale University. Roundtable. Conference on Micro-comparative Studies of 20th-Century Conflicts (April 2016).
56. Los Andes University (Bogotá, Colombia). "The Legacies of Wartime Institutions on Citizens' Preferences for the Rule of Law." Conference on Conflict and Local Institutions in Colombia:

- Challenges in the Post-conflict Period, with Juan Camilo Cárdenas, Ana M. Ibañez, Patricia Justino, and Usdin Martinez (March 2016).
57. Ministry of Justice (Colombia). "The Presence and Governance of the FARC vis-à-vis the Post-conflict Period in Colombia." (March 2016).
 58. Northwestern University. "Civilian Support for Non-state Armed Actors: Opening the Black Box of Civilian Agency in Civil War." EDGS Series, Buffett Institute (March 2016).
 59. University of Notre Dame. "Civilian Agency in Civil War." Kellogg Institute (January 2016).
 60. University of Mississippi. "Non-state Territorial Armed Groups and State Capacity." Conference on Bridging Comparative and IR Perspectives on Intrastate Conflict and Violence (November 2015).
 61. Duke University and the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill. "Social Order in Civil War." Latin American Politics Working Group (November 2015).
 62. University of Michigan, Ann Arbor. "Social Order in Civil War." Comparative Politics Workshop (November 2015).
 63. University of Toronto. "The Institutional Legacies of War: Challenges and Opportunities in the Post-Conflict Period." Conference on Land, Memory and Justice: Challenges for Peace in Colombia (October 2015).
 64. University of Denver. "Non-state Territorial Armed Groups and State Capacity." Sié Research Seminar, Josef Korbel School of International Studies (October 2015).
 65. Ohio Wesleyan University. "Opposition to the War on Drugs: A Widespread Movement?" Invited Lecture, International Studies Program Speaker Series (September 2015).
 66. CIDE (Mexico). "Social Order in Civil War." Comparative Politics Workshop (December 2015).
 67. EAFIT (Medellín, Colombia.) "Social Order in Civil War." Keynote Speaker, Conference on Measurement of Insecurity and Sociability (July 2015).
 68. EAFIT and Los Andes University (Medellín, Colombia). "Measuring Local Orders" (July 2015).
 69. Brown University. "Reintegration of Ex-combatants: The Importance of Local Dynamics." BIARI (June 2015).
 70. Penn State University. "Social Order in Civil War." Comparative Politics Workshop (May 2015).
 71. George Washington University. "Violence in Ukraine: Preliminary Thoughts on the Role of Rebel Governance and Civilian Agency." Workshop on Analyzing Violence in Ukraine, PONARS, Elliot School of International Affairs (May 2015).
 72. University of Virginia. "Social Order in Civil War." Seminar Series on Internal War (April 2015).
 73. Indiana University (Bloomington). "Identities in Latin America and the War on Drugs." Global Trends Workshop (March 2015).
 74. MIT. "Social Order in Civil War." Security Studies Program Seminar and Comparative Politics Speaker Series (November 2014).
 75. University of Toronto. "Taxation and Governance in Civil War: Evidence and Questions." Workshop on Conflict, Taxation and Political Order, International Centre for Tax and Development (September 2014).
 76. Harvard University. "Civilian Agency in Civil War: Concepts, Contexts and Mechanisms." Conference on Subnational Research (March 2014).
 77. CINEP (Bogotá, Colombia). "The Territorial Vacuums of Post-conflict Colombia." Conference on Towards Rebuilding the Country: Perspectives on the Challenges and Possibilities in Post-conflict Colombia (November 2013).
 78. Brown University. "Social Order in Civil War." Conference on Subnational Research in Comparative Politics (May 2013).
 79. Northwestern University. "Recruitment in Civil War: An Institutionalist Approach." The Lunch Colloquium of the Kaplan Institute for the Humanities (May 2013).
 80. University of Michigan, Ann Arbor. "Social Order in Civil War." Conference on Power, Legitimacy and Authoritarian Rule in Postwar Regimes (April 2013).

81. Northwestern University. "Social Order in Civil War." Latin American and Caribbean Studies Colloquium (February 2013).
82. University of Chicago. "Social Order in Civil War." Comparative Politics Workshop (November 2012).
83. Northwestern University,. "Democracy and Civil War," with Mario Chacón. Political Parties Working Group (October 2012).
84. Los Andes University and Harvard University. "Social Order in Civil War." Conference on New Perspectives on Violence in Colombia (May 2012).
85. Yale University. "Democracy and Civil War," with Mario Chacón. Conference on Militias and Paramilitaries (October 2012).
86. Columbia University. "Social Order in Civil War." Earth Institute (2011).
87. University of Wisconsin, Madison. "Social Order in Civil War." Department of Political Science (December 2010).
88. Northwestern University. "Social Order in Civil War." Department of Political Science (November 2010).
89. Stony Brook University. "Social Order in Civil War." Andean Studies Group (September 2010).
90. Oxford University (UK). "Social Orders in Warring Times: Armed Groups' Strategies and Civilian Resistance in Civil War." Workshop on Mobilization for Political Violence: What Do We Know? (March 2009).
91. CINEP (Colombia). "Armed Groups, Communities, and Local Orders: An Inter-relational Approach." Conference on Towards Rebuilding the Country (January 2008).
92. Yale University. "Civilian Collaboration and Local Orders in Civil War." Comparative Politics Workshop (November 2007).
93. PRIO (Norway) and El Rosario University (Colombia). "Legal Orders in Civil War: A Local-Level Perspective." Conference on Peace and Accountability in Transitions from Armed Conflict (June 2007).
94. Yale University. "Testing Theories of Recruitment by Armed Groups: Survey Evidence from Colombia," with Stathis Kalyvas. Comparative Politics Workshop (September 2006).
95. Fedesarrollo and the Conflict Analysis Resource Center (Bogotá, Colombia). "Results of a Survey with Demobilized Combatants in Colombia" (2006).
96. Javeriana University (Bogotá, Colombia). "Results of a Survey with Demobilized Combatants in Colombia." (May 2006).
97. World Bank. "Understanding Recruitment in Civil Wars." Children and Youth Unit (January 2006).
98. Columbia University. "Emotions and Civil Wars." Invited talk at Professor Jon Elster's Seminar on Emotions and Political Science (December 2005).
99. PRIO (Norway) and the Colombia National University (Bogotá). "Demobilizing Combatants: Preliminary Results of a Survey with Ex-combatants in Colombia." Conference on Transitional Justice (October 2005).
100. National University (Bogotá, Colombia) "Demobilizing Combatants: Preliminary Results of a Survey with Ex-combatants in Colombia." Conference on Negotiation, Rational Discussion, and Agreements (October 2005).
101. Yale University. "A Theory of Recruitment in Civil War." Workshop of the Program on Order, Violence and Conflict (February 2005).

Selected professional conference presentations

1. Latin American Studies Association Annual Meeting (virtual). "A research agenda on gender and data collection on civil war phenomena" (April 2022).
2. American Political Science Association Annual Meeting, Boston. "Process-driven Natural Experiments." (Non-presenting coauthor) (September 2018)
3. American Political Science Association Annual Meeting, San Francisco. "Rebelocracy: Social Order in the Colombian Civil War." Author meets critics roundtable (September 2017)

4. American Political Science Association Annual Meeting, San Francisco. "Roving Judges from the Middle Ages to Modern Rebels: The Judicial Sinews of Political Rule." (September 2017)
5. Latin American Studies Association Annual Meeting, Lima (Peru). "Rebelocracy: Social Order in the Colombian Civil War." Book presentation (April 2017).
6. Midwest Political Science Association Annual Meeting, Chicago. "Rebelocracy: Social Order in the Colombian Civil War." Author meets critics roundtable (April 2017)
7. Latin American Studies Association Annual Meeting, New York. "State Capacity, Civilian Agency, and the Prevention of Non-state Armed Governance" (May 2016).
8. Folke Bernadotte Academy, Conference Research for Peace, Stockholm (Sweden). "The Centrality of Local Courts: Wartime Dynamics and Post-Conflict Dynamics" (June 2015).
9. Latin American Studies Association Annual Meeting, Puerto Rico. "The Institutional Legacies of War: Challenges and Opportunities in the Post-conflict Period" (May 2015).
10. Latin American Studies Association Annual Meeting, Chicago. Roundtable "Rethinking Order and Violence: Views from Latin America" (May 2014).
11. Latin American Studies Association Annual Meeting, Chicago. "Recruitment in Civil War: An Institutional Approach" (May 2014).
12. Folke Bernadotte Academy, Peace Keeping Operations Working Group, New York University. "Western Foreign Fighters: The Kosovar Case" (October, 2014).
13. American Political Science Association Annual Meeting, Chicago. "The Impact of War on the Quality of Local Governance: Evidence from Colombia," with Mario Chacón (September 2013).
14. American Political Science Association Annual Meeting, Chicago. "Civilian Resistance to Rebel Governance" (September 2013).
15. Folke Bernadotte Academy, Peace Keeping Operations Working Group, Stockholm (Sweden). "The Micro-dynamics of Civil War and Their Effects on Post-Conflict Peace: Building a Survey-Based Dataset for Cross-National Comparison," with Jonah Schulhofer-Wohl (February 2011).
16. Folke Bernadotte Academy, Peace Keeping Operations Working Group, Stockholm (Sweden). "Recruitment in Civil War: An Institutional Approach" (February 2011).
17. Households in Conflict Network and Institute of Economic Analysis, Conference on Bridging Macro and Micro Approaches on Civil War and Political Violence (Barcelona). "Wartime Social Orders and the Microdynamics of Civil War" (November 2011).
18. American Political Science Association Annual Meeting, Washington DC. "Social Order in Civil War" (September 2010).
19. International Studies Association Annual Meeting, New York. "Rebel Governance, Civilian Agency, and Wartime Social Order: Exploring Variation of a Neglected Aspect of Civil War" (February 2009).
20. Folke Bernadotte Academy, Peace Keeping Operations Working Group, New York University. "Community-Based Reintegration in Colombia: Lessons for the International Community" (November 2008).
21. Folke Bernadotte Academy, Peace Keeping Operations Working Group, Georgetown University. "Local Order and Quasi-legal Systems in Civil War: A Plea for Disaggregating the Study of Interventions" (November 2007).
22. International Studies Association Annual Meeting, Chicago. "Rebelling against Rebellion: Comparing Insurgent and Counterinsurgent Recruitment," with Stathis Kalyvas (February 2007).
23. American Political Science Association Annual Meeting, Philadelphia. "Testing Theories of Recruitment by Armed Groups: Survey Evidence from Colombia," with Stathis Kalyvas (August 2006).
24. Latin American and Caribbean Association of Law and Economics (ALCDE) and Mexican Association of Law and Economics Congress, Mexico DF. "Law and Economics and Models of Human Behavior" (November 2000).

PEER REVIEWS AND RELATED ACTIVITIES

- Reviewer for journals: *American Political Science Review*; *American Journal of Political Science*; *Journal of Politics*; *World Politics*; *Perspectives on Politics*; *Journal of Peace Research*; *Journal of Conflict Resolution*; *Comparative Politics*; *Comparative Political Studies*; *British Journal of Political Science*; *International Security*; *International Studies Quarterly*; *Latin American Politics and Society*; *Journal of Latin American Politics*; *Journal of Development Studies*; *International Journal of Transitional Justice*; *African Journal of Political Science and International Relations*; *Research in Social Movements*; *Conflicts and Change*; *European Journal of International Relations*; *Revista Política y Gobierno* (Mexico); *Colombian Economic Journal*; *Journal Opera* (Colombia).
- Reviewer for academic presses: Cambridge University Press; Oxford University Press; School of Social Sciences, Los Andes University (Colombia); Publications of the Center for the Study of Economic Development, School of Economics, Los Andes University (Colombia).
- Reviewer for funding agencies: The National Science Foundation (NSF); The Social Science Research Council (SSRC); The World Bank; The Swiss National Science Foundation; The Council for the Humanities of the Netherlands' Organisation for Scientific Research (NWO).
- Book of the Year Prize Committee: Conflict Research Society, 2019; Best Book Award, Conflict Processes, 2022.
- Invited Editor, *Revista Política y Gobierno* (Politics and Government Journal, first bilingual issue), CIDE, Mexico (2016).
- Invited Editor, *Cuadernos de Economía* (Economics Notebook Journal, bilingual issue on Post-Conflict Colombia), National University, Colombia (2019).
- Section Chair, Latin American Studies Association, 2019.
- Discussant, book conferences:
 - Andreas Feldman and Juan Pablo Luna, *Cambridge Elements*.
 - Shelley Liu, University of California, Berkeley.
 - Kathleen Klaus, Buffett Institution, Northwestern University.
 - Daniel Krcmaric, Political Science, Northwestern University.
 - Benjamin Lessing, Political Science, University of Chicago.
 - Christopher Day, Political Science, College of Charleston.

MAJOR CONSULTANCIES IN THE PUBLIC SECTOR

- United Nations Development Program, New York. Author a background paper on violence and inequality for the Regional Human Development Report for Latin America and the Caribbean (2020).
- Center for Historic Memory, Colombia. Consulting, design of a survey with former members of paramilitary groups (2015).

PROFESIONAL AFFILIATIONS AND SERVICE

Colombia's Science, Innovation, and Technology Mission, 2019

- Pro-bono Commissioner. Social Sciences, Human Development and Equality group.

Creation of research networks and efforts towards dissemination of research findings

- Founding member of the Network of Studies on Drugs in Latin America (REDESDAL) as well as of a blog to disseminate research findings to policy makers and the general public.
- Permanent contributor of *Political Violence @ a Glance*, a blog to disseminate research on violence (until 2021).
- Permanent contributor of *Foco Economico*, a blog to disseminate research findings on economics in Latin America.

Membership in working groups

- Member of the working group on Settings of Political Violence for the Qualitative Transparency Deliberations (2017).
- Member of the research group on Social Polarization and Conflict: Models, Estimation, Evidence, directed by Joan Esteban, Institute for Economic Analysis, Barcelona (since 2011).
- Member of the Peace Keeping Operations Working Group and the Mediation for Prevention and Peacemaking Working Group, organized by the Folke Bernadotte Academy (Sweden) (2006–present).

Organized conferences and workshops

- REDESDAL Conference, 2018, 2019 & 2021.
- CESED Workshop. Los Andes University, 2018-2019.
- Comparative Politics Workshop. Northwestern University, 2013–2015, 2016–2017.
- Civilian Agency in Armed Conflicts. Northwestern University, September 2013.
- Rebel Governance, conference co-organized with Nelson Kasfir and Zachariah Mampilly. Dartmouth College, September 10–12, 2010.
- Rebel Governance, conference co-organized with Nelson Kasfir and Zachariah Mampilly. Yale University, October 2–4, 2009.

Professional affiliations

- American Political Science Association, Midwest Political Science Association, Latin American Studies Association.

Editorial Boards and Executive Committees

- *Latin American Politics and Society*, member of the Editorial Board, since 2023.
- *Colombian Studies Initiative*, New York University and El Rosario University, member of the Executive Committee, since 2022.
- *Journal of Illicit Economies and Development*, London School of Economics, member of the Editorial Board, 2018-2020.
- *Revista Desafíos*, Universidad del Rosario, Colombia, since 2021.

TEACHING

Northwestern University

Undergraduate teaching

- Political Violence (Freshman Seminar). Fall 2013.
- Violent Rebels. Spring 2013.
- Drugs and Politics. Winter 2013, winter 2014, winter 2015, spring 2017, spring 2018, spring 2020, winter 2021, summer 2021, fall 2021, summer 2022.
- Civilians in War. Fall 2013, spring 2015, winter 2017, winter 2018, spring 2020.
- Non-state Armed Groups. Winter 2015, winter 2017, spring 2018, spring 2021, spring 2022.
- Political Violence. Spring 2017.

Graduate teaching

- Pro-seminar in Comparative Politics I. Spring 2013.
- The Micro-dynamics of Civil War. Winter 2014, Spring 2022.
- Research Design. Winter 2015, spring 2018, winter 2021.
- Civil War and Its Legacies. Spring 2022.

Additional undergraduate teaching

- Visiting Professor, School of Economics, Los Andes University (Colombia), Drugs and Politics. (2018 & 2019).
- Lecturer, Yale University, Department of Political Science, “Rebels in Civil War” (2009–2010).
- Lecturer, Carlos III University, Madrid (Spain), Department of Economics, “Law and Economics”, 2001-2003.

COMMUNITY WORK

- Pro bono expert witness for asylum cases (2010, 2014, 2017, 2018).

LANGUAGES

- Spanish (native)
- English (fluent)
- Catalan (intermediate)
- French (intermediate)