

ANA ARJONA

Northwestern University
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Major Professional Interests

The interplay between violence, governance, and individual behavior; civil war; rebel governance; organized crime; criminal governance; drug policy; legacies of violence; knowledge production in political science.

Academic Positions

Current positions

Associate Professor, Department of Political Science, Northwestern University (under review for promotion to Full Professor; department vote approved, pending university review)	2018 – Present
Co-Editor-in-Chief, <i>Perspectives on Politics</i>	2023—Present
Founding Director, Network for the Study of Drugs in Latin America (REDES DAL)	2018—Present
Faculty Associate, Institute for Policy Research	2016—Present

Prior positions at Northwestern University

Assistant Professor, Department of Political Science, Northwestern University	2012 – 2018
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Los Andes University, Bogotá (Colombia)

Director, Center for the Study of Security and Drugs (CESED) and Visiting Professor, School of Economics	July 2018 – June 2019
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University of Notre Dame

Visiting Fellow, Kellogg Institute for International Studies	January – May 2016
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Columbia University

Postdoctoral Fellow, The Earth Institute and Institute for Social and Economic Research and Policy	2010 – 2012
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Carlos III University, Madrid (Spain)

Lecturer, Department of Economics	2000 – 2003
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Education

Yale University

PhD, Political Science (<i>with University Distinction</i>)	2010
Student Associate, Program on Order, Conflict, and Violence	2004–2010

Complutense University, Madrid, Spain

MA, Sociology	2001
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Los Andes University, Bogotá, Colombia

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

Pre-Doctoral Fellowships, Grants, and Honors

- 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).
- “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.
- 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).

Honors and Recognitions

- Kaplan Institute for the Humanities, Faculty Fellow (2022–2023).
- Book *Rebelocracy* awarded the Best Book of the Year Award, Conflict Research Society (2018).
- R. Barry Farrell Award for Excellence in Undergraduate Teaching, Northwestern University (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).
- IDEA Scholars, Leadership Program, Northwestern University (2023–2024).

Research Support

- Backer Fellowship, Northwestern University (2025).
- URAP grant, Northwestern University (2024).
- Farrell Fellowship, Northwestern University (2024).
- Provost Grants for Research in Humanities, Social Sciences, and the Arts, Northwestern University. “The effects of political assassinations on democracy and governance” (2024–2025).
- 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.*” Funded by the Global Challenges Research Fund (GCRF), UK Research and Innovation (UKRI), with Jonathan Goodhand (PI) and partners in Afghanistan, Colombia, Myanmar and UK (2018–2023). Total funding: £7 million.
- “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).

- “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 Ibáñez, Juan Camilo Cárdenas, and Patricia Justino.
- “Civilian Agency and Conflict in Colombia.” Northwestern University, EDGS (2013–2014).
- “Narco-Rulers and Civilian Choice.” Social Science Research Council (SSRC), 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.

Publications

Books

26. *Del Cultivo al Consumo: Debates Sobre Narcotráfico, Violencia y Política de Drogas en Colombia* (From Cultivation to Consumption: Debates on Drug Trafficking, Violence, and Drug Policy in Colombia). Co-edited with [Lucas Marín-Llanes](#) and María Alejandra Vélez. Forthcoming, Ediciones UniAndes (Bogotá, Colombia).
25. *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.
 - Included in Muse’s list of [The 100 Greatest Latin American History & Politics Books](#).
 - Featured in the [Latin America Today](#) podcast with Adam Isaacson.
 - Author-meets-critics roundtable at the Annual Meetings of the Midwest Political Science Association (MPSA, Chicago, 2017); the Latin American Studies Association (LASA, Lima, Peru, 2017); and the American Political Science Association (APSA, San Francisco, 2017).
 - Reviewed in:
 - [Perspectives on Politics](#) by Adrian Florea (University of Glasgow).
 - [The Journal of Politics](#) by Jorge Domínguez (Harvard University).
 - [Latin American Politics and Society](#) by Alex McDougall (Carleton University).
 - [The London School of Economics Review of Books](#) by Anastasia Shesterinina (University of Sheffield).
 - [The Canadian Journal of Latin American and Caribbean Studies](#) by Alex Diamond (University of Texas-Austin).
 - [Latin American Research Review](#) by Noam Lupu (Vanderbilt University).
24. *Rebel Governance in Civil War*, with Nelson Kasfir and Zachariah Mampilly (Eds.). Cambridge University Press, 2015.
 - Reviewed in:
 - [Civil Wars](#) by Jonathan Fisher (University of Birmingham).
 - [Perspectives on Politics](#) by Adrian Florea (University of Glasgow).

Journal Articles

23. [“The impact of political assassinations on turnout: Evidence from Colombia,”](#) with Mario Chacón and [Laura García-Montoya](#). *PNAS*, 2025.
22. [“The Long-Term Economic Legacies of Rebel Rule in Civil War: Micro Evidence from Colombia,”](#) with A. M. Ibáñez, J. Arteaga, J.C. Cárdenas, and P. Justino, *Journal of Conflict Resolution*, 2024.
21. [“Violence and Voting in the United States: How School Shootings Affect Elections,”](#) with [Laura García-Montoya](#) and Matthew Lacombe. *American Political Science Review*, 2022.

20. [“War-to-peace transitions and the behavioral legacies of civil war.”](#) *International Journal of Drug Policy*, 2021.
19. [“The Qualitative Transparency Deliberations: Insights and Implications,”](#) with A. Jacobs, T. Bütthe et al. *Perspectives on Politics*, 2021. Associated report [“Research in Violent or Post-Conflict Political Settings,”](#) with Zachariah Mampilly and Wendy Pearlman.
18. [“Civilian Cooperation and Non-Cooperation with Non-State Armed Groups: The Centrality of Obedience and Resistance.”](#) *Small Wars and Insurgencies*, 2017.
17. [“Institutions, Civilian Resistance, and Wartime Social Order: A Process-driven Natural Experiment in the Colombian Civil War.”](#) *Latin American Politics and Society*, 2016.
16. [“Conflict, Violence, and Democracy in Latin America,”](#) with Luis de la Calle. *Política y Gobierno*, 2016.
15. [“Wartime Institutions: A Research Agenda.”](#) *Journal of Conflict Resolution*, 2014.

Book Chapters

14. [“War.”](#) In D. Stockemer, Stephen Sawyer and Audrey Gagnon (Eds.), *IPSA Companion to Political Science: A Practical Introduction to the 200 Most Important Concepts*. Springer, 2026.
13. [“Education for Well-being, Democratic Citizenship and Peace: Development of Socioemotional and Civic Skills in Children and Youth.”](#) In Clemente Forero, Juliana Valdés, et al. (Eds.), *Equity, Education, and Development*, Ministry of Science, Technology and Innovation of Colombia, 2020 [In Spanish].
12. [“Subnational Units, the Locus of Choice, and Concept Formation.”](#) In R. Snyder, A. Giraudy, and E. Moncada (Eds.), *Subnational Research in Comparative Politics*, CUP, 2019.
11. [“Civilian Resistance to Rebel Governance.”](#) In A. Arjona, N. Kasfir, and Z. Mampilly (Eds.), *Rebel Governance in Civil War*, CUP, 2015.
10. [“Recruitment into Armed Groups in Colombia,”](#) with S. Kalyvas. In Y. Guichaoua (Ed.), *Understanding Collective Political Violence*, Palgrave Macmillan, 2012.
9. [“One National War, Multiple Local Orders.”](#) In M. Bergsmo and P. Kalmanovitz (Eds.), *Law in Peace Negotiations*, 2009.
8. [“Armed Groups, Communities and Local Orders.”](#) In F. González (Ed.), *Towards the Reconstruction of the Country*, 2008 [In Spanish].
7. “A Micro-Level Approach to the Armed Conflict in Colombia: Results from a Survey of Demobilized Guerrilla and Paramilitary Group Members.” In F. Cante (Ed.), *Argumentation, Negotiation and Agreements*, 2008 [In Spanish].
6. “Economic Analysis of Constitutional Law.” In M. Rubio (Ed.), *Law and Economics*, 2007 [In Spanish].
5. [“Paramilitarism: A Theoretical Perspective,”](#) with S. Kalyvas. In A. Rangel (Ed.), *Paramilitary Power*, 2005 [In Spanish].
4. “Introduction to Law and Economics,” with M. Rubio. *Precedent*, Vol. 2002–1: 117–150 [In Spanish].

Solicited and Peer-Reviewed

3. [“Criminal Governance in Latin America.”](#) With Andreas Feldmann. Policy Document for the World Bank, 2026.
2. [“The Effects of Violence on Inequality in Latin America and the Caribbean: A Research Agenda.”](#) Background Paper for the United Nations Development Programme’s Latin America and Caribbean Regional Human Development Report 2021. UNDP LAC Working Paper Series.
1. [“Armed Groups’ Governance in Civil War: A Synthesis.”](#) The Program on States and Security, CUNY, 2008.

Other Non-Peer-Reviewed Academic Essays

- “Design and Impact Evaluation of Victim Protection Programs: Notes on Partnerships Between State Agencies, Communities, and Academia.” With Andrés Felipe Aponte, [Laura García-Montoya](#), [Lucas Marín-Llanes](#) and Juan Masullo, (2025). [In Spanish]
- [“Attitudes of Former Members of the FARC-EP Towards Their Reincorporation Process,”](#) with Leopoldo Ferguson, Natalia Garbiras-Díaz, Juana Duque, Tatiana Hiller, Lewis Polo, and Michael Weintraub. CEDE Working Paper No. 24 [In Spanish].

Datasets

- [“Violence Against Politicians in Colombia”](#), with Mario Chacón and Laura García-Montoya.
- [“Rampage School Shootings in the United States”](#), with Laura García-Montoya and Matthew Lacombe.

Blog Entries and Op-Eds

- [“Negotiating with Organized Criminal Groups? Key Points for an Important Debate in Latin America”](#), *Foco Económico*, 2023 [In Spanish].
- [“Social and Political Behavior in Zones with and without Presence of Non-State Armed Groups”](#), *Foco Económico*, 2023 [In Spanish].
- [“The Effects of Violence on Inequality in Latin America and the Caribbean: A Research Agenda”](#), *Foco Económico*, 2022 [In Spanish].
- [“Criminal, Rebel, and Militia Governance in Latin America: A Social, Political and Economic Problem that Requires More Attention”](#), *Foco Económico*, 2021 [In Spanish].
- [“The Development of Socioemotional Skills in Children and Adolescents: An Urgent Priority for the Education System During the Pandemic”](#), *Foco Económico*, 2020 [In Spanish].
- [“A Plea for a Long-Term Drug Policy”](#), *El Espectador*, 2018 [In Spanish].
- [“The Impact of Political Assassinations on Local Democracy and Governance in Colombia”](#), *Foco Económico*, 2018 [In Spanish].
- [“War Dynamics and the NO Vote in the Colombian Referendum”](#), *Political Violence @ a Glance*, 2016.
- [“How Many Deaths Would We Be Willing to Accept to Seek a Better Agreement?”](#), *El Espectador*, 2016 [In Spanish].
- [“Colombia’s Rampant Racism Deserves a National Spotlight and International Awareness”](#), *Latina Lista*, 2015.
- [“For a Pedagogy of Conflict in Colombia’s Peace Process”](#), *Foco Económico*, 2013 [In Spanish].
- [“The Effects of War on the Quality of Rulers”](#), *Foco Económico*, 2011 [In Spanish].
- [“On Rebelocracies and Recruits: Institutions and Participation in the Colombian Armed Conflict”](#), *Foco Económico*, 2011 [In Spanish].
- [“Presence vs. Violence: Problems in Measuring the Presence of Armed Actors”](#), *Foco Económico*, 2011 [In Spanish].

Works in Progress or Under Review

Long-term data collection

1. **A Longitudinal Study of Communities During and After Civil War.** This project draws on original qualitative and quantitative data collected over five waves of fieldwork between 2010 and 2022 in a random sample of communities in Colombia. Based on surveys, interviews, focus groups, and memory workshops, the collection includes a large dataset, local histories, and over 230 hours of transcribed qualitative material with detailed evidence on civilian agency and rebel, paramilitary, and criminal governance over time, as well as local politics and political behavior after the signing of the 2016 Peace Agreement. I plan to make the full collection available as a public good once associated projects are completed. By providing detailed evidence for which comparative data are rarely available, my goal is to facilitate future research on civil war dynamics, post-conflict governance, and organized crime.

Civilian responses to non-state armed groups

2. **An Institutional Approach to Civil War Recruitment: Evidence from Colombia and Kosovo.** Why do people join non-state armed groups? The empirical evidence shows that individuals join for vastly different reasons—e.g. economic incentives, ideology, coercion, social norms, emotions. While the literature has offered multiple explanations to account for each of these motivations, we lack a theoretical approach that can reconcile these findings. In this paper, I argue that recruitment is most effective where rebels become de facto rulers. Just as state institutions shape civilian behavior in peacetime, rebel governance triggers changes that influence enlistment decisions by changing the opportunities available to civilians and their associated payoffs, transforming the beliefs locals have about the war and the warring sides, and allowing for new preferences and emotions to

take hold. I test this argument with data on joiners and non-joiners in two very different civil wars: the short, secessionist, and ethnic civil war in Kosovo (1998–1999) and the long, center-seeking, and non-ethnic civil war in Colombia. The paper provides a framework to explain not only *why* civilians join armed groups but also *where* they are most likely to do so. In addition, it offers an explanation of the seemingly contradictory findings of the existing literature. By offering comparative micro-level data on civilians and combatants in two conflicts, the paper also makes an important empirical contribution to our understanding of participation in civil war.

Non-state armed governance

4. **Co-Edited Volume on Non-State Armed Governance.** With Desmond Arias, Eduardo Moncada, and Zachariah Mampilly. In this edited volume we propose a unified analytical framework for studying rebel, criminal, and militia governance. We identify shared dynamics and distinct features across actor types and contexts, clarify core concepts, and identify new questions for comparative research. The project brings together scholars from multiple disciplines who study governance by non-state armed groups in the United States, Latin America, Africa, and Asia. Invited for submission to *Oxford University Press*.
5. **Do Rebel and Criminal Governance Thrive Where the State is Weak?.** With Andrew Saab. Non-state armed groups, from insurgencies to drug cartels, are commonly believed to thrive where states are weak. We challenge this conventional wisdom by arguing that (1) governance quality—not state presence—determines opportunities for non-state armed rule; (2) dispute resolution institutions are as critical as security and services but have been overlooked; and (3) state presence can paradoxically increase non-state governance by disrupting effective local institutions without providing adequate alternatives. Drawing on original data from 75 localities in Colombia (1970–2021), we find that police stations, schools, and health centers do not reduce the scope of rebel and criminal governance, while high-quality dispute resolution institutions consistently do—regardless of whether provided by the state, ethnic authorities, or peasant organizations. Moreover, we show that various forms of state presence actually increase non-state armed governance, but this negative effect disappears when high-quality dispute resolution institutions are present. These findings have important implications for research on state capacity and civil war, and challenge common approaches to counterinsurgency and crime prevention by highlighting the central role of dispute resolution mechanisms.
6. **Measuring criminal governance across Latin America.** With Marcela Meléndez and Natalia Garbirás. We designed survey questions on the prevalence and attributes of criminal governance, which were included in large-scale surveys conducted across eight Latin American countries. This is the first step in a more ambitious project to develop and validate comparative tools for measuring a phenomenon that is notoriously difficult to observe yet has profound implications for security, democracy, and state building.

The Legacies of Civil War

6. **The Violent Bias in the Study of Civil War.** With Juan Pablo Castilla. The study of civil war has focused, for obvious reasons, on violence. Yet civil war is about much more than violence—e.g. shifts in local governance and social order, new forms of political mobilization, military socialization, changing state-society relations. We argue that despite increasing attention to other wartime phenomena, the focus on violence remains prevalent in the literature and 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 as well as original data. We conclude with a framework that can help move this research program forward.
7. **Legacies of Civil War on Human Development.** With Sarah Moore and Silvia Otero. This large-scale project examines how distinct civil war dynamics in conflict zones—not just violence, but also armed group presence, breakdown of order, and governance by armed groups—shape human development years after armed groups have left. Drawing on interdisciplinary research, we propose a set of mechanisms through which these four conflict dynamics can affect development at the community level, mapping multiple, often competing pathways that can produce positive, negative, or no effects. Using original longitudinal data from a random sample of Colombian communities, we compare localities previously exposed to different dynamics, including matched communities with no armed group presence throughout the war. We find robust evidence of lower educational attainment and diminished basic freedoms in areas with armed group presence, even years after those groups have withdrawn. By contrast, we find no consistent associations between wartime violence or disorder and developmental outcomes, raising new questions about postwar recovery and the theoretical and methodological challenges of studying civil war legacies. Although this work is ongoing, we summarize our theoretical and

methodological contributions and initial empirical results in the paper “Subnational inequality after armed conflict: Mapping a research agenda.

8. **The Legacies of Civil War on Citizens’ Preferences for the Rule of Law.** With Juan Camilo Cárdenas, Patricia Justino, Ana María Ibáñez, and Sarah Moore. Scholars and policymakers often assume that civil war decreases citizen support for the rule of law. Yet this premise has been assumed rather than investigated. To rigorously examine this proposition, we integrate insights from various literatures, deriving hypotheses on specific dynamics of civil war that may decrease support for the rule of law. We then test these hypotheses using novel data on Colombia. Contrary to expectations, individuals in former conflict zones and those exposed to violence, disorder, rebel-provided security, or repression within conflict zones do not exhibit decreased support for the rule of law. These findings challenge prevailing beliefs about war-affected communities and open new avenues of research on the political legacies of civil war, political behavior, and the rule of law. Our findings also have implications for post-conflict interventions aimed at promoting the rule of law in post-conflict societies.
9. **Network Efficacy and Trust under Rebelocracy.** With Adriana Bernal, Juan Camilo Cárdenas, Ana María Ibáñez, Patricia Justino and Paula Sarmiento. How does governance by non-state armed groups shape communities’ long-term capacity for collective action? This paper explores how exposure to ‘rebelocracy’—extensive regulation of social, economic, and political activities by armed groups—affects network efficacy of communities in the long run, defined as their capacity to use their social networks to solve collective action problems through their connections, trust, and trustworthiness. We conducted incentivized field experiments with approximately 300 participants across 8 Colombian villages exposed to either low or high levels of rebelocracy, using the canonical Trust Game and a newly designed Network Efficacy Game. Our results suggest that villages with exposure to higher levels of rebelocracy have networks that are more effective and dense, as well as higher levels of reciprocal trustworthiness. However, interpersonal trust levels are similar across villages. These findings suggest that communities that lived under more extensive wartime governance may develop a higher ability for collective action.

The Effects of Violence

10. **The Effects of Violence on Inequality in Human Development.** 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 are not distributed equally: gender, race, ethnicity, class, age, and geographic location determine both victimization risk and the severity of its consequences. Often, the most disadvantaged and vulnerable are the most impacted, potentially perpetuating and amplifying inequality. Although a vast literature has studied the impact of inequality on violence, surprisingly, the causal effect of violence on inequality has received scant attention. By connecting research on violence dynamics in the Americas with studies of violence’s effects on individual and collective outcomes, this manuscript proposes an analytical framework, identifies key causal mechanisms, and illustrates their plausibility, laying the foundation for a research agenda on the impact of violence on inequality in human development.
11. **How Violence Against Politicians Impacts Local Governance and Democracy.** With Juan Albarracín, Mario Chacón, Lucía Motolinía, Laura García-Montoya, and Sarah Moore. This new project will study the impact of violence against politicians on local governance and democracy in Brazil, Colombia, Mexico, and the United States. We are compiling original datasets and merging them with indicators of governance and democracy at the municipal or county level. We plan to conduct fieldwork in all four countries to investigate the mechanisms by which political violence affects institutions, governance, and citizen participation at the local level. As violence and threats against local politicians and public servants rises in many countries, this project seeks to advance our understanding of the political effects on individuals, communities, and local governments.

Governance

12. **Beyond the Weberian State: Violence and Governance in the Real World.** With Desmond Arias, Eduardo Moncada, and Zachariah Mampilly. This book project critiques the dominant neo-Weberian model, which assumes the state holds a monopoly over violence and that such monopoly underpins rule-making, service provision, and order. We demonstrate that this canonical understanding is empirically inaccurate and argue that it has far-reaching consequences for what social scientists study, the explanations they develop, and the ensuing policy prescriptions. Drawing on empirical cases from Latin America, Africa, South Asia, and the United States, we illustrate how treating the Weberian model as the benchmark undermines both research and policy in several research areas.

13. **Dispute Resolution: The Tool for Aspiring Rulers.** With Deborah Boucoyannis. In dominant theories of political order—from Tilly’s war-making model to contractarian accounts—dispute resolution is not treated as a distinct driver of power consolidation. Instead, it is assumed to follow from other dynamics, such as war, coercion, or the protection of property rights. Similarly, in policy-oriented work on state-building, counterinsurgency, and post-conflict reconstruction, adjudication is often considered secondary to security or the delivery of basic services. We argue that this neglect is misplaced: dispute resolution plays a critical role in the consolidation of political authority. Drawing on research in legal anthropology, political science, and our own work on premodern Europe and contemporary civil wars, we argue that effective and legitimate dispute resolution institutions help rulers gain recognition as authorities, normalize their presence in the polity, create opportunities for expanding governance roles, and facilitate critical information flows. These mechanisms, in turn, allow rulers to penetrate local society, marginalize competitors, and implement decisions across domains. We argue that adjudication is not merely a tool of governance but a central means through which aspiring rulers consolidate and expand political authority.
14. **Cooperation Capital.** With Sarah Moore. While scholars across disciplines recognize that rulers depend on certain behaviors from their subjects, we lack clear concepts to refer to a ruler’s ability to elicit these behaviors as an analytical category. The term “power” is often used to capture this capacity, but its broad usage and multiple definitions render it vague and difficult to operationalize. We propose a typology of subject behaviors that benefit rulers—obedience, compliance, conformity, and spontaneous support—and introduce the concept of *cooperation capital* to describe a ruler’s latent capacity to generate them. Although cooperation capital is not directly observable, we argue that beliefs, emotions, and preferences—common precursors to cooperative behavior—can serve as useful proxies. To illustrate the value of this framework, we focus on the state’s cooperation capital. Drawing on qualitative and quantitative evidence from Colombia, we show that cooperation capital varies substantially across sub-national units and that this variation is missed by existing measures of state capacity.
15. **Economic Inequality and Civic Participation in Weak Democracies: Micro-Level Evidence from Rural Colombia.** With Julian Arteaga, Juan Camilo Cárdenas, Ana M. Ibañez, and Patricia Justino. Rises in inequality over the last decade have revived interest in the age-old question of the effect of inequality on civic participation. But while a large literature has uncovered a negative relationship between inequality and participation in wealthy democracies, few studies have focused on weak democracies in the Global South, where the presence of clientelist relations may mediate the impact of inequality. We analyze the relationship between inequality and civic participation in Colombia, one of the most unequal countries in the world. The empirical analysis uses a longitudinal survey conducted in 2010 and 2013 across rural communities, combined with administrative data on income distribution at the individual level. The main results show that high levels of income inequality in Colombia are associated with more individual participation in community political organizations, including increased membership, meeting attendance, and assuming leadership roles. Further analysis reveals that the results are likely driven by increased clientelist exchanges, though these are not necessarily initiated by politicians. Our study opens new avenues of research on the effect of inequality on the behavior of elites, brokers, and agents in clientelist relations.

Methodology

16. **The Urgency of Data Validation in the Social Sciences.** With colleagues at the Barcelona Supercomputing Center. As AI and big data analytics become more prevalent in social science, researchers increasingly use large-scale datasets as proxies for complex phenomena without critically assessing their validity. For example, researchers might use social media data to measure political attitudes or satellite imagery to measure economic development without verifying these proxies actually capture the intended concepts. While efforts to improve data quality typically focus on technical aspects like cleaning procedures or statistical diagnostics, theoretical and case expertise is essential for evaluating whether datasets are valid proxies for the phenomena under study. We seek to develop a systematic validation protocol that guides researchers in assessing new data proxies through (i) triangulation with existing quantitative data, (ii) consultation of qualitative evidence, or (iii) collection and analysis of new data. The project also aims to create mechanisms for properly crediting qualitative scholars whose original data collection enables proxy validation.
17. **Process-Driven Natural Experiments.** With Silvia Otero. 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 of 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 multi-method approaches, and allow for exploiting in creative ways the inferential potential of natural experiments and process tracing.

Professional Talks

Keynotes and Invited Talks

125. Barcelona Institute of International Studies (IBEI) (Barcelona). “Beyond State Capacity: The Role of Non-State Governance and Adjudication in Rebel and Criminal Rule.” Research Seminar Series (February 2026).
124. ETH Zurich and University of Zurich (Switzerland). “Challenges in the Study of the Consequences of Civil War.” Center for Comparative and International Studies (CIS) Colloquium (December 2025).
123. University of Milan (Italy). “Challenges in the Study of the Consequences of Civil War.” Milan Conflict Research Seminar (December 2025).
122. Latin American and Caribbean Economic Association (LACEA) (Recife, Brazil). “Organized Crime and Violence in LAC: Insights from a Multilateral Policy Research Agenda.” Invited round-table participant (November 2025).
121. CODATA (Brisbane, Australia). “The Urgency of Data Validation in the Social Sciences.” International Data Week, Committee on Data (CODATA). Keynote Speaker (October 2025).
120. Barcelona Supercomputing Center. “Armed conflict and rural human development.” With Sarah Moore and Silvia Otero. Speaker Series at the Computational Social Sciences and Humanities unit (July 2025).
119. University of Illinois, Chicago. “The Impact of Political Killings on Political Participation: Evidence from Colombia.” Seminar on Violence Against Public Figures (March 2025).
118. Barcelona Supercomputing Center (Spain). “The Urgency of Data Validation in the Social Sciences.” Speaker Series at the Computational Social Sciences and Humanities unit (March 2025).
117. University of Chicago and University of Illinois, Chicago. “State Capacity and the Prevention of Rebel and Criminal Governance: The Centrality of Dispute Resolution Institutions.” With Andrew Saab. Workshop on State Capacity, State Formation, and Non-State Governance (November 2024).
116. Ankara Science University (Turkey). “Armed conflict and rural human development.” With Sarah Moore and Silvia Otero. workshop on Illicit Economies, Conflict, and Terrorism (October 2024).
115. Harvard University, World Bank, Inter-American Development Bank, and CAF (May 2024). “Dynamics of Organized Crime in Latin America and Some Measurement Challenges.” Conference on Organized Crime and Violence in Latin America and the Caribbean (May 2024).
114. Washington University St. Louis. “The Violent Bias in the Study of Civil War.” Comparative Politics Annual Conference (CPAC) (April 2024).
113. University of Pennsylvania. “The Violent Bias in the Study of Civil War.” Comparative Politics Workshop Series (March 2024).
112. Brown University. “Cooperation Capital.” Conference on Extra-Legal Governance in Global Perspective (October 2023).
111. Uppsala University (Sweden). “The Violent Bias in the Study of Civil War.” Peace and Conflict Research Speaker Series (September 2023).
110. Johns Hopkins University. “States and cooperation capital: a subject-based approach to state capacity.” Rethinking Political Development in the Americas Conference (May 2023).
109. COPOLAD, European Union. “Building networks for the study of drugs.” Meeting of Latin American Drug Observatories organized by the European Cooperation Program COPOLAD III (May 2023).
108. Northwestern University. “Political Life After Civil War: A Longitudinal Study of War Zones in Colombia.” Seminar, Kaplan Institute for the Humanities (April 2023).
107. University of Notre Dame. “Non-state armed governance: A critical barrier to development in Latin America.” Kellogg Institute’s 40th Anniversary (April 2023).
106. University of Toronto. “The Study of Civil War: Beyond Violence.” Frank W. Woods Lecture (March 2023).
105. University of Toronto. “Do Rebel and Criminal Groups Thrive where the State is Weak?” Seminar (March

- 2023).
104. University of Washington, Seattle. "The Violent Bias in the Study of Civil War." International Security Colloquium (March 2023).
 103. Geneva Graduate Institute (Switzerland). "Non-state armed governance: A critical barrier to wellbeing and development in Latin America." Development, Welfare and Democracy in Fragile Contexts Conference (February 2023).
 102. Oxford University (United Kingdom). "Climate Change and Violent Conflict: Mapping potential effects." Conference on Climate Protection (December 2022).
 101. Oxford University (United Kingdom). "The Violent Bias in the Study of Civil War." T. E. Lawrence Program on Conflict and Violence (December 2022).
 100. GTAL (Latin America Working Group). "Dispute Resolution: The Tool for Aspiring Rulers." With Deborah Boucoyannis (June 2022).
 99. UNU-WIDER (Colombia). "The Effects of Violence on Inequality in Latin America and the Caribbean: A Research Agenda." Conference on Reducing Inequality (October 2022).
 98. University of Syracuse. "The Legacies of Civil War on Citizens' Preferences for the Rule of Law." Rebel Governance Conference. (May 2022)
 97. UNU-WIDER (Finland). "The Legacies of Civil War on Citizens' Preferences for the Rule of Law." Conference on "The puzzle of Peace." (May 2022).
 96. Columbia University, Public Lecture, Society of Fellows. "Wartime Order and Its Legacies" (May 2022).
 95. Latin American and Caribbean Studies, Northwestern University. "Violent Margins: Concepts, People Places" (April 2022).
 94. Brazilian Multidisciplinary Association for the Study of Drugs. "Drug Policy in Latin America" (November 2021).
 93. The Hertie School (Germany). "The Violent Bias in Civil War Studies." International Security Research Colloquium (October 2021).
 92. APSA Roundtable on the Future of Civil War Studies. Annual Meeting of the Political Science Association (September 2021).
 91. United Nations Development Program. "The Effects of Violence on Inequality in Latin America and the Caribbean: A Research Agenda." (July 2021)
 90. Vanderbilt University. "The Violent Bias in Civil War Studies." Comparative Politics Workshop (November 2020).
 89. New York University El Rosario University. "The multiple logics of violence." Colombia: Peace Building and Persistence of Violence Symposium (November 2020).
 88. 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)
 87. CESED, Los Andes University (Colombia). "Drug trafficking, massacres, and local orders." (September 2020).
 86. La Silla Vacía (Colombian news website), seminar for leaders. "Drug trafficking, conflict and local orders: From rebel to criminal governance." (September 2020)
 85. Latin American and Caribbean Cluster, Northwestern University. "The Violent Bias in Civil War Studies." (May 2020).
 84. Yale University, Political Violence and its Legacies workshop. "The Violent Bias in Civil War Studies." (February 2020).
 83. Institute for Public Policy, Northwestern University. "The Violent Bias in Civil War Studies." (November 2019).
 82. Latin American Economics Association (Mexico). Violence and Inequality. Roundtable for UNDP Regional Report. (November 2019).
 81. 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).
 80. Gottingen University (Germany). "The Violent Bias in Civil War Studies." Keynote Lecture, Workshop on Behavioral Insights in Development and Peace Building (August 2019).

79. 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).
78. Harvard University. "The Violent Bias in Civil War Studies." Comparative Politics Workshop (April 2019).
77. 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).
76. Universidad ICESI (Colombia). "Social Order in Civil War." (February 2019)
75. University of Amsterdam, Public Lecture. "Social Order in Civil War." (September 2018)
74. Pontificia Universidad Católica del Perú. "Colombia's Transition to Peace: Challenges at the Local Level" (October 2018)
73. Pontificia Universidad Católica del Perú. "Bias in the Study of Violence in Contexts of Armed Conflict" (October 2018)
72. Conflict Research Society, Keynote Speaker, Birmingham (UK). "Rebelocracy: Social Order in the Colombian Civil War." Conflict Research Society Annual Conference (September 2018).
71. Los Andes University, CEDE seminar, Colombia. "The Impact of Political Killings on Democracy and Governance: Evidence from Colombia." (August 2018)
70. 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).
69. MIT. "The Violent Bias in Civil War Studies." Comparative Politics Workshop (April 2018).
68. New York University (Abu Dhabi). "The Effects of Selective Violence on Political Participation." Conference on the Legacies of Violence (April 2018).
67. Barnard College. "State Capacity and the Prevention of Rebel and Criminal Governance: The Centrality of Dispute Resolution Institutions." Conference on Criminal Governance (February 2018).
66. CIDE (Mexico). "Memory workshops as a tool to measure contextual factors in violence research." Conference on Documenting Criminal Violence (October 2017).
65. University of York (UK). "An Institutional Approach to Civil War Recruitment: Evidence from Colombia and Kosovo." Department of Political Science (June 2017).
64. University of Notre Dame. "Rebelocracy: Social Order in the Colombian Civil War." Conference on Organized Crime and Large-Scale Criminal Violence (May 2017).
63. Yale University. "Rebelocracy: Social Order in the Colombian Civil War." Program on Order, Conflict and Violence (May 2017).
62. Princeton University. "State Capacity and the Prevention of Rebel and Criminal Governance: The Centrality of Dispute Resolution Institutions." Comparative Politics Workshop (April 2017).
61. 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).
60. University of Chicago. "An Institutional Approach to Civil War Recruitment: Evidence from Colombia and Kosovo." Program on International Security Policy (February 2017).
59. University of Chicago. "The Colombian Armed Conflict: Origins, Dynamics, and the Referendum." Latin American Matters (January 2017).
58. University of Chicago. "Conducting Fieldwork in Contexts of Violence." Latin American and Caribbean Studies (January 2017).
57. Universidad Tecnológica de Bolívar (Cartagena, Colombia). "Local Governance and New Local Orders in Conflict Zones." Peace Lecture (December 2016).
56. University of Texas, Austin. "Reflections on Colombia's Peace Agreement: The Preferences of Conflict Zones." LLILAS Benson Latin American Studies and Collections (November 2016).
55. Northwestern University. "Reflections on Colombia's Peace Agreement: The Preferences of Conflict Zones." Latin American and Caribbean Studies (November 2016).
54. University of Chicago. "Rebel Governance, Wartime Order and Justice Institutions." Workshop on Rebel Courts, Harris School and Law School (October 2016).
53. Indiana University Bloomington. "Politics in Latin America." NIC Global Report (July 2016).
52. 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).

50. University of Notre Dame. "Measuring Informal Institutions in Violent Contexts: Memory Workshops and Surveys." Kellogg Institute (May 2016).
49. University of Notre Dame. "Drugs and Politics: Challenges for Latin America." Kellogg Institute (May 2016).
48. Ohio State University. "State Capacity and the Prevention of Non-state Armed Governance." Comparative Politics Workshop (April 2016).
47. Yale University. Roundtable. Conference on Micro-comparative Studies of 20th-Century Conflicts (April 2016).
46. 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).
45. Ministry of Justice (Colombia). "The Presence and Governance of the FARC vis-à-vis the Post-conflict Period in Colombia." (March 2016).
44. 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).
43. University of Notre Dame. "Civilian Agency in Civil War." Kellogg Institute (January 2016).
42. 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).
41. Duke University and the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill. "Social Order in Civil War." Latin American Politics Working Group (November 2015).
40. University of Michigan, Ann Arbor. "Social Order in Civil War." Comparative Politics Workshop (November 2015).
39. 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).
38. University of Denver. "Non-state Territorial Armed Groups and State Capacity." Sié Research Seminar, Josef Korbel School of International Studies (October 2015).
37. Ohio Wesleyan University. "Opposition to the War on Drugs: A Widespread Movement?" Invited Lecture, International Studies Program Speaker Series (September 2015).
36. CIDE (Mexico). "Social Order in Civil War." Comparative Politics Workshop (December 2015).
35. EAFIT (Medellín, Colombia.) "Social Order in Civil War." Keynote Speaker, Conference on Measurement of Insecurity and Sociability (July 2015).
34. EAFIT and Los Andes University (Medellín, Colombia). "Measuring Local Orders" (July 2015).
33. Brown University. "Reintegration of Ex-combatants: The Importance of Local Dynamics." BIARI (June 2015).
32. Penn State University. "Social Order in Civil War." Comparative Politics Workshop (May 2015).
31. 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).
30. University of Virginia. "Social Order in Civil War." Seminar Series on Internal War (April 2015).
29. Indiana University (Bloomington). "Identities in Latin America and the War on Drugs." Global Trends Workshop (March 2015).
28. MIT. "Social Order in Civil War." Security Studies Program Seminar and Comparative Politics Speaker Series (November 2014).
27. 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).
26. Harvard University. "Civilian Agency in Civil War: Concepts, Contexts and Mechanisms." Conference on Subnational Research (March 2014).
25. 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).
24. Brown University. "Social Order in Civil War." Conference on Subnational Research in Comparative Politics (May 2013).
23. Northwestern University. "Recruitment in Civil War: An Institutional Approach." The Lunch Colloquium of the Kaplan Institute for the Humanities (May 2013).

22. University of Michigan, Ann Arbor. "Social Order in Civil War." Conference on Power, Legitimacy and Authoritarian Rule in Postwar Regimes (April 2013).
21. Northwestern University. "Social Order in Civil War." Latin American and Caribbean Studies Colloquium (February 2013).
20. University of Chicago. "Social Order in Civil War." Comparative Politics Workshop (November 2012).
19. Northwestern University,. "Democracy and Civil War," with Mario Chacón. Political Parties Working Group (October 2012).
18. Los Andes University and Harvard University. "Social Order in Civil War." Conference on New Perspectives on Violence in Colombia (May 2012).
17. Yale University. "Democracy and Civil War," with Mario Chacón. Conference on Militias and Paramilitaries (October 2012).
16. Columbia University. "Social Order in Civil War." Earth Institute (2011).
15. University of Wisconsin, Madison. "Social Order in Civil War." Department of Political Science (December 2010).
14. Northwestern University. "Social Order in Civil War." Department of Political Science (November 2010).
13. Stony Brook University. "Social Order in Civil War." Andean Studies Group (September 2010).
12. 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).
11. CINEP (Colombia). "Armed Groups, Communities, and Local Orders: An Inter-relational Approach." Conference on Towards Rebuilding the Country (January 2008).
10. Yale University. "Civilian Collaboration and Local Orders in Civil War." Comparative Politics Workshop (November 2007).
9. 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).
8. Yale University. "Testing Theories of Recruitment by Armed Groups: Survey Evidence from Colombia," with Stathis Kalyvas. Comparative Politics Workshop (September 2006).
7. Fedesarrollo and the Conflict Analysis Resource Center (Bogotá, Colombia). "Results of a Survey with Demobilized Combatants in Colombia" (2006).
6. Javeriana University (Bogotá, Colombia). "Results of a Survey with Demobilized Combatants in Colombia." (May 2006).
5. World Bank. "Understanding Recruitment in Civil Wars." Children and Youth Unit (January 2006).
4. Columbia University. "Emotions and Civil Wars." Invited talk at Professor Jon Elster's Seminar on Emotions and Political Science (December 2005).
3. 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).
2. 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).
1. Yale University. "A Theory of Recruitment in Civil War." Workshop of the Program on Order, Violence and Conflict (February 2005).

Selected Professional Conference Presentations

32. American Political Science Association, Annual Conference, Vancouver. "Do Rebel and Criminal Governance Thrive Where the State is Weak? The Importance of Governance Quality and Dispute Resolution." With Andrew Saab (September 2025).
31. 24th Jan Tinbergen European Peace Science Conference, Barcelona (Spain). "Do Rebel and Criminal Governance Thrive Where the State is Weak? The Importance of Governance Quality and Dispute Resolution." With Andrew Saab (June 2025).
30. American Political Science Association, Annual Conference, Philadelphia. "Reflecting on 20 Years of Order, Conflict and Violence Research." Roundtable (September 2024).
29. American Political Science Association, Annual Conference, Philadelphia. "What makes a great paper? A conversation with the Editors-in-Chief of Perspectives on Politics." With Wendy Pearlman (September 2024).
28. Latin American Studies Association, Annual Conference, Bogotá. "Subnational Inequality After Armed

- Conflict: Mapping a Research Agenda.” With Sarah Moore and Silvia Otero (June 2024).
27. International Economic Association, Annual Conference, Medellin. “The Impact of Political Killings on Political Participation: Evidence from Colombia.” With Laura Garcia-Montoya and Mario Chacón (December 2023).
 26. Conflict Research Society, Annual Conference, London. “Recruitment An institutionalist approach to civil war recruitment: Evidence from Colombia and Kosovo” (September 2023).
 25. International Studies Association Annual Meeting, Montreal. Roundtable on the Intersection of Quantitative and Qualitative Studies of Rebel Governance (March 2023).
 24. Latin American Studies Association Annual Meeting (virtual). “A research agenda on gender and data collection on civil war phenomena” (April 2022).
 23. American Political Science Association Annual Meeting, Boston. “Process-driven Natural Experiments.” (Non-presenting coauthor) (September 2018)
 22. American Political Science Association Annual Meeting, San Francisco. “Rebelocracy: Social Order in the Colombian Civil War.” Author meets critics roundtable (September 2017)
 21. 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)
 20. Latin American Studies Association Annual Meeting, Lima (Peru). “Rebelocracy: Social Order in the Colombian Civil War.” Book presentation (April 2017).
 19. Midwest Political Science Association Annual Meeting, Chicago. “Rebelocracy: Social Order in the Colombian Civil War.” Author meets critics roundtable (April 2017)
 18. Latin American Studies Association Annual Meeting, New York. “State Capacity, Civilian Agency, and the Prevention of Non-state Armed Governance” (May 2016).
 17. Folke Bernadotte Academy, Conference Research for Peace, Stockholm (Sweden). “The Centrality of Local Courts: Wartime Dynamics and Post-Conflict Dynamics” (June 2015).
 16. Latin American Studies Association Annual Meeting, Puerto Rico. “The Institutional Legacies of War: Challenges and Opportunities in the Post-conflict Period” (May 2015).
 15. Latin American Studies Association Annual Meeting, Chicago. Roundtable “Rethinking Order and Violence: Views from Latin America” (May 2014).
 14. Latin American Studies Association Annual Meeting, Chicago. “Recruitment in Civil War: An Institutional Approach” (May 2014).
 13. Folke Bernadotte Academy, Peace Keeping Operations Working Group, New York University. “Western Foreign Fighters: The Kosovar Case” (October, 2014).
 12. 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).
 11. American Political Science Association Annual Meeting, Chicago. “Civilian Resistance to Rebel Governance” (September 2013).
 10. 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).
 9. Folke Bernadotte Academy, Peace Keeping Operations Working Group, Stockholm (Sweden). “Recruitment in Civil War: An Institutional Approach” (February 2011).
 8. 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).
 7. American Political Science Association Annual Meeting, Washington DC. “Social Order in Civil War” (September 2010).
 6. 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).
 5. Folke Bernadotte Academy, Peace Keeping Operations Working Group, New York University. “Community-Based Reintegration in Colombia: Lessons for the International Community” (November 2008).
 4. 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).

3. International Studies Association Annual Meeting, Chicago. “Rebelling against Rebellion: Comparing Insurgent and Counterinsurgent Recruitment,” with Stathis Kalyvas (February 2007).
2. American Political Science Association Annual Meeting, Philadelphia. “Testing Theories of Recruitment by Armed Groups: Survey Evidence from Colombia,” with Stathis Kalyvas (August 2006).
1. 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-Review And Related Activities

- **Reviewer for journals:** American Journal of Political Science; American Political Science Review; Journal of Politics; World Politics; Perspectives on Politics; Journal of Peace Research; Journal of Conflict Resolution; Comparative Politics; Comparative Political Studies; Security 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; Civil Wars; 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; International Journal of Drug Policy; Journal of Illicit Economies and Development; 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 European Research Council (ERC); The World Bank; The Swiss National Science Foundation; The Dutch Research Council (NWO, Netherlands); and The Royal Swedish Academy of Sciences (Sweden).
- **Prize committees:** Conflict Research Society Book of the Year Award, 2019; Best Book Award, Conflict Processes, APSA, 2022; Alejandro Angel Escobar Foundation’s Science Awards, 2024.
- **External reader for dissertations:** University of Toronto (Canada); University of Oxford (UK); University of Edinburgh (UK); Center for Security Studies (CSS), ETH Zurich.
- **Discussant at book conferences:** Marco Alcocer, Harvard University; Apekshya Prasai, Brown University; Andreas Feldman and Juan Pablo Luna, Cambridge University Press; Danielle Giblert, Northwestern University; Shelley Liu, University of California, Berkeley; Kathleen Klaus, Buffett Institute, 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 and Private Sectors

- World Bank. Member of the Advisory Committee, Organized Crime and Violence in Latin America and the Caribbean, joint initiative of the World Bank, the Inter-American Development Bank (IDB), and the Development Bank of Latin America (CAF) (2024–2025).
- Special Jurisdiction for Peace (JEP), Colombia. Research Consultant. Conducting research to inform decisions about interventions to protect victim organizations (2024–present).
- World Bank. Author of background policy document on criminal governance in Latin America (with Andreas Feldmann, 2025).
- World Bank. Author of background paper on the effects of armed conflict on subnational inequality (with Sarah Moore and Silvia Otero, 2024).
- United Nations Development Program, New York. Author of background paper on violence and inequality for the Regional Human Development Report for Latin America and the Caribbean (2020).
- The Atlantic Council. Background research for policy report on U.S.-Colombia bilateral relations led by two U.S. senators (2019).
- Center for Historic Memory, Colombia. Consulting on design of survey with former members of paramilitary groups (2015).

Professional Affiliations and Service

Research networks and dissemination of research

- Founder and Director of the Network for the Study of Drugs in Latin America ([REDES DAL](#)).
- Founding member of the Working Group on Non-State Armed Governance, with Desmond Arias (CUNY), Zachariah Mampilly (CUNY), and Eduardo Moncada (Barnard College, Columbia University) (2022-present).
- Member of the working group on Settings of Political Violence for the Qualitative Transparency Deliberations (2017).
- Member of the Peace Keeping Operations Working Group and the Mediation for Prevention and Peacemaking Working Group, organized by the Folke Bernadotte Academy (Sweden) (2006–2020).
- Permanent contributor of Political Violence @ a Glance, a blog to disseminate research on violence (2016–2021).
- Permanent contributor of Foco Economico, a blog to disseminate research findings on economics in Latin America (2011–2024).

Organized conferences and workshops

- REDES DAL International Conferences: Bogotá (2025, 2018), virtual (2021), Mexico City (2019).
- Non-State Armed Governance: Penn State (2025, with Arias, Loyle, Mampilly, Moncada); Barnard College (2024, with Arias, Mampilly, Moncada).
- Comparative Politics Workshop, Northwestern University (2013–15, 2016–17, 2023–24, 2025–26); CESED Workshop, Los Andes University (2018–19); Civilian Agency in Armed Conflicts, Northwestern (2013).
- Rebel Governance (with Kasfir and Mampilly): Dartmouth (2010), Yale (2009).

Editorial Boards and Executive Committees

- *Latin American Politics and Society*, Editorial Board (2023–present); *Journal of Illicit Economies and Development*, LSE, Editorial Board (2018–2020).
- Guest Editor: *Cuadernos de Economía*, bilingual issue on Post-Conflict Colombia (2019); *Revista Política y Gobierno*, first bilingual issue, CIDE (2016).
- *Colombian Studies Initiative*, NYU and El Rosario University, Executive Committee (2022).

Professional affiliations and service

- Affiliations: American Political Science Association (APSA); Latin American Studies Association (LASA);
- Selection Committee, Al Capone Conference on Organized Crime Finances, 2024
- Volunteer Mentor for Graduate Students, LASA Annual Meeting, 2024
- Chair, Nominating Committee, APSA Qualitative and Multi-Method Research Section, 2022–2023
- Committee Chair, APSA Conflict Processes Best Book Award, 2022
- Section Chair, LASA, 2019
- Program Committee, Society for Institutional and Organizational Economics, 2018

Teaching

- **Undergraduate courses:** Drugs and Politics (Lecture); The Legacies of Civil War: A Study Through Film and Social Science (Seminar); Non-state Armed Groups (Seminar); Civilians in War (Seminar); Drugs: Culture, History, Politics (Lecture and Seminar, co-taught with Professors Lina Britto, History, and Mark Hauser, Anthropology).
- **Graduate courses:** Civil War and its Legacies; Research Design; Civil War: Microfoundations and Local Dynamics; Non-State Governance.

Department, College, And University Service

- **Department of Political Science:** Faculty searches (IR 2024, CP 2023); CP Workshop Coordinator (2013–15, 2016–17, 2023–24, 2025-2026); CP Field Chair (2019–20, 2021–22); Department Advisory Committee (2016–17, 2019–20, 2020–21, 2024–25); Graduate Admissions Committee (2017–18, 2020–21).
- **WCAS and Northwestern:** LACS Steering Committee (2017–18, 2020–22, 2025); LACS Director of Graduate Studies (2021–22); two ad hoc tenure promotion committees; Buffett Grant Review (2023); EDGS Faculty Associate; IPR Fellow.

Public Service and Government Advisory Roles

- Expert witness, Constitutional Court of Colombia hearing on peace negotiations (2023).
- Pro-bono Commissioner, Social Sciences, Human Development and Equality group, Colombia's Science, Innovation, and Technology Mission (2019).
- Advisory Board, *Alas para la Gente* (Colombian Foundation) (since 2023).

Languages

- Spanish: native speaker.
- English: fluent.
- Catalan: advanced comprehension (reading and listening); basic speaking.
- French: basic (reading proficiency).