

Applicant: Enzo Nussio

Title: Fear, Distrust and Protection in Violent Societies

Overview

Within the context of fear, distrust and protection in violent societies, this proposal includes three separate but related projects. The first two projects are in advanced phases. Both are thematically related to my doctoral research about former illegal combatants, but use different theoretical and methodological approaches. One focuses on trust of state institutions, the other on illegal collective protection mechanisms. The third project is still in a relatively early stage and integrates the concepts of fear, distrust and protection into one theoretical framework.

- *Project 1: Trusting the Enemy – Determinants of Confidence in State Institutions among Ex-Combatants* (with Ben Oppenheim, UC Berkeley). This project is based on a survey with former combatants of illegal armed groups in Colombia (1485 ex-members of guerrilla and paramilitary groups). It intends to identify the determinants of their level of trust in state institutions. Ex-combatants can be seen as an extreme case of distrustful people since not only rhetorically, but by their very act of taking up arms, they have proven their disagreement with the legitimacy of the state. Constructing trust in state institutions is hence a crucial issue in the aftermath of their participation in political conflict in order to prevent reengagement in violent behavior.
- *Project 2: Breakdown of Protection or New Contestation? Reasons for Urban Violence after Illegal Armed Group Demobilization* (with Kimberly Howe, Tufts University). This project draws on a mixed methods design and explores the case of the paramilitary demobilization in Colombia. Although the demobilization of illegal armed groups is commonly used as a violence reduction strategy, our municipality-level panel database suggests that the paramilitary demobilization did not have a beneficial impact on homicide rates. In order to understand this unfavorable development more closely, a case study identifies the causal mechanisms relating demobilization to violence in urban contexts. Among other explanations, the breakdown of the earlier protection system provided by the paramilitaries may account for this evolution.
- *Project 3: Fear in Violent Societies – Constructing a Multidisciplinary Theoretical Framework*. Systematic research on fear (especially *fear of crime*) has often focused on countries with relatively low violence rates. This project looks at fear in violent societies and how it relates to distrust and protection (benefiting from findings of Project 1 and 2). The three concepts have been separately analyzed in a wide range of disciplines. However, the aim of this project is to combine them in an integrated theoretical framework. I hypothesize that high fear and low trust levels in violent societies lead predominantly to either individual avoidance behavior or informal collective protection strategies. Both strategies may have detrimental effects on a societal level and perpetuate violence.

Context of violent societies

Literature on violence understood as "deliberate infliction of harm on people" (Kalyvas 2006, 19) has frequently looked at certain types of violence like social, economic, political and institutional violence, or violence resulting from conflict and violence resulting from crime (for definitions and types of violence, see also WHO 2002). These typologies may limit our understanding if we are to explain the underlying common structures of violent societies (Eisner 2009). For example in the literature on war, "the archetype of organized violence" (Shaw 2009), various authors have overcome a strict war peace dichotomy (Keen 2000; Richards 2005). Richards claims that it is necessary to shift the emphasis away from "answering the question 'what triggered war'" and instead placing "more emphasis on exploring how people *make* war and peace" in "no war, no peace" societies (Richards 2005, 13). Similarly, I am not so much interested in what triggers violence in the first place but how violent societies work. By violent society, I mean *societies with protractedly high levels of diverse types of violence*. The intractability of violence has mostly been analyzed in the context of armed conflict. "Protracted social conflict" (Azar 1990; Ramsbotham 2005), "intractable conflict" (P. Coleman 2003; Crocker, Hampson, and Aall 2005; B. Gray, Coleman, and Putnam 2007) or "conflict trap" (Collier et al. 2003) are some of the related terms used in conflict literature. However, societies may have a history of prolonged violence that persists after the formal ending of war or that emerged without even experiencing political conflict (Geneva Declaration 2008; Mac Ginty 2008; Moser and McIlwaine 2001; Muggah and Krause 2009).

Many Latin American countries may be seen as such violent societies. Imbusch, Misse and Carrión (2011, 88) claim that, "no other region in the world shows [...] such a variety of different types and forms of violence." With respect to homicide, the "absolute violence" (Sofsky 1996), the "Global Burden of Armed Violence" Report (Geneva Declaration 2008) states that in 2004 (the most recent year with comprehensive data), the highest homicide rates were concentrated in Central and South America, together with Southern Africa (for violence in Southern Africa, see Baregu and Landsberg 2003). The

homicide rates in Central and South America fell within a range of 20 to more than 30 homicides per 100'000 people, while the World average was between 7 and 8 homicides per 100'000 people. These high levels of violence in Latin America are due to large social inequalities, poverty, social exclusion, fragile legitimacy of the state, extensive corruption, high levels of impunity, large-scale organized crime, easy availability of weapons, youth unemployment etc. (Buvinic, Morrison, and Shifter 1999; Frühling, Tulchin, and Golding 2003; Imbusch, Misse, and Carrión 2011; Koonings and Kruijt 2004; Mathieu and Niño 2010; Moser and McIlwaine 2004; Tella, Edwards, and Schargrodsky 2010). According to the Latinobarómetro, insecurity has consequently become the most pressing social problem in the past decade in many Latin American countries (The Economist 2010).

Colombia, the case I rely most heavily on for empirical analysis, can be seen as a "textbook example" (Koonings and Kruijt 1999, 11) of a violent society: "Not only the military, the paramilitaries, the guerrillas, and the drug cartels use violence as a matter of course; also at lower levels of society, violence can mean a career or an instrument for social mobility, or even an instrument for reversing traditional social hierarchies." Terms such as the "banality of violence" (Pécaut 1999), "culture of violence" (Waldmann 2007), "system of violence" (Richani 2002), or "tradition of violence" (Martin 2000) have been coined for the Colombian context. Explanations for Colombian conflict and criminal violence include political exclusion (Chernick 1999; Leal Buitrago 1984), state weakness (Kline 2003; McDougall 2009; Rangel 2000; Rubio 1999; Vargas 2004), presence of easily lootable resources (McDougall 2009; Thoumi 1995), economic inequality (Giugale, Lafourcade, and Luff 2003; Reyes 2009; Sarmiento 1999; UNDP 2003), a generous environment for crime (Beltrán and Salcedo 2007) and the mentioned system or culture of violence. As a consequence, Colombia looks back on decades of consistently high homicide rates – above 20 per 100'000 people and with peaks of up to 80 in the early 1990s (Bello 2008). An earlier period of extraordinarily high violence levels was the civil war of the 1940s and 1950s with the telling name of "La Violencia" (Guzmán Campos, Fals Borda, and Umaña Luna 1963), which left 200'000 dead people (Roldán 2002).

Project 1: Trusting the Enemy – Determinants of Confidence in State Institutions among Ex-Combatants

Collaborative project with Ben Oppenheim, advanced PhD candidate at UC Berkeley

State of the art

Trust in state institutions has been discussed in many writings. This project is about a specific type of actor – ex-combatants – and their level of trust towards the state. The creation of trust in state institutions may be seen as a crucial element in their process of reintegration into civil society. According to my earlier research, "the reintegration program opens a window of opportunity for the creation of confidence in state institutions. It reaches people who have been neglected by the state in the past" (Nussio 2011, 176). In this sense, disarmament, demobilization and reintegration (DDR) (United Nations 2006a; Stockholm Initiative 2006; CCDDR 2009) as part of a larger peacebuilding framework is a state-building activity (Little 2008; Rocha Menocal 2009; Söderström 2011).

Earlier research identified that political inclusion of ex-combatants and the level of satisfaction with promises made during the demobilization process, are important factors in the relation of ex-combatants to state institutions. Writings so far, on political inclusion have mostly focused on the group level – the transformation of armed groups into political parties (Guáqueta 2007; Kruijt 2009; Söderberg 2007). Other studies moved the attention to the individual level of participation in political processes and understand ex-combatants as citizens (Gomes Porto, Parsons, and Alden 2007; Mitton 2008; Söderström 2011). Often mentioned in DDR literature are the unkept promises that affect the relation between ex-combatants and the state (Jennings 2007; Humphreys and Weinstein 2004; Schafer 2007; Springer 2005). Jennings goes so far as to claim that dissatisfied soldiers in Liberia may return to illegal activities.

In my dissertation (Nussio 2011), I distinguish between different levels of commitment to the state. These levels of commitment depend on the continuous interactions, the perception of kept or unkept promises and the expectation of an efficient state. As a starting point, the commitment levels depend on the ex-combatants' perception of the demobilization – whether they were in agreement with the process or not. Despite the existing knowledge on the relation of ex-combatants to the state described above, a systematic quantitative inquiry on this topic with extensive survey material has not existed as yet.

Research question and hypotheses

The present project intends to establish the determinants of trust in the state among former combatants of illegal armed groups. I understand trust as described in Gambetta (1988a, 217): "Trust is a particular level of the subjective probability with which an agent assesses that another agent or group of agents will

perform a particular action, both before he can monitor such action (or independently of his capacity ever to be able to monitor it) and in a context in which it affects his own action." By the state, we refer both to an entity that claims the legitimate use of violence (Weber 1992) and to a set of public institutions. Correspondingly, "when citizens [...] say they trust an institution, they are declaring a belief that, on average, its agents will prove to be trustworthy" (Levi 1998, 80).

In the following paragraphs, I present some of the preliminary hypotheses that may guide our analysis. They all respond to the general research question "which factors determine the level of trust towards the state among former illegal combatants?" From the above-mentioned DDR literature, we identify at least two hypotheses: Ex-combatants who feel included into the political system will have greater trust in state institutions (*Hypothesis 1*) and ex-combatants who are satisfied with the DDR benefits will have greater trust as well (*H2*). Apart from the input of DDR literature, we want to explore a series of hypotheses from other theoretical origins. Social capital theory is an important source for the establishment of hypotheses in this context (Colletta and Cullen 2000; Leff 2008). Based on this literature (especially Brehm and Rahn 1997), we may claim that ex-combatants who are actively tied to civil society and community organizations will have greater trust (*H3*). However, in the context of Colombia, "perverse social capital" (Rubio 1997) rather than the absence of social capital may lead people to engage in illegal activities and distrust the state. Persistent ex-combatant networks dedicated to illegal behavior may be seen as such perverse social capital (see also Humphreys and Weinstein 2007; Nussio 2011; de Vries and Wiegink 2011). Hence, ex-combatants who maintain social ties predominantly to members of their former armed groups may have lower trust in state institutions (*H4*). Related to perverse social capital, we also hypothesize that an early socialization into a "culture of violence" (Waldmann 2007) will lead to low levels of trust in state institutions (*H5*).

Further elements for the construction of hypotheses may be found in Levi (1998). Among others, she mentions fair procedures, antagonism and effective coercion as determinants of trust. Similar to the first point, Tyler et al. (2012) find that fair processes or "procedural justice" enhance trust between citizens and the police, while unfair procedures and corruption might have a contrary effect (Rose-Ackerman 2001; Söderström 2011). Accordingly, ex-combatants who experienced corruption during the demobilization and reintegration process will have lower trust in state institutions (*H6*). Antagonistic beliefs may be found among insurgents who pursued a different political model during their time in the illegal armed group (S. Gates 2002; Kalyvas 2006; Ugarriza 2009). Ex-combatants who are antagonistic will show low levels of trust (*H7*). Similar to the findings of my dissertation, Levi argues that trust in state institutions depends also on the capacity and legitimacy of the state (see also Rotberg 2004). Related to this literature, ex-combatants who perceive the state to be effective in maintaining security and control will have higher trust levels (*H8*). Conversely, ex-combatants who feel that their security has degraded since leaving the war will have lower trust in the state. Finally, if people feel that the state works in their interest, are more trustful (Hardin 1998). We try to approach this general assertion with two hypotheses about the economic status of ex-combatants. Former combatants who are gainfully employed following demobilization will have higher trust in the state (*H9*) and ex-combatants who feel their economic status has improved since they left the war will have higher trust as well (*H10*).

Methods

The present study is based on the Colombian case of DDR (for a description of this process, see Morgenstein 2008; Munévar and Nussio 2009; E. M. Restrepo and Bagley 2011; J. Restrepo and Muggah 2009; Theidon and Betancourt 2006). Although Colombia is institutionally stronger and economically more developed than most other DDR countries, it provides us with some interesting conditions for the aforementioned hypotheses. Most importantly, the Colombian case gives us the opportunity to compare between former left-wing and right-wing soldiers (guerrilla vs. paramilitaries). The impact of ideological antagonism towards the state should thus become visible. Since the armed conflict in Colombia persists, state presence is incomplete and contested in some areas (McDougall 2009). This may have a differentiated impact on the effective monopoly of violence. Different from earlier demobilization processes in Colombia during the 1990s, the massive demobilization of ex-combatants since 2002 has lacked an explicit dimension of political reintegration (Guáqueta 2007; Palou and Llorente 2009). Political inclusion on a group level is hence absent which may have implications on the individual inclusion in political scenarios and its effect on trust. Also, dissatisfaction about the DDR benefits has become a predominant discourse in some areas (Denissen 2010).

The hypotheses will be tested with a survey conducted in 2008 by the *Fundación Ideas para la Paz* (FIP) in collaboration with the government agency *Alta Consejería para la Reintegración*. This database is larger in size, more comprehensive in terms of covered topics and closer to a representative sample than the existing databases on ex-combatants in Colombia (Arjona and Kalyvas 2009; Gutiérrez Sanín 2008; Villegas 2009). Despite its impressive content, it has not been analyzed so far. Thanks to a well-

established contact, the FIP granted access to this database (see contract about the authorization in an additional attachment). A standardized questionnaire was applied to a representative sample of 1485 demobilized guerilla fighters and paramilitary combatants. The dataset includes 842 former paramilitary fighters of the AUC (United Self-Defense Forces of Colombia), 487 former rebels of the FARC-guerrilla (Revolutionary Armed Forces of Colombia), and 119 former insurgents of the ELN (National Liberation Army). About half of the surveyed people demobilized individually (mostly guerrilla fighters), the other half attended collective demobilization ceremonies following an order of their commanders (mostly the case for paramilitaries). The questionnaire contains a wide range of topics such as general characteristics of the demobilized persons, the context prior to recruitment into the armed group, recruitment modalities and activities within the group, the disarmament and demobilization process, social and economic reintegration, interaction with reintegration program officials, and the perception of the state. Specific questions about how much ex-combatants trust in different institutions and the state in general allow us to construct the dependent variable while other questions related to social capital, state legitimacy, economic and social reintegration provide the information for our independent variables. We are hence able to find evidence for all the mentioned hypotheses in this very detailed database.

Relevance of the project

Ex-combatants play an important role in the security situation of post-demobilization countries. Due to their skills and earlier lifestyle, they may be tempted to return to illegal activities. Also, they are the ones who fundamentally questioned and even confronted the core element of the state – its monopoly of violence – by illegally taking up arms. Reintegrating them into society should also mean (re-)constructing trust in state institutions. Apart from other elements of social and political reintegration often mentioned in DDR literature, trust in the state might be seen as a crucial prevention mechanism for recidivism. Hence, identifying the determinants of trust might help to improve existing reintegration policies in Colombia and elsewhere. An improved trusting relationship driven by more efficient program design may also contribute to the prevention of criminal activity and hence to post-conflict stability.

Intended publications

Together with Ben Oppenheim, I hope to present an early draft version of this project at two congresses: the Annual Convention of the International Studies Association (ISA) in San Diego (April 1-4, 2012) and the International Congress of the Latin American Studies Association (LASA) in San Francisco (May 23-26, 2012). Since this project is already in a relatively advanced state, we plan to submit an article in the second half of 2012 after finishing the data analysis. We target a high-ranking, international journal in the field of conflict, peace and security studies like the *Journal of Peace Research*, the *Journal of Conflict Resolution* or *Security Studies*. A Spanish version of this article may be published in the Working Paper Series of the *Fundación Ideas para la Paz* or in a Colombian journal like *Colombia Internacional*. If time allows, a second article may be elaborated with the same database – most probably about reasons for joining, staying in and leaving illegal armed groups.

Project 2: Breakdown of Protection or Renewed Contestation? Reasons for Urban Violence after Illegal Armed Group Demobilization

Collaborative project with Kimberly Howe, advanced PhD candidate at Tufts University

State of the art

A large number of countries engaging in disarmament, demobilization and reintegration (DDR) initiatives still face high levels of violence (Geneva Declaration 2008; Moser and McIlwaine 2001; Muggah and Krause 2009; Muggah 2005; Steenkamp 2011). Ex-combatants are seen as partially responsible for persisting levels of insecurity. In most DDR countries, there are cases of former combatants involved in the remobilization of armed groups, formation of new criminal organizations, small-scale delinquency or cross-border mercenary activities. Various researchers have tried to explain the re-emergence of violence after demobilization, mostly for the individual level. They generally ask why ex-combatants recidivate in violence. Ribetti (2009) states for the case of Colombia that ex-combatants who took the independent decision of demobilizing (mostly former guerrilla fighters) are less likely to reengage in violence than those who followed an order (like most of the former paramilitaries). Bøås and Hatløy (2008) hold that security concerns might explain the reengagement of former combatants drawing on evidence from Liberia. Other studies on individual motivations for recidivism include for example, Christensen and Utas (2008), Hill et al. (2008), Mashike (2007), Munévar and Nussio (2009), and Nussio (2009; Forthcoming), giving account of economic, social and political factors. Literature on a meso or organizational level is scarce so far, exceptions are Nilsson (2008) with his network approach for the cases of Congo and Sierra

Leone, and Rozema (2008) who describes the persisting criminal networks after the paramilitary demobilization in Medellín. Other research focuses on a more structural level of war-recurrence like Stedman's "spoilers" (1997), Collier et al.'s "conflict trap" (2003) or Walter's "third party guarantees" (2001).

Literature about the transformation of violence in urban spaces after the demobilization of illegal armed groups is almost inexistent (exceptions that allude to this problematic include Lamb 2010; Palou and Llorente 2009; Rozema 2008; and a study to which I contributed: Massé et al. 2011), although most ex-combatants end up in urban environments in search of economic opportunities and anonymity (Nussio 2011). There are some contributions to the culture of violence literature with an urban focus that explore the legacy of violence after conflicts (Moser and McIlwaine 2001; Steenkamp 2005). However, the question of why certain cities experience an increasing level of violence after the demobilization of illegal armed groups has not been explored so far. This is surprising since the most important objective of DDR processes is to "contribute to security and stability in post-conflict situations" (United Nations 2006).

Research question and hypotheses

The present project intends to describe post-demobilization urban violence and to develop a set of hypotheses that explain rising levels of violence after the demobilization of the United Self-Defense Forces of Colombia (AUC) between 2003 and 2006. We understand violence in its physical dimension as "the deliberate infliction of harm on people" (Kalyvas 2006, 19). In the quantitative part of our analysis (see *Methods*), we rely on homicide rates as main indicator for violence, while our qualitative analysis uses a wider approach including other types of violence like robbery, extortion, forcible displacement, rape, kidnapping etc.

This mixed methods study will address several different hypotheses. On the one hand, we are interested to find out if a relation between demobilization and urban violence exists in general terms. Our preliminary quantitative analysis confirms this relation for the Colombian context (see also Bello 2009; Howe, Sánchez, and Contreras 2010; J. Restrepo and Muggah 2009). On the other hand, we want to explore rising urban violence after demobilization in a qualitative fashion. Our main two hypotheses draw on the protection business of Gambetta (1996) and the control and contestation theory by Kalyvas (2006). The paramilitaries have dominated certain areas of mid-sized cities. Part of their business was "private protection" (Gambetta 1996) where the state was absent (McDougall 2009). There is evidence that they were very effective in providing protection and monopolizing violence in many, especially marginal, neighborhoods (Duncan 2006). Hence, as soon as they reached control over certain neighborhoods, violence might have decreased as predicted in Kalyvas' (2006) theory of control (see also Lamb 2010). The demobilization or removal of an important protection provider might have led to increasing levels of violence. According to this hypothesis, especially petty crime might have increased after the paramilitary demobilization (J. Restrepo and Muggah 2009), and increasing levels of petty crime may also lead to generally higher levels of violence (Kelling and Wilson 1982). Accordingly, we hypothesize that *the paramilitaries were interested in the protection economy, while the successor organizations and criminal groups are not*. Also, we hypothesize that *before DDR, the paramilitaries had control (of illegal activities), while now there is contestation between follower or new organizations*.

As background of these two propositions, the war economy literature (Ballentine and Nitzschke 2005; Heupel 2006; Nitzschke and Studdard 2005; Spear 2006) and the literature on persisting criminal networks (Nilsson 2008; Rozema 2008; de Vries and Wiegink 2011) help us understand local dynamics. According to the war economy literature, we assume that the paramilitary market (drug trafficking, extortion, protection etc.) is still an interesting income source. After the fall of the organized structure under the umbrella of the AUC, "persisting criminal networks" (Rozema 2008) or new organizations may have tried to penetrate these markets (Beltrán and Salcedo 2007). In fact, the nature of these new or follower groups is currently debated in Colombia. Some independent analysts call them 'neoparamilitaries', referring to their close relationship to former paramilitary groups (Granada, Restrepo, and Tobón 2009; Romero and Arias 2009), while government institutions speak of 'criminal gangs' ('bandas criminales'), emphasizing their involvement in drugtrafficking.

Although we generally focus on protection and control theories, we also explore alternative hypotheses that might explain rising levels of violence after demobilization. The most important alternative hypothesis is reflected in the general public's belief that urban violence is due to the increased presence of former combatants in urban contexts. This common impression has been controversially discussed in Colombia (CNRR 2010; Massé et al. 2011). Structural theories on urban violence in general and in Latin America (Glaeser and Sacerdote 1996; Koonings and Kruijt 2007; Moser 2004; Rotker 2002; Winton 2004) will not be applied to our case since we assume that those factors are constant throughout the relatively short period of time we are interested in. The same holds for the culture of violence theory often specifically applied to Colombia (Jimeno 2004; Martin 2000; Waldmann 2007).

Methods

This project applies a sequential explanatory mixed methods design (Ivankova, Creswell, and Stick 2006) to explore the relation between the paramilitary demobilization and urban violence. In a first phase, we quantitatively establish the relation between the AUC demobilization and the level of post-demobilization violence in urban areas. We test this hypothesis with a municipality-level countrywide panel database ranging from 1997 to 2010 that includes a wide range of indicators for many potential causes of violence in Colombia. Preliminary analysis shows that there is a significant effect of demobilization on urban violence.

In a second phase, we choose one or various cities in order to identify the causal mechanisms between the paramilitary demobilization and urban violence. A large set of preliminary interview material has been gathered in the mid-sized cities of Montería, Santa Marta and Villavicencio between September and December 2010. These cases were strategically selected based on quantitative indicators from our panel database (Seawright and Gerring 2008). The research in the selected cases is primarily based on key informants interviews with local authority officials, independent experts, NGO representatives, community leaders, demobilized people and representatives of international organizations, but draws on all types of available evidence in a triangulating fashion (Yin 2009). An additional field trip to one of the mentioned cases (most probably the *extreme case* Montería) is necessary in order to collect further information related to the two outlined hypotheses.

Relevance of the project

Rising levels of violence after demobilization is the worst-case scenario for DDR processes and the clearest indicator of failure for this policy. It is hence crucial to acknowledge the conditions that might lead to this undesired outcome. These may be applied to cases around the globe. Yet, the contribution for the Colombian case may be specifically important. Among the general public and the media in Colombia, two discourses about security issues are recurrent. First, Colombians often believe that the security situation in urban areas has worsened during the past years (El Tiempo 2011). Second, this worsened security situation has often been identified with the AUC demobilization process (Massé et al. 2011). Although the relation between demobilization and increased urban violence is seen as a "truth", systematic knowledge to identify the drivers of this apparent relation has been absent so far. The present study may allow an evidence-based discussion and feedback to policy design.

Intended publications

Together with Kimberly Howe, I am going to present an early draft version of this project at the Annual Convention of the International Studies Association (ISA) in San Diego (April 1-4, 2012). A preliminary outline has been discussed in a workshop during my visiting fellowship at the Uppsala Forum on Peace, Democracy and Justice in June 2011. Most of the data (especially the quantitative data, but also part of the qualitative data) is already collected and partially analyzed. After the participation at the ISA convention and an additional field trip, we thus plan to submit a finished article for a high-ranking, international journal in the field of urban or security studies like *Environment and Urbanization* or *Security Dialogue* no later than February 2013. A Spanish version of this article may be published in the Working Paper Series of the Conflict Analysis Resource Center (CERAC) in Bogotá, where I am an associate researcher, or in a Colombian journal like *Análisis Político*.

Project 3: Fear in Violent Societies – Constructing a Multidisciplinary Theoretical Framework

State of the art

An environment of persistent violence is associated with generalized fear (Agbola 1997; Bar-Tal 2001; Khalaf 2002; L. A. Restrepo 2004). However, the international scholarly attention on fear has been dominated by the security agendas of highly developed societies focusing mostly on increasing crime rates and international terrorism. Criminologists, sociologists, economists and psychologists have developed a large body of literature around the concept of *fear of crime* (Hale 1995) at least since the 1960s (Farrall, Jackson, and Gray 2009; Lee 2001). Definitions of *fear of crime* vary considerably, as Warr (2000) points out: "Over the years, the phrase has been equated with a variety of emotional states, attitudes, or perceptions (including mistrust of others, anxiety, perceived risk, fear of strangers, or concern about deteriorating neighborhoods or declining national morality)." Similar to the varying definitions, the literature on fear of crime has evolved around questions such as: what causes *fear of crime* (Garofalo 1981), how to measure fear and victimization (Cohen and Bowles 2010; E. Gray, Jackson, and Farrall 2008), how people cope with it (Giblin 2008; Skogan and Maxfield 1981) and how fear can be

reduced (Rosenbaum 1987; Sampson, Raudenbush, and Earls 1997). Just recently, the fear of crime framework has been applied to some Latin American countries such as Chile (Dammert and Malone 2008; 2003), Mexico (Vilalta 2011a; 2011b), Venezuela (Rebotier 2011) and Colombia (E. M. Restrepo, Moreno, and Villegas 2006; Ruiz 2007; Ruiz and Turcios 2009).

Terrorism research (Sandler 2011) has made reference to fear as a strategy. Harmon (2000, 1) for example defines terrorism as "the deliberate and systematic murder, maiming, and menacing of the innocent to inspire fear for political ends" (see also Goodin 2006; Hoffman 2006; Robin 2004). The literature on terrorism has been dedicated to terrorism's economic costs (Blomberg, Hess, and Tan 2011; Frey, Luechinger, and Stutzer 2007), individual and collective reasons of participation in terrorist organizations (Berman et al. 2011; Oberschall 2004), how to deal with terrorism (Frey 2004; Frey and Luechinger 2008) and its reflection in the media (Breckenridge and Zimbardo 2007; Mythen and Walklate 2006). In violent Latin American societies, terror and the related fear have rather been understood as a strategy in or a by-product of civil wars (Burt 2006; Green 1995; Klarén 2007; Riaño-Alcalá 2008), dictatorships (Corradi, Fagen, and Merino 1992) and urban violence (Cardia 2005; Delumeau 2002; Koenders 2009; Pedrazzini and Desrosiers-Lauzon 2011). Accordingly, Latin American countries have been called "Societies of Fear" (Koonings and Kruijt 1999) and its inhabitants "Citizens of Fear" (Rotker 2002).

Earlier literature has established that in general terms, high levels of fear are related to low levels of trust (Parks and Hulbert 1995; Tilly 2005; Walklate 1998), not just interpersonal trust but also trust in state institutions (E. M. Restrepo 2003). For Latin American countries, this is reflected in the data of the World Values Survey (2008). These data show comparatively low levels of interpersonal trust and a deep distrust in state institutions. In the absence of a trustworthy state, alternative protection mechanisms to counter fear are common. The fear of crime literature distinguishes between collective and individual strategies (L. B. Gates and Rohe 1987; Grabosky 1995; Greenberg 1987; Henig and Maxfield 1978; Lee 1999; Luengas and Ruprah 2008; Miethé 1995; Skogan and Maxfield 1981; Reid, Roberts, and Hilliard 1998). In Latin America, they can be identified in such diverse forms as gated communities (Vilalta 2011a), limited movements and personal precautionary measures (L. A. Restrepo 2004) as well as the emergence of self-defense and vigilante organizations (Huggins 1991). However, low levels of interpersonal trust hinder collective action (Kramer, Brewer, and Hanna 1996; Parks and Hulbert 1995; Uslaner, Canetti-Nisim, and Pedahzur 2004) and make only certain types of collective strategies possible. Gambetta for example identifies the phenomenon of the Mafia and its protection business with high levels of distrust (1988b; 1996).

Research questions and hypotheses

Based on my earlier dissertation research and the previously mentioned Projects 1 and 2, I assume that violent societies have developed malignant social mechanisms that reproduce violence. In this section, I lay out the preliminary theoretical framework that explains these malignant mechanisms drawing on the concepts of fear, distrust and protection. I hypothesize that *in violent societies, the reaction to fear is – depending on the level of interpersonal trust and trust in state institutions – either individual avoidance behavior or collective production of more fear*. This hypothesis relates to the above-mentioned fear of crime literature concerning individual and collective coping strategies. In general terms, it also corresponds to the classical "fight-or-flight-response" hypothesis proposed by Cannon (1915), which says that the natural reaction to fear is either to confront it or escape from it. However, the specific aim of this research is to develop a typology of different individual and collective protection mechanisms in the context of violent societies where fear of violence is a widespread phenomenon and trust is a scarce good. As a related hypothesis, I claim that *both types of strategies – individual and collective – lead to continuous violence and fear of violence*. The individual avoidance behavior comes with an atomization of society (L. B. Gates and Rohe 1987), low social control (Gottfredson and Hirschi 1990), reduced social capital (Uslaner, Canetti-Nisim, and Pedahzur 2004) and an inhibition of regular denunciations (Kalyvas 2006). Also, avoidance behavior may work as a palliative for the person who applies it and hence raises each individual's barrier for collective action and for the construction of efficient state institutions. These effects of avoidance behavior benefit certain groups and individuals (i.e. extorters, thieves, corrupt politicians etc.). On the other hand, the collective responses usually apply a large amount of fear in order to overcome the barrier for collective action. As examples, these strategies may take the form of informal vigilantism and self-defense groups (Huggins 1991), lynching mobs (Godoy 2006) or youth gangs (Jones and Rodgers 2009). Furthermore, in violent societies where crime apparently pays, "perverse social capital" (Rubio 1997) may even facilitate the creation of illegal collective action. If the mentioned hypotheses find supporting empirical evidence, we are able to contribute to the explanation of the underlying malignant social mechanisms of violent societies.

Methods

This project is currently in an early stage of development. Considering the large amount of literature, it will take some time to construct a solid theoretical framework. Once the framework is established, different types of methodologies may help to explore and test the mentioned hypotheses: a series of strategically selected mini-case studies (Seawright and Gerring 2008) may allow for the construction of a protection strategies typology. Focus group and face-to-face interviews may be conducted with community members living in areas of relatively high/low levels of violence, high/low levels of interpersonal trust, and presence of different types of protection providers etc. The mini-cases may be identified in Colombia and elsewhere in Latin America. This exploratory research strategy corresponds to the idea of a "building block procedure" (George and Bennett 2005, 88) where "each block – a study of each subtype – fills a 'space' in the overall theory or in a typological theory." Surveys may be used in a second phase in order to measure the identified protection mechanisms and their relation to interpersonal trust and levels of fear. In a third phase, larger case studies about specific types of collective protection mechanisms like vigilantism, lynching, or youth gangs may be used to apply and test the outlined theory.

Relevance of the project

This project aims at generating a novel theory about intractable violence drawing on three concepts located at the individual level – fear, distrust and protection. As such, it brings together the literature on the related concepts of fear of crime, terrorism, human security, citizen security, trust, social capital, ingroups and outgroups, coping strategies, protection mechanisms, collective action, and general theories about crime, conflict and violence. The integration of fear-related theories from such diverse conceptual backgrounds will ultimately help us generate more efficient policies to overcome the "violence trap" (similar to the "conflict trap" described by Collier et al. 2003) of countries in Latin America and elsewhere.

Intended publications

This project marks the beginning of a larger body of research envisaged for the next few years of my academic work. Along the way, I would like to present preliminary theoretical and empirical findings at the conferences I plan to attend in 2013 (for example the ECPR Joint Sessions in Mainz, ECPR General Conference in Bordeaux, ISA Annual Convention in San Francisco) and during a short visit to Uppsala University. The conference papers may also become articles for journals in the field, like the *International Journal of Conflict and Violence* or *Emotion, Space and Society*. I hope to submit at least one paper about the general theoretical framework and some preliminary empirical findings before the end of 2013.

General aspects of the proposal

Overall practical and theoretical relevance

Many Latin American countries have made impressive progress during the past years especially with respect to macro-economic indicators and electoral democracy. However, intractable security problems have not been resolved so far or have even worsened, and represent a major obstacle for sustainable development (United Nations 2003; WHO 2004). Additional knowledge about protracted violence is hence critical to address the problems with efficient policy measures.

Apart from its practical use, this proposal also benefits the theoretical development of violence research. Project 1 will make a contribution to the literature on trust in state institutions for extremely distrustful persons such as former illegal combatants. Like this, it will contribute to the literature and practice of disarmament, demobilization and reintegration understood as a statebuilding activity. Considering that demobilization processes are a violence-reduction strategy, increasing levels of violence after demobilization are puzzling and require theoretical explanation. Project 2 will identify the causal mechanisms leading to this undesired outcome drawing on and extending existing violence theories. In Project 3, I will integrate theories on fear, distrust and protection from disciplines as varying as political science, criminology, sociology, economy, psychology and urban studies into a new framework applicable to violent societies in Latin America and elsewhere. Furthermore, all projects use innovative methodological approaches and original data.

Relevance of the location (see also Confirmation Host Institution)

As mentioned before, Colombia is an emblematic case for a violent society. Living in Colombia during my research will help me understand the dynamics of this context and facilitate fieldwork. Most of my fieldwork can be conducted in different regions of Colombia (Montería, Medellín, Bogotá etc.). However,

field trips to cities in other countries within Latin America are possible.

My office will be located at the *Universidad de los Andes* in Bogotá (www.uniandes.edu.co). Some of the top violence experts in Colombia work at this university, more specifically at the Political Science Institute (<http://c-politica.uniandes.edu.co>) and its Research Program on Armed Conflict and Peacebuilding – CONPAZ (<http://conpaz.uniandes.edu.co>). The head of the Institute and CONPAZ, Prof. Angelika Rettberg, PhD has extensive experience with conflict topics and will support my research endeavors during my stay. On a regular basis, *Los Andes* organizes conferences on violence issues with the participation of national and international scholars. Also, it co-organizes the Social Science Research Council's Latin America Security, Drugs and Democracy fellowship program (LASDD). The quality of the researchers working at *Los Andes* and its manifold networking opportunities guarantee a very productive and inspiring environment for my postdoctoral research.

Generally speaking, Colombia counts on a large number of scholars working on violence at least since the 1980s when "violontology" was born as a Colombian academic discipline (G. Sánchez 1987; La Semana 2007). Contacts with scholars located at other universities in Bogotá and Medellín (Universidad Nacional, Universidad Javeriana, EAFIT etc.) and researchers from private institutes and NGOs (CERAC, Fundación Ideas para la Paz, International Crisis Group, FESCOL etc.) complement the possibilities for intellectual exchange.

Planned short trips (to Bern, Uppsala and Berkeley), conferences (ISA, LASA, ECPR) and the workshops of the ProDoc program "Dynamics of Transcultural Management and Governance in Latin America" (University of St.Gallen, Graduate Institute of International and Development Studies and University of Geneva) allow a steady contact with international scholars. Furthermore, I have assisted and will continue to assist a large number of doctoral, master and bachelor level students from European and US universities working on Colombia during their field trips to Bogotá (especially the ProDoc doctoral candidates of Swiss universities). These useful contacts strengthen my ties to a variety of universities around the globe.

Relevance for my personal development (see also Career Plan)

With respect to my personal development, the proposed research allows me to advance towards two of my professional goals. First, I want to broaden my methodological skills. During the past three semesters, I have taught an undergraduate course on Quantitative and Qualitative Research Methods and a doctoral research seminar on Qualitative Methods at the *Universidad Nacional de Colombia*. This teaching experience has been of great benefit since my objective is to become an expert in different types of social science research strategies. The three projects are designed to satisfy this personal goal, drawing on such diverse methods as a quantitative survey analysis, a mixed methods study combining quantitative panel data analysis with a case study, and a series of strategically selected qualitative case studies.

Second, I am interested in becoming an expert on a wide range of conflict, security and violence issues. My dissertation focused on peacebuilding and post-conflict policies (I also taught a course on Processes of Disarmament, Demobilization and Reintegration in Comparative Perspective during two semesters at the *Universidad Nacional*). During my one-year postdoctoral research at the University of St.Gallen, I worked on the topic of food security from a securitization theory perspective, which strengthened my knowledge in security theories and a non-traditional security topic – food security. With the proposed research, I can extend my theoretical knowledge on violent societies. This move allows a gradual opening of my research agenda and provides the necessary know-how to teach conflict, security and violence issues – a domain of strategic importance for sustainable economic and social development.

Related publications under way

- *Articles under review*: Three articles related to my doctoral thesis are currently in process of publication in the *Journal of Conflict, Security and Development* (accepted), *Peace and Conflict: Journal of Peace Psychology* (under review) and the *Journal for Peacebuilding and Development* (under review). These articles may require further revisions during 2012.
- *Publication of dissertation*: Currently, my doctoral thesis is in the midst of the publication process at Ediciones Uniandes. This process might take some more time and involve further effort. However, I calculate that the book should be published by mid-2012.
- *Article with Prof. Corinne A. Pernet, PhD*: The article on "Colombia's securitization of food then and now" elaborated together with Prof. Corinne A. Pernet, PhD at the University of St.Gallen is about to be finished and submitted to a journal (possibly the *Journal of Latin American Studies*) in December. However, the author is committed to attend further review requests that might arise later on.
- An additional article entitled "Conflicto, seguridad y guerra de discursos. La violencia en Colombia desde la constitución de 91" is currently in preparation for the *Bulletin de la Société Suisse des Américanistes*.

Timeline for 24 months postdoctoral research at the Universidad de los Andes (2012-2013)

TIMELINE		Project 1	Project 2	Project 3	Conferences	Other planned activities					
2012	January	Conference paper writing (preliminary survey data analysis)	Conference paper writing (preliminary data analysis)			Visit at Swisspeace Bern Potential publication of my dissertation (Ediciones Uniandes)					
	February										
	March										
	April										
	May										
	June	Consolidated survey data analysis	Qualitative fieldwork Montería			1-4 ISA San Diego 23-26 LASA San Francisco	Short visit at Berkeley				
	July										
	August	Preparation of journal article submission	Consolidated panel and case study data analysis	Theoretical framework: Multidisciplinary approach integrating theories about fear, distrust and protection of different fields		ACCPOL Medellín (date?)					
	September										
	October										
	November		Preparation of journal article submission								
	December										
2013	January	Potential new project with the same database: Motivations for joining, staying in and leaving illegal armed groups				Submit SSRC LASDD research grant proposal Visit Uppsala (date?)					
	February										
	March										
	April										
	May										
	June						Fieldwork mini-case studies 1 and 2			SVPW Congress 2013 (date?) 11-16 ECPR Mainz (?) 27-30 ISA San Francisco (?)	
	July										
	August						Data analysis mini-case studies 1 and 2				Submit H. F. Guggenheim research grant proposal
	September										
	October										
	November						Preparation of journal article submission				5-7 ECPR Bordeaux (?)
	December										

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