Kai M. Thaler

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ACADEMIC APPOINTMENTS

University of California, Santa Barbara

Assistant Professor, Department of Global Studies, 2018 – Affiliated Faculty, Political Science; Latin American and Iberian Studies

University of California Institute on Global Conflict and Cooperation (IGCC)

Affiliated Researcher, 2024 –

University of Denver, Josef Korbel School of International Studies

Postdoctoral Fellow, Sié Chéou-Kang Center for International Security and Diplomacy, 2018-19

EDUCATION

Harvard University PhD in Government, 2018; MA in Government 2015 Certificate in Latin American Studies, David Rockefeller Center for Latin American Studies

University of Cape Town MSSc in Sociology, 2011 (with distinction)

Yale University BA in Political Science, 2009 (cum laude, with distinction in the major)

Publications¹

Book

2025. When Rebels Win: Ideology, Statebuilding, and Power after Civil Wars. Cornell University Press (December 15 release date).

Articles

Forthcoming. "Stumbling out of the Gates: Security Strategy and Military Weakness after Revolutionary Victory," Security Studies.

Forthcoming. "Civil wars as critical junctures: Conceptual grounding and empirical potential," *Review of International Studies*. doi: 10.1017/S0260210524000871.

- 2024. "From snapshots to panoramas: Navigating power, space, and time in the study of armed groups," *Conflict, Security, & Development* 26(6): 725-755 (with Sean Ashley & Antonia Juelich).
- 2024. "Levels of Analysis and Variation in Civil War Violence and Restraint: Ideology and Contestation in Nicaragua," *Journal of Global Security Studies* 9(2): ogae018.
- 2024. "Statebuilding and Indigenous Rights Implementation: Political Incentives, Social Movement Pressure, and Autonomy Policy in Central America," *World Development* 175: 106468 (with Giorleny Altamirano Rayo & Eric Mosinger).
- 2023. "Framing Police Violence: Repression, Reform, and the Power of History in Chile," *Journal of Politics* 85(4): 1198-1213 (with Lisa Mueller & Eric Mosinger).
- 2022. "Rebel Mobilization through Pandering: Insincere Leaders and Exploitation of Popular Grievances," *Security Studies* 31(3): 351-380.
- 2022. "Taking Responsibility and Tying Hands: The Case for Limiting U.S. Relationships with Armed Groups," *Harvard International Law Journal Online* 63: 1-34.

¹* denotes a current or former graduate student collaborator, †denotes a current or former undergraduate collaborator.

- 2022. "Nicaragua: Doubling Down on Dictatorship," *Journal of Democracy* 33(2): 133-146 (with Eric Mosinger).
- 2022. "Delegation, Sponsorship, and Autonomy: An Integrated Framework for Understanding Armed Group-State Relationships," *Journal of Global Security Studies* 7(1): ogab026.
- 2022. "Civil Resistance in the Shadow of the Revolution: Historical Framing in Nicaraguan's Sudden Uprising," *Comparative Politics* 54(2): 253-277 (with Eric Mosinger, Diana Paz García[†], & Charlotte Fowler[†]).
- 2021. "Military Integration and Intelligence Capacity: Informational Effects of Incorporating Former Rebels," *Political Research Exchange* 3(1): 1-21.
- 2021. "Reflexivity and Temporality in Researching Violent Settings: Problems with the Transparency and Replicability Regime," *Geopolitics* 26(1): 18-44.
- 2018. "Has Liberia Turned a Corner?" Journal of Democracy 29(3): 156-170 (with Benjamin Spatz).
- 2017. "Nicaragua: A Return to Caudillismo." Journal of Democracy 28(2): 157-169.
- 2017. "Mixed Methods Research in the Study of Political and Social Violence and Conflict." *Journal of Mixed Methods Research* 11(1): 59-76.
- 2016. "Dynamique et diversité des armées africaines: État des connaissances." *Afrique Contemporaine* 2016/4(260): 27-44 (with Jason Warner).
- 2014. "Socioeconomic Conditions and Violence in Cape Town, South Africa." *Economics of Peace and Security* 9(2): 34-42 (with Jeremy Seekings).
- 2012. "Ideology and Violence in Civil Wars: Theory and Evidence from Mozambique and Angola." *Civil Wars* 14(4): 546-567.
- 2012. "Foreshadowing Future Slaughter: From the Indonesian Killings of 1965-66 to Genocide in East Timor." *Genocide Studies and Prevention* 7(2/3): 204-222.
- 2009. "Avoiding the Abyss: Finding a Way Forward in Guinea-Bissau." Portuguese Journal of International Affairs 1(2): 3-14.

Edited Special Issue

2022. "Challenging Autocracy and Impunity in Central America," *Democracy and Autocracy* 20(2) (co-editor with Luciana Chamorro).

Book Chapters

- 2022. "Nicaragua: Populist Performance and Authoritarian Practice during Covid-19" in Nils Ringe & Lucio Renno (eds.), *Populists and the Pandemic: How Populists Around the World Responded to COVID-19*, pp.184-195 (Routledge) [with Rachel Schwartz].
- 2021. "Nicaragua and Covid-19: Authoritarian Indifference" in Jan Nederveen Pieterse, Haeran Lim, & Habibul Khonder (eds.), *Covid-19 and Governance: Crisis Reveals*, pp.229-241 (Routledge).
- 2019. "Mixed methods in violence studies," in Walter S. DeKeseredy, Callie Marie Rennison, & Amanda K. Hall-Sanchez (eds.), *The Routledge International Handbook of Violence Studies*, pp.19-29 (Routledge).
- 2018. "U.S. Action and Inaction in the Massacre of Communists and Alleged Communists in Indonesia," in Samuel Totten (ed.), *Dirty Hands and Vicious Deeds: The US Government's Complicity in Crimes Against Humanity and Genocide*, pp.23-69 (University of Toronto Press).
- 2013. "Brazil, Biofuels, and Food Security in Mozambique," in Renu Modi & Fantu Cheru (eds.), Agricultural Development and Food Security in Africa: The Impact of Chinese, Indian and Brazilian Investments, pp.145-158 (Zed Books).

Peer-Reviewed Reports

- 2024. "Ideology, Recruitment, and Armed Group Violence," *NCITE Reports*. Omaha: National Counterterrorism Innovation, Technology, and Education Center. 37pp.
- 2022. "Political Repression, State-Sponsored Violence, and Risks to Government Opponents in Nicaragua under the Ortega-Murillo Regime," *CeMeCA's Regional Expert Paper Series*. Columbia University Center for Mexico and Central America. 27pp.
- 2012. Armed Violence: The Untold Story (with Rashmi Thapa). Handicap International,62pp.

Other Scholarly Publications

- 2024. "Reflexivity and Openness in Conducting and Presenting Research: What Should We Share and When?" *Qualitative and Multi-Method Research* 22(1): 16-22.
- 2024. "Reflexivity from Theory to Practice: Introduction to the Symposium," *Qualitative and Multi Method Research* 22(1): 6-8 (with Elin Bjarnegård, Susanna Campbell, Kristine Eck, Amanda Lanigan, & Chiara Ruffa).
- 2022. "Editors' Introduction," Democracy and Autocracy 20(2): 2-13 (with Luciana Chamorro).
- 2021. Review of *Political Leadership in Africa: Leaders and Development South of the Sahara* by Giovanni Carbone and Alessandro Pellegata (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2020). *Journal of Interdisciplinary History* 52(2): 296-298.
- 2021. Review of Gambling with Violence: State Outsourcing of War in Pakistan and India by Yelena Biberman (New York: Oxford University Press, 2019). Political Science Quarterly 136(3):588-89.
- 2019. "Roundtable 11-3 on Ethnic Politics and State Power in Africa: The Logic of the Coup—Civil War Trap." H-Diplo/ISSF Roundtable 11(3): 12-16.
- 2018 "Correspondence: Ideological Extremism in Armed Conflict," *International Security*, 43(1): 186-190 (with Jonathan Leader Maynard).
- 2016 "How Do Rebels Rule When They Win?" *Centerpiece* 31(1): 10-12 (Weatherhead Center)
- 2015 Review of Stephen A. Emerson, *The Battle for Mozambique: The Frelimo-Renamo Struggle, 1977-1992* (Solihull, England: Helion & Company, 2014), *War in History* 22(4): 571-573.

WORK SUBMITTED

- "From Insurgent to Incumbent: Ideology, Rebel Governance, and Statebuilding after Rebel Victory in Civil Wars" revise & resubmit at *Comparative Politics*
- "Bringing the Military Back In: Conceptualizing Militaries' Roles During Democratic Erosion" (with Risa Brooks) revise & resubmit at Security Studies
- "Lessons from AR Memorialization: Artists' and Activists' Approaches to Community-Centered AR Development" (with Ana Cárdenas Gasca*, Payton Croskey*, Tobias Höllerer, Jennifer Jacobs, & Emilia Yang)
- "Liberatory Collections and Ethical AI: Reimagining AI Development from Black Community Archives and Datasets" (with Payton Croskey*, Jennifer Jacobs, & Fabian Offert)

WORKING PAPERS

- "Autocracy's other wing: Cold War leftism and contemporary global autocratization" (with Dan Slater)
- "Criminal gangs, violence, and political contestation of state power: from peace to 'internal armed conflict' in Ecuador" (with Galo Mayorga*)
- "Ideology, Misperception, and Revolutionary Security Policy: Nicaragua's FSLN and Fears of US Intervention"
- "Ideology, Recruitment, and Armed Group Violence in Mozambique and Nicaragua"
- "Leadership, Rebel Organizational Development, and Political Orders in the Angolan Civil Wars"

- "State Transit Migration Entrepreneurship: How Nicaragua's Government Has Built a Profit-Driven Global Transit Migration Industry" (with Alena Shalaby*)
- "The Paradox of Revolutions: How Can We Isolate the Causal Effects of Transformative Events?" (with Marika Landau-Wells)

WORKS IN PROGRESS

Left-Wing Authoritarian Regimes: Origins, Evolution, and Contemporary Development (with Dan Slater)

- "Abuses of power and popular protest in contemporary Africa" (with Aubrey Schipper[†])
- "Financing Like a State? How Myanmar's NUG Navigates Conflict, Cooperation, and Legitimacy in Revenue Generation and Financial Governance" (with Annjulie Vester & Min Htut[†])
- "Understanding Regional International Organizations' Responses to Mass Protests and Repression"

GRANTS AND FELLOWSHIPS

- 2023-24 Fellow (non-resident), Centre for the Comparative Study of Civil War, University of York
- National Science Foundation Ethical and Responsible Research, grant 2220798 (\$399,998, co-PI with Jennifer Jacobs and Tobias Höllerer)
- 2022 Hellman Family Faculty Fellowship (\$46,239)
- 2022 UCSB Faculty Career Development Award (course release for 2022-23)
- 2021 UCSB Academic Senate Faculty Research Grant (\$11,200)
- 2021 UCSB Carsey-Wolf Center Faculty Research Support Grant (\$5,000)
- 2021 UCSB Social Sciences Deans' Intersectional Justice Research Grant (\$2,000)
- 2021 UC Humanities Research Institute Junior Faculty Manuscript Workshop Grant (\$1,600)
- 2020 UCSB Institute for Social, Behavioral, and Economic Research Social Science Research Grant (\$8,000)
- 2020 UCSB Academic Senate Faculty Research Grant (\$7,254)
- 2017 Harry Frank Guggenheim Foundation Dissertation Fellowship (\$20,000)
- 2017 Samuel P. Huntington Dissertation Completion Fellowship, Harvard University
- 2016 Democracy Doctoral Fellowship, Ash Center for Democratic Governance, Harvard Kennedy School (\$30,000)
- 2015 Frederick Sheldon Traveling Fellowship, Harvard University (\$24,000)
- 2014 National Security Graduate Research Fellowship, The Tobin Project (\$1,500)
- 2013 National Security Graduate Research Fellowship, The Tobin Project (\$1,500)
- 2011 Microcon Mobility Fund Grant (€3,000)
- 2009 DGARQ/FLAD Investigation Fellowship, Portuguese Directorate General of Archives and Luso-American Development Foundation (€3,550)

AWARDS

2025 PEACE Emerging Scholar Award, International Studies Association Peace Studies Section

MAJOR CONFERENCE PRESENTATIONS

African Studies Association Annual Meeting: 2016-2018

American Political Science Association Annual Meeting: 2013-2022, 2024

Conflict Research Society: 2023

European Consortium for Political Research General Conference: 2009, 2011, 2015, 2020

International Studies Association Annual Convention: 2014-2024, 2025

Latin American Studies Association: 2018-2019, 2021-2022, 2025 (scheduled)

TEACHING AND ADVISING

University of California, Santa Barbara

Global 120: Global Ideologies and World Order

Global 124: Peace, Conflict and Violence in Global Perspective

Global 224 (graduate): Research Methods

Global 292: Contemporary Global Conflict: Nonviolent and Violent Resistance and Repression

PhD Committee: Sonya Akhgar (Poli Sci), James Altman, Maisnam Arnapal (Feminist Studies), Ana María Cárdenas (Media Arts & Technology), Taft Crowley (Poli Sci), Galo Mayorga (Poli Sci, cochair), Vitória Moreira, Alena Shalaby (chair), Annjulie Vester (Poli Sci)

MA Committee: Taylor Horton (2019), Majed Altaian (2022, co-chair), Genesis Herrera (2023), Jean-Michel Ricard (2023); Vidisha Rai (2024); Eugene Riordan (2025, expected)

Boston University Pardee School of Global Studies

Lecturer, Intl Relations 367/Poli Sci 360: Latin American Politics and International Relations, fall 2017

Harvard University

Government 62: Research Practice in Qualitative Methods, TA for Gwyneth McClendon, spring 2015 Government 20: Foundations of Comparative Politics, TA for Steven Levitsky, fall 2014 Government 1295: Comparative Politics of Latin America, TA for Steven Levitsky, spring 2014 Thesis Adviser: Chloe George, Hilary Higgins, Jason Kwon, Charles Orta, Delany Sisiruca, Ben Cashin

INVITED PRESENTATIONS AND SYMPOSIA

- 2025 Scheduled: Weatherhead Center for International Affairs and David Rockefeller Center for Latin American Studies (DRCLAS), Harvard University; Department of Political Science, Northern Illinois University
- 2024 Humphrey School of Public Affairs, University of Minnesota; School of Politics and Global Studies, Arizona State University; University of California Conference on International Cooperation, UC Santa Barbara; International Relations Speaker Series, Dept. of Political Science, UC Berkeley
- 2023 Center for Inter-American Policy and Research, Tulane University; Center for International Conflict Analysis and Management, Radboud University Nijmegen; Conference on Terrorist Organization Recruitment and Operational Behavior, University of Maryland School of Public Policy; University of California Conference on International Cooperation, UC Davis
- 2022 "Populists and the Pandemic" (workshop participant), Jean Monnet European Union Center of Excellence for Comparative Populism, University of Wisconsin, Madison; Bridging the Gap New Voices in National Security initiative (American University) and University of Pennsylvania Perry World House (Washington, DC); United States Institute of Peace Afghanistan Program; Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy, Tufts University
- 2021 Weiser Center for Emerging Democracies, University of Michigan; DRCLAS, Harvard University; "Populism in Latin America and Beyond," King's College London and University of London
- 2020 United States Institute of Peace (in Spanish); Graduate School of Public and International Affairs, University of Ottawa; Department of Methodology, London School of Economics
- 2019 Conference on Ideology and Political Violence, Texas A&M University; Watson Institute for International and Public Affairs, Brown University; DRCLAS, Harvard University
- 2018 Southwest Workshop on Mixed Methods Research, University of California, Santa Cruz; Korbel School, University of Denver; Institut Barcelona d'Estudis Internacionals; DRCLAS, Harvard University

- 2017 DRCLAS, Harvard University; Program on Order, Conflict, and Violence, Yale University
- 2015 DRCLAS, Harvard University
- 2013 Instituto de Historia de Nicaragua y Centroamérica (IHNCA), Universidad Centroamericana (UCA), Nicaragua (in Spanish)
- 2011 University of Southern California
- 2010 IPRI/LSE IDEAS Working Seminar, Lisbon, Portugal

PUBLIC WRITING

- 2025 "Will 2025 Be Won By Dictators or Democracy?" UC Institute on Global Conflict and Cooperation blog, January 3.
- 2024 "Civil War, Statebuilding, and the Continuing Struggle for Indigenous Autonomy in Nicaragua," Civil War Paths blog, June 28.
- 2024 "Is Central America Doomed?" *Journal of Democracy* Online, March 14 (with Mateo Jarquín & Rachel Schwartz).
- 2024 "Nicaragua released imprisoned priests, but repression is unlikely to relent and the Catholic Church remains a target," *The Conversation*, January 18 / "Continúa la implacable represión contra la iglesia en Nicaragua," *Christianity Today*, March 1 [translation].
- 2023 "US Policy on Nicaragua Needs a Reset, Not Just More Sanctions," The Hill, June 11.
- 2023 "Nicaragua's Political Repression Will Continue Despite Prisoner Release," Lawfare, March 5.
- 2021 "Afghan Insurgents Are a Dead End: Rebuilding U.S. standing requires an end to backing militants abroad." *Foreign Policy*, November 23.
- 2021 "Why Nicaragua's slide toward dictatorship is a concern for the region and the US, too," *The Conversation*, November 9.
- 2021 "Mozambique's Islamist insurgents are on the run. Integrating former rebel fighters could help usher in peace," *Washington Post* Monkey Cage, August 27.
- 2021 "To replace autocrats of Nicaragua, think beyond this fall's election," Los Angeles Times, August 24, print page A11 (with Ryan Berg).
- 2021 "Ortega and Murillo's Two-Level Game" / "El juego a dos niveles de Ortega y Murillo" / "O jogo a dois niveis de Ortega e Murillo," *Latinoamérica21*, June 28.
- "Statement of Concern About Increasing Political Repression in Nicaragua Ahead of the 2021 Elections / Carta abierta sobre la escalada de represión política en Nicaragua antes de las elecciones de 2021" (June 2021), https://sites.google.com/view/nicaragua2021letter/. [Drafted and administered open letter signed by over 800 academics and researchers. Covered in *Confidencial* (Nicaragua), *La Prensa* (Nicaragua), *Boston Globe*, and *El País* (Spain)].
- 2021 "The 2021 Elections and Uganda's Crisis of Continuity," Epicenter, March 31.
- 2020 "Two years after Nicaragua's mass uprising started, why is Daniel Ortega still in power?" Washington Post Monkey Cage, May 1 (with Mateo Jarquín).
- 2020 "Nicaragua is Stumbling into a Coronavirus Disaster." Foreign Policy, April 17.
- 2019 "Violence is Sometimes the Answer." Foreign Policy, December 5.
- 2019 "Repression and Resilience in Nicaragua: How Daniel Ortega Weathered 2018 Storm...and What Comes Next." ReVista: Harvard Review of Latin American Studies (Spring/Summer), August 28 (with Eric Mosinger).
- 2019 "Authoritarian Resilience: Why Bouteflika and Bashir Fell, but Ortega Remains," *Political Violence @, a Glance*, April 30.
- 2019 "Flying Blind in Crisis Time: The US Strategic and Human Foreign Policy Deficit," *Duck of Minerva*, February 28.
- 2019 "Resisting Democratic Erosion in Latin America and Beyond," *Political Violence @ a Glance*, January 15.

- 2018 "Aid and Diplomacy, Not Tear Gas: How to Address the Central American Migrant Crisis," *Duck of Minerva*, November 27.
- 2018 "Peacekeeping's Perverse Effects: Bolsonaro and Brazil's Remilitarized Politics," *Duck of Minerva*, October 16.
- 2018 "Repression, Regime Consolidation, and Latin America's Authoritarian (Re)Turn," *Political Violence @ a Glance*, September 25.
- 2018 "In massive street protests, Nicaraguans are using Ortega's revolutionary symbols against him," *Washington Post* Monkey Cage, May 14 (with Yerling Aguilera and Eric Mosinger).
- 2018 "A New Nicaraguan Revolution? Understanding This Week's Popular Protests" *Political Violence @ a Glance*, May 3 (with Eric Mosinger).
- 2018 "Nicaragua protests threaten an authoritarian regime that looked like it might never fall," *The Conversation*, May 2 (with Eric Mosinger).
- 2016 "Hurricane Mary," Roads and Kingdoms, February 17.
- 2015 "Fifty years ago today, American diplomats endorsed mass killings in Indonesia. Here's what that means for today." *Washington Post* Monkey Cage, December 2.

MEDIA APPEARANCES AND INTERVIEWS

- 2024 La Presse (Canada)
- 2023 La Presse (x2), Christian Science Monitor, Al Jazeera
- 2022 Radio-Canada, NBC News
- 2021 La Presse (x2), BBC, Al Jazeera, Raport o Stanie Świata (Poland), Background Briefing (KPFK-Los Angeles), 95bFM (New Zealand)
- 2020 Infobae (Argentina), *CQ Researcher*, *La Presse*, The World Unpacked (Carnegie Endowment for International Peace), Hanoi Philosophy Forum
- 2019 Radio-Canada
- 2018 BBC, France24, Gazeta do Povo (Brazil, x2)

FURTHER TRAINING

- 2023 Bridging the Gap International Policy Summer Institute
- 2010 Olympia Summer Seminars/Microcon Summer School, Advanced Research Methods in Conflict-Affected Countries

VISITING AFFILIATIONS

- 2016 Makerere Institute of Social Research, Makerere University, Uganda
- 2016 Centre for Basic Research, Uganda
- 2011 Centro de Estudios sobre Desarrollo Económico, Universidad de los Andes, Colombia
- 2009 Portuguese Directorate-General of Archives (DGARQ), Portugal

ACADEMIC SERVICE

External Service

March 2023-2026 Governing Council Member, International Security Studies Section, ISA

University of California System-Wide Service

November 2024-June 2026 Steering Committee Member, UC Institute on Global Conflict and Cooperation (IGCC)

UCSB Campus-Wide Service

2024-2026 Executive Committee, UCSB Center for Latin American and Iberian Research

2020-present Advisory Board, UCSB Program in Latin American and Iberian Studies

2019-present Consultative Council, Orfalea Center for Global and International Studies, UCSB

2020-2021 Diversity Officer, UCSB Program in Latin American and Iberian Studies

UCSB Global Studies Department Service

2020 – Undergraduate Program Committee

2019-24 President's Postdoctoral Fellow Faculty Recruitment Committee (chair 2021-23)

2023 Global Studies Colloquium co-convener

2019-20 Graduate Program Committee

2019 Search Committee, Global Race/Ethnicity and Inequality

Article Reviewer: American Journal of Political Science; American Political Science Review; British Journal of Political Science; Canadian Journal of Latin American and Caribbean Studies; Civil Wars; Comparative Politics; Comparative Political Studies; Conflict Management and Peace Science; Ethnopolitics; European Journal of Development Research; European Journal of International Relations; Foreign Policy Analysis; Genocide Studies International; Global Studies Quarterly; Government and Opposition; International Security; International Studies Quarterly; International Studies Review; Journal of Global Security Studies; Journal of Modern African Studies; Journal of Mixed Methods Research; Journal of Peace Research; Journal of Politics; Latin American Politics and Society; Oxford Research Encyclopedia of Politics; Perspectives on Politics; Public Administration Review; Revista de Ciencia Política (Chile); Security Studies; Territory, Politics, Governance; Third World Quarterly; War and Society; World Politics

Book Manuscript Reviewer: Palgrave, Princeton University Press, University of Michigan Press

Conference Service

Conference co-organizer, "Research in Conflict Zones: The Untold Practices, Methods, and Ethics of Fieldwork," February 2017, Harvard Kennedy School

Conference panel discussant: APSA 2018; ISA 2020-2021, 2023-2024; ISSS-IS 2024

Conference panel chair: ISA 2021, 2025; LASA 2021; ISSS-IS 2024

INTERNATIONAL EXPERIENCE

Foreign Languages: Fluent Spanish; proficient French and Portuguese

Interviews: South Africa (2010), Nicaragua (2015, 2016, 2017), Liberia (2015), Uganda (2016)

Archival Research: Portugal (2008, 2009), Nicaragua (2013, 2015, 2017), Uganda (2016), Chile (2022)

PROFESSIONAL EXPERIENCE

Country conditions expert witness: working on the cases of Nicaraguan asylum seekers, 2018 – Social Impact: external Institutional Review Board member, 2022 –

Freedom House: Africa civil liberties and press freedom analyst, 2013-2018

Handicap International: research consultant for project on impacts of armed violence, 2011-12 Centre for Social Science Research, University of Cape Town: researcher on violence, 2010-11

PROFESSIONAL MEMBERSHIPS

American Political Science Association, International Studies Association, Conflict Research Society, African Studies Association, Latin American Studies Association, Households in Conflict Network