to be 'labelled' or 'persecuted;' feelings which place them at the mercy of arbitrary events beyond their control. Second, people endlessly remain in a permanent state of alert, due to their perception of the situation as life threatening. Third, feelings of powerlessness, helplessness and defencelessness result from the perception that their own resources are useless in the face of adversities. (Salimovich, 1992:75)

Insecurities cause fear and a sense of vulnerability, just as terrorism preys on the vulnerable in order to instil insecurity, terror and obedience. Meanwhile, repression disrupts social practices and fragments social relations. At the early stage of individual repression, the use of threats is linked to two fundamental conditions: to be significant, the threats must impinge on what the individual values, and to be effective, they must subjectively and symbolically affect a large number of people. (Salimovich, 1992:76) The *silencing* effect of the death squads and disappearances on the populace clearly demonstrates this point. In addition, laws and efforts to prohibit individuals from gathering in groups and organizations contribute to the creation of fear.

Thus, fear becomes institutionalized at every level.[3] Patricia Politzer eloquently depicts this feeling of helplessness felt during the Pinochet dictatorship in *Fear in Chile: Lives under Pinochet*:

> The dictatorship is still here. It is present day after day, year after year, invading even our most intimate moments. It affects not only those who suffer cruelty or censorship directly but also those who are indifferent to dictatorship, and even those who support and justify it; because they too are caught in a system that determines what we can and cannot do, what we think, what we create, what we dream, and what we suppress." (Patricia Politzer 1989 cited in Fagen, 1992:39).

The history of El Salvador described in the next section will demonstrate how the legacy of fear can become institutionalized and normalized into daily life. Silence becomes 'normalized,' abuse a typical conflict averting mechanism, as the *legacy of fear* continues.

Instruments -- History and the Institutionalization of Fear & Violence
This section will consider aspects within El Salvadoran history prior to the civil war that made the *legacy of fear* a 'normative'[4] part of socialization. The quest for peace in El Salvador seems

---

[3] For further information on the concept and theory of fear and violence, see: Corradi, Juan E., Patricia Weiss Fagon, and Manuel Antonio Garretón (eds), "Fear: A Cultural and Political Construct," and Salimovich, Sofia, Elizabeth Lira and Euginia Weinstein, "Victims of Fear: The Social Psychology of Repression," in *Fear at the Edge: State Resistance in Latin America*. 1992, University California Press: Berkeley; Bardis, Panos D., "Violence: Theory and Quantification," *Journal of Political and Military Sociology*. 1973, Volume 1, No.1.

[4] Normative in the sense that human rights violations were historically tolerated as a part of political society, and as a typical means to ensure compliance. This toleration may be related to the inability and unwillingness of the