

Long-term legacies of wars

Francisco Villamil

War, peace, and political violence

UC3M, Fall 2024







The consequences of wars

- Legacies of violence
 - identities, ideologies, etc
- Social processes of war
 - how social life changes as a result of war
- Institutional consequences
 - what happens to the state?
- Economic consequences
 - how does growth and inequality change?

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- **Differences** between interstate and civil wars?

The legacies of violence

- What are the long-term consequences of specific events of violence?







Long-term consequences of violence

- Do specific events of violence matter?

Backfiring argument

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- If we do focus on how violence affects people's preferences in the long time, what usually happens is a **backfiring effect**
- Old idea: "The seed of revolution is repression" (W. Wilson)

The Legacy of Political Violence across Generations

Noam Lupu Vanderbilt University

Leonid Peisakhin New York University–Abu Dhabi

Abstract: Does political violence leave a lasting legacy on identities, attitudes, and behaviors? We study the identities of victims and that families transmit these effects across generations. Inherited contemporary attitudes and behaviors descend from the descendants of victims. Testing these hypotheses is far from trivial. To overcome them, we study the deportation of Crimean Tatars in 1944 and the individuals' death from starvation and disease. We conducted a multigenerational survey of Crimean Tatars. Descendants of individuals who suffered more intensely identify more strongly with their ethnic group, trust the Crimean Tatar political leadership, hold more hostile attitudes toward Russia, and participate in radicalization. Surprisingly, we find that victimization has no lasting effect on religious radicalization. We also provide evidence down from the victims of the deportation to their descendants.

Replication Materials: The data, code, and any additional materials required to replicate this article are available on the *American Journal of Political Science* Dataverse within the Harvard Dataverse at <http://doi.org/10.7910/DVN/VEPHLS>.

S tates regularly perpetrate violence against their inhabitants.¹ A conservative official estimate puts the number of victims of Stalinist repressions at 3.8 million (Zemskov 1991), and an estimated 1.5 million people died in the countryside alone during China's Cultural Revolution (MacFarquhar and Schoenbaum 2008). Moreover, state-sponsored and politically motivated violence against minority groups remains a defining feature of contemporary politics. These experiences profoundly shape how victims interact with the state and think about politics. Some become politically apathetic and withdraw from political activity (Benard 1994; Wood 2006), whereas others mobilize into collective action (Bellows and Miguel 2009). Many develop feelings of victimization and sensitivity to perceived threats as a result of

Political scientists have experiences can sometimes institutions can affect politics (Acemoglu, Johnson, and Subramanian, 2001). Political identities formed in a particular place can endure for decades (de la Torre Busso, 2006; Lupu and Stoica, 2006). But these legacies are often transmitted through persistent institutional linkages between religious communities. Migration and violence similarly leave lasting legacies that may be passed down through several generations, as suggested by the mission (Bisin and Verdier, 2001).

Answering this question

The Political Legacy of Violence: The Long-Term Impact of Stalin's Repression in Ukraine

Arturas Rozenas, New York University

Sebastian Schutte, University of Konstanz

Yuri Zhukov, University of Michigan

Political scientists have long been interested in how indiscriminate violence affects the behavior of its victims, yet most research has focused on short-term military consequences rather than long-term political effects. We argue that large-scale violence can have an intergenerational impact on political preferences. Communities more exposed to indiscriminate violence in the past will—in the future—oppose political forces they associate with the perpetrators of that violence. We document evidence for this claim with archival data on Soviet state violence in western Ukraine, where Stalin's security services suppressed a nationalist insurgency by deporting over 250,000 people to Siberia. Using two causal identification strategies, we show that communities subjected to a greater intensity of deportation in the 1940s are now significantly less likely to vote for "pro-Russian" parties. These findings show that indiscriminate violence systematically reduces long-term political support for the perpetrator.

Can exposure to large-scale violence shape the political behavior of affected communities generations later? Previous research has highlighted the formative role of violence in political development (Balcells 2012; Blattman 2009; Kalyvas 2006). Yet we know little about how violence affects long-term political preferences and attitudes, and whether this effect—previously studied at the individual level—also extends to communities.

We argue that indiscriminate violence reduces long-term political support for the perpetrator. Communities that experienced indiscriminate violence in the past tend to vote—generations later—against political forces they hold responsible for that violence. We empirically evaluate this claim with archival data on the Soviet campaign against nationalism in western Ukraine (1943–50), a “hard test” for our

support base. If even such militarily "successful" discriminate violence reduce political support in the future, we can expect similar patterns to hold in cases in which the perpetrators were unable to militarily defeat their opponents at the time.

We employ two independent research designs to test the persistent effect of Soviet violence in western Ukraine using election results from 2004 to 2014. First, we use a measure of Soviet railroads as an instrumental variable to exploit variation in deportations due to logistics. Second, we use a fuzzy regression discontinuity design, exploiting variation in repression levels due to the discretion of local police officials and Communist Party leaders. Results are similar across the two designs: contemporary voting patterns for “non-Russian” parties are substantially weaker

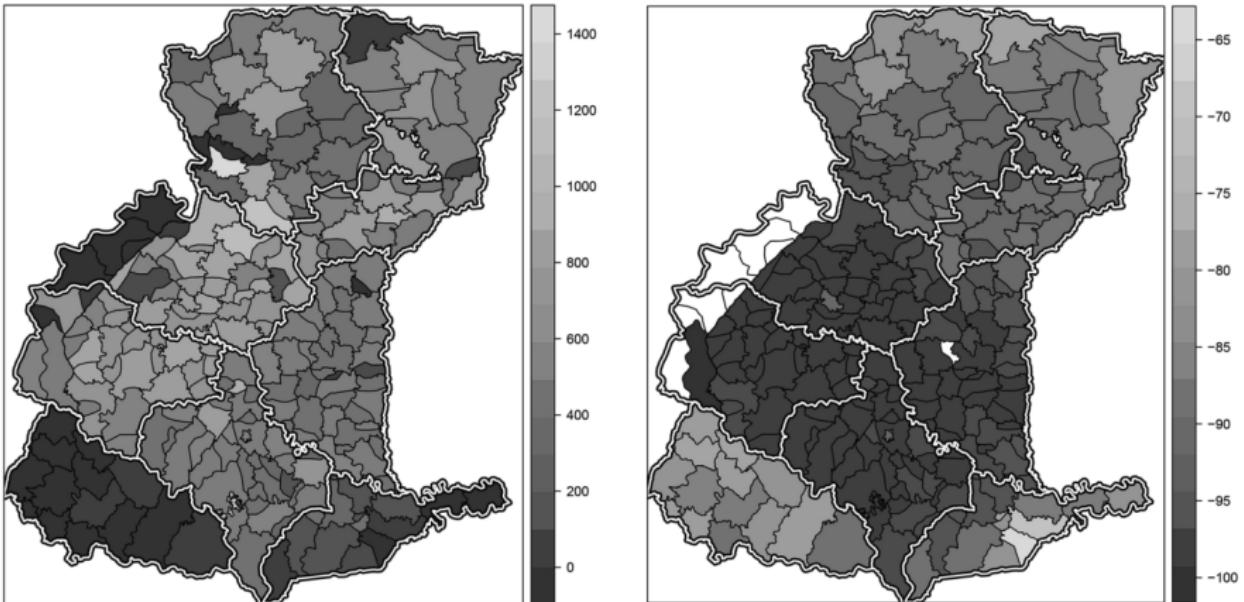


Figure 1. Historical violence and contemporary voting in western Ukraine. The figure on the left shows the counts of deported individuals. The right panel shows the pro-Russian vote margin in the 2014 parliamentary elections. The westernmost rayons in white have no election data because the USSR returned them to Poland in 1945. Historical boundaries of oblasts appear in white. Please refer to appendix 2 for residualized maps that account for systematic regional differences.

Long-term consequences of violence

- Do specific events of violence matter?
- Or is it about discourses and conflict-wide effects?

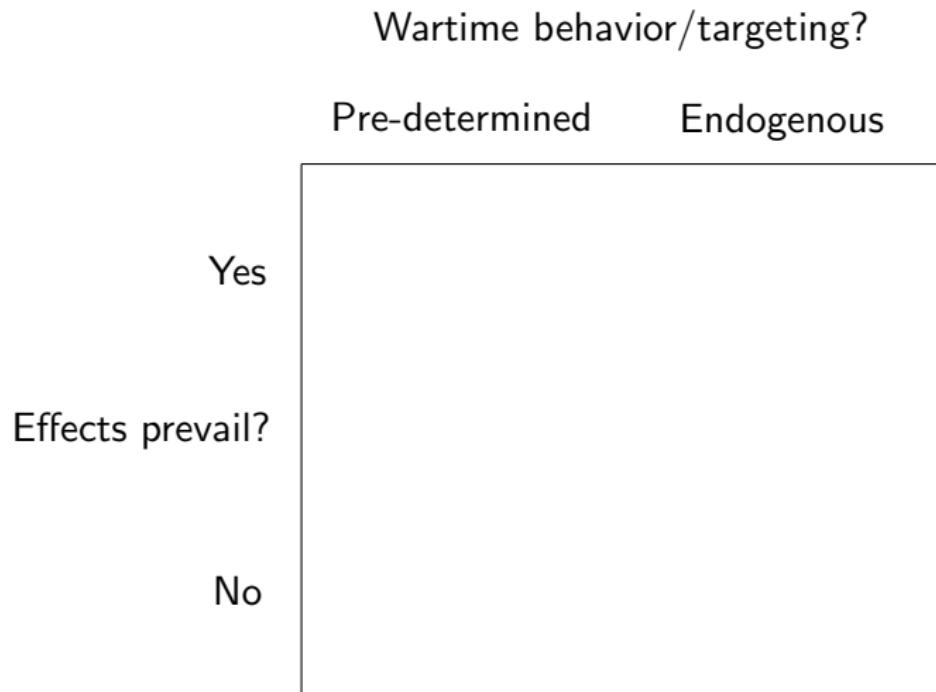
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- Do specific events of violence matter?
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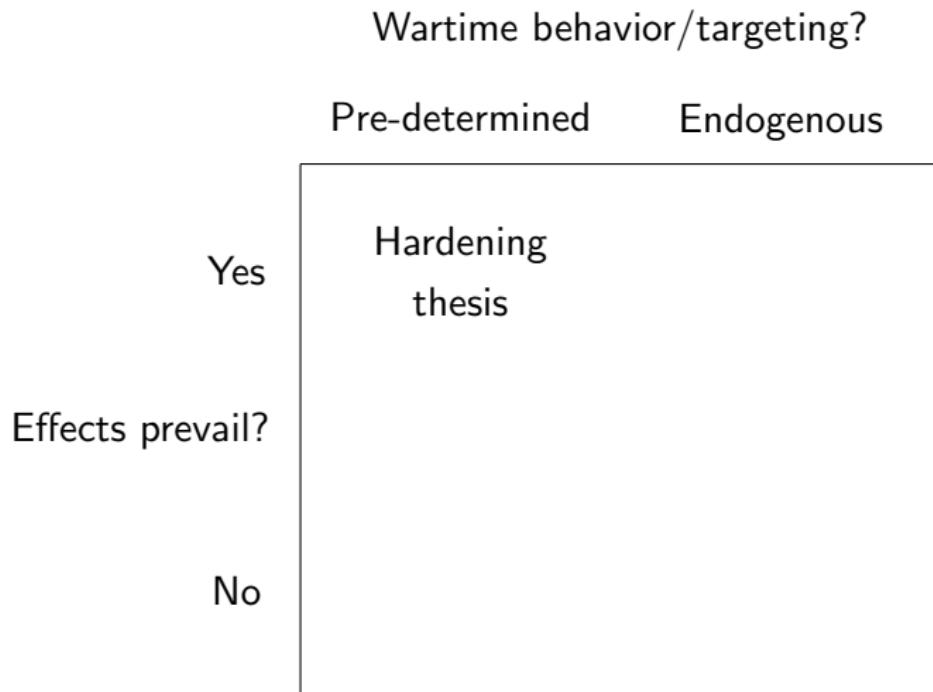
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- A lot of this depends on what we think about **how wartime violence happens** and **whether what happens in a war leaves legacies**

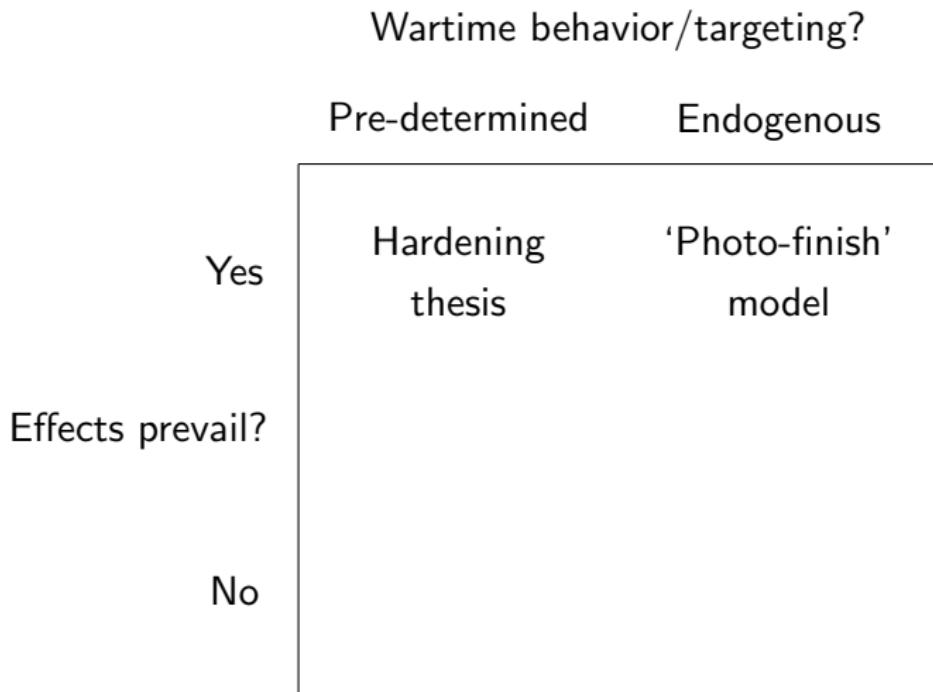
Thinking about legacies of wars



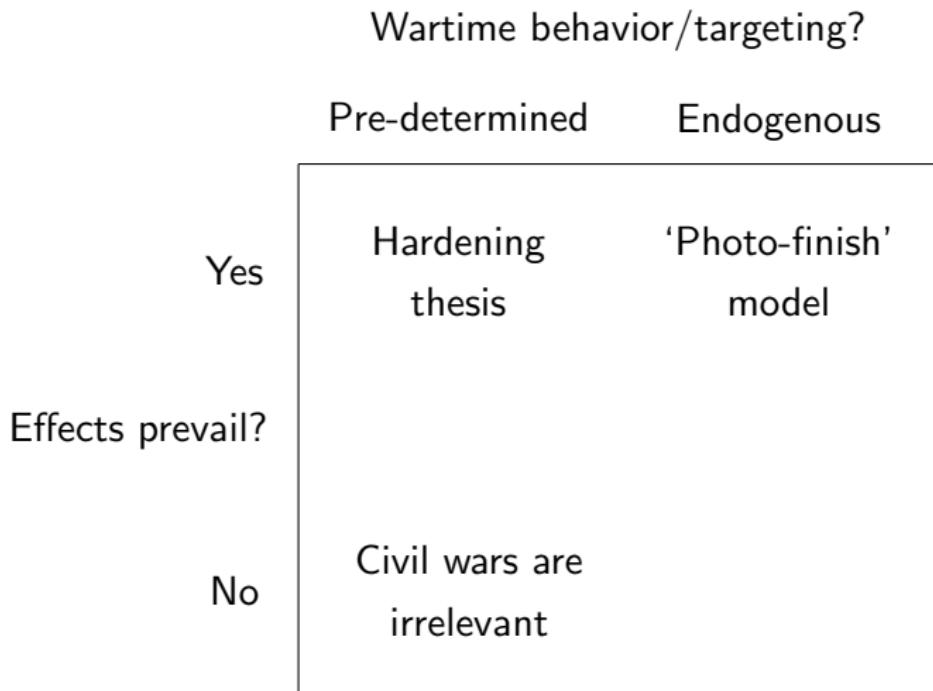
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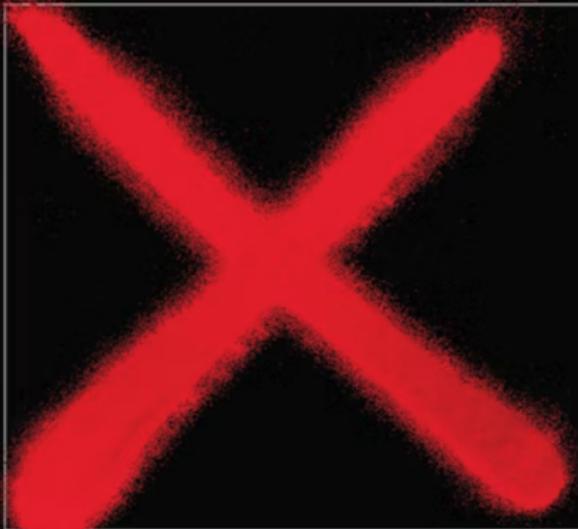
		Wartime behavior/targeting?	
		Pre-determined	Endogenous
Yes	Effects prevail?	Hardening thesis	'Photo-finish' model
	No	Civil wars are irrelevant	'Wicked games'

Does violence always backfire?

The family had come to accept their secret, and silence helped them to reconcile their experiences with their present reality. They did not dream of revenge [...], neither did they even dream of freedom. **They even thought that Franco was a good man who knew nothing of the crimes, injustices, and miseries committed against people like themselves.** When Franco came to Almeria, they went to cheer him.

(Account of a victimized family in Almeria, 1957. Cazorla-Sánchez 2009, 3)

VIOLENT



VICTORS

Why Bloodstained Parties
Win Postwar Elections

SARAH ZUKERMAN DALY

Long-term legacies

- It's not only about the consequences of wartime violence



#JUSTICE4GEORGIA

NO JUSTICE
NO PEACE
BLACK LIVES MATTER





THE WEEKEND ESSAY

IN THE SHADOW OF THE HOLOCAUST

*How the politics of memory in Europe obscures what we see in
Israel and Gaza today.*

By Masha Gessen

December 9, 2023



Social processes of civil wars

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Impact on **civilian life**

- Changes in local actors, practices, institutions, etc often have long-term consequences in the postwar period

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1. Political mobilization

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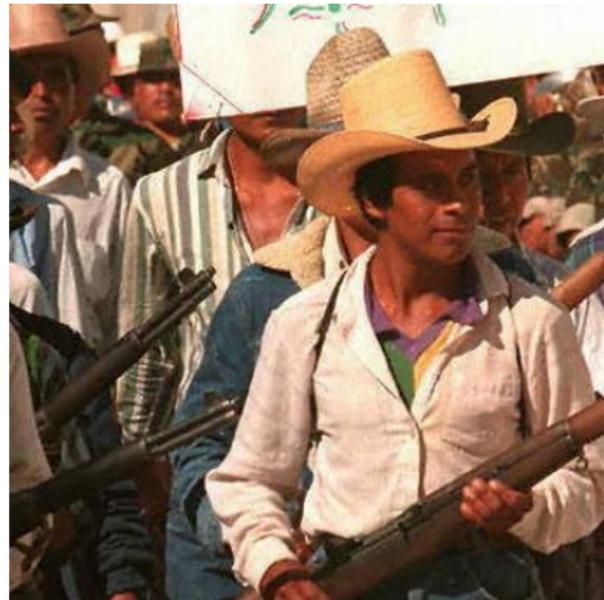
- Prewar mobilization, social movements, wartime mobilization and recruitment, etc
- Civilians get much more involved in politics during wars, not only in terms of recruitment, but also in other forms of collective action, offering non-military support, etc

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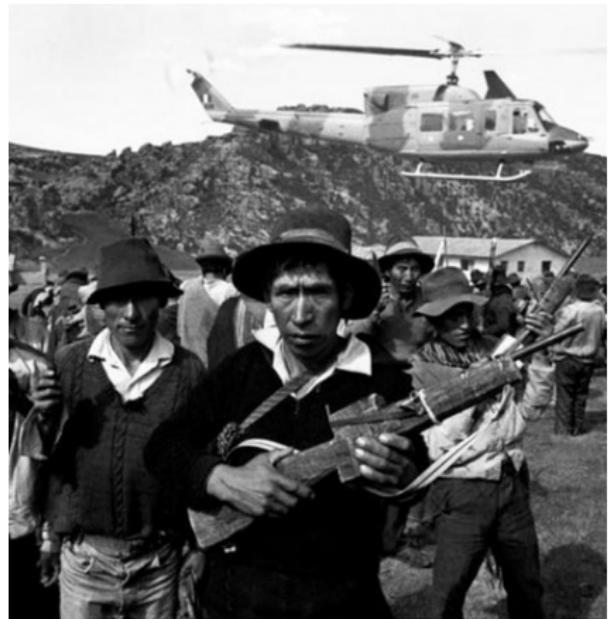
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- Civilians get much more involved in politics during wars, not only in terms of recruitment, but also in other forms of collective action, offering non-military support, etc
- Mobilization varies a lot and depends on armed groups (collaboration networks vs coercion or forced recruitment, etc), wartime events (e.g. reaction to civilian victimization), civilian social structures, etc

Social processes of civil wars



Patrullas de Autodefensa Civil
(Guatemala)



Rondas campesinas (Peru)

Lynching Persists in Guatemala

BY DANIEL ALTSCHULER | DECEMBER 15, 2009

Lynchings are wreaking havoc again in rural Guatemala. In a recent 15-day span, **nine people have been lynched here by citizens** who chose to take justice into their own hands. And in the past year, lynch mobs have attacked **over 250 people**, resulting in at least 42 deaths. The numbers are scary, and they reflect the reality that Guatemala has not forgotten a crucial part of its grisly past. In addition to the deaths caused, the lynchings reflect the inadequacy and inaccessibility of state justice institutions and the legacies of violence from civil war and state-sponsored genocide.

Ukraine's 'territorial defense' trains civilians against possible hitches amid tensions

Reservist officers provide basic military, other training for volunteer civilians to counter possible military threats

Jeyhun Aliyev, Talha Yavuz | 06.02.2022 - Update : 07.02.2022



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- But as the war goes on, increased alignment, as people choose sides:
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 - c. Moral outrage
- Variation within a single conflict: Getting caught 'between two fires'? Is it possible to stay neutral? etc

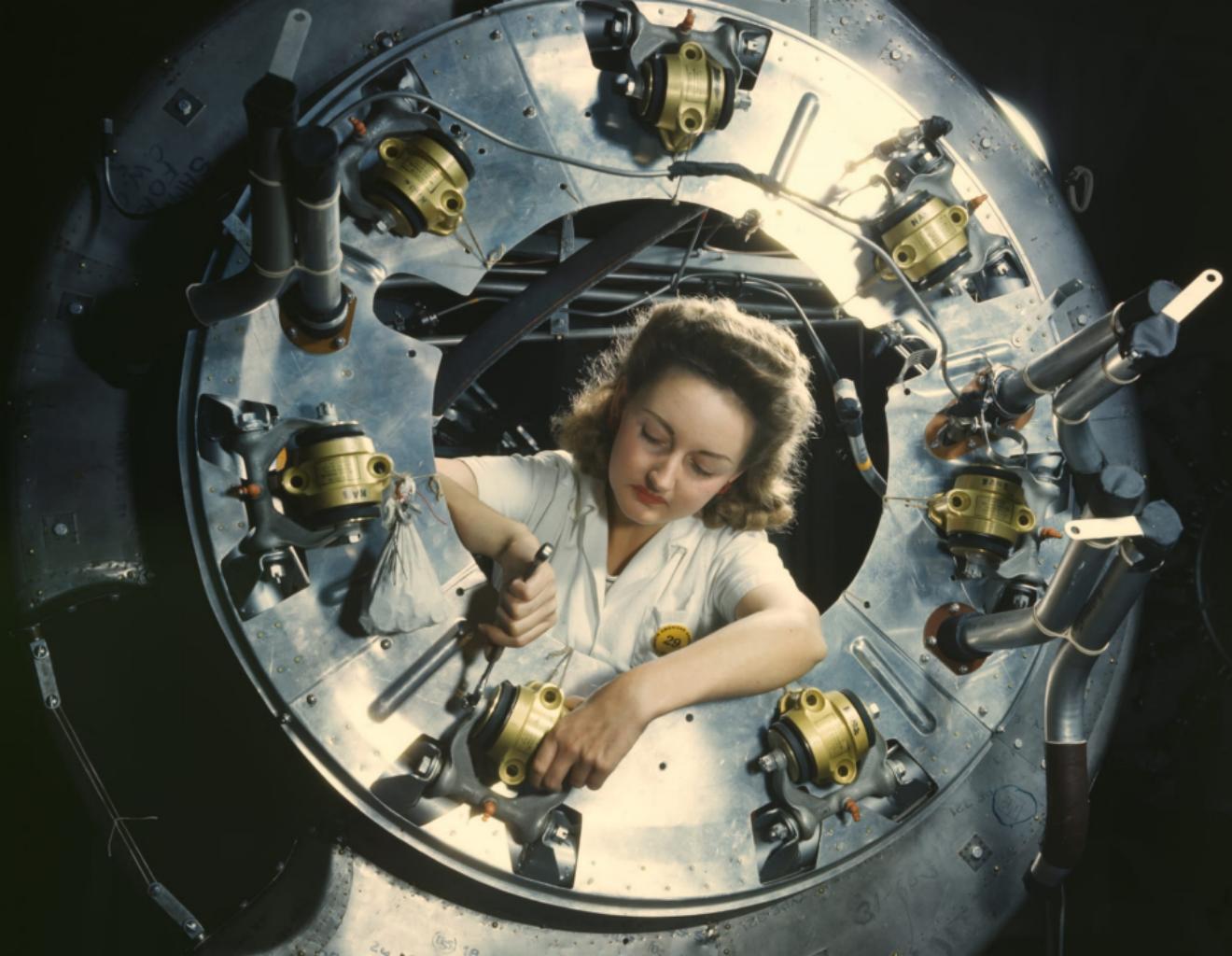
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- Women combatants comprised more than a quarter of the insurgent force in many civil wars (Peru, Sri Lanka, ...), which introduces a huge change to their traditional social roles
- Also: women from rural, isolated areas becoming interlocutors with the state, looking for detainees, etc





Micro and macro

- Legacies and social processes usually refer to **micro-level consequences**
 - This means that we often see **variation** in violence and in how war impacts social life, and therefore consequences vary
- But some consequences of war are more related to **macro** outcomes
Economic growth, patterns of inequality, institutions, etc

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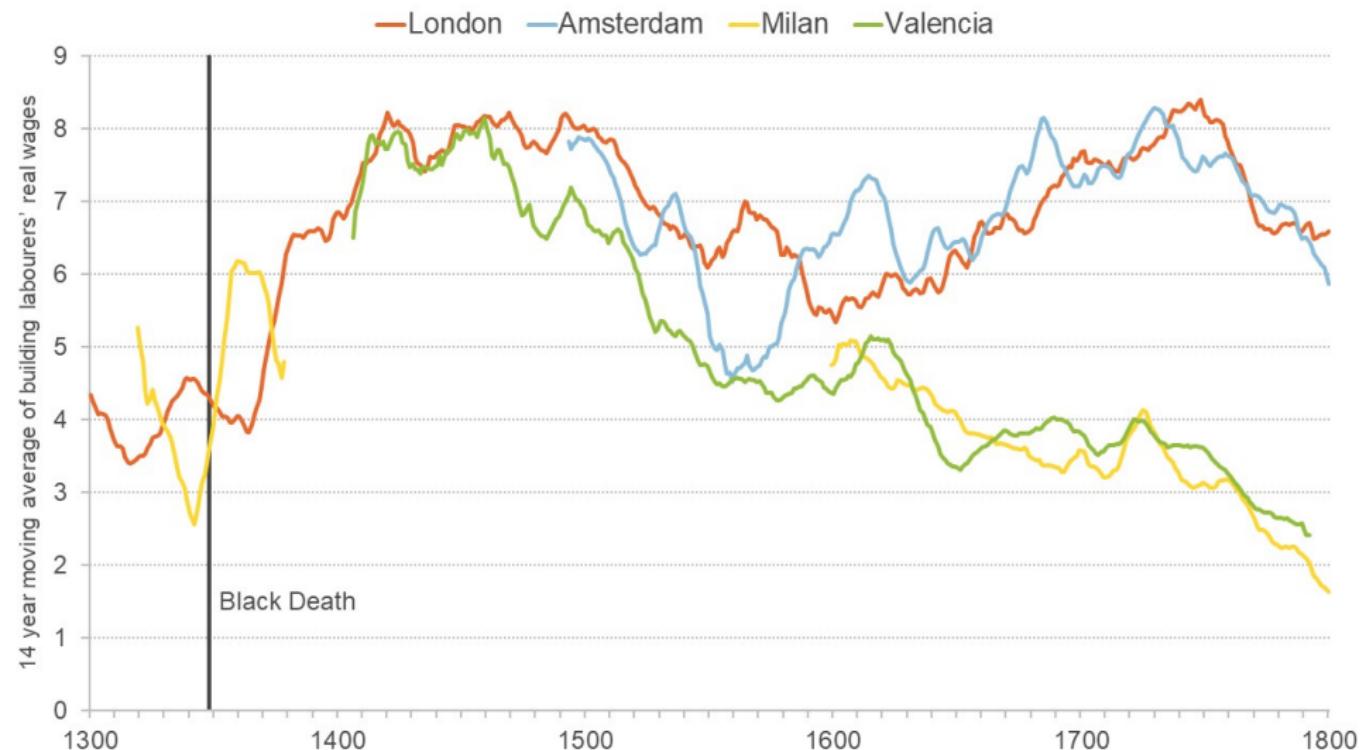
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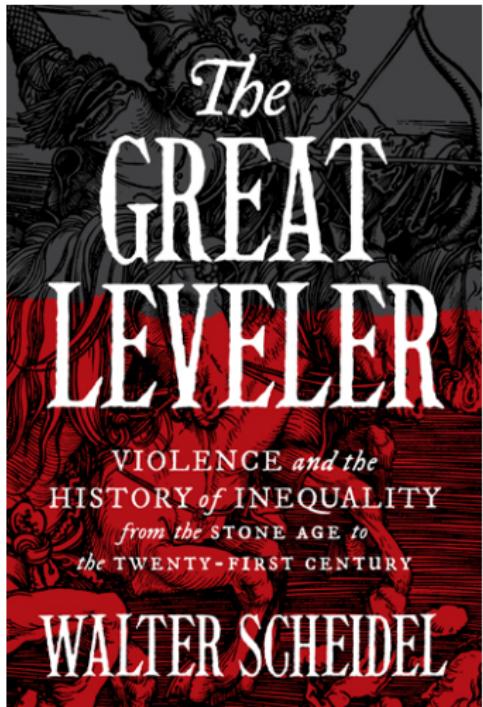
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 - Different conflicts, different effects?
 - How long its legacies last? How?





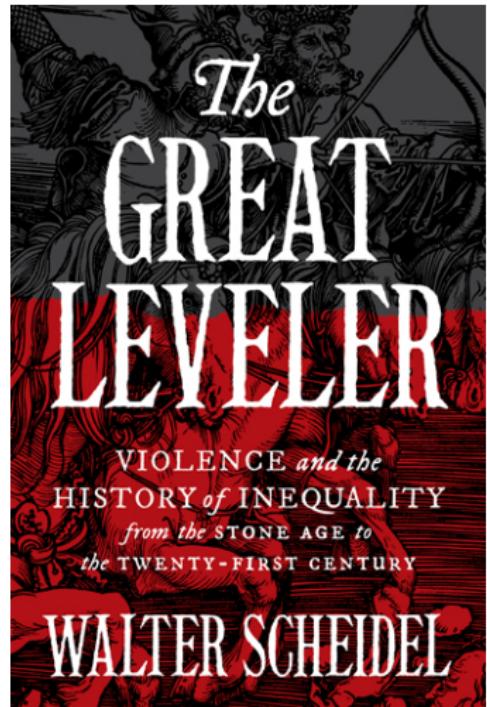
Economic consequences of war



Walter Scheidel (2018)

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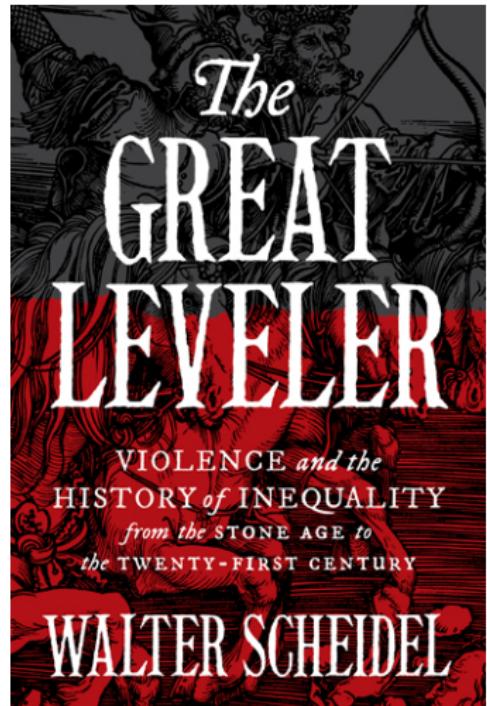
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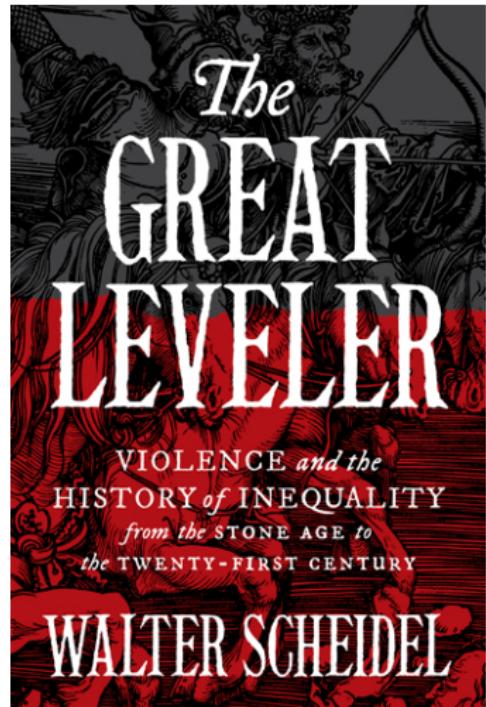
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Economic consequences of war

- Main argument: inequality only decreases after mass violence or catastrophes
- The '**Four Horsemen**' of leveling: mass-mobilization warfare, transformative revolutions, state collapse, and catastrophic plagues
- Situations when the rich have more to lose and/or the poor increase their relative power



Walter Scheidel (2018)

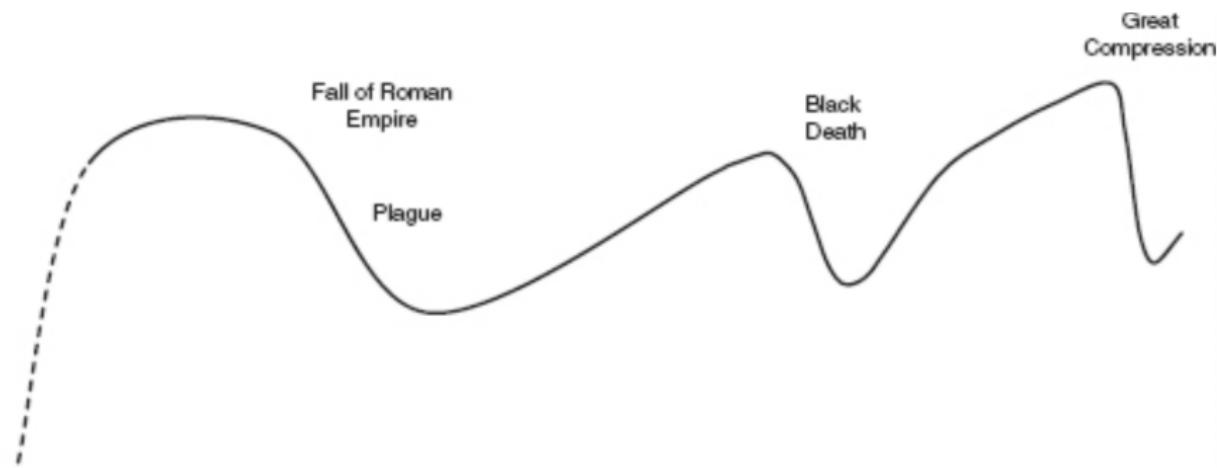
Scheidel's *The great leveler*

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- Inter-state wars that involve **mass-mobilization** decrease inequality
- Different to pre-modern wars (winners win, losers lose, more inequality)
- **What about civil wars?** Similar to pre-modern wars, inequality increases: increased value of capital, war confiscations, etc
 - Civil war ≠ revolution, but often go together

Inequality over time



Europe

Inequality over time



Social and institutional legacies

- How do wars impact macro-level sociopolitical institutions?
- Probably the most important thing and what we know less about

Social and institutional legacies

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- War and state development in medieval Europe, but does that apply to civil war?
- Unclear, in many cases, a weak state is the product of civil wars
- But for example, the case of **Uganda**: Museveni established local councils during the civil war, which were later scaled up in the post-war period



