

Long-term legacies of wars

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War, peace, and political violence

UC3M, Fall 2023



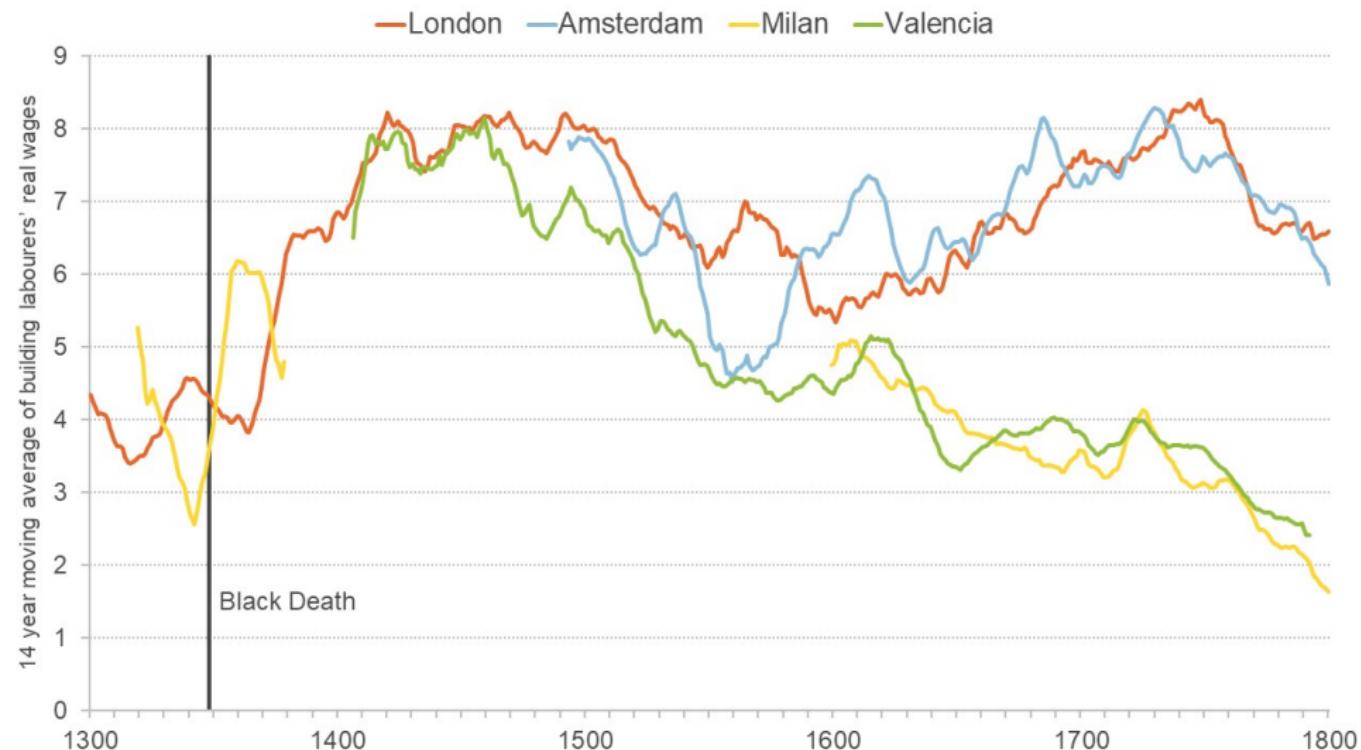
The consequences of wars

- Economic
- Social and institutional
- Social processes of war
- Legacies of violence
- **Differences** between interstate and civil wars?

Economic consequences

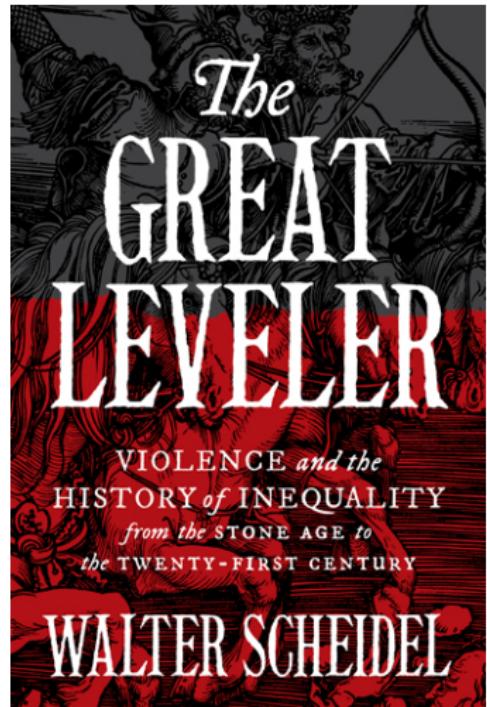
- War explains growth collapse in developing countries since the 70s
- It's difficult to measure it
 - Reverse causality: same problem with the effect of economic growth on conflict
 - What if a bad economic situation is the continuation of pre-war trends?
- The question is **how** it affects the economy, e.g.
 - Different conflicts, different effects?
 - How long its legacies last? How?





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

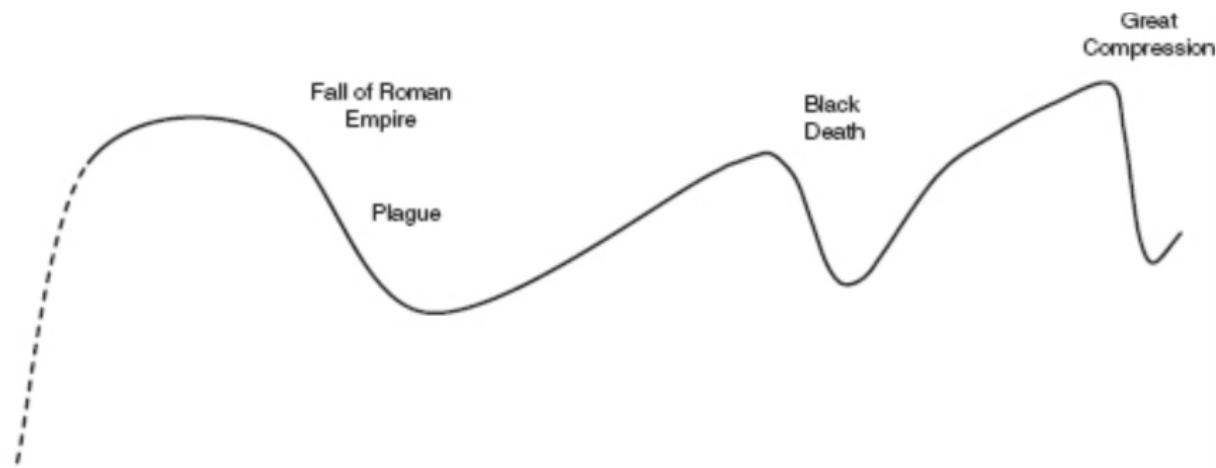


Walter Scheidel (2018)

Scheidel's *The great leveler*

- 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



7000 125 200 275 350 425 500 575 650 725 800 875 950 1025 1100 1175 1250 1325 1400 1475 1550 1625 1700 1775 1850 1925 2000
BCE CE

Europe

Inequality over time



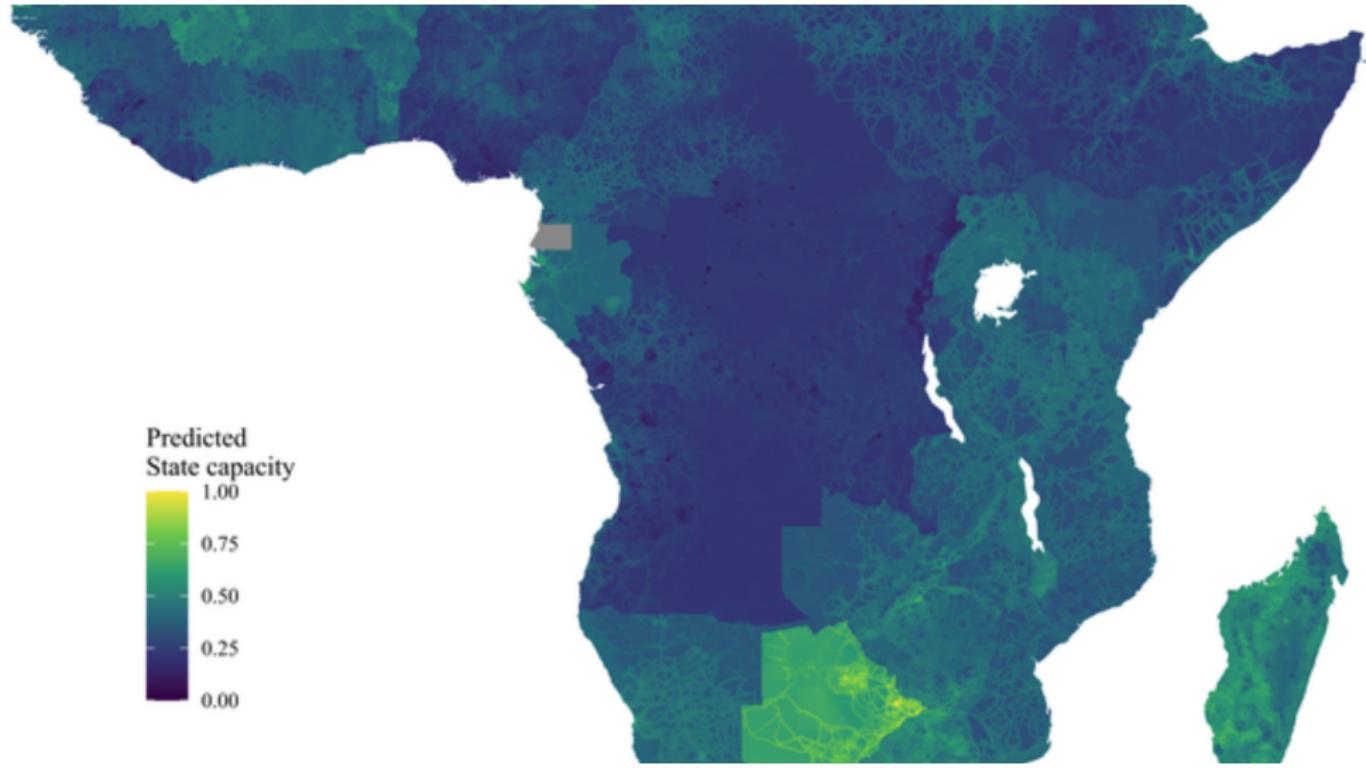
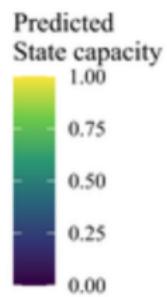
Social and institutional legacies

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

Social and institutional legacies

- 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





Social and institutional legacies

- What should we look at?
 1. Conflict-wide consequences
 - Trying to understand how conflicts in general affect postwar politics
 - Do conflicts polarize societies? What are the consequences of different outcomes? etc
 - E.g. military victory seems to lead to stronger postwar states

Social and institutional legacies

2. Micro-level consequences

- Influence of the focus on the micro-dynamics of conflicts
- Local- or region-level legacies of wars: how do wars develop at the local level? Wartime institutions, rebel governance?
- Legacies of violence: do specific events have consequences?

Social processes of civil wars

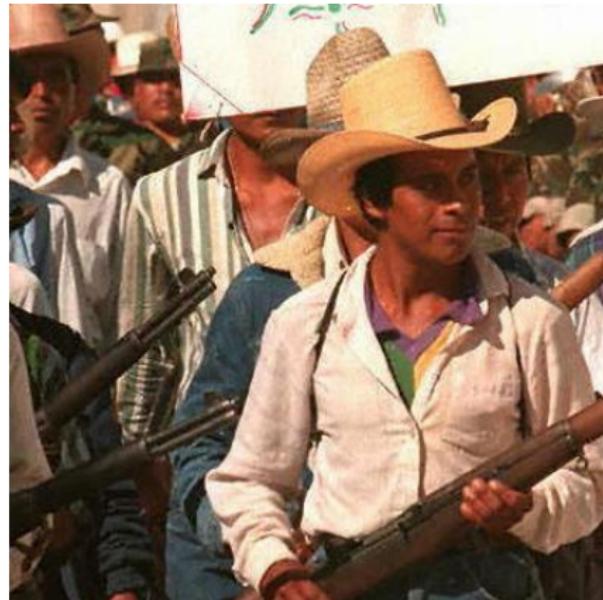
- Civil wars not only involve changes at the higher power levels, but fundamentally change social and political dynamics at the local level
- Directly related to **civilians**
- Changes in local actors, practices, institutions, etc often have long-term consequences in the postwar period, for example:
 1. Political mobilization
 2. Polarization of identities
 3. Gender roles

Social processes of civil wars

1. Political mobilization

- 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
- 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.

Social processes of civil wars

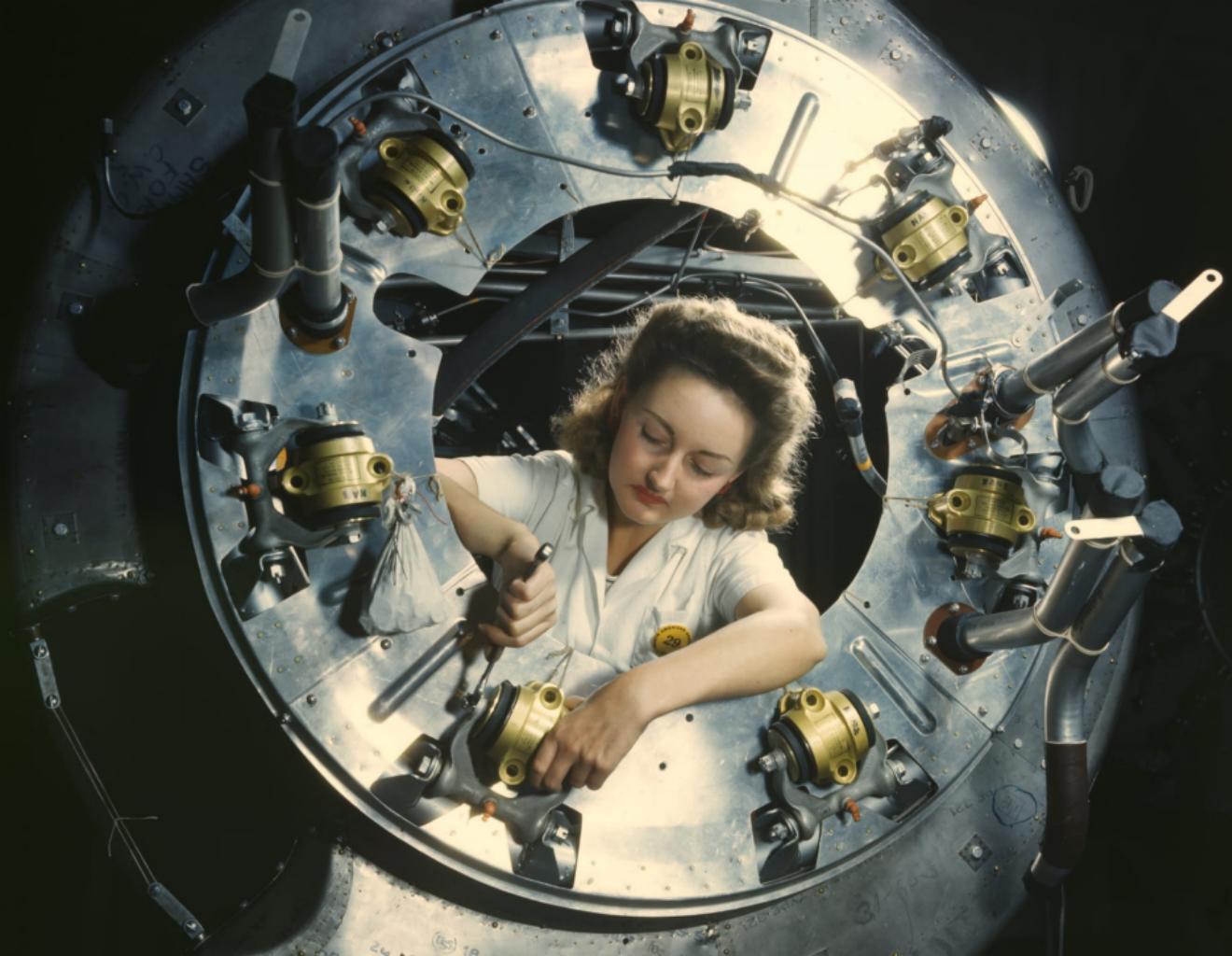
2. Polarization of identities

- Role of mobilization, militarization, violence, etc
- Remember Kalyvas: local cleavages \neq master divisions, at least at the beginning
- But as the war goes on, increased alignment, as people choose sides:
 - a. Opportunistic choice
 - b. Looking for protection
 - c. Moral outrage
- Variation within a single conflict: Getting caught 'between two fires'? Is it possible to stay neutral? etc

Social processes of civil wars

3. Gender roles

- War transforms gender roles, with likely long-term consequences
- 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





Social processes of civil wars

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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?
- Or is it about discourses and conflict-wide effects?
 - If my relative, friend, neighbor was killed, would that change the way I think politically?
- 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

		Wartime attitudes?	
		Pre-determined	Endogenous
Yes	Does wartime behavior prevails?	Hardening thesis	'Photo-finish' model
	No	Civil wars are irrelevant	'Wicked games'

Long-term consequences of violence

- The thing is violence **does** have an effect, and it lasts
- How to measure this?

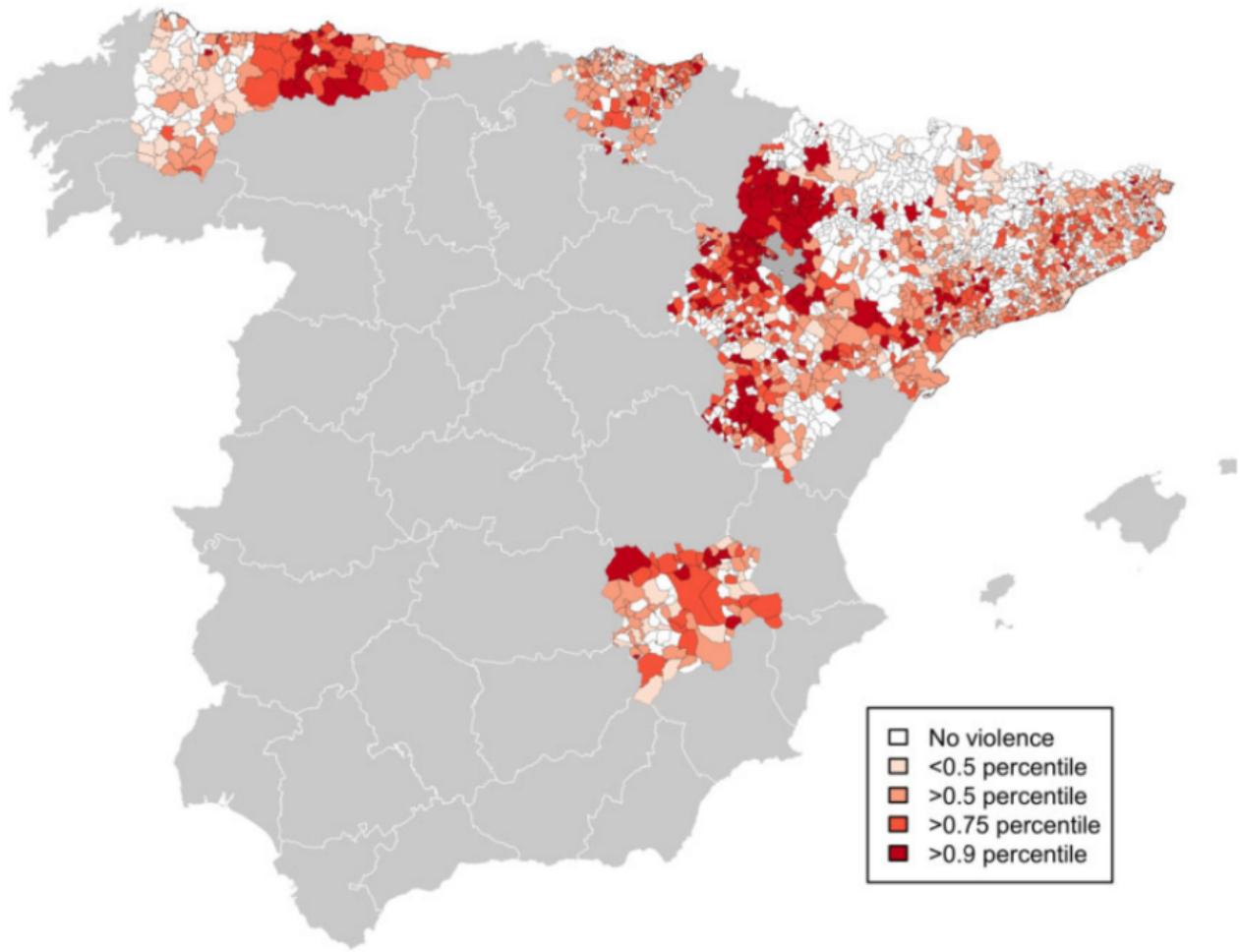
Long-term consequences of violence

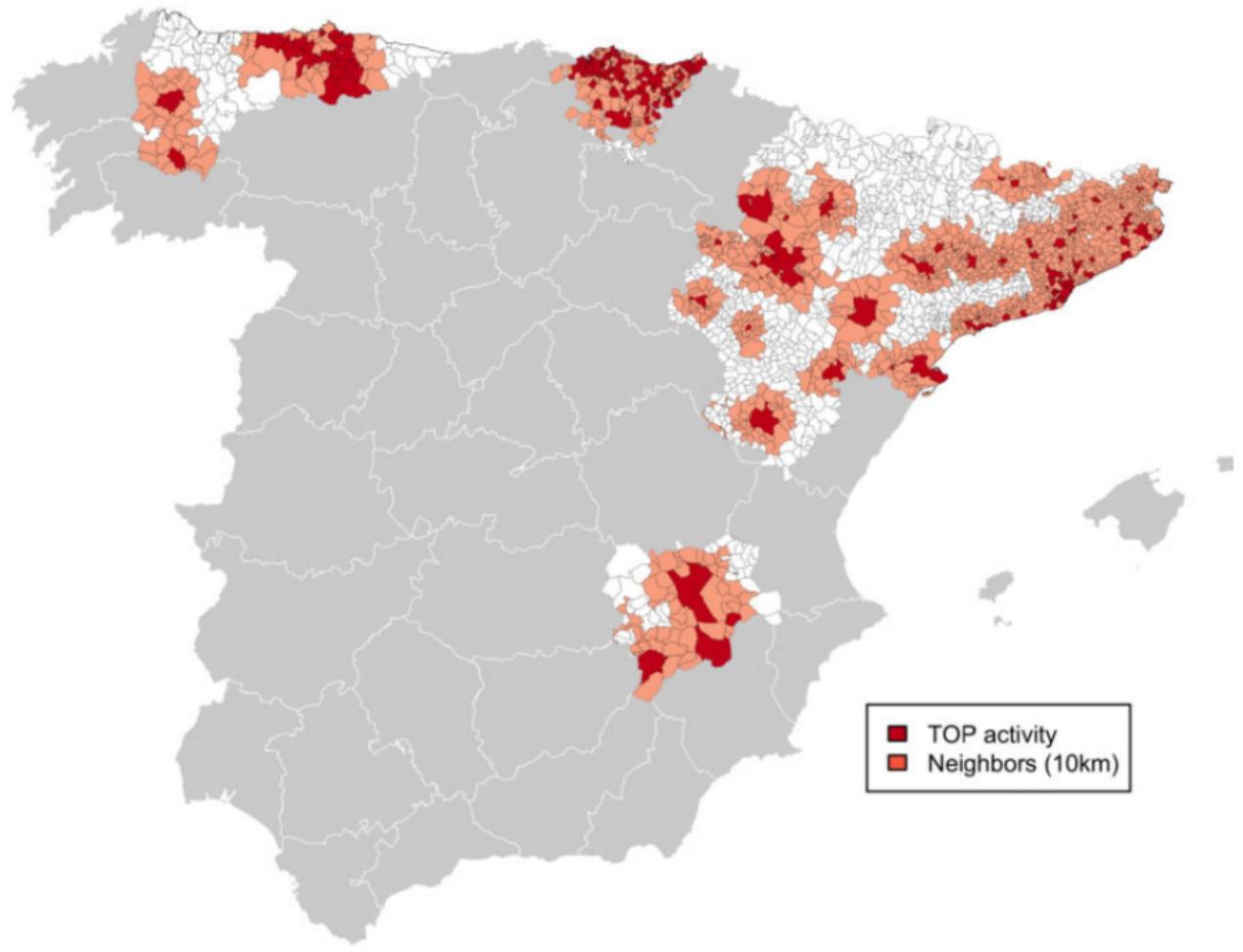
- If we do focus on how violence affects people's preferences in the long time, what usually happens is a **backfiring effect**
- Old idea: "The seed of revolution is repression" (W. Wilson)
- But does this happen all the time?

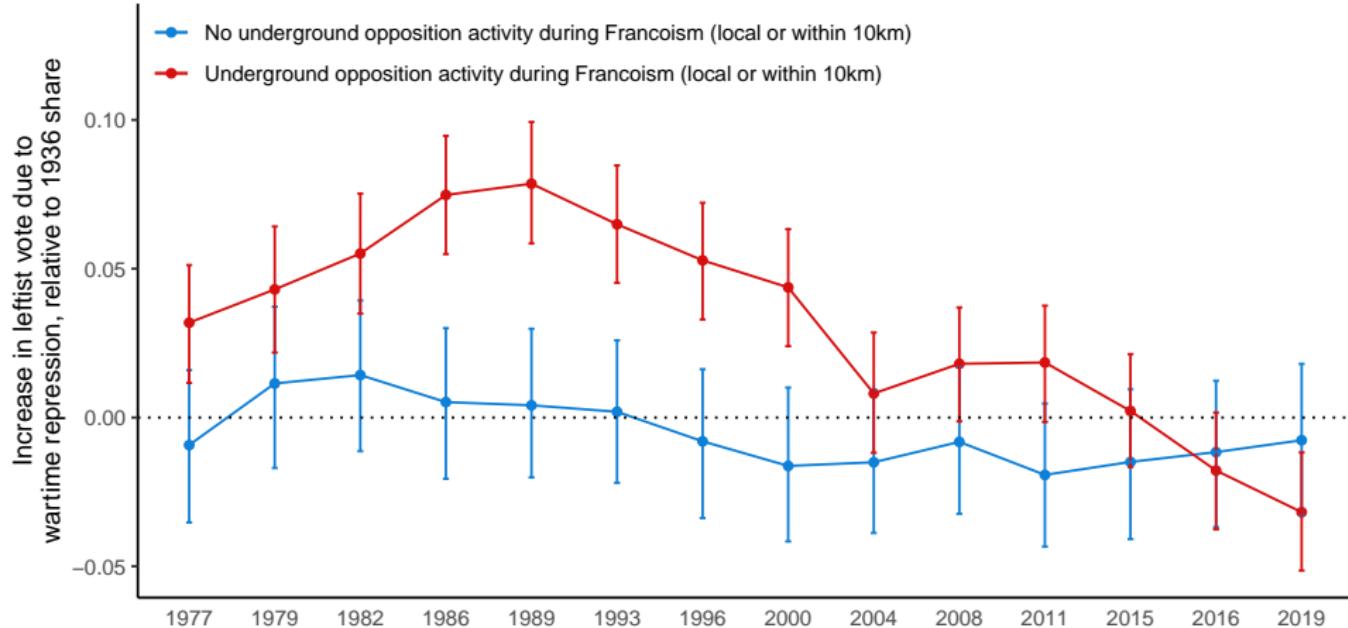
Long-term consequences of violence

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)







Long-term legacies

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



#JUSTICE4GEORGIA

NO JUSTICE
NO PEACE
BLACK LIVES MATTER





The consequences of postwar measures

- The way these events are remembered and memorialized also has consequences, related to effects of TJ policies
- Tomorrow's seminar
 - The Fight Over Virginia's Confederate Monuments