

POU44382: Advanced Topics in Civil Conflict

Department of Political Science

Lecturer: Dino Hadzic

Meeting Schedule: Thursdays, 9:00 – 11:00 in 5039 (Arts Building)

Office Hours: by appointment

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This module introduces students to past and current research on civil conflict. The first week is introductory while the second covers the relationship between conflict and ethnicity. The rest of the module (Weeks 3 through 12) is roughly divided into two parts. Weeks three through six focus on civil conflict as an outcome: what makes conflict outbreak more or less likely? Why are some conflicts longer and more severe than others? How can we end conflict and preserve peace? After reading week, in weeks eight through twelve we will explore civil conflict as a predictor: why does conflict increase civic and political engagement in some settings but decrease it in others? How does conflict affect representation? What are the long-term consequences of conflict? These are just some of the questions we will address this term.

In addition to our weekly meetings, I have uploaded the below materials to Blackboard. You may find them helpful throughout the term:

- This syllabus, which can be found in the “Syllabus” folder.
- All assigned readings, both required and optional. These can be found in each folder that corresponds to a particular week. For instance, the required and optional readings for conflict outbreak can be found in the “Week 3: Conflict Outbreak” folder.
- My notes for each of the required readings, which can be found in the “Reading Notes” folder.
- PDF versions of the slides, which can be found in the “Lecture Slides” folder.
- Advice on writing an effective essay, which can be found in the “Essay Advice” folder.

Assessment

Students will be assessed through two essays, a mid-term essay and an end-of-term essay. The mid-term essay counts for 40% of the overall mark while the end-of-term essay counts for 60%. More details for both are provided below:

Mid-term essay (40% of final mark): this essay is due at **11:59pm on Friday, March 24th, 2023**. It should not exceed 1,500 words in length, including footnotes but not the list of references. I will deduct five points for every 100 words the essay is above the word limit. I have no preference for any particular citation style, but please make sure you use citation procedures consistently throughout. You should double-space the essay and provide the word count at the beginning. Additionally, all late submissions, unless excused ahead of time by me or justified with a medical note or tutor’s note, will be penalized five points per day. **Under no circumstances will work be accepted after it has been marked and returned to other students or after the end of the term.** The essay should be submitted via Turnitin.

You can do so in the "Mid-term essay" folder on Blackboard.

For this essay, please respond one of these four questions/prompts. Each corresponds to material from the first half of the term:

1. The "greed" and "grievance" approaches to understanding civil war offer different predictions with respect to what policies will prevent and end civil wars. What sorts of policies will be effective at avoiding and ending war according to each approach and why?
2. Why do some diverse societies experience a great deal of inter-group violence while others experience practically none?
3. Is foreign/international intervention an effective way of ending civil wars? Why or why not?
4. In post-conflict societies, is power-sharing between groups necessary to avoid conflict relapse?

End-of-term essay (60% of final mark): this essay is due at **11:59pm on Monday, April 24th, 2023**. It should not exceed 2,000 words in length, including footnotes but not the list of references. Otherwise, all other instructions from the mid-term essay (regarding penalties, citation style, formatting, etc.) is the same for the end-of-term essay. This essay should be submitted via Turnitin. You can do so in the "End-of-term essay" folder on Blackboard.

For this essay, you have two options with respect to the question/prompt. If you would like, you can respond to one of the questions/prompts listed above (obviously, it needs to be one of the three prompts you did not respond to for your mid-term essay). Alternatively, you can submit your own essay question. If you chose the latter option, you will need to submit your proposed question via Turnitin by **11:59pm on Monday, April 3rd**, but can certainly do so earlier. I will regularly check the "End-of-term essay question" folder to see who has submitted and will return feedback promptly. When I review the essay question I may modify it. This is to ensure that we are both satisfied with the essay question. Obviously, your proposed question needs to be connected to the topics covered in this module. Also, please make your question is broadly theoretical, i.e., it should not be restricted to a specific place and time. You are certainly welcome to include empirical examples/case studies in your essay, but the argument/conclusions should be generalizable rather than limited to a particular case. Your proposed essay question will not be formally marked/assessed. Instead, I am having students submit the essay question beforehand to make sure that it is appropriate.

Finally, those who sit for supplementals will have an opportunity to be reassessed by essay only.

Recommended Reading List

All readings (required and optional) will be made available on Blackboard. Most of the readings will be journal articles, but students will also be assigned chapters from the books listed below. Once again, the assigned chapters will be available on Blackboard, but students may wish to obtain the books for themselves as well. Each of these books has received a significant amount of attention from conflict scholars and political scientists more generally.

Balcells, Laia. 2017. *Rivalry and Revenge: The Politics of Violence during Civil War*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Driscoll, Jesse. 2015. *Warlords and Coalition Politics in Post-Soviet States*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Tripp, Aili Mari. 2015. *Women and Power in Postconflict Africa*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Wilkinson, Steven I. 2004. *Votes and Violence: Electoral Competition and Ethnic Riots in India*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Academic Integrity

Violations of academic integrity (cheating, plagiarism, representing someone else's work as your own, etc.) will not be tolerated. In that vein, please follow best practices as described in the College Calendar (<https://libguides.tcd.ie/friendly.php?s=plagiarism/calendar>). Also, please complete the university's online tutorial on avoiding plagiarism as soon as possible (<https://libguides.tcd.ie/friendly.php?s=plagiarism/ready-steady-write>).

Disability-Related Accommodations

Students who require any disability-related accommodations are encouraged to register with the Trinity Disability Service (<https://www.tcd.ie/disability/>).

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Schedule and Readings

Week 1: Introduction

Week 2: Conflict and Ethnicity

Required

- Denny, Elaine K. and Barbara F. Walter. 2014. "Ethnicity and Civil War." *Journal of Peace Research* 51(2): 199–212.
- Fearon, James D. and David D. Laitin. 2000. "Violence and the Social Construction of Ethnic Identity." *International Organization* 54(4): 845–877.
- Hale, Henry E. 2004. "Explaining Ethnicity." *Comparative Political Studies* 37(4): 458–485.
- Varshney, Ashutosh. 2007. "Ethnicity and Ethnic Conflict." In Carles Boix and Susan C. Stokes (eds.), *The Oxford Handbook of Comparative Politics*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, pp. 274–294.

Optional

- Caselli, Francesco and Wilbur John Coleman II. 2013. "On the Theory of Ethnic Conflict." *Journal of the European Economic Association* 11(1): 161–192.
- Maoz, Ifat and Clark McCauley. 2005. "Psychological Correlates of Support for Compromise: A Polling Study of Jewish-Israeli Attitudes toward Solutions to the Israeli-Palestinian Conflict." *Political Psychology* 26(5): 791–807.
- Montalvo, José G. and Marta Reynal-Querol. 2005. "Ethnic Polarization, Potential Conflict, and Civil Wars." *American Economic Review* 95(3): 796–816.
- Posen, Barry R. 1993. "The Security Dilemma and Ethnic Conflict." *Survival* 35(1): 27–47.
- Sambanis, Nicholas. 2001. "Do Ethnic and Nonethnic Civil Wars Have the Same Causes? A Theoretical and Empirical Inquiry (Part 1)." *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 45(3): 259–282.
- Sambanis, Nicholas and Moses Shayo. 2013. "Social Identification and Ethnic Conflict." *American Political Science Review* 107(2): 294–325.

Week 3: Conflict Outbreak

Required

- Cederman, Lars-Erik, Andreas Wimmer, and Brian Min. 2010. "Why Do Ethnic Groups Rebel? New Data and Analysis." *World Politics* 62(1): 87–119.
- Collier, Paul and Anke Hoeffler. 2004. "Greed and Grievance in Civil War." *Oxford Economic Papers* 56(4): 563–595.

- Fearon, James D. and David D. Laitin. 2003. "Ethnicity, Insurgency, and Civil War." *American Political Science Review* 97(1): 75–90.
- Wilkinson, Steven I. 2004. *Votes and Violence: Electoral Competition and Ethnic Riots in India*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, Ch. 1 (pp. 1–18).

Optional

- Brancati, Dawn. 2006. "Decentralization: Fueling the Fire or Dampening the Flames of Ethnic Conflict and Secessionism?" *International Organization* 60(3): 651–685.
- Cederman, Lars-Erik, Kristian Skrede Gleditsch, and Simon Hug. 2013. "Elections and Ethnic Civil War." *Comparative Political Studies* 46(3): 387–417.
- Gubler, Joshua R. and Joel Sawat Selway. 2012. "Horizontal Inequality, Crosscutting Cleavages, and Civil War." *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 56(2): 206–232.
- Ross, Michael L. 2004. "What Do We Know About Natural Resources and Civil War?" *Journal of Peace Research* 41(3): 337–356.
- Walter, Barbara F. 2006. "Building Reputation: Why Governments Fight Some Separatists but Not Others." *American Journal of Political Science* 50(2): 313–330.

Week 4: Conflict Duration

Required

- Collier, Paul, Anke Hoeffler, and Måns Söderbom. 2004. "On the Duration of Civil War." *Journal of Peace Research* 41(3): 253–273.
- Cunningham, David E. 2006. "Veto Players and Civil War Duration." *American Journal of Political Science* 50(4): 875–892.
- Hegre, Håvard. 2004. "The Duration and Termination of Civil War." *Journal of Peace Research* 41(3): 243–252.
- Regan, Patrick M. 2002. "Third-Party Interventions and the Duration of Intrastate Conflicts." *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 46(1): 55–73.

Optional

- Aliyev, Huseyn. 2020. "Pro-regime Militias and Civil War Duration." *Terrorism and Political Violence* 32(3): 630–650.
- Fearon, James D. 2004. "Why Do Some Civil Wars Last So Much Longer than Others?" *Journal of Peace Research* 41(3): 275–301.
- Metternich, Nils W. 2011. "Expecting Elections: Interventions, Ethnic Support, and the Duration of Civil Wars." *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 55(6): 909–937.
- Montalvo, José G. and Marta Reynal-Querol. 2010. "Ethnic Polarization and the Duration of Civil Wars." *Economics of Governance* 11(2): 123–143.

- Mukherjee, Shivaji. 2014. “Why Are the Longest Insurgencies Low Violence? Political Motivations, Sons of the Soil, and Civil War Duration.” *Civil Wars* 16(2): 172–207.
- Wucherpfennig, Julian, Nils W. Metternich, Lars-Erik Cederman, and Kristian Skrede Gleditsch. 2012. “Ethnicity, the State, and the Duration of Civil War.” *World Politics* 64(1): 79–115.

Week 5: Conflict Severity

Required

- Balcells, Laia. 2010. “Rivalry and Revenge: Violence against Civilians in Conventional Civil Wars.” *International Studies Quarterly* 54(2): 291–313.
- Balcells, Laia. 2011. “Continuation of Politics by Two Means: Direct and Indirect Violence in Civil War.” *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 55(3): 397–422.
- Lacina, Bethany. 2006. “Explaining the Severity of Civil Wars.” *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 50(2): 276–289.
- Weidmann, Nils B. 2011. “Violence ‘from above’ or ‘from below’? The Role of Ethnicity in Bosnia’s Civil War.” *Journal of Politics* 73(4): 1178–1190.

Optional

- Aliyev, Huseyn and Emil A. Souleimanov. 2019. “Ethnicity and Conflict Severity: Accounting for the Effect of Co-Ethnic and Non-Ethnic Militias on Battlefield Lethality.” *Third World Quarterly* 40(3): 471–487.
- Balcells, Laia. 2017. *Rivalry and Revenge: The Politics of Violence during Civil War*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, Chs. 7 (pp. 171–180).
- Costalli, Stefano and Francesco N. Moro. 2011. “The Patterns of Ethnic Settlement and Violence: A Local-Level Quantitative Analysis of the Bosnian War.” *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 34(2): 2096–2114.
- Costalli, Stefano and Francesco N. Moro. 2012. “Ethnicity and Strategy in the Bosnian Civil War: Explanations for the Severity of Violence in Bosnian Municipalities.” *Journal of Peace Research* 49(6): 801–815.
- Hegre, Håvard, Gudrun Østby, and Clionadh Raleigh. 2009. “Poverty and Civil War Events: A Disaggregated Study of Liberia.” *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 53(4): 598–623.
- Lu, Lingyu and Cameron G. Thies. 2011. “Economic Grievance and the Severity of Civil War.” *Civil Wars* 13(3): 215–231.
- Slack, J. Andrew and Roy R. Doyon. 2001. “Population Dynamics and Susceptibility for Ethnic Conflict: The Case of Bosnia and Herzegovina.” *Journal of Peace Research* 38(2): 139–161.

Week 6: Conflict Cessation and Peace

Required

- Driscoll, Jesse. 2015. *Warlords and Coalition Politics in Post-Soviet States*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, Ch. 1 (pp. 1–29).
- Hartzell, Caroline and Matthew Hoodie. 2003. “Institutionalizing Peace: Sharing and Post-Civil War Conflict Management.” *American Journal of Political Science* 47(2): 318–332.
- Matanock, Alia M. 2017. “Bullets for Ballots: Electoral Participation Provisions and Enduring Peace after Civil Conflict.” *International Security* 41(4): 93–132.
- Walter, Barbara. 1997. “The Critical Barrier to Civil War Settlement.” *International Organization* 51(3): 335–364.

Optional

- Brancati, Dawn and Jack Snyder. 2013. “Time to Kill: The Impact of Election Timing on Post-Conflict Stability.” *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 57(5): 822–853.
- Greenhill, Kelly M. and Solomon Major. 2007. “The Perils of Profiling: Civil War Spoilers and the Collapse of Intrastate Peace Accords.” *International Security* 31(3): 7–40.
- Gurses, Mehmet and Nicolas Rost. 2017. “Religion as a Peacemaker? Peace Duration after Ethnic Civil Wars.” *Politics and Religion* 10(2): 339–362.
- Hartzell, Caroline, Matthew Hoodie, and Donald Rothchild. 2001. “Stabilizing the Peace After Civil War: An Investigation of Some Key Variables.” *International Organization* 55(1): 183–208.
- Hoodie, Matthew and Caroline Hartzell. 2005. “Signals of Reconciliation: Institution-Building and the Resolution of Civil Wars.” *International Studies Review* 7(1): 21–40.
- Kaufmann, Chaim. 1996. “Possible and Impossible Solutions to Ethnic Civil Wars.” *International Security* 20(4): 136–175.
- Stedman, Stephen John. 1997. “Spoiler Problems in Peace Processes.” *International Security* 22(2): 5–53.

Week 7: Reading Week

Week 8: Conflict, Identity, and Social Attitudes

Required

- Dyrstad, Karin. 2013. “Does Civil War Breed Authoritarian Values? An Empirical Study of Bosnia-Herzegovina, Kosovo and Croatia.” *Democratization* 20(7): 1219–1242.
- Mironova, Vera and Sam Whitt. 2016. “Social Norms after Conflict Exposure and Victimization by Violence: Experimental Evidence from Kosovo.” *British Journal of Political Science* 48(3): 749–765.

- Rohner, Dominic, Mathias Thoenig, and Fabrizio Zilibotti. 2013. “Seeds of Distrust: Conflict in Uganda.” *Journal of Economic Growth* 18(3): 217–252.
- Strabac, Zan and Kristen Ringdal. 2008. “Individual and Contextual Influences of War on Ethnic Prejudice in Croatia.” *Sociological Quarterly* 49(4): 769–796.

Optional

- Bauer, Michal, Alessandra Cassar, Julie Chytilová, and Joseph Henrich. 2014. “War’s Enduring Effects on the Development of Egalitarian Motivations and In-Group Biases.” *Psychological Science* 25(1): 47–57.
- Becchetti, Leonardo, Pierluigi Conzo, and Alessandro Romeo. 2014. “Violence, Trust, and Trustworthiness: Evidence from a Nairobi Slum.” *Oxford Economic Papers* 66(1): 283–305.
- Dyrstad, Karin. 2012. “After Ethnic Civil War: Ethno-Nationalism in the Western Balkans.” *Journal of Peace Research* 49(6): 817–831.
- Gneezy, Ayelet and Daniel M. T. Fessler. 2012. “Conflict, Sticks and Carrots: War Increases Prosocial Punishments and Rewards.” *Proceedings of the Royal Society B: Biological Sciences* 279(1727): 219–223.
- Mironova, Vera and Sam Whitt. 2016. “The Evolution of Prosociality and Parochialism after Violence.” *Journal of Peace Research* 53(5): 648–664.
- Whitt, Sam and Rick K. Wilson. 2007. “The Dictator Game, Fairness and Ethnicity in Postwar Bosnia.” *American Journal of Political Science* 51(3): 655–668.

Week 9: Conflict, Engagement, and Cooperation

Required

- Bauer, Michal, Christopher Blattman, Julie Chytilová, Joseph Henrich, Edward Miguel, and Tamar Mitts. 2016. “Can War Foster Cooperation?” *Journal of Economic Perspectives* 30(3): 249–274.
- Blattman, Christopher. 2009. “From Violence to Voting: War and Political Participation in Uganda.” *American Political Science Review* 103(2): 231–247.
- Coupé, Tom and Maksym Obrizan. 2016. “Violence and Political Outcomes in Ukraine – Evidence from Sloviansk and Kramatorsk.” *Journal of Comparative Economics* 44(1): 201–212.
- De Luca Giacomo and Marijke Verpoorten. 2015. “Civil War and Political Participation: Evidence from Uganda.” *Economic Development and Cultural Change* 64(1): 113–141.

Optional

- Bellows, John and Edward Miguel. 2009. “War and Local Collective Action in Sierra Leone.” *Journal of Public Economics* 93(11-12): 1144–1157.

- Cassar, Alessandra, Pauline Grosjean, and Sam Whitt. 2013. “Legacies of Violence: Trust and Market Development.” *Journal of Economic Growth* 18(3): 285–318.
- Gilligan, Michael J., Benjamin J. Pasquale, and Cyrus Samii. 2014. “Civil War and Social Cohesion: Lab-in-the-Field Evidence from Nepal.” *American Journal of Political Science* 58(3): 604–619.
- Grosjean, Pauline. 2014. “Conflict and Social and Political Preferences: Evidence from World War II and Civil Conflict in 35 European Countries.” *Comparative Economic Studies* 56(3): 424–451.
- Kijewski, Sara and Markus Freitag. 2018. “Civil War and the Formation of Social Trust in Kosovo: Posttraumatic Growth or War-related Distress?” *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 62(4): 717–742.
- Voors, Maarten J., Eleonora E. M. Nillesen, Philip Verwimp, Erwin H. Bulte, Robert Lensink, and Daan P. Van Soest. 2012. “Violent Conflict and Behavior: A Field Experiment in Burundi.” *American Economic Review* 102(2): 941–964.

Week 10: Conflict and Political Preferences

Required

- Beber, Bernd, Philip Roessler, and Alexandra Scacco. 2014. “Intergroup Violence and Political Attitudes: Evidence from a Dividing Sudan.” *Journal of Politics* 76(3): 649–665.
- Glaurdić, Josip and Vuk Vuković. 2016. “Voting after War: Legacy of Conflict and the Economy as Determinants of Electoral Support in Croatia.” *Electoral Studies* 42(June): 135–145.
- Grossman, Guy, Devorah Manekin, and Dan Miodownik. 2015. “The Political Legacies of Combat: Attitudes Toward War and Peace Among Israeli Ex-Combatants.” *International Organization* 69(4): 981–1009.
- Hadzic, Dino, David Carlson, and Margit Tavits. 2020. “How Exposure to Violence Affects Ethnic Voting.” *British Journal of Political Science* 50(1): 345–362.

Optional

- Barceló, Joan. 2018. “Batons and Ballots: The Effectiveness of State Violence in Fighting Against Catalan Separatism.” *Research and Politics* 5(2): 1–9.
- Berrebi, Claude and Esteban F. Klor. 2006. “On Terrorism and Electoral Outcomes: Theory and Evidence from the Israeli-Palestinian Conflict.” *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 50(6): 899–925.
- Berrebi, Claude and Esteban F. Klor. 2008. “Are Voters Sensitive to Terrorism? Direct Evidence from the Israeli Electorate.” *American Political Science Review* 102(3): 279–301.

- Getmansky, Anna and Thomas Zeitzoff. 2014. "Terrorism and Voting: The Effect of Rocket Threat on Voting in Israeli Elections." *American Political Science Review* 108((3): 588–604.
- Hadzic, Dino. 2018. "Policy Preferences in a Post-War Environment." *Research and Politics* 5(2): 1–6.
- Kibris, Arzu. 2011. "Funeral and Elections: The Effects of Terrorism on Voting Behavior in Turkey." *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 55(2): 220–247.

Week 11: Conflict and Gender

Required

- Bush, Sarah Sunn. 2011. "International Politics and the Spread of Quotas for Women in Legislatures." *International Organization* 65(1): 103–137.
- Hadzic, Dino and Margit Tavits. 2019. "The Gendered Effects of Violence on Political Engagement." *Journal of Politics* 81(2): 676–680.
- Hadzic, Dino and Margit Tavits. 2020. "Wartime Violence and Post-War Women's Representation." *British Journal of Political Science*, published online February 28, 2020.
- Shair-Rosenfield, Sarah and Reed M. Wood. 2017. "Governing Well after War: How Improving Female Representation Prolongs Post-conflict Peace." *Journal of Politics* 79(3): 995–1009.

Optional

- Anderson, Miriam J. and Liam Swiss. 2014. "Peace Accords and the Adoption of Electoral Quotas for Women in the Developing World, 1990-2006." *Politics and Gender* 10(1): 33–61.
- Fuest, Veronika. 2008. "'This is the Time to Get in Front': Changing Roles and Opportunities for Women in Liberia." *African Affairs* 107(427): 201–224.
- Hughes, Melanie M. 2009. "Armed Conflict, International Linkages, and Women's Parliamentary Representation in Developing Nations." *Social Problems* 56(1): 174–204.
- Hughes, Melanie M. and Aili Mari Tripp. 2015. "Civil War and Trajectories of Change in Women's Political Representation in Africa, 1985-2010." *Social Forces* 93(4): 1513–1540.
- Krook, Mona Lena, Diana Z. O'Brien, and Krista M. Swip. 2010. "Military Invasion and Women's Political Representation." *International Feminist Journal of Politics* 12(1): 66–79.
- Tajali, Mona. 2013. "Gender Quota Adoption in Postconflict Contexts: An Analysis of Actors and Factors Involved." *Journal of Women, Politics and Policy* 34(3): 261–285.
- Tripp, Aili Mari. 2015. *Women and Power in Postconflict Africa*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, Ch. 9 (pp. 218–231).

Week 12: Long-Term Consequences of Conflict

Required

- Balcells, Laia. 2012. “The Consequences of Victimization on Political Identities: Evidence from Spain.” *Politics and Society* 40(3): 311–347.
- Besley, Timothy and Marta Reynal-Querol. 2014. “The Legacy of Historical Conflict: Evidence from Africa.” *American Political Science Review* 103(2): 231–247.
- Lupu, Noam and Leonid Peisakhin. 2017. “The Legacy of Political Violence across Generations.” *American Journal of Political Science* 61(4): 836–851.
- Rozenas, Arturas, Sebastian Schutte, and Yuri Zhukov. 2017. “The Political Legacy of Violence: The Long-Term Impact of Stalin’s Repression in Ukraine.” *Journal of Politics* 79(4): 1147–1161.

Optional

- Aguilar, Paloma, Laia Balcells, and Héctor Cebolla-Boado. 2011. “Determinants of Attitudes Toward Transitional Justice: An Empirical Analysis of the Spanish Case.” *Comparative Political Studies* 44(1): 1397–1430.
- Bieber, Florian. 2002. “Nationalist Mobilization and Stories of Serb Suffering: The Kosovo Myth from 600th Anniversary to the Present.” *Rethinking History* 6(1): 95–110.
- Dell, Melissa. 2010. “The Persistent Effects of Peru’s Mining *Mita*.” *Econometric* 78(6): 1863–1903.
- Nunn, Nathan. 2008. “The Long-term Effects of Africa’s Slave Trades.” *Quarterly Journal of Economics* 123(1): 139–176.
- Nunn, Nathan and Leonard Wantchekon. 2011. “The Slave Trade and the Origins of Mistrust in Africa.” *American Economic Review* 101(7): 3221–3252.
- Zhukov, Yuri and Roya Talibova. 2018. “Stalin’s Terror and the Long-Term Political Effects of Mass Repression.” *Journal of Peace Research* 55(2): 267–283.