Postwar Voters

Violence, Loss, and Memory as Electoral Currencies

Workshop schedule

22/02/2018

Workshop Schedule

Friday 22/02/2018	09:30 - 10:00 Welcome
	10:00 - 12:15 Panel 1 J. Tyson Chatagnier: Military Service, Combat Experience, and Voting Behavior Vanja Petričević: The Role of War Veteran Organizations in Post-Conflict Bosnia and Herzegovina Jonathan Fennell: From Combat Cohesion to Social Cohesion: The Effect of Combat on the Voting Choices of British and Commonwealth Soldiers During and After the Second World War
	12:15 - 13:15 Lunch
	13:15 - 15:30 Panel 2 Dino Hadzic: Public Views of Elites in Post-Conflict Societies Atdhe Hetemi: Key Drivers on Attitudes Toward Voting in Postwar Kosovo Christophe Lesschaeve: The appeal of the uniform in postwar elections
	15:30 - 16:00 Coffee break
	16:00 - 18:15 - Panel 3 Valery Dzutsati: Microfoundations of the Postwar State's Response to Secession: Evidence from the South Caucasus Luis De la Calle: Cementing Populism in the Aftermath of Civil War: the cases of Colombia and Peru Daniel Stockemer: Women's participation in post-conflict elections – Evidence from Israel and Ivory Coast (co-authored with Michael Wigginton)
	19:00 - 22:00 Dinner

Paper Abstracts

Military Service, Combat Experience, and Voting Behavior
J. Tyson Chatagnier & Jonathan D. Klingler

While previous research has generally established that American military veterans demonstrate higher levels of civic competence and an increased propensity for political participation, there is no such consensus when it comes to vote choice. Although conventional wisdom holds that veterans tend to vote for Republicans, numerous studies have questioned this belief, and findings remained mixed. Additionally, despite the fact that scholars tend to agree that veterans are a distinct group, there has been relatively little investigation into the mechanisms that account for the group's uniqueness. That is, why are veterans different from non-veterans? Finally, most studies have treated veterans as a homogeneous group, neglecting important and potentially relevant variations within individuals' military service. We address these shortcomings within the literature by using new survey data to investigate the effect of military service on both the decision to vote and candidate choice. We employ a battery of questions on respondent background to distinguish the broad impacts of both selection and socialization on political behavior. We then use questions about military experience to examine the effects of conscription and service in combat, and to differentiate between officers and enlisted personnel. Our results not only provide us with insight into the general role that military service plays with respect to voting behavior, but also provides us with a deeper understanding of the heterogeneity inherent in the service experience.

The Role of War Veteran Organizations in Post-Conflict Bosnia and Herzegovina
Vanja Petričević

This study examines the role of veteran organizations in the post-conflict context of Bosnia and Herzegovina. According to the World Bank (2000), an estimated 425,000 were demobilized with the Dayton Peace Agreement. As they slipped from a category of "heroes" (to their respective armed forces) into a category of the "vulnerable" within the country, they have hardly received proper attention from the scholarly community as well as Bosnian authorities and Bosnian entities. Similarly, the academic efforts have largely omitted the role of this rather important segment of the society. As a result, locally based veteran organizations, alarmingly, remain under-researched and their effects on the country's post-conflict stabilization and the multitude of reform processes significantly under-studied. Previous studies on peace building in the Balkans largely portray Bosnia as its "success" story of post-war reconstruction and devote an overwhelming attention on the expansion of formal institutions in the post-war reform process. However, we now know that the majority of these formal institutions are impeding effective implementation of the Dayton peace agreement provisions and do not effectively address the needs and challenges of the Bosnian veteran

population. Instead, its representatives are more often than not accused of even igniting ethnic animosity.

Social capital is an essential, yet often overlooked, social fabric in aiding the rebuilding efforts within war-torn communities. The formation of social capital in a post-conflict setting is not only in the hands of local politicians and international political actors, but also in the hands of those who have actively engaged in the very hostilities at the center of the civil war – the veterans. This study seeks to analyze the role of local veteran organizations in the institutional network of the Bosnian entity – Republika Srpska. The focus of the analysis is placed on the veteran organization Boračka Organizacija Republike Srpske along with its 138,881 members. Studying the formation of social capital in a country where conflict has occurred more than two decades ago presents a solid case for not only dissecting the elements of social capital formation but also exploring the uncharted territory of the role that veteran organizations play within this context. The research is grounded in original fieldwork, relying on quasi-experimental design and interview questionnaires. The argument of the paper explicates that veteran organizations are an invaluable aspect of post-conflict reconstruction as they facilitate social transactions within communities in which they are embedded and transactions which formal institutions are incapable of ensuring to them. The very existence of these societal veteran networks should not be downplayed but strengthened.

From Combat Cohesion to Social Cohesion: The Effect of Combat on the Voting Choices of British and Commonwealth Soldiers During and After the Second World War
Jonathan Fennell

In the Lion and the Unicorn, the novelist George Orwell noted that 'war is the greatest of all agents of change'. This is the case, according to Eric Hobsbawn, as war 'can bring into the open so much that is normally latent' and 'concentrate and magnify phenomena', thus highlighting where change is necessary. The clarity that paradoxically can emerge from the chaos of war can impact meaningfully on the voting choices of soldiers and citizens alike.

This paper makes use of an extensive array of newly discovered sources from archives across the Commonwealth. In particular, it utilises:
- 925 censorship summaries, based on 17 million letters sent by British and Commonwealth soldiers during and after the Second World War
- Data on the voting behaviours of soldiers and veterans in the Australian elections of 1940 and 1943, the Australian referendum on state powers of 1944, the New Zealand election of 1943, the South African elections of 1943 and 1948 and the Canadian and British elections that were held after the cessation of hostilities in Europe in 1945.

The censorship summaries, which were essentially weekly or bi-weekly morale reports, were compiled by assessing the contents of soldiers' letters. These documents provide a heretofore unobtainable picture of the socio-political viewpoints of a substantial section of British and

Commonwealth society during the 1940s. They arguably rank alongside sources such as Gallup Polls, Mass Observation studies and Home Intelligence reports in terms of their significance to historians of the Twentieth Century.

The detailed statistics of the soldiers' vote allow the paper to explore how the political views expressed in the censorship summaries manifested in voting behaviours. In the cases of the New Zealand and Canadian elections, it is possible to go even further and investigate how voting behaviours differed by theatre of operations. The availability of these sources, offers the chance to gain a deeper insight into the radicalising effect of war on citizen-soldiers and veterans. It also allows the paper to gauge the extent to which veterans and citizen soldiers influenced social and political change both during and after the Second World War; such as the post-war extension of the welfare state across the Commonwealth and the institutionalisation of apartheid in South Africa. It shows that the experience of comradeship and shared danger at the front laid the foundations for a popular shift to the left. From the exigencies of combat cohesion a greater belief in and desire for social cohesion emerged.

Public Views of Elites in Post-Conflict Societies
Dino Hadzic

How does a history of violence affect party competition in a post-war setting? Do memories of past violence shape attitudes toward some political actors differently than they do for others? In this paper, I examine how past violence, when made salient, shapes the political preferences of citizens. To do so, I conduct a large and nationally representative survey in Bosnia, the site of a major ethnic civil war in 1992-1995. I find that a history of violence, if anything, tends to reduce affinity for political parties regardless of their orientation (ethnic or multi-ethnic). This suggests that memories of violent conflict, when made salient, can induce people to turn away from formal politics by engendering general hostility toward political elites.

Key Drivers on Attitudes Toward Voting in Postwar Kosovo
Atdhe Hetemi

The movement for an independent Kosovo escalated into war during the late 1990s, resulting in numerous casualties, missing persons, political prisoners, victims of sexual violence, war crimes, and violations of international law. For more than a decade, Serbs from Serbia and Kosovo alike, and those who supported Belgrade's policies towards Kosovo, had the power to perpetrate violence in Kosovo. The latest war in Kosovo (1999) resulted in numerous victims and a displaced population. However, the post-war period was also dominated by chaos, and Albanians were involved in retaliation acts. Nowadays, Kosovo society remain deeply affected and divided along different lines when it comes to the understanding and interpretation of its

recent past. These previous severities, which are frequently interpreted as either traumatic and/or heroic, are causing an ongoing hostility of mutual oppression and an increase of nationalism among communities living in Kosovo. In addition to healing the traumas of the recent war, Kosovo also struggles with an absence of an effective political party's attempt to implement policies leading toward democratic consolidation of key executive, legislative and judicial institutions.

Taking into consideration that most of the citizens were affected by war, the 2000s caught Kosovans in interesting social, political, and psychological circumstances. The postwar period brought to the surface two groups: those 'directly affected by war' (ex-members of Kosovo Liberation Army (KLA), war veterans, families of war veterans or martyrs, and survivors of sexual or any other type of violence), and those 'indirectly affected' (members of prewar peaceful movement, and citizens whose family members or properties were not affected in a large scale). The article intends to show key drivers that shape a voter's attitudes toward specific political parties or politicians: perceptions of war experiences, gender, ethnicity, level of education, etc. This study employs qualitative and quantitative research methodologies that consist of a combination of different sources on this topic, as well as expert interviews with political activists or experts working in the field. The main sources of empirical research include a desk review of the literature and Kosovo Government documents as well as the materials taken from the various specialized NGOs. In addition, for quantitative research, the findings from the Public Pulse3 surveys will be used.

The appeal of the uniform in postwar elections
Christophe Lesschaeve

What is the appeal of veterans who run for political office in postwar elections? Political candidates often flaunt their military service to attract voters, yet no research has been done on the electoral advantage enjoyed by war veterans in postwar societies, and how being a war veteran factors in to voters' overall evaluation of a candidate. This paper uses an experimental design embedded in a representative survey of more than 10,000 voters in six former Yugoslavia republics to analyze how voters evaluate candidates who served in the war(s) in the '90s in terms of leadership (strength, integrity, empathy, and intelligence), and how it alters vote intentions. The paper will not only look at the direct effect of being a war veteran, but also on how the effect of war service is affected by other information such as policy positions (left versus right) and valance issues (whether the candidate has been accused of corruption). Finally, this study also takes into account voter characteristics such as war experiences and policy preferences.

Microfoundations of the Postwar State's Response to Secession: Evidence from the South Caucasus
Valery Dzutsati

What explains the variation in individual support for the territorial integrity of the state that has experienced violent secession? While previous research emphasized the role of state elites, institutions, and secessionist groups or civilian support for rebels, this study elucidates the role of individuals in the core state in explaining the reaction of the state to secessionist claims after the war. The theory advanced in this paper builds on the research of the human biases in social psychology, rational choice, and the logic of the state survival. The expectations are that individuals in the core state will be more likely to support violent action against the periphery when: 1) they regard the secessionists as culturally alien; 2) capturing the secessionist territory does not threaten to undermine the material well-being of individuals in the core state; 3) their sense of the external threat is high. Using survey data from the South Caucasian countries that have struggled with secessionist movements and went through series of secessionist conflicts, I find that individuals in the core state are more prone to support potential violent action against secessionists when they regard members of the secessionist group as culturally alien, when their view of the economy in their home state is optimistic, and when their sense of the external threat to the state is acute. I further compare and contrast the case of Azerbaijan and Georgia. The comparison shows that the experience of intercultural communication and a recent record of losing the secessionist war to an asymmetrically more powerful adversary mediate the effects of economic optimism, cultural differences, and external threat.

Cementing Populism in the Aftermath of Civil War: the cases of Colombia and Peru
Luis De la Calle

Populist leaders in the developing world are usually heralded as saviours of their countries after having successfully defeated domestic insurgencies. Alberto Fujimori in Peru and Álvaro Uribe in Colombia likewise attest to this claim. Both were able to militarily diminish the strength of their local insurgents, won landslide presidential elections and eroded democratic institutions afterwards. Even if Fujimori and Uribe can no longer run for the presidency, they are still relevant kingmakers in their countries. In this paper I trace the origins of "fujimorismo" and "uribisimo" back to the extraordinarily successful performance of these two leaders against domestic rebels (Shining Path in Peru, and the FARC in Colombia — respectively) and show with fine-grained data gathered at the micro level in the two countries the long-term effect of voters' memories of traumatic civil-war experiences and how these help cement the populist reputations of political leaders. In order to incorporate variation into the dependent variable, I also document some cases on potential populists whose careers vanished due in part to a failure to win over domestic insurgents. For instance, attempts by Hamid Karzai in Afghanistan, and Nuri al-Maliki in Iraq, to consolidate their power ended miserably in the face of long-term violent challenges against their rule. In a nutshell, leaders that can credibly take

credit for defeating domestic insurgents are in an excellent position to found and consolidate new political movements whose hardcore membership is composed of voters that experienced the conflict and have a strong loyalty to the leaders who brought it to an end.

Women's participation in post-conflict elections – Evidence from Israel and Ivory Coast
Daniel Stockemer & Michael Wigginton

Previous research has established that women are frequently neglected in post-conflict situations. In many countries, they only play a marginal role in peace negotiations and post-conflict reconstruction. In particularly, in the economic realm, post-conflict economic programs tend to focus on macro-stabilisation and pro-market reforms, rather than equality and women's specific issues. Given that women do not tend to play a major role in the economic and social life in post conflict societies it is likely they will not play a dominant role in the political life either. We hypothesize that armed conflict has a negative effect on women's post-conflict political participation. We test this hypothesis using data for Israel and Ivory Coast, the only two countries with viable voter-level data for elections both before and after conflicts. More precisely, our analysis examines changes in women's voter turnout before and after the Second Ivorian Civil War (2011), as well as before and after three major international Israeli conflicts (The Yom Kippur War (1973), the First Lebanon War (1982) and Second Lebanon Wars (2006)). Despite the large differences between these two cases in terms of culture, level of development, governmental structure, and the nature of their military conflicts, both cases show decreases in women's political participation rates in elections following conflicts. Specifically, post-conflict elections in both countries show women's electoral participation decreased by approximately 15 percent compared to election rates before the war and by 3 percentage points more than participation rates of men.