Historical Political Economy

This version: July 14, 2026

University of Cologne
Department of Political Science | Winter Term 2026/27
Advanced Seminar

Sessions on **Fridays**
Time: **10:00–11:30**
IBW Building, Herbert-Lewin-Str. 2
Room **3.40**

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Office hours: by appointment

Course Description

Historical Political Economy (HPE) studies how political and economic institutions emerge, evolve, and leave lasting legacies for contemporary societies. This course introduces students to the foundations of and recent empirical research in this growing field at the intersection of political science, economics, and history. We examine the historical origins of states, state capacity, democracy, inequality, and redistribution, before turning to the causes and long-term political consequences of slavery, colonialism, state violence, religion, and gender relations.

Throughout this course, we approach history from three perspectives. We ask how political economy can help explain major historical processes, how historical cases and data can be used to study general questions in comparative politics and political economy, and how past institutions and events explain our political world in the present. The scope of the course is global. We compare the origins of the centralized state in Europe with developments in China and the Middle East, examine the long-term consequences of slave raiding in West Africa and Eastern Europe, study the legacies of state violence, including the Holocaust and Stalin's "Terror by Hunger" in Ukraine, and explore why women are more economically and politically empowered in some parts of the world than in others.

By engaging with seminal contributions in the literature and recent quantitative research, the course aims to deepen students' understanding of political processes more broadly while developing their ability to understand and scrutinize empirical research and formulate their own research questions using historical data and cases.

Learning Outcomes

Upon completion of this course, the students will be able to:

- engage with key debates in the field of historical political economy,
- explain the historical origins of state-building, democratization, and economic inequality,
- evaluate how historical events influence contemporary political cleavages,
- critically evaluate modern empirical research in political science,
- identify gaps in the existing literature, find original research questions, and develop appropriate research designs.

Prerequisites

This seminar is an introductory course for undergraduate students and has no formal prerequisites. Basic knowledge of history, comparative politics, and foundational research methods will be helpful. While perfection is neither expected nor required, students should be able to understand and communicate in English, as it will be the primary language of instruction. Above all, students should be interested in the intersection of history, economics, and politics.

Course Structure

The course is organized around weekly in-person seminar sessions. Each session begins with a lecture in which the instructor introduces the weekly topic, reviews key concepts and foundational contributions, and discusses important recent research. This is followed by a student presentation of a recent empirical paper, which serves as the basis for class discussion. The seminar is designed to be as interactive as possible. Students are expected to participate actively, raise questions and discussion points, and critically engage with empirical research.

To benefit fully from the course, students should complete the assigned readings before each session. Each week includes **mandatory readings** that all students are expected to complete before class. Every week (except for Weeks 1-2) also has a series of **presentation readings**. Students may choose from among these readings for their paper presentation assignment. They are *not* expected to read all of them, but rather to select and familiarize themselves with one article. All course materials will be made available through ILIAS, the university's online learning platform.

Assessment

This course follows a portfolio model of examination consisting of a **presentation** and a **research paper**. Students will receive individual feedback on both components.

The final grade will be based on the following components:

Paper Presentation: 20 Points. Each student will deliver a **15**-minute presentation of an academic research paper of her or his own choosing among a list of presentation papers. The assignment of papers will happen in the first week. Presentations will take place from Week 3 through Week 12. Each presentation should clearly summarize the paper's research question, theoretical framework, data and methods, key findings, and its contribution to the literature. Evaluation will be based on clarity and understanding of the material.

Research Paper: 80 Points. Write a research paper (5000 words, allowing a ±5% margin) in which you develop your own research question, develop one theoretically motivated hypothesis, and conduct a short empirical analysis with appropriate data. Potential data sources and additional guidance on methods will be provided in class.

Grading Scheme

Points	Grade	Points	Grade
100–96	1,0	70–66	3,0
95–91	1,3	65–61	3,3
90–86	1,7	60–56	3,7
85–81	2,0	55–51	4,0
80–76	2,3	50–0	5,0
75–71	2,7		

Registration

Registration is only possible independently by the students, for the course and the exam separately via KLIPS. Late registrations, unfortunately, cannot be accommodated. Detailed instructions and support for exam registration can be found on the Department website:

https://politics.uni-koeln.de/en/academics/examinations/registration

Submission Deadline

The Research Paper must be submitted via ILIAS by **March 15 at 23:55**.

Course Schedule

Session 1: Why Do Social Scientists Study History? (October 16, 2026)

This session introduces students to the field of historical political economy. We will discuss how historical events and data can be used to study politics in the past and to better understand contemporary political outcomes.

Mandatory Reading(s):

- Volha Charnysh, Eugene Finkel, and Scott Gehlbach. 2023. "Historical Political Economy: Past, Present, and Future." *Annual Review of Political Science* 26 (1): 175–191

Suggested Reading(s):

- Jeffery A. Jenkins and Jared Rubin. 2023. "Historical Political Economy: What Is It?" In *The Oxford Handbook of Historical Political Economy,* edited by Jeffery A. Jenkins and Jared Rubin, 3–16. Oxford University Press
- Alexandra Cirone and Thomas B. Pepinsky. 2022. "Historical Persistence." *Annual Review of Political Science* 25 (1): 241–259
- Matthew A. Kocher and Nuno P. Monteiro. 2016. "Lines of Demarcation: Causation, Design-Based Inference, and Historical Research." *Perspectives on Politics* 14 (4): 952–975

Session 2: State Formation: Warfare (October 23, 2026)

Our first substantive session examines the origins of state formation, focusing on classical explanations that emphasize the role of warfare. We will explore this argument and its limitations by comparing Europe with China.

Mandatory Reading(s):

- Hendrik Spruyt. 2009. "War, Trade, and State Formation." In *The Oxford Handbook of Comparative Politics,* edited by Carles Boix and Susan C. Stokes, 211–235. Oxford University Press
- Mark Dincecco and Yuhua Wang. 2018. "Violent Conflict and Political Development Over the Long Run: China Versus Europe." *Annual Review of Political Science* 21 (1): 341–358

Suggested Reading(s):

- Charles Tilly. 1985. "War Making and State Making as Organized Crime." In *Bringing the State Back In,* edited by Peter B. Evans, Dietrich Rueschemeyer, and Theda Skocpol, 169–191. Cambridge University Press

- Mancur Olson. 1993. "Dictatorship, Democracy, and Development." *American Political Science Review* 87, no. 3 (September): 567–576
- Nico Voigtländer and Hans-Joachim Voth. 2013. "Gifts of Mars: Warfare and Europe's Early Rise to Riches." *Journal of Economic Perspectives* 27, no. 4 (November): 165–186
- Robert C. Allen, Mattia C. Bertazzini, and Leander Heldring. 2023. "The Economic Origins of Government." *American Economic Review* 113 (10): 2507–2545

Session 3: State Formation: Coalitions, Culture, and Economic Development (October 30, 2026)

The second substantive session turns to alternative explanations of state formation, emphasizing coalitions between rulers and elites, the influence of culture and religion, and the role of economic development. We will again examine Europe from a comparative perspective, this time in relation to the Middle East.

Mandatory Reading(s):

- Lisa Blaydes and Anna Grzymala-Busse. 2025. "Historical State Formation within and beyond Europe." *World Politics* 77 (1S): 205–222

Presentation Reading(s):

- Anna Grzymała-Busse. 2024. "Tilly Goes to Church: The Religious and Medieval Roots of European State Fragmentation." *American Political Science Review* 118 (1): 88–107
- Lisa Blaydes and Eric Chaney. 2013. "The Feudal Revolution and Europe's Rise: Political Divergence of the Christian West and the Muslim World before 1500 CE." *American Political Science Review* 107 (1): 16–34
- Scott F Abramson. 2017. "The Economic Origins of the Territorial State." *International Organization* 71 (1): 97–130
- Joy Chen, Erik H. Wang, and Xiaoming Zhang. 2025. "From powerholders to stakeholders: State-building with elite compensation in early medieval China." *American Journal of Political Science* 69, no. 2 (April): 607–623

Suggested Reading(s):

- Lisa Blaydes. 2017. "State Building in the Middle East." *Annual Review of Political Science* 20, no. 1 (May): 487–504
- Anna Grzymała-Busse. 2020. "Beyond War and Contracts: The Medieval and Religious Roots of the European State." *Annual Review of Political Science* 23 (1): 19–36

Session 4: State Capacity (November 6, 2026)

After examining the origins of state formation, we turn to how states developed into the institutions we know today, characterized by vast bureaucracies and fiscal systems. We pay particular attention to political conflict among elites with competing interests and to how these struggles sometimes obstructed, but at other times promoted, the expansion of state capacity. We will also briefly examine the impact of institutions on development.

Mandatory Reading(s):

- Pavithra Suryanarayan. 2024. "Endogenous State Capacity." *Annual Review of Political Science* 27, no. 1 (July): 223–243

- Francisco Garfias. 2018. "Elite Competition and State Capacity Development: Theory and Evidence from Post-Revolutionary Mexico." *American Political Science Review* 112 (2): 339–357

Presentation Reading(s):

- Pavithra Suryanarayan and Steven White. 2021. "Slavery, Reconstruction, and Bureaucratic Capacity in the American South." *American Political Science Review* 115 (2): 568–584
- Pablo Beramendi, Mark Dincecco, and Melissa Rogers. 2019. "Intra-Elite Competition and Long-Run Fiscal Development." *The Journal of Politics* 81 (1): 49–65
- Davide Cantoni, Cathrin Mohr, and Matthias Weigand. 2024. "The Rise of Fiscal Capacity: Administration and State Consolidation in the Holy Roman Empire." *Econometrica* 92 (5): 1439–1472
- Daron Acemoglu et al. 2011. "The Consequences of Radical Reform: The French Revolution." *American Economic Review* 101 (7): 3286–3307
- Michelle D'Arcy and Marina Nistotskaya. 2017. "State First, Then Democracy: Using Cadastral Records to Explain Governmental Performance in Public Goods Provision." *Governance* 30 (2): 193–209

Session 5: Democracy (November 13, 2026)

In this session, we examine why some countries, both historically and today, are more likely than others to become democracies. We return to the theme of intra-elite competition, now incorporating the poor as a third political group, to explore the political economy of democratization. We also introduce the theme of landholding inequality as a possible roadblock to democratic reform.

Mandatory Reading(s):

- David Stasavage. 2023. "Democracy and Historical Political Economy." In *The Oxford Handbook of Historical Political Economy,* edited by Jeffery A. Jenkins and Jared Rubin, 145–160. Oxford University Press
- Daniel Ziblatt. 2006. "How Did Europe Democratize?" *World Politics* 58 (2): 311–338

Presentation Reading(s):

- Daniel Ziblatt. 2008. "Does Landholding Inequality Block Democratization?: A Test of the "Bread and Democracy" Thesis and the Case of Prussia." *World Politics* 60 (4): 610–641
- Michael Albertus. 2017. "Landowners and Democracy: The Social Origins of Democracy Reconsidered." *World Politics* 69 (2): 233–276
- Jacob Gerner Hariri. 2012. "The Autocratic Legacy of Early Statehood." *American Political Science Review* 106 (3): 471–494
- Sam Van Noort. 2024. "Industrialization and Democracy." *World Politics* 76 (3): 457–498
- John Gerring et al. 2021. "Why Monarchy? The Rise and Demise of a Regime Type." *Comparative Political Studies* 54 (3-4): 585–622

Suggested Reading(s):

- Daron Acemoglu and James A. Robinson. 2000. "Why Did the West Extend the Franchise? Democracy, Inequality, and Growth in Historical Perspective." *The Quarterly Journal of Economics* 115 (4): 1167–1199

- Ben W. Ansell and David Samuels. 2010. "Inequality and Democratization: A Contractarian Approach." *Comparative Political Studies* 43 (12): 1543–1574

Session 6: Inequality and Redistribution (November 20, 2026)

This session turns to the historical political economy of inequality and redistribution. We examine the sources of economic inequality and the conditions under which societies adopt policies intended to reduce it. More broadly, we consider the compatibility of democracy and capitalism through the lens of the nineteenth-century stock market. The session also provides a first systematic introduction to how historical data can be used to address general questions in comparative politics and political economy.

Mandatory Reading(s):

- Kenneth Scheve and David Stasavage. 2012. "Democracy, War, and Wealth: Lessons from Two Centuries of Inheritance Taxation." *American Political Science Review* 106, no. 1 (February): 81–102
- Stanley Engerman and Kenneth Sokoloff. 2002. "Factor Endowments, Inequality, and Paths of Development Among New World Economies." *NBER Working Paper Series* 9259

Presentation Reading(s):

- Aditya Dasgupta and Daniel Ziblatt. 2022. "Capital Meets Democracy: The Impact of Franchise Extension on Sovereign Bond Markets." *American Journal of Political Science* 66 (3): 630–647
- Alexander Lee. 2023. "Historical Inequality at the Grassroots: Local Public Goods in an Indian District, 1905–2011." *Comparative Political Studies* 56 (12): 1824–1857
- Marco Tabellini. 2020. "Gifts of the Immigrants, Woes of the Natives: Lessons from the Age of Mass Migration." *The Review of Economic Studies* 87 (1): 454–486
- Kenneth Scheve and Theo Serlin. 2023. "The German Trade Shock and the Rise of the Neo-Welfare State in Early Twentieth-Century Britain." *American Political Science Review* 117 (2): 557–574

Session 7: Voting Behavior and Historical Persistence (November 27, 2026)

This session explores whether contemporary variation in voting behavior can be traced to historical events and experiences. We examine the specific mechanisms through which historical legacies are transmitted over time and continue to drive electoral outcomes, focusing on repression, social mobilization, and technological change. We also return to the theme of warfare and investigate how the experience of war influenced support for extremist parties in interwar Europe.

Mandatory Reading(s):

- Lukas Haffert. 2022. "The Long-Term Effects of Oppression: Prussia, Political Catholicism, and the Alternative für Deutschland." *American Political Science Review* 116 (2): 595–614

Presentation Reading(s):

- Aditya Dasgupta and Elena Ramirez. 2025. "Explaining Rural Conservatism: Political Consequences of Technological Change in the Great Plains." *American Political Science Review* 119 (1): 277–299
- Alexander De Juan et al. 2024. "War and Nationalism: How WW1 Battle Deaths Fueled Civilians' Support for the Nazi Party." *American Political Science Review* 118 (1): 144–162

- Daron Acemoglu et al. 2022. "War, Socialism, and the Rise of Fascism: an Empirical Exploration." *The Quarterly Journal of Economics* 137 (2): 1233–1296
- Soumyajit Mazumder. 2018. "The Persistent Effect of U.S. Civil Rights Protests on Political Attitudes." *American Journal of Political Science* 62 (4): 922–935

Session 8: Slavery and Forced Labor (December 4, 2026)

In this session, we explore the political legacies of slavery and forced labor from three global perspectives. Our main focus returns to the theme of electoral persistence by examining the long-term effects of slavery on political attitudes in the American South. We then broaden the scope to consider the enduring consequences of slave raiding in West Africa and Eastern Europe following the Atlantic and Black Sea slave trades. Finally, we examine the economic conditions that gave rise to slavery and other forms of forced labor.

Mandatory Reading(s):

- Avidit Acharya, Matthew Blackwell, and Maya Sen. 2016. "The Political Legacy of American Slavery." *The Journal of Politics* 78 (3): 621–641

Presentation Reading(s):

- Nathan Nunn and Leonard Wantchekon. 2011. "The Slave Trade and the Origins of Mistrust in Africa." *American Economic Review* 101 (7): 3221–3252
- Volha Charnysh and Ranjit Lall. 2026. "Consequences of the Black Sea Slave Trade: Long-Run Development in Eastern Europe." *American Political Science Review* (February): 1–23. https://doi.org/10.1017/S0003055426101439
- Daniel Carpenter and Colin D. Moore. 2014. "When Canvassers Became Activists: Anti-slavery Petitioning and the Political Mobilization of American Women." *American Political Science Review* 108 (3): 479–498
- Melissa Dell. 2010. "The Persistent Effects of Peru's Mining Mita." *Econometrica* 78 (6): 1863–1903

Suggested Reading(s):

- Engerman and Sokoloff 2002, see above.

Session 9: Colonialism (December 11, 2026)

This session examines the political legacies of colonialism. We explore how variation in colonial institutions influences long-term development and conflict in Africa and Asia. We consider the enduring consequences of colonial boundaries for ethnic divisions and examine why the developmental legacies of British and French colonial rule differ today. Finally, we turn to a parallel historical development, the spread of missionary activity, and investigate its role in shaping whether former colonies followed more democratic or autocratic political trajectories.

Mandatory Reading(s):

- Alberto Simpser, Dan Slater, and Jason Wittenberg. 2018. "Dead But Not Gone: Contemporary Legacies of Communism, Imperialism, and Authoritarianism." *Annual Review of Political Science* 21 (1): 419–439
- Daniel C. Mattingly. 2017. "Colonial Legacies and State Institutions in China: Evidence From a Natural Experiment." *Comparative Political Studies* 50 (4): 434–463

Presentation Reading(s):

- Noah L. Nathan. 2019. "Electoral Consequences of Colonial Invention: Brokers, Chiefs, and Distribution in Northern Ghana." *World Politics* 71 (3): 417–456
- Alexander Lee and Kenneth A. Schultz. 2012. "Comparing British and French Colonial Legacies: A Discontinuity Analysis of Cameroon." *Quarterly Journal of Political Science* 7, no. 4 (October): 365–410
- Robert D. Woodberry. 2012. "The Missionary Roots of Liberal Democracy." *American Political Science Review* 106 (2): 244–274
- Tomila Lankina and Lullit Getachew. 2012. "Mission or Empire, Word or Sword? The Human Capital Legacy in Postcolonial Democratic Development." *American Journal of Political Science* 56 (2): 465–483
- Leander Heldring. 2021. "The Origins of Violence in Rwanda." *The Review of Economic Studies* 88 (2): 730–763

Suggested Reading(s):

- Daron Acemoglu, Simon Johnson, and James A Robinson. 2001. "The Colonial Origins of Comparative Development: An Empirical Investigation." *American Economic Review* 91 (5): 1369–1401
- Jack Paine, Xiaoyan Qiu, and Joan Ricart-Huguet. 2025. "Endogenous Colonial Borders: Precolonial States and Geography in the Partition of Africa." *American Political Science Review* 119 (1): 1–20. https://doi.org/10.1017/S0003055424000054

Session 10: Autocracy (December 18, 2026)

In this session, we partly depart from the theme of historical persistence and instead use historical cases and events to understand how autocracies work. We examine how autocratic regimes employ familiar institutions, including petitions, elections, and social policies, to generate mass support and promote regime survival, while often relying simultaneously on indoctrination and repression. We also consider the deeper historical origins of autocratic rule.

Mandatory Reading(s):

- Hans Lueders. 2022. "Electoral Responsiveness in Closed Autocracies: Evidence from Petitions in the former German Democratic Republic." *American Political Science Review* 116 (3): 827–842

Presentation Reading(s):

- Alexander De Juan, Felix Haass, and Jan Pierskalla. 2021. "The Partial Effectiveness of Indoctrination in Autocracies: Evidence from the German Democratic Republic." *World Politics* 73 (4): 593–628
- Agustina S. Paglayan. 2021. "The Non-Democratic Roots of Mass Education: Evidence from 200 Years." *American Political Science Review* 115, no. 1 (February): 179–198
- Maria Angélica Bautista et al. 2023. "The Geography of Repression and Opposition to Autocracy." *American Journal of Political Science* 67 (1): 101–118
- Jeanet Sinding Bentzen, Nicolai Kaarsen, and Asger Moll Wingender. 2017. "Irrigation and Autocracy." *Journal of the European Economic Association* 15 (1): 1–53
- Carl Henrik Knutsen and Magnus Rasmussen. 2018. "The Autocratic Welfare State: Old-Age Pensions, Credible Commitments, and Regime Survival." *Comparative Political Studies* 51 (5): 659–695

Session 11: State Violence and Displacement (January 8, 2027)

This session turns to the darker themes of historical political economy by examining the origins and consequences of state-led violence and displacement. We explore the long-term political effects of deportation and mass killing through the cases of Stalin's "Terror by Hunger" in Ukraine and the Khmer Rouge in Cambodia. We also examine the origins and lasting consequences of antisemitic violence in Germany, the role of religious minorities in protecting Jews during the Holocaust, and how the legacy of Nazi violence shaped political attitudes in Greece during the Eurozone crisis.

Mandatory Reading(s):

- Arturas Rozenas and Yuri M. Zhukov. 2019. "Mass Repression and Political Loyalty: Evidence from Stalin's 'Terror by Hunger'." *American Political Science Review* 113 (2): 569–583
- Donald Grasse. 2024. "State Terror and Long-Run Development: The Persistence of the Khmer Rouge." *American Political Science Review* 118 (1): 195–212

Presentation Reading(s):

- Vasiliki Fouka and Hans-Joachim Voth. 2023. "Collective Remembrance and Private Choice: German–Greek Conflict and Behavior in Times of Crisis." *American Political Science Review* 117 (3): 851–870
- Alexander De Juan et al. 2023. "The Political Effects of Witnessing State Atrocities: Evidence from the Nazi Death Marches." *Comparative Political Studies* 58 (14)
- Nico Voigtländer and Hans-Joachim Voth. 2012. "Persecution Perpetuated: The Medieval Origins of Anti-Semitic Violence in Nazi Germany." *The Quarterly Journal of Economics* 127 (3): 1339–1392
- Robert Braun. 2016. "Religious Minorities and Resistance to Genocide: The Collective Rescue of Jews in the Netherlands during the Holocaust." *American Political Science Review* 110 (1): 127–147
- Volha Charnysh and Leonid Peisakhin. 2022. "The Role of Communities in the Transmission of Political Values: Evidence from Forced Population Transfers." *British Journal of Political Science* 52 (1): 238–258

Session 12: Religion (January 15, 2027)

Our final two sessions turn to the historical political economy of culture. We begin by examining how religious beliefs have shaped the development of state capacity and individual economic outcomes. We also consider what history can tell us about why people believe and why religion becomes more, rather than less, important in the modern world. Finally, we explore the distinctive role of religion in politics, both in explaining electoral choices and in influencing the behavior of secular governments.

Mandatory Reading(s):

- Mohamed Saleh and Jean Tirole. 2021. "Taxing Identity: Theory and Evidence From Early Islam." *Econometrica* 89 (4): 1881–1919
- Sascha O. Becker and Ludger Woessmann. 2009. "Was Weber Wrong? A Human Capital Theory of Protestant Economic History." *Quarterly Journal of Economics* 124 (2): 531–596

Presentation Reading(s):

- Jörg L. Spenkuch and Philipp Tillmann. 2018. "Elite Influence? Religion and the Electoral Success of the Nazis." *American Journal of Political Science* 62 (1): 19–36
- Philipp Ager and Antonio Ciccone. 2018. "Agricultural Risk and the Spread of Religious Communities." *Journal of the European Economic Association* 16 (4): 1021–1068
- Sascha O Becker and Hans-Joachim Voth. 2023. "From the Death of God to the Rise of Hitler." *CESifo Working Paper* 10730
- Jeanet Sinding Bentzen, Alessandro Pizzigolotto, and Lena Lindbjerg Sperling. 2026. "Divine Policy: The Impact of Religion in Government." *American Economic Journal: Applied Economics* 18 (1): 195–247

Session 13: Gender Roles (January 22, 2027)

Our final substantive session shifts to gender roles. We explore how historical variation in agricultural institutions and technologies helps explain why women are more economically empowered in some parts of the world than in others. We also examine the origins of female exclusion in the Middle East, considering the competing roles of culture and economic conditions. Finally, we turn to India to explore the consequences of inheriting wealth through women rather than men, and to Australia's early convict settlements to examine what societies with highly skewed sex ratios can teach us about the consequences of men outnumbering women.

Mandatory Reading(s):

- Alberto Alesina, Paola Giuliano, and Nathan Nunn. 2013. "On the Origins of Gender Roles: Women and the Plough." *The Quarterly Journal of Economics* 128 (2): 469–530

Presentation Reading(s):

- Michael L. Ross. 2008. "Oil, Islam, and Women." *American Political Science Review* 102 (1): 107–123
- Pauline Grosjean and Rose Khattar. 2019. "It's Raining Men! Hallelujah? The Long-Run Consequences of Male-Biased Sex Ratios." *The Review of Economic Studies* 86 (2): 723–754
- Egor Lazarev. 2019. "Laws in Conflict: Legacies of War, Gender, and Legal Pluralism in Chechnya." *World Politics* 71 (04): 667–709
- Rachel Brulé and Nikhar Gaikwad. 2021. "Culture, Capital, and the Political Economy Gender Gap: Evidence from Meghalaya's Matrilineal Tribes." *The Journal of Politics* 83 (3): 834–850
- Antonela Miho, Alexandra Jarotschkin, and Ekaterina Zhuravskaya. 2024. "Diffusion of Gender Norms: Evidence from Stalin's Ethnic Deportations." *Journal of the European Economic Association* 22 (2): 475–527