

Sam Whitt

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Academic and research positions

2024-present	Professor, High Point University
2018-2023	Associate Professor, High Point University
2012- 2017	Assistant Professor, High Point University, High Point, NC
2011-2012	U.S. Department of State, Bureau of Intelligence and Research, Office of Public Opinion Research (INR/OPN), Washington DC.
2010-2011	Fulbright Fellowship, University of Pristina, Kosovo
2008-2010	Assistant Professor, Mount Mercy University, Cedar Rapids, IA
2006-2008	Visiting Assistant Professor, University of Tennessee, Knoxville, TN.

Education

2003-2005	Ph.D. in Political Science, Vanderbilt University
2000-2002	M.A. in Political Science, Vanderbilt University
1998	B.A. in Political Science, University of Tennessee
1994-1997	B.A. in Russian and German, Sewanee
1993-1994	Walters State Community College, Tennessee

Peer-Reviewed Publications

(forthcoming) Pride in the Illiberal Era: Visibility and Democratic Contestation in Hungary (with Phillip Ayoub) *Mobilization*

(forthcoming) “Public Support for Negotiated Settlement to Interstate War: Evidence from Ukraine” *Territory, Politics, Governance*

(forthcoming) “Sacrificing Civilians to Save Soldiers: Public Support for Counterterrorism, Counterinsurgency Operations in Mosul and Basra, Iraq” (with Vera Mironova and Douglas Page) *Terrorism and Political Violence*

(forthcoming) "Satisfaction with Democracy after Presidential Power Transitions: Panel Survey Evidence from the 2025 Trump Transition in the United States" (with HPU faculty) *Party Politics*

(forthcoming) "Going Public About Cyber Attacks: Public Threat Sensitivity and Support for Escalation in the United States and Russia." (with Vitali Shkliarov and Vera Mironova) *Journal of Cybersecurity*

(forthcoming) "Examining Affective Partisan Polarization through a Novel Behavioral Experiment: The Equality Equivalency Test in the United States" (with Jonathan Hall) *Journal of Behavioral and Experimental Economics*

(2026) "Silence or Solidarity? The Political Pitfalls of an LGBTQI Avoidance Strategy in Hungary" (with Phillip Ayoub) *Comparative Politics* 58, no. 4 (2026): 445-474.

(2026) "Toward a Posthumanist Understanding of Wartime Suffering: Public Concern for Animal Welfare in Ukraine" (with Vera Mironova) *Perspectives on Politics* 24, no. 2 (2026): 571-595.

(2026) "War-Related Victimization and Social Distance Toward Others: Evidence Following Russia's 2022 Invasion of Ukraine" (with Douglas Page) *Cooperation and Conflict* 61, no. 2 (2026): 396-422.

(2026) "Empathy Borne of Suffering: Effects of ISIS Victimization on LGBT+ Support in Mosul Iraq" (with Phil Ayoub and Vera Mironova) *Comparative Political Studies* 59, no. 1 (2026): 155-192.

(2025) "War, Social Preferences, and Anti-outgroup Behavior: Experimental Evidence from Russia's Invasion of Ukraine." (with Douglas Page) *Journal of Peace Research* 62, no. 6 (2025): 2107-2127.

(2025) "Anti-LGBT Messaging and Electoral Outcomes under the Shadow of War: Evidence from the 2023 Polish Parliamentary Election" (with Philip Ayoub and Douglas Page) *European Journal of Political Research* 64, no. 4 (2025): 2078-2092.

(2025) "Legacies of Past and Present Violence: Evidence from Mosul, Iraq" (with Douglas Page and Vera Mironova) *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 69, no. 9 (2025): 1628-1656.

(2025) "Countering international backlash by discrediting the messengers: Reputational chaining and LGBT+ rights in Bosnia." (with Philip Ayoub and Douglas Page) *Political Research Quarterly* 78, no. 2 (2025): 601-618.

(2025) "Increasing Public Support for Transgender Rights through Superordinate LGBT+ Rights Framing: Evidence from a U.S. Survey Experiment on Transgender Participation in Sports" (with HPU faculty) *PS: Political Science & Politics* 58(3):483-489.

(2025) “Does Pro-LGBT+ Messaging from a Celebrity Athlete Work in Conservative Contexts? Evidence of Anti-Western Contestation over LGBT+ Rights from the Republic of Georgia” (with Douglas Page and Vera Mironova) *Politics, Groups, and Identities* 13(1): 220-228

(2025). “Retribution versus Rehabilitation for Children within Insurgency: Public Attitudes Toward ISIS-Affiliated Youth in Mosul, Iraq.” (with Vera Mironova) *Terrorism and Political Violence*, 37(4), 512-530.

(2024) “Partisanship, Risk Tolerance, and In-Person Voting during the U.S. 2020 Election” (with HPU political science faculty) *International Journal of Public Opinion Research* 36(1): edad046.

(2024) “Public Support for Power-grabbing after Civil Conflict” (with Jim Walsh, Jonathan Hall, Paul Huth, Jacob Aaronson, and Vera Mironova) *Security Studies* 33(2): 291-323.

(2024) “How Cyber Operations Can Reduce the Escalation Pressures: Evidence from an Experimental Wargame Study” (with Brandon Valeriano and Ben Jensen) *Journal of Peace Research* 61(1): 119-133.

(2024) “Explaining Partisan Gaps in Satisfaction with Democracy after Contentious Elections: Evidence from a U.S. 2020 Election Panel Survey” (with HPU political science faculty) *PS: Political Science & Politics* 57(1): 8-15.

(2024) “Theorizing Potential Downstream Cultural Consequences of LGBT+ Activism” (with Phil Ayoub and Douglas Page) *Social Forces* 102(3): 1180-1199.

(2024) Maintaining Non-Violent Self-Discipline in Hostile Protest Environments: Evidence from the 2019 Baghdad Protests (with Vera Mironova) *Social Movement Studies* 23(2): 152-171.

(2023) “Gender, Agency, and Accountability for ISIS Violence: Public Perspectives from Mosul, Iraq” (with Vera Mironova) *Studies in Conflict & Terrorism* 1-24.

(2023) “The impact of US-Russia contestation over gay rights on social tolerance: Evidence from the Republic of Georgia.” (with Douglas Page and Vera Mironova) *International Journal of Public Opinion Research* 35, no. 4 (2023): edad034.

(2022) “Legacies of Stalin or Putin? Public Opinion and Historical Memory in Ukraine” (with Vitali Shkliarov and Vera Mironova) *Political Research Quarterly* 75(4): 966-981.

(2022) “Accountability and Due Process Under Transitional Justice: Evidence from Mosul, Iraq” (with Vera Mironova) *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 66(9):1650-1675.

- (2021) "Conflict Encourages Parochialism: Evidence from Ukraine" (with Vera Mironova) *Journal of Economic Psychology* 86 (2021): 102425.
- (2021) "Inter-group contact and out-group altruism after violence." (with Rick Wilson, and Vera Mironova.) *Journal of Economic Psychology* 86 (2021): 102420.
- (2021) Tribalism in America: Behavioral Experiments on Affective Polarization in the Trump Era" (with HPU faculty) *Journal of Experimental Political Science* 8(3), 247-259.
- (2021) "Ethnic Trust, Minority Status, and Public Goods in Ethnically Divided Societies" *Journal of Peace Research*. 58(6): 1239-1255.
- (2021) "Pride amid Prejudice: The Influence of LGBT+ Rights Activism in a Socially Conservative Society" (with Phillip Ayoub and Douglas Page) *American Political Science Review* 115(2): 467-485.
- (2021) "Public Tolerance of Retributive Violence against Insurgencies." (with Vera Mironova) *International Studies Quarterly* 65(2): 448-460.
- (2020) "Rebel Group Attrition and Reversion to Violence: Micro-Level Evidence from Syria" (with Vera Mironova and Karam Alhamad) *International Studies Quarterly* 64(2): 285-294.
- (2020) "Confronting Wartime Sexual Violence: Public Support for Survivors in Bosnia" (with Douglas Page) *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 64(4): 674-702.
- (2020) "Beyond Keeping the Peace: Can Peacekeepers Reduce Ethnic Divisions After Violence?" (with Douglas Page) *Political Behavior* 42(1): 213-238.
- (2020) "Mobilizing Civilians into High-Risk Forms of Violent Collective Action" (with Vera Mironova) *Journal of Peace Research* 57(3): 391-405.
- (2020) "Commitment to Rebellion: Evidence from Syria" (With Vera Mironova and Loubna Mrie). *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 64(4): 614-639.
- (2019) "Risk Tolerance during Conflict: Evidence from Aleppo, Syria" (with Vera Mironova and Loubna Mrie) *Journal of Peace Research* 56(6): 767-782.
- (2018) Social Norms, Conflict Exposure and Victimization by Violence: Experimental Evidence from Kosovo (with Vera Mironova). *British Journal of Political Science* 48(3): 749-765.
- (2017) "International Peacekeeping and Positive Peace: Evidence from Kosovo" (with Vera Mironova). *The Journal of Conflict Resolution* 61(10): 2074-2104.

(2016) "The Evolution of Prosociality and Parochialism after Violence" (with Vera Mironova). *Journal of Peace Research* 53(5): 648-664.

(2014) "Ethnicity and Altruism After Violence: The Contact Hypothesis in Kosovo (with Vera Mironova). *Journal of Experimental Political Science* 1(2): 170-180.

(2014) "Social Norms in the Aftermath of Ethnic Violence: Ethnicity and Fairness in Non-Costly Decision Making." *The Journal of Conflict Resolution*. 58(1): 93-119.

(2013) "Legacies of Violence: Trust and Market Development" (with Alessandra Cassar and Pauline Grosjean). *Journal of Economic Growth* 18(3): 285-318.

(2010) "Institutions and Ethnic Trust: Evidence from Bosnia." *Europe-Asia Studies*. 62(2): 271-292.

(2007) "The Dictator Game, Fairness and Ethnicity in Postwar Bosnia," (with Rick Wilson), *American Journal of Political Science*, 51(3). 659-668.

(2007) "Public Goods in the Field: Katrina Evacuees in Houston," (with Rick Wilson) *Southern Economic Journal*, 74(2), 377-387.

Book chapters and other publications

(2026) "Conflict-related Violence" (with Alessandra Cassar and Pauline Grosjean) *Encyclopedia of Law and Economics*, Jürgen Backhaus ed. Springer. 2479-2485

(2020) "Long-Term Effects of Wartime Violence in Tajikistan" (with Malte Mueller) *Post-Soviet Conflicts* ed. Lasha Tchantouridze and Stefan Brooks. Rowman & Littlefield.
[Post-Soviet Conflicts: The Thirty Years' Crisis - Google Books](#)

(2013) "Social Preferences of Ex-Combatants: Survey and Experimental Evidence from Post-War Tajikistan." (with Alessandra Cassar and Pauline Grosjean) in *The Economics of Conflict: Theory and Empirical Evidence*. Karl Wärneryd ed. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.

(2013) "International Intervention and Ethnic Tolerance in Bosnia-Herzegovina: Evidence from Public Opinion," in *From Mediation to Nation-Building: Third Parties and the Management of Communal Conflict*, eds. Joseph R. Rudolph, Jr. and William J. Lahneman (Lanham, MD: Lexington Books, 2013): 389-418.

(2004) "Public Opinion in Russia" in *Encyclopedia of Public Opinion*, John G. Geer ed. ABC-CLIO Press, Oxford, p. 710-715.

Working papers

“Risk Tolerance During Violent and Non-violent Collective Action: Evidence from Iraq, Syria, and Ukraine” (with Vera Mironova) under review

“Bolstering Public Confidence in Security After Violence: A Survey Experiment on Police Reform and Housing Reconstruction Interventions in Mosul, Iraq” (with James Walsh, Paul Huth, Jonathan Hall, Vera Mironova) under review

“Public Perspectives on War Trauma Research: Evidence from Ukraine” (with Natalia Lamberova and Vera Mironova) under review

“The Mass Politics of Wartime Innovation Policy: Public Support for Military Research and Technology Development in Ukraine” (with Natalia Lamberova and Vera Mironova) under review

“Pride in the Illiberal Era: Visibility and Democratic Contestation in Hungary” (with Phillip Ayoub) under review

“Fueling Opposition: Gas Prices and American Attitudes Toward War with Iran” (with HPU faculty) under review

Grants, Fellowships, Awards

2024	Excellence in Teaching and Service Award, High Point University School of Humanities and Behavioral Sciences
2022	Ridenhour Scholarly and Professional Achievement Award (High Point University – highest research award to a single faculty member each year)
2019	Sabbatical Research Award (High Point University)
2015	Summer Scholar Research Award (High Point University)
2011	Title VIII grant for research in Kosovo (with Alessandra Cassar and Pauline Grosjean)
2010-2011	Fulbright Fellowship (Kosovo)
2010	American Council for Learned Societies (ACLS) grant (Albanian language training)
2003-2004	NSF Dissertation Research Grant # 0318389
2003-2004	Fulbright-Hays Dissertation Fellowship (Bosnia-Herzegovina)
2003	IREX Short-Term Travel Grant (Bosnia-Herzegovina)
2000-2004	Vanderbilt University Graduate Fellowship

- 1999-2000 Fulbright-IIE Fellowship (Slovenia and Macedonia)
- 1998-1999 Thomas J. Watson Fellowship to Eastern Europe
- 1996 Biehl Fellowship for International Research (Russia)

Language Training:

Advanced training in (4+ years): Russian; German; Serbo-Croatian;

Intermediate training in (2+ years): Albanian; Macedonian; Tatar; Czech; Romanian; Hungarian; Slovene; French; and Tajik

Select Presentations

"Pride in the Illiberal Era: Visibility and Democratic Contestation in Hungary"
(with Phillip Ayoub) Queer Politics Webinar. December 4, 2025.

"Public Perceptions of Research Ethics on War Trauma: Evidence from Ukraine"
Workshop on Contemporary Ukrainian Politics (WOCUP) 2025 - War Trauma, Identity,
and Political Behavior in Ukraine. January 23-24, 2025. George Washington University,
Washington, DC

"Bolstering Public Confidence in Security After Violence: A Survey Experiment on
Police Reform and Housing Reconstruction Interventions in Mosul, Iraq" Carolina
Conflict Consortium, UNC Chapel Hill, April 2024.

"Conflict-Related Violence and Benevolent Social Preferences: Evidence from Russia's
Invasion of Ukraine" Presented online at workshop honoring Rick Wilson. May 2023.
Rice University, Houston, Texas.

"Institutions as Foundations for Social Cooperation in the Aftermath of Violence"
Presented online at the International Society of Political Psychology (ISPP) annual
conference. July 16, 2022, Athens, Greece.

"Conducting Field Research in Conflict-Affected Areas" Keynote address to North
Carolina Conflict Consortium, April 2022. University of South Carolina, Columbia.

"Rule of Law in Post-ISIS Mosul" (with Vera Mironova). Research presentation hosted
online by the Bureau of Conflict & Stabilization Operations. US Department of State.
August 6, 2020.

"Gender and Public Accountability for Political Violence" (with Vera Mironova) under
review"; "Accountability and Due Process Under Transitional Justice: Evidence from
Mosul, Iraq" (with Vera Mironova). Papers presented at the American Political Science
Association Annual Conference, August 30-31st, 2019, Washington DC.

“Confronting Wartime Sexual Violence: Evidence from Bosnia” paper presentation at workshop on Experimental Approaches to Conflict. University of Virginia. September 28, 2018.

“Risk Tolerance During Civil War: Evidence from Aleppo, Syria” paper presentation at Comparative Politics Annual Conference (CPAC). Washington University St. Louis, April 28-29, 2017.

“Out-group Altruism in the Aftermath of Violence.” Paper presented at the International Studies Association Annual Meeting, Baltimore, MD Feb. 24, 2017.

“Pro-sociality and Parochialism in Post-Conflict Societies: Experimental Evidence from Tajikistan.” Paper presented at the International Studies Association Annual Meeting, Baltimore, MD Feb. 25, 2017.

“Mobilizing Civilians for Combat: Evidence from Counter-Insurgency Recruitment in Eastern Ukraine”. presented at the International Studies Association Annual Meeting, Atlanta, GA, March 17, 2016.

“Mobilizing Civilians for Combat in Eastern Ukraine”. Workshop presentation on 2014 Survey Research in Ukraine. IERES, Elliot School of International Affairs, George Washington University, January 21, 2015.

“Fight or Flight in Civil War: Evidence from Rebel-Controlled Syria”. Paper presented at the American Political Science Association Annual Conference, August 30th, 2014, Washington DC.

“Social Norms and Preferences During Violence: Experimental and Survey Evidence from Syria.” Workshop presentation at Experiments in International Relations Conference, Princeton University, May 2, 2014

“Ethnicity and Altruism after Violence: The Contact Hypothesis in Kosovo” presented at the Southern Political Science Association Annual Meeting, New Orleans, LA, January 9, 2014.

“International Peacekeeping and Positive Peace: An Experimental Approach” presented at the Midwest Political Science Association Annual Meeting, Chicago, IL, April 11, 2013 and ISA ISSS-ISAC conference, George Washington University, Oct 5, 2013.

“Legacies of Violence: Trust and Market Development in Tajikistan” Paper presented at the 2012 Central Eurasia Studies Society Annual Conference, Indiana University, October 20th, 2012.

“International Intervention and Ethnic Tolerance in Bosnia: Evidence from Public Opinion Research” Paper presented at the Association for the Study of Nationalities 2012 Convention, Columbia University, April 21, 2012.

“Civil War, Social Capital, and Market Development: Experimental and Survey Evidence on the Negative Consequences of Violence” (with Alessandra Cassar and Pauline Grosjean) Paper presented at the Northeast Universities Development Consortium (NEUDC), Yale University, November 12, 2011.

“Lost in Transition – How Civil War Can Impair the Foundations for Market Development: The case of Tajikistan” (with Alessandra Cassar and Pauline Grosjean) Paper presented at State Department Title VIII conference, University of Delaware June 3, 2011.

“Great Expectations or wishful thinking? Ethnicity in a reverse dictator game in Bosnia” paper presented at the NSF Conference on Politics Experiments, University of Virginia, May 19, 2010.

“Unity or Partition for Bosnia? A Look at Social Preferences” presentation at Midwest Political Association Meeting, Chicago IL, 2010

“Social Cooperation in the Aftermath of Hurricane Katrina: Evidence from Public Goods Experiments” invited presentation, economics department at the University of San Francisco, 2010

“Ethnicity and Social Norms in post-war Bosnia: Experimental Evidence using Dictator Games” invited presentation, economics department at the University of San Francisco, 2010

“Fairness and Ethnicity: Evidence Using a Three Player Dictator Game in Bosnia” presented at International Studies Association Meeting, New York, NY 2009

“Institutions and Ethnic Trust: Evidence from Bosnia-Herzegovina” presented at American Political Science Association Meeting, Chicago, IL 2007

“Can Institutions Promote Cooperation after Violent Conflict? Experimental Evidence from Bosnia-Herzegovina”. Poster Presentation at American Political Science Association Meeting, Washington, DC 2005

Professional

Political Science Periodic Reviewer

American Political Science Review; American Journal of Political Science; Journal of Politics; International Organization; Cambridge University Press; British Journal of Political Science; Public Opinion Quarterly; Comparative Political Studies; Journal of Peace Research; Journal of Conflict Resolution; Political Research Quarterly; Political Behavior; Journal of Experimental Political Science; Religion and Politics; Social Science Quarterly; Political Studies; International Studies Review; Conflict Management

and Peace Science; Terrorism and Political Violence; Civil Wars; Intervention and State Building; Ethnic and Racial Studies; East European Politics and Societies; Political Studies Review; Political Science Research & Methods; Electoral Studies

General, Econ/Psych Periodic Reviewer

Science; Nature-Scientific Reports; PNAS; National Science Foundation; UKRI; Journal of the Royal Statistical Society; PLOS One; American Economic Review; European Economic Review; Journal of Economic Growth; Journal of Comparative Economics; World Development; Journal of Development Economics; Journal of Development Studies; Review of Development Economics; Journal of Public Economics; Journal of Population Economics; Experimental Economics; Social Forces; Social Movement Studies; Journal of Cybersecurity; Crime and Delinquency; Defense and Peace Economics; Communications Psychology; Geoforum; Humanities and Social Science Communications; Frontiers in Psychology; Human Nature; IJPOR; Third World Quarterly; Royal Society-Open Science; Society & Animals; Public Administration

Courses

International Relations	Political Parties and Interest Groups
Comparative Politics	American Politics
Research Methods	Congress
Ethnic Politics	State and Local Politics
Politics of the Developing World	American Political Thought
Authoritarianism and Democracy	Introduction to Political Science
Democracy Development and Conflict	First Year Sem: Political Leadership

University Service:

Tenure and Promotion Committee, Academic Planning and Intercollegiate Review Committee, Educational Planning Committee, Global Studies Committee (High Point University); Faculty Welfare Committee (Mount Mercy University)

Essays, Opinion Articles:

[“Así ayudó el Orgullo de Budapest a derrotar a Orbán”](#) *El País*. April 28, 2026.

[“Mamdani y el voto LGTBQ+ en Nueva York”](#) *El País*. November 12, 2025.

[“Falling trust in elections and the media following the 2020 election has left Republicans increasingly unsatisfied with US democracy.”](#) United States Politics and Policy Blog, London School of Economics. August 8, 2023.

[‘LGBTQ Pride month is coming. Can Pride events change attitudes in conservative countries? Conditions have to be just right.’](#) Monkey Cage. *The Washington Post*, May 18, 2021 (with Philip Ayoub and Douglas Page)

[“Iraq Confronts its Own Prisoner’s Dilemma”](#) *Foreign Policy*, October 12, 2019.

[“In two charts, this is what refugees say about why they are leaving Syria now”](#), *The Monkey Cage, Washington Post*, September 28, 2015.

[“The Jihadi Who Came in From the Cold”](#) *Foreign Policy*, August 10, 2015

[“Ramadan in Syria”](#) *Foreign Affairs*, July 9, 2015.
[“Syria’s Democracy Jihad”](#), *Foreign Affairs*, Jan 13, 2015.
[“I Am Only Looking Up For Paradise”](#), *Foreign Policy*, 2 October 2014
[“The Motivation of Syrian Islamist Fighters”](#) *CTC Sentinel*, Combating Terrorism Center at West Point, 7(10) (October 2014) pp.13-15
[“A Glimpse into the Minds of Four Foreign Fighters in Syria”](#), *CTC Sentinel*, Combating Terrorism Center at West Point, 7(6) (June 2014) pp.6-7.
[“Why are fighters leaving the Free Syrian Army?”](#), *The Monkey Cage, Washington Post*, 12 May 2014
[“Fractured opposition groups disillusion Syrians”](#), *U-T San Diego*, 22 January 2014
[“Is Syria ready for peace”](#), *The Baltimore Sun*, 17 January 2014

Research-Related Blog Posts, podcasts:

[“Discussion with High Point University Dean on LGBT+ Rights”](#) Feb 2, 2022
[‘Finding inspiration in the radical potential of Pride’s roots’](#), *3Streams*, June 8, 2021
 (with Philip Ayoub and Douglas Page)
[‘The Persistent Power of Pride? Looking “past” 2020’](#), *Mobilizing Ideas*, June 6, 2021
 (with Philip Ayoub and Douglas Page)
[“Pride amid Prejudice”](#) for the *American Political Science Review* on May 12, 2021
[“What Young Ukrainians are Fighting For”](#), *Political Violence @ a Glance* on October 9, 2014.
[“If Aleppo Falls, What Next For The Free Syrian Army and Their Supporters?”](#), *Political Violence @ a Glance*, 27 August 2014
[“Islamists at a Glance: Why Do Syria’s Rebel Fighters Join Islamist Groups?”](#), *Political Violence @ a Glance*, 13 August 2014
[“What Do Syria’s Rebels Want From The West?”](#), *Syria in Crisis* (Carnegie Endowment for International Peace), 07 April 2014
[“The Importance of Local Knowledge in Syria”](#), *Atlantic Council*, 04 April 2014
[“Do Syrians Want To Fight Until Victory or Do they Want a Ceasefire?”](#), *Syria Comment*, 26 March 2014
[“Norms and Attitudes in the Midst of Civil War: Experimental and Survey Evidence from Syria”](#), *Political Violence @ a Glance*, 17 March 2014
[“Public Opinion in the Midst of the Syrian Civil War”](#), *The Duck of Minerva*, 20 January 2014

Professional References:

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