



V-Dem Visiting Scholar Program Spring 2017

The Varieties of Democracy (V-Dem) Institute is hosting several leading scholars on democratization and democracy during spring 2017. Please find below information about the scholars, research, duration of stay and scheduled seminars.

18 January: Matthew Cleary (visiting scholar 16-20 January), Associate Professor, Syracuse University
Electoral Integrity, Democracy Promotion, and the Folk Theory of Democracy

Abstract: Research on the international promotion of democracy and the importance of electoral integrity faces a new challenge, in the form of a recent attack on the “folk theory of democracy” by Achen and Bartels. These authors argue that the available evidence from the United States does not support the standard conception of electoral institutions as mechanisms for producing popular, responsive, and accountable government. If they are correct, and if their criticism also applies cross-nationally, then this would present a major challenge to scholars of democracy and democracy promoters, because it would suggest that the emphasis on holding elections is misguided, or even harmful. This paper represents an initial effort to delineate the weaknesses in current studies of electoral integrity and democracy promotion, and to reconcile the obvious importance of elections with the thrust of this important new critique.

Bio: Matt Cleary is an Associate Professor of Political Science and a Robert D. McClure Professor of Teaching Excellence in the Maxwell School at Syracuse University. He studies elections and democratic institutions in Latin America, focusing primarily on Mexico. He has published *Democracy and the Culture of Skepticism* (with Susan C. Stokes), which uses evidence from Argentina and Mexico to argue that democracy functions better when citizens are skeptical towards government, rather than unconditionally trusting, and *The Sources of Democratic Responsiveness in Mexico*, which evaluates the obstacles to good government and service delivery in Mexican municipalities. He has also published work on ethnic conflict, the Latin American left, and other topics. He is now working on a variety of research projects, including an investigation of multicultural political institutions among Mexico’s indigenous communities.

1 February: Venuste Karambizi (visiting scholar 30 Jan - 3 February), Senior Lecturer of International Relations, Kigali Independent University

Constitutionalism in Africa: Achievements, Challenges and Prospects

Abstract: African States have implemented democratic and liberal constitutional reforms since the 1990s. In my article, I show that regime change, ending of autocratic rule and emergence of independent courts are among the important transformations produced by these reforms. Using as a baseline the African postcolonial constitutions in countries lacking *de facto* constitutionalism, I identify important transformative currents in contemporary Africa that suggest the dawn of a new era. My article shows how Africa’s contemporary constitutions legalize political opposition, impose term limits on presidential tenure, grant independent courts constitutional review authority and guarantee important civil and political liberties. However, these reforms remain considerably formal due to a lot of challenges that prevent African countries’ from realizing constitutionalism. Among these challenges are the following: the survival of the imperial presidency, unchecked bureaucracy, limited political vision, ethnicism, corruption, external interference, lack of political self confidence, insufficiency of populations’ political awareness, illiteracy, etc. To overcome these challenges,

a deep transformation of political mindset is necessary, including a concrete shift from well-written constitutions to well-implemented ones. This requires a profound process of political sensitization of African popular masses. The main tool of such a positive transformation is a well organized, well skilled and well empowered civil society as well as a set of strong and effective institutions.

Bio: Dr. Venuste Karambizi is a full time Senior Lecturer of International Relations at Kigali Independent University (ULK) and teaches in some other Universities as a part time Senior Lecturer. He received his PhD in International Relations from IRIC (International Relations Institute of Cameroun), University of Yaounde, Cameroun in 1989. He has been teaching in Universities since then. He has conducted research on topics relating to governance and development in African countries. Most of his scientific works have been published in Kigali Independent Scientific Review. Dr. Karambizi's PhD thesis focused on World Bank's actions towards developing countries' policies. Nowadays, his teaching and research concentrate on intrafrican cooperation, with a special emphasis on African regional integration. He is also writing on topics such as elections and constitutionalism in Africa. Together with his career of Lecturer and Researcher, Dr. Karambizi has much experience in politics as well as in civil society activism and leadership. He is currently the Chairperson of two civil society organizations, namely the Center for Peace and Democratic Governance (CPDG) and the Association des Volontaires de la Paix (AVP).

15 February: Dominika Koter (visiting scholar 13-17 February), Assistant Professor of Political Science, Colgate University

Costly Electoral Campaigns and the Changing Composition and Quality of Parliament: Evidence from Benin

Abstract: The distribution of material benefits to voters at election time is widespread, and rising, across Africa.

What are the consequences of the high costs of campaigning in African democracies? In this article I argue that the prevalence of gift giving and vote buying affects parties' candidate selection, privileging wealthy candidates and pushing out qualified but less-endowed candidates. I substantiate this argument using original data on MPs' backgrounds from six legislatures in Benin, a successful African democracy. I show that the number of wealthy candidates has increased substantially over the period of 24 years since the introduction of multiparty politics. This trend has important implications for the quality of democracy. Using data on MP performance I show that along some important indicators wealthy candidates perform worse in office than other MPs.

Bio: Dominika Koter is Assistant Professor of Political Science at Colgate University. She received her PhD in Political Science from Yale University. She was a Fulbright-Hays scholar in Senegal and Benin. She is the author of *Beyond Ethnic Politics in Africa* (2016, Cambridge University Press). Her work has appeared, or is forthcoming, in journals such as *World Politics*, the *Journal of Modern African Studies* and *African Affairs*. She received the Gregory Luebbert Award for Best Article in Comparative Politics and the African Politics Conference Groups' award for best article published on African politics in 2013.

1 March: Henry Hale (visiting scholar 1-3 March), Professor, George Washington University

Explaining Authoritarian Rally Effects: Social Pressures and Media in Putin's Post-Crimea Surge in Popularity

Abstract: It has long been observed that leaders' popularity often surges when their countries initiate or are subjected to international conflict, and it is often assumed that this reflects a surge in nationalism or patriotism. This paper examines one of the most important authoritarian "rally effects" in recent history, the surge in Putin's popularity after Russia annexed Crimea. By interviewing the very same nationally representative sample of Russian citizens before and after the annexation, this study reveals no role for nationalism and only a weak role for patriotism. Instead, one of the most important driving forces behind this rally effect appears to be social desirability, with individuals giving Putin-supporting answers in surveys partly to avoid appearing insufficiently patriotic and partly to feel part of a large majority. A full three-quarters of Putin's Crimea rally is found to involve at least some dissembling.

Bio: Henry E. Hale (PhD Harvard 1998) is Professor of Political Science and International Affairs at George Washington University and author most recently of *Patronal Politics: Eurasian Regime Dynamics in*

Comparative Perspective (Cambridge, 2015). His work focuses on identity politics and political regime dynamics, with a fieldwork specialty in former Soviet countries. His publications have won two prizes from the American Political Science Association, one for his book *Why Not Parties in Russia* (Cambridge, 2006) and the other for his article "Divided We Stand" (World Politics, 2004). Prior to joining GW, he taught at Indiana University (2000-2005), the European University at St. Petersburg, Russia (1999), and the Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy (1997-98). He is also chair of the editorial board of *Demokratizatsiya: The Journal of Post-Soviet Democratization* and co-director of the Program on New Approaches to Research and Security in Eurasia (PONARS Eurasia).

15 March: Aina Gallego (visiting scholar 14-16 March), Assistant Professor, the Institut de Barcelona d'Estudis Internacionals

Educated politicians: Better quality or different policies?

Abstract: Highly educated citizens are dramatically over-represented among politicians. Is this bias desirable, troubling or irrelevant? Recent research has argued that highly educated politicians perform better in office, but other research has found no relationship between education and performance. We advance a third possibility which is that education is an understudied source of descriptive representation — such that educated politicians implement policies that benefit people like themselves. Our empirical analysis is based on a novel dataset that contains individual level information about the education, age and gender of elected local politicians in Spain and on detailed economic and fiscal data collected between 2003 and 2011, a period that covers the economic boom and the Great Recession. Applying a Regression Discontinuity design, we find that municipalities that elected the party with the most educated politicians implemented more fiscally conservative policies and, importantly, also had larger increases in unemployment. We complement our evidence with survey and experimental data about the preferences of citizens and elites. By identifying the effects of the education of politicians on fiscal and economic outcomes, our paper adds to a literature that has mostly focused on how partisanship and institutions affect policies. To conclude we discuss how the growing elitism in the educational composition of governments can compromise the political representation of the poor.

Bio: Aina Gallego is an Assistant Professor at the Institut de Barcelona d'Estudis Internacionals. Previously, she was a post-doctoral researcher at the Spanish High Research Council and at Stanford University, and was the recipient of a Marie Curie Career Integration Grant. She earned a PhD in Political Science at the Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona. Aina has an ongoing interest in the political representation of the poor. Her book "Unequal Participation Worldwide" analyzed inequalities in voter turnout in a comparative perspective. She has conducted extensive research about the determinants of political participation, corruption, and the characteristics of politicians, among other topics.

29 March: Macartan Humphreys, Professor of Political Science, Columbia University

Information Technology and Political Engagement: Mixed Evidence from Uganda

Abstract: Marginalized populations engage in politics at relatively low rates. Not only are their demands less likely to be addressed, they are also less likely to be articulated in the first place. This study uses a large-scale natural field experiment to learn about how Information Communications Technology (ICT) innovations can affect who gets to communicate with politicians. The nationwide experiment was implemented following a smaller-scale framed field experiment that showed that ICTs can lead to significant "flattening": a greater share of marginalized populations used SMS-based communication compared to existing political communication channels. We find no evidence for such flattening from the national experiment, however. Instead patterns of participation look like politics as usual: participation rates are low and marginalized populations engage at especially low rates. We examine possible reasons for these differences, and then present the design and analysis of a third mechanism experiment that helps parse rival explanations for these divergent patterns. The evidence suggests that even when citizens have issues they want to raise,

technological fixes to communication deficits can be easily undercut by structural weaknesses in political systems.

Bio: Macartan Humphreys is Professor of Political Science at Columbia University where he teaches on the political economy of development and formal theory. Ongoing research focuses on post-conflict development, ethnic politics, and democratic development with a current focus on the use of field experiments to study democratic decision-making in post-conflict and developing areas. His methodological interests focus on causal inference, transparency in social science, and Bayesian nets. He has conducted research in Chad, Ghana, Haiti, Indonesia, Liberia, Mali, Sao Tome and Principe, Sierra Leone, Senegal, Uganda, and elsewhere. Recent work has appeared in the *American Political Science Review*, *Political Analysis*, and the *Economic Journal*. His books include *Coethnicity* (with James Habyarimana, Daniel Posner, and Jeremy Weinstein), *Escaping the Resource Curse* (with Jeffrey Sachs and Joseph Stiglitz) and *Political Games*. He is a former Trudeau fellow, scholar of the Harvard Academy, and Karl Deutsch visiting professor at the WZB Berlin. He holds a PhD in Government from Harvard University (2003) and an MPhil in Economics from Oxford University (2000).

30 March: David Sumpter, Professor, Uppsala University

Investigating democracy, values and development using a data-driven agent-based model

Abstract: Agent-based models and computer simulations are promising tools for studying emergent macro-phenomena. We apply an agent-based approach in combination with data analysis to investigate the human development sequence (HDS) theory developed by Ronald Inglehart and Christian Welzel. Although the HDS theory is supported by correlational evidence, the sequence of economic growth, democracy and emancipation stated by the theory is not entirely consistent with data. We go on to discuss the model of democracy most plausible from the data: that democracy arises at a threshold level of economic growth. We discuss how a Bayesian approach can be used to establish the relationship between indicator variables, including female education and life expectancy, to give the most plausible model for human development.

Bio: David Sumpter is professor of Applied Mathematics in Uppsala. He obtained a degree in Computer Science from Edinburgh University, a PhD in Mathematics from Manchester and has held academic research positions in Oxford, Umeå and Uppsala. David's research is about the social behavior of humans and animals. An incomplete list of the areas David has worked on include: pigeons flying in pairs over Oxford; clapping undergraduate students in the north of England; the traffic of Cuban leaf-cutter ants; fish swimming between coral in the Great Barrier Reef; swarms of locusts traveling across the Sahara; disease spread in remote Ugandan villages; the gaze following of London commuters; dancing honey bees from Sydney; and the tubular structures built by Japanese slime mould. He has published articles in leading journals, including *Science*, *Proceedings of the National Academy of Sciences*, and the *Royal Society journals*. He has co-authored work with scientists from every continent of the world, apart from Antarctica. His work has been reported in numerous media outlets, including, BBC, NPR, *Science Daily*, *Scientific American*, Australia broadcasters, the *Guardian* and the *Daily Telegraph*. In 2010 he published his book "Collective Animal Behaviour". In 2016 he published the popular science book, *Soccermatics* and has also written for *The Daily Telegraph*, *The Economist* and *FouFourTwo* football magazine.

26 April: Ora John Reuter (visiting scholar 24-28 April), Assistant Professor of Political Science at the University of Wisconsin

Political Participation and the Survival of Electoral Authoritarianism

Abstract: Levels of political participation vary widely among modern electoral autocracies. In mobilizational regimes, the regime seeks to politicize the electorate. It engages in extensive agitation and propaganda and may propagate an official ideology or programmatic platform. Rates of political participation tend to be higher in such regimes. In other, non-mobilizational regimes, the regime seeks to depoliticize in the electorate. It sows political apathy by deemphasizing programmatic politics and relies primarily on clientelistic appeals. Rates of political participation tend to be lower in such regimes. In between, there is a complete range of variation in both the mobilizational strategies that autocrats use and the rates of political

participation that result. Focusing specifically on one important type of political participation--voter turnout--this paper examines how variation in political participation affects 1) social protest and 2) regime survival in electoral authoritarian regimes. It utilizes an original dataset on voter turnout in autocracy to test several competing hypotheses about how various models of political participation affect regime longevity.

Bio: Ora John Reuter is Assistant Professor of Political Science at the University of Wisconsin, Milwaukee and Senior Researcher at the Center for the Study of Institutions and Development at the Higher School of Economics Moscow. He is the author of *The Origins of Dominant Parties: Building Authoritarian Institutions in Post-Soviet Russia*, currently available from Cambridge University Press. His other work has appeared in journals such as *Journal of Politics*, *World Politics*, *British Journal of Political Science*, *Comparative Political Studies*, and *Post-Soviet Affairs*, among others. His research focuses on elections, parties, authoritarianism and the former Soviet Union.

All Lunch Seminars are taking place at the room Stora Skansen, Political Science Department, University of Gothenburg.

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