



V-Dem Visiting Scholar Program Fall 2017

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

23 August: Alexander Schmotz (visiting scholar 21 August to 1 September)

Elections vs Constitutionalism: Institutional Tension and the Survival of Hybrid Regimes

Abstract. Hybrid Regimes are institutionally inconsistent. Mostly they are characterized by relatively well-institutionalized multiparty elections on the one hand, and relatively low levels of constitutional guarantees on the other. I argue that when the two institutional spheres issue contradictory incentives, they enable opportunistic change agents and increase the likelihood of hybrid regime change. This dynamic is similar in two very different types of hybrid regimes, electoral autocracies and defective democracies. Using V-Dem indicators, I test the effect of institutional tension on leader tenure and regime survival in electoral autocracies and defective democracies in a set of survival analysis models.

Bio: Alexander Schmotz has joined the Department of Democracy and Democratization at WZB Berlin Social Science Center in 2017. His work engages with the politics and persistence of autocratic and hybrid regimes. Before coming to WZB, Alex was a postdoctoral associate at King's College London, examining the international dimension of authoritarian rule in an ERC-funded project. He received a PhD from Humboldt University Berlin in 2014, for a thesis on the institutional sources of hybrid regime survival, and contributed to a project on legitimation, cooptation, and repression in autocratic regimes during a previous stay at WZB (2010-14). His work has appeared in *Comparative Political Studies*, *European Political Science*, and *Politische Vierteljahresschrift*, among others.

27 September: Michael Bernhard (visiting scholar 25-29 September).

Civil Society, Responsiveness, and Political Stability

Abstract: Political scientists have paid increasing attention to civil society as an important realm of organization in explaining a range of outcomes across political systems. In this paper we address a range of outcomes on the quality of political representation using new resources to study the impact of civil society from the new Varieties of Democracy dataset. Owing to its unprecedented temporal and spatial scope and the richness of its indicators for various dimensions of civil society, the V-Dem dataset allows us to test many hypotheses related to the relation between civil society and various political outcomes in a general way that was previously not possible. We examine the sources of government responsiveness to interests in civil society as a product of the nature of civil society organization and the degree of social activism, and we also explore if such responsiveness helps to increase other forms of representative accountability and if its absence leads to the channeling of unmet social demands through anti-system activism. After assembling a dataset of the countries of the world for the years 1960-2010, we use Bayesian regression models that allow us to account for the measurement uncertainty incorporated in the V-Dem data and test numerous hypotheses about the relationship between civil society and political outcomes. Our results largely confirm the positive effect that a

robust and participatory civil society has on government responsiveness and accountability as well as political stability. We also find, contra an older literature on neo-corporatism, that a pluralistic civil society environment with many small organizations performs best in promoting stability, which bolsters the findings of a more recent literature on civil society and participatory democratic institutions.

Bio: Michael Bernhard holds the Raymond and Miriam Ehrlich Chair in Political Science at the University of Florida. His work centers on questions of democratization and development, both globally and in the context of Europe. Among the issues that have figured prominently in his research agenda are the role of civil society in democratization, institutional choice in new democracies, the political economy of democratic survival, and the legacy of extreme forms of dictatorship.

11 October: Brigitte Seim, Daniel Pemstein (visiting scholars 9-13 October).

Clientelism, Censorship, and the Middle Class: Experimental Evidence from Nepal

Abstract: We argue that the transition from clientelism to programmatic politics is not simply a structural event—where politicians build policy programs when vote-buying becomes inefficient—but a political process where an emerging middle class uses information about clientelistic behavior to inform its beliefs about parties' commitment to their policy promises. Because wealthier voters benefit especially from programmatic policy, they will tend to reject parties that they know are diverting resources to vote-buying. In turn, politicians have reason to hide clientelism from the emerging middle class. In this paper, we test a formal model of these expectations in a survey experiment executed in Nepal leading up to the December 2017 election. We examine whether middle class voters in Nepal are less susceptible to clientelistic promises, are willing to take costly action to punish clientelistic behavior by candidates and parties, and whether, in turn, parties are aware of this and are taking costly action to hide their clientelistic practices from certain groups of voters. We then present a research design for a field experiment that will compile and disseminate our survey findings regarding patterns of clientelism to Nepalese voters during the final weeks leading up to the election, and then examine the effect this information has on election outcomes.

Bio: Brigitte Seim (née Zimmerman) is a scholar of comparative politics, focusing on the political economy of development. Her research agenda examines the relationship between citizens and political officials, with a particular emphasis on clientelism, corruption, and accountability. She obtained her PhD in Political Science from the University of California, San Diego in 2014. She was a Post-Doctoral Research Fellow with the Varieties of Democracy (V-Dem) Project for 2014-2015 and is currently a V-Dem Project Manager. She is currently at the University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill as an Assistant Professor in the Department of Public Policy and Peter Thacher Grauer Fellow in 2015.

Bio: Dan Pemstein is a political economist and methodologist. One thread of his work uses purpose-built statistical models and natural language processing techniques to ask how institutions channel information and ambition to shape behavior by politicians and parties in the European Union. Another branch of his research adapts tools from educational testing and legislative studies to address key measurement problems in the study of comparative institutions. He also studies digital political economy and dabbles at the intersection of behavioral economics and cognitive psychology. Dan, who obtained his PhD from the University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign, is an Assistant Professor of Political Science at North Dakota State University and Project Manager for Measurement Methods for the Varieties of Democracy Project.

25 October: Mascha Rauschenbach (visiting scholar 23-27 October).

Preaching to the Converted: the Allocation of Campaign Rallies in Ghana's 2012 Elections

Abstract: The idea that it is most effective for parties to persuade swing voters in elections campaigns is based on the nearly exclusive focus of research on US elections. I argue that in young democracies where partisanship is

volatile and parties are uncertain about their likely supporters, mobilization of one's partisans should play a much greater role. I analyze original data on constituency-level campaign appearances by the incumbent candidate and his main challenger in Ghana's 2012 presidential elections. Improving on existing research, constituencies are not only characterized by their voting, but also by their turnout history, allowing for more rigorous tests of the swing voter versus the mobilization model. The findings are largely in favor of the mobilization model.

Bio: Mascha Rauschenbach is post-doctoral researcher at the Chair of Prof. Sabine Carey at the University of Mannheim. Her main fields of interests are political clientelism, African politics, elections, democratization, foreign aid, conflict, and the political economy of development. She received her PhD from the Center for Doctoral Studies in Social and Behavioral Studies at the University of Mannheim. In her PhD dissertation entitled "The Importance of Preaching to the Converted: The Strategic Use of Campaign rallies, Campaign Promises, Clientelism, and Violence in African elections" she studied campaigning strategies in Africa. During fieldwork in Ghana, she collected data on campaign rallies and campaign speeches in Ghana's 2012 presidential campaigns, and conducted a survey experiment, focus group interviews and interviewed campaign managers. She holds a Diplom ("Master") in Economics, Cultural Studies and Languages from the University of Passau. In her diploma thesis she conducted field work in Cameroon in cooperation with the GIZ (German Development Assistance) and studied the effects of the decentralization reform on local conflict. Her current research projects include the analysis of African party manifestos, the use of electoral violence and clientelism in African elections as well as the study of campaign strategies in Ghana.

8 November: Mieczyslaw Boduszynski (visiting scholar 6-10 November)

Full Circle: U.S. Democratic Leverage and the Arab Spring

Abstract: The arresting image of Egyptian strongman Abdulfatah al-Sisi sitting next to President Donald Trump in the Oval Office this spring sends a powerful signal that U.S. will to exercise democratic leverage over the Egypt and other Arab Spring countries has come full circle from President Obama's belated embrace of the Tahir Square protestors. What explains the arc of U.S. policies toward Arab Spring countries since 2011 in terms of the will and capacity of Washington to emphasize values over interests? Mietek's book project examines the interests, individuals, institutions, and countervailing powers that have shaped U.S. democratic leverage (or lack thereof) in the Middle East and North Africa over the past decade.

Bio: Mietek Boduszynski is Assistant Professor of Politics and International Relations at Pomona College in California, USA, where he teaches courses on U.S. Foreign Policy and the Middle East. He previously worked for a decade as a U.S. diplomat, with postings in Albania, Kosovo, Japan, Egypt, Libya, and Iraq. His first book analyzed democratization in the post-communist Balkans.

22 November: Alex Kroeger (visiting scholar 20-25 November).

Political instability, regime type, and economic growth

Abstract: Political instability is often found to have a negative effect on economic growth. In this article, I take a closer look at existing measures of political instability, explain why current measures capture fundamentally different political processes in democracies and dictatorships, and explore the mechanisms connecting political instability to growth. Building on research in comparative politics, I measure political instability at four distinct levels: regime instability, leader instability, within-leader instability, and societal instability. By analyzing the effects of these distinct types of instability on a global sample of democracies and autocracies, I show that existing findings are primarily driven by within-regime instability and societal instability in authoritarian regimes. Furthermore, I examine the mechanisms linking within-regime and societal instability to

reduced growth in autocracies, focusing specifically on how both types of instability influence domestic investment, foreign investment, and bureaucratic capacity.

Bio: Alex Kroeger is a lecturer at the University of California, Merced. He received his Ph.D. from the University of Nebraska in 2017. His research focuses on African politics, authoritarian regimes, democratization, distributive politics, and political instability, and has appeared in *Comparative Political Studies* and the *European Journal of Political Economy*.

6 December: Saskia Ruth (visiting scholar 4-8 December).

Populism and Direct Democracy in Latin America

Abstract: This article investigates the relationship between populism in power and the expansion of mechanisms of direct democracy (MDDs) in Latin America. More specifically, we hypothesize that the introduction of new or additional MDDs is more likely under populist than non-populist presidents due to core elements of the populist appeal. Moreover, we hypothesize that the expansion of MDDs is more likely if the political context in which presidents are embedded provides strategic incentives to promote MDDs, irrespective of their appeal. We test these hypotheses by means of logistic and Poisson regression analyses using a newly compiled data set covering information on the presence and reform of MDDs in 18 Latin American countries from 1978 to 2014. Our results indicate that expansions of MDDs are more likely promoted by populist presidents and that this effect is conditioned by the degree of presidential approval.

Bio: Saskia P. Ruth a Postdoctoral Fellow in Political Science at the University of Zurich and the Center for Democracy Studies in Aarau. She holds a Diploma in Latin American Studies and a PhD in Political Science from the University of Cologne (Germany). She has been a visiting scholar at the Facultad Latinoamericana de Ciencias Sociales (FLACSO) in Mexico and the Berlin Social Science Center (WZB). In her research she specializes in comparative politics, clientelism, populism, and Latin American studies. Saskia Ruth has published articles in *The Journal of Politics* and *Latin American Politics and Society*. She recently edited the volume "Let the people rule? Direct democracy in the twenty-first century" together with Yanina Welp and Laurence Whitehead (ECPR Press 2017).

20 December: Hanne Fjelde (visiting scholar 18-23 December).

Which institutions matter? Toward a liberal democratic civil peace

Abstract: Democratic political regimes are widely regarded to have a lower risk of civil war than autocratic ones. However, the arguments put forward for this expectation relate to very different theoretical mechanisms that pertain to quite different 'democratic institutions'. Extant empirical studies often fail to make such distinctions, using composite indices that aggregate various institutional dimensions into a single measure of a polity's 'democraticness'. We un-bundle the impact of various institutions associated with 'democracy' theoretically and empirically. We focus on the ability of the regime to make credible promises to three stylized actors that may challenge the regime militarily: (1) non-incumbent elites, (2) broad segments of the citizenry, and (3) minority groups. We focus on how and which institutions allow the incumbent regime to solve horizontal commitment problems between incumbent and non-incumbent elite groups and/or vertical commitment problems between incumbent elites and social groups excluded from power. Using a set of precise institutional indicators from the V-Dem dataset, we show that only institutions associated with 'liberal' or horizontal-accountability aspects of democracy are robustly associated with a lower probability of civil war onset. Institutions that ensure vertical accountability, such as free and fair elections with extensive franchise rights, are not linked to civil peace in and of themselves.

Bio: Hanne Fjelde is an Associate Professor at the Department of Peace and Conflict Research, Uppsala University and a Senior Researcher at the Peace Research Institute in Oslo. Her research focuses on the relationship

between political institutions and armed conflict, the causes and consequences of electoral violence, and on the underpinnings of regime stability in authoritarian regimes.

All Lunch Seminars are taking place at the room Stora Skansen, Political Science Department, University of Gothenburg. Address: Sprängkullsgatan 19, 40530, Gothenburg.

For any questions, please contact Natalia Stepanova at natalia.stepanova@v-dem.net

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