



V-Dem Lunch Seminars Fall 2019 Detailed Schedule

The Varieties of Democracy (V-Dem) Institute is hosting several leading scholars on democratization and democracy during Fall 2019. Please find below information about the scholars, research, duration of stay and scheduled seminars.

Time: 12.00-13.00

Adress: Stora Skansen (B336), Sprängkullsgatan 19, Gothenburg, Sweden

11 September: Yuko Kasuya (visiting scholar 9-13 September)

Title: The Historical Origins of Long-Surviving Military Regimes: the Mode of Decolonization, Legitimacy Advantage, and Path Dependency

Abstract: Why are some military regimes short-lived, while others remain in power for decades? While the conventional wisdom is that military rules survive shorter than the other types of autocracies, there is significant durational variation among the military dictatorships. Employing the critical juncture framework, this paper argues that the mode of decolonization influences the duration of military rule: military regimes tend to survive longer when armed rebels led the country's independence than when civilian leaders peacefully negotiated the independence. We empirically examine our claim by combining cross-national analyses with an originally created data set and the case study of military regimes in Myanmar and Pakistan.

Bio: Yuko Kasuya is a Professor of Political Science at the Faculty of Law, Keio University in Tokyo, Japan. Her research interests include democratization, democratic governance, political institutions, accountability and transparency. She is the author of *Comparative Politics* (in Japanese, Miverva Publishing, 2014) and *Presidential Bandwagon: Parties and Party Systems in the Philippines* (Keio University Press, 2008/Anvil, 2009). She has also edited *Presidents, Assemblies, and Policy-Making in Asia* (Palgrave MacMillan, 2013) and *Politics of Change in the Philippines* (co-edited with Nathan Quimpo, Anvil, 2010). Her articles can be found in *Electoral Studies*, *The Pacific Affairs*, and *Party Politics*. Kasuya holds a PhD in International Affairs from the University of California, San Diego, an MA in Development Studies from Institute of Social Studies (Netherlands), and a BA in Political Science from Keio University. Her research has been funded by the Abe fellowship, Fulbright scholarship, Rotary scholarship, and other sources. She was a visiting scholar at the Center on Democracy, Development and the Rule of Law at Stanford University April 2009 to March 2011.

25 September: Asma Shakir Khawaja (visiting scholar 22-27 September)

Book title: Shaking Hands with Clenched Fists: The Grand Trunk Road to Confidence Building Measures between Pakistan and India

Abstract: The book is the first ever factual, theoretical and academic account of Pakistan's position, interests and perspective regarding Confidence Building Measures between Pakistan and India. This research deliberates upon Pakistan's intentions and policies to forge peace with India at different conjectures of history. Shaking Hands provide a coherent and comprehensive analysis of the subject matter.

The Title of her Book “Shaking Hands with Clenched Fists” reflects regional attitude towards peace initiatives and processes during last Seventy Years. She intends to analyze the trajectory of CBMs between the two key players in South Asia while also focusing on the “drivers of mistrust,” commonly known as spoilers and dividers. It further explores the opportunities, and pitfalls, of CBMs across a range of issues from “core” areas such as the military and nuclear threats, to increasingly important areas such as water conflicts, economic competition, and the role of civil society and the media so on and so-forth. It is important to understand that *Shaking Hands* discusses CBMs as a Process NOT as a Product. CBMs are means to achieve an end – a sustainable positive peace. It is important to understand that the prime job of CBMs is to create an appetite for peace. And this book is a humble effort to achieve this end.

Bio: Dr. Asma Shakir Khawaja is author of, “Shaking Hands with Clenched Fists: The Grand Trunk Road to Confidence Building Measures between Pakistan and India.” She is an Assistant Professor at the National Defence University (NDU), Islamabad, where she has been a faculty member since 2008. A diligent academic, Asma had the honor of being the team member to establish Pakistan’s first ever *Department of Peace and Conflict Studies* at NDU in 2008. Dr. Khawaja received her Doctorate in South Asian Studies from the Institute of South Asian Studies, Martin-Luther-University, Halle-Wittenberg Germany, and MPhil in Defence and Strategic Studies from Quaid-i-Azam University, Islamabad. Furthermore since 2011, she is associated with V-Dem Project as the regional manager for South Asia.

9 October: Daniela Donno (visiting scholar 5-11 October)

Title: Compliance or Camouflage? International Incentives for Women’s Rights in Dictatorships

Abstract: International democracy promoters now treat elections and women’s rights as “bundled norms” states’ performance is evaluated, and rewards distributed, in response to compliance on either dimension. Dictatorships that fail to make progress toward electoral competition can therefore attempt to camouflage their noncompliance by introducing advances in gender equality; and such measures are often entirely consistent with the perpetuation of uncompetitive autocratic rule. We term this strategy *obfuscation*, and we present a theory that identifies the conditions under which incentives to obfuscate are strongest. Using a new dataset of *de jure* advances in women’s rights in 90 countries from 1996-2015, we show that dictatorships make greater progress when they are more susceptible to international (Western) economic pressure. We find that in dictatorships, aid dependence is associated with legal advances in women's rights but not with advances in electoral liberalization. In democracies, we find the opposite pattern: aid dependence is associated with political liberalization but not women's rights. Moreover, consistent with our theory of obfuscation, closed dictatorships (which do not hold multiparty elections) have been surprisingly active in advancing women’s rights. Our account therefore demonstrates clear differences in how dictatorships and democracies respond to international economic pressure, and highlights the potentially perverse consequences of issue linkage in international regimes.

Bio: Daniela Donno is Associate Professor of Political Science at the University of Cyprus. She received her PhD from Yale University. Her research explores the international influences on democracy, elections, and human rights. Donno’s book *Defending Democratic Norms* (Oxford University Press) examines how international actors respond to electoral misconduct around the world. Her research has been published in several outlets, including *International Organization*, *World Politics*, *American Journal of Political Science*, *Review of International Organizations*, *International Studies Quarterly* and *Journal of Politics*. Her current project on the incentives for authoritarian regimes to advance women’s rights has appeared in *Comparative Political Studies*.

15 October: Nina Wiesehomeier (visiting scholar 14-18 October)

Title: The Will of the People? Populism and Support for Direct Democracy

Seminar in collaboration with Party Politics Seminar

Tuesday 13.15-15.00

Abstract: The success of populist actors is often interpreted as a direct response to a larger crisis of representative democracy, particularly to the perceived delegitimatization of representative institutions. Due to the dualistic nature of populist discourse – centering on the “pure” people versus a “corrupt” elite that is removed from the people – populism appears to have a quasi-natural affinity to mechanisms of direct democracy. Calls for increased direct citizen control and engagement in political decision making processes, in other words an increase in participation, are not confined to populist actors, however. Yet, populists and non-populists may differ regarding the particular types of mechanisms of direct democracy they favor. Using the expert survey data of the Political Representation, Parties, and Presidents Survey (PREPPS), we map the preferences of 156 political parties and 18 presidents in 18 Latin American countries for tools that enable citizens to decide on issues put before them by the political elite versus those that empower citizens to shape the agenda themselves, such as the recall of a mandate or the call for referendums via signature collection. We contrast these preferences not only with the degree of populism these actors espouse, but also with their reliance on charismatic leadership as a means of voter-linkage vis-à-vis policy driven linkages.

Bio: Nina Wiesehomeier is Assistant Professor of Comparative Politics at the IE School of Global and Public Affairs in Madrid (Spain). She holds a Phd from the University of Konstanz and has previously lectured at Swansea University (UK), the Instituto de Ciências Sociais da Universidade de Lisboa (Portugal) and has been a visiting fellow at the Helen Kellogg Institute for International Studies at the University of Notre Dame (USA). Nina's research interests evolve around political parties, women representation, ideology, political preferences, and political behavior. Her research has been published in *The Journal of Politics*, *Political Research Quarterly*, *Political Science and Research Methods*, among others. More information can be found at www.wiesehomeier.net

23 October: Amanda Edgell

Title: Of 'Yellow Girls' and Banana Leaves: Women and the Removal of Executive Term Limits in Uganda

Abstract: The literature on women's representation tends to focus on the advancement of feminist legislation, the promotion of “women's issues”, and the achievement of other virtuous policy outcomes like human rights, peace, and decreased corruption. By contrast, this study investigates the positions women take during debates over legislation aimed at enhancing autocratic durability – a normatively undesirable outcome. Drawing on the case of Uganda, the paper examines the behavior of elite and ordinary women during the bid to remove presidential term limits from 2001 to 2005. The analysis incorporates data from over 1,700 newspaper articles, 725 papers of legislative transcripts, Afrobarometer surveys, and original interviews in a multimethod research design. The results suggest that women acted as key mobilizers for the removal presidential term limits. This mobilization was not limited to a few elite women but extended to grassroots women's organizations throughout the country. Female support for the ruling party and President Museveni is tied to narratives of patronage surrounding gender quotas and other pro-women policies. As a result, the regime has developed a cadre of loyal female politicians and widespread support among ordinary women. Nevertheless, several prominent women's organizations and several female regime insiders, including cabinet members, voiced objections to the third term bid. However, they lacked sufficient power to obstruct the amendment process. This suggests that while the regime has successfully coopted support from women, the quota policy has also given women an independent voice within the regime. This work adds to our understanding of how the process to remove term limits in Uganda unfolded

and sheds light on the behavior of women within authoritarian contexts, particularly those employing gender quota laws.

Bio: Amanda B. Edgell is currently a research fellow at the V-Dem Institute (2019-2021). She received a PhD in Political Science from the University of Florida in May 2019 and also holds a Master of International Affairs from Texas A&M University (2011). Amanda's research focuses on political institutions in authoritarian settings, as well as, international development finance and gender politics. She has conducted fieldwork in D.R. Congo, Kenya, Nigeria, Rwanda, South Africa, and Uganda. Her work has recently appeared in *Democratization*, *African Studies Review*, and *Human Rights Quarterly*.

6 November: Yaman Berker Kavasoglu (50% seminar)

Title: Party Organizational Strength and Transitions from Electoral Authoritarian Regimes

Abstract: Although multiparty authoritarian regimes have become the modal form of authoritarianism, our knowledge on how party organizations shape regime trajectories in these settings remains limited. Most studies focus on how ruling party strength affects regime survival, yet there are no systematic analyses of how the strength of opposition parties influence regime outcomes. Moreover, studies largely rely on regime typologies to gauge the party strength rather than directly measuring the concept. In this part of the dissertation, I address these shortcomings. I present a party-based explanation of regime change in electoral authoritarian regimes. I argue that regime breakdowns are more likely to result in democratization where both the incumbent and opposition parties have strong organizations. The main implication of this study is that strong political parties are the institutional preconditions propitious for transitions from electoral authoritarian regimes to democracy.

Bio: Berker Kavasoglu is a PhD candidate at the Department of Political Science at University of Gothenburg since the fall of 2017. In his dissertations he studies opposition parties in authoritarian regimes by focusing on how parties' organizational and leadership structures influence party leaders' ability to form pre-electoral coalitions and patronage seeking strategies by cooperating with the regime.

20 November: Sebastian Hellmeier

Title: The Causes and Consequences of Right-Wing Populist Movements: Evidence from Germany

Abstract: Right-wing populist movements (RPM) have been on the rise in many Western democracies. Apart from electoral victories, movements like Reclaim Australia, the National Movement in Poland or the Alt-Right in the U.S. regularly stage rallies to denounce immigration policies and the political establishment. At the same time, new civil society coalitions have formed to express their opposition towards these movements and to try to limit their impact on public discourse. The broader goal of this project is to find answers to three research questions: 1. What are the structural factors that explain the emergence of RPMs? 2. How do RPMs affect the political system? 3. How does counter-mobilization affect the diffusion of RPMs? In order to answer these questions, we make use of a new event dataset on street protests by the German Pegida movement, one of the biggest right-wing populist movement in Europe, and counter-demonstrations in all major cities in Germany between 2014 and 2017. Among other things, our findings suggests that large counter-demonstrations can reduce the likelihood of future Pegida mobilization.

Bio: Sebastian Hellmeier is a PhD candidate at the University of Konstanz (Germany) and incoming Post-doc at the V-Dem institute. Currently, he is a member of the "Communication, Networks and Contention" Research Group led by Nils Weidmann at the University of Konstanz where he coordinates the Mass Mobilization in Autocracies Database. His research interests are comparative authoritarianism, political protest and applied quantitative methods.

4 December: Steven Finkel (visiting scholar 2-6 December)

Title: Effects of U.S. Foreign Assistance on Democracy Building, 1990-2014: An Update

Abstract: This paper updates an earlier assessment of the effect of United States (USAID) democracy assistance on democratic outcomes between 1990 and 2003 (Finkel et al., *World Politics* 2007), using newly available data for 145 countries in the 2001-2014 period. The analyses estimate the effect of USAID's Democracy, Human Rights, and Governance (DRG) expenditures on overall democracy using V-Dem's Electoral and Liberal Democracy indices, the effects of aid expenditures in four DRG sub-sector program areas using customized V-Dem indices, and examines the conditions that moderate the impact of DRG funding in recipient countries. The results show that US DRG assistance overall has a significant impact on democratic outcomes, but that the effect has declined considerably in the post-2001 period. The results also indicate that DRG assistance has greater impact when: levels of prior investment are lower, when investments are more stable over time, when U.S. security sector assistance to the recipient country are low, and when countries are not otherwise "backsliding" away democracy.

Bio: Dr. Steven Finkel Steven E. Finkel is the Daniel H. Wallace Professor of Political Science at the University of Pittsburgh. His areas of expertise include comparative political behavior, public opinion, democratization, and quantitative methods. He is the author of *Causal Analysis with Panel Data* (Sage Publications, 1995) as well as over 40 articles on political participation, voting behavior, and civic education in new and established democracies. Since 1997, he has conducted numerous evaluations of the effectiveness of US and other international donors' civic education programs in promoting democratic attitudes and political participation in South Africa, Poland, the Dominican Republic, and Kenya. He has also pioneered the use of survey research as an aid to peace negotiations in conflict settings such as Sri Lanka and Kosovo. Between 2004 and 2007, he conducted the first macro-comparative evaluation of the impact of all USAID democracy assistance programs on democratic development in recipient countries (published in *World Politics*, 2007). He received his PhD in 1984 in political science from the State University of New York at Stony Brook, and taught at the University of Virginia for 21 years before joining the Pittsburgh faculty in 2005. He held a joint appointment as Professor of Applied Quantitative and Qualitative Methods from 2005-2008 at the Hertie School of Governance in Berlin, Germany. From 2001 to 2018 he served as Chair of the University of Pittsburgh's Department of Political Science.

18 December: Jessica Gottlieb (visiting scholar 16-20 December)

Title: Formalization, Tax Appeals, and Social Intermediaries in Lagos, Nigeria

Abstract: One of the foremost challenges to state-building in weak states is the collection of sufficient revenue for the government to supply public goods. While tax rates in such states may resemble those in more developed countries, most citizens pay taxes informally, unsystematically, or not at all. If weak states seek to expand the size of their tax base and the overall revenue collected, under what conditions can improved information or other appeals boost pro-tax attitudes and formal tax compliance? We argue that providing information is unlikely to boost tax compliance if state efforts do not take account of pre-existing institutions that already play a role in mediating the relationship between informal sector workers and the state. To better understand the role of these social intermediaries in new attempts at formalization, we conduct a field experiment in Lagos, Nigeria. The target population of market vendors, who are part of Lagos's large informal sector, receive a standard informational intervention delivered by a local NGO, and we then vary vendor exposure to additional tax appeals. Some of these appeals are delivered by an existing social intermediary that market vendors already know, while others receive a visit from a representative of the state's IRS, with whom many vendors have not had any contact. We use both survey and administrative data to study effects of registration and tax compliance, as well as changes in attitudes about the state and political behaviors. Preliminary results suggest a substitutive relationship between social intermediaries

and the state: vendors with close ties to market associations are less likely to respond positively when state bureaucrats encourage them to formalize.

Bio: Dr. Jessica Gottlieb is Assistant Professor at Texas A&M's Bush School of Government & Public Service with a PhD in political science from Stanford University. She is currently a Board Member of the Evidence in Governance and Politics (EGAP) network. Her research focuses on the political economy of development and, in particular, constraints to government accountability in new democracies. Much of her fieldwork has been in sub-Saharan Africa, where she has conducted field experiments, behavioral games, and surveys. Gottlieb's current research agenda focuses on the implications of weak state capacity and informality for democratic accountability. She has published articles in the American Political Science Review, American Journal of Political Science, World Politics, Journal of Politics, Comparative Political Studies, and Science Advances, among others. Gottlieb also developed and manages the Democratic Erosion Event Dataset, which documents event-level data on symptoms of as well as precursors and resistance to democratic backsliding.

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

Website: <https://www.v-dem.net>