

Political institutions and instability

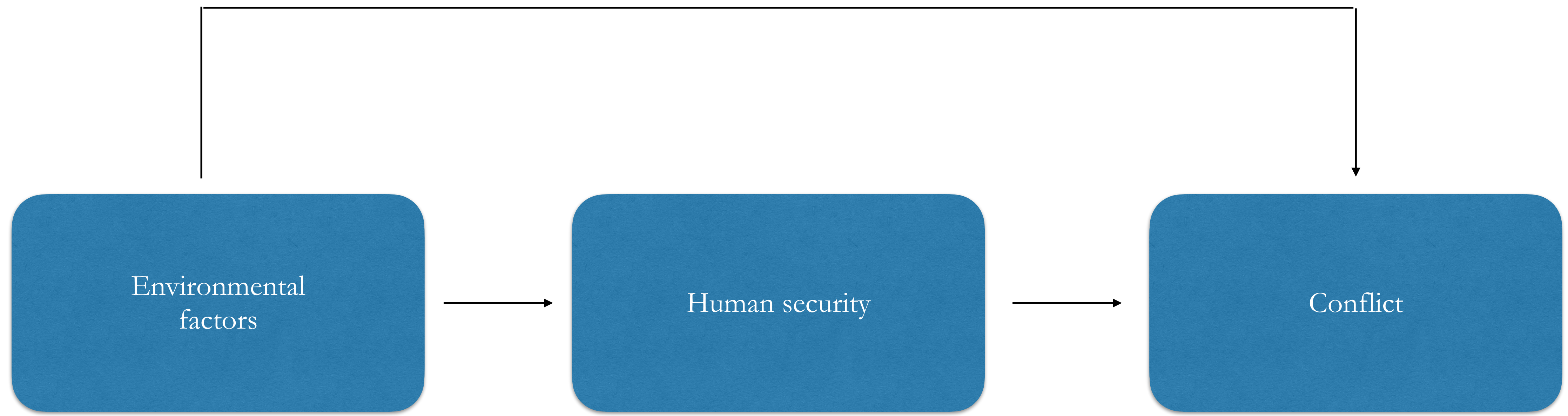


Week 3 of POLS3033 Environment, Human Security and Conflict
Richard W. Frank
School of Politics & International Relations

Image source: The Globe and Mail (<https://www.theglobeandmail.com/world/article-military-units-police-crack-down-on-protests-in-belarus-amid-hotly/>)

I. Political institutions

HIGH COURT OF AUSTRALIA





Homer Dixon, Thomas F. 1999. *Environment, Scarcity, and Violence*.
Princeton: Princeton University Press: 134.

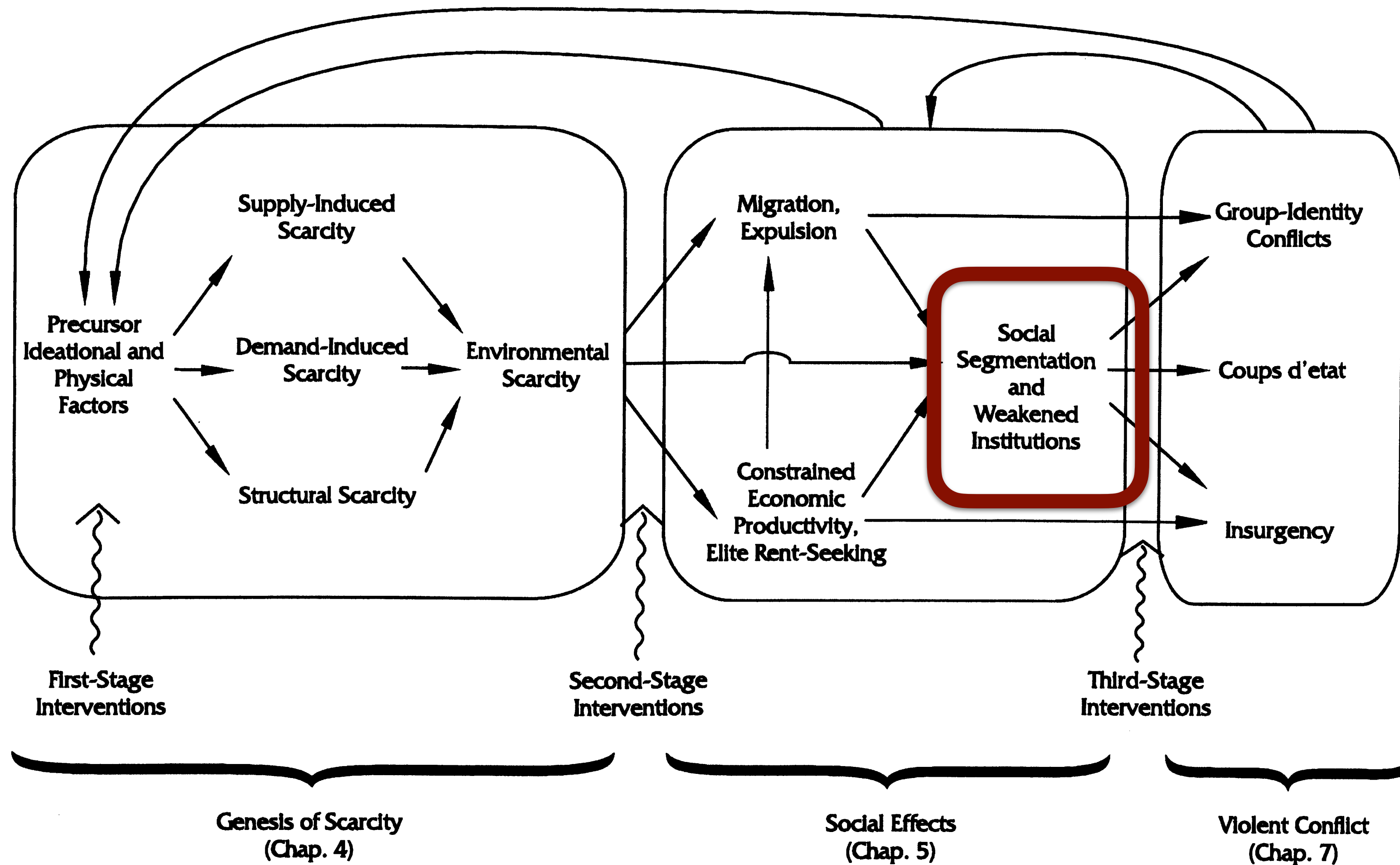


Figure 7.1. The Core Model of the Causal Links between Environmental Scarcity and Violence

Political institution

“a set of formal rules (including constitutions), informal norms, or shared understandings that constrain and prescribe political actors’ interactions with one another.”

Sharon Gilad. Hebrew University of Jerusalem.
<https://www.britannica.com/topic/institution>



How many forms of political institutions
can you think of?

Lecture question #1:

What makes a country a democracy?

What makes a country a democracy?



Several characteristics of a democratic system

Constitutional government

Representative government

Separation of powers

Judicial and legal rights

Individual participation

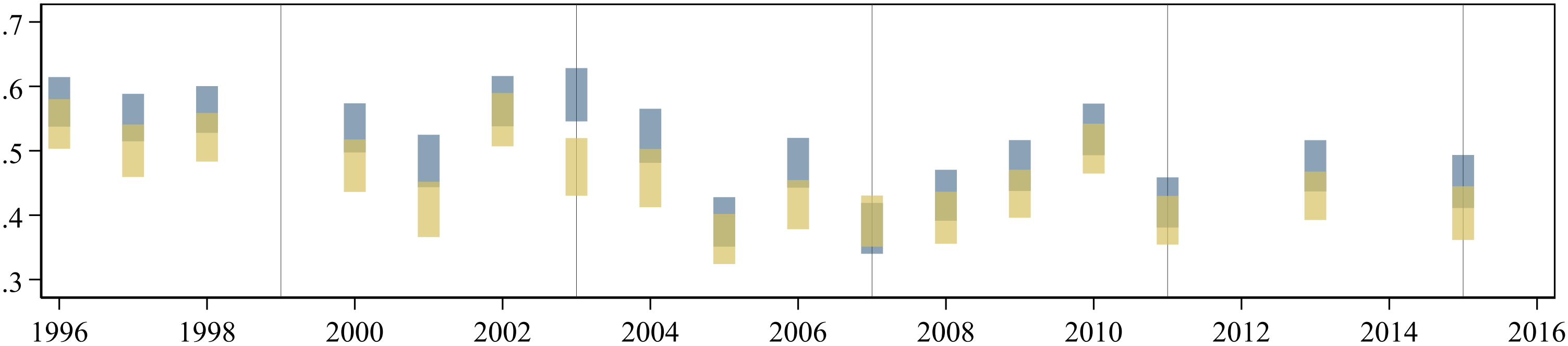
Institutionalised democracy

Authority Coding	Scale Weight
<i>Competitiveness of Executive Recruitment (XRCOMP):</i>	
(3) Election	+2
(2) Transitional	+1
<i>Openness of Executive Recruitment (XROPEN):</i> only if XRCOMP is Election (3) or Transitional (2)	
(3) Dual/election	+1
(4) Election	+1
<i>Constraint on Chief Executive (XCONST):</i>	
(7) Executive parity or subordination	+4
(6) Intermediate category	+3
(5) Substantial limitations	+2
(4) Intermediate category	+1
<i>Competitiveness of Political Participation (PARCOMP):</i>	
(5) Competitive	+3
(4) Transitional	+2
(3) Factional	+1

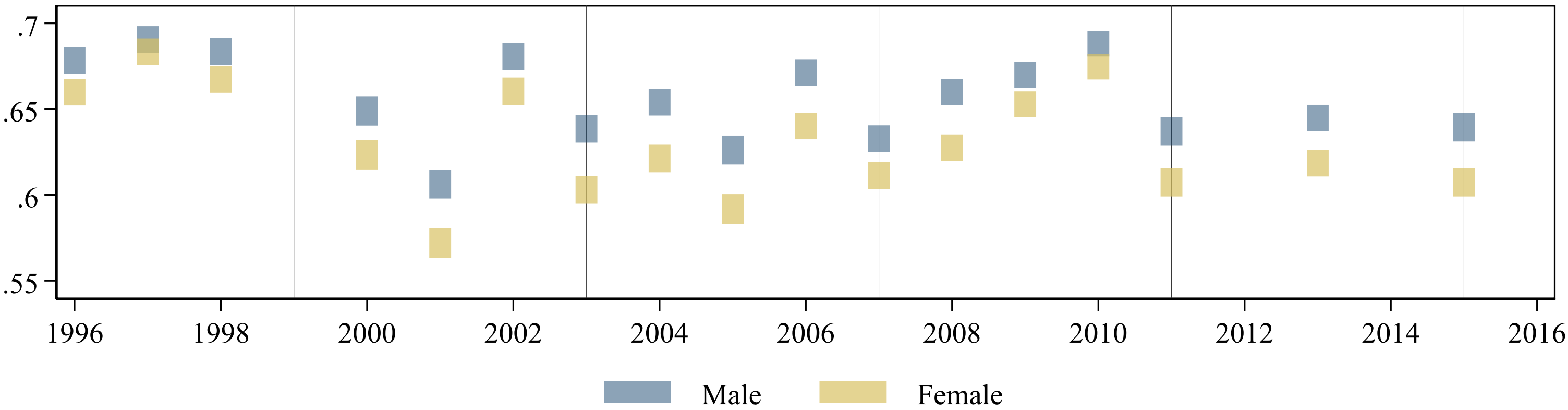
Gender differences in preferring democracy

From a working paper of mine “Three Outcomes of Contentious Elections.”

Guatemala



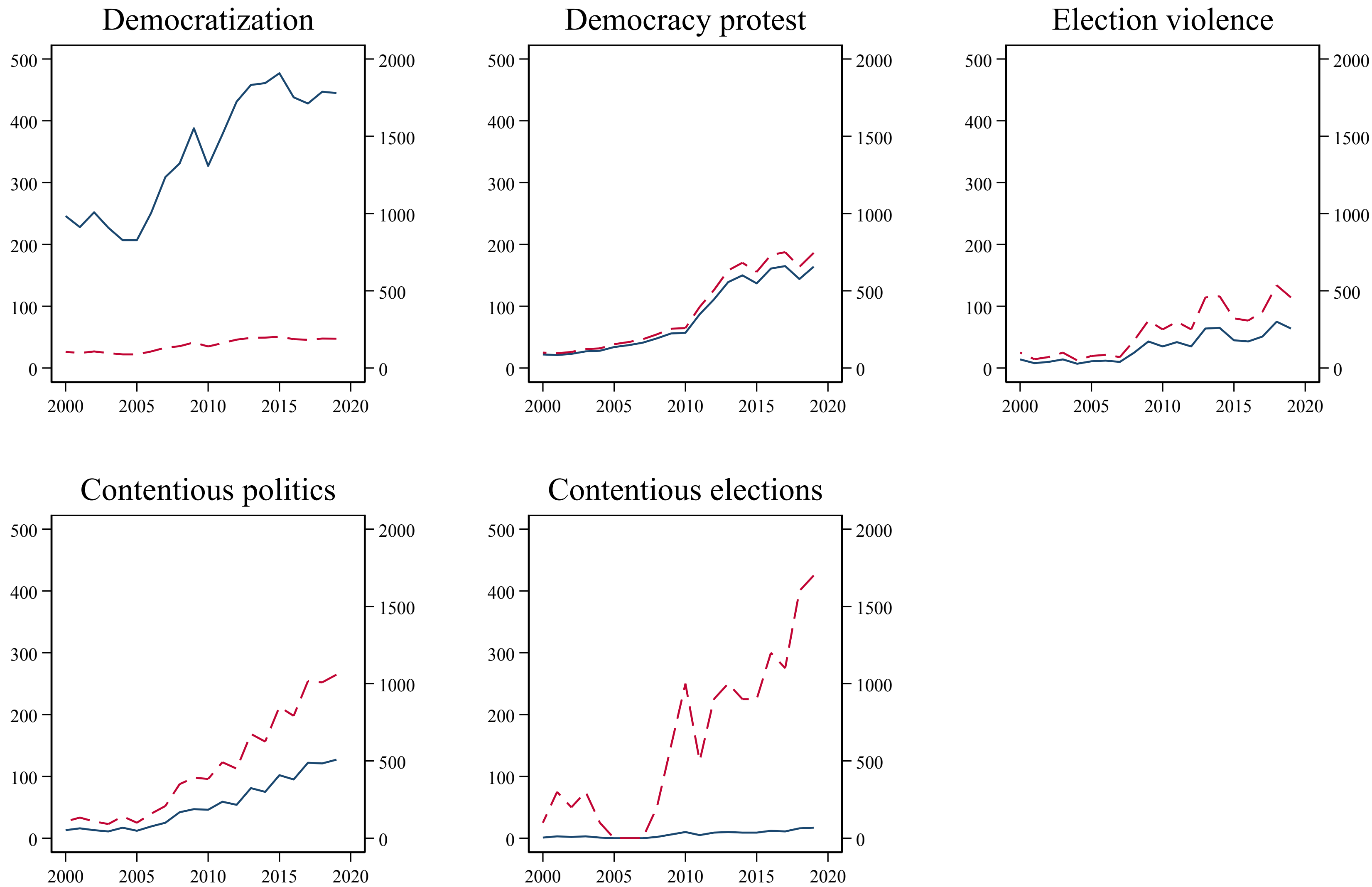
All surveyed Latin American countries



Male Female

Data from Latinobarometer (2020). Two-tailed t-tests of each Guatemalan survey suggest that men have a statistically significant ($p < 0.05$, two-tailed) higher preference for democracy than women in all years except 1997.

Article frequency in Scopus database, 2000-2019



Note: Left axis and solid lines measure absolute frequency of articles mentioning topics in title or abstract. Right axis and dashed line measure frequency of articles mentioning a topic as a percentage of the number in 2000. Search terms used: “democratization”, “democra* AND protest”, “election AND violence”, “contentious AND politics”; and “contentious AND election*”.

Autocratic regimes

(Geddes, Wright, & Frantz 2014)

Military

Party

Personalist

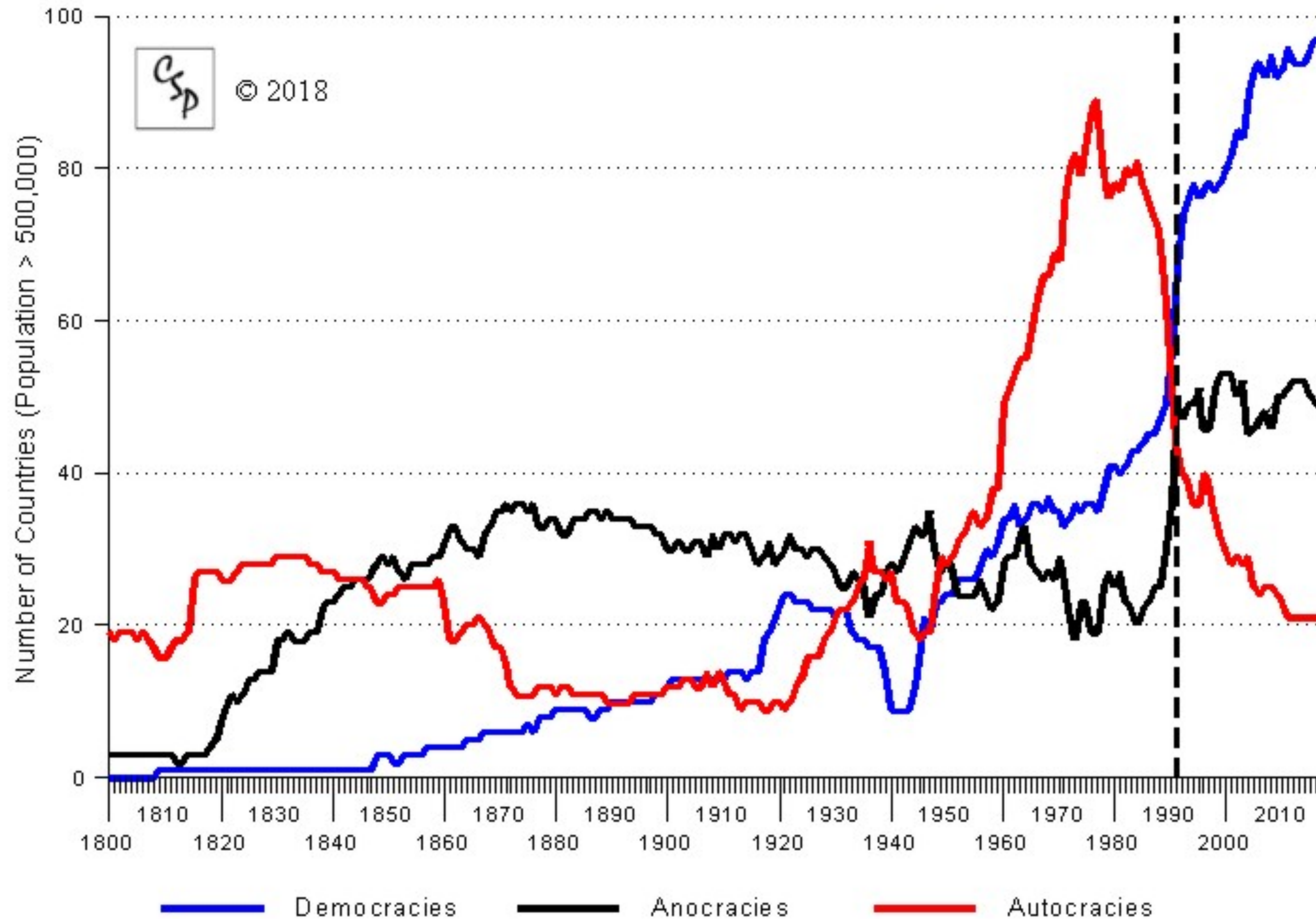
Monarchy

Institutionalised autocracy

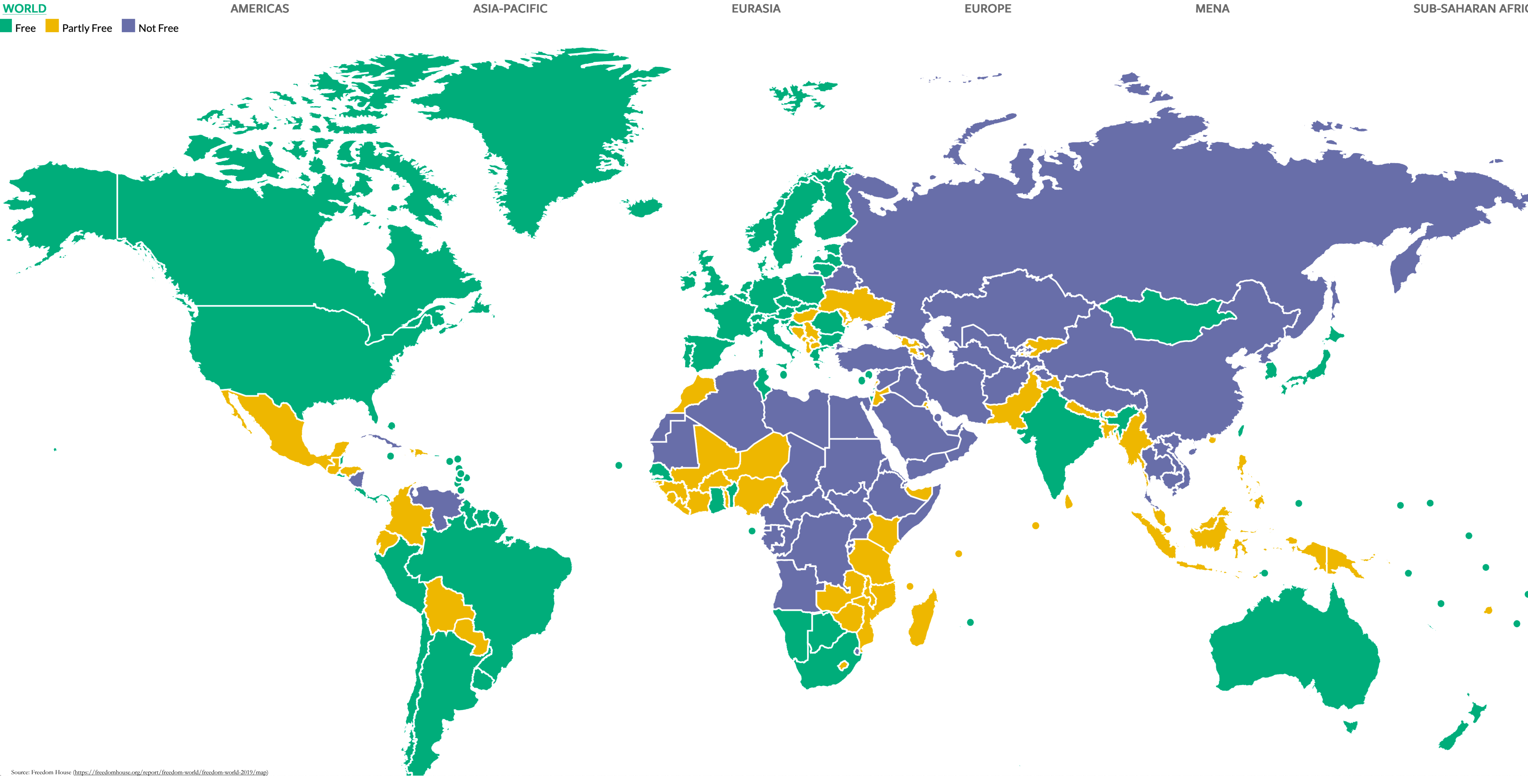
Authority Coding	Scale Weight
<i>Competitiveness of Executive Recruitment (XRCOMP):</i>	
(1) Selection	+2
<i>Openness of Executive Recruitment (XROPEN):</i>	
only if XRCOMP is coded Selection (1)	
(1) Closed	+1
(2) Dual/designation	+1
<i>Constraints on Chief Executive (XCONST):</i>	
(1) Unlimited authority	+3
(2) Intermediate category	+2
(3) Slight to moderate limitations	+1
<i>Regulation of participation (PARREG):</i>	
(4) Restricted	+2
(3) Sectarian	+1
<i>Competitiveness of Participation (PARCOMP):</i>	
(1) Repressed	+2
(2) Suppressed	+1

$\text{Polity} = \text{democratic characteristics} - \text{autocratic characteristics}$

Global Trends in Governance, 1800-2017

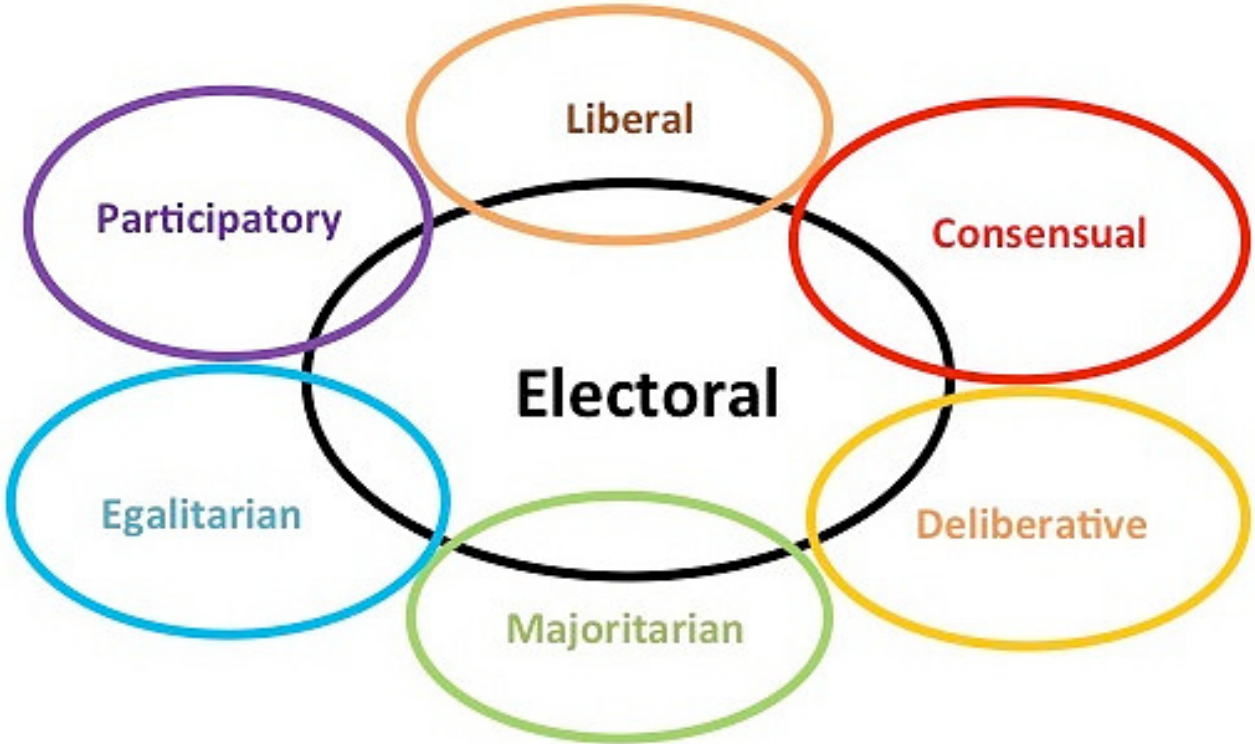


Freedom in the World 2019 Map



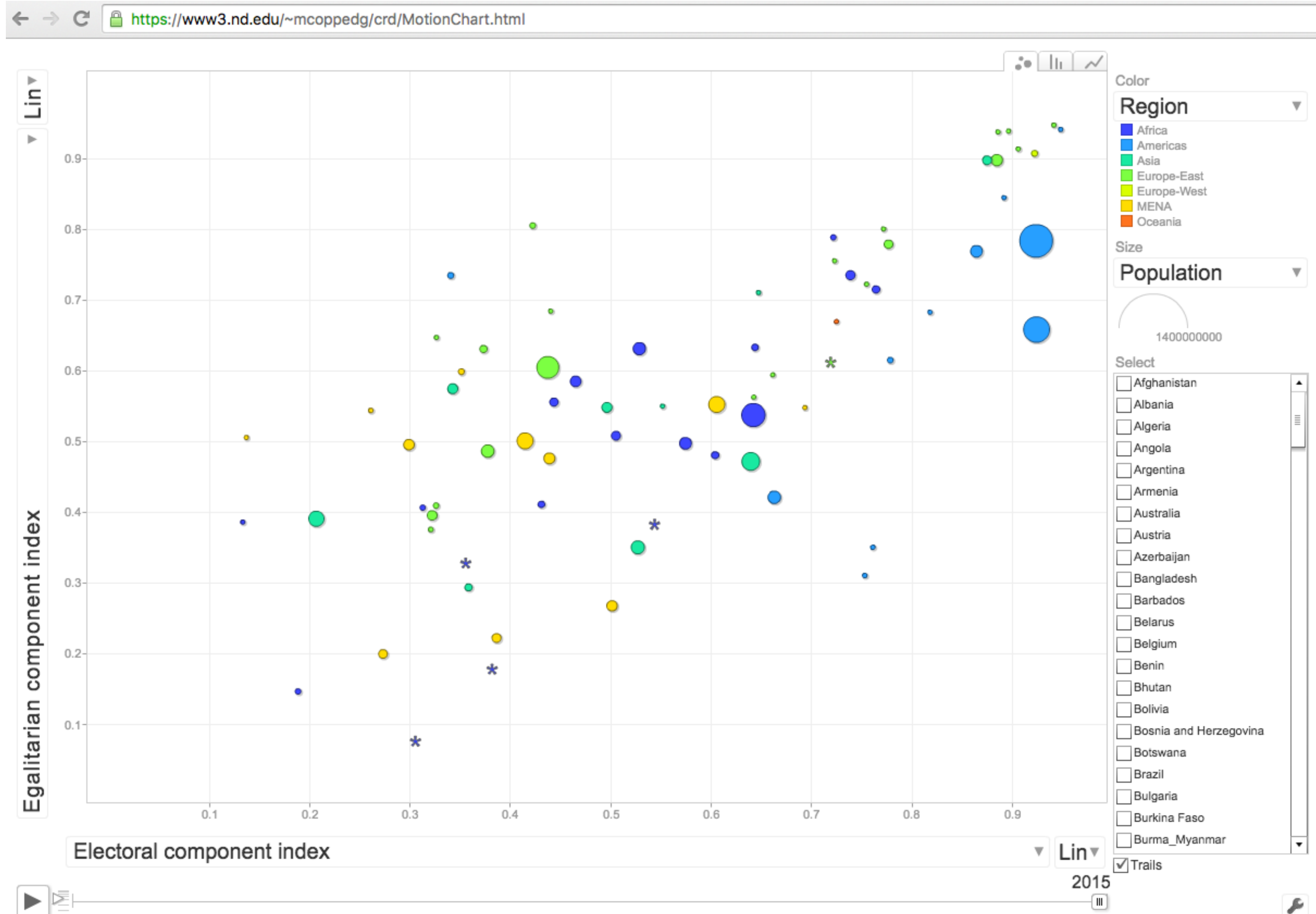
Varieties of Democracy (V-Dem) Project

Electoral “Core” & 6 Democratic “Properties”



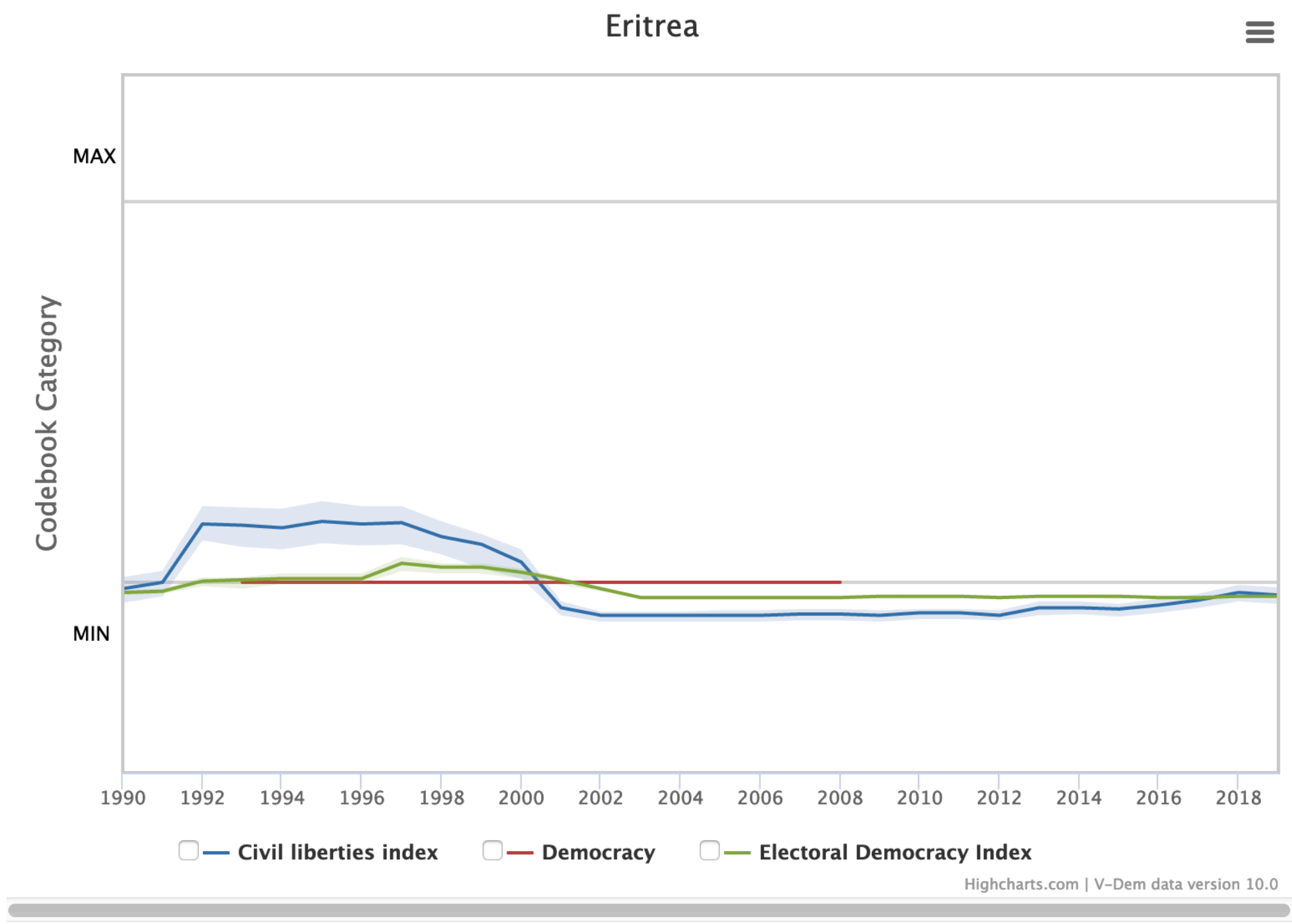
Electoral	Rulers are responsible to citizens through competition for the approval of a broad electoral during periodic elections
Liberal	Intrinsic value of protecting individual and minority rights against potential tyranny of the majority
Participatory	Direct rule and active participation by citizens in all political processes
Deliberative	Political decisions for public good should be informed by respectful and reason-based dialogue at all levels
Egalitarian	Material and immaterial inequalities inhibit the actual use of formal political rights and liberties

Varieties of Democracy (V-DEM) Project

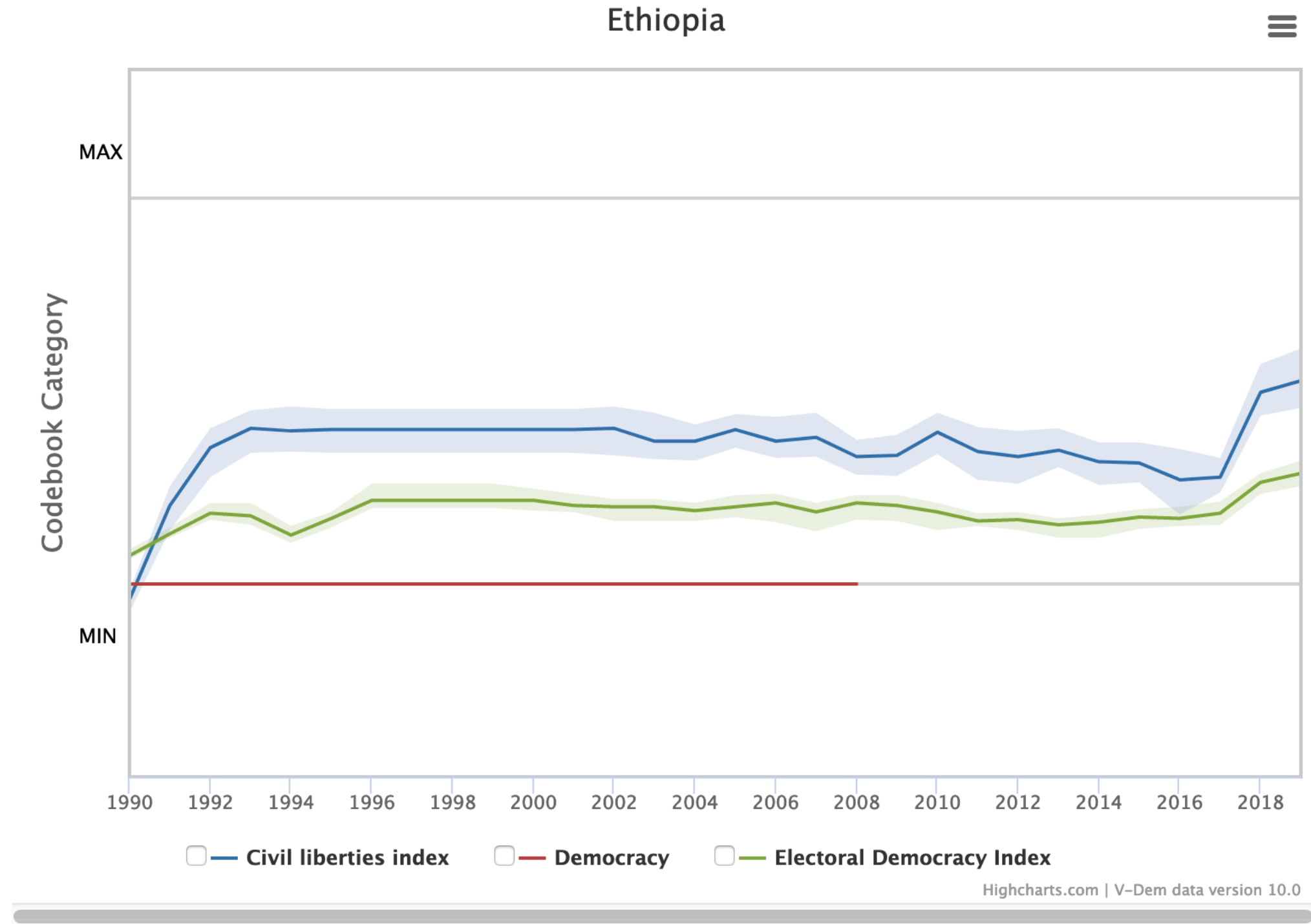


Democracy and conflict





Source: V-Dem



The “democratic peace”

Empirical finding: No two democracies have ever fought an interstate war against each other.

The democratic peace is “the closest thing we have to an empirical law in the study of international relations.”

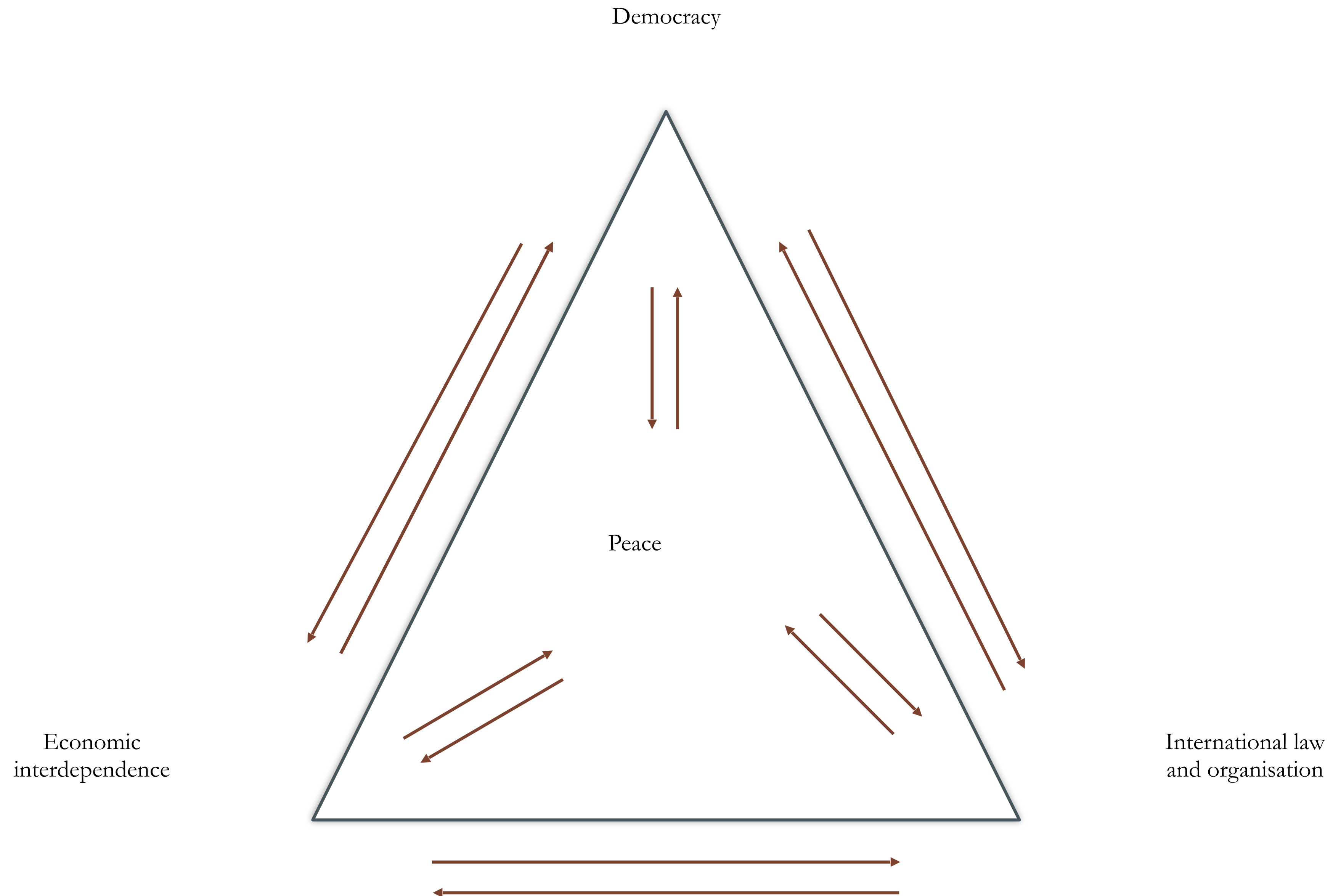
-Jack S. Levy (1989)

“Domestic Politics in War,” in Robert I. Rotberg and Theodore K. Rabb, eds., *The Origin and Prevention of Major Wars* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1989), p. 88.

Hegre (2001) outlines explanations for this empirical regularity

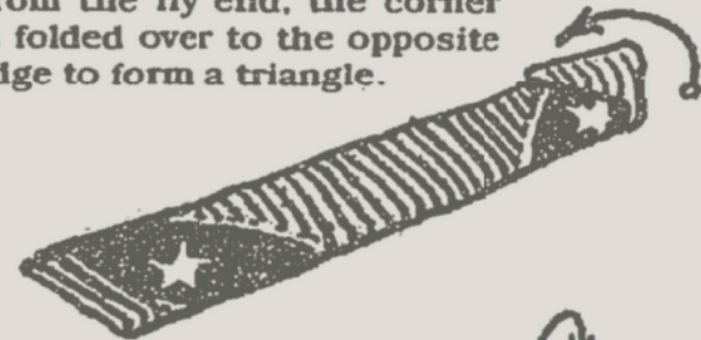
- Normative
- Legislative constraints
- Signaling resolve
- Mobilization
- Joint interests

The Kantian triangle



THE FLAG

- ③ From the fly end, the corner is folded over to the opposite edge to form a triangle.



- ④ With the flag held taut, the triangle is folded over on itself, forming another triangle.



- ⑤ Repeated triangles are formed until the entire flag is neatly folded.



Ross MacDonald

converted to
ity, then to the
ust in time to
grich Revolu-
for the record,
no moved clear
cted, which ex-

Beasley's mo-
conversion of-
lated crack at
The South has
lose the war

We've noticed

loses some-
A ball game, a
atch, a spouse,
— eventually, a
The healthiest
us are those
a some mythic
er be explained
into an accept-
mes a form of
speaks of turn-
tion. But, flying

sire to do right — is precisely the same."

Shall we run that up our only flagpole? May I see a show of hands? State by state, race by race, we cannot succeed by seceding. Done that. Lost out. Started over.

Maybe our feelings do not arise from the present situation but keep repeating something that happened to us earlier. And happened, and happened.

So, South Carolina? Make the repetition a memory. Heed the orders of General Lee. On retiring from the field of battle, brave enough to weep in plain view of his men, admitting defeat while somehow maintaining his own indelible sense of human honor, he called back, "Furl the flag, boys."

It is time.

One hundred and thirty-one years late, my beloved South, it is time to say and mean this.

Let us all hold hands and, in unison, shout it very loud at last, "Appomattox. Appomattox, and amen!" □

Foreign Affairs

THOMAS L. FRIEDMAN

Big Mac I

OAK BROOK, Ill.

So I've had this thesis for a long time and came here to Hamburger University at McDonald's headquarters to finally test it out. The thesis is this: No two countries that both have a McDonald's have ever fought a war against each other.

The McDonald's folks confirmed it for me. I feared the exception would be the Falklands war, but Argentina didn't get its first McDonald's until 1986, four years after that war with Britain. Civil wars don't count: McDonald's in Moscow delivered burgers to both sides in the fight between pro- and anti-Yeltsin forces in 1993.

Since Israel now has a kosher McDonald's, since Saudi Arabia's McDonald's closes five times a day for Muslim prayer, since Egypt has 18 McDonald's and Jordan is getting its first, the chances of a war between them are minimal. But watch out for that Syrian front. There are no Big Macs served in Damascus. India-Pakistan? I'm still worried. India, where 40 percent of the population is vegetarian, just opened the first beefless McDonald's (vegetable nuggets!), but Pakistan is still a Mac-free zone.

Obviously, I say all this tongue in cheek. But there was enough of a correlation for me to ask James Cantalupo, president of McDonald's International and its de facto Secretary of State, what might be behind this Golden Arches Theory of Conflict Prevention — which stipulates that when a country reaches a certain level of economic development, when it has a middle class big enough to support a McDonald's, it becomes a McDonald's country, and people in McDonald's countries don't like to fight wars; they like to wait in line for burgers. Or as Mr. Cantalupo puts it: "We focus our development on the more well-developed economies — those that are growing and those that are large — and the risks involved in being adventuresome [for those growing economies] are probably getting too great."

In the 1950's and 60's developing countries thought that having an aluminum factory and a U.N. seat was what made them real countries, but today many countries think they will have arrived only if they have their own McDonald's and Windows 95 in their own language. This year McDonald's went into its 100th country and for the first time it earned more revenue from McDonald's overseas than from McDonald's America.

Maureen Dowd is on vacation.

Said Mr. Cantalupo: "I feel these countries want McDonald's as a symbol of something — an economic maturity and that they are open to foreign investments. I don't think there is a country out there we haven't gotten inquiries from. I have a parade of ambassadors and trade representatives in here regularly to tell us about their country and why McDonald's would be good for the country."

The question raised by the McDonald's example is whether there is a tip-

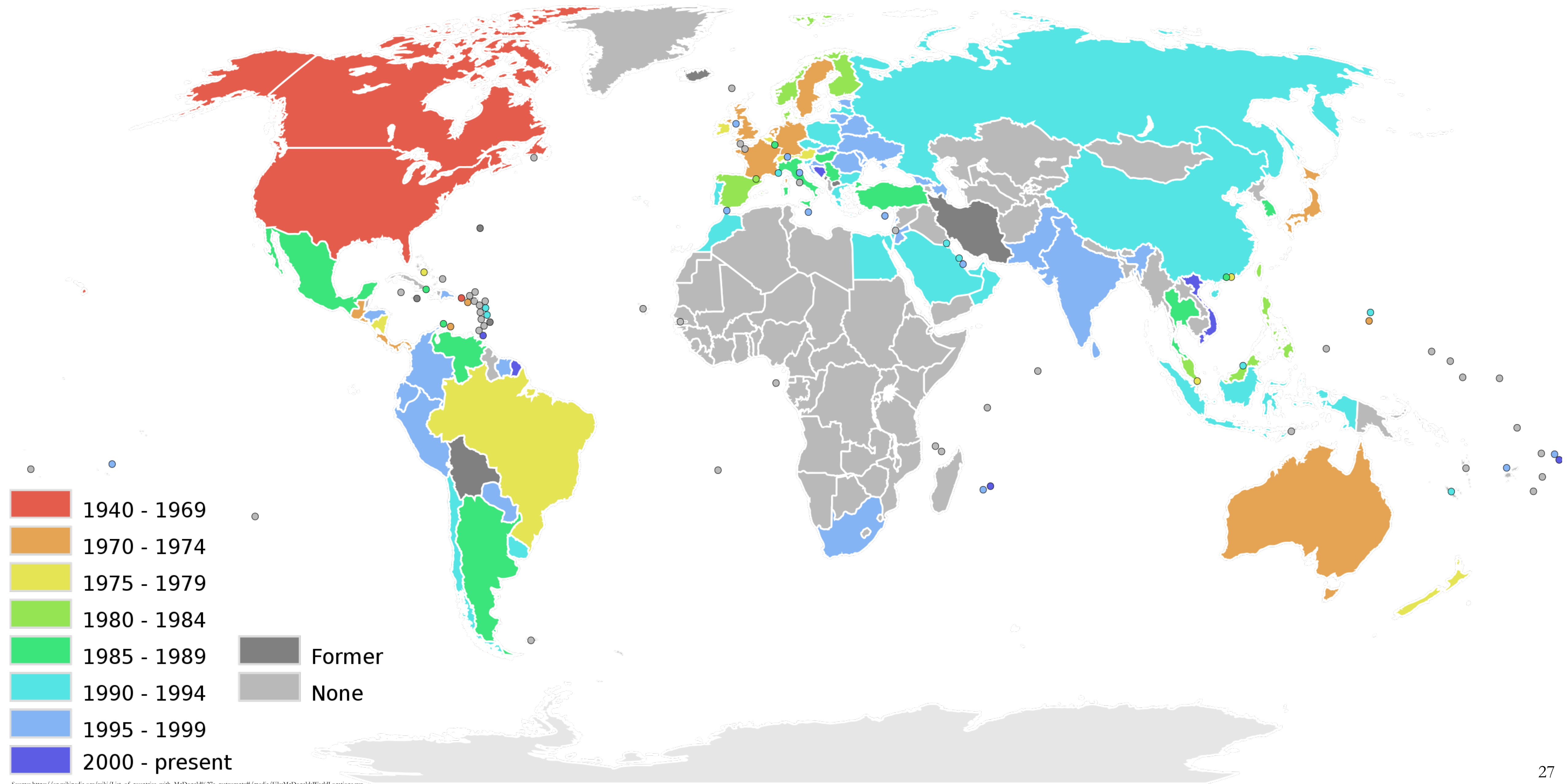
Testing the golden arches theory.

over point at which a country, by integrating with the global economy, opening itself up to foreign investment and empowering its consumers, permanently restricts its capacity for troublemaking and promotes gradual democratization and widening peace. Francis Fukuyama, author of the classic work "The End of History," argued to me that a country's getting its own McDonald's was probably not a good indicator of that tip-over point, because the level of per capita income needed in a country to host a McDonald's is too low. "I would not be surprised if in the next 10 years several of these McDonald's countries go to war with each other," he said.

Yes, there will be conflicts, but more inside countries than between them. No question, the spread of McDonald's (a new one opens every three hours) is part of this worldwide phenomenon of countries integrating with the global economy and submitting to its rules, but this is not a smooth linear process. It produces a backlash inside countries from those who do not benefit from this globalization, who feel that their traditional culture will be steamrolled by it and who fear that they won't eat the Big Mac, the Big Mac will eat them.

How well governments and global companies manage these frustrations will be the real determinant of whether economic development will lead to wider democratization and wider peace. Here again McDonald's is an intriguing pioneer. When the riots broke out in Los Angeles one of the few commercial buildings not trashed was McDonald's. Wednesday's column will explore why. □

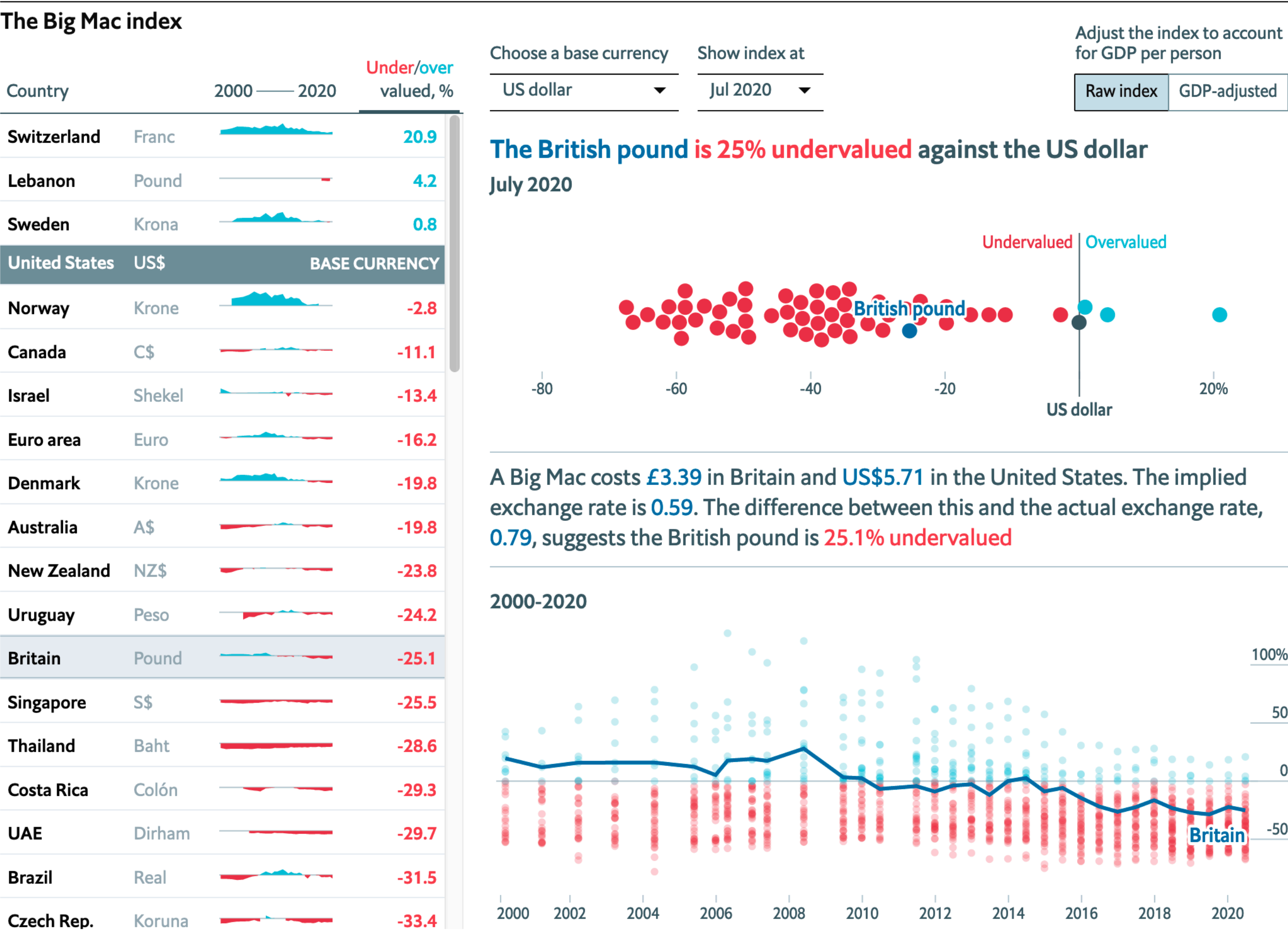
Countries with McDonalds



The Big Mac index

Our interactive currency comparison tool

JUL 15TH 2020



Sources: McDonald's; Datastream from Refinitiv; IMF; Eurostat; *The Economist* US price is an average of four cities [Get the data](#)

Polity and the Onset of Political Instability, 1955-2006

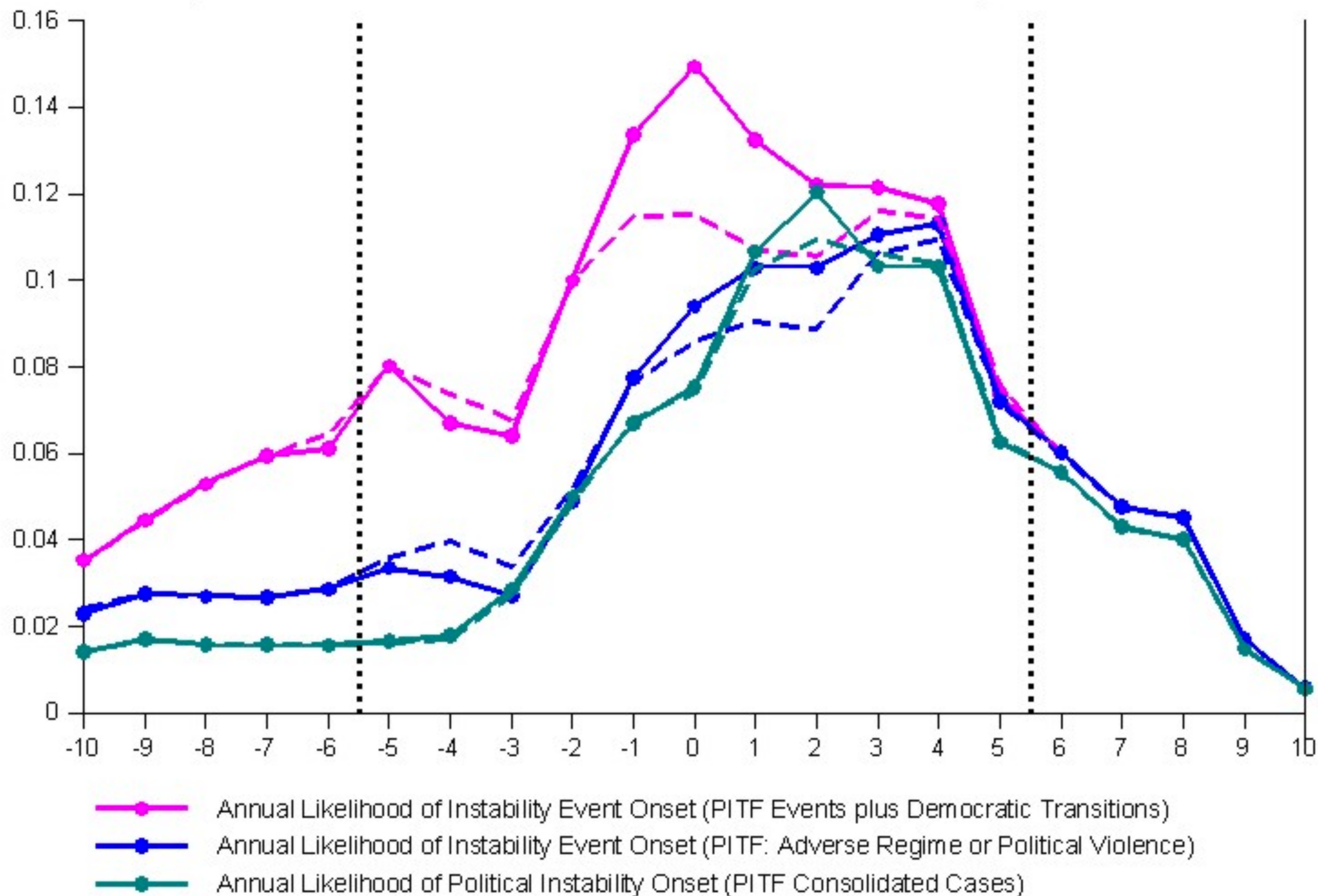
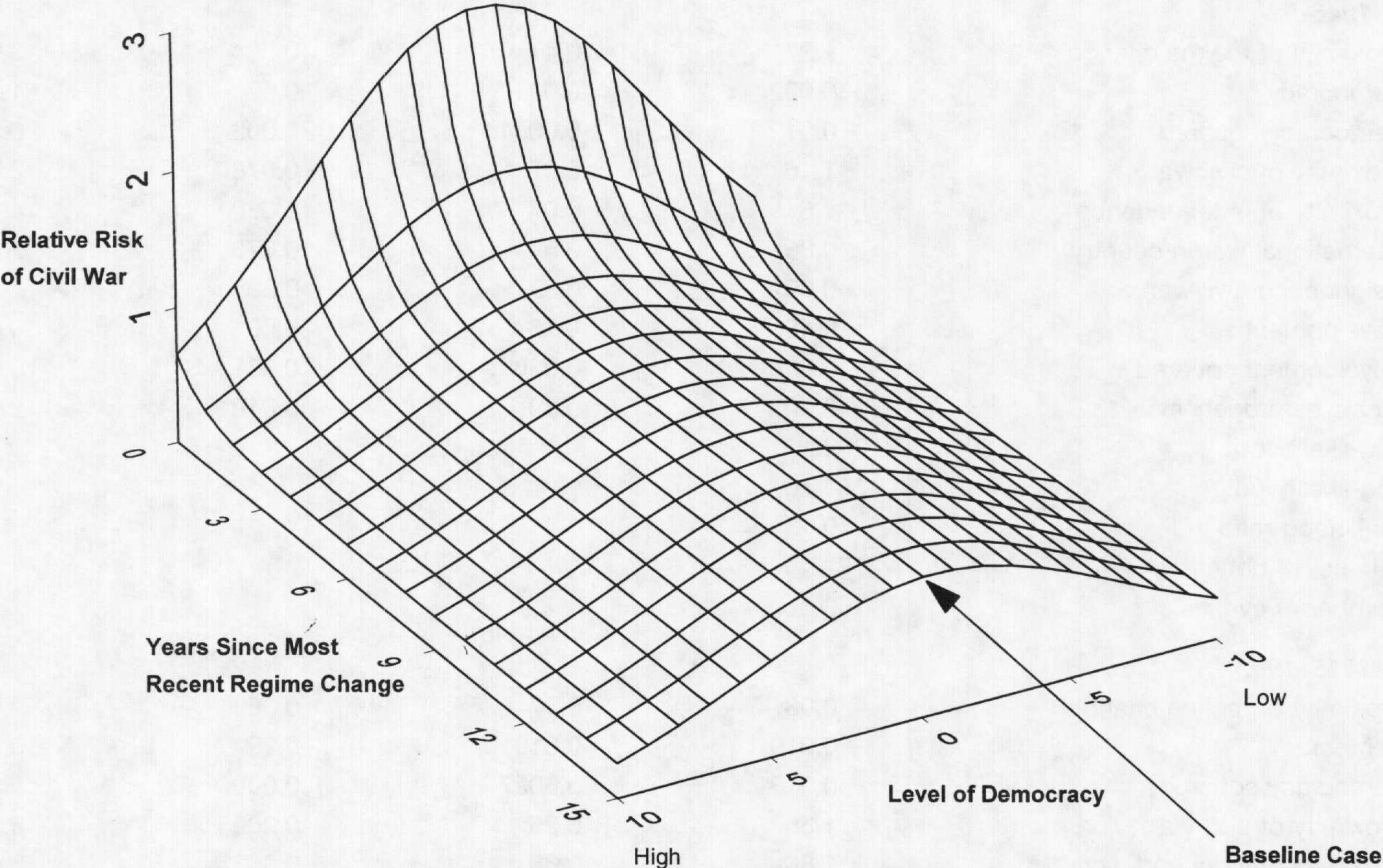


FIGURE 1. Relative Risk of Civil War as a Function of Democracy and Time since Most Recent Regime Change, 1816–1992

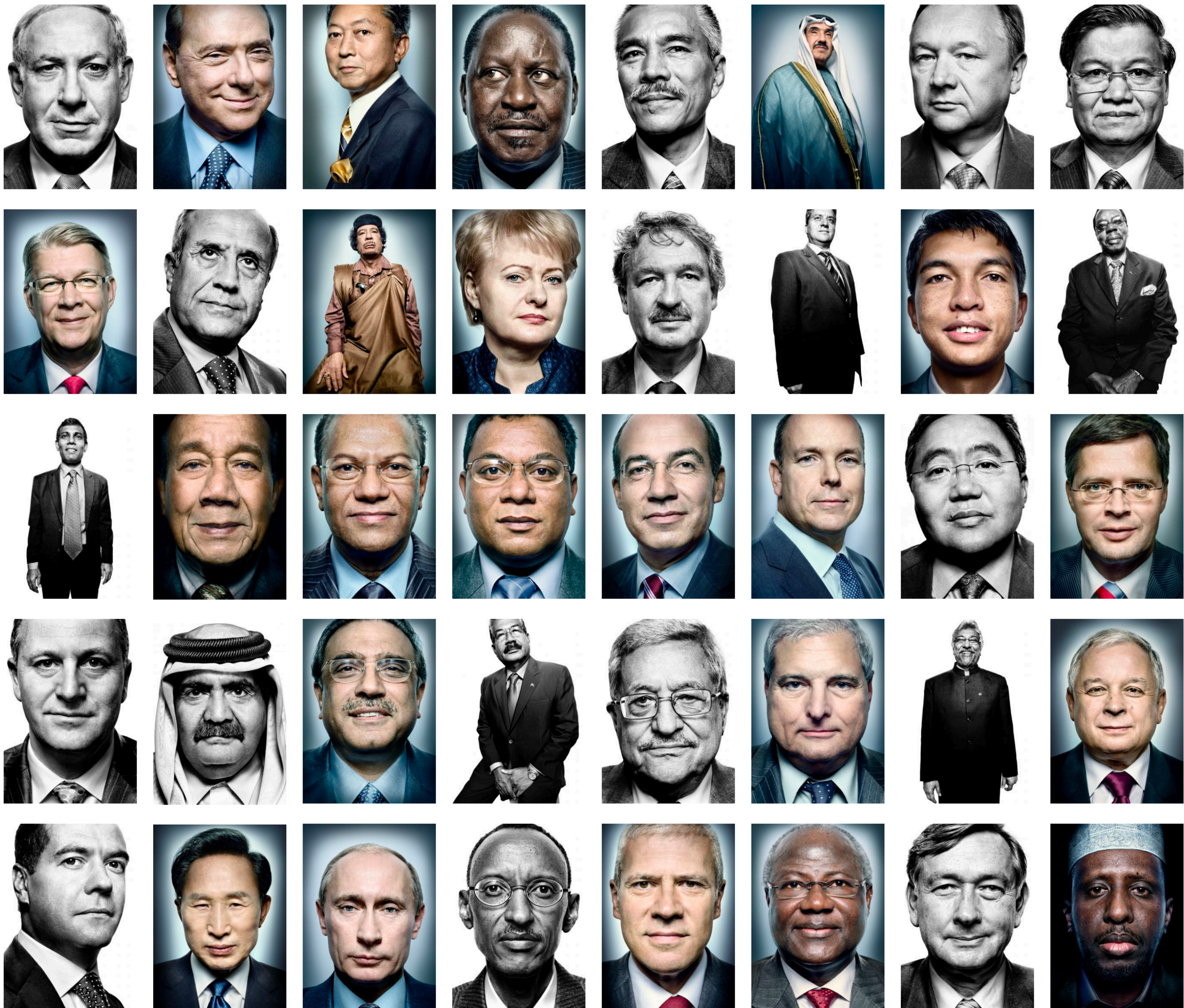


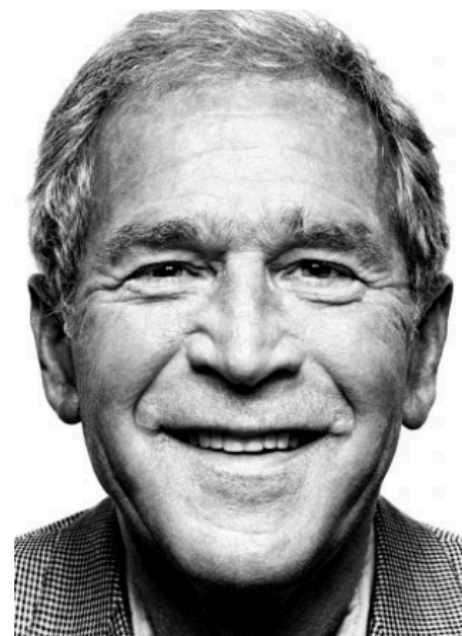
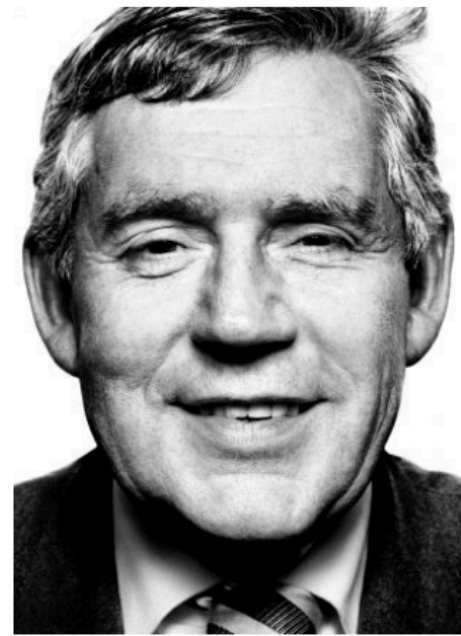
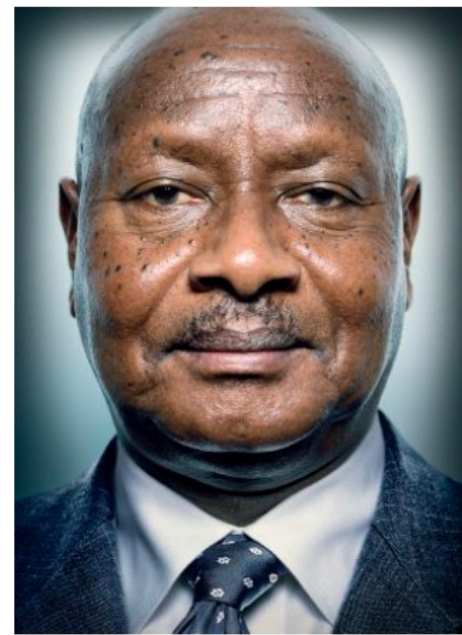
Note: The figure is based on the parameter estimates in Table 2B. The baseline case is an observation with democracy = 0 and proximity of regime change = 0 (15 years since regime change). All risks are plotted relative to this case. For instance, an observation with democracy = 0 and years since most recent regime change = 0 is estimated to have a risk of $\exp(\hat{\beta}_1 \exp(-0/527) + 0\hat{\beta}_2) = \exp(\hat{\beta}_1) = 2.68$ relative to the baseline (cf. note 12).

Democracy and conflict

- Democracy should decrease violence.
- Collier (2009) argues this is because of increased levels of accountability and legitimacy in democracies.
- He does find an interactive effect in democracy and incomes' relationship to violence.
- At low incomes democracy increases violence.
- At high incomes it decreases.
- The inflection point is USD\$2,700 GDP per capita.















Gurbanguly Berdimuhamedow



 alamy Saparmurat Niyazov

B9BWKN
alamy.com

TURKMENISTAN

February 04, 2020 13:27
GMT

By RFE/RL's Turkmen
Service

Live And Don't Let Dye: A Gray Day For Turkmen

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45

Print



Turkmen President Gurbanguly Berdimukhammedov in 2017 (left) and in 2019

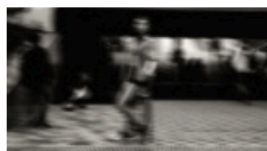
TURKMENABAT, Turkmenistan -- Males working at state organizations in Turkmenistan's northeastern region of Lebap have been ordered not to dye their hair ahead of an expected visit by the Central Asian nation's autocratic leader, Gurbanguly Berdimukhammedov.

Several employees at local schools, medical institutions, and municipal offices told RFE/RL on February 4 that all men over the age of 40 were told to refrain from dyeing their hair to conceal any graying.

Editors' Picks



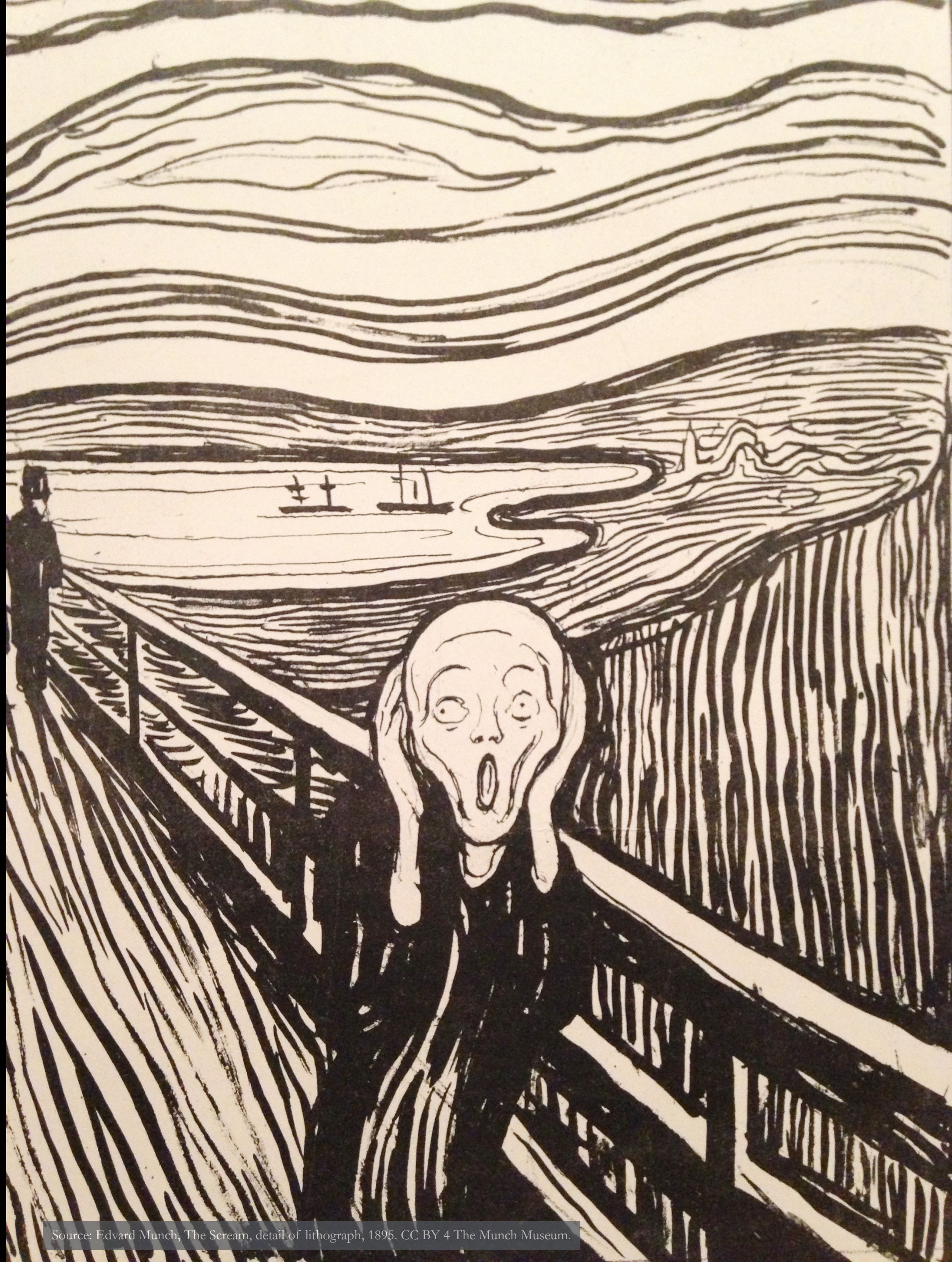
Belarus Police Fire Tear Gas, Water Cannons To Disperse Election Protests



Fighting For Identity: Kazakh Laws Make Life Difficult For Transgender

Meradication of war. Or he might die in one. Why each of these is a realistic prospect for today's children is the subject of this book. War, like disease, has been endemic since the dawn of man. Diseases are now being conquered: in 1977 scientific advance and public action in combination eradicated smallpox. For the first time in history, the world economy looks capable of delivering the material conditions necessary for global peace. But global prosperity also increases the risks: an interconnected world is more vulnerable to any remaining pockets of chaotic violence. Just as the eradication of smallpox depended upon harnessing science through public action, so rising prosperity must be harnessed to secure the prize of global peace.

Wars, Guns, and Votes is about power. Why focus on power? Because in the impoverished little countries at the bottom of the world economy that are home to a billion people, the predominant route to power has been violence. Political violence is both a curse in itself and an obstacle to accountable and legitimate government. It is a process of violent struggle is hugely destructive. If power rests on violence, it invites a



Source: Edvard Munch, The Scream, detail of lithograph, 1895. CC BY 4 The Munch Museum.

The Superiority of Economists[†]

Marion Fourcade, Etienne Ollion, and Yann Algan

There exists an implicit pecking order among the social sciences, and it seems to be dominated by economics. For starters, economists *see themselves* at or near the top of the disciplinary hierarchy. In a survey conducted in the early 2000s, Colander (2005) found that 77 percent of economics graduate students in elite programs agree with the statement that “economics is the most scientific of the social sciences.” Some 15 years ago, Richard Freeman (1999, p. 141) speculated on the origins of such a conviction in the pages of this journal. His assessment was candid: “[S]ociologists and political scientists have less powerful analytical tools and know less than we do, or so we believe. By scores on the Graduate Record Examination and other criteria, our field attracts students stronger than theirs, and our courses are more mathematically demanding.”

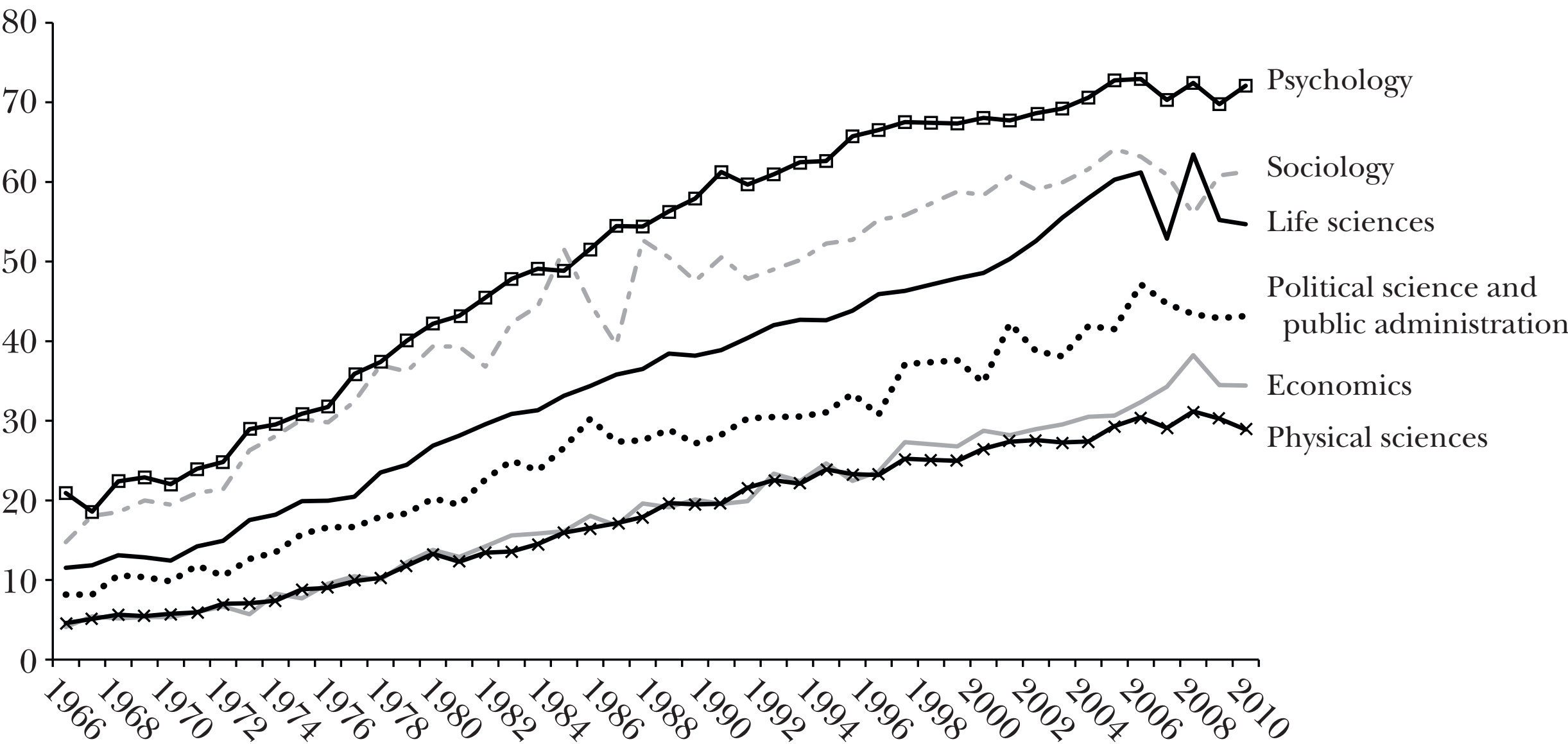
At first glance, the academic labor market seems to confirm the natives’ judgment about the higher status of economists. They are the only social scientists to have a “Nobel” prize, thanks to a grant from the Bank of Sweden to the Nobel foundation. Economists command some of the highest levels of compensation in American arts and science faculties according to Bureau of Labor Statistics data. In fact, they “earn more and have better career prospects” than physicists and

■ Marion Fourcade is Professor of Sociology, University of California, Berkeley, California, and Associate Fellow at the Max Planck-Sciences Po Center, Sciences Po, Paris, France. Etienne Ollion is Research Fellow at the Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique, University of Strasbourg, France. Yann Algan is Professor of Economics, Sciences Po, Paris, France. The authors’ email addresses are fourcade@berkeley.edu, ollion@unistra.fr, and yann.algan@sciencespo.fr.

[†]To access the Appendix and Data Appendix, visit <http://dx.doi.org/10.1257/jep.29.1.89>

doi=10.1257/jep.29.1.89

Figure 1
Percentage of Doctorates Awarded to Women in Selected Disciplines, 1966–2011

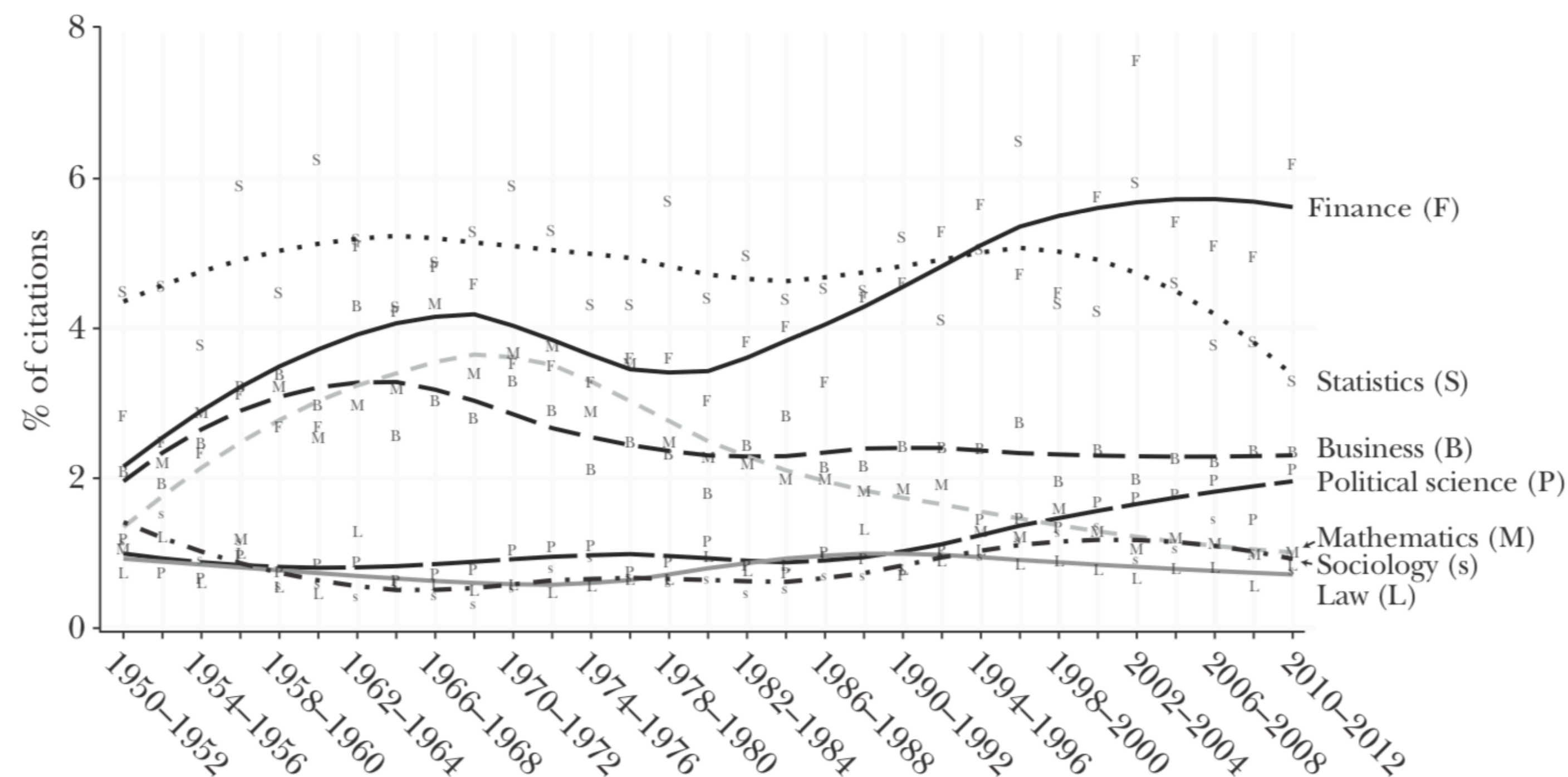


Source: US National Center for Education Statistics, Integrated Post-secondary Education Data System Completion Survey.

Figure 3

Extradisciplinary Citation in Five Top Economics Journals

(to papers in fields of finance, statistics, business, political science, mathematics, sociology, and law)



Source: The raw citation data were collected from the Institute of Scientific Information's *Web of Social Sciences*.

Notes: The points in the figure show the share of outside-the-field citations in five economics journals going to journals in the fields of Finance (F), Statistics (S), Business (B), Political Science (P), Mathematics (M), Sociology (s), and Law (L). The top five economics journals are the *Quarterly Journal of Economics* (founded in 1899), *Journal of Political Economy* (1899), *American Economic Review* (1911), *Econometrica* (1933), and *Review of Economic Studies* (1933). We show the patterns of the data as smoothed curves. The lines were drawn using a smoothing coefficient. See the online Appendix available with this paper at <http://e-jep.org> for details.

INSIDE JOB OR DEEP IMPACT? USING EXTRAMURAL CITATIONS TO ASSESS
ECONOMIC SCHOLARSHIP

Joshua Angrist
Pierre Azoulay
Glenn Ellison
Ryan Hill
Susan Feng Lu

Working Paper 23698
<http://www.nber.org/papers/w23698>

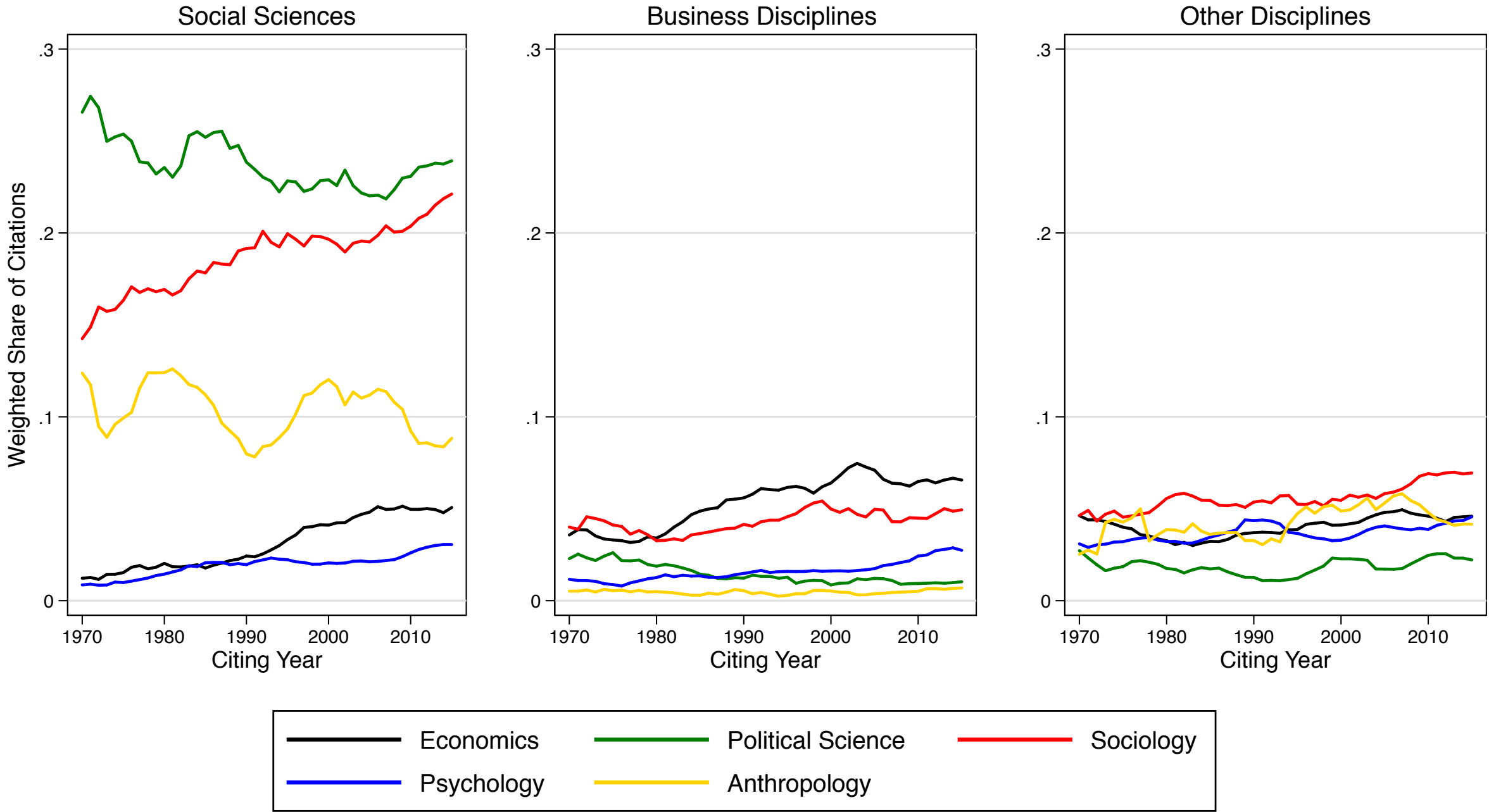
NATIONAL BUREAU OF ECONOMIC RESEARCH
1050 Massachusetts Avenue
Cambridge, MA 02138
August 2017, Revised August 2017

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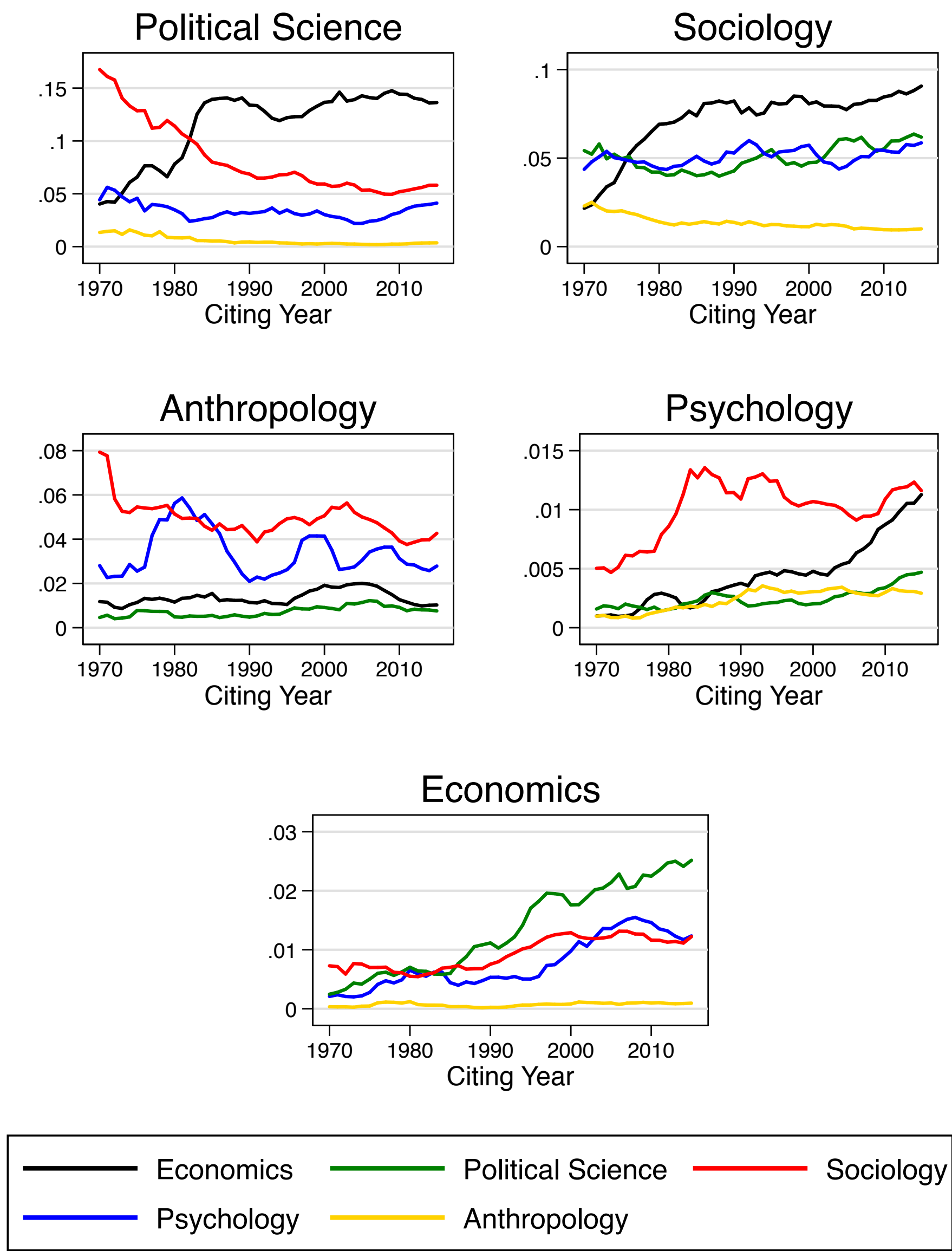
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Figure 1: Social Science Insularity



Note: The left panel of this figure shows citation rates from each social science to all other social sciences as a proportion of the total for each citing discipline. The center panel shows citation rates from each social science to four business disciplines. The right panel shows citations to seven other disciplines (this group includes all non-social-science and non-business disciplines, excepting multidisciplinary science). Plots are smoothed using five-year moving averages. Papers cited were published between 1955 and 2015.

Figure 2: Citation Rates between Social Science Disciplines



Note: This figure shows weighted citation rates from each of five social sciences to the other four. Plots are smoothed with five-year moving averages. Papers cited were published between 1955 and 2015.

PA Gendered Citation Patterns across Political Science and Social Science Methodology Fields

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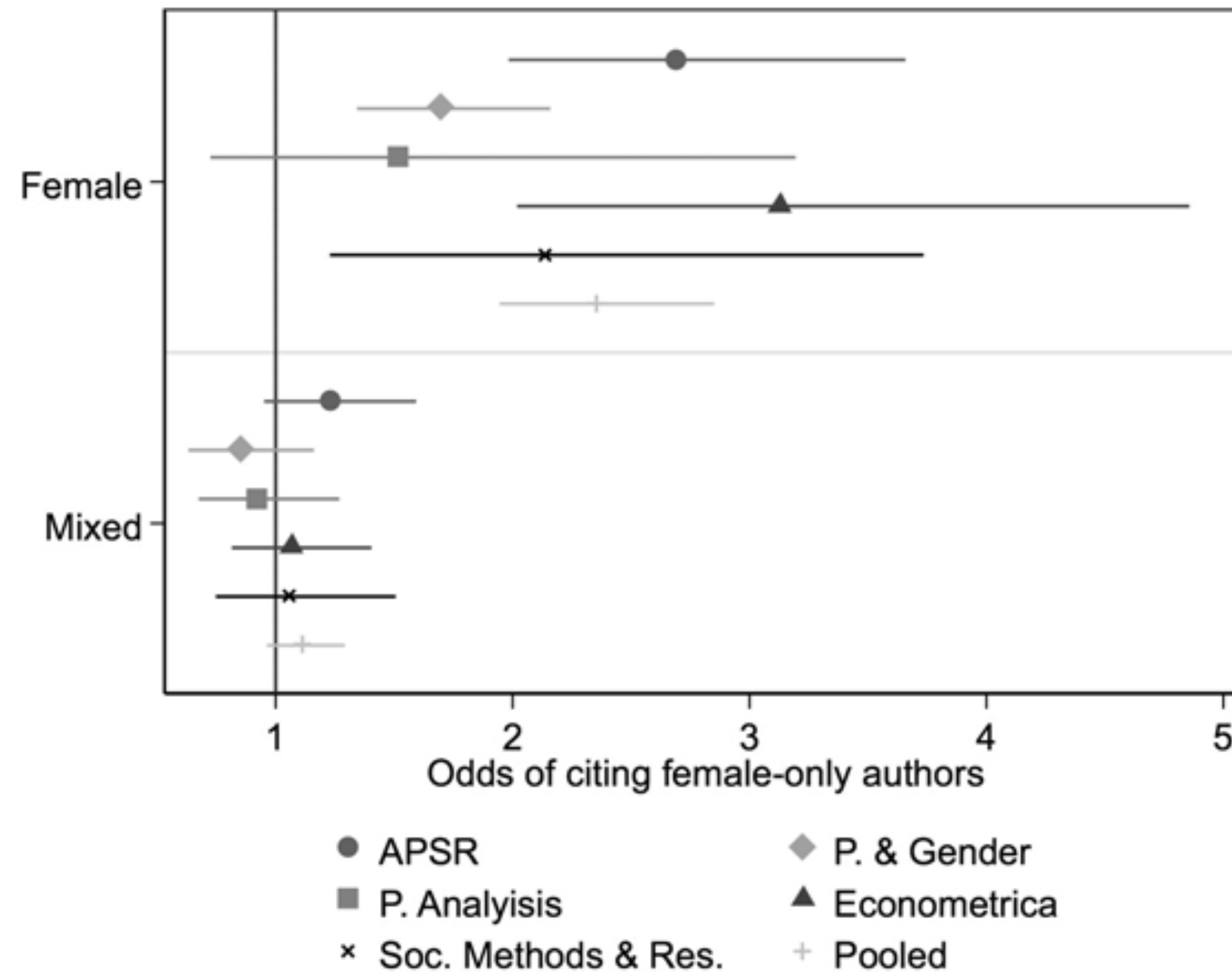


Figure 2. Odds ratios (with 95% confidence intervals) for models of female-only references by journal. Note: Based on models in Table 3.



III. Literature reviews





Methuselah

A 4,852 year old Great Basin bristlecone pine in Inyo National Forest. It was seeded in 2,833BCE.



Literature reviews