

Political institutions and instability

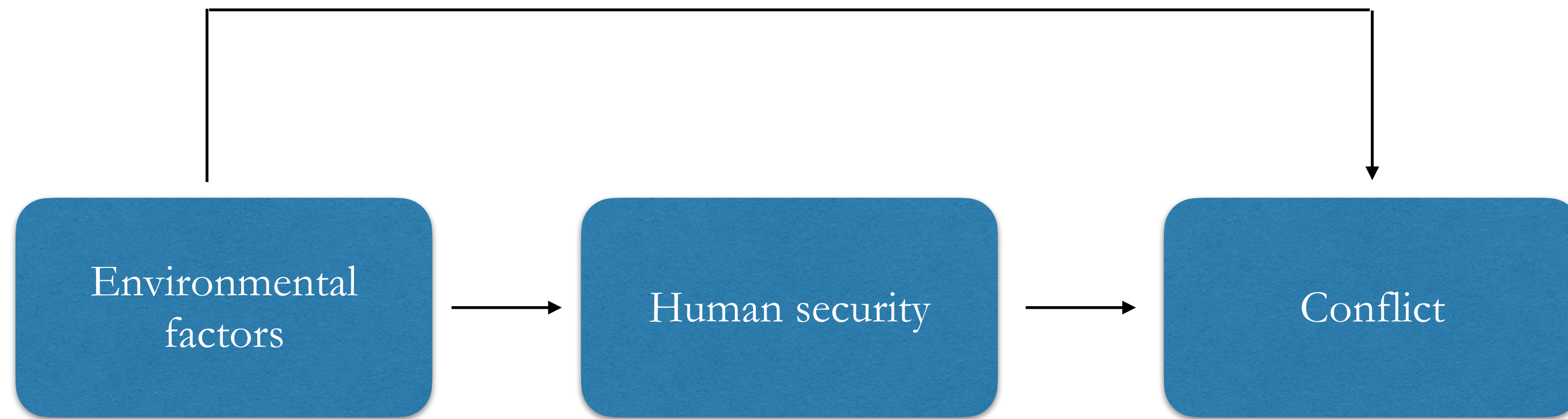


Week 3 of POLS3033 Environment, Human Security and Conflict
Richard W. Frank
School of Politics & International Relations

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

2. Political institutions







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

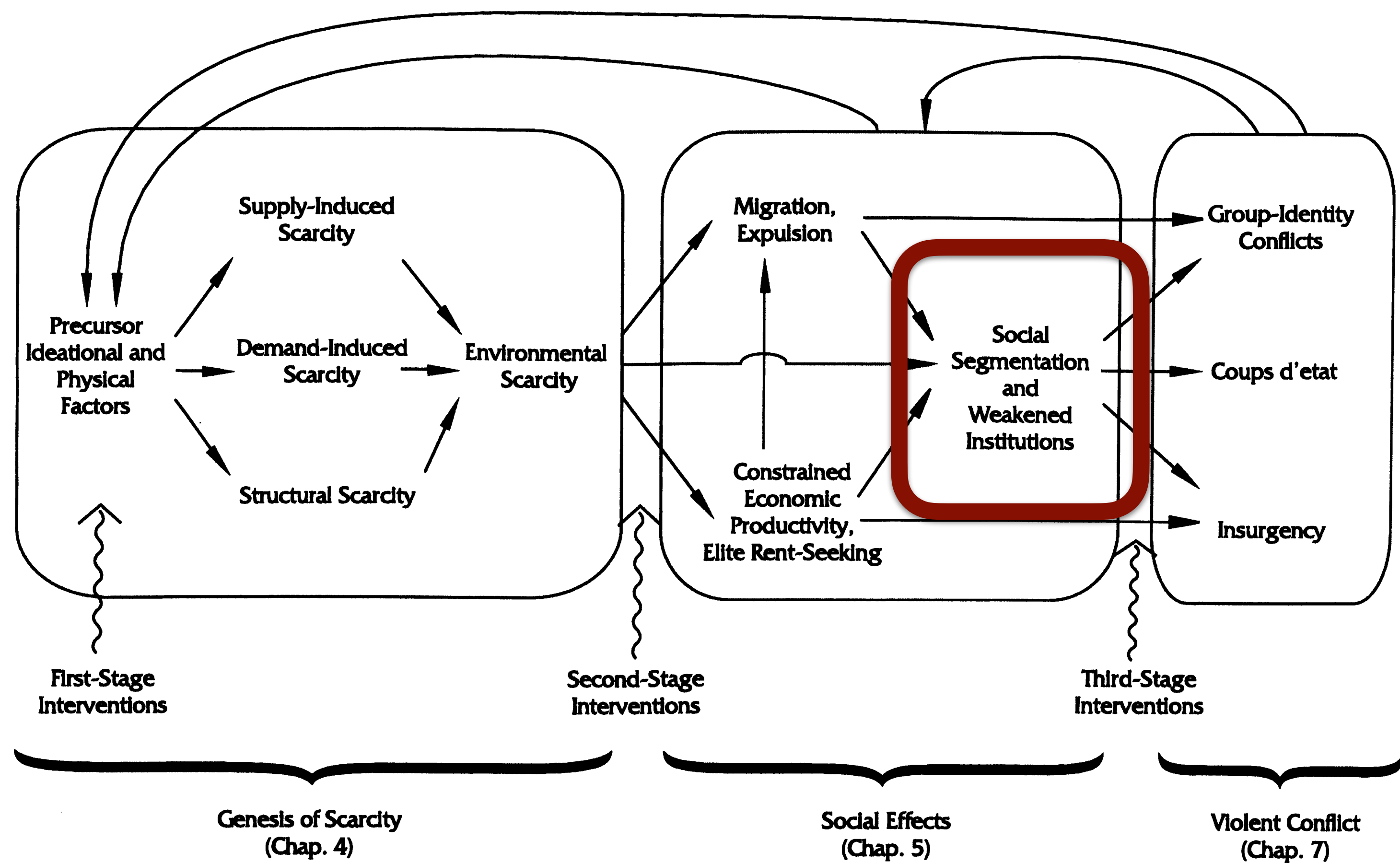


Figure 7.1. The Core Model of the Causal Links between Environmental Scarcity and Violence

What is a "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>



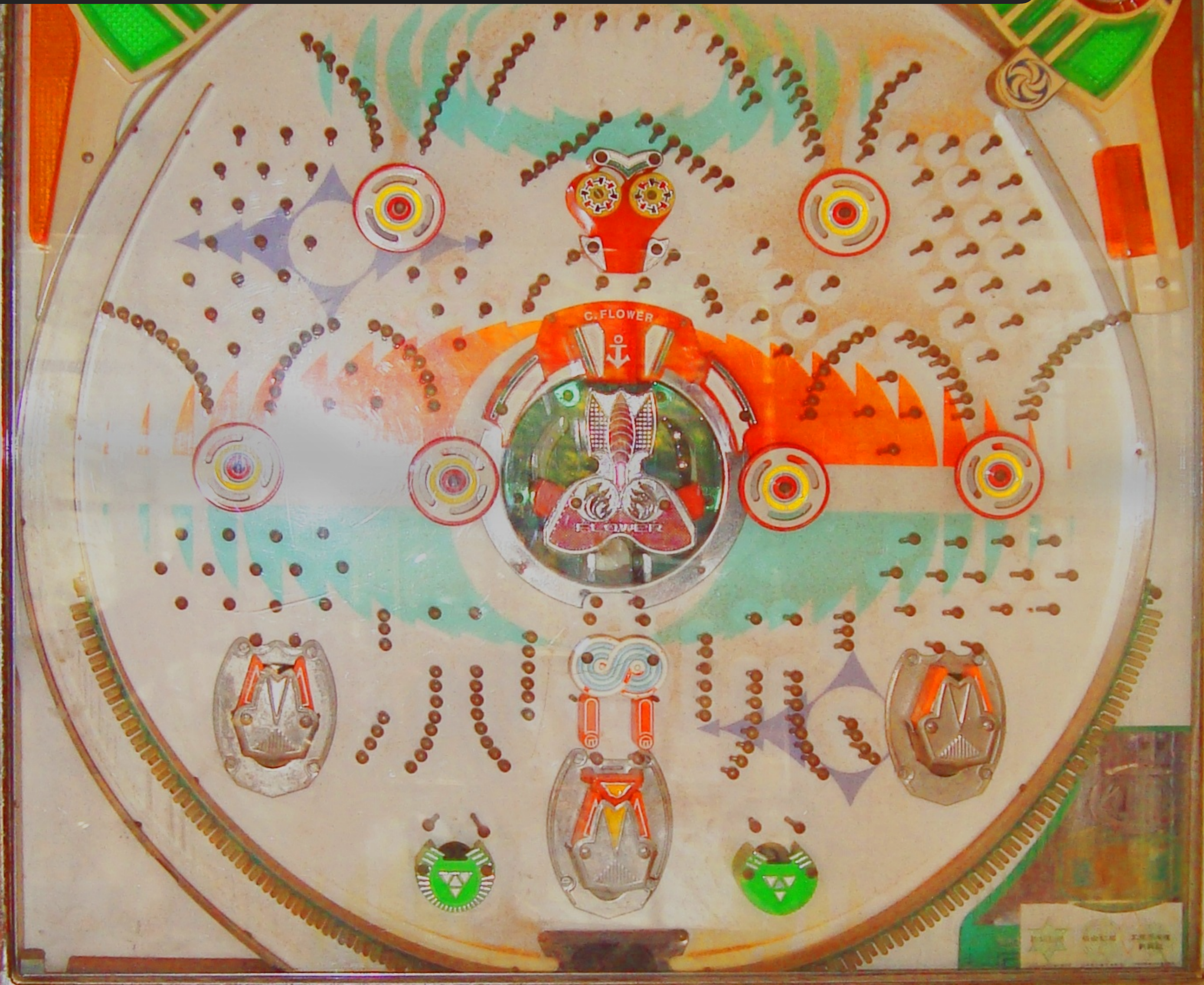
Political institutions

How many forms of political institutions can you think of?

Lecture question #1

What makes a country a democracy?

3. What makes a democracy?



Several characteristics of a democratic system

Constitutional government

Representative government

Separation of powers

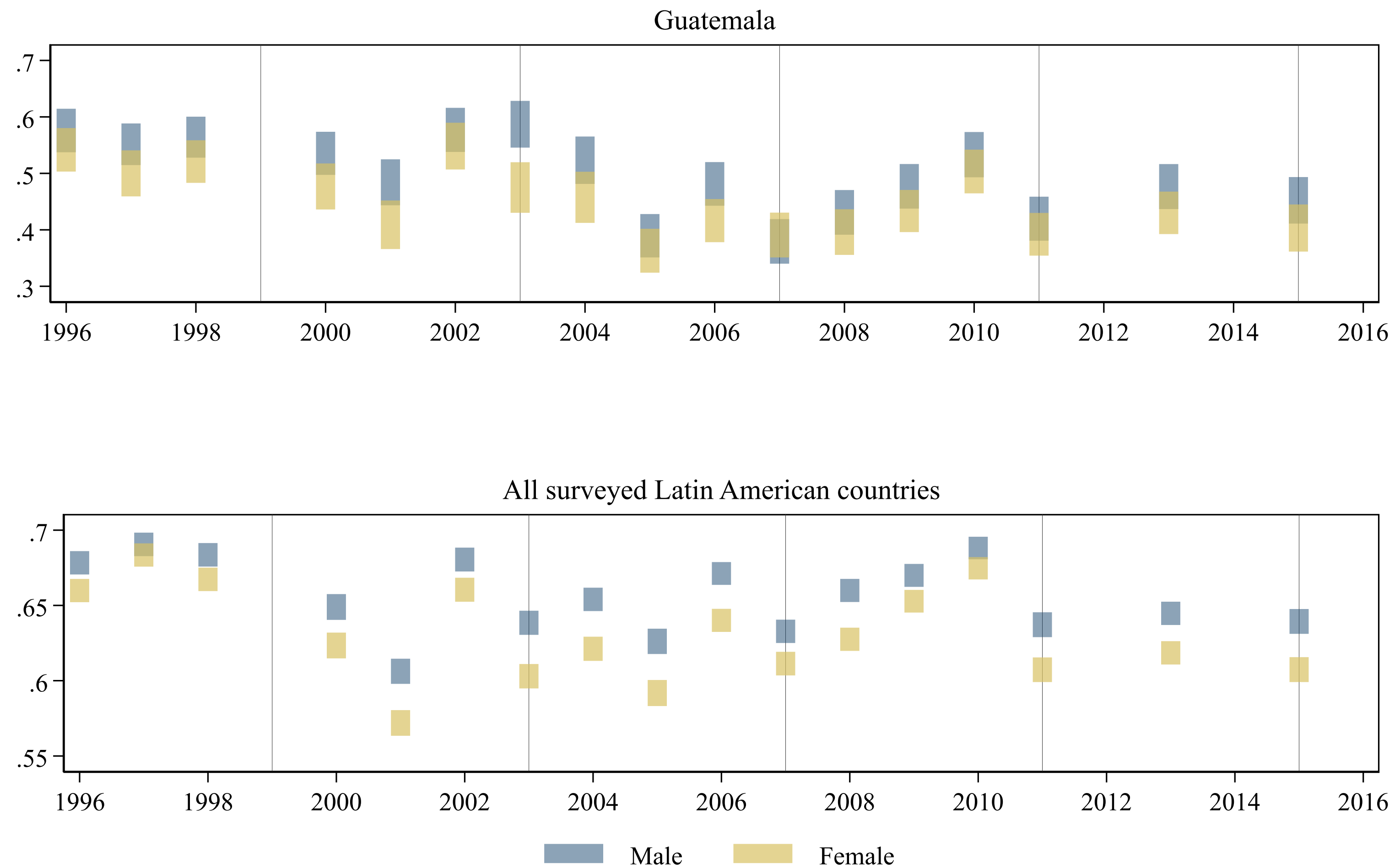
Judicial and legal rights

Individual participation

Institutionalised democracy

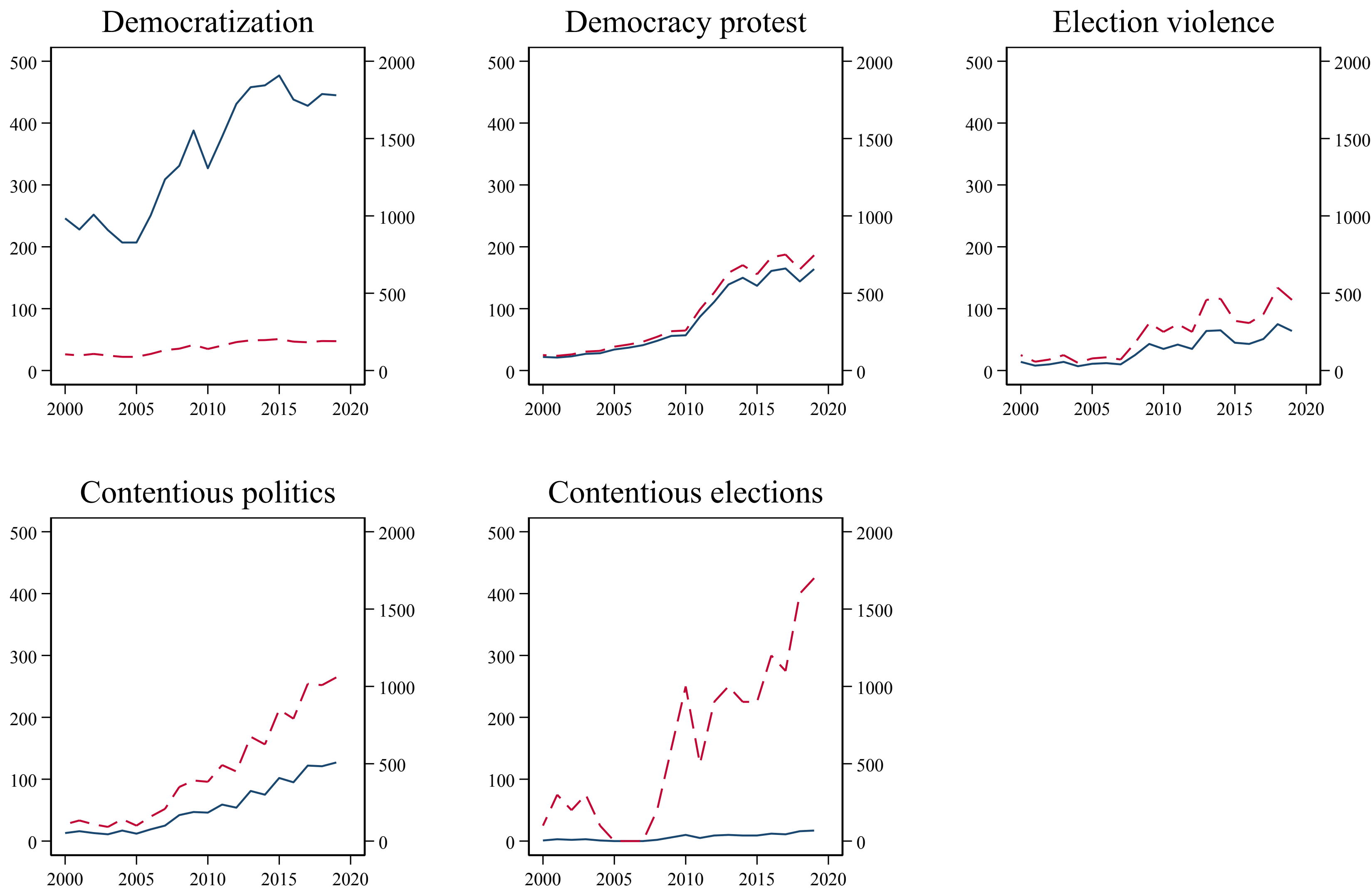
Authority Coding	Scale Weight
<i>Competitiveness of Executive Recruitment (XRCOMP):</i>	
(3) Election	+2
(2) Transitional	+1
<i>Openness of Executive Recruitment (XROPEN):</i> only if XRCOMP is Election (3) or Transitional (2)	
(3) Dual/election	+1
(4) Election	+1
<i>Constraint on Chief Executive (XCONST):</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 democracy preferences



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

Military

Party

Personalist

Monarchy

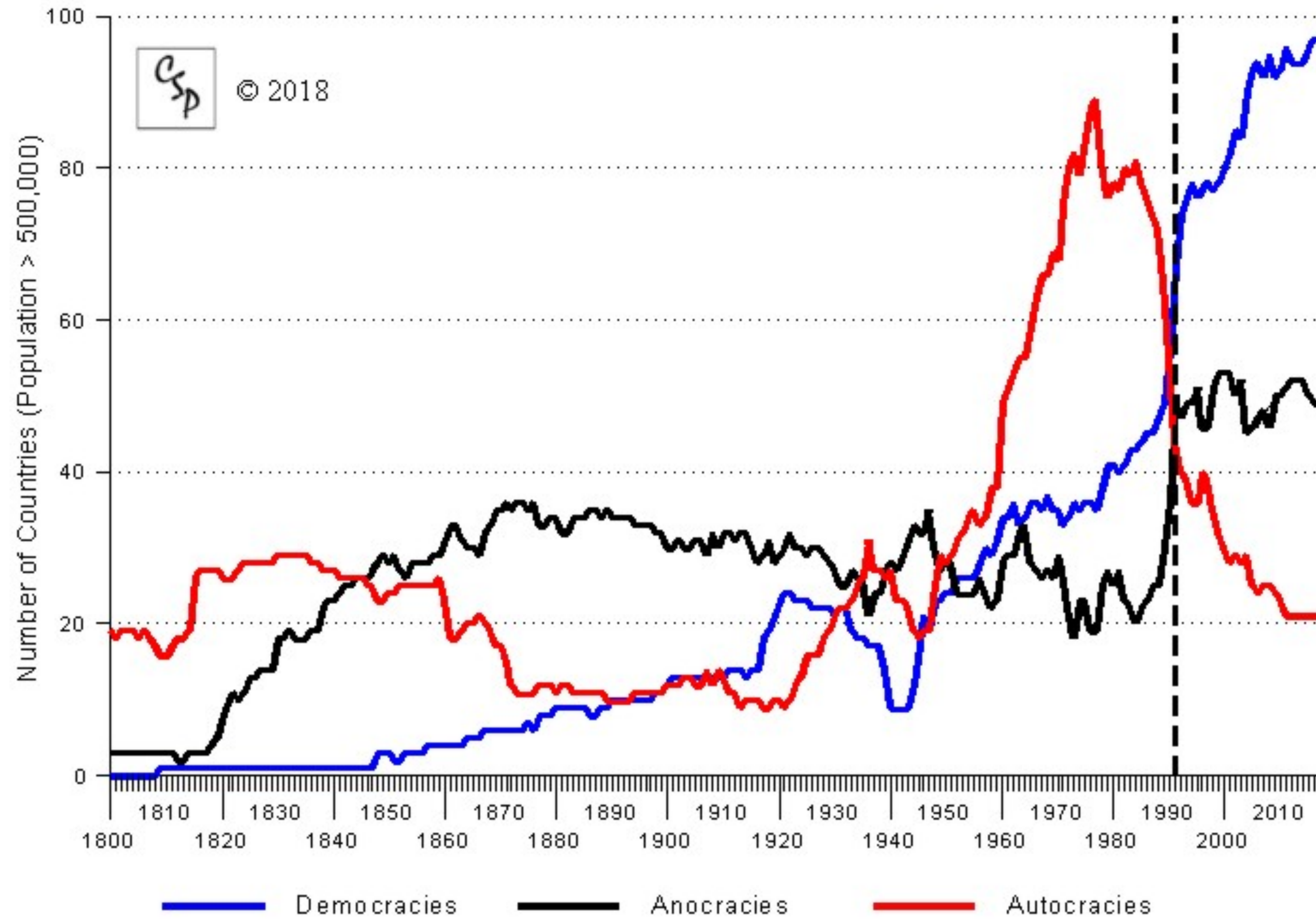
Institutionalised autocracy

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

Polity score calculation

Polity score = **democratic** characteristics
- **autocratic** characteristics

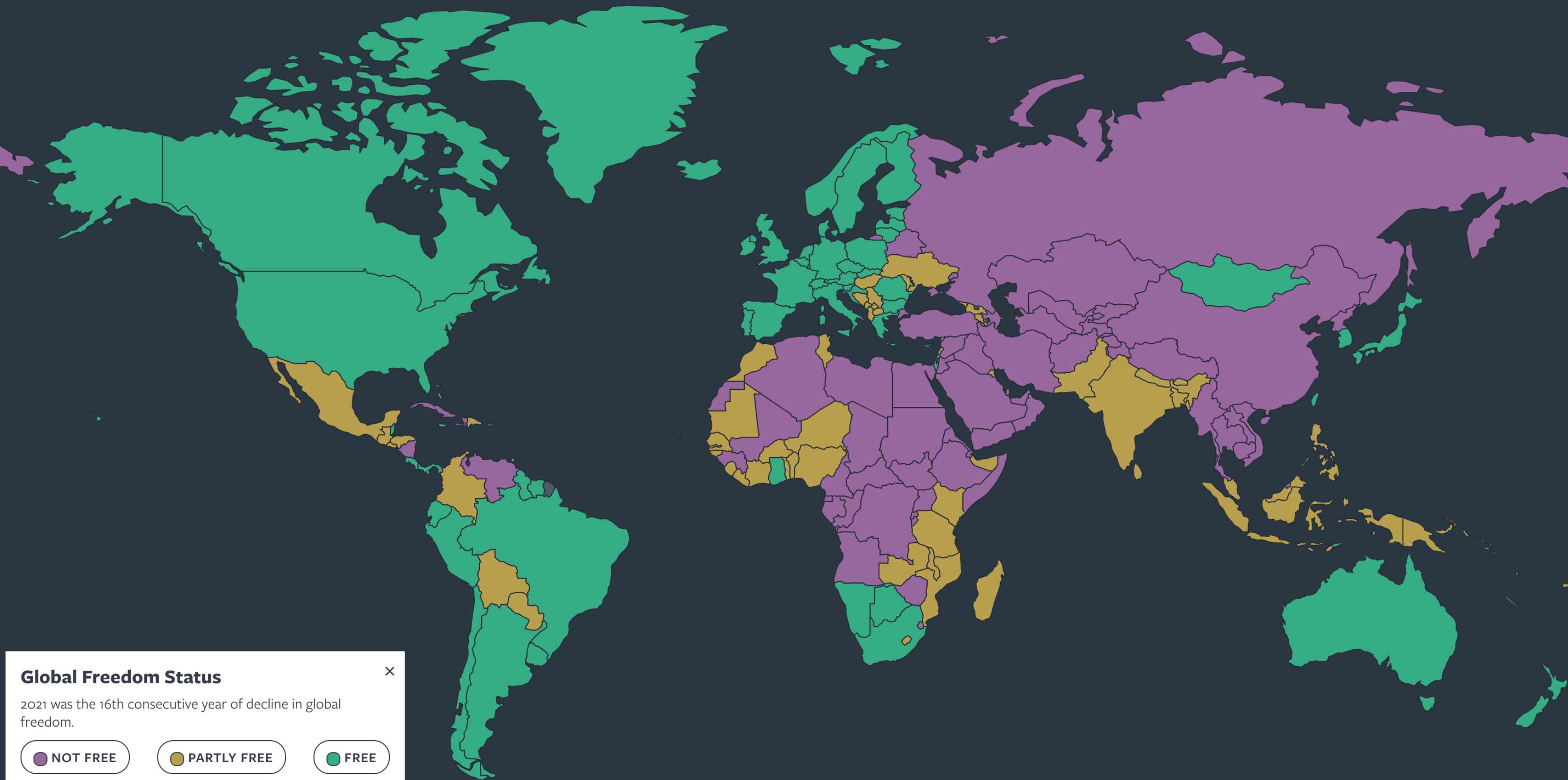
Global Trends in Governance, 1800-2017



Map view:

STATUS

TREND



Global Freedom Status

2021 was the 16th consecutive year of decline in global freedom.

NOT FREE

PARTLY FREE

FREE

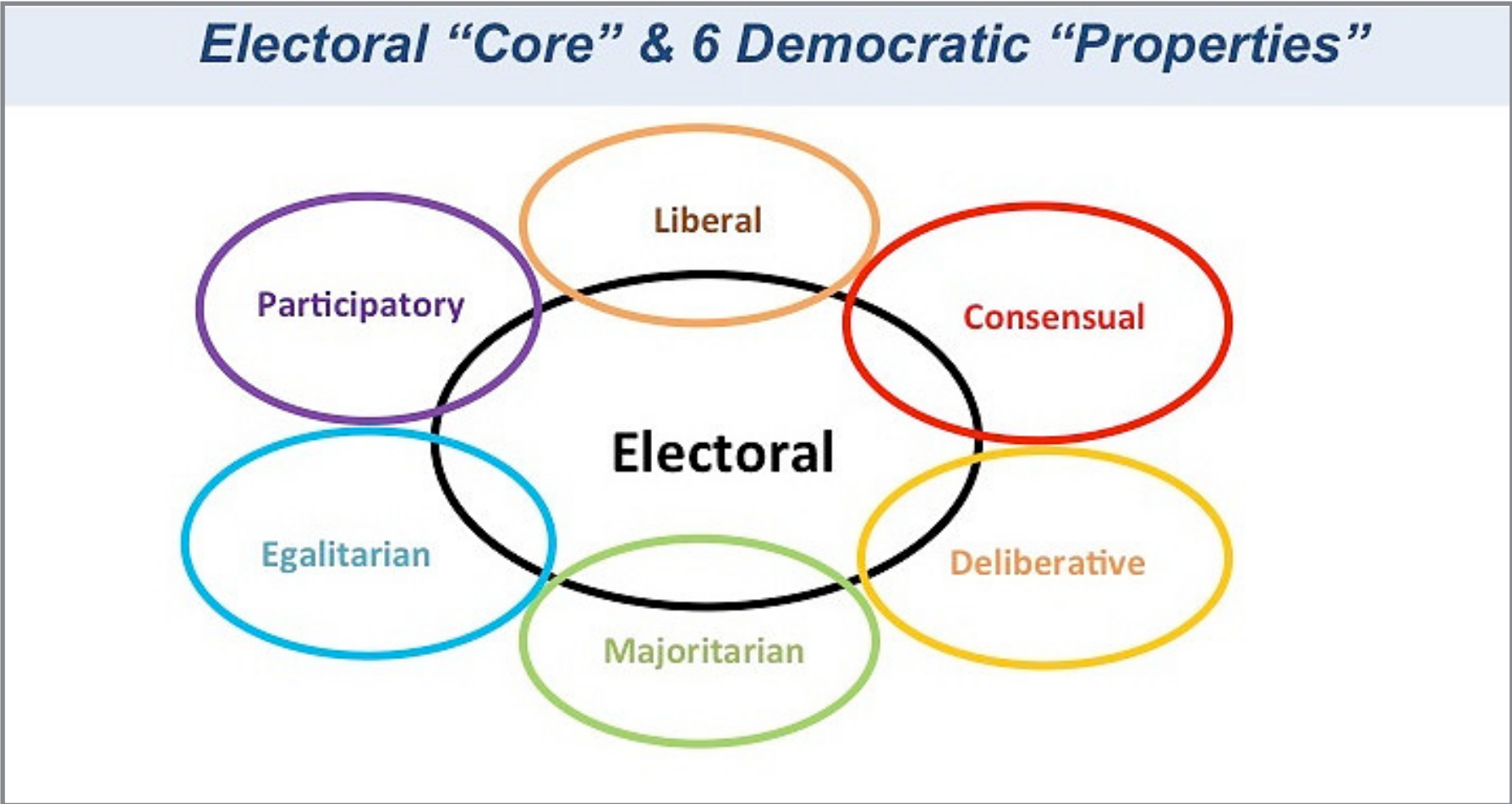
Global freedom statuses are calculated on a weighted scale. [See the methodology.](#)

Global Freedom

Internet Freedom

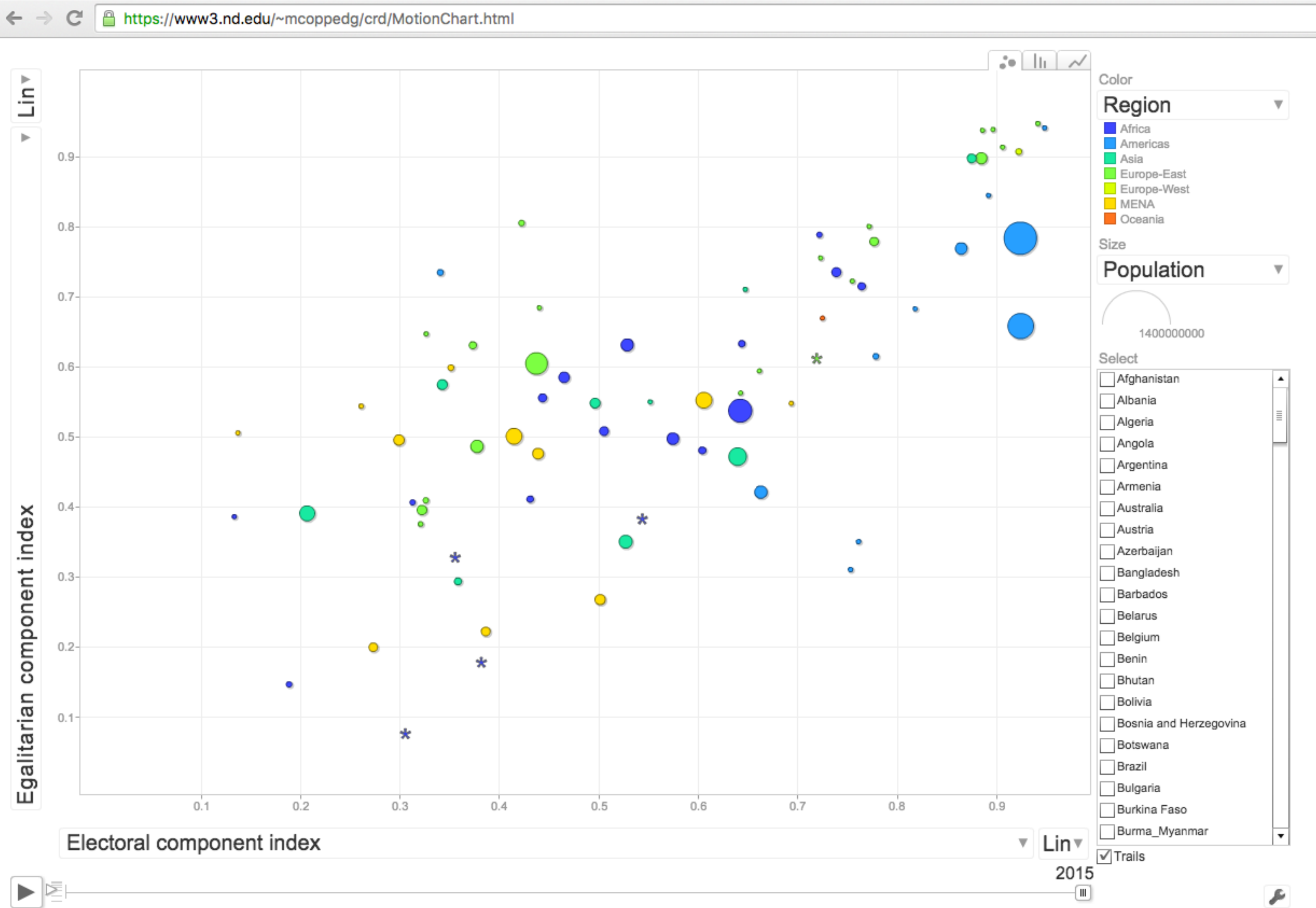
Democracy Status

Varieties of Democracy (V-Dem) Project

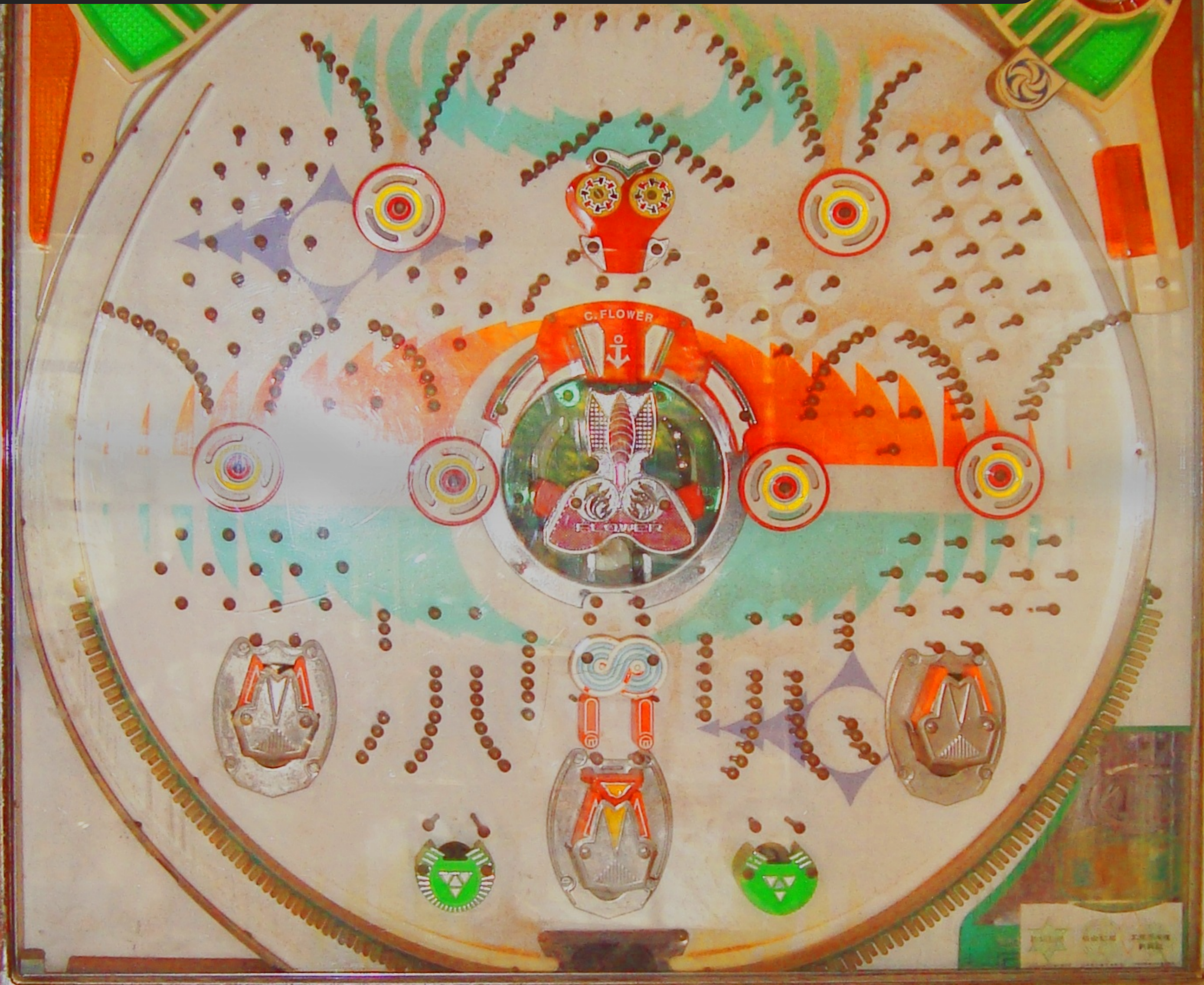


Electoral	Rulers are responsible to citizens through competition for the approval of a broad electoral during periodic elections
Liberal	Intrinsic value of protecting individual and minority rights against potential tyranny of the majority
Participatory	Direct rule and active participation by citizens 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



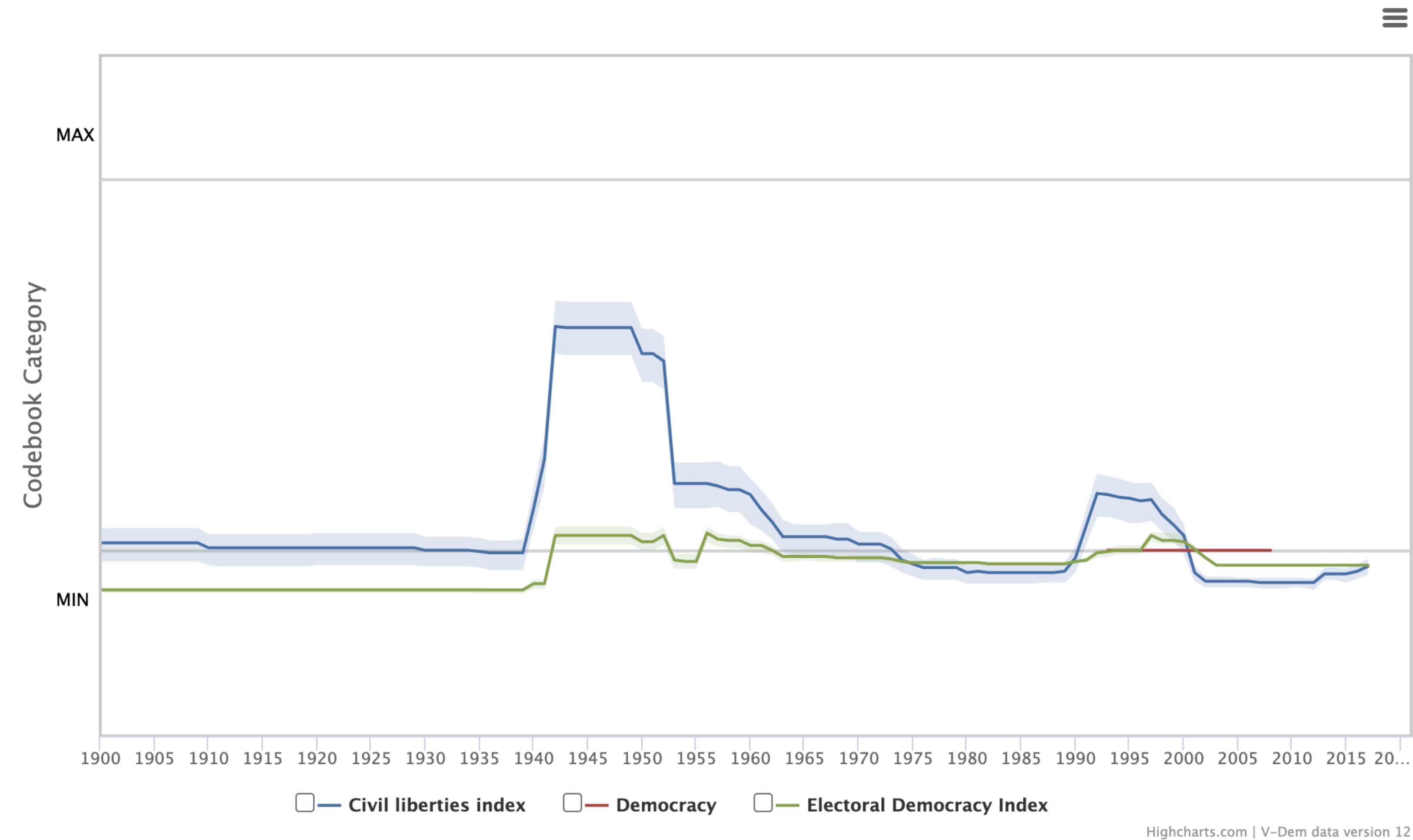
3. What makes a democracy?



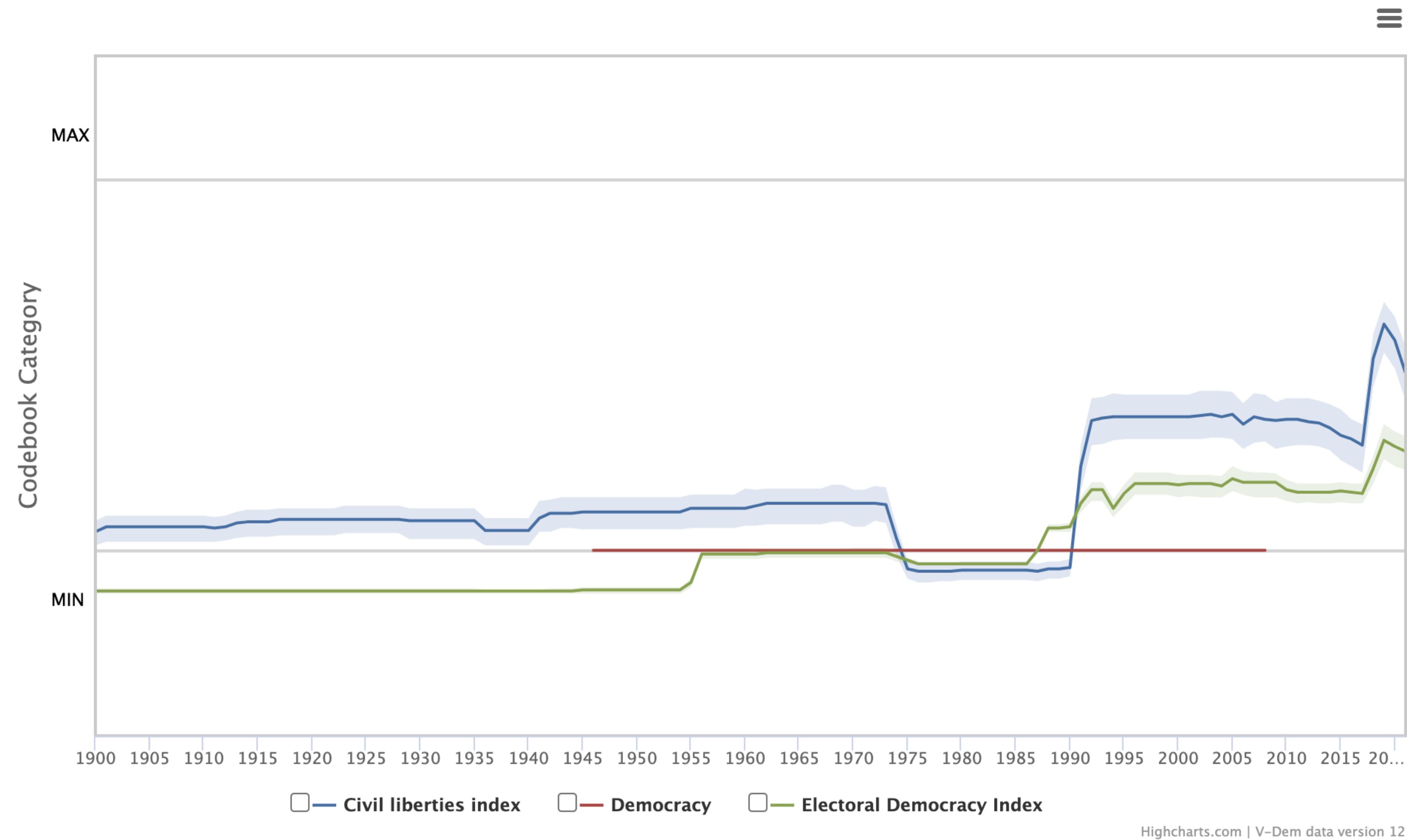
4. Democracy and conflict



Eritrea



Ethiopia



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's (2001) explanations for this trend

Normative

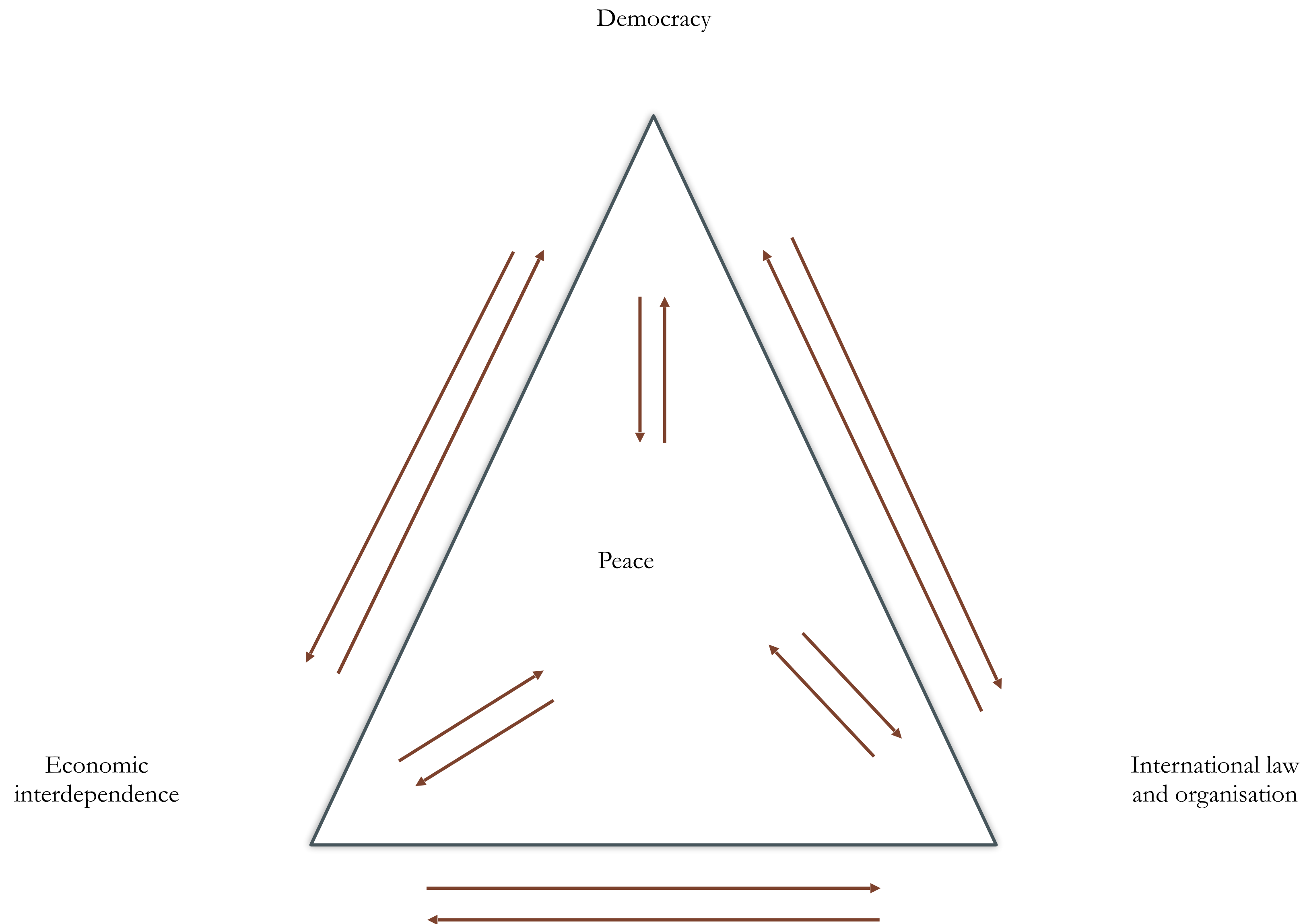
Legislative constraints

Signaling resolve

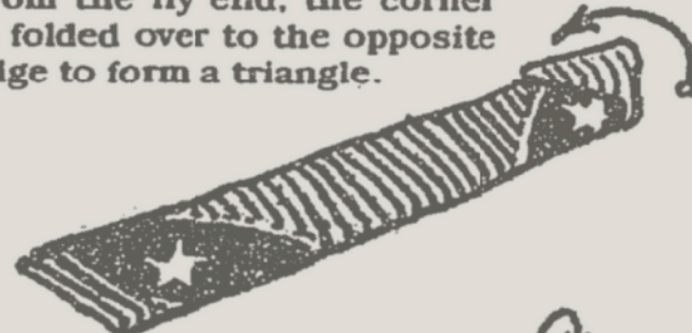
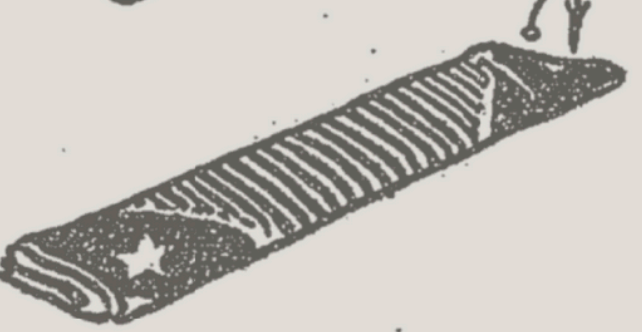
Mobilization

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
n 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-

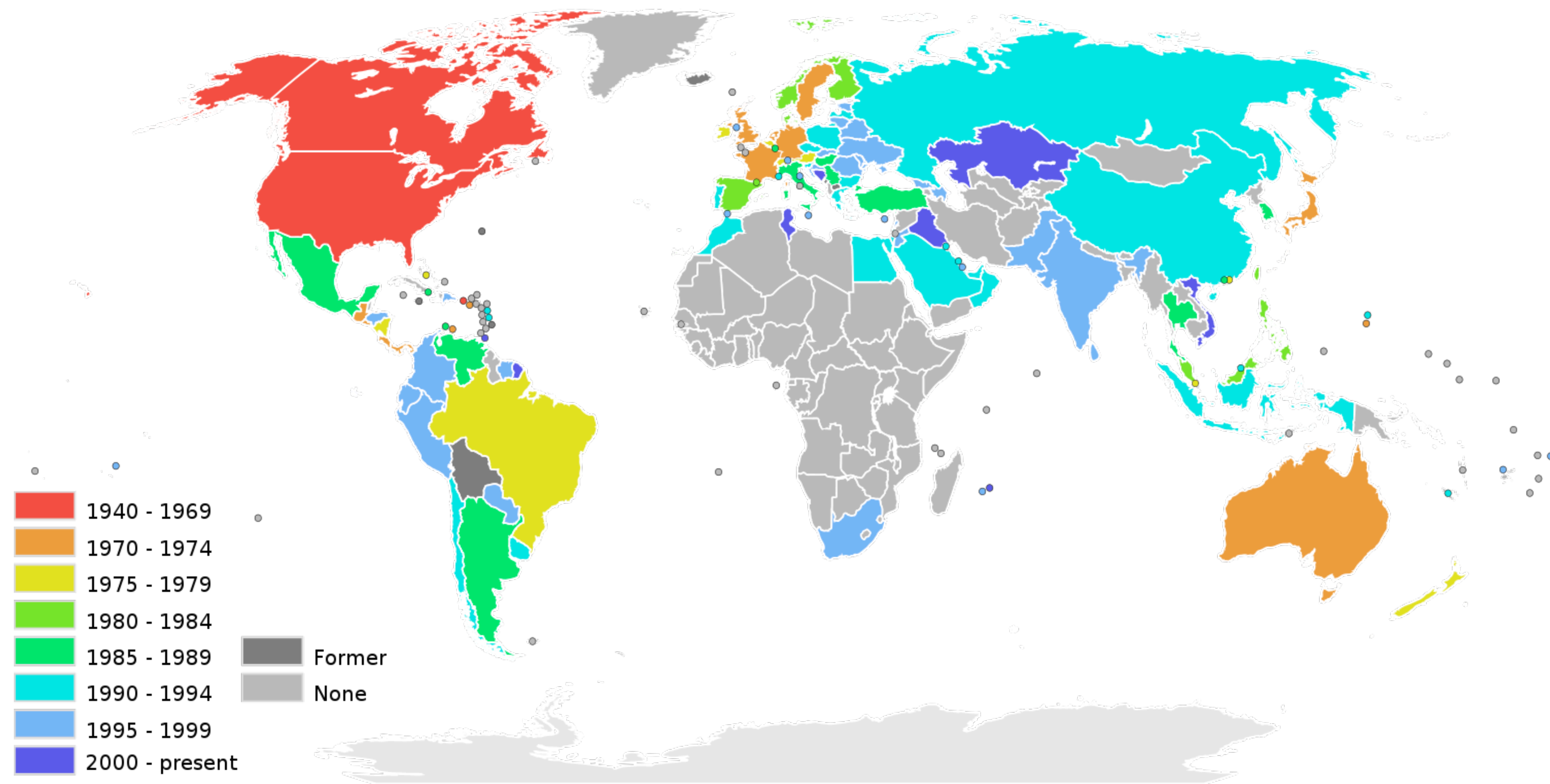
Testing the golden arches theory.

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

FEB 2ND 2022

The Big Mac index

Country	2000 — 2022	Under/over valued, %
Switzerland	Franc	20.2
Norway	Krone	10.0
United States	US\$	BASE CURRENCY
Sweden	Krona	-0.4
Uruguay	Peso	-6.6
Israel	Shekel	-7.9
Canada	C\$	-8.4
Venezuela	Bolívar	-12.9
Euro area	Euro	-14.7
Denmark	Krone	-17.0
Britain	Pound	-17.1
UAE	Dirham	-20.3
New Zealand	NZ\$	-20.9
Australia	A\$	-22.4
Singapore	S\$	-24.9
Brazil	Real	-25.8
Argentina	Peso	-26.2
Sri Lanka	Rupee	-28.6
Kuwait	Dinar	-29.0
Costa Rica	Colón	-29.0
Czech Rep.	Koruna	-29.3
Saudi Arabia	Riyal	-31.2

Choose a base currency

US dollar

Show index at

Jan 2022

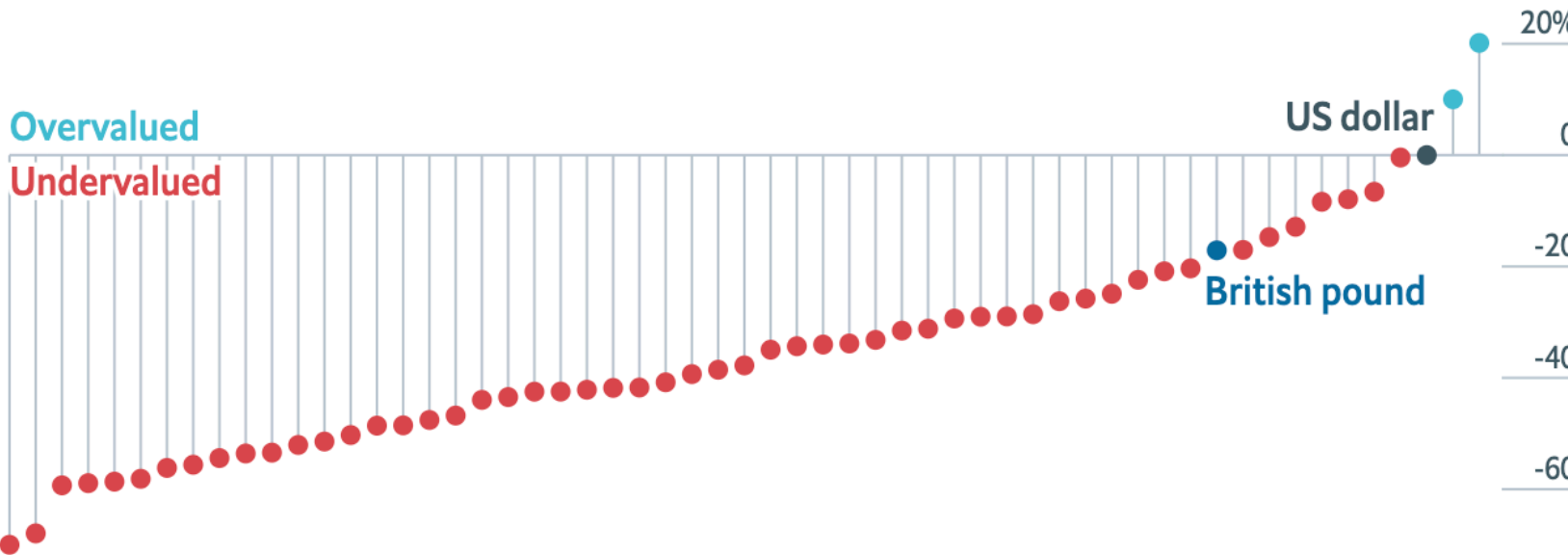
Adjust the index to account for GDP per person

Raw index

GDP-adjusted

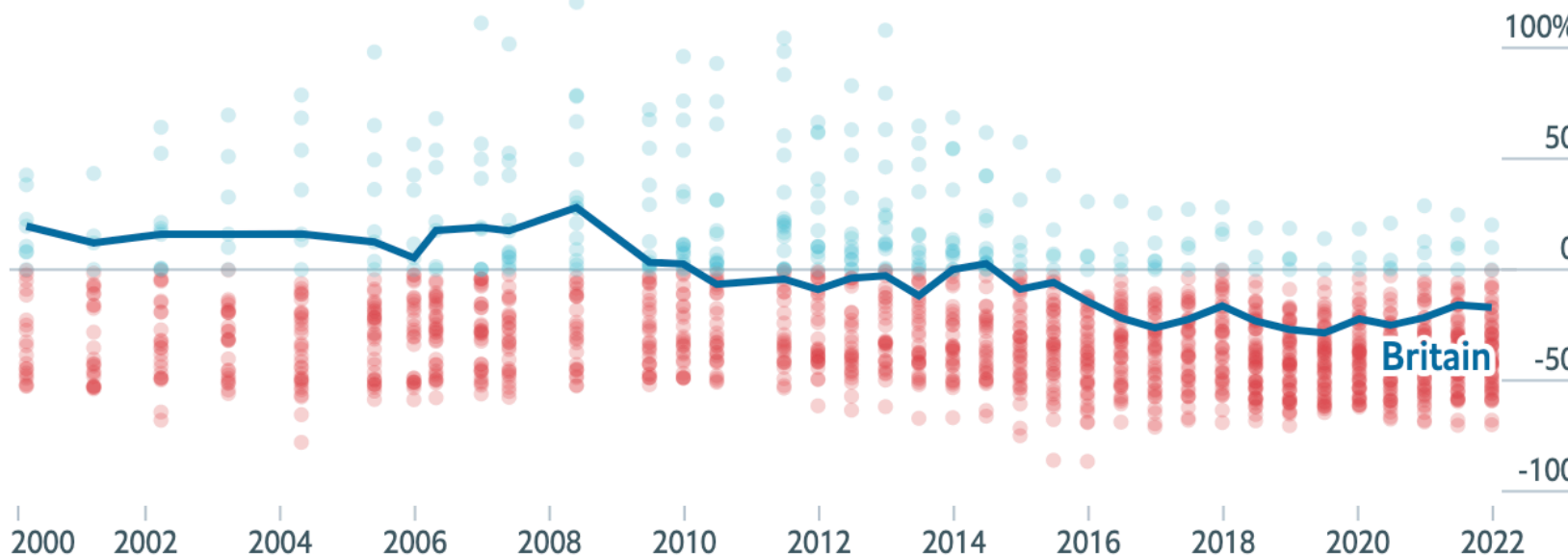
The British pound is 17.1% undervalued against the US dollar

January 2022



A Big Mac costs £3.59 in Britain and US\$5.81 in the United States. The implied exchange rate is 0.62. The difference between this and the actual exchange rate, 0.75, suggests the British pound is 17.1% undervalued

2000-2022

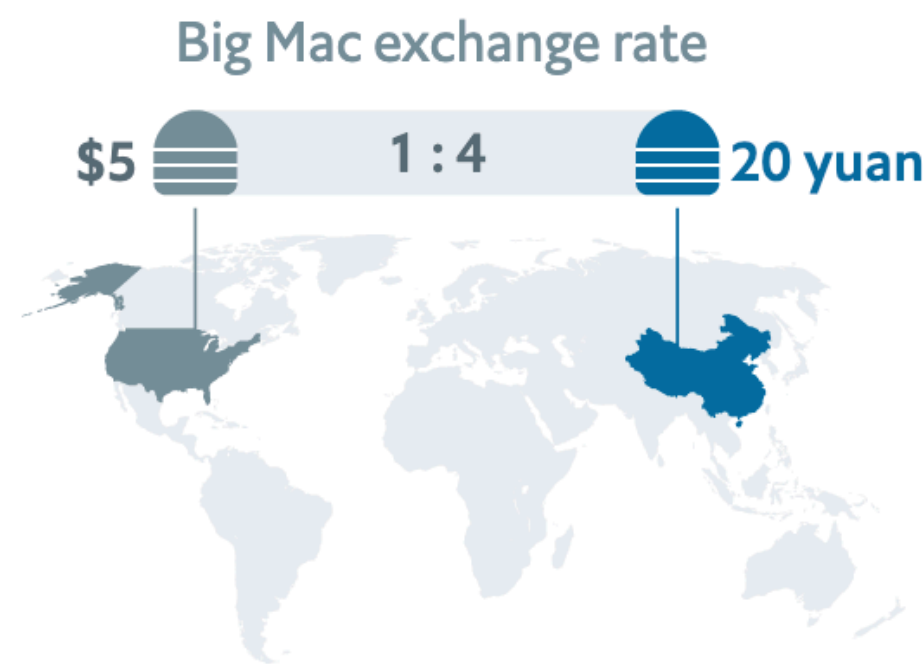


How it works

Purchasing-power parity implies that exchange rates are determined by the value of goods that currencies can buy

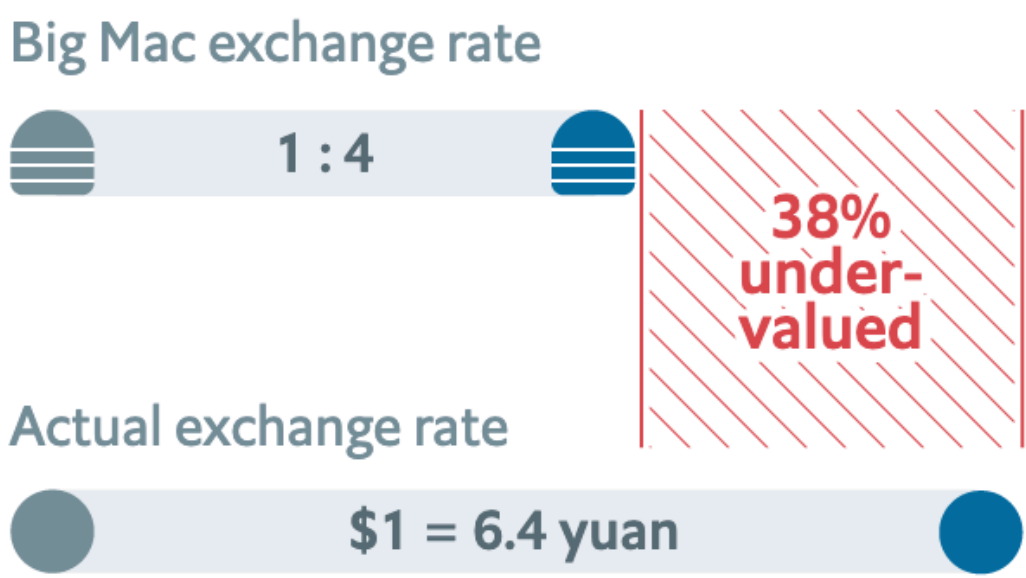


Differences in local prices – in our case, for Big Macs – can suggest what the exchange rate should be



Raw index /GDP-adjusted

Using burgernomics, we can estimate how much one currency is under- or over-valued relative to another

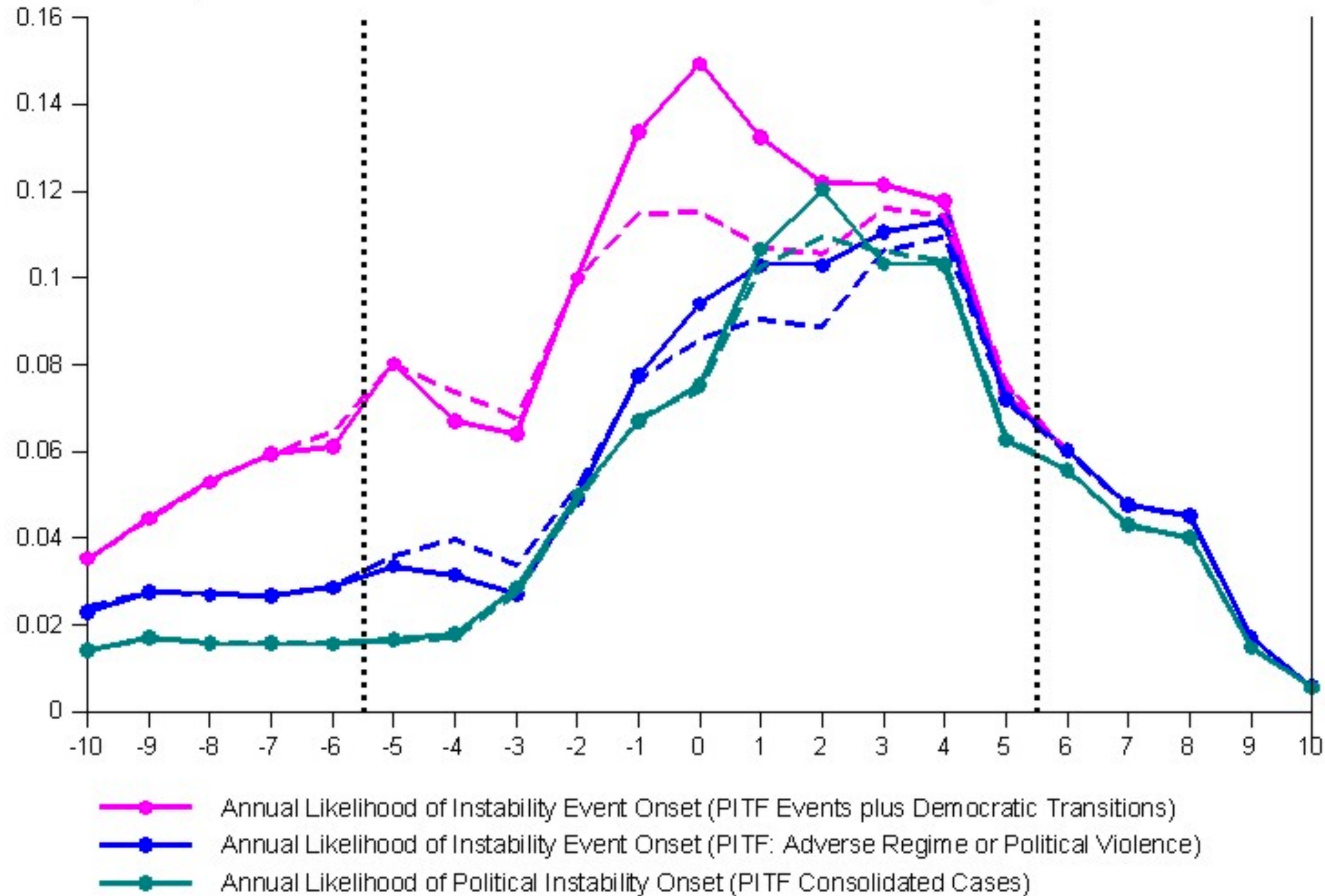


Lecture question #2

Can you think of any other measures of **culture** or **economics** that could be useful correlates of peace?

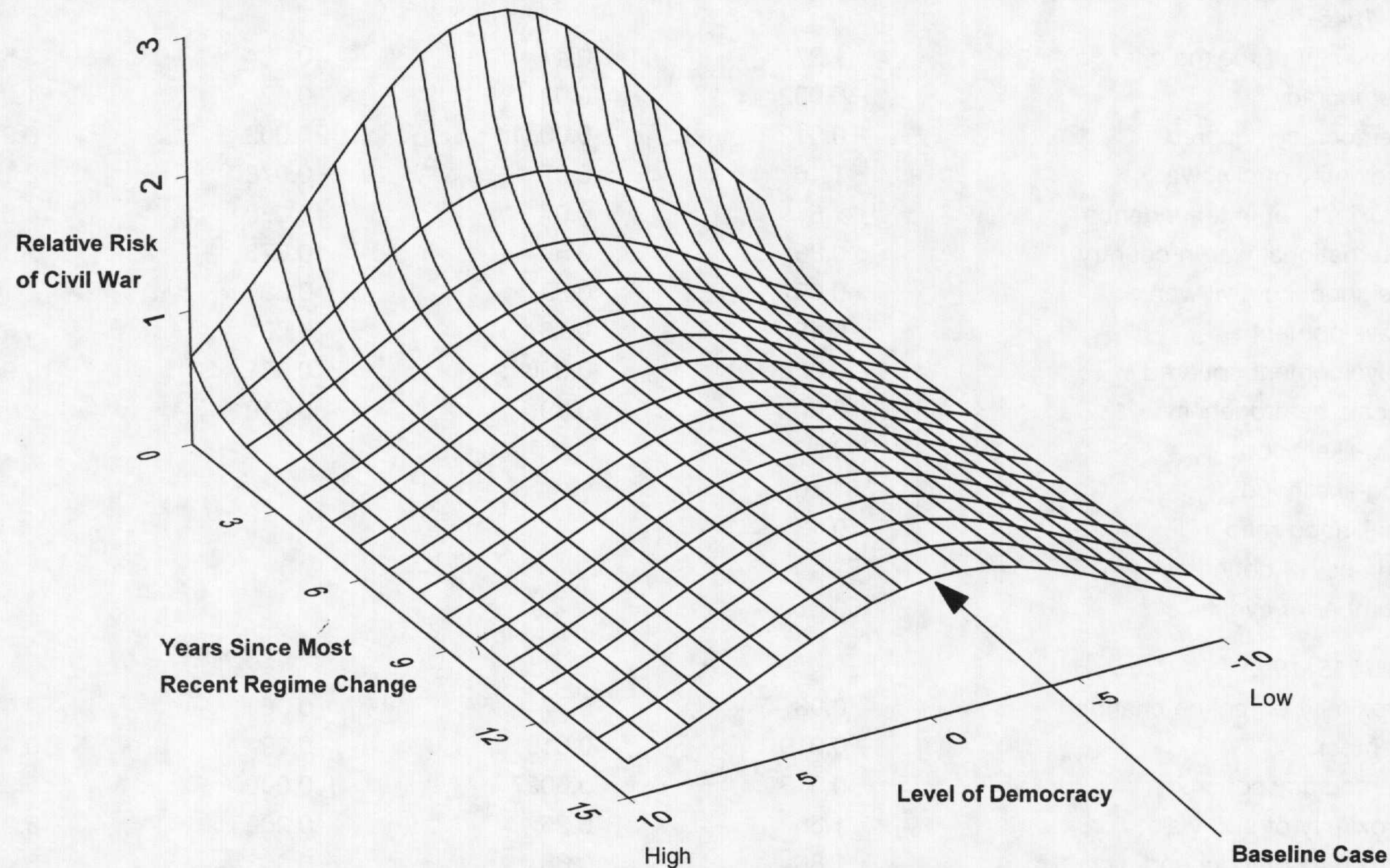
Why would they be better than either democracy or Big Macs?

Polity and the Onset of Political Instability, 1955-2006



Hegre's (2001) inverted U

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 $\exp(\beta_1 \exp(-0/527) + 0\beta_2) = \exp(\beta_1) = 2.68$ 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.

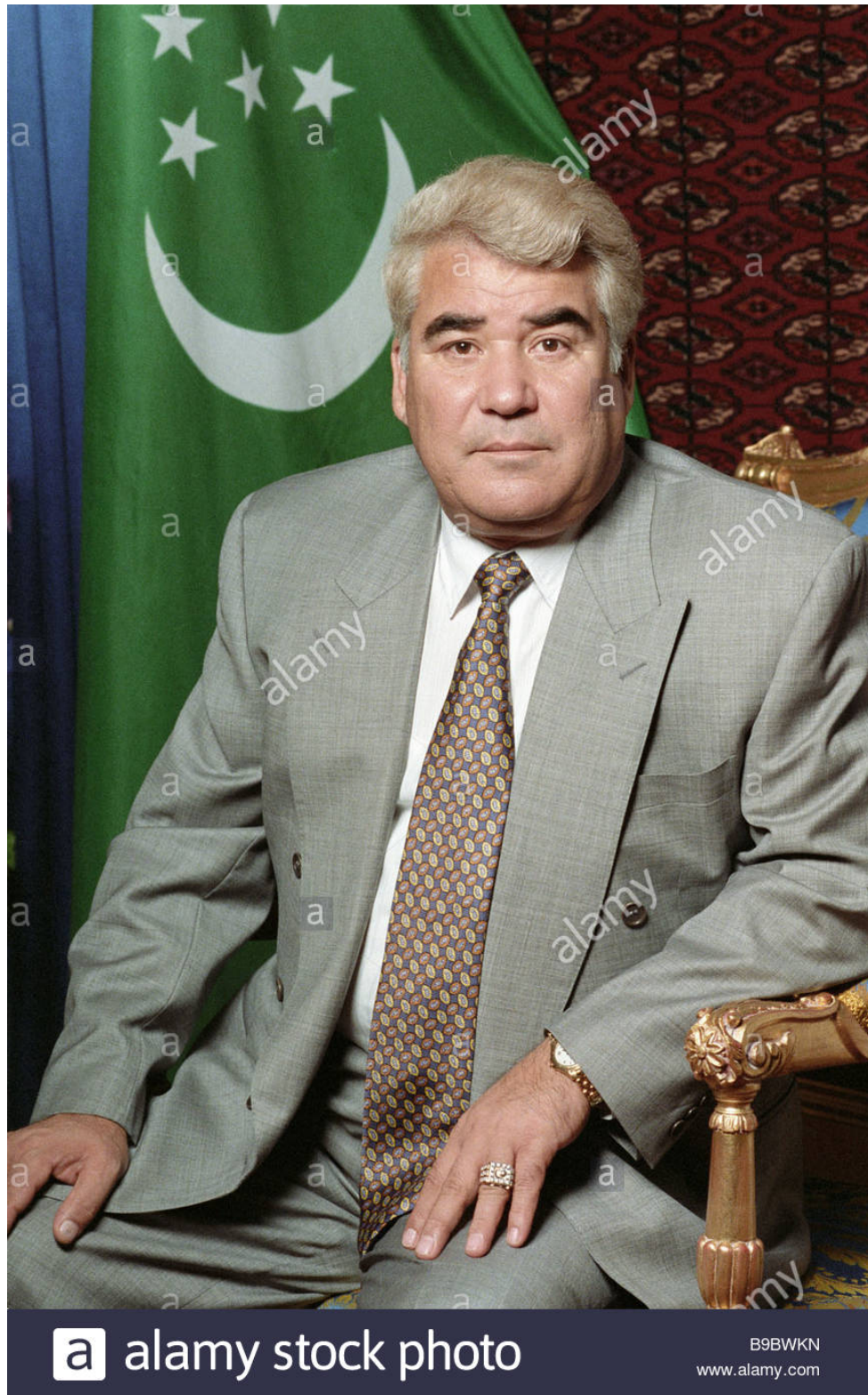
At **high** incomes it decreases.

The inflection point is **USD\$2,700 GDP** per capita.

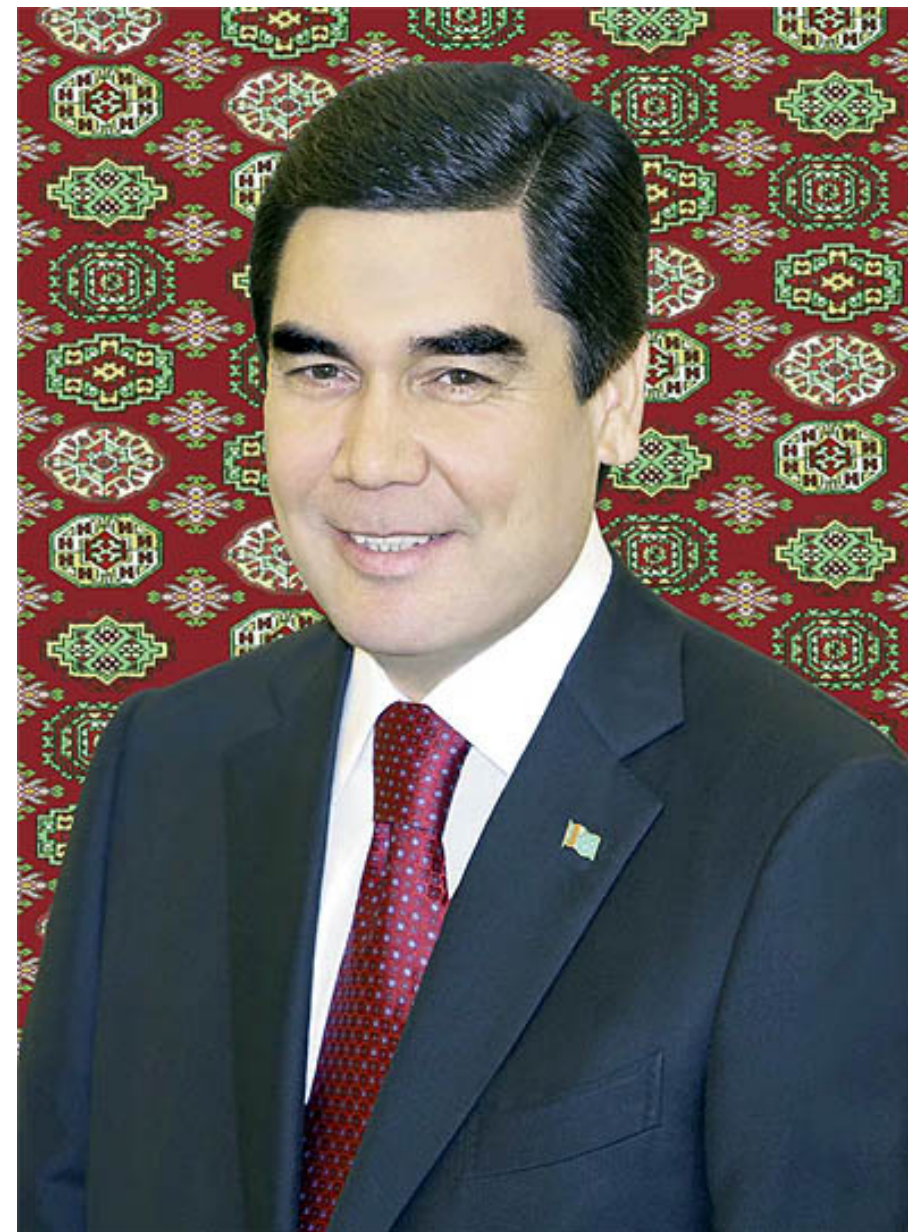
Do leaders matter?



Turkmenistan leaders



Saparmurat Niyazov (1985-2006)

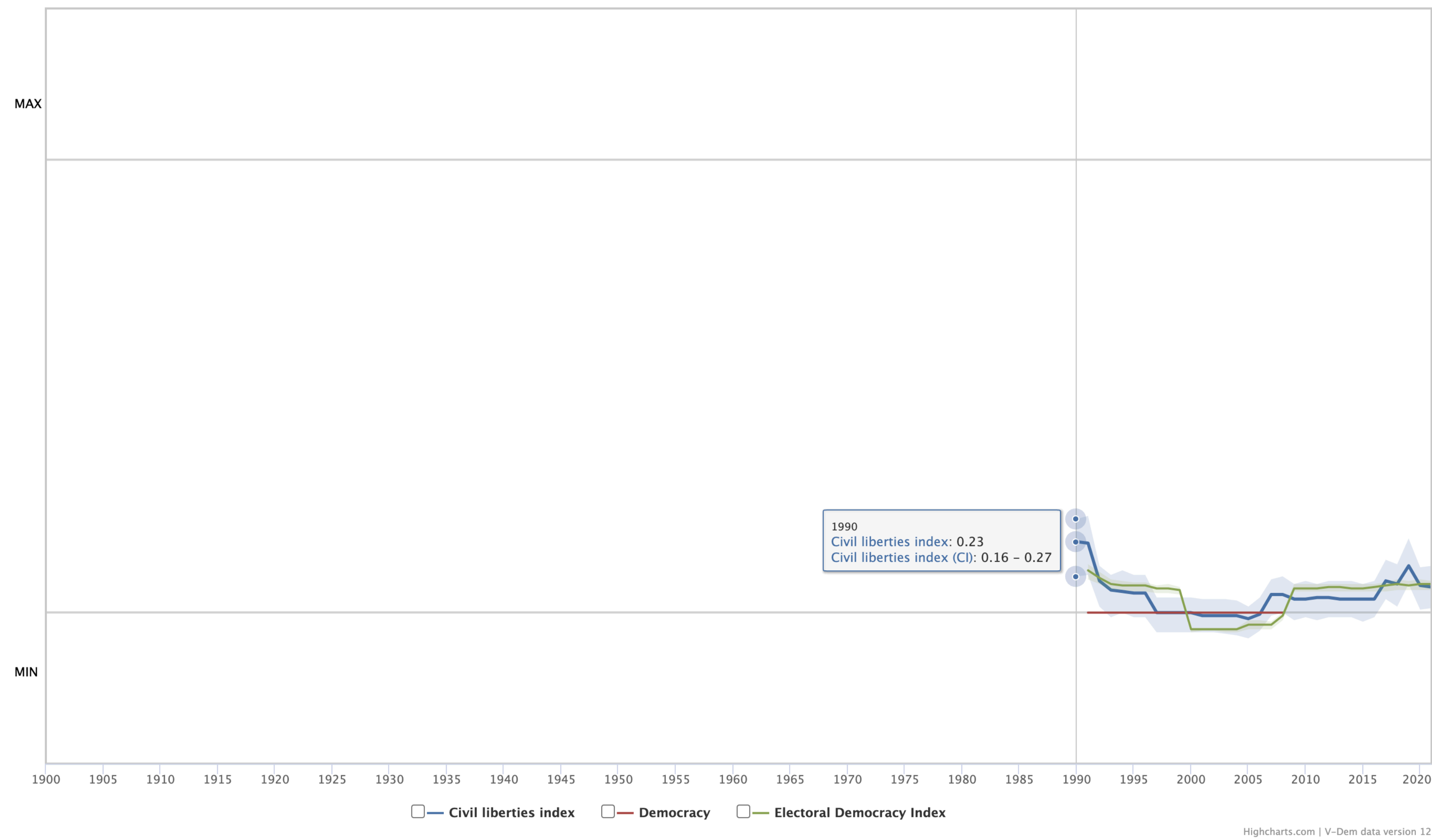


Gurbanguly Berdimuhamedov
(2007-today)

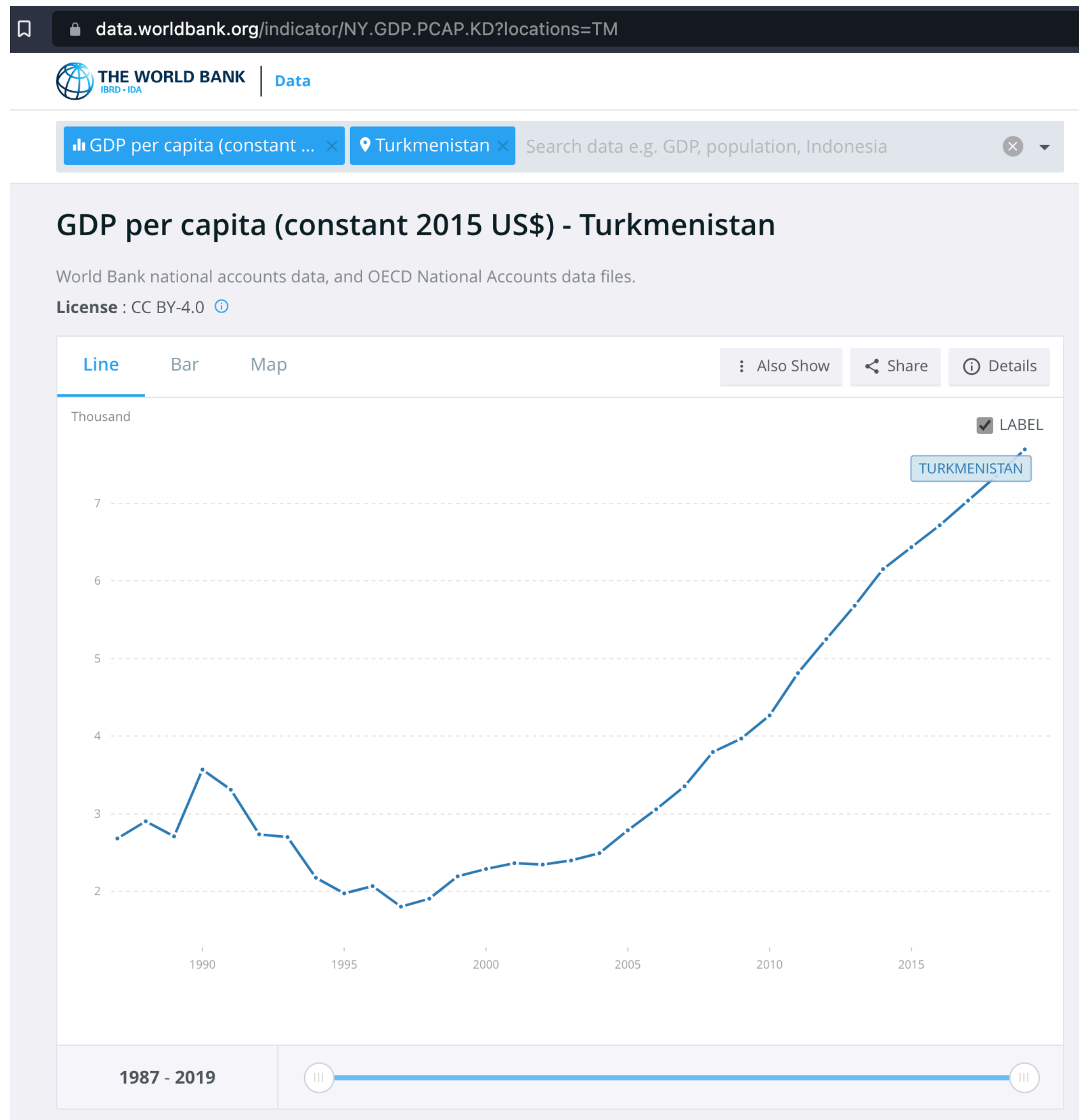
5. Turkmenistan: A case study



Turkmenistan's democratic record



Turkmenistan's economic record



Source: World Bank (<https://data.worldbank.org/indicator/NY.GDP.PCAP.KD?locations=TM>)

Turkmenistan timeline

1921—Turkmenistan becomes a **Soviet Socialist Republic**.

1920s & 1930s — Sporadic **armed insurgency** against Soviet collectivisation

1948—**Earthquake** kills over 100,000 after it hits Ashgabat.

1991—Declares **independence** just before the collapse of the USSR; joins Commonwealth of Independent States.

1992—Niyazov elected unopposed in national **election**.

1998—Natural gas **pipeline** to Iran opens.

1999—Niyazov **president for life**.

2002—Niyazov **renames the months** of the year after himself, his mother, and a book he wrote.

2002—Motorcade comes under fire, political **crackdown** occurs.

2005—**Water sharing** agreement with Uzbekistan

2006—**Niyazov dies** of heart failure.

2007—Gurbanguly Berdimuhamedov wins unopposed **election**.

2009—**Pipeline** to China opens

2012—First **census** since 1995

2022—National **election** called for 12 March.



TURKMENISTAN

February 04, 2020 13:27
GMT

By RFE/RL's Turkmen
Service

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

Share



45

Print



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

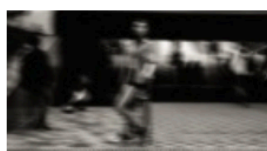
TURKMENABAT, Turkmenistan -- Males working at state organizations in Turkmenistan's northeastern region of Lebap have been ordered not to dye their hair ahead of an expected visit by the Central Asian nation's autocratic leader, Gurbanguly Berdimukhammedov.

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

Serdar Berdymukhamedov



Further Turkmenistan videos



6. Political institutions and conflict



Conclusion #1—Political change is dangerous.

People are more likely to use violence during times of change—often political change.

Institutional change allows for a shift in the cost/benefit analysis of the use of conflict.

Regan and Bell (2010) suggest transition from democracy to anocracy is higher risk of conflict.

The magnitude of the change matters as well.

Conclusion #2—It's all about the U.

There is little evidence of a monotonic relationship between democracy and peace.

Conclusion #3—Spuriousness is a risk

Hegre's (2014) main critique by of this literature is that both democracy and peace are due to pre-existing socio-economic conditions.

Institutional consolidation

Elections increase risk of conflict

Democracies foster norms of negotiation and contracts

More developed states are less likely to depend on lootable resources.

Conclusion #4—Endogeneity is a risk.

Does democracy cause peace or peace cause democracy?

What about omitted variables?

Economic development is seen as sufficient by Paul Collier (an economist) but insufficient to Hegre (a political scientist).

Lecture question #3

Questions or issues about writing a **literature review?**