FROM THE EDITORIAL BOARD

I feel very gratified to introduce the first issue with a set of Guest Editors in a long while. We do our best at the editorial board to try to keep up with which issues in the discipline needs attention to serve the membership. We have also been rotating members in and out of the editorial board to vary the competencies and areas we cover. I wish to extend a sincere and deepfelt gratitude to Eitan Tzelgov, Yi-ting Wang, Kelly McMann, and Brigitte Zimmerman who are now leaving the editorial board after serving all of us in the best

DEMOCRATIZATION AND CIVIL CONFLICT

Barış Arı, *University of Essex*
Kristian Skrede Gleditsch, *Peace Research Institute and University of Essex*
Håvard Hegre, *Uppsala University and Peace Research Institute Oslo*
Tore Wig, *University of Oslo*

That "institutions matter" is an article of faith for political scientists, and there are strong reasons to believe that the degree to which institutions are democratic should shape the prospects for violent conflict. First, democracy expands opportunities for political competition and prospects for inclusion. A lack of political access may by itself provide a possible grievance, motivation or justification for resort to violence, and unelected government is the "original sin" of all autocratic rulers. Second, democratic institutions provide avenues for actors to pursue their interest and thus reduce the obstacles to non-violent bargaining. They also help reduce uncertainty and resolve commitment problems between actors that otherwise might resort to conflict. Third, democracy is expected to induce compliance where individuals accept decisions even if they dis- agree with their content when reached by a process deemed to be fair. Such "losers' consent" is often seen a defining characteristic of successful democratic institutions.[1]

1. On democracy as motivation, see Ted R. Gurr, *Why Men Rebel* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1970);

ELECTORAL VIOLENCE: THE EMERGENCE OF A RESEARCH FIELD

Hanne Fjelde, *Uppsala University and Peace Research Institute Oslo*
Kristine Höglund, *Uppsala University*

The introduction of competitive elections constitutes a fundamental component in the transition from authoritarian to democratic politics. However, the risk that electoral competition will degenerate into violence in countries emerging from authoritarian rule is significant and violence has been a pervasive feature of electoral politics across the globe. Threats, intimidation and violence directed against voters and political candidates, especially by the incumbent, accompanied as many as 58 percent of all elections held in Sub-Saharan Africa between 1998 and 2008.[1] In the fifth round of the Afrobarometer survey, 48 percent of all voters across the 33 countries surveyed reported that they fear violence during elections.[2] Violent elections hinder individuals from exercising their political rights, undermine the legitimacy of democratic institutions and polarize intergroup relations. Thus, election-

1. Scott Strauss and Charlie Taylor, "Democratization and Electoral Violence in Sub-Saharan Africa, 1990-2008," in *Voting in Fear: Electoral Violence in Sub-Saharan Africa*. Edited by Dorine A. Bekoe (Washington D.C.: USIP Press 2002), p. 23.

2. Isabela Mares and Lauren Young, "Buying, Expropriating, and Stealing Votes," *Annual Review of Political Science* 19(2016).

Sanctions, Autocratic Regimes, and Conflict

Abel Escribà-Folch, *Universitat Pompeu Fabra*
Joseph Wright, *Penn State University*

We explore the regimes-conflict nexus by discussing the potential impact of foreign economic coercion. Economic sanctions are a widely used instrument of international pressure. The decade of the 1990s was not only dubbed by some as the 'sanctions decade' but Western powers have since imposed over 50 new sanctions since 2000. In the past 25 years, sanctions have increasingly targeted autocratic rulers as well as military and rebel leaders involved in civil conflicts. Sanctions are perhaps the most widely-used and visible form of foreign pressure; and dictatorships are historically their main target. Despite their prevalence, however, many argue that economic sanctions are largely ineffective.

Many scholars have explored the conditions under which sanctions can be effective, with an initial focus on the features of the sanctions themselves: the economic costs sanctions imposed on targets, the degree of coordination among senders, and whether the sanctions focus on trade or financial transactions. This literature largely ignored differences – both economic and political – among the targets.

Research focusing on sanctions' characteristics shows that they are most likely to coerce the target by credibly and effectively restricting trade or financial exchanges. However, for this to occur, the economic costs to the target country must have political consequences for the regime in power. Only then will target governments or other relevant actors consider changing policy. Most sanctions episodes, especially since the end of the Cold War, have been initiated with the goal of promoting regime change and democratization. Yet, conceding on policy demands is not the same as conceding to a highly salient issue such as regime change, which entails giving up a monopoly on political power. Because sanctions most often target dictatorships and do so with the goal of regime change or promote peace, assessing sanctions effectiveness and their impact on conflict requires
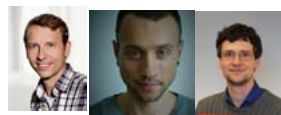
Striving for Democracy? A Psychological Perspective on Democratization and Civil Conflict

Michael Bang Petersen, *Aarhus University*
Henrikas Bartusevičius, *Aarhus University*
Florian van Leeuwen, *Aarhus University*

Research has shown that democratization (or the transition from authoritarianism to democracy) increases the risk of civil conflict or civil war (hereafter conflict).[1] This relationship has been explained in several ways. Some scholars highlight international factors and argue that external support or opposition to democracy plays the major role in conflict. Other scholars underline political institutions and claim that competitiveness of elections and the rule of law are the main variables accounting for conflict. Others emphasize group-level factors and argue that exclusion of particular social groups from democratic processes is the key to understanding violence.

In this essay, we offer a complimentary account on the democratization-conflict nexus that advocates analysis of conflict behavior at the individual level and focuses on the human mind. What are the psychological motivations for violence and why are they likely to be triggered in the context of democratization? What are, in other words, the psychological underpinnings of the democratization-conflict nexus? In turning the focus from the macro- to the micro-level, we follow advances in other fields. Consider, for instance, Beissinger's study that has challenged the common claim that participation in protest is often motivated by the abstract notion of political freedom.[2] His survey of Orange revolutionaries in Ukraine has shown that participants were largely motivated by general disdain for the incumbent

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1. Håvard Hegre, "Democracy and armed conflict" *Journal of Peace Research* 51.2 (2014); John C. Keane, *Violence and democracy* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004); Susanne Karstedt, "Democratization and Violence: European and International Perspectives" in S. Body-Gendrot, P. Spierenburg (eds.) *Violence in Europe* (Springer, 2009): 205-225; Lars Erik Cederman, Simon Hug, and Lutz F. Krebs, "Democratization and civil war: Empirical evidence" *Journal of Peace Research* 47(4), 377-394.

2. Mark R. Beissinger, "The semblance of democratic revolution: coalitions in Ukraine's Orange Revolution" *American Political Science Review* 107(03), 574-592.

Putting the Civil Conflict-Regime Nexus in Historical Perspective

Jørgen Møller, *Aarhus University*

The social sciences are experiencing a "historical turn," which in recent years has had a huge impact on the democratization literature. Conflict researchers are similarly beginning to probe deeper historical dimensions of present-day internal conflicts.[1] Nonetheless, most of the recent large-N analysis addressing these two subjects has restricted its focus to the post-1945 world, and often only to a shorter part of it.[2] It is therefore a propitious moment to carry out a more principled discussion of the ways in which the intersection between these two disciplines – that is, the civil conflict-regime nexus – might benefit from going historical?

This intersection concerns a relatively broad subject matter, namely internal conflicts which are fought over political issues, i.e., which concern the regime, as well as political changes that trigger internal conflicts. To focus my discussion, I will use as a foil

1. Terence J. McDonald, *The Historic Turn in the Human Sciences* (Ann Arbor: The University of Michigan Press, 1996). Giovanni Capoccia and Daniel Ziblatt, "The Historical Turn in Democratization Studies: A New Research Agenda" *Comparative Political Studies* 43 (2010): 931-968. Andreas Wimmer, *Waves of War: Nationalism, State Formation, and Ethnic Exclusion in the Modern World* (Cambridge University Press, 2012); James D. Fearon and David D. Laitin, "Does Contemporary Armed Conflict Have' Deep Historical Roots'?" unpublished manuscript (2014); Timothy Besley and Marta Reynal-Querol, "The legacy of historical conflict: Evidence from Africa," A*merican Political Science Review* 108 (2014): 319-336.

2. E.g. Adam Przeworski, Michael E. Alvarez, José A. Cheibub & Fernando Limongi, *Democracy and Development: Political Institutions and Well-Being in the World, 1950–1990* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000); James D. Fearon and David D. Laitin, "Ethnicity, Insurgency, and Civil War" *American Political Science Review* 97 (2003): 75–90; Paul Collier and Anke Hoeffler, "Greed and grievance in civil war" *Oxford Economic Papers* 56 (2004): 563-595; L Cederman, N. B. Weidmann and K. Gleditsch, "Horizontal Inequalities and Ethnonationalist Civil War: A Global Comparison" *American Political Science Review* 105 (2011): 478–95.

From the Editorial Board, continued

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possible manner over several years. Thank you!

I also welcome three new members to the editorial board: Professor Ellen Lust as well as Dr's Adam Harris and Kristen Kao, all at University of Gothenburg. Thank you for agreeing to serve the section!

Naturally even so, we have our limitations and our expertise reaches only so far. This is why it is so important to have other scholars come in as guest editors at times to widen the perspectives and the aspects of democratization studies the CD Newsletter pays attention to. The present issue is an excellent example of this to my mind, focusing on the relationship between civil conflict and regime change. Thank you so much Svend-Erik Skaaning and Jørgen Møller for doing a great service to the entire community!

Looking forward, we are working on newsletter issues on democracy assistance and external support, on linguistic divides and democratization, as well as one taking up the debate state-building and democratization. As always, I also welcome suggestions from members who would want to take the lead and be guest editors for a symposium.

Staffan I. Lindberg, *Executive Editor*

The history that has come down to us in writing is very much a history of conflict over political power. The most well-attested of these conflicts have been "international", that is, conflicts of external conquest and domination. But domestic conflicts over political power have also been ubiquitous, from the multiple democratic revolutions and aristocratic reactions in ancient Greek city-states to coups, regime breakdowns, and civil wars in modern territorial states. Moreover, since the third wave of democratization began in 1974, the death toll of such internal conflicts has far surpassed those of interstate warfare.

It is therefore unsurprising that scholars have addressed the civil conflict-regime nexus as long as there has been social science. However, in recent generations these attempts have tended to run up against disciplinary boundaries because conflict research has traditionally been part of International Relations whereas the study of regime change has belonged in the sub-field of Comparative Politics. Recent trends in the literature show that many scholars now trespass these disciplinary boundaries. This newsletter on the civil conflict-regime nexus can be seen as part of this development. It contains a series of attempts by researchers within conflict and democratization studies to

probe the intersection between these two bodies of literature, and it brings novel psychological and historical perspectives to this fusion.

In the first article, Barış Ari, Kristian Skrede Gleditsch, Håvard Hegre, and Tore Wig sets the stage by critically reviewing recent scholarship on democratization and civil conflict. This is followed by an article on the emerging research field of electoral violence by Hanne Fjelde and Kristine Höglund. Next, Abel Escribà-Folch and Joseph Wright discuss what we know about sanctions, autocratic regimes, and conflict, and Michael Bang Petersen, Henrikas Bartusevičius, and Florian van Leeuwen offer a psychological perspective on democratization and civil conflict. The newsletter ends with Jørgen Møller's discussion about ways in which historical analysis of the conflict-regime nexus can shed light on contemporary processes. All five contributions share a common structure: They first take stock of recent developments in the literature and, on this basis, present arguments about how to move scholarship on the civil conflict-regime nexus forward.

Jørgen Møller and Svend-Erik Skaaning, *Issue Editors*

ARI, GLEDITSCH, HEGRE, AND WIG, CONTINUED
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Few civil wars take place in fully developed democracies, but empirical studies do not support a simple relationship between greater autocracy and the frequency of violence. Many studies suggest an inverted U-shaped relationship, where semi-democratic regimes see more internal conflict than consistent autocracies or democracies. Semi-democratic regimes are often, but not always, in transition, and more likely to have recent institutions under pressure for further political change. Even though systematic ethnic exclusion increases the risk of civil war, opening democratic competition may fail to accommodate specific groups. Internal wars in democracies are less severe in terms of casualties overall and democratic governments engage in less violence against civilians and less repression, but rebel groups fighting democratic states use more violence against civilians. Possibly because of the stronger constraints on the use of violence against insurgents, democracies tend to have longer internal wars. Institutions often originate as power-sharing arrangements designed to terminate a civil conflict. Some see post-conflict power-sharing as inherently undemocratic and an obstacle to democratization, while others argue that power-sharing institutions can facilitate transitions in ways akin to elite political pacts and show that transition to democracy become dramatically more likely in the presence of power

sharing arrangements in post-conflict environment.[2]

This brief overview highlights how the relationship between democratization and conflict is complicated by issues such as the fact that political change may be triggered by conflict and a decline in repression and the failure of political institutions to accommodate potential actors in conflict. In a previous review, two of us discussed ways to advance the study of institutions and conflict, recommending further investigation into how democracy interact with other social and economic institutions, as well as to strengthen the focus on actors and their incentives to

use violence within such institutions.[3] Previous studies have relied on highly aggregated dichotomous measures of democracy or the Polity dataset, which make it difficult to distinguishing clearly contending explanations.[4]

In this manuscript we emphasize how disaggregating democratic institutions conceptually and probing the temporal sequences in which different components of democracy can advance progress on this fascinating research problem. Furthermore, we point to recent and more detailed data sources that can help advance research.

Unanswered questions
The voluminous literature on democracy and civil conflict raises several questions where answers remain elusive. Although a number of robust empirical patterns have been established, we know less about the causal mechanisms tying specific aspects of institutions to conflict outcomes. Disentangling the highly aggregated categories of democracy and democratization, both conceptually and temporally, seems a promising avenue for progress.

Disaggregating democracy concepts
One potentially fruitful strategy is to unpack the "black box" of aggregated democracy measures and investigate which regime-type dimensions are conducive to peace. For example, consider the finding that intermediary regimes or "anocracies" are more likely to experience civil war.[5] The result itself

2. On the inverted U-curve, see Nils Petter Gleditsch, Håvard Hegre and Håvard Strand, "Democracy and Civil War" in Manus Midlarsky, ed., *Handbook of War Studies III* (Ann Arbor, MI: University of Michigan Press, 2009): 155-192; Edward N. Muller and Erich Weede, "Cross-National Variations in Political Violence: A Rational Action Approach" *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 34(4):624-651. On democratization and political transitions, see Cederman, Lars Erik, Simon Hug and Lutz F. Krebs, "Democratization and civil war: Empirical evidence" *Journal of Peace Research* 47(4):377-394; James D. Fearon and David D. Laitin, "Ethnicity, Insurgency, and Civil War" *American Political Science Review* 97(1):75-90; Håvard Hegre, Tanja Ellingsen, Scott Gates and Nils Petter Gleditsch, "Toward a Democratic Civil Peace? Democracy, Political Change, and Civil War, 1816-1992" *American Political Science Review* 95(1):33-48. On exclusion, see Lars-Erik Cederman, Andreas Wimmer and Brian Min, "Why do ethnic groups rebel? New data and analysis" *World Politics* 62(1):87-119. On the severity of conflict, see Bethany Lacina, "Explaining the Severity of Civil War" *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 50(2):276-289; Gleditsch et al. 2009, pp. 155-192. On government repression, see Michael Colaresi, and Sabine Carey, "To Kill or to Protect. Security Forces, Domestic Institutions, and Genocide" *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 52(1):39-67; Christian Davenport, *State Repression and the Domestic Democratic Peace* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007). On violence against civilians, see Kristine Eck and Lisa Hultman, "One-Sided Violence against Civilians in War: Insights from New Fatality Data" J*ournal of Peace Research* 44(2):233-246. On post-conflict institution building as a trade-off between democracy and peace, see Anna K. Jarstad and Timothy D. Sisk (eds), *From War to Democracy: Dilemmas of Peacebuilding* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008). On post-conflict power-sharing as a facilitator for democratization, see Caroline A. Hartzell and Matthew Hoddie, "The Art of the Possible: Power Sharing and Post-Civil War Democracy" *World Politics* 67(1):37-71.

Milan W. Svolik, *The Politics of Authoritarian Rule* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012). On non-violent alternatives, see Daron Acemoglu and James A. Robinson, *Economic Origins of Dictatorship and Democracy* (New York, NY: Cambridge University Press, 2006); James D. Fearon, "Self-Enforcing Democracy," *Quarterly Journal of Economics* 126 (4):1661-1708; Mancur Olson, "Democracy, Dictatorship and Development," *American Political Science Review* 87(3):567–576; Rudolph J. Rummel, *Power Kills: Democracy as a Method of Nonviolence* (Brunswick, NJ: Transaction Publishers, 2012). On the losers' consent, see Christopher J. Anderson, André Blais, Shaun Bowler, Todd Donovan and Ola Listhaug, *Losers' Consent: Elections and Democratic Legitimacy* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007).

3. Kristian Skrede Gleditsch and Håvard Hegre, "Regime type and political transition in civil war" in Edward Newman and Jr. Karl de Rouen, eds., *Routledge Handbook of Civil Wars* (London and New York: Taylor & Francis, 2014): chapter 12.

4. On Polity, see Keith Jaggers and Ted R. Gurr, "Transitions to Democracy: Tracking Democracy's Third Wave with the Polity III Data" Journal of Peace Research 32(4):469-482.

5. On the inverted u-curve, see Hegre et al. 2001, pp. 33-48; Gleditsch et al. 2009., pp. 155-192. On regime breakdown, see Scott Gates, Håvard Hegre, Mark P. Jones and Håvard Strand, "Institutional

tells us little about which specific aspects of semi- democracies are related to conflict. Indeed, semi-democracies can be very different and often have sharply divergent institutional characteristics. For example, some have relatively functional electoral institutions but weak civil-liberties protection (e.g., Indonesia), while others have restricted, rigged, or no elections yet with a well-functioning legal system that protects the rule of law and (some) civil liberties (e.g., Singapore). Distinguishing between different institutional combinations within anocracies can allow us to answer important questions. For example, is it the combination of political competition and weak executive constraints that is driving the anocracy-conflict relationship, or the presence of relatively greater scope for the opposition to mobilize against the regime, combined with a grievance-inducing lack of (other) civil liberties? In the former case, the "winner-take-all" nature of electoral competition, with few abilities for incumbents to credibly commit to not repress the opposition ex post, is causing rebellion, while in the latter case it is a combination of opportunity and a lack of regime-legitimacy that is crucial. Separating between these cases would allow us to make important inferences regarding closely related yet theoretically distinct mechanisms.

Disentangling aspects of democracy could also help breathe new life into the question of whether democracies are more pacific than autocracies by investigating a broader range of democracy conceptions than the

existing literature. Applying more fine-grained and theoretically well-specified democracy conceptions (and corresponding measures) has a great potential to remove many of the ambiguities in the current literature on the relationship between democracy and civil conflict.

More disaggregated measures can also help us better examine whether the effects of democracy and democratization are conditional on other institutional aspects, such as those relating to good governance. One view asserts that democratization is only stable in countries with prior institutional consolidation prior to democratization.[6] Such arguments have emphasized bureaucratic quality, a well-functioning judicial system with independent courts, and low corruption as aspects that need to be in place for democracy to take hold peacefully. New measures can allow us to drill down to whether specific aspects of "institutional consolidation" are related to peaceful democratization. For example, we can examine whether formal state institutions that enable elites to more credibly commit to democracy and prudent economic policies, such as judicial independence and independent central banks or strong informal institutions such as civil society organizations and parties are more important "pre-transition" institutions.

Trajectories of Institutional Change
Paths from autocracy to democracy take many shapes. Some democratization processes are almost instantaneous revolutionary upheavals, while others are long-winded punctured-equilibria-type processes, unfolding through a series

of incremental reforms. Furthermore, democratization processes vary in their institutional content (suffrage reform, civil liberties etc.), and sequencing.

Democracy datasets that are multidimensional in conception and disaggregated in measurement allow researchers to explore such sequences of institutional reform in detail. For example, we can ask whether an initial expansion of participation (in the form of universal suffrage and multi-party elections for executive office) and subsequent build-up of constraints on the elected executive more likely to lead to conflict than a sequence where constraints precede a broadening of participation. Are reforms and measures taken to replace the individuals that occupy the leading offices in a state more likely to trigger violence than reforms that regulate more low-key political institutions, such as the representation of local elites or the transparency associated with public budgets? Several indicators in the Institutions and Elections Project (IAEP) and the Varieties of Democracies dataset (V-Dem) allow more careful operationalizations of these concepts than earlier datasets, and could fruitfully be combined with data on leadership transitions and legacies from sources such as the Archigos data.[7]

Inconsistency and Political Instability: Polity Duration, 1800-2000" *American Journal of Political Science* 50(4):893-908.; Carl Henrik Knutsen and Håvard Mokleiv Nygård, "Institutional characteristics and regime survival: Why are semi-democracies less durable than autocracies and democracies?" *American Journal of Political Science* 59(3):656-670; James R. Vreeland, "The Effect of Political Regime on Civil War: Unpacking Anocracy" *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 52(3):401-425.

6. Samuel P. Huntington, Political Order in Changing Societies (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1968); Francis Fukuyama, The origins of political order: from prehuman times to the French Revolution (London: Profile books, 2011).

7. For Institutions and Elections Project (IAEP), see Tore Wig, Håvard Hegre and Patrick Regan, "Updated Data on Institutions and Elections 1960-2012: Presenting the IAEP dataset version 2.0." *Research and Politics* 2(2):1-11; Patrick M. Regan, Richard W. Frank and David H. Clark, "New Datasets on Political Institutions and Elections, 1972-2005" *Conflict Management and Peace Science* 26(3):286-304. For Varieties of Democracy (V-Dem), see Michael Coppedge, John Gerring, David Altman, Michael Bernhard, Steven Fish, Allen Hicken, Matthew Kroenig, Staffan I. Lindberg, Kelly McMann, Pamela Paxton, Holli A. Semetko, Svend-Erik Skaaning, Jeffrey Staton and Jan Teorell, "Conceptualizing and Measuring Democracy: A New Approach." *Perspectives on Politics* 9(02):247-267. For Archigos, see Henk Goemans, Kristian Skrede Gleditsch and Giacomo Chiozza, "Introducing Archigos: A Dataset of Political Leaders" J*ournal of Peace Research* 46(2):269-283.

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While the *sequence* of democratic change probably matters for conflict, the historical "starting conditions" of a country when navigating institutional reform should also matter. Institutional history and path dependence has received much attention in the literature on the causes of economic growth but has had little traction in the study of democracy and civil war. This is surprising, since the most stable countries on earth are very often also long-lasting democracies, with a high historical "stock" of democratic institutions and good governance. This suggests that democracy and peace might have common historical antecedents, such as particular historical institutional trajectories, and we should focus on which *specific* institutional components yield pacific legacies. Against this background, we see several prominent avenues of research. For example, we can investigate whether it is the "extractive" economic institutions that were introduced in some developing countries by European colonizers that matter for their conflict histories, or whether it reflects the early development of other institutional dysfunctional characteristics, such as executives with concentrated power with few checks and balances.[8]

Opportunities Provided by New Democracy/Regime Type Data Collections
A number of recent data developments will guide work on the unanswered questions we raise above. We focus

here on two new data sources that will be useful for exploring the democratization-civil conflict link further. First, the IAEP dataset looks at the presence of a number of crucial formal institutions across democracies and autocracies, spanning the period 1960–2012. Second, the V-Dem dataset describes a long list of formal and informal aspects and features of political systems across democracies and dictatorship, covering the period 1900–2015.

The IAEP dataset includes data on over 120 variables, describing *de jure* institutional provisions and electoral events, for 170 countries, often coded from constitutions, constitutional amendments and other legal sources. This dataset covers important institutional information, not available in extant datasets. It describes the de jure relationships between the executive, judiciary and legislature, and the rules that regulate the promulgation of laws, constitutional amendments and leadership selection. It also provides a range of variables describing the formal make up of the electoral system, and the degree to which citizens can participate in elections and lawmaking. It also covers the status and role of the supreme court, central bank, and regional governments.

The V-Dem dataset is much more ambitious than any other democracy data-collection efforts. V-Dem introduces 265 indicators at the least aggregate level and by using these indicators it builds mid and macro-level indices. Some of these indicators are "factual in nature" and based on extant sources whereas most of them are coded independently by multiple country experts. An important feature is that based on its own measurement model, V-Dem provides a point estimate as well as a confidence interval

for each data point coded by country experts. This allows V-Dem to report a level of certainty for the subjective indicators and indices, enabling users of the dataset to factor this uncertainty in when analyzing the data. Coupled with vast external sources complied and incorporated into V-Dem, individual indicators as well as mid- and macro-level indices have potential to enable researchers to investigate linkages between macro-level concepts, before zooming in to focus on particular institutional features and pinpoint how they relate to civil conflict.

The V-Dem dataset will be particularly helpful when it comes to exploring how different aspects of democratic institutions relate to different conflict-drivers as hypothesized in the literature. At the highest level of aggregation, V-Dem conceptualizes and measures five *Democracy Indices*: electoral, liberal, participatory, deliberative and egalitarian. These conceptualizations can be potentially employed to investigate the theoretical arguments tying (democratic) institutions to civil conflict. If we grant that the fundamental causes of conflict can be traced to opportunities, grievances, commitment problems or lack of legitimacy, it stands to reason that different democracy conceptions – as embodied in institutions – should be more conducive to reducing specific kinds of conflict drivers. For example, if grievances relating to horizontal economic and political inequalities between social groups drive internal conflict, then democracy types enshrining the *egalitarian* conception of democracy should be particularly potent for reducing these kinds of conflict. Alternatively, if a lack of opportunities for influence is the predominant conflict-driver, then democracies instantiating the *participatory* conception of democracy

8. On path dependence, see Daron Acemoglu, Simon Johnson and James A. Robinson, "The Colonial Origins of Comparative Development: An Empirical Investigation" *American Economic Review* 91(5):1369-1401. On the "stock" of institutions, see John Gerring, Philip Bond, William T Barndt and Carola Moreno, "Democracy and economic growth" *World Politics* 57(3):323–364. On extractive versus productive institutions, see Acemoglu et al. 2001; Daron Acemoglu and James A. Robinson, *Why Nations Fail: The Origins of Power, Prosperity and Poverty* (New York: Crown Business, 2012).

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should be less conflict prone. If commitment problems is the conflict-generating mechanism at issue, then we would expect democracies with high scores on the *liberal* component of democracy – strong rule of law, checks and balances, protected civil liberties etc. – to be pacifying, since it will be easier for e.g., a majority to credibly commit not to abuse the disgruntled minority in the future. Hence, we can imagine different constellations of conflict-generating mechanisms and conflict-reducing democracy-conceptions, where each potential conflict driver has a corresponding democratic institutional "antidote."

These datasets also allow us to unpack the "Anocracy" category, as discussed above; enabling important distinctions between the different institutional combinations that purportedly explain the "inverted-u curve" result. For example, since V-DEM includes extensive measures of the degrees to which elections are competitive, civil liberties are protected, and executives are constrained, it is possible to identify different kinds of anocracies, to gauge which combinations are more salient.

Furthermore, both V-Dem and IAEP will allow us to trace the trajectories of institutional change discussed above, linking these to conflict outcomes. For example, they will allow us to study whether specific kinds of democratization sequences are more conflict-prone than others. With the IAEP data, we can look for changes to formal institutions (such as suffrage reforms), and link this information to data on de-facto institutional aspects such as the degree of political competitiveness, executive constraints or bureaucratic quality. This would allow us to e.g., probe whether introductions of mass suffrage and participation is pacifying only in circumstances with (de-jure and de-facto) constrained executives. This work will also be aided by the forthcoming Historical V-dem dataset, coding V-dem data back to 1789, which will yield longer time-series capturing the many suffrage expansions and other institutional changes taking place before 1900.

Future directions
Empirical research on the relationship between democracy and civil conflict has unveiled a set of interesting patterns, but several theoretical and empirical ambiguities remain within the field. In this manuscript, we argue that the availability of new, disaggregated data on political institutions will allow the field to address these ambiguities and to put the inferences drawn from empirical research on a much stronger theoretical footing. The new datasets also allow asking new questions regarding democratization and conflict, such as how various temporal sequences of partial reforms affect the risks of large-scale violence.

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related violence defies democratic outcomes and the consolidation of democratic regimes.

While comparative politics as a discipline has had a longstanding interest in electoral politics, the past decade has seen a surge in research on the interlinkages between elections and political violence. Many studies have focused on elections as precipitants of armed conflict, violent ethnic riots, and conflict recurrence, particularly highlighting the precariousness of elections in post-war societies.[3] In this essay we are, however, specifically concerned with violence that concentrates around elections and corrupts the electoral process, what we refer to as electoral violence.

Defining Electoral Violence
Over the past years, a growing body of research has emerged to probe the causes and dynamics of electoral violence. Underpinning the growth of this research field is the conceptualization of electoral violence as a distinct phenomenon in need of an explanation. Rather than merely asking whether electoral periods increase the risk of political violence generally, for example, by acting as trigger events for civil wars, studies within this field approach electoral violence as a particular sub-category of political violence intimately linked to the electoral contest. Its distinguishing features relate first and foremost to the motive and assumed instrumentality of the violence: it is intended to influence the outcome an impending election (voter, candidates

or the polling more generally) or the trajectories following an electoral result. Electoral violence is also distinct in its timing (occurs in temporal proximity to elections), and its targets (e.g. voters, candidates and election observers). The conceptual definition – and empirical operationalization – of electoral violence oftentimes also include non-lethal or tacit forms of violence, for instance, threats and intimidation, assaults, arson attacks and protest. As such, it includes a diverse set of phenomena that partly has been studied in separate strands of literature.

An underlying assumption when approaching electoral violence as a particular sub-category of political violence is the notion that the violence would not have occurred or would at least have manifested itself differently in the absence of an electoral contest. Importantly, this conceptualization of electoral violence does not limit the phenomena to violent crackdowns on voters by security forces or rioting party supporters, the popular images of how electoral violence would manifest itself. Electoral violence, according to this definition may include phenomena as wide ranging as coup d'états, communal clashes and violent harassment by pro-government militias. The defining characteristic is that electoral contests become focal points that shape the targets and the timing of the violence. Even in countries with ongoing civil wars, elections may incentivize the armed contestants to engage in strategic electoral violence – for example attacking polling stations – to hinder the conduct of free and fair elections. What defines electoral violence in a context where elections and conflict are intertwined is the assumed instrumentality of the threats and physical intimidation in affecting

the electoral process and its outcome, rather than trying to influence policy formation or concessions more broadly.

The most explicit approach to electoral violence as a form of strategic manipulation is found in the literature on electoral malpractice, where coercive inducements in the form of threats and physical intimidation of voters and political candidates constitute one among several strategies to manipulate electoral outcomes that political elites will choose between (e.g. vote-buying or fraud).[4] Whereas we know little about how state and non-state actors substitute between these different strategies, most of the quantitative literature approaches electoral violence as a form of strategic manipulation and studies the determinants under which such manipulation is most likely to occur. Theoretical explanations for the violence have partly centered on the institutional context in which elections are held, partly on characteristics of the electoral contest itself. Some find that electoral violence increases the more ethnic voting there is, the more competitive the elections are, and under winner-takes-all electoral rules. Electoral violence is also more prevalent when there are weak constraints on the executive, when political institutions are weakly consolidated. Also the presence of election observers influences the risk and timing of electoral violence, for example through their mandate to publicize electoral manipulation.[5]

3. See Dawn Brancati and Jack Snyder, "Time to Kill: The Impact of Election Timing on Post-Conflict Stability" *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 57(2013): 822-53; Lars Erik Cederman, Kristian Skrede Gleditsch, and Simon Hug, "Elections and Ethnic Civil War," *Comparative Political Studies* 46(2012): 387-417; Flores, Thomas, and Irfaan Noourddin, "The Effect of Elections on Post-Conflict Peace and Reconstruction," *Journal of Politics* 74(2012): 558-70; Steven I. Wilkinson, *Votes and Violence: Electoral Competition and Ethnic Riots in India* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2014).

4. See Michael Bratton, "Vote Buying and Violence in Nigerian Elections," *Electoral Studies*, 27(2008): 621-631; Paul Collier and Pedro Vicente, "Violence, Bribery and Fraud: The Political Economy of Elections in Sub-Saharan Africa," *Public Choice* 153(2012): 117-147; Mares and Young (2015); Carolien van Ham and Staffan I. Lindberg "From Sticks to Carrots: Electoral Manipulation in Africa, 1986–2012," *Government and Opposition* 50(2003): 521-548; Inken von Borzykowski and Michael Wahman, "Fraud and Election Violence: Cause, Supplement, or Complement" (Unpublished manuscript, 2015).

5. Stephanie M. Burchard, *Electoral Violence in Sub-Saharan Africa. Causes and Consequences* (Colorado:

Main Challenges

The study of electoral violence has made great progress in the past years. Yet, taking stock of the current quantitative literature we also see limitations in existing approaches, specifically linked to the challenges of delineating the phenomena.

A first challenge concerns how electoral violence relates to electoral cycles, especially its timing in connection to impending elections or a post-election period. Due to the lack of event data on electoral violence, one prevalent approach in the existing literature has been to rely on a temporal criterion: using available event tallies on political violence (e.g. the Armed Conflict and Location Dataset) and using a pre-defined period (e.g. 2 or 3 months before and after polling day) to delineate electoral violence.[6] Yet, the appropriate time frame is difficult to ascertain, partly because the length of the electoral cycles differ across countries, partly because serious cases of electoral violence may take place

both very early and late in the electoral cycle. Voter registration and internal party nomination often occur months ahead of the actual polling, representing highly contentious processes in many countries because they are decisive for the electoral outcome. Election-related riots in response to an incumbent's attempt to extend term limits or protests against the outcome of a court ruling on an electoral outcome are also events that may occur months away from polling day. Meanwhile, an extended time frame could weaken the assumed link to electoral dynamics. Since time frames will be established on a case-by-case basis, comparisons between studies are also more difficult. The temporal neatness is also challenged by overlapping election cycles where elections for different political institutions or at different levels are held at different times. Finally, a sole reliance on a temporal criterion, rather than an issue-based identification, means that much violence included may not meet the motivational criteria of being intended to shape the electoral process. Identifying the issue linkage is, however, also challenging, particularly in cases where political violence is widespread, such as during civil war.

A second challenge for many cross-case comparisons stems from the lack of clear and systematic cutoff points for establishing the prevalence of electoral violence across cases and over time. As an alternative to the reliance on temporal criteria, many studies have relied on datasets that classifies elections as being more or less marred by violence. The *National Elections across Democracy and Autocracy* (NELDA), for example, includes an ordinal measure of whether there was "significant violence involving civilian deaths" during an election, whereas the *African Election Violence Data* (AEVD) classifies the level of violence into

three categories: violent harassment, violent repression and large-scale violence. The V-Dem data similarly draw a continuum between "peaceful" elections and those characterized by "widespread violence" using a five-point scale.[7] These data sources have the advantage of explicitly focusing on violence that meet the motivational criteria, i.e. being intended to influence the electoral outcome. Yet, the lack of very clear and transparent cut-off points raise concerns about the validity and reliability of the data: whereas overarching patterns are similar, elections are assessed differently across different datasets. In the absence of strict benchmarks against which cases are evaluated, there is also a risk that pre-conceived expectations regarding the intensity of electoral contention could bias the data generation process and what is considered to constitute significant levels of electoral violence. For instance, Nigeria was praised for the 'peacefulness' of the 2015 election, although the death toll was high, while reporting on the elections in Tanzania the same year was focusing on the volatility of the elections even though the contest was considerably less violent than Nigeria.

A third challenge concerns the high level of aggregation of most data sources, which makes it difficult to explore more nuanced dynamics of electoral violence. For instance, case-based analysis suggests that electoral violence ahead of the elections that serve to disenfranchise voters, or influence the choice of candidates at the ballot, may have very different manifestations than the electoral violence that follow

Lynne Rienner Publisher, 2015); Ursula Daxecker, "All Quiet on Election Day? International Election Observation and Incentives for Pre-election Violence in African Elections," *Electoral Studies* 34(2014): 232-243; Hanne Fjelde and Kristine Höglund, "Electoral Institutions and Electoral Violence in Sub-Saharan Africa," *British Journal of Political Science* (2016); Emilie Hafner Burton, Susan D. Hyde and Ryan Jablonski, "When Do Governments Resort to Election Violence?" *British Journal of Political Science* 44(2013): 149-179; Patrick M. Kuhn, "Do Contentious Elections Trigger Violence?" in *Contentious Elections. From Ballots to Barricades*, edited by Pippa Norris, Richard W. Frank and Ferran Martínez I. Coma (New York: Routledge, 2015); Idean Salehyan and Christopher Linebarger, "Elections and Social Conflict in Africa, 1990–2009," *Studies in Comparative International Development* 50(2015): 23-49; Hannah Smidt, "From a Perpetrator's Perspective: International Election Observers and Post-electoral Violence," *Journal of Peace Research* 53(2016).

6. Clionadh Raleigh et al. "Introducing ACLED: An Armed Conflict Location and Event Dataset," *Journal of Peace Research* 47(2010): 651-660. For a similar discussion see Arthur A. Goldsmith, "Elections and Civil Violence in New Multiparty Regimes: Evidence from Africa," *Journal of Peace Research* 52(2015): 607-621.

7. Michael Coppedge et al. "V-Dem Codebook v5." Varieties of Democracy (V-Dem) Project (2015); Scott Strauss and Charlie Taylor (2012); Susan Hyde and Nikolai Marinov, "Which Elections Can be Lost" *Political Analysis* 20(2012): 191-210. See also Emily Beaulieu *Electoral Protest and Democracy in the Developing World* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2014).

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on the announcement of electoral results. Analyses of countries like Côte d'Ivoire and Kenya testify to the large variations in the prevalence of electoral violence as we move to the sub-national level. The Social Conflict Analysis Database (SCAD) – available for Africa and Latin America from 1990 to 2014 – provides some opportunities for temporal and spatial disaggregation.[8] The geo-referenced event data on the occurrence of protests, riots, strikes, inter-communal conflict, government violence against civilians, and other forms of social conflict is recorded by issue, thus allowing the researcher to focus on the sub-set of the data reported by the media source to be explicitly linked to electoral dynamics. A potential pitfall of the exclusive reliance on media reports for identifying electoral violence is that the angle of reporting may be shaped by the same factors that influence the risk of electoral violence, including the political contestation and the experience with electoral violence in the past. This is primarily a problem when studies compare electoral periods to non-electoral periods. It may also lead to other biases, for example, a clustering of election-related events around polling day as the media are more concerned with elections as elections come closer. Event data has potential to facilitate a move towards more disaggregated analysis in future research. A promising effort to provide event-level data on electoral violence is also undertaken by Ursula Daxecker at the University of Amsterdam with the Electoral Contention and Violence (ECAV) dataset.

A fourth challenge is to get at the individual level dimensions of electoral violence. There has been some advances in the use of survey data to examine

individuals' exposure to threats and physical intimidation and violence in association with an electoral contest. Several studies have drawn on data from the Afrobarometer and other surveys, to explore how voter characteristics influence the likelihood that voters are targeted with coercive inducements, relative to other clientelist strategies.[9] Individual level data offers two significant contributions to the study of electoral violence. First, information about who is at risk of violent intimidation, for example, if swing voters are the primary targets, adds to our knowledge about the motivation of actors for using electoral violence. Second, survey data may capture voter intimidation and fear that could be significant enough to disenfranchise voters, but still not pass the intensity threshold to show up in media reporting and make it into other aggregate data sources. A problem with much of the survey data is, however, the scattered coverage and the lack of representative samples at the sub-national level to facilitate a more disaggregated analysis. Moreover, major surveys, such as the Afrobarometer, do not ask respondents if they have been subject to threats and violence, only if they fear being targeted. These are not necessarily the same.

Moving Forward

In advancing knowledge on electoral violence there are four main imperatives pertaining to the specification and disaggregation of theory and data. Generally, while data sources that include issue-based identification of election-related incidents of violence

come closer to the motivational aspects of the phenomena, the intentionality of the violence is very difficult to capture. This is a problem especially in studies where the theoretical point of departure turns on the instrumentality of violence. Thus, more attention must be paid to the different manifestations of violence that may have different causes and dynamics and serve different purposes.

First, we need a greater appreciation of the different dynamics involved in pre-election and post-election periods, possibly also looking at different dynamics across the entire electoral cycle. In many instances, it is not meaningful to study these forms of violence jointly as the manifestation of the same phenomenon. For instance, electoral violence in connection to within-party candidate selection that is specific to the pre-election period may be driven by fundamentally different forces than violent street protest after the announcement of electoral results considered fraudulent. With more temporally disaggregated data, we can also move to a more careful tracing of escalatory processes or other temporal dynamics.

Second, we need to pay closer attention to the interests of the actors and the perpetrators involved in electoral violence. Previous research has already made the important distinction between violence originating from the opposition and violence by the regime. Yet, these categories must be further disaggregated theoretically and empirically. Presumably it makes a difference in terms of the explanations for the phenomena *who* the opposition is. Staniland's suggestion to distinguish between pro-systemic and anti-systemic opposition is one way forward to disentangle the various manifestations of election-intertwined violence that

8. Idean Salehyan et al., "Social conflict in Africa: A new database," *International Interactions* 38(2012): 503-511.

9. See Michael Bratton (2008); Mascha Rauschebach, "The Importance of Preaching to the Converted: The Strategic Use of Campaign Rallies, Campaign Promises, Clientelism, and Violence in African Elections" (PhD thesis, University of Mannheim, 2015). Inken von Borszykowski and Patrick Kuhn "Dangerously Informed: Protestant Missions, Information and Pre-electoral Violence in Sub-Saharan Africa" (Unpublished manuscript, 2014).

are futile lumping together in the first place.[10]

Third, more effort should be devoted to understanding the interconnections between national and local dynamics of electoral violence. Motives among national actors and mobilizing agents may more easily be linked to institutional contexts and characteristics of the electoral context. Yet these motives may be very different from those possessed by the individuals who partake in the violence. With existing data sources it has been very difficult to capture both the distinctiveness of national and local dynamics, and how they combine to produce violent elections. Data on individual level motivation for participating in electoral violence

10. Paul Staniland, "Violence and Democracy," *Comparative Politics* 47(2014): 99-118.

would be particularly useful. Studies that probe the variations in the prevalence of electoral violence across different sub-national units would also advance knowledge on the local conditions underpinning such violence. Relatedly, current scholarship focuses predominantly on national elections, but much electoral violence occurs during local elections. Yet, the absence of detailed and comparable data sources on the timing and characteristics of local elections makes it is difficult to move forward with these questions in cross-national studies.

Fourth, we need more research on the consequences of electoral violence. The main share of the existing literature focuses on the causes of the violence, including its characteristics,

intensity or timing. There are a few studies exploring the effects of violent elections, but these mainly focus narrowly on how electoral violence influences the political attitudes and behavior of the voters, and issues such as voter turnout. Thus, research has not adequately addressed the extent to which violent elections condition the perceptions of what is at stake in future elections, how institutions evolve in the wake of violence, and how political actors develop after the experience of violence. These are factors that may very well be important in understanding if subsequent elections turn violent or not.

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understanding the inner workings and structure of the targets, namely, autocracies.

Sanctions and Regime Change

Our own research finds that some autocracies are more vulnerable to economic coercion than others: while economic sanctions have historically destabilized personalist dictatorships, they have little influence on the durability of party-based regimes and military juntas.[1] More so than dominant party regimes or military juntas, personalist dictatorships rely on targeted patronage and repression for survival. Further, political power is more concentrated in the hands of the individual leader in these regimes, and thus neither a supporting political party nor the military effectively constrain the leader's ability to make policy and personnel choices. These features of personalist rule not only shape how the dictator behaves while in office,[2] but also increase the chances he faces a particularly nasty fate when he exits from power.[3]

The fact that sanctions increase the likelihood of regime breakdown in personalist regimes does not necessarily mean that sanctions promote democratization. Regime change may yield two outcomes: either a transition to a new democracy or a transition to a new dictatorship. Since 1946, more than half of autocratic regime collapses have resulted in a transition to a subsequent dictatorship – and not a transition to democracy.[4] Devoid of institutional means for regular turnover of leadership and unable to provide credible domestic guarantees that their life and assets will be preserved should they step down peacefully, personalist dictators often fight for survival when faced with international pressure to leave power. They are thus the most likely to be ousted in a coup or a violent rebellion. Consequently, while sanctions have historically destabilized personalist dictatorships, this generally leads to a transition to subsequent dictatorship (or a failed state).

This result reflects the survival strategies pursued by different dictatorships, which, in turn, shape how they respond to foreign economic coercion. Personalist dictators rarely concede to sanctions because their exclusive and under-institutionalized rule prevents them from controlling the transition process in an effort to protect the interests of regime elites via negotiated exit guarantees. However, even though personalist rulers rarely have an incentive to comply with sanction senders' demands by making peaceful concessions, these regimes are nonetheless weakened by sanctions. With weak political institutions, these dictatorships are more likely to rely on external revenue sources (such as commodity exports) to fund patronage to retain power. Thus well-coordinated sanctions that target these revenue sources can often result in a steep decrease in state revenues in personalist regimes. This in turn translates into a sharp decrease in government expenditures, precluding increasing patronage as strategy to retain elite support. Moreover, personal rulers cannot credibly commit to institutional transformations offering power-sharing, and thus can rarely substitute policy concessions for rents or repression in the short term.

As several studies show, regimes also respond to sanctions by increasing political repression, particularly when sanctions fuel popular dissent or help opposition activists organize anti-regime protest.[5] Yet, once we differentiate autocratic targets, we find that sanctions are most strongly associated with increased repression in personalist dictatorships. Unable to increase spending when revenues fall and incapable of offering credible power-sharing, personalist leaders tend to rely more intensively on coercion for survival when targeted by sanctions. Yet increasing political repression is also risky, for at least three reasons. A coercive response to sanctions is more likely to fail in regimes that deliberately weaken military effectiveness in an effort to marginalize potential coup plotters, as often occurs in personalist regimes. Second, sanctions may empower repressive agents – particularly if they capture valuable black-market trade – who, in turn, may use their new resources to turn against the regime. Finally, increasing government repression as a response to sanctions can ignite anti-regime collective action, escalating a violent conflict and thereby increasing the chances the regime is ousted in a rebellion or junior officer coup.

1. Abel Escribà-Folch and Joseph Wright, *Foreign Pressure and the Politics of Autocratic Survival* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015). Abel Escribà-Folch and Joseph Wright, "Dealing with Tyranny: International Sanctions and the Survival of Authoritarian Rulers" *International Studies Quarterly*, 54(2): 335-59.

2. Jessica L. P. Weeks, *Dictators at War and Peace* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2014). Michaela Mattes and Mariana Rodríguez, "Autocracies and International Cooperation" *International Studies Quarterly* 58(3): 527-538.

3. Abel Escribà-Folch, "Accountable for What? Regime Types, Performance, and the Fate of Outgoing Dictators, 1946-2004" *Democratization* 20(1): 160-185.

4. Barbara Geddes, Joseph Wright, and Erica Frantz, "Autocratic Breakdown and Regime Transitions: A New Data Set" *Perspectives on Politics* 12(2): 313–31.

5. Reed M. Wood, "A Hand upon the Throat of the Nation: Economic Sanctions and State Repression, 1976-2001" *International Studies Quarterly* 52(3): 489-513. Dursun Peksen, "Better or Worse? The Effect of Economic Sanctions on Human Rights" *Journal of Peace Research* 46(1): 59-77.

Sanctions, Regime Stability, and Conflict in Autocracies

Even when sanctions are economically costly, they are only likely to produce political change when these economic costs translate into political costs for the targeted regime.[6] Public choice contributions to the analysis of sanctions point to sanctions costs directly harming the targeted government's revenue sources or hurting groups that support the targeted regime. Approaching the study of sanctions from this perspective highlights the specific causal mechanisms through which sanctions may destabilize autocracies. Most autocratic regimes are ousted from power by domestic actors. Only foreign military intervention can directly remove a leader from power and externally impose regime change. Sanctions can only achieve political change by altering the domestic balance of power via a change in the incentives, preferences or capabilities of domestic actors, be it the regime supporters or the opposition.

In our work, we find that sanctions increase the likelihood of irregular regime breakdowns in personalist regimes. Such irregular ousters are generally the result of coups, civil wars or popular uprisings. These pathways of regime change inform how sanctions shape political change and civil conflict.

Destabilizing Mechanisms

Sanctions can potentially destabilize autocracies through two mechanisms. First, sanctions may weaken elite cohesion, prompting defections

from the ruling coalition and the realignment of supporting groups. By signaling international disapproval and the potential for future foreign military intervention and, principally, by reducing the resources available for state patronage, economic coercion raises doubts among elite members about the regime's stability and its future capacity for delivering rents. This reduces the expected utility of continuing to support the regime. For example, sanctions targeting Trujillo's regime in the Dominican Republic and Idi Amin's regime in Uganda decreased the sugar and coffee exports upon which the respective regimes relied, causing elite defection among both civilian and military elites. This elite realignment can, in turn, foster irregular ousters such as coups, assassinations, and forced resignations that account for the vast majority of regime breakdown events in personalist dictatorships. Further, elite infighting that results from attempted coups and assassinations can devolve into civil war if a faction of the military or key civilian supporters defect from the regime and take up arms against it. After escaping brutal purges, members of the Ugandan military in exile in Tanzania joined Tanzanian forces to oust Amin in an intervention initiated by Tanzania's President Nyerere.

Secondly, sanctions can change the capacities and resolve of groups outside the regime coalition, such as in the case of South Africa under the Apartheid regime or India's sanctions against Nepal under King Birendra in the late 1980s. Existing opposition groups may be emboldened by sanctions, particularly if sanction-induced economic pain breeds popular dissent, increasing the likelihood of uprisings and civil wars. The effect of sanctions on regime opposition can occur via (a) signaling or (b) by fostering anti-regime grievance.

On the one hand, sanctions may signal international support to opposition's goals (or the end of direct or tacit support for the regime). Sanctions often indicate that at least some foreign states oppose the existing regime.[7] Signaling disapproval can be particularly influential if the sanction senders are former allies, patrons or superpowers and the sanctions signal the possibility of disrupting economic and military assistance. This, in turn, may encourage existing opposition groups or would-be rebels – and even foreign rivals – to consider attacking the regime. For example, sanctions emboldened Zairian rebels (a faction led by Laurent Kabila) and foreign rivals to oust Mobutu in 1997. Similarly, U.S. sanctions against Somoza's regime in Nicaragua meant the end of the support of the regime's main patron, which bolstered the Sandinista rebels. This mechanism might be most salient when existing opposition groups capable of using certain technologies of rebellion can benefit from the disapproval signal sent by foreign countries by imposing sanctions.[8]

Sanctions can also directly influence opposition behavior by deepening deprivation. Following the logic of grievance theories of political violence, deprivation can decrease the opportunity costs of rebelling and increase the mobilization capacity of existing opposition groups. Many studies of the structural correlates of civil conflict find that high poverty and inequality are strongly associated with civil war, especially if these factors are concentrated among specific excluded-population groups. Economically costly sanctions may increase the grievance

6. Risa A. Brooks, "Sanctions and Regime Type: What Works, and When?" *Security Studies,* 11(4): 1-50. Jonathan Kirshner, "The Microfoundations of Economic Sanctions." *Security Studies*, 6(3): 32-64. William H. Kaempfer and Anton D. Lowenberg "The Theory of International Economic Sanctions: A Public Choice Approach" *American Economic Review* 78(4): 786-93. William H. Kaempfer, Anton D. Lowenberg, and William Mertens, "International Economic Sanctions against a Dictator" *Economics and Politics* 16(1): 29-51.

7. Timothy M Peterson and A. Cooper Drury, "Sanctioning Violence: The Effect of Third-Party Economic Coercion on Militarized Conflict" *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 55(4): 580-605.
8. Solomon Major, "Timing Is Everything: Economic Sanctions, Regime Type, and Domestic Instability" *International Interactions* 38(1): 79-110.

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effect, particularly if the targeted regime shifts the economic pain of sanctions onto excluded groups while shielding supporters from these costs. For example, when Western sanctions targeted Iraq after the 1991 Gulf War, Hussein's regime faced armed rebellions in the Shi'is south as well as by the Kurds in the north.

Alternatively, sanctions may increase the resources available to opposition groups if they can capture black markets or scarcity-created rents. While the rent-capture argument is most often examined for regime-supporters (see below), it is theoretically possible for opposition groups to benefit economically from sanction-induced market changes. A better understanding of the grievance mechanism would require future research to examine the distributional consequences of sanctions to explore whether and how governments shift the economic costs of sanctions among supporters and opposition groups. This line of enquiry would also require theorizing and analyzing the contextual and institutional characteristics of targets that make it possible for some governments to benefit from sanctions by capturing sanction-induced rents, while other governments appear unable to prevent the opposition from increasing their resources by capturing these rents.

Stabilizing Mechanisms
The literature on the political consequences of economic sanctions also posits mechanisms through which sanctions may stabilize target regimes. These mechanisms could influence the risk of conflict onset. First, economic pressure may reduce material resources for opposition groups while simultaneously increasing resources for the incumbent regime. Further, if the regime control access to foreign currency or scarce goods when

targeted by sanctions, this can increase dependence on the state, cementing the loyalty of nominal civilian or military supporters. Scholars have used the cases of sanctions targeting Milosevic's regime in Serbia and those aimed at exclusionary white rule in Rhodesia in the 1970s to illustrate how sanctions can strengthen the target regime by giving them more control over the economy. Thus, even when sanctions are economically costly to target countries, foreign economic pressure can stabilize the target regime when the government controls scarce goods while simultaneously using sanctions to deplete opposition resources. With the exception of some excellent case studies, we know very little about the conditions that allow targeted governments to benefit from sanctions.

Second, sanctions might reduce conflict risk by increasing popular support for the regime if elites successfully shift blame for sanction-induced economic hardships to the sender. By mobilizing nationalistic sentiments in response to sanctions, targeted regimes may create a rally-around-the-flag effect. Using sanctions to galvanize popular support may be most effective in regimes with strong claims to legitimacy that can be used to create a plausible victimization narrative.[9] The rallying consequences of sanctions are still poorly understood, however, because direct tests of this argument require accurately measuring public opinion about incumbent governments in non-democratic settings.

`**Sanctions and Civil Conflict Duration**
Factors that contribute to the onset of civil conflict may differ from those that shape the duration of conflicts.

Extant research generally finds that external military interventions in civil conflicts hinder conflict resolution and prolong wars. Third party intervention not only increases the number of veto players who could potentially block a peace agreement, but foreign military interventions may also re-balance the relative capacities of groups in a way that prolongs conflict.

That said, the existing evidence linking sanctions to civil conflict duration shows that sanctions actually shorten intrastate wars.[10] One of three possible mechanisms may be at work. First, sanctions can make an agreement between warring parties more likely by reducing the uncertainty about the actual distribution of power and the probability of victory. By providing information that facilitates the convergence of parties' beliefs about their true values, sanctions should increase the likelihood of reaching an agreement that reflects the actual capabilities of both sides. Second, sanctions may shift the expected utility of continued fighting by reducing the expected payoffs associated with victory – in party by restricting the benefits derived from territorial and resource control. Finally, sanctions may limit the viability of continued fighting by increasing its costs. Specifically, sanctions can curtail contending parties' access to military and economic resources, thereby increasing the expected costs of conflict.

Civil Conflict after Autocratic Regime Collapse
We close by returning to the finding that economic sanctions have historically destabilized personalist dictatorships

9. Julia Grauvogel and Christian von Soest, "Claims to Legitimacy Count: Why Sanctions Fail to Instigate Democratisation in Authoritarian Regimes" *European Journal of Political Research* 53(4): 635-653.

10. Abel Escribà-Folch, "Economic Sanctions and the Duration of Civil Conflicts" *Journal of Peace Research* 47 (2): 129-141. Daniel Strandow, "Sanctions and civil war: Targeted measures for conflict resolution" Department of Peace and Conflict Research, Uppsala University, 2006.

	All	Democracies	Non-democracies
Prior military	4.5	4.9	3.7
Prior monarchy	6.6	6.8	6.6
Prior party	6.2	4.8	7.1
Prior personalist	11.8	1.7	16.7
Column total	7.9	4.0	9.9

Note: Civil conflict data is from PRIO (high intensity civil conflict, including internationalized civil conflicts). Data on warlords is from GWF. This result holds in a logit model with controls for democracy, regime duration, and year fixed effects.

but have little effect in other autocracies. Like other tools of foreign pressure such as direct military intervention, international sanctions that help topple personalist rulers more often than not lead to a new dictatorship or a failed state. We reinforce this point by examining the incidence of civil conflict in dictatorships and democracies that arise after autocratic regimes collapse.

The table aboe shows the share of country-years in which a country experienced a high intensity civil conflict or the central government did not control the majority the state's territory (warlord). The sample includes both democracies that follow the collapse of post-1946 dictatorships and subsequent dictatorships that follow autocratic collapse. The rows show the prior autocratic regime type.

The first column shows that among all types of states that follow autocratic regime collapse, civil conflict is most likely in those that had a prior personalist regime. The middle column shows that civil conflict is least likely in democracies that follow personalist regimes, while the third column shows that conflict is most likely in dictatorships that follow prior personalist regimes. The bottom row shows that if democracy follows after autocratic regime collapse, civil conflict is less likely.

These descriptive patterns provide some initial evidence that the collapse of personalist regimes may increase the risk of civil conflict – particularly when we consider the fact that regime collapse events in these regimes are generally irregular and often followed by subsequent dictatorships. To the extent that economic sanctions destabilize personalist dictatorships, the former may therefore help foster conditions that lead to conflict.

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administration. We suggest that analyses focused on conflict behavior at the individual level may similarly identify new factors that account for the link between democratization and civil conflict.

In our attempt to address this issue, we follow an approach within behavioral sciences that focuses on the evolved function of behavior-causing psychological mechanisms, or the so called adaptationist approach.[3] From this perspective, the human phenotype (including mechanisms regulating conflict behavior) is an aggregation of reliably developing adaptations that have evolved throughout our evolution as solutions to recurrent adaptive problems. Following this approach, we make an explicit distinction between proximate and ultimate causes of behavior. A proximate cause of why an individual engages in violence against a democratizing regime may be an increased opportunity to mobilize for potentially rewarding action (or a psychological mechanism sensitive to such an opportunity). But the ultimate cause of individual mobilization may be the individual incentive to accrue resources or status, which, in our evolutionary past, increased survival and reproductive success. Thus, whereas analyses of proximate causes focus on which (or how) particular environmental inputs (e.g., political openness) produce certain behavioral outputs (e.g., violence), analyses of ultimate causes focus on why such mechanisms evolved in the first place, or what adaptive function they served in the environment we have evolved. While we advocate the integration of proximal and ultimate analyses, in this essay we center on the latter. We posit that an adaptationist approach, focused on the evolved function of psychological mechanisms that regulate conflict behavior, may shed new light on

the causes of political violence during democratization.

Psychological Perspectives on Democratization and Violence
From one perspective, the co-occurrence of democratization and civil conflict does not seem surprising. Often, an autocracy with the ability and willingness to sustain itself using military power can only be overcome with brute force. From another perspective, this nexus *is* surprising. As noted by Keane, "violence is anathema to [democracy's] spirit and substance."[4]

Democracy involves an equal dispersion of power in society. This notion of power parity is captured in the democratic catch phrase "one man, one vote", is the core message in the American Declaration of Independence ("...all men are created equal..."), and is the focal point of most theories of democracy. For the democratic citizen, equality of power is an emotionally potent idea. However, understanding the psychology of the democratization-conflict nexus requires a theory that transcends culture and one that does not require that people develop positive attitudes towards the institutions of democracy at an early age. We are interested in understanding if some shared motivations drive people towards fighting for democracy (1) across different cultures, and (2) in societies with an authoritarian regime and an absence of early socialization into democratic institutions. An adaptationist approach—focused on human psychological universals behind cultural-specific practices—provides a starting point.

Why do people fight? According to the psychologist Steven Pinker, violence or aggression has over the evolutionary history of the human species served a host of different adaptive functions and, hence, people fight for a range of different reasons. Specifically, Pinker outlines five

overarching reasons humans have for aggression: (1) predation, (2) revenge, (3) status-seeking, (4) sadism, and (5) ideology.[5] One might think of the democratization-conflict nexus as a reflection of the latter: A conflict over ideology with at least one group fighting for the ideals of democracy such as for power parity. However, the outcome of power parity in processes of democratization is confounded with at least two other outcomes. The transition towards democracy also involves an *increase* in power for the formerly oppressed and a *decrease* in power for the former oppressors. We argue that these other outcomes constitute crucial psychological motivators underpinning the democratization-conflict nexus. A large literature suggests that these motivations naturally spill over into violence. Thus, we suggest that the psychological drivers of violence in the democratization-conflict nexus are less about striving for democracy and more about violent forms of status-seeking and revenge.

The Adaptive Functions of Violence
Revenge motivations are powerful.[6] People may pay to punish an individual who exploited them. In contrast to what one would predict based on rational-choice theory, people even have such a desire for revenge when both they and the exploiter are anonymous (and hence, the punishment cannot deter the other individual from future exploitation). In fact, research has shown that such a desire for revenge is

3. J. H. Barkow, L. Cosmides, and J. Tooby (eds,), *The adapted mind: Evolutionary psychology and the generation of culture* (Oxford, Oxford University Press, 1992); P. Boyer and M. B. Petersen, "The naturalness of (many) social institutions: evolved cognition as their foundation" *Journal of Institutional Economics* 8(01), 1-25.

4. J. C. Keane, *Violence and democracy* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004).

5. S. Pinker, *The Better Angels of Our Nature: Why Violence Has Declined* (New York: Penguin, 2011).

6. T. H. Clutton-Brock and G. A. Parker, "Punishment in animal societies" *Nature*, 373(6511), 209-216; M. E. McCullough, R. Kurzban, and B. A. Tabak, "Cognitive systems for revenge and forgiveness" *Behavioral and Brain Sciences* 36(01), 1-15; M. B. Petersen, A. Sell, J. Tooby, and L. Cosmides, "To punish or repair? Evolutionary psychology and lay intuitions about modern criminal justice" *Evolution and Human Behavior* 33(6), 682-695; R. Ronay and A. D. Galinsky, "Lex talionis: Testosterone and the law of retaliation" *Journal of Experimental Social Psychology*, 47(3), 702-705; A. Sell, J. Tooby, and L. Cosmides, "Formidability and the logic of human anger" *Proceedings of the National Academy of Sciences*, 106(35), 15073-15078.

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not merely a response on a questionnaire, but seems to involve genuine pleasure—as indicated by an increased activity in the brain regions associated with reward.[7]

If we understand revenge as A's imposition of costs on (or withholding of benefits from) B following B's imposition of costs on (or withholding of benefits from) A, revenge is ubiquitous among animal species and across human societies. It serves the crucial function of deterring others from imposing costs upon oneself or individuals in whom one has fitness interests (kin, friends, etc.).[8] If B has imposed costs on A (e.g., via physical aggression) and A did not retaliate with cost imposition on B, A can expect repeated cost imposition in the future—not only from B but also from others observing A and B. Subsequently, if A is constantly targeted with cost imposition, she is disadvantaged against those who are not constantly targeted with cost imposition. Over evolutionary history, thus, organisms who have not responded with cost imposition to cost imposition should have been selected out. As a consequence, we now have animals (including humans) that are hypersensitive to bad treatment and ready to take revenge.

Evolved strategies typically rely on evolved tools. In the case of cost imposition, humans have a large repertoire of responses, including the curtailing of cooperative relationships and withholding expected benefits. Yet, as McCullough et al. note, revenge is "closely linked to violence" and is a cause of many forms of contemporary aggression, including homicides, school shootings, bombings, and terrorist attacks.[9] Thus, while non-violent forms of revenge <u>can be more o</u>ptimal and are often

practiced, it is likely that humans tend to revenge with aggression more readily than other means, in particular, if aggression itself is a cause of revenge.

Aggression, however, can also occur in the absence of prior instances of aggression, and, hence, is not just targeted at previous cost-impositors (or benefit withholders). To understand such forms of more pro-active violence, an understanding of hierarchies and their underlying psychology is required.[10] The animal world is characterized by hierarchies and humans too differ in social status and privileged access to resources. High status is, essentially, a momentarily uncontested access to a higher share of reproductively relevant resources. Therefore, selection pressures likely have shaped human political psychology to search for opportunities to increase social status and guard against events that would lower it.

High status in humans can be achieved in at least three ways. One way is often labeled "prestige" and involves the conferral of benefits (e.g., in the form of specialized knowledge). The second way is often labeled "dominance" and involves threats of cost-imposition, i.e., using costs to incentivize better treatment and privileged resource access. For human males in particular, physical contest seems to have been a crucial way to establish who is dominating whom. The third way towards social status is an extension of the second: Strength can

come from numerical advantage. Most human male dominance competitions are group-based: Males join together in groups to compete for status with rival groups. Consistent with this, psychologists have demonstrated how human males react physiologically and hormonally to changes in status not just for themselves but for the larger group they identify with (see footnote 10).

Dominance- and aggression-based striving for status arises more strongly in males than females and, in particular, in young males. The reason is that status-striving is—in terms of selection pressures—related to mating. Because of differences in parental investment between males and females (the latter invest more and can produce fewer offspring), males compete for opportunities to mate with females and are particularly oriented towards this during life stages in which pair bonds are created.

In sum, these theoretical considerations suggest the following: First, humans are highly attentive to (a) exploitation from others and (b) opportunities for status increase; and, second, humans—in particular, males—react to these situations with aggression-oriented motivations.

Linking Status-seeking and Desire for Revenge with Democratization

How do we link status-seeking and revenge adaptations to the democratization-conflict nexus? We claim that the breakdown of authoritarian regimes and the following political instability provides a fertile ground for the activation of the revenge- and status-oriented motivations. Autocratic states impose severe costs (and withhold benefits) from their ordinary citizens. People are denied access to political institutions, economic resources, and many other objects that they consider they are entitled to (security, freedom of religion, freedom of speech, etc.). In addition, in autocracies, many people suffer from direct violent repression, which includes imprisonment,

7. D. J. De Quervain, U. Fischbacher, V. Treyer, M. Schellhammer, U. Schnyder, A. Buck, and E. Fehr, "The Neural Basis of Altruistic Punishment" *Science* 305(5688), 1254-1258.

8. M. E. McCullough, R. Kurzban, and B. A. Tabak, "Cognitive systems for revenge and forgiveness" *Behavioral and Brain Sciences* 36(01), 4.

9. Ibid. 1.

10. J. Henrich, and F. J. Gil-White, "The evolution of prestige: Freely conferred deference as a mechanism for enhancing the benefits of cultural transmission" *Evolution and Human Behavior* 22(3), 165-196; S. J. Stanton, J.C. Beehner, E. K. Saini, C. M. Kuhn, and K. S. LaBar, "Dominance, politics, and physiology: Voters' testosterone changes on the night of the 2008 United States presidential election" *PLoS One* 4(10), e7543; C. Von Rueden, M. Gurven, and H. Kaplan, "The multiple dimensions of male social status in an Amazonian society" *Evolution and Human Behavior* 29(6), 402-415; J. Sidanius, and F. Pratto, *Social dominance: An intergroup theory of social hierarchy and oppression* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001); M. B. Petersen "Evolutionary Political Psychology" in D. Buss, (ed.), *Handbook of Evolutionary Psychology, 2nd Edition* (Hoboken, NJ: John Wiley & Sons,2015): 1084-1102.

torture, and executions. This implies that authoritarian regimes have large pools of people who suffer severe cost imposition and severe benefit withholding. In other words, dictatorships have large pools of people who have an incentive for revenge.

Why do people not revenge in autocracies? The answer is "because they cannot": Autocratic regimes with extensive security apparatuses are often too formidable to confront. This, however, changes when regimes start to democratize. While democratization is often a gradual process, in some sense, it can be understood as a "shock" to existing dominance hierarchies. In other words, democratization signals that the rulers are not as formidable as they were and that there are now opportunities to impose costs on those who have imposed costs on citizens in the past. This potentially explains the puzzle of why liberalizing regimes so often succumb to civil violence: Even if incumbents introduce political reforms, there may still be a significant proportion of population with grievances from the past. And these people constitute a propitious pool of recruits for those willing to confront the regime—who now have opportunities to do so.

As we suggested above, revenge motivation may not even be necessary for citizens to take up arms against their democratizing regimes. The disruption of hierarchies that follows initial democratization, itself, may generate confrontation—as it constitutes an opportunity for low-status individuals to attaint higher status. Challengers of the status quo may not only confront those with the highest status (i.e., incumbents) but also those that simultaneously compete for power, which can lead to conflict both between opposition and regime and among parties within the opposition. Despite political reforms (which often are induced by external actors) those at the top of dominance hierarchies may also be unwilling to alter the status quo. This can result in "defensive" violence against the

challengers of the status quo, motivating them, in turn, to retaliate in kind.

In this perspective, the psychological underpinnings of the democratization-conflict nexus is not necessarily the attainment of an egalitarian society that conforms to the textbook examples of Western democracies but simply the decrease in power of former oppressive groups and the increase in power of formerly oppressed groups. And in such contexts, violence is a behavioral tendency that facilitates these outcomes. These arguments imply that eruption of violence during the transition away from autocracy is not a pathology or a reflection of an anomie but the unfolding of universal psychological motivations.

A Way Forward to Novel Insights?
By shifting focusing to the psychological motivations for violence, we not only aim to facilitate interdisciplinary synthesis but also generate novel hypotheses. Based on the discussion above, we can formulate preliminary expectations on what we should observe in cases of co-occurring conflict and democratization. If autocratic regimes impose direct costs on (via repression) and withhold benefits from (via exclusion) their citizens, and if this generates desire for revenge, then democratizing regimes that have a history of repression should have higher risk of civil conflict than democratizing regimes without history of repression. In fact, our preliminary analysis of cross-national data suggests that mass campaigns are more likely to be violent in countries that have exercised repression in the past. Moreover, we find significant interaction between history of repression and democratization in predicting civil conflict, which suggests that democratization constitutes a hitherto absent opportunity for people to impose costs on regimes that have imposed costs on them in the past.[11]

11. These findings are based on standard country-year logit (or multinomial logit) regressions and conventional data sources such as the UCDP/PRIO

Assessing individual-level predictions at the cross-national level, however, is not our ultimate aim. Instead, the aim is to identify whether individuals who have experienced or observed repression in the past are more likely to take part in or support violent action against their regimes, once these regimes begin to democratize. This would provide more direct evidence for revenge motivations contributing to the democratization-conflict nexus, and potentially explain the puzzle of why people fight governments when they begin to liberalize.

As mentioned above, a desire for revenge may not be necessary for people to rise against their regimes. If political openness in itself constitutes an opportunity for people to improve their status, and if this creates a motivation to confront the regime, then we should observe low-status individuals constituting a significant proportion of opposition ranks confronting regimes.[12] More specifically, if democratization leads to conflict by generating opportunities for low-status individuals to gain power, and not because of opportunities for all individuals to attain equal power, then we should observe that cues indicating attainment of *more* power for the challengers of the status quo serve as stronger mobilizing agents than cues indicating attainment of *equal* power for all. In this regard, rumors and propaganda are likely important. The spread of negative, dehumanizing rumors and propaganda about other groups have been viewed as important precursors of the onset of violence.[13] Hence, we might observe that propaganda specifically aimed at eliciting status-seeking ("we do armed conflict or NAVCO datasets. Full description of the analyses and data sources is available from the authors.

12. Indeed, there is cross- and sub-national evidence suggesting that countries with low-status groups have higher risk of civil conflict. See, for example, Lars-Erik Cederman, Kristian Skrede Gleditsch, and Halvard Buhaug, *Inequality, grievances, and civil war* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2013).

13. Donald L. Horowitz, T*he deadly ethnic riot* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2001).

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not have the position we deserve") rather than democracy ("equal access to political power for all") should be a more powerful mobilizing cue.

Our hope is that a deeper understanding of psychological underpinnings of the nexus will allow specifying *for whom* and *when* democratization processes turn violent. In addition to illuminating how status-seeking and revenge contribute to political violence, the adaptationist approach may also help synthesize the many discoveries in the literature on political violence.

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a classical literature which was premised on the notion that by interrogating the past – particularly the empirical universe of early modern Europe – it would be possible to glean general insights about the causes such conflicts.[3]

Against this background, I present a number of arguments for why a historical perspective on the conflict-regime nexus is likely to advance research. The premise of these arguments is a simple one: that the aim of social science is not simply to elucidate the present but to generate broad theories that advance knowledge. My arguments for why historical analysis is relevant for those interested in probing the conflict-regime nexus can be summarized in three points: what I will term the problem of truncated samples, generic challenges in state-building, and the long shadow of the past. The examples I use mainly come from *early modern Europe*, that is, from the universe that used to be at the center of the study of internal conflicts but has been largely ignored in recent decades. But they are meant to make a more general case for the relevance of going historical in studies of the civil conflict-regime nexus.

The Problem of Truncated Samples

To probe the effect of explanatory factors, we need variation. One of the merits of solely analyzing short, contemporary periods, the ability to treat a number of potentially relevant variables as constants, is therefore also a liability. For instance, scholars have

convincingly shown that a genuine test of the causal effects of modernization on democratization requires analyzing long time periods. The point here is two-fold. First, causal relationships can be suppressed in some time periods, for instance during the Cold War's superpower rivalry. Second, some of the effect of e.g. modernization might be included in the baseline if the analysis starts too "late," thereby hiding the effect.[4]

Of particular relevance to the study of the conflict-regime nexus is the idea that the international order might suppress or alternatively bolster the effects of certain "domestic" causes. There is today a big literature on how international influences and domestic conditions interact. It is rather obvious that such interactions are likely to affect both internal conflict and democratization.[5] For this reason, it is problematical that much of what we know about empirical dynamics of civil conflicts and regime change is based on large-N analysis of what are probably two highly biased samples with respect to international influences, namely the Cold War (1949-1989) and the post-Cold War period (1991-). The first sample features a highly idiosyncratic superpower rivalry which is likely to have influenced power-relationships between central governments and rebel groups in many developing countries. The second sample features an equally idiosyncratic

normative and foreign policy pressure for democratization which may, for example, have made violent seizures of power more difficult than the historical norm. More generally, the entire post-1945 period has been one where the 'international society' has broadly guaranteed state borders, making it *very* difficult for regions to secede and *extremely* difficult to secede in order to become part of another, already existing state. For this reason, international influences are apt to have suppressed causes affecting secession in this period.

The international order is not the only variable of concern, though it serves as my main example here. The more general problem is that the contemporary focus might, inadvertently, produce heavily truncated samples which hamper the extent to which the findings can be generalized. An unchecked assumption that the causes of civil wars or regime change are always the same is unconvincing. Only by including data from longer periods, where there is variation on variables potentially interacting with the factors analyzed, can we more genuinely probe the causes of civil conflicts. Notice in this connection that the very notion of unit homogeneity, on which so many statistical methods relies, implies an acceptance of repetition in history. Though this assumption is likely to break down when we expand the periods under study, we are often able to deal with this by testing whether contextual factors condition relationships in different periods, something that is hidden to the eye of those who only analyzes delimited time periods. That is, we can always "convert context to cause", e.g. via dummy variables measuring certain periods.[6]

3. E.g. James C. Davies, "Toward a theory of revolution" *American Sociological Review* (1962): 5-19; Ted Robert Gurr, *Why men rebel* (Princeton: Published for the Center of International, 1970); Theda Skocpol, *States and Social Revolutions: A Comparative Analysis of France, Russia and China* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1979); Perez Zagorin, *Rebels and rulers, 1500-1660* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1982); Charles Tilly, *The Vendee* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1964); Charles Tilly, *Coercion, Capital and European States, Ad 990-1992* (Oxford: Blackwell Publishers, 1990).

4. Carles Boix, "Democracy, Development, and the International System" *International Political Science Review* 105 (2011): 809-828; Carles Boix and Susan Stokes, "Endogenous Democratization" *World Politics* 55 (2003): 517-549. See also Thad Dunning, "Conditioning the effects of aid: Cold War politics, donor credibility, and democracy in Africa" *International Organization* 58 (2004): 409-423.

5. See Jørgen Møller, Svend-Erik Skaaning and Jakob Tolstrup, "International Influences and Democratic Regression in Interwar Europe: Disentangling the Impact of Power Politics and Demonstration Effects" *Government & Opposition* (online first). See, e.g., Abel Escribà-Folch, "Economic sanctions and the duration of civil conflicts" *Journal of Peace Research* 47 (2010): 129-141.

6. Ruth Berins Collier and Sebastián Mazzuca, "Does history repeat?" *The Oxford Handbook of Contextual Political Analysis* (2006): 482-3; Wimmer (2012): 10.

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Generic Challenges in State-Building

The notion – so prominent in the works of an earlier generation of students working on the civil conflict-regime nexus – that the European past may contain developments that are in some ways similar to what we see outside of Europe today contains at least a kernel of truth. Most important for our purposes, a number of aspects of state-building processes are likely to repeat themselves in different contexts, even across longer periods of time. One way of thinking about this is on the basis of causal mechanisms. Studying historical developments we often try to glean what Jon Elster has termed 'exportable mechanism', i.e., mechanisms that operate in different contexts.

An important insight of scholars working with mechanisms that are relevant for the conflict-regime nexus is that they are likely to have different effects depending on the context. To illustrate, we can turn to a mechanism that goes to the very heart of the regime-conflict nexus, namely what Tilly terms the "extraction-resistance-settlement cycle."[7] This is the most important mechanism identified by the voluminous literature on early modern European state-building. To understand how it works recall that the dominant challenge facing any would-be state-builders is this: How to centralize power in a situation where it is initially fragmented?

This was exactly the challenge facing early modern European state-builders. There is wide consensus that this episode of state-building – which after many twists and turns was to produce the modern, territorial state – was unleashed by the so-called "military revolution" between 1560 and 1560. In the centuries following the military revolution, European state-builders struggled with a host of strong corporate groups and "medieval" political institutions which resisted reforms that would strengthen the power of the center at the expense of the power residing in localities and among privileged groups. The attempt to increase state power and autocratize political regimes in order to mobilize the economy for warfare therefore sparked repeated bouts of internal conflicts.

The big difference to the contemporary world lies in the absence, today, of a similar external pressure unleashed by the persistent threat of war. This of course means that state-builders face different incentives. Nonetheless, they often operate in contexts that are strikingly similar with respect to the weakness of central power and the presence of fragmented power structures, often anchored at local levels.[8] Another similarity is the fundamental lack of allegiance to the political unit which follows from the fact that modern nation-building has not been successful. In this situation, any attempt to increase the sway of central power is likely to spark local grievances that are similar to those we find in early modern Europe.

For this reason, the European past is well-placed to elucidate these processes, which are ongoing in Africa, Asia, and Latin America as states are being built. The past will not repeat itself as such but many of the dynamics of bottom-up resistance against state-building have analogies in the past. Here, it is also worth noting that Western European countries eventually reached a degree of political and administrative centralization where state-building no longer sparked internal violence; indeed, where it arguably worked to further pacify societies.[9] One possibility is that this state-building result is only likely in a particular context, even though the mechanisms producing it are likely to repeat themselves today. That is, the absence of the kind of external threat that characterized early modern Europe might mean that regional elites are better able to resist the designs of state-builders – and, consequently, that state-building is unlikely to produce the concentration of political and administrative power which was necessary to pacify societies in Europe. Only by contrasting past and present is it possible to understand why the "extraction-resistance-settlement cycle" might have different consequences in today's developing countries than in the European past.

The Long Shadow of the Past

The final reason for turning to history is probably the least controversial one. History often cast long shadows, which we need to understand in order to fully comprehend present dynamics and future possibilities. A very simple point here is that many developments take a long time to unfold, meaning that they only come clearly into view when scrutinizing longer periods. But more important is the standard insight of the path dependency perspective: That the effects of certain variables can be temporally lagged.

Accordingly, both internal conflict and regime change might have deep

7. Charles Tilly, "Why and How History Matters" *The Oxford Handbook of Contextual Political Analysis* (2006): 422-423.

8. Geoffrey Parker, *The Military Revolution: Military Innovation and the Rise of the West, 1500–1800* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996 [1988]); Brian M. Downing, *The Military Revolution and Political Change: Origins of Democracy and Autocracy in Early Modern Europe* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1992); see also Zagorin (1982); Tilly (1990); Stephen Krasner, "The Case for Shared Sovereignty" *Journal of Democracy* 16 (2005): 69-83; Jeffrey Herbst, *States and power in Africa: Comparative lessons in authority and control* (Princeton University Press, 2000); Miguel A. Centeno, *Blood and debt: War and the nation-state in Latin America* (Penn State Press, 2003).

9. Tilly (1990); Edgar Kiser and April Linton, "The Hinges of History: State-making and Revolt in Early Modern France", American Sociological Review (2002): 889-910.

"historical roots."[10] For instance, it can hardly be a coincidence that what may historically have been the region most probe to internal conflict, Western and Central Europe, has been a zone of internal peace since 1945. This probably has much to do with the large-scale experience of state-building after 1500, mentioned above, as well as the concomitant socio-economic modernization process. State-building served to pacify European societies by increasing the sway of central power and decreasing the potential resistance of the corporate locales described above. In the longer run, it also provided an institutional setting that has served to stabilize democracy. Meanwhile, modernization has contributed to internal pacification both directly by creating more equal and affluent societies and indirectly by fostering conditions for consolidated democracy. Finally, the devastating experience of the two world wars might also have had a direct effect, immunizing elites and masses against the lure of warfare and the lure of dictatorship.

Going further back, it seems obvious that the European processes of state building and regime change which have been touched upon above were themselves shaped by deeper factors, the origins of which lie in medieval Europa. Only by understanding this *point de départ* – as Tocqueville would have it – is it possible to understand European patterns of state-building and democratization. We can also adduce examples from other regions. For instance, scholars have argued that deeper legacies of state *de*formation have impacted patterns of internal conflict in Sub-Saharan Africa after decolonization.[11] The point here

is that an inauspicious legacy of state formation can foster conflict today.

More generally, historical legacies can constrain contemporary actors in a number of different ways. Most important are probably structural constraints, such as the extent to which decentralized power structures have given way to centralized ones, the extent to which the state has created at least some measure of ethno-linguistic or religious homogeneity, and the extent to which state-formation has been conducive to socio-economic development, including both sustained economic growth and mass education. But legacies also affect actors in more immaterial ways. For instance, they enable actors to reinvent past achievements. Sometimes, they even affect the attitudes and identities of actors. We need to understand these shadows of the past to genuinely be able to explain contemporary patterns of internal conflict and regime change.

Advancing Knowledge via Historical Analysis
We should not foster any illusions about the extent to which history can inform us about the present. Researchers working on the civil conflict-regime nexus should not repeat the failure of the modernization theorists of the 1950s who assumed that today's developing countries were the developed countries of the past.

That said, historical analysis of the conflict-regime nexus offers a series of advantages. Three have been emphasized in this short piece. First, a number of relevant explanatory factors have basically been constants for much of the period after 1945. The upshot of this

that many recent analyses of internal conflict and regime change in effect operate with truncated samples and that many findings might reflect a context where important causal relationships are suppressed due to a particular set of scope conditions. Only by enlisting historical variation is it possible to empirically remove these scope conditions and genuinely test causal relationships. Second, a number of aspects of especially state-building (but to a lesser extent also regime change) are generic, meaning that state-builders face similar challenges today as in the past. Though the context differs – similarity does not imply sameness as Giovanni Sartori might have put it – past responses to these challenges might tell us a lot about the mechanisms through which state-building stokes political contention in today's developing countries. Third, historical legacies constrain present-day dynamics. Often these legacies are invisible to the eye that only studies contemporary processes.

More generally, I have argued that historical data are needed to develop and apply the kind of broad theories that genuinely advance knowledge. The past – particularly early modern Europe – can be likened to a quarry which social scientists interested in the causes of internal conflict and regime change would do well to start mining. This should not occur at the expense of the powerful quantitative analyses of the post-1945 period but it can serve to complement this literature in a number of important ways.

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10. Fearon and Laitin (2014). See also Tilly (1975; 1990).
11. Herbst (2000); Besley and Reynal-Querol (2014); Mark Dincecco, James E. Fenske and Massimiliano Gaetano Onorato, "Is Africa different? Historical

conflict and State development." *Historical Conflict and State Development,* unpublished manuscript (2014). More generally, see Jørgen Møller, "The Medieval Roots of Democracy" *Journal of Democracy* 26.3 (2015): 110-123.

Section News

NEWS FROM MEMBERS

Claire Adidia is now associate professor of political science at University of California, San Diego. She published "The Spousal Bump: Do Cross-Ethnic Marriages Increase Support in Multiethnic Democracies?" with Nathan Combes, Adeline Lo, and Alex Verink in the April 2016 issue of *Comparative Political Studies*. The article explores the extent to which African political candidates may attract voters across varying ethnicities by appealing to a coethnic bond employed through their spouse.

Inken von Borzyskowski, assistant professor of political science, Florida State University, published "Resisting Democracy Assistance: Who Seeks and Receives Technical Election Assistance?" in the June 2016 issue of the *Review of International Organizations*. The article explores the different incentives which drive domestic and international actors to seek or receive technical election assistance.

Von Vorzyskowski is the recipient of the Peace Studies Section of the International Studies Association and the US Institute of Peace's first Peace Dissertation Prize for "A Double-Edged Sword: The Effects of International Assistance on Election Violence," which is currently being revised into a book manuscript; and the recipient of the 2015 Best Paper Prize of the European Consortium for Political Research's Comparative Political Institutions Standing Group for "Trust Us: Technical Election Assistance and Post-Election Violence."

Paul Carnegie will begin a new appointment as associate professor of political science at The University of the South Pacific, Fiji beginning in July.

Javier Corrales, Dwight W. Morrow 1895 Professor of Political Science, Amherst College, recently published his 2015 policy report for University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill's LGBT Representation and Rights Initiative entitled "LGBT Rights and Representation in Latin America and the Caribbean" in Spanish. His April 2015 *Journal of Democracy* article, "Autocratic Legalism in Venezuela" was reprinted in *Authoritarianism Goes Global* (Johns Hopkins University Press, 2016), edited by **Larry Diamond,** professor of political science and sociology, Stanford University; **Marc F. Plattner,** co-editor of the *Journal of Democracy,* National Endowment for Democracy; and **Christopher Walker,** vice president for studies and analysis, National Endowment for Democracy.

Arolda Elbasani, associate researcher, European University Institute, and New York-based independent consultant, published "State-organised Religion and Muslims' Commitment to Democracy in Albania" in the March 2016 issue of *Europe-Asia Studies*, in which she discusses the factors contributing to the Albanian Muslims' commitment to a pro-democratic, pro-European society.

Elbasani also published "Islam in the Post-Communist Balkans: Alternative Pathways to God" with **Olivier Roy,** chair in Mediterranean studies, European University Institute, in the December 2015 issue of *Southeast European and Black Sea Studies*. The article explores the emerging actors and mechanisms that trigger the bifurcation between Islam as a marker of national identity, on the one hand, and a source of religious beliefs, on the other.

John P. Entelis, professor of political science, Fordham University, published "Crafting Democracy: Political Learning as a Precondition for Sustainable Development in the Maghreb" in *What is Enlightenment? Continuity or Rupture in the Wake of the Arab Uprisings* (Lexington Books, 2016). In his chapter, Entelis argues that the absence of a democratic political culture virtually guarantees that authoritarian governance will be the default style in the Arab world more generally and North Africa more specifically.

Benjamin Goldfrank, associate professor and chair of diplomacy and international relations, Seton Hall University, is the recipient of the 2016 University Teacher of the Year Award.

Stephen E. Gottlieb, Jay and Ruth Caplan Distinguished Professor of Law, Albany Law School, published *Unfit for Democracy: The Roberts Court and the Breakdown of American Politics* (New York University Press, 2016). The book promotes a criticism of the Roberts court based on a comparison of political science literature on the breakdown of democracy and constitutional courts in Germany, Canada, India, South Africa, and the European Court of Human Rights.

Henry E. Hale, professor of political science and international affairs, George Washington University, contributed the chapters "Rallying 'Round the Leader More than the Flag: Changes in Russian Nationalist Public Opinion, 2013-2014" and How Nationalism and Machine Politics Mix in Russia" in *The New Russian Nationalism: Imperialism, Ethnicity, Authoritarianism, 2000–2015* (Edinburgh University Press, 2016). He also published "The Nemtsov Vote: Public Opinion and Pro-Western Liberalism's Decline in Russia" in the Winter 2016 *Demokratizatsiya: The Journal of Post-Soviet Democratization.* He was also recently awarded a 2016 Reagan-Fascell Democracy Fellowship at the National Endowment for Democracy.

Donald L. Horowitz, James B. Duke Professor of Law and Political Science Emeritus, Duke University, and senior fellow, International Forum for Democratic Studies, was recently appointed to the Board of Directors of the National Endowment for Democracy.

Matthew C. Ingram, assistant professor of political science, University at Albany, recently published *Crafting Courts in New Democracies: The Politics of Subnational Judicial Reform in Brazil and Mexico* (Cambridge

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University Press, 2016), where he explores the influence of political ideas in reforming the local courts of Brazil and Mexico.

Ingram also published "Mandates, Geography, and Networks: Diffusion of Criminal Procedure Reform in Mexico" in the Spring 2016 *Latin American Politics & Society,* where he suggests that federal mandates, the states' spatial proximity, and political network affinities determine the rate at which a state reforms policy.

Mohammad Ali Kadivar, PhD candidate of Sociology, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill, published "Disruptive Democratization: Contentious Events and Liberalizing Outcomes Globally, 1990-2004" with Neal Caren in the March 2016 issue of *Social Forces.* The article undertakes a global survey of 103 non-democratic countries from 1990 to 2004 to find that protests and riots increase the probability that a country will liberalize in a given month.

Yuta Kamahara, assistant professor of urban innovation, Yokohama National University, and **Yuko Kasuya,** visiting scholar, Stanford University and associate professor of law, Keio University, copublished "Legislative Malapportionment in Asia" in *Building Inclusive Democracies in ASEAN* (Anvil Publishing, 2015).

Ekrem Karakoç, assistant professor of political science, Binghamton University, coauthored "Minorities in the Middle East: Ethnicity, Religion, and Support for Authoritarianism" with Ceren Belge in the June 2015 issue of *Political Research Quarterly.* The article discusses the levels of support of Middle Eastern minorities for autocratic governance, positing that those whose status is threatened by a transition to majoritarian decision-making institutions are less likely to be supportive of democratization.

Maria Koinova, reader in international

relations, Warwick University and principal investigator, European Research Council Starting Grant "Diasporas and Contested Sovereignty," copublished "Diasporas and Transitional Justice: Transnational Activism from Local to Global Levels of Engagement," with Dzeneta Karabegovic, available online May 2, 2016 in *Global Networks.*

Koinova has also issued a call for papers for a fall 2016 conference, "Unpacking the Sending State: Regimes, Institutions, and non-State Actors in Diaspora & Emigration Politics." The focus of this workshop will be on the role of political regimes in international migration politics in regards to issues of statehood, conflicts and security, democratization, authoritarianism, political economy, and political geography. If you would like to be considered for an invitation to this conference, send an abstract and an updated, one-page CV to m.koinova@warwick.ac.uk or gt16@soas.ac.uk by June 15, 2016. More information regarding the Diasporas and Contested Sovereignty project may be found at http://www2.warwick.ac.uk/fac/soc/pais/research/researchcentres/cpd/diasporas.

Joanna Didi Kuo, research associate of American democracy in a comparative perspective, Stanford University, and **Jan Teorell,** professor of political science, Lund University, copublished "Illicit Tactics as Substitutes: Election Fraud, Ballot Reform and Contested Congressional Elections in the United States, 1860-1930" in the forthcoming issue of *Comparative Political Studies.*

Carl LeVan is now associate professor of international service at American University.

Ellen Lust, professor of political science, University of Gothenburg, copublished "The Decline and Fall of the Arab State" with Ariel I. Ahram in the April 2016 issue of Survival: Global Politics and Strategy. The article argues that global changes in the

nature of sovereignty made the malaise of Arab states possible, despite being triggered by domestic battles. She also published a new edition of her textbook**,** *The Middle East, 14th Edition* (Sage Press, 2016). She extends her thanks to a great set of collaborators.

Cas Mudde, associate professor of international affairs, University of Georgia, has become co-editor of the *European Journal of Political Research (EJPR),* the flagship journal of the European Consortium of Political Research. He is also now researcher in the Center for Research on Extremism (C-REX) at the University of Oslo in Norway. He recently published *On Extremism and Democracy in Europe* (Routledge, 2016).

Jennifer Brick Murtazashvili, assistant professor of international affairs, University of Pittsburgh, recently published *Informal Order and the State in Afghanistan* (Cambridge University Press, 2016), which explores the rules governing the largely autonomous and customary organizations maintaining the political order in rural Afghanistan to explain how they can provide public goods.

Murtazashvili also published several recent articles including "Establishing Local Government in Fragile States: Experimental Evidence from Afghanistan" with Torsten Jochem and Ilia Murtazashvili in the January 2016 issue of *World Development;* "Social Identity and Voting in Afghanistan: Evidence from a Survey Experiment" also with Torsten Jochem and Ilia Murtazashvili in the Spring 2015 issue of *Journal of Experimental Political Science***;** and "Afghanistan: A Vicious Cycle of State Failure" in the April 2016 issue of *Governance***.**

Monika Nalepa, associate professor of political science, University of Chicago, published "Party Institutionalization and Legislative Organization: The Evolution of Agenda Power in the Polish Parliament"

in the April 2016 issue of *The Journal of Comparative Politics.* The article uses quantitative analysis of roll call votes and bills to examine two aspects of party influence: negative agenda control and legislative success.

Julio Ríos-Figueroa, professor of political science, CIDE, will publish his forthcoming book *Constitutional Courts as Mediators: Armed Conflict, Civil-Military Relations, and the Rule of Law in Latin America* (Cambridge University Press, 2016). The book proposes a theory of constitutional review in which constitutional courts obtain, process, and transmit information to parties in a way that reduces the uncertainty causing their conflict.

Sharon Rivera, associate professor of government, Hamilton College, published "Nemtsov and Democracy in Nizhny Novgorod" in the Winter 2016 *Demokratizatsiya: The Journal of Post-Soviet Democratization,* in which she reflects on slain Russian opposition leader Boris Nemtsov's legacy as governor of Nizhny Novgorod in the immediate aftermath of communism's collapse.

Rivera also published "Is Russia Too Unique to Learn from Abroad? Elite Attitudes on Foreign Borrowing and the West, 1993-2012" in the January 2016 *Sravnitel'naya Politika.* The article demonstrates that Russian elites are still surprisingly willing to adopt political and economic models from the West despite a sharp rise in anti-Western sentiments emanating from the Kremlin over the past decade.

Ben Ross Schneider, Ford International Professor of Political Science, Massachusetts Institute of Technology, published his book, *New Order and Progress: Development and Democracy in Brazil* (Oxford University Press, 2016). Focusing on Brazil's development strategy, governance, social change and political representation, the book offers a sobering insight into why Brazil has not

been the rising economic star of the BRICS that many predicted it would be, but also documents the gains that Brazil has made toward greater equality and stability.

Edward Schneier, Professor Emeritus of Political Science, The City College of New York, published *Muslim Democracy: Politics, Religion, and Society in Indonesia, Turkey and the Islamic World* (Routledge, 2016). Using case studies and statistical comparisons of forty-seven Muslim-majority countries and their regional counterparts, the book demonstrates that religion is more the tool than the engine of politics and that the so-called democratic deficit of the Islamic world is largely illusory.

Erica S. Simmons, assistant professor of political science and international studies, University of Wisconsin, Madison, recently published *Meaningful Resistance: Market Reforms and the Roots of Social Protest in Latin America* (Cambridge University Press, 2016). The book explores the origins and dynamics of resistance to markets through an examination of two social movements that emerged to voice and channel opposition to market reforms: the protests against water privatization in Cochabama, Bolivia and the protests against the rising corn prices in Mexico City, Mexico.

David S. Siroky, assistant professor of political science and global studies, Arizona State University, copublished "Judgement Without Justice: On the Efficacy of the European Human Rights Regime," with Petra Guasti and Daniel Stockemer, available online March 22, 2016, in *Democratization.* The article assesses the effectiveness of the European Court of Human Rights in protecting human rights throughout the Council of Europe.

Siroky also coauthored "Cultural Legacies and Political Preferences: the Failure of Separatism in the Swiss Jura" with Sean Mueller and Michael Hecter, available online December 21, 2015, in the *European Political*

Science Review; "Ethnicity, Class and Civil War: The Role of Hierarchy, Segmentation and Crosscutting Cleavages" with Michael Hecter in the January 2016 issue of *Civil War;* "Comparing Random Forest with Logistic Regression for Predicting Class-Imbalanced Civil War Onset Data" with David Muchlinski, Jingrui He, and Matthew Kocher in the Winter 2016 *Political Analysis;* and "E Pluribus Unum? Ethnicity, Islam and the Construction of Identity in Azerbaijan" with Ceyhun Mahmudlu in the March 2016 *Problems of Post-Communism.*

Etel Solingen, Thomas T. and Elizabeth C. Tierney Chair in Peace and Conflict Studies, University of California, Irvine, published "Globalization, Domestic Politics, and Regionalism," with Joshua Malnight in the *Oxford Handbook of Comparative Regionalism* (Oxford University Press, 2016), in which they analyze regional orders along a conflict/cooperation spectrum.

Solingen also published "Critical Junctures, Developmental Pathways, and Incremental Change in Security Institutions," with Wilfred Wan in *The Oxford Handbook of Historical Institutionalism* (Oxford University Press, 2016), in which they analyze the sources of resistance to historical institutionalism in security studies as applied to the divergent regional security paths in East Asia and the Middle East and the evolution of the nuclear non-proliferation regime.

Güneş Murat Tezcür, Jalal Talabani Chair of Kurdish Political Studies, University of Central Florida, published "Ordinary People, Extraordinary Risks: Joining an Ethnic Rebellion" in the May 2016 *American Political Science Review.* The article, combining one of the most comprehensive datasets about insurgent recruitment with extensive fieldwork, suggests that the decision to rebel is as much political as economic and social. The findings explain the durability of insurgencies with limited economic resources.

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Tariq Thachil is now the Peter Strauss Family Assistant Professor of Political Science at Yale University. He will join Vanderbilt University as associate professor of political science in August 2016. His book, *Elite Parties, Poor Voters: How Social Services Win Votes in India* (Cambridge, 2014), won the 2015 Gregory Luebbert Prize for best book in comparative politics, the 2015 Leon Epstein Prize for best book on political parties, and the 2015 Gaddis Smith Prize for best first book on an international subject by a member of the Yale faculty.

Milada Anna Vachudova, associate professor of political science, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill, was awarded the Jean Monnet Chair in European Union Studies.

Matthew S. Winters, associate professor of political science, University of Illinois, Urbana-Champaign, copublished "Foreign Aid and Government Legitimacy" with Simone Dietrich in the December 2015 *Journal of Experimental Political Science*, in which they find no evidence supporting the theory that foreign aid flows may undermine government legitimacy in the eyes of its citizens in aid-receiving countries. He also published "Governance Obstacles to Geothermal Energy Development in Indonesia" with Matthew Cawvey in the April 2015 *Journal of Current Southeast Asian Affairs.*

Winters is the recipient of the Council on Foreign Relations/Hitachi International Affairs Fellowship, allowing him to spend the fall 2016 with the National Graduate Institute for Policy Studies (GRIPS) in Tokyo. He will be working on a project studying the Japanese use of foreign aid for the purposes of public diplomacy.

Jong-Sung You, senior lecturer of political and social change, Australian National University, published *Democracy, Inequality and Corruption: Korea, Taiwan and the Philippines Compared* (Cambridge University Press, 2015). The book explores how inequality increases electoral clientelism, bureaucratic patronage, and elite capture through a comparative historical investigation of the three East Asian countries as well as cross-national quantitative analysis.

New Research

Journal of Democracy
The July 2016 (Vol. 27, no. 3) *Journal of Democracy* features clusters of articles on "The Danger of Deconsolidation," "The Struggle Over Term Limits in Africa," and "Delegative Democracy Revisited," as well as a number of individual articles and case studies.

The Danger of Deconsolidation
1. "The Democratic Disconnect" by Roberto Stefan Foa and Yascha Mounk
Is democratic deconsolidation underway in the United States and Europe? In recent years, support for democracy, especially among millennials, has been dwindling in a number of established democracies.

II. "How Much Should We Worry?" by Ronald F. Inglehart
The evidence presented by Foa and Mounk is troubling, but it does not mean that democracy is now in long-term decline.

"25 Years After the USSR: What's Gone Wrong?" by Henry E. Hale
A quarter-century after the Soviet breakup, democracy has hardly fared well across the vast Eurasian landmass. Why has this seemingly promising gain for freedom produced such disappointing results?

The Struggle Over Terms Limits in Africa
I. "How International Pressure Can Help" by Brett L. Carter
The interplay between elections, popular protests, and international pressures has a profound effect on the behavior of African autocrats and their ability to stay in power even after their time is up.

II. "The Power of Protest" by Janette Yearwood
As more and more African presidents attempt to remove or circumvent constitutional term limits, African populations increasingly are mobilizing en masse, at great risk, to defend their constitutions.

III. "A New Look at the Evidence" by Filip Reyntjens
There is strong empirical evidence to support the correlation between effective term limits and the quality of democracy.

"The Assault on Postcommunist Courts" by Bojan Bugaric and Tom Ginsburg
A number of countries in East-Central Europe are facing a grave crisis of constitutional democracy. As their governments seek to undermine the institutional limits on their power, constitutional courts have become a central target.

"Xi Jinping's Maoist Revival" by Suisheng Zhao
Far from being a reformer, as some had hoped, President Xi Jinping has launched the most sweeping ideological campaign seen in China since Mao. Xi is mixing nationalism, Leninism, and Maoism in ways that he hopes will cement continued one-party Communist rule.

Delegative Democracy Revisited
To what extent can the concept of delegative democracy developed by Guillermo O'Donnell two decades ago be useful in analyzing the problems confronting democracy in Latin America today?

I. "More Inclusion, Less Liberalism in Bolivia" by Santiago Anria
II. "Ecuador Under Correa" by Catherine M. Conaghan
III. "Brazil's Accountability Paradox" by Frances Hagopian
IV. "Chile's Crisis of Representation" by Juan Pablo Luna

V. "Colombia's Surprising Resilience" by Lindsay R. Mayka

VI. "Peru Since Fujimori" by Alberto Vergara and Aaron Watanabe

VII. "Latin America's Problems of Success" by Juan Pablo Luna and Alberto Vergara

"Shadows in the Swiss Paradise" by Clive H. Church and Adrian Vatter

Long a standout example of consensus-based politics, prosperous Switzerland has now become a mixed democracy with a good deal of polarization and uncertain prospects.

The April 2016 (Vol. 27, no. 2) *Journal of Democracy* features clusters of articles on "Latin America's New Turbulence" and "Burma Votes for Change," as well as individual articles on the Chinese middle class, Turkey, and subnational democracy.

"The Puzzle of the Chinese Middle Class" by Andrew J. Nathan

Seymour Martin Lipset argued that economic development would enlarge the middle class, and that the middle class would support democracy. To what extent will this general proposition prove true of China?

Latin America's New Turbulence

I. "Can Democracy Win in Venezuela?" by Benigo Alarcon, Angel E. Alverez, and Manuel Hidalgo

Venezuela's competitive authoritarian regime now confronts a highly mobilized opposition with a large majority in the legislature. What are the prospects for successful democratic change amidst a deteriorating security situation and an economy in freefall?

II. "The End of the Kirchner Era" by Noam Lupu

With a skillfully conveyed message of managerial competence and an electorate disenchanted by a floundering economy and the outgoing incumbent's confrontational style, Mauricio Macri demonstrated that a non-Peronist can win Argentina's presidency.

III. "Crisis and Integrity in Brazil" by Marcus Andre Melo

Public anger at revelations of widespread corruption, along with the rising cost of coalition politics, has brought Brazilian president Dilma Rousseff to the brink of impeachment. Yet the crisis has also revealed the strength of the country's law-enforcement and judicial institutions.

IV. "Mexico's Stalled Reforms" by Gustavo A. Flores-Macias

The long-ruling PRI staged a comeback in 2012 behind a young president touting a reformist agenda, but Enrique Pena Nieto's early successes have been eclipsed by government underperformance and a continued failure to restore public security.

V. "Trouble in the 'Northern Triangle'" by Forrest D. Colburn and Arturo Cruz S.

Guatemala, Honduras, and El Salvador are weighed down by high crime, sluggish economies, and heavy reliance on remittances. And when significant political change has taken place, it has results in frightening political fragmentation.

The Freedom House Survey for 2015

"Anxious Dictators, Wavering Democracies" by Arch Puddington and Tyler Roylance

In 2015, the tenth consecutive year of decline in global freedom, the world was battered by overlapping crisis, spurring harsh authoritarian crack-downs and revealing the leading democracies' lack of conviction.

Burma Votes for Change

I. "The Challenges Ahead" by Igor Blazevic

Aung San Suu Kyi's National League for Democracy swept Burma's November 2015 elections. Will the new NLD-led government be able to live up to high expectations that it will deliver better governance, national reconciliation, and some form of federalism?

II. "The New Configuration of Power" by Min Zin

Even though Burma's military seems to have accepted the NLD's stunning election victory, it can still use an array of constitutional provisions to hamstring the incoming NLD government.

III. "Clashing Attitudes Toward Democracy" by Bridget Welsh, Kai-Ping Huang, and Yun-han Chu

What does public opinion tell us about Burma's longer-term prospects for democracy? The Asian Barometer Survey reveals contradictory attitudes regarding democracy and democratic values among the citizens of Burma.

"Turkey's Two Elections: The AKP Comes Back" by Ziya Onis

In power since 2002, the Justice and Development Party (AKP) of Recep Tayyip Erdogan seemed as if it might be losing its hold when Turkish voters went to the polls in June 2015. Yet that "hung election" gave way to another contest in November, and the AKP came roaring back.

"The Struggle for Subnational Democracy" by Jacqueline Behrend and Laurence Whitehead

Ten of the world's twelve largest countries are "electoral democracies." Yet a look at politics beneath the national level reveals patterns of illiberalism that mark out a new frontier for democratic research and activism.

Democratization (Volume 23, no. 5, 2016)

"Gravity Centres of Authoritarian Rule: A Conceptual Approach" by Marianne Kneuer and Thomas Demmelhuber

"A Test of European Union Post-Accession Influence: Comparing Reactions to Political Instability in Romania" by Sergiu Gherghina and Sorina Soare

"Protest in South Africa: Motives and Meanings" by Tom Lodge and Shauna Mottiar

New Research

"Ethnopolitical Demography and Democracy in Sub-Saharan Africa" by Andy Baker, James R. Scarritt, and Shaheen Mozaffar

"Attitudes towards Gender Equality and Perception of Democracy in the Arab World" by Veronica V. Kostenko, Pavel A. Kuzmuchev, and Eduard D. Ponarin

"How Does Democracy Influence Citizens' Perceptions of Government Corruption? A Cross-National Study" by Hui Li, Min Tang, and Narisong Huhe

"The Changing Political Culture of the African National Congress" by Nicola de Jager and Cindy Lee Steenekamp

"The Sex of Participatory Democracy: An Analysis of the Theoretical Approaches and Experiences of Participatory Democracy from a Feminist Viewpoint" by Jone Martinez Palacios

Democratization (Volume 23, no. 4, 2016)
"Honeymoon or Consolidation, or Both? Time Dependence of Democratic Durability" by Ko Maeda

"Ideological Radicalism and Democratic Experience in New Democracies" by Willy Jou

"Who Negotiates for a Nation? Catalan Mobilization and Nationhood before the Spanish Democratic Transition, 1970-1975" by Scott L. Greer

"Public Confidence in the Judiciary: The Interaction between Political Awareness and Level of Democracy" by Aylin Aydin Cakir and Eser Sekercioglu

"Elections and 'Sons of the Soil' Conflict Dynamics in Africa and Asia" by Isabelle Cote and Matthew I. Mitchell

"The European Union and Belarus: Democracy Promotion by Technocratic Means?" by Elena A. Korosteleva

"When Actions Speak Louder than Words: Examining Collective Political Protests in Central Asia" by Dilshod Achilov

"Political Entrepreneurs, Clientelism, and Civil Society: Supply-Side Politics in Turkey" by Feryaz Ocakli

"Who Supports Democracy? Evidence from a Survey of Chinese Students and Scholars in the United States" by Donglin Han and Dingding Chen

Democratization (Volume 23, no. 3, 2016)
"Should Liberals Sometimes Prefer Dictatorships to Democracies? A Closer Look at the Hayek Thesis" by Tommy Andre Knutsen

"Democratization and the Secularization of Religious Parties: The Case of Mexico" by Luis Felipe Mantilla

"Immoderation: Comparing the Christian Right in the US and pro-Islamic Movement-Parties in Turkey" by Esen Kirdis

"Variation in Subnational Electoral Authoritarianism: Evidence from the Russian Federation" by Inga A.L. Saikkonen

"Democracy and Innovation: From Institutions to Agency and Leadership" by Ludger Helms

"Local Participatory Innovations and Experts as Political Entrepreneurs: The Case of China's Democracy Consultants" by Oscar Almen

"Infrastructural State Capacity for Democratization? Voter Registration and Identification in Cote d'Ivoire and Ghana Compared" by Giulia Piccolino

"The Return of Censitary Suffrage? The Effects of Automatic Voter Registration and Voluntary Voting in China" by Gonzalo Contreras, Alfredo Joignant, and Mauricio Morales

"Regulating Party Politics in the Western Balkans: The Legal Sources of Party System Development in Macedonia" by Fernando Casal Bertoa and Dane Taleski

SELECTED JOURNAL ARTICLES ON DEMOCRACY
African Affairs, **Vol. 115, no. 459, April 2016**
"State Intelligence and the Politics of Zimbabwe's Presidential Succession" by Blessing-Miles Tendi

"Constitution-Making, Media, and the Politics of Participation in Somalia" by Nicole Stremlau

"Devolution and Corruption in Kenya: Everyone's Turn to Eat?" by Michelle D'Arcy and Agnes Cornell

"Struggling over Land in Post-Conflict Uganda" by Matt Kandel

"Mobilizing the Faithful: Organizational Autonomy, Visionary Pastors, and Citizenship in South Africa and Zambia" by Amy S. Patterson and Tracy Kuperus

African Affairs, **Vol. 115, no. 458, January 2016**
"The Politics of Development under Competitive Clientelism: Insights from Ghana's Education Sector" by Abdul-Gafaru Abdulai and Sam Hickey

American Political Science Review, **Vol. 110, no. 1, February 2016**
"Experimentation and Persuasion in Political Organizations" by Alexander V. Hirsch

New Research

"Preventing and Responding to Dissent: The Observational Challenges of Explaining Strategic Repression" by Emily Hencken Ritter and Courtenay R. Conrad

"Gender Quotas and Women's Political Leadership" by Diana Z. O'Brien and Johanna Rickne

"Parties, Brokers, and Voter Mobilization: How Turnout Buying Depends Upon the Party's Capacity to Monitor Brokers" by Horacio Larreguy, John Marshall, and Pablo Querubin

"Deliver the Vote! Micromotives and Macrobehavior in Electoral Fraud" by Ashlea Rundlett and Milan W. Svolik

Communist and Post-Communist Studies, **Vol. 49, no. 2, July 2016**
"The Politics of Citizenship in Divided Nations: Policies and Trends in Germany and China" by Choo Chin Low

"Regional Differences in Political Trust: Comparing the Vysocina and Usti Regions" by Daniel Čermák, Renáta Mikešová, and Jana Stachová

"On the (Non) Distinctiveness of Marxism-Leninism: The Portuguese and Greek Communist Parties Compared" by Dan Keith and Giorgos Charalambous

"Evaluations of Perestroika in Post-Soviet Central Asia: Public Views in Contemporary Uzbekistan, Kazakhstan and Kyrgyzstan" by Timur Dadabaev

Communist and Post-Communist Studies, **Vol. 49, no. 1, March 2016**
"Nationalism and Authoritarianism in Russia: Introduction to the Special Issue" by Taras Kuzio

"Putin's Macho Personality Cult" by Valerie Sperling

"Putin's Russia as a Fascist Political System" by Alexander J. Motyl

"Russian National Identity and the Ukrainian Crisis" by Paul Goble

"Russian Politics and the Soviet Past: Reassessing Stalin and Stalinism under Vladimir Putin" by Thomas Sherlock

"Triumphant Memory of the Perpetrators: Putin's Politics of re-Stalinization" by Dina Khapaeva

"Ukrainians as Russia's Negative 'Other': History Comes Full Circle" by Mykola Riabchuk

"Soviet and Russian Anti-(Ukrainian) Nationalism and re-Stalinization" by Taras Kuzio

"The Influence of Regime Type on Russian Foreign Policy toward 'the West,' 1992–2015" by Allen C. Lynch

Comparative Political Studies, **Vol. 49, no. 8, July 2016**
"Value Orientations From the World Values Survey: How Comparable Are They Cross-Nationally?" by José Alemán and Dwayne Woods

Comparative Political Studies, **Vol. 49, no. 7, June 2016**
"Sovereign Debt, Migration Pressure, and Government Survival" by William T. Bernhard and David Leblang

Comparative Political Studies, **Vol. 49, no. 5, April 2016**
"The Glass Ceiling in Politics: Formalization and Empirical Tests" by Olle Folke and Johanna Rickne

"Lying or Believing? Measuring Preference Falsification From a Political Purge in China" by Junyan Jiang and Dali L. Yang

"The Spousal Bump: Do Cross-Ethnic Marriages Increase Political Support in Multiethnic Democracies?" by Claire L. Adida, Nathan Combes, Adeline Lo, and Alex Verink

"Local Elections in Authoritarian Regimes: An Elite-Based Theory With Evidence From Russian Mayoral Elections" by Ora John Reuter, Noah Buckley, Alexandra Shubenkova, and Guzel Garifullina

Comparative Political Studies, **Vol. 49, no. 4, March 2016**
"An Index of Assembly Dissolution Powers" by Max Goplerud and Petra Schleiter

"Social Policies, Attribution of Responsibility, and Political Alignments: A Subnational Analysis of Argentina and Brazil" by Sara Niedzwiecki

"Elections and Property Rights: A Natural Experiment From Russia" by Timothy Frye and Andrei Yakovlev

Comparative Political Studies, **Vol. 49, no. 3, March 2016**
"Extraction and Violent Resistance in the Early Phases of State Building: Quantitative Evidence From the "Maji Maji" Rebellion, 1905-1907" by Alexander De Juan

"The Ethnic Logic of Campaign Strategy in Diverse Societies: Theory and Evidence From Kenya" by Jeremy Horowitz

"Demanding the Divine? Explaining Cross-National Support for Clerical Control of Politics" by David Buckley

"How State Support of Religion Shapes Attitudes Toward Muslim Immigrants: New Evidence From a Sub-National Comparison" by Marc Helbling and Richard Traunmüller

New Research

***Comparative Political Studies*, Vol. 49, no. 2, February 2016**

"Reform and Electoral Competition: Convergence Toward Equity in Latin American Health Sectors" by Christina Ewig

***Comparative Politics*, Vol. 48, no. 3, April 2016**

"Pride Versus Prejudice: Ethnicity, National Identity, and Xenophobia in Russia" by Yoshiko M. Herrera and Nicole M. Butkovich Kraus

"Why Did Neoliberalism Triumph and Endure in the Post-Communist World?" by Hilary Appel and Mitchell A. Orenstein

"Reforming Police in Post-Communist Countries: International Efforts, Domestic Heroes" by Erica Marat

"Party Institutionalization and Legislative Organization: The Evolution of Agenda Power in the Polish Parliament" by Monika Nalepa

"Making it Personal: Clientelism, Favors, and the Personalization of Public Administration in Argentina" by Virginia Oliveros

"Political Parties and Gender Quota Implementation: The Role of Bureaucratized Candidate Selection Procedures" by Elin Bjarnegård and Pär Zetterberg

"Corn, Markets, and Mobilization in Mexico" by Erica S. Simmons

***East European Politics*, Vol. 32, no. 2, 2016**

"Network Governance in Russia: An Analytical Framework" by Jonathan S. Davies, Jørn Holm-Hansen, Vadim Kononenko, and Asbjørn Røiseland

"Encouraged but Controlled: Governance Networks in Russian Regions" by Aadne Aasland, Mikkel Berg-Nordlie, and Elena Bogdanova

"Governance Networks and Vertical Power in Russia: Environmental Impact Assessments and Collaboration between State and Non-State Actors" by Sabine Kropp and Johannes Schuhmann

"'The State Cannot Help Them All': Russian Media Discourse on the Inclusion of Non-State Actors in Governance" by Marthe Handå Myhre and Mikkel Berg-Nordlie

"The Role of Parliamentary Committee Chairs in Coalition Governments: Office and Policy Theses Reconsidered" by Lukas Pukelis

"Resilient or Resistant? The Impact of Transnational Party Cooperation on Croatian Political Parties" by Dominika Mikucka-Wójtowicz

"Making Voices Count: The Political Participation of Romanian Immigrants in Western Europe" by Sergiu Gherghina

***East European Politics*, Vol. 32, no. 1, 2016**

"Challenges and Realities of Political Participation and Civic Engagement in Central and Eastern Europe" by Joakim Ekman, Sergiu Gherghina, and Olena Podolian

"Civic Activities in Eastern Europe: Links with Democratic Political Culture" by Alla Marchenko

"Civic Disenchantment and Political Distress: The Case of the Romanian Autumn" by Diana Margarit

"Pro-Government Demonstrations in Hungary – Citizens' Autonomy and the Role of the Media" by Pál Susánszky, Akos Kopper, and Gergely Tóth

"When Do Political Parties Join Protests? A Comparative Analysis of Party Involvement in "for Fair Elections" Movement" by Andrey Semenov, Olesya Lobanova, and Margarita Zavadskaya

"The Role of Leaders in Shaping Urban Movements: A Study of Community Mobilisation in Lithuania" by Jolanta Aidukaitė

***Government and Opposition*, Vol. 51, no. 3, July 2016**

"Opening Up the Black Box: Gender and Candidate Selection in a New Era" by Meryl Kenny and Tània Verge

"Comparing Candidate Selection: A Feminist Institutionalist Approach" by Elin Bjarnegård and Meryl Kenny

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