Abstracts

WORKSHOP 1: Violence, Order, and Space
Chair: Ellen Lust, University of Gothenburg.
Date: September 1, 4pm CEST

" Parish-Based Responses to the Philippine Drug War."

Steven Brooke, University of Wisconsin Madison

David Buckley, University of Louisville

How do local religious institutions protect communities from state-sanctioned violence? This general question has taken on particular importance in the Philippines, where populist President Rodrigo Duterte has overseen a "Drug War" that has killed tens of thousands of citizens while triggering opposition from prominent religious elites. In this paper we use an original, in-depth survey of Catholic priests and lay parish leaders in an urban area heavily impacted by Drug War violence to measure how dozens of local parishes mobilize to protect their communities. We document two broad types of mechanisms in operations: directly impacting the localized production of violence and indirectly altering characteristics of surrounding communities in ways likely to limit violence. Quantitative evidence documents the widespread existence of both direct and indirect mechanisms of community protection, and demonstrates the association between parish capacity, pre-existing community ties, and these protective mechanisms. Qualitative evidence traces the links between parish activities and particular cases of community protection, highlighting the coexistence of rationalistic and normative logics through which institutions limit violence. Interviews also foreground some of the obstacles that even highly motivated and capacious institutions face in organizing local protection.

"Everyday Remainders and Reminders of Violence"

Frazer Macdonald Hay, University of Edinburgh

In the light of growing concerns over the positioning and sustainability of effective peacebuilding efforts, Macdonald Hay's argument is that within a post-conflict environment, there is an important, social and political perception of everyday life, which is relatively unnoticed and poorly examined by the peacebuilding establishment, and as such, this oversight will have undermined and threatened the processes of reconciliation etc, and will continue to do so. This perception of everyday life brings into focus the localised relationship between the public, their built environment and their memories of violence. A position that acknowledges and explores traumatic memories and the impact they have day to day. Typically, this would involve government backed, nation-building projects, promoting culturally significant buildings, monuments, museums and commemorations as 'symbolic tools of reparation'. However, this research explores an alternative everyday sense of place, underpinned by the daily routine of life, where there is a regular awareness and encounters with post-conflict remainders and reminders of violence, hosted by ordinary run-of-the-mill spaces and places within a community. The spaces and places of a community's built-environment helps create a sense of place in far more subtle and profound ways than one might expect. Although this paper does

touch on the grander notions of buildings and the civic notions of rank and status, it focuses mainly on the more understated and common 'cues for behaviour', indicators that influence a sense of place, attached to, and framed by, its physical environment comprising of homes, streets, street corners, factories, bridges, petrol stations, carparks, bus stops, shops, schools, cinemas and cafes etc. A built environment full of the local complexities of meaning and memory, which community members continually process and allow to influence their daily feelings, emotions and temperament. For a post conflict community, this sense of place has fundamentally changed. Many of these once familiar buildings which subtly reinforced a sense of place and belonging, are now imbued with traumatic meaning, and represent a complicated and contrasting set of post-conflict emotions. To leave these buildings unrecognised in ethnically diverse communities riddled with post-conflict emotional entanglements, renders any reconciliation effort more fragile, and therefore more susceptible to failure and manipulation, sparking further violence. It is within the familiar and ordinary that this research hopes to reveal the extraordinary opportunities and obstacles associated with memory and place, thus potentially providing an important layer of consideration, which Macdonald Hay argue will help develop a more informed approach to designing the dynamics involved in contemporary reconciliation.

" How Does Subnational Variation in Oppression Affect Attitudes toward Police? Evidence from a Natural Experiment in Iraq."

Mara Revkin, Georgetown University

Recent episodes of severe police repression and violence against protesters around the world have brought new urgency to longstanding calls for police reform and in some cases more fundamental structural changes including abolition of existing police institutions. However, the police are not monolithic and there is considerable subnational variation in the extent to which individual police officers and units use excessive force against civilians, and this variation has important implications for police legitimacy in the eyes of the public. In Iraq, where federal police violently repressed antigovernment demonstrations in 2019—killing more than 600 protesters—but local police refrained from violence and in some cases intervened to protect civilians, public opinion became significantly more negative toward federal police but not toward local police. These results suggest that civilians distinguish between the conduct of different actors in a decentralized, fragmented security apparatus and attribute blame individually rather than collectively blaming the state security apparatus as a whole. I suggest that two mechanisms—decentralization and fragmentation of state security institutions—interact to shape the pattern of subnational police violence in Iraq and discuss broader implications for police reform in Iraq and beyond.

WORKSHOP 2: Violence, Order, and Space
Chair: Karen Feree, University of California, San Diego
Date: September 14, 5pm CEST

"The Dynamics of Refugee Return: Syrian Refugees and Their Migration Intentions"

Ala' Alrababa'h, ETH Zürich

Despite the importance of understanding how refugee crises end little is known about when and why refugees return home. We study the drivers of refugees' decision-making using original observational and experimental data from a representative sample of 3003 Syrian refugees in Lebanon. We find that conditions in a refugee's home country are the primary drivers of return intentions. Refugees' decisions are influenced primarily by safety and security in their place of origin their economic prospects the availability of public services and their personal networks. Confidence in information is also important as several drivers of return only impact intentions among people who have high confidence in their information. By contrast the conditions in refugee–hosting countries—so-called "push" factors—play a much smaller role. Even in the face of hostility and poor living conditions refugees are unlikely to return unless the situation at home improves significantly.

"Al Shabaab's Ethicized Governance Strategy: Evidence from Five Somali Localities"

Lindsay Benstead, Portland State University

Armed conflict and state collapse in Somalia has produced a severe humanitarian crisis, with an estimated 900,000 refugees and 1.1 million more people internally displaced throughout Somalia. Using an original survey of 139 recently displaced Somali minorities conducted by the authors in 2017, we map and explain variation in Al Shabaab governance practices across ethnic groups and localities in southern Somalia' Jubba River Valley. We find that, despite the myth of Somalia's religious and ethnic homogeneity, Al Shabaab partly fuels its insurgency through a racialized governance strategy, utilizing the traditionally dominant nomadic clan members, who are paid for their labor and military service, to coerce and enforce its extortion of the Somali Bantu. By comparing governance strategies in the five administrative localities, we show that exploitation of the Bantu is more severe in the Middle Jubba valley, an area farther from the regional Jubbaland government and militia stronghold of Kismayu. This paper contributes to the scholarly literature on ethnic politics and rebel governance and offers recommendations about the need for the international community to support the development of rule of law and inclusive government institutions.

"Exiting Anarchy: Institutional Correlates of Civilian Welfare in 2012 Mogadishu"

Michael Seese, WZB Berlin Social Science Center

Does living within the territory of internationally recognized state benefit civilians, even if state capacity is low? This paper presents the results of a 2012 representative survey of Mogadishu. We leverage variation in state capacity within the city of Mogadishu to assess differences in household-level welfare outcomes. We find that civilians living in clan homogeneous enclaves, and those living in territory controlled by the nascent Somali Transitional Federal Government (TFG) and its allied militias, enjoy significantly higher levels of welfare than other urban residents. Additionally, our results suggest that the formal state and informal clan-based institutions supplement each other in providing basic public goods. We attribute these welfare differences to the success of the TFG in building a coalition capable of delivering international aid at the local level. Data from a 2017 United Nations-IPSOS survey suggests that trends observed in 2012 have persisted over time. We situate our results in the context of the broader civil war literature, arguing that observed welfare patterns are consistent with a "partial-incorporation" equilibrium.

WORKSHOP 3: Representation and Space
Chair: Marwa Shalaby, University of Wisconsin-Madison
Date: September 28, 5pm CEST

"Social Accountability in a Patronage Democracy: A Field Experiment on Members of Congress in the Philippines"

Nico Ravanilla, University of California, San Diego

In developing countries, politicians often intervene in the provision of public works to favor projects, localities, and contractors that facilitate rent extraction and patronage. Nine months ahead of the 2019 midterm elections in the Philippines, we randomly assigned approximately half of the 238 single-member congressional districts in the Philippines to a treatment in which the largest coalition of civil society organizations in the country conducted a politician-targeted advocacy campaign aimed at improving the distribution and transparency of public works provision. This campaign provided information on patterns of clientelistic public works provision to legislative chiefs of staff and recommended specific actions for legislators to improve public works procurement and distribution in their districts. We find that treated congressional districts allocated significantly less funding toward public works projects most prone to kickbacks. Our findings suggest that pressure from civil society can reduce certain distribution practices that are prone to corruption in a patronage democracy.

"Bloc Voting for Electoral Accountability"

Alicia Cooperman, Texas A&M University

How do citizens hold local politicians accountable? I argue that citizens, especially through neighborhood associations, can use bloc voting as a grassroots strategy to develop relationships and

pressure local political elites to provide public services. Politicians can monitor collective voting behavior at the precinct-level, and communities can switch their allegiance in the next election if politicians do not follow through. I focus on water access, which is an essential and often scarce resource that is prone to political manipulation. Drawing on 18 months of fieldwork, I analyze an original household survey and conjoint experiment with respondents from 120 rural communities merged with precinct-level electoral data from the state of Ceará in Northeast Brazil. I use 104 qualitative interviews with rural residents, local leaders, and bureaucrats to develop and illustrate theoretical mechanisms. Residents perceive that bloc voting is more likely in communities with high activity in associations and responsive leadership. Communities that bloc vote have better water access. However, institutions shape these incentives: this strategy is only worthwhile for communities that can clearly demonstrate their vote at their own polling station. My findings shed light on the influence of collective action on local politics and development.

"Petitioning Patrons: Community Claims and Political Responsiveness in Urban India"

Adam Auerbach, American University

Why are politicians responsive to the claims of some communities in their constituencies and not others? Studies of distributive politics have established that political brokers frequently petition the state for public services on behalf of the communities in which they reside and operate. Scholars, however, have yet to systematically examine how politicians prioritize among the many claims they receive from brokers, and by extension the communities for which the latter speak. This chapter examines the distributive preferences of politicians when evaluating neighborhood-based claims, made by brokers. To examine the factors shaping these decisions, we conducted a novel petition experiment with 341 politicians across two north Indian cities. Politicians in urban India are bombarded with petitions for public services, forcing them to make daily decisions over how and where to allocate scarce resources. Our experiment analytically differentiates the social and political characteristics of the broker making the claim (in our study, informal slum leaders) from the larger demographic and political characteristics of that broker's neighborhood (in our study, slum settlements).

WORKSHOP 4: Representation and Space
Chair: Kristen Kao, University of Gothenburg
Date: October 12, 3pm CEST

"Members of the Same Club?: SubnationalVariations in Electoral Returns to Public Goods"

Tugba Bozcaga, Harvard University

Theories of democratic governance assume that citizens reward or punish politicians for their performance in providing public services. This study introduces a theory suggesting that electoral returns to local public goods will increase with their excludability, i.e., the degree to which they are

exclusively used by the local population because the local population will see services exclusively used by them as 'club goods' and as a signal of favoritism. Using a comprehensive panel dataset that contains information on all public education and health investments in Turkey since the 1990s and geocoded mobile call data that shows residents' mobility patterns, this study finds that electoral returns to health and education investments are higher when public goods have a club good nature. However, excludability does not translate to higher reciprocity in secular districts, where a perception of favoritism is less likely to develop due to the cleavages with the Islamist incumbent party, AKP. By revealing that electoral returns to government investments are conditional on characteristics of community structure and composition of beneficiaries, this paper advances the literatures on local public services and electoral accountability.

"Demographics Are Not Destiny: Revisiting Political Representation in Cities"

Andrea Benjamin, University of Oklahoma

Cities are changing in large part due to increased immigration,
gentrification, and displacement. Although many of the largest cities in the United States are very diverse, city councils often do not reflect the demographics of their cities. Previous research shows that Black, Latino, and Asian Americans care about descriptive representation—when your representative shares demographic traits with you—because there is an assumption that descriptive representation provides substantive representation—the representative proposes policies you favor. Using data from over 100 cities, Demographics Are Not Destiny: Revisiting
Political Representation in Cities, asks how descriptively representative are city councils in cities today? Using an in-depth case study from one city—Durham, NC, the project asks how substantively representative are city councils today? The project considers what representation means for the day to day lives of Black, Latino, and Asian American residents in terms of policies and ordinances, city budgets, and priorities. Finally, I propose grassroots coalitions—both electoral coalitions and nonelectoral—as a way to improve Black, Latino, and Asian American lives in cities more broadly.

"A Booth of One's Own: Female-Only Polling Stations and Turnout in Pakistan".

Andy Harris, New York University Abu Dhabi

How does gender segregation at the polling place shape political participation? Gender-specific polling stations are common in an increasing number of developing countries. Common arguments in favor of gender-segregated polling stations assert that they facilitate female electoral participation, but no empirical evidence supports this assertion. Thus, evaluating the effectiveness of female-only polling stations, and analyzing why they do or do not work, is crucial for understanding how to reduce gender gaps in political participation. However, quantifying the effect of administrative decisions like gender segregation is empirically challenging since most countries have either gender-segregated or mixed stations, but rarely both.

We examine this question in Pakistan using both observational and experimental data. First, we use new data from the 2018 Pakistani General Election, which featured female-only, male-only, and combined polling stations across the country. This administrative feature allows us to match different types of stations within the same neighborhoods to identify the effects of female-only stations on female turnout while holding constant other factors that might vary geographically and affect gender-specific turnout. Second, we supplement our observational data with a conjoint experiment with 2500 Pakistani households to assess how polling station characteristics – like gender segregation and ease-of-accessibility – affect citizens' propensity to vote. Focus group discussions, along with interviews with election administrators and women's rights activists, aid in dissecting the possible mechanisms generating gender gaps in political participation in Pakistan.

WORKSHOP 5: Bureaucratic Performance and Informal Spaces
Chair: Pierre Landry, Chinese University of Hong Kong
Date: October 26, 3pm CEST

"When the Big Foot of Governance Politics Tramples Common Sense in Deprived Disaster-Prone Areas in Malawi"

Joe Mlenga, The Polytechnic at the University of Malawi

Malawi, a country in south-eastern Africa is annually hit by weather-related disasters such as floods leading to much loss of life. The flooding is acute at the peak of the rainy season in the months of January to April. In April 2019, 60 people in Malawi died in the aftermath of Cyclone Idai which affected a total of 868, 000 people in the country. The areas that bear the brunt of natural disasters in Malawi are often shanty towns where town planning rules and regulations hardly matter. Hence implementing governance policy or enacted law is a challenge to local authorities. The problem is compounded by politics often times from agents connected to central government. A case in point is Soche, a largely poor area in the city of Blantyre. In the slum, residentsbuilt houses on a hillside where flash floods and landslides are sometimes experienced. The Blantyre City Council has been trying to relocate the residents of Soche to a safe area since 2015 but all in vain. Despite having won a legal battle to effect the evictions the Council has failed to take the action for a number of reasons. Bigger and better houses have been erected in the area; state-owned utilities supply water and electricity to those perched on the hillside, and parliamentarians or central government has failed to support the Council. As a result dwellers of the shanty town feel emboldened that they cannot be moved. But who really wins when populist policies put a big foot on what could be deemed as action meant to safeguard lives? The state may gain votes in elections by appeasing people not wishing to be relocated. But ultimately both are losers. Credibility and integrity of central government suffers because of sacrificing the safety of people and town planning standards at the altar of political mileage. The residents lose out as they are in the end mere pawns in politics and lose much when disaster strikes. The way out could be depoliticising city and town councils whose mayors or chief executives often are vetted by ruling parties. Politically neutral heads of councils might not have qualms about defying the state machinery in implementation of policies and legislation designed to have sanity in town planning or mitigating disaster impact.

"Hybrid Political Order and the Politics of Uncertainty: Refugee Governance in Lebanon"

Nora Stel, Radboud University Nijmegen

Lebanon hosts the highest number of refugees per capita worldwide and is central to European policies of outsourcing migration management. Hybrid Political Order and the Politics of Uncertainty is the first book to critically and comprehensively explore the parallels between the country's engagement with the recent Syrian refugee influx and the more protracted Palestinian presence. Drawing on fieldwork, qualitative case-studies, and critical policy analysis, it questions the dominant idea that the haphazardness, inconsistency, and fragmentation of refugee governance are only the result of forced displacement or host state fragility and the related capacity problems. It demonstrates that the endemic ambiguity that determines refugee governance also results from a lack of political will to create coherent and comprehensive rules of engagement to address refugee' crises.' Building on emerging literatures in the fields of critical refugee studies, hybrid governance, and ignorance studies, it proposes an innovative conceptual framework to capture the spatial, temporal, and procedural dimensions of the uncertainty that refugees face and to tease out the strategic components of the reproduction and extension of such informality, liminality, and exceptionalism. In developing the notion of a 'politics of uncertainty,' ambiguity is explored as a component of a governmentality that enables the control, exploitation, and expulsion of refugees.

"Formalization, Tax Appeals, and Social Intermediaries: Evidence from a Field Experiment in Lagos, Nigeria "

Janica Magat, Texas A&M University

NO ABSTRACT YET

WORKSHOP 6 : Bureaucratic Performance and Social Institution
Chair: Marcia Grimes, University of Gothenburg
Date: November 10, 3pm CET

"Understanding Land Governance Among the Tonga of Nkhata Bay: Can the New Land Law work?"

Chrispin Mphande, Mzuzu University

This study aims at understanding land tenure system in a nonlinear descent social system as is the case among the Tonga of Nkhata Bay. In particular, it aims at understanding how the Tonga cultural practice of 'mwana ndi mwanangwa' (which simply means entitlement and freedom an individual

acquires upon birth) influences land governance and its associated rights and obligations. The concept suggests that children can access land for both residential and land based investment in four locations where their parents originate from, that is from father's paternal and maternal sides as well as from mother's paternal and maternal sides. Principally the concept is about entitlement not simply to residence but to land as well. The study adopted a qualitative method approach with an aim of understand people's lived experiences. The study found out that children, regardless of sex, can access land in multiple locations. Once land has been allocated, entitlement is guaranteed allowing an individual to enjoy full user rights where they can make any form of investment of their choice. These rights are guaranteed through parents (upapi) and their children become part of the inheritance plan. Unlike the other descent social systems that follow a particular gender line and where society rules or norms become the center of analysis, among the Tonga an individual becomes the center of identity, analysis and crisis. The study further found out that much as the concept provides the liberty of choices, on its own it does not offer complete security. It contains inherent contestations and at the same time it provides mechanisms of dealing with them. The study concludes that the various land conflicts recorded were mostly a result of changes in land use patterns which generated new opportunities. Interest changed. It was no longer about entitlement but new opportunities hence the rival claims mostly between sons and nephews. This unique Tonga cultural practice addresses one of the main challenges facing Malawi in relation to gender and land access and management as it demonstrates a complete departure from the known matrilineal and patrilineal systems of descent whose inheritance follows a gender line.

"Customary Land Administration Reforms In Ghana: Why Accountability Reforms In Akyem Abuakwa State Succeeded Under Colonialism But Failed In the Post-Colonial Era"

Daniel Appiah, University of Ghana Business School

Conceptualizing and measuring bureaucratic performance have been hot topics among public sector governance experts and practitioners. Measures of 'impartiality' (Rothstein and Teorell 2008), 'inclusiveness' (Acemoglu and Robinson 2012), 'autonomy' (Fukuyama 2013), and 'resources' (Lindvall and Teorell 2016) have been suggested by influential scholars. Our work contributes to developing a theory of bureaucratic performance based on universal basic human needs for autonomy, inclusiveness, and competence, rather than conceptualizing and measuring bureaucratic performance based on abstract ideas of state capacity. Among the many bureaucratic reforms Ghana has seen over the last two decades was the creation of the Customary Land Secretariat (CLS), a new public bureaucracy to administer communally owned lands (stool lands). We argue that both chiefs and local citizens have not used the CLS in the Akyem Abuakwa traditional area due to the failure of this new bureaucracy to satisfy the basic human needs of autonomy, relatedness (or belongingness), and competence in social action. We used primary data, archival materials, and relevant literature for a qualitative account. In line with the basic human needs theory of bureaucratic performance, our key findings are as follows. First, local community members and sub-chiefs perceived that locating the CLS within the palace of their paramount chief constrained the ability to demand accountability from chiefs without fear. Second, some chiefs claimed exclusive ownership of the stool lands as familial land, which many in the community supported. Finally, the CLS was deprived of the administrative competence required to manage its mandates. In contrast to contemporary reforms, colonial officials, chiefs, and members of local communities succeeded in creating an accountable bureaucracy for

customary land administration in the Akyem Abuakwa traditional area due to sustained political efforts at national and local levels to (i) create a strong sense of communal ownership of stool land, (ii) create a competent local treasury to manage stool land revenues for local development, and (iii) support demands by local civil society groups for accountability of chiefs.

"Local Politics Beyond Borders: The Diffusion and Anti-Syrian Curfews in Lebanon"

Lama Mourad, Carleton University

The large-scale influx of migrants into a local community, at least in the short term, is often predicted to place pressure on resources, increase competition over employment (particularly with those in low-skilled sectors), and generate scarcities that increase prices. All else being equal, these factors are argued to increase the likelihood of conflict between host and migrant populations. This paper challenges these assumptions through an analysis of migrant and host community dynamics in the context of the Syrian refugee influx in Lebanon, where over one in four residents are now refugees and state capacity remains remarkably weak. Drawing on evidence from an original dataset of spatial, demographic, electoral, and budgetary data on over 1000 Lebanese municipalities and 120 interviews and ethnographic evidence from a year of fieldwork, I argue that the variation in the implementation of municipal curfews targeting Syrians - the most prevalent form of local policy - is explained not by factors related to the presence of Syrians themselves, such as demographic pressure and inter-ethnic dynamics, but rather by local electoral competition and the spill-over effect of this competition into neighbouring areas. Contrary to much of the expectations in the literature on host-refugee dynamics and ethnic politics, local responses are driven primarily by local leaders' need to project a sense of local order to residents. Importantly, these effects extend beyond the boundaries of the locality itself into its proximate neighbouring area. In areas where neighbouring towns and villages have recourse to discriminatory curfews, mayors and municipal leaders face greater pressures to act, and curfews present a relatively low-cost policy mechanism through which to alleviate fears and project authority.

WORKSHOP 7: Space and Bureaucratic Performance
Chair: Adam Harris, University College London
Date: November 23, 3pm CET

"Mining and Quality of Public Services: the role of local governance and decentralization"

Rose Camille Vincent, ETH Zurich

This paper investigates the local effects of mining on the quality of public services and on people's optimism about their future living conditions in Africa. Most importantly, it assesses the moderating role of local institutions and local governments' taxing rights in shaping the proximity-to-mine effects. The empirical framework connects more than 130,000 respondents from the Afrobarometer survey data (2005–2015) to their closest mines based on the geolocation coordinates of the enumeration areas (EA) and data on the mines and their respective status from the SNL Metals & Mining by the

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S&P. The geo-referenced data are matched with new indicators on local governments' taxing rights across the African continent. Using a difference-in-differences strategy, the results indicate that citizens living near an active mine are less likely to approve government performance in key public goods and services – including health, job creation and improving living standards of the poor. On the moderating role of local governance and local taxing rights, the findings point to a negative impact of local corruption, yet a positive impact of local authorities' discretion over tax and revenues. However, the positive impact of local taxing powers tends to reduce in environments with poor quality of local governance, high incidence of bribe payment and low level of trust in local government officials. Residents of mining communities with low corruption and comparatively highlevel of raising revenue ability have the highest rate of positive appraisal compared to the other scenarios.

"Droughts and trust in Africa"

Aksel Sundström, University of Gothenburg

NO ABSTRACT YET

"Moving jobs: labour dynamics, migration and urbanization in Kagera, Tanzania"

Hanne Van Cappellen, University of Antwerp, Belgium

This paper uses detailed life-history data from 75 migrants to investigate how occupational mobility is intertwined with physical mobility in a context of increased urbanisation. The data come from the large KHDS database that holds both quantitative survey data and qualitative life histories on individuals from the Kagera region in Tanzania over a time span of more than 20 years. Combined with data on urbanisation trends, this papers offers an insight in differing intra- and intergenerational occupational trajectories, and how different socio-economic groups are instrumenting the physical and social environment over their job trajectory. Special attention is paid to the role that small towns are playing in these processes of changing job patterns and labour dynamics.