

The logo for The Quality of Government Institute (QOG) consists of the letters 'QOG' in a bold, blue, sans-serif font. The letters are filled with horizontal lines, giving them a textured appearance.

THE QUALITY
OF GOVERNMENT
INSTITUTE



GÖTEBORGS
UNIVERSITET

A photograph of a classical building facade with a curved portico supported by large columns. The roofline is adorned with several statues. The sky is a clear, bright blue.

THE QUALITY OF GOVERNMENT INSTITUTE ANNUAL REPORT 2019

**“THE CENTRAL REASON
BEHIND THE CREATION
OF THE QOG INSTITUTE IS
THE NOTION THAT IN ALL
SOCIETIES, THE QUALITY
OF GOVERNMENT’S
INSTITUTIONS IS OF THE
OUTMOST IMPORTANCE
FOR THE WELL-BEING OF
ITS CITIZENS.”**

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Produced by
The Quality of Government Institute

Annual Report Editor: Alice Johansson
Design: Dolling Tahko

CONTENTS



ABOUT US



INTRODUCTION FROM THE DIRECTOR

The quality of government is crucial for societal prosperity and human well-being. The modern state rests heavily on its ability to create and sustain trustworthy, reliable, impartial, uncorrupted and competent government institutions. Yet, this capacity varies over time and across the globe, both between and within nations. At the Quality of Government (QoG) Institute we strive to understand the causes for and effects of institutional quality. The QoG Institute includes 34 scholars, both junior and senior, all deeply committed to the international research agenda on institutional quality. It is a privilege for me to be part of this collective research effort, and I am pleased to look back at yet another productive year for the QoG Institute.

During 2019 scholars from the QoG Institute published papers in the highest ranked international scientific journals, such as *British Journal of Political Science*, *Comparative Political Studies*, *European Journal of Political Research*, *Governance*, and *International Organization*, and presented ongoing research at international conferences and in working paper series. But although I am pleased to see that we remain firmly rooted within the international research community, I am particularly happy to congratulate three new PhD graduates from the QoG Institute: Mattias Agerberg, Elin Bergman and Sofia Jonsson. I would like to thank our new PhD's and everyone else at the QoG Institute for your contributions to the research community and to the QoG Institute!

2019 marked the end of two important research projects for the QoG Institute. The Performance of Democracy project (PERDEM) is a large-scale research project funded by an Advanced Research Grant from the European Research Council to Professor Bo Rothstein. The project has run for the last five years, employing four senior researchers and two PhD candidates. 2019 was also the last year for the Perceptions and Evaluation

of Regional and Cohesion Politics and Identification with the Values of Europe research project (Perceive). Perceive was funded by Horizon 2020 and involved, among others, Associate professor Monika Bauhr and Associate professor Nicholas Charron from the QoG Institute.

Throughout the year we have organized workshops, panels and conferences. In May, at the Policy Dialogue Day (co-organized with GLD, V-Dem, UCDP and ViEWS) about 200 researchers and policy makers took part in discussions on new challenges for democracy, governance and peace. Later in the spring, we hosted an international conference on state capacity with participants from Europe and the US. In mid-June, the Interdisciplinary Corruption Research Network organized the 4th Interdisciplinary Corruption Research Forum in Kiev, Ukraine, with support from the QoG Institute. Scholars from the QoG Institute have also presented their work at universities, such as Duke University, Uppsala University and University of Iceland and at conferences such as MPSA, APSA, ECPR, and CES. It is inspiring, indeed, to see both practitioners and scholars engaged in the discussion on institutional quality.

None of these activities would, however, have been possible without financial support from donors. Riksbankens Jubileumsfond continues to fund our data infrastructure, Knut and Alice Wallenberg Foundation supports large parts of our research activities, while additional funding from the European Commission, the European Research Council, Horizon 2020, the Swedish Research Council for Health, Working Life and Welfare, Riksbankens Jubileumsfond, as well as the Swedish Research Council, has made it possible for us to fund specific research projects within the QoG Institute. We are grateful for this generous support.

On this note, I am delighted to report that several new research projects within the

QoG Institute received funding during 2019. Thanks to generous support from the Swedish Research Council and from Riksbankens Jubileumsfond numerous new projects will start during 2020.

Finally, there have been some changes to the management and organization of the QoG Institute during 2019. Monika Bauhr ended her term as director of the QoG Institute, while Stefan Dahlberg was recruited to the Mid Sweden University and therefore left the position as Dataset manager at the QoG Institute. I would like to thank Monika and Stefan for their service to the QoG Institute and also take the opportunity to welcome Aksel Sundström as our new Dataset manager.



Carl Dahlström
Professor

Director of the Quality of
Government Institute

THE QUALITY OF GOVERNMENT INSTITUTE

The main objective of our research is to address the theoretical and empirical problem of how high quality government institutions can be created and maintained, as well as the effects of good government on public policy and socio-economic conditions in areas such as health, the environment, social policy, and poverty. In order to do this, we conduct

research on the nature of good governance and the quality of government (QoG) - that is, trustworthy, reliable, impartial, uncorrupted and competent government institutions.

The Institute was founded in 2004 by Professor Bo Rothstein and Professor Sören Holmberg. We are an independent research institute within the Department

of Political Science at the University of Gothenburg.

We investigate and generate knowledge on corruption and the quality of government in dialogue with a variety of societal actors, in both the public and the private sector. Our ambition is to close the gap between broader audiences and the research of QoG.

THE QOG DATA

As a key resource for researchers and practitioners, QoG Data offers six datasets, several data visualization tools, as well as tips and advice on how to use our data. Our goal is to enable researchers, academics and students to access high quality information about the Quality of Government and related areas.

Our datasets are presented as both cross-sectional and time-series and in the most common data file formats.

OUR DATABASES

- Standard Dataset
- Basis Dataset
- OECD Dataset
- QoG Expert Survey
- EU Regional Dataset
- European Quality of Government Index

- OVER 100 DATA SOURCES
- 18 THEMATIC CATEGORIES
- VISUALIZATION TOOLS



THE QOG TEAM AND ORGANIZATION

34 researchers are currently engaged in different projects organized or funded by the QoG Institute.



Agerberg, Mattias,
Doctoral student



Alexander, Amy,
Associate Professor



Alvarado, Natalia,
Database manager



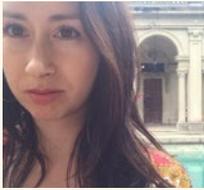
Axelsson, Sofia,
Associate researcher



Bågenholm, Andreas,
Doctor, Program
manager



Bauhr, Monika,
Associate Professor



Bergman, Elin,
Doctoral student



Borång, Frida,
Associate Professor



Broms, Rasmus, Doctor



Charron, Nicholas,
Associate Professor



Cornell, Agnes,
Associate Professor



Dahlberg, Stefan,
Associate Professor,
database manager



Dahlström, Carl,
Professor, Head of the
institute



Davidovic, Dragana,
Doctoral student



Dawson, Stephen,
Doctoral student



Grimes, Marcia,
Associate Professor



Harring, Niklas,
Associate Professor



Holmberg, Sören,
Professor, Founder of
the QoG institute



Johansson, Alice,
Degree Program
coordinator



Lapuente, Victor,
Professor



Niklasson, Birgitta,
Associate Professor



Nistotskaya, Marina,
Associate Professor



Persson, Anna,
Associate Professor



Povitkina, Marina,
Postdoc



Rothstein, Bo,
Professor, Founder of
the QoG institute



Schwenk, Jana,
Doctoral student



Sorak, Nicholas,
Doctoral student



Stensöta, Helena,
Associate Professor



Sundell, Anders, Doctor,



Sundström, Aksel,
Associate Professor



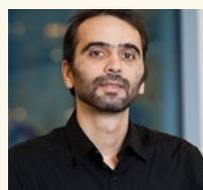
Tengs, Elise, Doctoral
student



Varrach, Aiysha,
Doctoral student



Wängnerud, Lena,
Professor



Xezonakis, Georgios,
Associate Professor

FINALIZED PROJECTS



THE PERFORMANCE OF DEMOCRACIES (PERDEM)

2019 marked the end of the Performance of Democracy – PERDEM – project, a large scale research project funded by an Advanced Research Grant from the European Research Council to Professor Bo Rothstein. The project has run for the last five years, employing four senior researchers and two PhD candidates.

The main objective of the project has been to answer the question as to why some democracies perform better than others in generating human well-being, curbing corruption and handling public finances.

The intellectual background for the PERDEM project was what is known as the “third wave of democratization.” The decades following the fall of the “iron curtain” and the end of the “cold war” saw a huge increase in the number of democracies in the world. In addition to the dissolution of the Soviet empire, many autocracies in Latin America, Asia and Sub-Saharan Africa turned towards democracy.

From a normative perspective there was certainly much to celebrate from the process, but during the end of the first decade of the new century some disappointing results were evident. In many of these countries, democratization did not lead to improvements in established measures of human well-being. On the contrary, some autocratic countries, such as communist China and Singapore, outperformed comparable democratic countries. In addition, democratization did not turn out to be a

safe cure against corruption, and many democracies seemed unable to handle their public finances in a sustainable manner.

Inspired by the “institutional turn” in the social sciences launched by scholars such as the two Nobel Laureates Elinor Ostrom and Douglass C. North, the project focused on the quality of the institutions responsible for implementing laws and public policies. Existing democracies can be institutionalized in very different ways given the variations in party systems, the role of the judicial branch, the way the civil service is organized, various systems for “checks and balances” and so on. This “Quality of Government” approach differs from most of the political science, sociology and economics approaches, which focus on the “input” side of the political system, such as, for example, electoral systems and the mobilization of voters.

The main result of the project is that such “output” factors are of the utmost importance to democracies’ ability to produce human well-being and a functioning system of taxation. Also known as “state capacity,” these are factors relating to the competence, impartiality and honesty of the civil service and the various professions working in the public sector. A central problem for many democracies, mostly but not limited to the newer ones, is that democratization or increased local participation in public decisions does not automatically lead to higher quality in the implementation of laws and public policies for the establishment of “public goods.” On the contrary, there are features

of democratization that often hinder increased quality in public administration and that may even increase corruption.

In many cases voters do not “punish” politicians or political parties that have a record for being engaged in corruption. One central part of the project has been to analyze under what circumstances electoral-representative democracy will lead to increased control of corruption. In this, the role of gender equality in the political system has turned out to be a central factor.

Numerous publications have emerged from this project and are to be found on our website and in this report under publications. The work has been presented and discussed at numerous conferences with diverse audiences, including at APSA 2017 and 2018, ECPR 2018, and the policy dialogue day 2018.

MORE INFORMATION

<https://qog.pol.gu.se/Research/Completed+research+projects/PERDEM>

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This project has received funding from the European Union’s Horizon 2020 Research and Innovation Programme under grant agreement number 339571



PERCEPTIONS AND EVALUATION OF REGIONAL AND COHESION POLITICS AND IDENTIFICATION WITH THE VALUES OF EUROPE

PERCEIVE (Perceptions and Evaluation of Regional and Cohesion Politics and Identification with the Values of Europe) was a three year research project funded by Horizon 2020, the biggest Research and Innovation Programme of the EU. From the QoG institute, Associate Professors Monika Bauhr and Nicholas Charron were involved. Their role in this project was two-fold: to design and launch a regional level survey on public perceptions of redistribution within the EU and determinants thereof, and to investigate how the quality of government, corruption and European identities influence social solidarity across borders. The project ended on October 31, 2019.

In 2017, we launched a comprehensive regional level survey on citizens' support for policies aimed at reducing inequality between richer and poorer regions in Europe, cohesion policy. In all, 17,147 interviews were carried out in 15 EU member states, which represent 85% of the total EU28 population. This new major data collection effort was aimed at enhancing our understanding of not only citizen knowledge, attitudes and experience with Cohesion policy, but also potential determinants –both original to the project and others drawn from the literature –that are associated with

support (or lack thereof) for redistribution. This survey aims to facilitate research on the factors that may ultimately determine the level of redistribution and inequality in Europe, such as identification with Europe, utilitarian (self-interest) factors, political party support, and perceptions of the quality of government and corruption at regional, country, and EU level.

Based on this survey and other work, we also produced a number of publications on corruption, identity and public support for international redistribution. We found that domestic levels of corruption and institutional quality are an important explanation for the great variation in public support for within EU redistribution, and that the effects of institutional quality are consistently stronger than macro-economic factors, including economic development, inequality, levels of public debt or even the amount of Structural Funds allocated. Citizens in low corrupt contexts are more likely to support financial assistance to fellow member states. Improvements in the quality of government and lower levels of corruption may increase solidarity overall. We also found that perceptions of domestic corruption increase support for Cohesion Policy but only in contexts where the quality of government is low and public service delivery deficient. Perceptions of corruption have no such effect in contexts where the quality of

government is high. Citizens who perceive extensive levels of corruption and live in high corrupt areas can feel that the EU compensates for deficient national institutions. Third, we show that citizens' support for redistribution within the EU is highly contingent not only on the level of identification with Europe but also on the fundamental nature or type of European identification that citizens' hold. In particular, we suggest that citizens' who feel European based on civic ties are more likely to support Cohesion policy, than those that instead identify with Europe based on religion and in particular Christianity, irrespective of strength of identity (Bauhr and Charron forthcoming). If citizens believe that religion is the glue that binds Europe together, they are much less likely to support within EU redistribution. The division of types of identification with the EU- whether civic or religious- among citizens influences public support for EU lead redistribution and the level of social solidarity across borders.

While several publications are still in the pipeline, the publications that have so far emerged from this project are found below. Furthermore, the work has been presented and discussed at numerous conferences with diverse audiences, including the APSA 2017 and 2018, ECPR 2018, the policy dialogue day 2018 and Regional Studies Association.



MORE INFORMATION

Journal publications

Bauhr Monika and Nicholas Charron

forthcoming. In God we Trust? Identity; institutions and International redistribution. Accepted for Publication Journal of Common Market Studies.

Bauhr Monika and Nicholas Charron

forthcoming “Do Citizens’ support cohesion policy? Measuring European support for redistribution within the EU and its correlates”. Manuscript on revise and resubmit, regional studies.

Bauhr Monika and Nicholas Charron

2019. “The EU as a Savior and a Saint? Corruption and Public Support for Redistribution.” Journal of European Public Policy 0 (0): 1–19. <https://doi.org/10.1080/13501763.2019.1578816>.

Bauhr Monika and Nicholas Charron

2018. “Why Support International Redistribution? Corruption and Public Support for Aid in the Eurozone.” European Union Politics, March, 1465116518757702. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1465116518757702>.

Published working papers and reports

Bauhr Monika and Nicholas Charron

2019. Report on the influence of perceptions of corruption and governance on citizen’s support for cohesion policy. EU report D2.6 PERCEIVE <https://www.perceiveproject.eu/>

Charron, Nicholas and Monika Bauhr. 2018. What do Citizens’ think about redistribution and aid within the EU? Descriptions and highlights of a Pan European citizens’ survey on public support of cohesion policy. QoG working paper series 2018:2

Bauhr Monika and Nicholas Charron. 2018. Why Support International Redistribution? QoG working paper series 2018:3

Bauhr, Monika and Nicholas Charron.

2018. Dataset built from the survey at citizen level for the case-studies regions and report with preliminary qualitative results. EU report D1.3 PERCEIVE: <https://www.perceiveproject.eu/>

Blogs

The EU as a savior and a saint: Corruption and public support for redistribution. 2019. Blog for JEPP online <http://www.jepp-online.com/2019/04/03/the-eu-as-a-savior-and-a-saint-corruption-and-public-support-for-redistribution/>

European solidarity. Explaining EU citizens’ attitudes towards redistribution in the age of Brexit. 2018. LSE blog : <http://blogs.lse.ac.uk/brexit/2018/11/07/european-solidarity-eu-citizens-attitudes-towards-economic-redistribution-in-the-age-of-brexit/>

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This project has received funding from the European Union's Horizon 2020 Research and Innovation Programme under grant agreement number 693529

”FRESH PIPES WITH DIRTY WATER”– A REALITY FOR PEOPLE IN A CORRUPT DEMOCRACY

Clean water provision demands democracies with high quality of government (QoG) that includes capable bureaucracy, low levels of corruption and strong rule of law. Democracies with low QoG seem to do no better than authoritarian regimes in securing high water quality for their citizens, a study by QoG affiliated Marina Povitkina and Ketevan Bolkvadze shows.

Democratic governments are believed to take care of voters’ needs in order to gain legitimacy and win their support. More specifically, they are believed to provide basic public services such as healthcare, education, clean water, and secure pension systems, and to do so in a more universal manner than authoritarian regimes. However, there is variation in how democracies across the globe perform in the provision of such public services.

In a new study, Marina Povitkina and Ketevan Bolkvadze use a mixed-method approach to investigate the problem of clean water provision by democratic governments. The results of the global comparisons show that only democracies with high quality of government (QoG) tend to have high water quality. If QoG is low, democracies on average seem to perform no better than authoritarian regimes.

To further explore why democracies with low QoG under-deliver public services, the authors investigated the implementation of a new water reform in Moldova, a country that is a good example of a democracy

with low QoG and which also suffers from a lack of access to clean drinking water.

“The water reform in Moldova did not bring the expected results, and we wanted to investigate why,” says Marina Povitkina.

The authors interviewed government officials, bureaucrats, donor and diplomatic community representatives, civil society organizations, consultants, academics and investigative journalists in Moldova’s capital Chisinau, asking what were the major obstacles in implementing the water management reform, especially from the political and administrative sides.

The Moldovan government received generous funding for the reform from some of the EU member states to secure access to clean drinking water. The problem required a twofold solution: 1) providing access to water by extending the water pipe network and 2) improving water quality. However, the reform did not deliver the expected results.

“Grand and petty corruption stood in the way of successful law enforcement, close ties between businesses and politicians made it possible for polluting businesses to thwart the new laws, while politicized bureaucracy resulted in high staff turnover and the subsequent loss of institutional memory crucial for the success of long-term policy projects. All of these factors prevented the due implementation of the water reform,” says Marina Povitkina.

However, low QoG also had implications for how the issue was addressed at the

political level. The authorities only invested in the extension of the water pipe network to the extent that it generated publicity and votes in the short term, but no one took responsibility for water quality.

“Even when solving a single policy issue, short time horizons usually prompt democratic leaders to focus only on a visible part of the problem. In the case of water quality, our informants emphasized, the politicians were only interested in addressing a visible part of the problem and invested in building water pipes that generate publicity and votes in the short term. In the absence of high QoG, which favors continuity of policies and delivery of long-term results, a more complex part of the problem – cleaning the water that goes through these pipes – remains unresolved. This left the fresh pipes with dirty water.”

MORE INFORMATION

Journal publication

Povitkina, Marina and Ketevan Bolkvadze (2019). Fresh pipes with dirty water: How quality of government shapes the provision of public goods in democracies. *European Journal of Political Research* 58:4, 1191-1212, doi: 10.1111/1475-6765.12330

Contact

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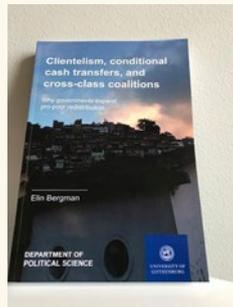
COMPLETED DISSERTATION PROJECTS

In 2019, three QoG related dissertation projects were successfully completed at the department.



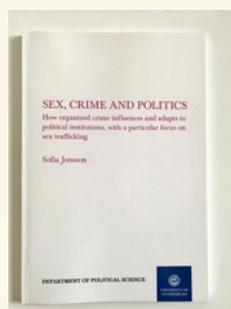
Mattias Agerberg (2019):
Quality of Government and Political Behavior: Resignation and Agency.
 Department of Political Science, University of Gothenburg.

Most people in the world live in countries where corruption and poor quality of government are a pressing problem. Research also shows that these are issues that citizens are deeply concerned about. Yet, questions about quality of government and corruption are largely absent in the traditional literature on political attitudes and behavior. This dissertation aims to fill some of the gaps in the previous literature by exploring how poor public institutions structure political life. The dissertation argues that the quality of government crucially affects individuals' relationship to the state and their belief about what can be achieved through the democratic process. The results in three individual research papers highlight many of the adverse effects of corruption on various political outcomes, where corruption often is associated with widespread political resignation. At the same time, the results also show that citizens in settings with high corruption at times show strong agency and try to find ways to express themselves politically, despite the many obstacles to effective political participation that widespread corruption entails.



Elin Bergman (2019):
Clientelism, conditional cash transfers, and cross-class coalitions: why governments expand pro-poor redistribution. Department of Political Science, University of Gothenburg.

Conditional cash transfer programs (CCTs) allow poor households and individuals access to income support in return for investments in health and education. Originally adopted in Brazil and Mexico in the late 1990s, CCTs are now present in developing countries across the world. The adoption of a targeted benefit for poor people represents a radical reshaping of social policy in places such as the Latin American and Caribbean where the poor were long excluded from the welfare state. The poor were also frequent targets of clientelism: the contingent exchange between politicians and voters of material benefits in return for the promise of political support. It appears puzzling that politicians in these places should adopt a social policy that undermines their ability to continue to use clientelism in an effort to win elections. This puzzle is at the heart of the dissertation, and prompts the question of why governments adopt CCTs.



Sofia Jonsson (2019):
"Sex, crime and politics. How organized crime influences and adapts to political institutions, with a particular focus on sex trafficking".
 Department of Political Science, University of Gothenburg.

The trafficking in women and girls for the purpose of sexual exploitation worldwide has startled policy makers. Despite efforts to tackle this crime, the magnitude of victims remains. Simultaneously, the dimension of sex trafficking varies, both within origin as well as destination countries. In this dissertation Sofia Jonsson asks why this is the case by examining how, and to what extent the state may shape the incentive structure of this illegal trade. The main findings of the dissertation suggest that the state in its role as law enforcer, and law maker, might enable crime groups, intentionally and unintentionally, to increase their profit, by constituting the environment that shapes incentives for both supply and demand in the transnational market of sex trafficking. In more detail, the results indicate, first, that states that suffer from police corruption are also more frequently sources of human trafficking. Second, that the regulation of prostitution is associated with attitudes toward the buying of sex. With the expansion of illegal markets, such as transnational sex trafficking, follows increasing profit for organized crime groups operating this trade. States thus not only face challenges that arise from trafficking activity, additionally the quality of states' political institutions might become increasingly threatened by potential organized crime infiltration. As such, lastly the dissertation explores what happens with democracy in states that experience the establishment of organized crime. The results in the last paper suggest that a higher presence of organized crime seems to increase political corruption and that such corruption in turn is associated with lower levels of electoral integrity. In this dissertation, Jonsson contributes to several lines of literature by bringing organized crime back in. In contrast to previous research, which has focused primarily on the trafficked victims in origin countries, Jonsson explores actors' rationale to traffic and to exploit victims of trafficking, and as such, places the traffickers and their clients firmly at the center of the analysis. Using a unique set of survey data on attitudes toward prostitution the dissertation further expands our understanding of the normative impact of legal frameworks, which may unintentionally influence the demand for trafficked victims. Findings from the dissertation are as such policy relevant, especially for the heated and ongoing discussion on whether or not to criminalize the purchase of sex.

EVENTS



THE QUALITY OF GOVERNMENT'S BEST PAPER AWARD

The Quality of Government's Best Paper award is an annual prize awarded to a paper on a Quality of Government related topic, demonstrating outstanding research based on its theoretical and empirical contributions. In 2018 the prize was awarded to Maria Carreri, Assistant Professor at the UCSD School of Global Policy and Strategy, for her paper "Can Good Politicians Compensate for Bad Institutions? Evidence from an original survey of Italian mayors." This paper studies the policy impact of the competence of political leaders and whether more competent politicians can offset the existence of weak institutions. An important contribution of the paper is to develop an original survey instrument to measure the competence of politicians along a novel dimension: their ability as managers of their administration. Data is collected on this measure by conducting a survey of 306 Italian mayors across all Italian regions. Employing this data, the paper finds that mayors' competence is associated with a more effective use of funds, an increase in long-term investments, and better service provision without an increase in taxes. However, this association is only present in cases where the quality of informal municipal institutions is low. The findings of the paper show that competent politicians are able to achieve substantial policy improvements, and that politicians' competence is especially important for communities with more deficient institutions.

In 2019, we had the honor to host Maria Carreri for a presentation of her paper.



Assistant Professor Maria Carreri, winner of the 2018 QoG Best Paper Award, together with Professor Lena Wängnerud.

STATE CAPACITY RESEARCH "CONCEPTUAL AND METHODOLOGICAL FRONTIERS"

On June 10-11, the Quality of Government institute together with V-Dem (Varieties of Democracy) Institute hosted the workshop "State Capacity Research: Conceptual and Methodological Frontiers", where some of the most prominent researchers in the

field came together to discuss conceptual and methodological issues and ongoing data collection projects as well as some crucial topics, such as state legitimacy and territorial reach; inside the bureaucracy; fiscal capacity; and regime type and state capacity.



Workshop on "State Capacity Research: Conceptual and Methodological Frontiers, 10-11 June in Gothenburg.

POLICY DIALOGUE DAY 2019

"NEW CHALLENGES TO DEMOCRACY, GOVERNANCE, AND PEACE"

The Policy Dialogue conference is an annual event that bridges the gap between analysis and practice and aims to shed light on questions relating to democracy support and governance. The conference serves as a meeting platform for practitioners, policy makers, and academics.

This year's Annual Policy Dialogue Day organized jointly by the Quality of Government Institute, V-Dem (Varieties of Democracy) Institute, GLD-Gothenburg (Program for Governance and Local Development), UCDP (Uppsala Conflict Data Program), and ViEWS (Dataset on early warnings of political violence) and took place on Wednesday 22 May 2019, at the Wallenberg Conference Center in Gothenburg, Sweden.

The theme of this year's Policy Dialogue Day was "New Challenges to Democracy, Governance, and Peace". The sessions were centered on some of the major societal changes that affect democracy, governance and peace at both national and local level:

- Expanded access to social media and digital tools is shaking up political communication
- Rapid changes due to globalization challenge national and local governance
- A rise in identity politics, political exclusion and populism threatens democratic progress and good governance
- Non-state actors are increasingly involved in various aspects of governance

The event gathered over 200 researchers and practitioners from all over the world who together offered fresh insights on these challenges from various angles and discussed new solutions.

The keynote speaker was Larry Diamond (Senior Fellow at the Hoover Institution, Stanford University, and founding co-editor of the *Journal of Democracy*) who shed the light on why and how democracy progresses.



The Policy Dialogue Day "New Challenges to Democracy, Governance, and Peace." 22 May 2019, in Gothenburg.

THE 4TH INTERDISCIPLINARY CORRUPTION RESEARCH FORUM, ICRF "VARIETIES OF (ANTI)CORRUPTION: LEARNING FROM THE PAST FOR THE FUTURE"

"The Interdisciplinary Corruption Research Forum is an annual international event organized by Interdisciplinary Corruption Research Network (ICRN) where junior corruption researchers from different academic disciplines gather to discuss research, exchange ideas, and establish collaborations on corruption.

The 4th Interdisciplinary Corruption Research Forum - "Varieties of (anti) corruption: Learning from the past for the future" - took place 13-14 June 2019 in Kyiv, Ukraine and was held in collaboration with ACREC at the National University of Kyiv-Mohyla Academy, Ukraine.

The event was funded by the Quality of Government Institute, together with the Anti-Corruption Research and Education Centre, International Renaissance Foundation, and the Laboratory for Interdisciplinary Evaluation of Public Policy (LIEPP) of Sciences Po Paris.

The event brought together young researchers from various countries as well as practitioners working in the fields of corruption and anti-corruption. Interactive sessions focused on different manifestations of corruption in respective contexts, and on the development of

anti-corruption policies in a time of international and public pressure for reform. The discussions combined theoretical and empirical reflections on the role of political culture, institutions, existing social movements, international organizations, the role of political and economic elites, technological development and media for the dynamics and politics of corruption and the conception(s) of the opposite to corruption. Alina Mungiu-Pippidi and Janine Wedel gave keynote speeches during the event.

The selected papers will be published in a peer-reviewed international, interdisciplinary journal initiated by the National University of Kyiv-Mohyla Academy, "Kyiv-Mohyla Law and Politics Journal (KMLPJ)".

In March 2019, the Network launched a podcast on corruption "Kickback – The Global Anticorruption Podcast", led by Nils Köbis (University of Amsterdam), Matthew Stephenson (Harvard Law School) and Christopher Starke (University of Düsseldorf). The Podcast features interviews with leading corruption researchers as well as political and civil actors. A major goal of the Podcast is to bring all people who are interested in

corruption closer together and put the topic of corruption on the public and political agenda. The speakers has so far included Susan Rose-Ackerman on her seminal books on corruption, Deltan Dallagnol on the car wash investigation – the biggest corruption investigation even occurred; the Pulitzer-prize winning investigative journalist Frederik Obermaier on Panama Papers; one of the world's most influential corruption researchers Paul Heywood; Daria Kaleniuk on the anti-corruption reforms in Ukraine, Alina Mungiu-Pippidi on corruption in Romania, Bo Rothstein on our work at the Quality of Government Institute, and many others.

You can read more about the ICRN on their website: <https://www.icrnetwork.org/>



INTERDISCIPLINARY
CORRUPTION RESEARCH
NETWORK



The 4th Interdisciplinary Corruption Research Forum - "Varieties of (anti)corruption: Learning from the past for the future", 13-14 June, 2019 in Kyiv, Ukraine.

115TH AMERICAN POLITICAL SCIENCE ASSOCIATION'S ANNUAL MEETING & EXHIBITION

Together with the V-Dem Institute and GLD-Gothenburg, the QoG institute participated in APSA 2019, the 115th American Political Science Association's Annual Meeting & Exhibition. Seven QoG scholars presented their work in six different panels and an exhibition booth was managed together with the V-Dem Institute and GLD-Gothenburg to promote the wide array of research, policy outreach and data sets produced by the institutes and the department at large.

QOG SCHOLARS AT APSA 2019

"Populists and Perceptions of Referendums as a Political Decision Making Process"

Jonas Linde (Department of Comparative

Politics, University of Bergen), Andrej Kokkonen, Stefan Dahlberg (University of Gothenburg), Sveinung Arnesen (University of Bergen)

"Moving Beyond Categorical Measures of Gender in Corruption Research" Lena Wängnerud (University of Gothenburg)

"How Different Forms of Corruption Influence Electoral Engagement" Monika Bauhr (University of Gothenburg)

"Immigration Policy and Social Policy Since the 1930s" Frida Boräng (University of Gothenburg) Sara Kalm, Johannes Lindvall (Lund University)

"Blood is Thicker than Water: Family

Assets and Leader Deposition" Andrej Kokkonen, Anders Sundell (University of Gothenburg), Suthan Krishnarajan, Jorgen Moller (Aarhus University)

"The Democratic Roots of Corruption" Anna Persson, Bo Rothstein (University of Gothenburg)

"Boxholm Tea Party: Taxation and Voter Turnout in an Unlikely Setting" Rasmus Broms (University of Gothenburg)



The 115th American Political Science Association's Annual Meeting & Exhibition, August 29 – September 1, 2019, in Washington, DC.



1. Associate Professor Anna Persson and her fellow participants at a panel discussion and lecture at Transparency International in Sarajevo on the theme: "Time to Act: Reality of Anticorruption Policies.", 29 November, 2019 in Sarajevo.
2. Lecture by Associate Professor Anna Persson on corruption at senioruniversitetet in Stockholm, 28 November, 2019.
3. Associate Professor Marina Nistotskaya presenting at QoG panel at The 115th American Political Science Association's Annual Meeting & Exhibition. Photo credit: Kohei Suzuki.



4. Associate Professor Monika Bauhr giving a lecture at the Policy Dialogue Day "New Challenges to Democracy, Governance, and Peace." 22 May, 2019 in Gothenburg.
5. Professor Lena Wängnerud giving a lecture at the European Week of Regions and Cities in Brussels, 7-10 October, 2019.

VISITING SCHOLARS AND LUNCH SEMINAR GUESTS



LUNCH SEMINAR PRESENTATIONS 2019

The QoG Visiting Scholar Program and the QoG Lunch Seminar Series are vital parts of our Institute. The aim of the Visiting Scholar Program is to provide intellectual impetus for the Institute. We aim at inviting cutting-edge scholars who conduct studies on issues related to the research carried out at the QoG Institute. For our lunch seminar series, we also aim at inviting experts from NGOs and other organization, next to speakers from the international research community. In 2019, we hosted 17 visiting scholars / lunch seminar guests.

Arruñada, Benito, Professor, Department of Economics and Business, Pompeu Fabra University. "Experience versus Perception in Evaluating the Rule of Law"

Berenschot, Ward, postdoc, KITLV/Royal Netherlands Institute of Southeast Asian and Caribbean Studies. "How Clientelism Varies: Toward the Comparative Study of Patronage Democracies"

Carreri, Maria, Assistant Professor, UCSD School of Global Policy and Strategy, and winner of QoG Best Paper Awards 2018. "Can Good Politicians Compensate for Bad Institutions? Evidence from an original survey of Italian mayors"

Engvall, Johan, Senior Research Fellow, Institute for Security & Development Studies. "Investing in Corruption in Central Asia"

Goel, Rajeev, Professor of Economics, Illinois State University. "Is it the Gums, Teeth or the Bite? Effectiveness of Dimensions of Enforcement in Curbing Corruption"

Hager, Anselm, Assistant Professor of political economy at the graduate school of decision sciences in Konstanz. "Does State Repression Prevent Popular Uprisings? Evidence from Polish Spies and the Fall of the Iron Curtain"

Huss, Oksana, postdoctoral researcher at the Leiden University, Netherlands, and co-founder of the Interdisciplinary Corruption Research Network (ICRNetwork.org). "Explaining variation in effectiveness of anti-corruption activism in the regions of Ukraine: The role of local context"

Patrikios, Stratos, Senior Lecturer, School of Government and Public Policy, University of Strathclyde. "The Governance of Public Non-Governmental Institutions: Written Rules of the Eastern Orthodox Churches"

Phalén, Natali, Secretary General, the Swedish Anti-Corruption Institute. "Promoting ethics through self-regulation – how the Swedish Anti-Corruption Institute works against corruption"

Praca, Sergio, Professor, da Escola de Ciências Sociais do CPDOC (FGV-RJ). "How Bureaucrats Survive: State Capacity and Political Appointments in Bolsonaro's Brazil"

Stephenson, Matthew, Professor of Law, Harvard Law School. "Corruption as a Self-Reinforcing "Trap": Implications for Reform Strategy"

Suryanarayan, Pavithra, Assistant professor, International Political Economy, John Hopkins University. "Social-Status and Redistributive Politics"

Szucs, Ferenc, Assistant Professor, Department of Economics, Stockholm University. "Discretion and Corruption in Public Procurement"

Urban, Petr, Senior Researcher at the Institute of Philosophy, Czech Academy of Sciences, Prague. "Civil Service Ethics in the Czech Republic: Recent Developments and Challenges"

Uslaner, Eric M., Professor of Government and Politics, University of Maryland. "National Identity and Political Polarization"

Woodhouse, Eleanor, Max Weber postdoc, European University Institute (EUI). "Public-Private Financing Agreements, Distributive Politics, and Infrastructure Development"

Xu, Guo, Assistant Professor, Berkeley Haas School of Business. "Social Proximity and Bureaucrat Performance: Evidence from India"

PUBLICATIONS 2019



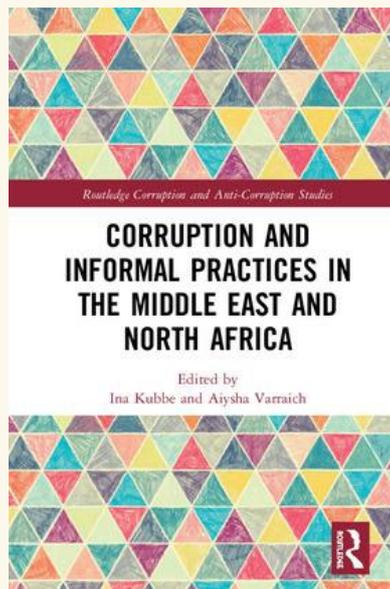
DISSERTATIONS

Mattias Agerberg (2019): **Quality of government and political behavior: Resignation and agency.** Department of Political Science, University of Gothenburg.

Elin Bergman (2019): **Clientelism, conditional cash transfers, and cross-class coalitions: why governments expand pro-poor redistribution.** Department of Political Science, University of Gothenburg.

Sofia Jonsson (2019): **Sex, crime and politics. How organized crime influences and adapts to political institutions, with a particular focus on sex trafficking.** Department of Political Science, University of Gothenburg.

BOOKS



Ina Kubbe and Aiysha Varraich (eds.). **Corruption and Informal Practices in the Middle East and North Africa.** Routledge.

This book investigates the pervasive problem of corruption across the Middle East and North Africa. Drawing on the specifics of the local context, the book explores how corruption in the region is actuated through informal practices that coexist and work in parallel to formal institutions.

When informal practices become vehicles for corruption, they can have negative ripple effects across many aspects of society, but on the other hand, informal practices could also have the potential to be leveraged to reinforce formal institutions to help fight corruption. Drawing on a range of cases including

Morocco, Lebanon, Turkey, Jordan, Tunisia and Israel, the book first explores the mechanisms and dynamics of corruption and informal practices in the region, before looking at the successes and failures of anti-corruption initiatives. The final section focuses on gender perspectives on corruption, which are often overlooked in the corruption literature, and the role of women in the Middle East.

With insights drawn from a range of disciplines, this book will be of interest to researchers and students across political science, philosophy, socio-legal studies, public administration, and Middle Eastern studies, as well as to policy makers and practitioners working in the region.

BOOK CHAPTERS

D'Arcy, Michelle & Marina Nistotskaya (2019). **"The Irish Tax State and Historical Legacies: Slowly Converging Capacity, Persistent Unwillingness to Pay."** In Kanter D., Walsh P. (eds.). **Taxation, Politics, and Protest in Ireland, 1662–2016.** London: Palgrave Macmillan.

The historical tax state in Ireland prior to independence was characterized by low administrative capacity, a regressive tax structure, and popular resistance to taxation. We chart the impact of this history for both formal institutions—the revenue authority's administrative capacity—and informal institutions—norms and attitudes towards taxation. We argue that, in terms of formal institutions, a historical legacy of administrative weakness has meant that, compared to other European countries, there have been lags in the adoption of modern tax practices and administration. However, significant reforms in the 1990s turned the Irish Revenue Commissioners into an impressive institution on par with tax authorities in other countries. While administrative capacity has converged with other OECD member states, the second legacy of resistant attitudes towards taxation has been harder to erode. Unwillingness to pay has been a theme in Irish tax politics and has constrained successive governments in their attempts to create a sustainable revenue base. The Irish case suggests that historical legacies may persist or subside at different rates in formal and informal institutions, with attitudes towards taxation proving more persistent.

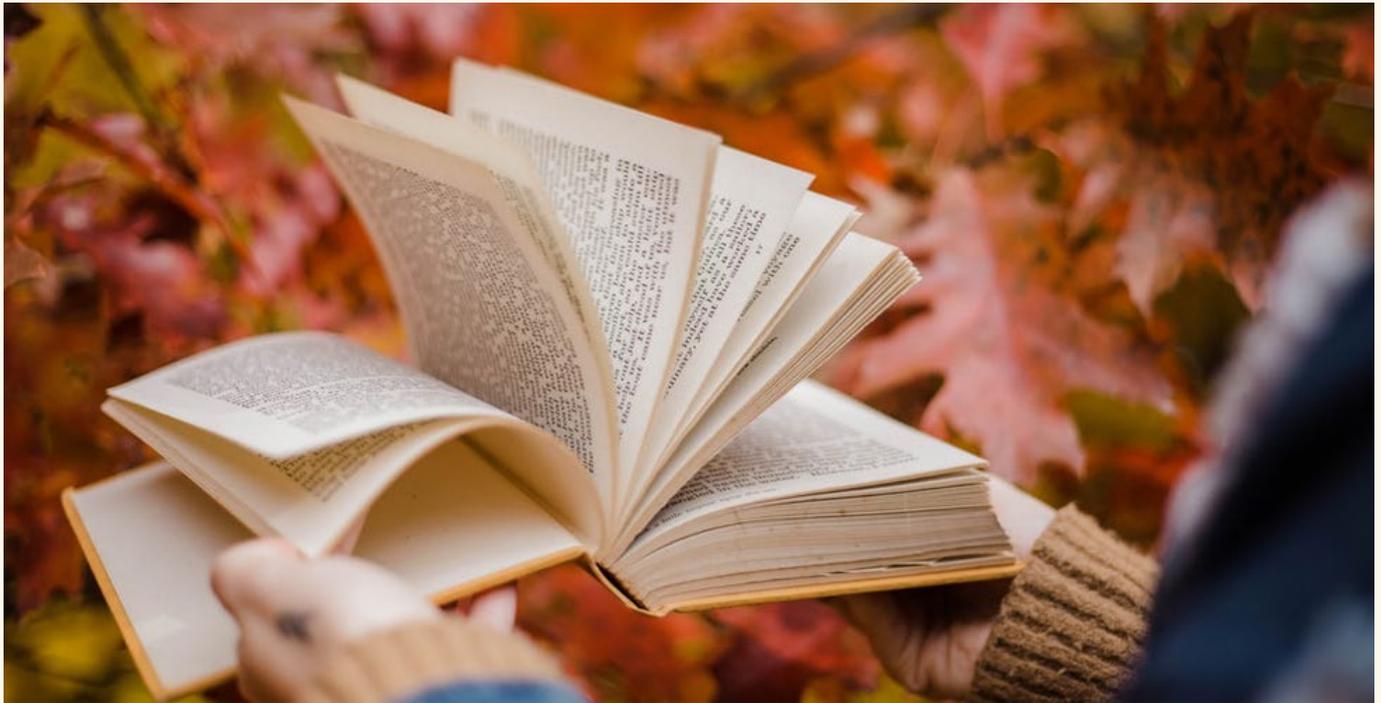
PEER REVIEWED ARTICLES

Agerberg, Mattias (2019). **"The Lesser Evil? Corruption Voting and the Importance of Clean Alternatives"**. *Comparative Political Studies*.

Surveys show that citizens in all parts of the world have a strong distaste for corruption. At the same time, and contrary to the predictions of democratic theory, politicians involved in the most glaring abuse of public office often continue to receive electoral support. Using an original survey experiment conducted in Spain, this article explores a previously understudied aspect of this apparent paradox: the importance of viable and clean political alternatives. The results suggest that voters do punish political corruption when a clean alternative exists, even when the corrupt candidate is very appealing in other respects. However, when only given corrupt alternatives, respondents become much more likely to tolerate a candidate accused of corruption—even when given a convenient “no-choice” option. I discuss how these results can help us understand corruption voting and why some societies seem to be stuck in a high-corruption equilibrium.

Bauhr, Monika, Agnes Czibik, Jenny de Fine Licht & Mihaly Fazekas (2019). **"Lights on the shadows of public procurement: Transparency as an antidote to corruption"**. *Governance*.

The increased focus on marketizing mechanisms and contracting out operations following the New Public Management reform agenda has sparked a debate on whether the close interactions between public and private actors might drive corruption in the public sector. The main response to those worries has been increased transparency, but so far empirical evidence of its efficiency remains scant and mixed. This article argues that the beneficial effects of transparency on corruption are contingent on type of transparency, and in particular, who the intended receiver of the information is. Drawing on newly collected data of more than 3.5 million government contracts between 2006 and 2015, the analysis shows that overall tender transparency reduces corruption risks substantially, yet that the effect is largely driven by ex-ante transparency, that is, transparency that allows for horizontal monitoring by insiders in the bidding process.



Bauhr, Monika & Nicholas Charron (2019). **"The EU as a savior and a saint? Corruption and public support for redistribution"**. *Journal of European Public Policy*.

While the European Union is plagued by considerable social and economic inequality, not least in the wake of both the enlargement of the Union and financial crises, we know surprisingly little about the sources of public support for redistribution and the EU's most significant tool for reducing inequalities: Cohesion Policy. We suggest that while identity, ideology and utilitarian concerns may motivate support for international redistribution, such support is highly contingent on perceptions of domestic corruption. Using unique and newly collected survey data, we show that perceptions of domestic corruption increase support for within-EU redistribution but only in contexts where the quality of government is low and public service delivery deficient. Perceptions of corruption have no such effect in contexts where the quality of government is high. We conclude that perceptions of domestic corruption will drive support for Cohesion Policy in contexts where the EU can be seen as both a potential savior and – relative to domestic government – a saint. We discuss implications for further EU integration.

Bauhr Monika & Nicholas Charron, forthcoming. **"In God we trust? Identity, institutions and international redistribution"**. Accepted for Publication *Journal of Common Market Studies*.

Bauhr, Monika & Nicholas Charron, forthcoming. **"Do citizens support cohesion policy? Measuring European support for redistribution within the EU and its correlates"**. Manuscript on revise and resubmit, *Regional Studies*.

Boräng, Frida, Simon Felgendreher, Niklas Harring & Åsa Löfgren (2019). **"Committing to the climate: A global study of accountable climate argets"**. *Sustainability*.

The Paris Agreement has been described by many as a historical event, a turning point in the United Nations' climate negotiations. Its success is often attributed to the intended nationally determined contributions (INDCs), in which countries have committed themselves to individually set targets in order to reduce emissions. However, it still remains to be agreed as to how to review and compare countries' efforts, as outlined in the INDCs (and at later stages in the nationally determined contributions—NDCs). In this paper we suggest (and construct) a simple quantitative measure that is transparent, ensures valid comparison over time, and which can be determined for a large share of countries; a comparable indicator of country commitments in terms of so called accountable climate targets (ACTs). This indicator is then combined with a global data set of political-institutional, economic and geographic variables to understand more about which factors may affect country commitments. The results from multivariate probability unit (probit) regressions show that egalitarian principles, as well as GDP per capita, tend

to be positively associated with climate commitments, while a negative association is found for CO2 emissions per capita.

Broms, Rasmus, Carl Dahlström & Mihály Fazekas (2019). **"Political competition and public procurement outcomes"**. *Comparative Political Studies*.

This article asks if low political competition is associated with more restricted public procurement processes. Using unique Swedish municipal data from 2009 to 2015, it demonstrates that when one party dominates local politics, noncompetitive outcomes from public procurement processes are more common. What is most striking is that the risk of receiving only one bid, on what is intended to be an open and competitive tender, considerably increases with long-standing one-party rule. The article contributes to a significant body of work on the detrimental effects of low political competition, and the results are particularly interesting from a comparative perspective because Sweden—an old democracy with a meritocratic bureaucracy, characterized by low levels of corruption and clientelism—is a highly unlikely case in which to find such tendencies.

Broms, Rasmus, Carl Dahlström & Marina Nistotskaya (2019).

“Competition and service quality: evidence from Swedish residential care homes”. Governance.

This article aims to shed light on the separate effects of private ownership and competition for the market on service quality. Using residential elder care homes in Sweden as our case, we leverage unique panel data of ownership and competition against a set of indicators, pertaining to the structure, process and outcome dimensions of care quality. The main finding of our analysis is that competition for the market does surprisingly little for quality: private entrepreneurs perform neither better nor worse under stiff competition and the quality of care is approximately the same in those nursing homes that are exposed to the market and those that are not.

Dahlström, Carl & Mikael Holmgren (2019). **“The political dynamics of bureaucratic turnover”.** British Journal of Political Science.

This Research Note explores the political dynamics of bureaucratic turnover. It argues that changes in a government's policy objectives can shift both political screening strategies and bureaucratic selection strategies, which produces turnover of agency personnel. To buttress this conjecture, it analyzes a unique dataset tracing the careers of all agency heads in the Swedish executive bureaucracy between 1960 and 2014. It shows that, despite serving on fixed terms and with constitutionally protected decision-making powers, Swedish agency heads are considerably more likely to leave their posts following partisan shifts in government. The note concludes that, even in institutional systems seemingly designed to insulate bureaucratic expertise from political control, partisan politics can shape the composition of agency personnel.

Dragana Davidovic, Niklas Harring & Sverker C. Jagers (2019) **“The contingent effects of environmental concern and ideology: institutional context and people's willingness to pay environmental taxes”.** Environmental Politics.

Environmental taxes are often argued to be key to more effective environmental protection. People's willingness to pay such taxes in contexts with varying levels of quality of government (QoG) is investigated. Applying multilevel analyses on data from the International Social Survey Programme (ISSP) and

the QoG Institute, links between environmental concern, ideology, and QoG are explored. The results show that people who state that they are concerned about environmental issues and live in high QoG countries are more willing than people in low QoG countries to pay environmental taxes. Moreover, people in low QoG countries holding leftist political value orientations are less willing to pay environmental taxes than rightists and other value groups. Environmental concern and leftist political ideology are more important drivers of public support for environmental taxes in high QoG countries than in low QoG countries.

Harring, Niklas, Sverker Jagers & Frida Nilsson (2019) **“Recycling as a large-scale collective action dilemma: A cross-country study on trust and reported recycling behavior”.** Resources, Conservation and Recycling.

Household recycling contributes to environmental sustainability goals by limiting the extraction of natural resources. Previous literature has mapped out several factors, mainly at the individual level, that tend to increase individuals' tendencies to recycle. Inherent features of household recycling, however, suggest that a large-scale collective action framework should be relevant when analyzing this activity, meaning that trust, especially institutional trust, should increase recycling frequency. This paper consequently does four things: First, it examines whether institutional trust is linked to individuals' tendencies to report recycling; second, it tests the role of generalized trust for reported recycling behavior; third, it looks at the relationship between institutional quality at the country level and reported recycling behavior; and fourth, the paper provides a new theoretical approach to test the link between trust and behavior, which is hypothesized to result in a positive relationship between institutional trust and recycling behavior but with a negative relationship among the most trusting individuals (i.e. a curvilinear overall relationship). Support is found for a positive link between generalized trust, institutional trust, and institutional quality as a country-level factor on reported household recycling. However, we find no support for a curvilinear relationship. Findings imply that institutional trust has a role to play in household recycling, but this relationship should benefit from further examination.

Kokkonen, Andrej & Anders Sundell (2019). **“Leader succession and civil war”.** Comparative Political Studies.

Leadership succession is a perennial source of instability in autocratic regimes. Despite this, it has remained a curiously understudied phenomenon in political science. In this article, we compile a novel and comprehensive dataset on civil war in Europe and combine it with data on the fate of monarchs in 28 states over 800 years to investigate how autocratic succession affected the risk of civil war. Exploiting the natural deaths of monarchs to identify exogenous variation in successions, we find that successions substantially increased the risk of civil war. The risk of succession wars could, however, be mitigated by hereditary succession arrangements (i.e., primogeniture—the principle of letting the oldest son inherit the throne). When hereditary monarchies replaced elective monarchies in Europe, succession wars declined drastically. Our results point to the importance of the succession, and the institutions governing it, for political stability in autocratic regimes

Lindvall, Johannes, Hanna Bäck, Carl Dahlström, Elin Naurin & Jan Teorell (2019). **“Sweden's parliamentary democracy at 100”.** Parliamentary Affairs.

This article assesses how Swedish parliamentary democracy works today, almost one hundred years into its history. Our main research question is whether the transformation of the Swedish party system since the 1980s—and especially since 2010, when the populist-radical-right Sweden Democrats entered parliament—has altered the way parliamentary democracy works. We provide new evidence on Sweden's changing party system, the formation and duration of cabinets, decision-making in parliament and the relationship between what parties say in election campaigns and what they do in government. Our main conclusion is that at least by the election of 2018, surprisingly little had changed. Cabinets have formed quickly, and once formed, they have survived until the next election. The bills governments have sent to parliament have usually passed, often getting the support of one or more opposition parties. Governing parties have managed to implement approximately 80 per cent of the promises they have made in their election manifestos. That said, the relationship between the executive and the legislature was contested in the 2010–2014 and 2014–2018 parliaments,

and after the election of 2018, it took a very long time to form a new government. The concluding section discusses what the future might hold.

Naurin, Daniel, Elin Naurin & Amy Alexander (2019). **"Gender Stereotyping and Chivalry in International Negotiations: A Survey Experiment in the Council of the European Union"**. International Organization.

Gender stereotypes—stylized expectations of individuals' traits and capabilities based on their gender—may affect the behavior of diplomats and the processes of international negotiations. In a survey experiment in the Council of the European Union, we find that female representatives behaving stereotypically weak and vulnerable may trigger a chivalry reaction among male representatives, increasing the likelihood that the men will agree to support a bargaining proposal from the women. The effect is conditional on the negotiators' cultural background—the chivalry reaction is displayed mainly by diplomats from countries with relatively low levels of gender equality. Our study contributes to the research on nonstandard behavior in international relations, and in particular the expression and reception of emotions in diplomacy. We argue that gender stereotypes may have a moderating impact on decision making based on such intuitive cognitive processes. We also add to the broader negotiation literature, both by showing the pervasiveness of gender stereotyping, and by testing at the elite level the generalizability of claims regarding gender effects derived from laboratory experiments. Overall, our findings demonstrate the importance of bringing gender into the study of international negotiations, where it has been largely and surprisingly ignored.

Patrikios, Stratos & Georgios Xezonakis (2019). **"Religious market structure and democratic performance: Clientelism"**. Electoral Studies.

Is there a connection between government intervention in religious competition and partisan clientelism in democratic systems? Drawing on the economics of religion, we argue that alongside commonly examined population-level religious processes (religious diversity), state-level religious processes (government regulation of competition in the religious market) affect institutional performance in electoral democracies. Linking comparative indicators of religion-state relations with measures of partisan clientelism, statistical analysis suggests

that uncompetitive religious markets, such as those where a dominant religion is sponsored by the state, create incentives, infrastructures and opportunities that favor clientelism. The study emphasizes the importance of light-touch regulation of religion, not merely as a normative principle narrowly related to religious freedom, but also as a potential remedy that can enhance the quality of political institutions.

Persson, Anna & Rothstein, Bo (2019). **"Lost in transition: A bottom-up perspective on hybrid regimes"**. Annals of Comparative Democratization.

Persson, Anna, Rothstein, Bo, & Teorell Jan (2019). **"Getting the Basic Nature of Systemic Corruption Right"**. Governance.

In reply to Marquette and Peiffer's article "Grappling With the 'Real Politics' of Systemic Corruption: Theoretical Debates Versus 'Real World' Functions," this article employs three criticisms: Marquette and Peiffer's call to grapple with the "real politics of corruption" does not bring much new to the table, is conceptually flawed, and risks serving as an excuse for corrupt elites to pursue "business as usual." In response, we reaffirm three insights gained from collective action based approaches toward corruption. Although corruption might solve individual level problems in the short term, it is still a de facto problem at the aggregate level, the tools derived from principal-agent theory will not solve the collective action problem of systemic corruption, and elites will be the least likely to implement reform. We conclude by calling for the continued fight against corruption—a fight informed by empirical and theoretical knowledge.

Povitkina, Marina and Ketevan Bolkvadze (2019). **"Fresh pipes with dirty water: How quality of government shapes the provision of public goods in democracies"**. European Journal of Political Research.

A large strand of research holds that democracy, with its broad representation and electoral accountability, is beneficial for the provision of public goods. Yet, there is a large variation in how democracies perform, indicating that democratic institutions alone do not suffice for securing citizens' wellbeing. Recent studies have stressed the equal importance of state capacity for public goods delivery. These studies, however,

rarely investigate how the lack of state capacity mutes the effects of democratic institutions on public goods provision. This article addresses this gap by using a mixed methods design. First, the conditional effects of democracy and quality of government (QoG) are tested on the previously under researched domain of the provision of clean water. The results show that democracy is associated with higher water quality only in countries where QoG is high. If QoG is low, more democracy is even related to lower water quality. The second stage of the analysis proceeds by examining how poor QoG disrupts the effects of democracy on public access to safe drinking water, using interview data from a typical case of Moldova. The analysis illustrates that democracy has a number of positive effects and incentivizes politicians to focus on the visible aspects of water provision, including the expansion of the water pipe network. However, low QoG hampers adoption and implementation of long term policies necessary for securing an aspect of water provision that is harder to achieve – namely water quality. This leaves the fresh pipes with dirty water.



WORKING PAPERS

2019:1 Daniel Carelli: **The focal power of anticorruption law: Insights from Italian state-building**

Until recently it has been taken for granted that laws play an important role in the fight against corruption. However, a recent debate casts doubt on the influence of laws in curbing corruption in societies with systemic corruption, i.e. where such laws are most needed. Without a strong rule of law, an efficient bureaucracy, and trustworthy and legitimate politicians, legislation with sanctions will have a limited effect on changing behavior. Rather, given corruption as a collective action problem, it is the empirical and normative expectations of others' behavior that impedes societies from breaking the vicious cycle. Against this backdrop, this essay asks: what is the role of laws in the fight against systemic corruption? Through a comparative historical analysis of the North-South gap in corruption in Italy since national unification in 1861, this study finds that the role of law in societies with systemic corruption is to generate focal points for coordinating desirable behavior. However, as the case of Italy reveals, a credible commitment by the state needs to be in place in order for the law to manifest its focal power. In other words, the state can use the law to signal an alternative to the corrupt equilibrium, but if the state lacks credibility, the signal is not likely to be received as desired. Thus, by exploring the role of formal laws in anticorruption,

this essay raises the important interaction between legal content, actors, institutions, and contextual circumstances.

2019:2 Dragana Davidovic & Niklas Harring: **Does quality of government and trust explain the cross-national variation in public support for climate policy?**

In accordance with the Paris agreement, the signing countries have undertaken to reduce their greenhouse gas emissions, implying more government intervention to steer the behaviors of different actors with climate policy measures. However, states face very different possibilities for gaining support for such interventions, especially those targeting the consumption patterns of individual citizens, due to, for example, variations in economic development, the quality of political institutions, and other country covariates. While most research on climate policy support has focused on individual factors, such as ideological position, values, and socio-demographic factors, there are also studies out there showing that there is quite some variation in country support for various climate change policies. Using newly published data from the European Social Survey, we explore whether variation in climate policy support is associated with levels of quality of government (QoG) and individuals' trust in political institutions and people in general, and if these associations vary across different types of climate policies. We find that QoG and generalized trust are positively linked to support for climate taxes, but we find no associations with support for climate

subsidies and climate bans. Moreover, we find that political and institutional trust are more strongly linked to support for climate taxes than to support for climate subsidies and climate bans.

2019:3 Nicholas Charron, Niklas Harring & Victor Lapuente: **Trust, regulation and redistribution**

For many social scientists government intervention is linked to low levels of social trust and corruption, while, on the contrary, for others government intervention is associated with high trust and low corruption. We aim to reconcile these contrasting findings by distinguishing the opposing effects of trust over two alternative types of government intervention: regulation and redistribution. We argue that low-trust individuals demand more governmental regulation (H1) but less government redistribution (H2). And the effects of trust over policy preferences are conditional on the quality of institutions. The higher the level of quality of government in a particular region, the more high-trusting individuals will like government redistribution and will dislike government regulation that restricts the operations of free markets (H3). We test these hypotheses with data from the latest round of the European Quality of Government Index survey, which covers 77,000 individuals from 185 regions of 21 EU Member States.

2019:4 Carl Dahlström, Mihály Fazekas & David E. Lewis: **Agency design, favoritism and procurement in the United States**

The U.S. federal government spends huge sums buying goods and services from outside of the public sector. Given the sums involved, strategic government purchasing can have electoral consequences. In this paper, we suggest that more politicized agencies show favoritism to entrepreneurs in key electoral constituencies and to firms connected to political parties. We evaluate these claims using new data on United States government contracts between 2003 and 2015. We find that executive departments, particularly more politicized department-wide offices, are the most likely to have contracts characterized by non-competitive procedures and outcomes, indicating favoritism. Politically responsive agencies –but only those –give out more non-competitive contracts in battleground states. We also observe greater turnover in firms receiving government contracts after party change in the White House, but only in the more politicized agencies. We conclude that agency designs that limit appointee representation in procurement decisions reduce political favoritism.

2019:5 Monika Bauhr & Ruth Carlitz: **Transparency and the quality of local public service provision: Street-level discretion in education, health and infrastructure**

Transparency has been widely promoted as a tool for improving public service delivery; however, empirical evidence is inconclusive. We suggest that the effects of transparency on service provision are contingent on the nature of the service. Specifically, transparency is more likely to improve the quality of service provision when street-level discretion is high, since discretion increases information asymmetries, and, in the absence of transparency, allows officials to target public services in suboptimal ways. Using finely grained data from the Vietnam Provincial Governance and Public Administration Performance Index between 2011–2017, we show that communes that experience increases in transparency also experience improved quality of education and health (services characterized by greater discretion), while the quality of infrastructure provision (characterized by less discretion) bears no relation to increased transparency. The findings help us understand when transparency can improve service provision, as well the effects of transparency reforms in non-democratic settings.

2019:6 Ramin Shiralí: **Elite survival first, then meritocratization: implications of elite survival on the meritocratization of bureaucracies**

Previous research has shown that meritocratic recruitment increases bureaucratic governance and decreases corruption (Evans and Rauch, 1999, 2000). However, less emphasis has been placed on why meritocratic practices take root. This paper aims to explore this scientific gap by testing two main hypotheses. Increased rates of tertiary enrolment in autocracies are proposed to have a negative effect on meritocratization (H1). This, it is suggested, occurs as a growing educated class may directly compete with the ruling elites for power. Conversely, increasing rates of tertiary enrolment are suggested to increase the likelihood of meritocratization in democracies (H2). This mechanism is proposed due to democratic rulers' concerns about the provision of public goods. They are thereby willing to sacrifice their natural inclination toward favoring their core constituencies, as costs for retaining patronage networks increase with a growing educated class. Evidence was found for both H1 and H2 – autocracies display a significant negative relationship with meritocratization as tertiary enrolment increases, while a significant positive relationship is found for democracies. The study was empirically executed using panel data, with measures of tertiary enrolment and meritocracy dating from 1820 to 2010 – which, to date, is the first time this data has been tested. In addition, up to 108 countries were evaluated over the time period, using a variety of controls. This paper thereby provides new evidence based on a larger collection of data than previous studies investigating the causes of meritocratization.

2019:7 Kohei Suzuki & Mehmet Akif Demircioglu: **Is impartiality enough? Government impartiality and citizen's perceptions of public service quality**

Government impartiality is considered a core feature of government quality that leads to favorable macro-level outcomes. We still have limited knowledge, however, of how impartiality affects citizens' perceptions of public service quality. Understanding this relationship is important because citizens are the main beneficiaries of public services and are directly affected by administrative impartiality. Using the European Quality of Government Index (EQI) data for 56,925 citizens in 174 European regions, results of multilevel analysis show that impartiality positively influences

perceived public service quality. However, we also find that such positive impacts of impartiality are contingent on the socio-economic backgrounds of citizens. Impartiality does not lead to positive evaluations of public services among citizens with low educational background. The findings are robust across regions even after controlling for lagged service quality level and individual and regional factors. Results suggest the importance of impartiality, but all citizens do not benefit equally from impartiality.

2019:8 Sören Holmberg & Bo Rothstein: **Correlates of electoral democracy**

2019:9 Bo Rothstein & Sören Holmberg: **Correlates of corruption**

2019:10 Matthew Stephenson: **Corruption as a self-reinforcing “trap”: Implications for reform strategy**

Corruption is widely believed to be a self-reinforcing phenomenon, in the sense that the incentive to engage in corrupt acts increases as corruption becomes more widespread in the relevant community. Leading scholars have argued that corruption's self-reinforcing property implies that incremental anti-corruption reforms cannot be effective, and that the only way to escape a high-corruption equilibrium “trap” is through a so-called “big bang” or “big push.” This widespread view is mistaken. After surveying the reasons corruption might be self-reinforcing (or in some cases self-limiting), this paper demonstrates that corruption's self-reinforcing property does not imply the necessity of a “big bang” approach to reform, and indeed may strengthen the case for pursuing sustained, cumulative incremental anticorruption reforms.

2019:11 Fredrik Larsson: **Can civil society curb corruption in public procurement? A comparative study of the conditional effect of societal accountability in EU regions**

Public procurement involves large sums of public funds and is a major component of public sector fiscal activity. For this very reason, procurement is vulnerable to corruption, as it presents both motive and opportunities for corruption. The broader corruption literature has pointed to civil society as a key set of actors in monitoring and detecting corruption in the public sector, but whether it can and does so in

procurement processes remains an open question. This study takes on this question, exploring claims put forth in previous research that the ability of civil society to bring corrupt officials to account is contingent on contextual factors. The study examines both the unconditioned relationship between civil society strength and corruption in procurement, as well as the relationship conditional upon levels of transparency, meritocracy, and local media in 175 EU regions. The results suggest that the relationship between civil society strength and corruption in procurement is not monotonic, but, counter to findings in previous research, that the effect seems to exist where conditions are less favorable, rather than more favorable. Civil society exhibits a negative association with procurement corruption in regions with comparatively lower transparency and meritocracy. The results suggest that institutions not only affect the ability of civil society to demand accountability, but also its willingness to do so.

2019:12 Ina Kubbe, Amy Alexander & Lena Wängnerud: **The effect of gender on corruption: Sorting out explanations for gender differences with new experimental research**

An extensive literature demonstrates a relationship between gender and corruption, with women being less involved in corrupt transactions than men. There are two major ways of explaining this correlation; one emphasizes differences between men and women in risk-aversion and the other differences in pro-social behavior. However, whether there is support for these explanations is never directly tested. We take advantage of one opportunity for gathering this evidence by replicating and extending a well-cited experimental study by Alatas et al. (2009). Through our extension of the Alatas et al. study, we were able to collect unique information on gender differences in rationalizations of experimental subjects' behavior. The key finding is that we see significant gender differences in reasons for behavior: the results indicate risk-seeking behavior among men but not risk-aversion among women. Instead, pro-social reasoning is apparent among women.

2019:13 Håkan Bernhardsson: **The Link between Ethnic Fractionalization and Corruption Revised: Ethnic Voting in Africa**

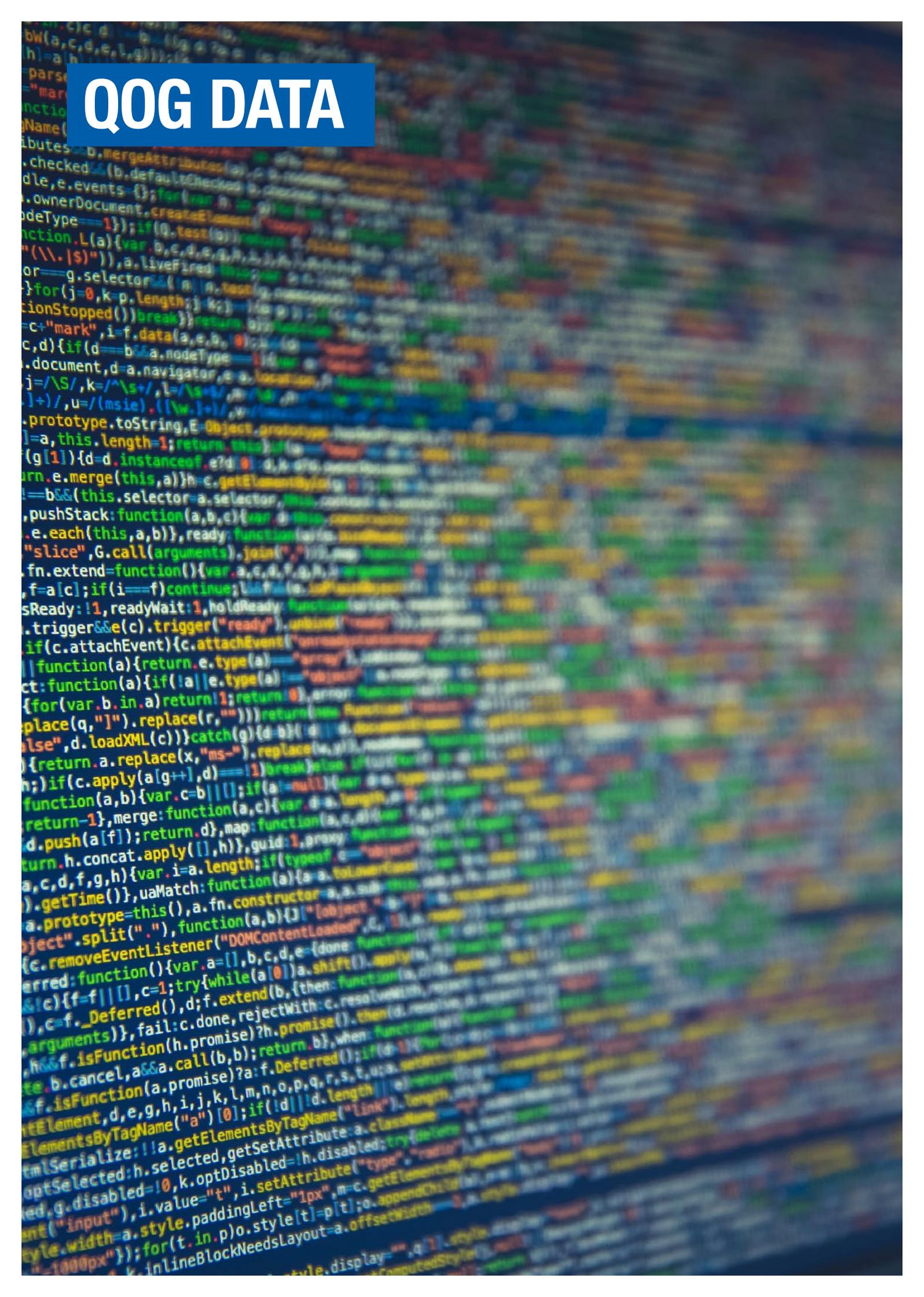
This paper revisits the relationship between ethnic fractionalization and corruption. Earlier literature argues that ethnic fractionalization leads to

corruption via mechanisms involving ethnic in-group favoritism. In this study, an alternative theory suggests that the causal relationship runs in the other direction: when the political system is corrupt and fails to deliver security, voters will fall back on ethnic institutions. This creates the stronger patterns of ethnic identity and ethnic voting that we see in countries considered to be ethnically fractionalized. Conducting three analyses: a regression and an instrumental variable design on the country level, and an individual level analysis on party preferences from the Afro barometer dataset, the thesis finds support for the alternative theory.

2019:14 Rasmus Broms: **Taxation and Turnout in Swedish Municipalities**

The link between taxation and representation is considered foundational to the emergence of democratic governance. Nevertheless, the empirical relationship between taxation and the extent to which citizens actually exert representation by turning out to vote remains virtually unexplored. Using a long panel, from 1979 to 2018, drawn from a relatively difficult case, Swedish municipalities, I find that hikes in local tax rates are linked to increased municipal voter turnout. Accounting for a wide range of confounders, including turnout in concurrent parliamentary elections, these results indicate an important untapped explanation for differences in turnout, while offering a rare explicit test of the taxation-representation argument drawn from a mature democracy.

QOG DATA



2019 has been another eventful year for QoG Data. We have released the QoG Data updates and a new interactive tool, and we have also started the implementation of the QoG Expert Survey. At the beginning of the year we released the updated version of the Basic, Standard and OECD datasets. In this update, the Standard dataset includes over 2,400 variables from approximately 100 different sources, and the reference year for the cross-section version is 2015. The Basic dataset, which is a smaller version of the Standard, contains more than 400 variables from over 70 sources. The OECD dataset has over 1,200 variables from more than 80 different sources, and this update includes observations from new OECD members.

The 2019 update incorporated new data from the following data sources:

- Africa Integrity Indicators (Global Integrity, 2018)
- Alliance Treaty Obligations and Provisions (ATOP) Project (Leeds, Ritter, Mitchell and Long, 2002)
- Comparative Abortion Index (Forman and Sommer, 2018)
- Ease of Doing Business Index from the Doing Business Project (World Bank Group, 2019)
- The Gender Inequality Index (UNDP, 2019)
- Human Understanding Measured Across National (HUMAN) Surveys (Klassen, 2018)
- Societal Violence Scale from the Political Terror Scale Project (Gibney, Cornett and Haschke, 2015)
- Worldwide Bureaucracy Indicators (World Bank Group, 2018)
- World Income Inequality Database (UNU-WIDER, 2018)

During 2019 we also added another app to the QoG Data Visualization Tools, which allows users to visually explore the data online before downloading the datasets. In addition to updating existing versions of the European Quality of Government Index (EQI) Map, the Interactive World Map, Motion Chart and Scatterplot, the QoG Data Team launched the Lineplot, which enables users to study a chosen variable cross-nationally over time. See the example graph produced using the QoG Lineplot in figure 1.

Another major project this year has been the implementation of the third wave of the QoG Expert Survey, a cross-national large-scale survey of public administration experts. The survey aims to measure the bureaucratic behavior, structure and quality of central governments worldwide, and contains three central themes, including bureaucratic professionalism, closedness and impartiality. For the third wave, the survey design has been modified so as to include vignette questions, which aims to improve the internal and external reliability of the survey and reduce measurement bias. The survey is fielded at the end of 2019 and the final dataset is to be released to the public in 2020.

From August 29 to September 2 the QoG Data Team was present at the Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association (APSA), which took place in Washington, DC. As in previous years, the QoG Institute shared a stand in the exhibit hall together with our sister institutions Varieties of Democracy (V-Dem) and the Program on Local Governance and Development (GLD). Our participation provided us with the opportunity to meet with many of our data users, and to further promote our datasets and data tools for practitioners, researchers and teachers working the field of good government and institutional quality.

The promotion of our datasets at international conferences such as the Annual Meeting of the APSA has also given us the chance to meet with the researchers

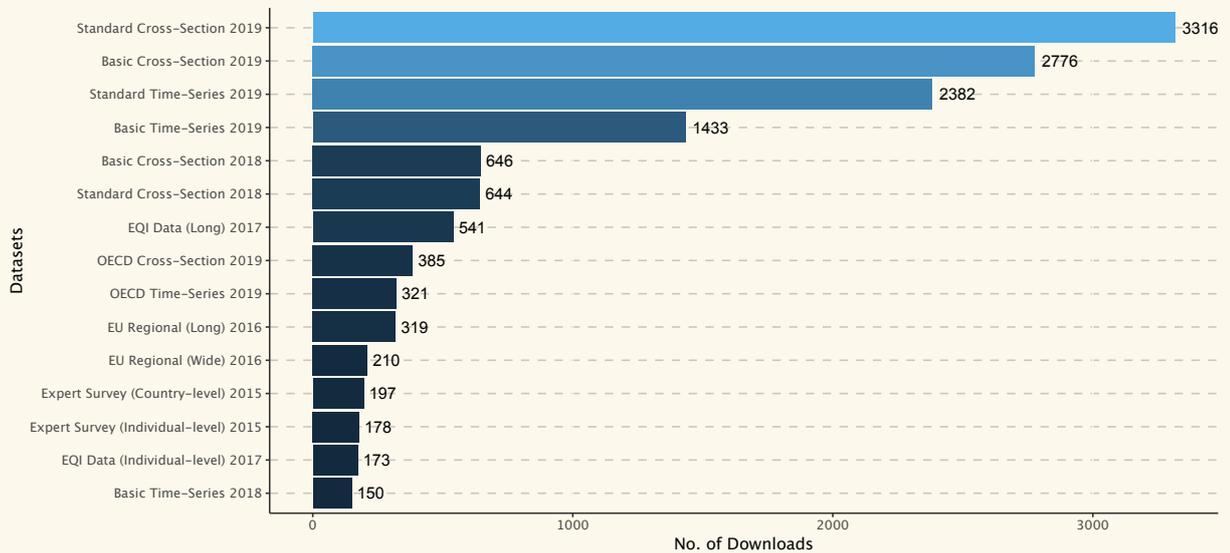
responsible for some of our data sources and to discover new datasets related to QoG. Throughout 2019, QoG Data has also been presented at Universidad del Rosario in Bogotá, the University of Bergen, and at International Institute for Democracy and Electoral Assistance (IDEA) in Stockholm. During these meetings, we participated in knowledge-sharing of large-scale databases, met with important research institutes and organizations and new potential data collaborators, and engaged with students and professors to understand their needs in terms of data.

Finally, QoG Data has seen some administrative changes during 2019. At the beginning of the year we welcomed QoG-researcher Marina Nistotskaya and Associate Researcher Sofia Axelsson to the Data Team. Marina is serving as the Principal Investigator of the QoG Expert Survey 2019 and Sofia is assisting her with survey design and implementation.

Stefan Dahlberg, Principal Investigator of the QoG Databases and Richard Svensson, Data Manager, who have both been working at QoG Data since the infrastructure was initially launched, have left the Data Team for new academic positions. We thank Stefan and Richard for their long-standing commitment to QoG Data and wish them success in their future academic pursuits. Associate Professor Aksel Sundström has been recruited as new Principal Investigator of QoG Data. Aksel will start his new position at the beginning of 2020 together with a newly recruited Data Manager. We welcome Aksel to the Data Team and look forward to a new and productive year.

NUMBER OF DOWNLOADS PER DATASET

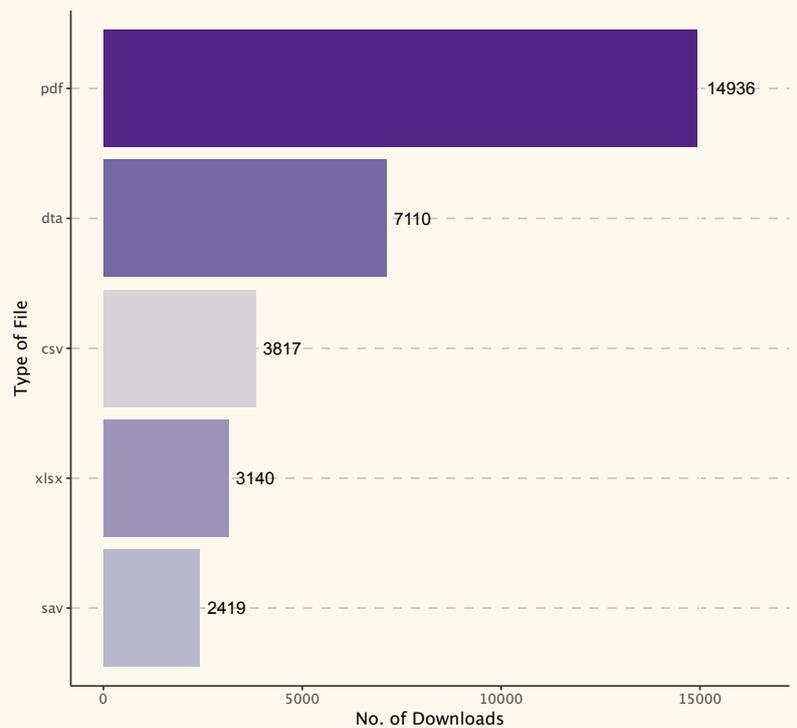
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QOG FOR STUDENTS



INTERNSHIP AT THE QOG INSTITUTE

The Quality of Government Institute hosts an internship program aimed at students enrolled on a master's program. The internship provides opportunities for students to obtain practical experience in working with various research projects within academia in an international environment, and gives the student the opportunity to experience the day-to-day work at the Institute and to participate in seminars and other events organized by the Institute.

In 2019, we accommodated five interns for a period of 10-20 weeks.



Palina Kolvani, Master student in Political Science, University of Gothenburg.

"I did my internship at QoG as part of the Master program in Political Science at the University of Gothenburg. I became interested in QoG as a research area after I took the QoG course in the spring. During my time at QoG I was involved in various tasks and projects, including the annual update of the QoG datasets and the upcoming Oxford Handbook of the Quality of Government. I also assisted several researchers in their ongoing research projects on various topics, including favoritism in procurement, satisfaction with democracy, corruption in Romania and regional Quality of Government in Russia. Overall, the internship was an excellent opportunity to work with leading scholars in the field, to apply skills from my previous studies and to prepare for the upcoming Master's thesis."

THE QOG COURSES



Associate Professor Nicholas Charron giving a lecture to students at the department of Political Science, University of Gothenburg.

Master students at the University of Gothenburg have an opportunity to take part in a courses that specifically explore different aspects of Quality of Government and the performance of democracies from a "governance" perspective.

The Quality of Government in Comparative Perspective

This course explores problems of the quality of government (QoG) and corruption in a comparative perspective. The background to this is the recent consensus among social scientists about the importance of high-quality government for economic and democratic development as well as for social and environmental sustainability. Government organizations that are trustworthy, reliable, impartial, uncorrupted and competent are currently seen as one of the most important determinants of human well-being. Until recently the "general wisdom" was that corruption and related phenomena (patronage, clientelism and cronyism) had many positive effects ("greasing the wheels"). New theories and better data have turned this argument around. Corruption is now seen as having detrimental effects on economic growth, public goods provision, the democratic processes and trust among citizens. Quality of government is not a problem of developing countries only, but exists also in economically advanced democracies where trust in government institutions and the sustainability of welfare programs

have been questioned. The central issues that will be addressed in the course are: What is QoG? How can QoG be defined and measured? What do you get from high QoG and what are the mechanisms through which the effects of high/low QoG work? What explains the great variation between countries in QoG? How is QoG related to democracy, economic growth, the rule of law, social capital, inequality, social policies, and people's collective and individual well-being? Lastly, for those who aspire to win the Nobel prize: What does it take for countries to change from low to high quality government institutions?

In 2019, 25 students were enrolled on the QoG course.

The Performance of Democracies

This course explores factors that explain cross country variation in democratic performance and their implications. More specifically, it is concerned with how institutional variation among democratic regimes is related to outcomes in general dimensions of performance, such as, human well-being, corruption and sound management of public finances, among others. It therefore takes a 'governance' perspective, focusing less on issues that have to do with what democracy is, democratic transitions or democratic survival, but rather with why and how democracies 'succeed or fail' in the aforementioned areas. It also reviews the implications that follow for citizen attitudes and democratic support.

In 2019, 27 students were enrolled on the PERDEM course.

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Knut and Alice Wallenberg Foundation
The Swedish Research Council
(Vetenskapsrådet, VR)
Riksbankens Jubileumsfond (RJ)
European Commission
Swedish Research Council for Health,
Working Life and Welfare (FORTE)