https://doi.org/10.1017/50043887118000072 Published online by Cambridge University Press

WORLD POLITICS

A Quarterly Journal of International Relations

Volume 70, Number 2 April 2018

UNDER THE EDITORIAL SPONSORSHIP OF

PRINCETON INSTITUTE FOR INTERNATIONAL AND REGIONAL STUDIES

PUBLISHED BY CAMBRIDGE UNIVERSITY PRESS

EDITORIAL BOARD

DEBORAH J. YASHAR, Chair

Nancy Bermeo, Kristian Skrede Gleditsch, Anna Grzymala-Busse, Torben Iversen, Stathis Kalyvas, Gary King, David Leblang, Evan S. Lieberman, Ellen Lust, Lisa Martin, Elizabeth J. Perry, Kenneth R. Roberts, Michael L. Ross, Kathleen Thelen, Nicholas van de Walle, Barbara F. Walter, Andreas Wimmer, Elisabeth Jean Wood, Daniel Ziblatt

Editorial Committee: Thomas J. Christensen, Rafaela Dancygier, G. John Ikenberry, Amaney A. Jamal, Harold James, Atul Kohli, Stephen Kotkin, Grigore Pop-Eleches, Kristopher W. Ramsay, Deborah J. Yashar (*Chair*)

Associate Editors: FAISAL Z. AHMED, ALISHA HOLLAND, JACOB N. SHAPIRO, RORY TRUEX, KEREN YARHI-MILO

Executive Editor: JOY M. SCHARFSTEIN Editorial Assistants: JOAN HSIAO, KILLIAN CLARKE

The editors invite submission of research articles and review articles bearing upon problems in international relations and comparative politics. Manuscripts should be double-spaced and submitted through the Webbased submission system, ScholarOne Manuscripts, at http://mc.manuscriptcentral.com/wp. Articles may be up to 12,500 words in length, including notes and references. Tables, figures, appendixes, and supplementary materials need not be included in the word count. Word count should be indicated. Manuscripts that exceed the limit will not be considered. Guidelines for articles and special issues, abstracts of forthcoming and recently published articles, and other information can be found on the World Politics Web page, at piirs.princeton.edu /wpj.

Authors can expect to receive decisions on their submissions within four months. Procedures for reviewing manuscripts are based on the anonymity of the author and the confidentiality of readers' and editors' reports; author anonymity is preserved, as well, during the editorial decision-making process. Self-references should therefore be removed. Referees are drawn from Princeton and other institutions; published articles have usually been reviewed by at least two non-Princeton reviewers and often, but not in all instances, one of the editors. Referees for the previous calendar year are acknowledged annually in issue 4 of the journal. In the case of an article deemed to be inappropriate for *World Politics*, the editors strive to notify the author within a month of submission that the article has been withdrawn from consideration.

World Politics does not consider material that has already been published (including in a foreign language), has been concurrently submitted elsewhere, or is already slated for publication even in a somewhat different form, such as a chapter of a book. This policy applies to both print and online formats. For these purposes, an online format that would preclude consideration by the journal refers to a refereed presentation and/or a copyrighted working paper. Examples of pre-published materials that may be considered are print working papers and online papers on an author's own homepage or Web site. Certain material already scheduled for publication, such as a chapter of a book, may be considered by World Politics if it is to appear no earlier than nine months after the likely date of publication in the journal. Dual submission and dual publication are not permitted while a piece is under consideration at World Politics. These restrictions apply to all copyrighted publications (including book chapters, journal articles, and/or working papers). Statements of fact and opinion appearing in the journal does not publish communications to the editor or rejoinders to specific articles. Scholars who believe they have been challenged are encouraged to submit an article that will advance the scholarly debate.

WORLD POLITICS

Vol. 70 April 2018 No. 2

CONTENTS

"Big" Treaties, Small Effects: The RTAA Agreements	Joanne Gowa and Raymond Hicks	165
Decay or Resilience? The Long-Term Social Consequences of Conflict-Related Sexual Violence in Sierra Leone	Carlo Koos	194
Precolonial Legacies and Institutional Congruence in Public Goods Delivery: Evidence from Decentralized		
West Africa	Martha Wilfahrt	239

Party Strength and Economic Growth

Fernando Bizzarro, John Gerring, Carl Henrik Knutsen, Allen Hicken, Michael Bernhard, Svend-Erik Skaaning, Michael Coppedge, and Staffan I. Lindberg 275

Martha Wilfahrt 239

The Contributors

ii

Abstracts

iv

THE CONTRIBUTORS

JOANNE GOWA is the William P. Boswell Professor of World Politics of Peace and War at Princeton University. Her most recent book is *Ballots and Bullets: The Elusive Democratic Peace* (1999). She can be reached at igowa@princeton.edu.

RAYMOND HICKS is the project manager for the History Lab at Columbia University. His research interests include trade policy and monetary policy. He can be reached at rh2883@columbia.edu.

CARLO KOOS is a senior research fellow in the Department of Politics and Public Administration at the University of Konstanz. He is interested in the empirical study of gender in the context of conflict, peace building, and development. His current research focuses on the sociopolitical legacies of conflict-related sexual. Methodologically, he combines statistics and field research in South Sudan, Nigeria, Burundi, and the Democratic Republic of the Congo. He can be reached at carlo.koos@uni-konstanz.de.

MARTHA WILFAHRT is a visiting assistant professor at Northwestern University. Her research focuses on distributive politics and state-society relations in sub-Saharan Africa, with a particular emphasis on historical legacies. She can be reached at martha.wilfahrt@northwestern.edu.

FERNANDO BIZZARRO is a doctoral candidate in the Department of Government at Harvard University. His research examines the causes and consequences of political institutions, especially political parties. His dissertation studies the origins of party-based regimes globally. He has published on Latin American and Brazilian politics. He can be reached at fbizzarroneto@g.harvard.edu.

JOHN GERRING is a professor of government at the University of Texas at Austin, where he teaches and conducts research on methodology and comparative politics. He is an editor of the book series *Strategies for Social Inquiry* (2012) and serves as a co-PI of the Varieties of Democracy project. He can be reached at jgerring@austin.utexas.edu.

CARL HENRIK KNUTSEN is professor of political science at the University of Oslo. His research interests include the economic effects of institutions and the determinants of regime change and stability. His current research project concerns the economic effects of various political institutions, collecting historical data from the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Knutsen is a co-PI of the Varieties of Democracy project. He can be reached at c.h.knutsen@stv.uio.no.

ALLEN HICKEN is the Ronald and Eileen Weiser Professor of Emerging Democracies at the University of Michigan. He studies political parties, institutions, political economy, and policy-making in developing countries, with a focus on Southeast Asia. He is the author of Building Party Systems in Developing Democracies (2009); editor of Politics of Modern Southeast Asia: Critical Issues in Modern Politics, (2010); and coeditor, with Erik Kuhonta, of Party and Party System Institutionalization in Asia (2014). He can be reached at ahicken@umich.edu.

MICHAEL BERNHARD is Raymond and Miriam Ehrlich Eminent Scholar Chair in Political Science at the University of Florida. His work centers on questions of democratization and development globally and in the context of Europe. Bernhard's research agenda includes the role of civil society in democratization, institutional choice in new democracies, the political economy of democratic survival, and the legacy of extreme forms of dictatorship. His most recent book, Twenty Years after Communism: The Politics of Memory and Commemoration (2014), was coauthored with Jan Kubik. He can be reached at bernhard@ufl.edu.

SVEND-ERIK SKAANING is professor of political science at Aarhus University. His research interests include the conceptualization, measurement, explanation, and consequences of democracy and the rule of law, and he has published on these issues. Skaaning is a co-PI of the Varieties of Democracy project. He can be reached at skaaning@ps.au.dk.

MICHAEL COPPEDGE is professor of political science at the University of Notre Dame. He is the author of *Democratization and Research Methods* (2012) and *Strong Parties and Lame Ducks: Presidential Partyarchy and Factionalism in Venezuela* (1994), and has published on democratization, research methods, and Latin American political parties and elections. Coppedge is a co-PI of the Varieties of Democracy project. He can be reached at coppedge.1@nd.edu.

STAFFAN I. LINDBERG is a professor of political science at the University of Gothenburg. He is author of *Democracy and Elections in Africa* (2006), editor of *Democratization by Elections: A New Mode of Transition?* (2009), and has published on egalitarian democracy, sequence analysis methods, civil society, electoral fraud, corruption, women's representation, political clientelism, voting behavior and turnovers, party and electoral systems, accountability, democratization, popular attitudes, the Ghanaian legislature, and executive-legislative relationships. Lindberg is a co-PI of the Varieties of Democracy project. He can be reached at staffan.i.lindberg@pol.gu.se.

ABSTRACTS

"BIG" TREATIES, SMALL EFFECTS
THE RTAA AGREEMENTS

By JOANNE GOWA and RAYMOND HICKS

It seems obvious that agreements to cut tariffs will raise trade between their signatories. But recent studies show that some agreements widely considered to be landmarks in economic history had either a remarkably small impact on trade or none at all. Among those agreements are the Cobden-Chevalier Treaties and the long series of tariff accords concluded under the auspices of the GATT/WTO. Both sets of agreements cut import duties on many goods that applied to all trading partners entitled to most-favored-nation treatment, but neither increased aggregate trade between their members. This article examines the agreements concluded by the United States under the 1934 Reciprocal Trade Agreements Act (RTAA). The authors use an original data set that records changes in tariffs and US imports at the product-line level for each of the twenty-seven bilateral agreements. No comparable data exist either for the nineteenth-century trade network or for the postwar trade regime. The results show that the RTAA treaties failed to raise aggregate US imports from its treaty partners. They also show that these agreements did lead to a large and significant rise in US imports of specific products from specific countries. Because the same bargaining protocol that produced the RTAA agreements also governed the European treaty network and the GATT/WTO, the argument advanced in this article can also help to explain why neither treaty exerted a significant impact on aggregate trade between their signatories.

DECAY OR RESILIENCE?

THE LONG-TERM SOCIAL CONSEQUENCES OF CONFLICT-RELATED SEXUAL VIOLENCE IN SIERRA LEONE

By CARLO KOOS

This article examines the long-term impact of conflict-related sexual violence (CRSV) on prosocial behavior in Sierra Leone. Two theoretical arguments are developed and tested. The first draws on the feminist literature and suggests the presence of a decay mechanism: victims and their families are stigmatized by their community and excluded from social networks. The second integrates new insights from social psychology, psychological trauma research, and anthropology, and argues for a resilience mechanism. It argues that CRSV-affected households have a strong incentive to remain part of their community and will invest more effort and resources into the community to avert social exclusion than unaffected households. Using data on 5,475 Sierra Leonean households, the author finds that exposure to CRSV increases prosocial behavior—cooperation, helping, and altruism—which supports the resilience hypothesis. The results are robust to an instrumental variable estimation. The ramifications of this finding go beyond the case of Sierra Leone and generate a more general question: What makes communities resilient to shocks and trauma?

Precolonial Legacies and Institutional Congruence in Public Goods Delivery

EVIDENCE FROM DECENTRALIZED WEST AFRICA

By MARTHA WILFAHRT

Scholars have long identified political bias in the way African politicians distribute state resources. Much of this literature focuses on the role of group identities, mainly ethnicity, and partisanship. This article shifts the focus to local governments, which have become increasingly important players in basic social service provision, and argues that public goods allocation under democratic decentralization is intimately shaped by historical identities. Specifically, the author highlights the role of identities rooted in the precolonial past. To explain this, she articulates a theory of institutional congruence, arguing that greater spatial overlap between formal institu-

tional space and informal social identities improves the ability of elites to overcome local coordination problems. Looking to the West African state of Senegal, the author deploys a nested analysis, drawing on interviews with rural Senegalese elites to understand how the precolonial past shapes local politics today via the social identities it left behind. She also tests the argument with a unique, geocoded data set of village-level public goods investments in the 2000s, finding that areas that were once home to precolonial states distribute goods more broadly across space. These patterns cannot be explained by ethnic or electoral dynamics. Two brief examples from on-the-line cases illuminate how the presence of precolonial identities facilitates local cooperation. The article thus calls into question the tendency to treat identities as static over time, highlighting the interactive relationship between institutions and identities while drawing attention to emerging subnational variation in local government performance following decentralization reforms across the developing world.

PARTY STRENGTH AND ECONOMIC GROWTH By FERNANDO BIZZARRO, JOHN GERRING, CARL HENRIK KNUTSEN, ALLEN HICKEN, MICHAEL BERNHARD, SVEND-ERIK SKAANING, MICHAEL COPPEDGE, and STAFFAN I. LINDBERG

While a large literature suggests an important role for political parties in development, this article is the first attempt to layout and test a comprehensive theory connecting parties to economic growth. The authors argue that strong parties broaden the constituencies to which policy-makers respond and help politicians solve coordination problems. These features help to ensure better economic management, public services, and political stability. And this, in turn, enhances economic growth. Drawing on a novel measure of party strength from the Varieties of Democracy data set, the authors test this theory on data drawn from more than 150 countries observed annually from 1901–2010. They identify a sizeable effect that is robust to various specifications, estimators, and samples. The effect operates in both democracies and autocracies, and is fairly stable across regions and time periods.