

Lotem Halevy

(She/Her)

University of Pennsylvania
Department of Political Science
The Ronald O. Perelman Center for Political
Science and Economics
133 S. 36th Street
Philadelphia, PA, 19104

Phone: +44 7361-638653
Email: lhalevy@sas.upenn.edu

Education

- Current **University of Pennsylvania**
Ph.D. Candidate in Political Science
Examinations: Comparative Politics, American Politics, Formal Theory
Committee: Julia Lynch, Dawn Teele, Rudra Sil
Expected Completion: May 2023

CTL Teaching Certificate (Pedagogy, Completed in 2021)
- University of Oxford**
Queen Elizabeth Scholarship
- 2022 **London School of Economics and Political Science**
Visiting PhD Student, European Institute
- 2019 **University of Pennsylvania**
M.A. Political Science
- 2018 **Princeton University**
Visiting PhD student, Political Economy
- 2015 **University of British Columbia**
B.A. Political Science

Research Interests

The Historical Origins of Political Inequality, Party Politics, Democratization, Identity Politics, Nationalism, Mixed-Method Research

Dissertation

Who Gets to Play? Enfranchisement and Party System Consolidation in Central Eastern Europe

Under Review

1. O. Kedar, L. Halevy, O. Oshri, *The Changing Gender Gaps in Voting: An Occupational Realignment*

In a dramatic reversal from five decades ago, in most Western democracies today, women support left-leaning parties at higher rates than men. We explain this change on the left by focusing on men's vote. We

contend that occupational vulnerability to immigration led manual workers, most of whom are men, to abandon the mainstream left and support the radical right at disproportionately high rates. Furthermore, this effect is contingent on economic positions of parties both on the left and the radical right. Drawing on public opinion data from 18 countries over a 46-year period, labor data on skills required in different sectors and party positions, we conduct both aggregate and individual-level analyses. We find that realignment of the vote along occupational lines in a gender-segregated labor market is at the heart of the change in the gender gap in voting.

2. **L. Halevy**, *What is Substantive Representation?* (research note)

The causes and consequences of substantive representation have long confused researchers. A systematic review of 17 journals across the social sciences, shows that despite an increase in papers on substantive representation over the last 20 years, the concept has been conceptually stretched, which makes answering questions on either the causes of substantive representation or its consequences difficult. By finding the definition of substantive representation in every paper that claims to study the concept in the sample and hand-coding its measurement, the author identifies that across the literature, substantive representation is operationalized as both an individual-level behavioural input to the political process and as an output of the same process. To remedy this conceptual oversight and increase analytical leverage in the study of substantive representation, the author reconceptualizes substantive representation by differentiating the outcome-based substantive representation from the newly conceptualized behavioural input, *procedural representation*. The author argues that procedural representation allows researchers to unearth differences in the how, where, when, and why different forms of representation either do or do not matter for legislative behaviour and for political outcomes.

3. **L. Halevy**, *Democracy as a Bundle of Reforms: Who Got the Right to Vote in Diverse States?*

Why do ethnically diverse states enfranchise some minority groups before others? Like most Western European states, Central Eastern European states experienced nation-state consolidation in conjunction with democratization and this led to a pattern of gradual enfranchisement. This paper first proposes a framework for disaggregating *democracy* into a bundle of reforms, and second, it zooms into understanding the elite motivations behind the bundle of reforms which lowered the threshold of inclusion. Using historical process tracing, and evidence from the democratizing period in the Kingdom of Hungary (1867-1922), the author shows if and how nation-building factored into elites' calculations about who to enfranchise by considering elites' national, political, and economic preferences. The author shows that intra-parliamentary political competition during the long democratization processes reshuffled incumbent party preferences, to incentivize the inclusion of small yet poorly organized groups into the franchise. Evidence from census records, newly digitized electoral records, and archival evidence from parliamentary debates show that while well-organized minority groups organized politically during the long democratization process to pose a threat to incumbent parliamentary parties, the poorest (and worst organized) of the ethnonational minorities were enfranchised to manufacture a majority for the incumbent party as they posed less of an electoral risk. Finally, I conclude with a discussion on how insights from this paper can help explain mechanisms of contemporary voter disenfranchisement in ethnically diverse states.

Working Papers

1. **L. Halevy**, *How to Digitize Electoral Data: Lessons from Pre-democratic Elections in the Kingdom of Hungary* (Blog post).

How do researchers extract historically reliable information from archival records when the victors of history are also commonly the documentarians of history? This paper uses the digitization of electoral data from the democratizing period in the Kingdom of Hungary (1861-1910) as an example of how to untangle the endogenous histories of election results in absence of free and fair elections. The author first presents the institutional history of the Kingdom's electoral system, followed by the political history of the archival

electoral data. After digitizing the data, the author presents three novel approaches for validating election results through tracking by-elections, incumbency turnovers, and finally through the use of qualitative secondary histories. Finally, the author presents descriptive evidence to demonstrate the endogenous relationship between the institutional history of the electorate and documented, but not necessarily accurate, electoral data.

2. **L. Halevy**, *What We Learn from the Democratizing Efforts of the Austrian-Hungarian Empire?* (research note)

This think piece calls for greater attention by comparativists to the Austrian-Hungarian Empire. In recent years, there has been an increase in scholarship in political science on imperial dynamics, their origins and legacies. However, while much work has been done on the historical dynamics of democratization in much of continental Europe, the Russian Empire, and the United States, much less work has focused on the diverse states of the Austrian-Hungarian Empire. The author highlights existing work on the region, showcases the various constituent states' suitability for case-based research and presents avenues for future research.

Works in Progress

1. **L. Halevy**, H. Zola, T. Goyal *Disenfranchising Religious Minorities in Assam: Estimating Disenfranchisement from Administrative Records and Lessons from the Largest Voter Disenfranchisement*
2. **L. Halevy**, *Associational Endowments: Party-building and Civil Society in an Age of Mass Disenfranchisement*
3. **L. Halevy**, *Who Counts? When and How do Minorities get Counted on National Censuses?*
4. **L. Halevy**, *Caps on the Franchise: A Theory of Political Competition and Parties' Social Spending*
5. **L. Halevy**, *Emancipation and the Rise of Political Antisemitism in Central Europe*
6. **L. Halevy**, H. Zola, D. Solomon *What Explains Antisemitic Violence in London Boroughs: Visibility, Contact or Competition?*

Datasets

1. **L. Halevy** and Dawn Teele, *Enfranchisement in Europe Dataset*, in progress
2. **L. Halevy**, *The Entry, Exit and Merger of Political Parties in the Austrian-Hungarian Empire (1848-1945)*, in progress
3. **L. Halevy**, *Hungarian Census Records (1870-1910)*
4. **L. Halevy**, *Winners of the Electoral Game in the Kingdom of Hungary (1861-1910)*
5. **L. Halevy**, *Civil Associations in Hungary, and in select Austrian crown lands (1848-1945)*
6. **L. Halevy**, *Micro-Level Hungarian Election Results (1922-1944)*, in progress
7. H. Zola, **L. Halevy**, *Where are the Orthodox Jews in London? A Directory of Orthodox Businesses*, in progress

Research Grants

- 2022 Graduate Research Grant, *Christopher H. Browne Center for International Politics*
- 2021 Small Research Grant, *Religion and Politics APSA section*
- 2021 Virginia Gray Graduate Research Grant, *Political Organizations and Parties APSA section*
- 2019 and 2022 Center for the Study of Ethnicity, Race and Immigration Graduate Student Research Grant, *University of Pennsylvania*
- 2018-2021 SAS Dean's Travel Subvention, *University of Pennsylvania*
- 2018-2021 Department of Political Science Summer Research Funding, *University of Pennsylvania*
- 2014 Go Global International Learning Award , *University of British Columbia*

Awards and Honors

- 2018 Robert A. Fox Fellow, *University of Pennsylvania*
- 2017 - 2022 Benjamin Franklin Fellow, *University of Pennsylvania*
- 2015 - 2017 Visiting Research Fellow, *Hebrew University of Jerusalem*
- 2011 President's Entrance Scholarship, *University of British Columbia*

Employment

- 2018 Research Assistant, Professor Matthew Levendusky *University of Pennsylvania*
- 2015 - 2017 Research Assistant, Professor Orit Kedar *Hebrew University of Jerusalem*
- 2015 Researcher, Equal Voice (Vancouver, BC)

Conferences (Presenter or Discussant)

- June 2023 29th International Conference of Europeanists, Council for European Studies, *University of Iceland*
- April 2023 ASEN: Nationalism and Multiculturalism, *University of Loughborough*
- Nov 2022 Minority Politics Online Seminar Series *Online, Michigan State University*
- Oct 2022 Oxford Meeting in Historical Political Economy (co-organizer), *Nuffield College, University of Oxford*
- Sept 2022 Crises, Inequality and Political Change in Eastern and Western European History *Università Bocconi*
- June 2022 28th International Conference of Europeanists, Council for European Studies, *Lisbon, Portugal*
- June 2022 Graduate Student Workshop on Historical Political Research, Council for European Studies, *Lisbon, Portugal*
- June 2022 European Political Science Association Annual Meeting, *Prague, Czech Republic*
- Nov 2021 GSIPE Workshop on Qualitative and Mixed Methods in IPE *online*
- Sept 2021 American Political Science Association Annual Meeting, Politics and History section *online*
- Sept 2021 APSA Early Career Workshop, European Politics and Society, *online*
- June 2021 27th International Conference of Europeanists, Council for European Studies, *online*
- June 2021 European Political Science Association Annual Meeting, *online*
- June 2021 Canadian Political Science Association (panel organizer and presenter), *online*
- May 2021 Graduate Student Workshop on Historical Political Research, Council for European Studies, *online*
- Jan 2020 Southern Political Science Association Annual Meeting, *San Juan, Puerto Rico*
- Sep 2019 Northeast Workshop in Empirical Political Science (discussant), *NYC, NY*
- July 2019 European Conference on Politics and Gender, *Amsterdam, NL*
- June 2016 European Political Science Association Annual Meeting, *Milan, IT*

Teaching Experience

- Spring 2020 PSCI 243: Dilemmas of Immigration
- Spring 2020 PSCI 247: Elections and Campaigns
- Fall 2019 PSCI 130: Introduction to American Politics (Head Teaching Assistant)
- Spring 2019 PSCI 230: American Democracy and Public Opinion (Research Design Requirement of Undergraduate Students)
- Fall 2018 PSCI 215: Politics of the European Union
- Spring 2019 PSCI 210: Contemporary African Politics

Service

- Reviewer, *American Political Science Review*
- 2022 Co-organizer of Nuffield workshop on Historical Political Research (with Jorge Man-
gonnet)
- 2020-2021 Editorial Assistant, *Socio-Economic Review*
- 2020-2021 Center for the Study of Ethnicity, Race and Immigration Graduate Workshop
Coordinator, *University of Pennsylvania*
- 2019-2020 Comparative Politics Workshop Graduate Coordinator, *University of Pennsylvania*
- 2018 Admitted Students' Day Coordinator, *University of Pennsylvania*

Additional Training

- 2018 Inter-University Consortium on Political and Social Research (ICPSR), Summer Pro-
gram in Quantitative Methods (*Social Choice Theory, Advanced Game Theory, Maximum
Likelihood Estimation I and II, Causal Inference*)

Fieldwork

- 2022 Ostrava City Archives
Regional Archives in Opava
Moravian-Silesian Scientific Library
National Archives of Hungary, Budapest
The National Archives of Hungary Hajdú-Bihar County Archives
Provincial Archive of Lower Austria
Hungarian Jewish Museum and Archives
The Archives of the Jewish Museum in Prague
Transport for London Corporate Archives
- 2021 National Archives of Hungary
Metro Archives of the Municipality of Metropolitan Toronto
- 2019 National Archives of Austria
National Archives of Hungary

Computing Skills

STATA, R, Python (Beginner), ArcGIS, \LaTeX

Citizenship

Canadian