

Lotem Halevy

(She/Her)

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Academic Positions

- Current **University of Konstanz, Cluster of Excellence, The Politics of Inequality**
Independent Postdoctoral Fellow
Funded Project: *Who Gets to Play? Enfranchisement and Party System Consolidation in Central Eastern Europe*
- 2022-2023 **University of Oxford**
Queen Elizabeth Fellow (Scholarship), St. Catherine’s College
- 2015-2017 **Hebrew University of Jerusalem**
Research Assistant, Orit Kedar (Political Science)

Education

- 2024 **University of Pennsylvania**
PhD in Political Science
Examinations: Comparative Politics, American Politics, Formal Theory (Princeton)
CTL Teaching Certificate (Pedagogy, Completed in 2021)
- 2022 **London School of Economics and Political Science**
Visiting PhD Student, European Institute
- 2019 **University of Pennsylvania**
MA Political Science
- 2018 **Princeton University**
Visiting PhD student, Political Economy
- 2015 **University of British Columbia**
BA Political Science

Research Interests

Political Parties and Nationalism, Democratisation and Diversity, Public Law, Origins of the Welfare State, Historical Data, Mixed-Method Research, Eastern European and East Central European Studies

Book, In Progress

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

Book workshop: January 2025

Publications

1. O. Kedar, O. Oshri, **L. Halevy** *Party positions and the changing gender gap(s) in voting* (Conditional acceptance, European Union Politics)

In a dramatic reversal from five decades ago, women in most Western democracies tend to support left-leaning parties more than men. We explain this change on the left by focusing on men's voting behaviour. Our argument suggests that manual workers who face occupational vulnerability due to immigration, most of whom are men, have increasingly shifted away from mainstream left-wing parties and towards radical right-wing parties at disproportionately high rates. We find that the effect of occupational vulnerability on men's voting behaviour depends on the economic positions of left-wing and radical right-wing parties. Our analysis includes public opinion data from 18 countries over 46 years, as well as labour data on sector-specific skills and party positions. Through aggregate and individual-level analyses, we aim to gain insights into the relationship between occupational vulnerability, party positions, and voting patterns. We find that the realignment of the vote along occupational lines in a gender-segregated labour market is the primary driver of the change in the gender gap in voting.

Working Papers

1. **L. Halevy**, *Working with electoral data from autocratic regimes: Lessons from pre-democratic elections in the Kingdom of Hungary* (Blog post)

How can researchers effectively extract data from historical records while ensuring that the data reliably represents historical events? Historically, many emergent states conducted elections prior to achieving full democratic transition. However, scholars studying regime change often limit their quantitative data to either the period preceding free and fair elections or the period following them. This truncation of data bifurcates regime change into either "democratic" or not, disregarding the necessary role that pre-democratic elections played in many failed and successful transitions to democracy. In this paper, I present a mixed-method framework that aims to study and utilise electoral data from pre-democratic elections to examine political outcomes related to democracy or its absence. I conceptually break down democratising electoral institutions into two components: inputs and outputs. I illustrate the usefulness of directed acyclic graphs (DAGs) in theoretically analysing the underlying processes that drive pre-democratic elections. I also utilise an original digitisation of electoral data from the Kingdom of Hungary (1878-1935) to explore the relationships between various components within the DAGs. By measuring and controlling these relationships, researchers can gain a deeper understanding of the causal links between electoral inputs and outputs during periods of political regime change. To achieve this, I demonstrate how qualitative case studies of the inputs can be combined with quantitative historical data, bridging qualitative gaps in quantitative studies.

Prepared for joined output with Authoritarian Political Systems Group, Workshop 2024

2. **L. Halevy**, *Parties that care: Social service provision and the origins of nationalist constituencies in diverse and democratizing states*

Using original data sources from the Kingdom of Hungary and employing a mixed-method approach, I

examine how parties carve out, politicise, and mobilise constituencies during democratisation. I demonstrate that Socialist, Catholic, ethnic, and agrarian parties gradually emerged from grassroots movements. They solidified their presence in civil society through the establishment of voluntary associations, which provided essential social services to the masses during a time of mass disenfranchisement from the emergent state. I show that some parties were more successful than others in grassroots mobilisation-through-social-services, and argue that this fulfilment of needs by parties helped politicise subsets of the masses and mobilised them after universal manhood suffrage was introduced. Using simple OLS models, I illustrate how party-defined access to associations constrained the boundaries of constituencies. When parties restricted access based on class or occupation, the post-democratic constituency was bound by class or occupational requisites. Similarly, when parties restricted access based on religious or ethno-national factors, the post-democratic constituency was bound by religious or ethno-national requisites. By combining the study of party building with the examination of the non-state origins of the European welfare state, I demonstrate how parties can gain their initial footholds in democratising societies, enabling them to survive the lowering of the electoral threshold.

3. H. Zola, **L. Halevy**, *Variation in sources: Counting hard-to-reach populations, the case of Haredi Jews in London* (research note)

How can researchers ensure more reliable counts for hard-to-reach populations when the "true" count is unknown? It is widely acknowledged that Orthodox Jews in the United Kingdom are undercounted in the national census, while non-governmental organisations are motivated to inflate counts on their membership registrars to secure additional state resources. In this research note, we demonstrate the usefulness of employing sources from various agencies and organisations at different levels of analysis to triangulate and estimate the counts of hard-to-reach populations in advanced industrialised democracies. Focusing on the case of Orthodox Jews in London, we illustrate how integrating micro-level data (interviews), meso-level data (non-state associations), and macro-level data collected by the state (administrative data) yields significantly different estimates regarding the number and distribution of Orthodox Jews in London. We conclude with a discussion outlining a framework for aligning data sources more effectively with research questions in situations where the true population counts of hard-to-reach populations are unknown.

4. **L. Halevy**, *The democratic trade-off: Incumbency and "universal" manhood suffrage*

This paper presents a systematic argument that challenges the notion that socialists were solely responsible for the implementation of universal manhood suffrage in Europe. Through the utilisation of an original dataset encompassing 20 emerging European states from the nineteenth to early twentieth centuries, and by examining the legislative processes and political contexts that led to the adoption of universal manhood suffrage in Austria (in 1896 and 1907), I demonstrate that incumbent political actors primarily drove the political inclusion of the masses to secure their own positions of power. However, the analysis of the electoral laws in these cases also reveals that governing elites faced a democratic dilemma between the principles of universality and equality. I illustrate how, in diverse democratising states, elites employed creative mechanisms embedded within constitutional law to reconcile this dilemma, oftentimes resulting in a version of "universal" manhood suffrage that fell short of true universality.

5. **L. Halevy**, *Who gets to play? Enfranchisement in diverse societies: The case of the democratizing Kingdom of Hungary*

Why do ethnically diverse states choose to enfranchise certain minority groups before others? Similar to most Western European states, Central Eastern European states underwent a process of nation-state consolidation alongside democratisation, resulting in a gradual approach to granting political rights. Through historical comparative analysis and the examination of evidence from the democratising period in the Kingdom of Hungary (1867-1918), I demonstrate how different types of threats, both internal and external to parliamentary systems, influenced the decision-making of elites regarding which groups to include in the enfranchisement process. I take into consideration the national, political, and economic preferences of these elites and provide an assessment of the characteristics at the group level that I hypothesise

and subsequently illustrate to have an impact on the (dis)enfranchisement of minority groups in diverse democratising states. These characteristics, namely size and cohesion, play a significant role. The evidence reveals that well-organised minority groups, particularly those that are small and cohesive, engage in political organisation. Conversely, the least organised among the ethnonational minorities were enfranchised to form minimum-winning coalitions for the incumbent party, as they posed a lower level of political and national threat. In other words, political organisation can have unintended consequences for minority groups when it comes to their inclusion in the political processes of diverse states.

6. **L. Halevy**, B. Yoel, *Coalitions, oppositions, and judicial democratic reversion: A paired comparison of Israel and Hungary*

The global rise in the erosion of democracy by democratically elected leaders is a concerning trend. However, our understanding of the factors that determine the success or failure of elected leaders in undermining democracy through the courts remains limited. What causes the variation in elite-led democratic regression in different contexts? In this study, we examine the cases of Israel and Hungary, two recent examples of the global shift away from democracy, with contrasting outcomes. Our analysis builds upon the observation that many activists and journalists in Israel have drawn comparisons between the erosion of democracy in Israel and Hungary. To establish the significance of this comparison, we utilise an original dataset comprising newspaper coverage of democratic erosion in Israel. While Hungary is not the sole point of reference for Israelis when discussing potential judicial reforms that could lead to democratic regression in their own country, our findings indicate that it is indeed the primary case used for comparison. Subsequently, we undertake a comprehensive comparison of the two countries. Despite several similarities, such as the attempts to erode democracy by right-wing leaders, we identify several differences, including the timing of opposition resistance and the party politics within each state. Consequently, this paper contributes to a deeper understanding of the complex processes involved in democratic erosion and the diverse strategies employed by democratically elected leaders.

Works in Progress

1. **L. Halevy**, *The political economy of hate: Conceptualisation, definition, and the democratic origins of political antisemitism*
2. **L. Halevy**, with H. Zola *The world's largest contemporary religious disenfranchisement: Nationalism, discrimination, and political competition in Assam, on hiatus: looking for area specialist as coauthor*

Datasets and Crosswalks

1. **L. Halevy**, *The entry, exit, and merger of political parties in the Austrian-Hungarian Empire (1848-1945)*
2. **L. Halevy**, *Hungarian census records (1870-1910)*
3. **L. Halevy**, *Winners of the electoral game in the Kingdom of Hungary (1861-1910)*
4. **L. Halevy**, *Civil associations in Hungary, and select Austrian crown lands (1848-1945)*
5. **L. Halevy**, *Crosswalks for merging settlements, electoral districts, census districts, and counties in the Kingdom of Hungary (1883-1910)*
6. **L. Halevy**, *Assimilation and religiosity: Neolog, Orthodox and Status Quo Rabbis in the Kingdom of Hungary (1848-1945)*, in progress
7. **L. Halevy**, *Micro-level Hungarian election results (1926-1944)*, not originally collected nor originally digitized
8. H. Zola, **L. Halevy**, *Where are the Orthodox Jews in London? A directory of Orthodox businesses*, in progress
9. **L. Halevy** and Dawn Teele, *Enfranchisement in Europe dataset*, in progress

Awards and Honours

- 2022-2023 Queen Elizabeth Scholarship, *University of Oxford*
- 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*

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*
- 2021-2023 Project Incubation and Support Grant, *Price Lab for Digital Humanities*
- 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*
- 2018-2023 Department of Political Science Summer Research Funding, *University of Pennsylvania*
- 2014 Go Global International Learning Award, *University of British Columbia*

Employment

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

Teaching Experience

- One-day Workshop
Spring 2020 Creating and working with historical data
- 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*
- June 2025 Co-organizer of (planned) workshop on “Democracy and Inequality in Central Eastern Europe”, (organized with Laura Jakli, HBS)
- 2024 Organizer of (planned) workshop on trauma, the field, and reflexivity in political science
- 2022 Co-organizer of Nuffield Workshop on Historical Political Research (with Jorge Man-gonnet, Vanderbilt)
- 2020-2022 unofficial undergraduate thesis mentor, *University of Pennsylvania*, no “official program”
- 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 Program in Quantitative Methods (*Social Choice Theory, Advanced Game Theory, Maximum Likelihood Estimation I and II, Causal Inference*)

Past and Scheduled Conferences (Presenter or Discussant)

- June 2025 Democracy and Inequality in Central Eastern Europe *The Cluster of Excellence, The Politics of Inequality* organized with Laura Jakli (HBS)
- June 2024 Practices of Comparative-Historical Analysis Workshop, *Aarhus University*
- May 2024 New Faces and Methods in Authoritarian Politics, *Tulane University*
- May 2024 Toronto Political Development Workshop (discussant), *Munk School of Global Affairs, University of Toronto*
- March 2024 Political Behaviour Lab, *University of Haifa*
- Nov 2023 University of Haifa (Cancelled)
- June 2023 29th International Conference of Europeanists, Council for European Studies, *University of Iceland*
- June 2023 European Political Science Association Annual Meeting, *Glasgow, United Kingdom*
- May 2023 Toronto Political Development Workshop, *Munk School of Global Affairs, University of Toronto*
- 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*

Computing Skills

STATA, Python (Beginner), ArcGIS, L^AT_EX

References

Dr. Julia Lynch
Professor, University of Pennsylvania
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Dr. Rudra Sil
Professor, University of Pennsylvania
E-mail: rudysil@sas.upenn.edu

Prof. Ben Ansell
Professor of Comparative Democratic Institutions at Nuffield College, University of Oxford
E-mail: ben.ansell@politics.ox.ac.uk

Prof. Dr. Christina Zuber
Professor, Universität Konstanz
E-mail: christina.zuber@uni-konstanz.de

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