

## **Jennifer Bussell**

University of California, Berkeley  
210 Barrows Hall #1950  
Berkeley, CA 94720-1950  
jbussell@berkeley.edu  
<http://www.jenniferbussell.com>

### **EDUCATION**

Ph.D. University of California, Berkeley, Political Science, 2009  
M.A. University of California, Berkeley, Political Science, 2003  
B.A. The University of Chicago, Anthropology, 1997

### **ACADEMIC EMPLOYMENT**

University of California, Berkeley (July 2013 – Present)  
Assistant Professor and Gruber Faculty Fellow, Political Science  
Assistant Professor, Goldman School of Public Policy

The University of Texas at Austin (July 2010-June 2013)  
Assistant Professor, Lyndon B. Johnson School of Public Affairs  
Researcher, Climate Change and African Political Stability, Robert S. Strauss Center

Yale University (July 2012 – June 2013)  
Visiting Assistant Professor, South Asian Studies and Political Science

The University of Louisville (August 2009-May 2010)  
Visiting Fellow, Center for Asian Democracy

### **AFFILIATIONS**

AidData Associated Researchers Consortium (ARC)  
Center for Effective Global Action (CEGA)  
Center on the Politics of Development (CPD)  
Climate Change and African Political Stability (CCAPS) program  
Complex Emergencies and Political Stability in Asia (CEPSA) program  
Experiments in Governance and Politics (EGAP) network  
Innovations for Peace and Development (IPD)

## PUBLICATIONS AND WORK-IN-PROGRESS

### Books and Monographs

3. *Clients and Constituents: Political Responsiveness in Patronage Democracies*. Book manuscript.

In this book, I provide a theoretical and empirical examination of *constituency service* in developing countries. The predominant view of distributive politics in “patronage democracies” emphasizes the partisan targeting of pork and clientelism. In contrast, I demonstrate that high-level legislators in India and other contexts often provide direct, non-partisan assistance to individual constituents, whose electoral behavior they cannot conceivably monitor. Under what conditions do they provide constituency service, rather than engage in partisan bias? I show that the uneven character of access to services at the local level—often due to biased allocation on the part of local intermediaries—generates demand for help from higher-level officials, and also creates incentives for those politicians to bypass intermediaries by providing direct assistance. I draw on a novel data set with unprecedented parallel information on politicians, bureaucrats, and citizens; a large-scale field experiment with a near census of India’s state and national legislators; geo-located analyses of spending by legislators of constituency development funds; and evidence from in-depth qualitative shadowing of politicians in their constituencies. The book’s findings highlight the potential for an underappreciated form of democratic accountability, one that is however rooted in the character of partisan and patronage-based politics. I held a book workshop for the manuscript in November 2016 with a number of prominent scholars and will submit it for review in October 2017.

2. *Institutional Capacity for Natural Disasters: Case Studies in Africa*. 2014 (Editor). University of Texas at Austin: Robert S. Strauss Center for International Security and Law.
1. *Corruption and Reform in India: Public Services in the Digital Age*. 2012. Cambridge University Press.

**Awards:** Virginia M. Walsh Best Dissertation Award from the Science, Technology and Environmental Politics Section of the American Political Science Association, an Honorable Mention for the Charles Levine Prize for Best Book in Comparative Policy and Administration from the International Political Science Association and *Governance* journal, and an Honorable Mention for the Herbert L. Kaufman Best Paper Award from the Public Administration Section of the American Political Science Association, for a paper version of Chapter 3 presented at the 2009 APSA annual meeting.

### Articles (including Chapters in Edited Volumes)

15. “When Do Middlemen Matter? Experimental Evidence on Corruption in India,” forthcoming, *Governance*.
14. “Whose Money, Whose Influence? Multi-level Politics and Campaign Finance in India.” Forthcoming in Devesh Kapur and Milan Vaishnav, Eds., *The Costs of Democracy: Political Finance in India*, Oxford University Press.

13. "Typologies of Corruption: A Pragmatic Approach." 2015. In Susan Rose Ackerman and Paul Lagunes, Eds., *Greed, Corruption, and the Modern State: Essays in Political Economy*. Northampton, MA: Edward Elgar.
  12. "Introduction." 2014. In Jennifer Bussell, ed. *Institutional Capacity for Natural Disasters: Case Studies in Africa*. University of Texas at Austin: Robert S. Strauss Center for International Security and Law (co-authored with Adam Colligan).
  11. "Natural Disasters in Mozambique and Malawi: Capacity and Cooperation." 2014. In Jennifer Bussell, ed. *Institutional Capacity for Natural Disasters: Case Studies in Africa*. University of Texas at Austin: Robert S. Strauss Center for International Security and Law (co-authored with Dylan Malcomb).
  10. "eGovernment and Corruption in the States: Can Technology Serve the *Aam Aadmi*?" 2012. *Economic and Political Weekly*, XLVII(25): 77-85.
  9. "People's Movements in India." 2012. In Atul Kohli and Prerna Singh, eds. *Routledge Handbook of Indian Politics*. Routledge.
  8. "Foreign Policy and the Success of India's Democracy." 2012. In Corinna Unger and Andreas Hilger, eds. *India in the World, 1947-1991: National and Transnational Perspectives*. Peter Lang International Academic Publishers.
  7. "Explaining Cross-National Variation in Government Adoption of New Technologies." 2011. *International Studies Quarterly*, 55(1): 267-280.
- Recipient of the Best Published Article Award, Information Technology and Politics Section, American Political Science Association, 2012.
6. "Why Get Technical? Corruption and the Politics of Public Service Reform in the Indian States." 2010. *Comparative Political Studies*, 43(10): 1230-1257.
  5. "Political Incentives and Policy Outcomes: Who Benefits from Technology-Enabled Service Centers?" 2009. *Proceedings of the IEEE/ACM International Conference on Information and Communication Technologies for Development (ICTD2009)*.
- Recipient of the Best Student Paper Award for the ICTD2009 Conference.
4. "Electoral Competition and Digital Development in India and South Africa." 2007. *Proceedings of the IEEE/ACM International Conference on Information and Communication Technologies for Development (ICTD2007)*.
  3. "Understanding Concepts of 'Development' and Linkages to Deployment Strategies in ICT4D in India." 2007. In A. Palackal and W. Shrum, eds. *Circumventing the Digital Divide: Lessons from Kerala Experience*. Rawat Publications: Jaipur (co-authored with Renee Kuriyan).
  2. "Will Information Technology Reshape the North-South Asymmetry of Power in the Global Political Economy?" 2005. *Studies in Comparative International Development*, 40 (2): 62-84 (co-authored with Steven Weber)

1. "Will the Digital Revolution Revolutionize Development? Drawing Together the Debate." 2005. *Studies in Comparative International Development*, 40 (2): 95-110 (co-authored with Taylor Boas and Thad Dunning)

## Reviews

2. "Between State and Citizen: Decentralization, Institutions, and Accountability." Review essay of *Going Local: Decentralization, democratization, and the promise of good governance* by Merilee S. Grindle and *Controlling Governments: Voters, Institutions, and Accountability* edited by José María Maravall and Ignacio Sánchez-Cuenca. 2010. *India Review* 9 (2): 285-294.
1. Review of *The Information Revolution and Developing Countries* by Ernest Wilson. 2006. *The Information Society*, 22 (1): 51-52.

## Other

5. "The Political Economy of Disaster Preparedness and Risk Reduction in Pakistan," 2017. *CEPSA Research Brief No. 5*. Austin: Robert S. Strauss Center for International Security and Law.
4. "Institutional Capacity for Natural Disasters: Findings from Case Studies in Africa." 2013. *CCAPS Research Brief No. 10*. University of Texas at Austin: Robert S. Strauss Center for International Security and Law.
3. "Institutional Capacity for Natural Disasters: Methodology for Case Studies in Africa," 2013. *CCAPS Research Brief No. 9*. University of Texas at Austin: Robert S. Strauss Center for International Security and Law (co-authored with Adam Colligan).
2. "Corruption, Technology, and Reform: A Mixed View from the States." India in Transition Series, Center for the Advanced Study of India, University of Pennsylvania, May 7, 2012 (<http://casi.ssc.upenn.edu/iit/bussell>). Also published as "Petty corruption thrives, and how," in The Hindu Business Line, May 9, 2012 (<http://www.thehindubusinessline.com/todays-paper/tp-opinion/article3398649.ece>).
1. "Cyberspace," "Import Substitution Industrialization," "Technology," "Technology Transfer," and "Virtual Community." 2007. Entries in Mark Bevir, ed., *Encyclopedia of Governance*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications.

## Work-in-Progress (articles)

3. "Clients or Constituents? Experimental Evidence on Political Responsiveness in India," working paper.
2. "When Are Legislators Partisan? Targeted Distribution and Constituency Service in India," working paper. Presented at Evidence in Governance and Politics (EGAP) conference, Bogotá, Columbia, April 6-7, 2017.
1. "Politicizing Preparedness: Evidence from India on the Incentives for Disaster Preparedness," working paper.

## **ACADEMIC FELLOWSHIPS, FUNDRAISING, and GRANTS**

Development Impact Lab Innovate Grant (Principal Investigator with R. Hanna) for “Haqdarshak: Improving Public Services,” UC Berkeley, 2016-17 (\$54,000)  
Development Impact Lab Innovate Seed Grant (Principal Investigator with T. Dunning and M. Mittal) for “Reducing Corruption Through Crowdsourcing,” UC Berkeley, 2014-2015 (\$35,000)  
Minerva Research Initiative grant (with J. Busby, M. Findley, A. Moran, P. Newberg, C. Raleigh, and C. Weaver) for “Complex Emergencies and Political Stability in Asia,” 2014-2017 (\$124,145)  
Edmond J. Safra Network Fellow, Edmond J. Safra Center for Ethics, Harvard University, 2012-13  
Policy Research Institute, University of Texas, International Program Research Award, 2012-13  
Edmond J. Safra Network Fellow, Edmond J. Safra Center for Ethics, Harvard University, 2011-12  
Policy Research Institute, University of Texas, International Program Research Award, 2011-12  
University of Texas Summer Research Assignment Fellowship, 2011  
Charles and Louise Travers Department of Political Science Finishing Year Fellowship, University of California, Berkeley, 2008-9.  
John L. Simpson Memorial Research Fellowship in International and Comparative Studies, Institute of International Studies, University of California, Berkeley, 2007-8  
Chancellor’s Research Grant, University of California, Berkeley, Summer 2006  
Summer Research Grant, Berkeley Center on the Information Society, Summer 2003.  
Political Science Departmental Fellowship, University of California, Berkeley, 2002-3  
Phi Beta Kappa - Illinois Beta Chapter, Inducted June 1997  
Student Marshal, University of Chicago, 1996

## **UNIVERSITY and DISCIPLINARY SERVICE**

### Academic Committees

Political Science Comprehensive Exam Committee Chair, Comparative Politics and South Asian Politics, Summer 2017  
Alternate, Assembly of the Academic Senate, University of California, 2016-17  
FLAS South Asia fellowship committee, 2014-16  
Political Science graduate admissions committee 2014-15  
LBJ School Faculty Search Committee, 2010-11  
William H. Crook Fellowship Committee, 2010-11; 2011-12

### Administration & Planning

Goldman School Promoting Discussions of Power and Privilege Committee, 2015-16  
On the Same Page advisory committee and panel organizer/moderator, 2015  
Advisory Council, Science Technology and Environmental Politics Section, APSA, 2014-16  
Goldman School Executive and International Programs Committee, to develop new mid-career academic program, 2013-2016  
Yale Modern South Asia Workshop Coordinating Committee, 2012-13  
LBJ School Research Committee, 2010-12  
LBJ School Executive Education Committee, to plan new mid-career academic program, 2011-12

### Advising

Political Science new student advisor, 2014-Current

Political Science MA paper reviewer, 2014  
 Goldman School new student advisor, 2013-Current  
 Goldman School South Asians in Public Policy Student Group, Faculty Advisor 2013-16  
 Faculty Mentor in Residence, Empirical Implications of Theoretical Models, 2013

## PROFESSIONAL & MANAGERIAL EXPERIENCE

- Ongoing – Editorial Board  
*Information Technologies and International Development, Development Engineering*
- Article Reviewer  
*American Journal of Political Science, American Political Science Review, British Journal of Political Science, Comparative Political Studies, Comparative Politics, Crime, Law, and Social Change, Governance, Information Technologies and International Development, Information Technology and People, International Studies Quarterly, Journal of Development Studies, Journal of Information Technology and Politics, Journal of Politics, Millennium: Journal of International Studies, Review of Economics and Statistics, World Development*
- Book Reviewer Cambridge University Press
- Member American Political Science Association
- 2016 – 2017 Designed protocol and oversaw implementation of unique shadowing methodology for studying politicians in India. Involved development of training guide for eight field staff and coordination with four-member India-based team for multi-day, qualitative observation of more than twenty village- and state-level politicians.
- 2016 Designed and oversaw experimental, phone-based audit of politician responsiveness with a near census of state- and national-level politicians in India (~4,000 subjects). Included design of study in ten languages and coordination of implementation with three-person India-based team overseeing 40 research staff.
- 2015 – 2016 Managed team of four undergraduate students conducting research on political representation in India. Included design and assignment of research tasks, regular review of productivity and results, and management of weekly meetings.
- 2014 – 2015 Managed team of five undergraduate and graduate students assisting with research on technical solutions for bureaucratic transparency in India. Included allocating research assignments, review of results, and management of weekly meetings.
- 2012 – 2014 Planned and oversaw large-scale survey of citizens, politicians, and bureaucrats in three large Indian states (Bihar, Jharkhand, and Uttar Pradesh). Total sample size was ~12,600 subjects and included politicians and bureaucrats at all levels of government in India. Designed surveys and oversaw translation into Hindi, trained field investigators, and coordinated with India-based research team to conduct surveys and code results.
- 2011 – 2012 Managed team of eighteen graduate students conducting research on disaster preparedness in Africa. Included planning and coordination of field visits to ten African countries, development of interview template for fieldwork, and harmonization of written products for final report.
- 2009 Designed and oversaw citizen survey and field experiment in Karnataka, India (~1,100 respondents). Included questionnaire development and translation into



- Kannada, training of 27 field investigators, and oversight of field operations.
- 2006 – 2009 Conducted multiple field visits to sixteen Indian states, including coordination of site visits and interviews with more than 100 bureaucrats, politicians, and private sector representatives.
- 2000 – 2002 Business Strategist (Management Consultant), Viant Corporation
- Developed digital technology strategy for a large human resources consulting firm, including management of client brainstorming workshops.
  - Constructed of a valuation model for a startup financial services company using Monte Carlo analysis, used by client to secure new funding.
- 1997 – 2000 Business Analyst (Management Consultant), Mitchell Madison Group
- Interviewed management teams and analyzed purchasing data in four procurement categories for a large South African retail bank.
  - Developed questionnaires and interviewed division heads of a United Kingdom bulge bracket investment bank to understand usage of executive search firms.

## **TEACHING EXPERIENCE**

### **University of California, Berkeley – Political Science and Goldman School of Public Policy**

#### Graduate

Politics and Policy-Making in Developing Countries (Fall 2013, 2017)

Law, Politics, and Policymaking (Spring 2017)

Democratic Representation and Distributive Politics (Fall 2017)

Qualitative and Multi-method Research (Spring 2016)

Advanced Policy Analysis (Spring 2016, 2017)

Public Policy and Natural Disasters (Spring 2015)

#### Undergraduate

Democratic Representation and Distributive Politics, Junior Seminar (Spring 2017)

India Politics and Policy (Spring 2015)

#### Executive Education and International Programs

“Evaluating Governance” for the Making Leadership Count program at GSPP for Auditor Generals of India (Summer 2014, 2015; Fall 2016, 2017)

“Governance, Corruption, and Reform: What Role for Technology?” for the Ethics and Governance program at GSPP for Senior Indian Officials (Summer 2016, Fall 2016, Spring 2017)

“Governance, Corruption, and Reform: What Role for Technology?” for the Masters in Public Affairs program at GSPP (Summer 2016)

“Corruption, Information Technology, and Governance in India,” for the Black & White: Is Corruption Grey? program at GSPP for representatives of India’s Central Vigilance Commission (Spring 2016)

“Evaluating (Corruption) Reforms” for the Ethics and Governance program at GSPP for Senior Indian Officials (Summer 2014, 2015)

“Innovation and Adoption of Information Technology” for the Tools of Governance workshop, UC Berkeley and University of Adger (Spring 2015)

## **Yale University – Political Science and South Asian Studies**

### Undergraduate Teaching

The Political Economy of Natural Disasters (Fall 2012)

## **University of Texas at Austin – Lyndon B. Johnson School of Public Affairs**

### Graduate Teaching

Institutional Capacity for Complex Emergencies in Africa PRP (Fall/Spring 2011-12)

Analytical Methods for Global Policy Studies (Fall 2010, 2011)

Political Development and Policy-Making in India (Spring 2011)

Corruption, Development, and Policy-Making (Fall 2010)

### Guest Lectures

International Business Fellows Program, McCombs School of Business, UT Austin (Spring 2011, 2012)

Introduction to International Studies, Colleges of Arts and Sciences, UT Austin (Fall 2011)

## **INVITED TALKS AND CONFERENCES**

Evidence in Governance and Politics, Bogotá, Colombia, May 5-6, 2017

India at 70: Governance and Democratic Challenges, Claremont McKenna College, April 13-15, 2017

Annual Conference on South Asia, University of Wisconsin, Madison, October 20-23, 2016

Rethinking Electoral Politics in India, Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, September 30-October 1, 2016

American Political Science Association, 2016

Campaign Finance in India Workshop, Center for the Advanced Study of India, University of Pennsylvania, June 2-3, 2016

Comparative Politics and South Asia special joint workshop, University of California, San Diego, May 4, 2016

J-PAL Innovations in Public Sector Management conference, New Delhi, India, January 7-8, 2016

Political Economy Workshop, Center for the Advanced Study of India, University of Pennsylvania, December 4-5, 2015

Comparative Politics Workshop, University of Pennsylvania, October 29, 2015

Institute for South Asian Studies, University of California, Berkeley, September 29, 2015

American Political Science Association, 2015

Comparative Politics Workshop, University of California, Berkeley, April 2, 2015

Asian Studies Association conference, Chicago, March 26-29, 2015

Experiments in Governance and Health workshop, University of California, Berkeley, March 20, 2015

Brokering Votes: Clientelism in Comparative Perspective conference, University of California, Berkeley, February 27-28, 2015

Accountability and Public Goods Provision conference, Brown University, December 5-6, 2014

eGovernance Brown Bag (online), World Bank, November 19, 2014

Annual Conference on South Asia, University of Wisconsin, Madison, October 16-19, 2014

American Political Science Association, August 28-31, 2014

Governance and Public Sector Management Brown Bag, World Bank, May 19, 2014

Sardar Patel Awards Ceremony and Corruption in India Workshop, UCLA, May 10, 2014



Conference on Petty and Grand Corruption in Developing States: Business, Citizens, and the State,  
Yale University, April 30-May 2, 2014

Comparative Politics Workshop, Princeton University, April 16, 2014

Comparative Politics Speaker Series, UCLA, February 21, 2014

Comparative Politics Workshop, Stanford University, November 4, 2013

Annual Conference on South Asia, University of Wisconsin, Madison, October 17-20, 2013

Center for the Advanced Study of India, University of Pennsylvania, September 30, 2013

American Political Science Association, Chicago, IL, August 29 - September 1, 2013

Westminster Model of Democracy in Crisis? conference, Harvard University, May 13-14, 2013

Midwest Political Science Association, April 11, 2013

International Studies Association, April 5, 2013 (*in absentia*)

Comparative Politics Workshop, Yale University, February 19, 2013

University of California, Berkeley, February 4, 2013

Yale-Jindal Special Lecture, O.P. Jindal Global University, New Delhi, December 10, 2012

Berkeley-Jindal Conference on Democratic Governance, O.P. Jindal Global University, Sonapat,  
December 4, 2012

Massachusetts Institute of Technology, Cambridge, MA, November 26, 2012

Goldman School of Public Policy, University of California, Berkeley, October 23, 2012

McGill University, October 12, 2012

Climate Change and Development Conference, United Nations University-World Institute for  
Development Economics Research, Helsinki, Finland, September 28-29, 2012

American Political Science Association, August 30, 2012 (Conference cancelled)

Workshop on Technology and Democracy in South Asia, Center for South Asia, Stanford  
University, May 24, 2012

2<sup>nd</sup> Calvin and Helen Lang Asian Studies Symposium, University of Louisville, April 14, 2012

Midwest Political Science Association, April 12, 2012

Joint Brown-Harvard-MIT South Asia Seminar, March 2, 2012

Global South Asia Conference, New York University, February 11, 2012

Edmond J. Safra Center for Ethics Institutional Corruption Workshop, Harvard University, February  
8, 2012

Comparative Politics Workshop, The University of Chicago, November 30, 2011

South Asian Studies Council Colloquium, Yale University, September 14, 2011

Participatory Governance and Decentralization workshop, Woodrow Wilson International Center,  
Washington, D.C., May 9-10, 2011

Midwest Political Science Association, Chicago, IL, March 31-April 3, 2011

Program on Liberation Technology Speaker Series, Stanford Institute of International Studies,  
Stanford University, January 27, 2011

Globalization and the Politics of Poverty and Inequality Conference, University of Pittsburgh GSPIA  
and Yale University, Bangalore, India, January 5-6, 2011

Ph.D. Colloquium, LBJ School, University of Texas at Austin, November 18, 2010

Comparative Politics Workshop, University of Texas at Austin, November 10, 2010

Midwest Political Science Association, Chicago, IL, April 22-25, 2010

Center for Asian Democracy, University of Louisville, April 14, 2010

Department of Political Science, University of Louisville, September 24, 2009

American Political Science Association, Toronto, CA, September 3-6, 2009

Indian Institute of Information Technology, Bangalore (IIITB), Bangalore, India, July 16, 2009

Conference on Evidence-Based Anti-Corruption Policy, Bangkok, Thailand, June 5-6, 2009

IEEE/ACM International Conference on Information and Communication Technologies for  
Development (ICTD2009), Doha, Qatar, April 17-19, 2009

Berkman Center for Internet and Society at Harvard University, October 21, 2008  
Technology and Infrastructure for Emerging Regions Workshop, University of California, Berkeley,  
October 17, 2008  
American Political Science Association, Boston, MA, August 28-31, 2008  
Midwest Political Science Association, Chicago, IL, April 2-6, 2008  
IEEE/ACM International Conference on Information and Communication Technologies for  
Development (ICTD2007), Bangalore, India, December 15-16, 2007  
American Political Science Association, Chicago, IL, August 30-September 2, 2007  
Past, Present and Future of Research on the Information Society Conference, Tunis, Tunisia,  
November 14, 2005  
American Political Science Association, Washington, DC, September 1-4, 2005  
American Political Science Association, Chicago, IL, September 2-5, 2004  
Western Political Science Association, Oakland, CA, March 17-19, 2004  
American Political Science Association, Philadelphia, PA, August 28-31, 2003.  
International Political Science Association, Durban, South Africa, June 30-July 4, 2003.

### **ADDITIONAL EDUCATION**

International Policy Summer Institute, June 2011  
Interuniversity Consortium for Political and Social Research (ICPSR)  
Summer Program in Quantitative Methods of Social Research, 2006  
Institute for Qualitative and Multi-Method Research (IQMR)  
Qualitative Methods Training, 2005