# James D. Long

### **Contact Information**

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#### **Academic Positions**

University of Washington

Professor of Political Science, Department of Political Science, 2022-present

Associate Chair of Political Science, 2024-present

Adjunct Professor of Public Policy, Evans School of Public Policy & Governance, 2022-present

Co-founder of the Political Economy Forum, 2014-present

Associate Professor of Political Science, Department of Political Science, 2018-2022

Assistant Professor of Political Science, Department of Political Science, 2013-2018

Faculty Affiliate, Center for Statistics & the Social Sciences, 2014-present

Faculty Affiliate, Information School, Technology & Social Change Group, 2014-present

Faculty Affiliate, African Studies and Near & Middle East Interdisciplinary Programs, 2013-present

Harvard University

Academy Scholar, Harvard Academy for International and Area Studies, 2012-13, 2015-16

University of California, Berkeley

Faculty Affiliate, Center for Effective Global Action, 2013-present Faculty Affiliate, Evidence in Governance & Politics, 2016-present

US Agency for International Development

Research Technical Assistance Center, 2020-2025

### Education

University of California, San Diego, PhD Political Science, 2012
School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London, MSc (Merit), African Politics, 2004
College of William & Mary, BA (High Honors), International Relations & History, 2003
University of Dar es Salaam, Daniel L. Boren Scholar, 2001-02

## **Scholarly Publications**

Books

1. Danielle F. Jung and James D. Long. 2023. <u>The Social Origins of Electoral Participation in Emerging Democracies</u>, Cambridge University Press, Elements Series on Campaigns & Elections.

## Peer-Reviewed Articles, Chapters, & Conference Proceedings

- 1. Aaron Erlich, Danielle F. Jung and James D. Long. 2024. "Covering the Campaign: Computational Tools for Measuring Differences in Candidate and Party News Coverage with Application to an Emerging Democracy," Social Science Computer Review 42 (6): 1313-1337.
- 2. Aaron Erlich, Karen Ferree, Clark Gibson, Danielle Jung, James D. Long and Craig McIntosh. 2024. "<u>Using Communications Technology to Promote Democratic Participation: Experimental Evidence from South Africa</u>," *Economic Development and Cultural Change* 72 (3): 1425-1463.
- 3. Karen E. Ferree, Clark C. Gibson, James D. Long. 2021. "Mixed records, complexity, and ethnic voting in African elections," World Development, 141, May 2021: 105418-105427.
- 4. Matt Ziegler, Morgan Wack, Nancy Ingutia, Ian Muiruri, Nicholas Njogu, James D. Long, & Kurtis Heimerl. 2020. "Can Phones Build Relationships? A Case Study of a Kenyan Wildlife Conservancy's Community Development," The Third ACM Conference on Computing & Sustainable Societies (ACM COMPASS)

## --winner of ACM COMPASS Best Paper award

- 5. Eli Berman, Michael Callen, Clark Gibson, James D. Long and Arman Rezaee. 2019. "<u>Election Fairness and Government Legitimacy in Afghanistan</u>" *Journal of Economic Behavior & Organization*, 168, December: 292-317.
- 6. Sarah Dreier, James D. Long and Stephen Winkler. 2019. "<u>African, Religious, and Tolerant? How Religious Diversity Shapes Attitudes Toward Sexual Minorities in Africa</u>," *Religion & Politics*, 13, 2: 273-303.
- 7. Luke N. Condra, Michael Callen, Radha Iyengar, James D. Long and Jacob N. Shapiro. 2019. "Damaging Democracy? Security Provision and Turnout in Afghan Elections" Economics & Politics, 31, 2: 163-193.
- 8. Luke N. Condra, James D. Long, Andrew Shaver and Austin Wright. 2018. "<u>The Logic of Insurgent Electoral Violence</u>," *American Economic Review*, 108, 11: 3199-3231.
- Aaron Erlich, Danielle Jung, James D. Long and Craig McIntosh. 2018. "<u>The Double-Edged Sword of Mobilizing Citizens via Mobile Phone in Developing Countries</u>," *Journal of Development Engineering*, 3: 34-46.
- 10. Jeremy Horowitz and James D. Long. 2016. "Ethnicity, Information, and Strategic Voting in Multi-Ethnic Democracies: Evidence from Kenya," *Electoral Studies* 44: 351-361.
- 11. Karen Ferree and James D. Long. 2016. "Gifts, Threats, and Perceptions of Ballot Secrecy in African Elections," African Affairs 115 (461): 621-645.
- 12. Michael Callen, Clark Gibson, Danielle Jung and James D. Long. 2016. "<u>Improving Electoral Integrity with Information and Communications Technology</u>," *Journal of Experimental Political Science* 3 (1): 4-17.
- 13. James D. Long and Clark Gibson. 2015. "Evaluating the Roles of Ethnicity and Performance in African Elections: Evidence from an Exit Poll in Kenya," Political Research Quarterly 68 (4): 830-842.
- 14. David Backer and James D. Long. 2015. "<u>Electoral and Party System Development in Sub-Saharan Africa</u>," Oxford Bibliographies in Political Science, New York: Oxford University Press.
- 15. Michael Callen and James D. Long. 2015. "Institutional Corruption and Election Fraud: Evidence from a Field Experiment in Afghanistan," American Economic Review 105 (1): 354-381.

- James D. Long, Daniel Maliniak, Susan Peterson, and Michael Tierney. 2015. "Knowledge Without Power: International Relations Scholars, U.S. Foreign Policy, and the Iraq War" International Politics 52 (1): 20-44.
- 17. Karen Ferree, Clark Gibson and James D. Long. 2014. "Voting Behavior and Electoral Irregularities in Kenya's 2013 Election" Journal of Eastern African Studies 8 (1): 153-172.
- 18. Michael Callen, Mohammad Isaqzadeh, James D. Long and Charles Sprenger. 2014. "Violence and Risk Preference: Experimental Evidence from Afghanistan," American Economic Review 104 (1): 123-148.
- 19. Stephan Haggard, Robert Kaufman and James D. Long. 2013. "Income, Occupation, and Preferences for Redistribution in the Developing World," Studies in Comparative International Development 48 (2): 113-140.
- 20. Barak Hoffman and James D. Long. 2013. "Party Attributes, Performance, and Voting in Africa," *Comparative Politics* 45 (1): 127-146.
- 21. Karuti Kanyinga and James D. Long. 2012. "The Political Economy of Reforms in Kenya," African Studies Review 55 (1): 31-51.
- 22. Karuti Kanyinga, James D. Long and David Ndii. 2010. "Was it Rigged? A Forensic Analysis of Vote Returns in Kenya's 2007 Election," in *Tensions and Reversals in Democratic Transitions: The Kenya 2007 General Elections*, Nairobi: Society for International Development.

#### Editor Reviewed Papers & Invited Chapters

- 23. James D. Long. 2023. "Protecting Electoral Integrity in Emerging Democracies," in *An Introduction to Development Engineering*, eds. Ashok Gadgil, Temina Madon, & Anustubh Agnihotria, Springer.
- 24. James D. Long. 2020. "Voting Behavior in Africa's Emerging Democracies," in Routledge Handbook of Democratization in Africa, eds. Gabrielle Lynch and Peter VonDoepp, New York: Routledge.
- 25. James D. Long. 2020. "Civil Conflict, Power-Sharing, Truth and Reconciliation (2005-2013)," in Oxford Handbook of Kenyan Politics, eds. Nicholas Cheeseman, Karuti Kanyinga, & Gabrielle Lynch, Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- 26. James D. Long, Karuti Kanyinga, Karen Ferree and Clark Gibson. 2013. "Kenya's 2013 Election: Choosing Peace Over Democracy" *Journal of Democracy* 24 (3): 140-155.
- 27. David Backer, Joseph Lahouchuc and James D. Long. 2010. "Addressing the Post-Election Violence: Micro-Level Perspectives on Transitional Justice in Kenya," The Politics of Violence and Accountability in Kenya, Oxford Transitional Justice Research Centre, Oxford University.
- 28. Clark Gibson and James D. Long. 2009. "<u>The Presidential and Parliamentary Elections in Kenya, December 2007: Evidence from an Exit Poll,</u>" *Electoral Studies* 28 (3).

#### Book Reviews

- 29. James D. Long, 2024. <u>Review</u> of *Voter Backlash and Elite Misperception: The Logic of Violence in Electoral Competition* by Steven C. Rosenzweig, *Perspectives on Politics*.
- 30. James D. Long. 2020. Review of The Corruption Cure: How Citizens & Leaders Can Combat Graft By Robert I. Rotberg, International Studies Review.

31. James D. Long. 2018. Review of The Politics of Technology in Africa: Communication, Development, and Nation-Building in Ethiopia. By Iginio Gagliardone, Perspectives on Politics.

Public Scholarship and Opinion Pieces (selected)

Recent invited media appearances/research/commentary: NPR, PBS, Business Insider, "Professors and Pints," Voice of America, Slate, Foreign Policy, TRT World, NBC, CBS, ABC, KOMO Radio, KOMO, KING-5, KIRO, Canadian Broadcasting Corporation, BBC, Pod Save the World, New York Times, The Messenger.

- 1. Host of "Neither Free Nor Fair?" podcast about election security and 21st century democracy, 2020-21.
- 2. James D. Long, February 2024. "Trump is no Navalny, and prosecution in a democracy is a lot different than persecution in Putin's Russia," The Conversation.
- 3. James D. Long and Victor Menaldo, August 2023. "Could Trump turn his politics of grievance into a get-out-of-jail card? Neither prosecution nor even jail time has prevented former leaders in Israel, Brazil and Kenya from mounting comebacks," The Conversation.
- 4. James D. Long and Victor Menaldo, June 2023. "How have prosecutions of foreign leaders turned out? It's complicated." Seattle Times.
- 5. James D. Long and Victor Menaldo, April 2023. "How the indictment of Donald Trump is a 'strange and different' even for America, according to political scientists." *The Conversation*.
- 6. James D. Long, August 2022. "The Ups and Downs of Kenya's Evolving Institutions," Italian Institute for International Political Studies.
- 7. James D. Long, August 2022. "Kenya's election: institutional safeguards are still a work in progress." *The Conversation.*
- 8. Victor Menaldo, James D. Long, and Morgan Wack, August 2022. "Prosecuting a president is divisive and sometimes destabilizing here's why many countries do it anyway." The Conversation.
- 9. Victor Menaldo and James D. Long, July 2022. "With Trump's role on Jan. 6th becoming clearer, and potentially criminal, GOP voters are starting to look at different options." The Conversation.
- 10. James D. Long, Morgan Wack, and Victor Menaldo. January 2022. "Prosecuting Trump would inevitably be political and other countries have had mixed success in holding ex-presidents accountable," The Conversation.
- 11. James D. Long, Victor Menaldo, and Mark Smith, June 2021. "Why nobody will ever agree on whether COVID lockdowns were worth it," The Conversation.
- 12. James D. Long, Victor Menaldo, and Morgan Wack, March 2021. "Prosecuting ex-presidents for corruption is trending worldwide—but it's not always great for democracy," *The Conversation*.
- 13. James D. Long and Victor Menaldo. February 2021. "From the election lie to GameStop: How to stop social media algorithms from hurting us," VentureBeat.
- 14. James D. Long and Victor Menaldo, January 2021. "Section 230: Friend, not foe, of free speech," Seattle Times.
- 15. James D. Long and Victor Menaldo, January 2021. "Why Trump's challenges to democracy will be a big problem for Biden," *The Conversation*.

- 16. James D. Long and Pranab Panday. 2020. "Evaluation Results of 'Citizen Voice & Action' Nobo Jatra Program, World Vision Bangladesh," USAID & World Vision.
- 17. Visseho Adjiwanou, Leontine Alkema, James D. Long and Tyler H. McCormick. 2018. "Big Data, Big Models, Uncertainty, and Bias: Data Collection in Development," National Institutes of Health.
- 18. James D. Long, 2010. "Deaths in Paradise: Genocide and the Limits of Imagination in Rwanda," New York: Elie Wiesel Foundation, 2001; republished in *An Ethical Compass: Coming of Age in the 21st Century*, Elie Wiesel (ed.), Yale University Press.
- 19. James D. Long, July 2010. "Problem Elections in Emerging Democracies," Election Guide Digest.
- 20. James D. Long, January 15, 2008. "Voting and the Violence in Kenya," San Diego Union Tribune.
- 21. James D. Long and Stephan Haggard, June 6, 2007. "Once Again, Benchmarks" San Diego Union Tribune.

## Fellowships & Awards

- 1. ACM Conference on Computing & Sustainable Societies, Best Paper Award, 2020
- 2. The World Bank, Africa Vice Presidential Unit Award (with Paul Jacob Ryan), 2016
- 3. Harvard University, Academy Scholar, Harvard Academy for International & Area Studies, 2012-16
- 4. Stanford University, post-doc, Center on Democracy, Development, and Rule of Law, 2012 (declined)
- 5. American Political Science Association, Honorable Mention for Best Fieldwork, Comparative Democratization Section, 2012
- 6. University of California, Institute on Global Conflict & Cooperation Fellowship, 2010-11
- 7. United States Institute of Peace, Jennings Randolph Peace Scholar Fellowship, 2009-10
- 8. Fulbright Scholar (Uganda), Makerere Institute of Social Research, 2008-9
- 9. National Science Foundation, Doctoral Dissertation Research Improvement Grant, 2007-08
- 10. University of California, San Diego, Teaching Assistant of the Year Award, Department of Political Science, 2007
- 11. University of California, San Diego, Mark Twain Fellowship, 2004-12
- 12. Elie Wiesel Foundation for Humanity, First Place Prize in Ethics Essay Contest, 2001
- 13. Daniel L. Boren Scholar, University of Dar es Salaam, Tanzania, 2001-02

#### **Grants**

- 1. Institute for Human Studies, 2025-26, \$12,000 (with Tony Gill and Victor Menaldo) in celebration of 250 years of Adam Smith and the Declaration of Independence
- 2. Institute for Humane Studies, 2022-23, \$2,500 (with Tony Gill, Victor Menaldo and Dan Eisenberg)
- 3. University of Washington, Center for Global Studies, 2024, \$2,000.
- 4. *University of Washington, Center for Statistics & the Social Sciences, Data Science Incubator, 2021,* \$5,000.

- 5. University of Washington, Royalty Research Fund, "Reducing Corruption and Improving Government Performance with ICT and Digital Media in Developing Democracies" \$31,467, 2017.
- 6. University of Washington, Jackson School for International Relations Mellon Grant, "Voting, Elections, and Electoral Systems," \$28,000 (with Robert Pekkanen), 2014-15.
- 7. Richard B. Wesley, donation to UW to found the Political Economy Forum, \$100,000 (with Victor Menaldo and Rachel Heath), 2015-present
- 8. USAID, Development Innovation Ventures, "Improving Electoral Performance Through Citizen Engagement in South Africa," \$1,387,559 (with Craig McIntosh, Danielle Jung, Clark Gibson, and Karen Ferree), 2013-16
- 9. Policy Design and Evaluation Lab, "Election Violence and Voting in Emerging Democracies," \$14,000 (with Clark Gibson), 2014-15
- 10. Development and Conflict Research, "Election Violence in Kenya," \$51,290, 2011-12
- 11. USAID, Development Innovation Ventures, "Cellular Monitoring: Improving Governance in Afghanistan," \$99,922 (with Clark Gibson, Eli Berman, and Michael Callen), 2010
- 12. Democracy International, "Democracy, Legitimacy, and Elections in Afghanistan," \$200,000 (with Clark Gibson, Eli Berman, and Michael Callen), 2010
- 13. National Science Foundation, Doctoral Dissertation Research Grant, \$12,000, 2007-08

# **Invited Talks & Expert Testimony (selected)**

Florida International University, Roundtable on Kenya at a Crossroads (scheduled fall 2025)

University of Maryland, Big 10 Democracy Summit, 2025

University of Washington, Democracy in Focus series, 2024

University of Washington, Provost's Election Lecture series, 2024

Notre Dame, Keough School of Global Affairs 2024 Global Democracy Summit, 2024

University of Hawaii, Fulbright Canada Colloquium IV, 2023

Gates Foundation, Center on Risk and Inclusion in Food Systems, 2023

Indiana Council on World Affairs, Distinguished Speaker Series, 2022

University of the State of Santa Catarina, Brazil, gLocal Evaluation Week, 2021

World Vision International & USAID, Social Accountability Conference, 2020

UC-San Diego & the World Bank, Pacific Development Lab, 2019

Notre Dame, Keough School of Global Affairs, 2018

London School of Economics, Department of Government, 2018

University of Washington, eScience inaugural Data Science Summit, 2018

Global Innovation Week, US Department of State, 2017

University of California, Hastings School of Law, Global Election Technology Summit, 2017

Princeton University, Center for International Security Studies, 2017

London School of Economics, African Political Economy Seminar, 2016

TedX@,UW, 2016

Cameroon Ministry of Health, 2015

University of Heidelberg, Department of Economics, 2015

Columbia University, Earth Institute, 2015

University of Washington, Technology & Social Change Group, Information School, 2015

Global Innovation Lab, Washington, DC, 2014, 2011

US Agency for International Development, Pretoria, 2014

Paris School of Economics, World Bank Conference on Poverty in Africa, 2014

University of Washington, Center for Statistics & the Social Sciences, 2014

University of Oregon, African Studies Center, 2014

Olympia World Affairs Council, 2013

Institute for Defense Analysis, 2013

Harvard University, International Security Workshop, 2013

Johns Hopkins University Paul H. Nitze School of Advanced International Studies, 2013, 2008

Harvard University, Electoral Integrity Workshop, 2013

Harvard University, Harvard Academy for International and Area Studies, 2012

George Washington University, Tech@State Conference, 2012

Georgetown University, Frontiers in Development Conference, 2012

The White House, Office for Science & Technology, Innovations for Global Development, 2012

University of California, San Diego, Development and Conflict Research Conference, 2011

US Agency for International Development, Kabul, 2010

British Institute of East Africa, 2010

French Institute for Research in Africa, 2008

Testimony Before the Independent Review ("Kriegler") Commission, Nairobi, 2008

Center for Strategic and International Studies, 2015, 2008

Oxford University, Centre for African Studies, 2008

College of William & Mary, Department of Government, 2008

University of Nairobi, Institute for Development Studies, 2007

## Relevant Policy Experience

Democracy International, Election Observer, Kenya 2022

Philanthropy Advisors, Senior Quantitative Design & Analysis Consultant (Water & Sanitation), 2022

Philanthropy Advisors, Senior Quantitative Design & Analysis Consultant (Public Health), 2020

World Vision, Social Accountability Evaluation, Bangladesh, 2019-2021

The World Bank, Principal Investigator, Cameroon, 2014-present

Democracy International, Election Observer and Research Analyst, Afghanistan, 2014

Independent Commission for Aid Impact/British Parliament, Research Analyst, Ghana, 2013

Democracy International, Research Director, Kabul, Afghanistan, 2010

Democracy International, Election Observer and Research Analyst, Afghanistan, 2009

United Nations Development Program, Consultant, Kenya, 2008

Africa Centre for Open Governance Research Analyst, Kenya, 2008

South Consulting, Research Analyst, Kenya, 2008-12

# Field Experience

Bangladesh, November 2019, January 2020

South Africa, December 2014, March-May 2014, December 2013

Afghanistan, September 2014, February 2012, July-November 2010, August 2009

Kenya, August 2022, November 2018, January-March 2013, November 2012, March-April 2012,

November-December 2010, February 2009-March 2010, September 2007-March 2008, Summer 2001 *Ghana*, Summer 2013, October -December 2008

Uganda, December 2010-March 2011, January-March 2010, December 2008-February 2009, March-October 2008

Chad, Summer 2004

Cameroon, Winter-Spring 2015-6, Fall 2015, Summer 2015, December 2014, Summer 2004

Tanzania, Summer 2003, 2001-2002

Ethiopia, Summer 2003, Summer 2001

Sierra Leone, Summer 2002

# Conference Presentations (selected)

National Bureau of Economic Research (NBER): 2017, 2011

American Economic Association (AEA): 2017

American Political Science Associate Annual Meeting (APSA): 2025, 2021, 2016, 2015, 2014, 2012, 2011, 2010, 2009, 2004

International Studies Association Annual Meeting (ISA): 2016, 2011, 2010, 2006, 2005

African Studies Association Annual Meeting (ASA): 2023, 2015, 2013, 2009

Working Group in African Political Economy (WGAPE): 2015, 2014, 2012, 2010, 2009, 2006

Midwest Political Science Association (MPSA): 2016, 2015, 2010

# **Editorial Experience**

Journal of Development Engineering, Associate Editor, 2015-2023

Journal of Environment and Development, Editorial Assistant, 2004-07

## **Teaching**

Undergraduate

Undergraduate:

POLS 204 "Introduction to Comparative Politics: Democracy in the Modern World" (2024, 2023, 2022, 2021, 2020, 2019, 2018, 2016, 2014x2)

POLS 220 "How to Steal an Election (A Warning, Not a How-To Guide)" (2024)

POLS 335/JSIS 335 "African Politics/African Political Economy" (2019, 2018)

POLS 362/JSIS 362 "Data, Technology, and Development in Africa" (2024, 2023, 2022)

POLS 371 "Global Crime and Corruption" (2025, 2024, 2023, 2022, 2021, 2020, 2019, 2018, 2017)

POLS 447/477 "African Political Development," (2019, 2018, 2014, 2013)

POLS 499, "Classical Liberalism Revisited," (2025-26)

PUBPOL 499 "Development Policy & Politics," (Undergrad 2021)

#### Graduate

POLS 500 "Political Research Design & Analysis," (2025, 2024)

POLS 505 "Comparative Politics Core Seminar," (2024, 2021, 2019, 2018)

POLS 504 "Designing Multi-Method Field Research," (2023, 2019, 2017, 2014, 2013)

### **Service**

## To University of Washington

Co-founder, Political Economy Forum, 2015-present

Associate Chair, Department of Political Science, 2024-present

Evans School Policy Analysis & Research Group, Center on Risk and Inclusion in Food Systems, Steering Committee, 2020-present.

Political Science Department Faculty Panel, 2017, 2020, 2022.

Royalty Research Fund, reviewer, 2015-present.

CSSS Data Science Minor Curriculum committee, member 2021-present.

Agnes Nelson Scholarship for Political Economy, selection committee (2020-present)

Founding Co-Organizer, UW Conference on Voting, Elections, and Electoral Systems (with Robert Pekkanen), 2014-2015, 2015-16

Steering Committee on Qualitative and Multi-Method Research, College of Arts & Sciences, 2014-2020

3rd Promotion Committee, Chair, Department of Political Science, 2023

Tenure Promotion Committee, members, Department of Political Science, 2021, 2023

Ottenberg Scholarship, selection committee, African Studies Program, 2021-present.

Fulbright Selection Committee, 2017.

Selection Committee, International Research & Study Fellowships Committee, 2019, 2018

PhD Admissions Committee, Department of Political Science, 2014-15, 2016-17, 2017-18, 2024

Political Economy Field Coordinator, Department of Political Science, 2019-20, 2023-present.

Graduate Committee, Department of Political Science, 2013-14

Undergraduate Committee, Department of Political Science, 2021-present

Founding Co-Organizer, UW Conference on Voting, Elections, and Electoral Systems (with Robert Pekkanen), 2014-2015, 2015-16

Various MA thesis and undergraduate honors thesis committees, 2013-present

### To Profession

Reviewer, National Science Foundation, 2022-25.

Faculty Mentor, Center for Effective Global Action, UC-Berkeley, 2023-24.

East Africa Social Science Translation Collaborative, UC-Berkeley, Selection Committee, 2017-2020.

Development Impact West Africa, UC-Berkeley, Selection Committee, 2020.

Working Group in African Political Economy Selection Committee, 2019-20. APSA Political Economy Section, Best Book Award, 2017.

US Agency for International Development, Research Technical Assistance Center, 2020-present Book Manuscript Reviewer: Lynne Reiner, Oxford University Press, Cambridge University Press, WW. Norton Journal Reviewer: Review of Economic Studies, Science, American Economic Review (AER), American Political Science Review (APSR), American Journal of Political Science (AJPS), Journal of Politics (JOP), British Journal of Political Science (BJPS), Comparative Political Studies (CPS), African Affairs, Election Law Journal, Journal of Experimental Political Science (JEPS), African Studies Review (ASR), Journal of Eastern African Studies (JEAS), Journal of Economic Behavior and Organization (JEBO), Journal of Modern African Studies (JMAS), Journal of Conflict Resolution (JCR), Review of International Organizations (REIO), Journal of Policy Analysis and Management (JPAM), Party Politics