

Political Parties, Voters, and Elections in the Developing World
Political Studies 120

Spring 2017
MW 11-12:15pm

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To understand the functioning of democracies, it is essential to understand the nature of political parties and electoral behavior. Parties are central to fundamental political processes ranging from representing societal interests, providing political alternatives, mobilizing voters, and channeling conflict. Parties are also often the core institutions that connect voters to the state and often powerfully shape voters' attitudes about government. Political behavior, the study of voters' attitudes and behaviors surrounding elections, is similarly important for understanding how democracies function. Questions from why voters turn out to vote to why they vote against the incumbent government are important for making sense of the dizzying array of election results we've seen in recent years.

This course introduces students to the study of parties and electoral behavior with an emphasis on party functioning in developing democracies. We will often explore influential readings that apply to developed countries (the U.S., Europe) alongside studies of parties in developing democracies where institutional contexts are quite different. We will cover topics such as voter turnout, partisanship, electoral volatility, party organization, and consider of variety of types of parties. We will also explore the functioning of elections and why this is important for democratic quality and the nature of electoral competition.

Goals/Objectives of the Course (intended outcomes):

1. Students will come to understand major debates underlying electoral behavior and party competition.
2. Students will engage in effective written expression.
3. Students will learn about the management of elections and partisan conflict in a range of developing countries.
4. Students will learn to analyze complex political phenomena through careful engagement with theory and evidence.

COURSE REQUIREMENTS

Your final grade will be based on the following components:

20% - **Class Participation.** Attendance is obligatory. An active role in discussions by everyone enrolled in the course is expected, as is the completion of the required readings before the session for which they are assigned. Each student is permitted one unexcused absence (i.e. without a written note from a doctor or a dean). After that, the participation will be reduced 1/3 grade per unexcused absence.

5% - **Your Country in the News.** I will ask you to pick a country to focus on throughout the term. You will be asked to post one article on sakai discussion board with a paragraph summary for each part of the class. If current events aren't relevant to the theme you can look back to the year of the most recent election, etc. I'll ask you to tell us about it in class briefly.

Note: that you must pick a different class session for the response paper and presentation.

15% - **Country Case Study Presentations** –I will ask each student to complete one presentation on a country (or party within a country) as it applies to the course theme of that particular session. The presentation should last about 10 minutes. The goal of the presentation is to get you to think about the theoretical arguments addressed in a class session and to apply this to a country (or party) case. All presentations should address theoretical arguments including course readings and additional readings relevant to your case and apply that theory through a case study that includes a presentation of evidence.

25% - **Take-Home Midterm** – The Midterm will include four short answers and a structured longer essay with a series of questions to address (7-8 double-spaced pages). It will include material presented both in the required readings and in lectures.

35% - **Final Paper**

The final paper involves a report on elections and parties that covers the topics we will discuss in the course. This 10-12 page paper will focus on the electoral process in a (new or emerging) democracy of your choice. The default option will be to focus on the present period, although people interested in History may talk to me about working on something more historical. This paper will research and analyze the electoral process in a country of your choice (Please email me your choice by Week 5). In doing so, your paper should systematically address *each* of the substantial questions that we will discuss throughout the term:

- What is the quality of elections in *country X*? Is there any type of fraud, vote-buying or malpractice? If so which ones?
- What is the political offer like in *country X*? Are parties important at all (e.g., partisanship)? How many relevant parties are active? Are these parties old?
- Would you consider the party system to be institutionalized?
- On which cleavages are social and partisan cleavages based on? Is there a dominant party?
- How do parties choose candidates?
- How do parties appeal to voters and what do voters look for in parties?
- What role, if any, does ethnicity play in this process?
- Are voters sufficiently informed, mobilized and literate to credibly assess the various options?
- Is politician accountability possible?

Classroom Etiquette

To make sure that we have a hospitable learning environment, I ask students to follow three simple rules:

- 1) Arrive on time
- 2) Turn your cell phones off when you enter the class room
- 3) Unless you are speaking in groups about readings, close your laptops in class. This will help everyone focus on class discussion.
- 4) Respect your classmates. Debate is welcome but disagree respectfully by engaging ideas rather getting personal.
- 5) Coffee/beverages are fine but food is not permitted in class since it can distract your classmates.

Warning on Plagiarism and Cheating

As goes without saying, it will not be possible to pass this course if I find any evidence of plagiarism/cheating of any kind for any assignment. At minimum, this will result in a zero for that assignment and will be referred to the Dean without exceptions. If you do the work each week, and think a lot about the material, you'll do fine.

Readings

This course requires you to carefully read all assigned readings before class. Generally, 4 articles or book excerpts are assigned for each class meeting. Make sure that you not only understand the basic argument, but give yourself time to think critically about the readings before class. I also encourage you to complete the reading worksheet at the end of this syllabus for each reading.

Book(s) for Purchase:

Greene, Kenneth. 2007. *Why Dominant Parties Lose: Mexico's democratization in comparative perspective*. Cambridge University Press.

Course Schedule and Readings

Session 1: Course Introduction (1/18)

Session 2: Are political parties essential to democracy? (1/23)

Huntington, Samuel. 1968. *Political Order in Changing Societies*, 1-24; 397-420.

Part I: The Conduct of Elections

Session 3: What Makes Elections Free and Fair: The Logistical Challenge (1/25)

Lehoucq, Fabrice. 2003. "Electoral Fraud: Causes, Types, and Consequences." *Annual Review of Political Science*, 6: 233-56.

Sridharan, E. and Milan Vaishnav. *Election Commission of India*. Presented at the Conference on Building an Indian State in the 21st Century.

Banerjee, Mukulika. *Why India Votes*, Chapter 4. [Skim for a qualitative sense]

Session 4: When Elections are Not Free or Fair: Tools of Coercion (1/30)

Levitsky, Steven and Lucan Way. 2002. "The Rise of Competitive Authoritarianism." *Journal of Democracy*, 13(2), 51-65.

Mickey, Rob. 2015. *Paths Out of Dixie*, Chapter 2.

Recommended:

Hafner-Burton, E, Susan Hyde, S. D, and Jablonski. 2014. "When Do Governments Resort to Election Violence?" *British Journal of Political Science*, 44(1) 149-179.

Frye, Timothy, O.J. Reuter, and David Szakonyi. 2014. "Political Machines at Work: Voter mobilization and electoral subversion in the workplace." *World Politics*, 66(2) 195-228.

Session 5: Campaign Finance in Comparative Perspective: How it Works (2/1)

Pinto-Duschinsky, Michael. 2002. "Financing Politics: A global view." *Journal of Democracy*, 13(4), 69-86.

Eswaran Sridharan and Milan Vaishnav. Forthcoming. "India." In *Understanding Political Finance*. Oxford University Press.

Recommended: Dawood, Y. 2015. "Campaign Finance and American Democracy." *Annual Review of Political Science*.

Session 6: Campaign Finance: Consequences for Democracy (2/6)

Vaishnav, Milan. 2017. *When Crime Pays*, Chapter 4.

Hacker, Jakob and Paul Pierson. 2011. *Winner-Take-All Politics*. Tantor Media. Selection.

Part II: Parties and Party Systems

Session 7: What Do Parties Do? Interest Aggregation and Collective Action (2/8)

Downs, Anthony. 1957. *An Economic Theory of Democracy*. New York: Harper and Brothers, 1957. Chapters 2 and 7.

Aldrich, John. 1995. *Why Parties: The Origin and Transformation of Party Politics in America*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press: Chapter 3.

Session 8: Where Do Party Systems Come From? Cleavages and Institutions (2/13)

Lipset, Seymour and Stein Rokkan. 1990. "Cleavage Structures, Party Systems, and Voter Alignments: An Introduction." In Peter Mair (ed) *The West European Party System*. Oxford: Oxford University Press: 91-138.

Posner, Daniel. 2004. "The Political Salience of Cultural Difference: Why Chewas and Tumbukas Are Allies in Zambia and Adversaries in Malawi." *American Political Science Review* 98 (4): 529-545.

Session 9: Party System Institutionalization (2/15)

Mainwaring, Scott and Timothy Scully, eds. 1995. *Building Democratic Institutions: Party Systems in Latin America*: Introduction.

Session 10: Dominant Parties (2/20)

Greene, Kenneth. 2007. *Why Dominant Parties Lose: Mexico's Democratization in Comparative Perspective*. Cambridge University Press. Chapters 1 and 3.

Session 11: The Decline of Dominant Parties (2/22)

Guest Lecture: Aditya Dasgupta, Stanford University.

Greene, Kenneth. 2007. *Why Dominant Parties Lose: Mexico's democratization in comparative perspective*. Cambridge University Press. Chapter 7.

Ziegfeld, Adam, and Maya Tudor. 2017. "How opposition parties sustain single-party dominance: Lessons from India." *Party Politics*, 23 (3) 262-273.

Session 12: Partisanship (and Polarization) in Advanced Democracies (2/27)

Green et al. *Partisan Hearts and Minds*. Introduction.

Dalton, Russell J., and Martin P. Wattenberg, eds. 2002. *Parties Without Partisans: Political Change in Advanced Industrial Democracies*. Oxford University Press on Demand. Introduction.

Session 13: Partisanship in Developing Countries (3/1)

Hagopian, Frances. 2007. "Parties and Voters in Emerging Democracies". In *Oxford Handbook of Comparative Politics*.

Ferree, Karen. 2006. "Explaining South Africa's Racial Census." *Journal of Politics*, 68(4) 803-815.

Samuels, David, and Cesar Zucco. 2015. "Crafting Mass Partisanship at the Grass Roots." *British Journal of Political Science*, 45 (4) 755-75.

Session 14: Party Organization I: Vote Mobilization on the Ground (3/6)

In this class session, we look under the hood of party organizations and party machines engaged in voter mobilization.

Duverger, Maurice. 1954. *Political Parties* (New York: Wiley Publishers) 17-27; 62-71.

Levitsky, Steven. 2001. "An Organized Disorganization': Informal Organization and the Persistence of Local Party Structures in Argentine Peronism." *Journal of Latin American Studies* 33 (1) 29-66.

Jha, Prashant. 2017. *How the BJP Wins: Inside India's Greatest Election Machine*. Selection.

Session 15: Party Organization II: Candidate Selection (3/8)

Chandra, Kanchan. 2000. "Elite Incorporation in Multiethnic Societies." *Asian Survey*, 40(5) 836-865.

Meta, Pratap Bhanu. 2001. "Reform Political Parties First." *Seminar*. <available at: <http://www.india-seminar.com/2001/497/497%20pratap%20bhanu%20mehta.htm>>

Spring Break: NO CLASS 3/13 or 3/15

Session 16: When Do Parties Adapt to Change? (3/20)

Levitsky, Steven and Katrina Burgess. 2003. "Explaining Populist Party Adaptation in Latin America: Environmental and Organizational Determinants of Party Change in Argentina, Mexico, Peru, and Venezuela." *Comparative Political Studies*, 36(8) 859-880.

Samuels, David. 2004. "From Socialism to Social Democracy: Party organization and the transformation of the workers' party in Brazil." *Comparative Political Studies*, 37 (9) 999-1024.

And Read these 2 short pieces on the Democratic Party in the United States:

Daniel, Galvin. 2016. "Obama built a policy legacy. But he didn't do enough to build the Democratic Party." <available at: <https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/monkey->

http://www.vox.com/wp/2016/11/16/obama-built-a-policy-legacy-but-didnt-do-enough-to-build-the-democratic-party/?utm_term=.cd343283bca6>.

Skocpol, Theda. 2017. "A Guide to Rebuilding the Democratic Party from the ground up." Vox <available at: <http://www.vox.com/the-big-idea/2017/1/5/14176156/rebuild-democratic-party-dnc-strategy>>

Part III: Party Linkage Strategies

Session 17: Clientelism and Vote Buying (3/22)

Kitschelt, Herbert and Steven Wilkinson. 2007. "Citizen-Politician Linkages: An Introduction" in Herbert Kitschelt and Steven Wilkinson (eds), *Patrons, Clients, and Policies*. New York: Cambridge University Press: 1-46.

Schaffer, Frederic and Andres Schedler. 2007. "What is Vote Buying?" In Schaffer, Frederic, ed. *Elections for Sale: The Causes and Consequences of Vote Buying*. Boulder, CO: Lynne Rienner Press: Chapter 2.

Session 18: Clientelism on the Ground (3/27)

Auyero, Javier. 2000. "The Logic of Clientelism in Argentina: An Ethnographic Account." *Latin American Research Review*, 35(3) 55-82.

Chubb, Judith. 1981. "The Social Bases of an Urban Political Machine: The Case of Palermo." *Political Science Quarterly* 96(1) 107-125.

Session 19: Ethnic Parties (3/29)

Horowitz, Donald. 1985. *Ethnic Groups in Conflict*. Berkeley: University of California Press: Chap. 7, pp. 291-311.

Chandra, Kanchan. 2004. *Why Ethnic Parties Succeed: Patronage and Ethnic Head Counts in India*. New York: Cambridge University Press. 1-24, 172-95.

Session 20: Populism (4/3)

We will also have an in-class debate: Can Left populism compete with Right-wing populism?

Mudde, Cas. 1996. "The war of Words: Defining the extreme right party family." *West European Politics*, 19(2), 225-248.

Roberts, Kenneth. 2006. "Populism, Political Conflict, and Grassroots Organization in Latin America." *Comparative Politics*, 38(2) 127-48.

Part IV: Political Behavior

Session 21: Voter Turnout (4/3)

Brady, Henry E., Sidney Verba, and Kay Lehman Schlozman. "Beyond SES: A resource model of political participation." *American Political Science Review* 89.02 (1995): 271-294.

Banerjee, Mukhelika. 2014. *Why India Votes*. Chapters 5.

Recommended: Gerber, Alan, Donald P. Green, and Christopher W. Larimer. 2008. Social Pressure and Voter Turnout: Evidence from a Large-Scale Field Experiment. *American Political Science Review* 102 (1) 33-48.

Session 22: Who (or what) Shapes Voters' Political Preferences in Advanced Democracies? (4/5)

Zaller, John. 1992. *The Nature and Origins of Mass Opinion*. Cambridge University Press. Selection.

Session 23: Who (or what) Shapes Voters' Political Preferences in New Democracies? (4/10)

Baldwin, Kate. 2015. *The Paradox of Traditional Chiefs in Democratic Africa*. Cambridge University Press. Selected chapters.

Session 24: Why Do the Poor Support Elite Parties? (4/12)

Thachil, Tariq. 2014. "Elite parties and poor voters: Theory and evidence from India." *American Political Science Review* 108(2): 454-477.

Bartels, Larry. 2006. "What's the Matter with What's the Matter with Kansas?." *Quarterly Journal of Political Science*, 1 (2): 201-226.

Tesler, Michael. "How racially resentful working-class whites fled the Democratic Party — before Donald Trump." *Monkey Cage*. https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/monkey-cage/wp/2016/11/21/how-racially-resentful-working-class-whites-fled-the-democratic-party-before-donald-trump/?utm_term=.82f3d00e5c35

Session 25: The Challenge of Democratic Accountability (4/17)

Achen, Christopher H., and Larry M. Bartels. 2016. *Democracy for Realists: Why elections do not produce responsive government*. Princeton University Press. Chapter 7.

Healy, Andrew, and Neil Malhotra. 2013. "Retrospective voting reconsidered." *Annual Review of Political Science* 16: 285-306.

Recommended: Hellwig, T. and David Samuels. 2007. "Voting in open economies the electoral consequences of globalization." *Comparative Political Studies*, 40(3), 283-306.

Session 26: Economic Voting: Cases (4/19)

Ravishankar, Nirmala. 2009. "The Cost of Ruling: Anti-Incumbency in Elections." *Economic and Political Weekly*: 92-98.

Recommended: Posner, Daniel and David Simon. 2002. "Economic Conditions and Incumbent Support in Africa's New Democracies: Evidence from Zambia." *Comparative Political Studies*, vol. 35 (3) 313-336.

Session 27: Polarization and Democratic Accountability (4/24)

McCarty, Nolan, Keith T. Poole, and Howard Rosenthal. 2016. *Polarized America: The dance of ideology and unequal riches*. MIT Press. Introduction.

Session 28: Are Local Representative More Accountable to Their Voters? (4/26)

Berry, Christopher R., and William G. Howell. 2007. "Accountability and local elections: Rethinking retrospective voting." *Journal of Politics*, 69 (3)844-858.

Schneider, Mark. 2017. "Introduction." *Quotidian Democracy: The Local Roots of Accountability in India*.

Session 29: Course conclusion (5/3)

Discussion: What has changed and does political science have a good explanation for it?

Reading Skills:

As you manage the reading for this and other courses, you are likely to find, if you have not already, that there is no correlation between effort and outcome. It is entirely possible to spend several hours reading something without “getting it.” And it is equally possible to spend less than a half-hour reading something else and getting to the heart of the argument. You will have to devise for yourselves ways to read efficiently. These are some devices that may help:

1. Figure out what the heart of an argument is before you read deeply: skim, read the abstracts, the jacket blurbs, often short reviews published elsewhere. When you know where the center of gravity is, you read more efficiently.
2. Read actively: do not simply soak up the reading for what the author wants to tell you, but approach it with questions, and try to answer them for yourself as you make your way through.
3. Use other peoples’ skills: you do not have to do all the work yourself. It is not “cheating” if you talk through the argument with someone else before or after you delve in, or look at reviews for explication, or form reading groups where you can discuss the argument with each other.
4. Write in order to read. The response papers for this class and the (non-graded) worksheet attached should help.
5. Use diagrams if necessary: often, the structure of an argument can be most clearly expressed if you “draw” it, using arrows and lines, than by trying to understand it in words.
6. Organize your notes in a way that makes retention and information retrieval possible: you could use index cards, annotated bibliographies, database programs like Filemaker Pro etc. These rules may be obvious to some and not to others. Basically do whatever works for you. But be self-conscious about the reading process as a skill that has to be learned and not necessarily as an ability that either comes naturally or does not.

Reading Worksheet

For each book, chapter, or article assigned in this course, you should fill out the following (non-graded) worksheet. Many of these points can be addressed in a sentence or two (e.g. Questions 1 and 2; in some cases, answers will not need even to be full sentences (e.g., Question); and in some cases the answers may overlap. These worksheets should be retained: they will be useful for future reference.

1. State the central question that the reading addresses.
2. State the central argument(s) defended in the paper in response to this question.
3. What type of reasoning or evidence is used to support these arguments? If it is an analytical paper, what is the logic that undergirds the argument? If an empirical paper, what type of data is employed? Are there other data sources that you think might be more appropriate?
4. Do you find the claims of the reading convincing? What do you see as the main gaps that need to be filled?
5. Why (if at all) is the reading interesting?
6. Do you agree with the main claims? What are your hesitations? (This may simply involve restatement of previous points.)
7. Identify one or two implicit premises or background assumptions in the paper that you think are especially controversial or objectionable.
8. In light of your answers to the previous questions, write an abstract for the article of no more than 100 words. (Feel free to repeat formulations given in response to earlier questions.)
9. When you have done this for individual readings, take some time to think about the various readings you have been assigned in relation to each other. See if you can write or imagine a summary table for all the readings taken together, which compares and contrasts them.