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MWF 10  
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## **GOV 40.02: Democracy in Developing Countries**

### **Objective**

Originally a western anomaly, electoral democracy is now the dominant form of government around the world. Elections have spread to most corners of the globe, including to places that are poor, ethnically divided, non-western and have long histories of authoritarian rule. Competitive elections in these emerging democracies often do not resemble elections in old western democracies. Parties and party systems are weak; incumbents are omnipotent, oppositions divided; fraud, violence and clientelism are often part of the political equation; voters are relatively uninformed and rely on various shortcuts to assess the credibility of political candidates; as a result, parties more often court voters on the basis of atavistic attachments, personality or patronage than on the basis of programmatic differences or performance.

The goal of this class is to review the developing literature about the way in which competitive elections take place in such contexts. How does electoral democracy concretely work in countries with high levels of poverty, conflict, inequality, ethnic diversity and/or illiteracy? How do elections in “developing countries” diverge from western ideals and western realities? Drawing on the experience of countries in Asia, Africa and Latin America, the class will compare and discuss the way electoral democracy is practiced in “most of the world”. We will explore a number of themes, including partisanship, clientelism/patronage, fraud, violence, accountability, and ethnic voting.

### **Organization and Teaching Style**

The schedule below lists a series of lectures. In each of this lecture I will provide an outlook on the question at hand for that day. There is no textbook for this class, so the lectures are an essential component of the class experience. While I will be lecturing, this does not however mean that you should not participate. Interruptions, questions and discussions should and will be frequent.

The readings assigned in this class are best thought of as illustrations or extensions of the lectures. While I will explicitly refer to most readings during class, I may on occasion let you connect the readings to the main thread developed during lectures on your own (unless obviously there are questions). This obviously does not mean that those readings are less important or less valuable. Your ability to process, analyze and connect readings – regardless of the time we actually spend on these articles in class – is as important as lectures in order to follow the pace and get the best possible grade.

## **Assignments**

There will be two types of graded assignments in this class: midterms (2) and a final paper.

### *Midterms*

Each of the two midterms will count for 33% of your final grade. Each will include both short/multiple-choice questions and an essay.

### *Final Paper*

The final paper will count for the remaining 34% of the final grade. This 10-pages 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, titled “Voting in *country X*”, will research and analyze the electoral process in a country of your choice. In doing so, your paper should systematically address *each* of the substantial questions that we will be interested in 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? How many relevant parties are active? Are these parties old? On which cleavages are social and partisan cleavages based on? Is there a dominant party?
- How do parties court voters and what do voters look for in parties? What are the mechanisms used by parties? What are voters’ priorities in choosing a candidate or a party?
- 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?

### *Participation*

Finally, note that although there is no formal grade for participation in this class, participation matters! I will adjust your final grade for up to half a letter grade at the end of the term depending on your participation in class.

## SCHEDULE OF CLASSES

1. Definitions: Democracy, Electoral Democracy and Competitive Elections

Adam Przeworski. "Minimalist Conceptions of Democracy: a Defense"

2. The spread of electoral democracy in the 20<sup>th</sup> century. A brief History.

TBA

3. Inequalities, ethnic fragmentation, violence, poverty, post-authoritarianism: the context of elections in most of the world.

Susan Stokes. 1999. "Political parties and Democracy". *Annual Review of Political Science*

## TOPIC 1: Election Quality and Fraud

5 & 6. Election Quality: Types and Causes

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

7. Theoretical and Normative Debates about Vote-buying

Stokes, Susan. 2005. "Perverse Accountability: A Formal Model of Machine Politics with Evidence from Argentina." *American Political Science Review* 99(3): 315-326.

Nichter, Simeon, 2008. "Vote Buying or Turnout Buying? Machine Politics and the Secret Ballot". *American political Science Review*. Vol. 102, No. 1 February 2008

Stokes, Susan. 2007. "Is vote-buying undemocratic?", in *Elections for Sale: The Causes and Consequences of Vote-Buying*, ed Frederic Schaffer.

8. How does election quality improve?

Stokes, Susan. 2011. "What Killed Vote Buying in Britain?". Unpublished chapter.

Ziblatt, Daniel. 2009. "Shaping Democratic Practice and the Causes of Electoral Fraud: The Case of Nineteenth-Century Germany." *American Political Science Review* 103(1): 1-21

Lindberg, Staffan. 2006. "The Self-reinforcing Power of Elections" in *Democracy and Elections in Africa*.

## **TOPIC 2: Partisanship, party ID and Electoral volatility**

### 9. Electoral volatility in emerging democracies

Roberts, Kenneth M. and Eric Wibbels. 1999. "Party Systems and Electoral Volatility in Latin America: A Test of Economic, Institutional, and Structural Explanations." *American Political Science Review* 93(3): 575-90.

Ferree, Karen. 2009. "The Social Origins of Electoral Volatility in Africa." Forthcoming, *British Journal of Political Science*.

### 10 & 11. How do parties and party ID appear?

Jones, Mark P. 1997. "Federalism and the Number of Parties in Argentine Congressional Elections." *Journal of Politics* 59(2): 538-49.

Coppedge, Michael. 1997. "The Dynamic Diversity of Latin American Party Systems." *Party Politics* 4(4): 547-568.

Kuenzi, Michelle and Gina Lambright. 2001. "Party System Institutionalization in 30 African Countries." *Party Politics* 7(4): 437-468.

Bielasiak, Jack. 2002. "The Institutionalization of Electoral and Party Systems in Postcommunist States." *Comparative Politics* 34(January): 189-210.

Mainwaring, Scott and Edurne Zoco. 2007. "Political Sequences and the Stabilization of Interparty Competition: Electoral Volatility in Old and New Democracies." *Party Politics* 13(2): 155-178.

Tavits, Margit. 2005. "The Development of Stable Party Support: Electoral Dynamics in Post-Communist Europe." *American Journal of Political Science* 49(2): 283-298.

Chhibber, Pradeep and Ken Kollman. 1998. "Party Aggregation and the Number of Parties in India and the United States." *American Political Science Review* 92(2): 329-342.

### 12. How do parties appeal to voters? A typology

Kitschelt, Herbert. 2000. "Linkages between Citizens and Politicians in Democratic Politics." *Comparative Political Studies* 33(6/7).

Robert Barr, Populist, outsiders and anti-establishment politics

Resnick: Populist parties in African democracies

Populism, political conflict and grassroots organization in latin America

### **TOPIC 3: BEYOND PROGRAMMATIC POLITICS (1): CLIENTELISM**

#### 13. Patronage, clientelism, “Pork”, etc.....: definitions, concepts and relationship to Vote-buying

Scott, James. 1972. “Patron-Client Politics and Political Change in Southeast Asia.” *American Political Science Review* 66(1).

Susan Stokes “Pork by any other name”

Simeon Nichter. More Conceptual piece.

Kitschelt, Herbert and Steven I. Wilkinson. 2007. “Citizen-politician linkages: an introduction.” In *Patrons, Clients, and Politics: Patterns of Democratic Accountability and Political Competition*, edited by Herbert Kitschelt and Steven I. Wilkinson. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

#### 14 & 15. How does clientelism work? Theoretical debates and Empirical Insights

Van de Walle, Nicolas. 2007. “Meet the new boss, same as the old boss? The evolution of political clientelism in Africa.” In *Patrons, Clients, and Politics: Patterns of Democratic Accountability and Political Competition*, edited by Herbert Kitschelt and Steven I. Wilkinson. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Calvo, Ernesto, and Maria Victoria Murillo. 2004. “Who Delivers? Partisan Clients in the Argentine Electoral Market.” *American Journal of Political Science* 48(4): 742-757.

Medina, Luis Fernando and Susan C. Stokes. 2007. “Monopoly and monitoring: an approach to political clientelism.” In *Patrons, Clients, and Politics: Patterns of Democratic Accountability and Political Competition*, edited by Herbert Kitschelt and Steven I. Wilkinson. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Auyero, Javier. 2000. “The Logic of Clientelism in Argentina: An Ethnographic Account.” *Latin American Research Review* 35(3): 55-81.

#### 16. Can Clientelism disappear?

Chapter from Piattoni, Simona. 2001. *Clientelism, Interests and Democratic Representation*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Leonard Wantchekon. 2003. "Clientelism and Voting Behavior: Evidence from a Field Experiment in Benin." *World Politics* (April, 2003): 399-422.

Fox, Jonathan. 1994. "The Difficult Transition from Clientelism to Citizenship." *World Politics* 46(2): 151-84.

#### **TOPIC 4: BEYOND PROGRAMMATIC POLITICS (2): ETHNICITY**

##### 17. The prevalence of Ethnic politics

Norris, Pippa, and Robert Mattes. 2003. "Does Ethnicity Determine Support for the Governing Party?" *Afrobarometer* Working Paper No. 26.

##### 18 & 19. Mechanisms: why does Ethnicity matter?

Lindberg, Staffan and K.C. Morrison. 2008. "Are African Voters Really Ethnic or Clientelistic? Survey Evidence from Ghana." *Political Studies Quarterly* 123: 95-122.

Posner, Daniel. 2005. *Institutions and Ethnic Politics in Africa*. Cambridge University Press.

Excerpts from: Chandra, Kanchan. 2004. *Why Ethnic Parties Succeed*. Cambridge University Press.

Pepinsky, Thomas, R. William Liddle and Saiful Mujani. 2009. "Testing Islam's Political Advantage: Evidence from Indonesia."

Bratton, Michael, and Mwangi S. Kimenyi. 2008. "Voting in Kenya: Putting Ethnicity in Perspective." *Afrobarometer* Working Paper No. 95.

#### **TOPIC 5: INCUMBENT ADVANTAGE AND ONE-PARTY DOMINANCE**

##### 20. The common case of one-party dominance

Chapter from Pempel, T.J., ed. 1990. *Uncommon Democracies: The One-Party Dominant Regimes*. Ithaca, New York: Cornell University Press. Introduction.

##### 21. Mechanisms of Survival

Magaloni, Beatriz. 2006. *Voting for Autocracy: Hegemonic Party Survival and Its Demise in Mexico*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Chapter from Scheiner, Ethan. 2006. *Democracy without Competition in Japan*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

## 22. The Demise of Dominant parties

Chapter from: Greene, Kenneth F. 2007. *Why Dominant Parties Lose: Mexico's Democratization in Comparative Perspective*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Niou, E. and P. Paolino. 2003. "The Rise of the Opposition Party in Taiwan: Explaining Chen Shui-bian's Victory in the 2000 Presidential Election." *Electoral Studies* 22.

## **TOPIC 6: INFORMATION AND ACCOUNTABILITY**

### 23. Practical Issues with Democratic Accountability.

Excerpts from Adam Przeworski. 2010 "Democracy and the Limits of Self-Government". Cambridge University Press

### 24. Why is Accountability even more difficult to Achieve in Developing Countries?

TBA

### 25. Can we improve accountability and information?

Lupia, A. (1994). The effect of information on voting behavior and electoral outcomes: An experimental study of direct legislation. *Public Choice* 78, 65.

Humphreys/Weinstein project on report cards in Uganda

Banerjee, Abhijit, Donald Green, Jennifer Green and Rohini Pande. 2009. "Can voters be primed to choose better legislators? Evidence from two field Experiments in Rural India." Manuscript

## **TOPIC 7: VIOLENCE AND ELECTIONS**

### 26. Elections and Violence 1

Wilkinson, Steven. 2005. *Votes and Violence: Electoral Competition and Ethnic Riots in India*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Blattman, Christopher. 2009. "From Violence to Voting: War and Political Participation in Uganda." APSR

27. Elections and Violence II

Bratton Michael. 2008. "Vote Buying and Violence in Nigerian Election Campaigns." Afrobarometer Working Paper #99. June 2008.

Collier, Paul and Pedro Vicente. 2008. "Votes and Violence: Experimental Evidence from a Nigerian election". Manuscript