# POLI134: Political Parties in Developing Countries

# Gareth Nellis Winter 2020

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Office Hours: W 12:00-15:00 Class Hours: M/W/F 11:00-11:50

Office: SSB 350 Class Room: SOLIS 109

# Description

Political parties are fundamental to almost every democratic regime, and many authoritarian ones too. This class examines their role in developing countries. Where do parties come from? What drives how many parties will form in a given country or district? What part do they play in liberation struggles? How do they win support? Do extremist parties stoke ethnic violence? Can stable party systems boost economic growth and promote inclusive institutions? The class introduces important political science theories and draws on both quantitative and case-study evidence from across the Global South.

## **Prerequisites**

There are no prerequisites. The class will be of most immediate interest to students majoring in political science, economics, and international studies.

# Logistics

#### **Office Hours**

Please sign up for office hours at this link. You can sign up for 15 minute slots up to two weeks in advance.

#### **Materials**

Assignments and grading will be done through Canvas. All readings are available as pdfs on the Canvas course site. There is no required textbook for the class. *Ensure you do the assigned reading before class begins!* 

#### **Class Location**

Here is a link to a map with the class location.

# Requirements

- 1. **Reading and participation (50%).** This is a discussion-intensive class. The reading load is light, although you may find some of the papers quite challenging. Most classes will center on a single assigned reading and its main arguments. You are therefore expected to carefully read *all* the listed materials *without exception*. Every class will begin with a quiz run via Google Forms. You will receive a link to the quiz at the beginning of the class; you will have 3 minutes to complete it at the start of the class, and so it is essential not to turn up late. The quiz will consist of 3–5 very simple, factual questions about that day's assigned reading. Provided you did the reading, these will be no trouble at all. You will also be asked to pose one question you had from the assigned reading. The quizzes will also be used to track participation. You can miss up to two classes, no questions asked. Thereafter, missing classes will count heavily against your participation grade—unless you have sought prior permission from the instructor.
- 2. **Midterm (25%).** This will be an in-class exam. It will contain a mixture of factual and short-answer questions about topics covered in class up to that point.
- 3. **Final paper (25%).** Choose ONE of the questions listed in the detailed course description below. (These questions appear under the headings for each of the ten topics.) Write a 1,500 word essay in response to the question you pick. The essay should have these features:
  - It must pose a thesis, expressed clearly in one and no more than two sentences toward the very start of the essay, and no later than the second paragraph. It should take the form, "This paper argues that..." or very similar. The thesis statement must be underlined. Papers lacking a thesis statement cannot receive a top grade.
  - It must reference at least five of the class readings. You may cite these readings using the Harvard citation style—e.g. "The sky is blue (Jha 2018)."
  - Include a bibliography only for citations that do not appear on the class syllabus. Note, you are not expected to read beyond the syllabus but may do so if you wish.
  - The paper must be strictly no shorter than 1,400 words and no longer than 1,600 words. The word count does not include the bibliography but does include footnotes.
  - You may have no more than five short footnotes; fewer is better.
  - Top grades will be awarded to papers that present a clearly articulated, perhaps novel argument that is well supported in the body of the paper. Use signposts to tell the reader how each part of the paper contributes to your central claim.

# Late submissions policy

Papers submitted late will be penalized by one full letter grade per day, unless prior permission is sought from the instructor.

# **Academic honesty**

You are expected to do your own work, and to properly attribute ideas, quotations, and sources. Please consult the university's website on academic integrity.

# Disabilities policy

Students with disabilities should please inform the instructor of any accommodations you may need.

# **Email policy**

I will reply to emails within two business days.

# Schedule

## Week 1—Origins I: Why Parties; Social Cleavages

Motivating questions

- What functions do parties serve in politics? Whose interests do they cater to?
- Do existing social cleavages affect the number and types of parties that form?

Monday, 2020-01-06

Introduction.

Wednesday, 2020-01-08

• Aldrich, John H (1995). Why Parties? The Origin and Transformation of Political Parties in America. University of Chicago Press. Chapter 2.

Friday, 2020-01-10

• Zielinski, Jakub (2002). "Translating social cleavages into party systems: The significance of new democracies". In: *World Politics* 54.2, pp. 184–211.

# Week 2—Origins II: Electoral Systems

#### Motivating questions

- Does the choice of electoral system affect the number of parties that emerge?
- Can the choice of electoral system affect how parties behave?
- To what extent do social heterogeneity and electoral systems interact in structuring a country's party system?

#### Monday, 2020-01-13

• Fraenkel, Jon and Bernard Grofman (2006). "Does the alternative vote foster moderation in ethnically divided societies? The case of Fiji". In: *Comparative Political Studies* 39.5, pp. 623–651.

#### Wednesday, 2020-01-15

Mozaffar, Shaheen, James R Scarritt and Glen Galaich (2003). "Electoral institutions, ethnopolitical cleavages, and party systems in Africa's emerging democracies". In: American Political Science Review 97.3, pp. 379–390.

Friday, 2020-01-17

Lecture/discussion: varieties of electoral systems.

# Week 3—Origins III: Inheritances

Motivating questions

• How persistent are party systems? Are they highly path dependent? Can parties survive and adapt when regimes change?

\*\*\*\*\*Note: no class on Monday due to national holiday\*\*\*\*\*

Wednesday, 2020-01-22

• Hicken, Allen and Erik Martinez Kuhonta (2011). "Shadows from the past: Party system institutionalization in Asia". In: *Comparative Political Studies* 44.5, pp. 572–597.

Friday, 2020-01-24

• Riedl, Rachel Beatty (2016). "Strong parties, weak parties: Divergent pathways to democracy in sub-Saharan Africa". In: *Parties, Movements, and Democracy in the Developing World*. Ed. by Nancy Bermeo and Deborah J Yashar. Cambridge University Press, pp. 122–156.

## Week 4—Workings I: Candidate Selection; Factionalism

#### Motivating questions

- How do parties select political candidates? What are the advantages and disadvantages of different methods of candidate selection?
- Why do many parties experience strong internal divisions? What are the consequences of such divides for effective party functioning?

#### Monday, 2020-01-27

• Casey, Katherine, Abou Bakarr Kamara and Niccolo Meriggi (2019). "An Experiment in Candidate Selection". Working Paper: National Bureau of Economic Research.

#### Wednesday, 2020-01-29

• Boucek, Francoise (2009). "Rethinking factionalism: typologies, intra-party dynamics and three faces of factionalism". In: *Party Politics* 15.4, pp. 455–485.

Friday, 2020-01-31

Lecture/discussion: Partnership games.

## Week 5—Workings II: Clientelism; Brands

#### Motivating questions

- How do some parties try to "buy votes"? What problems do parties confront in purchasing support and how do they overcome these challenges?
- How do parties establish distinctive brands and what causes these brands to deteriorate?

#### Monday, 2020-02-03

• Stokes, Susan C (2007). "Political clientelism". In: *The Oxford Handbook of Political Science*. Ed. by Robert E Goodin. Oxford University Press, pp. 648–74.

## Wednesday, 2020-02-05

• Lupu, Noam (2013). "Party brands and partisanship: Theory with evidence from a survey experiment in Argentina". In: *American Journal of Political Science* 57.1, pp. 49–64.

Friday, 2020-02-07

\*\*\*\*\*MIDTERM EXAM; IN CLASS\*\*\*\*\*

## Week 6—Workings III: Affiliates; Cadres

#### Motivating questions

- What role do social movement affiliates play in rousing electoral backing for parties? How do movements accomplish this? What are the costs and benefits to parties when "outsourcing" mobilization efforts to affiliates?
- Why do people join parties as rank-and-file cadres? What types of people participate in this manner?

#### Monday, 2020-02-10

• Thachil, Tariq (2011). "Embedded mobilization: nonstate service provision as electoral strategy in India". In: *World Politics* 63.3, pp. 434–469.

# Wednesday, 2020-02-12

• Koss, Daniel (2018). Where the Party Rules: The Rank and File of China's Communist State. Cambridge University Press. Chapter 1.

## Friday, 2020-02-14

Lecture/discussion: Adverse selection; moral hazard; vertical integration.

# Week 7—Types I: Workers Parties; Personalistic Parties

## Motivating questions

- What peculiar challenges do parties built on organized labor commonly encounter?
- What are the promises and perils for parties of having support be based on the popularity of a charismatic leader?

\*\*\*\*\*Note: no class on Monday due to national holiday\*\*\*\*\*

Wednesday, 2020-02-19

• McGuire, James W (1999). Peronism Without Peron: Unions, Parties, and Democracy in Argentina. Stanford University Press. Chapter 3.

Friday, 2020-02-21

• Faust, Aaron M (2015). *The Ba'thification of Iraq: Saddam Hussein's Totalitarianism*. University of Texas Press. Chapter 5.

# Week 8—Types II: Religious Parties; Ethnic Parties; Secular Nationalist Parties

#### Motivating questions

- Do religious parties enjoy an inherent electoral advantage? If so, why?
- What is ethnic outbidding? Under what conditions does it arise?

## Monday, 2020-02-24

• Masoud, Tarek (2014). *Counting Islam: Religion, Class, and Elections in Egypt.* Cambridge University Press. Chapter 1.

#### Wednesday, 2020-02-26

• DeVotta, Neil (2005). "From ethnic outbidding to ethnic conflict: The institutional bases for Sri Lanka's separatist war". In: *Nations and Nationalism* 11.1, pp. 141–159.

## Friday, 2020-02-28

• Mujani, Saiful and R William Liddle (2009). "Muslim Indonesia's secular democracy". In: *Asian Survey* 49.4, pp. 575–590.

# Week 9—Effects I: Violence/Social Impacts

#### Motivating questions

• Does incumbency by different types of political parties matter for violence and social outcomes? What explains these effects?

## Monday, 2020-03-02

• Meyersson, Erik (2014). "Islamic Rule and the Empowerment of the Poor and Pious". In: *Econometrica* 82.1, pp. 229–269.

#### Wednesday, 2020-03-04

• Nellis, Gareth, Michael Weaver, Steven Rosenzweig and others (2016). "Do parties matter for ethnic violence? Evidence from India". In: *Quarterly Journal of Political Science* 11.3, pp. 249–277.

Friday, 2020-03-06

Lecture/discussion: Median voter theorem; reputation games.

# Week 10—Effects II: Regimes

#### Motivating questions

• Do certain types of parties foster democratization and democratic consolidation? What are the mechanisms, if so?

Monday, 2020-03-09

• Tudor, Maya (2013). "Explaining democracy's origins: Lessons from South Asia". In: *Comparative Politics* 45.3, pp. 253–272.

Wednesday, 2020-03-11

• De Walle, Nicolas Van and Kimberly Smiddy Butler (1999). "Political parties and party systems in Africa's illiberal democracies". In: *Cambridge Review of International Affairs* 13.1, pp. 14–28.

Friday, 2020-03-13

Closing discussion.

\*\*\*\*\*FINAL PAPER TO BE SUBMITTED TO CANVAS BY MONDAY MARCH 16 AT 11:59PM\*\*\*\*\*