

Parties and Elections in Developing Countries

Political Science, G8437
Columbia University, Fall 2015

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Time: Wednesday, 10:10-12:00.
Location: 711 IAB

COURSE DESCRIPTION

This course explores research on individual and organizational determinants of candidate selection, accountability, and representation in new and developing democracies. This course focuses on four questions: 1) How do people decide which candidates to vote for? 2) What purpose do political parties serve in new or poor democracies? 2) When will parties campaign on programmatic platforms? 3) How do politicians use vote buying and patronage to win elections? 4) Under what circumstances will politicians successfully use violence and economic threats to win elections?

REQUIREMENTS

- *Class participation – 20% of the final grade for the class.*
- *Referee reports - One due on or before October 27th and one due after – 10% each*
Each student will submit two referee reports. The reports should start with a summary of the article followed by a justification of your recommendation (publish, revise and resubmit, or reject). The reports should include a detailed discussion of the rigor and plausibility of the theory advanced and/or an evaluation of the quality of the evidence provided. Because constructive criticism is an important part of our profession, these reports ought to include suggestions on how the article can be improved. Reports should include a discussion of whether the article contributes to debates in a research area of general interest. Reports should be 1.5 to 2 single-spaced pages long and students will post them on Courseworks by 9am on the day the article is being discussed in class.
- *Presentation of research proposal – 20%*
Each student will make a presentation near the end of the semester describing a proposed research project.
- *Research Paper (or Final Exam) – 40%*
Students in the PhD program must write a research paper based on the presentation. All other students may choose to either write the research paper or take a take-home final exam. Students choosing to write the final paper who desire an incomplete will receive one that expires on February 1, 2016 (the date on which all final research papers are due).

COURSE OUTLINE

In most cases, readings for which there are no links will be posted in the "Class Files" section of Courseworks.

Session 1 (09/09): Introduction

Session 2 (16/09): Voting Behavior: Ethnic Voting

Chandra, Kanchan. 2004. *Why Ethnic Parties Succeed: Patronage and Ethnic Headcounts in India*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, Chapters 1-2.

[Dunning, Thad, and Lauren Harrison. 2010. Cross-Cutting Cleavages and Ethnic Voting: An Experimental Study of Cousinage in Mali. *American Political Science Review* 104 \(1\):21-39.](#)

[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 \(4\):529-45.](#)

[Huber, John D. 2012. "Measuring Ethnic Voting: Do Proportional Electoral Laws Politicize Ethnicity?" *American Journal of Political Science* 56 \(6\):986-1001.](#)

[Ichino, Nahomi, and Noah Nathan. 2013. Crossing the Line: Local Ethnic Geography and Voting in Ghana. *American Political Science Review* 107 \(02\):344-361.](#)

Session 3 (23/09): Voting Behavior: Economic Interests

[Corstange, Daniel. 2013. Ethnicity on the Sleeve and Class in the Heart. *British Journal of Political Science* 43 \(04\):889-914.](#)

[De La O, Ana L., and Jonathan A. Rodden. 2008. Does Religion Distract the Poor?: Income and Issue Voting Around the World. *Comparative Political Studies* 41 \(4\):437-476.](#)

Huber, John D. 2014. "Ethnicity or class? Identity choice and party systems." *Working Paper*. Columbia University.

[Scheve, Kenneth, and David Stasavage. 2006. "Religion and Preferences for Social Insurance." *Quarterly Journal of Political Science* 1 \(3\):255-286.](#)

[Tavits, Margit, and Natalia Letki. 2014. "From Values to Interests? The Evolution of Party Competition in New Democracies." *The Journal of Politics* 76 \(1\):246-258.](#)

[Thachil, Tariq. 2011. "Embedded Mobilization: Nonstate Service Provision as Electoral Strategy in India." *World Politics* 63 \(03\):434-469.](#)

Session 4 (30/09): Voting Behavior: Economic Voting & Accountability

[Alcañiz, Isabella, and Timothy Hellwig. 2011. "Who's to blame? The distribution of responsibility in developing democracies." *British Journal of Political Science* 41 \(02\):389-411.](#)

[Duch, Raymond M. 2001. "A developmental model of heterogeneous economic voting in new democracies." *American Political Science Review*:895-910.](#)

[Samuels, David. 2004. Presidentialism and Accountability for the Economy in Comparative Perspective. *American Political Science Review* 98 \(3\):425-436.](#)

[Grossman, Guy, Macartan Humphreys, and Gabriella Scaramone-Lutz. 2014. "'I wld like u WMP to extend electricity 2 our village": On Information Technology and Interest Articulation." *American Political Science Review* 108 \(03\):688-705.](#)

[Ferraz, Claudio, and Fred Finan. 2008. "Exposing Corrupt Politicians: The Effects of Brazil's Publicly Released Audits on Electoral Outcomes." *Quarterly Journal of Economics* 123 \(2\):703-745.](#)

Session 5 (07/10): Voting Behavior: Party Identification

Bartels, Larry M. 2010. The Study of Electoral Behavior. In *The Oxford Handbook of American Elections and Political Behavior*, edited by J. E. Leighley. New York: Oxford University Press.

[Brader, Ted, Joshua A. Tucker, and Dominik Duell. 2013. "Which Parties Can Lead Opinion? Experimental Evidence on Partisan Cue Taking in Multiparty Democracies." *Comparative Political Studies* 46 \(11\):1485-1517.](#)

[Huber, John D., Georgia Kernell, and Eduardo L. Leoni. 2005. Institutional Context, Cognitive Resources and Party Attachments Across Democracies. *Political Analysis* 13 \(4\):365-386.](#)

[Lupu, Noam. 2013. "Party Brands and Partisanship: Theory with Evidence from a Survey Experiment in Argentina." *American Journal of Political Science* 57 \(1\):49-64.](#)

[Michelitch, Kristin. 2015. "Does Electoral Competition Exacerbate Interethnic or Interpartisan Economic Discrimination? Evidence from a Field Experiment in Market Price Bargaining." *American Political Science Review* 109 \(01\):43-61.](#)

Session 6 (14/10): Voting Behavior: Turnout

[Aldrich, John. 1993. Rational Choice and Turnout. *American Journal of Political Science* 37 \(1\):246-278.](#)

[Chong, Alberto, Ana L. De La O, Dean Karlan, and Leonard Wantchekon. 2015. "Does Corruption Information Inspire the Fight or Quash the Hope? A Field Experiment in Mexico on Voter Turnout, Choice, and Party Identification." *The Journal of Politics* 77 \(1\):55-71.](#)

[Kasara, Kimuli, and Pavithra Suryanarayan. 2015. "When Do the Rich Vote Less Than the Poor and Why? Explaining Turnout Inequality across the World." *American Journal of Political Science* 59 \(3\):613-627.](#)

[Simpser, Alberto. 2012. "Does Electoral Manipulation Discourage Voter Turnout? Evidence from Mexico." *The Journal of Politics* 74 \(03\):782-795.](#)

[Ahuja, Amit, and Pradeep Chhibber. 2012. "Why the Poor Vote in India: 'If I Don't Vote, I Am Dead to the State'." *Studies in Comparative International Development* 47 \(4\):389-410.](#)

Session 7 (21/10): Parties: Organization and Candidate Selection

Aldrich, John H. 1995. *Why Parties? The Origin and Transformation of Political Parties in America*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, Chapters 1 & 2.

Chhibber, Pradeep, and Ken Kollman. 2004. *The Formation of National Party Systems: Federalism and Party Competition in Canada, Great Britain, India, and the United States*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, Chapter 3.

[Hicken, Allen, and Heather Stoll. 2011. "Presidents and Parties: How Presidential Elections Shape Coordination in Legislative Elections." *Comparative Political Studies* 44 \(7\):854-883.](#)

[Dunning, Thad, and Janhavi Nilekani. 2013. "Ethnic Quotas and Political Mobilization: Caste, Parties, and Distribution in Indian Village Councils." *American Political Science Review* 107 \(01\):35-56.](#)

[Ichino, Nahomi, and Noah L. Nathan. 2012. "Primaries on Demand? Intra-Party Politics and Nominations in Ghana." *British Journal of Political Science* 42 \(04\):769-791.](#)

[Kemahlioglu, Ozge, Shapiro Weitz, and Shigeo Hirano. 2009. Why Primaries in Latin American Presidential Elections? *Journal of Politics* 71 \(1\):339-352.](#)

Session 8 (28/10): Parties: The Personal Vote

[Carey, John, and Matthew Shugart. 1995. Incentives to cultivate a personal vote: A rank ordering of electoral formulas. *Electoral Studies* 14 \(4\):417-439.](#)

Carey, John M. 2009. *Legislative Voting and Accountability*, New York: Cambridge, chapters 5-6.

[Samuels, David J. 1999. Incentives to Cultivate a Party Vote in Candidate-centric Electoral Systems Evidence from Brazil. *Comparative Political Studies* 32 \(4\):487-518.](#)

[Desposato, Scott W. 2005. Parties for Rent? Ambition, Ideology, and Party Switching in Brazil's Chamber of Deputies. *American Journal of Political Science* 50 \(1\):62-80.](#)

[Cox, Gary W. , and Michael F. Thies. 1998. The Cost of Intraparty Competition: The Single, Nontransferable Vote and Money Politics in Japan. *Comparative Political Studies* 31 \(3\):267-291.](#)

Session 9 (04/11): Voters & Parties: Programmatic Politics

Shefter, Martin. 1994. *Political Parties and the State: The American Historical Experience*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University, Chapters 1 & 2.

Kitschelt, Herbert, and Steven Wilkinson. 2007. Citizen-Politician Linkages: An Introduction. In *Patrons, Clients, and Policies: Patterns of democratic accountability and political competition* edited by H. Kitschelt and S. Wilkinson. New York Cambridge University Press.

Stokes, Susan, Thad Dunning, Marcelo Nazareno, and Valeria Brusco. 2013. *Brokers, Voters, and Clientelism: The Puzzle of Distributive Politics* New York, NY Cambridge University Press., Chap

[Keefer, Philip, and Razvan Vlaicu. 2008. Democracy, Credibility, and Clientelism. *Journal of Law, Economics, and Organization* 24 \(2\):371-406.](#)

[Weitz-Shapiro, Rebecca. 2012. What Wins Votes: Why Some Politicians Opt Out of Clientelism. *American Journal of Political Science* 56 \(3\):568-583.](#)

Session 10 (11/11): Voters & Parties: Politically Targeted Spending

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

Stokes, Susan, Thad Dunning, Marcelo Nazareno, and Valeria Brusco. 2013. *Brokers, Voters, and Clientelism: The Puzzle of Distributive Politics* New York, NY Cambridge University Press., Chap 2-4.

[Gans-Morse, Jordan, Sebastián Mazzuca, and Simeon Nichter. 2014. "Varieties of Clientelism: Machine Politics during Elections." *American Journal of Political Science* 58 \(2\):415-432.](#)

Corstange, Daniel. *The Price of a Vote in the Middle East*. Forthcoming, Chapters 1-2

Session 11 (18/11): Voters & Parties: Vote Buying

[Baldwin, Kate. 2013. "Why Vote with the Chief? Political Connections and Public Goods Provision in Zambia." *American Journal of Political Science* 57 \(4\):794-809.](#)

Björkman, Lisa. 2013. "You Can't Buy a Vote: Cash and Community in a Mumbai Election." *MMG Working Paper* 13-01.

[Calvo, Ernesto, and Maria Victoria Murillo. 2012. "When Parties Meet Voters: Assessing Political Linkages Through Partisan Networks and Distributive Expectations in Argentina and Chile." *Comparative Political Studies*.](#)

[Finan, Frederico, and Laura Schechter. 2012. "Vote-Buying and Reciprocity." *Econometrica* 80 \(2\):863-881.](#)

[Gingerich, Daniel W. 2014. "Brokered Politics in Brazil: An Empirical Analysis." *Quarterly Journal of Political Science* 9 \(3\):269-300.](#)

Larreguy, Horacio A. 2013. "Monitoring Political Brokers: Evidence from Clientelistic Networks in Mexico." *Working Paper. Harvard University*.

Session 12 (25/11): No Class

Session 13 (02/11): Voters & Parties: Violence and Intimidation

Wilkinson, Steven I. 2004. *Votes and Violence: Electoral Competition and Ethnic Riots in India*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press., Chapters 1-2 & 6 .

[Acemoglu, Daron, James A. Robinson, and Rafael J. Santos. 2013. "The Monopoly of Violence: Evidence from Colombia." *Journal of the European Economic Association* 11:5-44](#)

[Frye, Timothy, Ora John Reuter, and David Szakonyi. 2014. "Political Machines at Work Voter Mobilization and electoral subversion in the Workplace." *World Politics* 66 \(02\):195-228.](#)

[Robinson, James A., and Ragnar Torvik. 2009. "The Real Swing Voter's Curse." *American Economic Review* 99 \(2\):310-15.](#)

Mares, Isabela, and Boliang Zhu. "The Production of Electoral Intimidation: Economic and Political Incentives." *Comparative Politics* Forthcoming

[Wantchekon, Leonard. 2004. "The Paradox of "Warlord" Democracy: A Theoretical Investigation." *American Political Science Review* 98 \(1\):17-33.](#)

[Collier, Paul, and Pedro C Vicente. 2014. "Votes and violence: evidence from a field experiment in Nigeria." *The Economic Journal* 124 \(574\):F327-F355.](#)

Session 14 (09/11): Presentation of Research Projects