

ERC Independent Reading Course on Elections in the Developing World

This course studies electoral politics and political parties in developing democracies. We will consider the role of political parties in elections, compare elections and parties to those in Western democracies, and think about what elections mean for democracy in the countries where they take place. Three key aspects are examined: parties and party systems, linkages between politicians and citizens, and the use of illicit strategies such as vote buying or violence. In terms of empirical context, we will focus on South Asia and Africa.

Before or during the course, I recommend watching one or more of the following films or series: *An African Election*, *Newton*, *Panchayat*.

Since we spend so much time reading on screens, I also recommend podcasts:

- Podcasts on elections, parties, and/or democracy: *Neither Free nor Fair*, *Scope Conditions*, *Democracy in Danger*, *Politics in Question*
- Podcasts on South Asian and African politics: *Grand Tamasha*, *The Seen and the Unseen*, *Into Africa*, *Ufahamu Africa*

This course will take a place as a seminar in which we discuss the readings for each week. Required readings for each session are listed below. We meet on **Tuesdays from 11:30 to 12:30/13:00** (depending on the number of readings and discussion, and unless otherwise noted) and on zoom, using the following link: <https://uva-live.zoom.us/j/98578002567>

I. Parties and party systems

February 16, Week 1: Origins of parties and party systems

Chhibber, P., & Kollman, K. (1998). Party aggregation and the number of parties in India and the United States. *American Political Science Review*, 329-342.

LeBas, A. (2013). *From protest to parties: Party-building and democratization in Africa*. Oxford University Press. Chapter 2. UvA library.

Stokes, S. C. (1999). Political parties and democracy. *Annual Review of Political Science*, 2(1), 243-267.

Recommended:

Chhibber, P. K., & Verma, R. (2018). *Ideology and identity: The changing party systems of India*. Oxford University Press.

Diwakar, R. (2007). Duverger's law and the size of the Indian party system. *Party Politics*, 13(5), 539-561.

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.

Riedl, R. B. (2014). *Authoritarian origins of democratic party systems in Africa*. Cambridge University Press. Chapters 1-2.

February 23, Week 2: Electoral institutions

Cox, G. (1999). Electoral rules and electoral coordination. *Annual Review of Political Science*, 2(1), 145-161.

Mylonas, H., & Roussias, N. (2008). When do votes count? Regime type, electoral conduct, and political competition in Africa. *Comparative Political Studies*, 41(11), 1466-1491

Recommended:

Cox, G. W. (1997). *Making votes count: strategic coordination in the world's electoral systems*. Cambridge University Press. Chapter 1&11. UvA library.

Levitsky, S., & Murillo, M. V. (2013). Lessons from Latin America: building institutions on weak foundations. *Journal of Democracy*, 24(2), 93-107.

March 2, Week 3: Party organization and institutionalization

Gunther, R., & Diamond, L. (2003). Species of political parties: A new typology. *Party politics*, 9(2), 167-199.

Kitschelt, H. (2000). Linkages between citizens and politicians in democratic polities. *Comparative political studies*, 33(6-7), 845-879.

Randall, V., & Svåsand, L. (2002). Party institutionalization in new democracies. *Party politics*, 8(1), 5-29.

Recommended:

Chhibber, P., Jensenius, F. R., & Suryanarayan, P. (2014). Party organization and party proliferation in India. *Party Politics*, 20(4), 489-505

Ishiyama, J., & Fox, K. (2006). What Affects the Strength of Partisan Identity in Sub-Saharan Africa?. *Politics & Policy*, 34(4), 748-773.

Jones, M. P., & Mainwaring, S. (2003). The nationalization of parties and party systems: an empirical measure and an application to the Americas. *Party politics*, 9(2), 139-166.

Krönke, M., Lockwood, S. J., & Mattes, R. (2020). Party footprints in Africa: Measuring local party presence across the continent.

Sartori, G. (2005). *Parties and party systems: A framework for analysis*. ECPR Press.

March 9, Week 4: Electoral geography (NOTE: meet at 11:00!)

Harbers, I. (2017). Spatial effects and party nationalization: The geography of partisan support in Mexico. *Electoral Studies*, 47, 55-66.

Wahman, M., & Boone, C. (2018). Captured countryside? Stability and change in sub-national support for African incumbent parties. *Comparative Politics*, 50(2), 189-216.

Ziegfeld, A. (2012). Coalition government and party system change: Explaining the rise of regional political parties in India. *Comparative Politics*, 45(1), 69-87

Recommended:

Brierley, S., & Kramon, E. (2020). Party Campaign Strategies in Ghana: Rallies, Canvassing and Handouts. *African Affairs*.

Nathan, N. L. (2016). Local ethnic geography, expectations of favoritism, and voting in urban Ghana. *Comparative Political Studies*, 49(14), 1896-1929.

TWO-WEEK BREAK FOR WINTER METHODS SCHOOL

II. Politician-citizen linkages

March 30, Week 5: Clientelism

Auerbach, A. M., & Thachil, T. (2018). How clients select brokers: Competition and choice in India's slums. *The American Political Science Review*, 112(4), 775-791.

Hicken, A., & Nathan, N. L. (2020). Clientelism's red herrings: Dead ends and new directions in the study of nonprogrammatic politics. *Annual Review of Political Science*, 23(16), 1-18.

Recommended:

Auyero, J. (2000). The logic of clientelism in Argentina: An ethnographic account. *Latin American research review*, 55-81.

Brierley, S., & Nathan, N. L. (2019). The connections of party brokers. *Journal of Politics*.

Stokes, S. C., Dunning, T., Nazareno, M., & Brusco, V. (2013). *Brokers, voters, and clientelism: The puzzle of distributive politics*. Cambridge University Press.

April 6, Week 6: Ethnicity

Chandra, K. (2007). Counting heads: a theory of voter and elite behavior in patronage democracies. In: *Patrons, clients, and policies: Patterns of democratic accountability and political competition*, 84-109.

McCauley, J. F. (2014). The political mobilization of ethnic and religious identities in Africa. *American Political Science Review*, 801-816.

Posner, D. N. (2004). The political salience of cultural difference: Why Chewas and Tumbukas are allies in Zambia and adversaries in Malawi. *American Political Science Review*, 529-545.

Recommended:

Birbir, J. K. (2006). *Ethnicity and electoral politics*. Cambridge University Press.

Chandra, K. (2007). *Why ethnic parties succeed: Patronage and ethnic head counts in India*. Cambridge University Press.

Conroy-Krutz, J. (2013). Information and ethnic politics in Africa. *British Journal of Political Science*, 345-373.

April 13, Week 7: Class and economic inequality

Bulutgil, H. Z., & Prasad, N. (2020). Inequality and voting among deprived ethnic groups: evidence from India. *Journal of Elections, Public Opinion and Parties*, 30(2), 221-243.

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

Recommended:

Evans, G., & Tilley, J. (2012). How parties shape class politics: Explaining the decline of the class basis of party support. *British journal of political science*, 137-161.

Houle, C., Park, C., & Kenny, P. D. (2019). The structure of ethnic inequality and ethnic voting. *The Journal of Politics*, 81(1), 187-200.

Thachil, T. (2011). Embedded mobilization: nonstate service provision as electoral strategy in India. *World Pol.*, 63, 434.

III. Illicit strategies

April 20, Week 8: Election fraud

Kramon, E. (2016). Electoral Handouts as Information Explaining Unmonitored Vote Buying. *World Pol.*, 68, 454.

Mares, I., & Young, L. (2016). Buying, expropriating, and stealing votes. *Annual Review of Political Science*, 19, 267-288.

Recommended:

Collier, P., & Vicente, P. C. (2012). Violence, bribery, and fraud: the political economy of elections in Sub-Saharan Africa. *Public choice*, 153(1), 117-147.

Frye, T., Reuter, O. J., & Szakonyi, D. (2019). Hitting Them With Carrots: Voter Intimidation and Vote Buying in Russia. *British Journal of Political Science*, 49(3), 857-881.

Nichter, S. (2008). Vote buying or turnout buying? Machine politics and the secret ballot. *American political science review*, 19-31.

April 27, Week 9: Violence

Nath, S. (2020). Party-people and local governance in an Indian state: a longitudinal study on the roots of electoral violence. *India Review*, 19(3), 280-300.

Turnbull, M. (2021). Elite Competition, Social Movements, and Election Violence in Nigeria. *International Security*, 45(3), 40-78.

Recommended:

Kleinfeld, R., & Barham, E. (2018). Complicit states and the governing strategy of privilege violence: When weakness is not the problem. *Annual Review of Political Science*.

Gutiérrez-Romero, R. (2014). An inquiry into the use of illegal electoral practices and effects of political violence and vote-buying. *Journal of Conflict Resolution*, 58(8), 1500-1527.

May 4, Week 10: Ending vote buying and violence

Epperly, B., Witko, C., Strickler, R., & White, P. (2020). Rule by violence, rule by law: Lynching, Jim Crow, and the continuing evolution of voter suppression in the US. *Perspectives on Politics*, 18(3), 756-769.

Weitz-Shapiro, R. (2012). What wins votes: Why some politicians opt out of clientelism. *American Journal of Political Science*, 56(3), 568-583.

Recommended:

Hagopian, F., Gervasoni, C., & Moraes, J. A. (2009). From patronage to program: The emergence of party-oriented legislators in Brazil. *Comparative Political Studies*, 42(3), 360-391.

Stokes, S. C., Dunning, T., Nazareno, M., & Brusco, V. (2013). What Killed Vote Buying in Britain and the U.S.? In *Brokers, voters, and clientelism: The puzzle of distributive politics*. Cambridge University Press. Chapter 8.