

PLSC 439/ GBL 263: CHALLENGES OF YOUNG DEMOCRACIES

YALE

Spring 2019

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Office hours: Tuesdays 1:30-3:30

Class Time and Location: M-W 2:30pm-3:45pm, WLH 114

The number of countries holding regular elections in the world almost doubled since 1989. Despite the noteworthy gains in political development worldwide, the total number of democracies is currently below the 2005 figure of 123 according to Freedom House. What explains that some young democracies survive and some revert to dictatorships? Why some countries rapidly consolidate their democracies and others stagnate? This course reviews some of the most pressing challenges faced by young democracies, including the difficulties in organizing free and fair elections, controlling corrupt governments, building systems of accountability, sustaining development, and curbing inequality, among others. Throughout the course we will draw from examples around the world, and we will read empirically innovative work.

Course requirements and grading

Requirements include attendance to lectures and weekly course readings; active participation in class discussions; one class presentation; one mid term exam; and one final exam.

Attendance (10%). Regular attendance is required. You are allowed to miss two lectures, however, please notify me beforehand.

Participation (20%). Throughout the course there will be plenty of opportunities for you to participate in class discussions. Make sure you keep up with the readings, since your interventions in class discussions will only benefit you if they reflect that you are prepared. Please notify me at the beginning of the class if, for whatever reason, you are unprepared to

participate in class discussion that day. More than two unexcused “unprepared” will jeopardize your class participation grade.

Class presentation (20%). At the beginning of the semester, teams of approximately five students will be formed. Each team will be randomly assigned an election that took place in a young democracy. Your team will research that election, and present your findings in class.

Teams will have approximately 20 minutes for their presentation. In that time, you should plan to talk about the background of the election, the context, the involved parties, what was at stake in the election, what happened, and what we learn from such historical episode.

Practice is crucial for all in class presentations to make sure that you are on point and focused.

Mid term and final exam (25% each). The mid term and final exams will be straightforward. If you keep up with the readings, you will be fine.

Schedule & Readings

Most of the readings will be available at the class server under “Resources”.

The schedule of readings may change depending on the pace of our class.

January 14 – 16: Housekeeping and Introduction

- Manin, Bernard, Adam Przeworski and Susan Stokes, “Elections and Representation” Chapter 1
- Kapstein, Ethan B. and Nathan Converse. 2008. “What makes young democracies different?” in *The Fate of Young Democracies*, Cambridge University Press.

January 18: Organizing free and fair elections

- Alberto Simpser. 2013. “Introduction”. In Why governments and parties manipulate elections. Theory Practice and Implications. (January 2013): Cambridge University Press.
- Bernd Beber and Alexandra Scacco. 2012. "What the Numbers Say: A Digit-Based Test for Election Fraud" *Political Analysis* 20:2, 235-247.

January 21: Martin Luther King Jr. Day; classes do not meet.

January 23: Organizing free and fair elections (continued)

- Nahomi Ichino and Matthias Schundeln. 2012. “Deterring or Displacing Electoral Irregularities? Spillover Effects of Observers in a Randomized Field Experiment in Ghana.” *The Journal of Politics*, Vol. 74, No. 1, January 2012, Pp. 292–307

- Susan D. Hyde and Angela O'Mahony. 2010. "International Scrutiny and Pre-Electoral Fiscal Manipulation in Developing Countries." *The Journal of Politics*, Vol. 72, No. 3, July 2010, Pp. 690–704
- Emilie M. Hafner-Burton, Susan D. Hyde and Ryan S. Jablonski. 2012. "When Do Governments Resort to Election Violence?" *British Journal of Political Science*

January 28 – January 30: Building Institutions

- Devra C. Moehler and Staffan I. Lindberg. 2009. "Narrowing the Legitimacy Gap: Turnovers as a Cause of Democratic Consolidation", *The Journal of Politics*, Vol. 71, No. 4, October, Pp. 1448–1466
- Baland, J.-M. and J. A. Robinson (2008). "Land and Power: Theory and Evidence from Chile." *American Economic Review* 98(5): 1737-1765.
- Olken, Benjamin. 2010. "Direct Democracy and Local Public Goods: Evidence from a Field Experiment in Indonesia" *American Political Science Association*. Vol. 104, No. 2
- James D. Fearon, Macartan Humphreys, and Jeremy M. Weinstein. 2011. "Democratic Institutions and Collective Action Capacity: Results from a Field Experiment in Post-Conflict Liberia
- Macartan Humphreys and Robert Bates. 2005. "Political Institutions and Economic Policies: Lessons from Africa" *B.J.Pol.S.* 35, 403–428

February 4- 6: Fostering participation

- Herbert, Kitschelt. "Linkages between citizens and politicians in democratic polities" *Comparative Political Studies*, Vol. 33 No. 6/7, August/September 2000 845-879 Sage Publications, Inc.
- Kimuli Kasara and Pavithra Suryanarayan. 2015. "When do the Rich Vote Less than the Poor and Why? Explaining Turnout Inequality Around the World" *American Journal of Political Science*. 59(3) 613-672.
- Xavier Giné and Ghazala Mansuri "Together We Will. Experimental Evidence on Female Voting Behavior in Pakistan", *The World Bank, Development Research Group*, June 2011
- Ghazala Mansuri and Vijayendra Rao. 2012. "Can Participation Be Induced? Some Evidence from Developing Countries" *The World Bank Development Research Group Poverty and Inequality Team* June 2012 WPS6139 Public

February 11- 13: Forging democrats

- Saad Gulzar and Yasir Khan. "Why Do Citizens Become Politicians? Experimental Evidence on the Social Dimensions of Candidacy" NYU, Unpublished paper.
- Philip Keefer. "Clientelism, Credibility, and the Policy Choices of Young Democracies" *American Journal of Political Science*, Vol. 51 Issue 4 October 2007.

- Raghavendra Chattopadhyay and Esther Duflo 2001 “Women as Policy Makers: Evidence from a India-Wide Randomized Policy Experiment.”
- Banuri, Sheheryar & Keefer, Philip, 2013. "Intrinsic motivation, effort and the call to public service," Policy Research Working Paper Series 6729, The World Bank.

February 18: Eroding Clientelism

- Philip Keefer, “Democratization and clientelism: Why are young democracies badly governed?” The World Bank.
- Gonzalez-Ocantos et al. 2010. “Vote Buying and Social Desirability Bias: Experimental Evidence from Nicaragua”. *American Journal of Political Science*.

February 20: Class will not meet

February 25-27: Eroding Clientelism (continued)

- Stokes, Susan "Perverse Accountability: A Formal Model of Machine Politics with Evidence from Argentina," *American Political Science Review*, vol. 99, no. 3 (August 2005)
- Leonard Wantchekon, [“Clientelism and Voting Behavior: A Field Experiment in Benin.”](http://www.nyu.edu/gsas/dept/politics/faculty/wantchekon/research/client.pdf)<http://www.nyu.edu/gsas/dept/politics/faculty/wantchekon/research/client.pdf>
- F. Daniel Hidalgo and Simeon Nichter. 2012. “Voter Buying: Shaping the Electorate through Clientelism”. Paper presented at Leitner Political Economy Seminar, Yale University.

March 4: Practical Interlude –Reforming the impossible—

- For this session, please review your notes
- Handouts for a group exercise to be distributed in class

March 6: MIDTERM

March 25-27: Curbing Corruption

- Chong, Alberto, Ana De La O, Dean Karlan and Leonard Wantchekon. 2015. “Does Corruption Information Inspire the Fight or Quash the Hope? A Field experiment on Voter Turnout, Choice and Party Identification” *The Journal of Politics*.
- Reinikka, Ritva and Jakob Svensson, “Local Capture: Evidence from a Central Government Transfer Program in Uganda” *The Quarterly Journal of Economics*, May 2004
- Olken, B. A. 2007. “Monitoring Corruption: Evidence from a Field Experiment in Indonesia.” *Journal of Political Economy* 115 (2): 200–49.
- Matthew S. Winters and Rebecca Weitz-Shapiro . 2011. “Lacking Information or Condoning Corruption: When Will Voters Support Corrupt Politicians?” forthcoming.

April 1-3: Building a Free Media

- Devra C. Moehler and Naunihal Singh. 2009. Whose News Do You Trust? Explaining Trust in Private versus Public Media in Africa *Political Research Quarterly*
- Timothy Besley and Andrea Prat. Handcuffs for the Grabbing Hand? Media Capture and Government Accountability. 2006. *The American Economic Review Vol.. 96 No. 3*
- Claudio Ferraz and Frederic Finan. 2008. "Exposing corrupt politicians: the effects of Brazil's publicly released audits on electoral outcomes." *The Quarterly Journal of Economics*, May.

April 8-10: Understanding Ethnic Divisions

- Scacco, Alexandra and Shana Warren. "An Experimental Test of the Contact Hypothesis in Nigeria" NYU. Unpublished manuscript.
- Alesina, Alberto, Reza Baqir and William Easterly (1999). "Public Goods and Ethnic Divisions." *Quarterly Journal of Economics*, vol. 114(4), p. 1243-1284.
<http://www.worldbank.org/html/dec/Publications/Workpapers/wps2000series/wps2108/wps2108.pdf>
- Phillip Keefer. 2010. "The Ethnicity Distraction? Political Credibility and Partisan Preferences in Africa" The World Bank. Development Research Group.
- Daniel Posner, Benn Eifert and Edward Miguel. "Political Competition and Ethnic Identification in Africa." 2010. *American Journal of Political Science* 54(2): 494-510

April 15-17: Fighting Poverty and Inequality

- Sen, Amartya. Development as Freedom Chapter 1 and 2
- Przeworski, Adam and Fernando Limongi, "Political Regimes and Economic Growth," *Journal of Economic Perspectives* 7, 3 (1993): 51-69
- Christian Houle. 2009. "Inequality and Democracy: Why Inequality Harms Consolidation but Does Not Affect Democratization" *World Politics* Vol. 61 no. 4 October pp. 589-622
- Blaydes, Lisa and Mark Kayser. 2007. "Counting Calories: Democracy and Distribution in the Developing World" Prepared for delivery at the 2007 Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association, August 30 - September 2 2007.
- Recommended: See the movie "The Secret Ballot" available in the Yale Film Study Center, 53 Wall Street, Room B17

April 22- 24: Understanding the role of Political Dynasties and Business Elites

- Pablo Querubin. 2010. "Family and Politics: Dynastic Persistence in the Philippines" MIT and Harvard Academy. Unpublished Manuscript.

- Aldo Musacchio and Ian Read. 2007. “Bankers, Industrialists, and their Cliques: Elite Networks in Mexico and Brazil during Early Industrialization” *Enterprise and Society*. Vol 8 no. 4, pp. 842-80.
- Rossi, M. (2010) “Political Dynasties: Evidence from a Natural Experiment in Argentina”.

FINAL EXAM: HTBA