

Political Behavior in Developing Democracies

Fall 2021
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M 5-7:50 PM

Many societies are marked by material scarcity. Citizens may struggle to make ends meet, and governments may not have sufficient resources to redistribute to them through welfare programs. Does this scarcity affect politics?

This course will explore how scarcity shapes political behavior in democratic societies. The first half of the course will focus on voting behavior. The second half will focus on other types of participation and context-specific topics, such as gender roles or conflict, that are particularly important to consider in places where scarcity is endemic.

Most of the readings will be drawn from studies conducted in countries in South Asia, Africa, or Latin America, but you may find that several insights apply to places in the United States (or other countries we may think of as “rich”) as well. After all, poverty and inequality are present in almost every country on earth. For this reason, we can think of all democracies as developing democracies. The capstone assignment will help you to develop a deep understanding of what it is like to be a citizen of a developing democracy.

By the end of this class, you will understand:

1. How poverty and scarcity affects how people choose to vote and interact with others in society
2. How context-specific variables such as conflict, historical events, gender, urbanization, and policies shape behavior
3. The important variables that shape political behavior in a developing democracy of your choice

Important dates

- September 10: Last day to add/drop
- September 20: Capstone project country selections due (beginning of class)
- October 11: Country political background memos due (beginning of class)
- November 1: Last day to withdraw
- November 15: Annotated bibliography due (beginning of class)
- December 6: Presentations
- December 15: Final papers due (5 PM)

Office hours

Wednesdays, 4-5 PM on Zoom (<https://cwm.zoom.us/j/93005391241>), except for September 8th. If you cannot make my regularly scheduled office hours, please let me know and I will be happy to make alternative accommodations. However, in making these accommodations, I prioritize students who truly cannot attend my regular office hours due to other class or extracurricular conflicts. Unless you fall into this category, I request that you respect this policy by trying to make use of my regularly scheduled office hours before asking for an alternative meeting time.

Reading and participation

You are expected to complete readings by the date on which they are assigned. Note that with the exception of book chapters and unpublished/forthcoming papers (which I will upload directly to Blackboard) you will need to find the assigned articles yourself online. Looking up the readings on Google Scholar or the W&M library catalog will provide you with valuable research skills and will inform the development of your capstone project. Note that unless you look up an article from the W&M library site directly, you will need to activate your off-campus proxy server to download articles behind a subscription paywall (see <https://guides.libraries.wm.edu/proxy>).

Sometimes the readings may have math or statistics you don't quite follow. This is OK, do your best, but make sure you follow the thread of the argument as discussed in words.

Participation in discussion is fundamental to this seminar-style class. I expect you to come prepared to answer the discussion leaders' questions and pose several of your own. Sometimes it can be hard to know what to say. It may help to reflect on the following while you are reading and afterwards:

- Definitions and concepts in each reading
- The main arguments in each reading
- Parts of the readings that surprised you or that you disagreed with
- Connections to previous readings
- Connections to the main themes of the course (the italicized questions before the readings in each section may be helpful here)
- Connections to individual personal experiences (particularly relevant as this is a course on behavior!)
- Connections to individual country case studies (will become easier as the semester goes on)

Discussion leaders

Every week, we will have discussion leaders who set the agenda for our meeting by presenting a brief summary of the readings as well as 3-5 questions to open the debate. **Please send the questions to me by the start of class for full credit.** You will serve as a discussion leader two times over the course of the semester. Please coordinate your questions and summaries ahead of time. Please sign up by the beginning of the second class. Sign up here: <https://tinyurl.com/weja7xzf>

Assignments

Please note that all assignments must be submitted through Blackboard. I will not accept assignments submitted over email or in person. Assignments are due at the start of class on the dates listed.

Capstone: Country case studies

The capstone project for this class will be a paper that explores how scarcity shapes political behavior in a democratic country of your choice. Over the course of the semester, we will build up to the final project through a series of smaller assignments:

Country selection (due 9/20)

You must select a country that you will focus on for the whole semester. The only formal requirement is that the country is a democracy (of sorts). Anything that Freedom House classifies¹ as "Partly Free" or "Free" qualifies.

Because this is a class and assignment motivated by the idea of scarcity, I recommend that you choose a country that the United Nations classifies² as having a low or medium level of human development (HDI). You are welcome, however to choose a country in a different category if there is substantial evidence

¹<https://freedomhouse.org/countries/freedom-world/scores>

²<http://hdr.undp.org/en/composite/HDI>

that certain race/ethnic groups or places within that country do experience scarcity. In either case, I would advise doing a search to make sure there is sufficient academic research conducted the country you eventually choose. Please read carefully through the other assignments that directly build upon the country choice before you make your decision. Some low/middle HDI countries for which there is substantial existing research are India, Pakistan, Kenya, Tanzania, Malawi, Mexico, and Brazil.

Requirements: Name of country, Freedom House Classification, United Nations Human Development Index score and classification. If you choose a country with a High or Very High HDI score, please include a brief paragraph on why the case is relevant to the course, with at least 5 supporting citations (academic or news articles).

Political background memo (due 10/11)

You will write a factual memo on the political background of the country you have chosen. This assignment is designed to bring both you and the reader of your final paper up to speed on important information on the country you are studying. The memo should include information on the following:

- When and how (through revolution? through peaceful means?) the country became a democracy and any important events surrounding that moment
- The country's political system (e.g. proportional representation, winner-take all, parliamentary, presidential, etc)
- Any internal divisions within the country, whether they are geographic, ethnic, or race-based
- The main political parties, the groups and/or ideas they represent, and who is in power at the national level. This information should be current as of the last election, but you should include any major developments (e.g. dissolution or creation of major parties, information about whether one party tends to win or whether parties alternate) that have occurred in the past 50 years
- Any major events, such as war, conflict, or election disputes that have occurred in the last 100 years

Requirements: At least 1250 words. You should cite news sources, academic publications, and the work of policy think tanks such as Freedom House and Brookings.

Annotated bibliography (due 11/15)

Next, you will compile an annotated bibliography of primary (e.g. news articles) and secondary sources (e.g. academic articles) on your country of choice. The secondary source articles may be from any discipline. You can certainly just search databases like Google Scholar for relevant articles, but another strategy is to look at articles that cite (you can see this information in Google Scholar) and are cited by the readings in class.

Requirements: At least 20 citations. For each article, please include a sentence or two on how the topic of the article is related to themes and topics from the class. At least half of the sources must be academic articles. Reach out to me if there is an insufficient number of academic articles available. While you will certainly rely on readings from the class to write your final paper, these do not count towards the total citations required for this assignment.

Presentations (due 12/6)

Our final class will consist of a series of short presentations from each student on their country of choice. Each presentation should include a brief overview of politics in the country (what you believe to be the most important details from the political background memo you wrote) and analysis of its politics through one of the lenses presented in the second half of class. Presentations will conclude with a brief question and answer session.

Requirements: 7 minute presentation with slides, and 3 minute Q&A. Presentations that go over time will be penalized. Students working on the same country may team up and work on one presentation with one additional issue from class Part 2 and 4 extra minutes per additional team member.

Final paper (due 12/15)

Your final paper will provide an overview of how scarcity shapes political behavior in your chosen country. It should weave together theory from class and facts from your own research and previous assignments to explore how scarcity affects vote choice and the additional impact of **two** topics (civic participation, policies, migration, urbanization, conflict, historical legacies, or gender) discussed in the second half of class. Your paper should also incorporate theory and facts from the readings included in your annotated bibliography. You can think of the overall assignment as a combination of a research paper, literature review, and synthesis of class content.

Requirements: 5,000-6,000 words. Papers over 6,000 words will be penalized. The allocation of space to vote choice and the two additional topics is up to you.

Policies

Grades

Country selection	2%	A	93-100%
Political background memo	20%	A-	89-92%
Annotated bibliography	15%	B+	85-88%
Presentation	10%	B	81-84%
Final Paper	30%	B-	77-80%
Discussion leaders	10%	C+	73-76%
Participation	13%	C	69-72%
		C-	65-68%
		D+	61-64%
		D	55-60%
		F	≤ 54%

Electronics

The use of laptops, phones, or e-tablets in class is generally not permitted except when they are integral to small-group projects or to specific assignments. I will let you know ahead of time whether you should bring your electronics to class. Extensive research shows that taking notes by hand enhances recall and learning.³ Of course, if there are any accessibility issues that warrant electronic devices, please reach out to me to discuss.

Safety

An important goal for this class is to keep everyone as healthy and as COVID-free as possible. I appreciate your cooperation and flexibility in helping to minimize the COVID risk we all face from attending classes in person. The COVID-related policies below are subject to change based on changes in the public health situation and university policy. I will announce changes in class and via email.

- Masks are required in class at least through September. Please leave the classroom if you must remove your mask for any reason.
- Please do not eat or drink in class. If you must eat or drink during class time, please leave the classroom to do so. We will have a break at 6:30 PM every session to allow you to leave the classroom to have a snack.
- Don't come to class if you have COVID, have been exposed to COVID, or are otherwise not feeling well. If you have COVID or believe you have been exposed to COVID, please do not attend class.

³Check out <https://www.vox.com/2014/6/4/5776804/note-taking-by-hand-versus-laptop>

Report your case to the university at <http://reportcovid.wm.edu/> and follow their instructions about isolating. If you are otherwise feeling unwell but are certain your symptoms are not due to COVID, please still take precautions in isolating yourself until you are feeling better. In each of these situations, I will provide additional resources to work with you to make sure that your performance in class is not affected by your illness-related absence.

Mental health

William & Mary recognizes that students juggle many different responsibilities and can face challenges that make learning difficult. There are many resources available at W&M to help students navigate physical/medical, emotional/psychological, material/accessibility concerns. Asking for help is a sign of courage and strength. If you or someone you know is experiencing any of these challenges, we encourage you to reach out to the following offices:

- For psychological/emotional stress, please consider reaching out to the W&M Counseling Center (757-221-362), 240 Gooch Dr. 2nd floor, <https://www.wm.edu/offices/wellness/counselingcenter/>. Services are free and confidential.
- For physical/medical concerns please consider reaching out to the W&M Health Center at <https://www.wm.edu/offices/wellness/healthcenter/> or (757) 221-4386, 240 Gooch Drive.
- If you or someone you know is in need of additional supports or resources, please contact the Dean of Students by submitting a care report <https://www.wm.edu/offices/deanofstudents/services/caresupportservices/index.php>, by phone at 757-221-2510, or by email at deanofstudents@wm.edu.

As your professor, I also ask you to reach out to me if you are facing challenges inside or outside the classroom; I will guide you to resources on campus.

Extenuating circumstances

We are still in the midst of a pandemic. These are unprecedented times that require considerable fortitude, patience, and flexibility. If any personal developments impact your learning experience, including your attendance at lecture, please do not hesitate to reach out to the Dean of Students Office as per W&M policy. If appropriate, the Dean's office will help you issue an emergency notification to all of your professors to keep them updated on your situation. However, if such a notice is issued, you will need to follow-up with me individually about how to make up the work you may have missed.

Readings

Part 1: Vote choice

1 September 6

Class introduction and overview. No readings!

2 September 13: Resource constraints

How does scarcity affect individual behavior?

- O'Neil, Patrick H. *Essentials of Comparative Politics*. W.W. Norton & Company. 2018. Chapter 10, "Developing Countries." **Note:** Discussion leaders do not have to focus on this reading. I will lead this discussion.
- Mullainathan, Sendhil. "The psychological lives of the poor." Approximately 50 minutes.
https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=d_JI1pF5WcI
- Dasgupta, Aditya, and Devesh Kapur. "The political economy of bureaucratic overload: Evidence from rural development officials in India." *American Political Science Review* (2020): 1316-1334.
- Schaub, Max. "Acute Financial Hardship and Voter Turnout: Theory and Evidence from the Sequence of Bank Working Days." *American Political Science Review* (2021): 1-17.

Please sign up for discussion leader slots by the beginning of class.

Sign up here: <https://tinyurl.com/weja7xzf>

3 September 20: Clientelism and patronage

Country selections due by the beginning of class

What are clientelism and patronage? Why might we expect to see these phenomena in democracies where both citizens and government are extremely resource constrained?

- Scott, James C. "Corruption, machine politics, and political change." *American Political Science Review* (1969): 1142-1158.
- Brusco, Valeria, Marcelo Nazareno, and Susan C. Stokes. "Vote buying in Argentina." *Latin American Research Review* (2004): 66-88.
- Pages 10-12, 24-25 **only** in Kitschelt, Herbert, and Steven I. Wilkinson. "Citizen-politician linkages: an introduction." in *Patrons, clients, and policies: Patterns of democratic accountability and political competition*. Cambridge University Press. 2007.
- Auerbach, Adam Michael, and Tariq Thachil. "How clients select brokers: Competition and choice in India's slums." *American Political Science Review* (2018): 775-791.

4 September 27: Ethnicity and voting

Why and when does ethnicity become an important aspect of vote choice?

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

- Dunning, Thad, and Lauren Harrison. “Cross-cutting cleavages and ethnic voting: An experimental study of cousinage in Mali.” *American Political Science Review* (2010): 21-39.
- McCauley, John F. “The political mobilization of ethnic and religious identities in Africa.” *American Political Science Review* (2014): 801-816.
- Malik, Mashail. “Discrimination and defiant pride: How the demand for dignity creates slack for poor governance.” Working paper, 2020.
- Optional: Ichino, Nahomi, and Noah L. Nathan. “Crossing the line: Local ethnic geography and voting in Ghana.” *American Political Science Review* (2013): 344-361.

5 October 4: Ideology

Beyond identity and immediate material concerns, what are the programmatic ideas and visions that shape voters’ decisions at election time?

- Introduction and Conclusion **only** in Meltzer, Allan H., and Scott F. Richard. “A rational theory of the size of government.” *Journal of Political Economy* (1981): 914-927.
- Alesina, Alberto, and Paola Giuliano. “Preferences for redistribution.” *Handbook of social economics*. Vol. 1. North-Holland, 2011.
- Dix, Robert H. “Cleavage structures and party systems in Latin America.” *Comparative Politics* (1989): 23-37.
- “State formation and ideological conflict in multi-ethnic societies” in Chhibber, Pradeep K., and Rahul Verma. *Ideology and identity: The changing party systems of India*. Oxford University Press, 2018.

6 October 11: Taxation and redistribution

Political background memo due by the beginning of class

When will preferences for taxation and redistribution affect political participation?

- Kasara, Kimuli, and Pavithra Suryanarayan. “When do the rich vote less than the poor and why? Explaining turnout inequality across the world.” *American Journal of Political Science* (2015): 613-627.
- Berens, Sarah, and Armin von Schiller. “Taxing higher incomes: What makes the high-income earners consent to more progressive taxation in Latin America?” *Political Behavior* (2017): 703-729.
- Pages 1-32 **only** of “Introduction” in Thachil, Tariq. *Elite parties, poor voters*. Cambridge University Press 2014.
- Suryanarayan, Pavithra. “When do the poor vote for the right wing and why: Status hierarchy and vote choice in the Indian states.” *Comparative Political Studies* (2019): 209-245.
- Optional: Holland, Alisha C. “Diminished expectations: Redistributive preferences in truncated welfare states.” *World Politics* (2018): 555-594.

Fall Break

Part 2: Other forms of participation and context-specific events

7 October 25: Civic participation

When, why, and how do citizens participate in politics outside of election time?

- Kruks-Wisner, Gabrielle. "The pursuit of social welfare: Citizen claim-making in rural India." *World Politics* 70: 122-163.
- Paller, Jeffrey W. "Dignified public expression: A new logic of political accountability." *Comparative Politics* (2019): 85-116.
- Harris, Adam S., and Erin Hern. "Taking to the streets: Protest as an expression of political preference in Africa." *Comparative Political Studies* (2019): 1169-1199.
- Parthasarathy, Ramya, Vijayendra Rao, and Nethra Palaniswamy. "Deliberative democracy in an unequal world: A text-as-data study of South India's village assemblies." *American Political Science Review* (2019): 623-640.

8 November 1: Policy feedback

How do broad-reaching (as opposed to targeted or clientelistic) government policies shape citizens' actions? What do these processes and effects teach us about political behavior more generally?

- Zucco Jr, Cesar. "When payouts pay off: Conditional cash transfers and voting behavior in Brazil 2002-10." *American Journal of Political Science* (2013): 810-822.
- Hunter, Wendy, and Natasha Borges Sugiyama. "Transforming subjects into citizens: insights from Brazil's Bolsa Familia." *Perspectives on Politics* (2014): 829-844.
- Kumar, Tanu. "Home-price subsidies increase local-level political participation in urban India." Forthcoming, *Journal of Politics*.
- Miguel, Edward. "Tribe or nation? Nation building and public goods in Kenya versus Tanzania." *World Politics* (2004): 327-362.

9 November 8: Migration and urban politics

How does rapid urbanization shape the behavior of citizens living in cities?

- Montgomery, Mark R. "The urban transformation of the developing world." *Science* (2008): 761-764.
- Di Tella, Rafael, Sebastian Galiani, and Ernesto Schargrodsky. "The formation of beliefs: evidence from the allocation of land titles to squatters." *Quarterly Journal of Economics* (2007): 209-241.
- Kramon, Eric, Joan Hamory, Sarah Baird, and Edward Miguel. "Deepening or diminishing ethnic divides? The impact of urban migration in Kenya." *American Journal of Political Science* (2021).
- Thachil, Tariq. "Do rural migrants divide ethnically in the city? Evidence from an ethnographic experiment in India." *American Journal of Political Science* (2017): 908-926.

10 November 15: Conflict

Annotated bibliography due at the beginning of class

When and why might individuals become involved in conflict?

- Varshney, Ashutosh. "Nationalism, ethnic conflict, and rationality." *Perspectives on Politics* (2003): 85-99.

- Tezcür, Güneş Murat. "Ordinary people, extraordinary risks: Participation in an ethnic rebellion." *American Political Science Review* (2016): 247-264.
- Varshney, Ashutosh. "Ethnic conflict and civil society: India and beyond." *World Politics* (2001): 362-398.
- Blattman, Christopher, and Jeannie Annan. "Can employment reduce lawlessness and rebellion? A field experiment with high-risk men in a fragile state." *American Political Science Review* (2016): 1-17.

11 November 22: Historical legacies and behavior

How do historical events, conflict, and trauma shape political behavior?

- Lupu, Noam, and Leonid Peisakhin. "The legacy of political violence across generations." *American Journal of Political Science* (2017): 836-851.
- Nunn, Nathan, and Léonard Wantchékon. "The slave trade and the origins of mistrust in Africa." *American Economic Review* (2011): 3221-52.
- García-Ponce, Omar, and Léonard Wantchékon. "Critical junctures: Independence movements and democracy in Africa." Working paper, 2017.
- Bellows, John, and Edward Miguel. "War and local collective action in Sierra Leone." *Journal of Public Economics* (2009): 1144-1157.

12 November 29: Gender

How do gender roles and traditional norms shape women's political behavior?

- Khan, Sarah. "Count me out: Women's unexpressed preferences in Pakistan." Working paper, 2021.
- Desposato, Scott, and Barbara Norrander. "The gender gap in Latin America: Contextual and individual influences on gender and political participation." *British Journal of Political Science* (2009): 141-162.
- Cheema, Ali, Sarah Khan, Shandan Khan Mohmand, and Asad Liaqat. "Canvassing the gatekeepers: A field experiment to increase women's voter turnout in Pakistan." Working paper, 2020.
- Optional: Rajagopalan, Shruti and Alice Evans. "The great gender divergence" Ideas of India Podcast. May 13, 2021. Approximately 90 minutes.

<https://www.discoursemagazine.com/culture-and-society/2021/05/13/ideas-of-india-the-great-gender-divergence/>

13 December 6

Presentations, no readings