

**THE POLITICS OF DEVELOPING DEMOCRACIES
CHALLENGES AND POTENTIAL SOLUTIONS
Spring 2019
Wednesdays 3:00-5:30
ROOM: Norman Mayer Building 200B**

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Office Hours: Tuesdays 1:00-2:00 and Wednesdays 2:00-3:00

COURSE DESCRIPTION AND OBJECTIVES

According to Freedom House, 2017 was the 12th consecutive year of decline in global freedom. Seventy-one countries suffered declines in political rights and civil liberties, while only 35 countries registering gains. Moreover, after decades of gains, the number of countries rated as “Free” declined from 47 percent (in 2006) to 39 percent (in 2017). Since 2006, 113 countries have seen a decline, while only 62 have experienced a net improvement in political rights and civil liberties (*Freedom in the World* 2018).

Why some countries manage to consolidate their democracies while others failed? What explains the variation in the quality of democracy across countries and over time? This course goes over some of the most severe and pressing challenges faced by young democracies today, drawing from examples around the world. We will be covering topics such as the difficulties of administering free and fair elections, building strong and independent institutions, holding governments accountable, and curbing corruption and clientelism, among others. In each class, we will start by reviewing a different problem faced by young democracies. The bulk of the class, however, will be focused on the alternative solutions that have been proposed, tried, and evaluated by social scientists. Particularly in this second part of the class we will be reading cutting-edge research from political science and, sometimes, economics. This course will introduce students to the empirical frontiers in the field, with a especial focus on methods that deal with the problem of causality in a careful way (experiments of all types, regression discontinuity designs, etc.). Finally, by paying particular attention to issues of research design throughout the course of the semester, this course will prepare students to conduct their own research.

LEARNING OUTCOMES

After completing this course, students should be able to:

- Have a good understanding of some of the most pressing challenges faced by young democracies today.
- Discuss, evaluate, and compare different solutions that have been proposed to address those challenges.

REQUIREMENTS

Assignment	Date	Percent
Participation & Attendance		10%
Exam 1	February 20	20%
Exam 2	April 24	20%
Presentation		15%
Short Paper (10 pages)	April 17	10%
Final Paper (20 pages)	May 10 (1pm)	25%

1. PARTICIPATION AND ATTENDANCE (10%)

This is an upper level seminar. You are expected to have done the required readings by the day listed on the syllabus to be able to actively participate in the discussion. An “A” in participation will be achieved with weekly participation that demonstrates familiarity with the readings. This, of course, includes asking questions. But your questions and comments during class should reflect the time spent with the readings.

2. EXAMS (20%*2)

Exam 1 will take place on **February 20 (Week 6)** and will cover the material discussed up to Week 5 (included). Exam 2 will take on **April 24 (Week 15)** and will cover the material discussed in Weeks 9-14 (included). The format of the exams will be discussed the week before the exams. There will be no make-up exams unless you have a documented medical excuse. Make travel plans accordingly.

3. PRESENTATION (15%)

At the beginning of the semester, groups of 2/3 students will be formed. Each group will be assigned a week/topic to make their presentation. I will try to accommodate preferences but that might not be always possible. Groups will be in charge of the first part of the class (approximately one hour). In that time, groups will be start by describing the issue/problem of the week on a presentation for approximately 20/30 minutes. What’s the problem/challenge? How widespread it is? Why is this a problem? What are the main consequences? The rest of the class will be a discussion lead by the group (with my help, of course). We will talk about this in more detail in class.

4. SHORT PAPER (10%) AND FINAL PAPER (25%)

The Final Paper (20 pages) will be on the same topic of your presentation. You should begin working on your topic early in the semester, and you are expected to meet with me to talk about it before and after your presentation. If you really want to write on a topic we are not covering in class, please come see me as soon as possible, and we can decide together whether it’s a good fit for this class. After your presentation, you will (1) come see me to get feedback on the presentation and discuss the progress on the paper, (2) write a short version (April 17, 10 pages) of the paper, (3) write the final version (May 10). I will be providing detailed comments on the short version and you are expected to address these comments on the final paper. We will be discussing these assignments in detail in class.

READINGS

Students are expected to read each of the required readings carefully before coming to class and be prepared to discuss them. The amount of weekly reading for this class is significant and the expectation is that you will take the time to reflect carefully on each reading. When you read an article or book chapter, think about the following questions: What's the main argument? Do you believe it? Why? Why not? Is the evidence presented convincing? Readings will be available on Canvas.

CLASSROOM ETIQUETTE

1. Please, do not eat during class. Beverages are fine.
2. Make sure your cell phone is turned off and do not text during class.
3. Attendance is mandatory and part of your participation grade. If you missed a class, please get the notes from another student.

POLICIES

Attendance

Attendance is mandatory and extremely important to succeed in this class. If you missed a class, ask another student for the notes.

Make-up Exams

There will be no make-up exams unless you have a documented medical excuse. Make travel plans accordingly.

Late Policy

Late papers will be downgraded by one-third of a letter grade (e.g. A to A-) per day.

Grading

This course will be grade according to the following scale:

A	>=93	B+	87-89	C+	77-79	D+	67-69	F
A-	90-92	B	83-86	C	73-76	D	63-66	59 &
		B-	80-82	C-	70-72	D-	60-62	below

Disputing grades:

I am happy to go over any exam or paper with you to help you to improve for the following assignment or the final. Indeed, I encourage you to come to my office to do so, especially if you think that you did study hard but did not get the expected results. Request for re-grading, though, must be done in writing. Any student requesting re-grading should describe (based on the class' materials) what he/she feels constitute the correct answer and how his/hers work meets the standard described.

Academic Honesty

Students are required to act in accordance with the Code of Academic Conduct. Any suspected violations will be brought before the Newcomb-Tulane College Honor Board. Please familiarize yourself with the Code of Academic Conduct:

<http://tulane.edu/college/code.cfm>.

Goldman Office of Disability Services (ODS)

The ODS' mission is to provide services and promote an accessible environment to all members of the Tulane community. Students with psychological, medical/physical, and learning/developmental disabilities who need accommodations must be registered with the Office of Disability Services and follow their procedures for obtaining assistance. See: <http://tulane.edu/studentaffairs/disability/index.cfm>

If you have any kind of special circumstances, such as a disability, illness or handicap, let me know as soon as possible. This information is confidential. Students needing accommodations must provide me with a Course Accommodation Form and if applicable, an Exam Request Form ("blue sheet") in order to schedule an exam to be taken at ODS. Accommodations involving exams must be requested to me at least four days before a test or seven days before a final exam. Any student receiving an exam-related accommodation should plan to take the exam at ODS.

Respect for all people

Tulane University recognizes the inherent dignity of all individuals and promotes respect for all people. As "One Wave," Tulane is committed to providing an environment free of all forms of discrimination based on race, ethnicity, creed, religion, gender, gender identity and sexual orientation, as well as all forms of sexual harassment, including sexual assault, domestic and dating violence, and stalking. If you (or someone you know) has experienced or experiences discrimination, domestic violence, sexual assault or sexual harassment, know that you are not alone. Resources and support are available. Learn more at onewave.tulane.edu. Any and all of your communications on these matters will be treated as either "Strictly Confidential" or "Mostly Confidential" as explained in the chart below.

Strictly Confidential	Mostly Confidential
<i>Except in extreme circumstances, involving imminent danger to one's self or others, nothing will be shared without your explicit permission.</i>	<i>Conversations are kept as confidential as possible, but information is shared with key staff members so the University can offer resources and accommodations and take action if necessary for safety reasons.</i>
Counseling & Psychological Services (CAPS) (504) 314-2277	Coordinator of Violence Prevention (504) 314-2161
Student Health Center (504) 865-5255	Tulane University Police (TUPD) (504) 865-5911
Sexual Aggression Peer Hotline and Education (SAPHE) (504) 654-9543	Office of Institutional Equity (504) 862-8083

COURSE SCHEDULE

PART I: INTRODUCTION

Week 1 [January 16]: Introduction to the Class and Housekeeping

- Kapstein, Ethan B. and Nathan Converse. 2008. "What makes young democracies different?" In *The Fate of Young Democracies*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press: 1-36.
- Manin, Bernard, Adam Przeworski and Susan Stokes. 1999. "Elections and Representation" (Chapter 1). In Adam Przeworski, Susan Stokes, and Bernard Manin (eds.), *Democracy, Accountability & Representation*. New York: Cambridge University Press: 29-54.

Recommended

- Cheibub, José Antonio, Jennifer Gandhi and James Raymond Vreeland. 2010. "Democracy and Dictatorship Revisited." *Public Choice* 143 (1-2): 67-101.

Week 2 [January 23]: Organizing Free and Fair elections

- Simpsen, Alberto. 2013. "Introduction," in *Why governments and parties manipulate elections. Theory Practice, and Implications*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Hafner-Burton, Emilie M., Susan D. Hyde, and Ryan S. Jablonski. 2014. "When do governments resort to election violence?" *British Journal of Political Science* 44(1): 149-179.
- Cantú, Francisco. 2014. "Identifying Electoral Irregularities in Mexican Local Elections." *American Journal of Political Science* 58(4): 936-951.
- Hyde, Susan D. and Angela O'Mahony. 2010. "International Scrutiny and Pre-Electoral Fiscal Manipulation in Developing Countries." *The Journal of Politics* 72(3): 690-704.

Recommended

- 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* 74(1): 292-307

Week 3 [January 30]: Building Strong (and Independent) Institutions I: Presidents and Congress

- Grossman, Guy, Macartan Humphreys, and Gabriella Sacramone-Lutz. 2014. "'I wld like u WMP to extend electricity 2 our village": On Information Technology and Interest Articulation." *American Political Science Review* 108(3): 688-705.

- Grossman, G., K. Michelitch. 2018. "Information Dissemination, Competitive Pressure, and Politician Performance between Elections: A Field Experiment in Uganda." *American Political Science Review* 112(2): 280-301.
- Jones, Mark, Sebastian Saiegh, Pablo Spiller, and Mariano Tommasi. 2002. "Amateur Legislators - Professional Politicians: The Consequences of Party-Centered Electoral Rules in a Federal System." *American Journal of Political Science*, 46(3): 656-669.
- Devra C. Moehler and Staffan I. Lindberg. 2009. "Narrowing the Legitimacy Gap: Turnovers as a Cause of Democratic Consolidation." *The Journal of Politics* 71(4): 1448-1466.

Recommended

- Humphreys, Macartan and Robert Bates. 2005. "Political Institutions and Economic Policies: Lessons from Africa." *British Journal of Political Science* 35: 403-428.
- Grossman, Guy and Laura Paler. 2015. "Using Experiments to Study Political Institutions." *Handbook of Comparative Political Institutions*. (Gandhi, Jennifer, Ruiz-Runo, Ruben, Eds.): pages 84-97. Routledge

Week 4 [February 6]: Building Strong (and Independent) Institutions II: The Bureaucracy

- Oliveros, Virginia. 2016. "Making it Personal. Clientelism, Favors, and the Personalization of Public Administration in Argentina." *Comparative Politics* 48(3): 373-391.
- Dal Bó, Ernesto, Frederico Finan, and Martín A. Rossi. 2013. "Strengthening state capabilities: The role of financial incentives in the call to public service." *The Quarterly Journal of Economics* 128(3): 1169-1218.
- Oliveros, Virginia and Christian Schuster. 2018. "Merit, Tenure, and Bureaucratic Behavior: Evidence from a Conjoint Experiment in the Dominican Republic." *Comparative Political Studies* 51(6): 759-792.
- Pepinsky, Thomas B., Jan H. Pierskalla, and Audrey Sacks. 2017. "Bureaucracy and service delivery." *Annual Review of Political Science* 20: 249-268.

Recommended

- Dahlström, Carl, Victor Lapuente, and Jan Teorell. 2012. "The merit of meritocratization: Politics, bureaucracy, and the institutional deterrents of corruption." *Political Research Quarterly* 65(3): 656-668.

Week 5 [February 13]: Processing Demands: Social Mobilization and Protests

- Machado, Fabiana, Carlos Scartascini, and Mariano Tommasi. 2011. "Political institutions and street protests in Latin America." *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 55(3): 340-365.

- Hochstetler, Kathryn. 2006. "Rethinking Presidentialism: Challenges and Presidential Falls in South America," *Comparative Politics* 38(4): 401-418.
- Aytaç, S. Erdem, Luis Schiumerini, and Susan Stokes. 2017. "Protests and Repression in New Democracies." *Perspectives on Politics* 15(1): 62-82.
- Cornell, Agnes, and Marcia Grimes. 2015. "Institutions as incentives for civic action: Bureaucratic structures, civil society, and disruptive protests." *The Journal of Politics* 77(3): 664-678.

Recommended

- Aytaç, S. Erdem, Luis Schiumerini, and Susan Stokes. 2017. "Why Do People Join Backlash Protests? Lessons from Turkey." *Journal of Conflict Resolution*: 1-24.

WEEK 6 [FEBRUARY 20]: EXAM 1

Week 7: [February 27]

Movie! *City of God* (2002), by Fernando Meirelles and Kátia Lund

WEEK 8: SPRING BREAK [MARCH 6]

Week 9 [March 13]: Fighting Poverty and Inequality

- Przeworski, Adam and Fernando Limongi. 1993. "Political Regimes and Economic Growth," *Journal of Economic Perspectives* 7(3): 51-69.
- Houle, Christian. 2009. "Inequality and Democracy: Why Inequality Harms Consolidation but Does Not Affect Democratization" *World Politics* 61(4): 589-622.
- De La O, Ana Lorena. 2015. "The Universe of Cash Transfer Programs" (chapter 2), in *Crafting policies to end poverty in Latin America: The Quiet Transformation*. New York: Cambridge University Press: 24-43.
- Blattman, Christopher and Paul Niehaus. 2014. "Show Them the Money: Why Giving Cash Helps Alleviate Poverty," *Foreign Affairs* 93.3 (May/June)

Recommended

- Sen, Amartya. 1999. *Development as Freedom*. New York: Anchor Books. Introduction ("Development as Freedom") and Ch. 2 ("The Ends and Means of Development"): 3-13, 35-54.

Week 10 [March 20]: Curbing Clientelism

- Arriola, Leonardo. 2009. "Patronage and Political Stability in Africa." *Comparative Political Studies* 42(10): 1339-1362.

- Keefer, Philip. 2007. "Clientelism, Credibility and the Policy Choices of Young Democracies," *American Journal of Political Science* 51 (4): 804-21.
- Vicente, Pedro C. and Leonard Wantchekon. 2009. "Clientelism and vote buying. Lessons from field experiments from African elections." *Oxford Review of Economic Policy* 25(2): 292-305.
- Weitz-Shapiro, Rebecca. 2014. "Moving Toward Accountability? Comparative Perspectives and Policy Implications." In *Curbing Clientelism in Argentina: Politics, Poverty, and Social Policy*, Chapter 7: 150-166.

Recommended

- Wantchekon, Leonard. 2003. "Clientelism and voting behavior: Evidence from a field experiment in Benin." *World politics* 55(3): 399-422.

Week 11 [March 27]: Curbing Corruption

- Olken, Benjamin A. 2007. "Monitoring Corruption: Evidence from a Field Experiment in Indonesia." *Journal of Political Economy* 115 (2): 200-49.
- Winters, Matthew S., and Rebecca Weitz-Shapiro. 2013. "Lacking information or condoning corruption: When do voters support corrupt politicians?" *Comparative Politics* 45(4): 418-436.
- Chong, Alberto, Ana L. De La O, Dean Karlan, and Leonard Wantchekon. 2014. "Does corruption information inspire the fight or quash the hope?" *The Journal of Politics* 77(1): 55-71.
- Boas, T. C., Hidalgo, F. D. and Melo, M. A. 2018. "Norms versus Action: Why Voters Fail to Sanction Malfeasance in Brazil." *American Journal of Political Science*. doi:[10.1111/ajps.12413](https://doi.org/10.1111/ajps.12413)

Recommended

- Anduiza, Eva, Aina Gallego, and Jordi Muñoz. 2013. "Turning a Blind Eye: Experimental Evidence of Partisan Bias in Attitudes Toward Corruption," *Comparative Political Studies* 46(12): 1664-92.

Week 12 [April 3]: Dealing with Violence and its Legacies

- Blattman, Christopher. 2009. "From Violence to Voting: War and Political Participation in Uganda," *American Political Science Review* 103(2): 231-247.
- Fisman, Ray, and Edward Miguel. 2008. "The Road back from War", chapter 7 in *Economic gangsters: corruption, violence, and the poverty of nations*. Princeton University Press: 158-185.
- Flores, Thomas Edward, and Irfan Nooruddin. 2012. "The effect of elections on postconflict peace and reconstruction." *The Journal of Politics* 74(2): 558-570.

- Scacco, Alexandra, and Shana S. Warren. 2018. "Can social contact reduce prejudice and discrimination? Evidence from a field experiment in Nigeria." *American Political Science Review*: 1-24.

Recommended

- Miguel, Edward, Sebastián M. Saiegh, and Shanker Satyanath. 2011. "Civil war exposure and violence." *Economics & Politics* 23(1): 59-73.
- Gilligan, Michael J., Eric N. Mvukiyehe, and Cyrus Samii. 2013. "Reintegrating rebels into civilian life: Quasi-experimental evidence from Burundi." *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 57(4): 598-626.

Week 13 [April 10]: Improving Women's Representation in Politics

- Krook, Mona Lena, and Diana Z. O'Brien. 2010. "The politics of group representation: Quotas for women and minorities worldwide." *Comparative Politics* 42(3): 253-272.
- Tripp, Aili Mari, and Alice Kang. 2008. "The global impact of quotas: On the fast track to increased female legislative representation." *Comparative Political Studies* 41(3): 338-361.
- Giné, Xavier, and Ghazala Mansuri. 2018. "Together We Will: Experimental Evidence on Female Voting Behavior in Pakistan." *American Economic Journal: Applied Economics* 10 (1): 207-35.
- O'Brien, Diana Z., and Jennifer M. Piscopo. 2019. "The Impact of Women in Parliament." *The Palgrave Handbook of Women's Political Rights*. Palgrave Macmillan, London. 53-72.

Recommended

- Gottlieb, J, Grossman G, Robinson AL. 2018. "Do Men and Women Have Different Policy Preferences in Africa? Determinants and Implications of Gender Gaps in Policy Prioritization." *British Journal of Political Science*, 48(3): 611-638.

Week 14 [April 17]: Conclusions and looking forward

SHORT PAPER DUE BY 3PM ON CANVAS

- Kapstein, Ethan B. and Nathan Converse. 2008. "Conclusions and Recommendations" in *The Fate of Young Democracies*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press: 141-156.
- Steven Levitsky. 2018. "Democratic Survival and Weakness" *Journal of Democracy* 29 (4): 102-113.

WEEK 15 [APRIL 24]: EXAM 2

MAY 10 [FRIDAY]: 1:00 PM. FINAL PAPER IS DUE ON CANVAS