

POL30850  
Citizen Politics in the Global South

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Office Hours: Thursdays 3.30 p.m. – 5 p.m.: please book a slot via Google Docs (link on Brightspace)

\*In Fall 2020, this module will be delivered online. Most sessions combine interaction in the virtual classroom and pre-record material. Your presence is not strictly mandatory except for the quiz and your presentation (see below).

Please read this syllabus carefully to accustom yourself with the schedule, readings, assignments, and general rules

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**1. MODULE DESCRIPTOR**

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Why do people in developing countries make the political choices that they do? What do citizens in these countries expect from their politicians and under what conditions can they get elites to be responsive to their needs? Why do ethnic, sectarian, or clientelistic linkages often trump anger about inefficient or corrupt politicians? Lastly, how can national and international civil society initiatives improve government performance and responsiveness?

This module engages with academic research and policy initiatives that address these questions. We will study political beliefs, preferences, and political behavior of citizens in developing countries. We will look at what they think about democracy and what beliefs they hold about how well governments do in addressing their needs. We will understand motives behind ethnic or clientelistic voting and how political elites might encourage and benefit from these voting rationales. Last, we will study international, governmental, and civil society initiatives intended to empower more disadvantaged segments of the citizenry in countries as diverse as Uganda, Brazil, India, Mali or Indonesia, among many others. These include quota systems, score card initiatives where the quality of services or politicians is evaluated, as well as voter education and information campaigns that inform about citizenship and rights or negative consequences of vote-selling.

The module will combine lectures with discussions and data activities. In each week, we will look at 2-3 countries, using them as case studies of a broader question. Throughout the module, we will use policy reports, data from opinion surveys (such as the Barometer series), governance indicators (such as the World Bank accountability data), or data on political competition to look directly into how broader themes play out in particular countries. No previous knowledge about data analysis is required and step by step explanations on how to use and interpret these different data sources will be provided. A willingness to engage with such empirical data is expected but fear of data should not be an obstacle.

## 2. LEARNING OUTCOMES

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When completing the module, students should:

- have gained an understanding of politics and political behavior in the Global South
- understand what is at stake in elections in new and developing democracies
- understand the obstacles citizens face in holding politicians accountable
- have an overview of initiatives to increase the representation of disadvantaged groups in the Global South
- have knowledge of data sources to address the quality of elections and representation
- feel comfortable with simple uses of survey data
- have improved their presentation and writing skills as well as their ability to work productively in small groups

## 3. ASSESSMENT:

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25% for [background report](#) for election observation mission: presentation (group)  
25% for final [background report](#) (3500 words), based on group presentation & feedback (individual)  
10% for [evaluation of accountability initiative](#) (individual)  
30% 3 small [data projects](#) (best 3 out of 6) (individual)  
10% MCQ Quiz- pass/ fail (individual)  
Follow links for more information

## 4. RULES

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All general university-level and SPIRe rules on late assignments, extenuating circumstance, and academic honesty apply.

Groups for the group assignment will be formed at the end of the third week of this module. The group composition will take into account previous engagement with the module content (the

viewing of pre-recorded content and the completion of self-assessment tasks). Students with higher engagement will work together and students with lower levels of engagement will work together to achieve more fairness in the group based task.

## 5. SCHEDULE

### Relevant Dates & Deadlines

- Group Formation: Friday 9<sup>th</sup> of October
- Data Project 1: Tuesday, 6<sup>th</sup> of October
- Data Project 2: Tuesday 13<sup>th</sup> of October
- Data Project 3: Tuesday
- Data Project 4: Tuesday 27<sup>th</sup> of October
- Data Project 5: Tuesday 3<sup>rd</sup> of November
- Data Project 6: Tuesday 17<sup>th</sup> of November
- Quiz: Thursday, 5<sup>th</sup> of November
- Group Presentations: 26<sup>th</sup> of November- 3<sup>rd</sup> of December
- Hand in Evaluation of Accountability Intervention Sheet
- Deadline Written Report

### Schedule Overview

\*Note: I reserve the right to make changes to the schedule below.

<i>Wk.</i>	<i>Date</i>	<i>Day</i>	<i>Topics</i>	<i>Deadlines</i>
1	22/09	Tuesday	What is Citizen Politics Module Overview	
1	24/09	Thursday	Assessment Strategy Introduction to Data	
2	29/09	Tuesday	Support for Democracy	
2	01/10	Thursday	Support for democracy: instrumental or intrinsic?	
3	06/10	Tuesday	Political Participation: Elections and Protest	Hand in DP 1
3	08/10	Thursday	Are protest and voting complementary?	
4	13/10	Tuesday	Accountability in the Global South	Hand in DP 2
4	15/10	Thursday	What do Citizens in GS expect from politics?	
5	20/10	Tuesday	Clientelism	Hand in DP 3
5	22/10	Thursday	How much vote-buying in elections in the GS?	
6	27/10	Tuesday	<i>Reading/Study Week – no class</i>	Hand in DP 4
6	29/10	Thursday	<i>Reading/Study Week – no class</i>	
7	03/11	Tuesday	Ethnic Politics	Hand in DP 5
7	05/11	Thursday	<b>Quiz</b>	
8	10/11	Tuesday	Electoral corruption & Elite Behaviour	
8	12/11	Thursday	Evaluation Electoral Integrity	
9	17/11	Tuesday	The Logic of Accountability Interventions	Hand in DP 6
9	19/11	Thursday	Information on Corruption and Performance	
10	24/11	Tuesday	Quotas and voter education campaigns	Hand in Interv. Evaluation (28/11)
10	26/11	Thursday	<b>Presentations</b>	
11	01/12	Tuesday	<b>Presentations</b>	
11	03/12	Thursday	<b>Presentations &amp; Wrap Up</b>	

## 6. READINGS

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### Week 1. Introduction

- Module Syllabus

### Week 2. Support for Democracy

- \*\*\*Bratton, M. and Mattes, R., 2001. Support for Democracy in Africa: intrinsic or instrumental?. *British Journal of Political Science*, pp.447-474.

### Week 3. Voting and Protesting

- \*\*\*Carreras, Miguel & Nestor Castañeda-Angarita (2014). Who Votes in Latin America? A Test of Three Theoretical Perspectives. *Comparative Political Studies*, 47(8), 1079-1104
- Isaksson, Ann-Sofie (2014). Political participation in Africa: The role of individual resources. *Electoral Studies*, 34, 244-260
- \*\*\*Booyesen, S., 2007. With the ballot and the brick: the politics of attaining service delivery. *Progress in development Studies*, 7(1), pp.21-32.

### Week 4. Accountability. What do citizens in the Global South expect from politics?

- \*\*\*Lindberg, S.I., 2010. What accountability pressures do MPs in Africa face and how do they respond? Evidence from Ghana. *Journal of Modern African Studies* 48, 117–142.
- \*\*\*Lazar, S., 2004. Personalist politics, clientelism and citizenship: local elections in El Alto, Bolivia. *Bulletin of Latin American Research*, 23(2), pp.228-243.
- Harding, R., 2015. Attribution and accountability: Voting for roads in Ghana. *World Politics*, 67, p.656.
- De Kadt, D. and Lieberman, E.S., 2017. Nuanced accountability: Voter responses to service delivery in southern Africa. *British Journal of Political Science*, pp.1-31.

### Week 5. Clientelism

- \*\*\*Auyero, J., 1999. " From the client's point (s) of view": How poor people perceive and evaluate political clientelism. *Theory and society*, 28(2), pp.297-334.
- \*\*\*Auerbach, A.M. and Thachil, T., 2018. How clients select brokers: Competition and choice in India's slums. *American Political Science Review*, 112(4), pp.775-791.
- Pellicer, M., Wegner, E., Bayer, M. and Tischmeyer, C. (2020). Clientelism from the Client's Perspective: A Meta-Analysis of Ethnographic Literature. Unpublished manuscript.

### Week 6. Reading/ Study Week

### Week 7. Ethnic Politics

- \*\*\*Houle, C., 2015. Ethnic inequality and the dismantling of democracy: A global analysis. *World Politics*, 67(3), pp.469-505.
- \*\*\* Norris, P. and Mattes, R.B., 2003. Does ethnicity determine support for the governing party? (Vol. 26, pp. 1-22). Cape Town: Institute for Democracy in South Africa (IDASA).
- Carlson, E., 2015. Ethnic voting and accountability in Africa: A choice experiment in Uganda. *World Pol.*, 67, p.353.
- Conroy-Krutz, J., 2013. Information and ethnic politics in Africa. *British Journal of Political Science*, pp.345-373.

## Week 8. Electoral Corruption and Elite Behavior

- \*\*\*Lehoucq, F., 2003. Electoral fraud: Causes, types, and consequences. *Annual review of political science*, 6(1), pp.233-256.
- Beaulieu, E. and Hyde, S.D., 2009. In the shadow of democracy promotion: Strategic manipulation, international observers, and election boycotts. *Comparative Political Studies*, 42(3), pp.392-415.

## Week 9. Information on Corruption & Performance

\*Note: For week 9 OR 10, select **one** of the readings below and use it to complete your [evaluation assignment](#).

- Chong, A., De La O, A.L., Karlan, D. and Wantchekon, L., 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), pp.55-71.
- Ferraz, C. and Finan, F., 2008. Exposing corrupt politicians: the effects of Brazil's publicly released audits on electoral outcomes. *The Quarterly journal of economics*, 123(2), pp.703-745.
- Arias, E., Larreguy, H., Marshall, J. and Querubin, P., 2018. Priors rule: When do malfeasance revelations help or hurt incumbent parties? (No. w24888). National Bureau of Economic Research.
- Humphreys, M. and Weinstein, J., 2013. Policing politicians. Working Paper, IGC.

## Week 10. Voter Education and Quotas

- Blattman, C., Larreguy, H., Marx, B. and Reid, O.R., 2019. *Eat Widely, Vote Wisely? Lessons from a Campaign Against Vote Buying in Uganda* (No. w26293). National Bureau of Economic Research.
- Bidwell, K., Casey, K. and Glennerster, R., 2020. Debates: Voting and expenditure responses to political communication. *Journal of Political Economy*, 128(8), pp.2880-2924.
- Fujiwara, T. and Wantchekon, L., 2013. Can informed public deliberation overcome clientelism? Experimental evidence from Benin. *American Economic Journal: Applied Economics*, 5(4), pp.241-55.
- Duflo, E., 2005. Why political reservations?. *Journal of the European Economic Association*, 3(2-3), pp.668-678.
- Chattopadhyay, R. and Duflo, E., 2004. Impact of reservation in Panchayati Raj: Evidence from a nationwide randomised experiment. *Economic and political Weekly*, pp.979-986.
- Vicente, P.C., 2014. Is vote buying effective? Evidence from a field experiment in West Africa. *The Economic Journal*, 124(574), pp.F356-F387.

Week 11 – no readings

## 7. MORE INFORMATION ON ASSIGNMENTS

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### Background report: group presentation and individual final report.

You are preparing an election observation mission for country X. You are tasked with writing a background report on electoral politics to help the observers prepare for their mission.

Your report needs to cover the following issues.

- Country background:
  - When did the country become a democracy; how functional is this democracy (use ratings from different democracy indices to support your argument as well as data on support for democracy)
  - Electoral system: What are the rules of the game? Describe the electoral system (majority rule/PR?) and the structure of the ballot.

- What/ who do the main political parties represent? Are they rooted in society?
- Results of the latest election (who won, by what margin)
- What were the main political issues in the latest election (i.e. topics that were prominent in the campaign)?
- What topics were the main parties campaigning on?
- What were problems in the latest election in this country? Describe:
  - Electoral irregularities (fraud, manipulation, vote-buying)
  - Electoral Violence
  - Voter intimidation

#### Sources:

Make sure that your report distinguishes between points for which you have evidence and your interpretation of this evidence. Make sure that your report is well referenced. Consult the following sources

- Freedom House
- CIA World Factbook
- Transparency International
- Newspapers from the time of the latest election in your country
- Reports from previous observer missions (if available)
- Election manifestos (if available)
- Barometer Data: you must use Barometer Data at least twice in your report (i.e. a graph or a figure). Barometer surveys have questions (among many others) about the quality of elections, sometimes about vote-buying, about support for democracy, and about the most important problems.
- Include academic papers if useful (e.g. about political parties or institutions in that country/ region).

#### Choice of Country:

- A list of suitable countries will be presented on Brightspace but you can also propose one
- Countries can only be the subject of one group, they will be allocated on a first-come, first-serve basis

#### Format

- group presentation: your group will prepare a PowerPoint presentation of your report and present it in class (online); a basic layout will be circulated.
- Final report (individual): based on the group presentation, feedback, and possibly additional research, each student will prepare a final background report or around 3500 words.

#### Data Projects

- You are presenting data engaging with the *question of the session*. I will make the data available for you ahead of the session.
- Data will mostly come from the opinion surveys of the Afro and Latino Barometer series. These surveys ask a representative sample of citizens in a country questions about political behaviour (e.g. voting and protest), perception of politics (e.g. is the government doing a good job, how many officials are corrupt), and political attitudes (e.g. is a strong leader better than a democracy).
- You will receive data from two countries. These countries will be assigned to you at the beginning of the module and the data will always be from the same two countries. It might help to familiarize yourself a bit with the political situation in these countries but it is not necessary to do well in your data projects.
- Your data report **must** include at least *one figure or table that shows the data for the two countries*. In addition, you must write **two paragraphs** discussing the information:
  - *first paragraph* (of around 100-150 words) *where you state what we see* in the table/ figure (e.g. in country x. 50% state that democracy is always the best system whereas in country y, only 30% state that this is the case; in contrast, in country y 70% state that they would prefer a strong leader whereas in country x, the figure is 10%.)

- *second paragraph* (of around 100-150 words) *where you state what we can learn from this information regarding the question* (e.g. if the question was, is support for democracy intrinsic or instrumental, this means that you have to interpret the data that you presented in light of that question and answer it).
- This will generally happen on Thursdays and you will have time during the session to work on this and ask questions.
- You must submit three of these short projects. There are six occasions to do this and you can choose when you want to submit a project. You can submit more than three in which case I will count your three best efforts.
- A data project relating to a given week is due on the following Tuesday.

### Evaluation of an Initiative

- Each of the readings for weeks 9 & 10 describes an intervention intended to empower more disadvantaged segments of the citizenry. These include quota systems, score card initiatives where the quality of services or politicians is evaluated, as well as voter education and information campaigns that inform about citizenship and rights or negative consequences of vote-selling.
- You will select a reading and evaluate the initiative, based on the information in the reading and your own assessment.
- In bullet point format, you must engage with the following questions:
  - What is exactly the problem, problems that the intervention tries to address?
  - What is provided/ done? To whom?
  - How is it delivered?
  - What is supposed to be changed? E.g. knowledge, behaviour?
  - Does it work?
  - Unintended Consequences?
  - Limitations? (e.g. Sustainability of effect?)