

DEMOCRACY AND POLITICAL MEDIATION IN THE GLOBAL SOUTH

POLI4496
Spring 2025

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Office Hours	Wednesdays 4:30-6pm
Time	MW 4:30–7pm
Venue	McGuinn 226

Course Description

This advanced undergraduate seminar offers a survey of democracy, political participation and mediation in the Global South. Many of these countries share the same institutional legacies of colonial rule, poverty, and the endurance of pre-colonial forms of governance, which serve as a scope condition for this course. Mediation is defined very broadly – it is inclusive of political parties, but also local brokers, union leaders and other social activists.

The course begins with a discussion of colonial legacies for political institutions and political identity. It then contrasts authoritarianism with democracy, focusing on both regime change at the national level and local level democratization. The seminar then proceeds to review the different types of institutions that articulate and frame political participation such as political parties, social movements in countries of Latin America, the Middle East, Sub-Saharan Africa and South Asia.

Together, these regions represent more than half of the world's population and are home to a wide range of political regimes, including a number of established democracies – such as India, along with a growing number of what are usually known as 'illiberal democracies.' Populism has in recent years become an important aspect of political competition and participation in countries such as India and Brazil, among others. What do democracy and citizenship mean across the Global South today, and to the extent that democracy is indeed mediated, what shape does it take?

Attendance and participation

Class sessions will be taught in a seminar format, with an emphasis on critical discussion of weekly topics and readings and student presentations. The reading load for this course averages between one hundred and one hundred and fifty pages a week. Assigned readings are listed under the "Required reading" heading. I have listed additional background reading on each topic to identify important works that we will not be able to cover in the course. Students are expected to have done all of the assigned readings before each class.

Students are increasingly making use of emerging AI tools in the classroom and outside, such as those developed specifically for note-taking (Otter.ai, Coconote, etc.). Please note that per Massachusetts Law, recording lectures and class discussions without the consent of the participants involved is prohibited. Faculty have the right to prohibit such recordings except when they have been approved by the Disability Services Office for students with disability accommodations.

Class attendance and participation will account for 20% of your final grade. Students are expected to attend all classes. This class is a seminar which means that your participation is absolutely critical. Each week, one student will share a discussion memo with the rest of the class, and another student will serve as discussant.

You are expected to have read all materials before class and should bring copies of the reading with you to class.

More than one unexcused absence over the course of the semester will negatively affect your attendance and participation grade. If you have a legitimate reason why you cannot attend a class (for example, due to a health or family emergency, approved athletic events, or religious observances), you must notify me and receive prior approval for the absence.

Office hours and communication

I will hold office hours on Wednesdays 4:30–6pm, *by appointment only*. You are invited to use the following link to make an appointment with me: <https://calendly.com/thibaud-marcesse/office-hours>. When you come for your appointment, please knock on my door and wait *outside* until you have been called. Do not interrupt an ongoing meeting.

I will strive to respond to your email requests within 24hrs, and emails sent over the weekend will receive a response by the following Monday 5pm, at the latest.

Submitting your assignments

Written assignments, such as the final paper, should be submitted in soft copy. All work is due on the dates stated in the syllabus, and must be submitted before the start of class. Please let me know in advance if you are unable to complete an assignment on time. If there is a legitimate reason (for example, a health or family emergency), I will work with you to find a suitable arrangement. Petitions for extensions after the deadline will not be considered.

Late work: Late work will lose one letter grade (10%) per day. Work submitted after the start of class on the due date, even if submitted the same day, will be considered a full day late.

Formatting: All assignments should be double-spaced, one-inch margins, 12-point Times New Roman. You must provide citations (footnotes or parenthetical) in the text, accompanied by a full bibliography. Please refer to the BC Libraries citation guide (<http://bc.edu/content/bc/libraries/help/citation/formatting.html>). The clarity of your writing matters greatly. Please copy-edit all work. For writing assistance, contact the Connors Family learning center (<http://bc.edu/content/bc/libraries/help/tutoring/writing.html>).

Academic integrity

All students are expected to know and comply with the university's policies on academic integrity. Your work must be fully your own. It is necessary to acknowledge the work and ideas of others with proper citations. Plagiarism is a serious offense, and no forms of borrowing without acknowledgement are acceptable. It is your responsibility to familiarize yourself with the academic code. See: <http://www.bc.edu/schools/cas/polisci/integrity/html>; <http://www.bc.edu/publications/ucatalog/policy.html#integrity>.

While AI can be a powerful tool for research, and academic work in general, remember that your work must be fully your own. The Center for Teaching Excellence has produced guidelines on the use of AI tools, which you are welcome to consult and refer to. See: <https://cteresources.bc.edu/documentation/artificial-intelligence-in-teaching-and-learning>.

Accommodation and disability services

If you are a student with a documented disability seeking reasonable accommodations in this course, please contact Kathy Duggan, (617) 552-8093, dugankka@bc.edu, at the Connors Family Learning Center regarding learning disabilities and ADHD, or Paulette Durrett, (617) 552-3470, paulette.durrett@bc.edu, in the Disability Services Office regarding all other types of disability, including temporary disabilities. Advance notice and appropriate documentation are required for accommodations.

Course requirements

1. Response memos

Two times during the semester, each student will write a short discussion paper based on the week's readings, and will also serve two other times as a discussant/commentator on a discussion paper written by a colleague. Discussion papers should be short, critical essays (not more than two pages double-spaced) focused on a specific issue or issues from the week's readings; they should not simply summarize the readings, and they do not have to discuss all the different readings for the week. Discussion papers should try to locate the strengths and weaknesses of different approaches, identify key areas of debate, and pose follow-up questions for the class discussion. The papers should be circulated to the rest of the class by 6pm on the day before the class meets. Discussants will be given 5- 10 minutes to comment on the main themes addressed in the discussion paper.

2. Group presentation

You will have to work collaboratively and present in front of your peers on a number of topics listed below (in the course schedule). These topics are synced with the different themes covered by the readings. You are therefore welcome to use the readings when preparing the presentation. These presentations will be no more than 20 mn long, and will lead to a class discussion. You are welcome to make the use of PowerPoint but that is not required. Likewise, you are free to use any media source (videos, movie clips for instance...).

3. Peer-review workshops and final paper

Every two weeks, you will be expected to submit a short written assignment (between 500 and 750 words) that will help you find a paper topic, identify the relevant literature, make an argument and contrast it with the existing literature, and finally write an outline, which will grow more detailed as the semester goes by. These cumulative assignments are intended to help you write the final paper which will be due at the end of the semester. Part of the writing process will also involve reviewing the work of your peers, approximately one week after submitting your written work. I will assign every one of you the work of one of your peers, which you will be expected to comment on and provide feedback for. These sessions will be relatively short (no more than 30 mn in total), but you should see them as helping you craft your argument and write an effective paper.

Grading policy

Four components will determine your grade: Final paper, Written Assignments, Group Presentations and Class Participation. The relative weight of each assignment is as follows:

Final Exam	40%
Written Assignments (6)	20%
Group Presentation	20%
Class participation (inclusive of response memos)	20%

Grade scale

A+/A/A-	96-100/93-95-90-92
B+/B/B-	86-90/83-85/80-82
C+/C/C-	76-80/73-75/70-72
D+/D/D-	66-70/63-65/60-62

Assignment due dates

Written assignment #1	January 27th
Written assignment #2	February 10th
Written assignment #3	February 24th
Written assignment #4	March 17th
Written assignment #5	March 31st
Written assignment #6	April 14th
Final paper	May 5th

Course Schedule

Any unexpected changes to the schedule will be announced in-class (with at least one week's notice). This is no assigned text for this course. The readings listed below will all be made available on Canvas. Do let me know if you have any trouble accessing the readings online.

Week 1 (01/13): Introduction to the course

The first class will provide an introduction to the course, the schedule and the different assignments.

Note: No class on January 20th, Martin Luther King's Day.

Week 2 (01/27): The colonial legacies of state-building

To a large extent, modern political institutions in the Global South reflect colonial legacies of state-building. This week, we consider and discuss the importance of colonial institutions in the definition of the relationship between state and society in the Global South. How did the colonial state enable or constrain the formation of representative institutions, and under what conditions did these institutions contribute to the emergence of stable democratic regimes after Independence?

Required readings:

- Migdal, J. (1988). Chapters 3 and 4 in *Strong societies and weak states: state-society relations and state capabilities in the Third World* (pp. 97–173). Princeton University Press.
- Herbst, J. (2000). *The Challenge of State Building in Africa in States and Power in Africa: Comparative Lessons in Authority and Control* (p. 9–32). Princeton University Press.
- Naseemullah, A. (2022). Chapters 1 and 2 in *Patchwork states: the historical roots of subnational conflict and competition in South Asia*. (pp. 3–50). Cambridge University Press.

Recommended readings:

- O'Donnell, G. (1993). On the State, Democratization and Some Conceptual Problems: A Latin American View with Glances at Some Postcommunist Countries. *World Development*, 21(8): 1355-69.
- van de Walle, N. (2009). The Institutional Origins of Inequality in Sub-Saharan Africa. *Annual Review of Political Science*, 12: 307-327.
- Migdal, J. (2001). *State in Society: studying how state and societies transform and constitute one another*. Cambridge University Press.
- Olson, M. (1993). Dictatorship, Democracy, and Development. *American Political Science Review*, 87(Sept): 567-76.
- Berkowitz, D., Pistor, K. & Richard, J-F. (2003). Economic Development, Legality, and the Transplant Effect. *European Economic Review*, 47(1): 165-195.

Group Presentation #1: Does a failed state necessarily mean a failed democracy?

Paper preparation: First writing assignment due**Week 3 (02/03): The colonial legacies of political identity**

This second session on colonial legacies will consider the formation of political identities in the Global South. Specifically, we will discuss the importance of colonial policies intended to define political identity, in ways that often contradicted the ideals and principles enforced in the metropole. For instance, the definition of customary law represents an important effort to delineate political identity with consequences that still reverberate today.

Required readings:

- Mamdani, M. (1996). Chapters 3 and 4 in *Citizen and Subject. Contemporary Africa and the legacy of late colonialism*. (pp. 62-137). Princeton University Press.
- Dirks, N. (2001). Chapters 1,2 and 3 in *Castes of Mind: colonialism and the making of modern India* (pp. 3-60). Princeton University Press.

Recommended readings:

- Miguel, E. (2004). Tribe or Nation? Nation Building and Public Goods in Kenya versus Tanzania. *World Politics*, 56(3): 327-362.

First peer-review workshop**Week 4 (02/10): Authoritarianism**

This session will look at the rise and fall of authoritarian regimes in the Global South, starting with the immediate post-Independence period to recent cases of democratic backsliding. What role do political entrepreneurs and political institutions such as political parties play in enabling the rise and endurance of authoritarian regimes?

Required readings:

- Lee, A. & Paine, J. (2024). *Colonial origins of democracy and dictatorship* (pp. 1-49). Cambridge University Press.
- Magaloni, B. (2006). *Voting for autocracy: Hegemonic party survival and its demise in Mexico* (pp. 44-97). Cambridge University Press.
- Fish, M. S. (2002). Islam and authoritarianism. *World Politics*, 55(1): 4-37.
- Bellin, E. (2004). The robustness of authoritarianism in the middle east: Exceptionalism in comparative perspective. *Comparative Politics*, 36(2): 139-157.

Recommended readings:

- Collier, D., (Ed.) (1979). *The new authoritarianism in Latin America*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.
- Jamal, Amaney. (2007). *Barriers to democracy: The other side of social capital in Palestine and the Arab World*. Princeton University Press.
- Levitsky, S. & Way, L. (2010). Chapter 1 in *Competitive authoritarianism: Hybrid regimes after the cold war*, pp. Cambridge University Press.
- Gandhi, J., & Przeworski, A. (2007). Authoritarian institutions and the survival of autocrats. *Comparative Political Studies*, 40 (11): 1279-1301.
- Brownlee, J. (2007). Hereditary succession in modern autocracies. *World Politics*, 59(4): 595-628.
- Bueno de Mesquita, B., Smith, A., Siverson, R. M., & Morrow, J. D. (2003). *The logic of political survival*. The MIT Press.
- Gallagher, M. E. (2002). Reform and openness: Why China's economic reforms have delayed democracy. *World Politics*, 54(3): 338-372.

- Gandhi, J. & Przeworski, A. (2006). Cooperation, cooptation, and rebellion under dictatorships. *Economics and Politics*, 18 (1): 1-26.
- Gandhi, J. (2008). *Political institutions under dictatorship*. Cambridge University Press.
- Landry, P. F. (2008). *Decentralized authoritarianism in China: The communist party's control of local elites in the post-Mao era*. Cambridge University Press.
- Linz, J. J. (2000). *Totalitarian and authoritarian regimes*. Lynne Reiner.
- Chehabi, H. E. & Linz, J. J. (Eds.). (1998). *Sultanistic regimes*. Johns Hopkins University Press.
- Schedler, A. (2002). The menu of manipulation. *Journal of Democracy*, 13 (2): 36-50.
- Stepan, A. C. (1988). *Rethinking military politics: Brazil and the southern cone*. Princeton University Press.
- Kellee, K. (2006). Adaptive informal institutions and endogenous institutional change in China. *World Politics*, 59 (1): 116-141.
- Way, L. A. (2005). Authoritarian state-building and the sources of regime competitiveness in the fourth wave: The cases of Belarus, Moldova, Russia, and Ukraine. *World Politics*, 57 (2): 231-261.
- Wintrobe, R. (1998). *The political economy of dictatorship*. Cambridge University Press.

Group Presentation #2: Does modernization theory not apply in the Global South?

Paper preparation: Second writing assignment due

Week 5 (02/17): Democratization (1): Regime change and transitions

Many polities in the Global South are only recent democracies and they often have in common a legacy of authoritarianism, in the form of military or single-party rule. This week, we consider regime transitions in comparative perspective, and the impact of these transitions on the nature and 'quality' of democracy in these countries.

Required readings:

- Schmitter, P. & O'Donnell, G. (1986). *Transitions from Authoritarian Rule. Tentative conclusions from Uncertain Democracies* (pp. 37-47). Johns Hopkins University Press.
- Pérez-Liñán, A. & Mainwaring, Scott (2005). Chapter 1 in F. Hagopian and S. Mainwaring (Eds), *The Third Wave of Democratization in Latin America* (pp. 14-59). Cambridge University Press.
- Bratton, M. & van de Walle, N. (1997). Chapters 3 and 6 in *Democratic Experiments in Africa: Regime Transitions in Comparative Perspective* (pp. 97-116 and 194-221). Cambridge University Press.
- Pepinsky, T. B. (2009). Chapter 6 in *Economic Crises and the Breakdown of Authoritarian Regimes. Indonesia and Malaysia in Comparative Perspective* (pp. 155-191). Cambridge University Press.

Recommended readings:

- Greene, K. (2007). *Why dominant parties lose: Mexico's democratization in comparative perspective*. Cambridge University Press.
- Bunce, V., McFaul, M., & Stoner-Weiss, K. (Eds.). (2010). *Democracy and authoritarianism in the postcommunist World*. Cambridge University Press.
- Pérez-Liñán, A. & Mainwaring, S. (2013). Chapter 2 in *Democracies and Dictatorships in Latin America*. (pp. 29-62). Cambridge University Press.
- Hagopian, F. (1996). *Traditional politics and regime change in Brazil*. Cambridge University Press.
- Snyder, R. (1998). Paths out of sultanistic regimes. In H.E. Chehabi & J. J. Linz (Eds.), *Sultanistic Regimes*. Johns Hopkins University Press.

Second peer-review workshop

Week 6 (02/24): Democratization (2): Decentralization and democratic participation

At the time of Independence, many polities in the Global South embraced democracy at the national level but not at the local level. Over the last quarter of a century however, many of these countries have decided to empower local government agencies through devolution and the organization of elections, in the process considerably expanding the scope of political participation and competition. Has devolution contributed to institutionalizing and enhancing the quality of democracy?

Required readings:

- Baldwin, K. & Mvukiyehe, E. (2015). "Elections and Collective Action: Evidence from Changes in Traditional Institutions in Liberia." *World Politics*, 67(4): 690-725.
- Bohlken, A. T. (2016). Chapters 2 and 4 in *Democratization from above. The Logic of Local Democracy in the Developing World* (pp. 25-57 and 83-120). Cambridge University Press.
- Falleti, T. G. (2005). A Sequential theory of decentralization: Latin American cases in comparative perspective. *American Political Science Review*, 99(3): 327-346.
- Sadanandan, A. (2017). Chapters 1 and 4 in *Why democracy deepens: political information and decentralization in India* (pp. 1-16 and 54-90). Cambridge University Press.

Recommended readings:

- Montero, A. P. & Samuels, D. (eds.) (2004). *Decentralization and Democracy in Latin America*. Notre Dame University Press.
- Baldwin, K. (2016). *The Paradox of traditional chiefs in democratic Africa*. Cambridge University Press.
- Baldwin, K. (2013). Why vote with the chief? Political connections and public goods provision in Zambia. *American Political Science Review* 57(4): 794-809.

Group Presentation #3: How does "elite capture" affect democracy in the Global South?

Note: Spring break begins on March 3rd.

Week 7 (03/10): Electoral cleavages and party system formation

For a long time, discussions about electoral cleavages were based on the theorization of party system formation in Western Europe, following Lipset and Rokkan's seminal work. Yet, this theoretical approach does not neatly map onto polities of the Global South, for a variety of reasons. This week, we consider the different conditions for the formation and persistence of electoral cleavages across polities in Latin America, Africa and South Asia.

Required readings:

- Roberts, K. (2016). *Historical Timing, Political Cleavages, and Party-Building in Latin America in Challenges of Party-Building in Latin America* (pp. 51-75). Cambridge University Press.
- Chhibber, P. & Verma, R. (2018). Chapters 1 and 2 in *Ideology and Identity. The changing party systems of India* (pp. 8-53). Oxford University Press.
- De Leon, C., Desai, M. & Tugal, C. (2009). "Political Articulation: Parties and the Constitution of Cleavages in the United States, India, and Turkey," *Sociological Theory* 27(3): 193-219.
- Riedl, R. B. (2014). Chapters 1 and 2 in *Authoritarian origins of democratic party systems in Africa* (pp. 1-56). Cambridge University Press.

Recommended readings:

- Debs, A., & Helmke, G. (2010). "Inequality under Democracy: Explaining the Left Decade in Latin America." *Quarterly Journal of Political Science* 5(3): 209-41.
- Roberts, K. (2002). "Social Inequalities Without Class Cleavages in Latin America's Neoliberal Era," *Studies in Comparative International Development*, 36 (3), 4: 3-34.
- Flores-Macias, G. (2010). "Statist vs. Pro-Market: Explaining Leftist Governments' Economic Policies in Latin America," *Comparative Politics* 42(4): 413-33.
- Stokes, S. C. (2001). *Mandates and democracy: Neoliberalism by surprise in Latin America*. Cambridge University Press.

- Mainwaring, S. (2018). Chapters 1 and 2 in S. Mainwaring (Ed.) *Party systems in Latin America: institutionalization, decay and collapse* (pp. 17-70). Cambridge University Press.
- Roy, O. (1994). *The Failure of Political Islam*. Harvard University Press.
- Chhibber, P. (1999). *Democracy without Associations: transformations of the party system and social cleavages in India*. University of Michigan University Press.
- Baker, A., & Greene, K. F. (2011). "The Latin American Left's Mandate: Free-Market Policies and Issue Voting in New Democracies." *World Politics*, 63: 43-77.

Paper preparation: Third writing assignment due

Week 8 (03/17): Party–voter linkages

We consider this week party–voter linkages, which define the way parties engage citizens and mobilize political support. Much scholarship has emphasized the reliance on quid pro quos, and the distribution of material incentives in exchange for votes. Are these non-programmatic linkages the norm? Under what conditions do political leaders decide to use or not use non-programmatic linkage strategies to reach out to voters?

Required readings:

- van de Walle, N. (2007). Meet the new boss, same as the old boss? The evolution of political clientelism in Africa in *Patrons, Clients and Policies*, (pp. 50-67). Cambridge University Press.
- Levitsky, S. (2003). Chapters 5 and 7 in *Transforming labor-based parties in Latin America. Argentine Peronism in comparative perspective* (pp. 107-143 and 186-216). Cambridge University Press.
- Thachil, T. (2011). "Embedded Mobilization: Nonstate Service Provision as Electoral Strategy in India," *World Politics*, 63(3): 434-469.
- Holland, A. (2016). "Forbearance," *American Political Science Review*, 110(2): 232-246.
- Nichter, S. (2018). Chapter 3 in *Votes for survival. Relational clientelism in Latin America*. (pp. 69-83). Cambridge University Press.

Recommended readings:

- Weitz-Shapiro, R. (2014). *Curbing clientelism in Argentina. Politics, Poverty and Social Policy*. Cambridge University Press.
- Chandra, K. (2007). "Counting heads: a theory of voter and elite behavior in patronage democracies" in *Patrons, Clients and Policies* (pp. 84-109). Cambridge University Press.
- Bussell, J. 2019. *Clients and constituents. Political responsiveness in patronage democracies*. Oxford University Press.
- Auerbach, A. (2016). "Clients and Communities: The Political Economy of Party Network Organization and Development in India's Urban Slums," *World Politics*, 68(1): 111-148.
- Ziegfeld, A. (2016). *Why regional parties?: Clientelism, elites and the Indian party system*. Cambridge University Press.
- Thachil, T. (2014). *Elite parties, poor voters*. Cambridge University Press.

Group Presentation #4: Is clientelism in the Global South a "cultural" phenomenon?

Week 9 (03/24): The practice of citizenship

Citizenship is not just about elections and the right to vote. Citizens interact not only with political parties and elected officials, but also with representatives of state agencies and these interactions happen continuously, between electoral cycles. How do citizens make claims and how do they exercise their citizenship when they are not voting?

Required readings:

- Bleck, J., & van de Walle, N. (2019). Chapter 7 in *Electoral politics in Africa since 1990: continuity in change*, (pp. 218-260). Cambridge University Press.

- Kruks-Wisner, G. (2018). Chapters 2 and 4 in *Claiming the state. Active citizenship and social welfare in rural India*, (pp. 29-54 and pp. 87-116). Cambridge University Press.
- Fox, J. (1994). "The Difficult Transition from Clientelism to Citizenship: Lessons from Mexico," *World Politics*, 46(2): 151-184.
- Krishna, A. (2002). Chapters 1, 2 and 3 in *Active citizenship and social capital: tracing the roots of development and democracy* (pp. 1-54). Columbia University Press.

Recommended readings:

- Khan Mohmand, S. (2019). *Crafty Oligarchs, savvy voters: democracy under inequality in rural Pakistan*. Cambridge University Press.
- Auerbach, A. (2020). Chapters in *Demanding Development: the politics of public goods provision in India's urban slums*. Cambridge University Press.

Third peer-review workshop

Week 10 (03/31): Non-electoral mobilization (1): Social movements

Social movements represent an important channel of non-electoral popular mobilization. They have contributed to a significant "deepening of democracy" where they emerged. This week we look at the impact of social movements on the quality of democracy across Latin America and the Middle East, where constraints on formal democratic participation have created a space of religious movements.

Required readings:

- Roberts, K. (1998). Chapters 2 and 3 in *Deepening Democracy? The Modern Left and Social Movements in Chile and Peru* (pp. 17-78). Stanford University Press.
- Rosefsky Wickham, C. (2002). Chapters 6 and 7 in *Mobilizing Islam: religion, activism and political change in Egypt* (pp. 119-175). Columbia University Press.
- Cammett, M. & Jones Luong, P. (2014). Is there an Islamist political advantage? *Annual Review of Political Science*, 17: 187-206.
- Wolford, W. (2010). Chapter 4 in *This Land is our now: Social Mobilization and the Meanings of Land in Brazil* (pp. 112-134). Duke University Press.

Recommended readings:

- Scott, J. (1985). Chapter 1 in *Weapons of the Weak: Everyday Forms of Peasant Resistance* (pp. 1-27). Yale University Press.
- Kitschelt, H. (2006). Movement Parties, in Richard S. Katz and William Crotty, eds., *Handbook of Party Politics*, pp. 278-290. Sage.
- Roy, O. (1994). Chapters 3 and 4 in *The Failure of Political Islam* (pp. 48-73). Harvard University Press.
- Blom-Hansen, T. (1999). *The Saffron Wave: Democracy and Hindu Nationalism in Modern India*. Princeton University Press.
- McAdam, D. & Tarrow, S. (2010). Ballots and Barricades: On the Reciprocal Relationship between Elections and Social Movements, *Perspectives on Politics*, 8(2).
- Roberts, K. (2006). Populist Mobilization, Socio-Political Conflict, and Grass-Roots Organization in Latin America, *Comparative Politics* 38(2): 127—148.
- Wood, E. J. (2000). *Forging Democracy from Below: Insurgent Traditions in South Africa and El Salvador*. Cambridge University Press.

Group Presentation #5: Do social movements necessarily strengthen democracy in the Global South?

Paper preparation: Fourth writing assignment due

Week 11 (04/07): Non-electoral mobilization (2): Trade unions and labor politics

Labor movements were a distinct feature of democratization in Western Europe in the 19th and 20th century. In many polities of the Global South however, uneven patterns of industrialization have resulted in uneven labor movements, with consequences for electoral mobilization, party system formation and democratic stability. In recent decades, neoliberal reforms have changed the ways in which workers mobilize and make claims on the state.

Required readings:

- Heller, P. (1999). Chapters 5 and 6 in *The Labor of development: workers and the transformation of capitalism in Kerala, India*. (p. 157-206). Cornell University Press.
- Hunter, W. (2007). "The Normalization of an Anomaly: The Workers' Party in Brazil." *World Politics*, 59(3): pp. 440-475.
- Bishara, D. (2018). Chapters 2 and 6 in *Contesting Authoritarianism: Labor Challenges to the State in Egypt*. (pp. 49-65 and pp. 129-146) Cambridge University Press.
- Agarwala, R. (2013). Chapter 2 in *Informal Labor, Formal Politics, and Dignified Discontent in India*. (pp. 32-69). Cambridge University Press.

Recommended readings:

- Teitelbaum, E. (2010). "Mobilizing restraint: Economic Reform and the Politics of Industrial Protest in South Asia." *World Politics* 62(4): 676-713.

Fourth peer-review workshop**Week 12 (04/14): Identity and political participation**

How have ethnic identity and gender shaped political participation in the Global South? Which role have democratic institutions played in channeling ethnic demands or in enhancing the representation of minority groups? How effective are institutional mechanisms intended to promote women's participation and leadership in politics?

Required readings:

- Brûlé, R. (2020). Chapters 2 and 3 in *Women, power, and property: the paradox of gender equality laws in India* (pp. 19-69). Cambridge University Press.
- Madrid, R. (2012). Chapters 2 and 3 in *The Rise of Ethnic Politics in Latin America*. (pp. 35-107) Cambridge University Press.
- Baldez, L. (2002). Chapters 1 and 2 in *Why Women Protest: Women's Movements in Chile* (p. 1-46). Cambridge University Press.

Recommended readings:

- Bhavnani, R. (2009). Do electoral quotas work after they are withdrawn? Evidence from a natural experiment in India, *American Political Science Review*, 103(1): 23-35.
- Lee Van Cott, D. (2008). Chapter 4 in *Radical Democracy in the Andes*. (pp. 95-133) Cambridge University Press.
- Chattopadhyay, R. & Dufflo, E. (2004). Women as Policy Makers: Evidence from a Randomized Policy Experiment." *Econometrica*, 72: 1409-43.
- Chauchard, S. (2014). "Can descriptive representation change beliefs about a stigmatized group? Evidence from rural India," *American Political Science Review*, 108(2): 403-422.
- 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*, 98(4): 529-545.
- Laitin, D. (1986). *Hegemony and Culture. Politics and Religious Change among the Yorubas*. University of Chicago Press.
- Jaffrelot, C. (2003). *India's Silent Revolution: The Rise of the Lower Castes in North India*. Columbia University Press.

- Lee Van Cott, D. (2005). *From Movements to Parties in Latin America. The Evolution of Ethnic Politics*. Cambridge University Press.
- Jensenius, F. (2017). *Social justice through inclusion: the consequences of electoral quotas in India*. Oxford University Press.
- Htun, M. (2016). Chapters 3 and 7 in *Inclusion without representation in Latin America: gender quotas and ethnic reservations*. (pages 44-69 and 138-160) Cambridge University Press.

Group presentation #6: Does ethnicity strengthen democracy?

Week 13 (04/22): Political violence and democracy

What explains the breakdown of democratic norms into civil conflict? And what conditions make the return to democracy more likely?

Required readings:

- Wood, E. J. (2003). Chapters 4 and 7 and 8 in *Insurgent Collective Action and Civil War in El Salvador* (pp. 87-120, 193-225, and 226-256). Cambridge University Press.
- Blattman, C. (2009). From Violence to Voting: War and Political Participation in Uganda,” *American Political Science Review* 103: 231-247.
- Sen, R. (2021). Chapters 2, 4 and 5 in *Farewell to Arms: How rebels retire without getting killed* (pp. 30-68, 100-143). Oxford University Press.

Recommended readings:

- Letsa, N. (2017). “Voting for peace, mobilizing for war: post-conflict voter turnout and civil war recurrence.” *Democratization*, 24(3): 425-443.
- Weinstein, J. (2006). *Inside Rebellion: The Politics of Insurgent Violence*. Cambridge University Press.
- Kalyvas, S. (2006). *The Logic of Violence in Civil War*. Cambridge University Press.

Paper preparation: Fifth writing assignment due April 21st

Week 14 (04/28): Populism

Democracies in the Global South have not been immune to the populist wave that has affected institutionalized democracies in the Global North. In some ways, populism has repeatedly affected these weakly institutionalized democracies in the past. How do we make sense of populism and what does it portend for the future of democratic institutions in the Global South?

Required readings:

- Hawkins, K. (2009). “Is Chávez populist? Measuring Populist Discourse in Comparative Perspective.” *Comparative Political Studies* 42(8): 1040-67.
- Heller, P. (2020). “The age of reaction: retrenchment populism in India and Brazil,” *International Sociology* Vol 35(6): 590-609.
- Jaffrelot, C. & Tillin, L. (2017). “Populism in India,” in C. R. Kaltwasser, P. Taggart, P. O. Espejo, and P. Ostiguy (Eds.), *The Oxford Handbook of Populism* (pp. 179-194). Oxford University Press.
- Resnick, D. (2017). “Populism in Africa,” in C. R. Kaltwasser, P. Taggart, P. O. Espejo, and P. Ostiguy, eds., *The Oxford Handbook of Populism* (pp. 101-120). Oxford University Press.
- Roberts, K. M. (1995). “Neoliberalism and the Transformation of Populism in Latin America: The Case of Peru,” *World Politics* 48:1, pp. 82-116.
- Weyland, K. (2001). “Clarifying a Contested Concept: Populism in the Study of Latin American Politics,” *Comparative Politics* 34(1), pp. 1-22.

Recommended readings:

- Moffitt, B. (2016). *The Global Rise of Populism: Performance, Political Style, and Representation*. Stanford University Press.
- Hawkins, K. (2010). *Venezuela's chavismo and populism in comparative perspective*. Cambridge University Press.
- Resnick, D. (2014). *Urban poverty and party populism in African democracies*. Cambridge University Press.
- Roberts, K. M. (2017). "Populism and Political Parties," in C. R. Kaltwasser, P. Taggart, P. O. Espejo, and P. Ostiguy, eds., *The Oxford Handbook of Populism* (pp. 287-301). Oxford University Press.
- Caramani, D. (2017). "Will vs. Reason: The Populist and Technocratic Forms of Political Representation and Their Critique to Party Government," *American Political Science Review*, 111(1): pp. 54-67.
- Muller, J-W. (2016). *What is Populism?* University of Pennsylvania Press.
- de la Torre, C., ed. (2015). *The Promise and Perils of Populism*. University of Kentucky Press.
- de la Torre, C. (2010). *Populist Seduction in Latin America*. Ohio University Press.
- Barr, R. (2009). "Populists, Outsiders, and Anti-Establishment Politics," *Party Politics* 15(1): pp. 29-48.
- Mudde, C. & Kaltwasser, C. R. (2013). "Exclusionary vs. Inclusionary Populism: Comparing the Contemporary Europe and Latin America," *Government and Opposition* 48, 2: 147-174.
- Kriesi, H. (2014). "The Populist Challenge," *West European Politics*, 37: 2, pp. 361-378.
- Lenka, B. (2014). "Revenge of the Radical Right," *Comparative Political Studies* 47(12), pp. 1738-1765.
- Aslinidis, P. (2016). "Populist Social Movements of the Great Recession," *Mobilization: An International Quarterly*, 21:2, pp. 301-321.

Fifth peer-review workshop**Final Paper Due Monday 05/05**