

Comparative Politics of the Developing World

Politics 60 • 30112 • Winter 2023
University of California, Santa Cruz

Instructor of Record: Professor **Benjamin L. Read** (bread@ucsc.edu), 157 Merrill Faculty Annex
Teaching Assistants: **Yannong He** (yhe93@ucsc.edu), **Shatakshi Singh** (ssing176@ucsc.edu)

Lectures: Mondays and Wednesdays, 5:20p – 6:55p, Jack Baskin Engineering Auditorium

Course web site: <https://canvas.ucsc.edu>

Professor Read's web site: <https://benread.net>

Professor Read's office hours: Mondays and Tuesdays, 2:00p to 3:00p, on Zoom.

Sign-up and Zoom link at <https://tinyurl.com/benreadofficehours>

I will also be available to chat in person after lectures, and you may also email me to schedule alternative office hour times.

Yannong's office hours: Mondays, 12p to 2p, Merrill 139

Shatakshi's office hours: Tuesdays, 1p to 3p, on Zoom

Date of this syllabus: **March 1, 2023**. (Contains small revisions to the first version of this syllabus.)

The syllabus is subject to change. The latest version will always be on Canvas and benread.net.

Overview:

This course provides an introduction to Comparative Politics as a subfield of political science. Rather than privilege the advanced industrial democracies of the Global North, the course purposefully focuses on countries in the Global South, also frequently referred to (though not without controversy) as the developing world. The first third of the course (weeks 1–3) is devoted to the study of those key concepts that are particularly important in order to conduct comparative political analysis, including such terms as the state, the nation, regime types, federalism, colonialism, political parties, and electoral systems. Having understood these concepts in the abstract, students then spend the remainder of the course (weeks 4–10) applying them to a set of four countries from four different world regions: Nigeria, India, Indonesia, and Brazil.

How do the state agencies and political systems of such countries work, or fail to work? To what extent are they democratic, and what are the problems and contributions of democracy in such settings? How is governance in such places affected by legacies of colonialism and other historical forces, domestic and international economic currents, non-governmental organizations, ethnic strife, and the actions of other states? How does the study of politics help us to understand issues like poverty, disease, and instability? We examine these and other questions over the quarter. We meet in-person for lectures and sections except as noted or announced.

Readings:

Many required readings are assigned, all available on Canvas. Your teaching assistant will give you guidance on when you must complete each reading.

Assignments, Ground Rules, and Notices:

- Read this syllabus all the way through.
- After the first lecture, please send an email to Prof. Read and to your teaching assistant, telling us about yourself. Include the following information: the name you would like to be called, what year you are in school (first, second, etc.), your declared or prospective major if you have one, a phone number at which we could contact you if that were to become urgently necessary for some reason, where you are from, what factors made you decide to take the course, what foreign languages you have studied (if any) and for how long, and what foreign countries you have visited or lived in (if any) and for how long. Also include anything else you'd like to tell us about your background and interests, or things that are on your mind more generally.
- Attendance at lectures and discussion sections is a **firm requirement** of this course. Attendance will be taken in lectures and at every section meeting. The instructors are understanding about family emergencies, illness or other serious exigencies, and will treat them as excused absences if verifiable documentation is provided. **Unexcused absences will lower your grade.** More than two absences from section will result in a failing section grade. Perfect or near-perfect attendance will yield a bonus.

- Your focus is critical to the success of the class. This class has a No Digital Media policy. Please keep your laptops, cell phones, tablets, etc. in your bag at all times.
- Complete the readings, and prepare answers to the discussion questions, before each week's section. Discussion questions will be posted on Canvas and will also be circulated by email.
- Students' grades for the quarter will be determined as follows:
 - Section participation and reading comprehension (20 percent of the quarter grade)
 - Midterm examination (25 percent): In lecture on Monday, January 30, 2023
 - 2,000-word paper (20 percent) due Friday, March 3, 2023, 6pm. In this paper you will draw on the assigned readings to compare two of the countries studied in this class regarding one of the course's major themes.
 - Final examination (35 percent): Monday, March 20, 2023, 4pm-7pm
- The percentages above are subject to adjustment. All grades are given on a 0-100 scale, where 92-98 is an A, 90-92 is an A-, 88-90 is a B+, 82-88 is a B, etc. A-range grades are reserved for work of exceptionally high quality. B-range grades are for good work. C or C+ grades are for work that is not very good but still acceptable.
- We do not calculate all the grades in Canvas, so your cumulative grade will not be visible there.

Some Things to Bear in Mind

- Your curiosity and participation are very important to the success of this class.
- There is no such thing as a stupid question. Ask anything!
- You must use and check your UCSC email while you are taking this course. We plan to use that address to contact you.
- Email is also an excellent way to reach us. Often, questions submitted by email will be useful to the rest of the class and the answer will be forwarded accordingly (without the sender's name.)
- Students are encouraged to attend Prof. Read's office hours as well as those of their assigned teaching assistant, and to visit Prof. Read's personal web page for a few pieces of general advice to students, such as a short essay on "How to Read in College."

Time Commitment

The UCSC Academic Senate reminds us: "Systemwide Senate Regulation 760 specifies that one academic credit corresponds to three hours of work per week for students during a 10-week quarter. This means that the average workload for a 5-credit course is 150 hours or 15 hours per week." With this in mind, expect to spend each week, on average:

- Lectures: 3 hours and 10 minutes
- Section: 1 hour and 5 minutes
- Reading, note-taking, review for the exams, and writing the paper: 10 hours and 45 minutes

Citation and Documentation of Sources in Papers:

All courses in the Politics department use one of two standard forms of citation (1) parenthetical or in-text citations and (2) footnotes. For the in-text system the department follows the Modern Language Association (MLA). For footnotes, the Chicago Manual of Style. Please familiarize yourself with the style guides for the two systems, which can be found on the Politics website at <https://politics.ucsc.edu/undergraduate/citation.html> (Note that these two systems are outlined in other style guides as well, including Diana Hacker's *A Pocket Style Manual*). Your paper for this course should use the MLA style.

Academic Integrity

All members of the UCSC community benefit from an environment of trust, honesty, fairness, respect, and responsibility. You are expected to present your own work and acknowledge the work of others in order to preserve the integrity of scholarship.

Academic integrity includes:

- Following exam rules
- Using only permitted materials during an exam
- In your paper, incorporating proper citation of all sources of information
- Submitting your own original work

Academic misconduct includes, but is not limited to, the following:

- Disclosing exam content during or after you have taken an exam
- Accessing exam materials without permission
- Copying/purchasing any material from another student, or from another source, that is submitted for grading as your own
- Plagiarism, including use of Internet material without proper citation
- Using cell phones or other electronics to obtain outside information during an exam without explicit permission from the instructor
- Submitting your own work in one class that was completed for another class (self-plagiarism) without prior permission from the instructor.

Violations of the Academic Integrity policy can result in dismissal from the university and a permanent notation on a student's transcript. For the full policy and disciplinary procedures on academic dishonesty, students and instructors should refer to the [Academic Misconduct](#) page at the Division of Undergraduate Education.

Electronic resources and databases

The following databases provide quantitative resources for this class.

- Polity V project: <http://www.systemicpeace.org/>
- Freedom House: <https://freedomhouse.org/report/freedom-world/2022/global-expansion-authoritarian-rule>
- World Bank Governance Indicators at <http://info.worldbank.org/governance/wgi/index.aspx#home>
- The Berggruen Governance Index at UCLA <https://governance.luskin.ucla.edu>
- Gapminder <https://www.gapminder.org>

In addition, you can explore data and trends for our countries (and any other you are curious about) at these websites:

- Purchasing Power Parity through the Big Mac Index <http://www.economist.com/content/big-mac-index>
- Human rights concerns at Human Rights Watch <https://www.hrw.org/publications>
- Constitution and democratization analysis at International IDEA Constitutions Building Project <http://www.idea.int/publications/index.cfm>
- Constitutions and their chronology <http://www.comparativeconstitutionsproject.org/>
- Key issues around elections at the ACE Electoral Knowledge Network <https://aceproject.org>
- Keep updated about elections around the world at International Foundation for Electoral Systems (IFES) <http://www.electionguide.org/>
- Cultural values at World Value Survey <http://www.worldvaluessurvey.org/WVSONline.jsp>
- More cultural attitudes at Pew Global Surveys. See how citizens in our countries of analysis stand on premarital sex, surveillance, and more at <http://www.pewglobal.org/topics/>
- Explore the Fragile States rankings and map <https://fragilestatesindex.org>

Disability Accommodation

UC Santa Cruz is committed to creating an academic environment that supports its diverse student body. If you are a student with a disability who requires accommodations to achieve equal access in this course, please affiliate with the DRC. I encourage all students to benefit from learning more about DRC services to contact DRC by phone at 831-459-2089 or by email at drc@ucsc.edu. For students already affiliated, make sure that you have requested Academic Access Letters if you intend to use accommodations. You can also request to meet privately with me during my office hours or by appointment, as soon as possible. I would like us to discuss how we can implement your accommodations in this course to ensure your access and full engagement in this course.

Schedule of Class Meetings and Assignments:

PART 1: COURSE INTRODUCTION, KEY CONCEPTS, AND MIDTERM

Week 1

Monday, January 9 Lecture: Introduction / overview of the course
 Wednesday, January 11 Lecture

- Keman, Hans, "Comparative Research Methods" in *Comparative Politics*, ed. Daniele Caramani (Oxford 2014), pp. 48–58.

- Baker, Andy, *Shaping the Developing World*, 2nd edition (Sage 2021), "Underdevelopment and Diversity in the Global South," pp. 3–27.
- Rosling, Hans, "Debunking Myths about the Third World" (2006), 20-minute video, at <http://tinyurl.com/99rnmnm>. Transcript available on the TED site. Also titled "The best stats you've ever seen."
- Explore data and trends for our countries (and any other you are curious about) through graphs in the way that Rosling does through "Gapminder World" or other sites listed above under Electronic Resources.

Optional further reading:

- The "Human Development Reports" of the United Nations Development Program provide lively annual overviews of current trends and current thinking about the Global South and human well-being everywhere. See "Reports and Publications" at <https://hdr.undp.org>

Week 2

Monday, January 16 **MLK Day.** Lecture will be pre-recorded, not in person; still required
 Wednesday, January 18 Lecture

- Baker, Andy, *Shaping the Developing World*, 2nd edition (Sage 2021), "Slavery and Colonialism" and "Globalization and Neocolonialism," pp. 85–138.
- Poggi, Gianfranco, "The Nation State" in *Comparative Politics*, ed. Daniele Caramani (Oxford 2014), pp. 64–76.
- Samuels, David, "Political Identity" in *Comparative Politics* (Pearson 2013), pp. 148–172.

Optional further reading:

- David B. Abernethy, "Legacies," chapter 16 of *The Dynamics of Global Dominance: European Overseas Empires, 1415-1980* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2000), pp. 363–386

Week 3

Monday, January 23 Lecture
 Wednesday, January 25 Lecture and midterm review

- Mair, Peter, "Democracies," in *Comparative Politics*, ed. Daniele Caramani (Oxford 2014), pp. 80–93.
- Samuels, David, "Democratic Political Regimes" in *Comparative Politics* (Pearson 2013), pp. 58–88.
- Katz, Peter, "Political Parties" in *Comparative Politics*, ed. Daniele Caramani (Oxford 2014), pp. 199–213.

First half of Week 4

Monday, January 30 **In-class midterm**

PART 2: NIGERIA

Weeks 4–5

Wednesday, February 1 Lecture
 Monday, February 6 Lecture
 Wednesday, February 8 Lecture

- Scacco, Alexandra, "Nigeria," in *Case Studies in Comparative Politics* by David J. Samuels (Pearson 2012), pp. 320–64.
- Suberu, Rotimi, and Larry Diamond, "Institutional Design, Ethnic Conflict Management, and Democracy in Nigeria," in Reynolds, ed., *The Architecture of Democracy* (2002), pp. 400–28.
- Campbell, John, "The 'Election-Like Event' of 2007," in *Nigeria: Dancing on the Brink* (Rowman & Littlefield, 2011), pp. 97–113.
- Igiebor, God'stime Osariyekemwen, "Political Corruption in Nigeria: Implications for Economic Development in the Fourth Republic," *Journal of Developing Societies* 35:4 (2019), pp. 493–513.

Optional further reading:

- Obe, Ayo, "Nigeria's Emerging Two-Party System?" *Journal of Democracy* 30:3 (July 2019), pp. 109–123.
- Cheeseman, Nic, et al., "Social Media Disruption: Nigeria's WhatsApp Politics," 31:3 (2020), pp. 145–159.

PART 3: INDIA

Weeks 6–7

Monday, February 13 Lecture
 Wednesday, February 15 Lecture

Monday, February 20

Presidents Day. Lecture will be pre-recorded, not in person; still required

- Sil, Rudra, "India," in *Comparative Politics* by Jeffrey Kopstein et al. (Cambridge 2014), pp. 339–89.
- Boo, Katherine, *Behind the Beautiful Forevers: Life, Death and Hope in a Mumbai Undercity* (New York: Random House, 2012), pp. 3–12, 17–30, 104–112, 221–232.
- Vaishnav, Milan and Jamie Hinton, "The Dawn of India's Fourth Party System," Carnegie Endowment for International Peace working paper (2019), pp. 1–42
- Varshney, Ashutosh, "How India's Ruling Party Erodes Democracy," *Journal of Democracy* 33:4 (October 2022), pp. 104–118

Optional further material:

- "The Story of India," 6-part BBC documentary (2007), first episode here: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=M5lpx2T7VIQ>
- "India Reborn," 2009 TV series, first episode here: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=yG5BJjXUd6g>

PART 4: INDONESIA

Weeks 7–8

Wednesday, February 22	Lecture
Monday, February 27	Lecture
Wednesday, March 1	Lecture

- Aspinall, Edward, "Indonesia: Redistributing Power," in *Politics of the Developing World*, ed. Peter Burnell et al. (Oxford 2014), pp. 314–23.
- Mietzner, Marcus, "Indonesia's Decentralization: The Rise of Local Identities and the Survival of the Nation State," in *Regional Dynamics in a Decentralized Indonesia*, Hal Hill, ed. (Institute of Southeast Asian Studies 2014), pp. 45–67.
- Part of Liddle, R. William, "Indonesia: A Muslim-Majority Democracy," 2007. Specifically, pages 157–174, going by the white page numbers printed on black dots on the pages themselves. This is three consecutive sections of this textbook chapter: those on "Political Culture," "Bases of Conflict," and "Political Organizations."
- Mujani, Saiful, and R. William Liddle, "Indonesia: Jokowi Sidelines Democracy," *Journal of Democracy* 32:4 (October 2021), pp. 72–86.

Optional further material:

- Williams, Mark, "Yudhoyono's Third Way: Muslim Democracy, National Stability, and Economic Development in Indonesia," in *Indonesia's Ascent*, C. Roberts et al. eds. (Palgrave 2015) Ch. 4, pp. 69–87.
- Aspinall, Edward, Meredith Weiss et al., *Mobilizing for Elections: Patronage and Political Machines in Southeast Asia* (Cambridge, 2022)

Friday, March 3

2,000-word paper is due, 6pm

PART 5: BRAZIL AND REVIEW

Weeks 9–10

Monday, March 6	Lecture
Wednesday, March 8	Lecture
Monday, March 13	Lecture

- Montero, Alfred, "Brazil," in *Introduction to Comparative Politics*, Kesselman et al., 7th Edition (Wadsworth, 2015), pp. 357–400.
- Htun, Mala, "Racial Quotas for a 'Racial Democracy,'" *NACLA Report on the Americas* Vol. 38, #4 (2005), pp. 20–25.
- Sugiyama, Natasha Borges, and Wendy Hunter, "Whither Clientelism? Good Governance and Brazil's Bolsa Família Program," *Comparative Politics* Vol. 46, #1 (2013), pp. 43–62.
- Ames, Barry, Andy Baker, and Lucio R. Rennó, "The Quality of Elections in Brazil: Policy, Performance, Pageantry, or Pork?," in Peter R. Kingstone and Timothy J. Power, *Democratic Brazil Revisited* (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 2008), pp. 107–133
- Hunter, Wendy and Timothy J. Power, "Bolsonaro and Brazil's Illiberal Backlash," *Journal of Democracy* 30:1 (January 2019), pp. 68–82

Wednesday, March 15

Review for final exam

Final exam: Monday, March 20, 2023, 4pm–7pm, in Jack Baskin Engineering Auditorium