

# The Organizational Voter: Support for New Parties in Young Democracies

**Mathias Poertner**

**Abstract:** *How do voters come to support new political parties? This article contends that new types of locally organized, participants-based societal organizations—such as neighborhood associations, informal sector unions, and indigenous movements—can play a crucial mediating role in securing electoral support for new parties. Drawing on social identity and self-categorization theory, I argue that endorsements of new parties by such organizations sway the vote preferences of organization members and people in their larger social networks. A discrete choice experiment, presenting voters in Bolivia with campaign posters, demonstrates that organizational endorsements are highly effective in mobilizing voters, especially when voters face a new party. Endorsements can even counteract policy and ethnic differences between candidates and voters. The findings suggest an important, understudied route to partisan support in new democracies and have important implications for research on political accountability.*

**Verification Materials:** The materials required to verify the computational reproducibility of the results, procedures, and analyses in this article are available on the *American Journal of Political Science* Dataverse within the Harvard Dataverse Network, at: <https://doi.org/10.7910/DVN/6RQWXCW>.

**A**cross much of the democratic world, party systems are experiencing a critical moment: Trust in established political parties has decreased in recent decades and new parties are emerging. Although new parties arise even in well-established, historic democracies with allegedly “frozen party systems” in Western Europe, this happens even more frequently in young democracies. While most of these new parties remain ephemeral and fall into oblivion quickly (Levitsky, Loxton, and Van Dyck, 2016), some manage to secure substantial electoral support surprisingly quickly and to maintain support over repeated elections.

In order to understand the success and failure of new parties, we need to explore how voters come to support them and ask how effective different mobiliza-

tion strategies commonly available to new parties are to secure electoral support. Doing so is critical for understanding the quality and stability of democratic representation, especially in transitioning regimes. Yet, the literature on vote support tends to focus on well-established parties. Whereas the stability of electoral support and the de-alignment away from traditional parties have received substantial attention (e.g., Lupu 2014; Roberts 2014), the theoretical microfoundations behind the creation of support for new parties—both in young democracies today and historically in established democracies—are still little understood.

In this article, I assess the mechanisms through which support for new parties can emerge, comparing new parties’ mobilization of voters through direct

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For helpful discussions and comments on earlier versions of this article (and/or the research design), I would like to thank Leo Arriola, Pradeep Chhibber, Danny Choi, David Collier, Ruth Berins Collier, Thad Donning, Gabriel Lenz, Noam Lupu, Ted Miguel, Cecilia Mo, Lucas Novaes, Brian Palmer-Rubin, Ken Roberts, Jason Seawright, Laura Stokes, Guadalupe Turón, Konstantin Vössing, Kristi Vögbeest, Bernhard Weßels, Meira Zuzan, and three anonymous referees as well as seminar participants at the Humboldt-Universität zu Berlin, NYU Abu Dhabi, and UC Berkeley. Earlier versions of this article were also presented at the 2016 and 2017 APSA Annual Meetings and the 2017 EPSA Annual General Conference. I also thank Daniel Moreno, Brian Schwarz, and Daniela Osorio at Guadalupe and their excellent team of enumerators for their assistance in the implementation of the survey in Bolivia as well as the support received by numerous research assistants in Berkeley and La Paz. This material is based on work supported by the National Science Foundation under Grant No. SES-1560658 and the UC Berkeley Center on the Politics of Development. The research was reviewed and approved by UC Berkeley’s Committee for Protection of Human Subjects (IRB Protocol #2015-12-8202). A preanalysis plan was registered with EGAP (#20160224AB) and the AEA RCT Registry (#AECTR-0004079) prior to data collection.

[Correction Statement: Table 1 in the article and Table C3 in the Online Appendix were corrected as the analyses did not apply the survey weights correctly to all the models (e.g., the odds ratios in Table 1 did not take into account the survey weights). Tables C1 and C4 in the Online Appendix were edited to correct typos. Resolving these errors did not substantively change the results.]

*American Journal of Political Science*, Vol. 65, No. 3, July 2021, Pp. 634–651

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DOI: 10.1111/ajps.12546

# Political Parties In New Democracies

**Larry Diamond, Richard Gunther**



## **Political Parties In New Democracies:**

*Political Parties in New Democracies* Ingrid van Biezen, 2003-07-01 Ingrid van Biezen provides a comprehensive comparative analysis of party formation and organizational development in recently established democracies. She focuses on four democracies in Southern and East Central Europe and addresses political parties from a cross regional perspective. Featuring a wealth of new information on party organization, this book provides a valuable theoretical and empirical contribution to our understanding of political parties in both old and new democracies. **Confronting the Weakest Link** Thomas Carothers, 2006 Beginning with a penetrating analysis of party shortcomings in developing and post communist countries, Thomas Carothers draws on extensive field research to diagnose chronic deficiencies in party aid, assess its overall impact, and offer practical ideas for doing better. **Mass Media and Political Communication in New Democracies** Katrin Voltmer, 2006 This book examines how political communication and the mass media have played a central role in the consolidation of emerging democracies around the world. Covering a broad range of political and cultural contexts including Eastern and Southern Europe, Latin America, Asia, and Africa, this new volume investigates the problems and conflicts arising in the process of establishing an independent media and competitive politics in post autocratic societies. Considering the changing dynamic in the relationship between political actors, the media, and their audience, the authors of this volume address the following issues: changing journalistic role perceptions and journalistic quality; the reasons and consequences of persisting instrumentalization of the media by political actors; the role of the media in election campaigns; the way in which citizens interpret political messages and the extent to which the media influence political attitudes and electoral behaviour; the role of the Internet in building a democratic public sphere. This book will be of great interest to all those studying and researching democracy and democratization, comparative politics, political communication, journalism, media, and the Internet. **Party Politics in New Democracies** Paul Webb, Stephen White, 2007-09-20 Comparative Politics is a series for students and teachers of political science that deals with contemporary government and politics. The General Editors are Professor Alfio Mastropaolo, University of Turin, and Kenneth Newton, University of Southampton, and Wissenschaftszentrum Berlin. The series is published in association with the European Consortium for Political Research. The sister volume to *Political Parties in Advanced Industrial Democracies*, this book offers a systematic and rigorous analysis of parties in some of the world's major new democracies. Drawing on a wealth of expertise and data, the book assesses the popular legitimacy, organizational development, and functional performance of political parties in Latin America and postcommunist Eastern Europe. It demonstrates the generational differences between parties in the old and new democracies and reveals contrasts among the latter. Parties are shown to be at their most feeble in those recently transitional democracies characterized by personalistic, candidate-centred forms of politics, but in other new democracies, especially those with parliamentary systems, parties are more stable and institutionalized, enabling them to facilitate a meaningful degree of popular choice and control.

Wherever party politics is weakly institutionalized political inequality tends to be greater commitment to pluralism less certain clientelism and corruption more pronounced and populist demagoguery a greater temptation Without party democracy's hold is more tenuous

**Political Parties and Democracy** Kay Lawson, 2010-07-20 Native scholars explore the relationship between political parties and democracy in regions around the world The development of political parties over the past century is the story of three stages in the pursuit of power liberation democratization and de democratization Political Parties and Democracy is comprised of five stand alone volumes that probe the realities of political parties at all three stages In each volume contributors explore the relationship between political parties and democracy or democratization in their nations providing necessary historical socioeconomic and institutional context as well as the details of contemporary political tensions Contributors are distinguished indigenous scholars who have lived the truths they tell and are thus able to write with unique breadth depth and scope They show the parties of their respective nations as they have developed through history and changing institutional structures and they explain the balance of power among them and between them and competing agencies of power today

**Political Parties and Democracy** Larry Diamond, Richard Gunther, 2001-12-21 Political parties are one of the core institutions of democracy But in democracies around the world rich and poor Western and non Western there is growing evidence of low or declining public confidence in parties In membership organization and popular involvement and commitment political parties are not what they used to be But are they in decline or are they simply changing their forms and functions In contrast to authors of most previous works on political parties which tend to focus exclusively on long established Western democracies the contributors to this volume cover many regions of the world Theoretically they consider the essential functions that political parties perform in democracy and the different types of parties Historically they trace the emergence of parties in Western democracies and the transformation of party cleavage in recent decades Empirically they analyze the changing character of parties and party systems in postcommunist Europe Latin America and five individual countries that have witnessed significant change Italy Japan Taiwan India and Turkey As the authors show political parties are now only one of many vehicles for the representation of interests but they remain essential for recruiting leaders structuring electoral choice and organizing government To the extent that parties are weak and discredited the health of democracy will be seriously impaired Contributors Larry Diamond and Richard Gunther Hans Daalder Philippe Schmitter Seymour Martin Lipset Giovanni Sartori Bradley Richardson Herbert Kitschelt Michael Coppedge Ergun Ozbudun Yun han Chu Leonardo Morlino Ashutosh Varshney and E Sridharan Stefano Bartolini and Peter Mair

**Political Parties and Democratic Linkage** Russell J. Dalton, David M. Farrell, Ian McAllister, 2011-09-30 Is the party over Parties are the central institutions of representative democracy but critics increasingly claim that parties are failing to perform their democratic functions This book assembles unprecedented cross national evidence to assess how parties link the individual citizen to the formation of governments and then to government policies Using the Comparative Study of

Electoral Systems and other recent cross national data the authors examine the workings of this party linkage process across established and new democracies Political parties still dominate the electoral process in shaping the discourse of campaigns the selection of candidates and mobilizing citizens to vote Equally striking parties link citizen preferences to the choice of representatives with strong congruence between voter and party Left Right positions These preferences are then translated in the formation of coalition governments and their policies The authors argue that the critics of parties have overlooked the ability of political parties to adapt to changing conditions in order to perform their crucial linkage functions As the context of politics and societies have changed so too have political parties Political Parties and Democratic Linkage argues that the process of party government is alive and well in most contemporary democracies

### **Political Parties and Partisanship**

John Bartle, Paolo Bellucci, 2014-06-11 Political Parties and Partisanship provides an up to date examination of the conceptualizations causes and consequences of partisanship in both new and established democracies in Eastern Europe

Party Governance and Party Democracy Wolfgang C. Müller, Hanne Marthe Narud, 2013-05-15 Given the centrality of political parties in modern democracies most research on these systems either directly address their internal functioning and activities or question their critical role Political science has moved from describing institutions to the thorough analysis of behavior within these institutions and the interactions between them The inevitable consequences of the maturing and institutionalization of the discipline of political science in many countries include the forming of sub fields and specialized research communities At the same time the number of democracies has vastly increased since the 1980s and although not each attempt at democratization was eventually successful more heterogeneous systems with some form of party competition exist than ever before As a consequence the literature addressing the large issues of party democracy spreads over many research fields and has become difficult to master for individual students of party democracy and party governance The present volume sets out to review the behavior and larger role of political parties in modern democracies In so doing the book takes its departure from the idea that the main contribution of political parties to the working of democracy is their role as vehicles of political competition in systems of government Consequently the focus is not merely in the internal functioning of political parties but rather their behavior the electoral legislative and governmental arenas Thus several chapters address how political parties perform within the existing institutional frameworks One more chapter looks at the role of political parties in building and adapting these institutions Finally two chapters explicitly address the party contributions to democracy in established and new democracies respectively

### **Politicians and Economic Reform in New Democracies**

Kent Eaton, 2010-11 As economic reform in developing countries has shifted from macroeconomic stabilization to liberalization opportunities for legislators to influence the process and outcome of reform have increased and their role has become more important This book focuses attention on differences in institutional structure in political parties and electoral rules to show how they create incentives that can explain the varying ways in which legislators respond to policy initiatives

from the executive branch In Argentina and the Philippines presidents proposed similar fiscal reforms in the 1990s expanding tax bases strengthening tax administration and redesigning tax revenue sharing with subnational governments Drawing on archival research and interviews with policy makers Kent Eaton follows the path of legislation in these three areas from initial proposal to final law to reveal how it was shaped by the legislators participating in the process Obstacles to the adoption of reform he demonstrates are greater in candidate centered systems like the Philippines where the cultivation of personal reputations is paramount than in party centered systems like Argentina s where loyalty to party leaders is emphasized To test his argument further Eaton looks finally at other kinds of reform ventured in these two countries and at tax reforms attempted in some other countries

**Media and Politics in New Democracies** Jan Zielonka, 2015-10-08 This book analyses the relationship between the media and politics in new democracies in Europe and other parts of the world It does so from both theoretical and empirical angles How is power being mediated in new democracies Can media function independently in the unstable and polarised political environment experienced after the fall of autocracy Do major shifts in economic and ownership structures help or hinder the quality of the media How much can new media laws alter old journalistic habits and political cultures And how do new technologies impact the media and democracy The book examines these questions drawing on a vast set of data assembled by a large international project Media and Politics in New Democracies focuses chiefly on new democracies in Central and Eastern Europe but chapters analysing new democracies in Latin America Africa and Southeast Asia are also included These new democracies represent a variety of what sociologists call glocalism homogenisation and heterogenisation coexist revealing hybrid models and multiple modernities It is local culture that assigns meaning to global and regional influences Ideal liberal models and best practices are being promoted and aspired to but these models and practices are often being adopted in opaque ways generating results opposite to those intended The book finds many new democracies to be fragile if not deficient and tries to show what is really going on in these countries how they compare to each other and what they can learn from each other

**Authoritarian Party Structures and Democratic Political Setting in Turkey** P. Musil, 2011-12-22 Conducting a comparative case study among four parties in the Turkish political system this study shows how the variance in interest configurations and the power resources of local party activists constitute these changing patterns

**Political Parties in the Arab World** Francesco Cavatorta, 2018-03-07 Explores the interaction between sculpture and cinema

**Political Parties in Multi-Level Polities** Nicholas Aylott, Magnus Blomgren, T. Bergman, 2013-02-18 Political parties are essential for the functioning of parliamentary democracy but how have parties adapted to the challenges created by the growth of a new layer of political decision making at the supranational level i e the EU This comparative survey focuses on parties in four Nordic countries including Norway which remains outside the EU

*Political Parties and the Crisis of Democracy* Thomas Poguntke, Wilhelm Hofmeister, 2024-06-25 Democracy is in decline and the share of world s population living in freedom under democratic

government has decreased considerably as authoritarian practices proliferate Surprisingly most of the analyses that study these developments give little attention to the role of political parties in the decline of democracy although there is a broad consensus about the relevance of political parties for the functioning of democracy How parties can contribute to democracy is best understood by looking at a very diverse range of cases in different parts of the world Instead of taking a regional approach which dominates the literature on political parties this volume takes a global perspective It brings together experts from four continents which opens up fresh comparative perspectives on the role of political parties in the democratic process Political Parties and the Crisis of Democracy asks how parties contribute to the consolidation of democracy why they fail today why new parties emerge and displace old parties and also what parties need to do in order to survive cutthroat competition above all with a new and sometimes not so new variants of populist parties It takes a unique global focus covering old and new democracies in different regions of the world It covers Western and Central Europe Asia Pacific Latin America and Africa Turkey and Israel including presidential semi presidential and parliamentary democracies and also some countries where democracy is seriously threatened or eroding This volume offers unique comparative perspectives combined with a detailed analysis of individual countries and their party systems It shows that parties are central actors for the consolidation of democracy but that organisational reforms are necessary to cope with social change such as individualisation the decline in party membership and the impact of new media and modern communication thus counteracting the fragmentation of party systems and the decay of democracy This is an open access title available under the terms of a CC BY NC ND 4 0 International licence It is free to read at Oxford Scholarship Online and offered as a free PDF download from OUP and selected open access locations *Organizing Political Parties* Susan E. Scarrow, Paul D. Webb, Thomas

Poguntke, 2017-06-23 Political party organizations play large roles in democracies yet their organizations differ widely and their statutes change much more frequently than constitutions or electoral laws How do these differences and these frequent changes affect the operation of democracy This book seeks to answer these questions by presenting a comprehensive overview of the state of party organization in nineteen contemporary democracies Using a unique new data collection the book's chapters test propositions about the reasons for variation and similarities across party organizations They find more evidence of within country similarity than of cross national patterns based on party ideology After exploring parties organizational differences the remaining chapters investigate the impact of these differences The volume considers a wide range of theories about how party organization may affect political life including the impact of party rules on the selection of female candidates the links between party decision processes and the stability of party programmes the connection between party finance sources and public trust in political parties and whether the strength of parties extra parliamentary organization affects the behaviour of their elected legislators Collectively these chapters help to advance comparative studies of elections and representation by inserting party institutions and party agency more firmly into the centre of such studies

Comparative Politics is a series for researchers teachers and students of political science that deals with contemporary government and politics Global in scope books in the series are characterised by a stress on comparative analysis and strong methodological rigour The series is published in association with the European Consortium for Political Research For more information visit [www.ecprnet.eu](http://www.ecprnet.eu) The series is edited by Emilie van Haute Professor of Political Science Universit libre de Bruxelles Ferdinand M ller Rommel Director of the Center for the Study of Democracy Leuphana University and Susan Scarrow Chair of the Department of Political Science University of Houston

**Political Parties and the State in Post-Communist Europe** Petr Kopecky, 2007-10-11 Previously published as a special issue of The Journal of Communist Studies and Transition Politics this volume analyzes the party state linkages in post communist Europe alongside three analytical dimensions

*Political Parties and Interest Groups in Norway* Elin Haugsgjerd Allern, 2024-10-31 How do today s political parties relate to other organisations Do they prefer rather distant relationships with a wide range of interest groups or have they virtually detached themselves from civil society altogether Scholars seem to agree that traditionally close relationships such as those between social democratic parties and trade unions have grown weaker since the 1960s But to date only limited systematic research has been conducted While parties and interest groups attract a great deal of attention from political scientists the links between them have been largely overlooked This book is an attempt to bridge the gap starting from the party side of the relationship It throws new light on the topic by presenting a theory driven comprehensive study of Norway s seven major political parties and their relationships with interest groups at the beginning of the new millennium Based on original and extensive data including party documents in depth interviews with key players and a survey of national party elites Elin Haugsgjerd Allern paints a nuanced picture of the nature and significance of these relationships and the factors that shape them A major conclusion is that Norway s parties tend to maintain rather distant but wide ranging relationships with interest groups today However some parties still have fairly strong links with their traditional associates and a narrower network of links with other groups Hence Allern also shows that significant differences exist between parties that are apparently exposed to the same social political and institutional environment

*Political Parties in Post-Communist Eastern Europe* Paul Lewis, 2002-01-04 Political Parties in Post Communist Eastern Europe is the first textbook to survey the course of party developments in eastern Europe as a whole in the post Communist period This book relates the specifics of the post communist situation to the broader picture of the early stages of party development in western Europe and also to contemporary models of party organisation in established democracies The book includes a brief historical introduction to the context of post communist change the process of competitive party formation and democratic elections the development of independent parties their ideologies and electoral volatility the structure and level of organisation developed by new parties an analysis of stable party systems which have emerged in eastern Europe and the contribution they make to emerging democracies in the region Party Politics in Post Communist Eastern Europe will be a



comprehensive and invaluable resource accessible to undergraduates of politics and European studies as well as the non specialist reader     Labor Relations in New Democracies J. Alemán, 2010-04-12 Labor Relations in New Democracies explores how democratization has changed the material and political fortunes of workers in the new democracies of Europe Latin America and East Asia It also examines how workers have responded to their newly found environment

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