Preface and Acknowledgments

When Sue Stokes first met Valeria Brusco and Marcelo Nazareno, at an academic conference in Buenos Aires, Valeria's newborn baby, Lucía, slept quietly in a carrier by her mother's side. Thad Dunning, as yet unknown to the rest of us, was just beginning graduate school.

Now Lucía Allende Brusco is a strapping teenager. She is learning Italian and likes jazz dance and boys. Thad is a tenured professor. In other words, it took us a long time to write this book.

Many things delay the completion of academic books. Classes must be taught, programs administered, other research projects attended to, children raised. But there are additional reasons for the delayed completion of this particular book.

More so than is usually the case, we were repeatedly stumped by evidence that did not fit received theories – or even common sense. The book is about distributive politics. The received theories usually predict that parties and governments will spend scarce resources on responsive voters. And these responsive voters will be fence-sitters, people who might otherwise not turn out or vote for the party responsible for the distribution but who could be swayed by a favor or a program. Yet over and over again, the evidence seemed to tell us that not fence-sitters but firm party loyalists were the primary beneficiaries of the distributive game.

Because we believed in the received theories, we discarded them only reluctantly. Like good Kuhnians, a few anomalies did not shift our paradigm. But eventually the weight of the anomalies was too much. Constructing an alternative theory was only one of the tasks we faced. Our new theory suggested new questions and new observational implications. Many parties can be decomposed into leaders and low-level operatives or brokers. If brokers play the distributive game by different rules than do their leaders, allocations of resources should come out differently when brokers are in control and when leaders are

in control. (They do.) If brokers are imperfect agents of party leaders, anti-machine reform movements, when they break out, may be driven as much by party leaders as by non-partisan reformers. (In several countries, they have been.) And if brokers are imperfect agents, it should be the case that they impose agency losses on parties and parties should devise elaborate techniques to monitor the brokers and minimize these losses. (We offer evidence that both are true.)

If our theoretical deconstruction, reconstruction, and testing took time, this was not for lack of help from many people. A large international network of scholars has been at work on topics directly related to our own, and we have benefited enormously from their research, insights, and criticisms. This network includes Herbert Kitschelt, Beatriz Magaloni, Alberto Diaz-Cayeros, Federico Estévez, María Victoria Murillo, Ernesto Calvo, Luis Fernando Medina, Frederick Schaffer, Allen Hicken, James Robinson, Rebecca Weitz-Shapiro, Philip Keefer, Norma Álvarez, Yolanda Urquiza, Simeon Nichter, Germán Lodola, Dominika Koter, Nicholas Van de Walle, Kanchan Chandra, Steven Wilkinson, Carles Boix, Steve Levitsky, Kasper Lippert-Rasmussen, Arnoldo Rosenfeld, Eddie Camp, and Mariela Szwarcberg. The manuscript went through no fewer than three book conferences, probably a record. The first was at Nuffield College, Oxford, where Iaian McLean, Jörgen Weibull, Peyton Young, and Avinash Dixit discussed it. The second was at the Juan March Institute in Madrid and involved José María Maravall, Ignacio Sánchez-Cuenca, Nasos Roussias, Jan Teorrell, Miriam Golden, Alberto Diaz-Cayeros, Susan Hyde, Alberto Simpser, Ken Greene, and David Rueda. Finally, a University of Washington–Cambridge University Press "Seattle Seminar" included Margaret Levi, Dan Posner, Gary Cox, Brad Epperly, Adam Forman, Barry Pump, and Carolina Johnson.

Other scholars commented on all or parts of the manuscript: Alejandro Bonvecchi, Catalina Shmulovitz, Germán Lodola, Ana María Mustapic, Carlos Gervasoni, Ernesto Calvo, Marcelo Cavarozzi, Noam Lupu, Jim Alt, Giovanni Capoccia, and Avia Pasternak. We have received invaluable advice from several Yale colleagues: David Mayhew, John Roemer, Steven Wilkinson, Ian Shapiro, Don Green, Ellen Lust, Susan Hyde, Luis Schiumerini, Peter Swenson, Alex Debs, and Libby Wood, and – through the Yale Program on Democracy – from Ana De la O, Tariq Thachil, Sigrun Kahl, Adria Lawrence, Hélène Landemore, Marcelo Leiras, César Zucco, Liz Carlson, and Kristin McKie. Our collaboration with Edwin Camp at Yale – who is himself doing path-breaking research on broker-mediated distribution and the logic of clientelist distribution – has been highly rewarding, and he has provided many insightful comments and contributions along the way.

For their work on our voter surveys in Argentina, we are grateful to Mario Riordá and to Gustavo Córdoba of Consultores en Políticas Públicas. We had a terrific set of research assistants, including William Hennessy, Maricel López, Marcos Meyer, Damián Aldama, Laura Valdemarca, Lucas Lázaro, Jeremías Vanoli, Lis Tous, Lucía Nieva, Dolores Najera, Pablo Soffietti, Selva Vázquez, Silvana Oliveira, Valeria Vázquez, Lisandro Podio, Carolina Caeiro,

Ignacio César, Victoria Paniagua, Ignacio Puente, Luis Cecchi, Federico Fuchs, Andrea Flores, Jorge Pyke, Gabriella Albrecht, Eveli Wellbach, Marcela Octacio, Andrea Zadorozne, María Elena Martin, Hilario Moreno, and Gloria Trocello. Victoria Paniagua helped facilitate our interviews with Argentine politicians at the national, provincial, and municipal levels. We are also grateful to Joel Middleton and Edwin Camp for writing a Stata routine to implement the bootstrap procedure described in Appendix A.

We are grateful to many colleagues and collaborators who facilitated our research in Venezuela. The data collection documented in Appendix C was greatly facilitated by the able research assistance of Giuseppe Rionero and Stefania Vitale; our voter survey was implemented by the survey firm DATOS under the direction of Odaliz Salcedo. We organized a conference at Yale in 2007, "The Popular Sectors and the State in Chávez's Venezuela," at which we received helpful comments from Sujatha Fernandes, Kirk Hawkins, Margarita López Maya, Daniel Ortega, Francisco Rodríguez, and Jason Seawright. Francisco Rodríguez generously helped us to navigate the Maisanta data we use in Chapter 2. We are also grateful to Carlos Ocariz and Mariana Giménez de Ocariz and especially Carlos Lagorio for facilitating some of our field research in Venezuela, and we thank Dorothy Kronick, Francisco Monaldi, Richard Obuchi, and Michael Penfold for sharing their many insights over the years.

For their assistance with the India surveys, we thank Bhartendu Trivedi and his survey team at MORSEL, who implemented our surveys in Bihar and Rajasthan, and Padmavathi B. S. and her researchers from Bangalore University, who implemented our survey in Karnataka. For their many helpful suggestions and comments on our research in India, we thank Abhijit Banerjee, David Blakeslee, Kanchan Chandra, Simon Chauchard, Miriam Golden, Rajeev Gowda, Don Green, Macartan Humphreys, Lakshmi Iyer, Francesca Jensenius, Trevor Johnston, Evan Lieberman, Drew Linzer, Jim Manor, SS Meenakshisundaram, Brian Min, Vipin Narang, Vijayendra Rao, Prerna Singh, Sandeep Shastri, Pavithra Suryanarayan, Ashutosh Varshney, Steven Wilkinson, Adam Ziegfield, and especially Jennifer Bussell. Seminar participants at IIM-Bangalore, Dartmouth, Essex, the London School of Economics, Michigan, Oxford, Princeton, Yale, UCLA, and the Harvard-MIT-Brown Seminar on South Asian Politics generously commented on the research from which we draw in Chapters 2 and 4.

Gary Cox and Allen Hicken reviewed the manuscript for Cambridge University Press and offered many helpful suggestions. We are grateful to both of them for their careful reviews. We also thank our editor, Lew Bateman, and the Cambridge Studies in Comparative Politics series editor, Margaret Levi, for their patience and encouragement. Our thanks as well to Shaun Vigil of Cambridge University Press and to Adrian Pereira of Aptara, Inc. for overseeing the editing and production processes.

We are grateful to a number of institutions for their support. The Whitney and Betty MacMillan Center for International and Area Studies at Yale has been very generous. We are indebted to the MacMillan Center's director, Ian

Shapiro, both intellectually and institutionally. We are also grateful to Yale's Institute for Social and Policy Studies and its directors, Don Green and Jacob Hacker, for their support. The research was also supported by a National Science Foundation research grant (SES-0241958). We presented our work at Yale's Comparative Politics Workshop and received excellent suggestions from participants, including our discussant Erdem Aytac. Thad Dunning visited at the University of Texas at Austin during a research leave in which he worked on this book and was grateful for interactions with Kurt Weyland, Wendy Hunter, Ken Greene, Zach Elkins, Jason Brownlee, Raul Madrid, Dan Brinks, Peter Ward, and Victoria Rodriguez. Sue Stokes received a fellowship from the John Simon Guggenheim Memorial Foundation in support of this research. She also spent a year as a Visiting Fellow at Nuffield College, Oxford. Oxford colleagues David Butler, Nancy Bermeo, Ray Duch, Desmond King, Diego Gambetta, David Miller, Meg Meyer, David Rueda, Pablo Beremendi, Giovanni Capoccia, and David Soskice provided a stimulating and welcoming environment.