## **Figures**

I.I	Relational clientelism: Defining attributes and citizen	
	mechanisms	page 9
2.I	Strategies of clientelism during elections	29
2.2	a. Map of citizens by political preferences and net voting costs – without electoral clientelism	
	b. Map of citizens by political preferences and net voting costs – with electoral clientelism	32
2.3	a. Turnout in Brazil (1933–2014) – elections for Chamber of Deputies	,
	b. Abstention in Bahia (2008)	42
2.4	a. Effect of voter audits (Brazil, 2008) – effect of voter audits on mayoral reelection (regression discontinuity design)	·
	b. Effect of voter audits (Brazil, 2008) – heterogeneity of RDD	
	effects by voter transfers	54
2.5	a. Politician removals for clientelism during elections	
	(2000–2008)	
	b. Electoral court documents mentioning clientelism	
	(2000–2013)	60
4.I	Acceptability of hypothetical clientelist offers (2002 and 2007)	94
4.2	Effect of rainfall on willingness to accept clientelist offers	
	(2012)	96
5.1	Declared support and benefits, rural Northeast Brazil (2013)	128
5.2	Declared support and benefits, Brazil (2012–2016)	133
5.3	Declared support and campaign handouts, rural Northeast	
	Brazil (2012)	136
5.4	Declared support and campaign handouts, Brazil (2012 and	
	2016)	138

x List of figures

5.5	Declared support and voting for mayor, rural Northeast Brazil	
	(2012)	142
5.6	Declared support and perceptions of mayoral candidates, rural	
	Northeast Brazil (2012–2013)	144
6.1	Example of citizen's request to councilor	153
6.2	Citizen requests and private benefits, rural Northeast Brazil	
	(2012–2013)	159
6.3	Citizen requests and relational clientelism, rural Northeast	
_	Brazil (2012–2013)	163
6.4	Perception of Councilor in trust game, by fulfilled vs. unfulfilled	
	request, rural Northeast Brazil (2013)	172
6.5	Consistency of voting, by unfulfilled vs. fulfilled request, rural	
	Northeast Brazil (2012)	175
7 <b>.</b> I	Mexico: Declared support and clientelism during campaign	
	(2012)	185
7.2	Citizen requests and clientelism during campaigns (2005–2010)	188
7.3	Argentina: Citizen strategies and campaign handouts (2001)	195
А.1	Map of research sites in Bahia, Northeast Brazil	218
В.1	Municipalities in rural clientelism survey, Brazil's semi-arid	
	region, and rainfall levels	22]
C.I	Signaling credibility through declared support	238