List of Figures

1.1	A Conceptual Scheme of Distributive Politics	page 7
1.2	Median GDP per Capita of Democracies Over Time:	
	Democracies and Autocracies	23
2.1	A Dimension of Partisanship	33
2.2	Argentina: Proportional Difference Between Reward Recipients	
	and Non-Recipients in Percentages Holding "Very Good,"	
	"Good," "Bad," and "Very Bad" Opinions of the Peronists	39
2.3	Argentina: Percentage of Respondents Receiving Campaign	
	Gifts by Some or No Party Affiliation	42
2.4	Venezuela: Screenshot of Maisanta Software Interface	45
2.5	Venezuela: Misiones Beneficiaries by Self-Reported Party	
	Preference	47
2.6	Venezuela: Misiones Beneficiaries by Preference Recorded in	
	Maisanta	47
2.7	Venezuela: Misiones Beneficiaries by Self-Reported Party	
	Preference, Poorest 20 Percent of Respondents	48
2.8	Mexico: Campaign Distribution by Partisanship	52
2.9	Argentine Brokers' Perceptions of the Frequency of Certain	
	Loyal Voters	57
2.10	Mexico 2000: Rates of PRI Gift Receipt in Second Wave of	
	Survey by Opinion of PRI in First Wave	60
2.11	Mexico: Gift Receipt by Partisan Affect	62
2.12	Venezuela: Percent of Voters, by Loyalty and Turnout	
	Propensity, Participating in Misiones	71
4.1	Can Brokers Infer Voters' Choices?	101
4.2	How Many Voters Play "Hard to Get"? and Can Brokers Easily	
	Tell?	105

xiii

xiv List of Figures

4.3	Percent of Voters to Whom Brokers Have Offered Benefits and Percent Who Have Asked for Help	106
4.4	Brokers' Preference for Loyal Voters (Survey Experiment)	100
4.5	Distribution of Brokers' Voters	112
		112
4.6	Brokers' Heterogeneous Networks: Number of Clients Out of 10 Who Were Already Party Sympathizers	114
4.7	Network Participation and Voting Behavior: Number of Rally Attendees Out of 10 Who Will Vote for Broker's Candidate	115
4.8	Rent-Seeking by Brokers: Number of Brokers Out of 10 Who Keep Party Benefits for Themselves	117
4.9	Organization-Building by Brokers: Number of Brokers Out of	11/
	10 Who Distribute Benefits in Exchange for Rally Attendance	118
4.10	Most Important Perceived Criterion Party Leaders Use to	
	Evaluate Brokers (as Perceived by Brokers)	123
4.11	Broker Exit Options and Party Resources: Perceived Ease with	
	Which Party Leaders Can Remove Resources and Brokers'	
	Probable Response	124
5.1	Average ATN Funding, Córdoba Municipalities, 2000–2002	149
6.1	Africa and Latin America: Percent Received Gift by GDP per	
	Capita	155
6.2	Latin America: 2010 Campaign Gifts by GDP per Capita	157
6.3	Latin America: Average Percentage of Respondents Observing	
	Campaign Gifts by GDP per Capita	158
6.4	Argentina: Income and Targeted Rewards	159
6.5	Venezuela: Income and Targeted Rewards	160
6.6	African Respondents Believing Politicians' Promises, by Poor and Non-Poor	165
7.1	Factors Encouraging Shift to Programmatic Politics	187
8.1	Petitions Challenging Elections to British House of Commons, 1832–1923	202
8.2	Petitions Challenging British Elections, as Percent of Total MPs, 1832–1923	203
8.3	Number of Contested U.S. Congressional Elections, 1789–2000	203
8.4	Contested U.S. Congressional Elections as a Percent of Total	203
0.4	Seats, 1789–2000	204
8.5	Trends in British Campaign Spending on Agents and Printing, 1885–1960	211
8.6	Population of Britain, 1800–1900	213
8.7	Votes Cast in British Parliamentary Elections, 1832–1923	214
8.8	Votes Cast per Member of the House of Commons, 1832–1918	215
8.9	Campaign Expenditures per Voter in Britain, 1857–1959	216
8.10	Real Wages in British Manufacturing, 1850–1899	218
8.11	Proportions of British Labor Force in Agriculture and Industry,	210
J.11	1800–1880	220

List of Figures xv

8.12	Populations of Britain (England, Scotland, and Wales) and the	
	United States, 1832–1900	234
8.13	Votes Cast for U.S. Presidents and British MPs, 1832-1900	235
8.14	Votes Cast in the United States and Britain as a Percentage of	
	Population, 1832–1900	236
A.1	Sampling Design: Argentina Brokers' Survey	273
C.1	Approval Ratings of Hugo Chávez (1999–2006)	283