

## Acknowledgments

This book has benefited substantially from the support and guidance of many individuals. First, I would like to thank the faculty members of the Political Science Department at the University of California, Berkeley. I am deeply indebted to the generous and thoughtful mentorship of David Collier, whose substantial feedback has profoundly shaped the trajectory of my research and career. Ruth Berins Collier significantly deepened my understanding of Latin American politics and provided many incisive comments about my work on clientelism. Henry Brady and Robert Powell offered important methodological suggestions at key stages of this project. I am also highly appreciative of other UC Berkeley faculty members including Charles Briggs, Pradeep Chhibber, Ernesto Dal Bó, Frederico Finan, Paul Pierson, Alison Post, and Jason Wittenberg. I also learned a great deal from many fellow graduate students at Berkeley, including Taylor Boas, Thad Dunning, Patrick Egan, Candelaria Garay, Sam Handlin, Benjamin Lessing, and Rodrigo Zarazaga.

Much of this book was written under the auspices of the Harvard Academy for International and Area Studies, which generously provided a two-year postdoctoral fellowship. I am especially grateful to participants in my book conference held at Harvard University: Jorge Dominguez, Miriam Golden, Frances Hagopian, Philip Keefer, Herbert Kitschelt, and Steven Levitsky. Each of these scholars not only provided excellent constructive feedback on an earlier version of this manuscript but also has been formative in shaping my broader understanding about clientelism and distributive politics. My work also benefited substantially from input from numerous Senior Scholars (including Robert Bates, Grzegorz Ekeirt, Elizabeth Perry, Susan Pharr, and James Robinson) while presenting at the Harvard Academy, as well as from seminar participants at the David Rockefeller Center for Latin American Studies. It also benefited from discussions with Agustina Giraudy, Sheena Greitens, Nahomi Ichino, Horacio Larreguy, Noora Lori,

Ameet Morjaria, Stanislav Markus, and Harris Mylonas during my time in Cambridge.

I am also extremely grateful to the Center on Democracy, Development and the Rule of Law (CDDRL) at Stanford University. Larry Diamond, who headed CDDRL during my postdoctoral fellowship, shared many insights and provided excellent comments on my research. I was also fortunate to interact with and receive feedback from Beatriz Magaloni, whose work on clientelism and distributive politics has long influenced my own research. I would also like to thank Lisa Blaydes, Elizabeth Carlson, Gary Cox, James Fearon, Francis Fukuyama, Erik Jensen, David Laitin, Natan Sachs, and Kathryn Stoner for helpful input. During my time at Stanford, I also had the opportunity to serve as a nonresident postdoctoral fellow at the Center for Global Development (CGD). I am appreciative of the substantial comments I received during my presentations at CGD, especially from Nancy Birdsall, Michael Clemens, Alan Gelb, Amanda Glassman, Todd Moss, and Justin Sandefur.

I would also like to thank the University of California, San Diego, as insights from many colleagues and graduate students have greatly improved my research. The opportunity to present in the Faculty Research Seminar and in the HALBI Seminar yielded substantial comments incorporated in this book. While I cannot name everyone, I would like to express particular appreciation to Claire Adida, Scott Desposato, Alberto Diaz-Cayeros, Jesse Driscoll, Karen Ferree, Clark Gibson, Stephan Haggard, Seth Hill, Thad Kousser, David Lake, David Mares, Megumi Naoi, Samuel Popkin, Margaret Roberts, Sebastian Saiegh, Christina Schneider, Peter Smith, Susan Shirk, Branislav Slantchev, and David Wiens. In addition, I am grateful for outstanding research assistance from Mariana Carvalho Barbosa, Inbok Rhee, and Henrique Barbosa.

Although the present book significantly extends my past work on clientelism, it has been influenced by and builds on that research. As such, I would also like to express deep appreciation to several of my coauthors. I have learned a great deal from collaborators who were fellow graduate students during my time at Berkeley, including Jordan Gans-Morse, F. Daniel Hidalgo, Sebastian Mazzuca, and Brian Palmer-Rubin. In addition, I have benefited from extensive collaboration with Gustavo Bobonis, Paul Gertler, and Marco Gonzalez-Navarro. Various analyses that I conducted for this book employ a panel survey that we jointly collected in rural Northeast Brazil. That survey involved excellent research assistance from Ridwan Karim, Lisa Stockley, Bárbara Magalhães, Vanya Tsutsui, and Farhan Yahya, as well as survey collection by Márcio Thomé and the BemFam team. Coauthoring with Salvatore Nunnari has yielded many insights; in addition, numerous analyses that I conducted for this book use a dataset that we jointly collected online across Brazil. Moreover, I thoroughly enjoyed my collaboration with Michael Peress, who has shared many excellent insights over the years. Several of these coauthors provided helpful feedback at various stages of this book project, and I am especially thankful to Jordan Gans-Morse, who provided numerous rounds of extensive

comments. As discussed in Chapter 1, this book includes brief descriptions of findings from several of my studies with these collaborators.

I would also like to acknowledge the generous support of the National Science Foundation, which provided a Graduate Research Fellowship and a Doctoral Dissertation Improvement Grant, along with the earlier support of a Jacob K. Javits Fellowship from the U.S. Department of Education. Two original surveys employed in this book would not have been feasible without research funding from the Canadian Institute for Advanced Research, the Hellman Foundation, the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council of Canada, and the Spanish Agency for International Development Cooperation. In addition, I acknowledge the IRB Boards at UC Berkeley, UC San Diego, Innovations for Poverty Action, University of Toronto, and Brazil's Comissão Nacional de Ética em Pesquisa for providing input on and approving the protocol of various components of research in this book.

I will remain forever indebted to the people of Brazil. Hundreds of private citizens in Bahia and Pernambuco welcomed me into their homes and responded to my questions, and many mayors, city councilors, party leaders, and other public officials took time off from their busy schedules to discuss clientelism and related topics. It is not possible for me to thank each of them individually, as given the sensitive nature of clientelism, I promised anonymity to all interviewees. Many others in Brazil also provided important information, guidance, or assistance. I am especially grateful to Mårton Reis and Douglas de Melo Martins, two Brazilian judges who patiently answered my many questions over the years, as well as to Marcelo Rufino Rodrigues, Thais Antonio, Thais Castilho, David Fleischer, Beatriz de Souza Lima, Beth Lima, Josemar Lima, Emiliano Segatto, and Fernanda Sindlinger. Thank you to the staff members of Movimento de Combate à Corrupção Eleitoral in both Brasília and Salvador for providing a wealth of information and data about various anti-clientelism efforts. At the outset of my fieldwork, I learned a great deal from the intellectual community at Fundação Getúlio Vargas, in particular from Marcos Monteiro, Marcelo Neri, and Francisco Costa. I appreciate the time of researchers at the Instituto Brasileiro de Análises Sociais e Econômicas, especially Maurício Santoro, Mariana Santarelli, and Rozi Billo. I thank Claudio Ferraz at the Pontifícia Universidade Católica do Rio de Janeiro, and Alexandre Samy de Castro and Sergei Suarez Dillon Soares at the Instituto de Pesquisa Econômica Aplicada. In addition, I express gratitude to the many staff members in Brazil's electoral governance body who facilitated my research, both in Brasília at the Tribunal Superior Eleitoral and in Salvador at the Tribunal Regional Eleitoral da Bahia.

I thank Cambridge University Press for substantial efforts in publishing this book. In particular, I would like to express gratitude to Robert Dreesen for serving as my editor, to Kathleen Thelen and Erik Wibbels for their roles as editors of the Cambridge Series in Comparative Politics, to Thomas Haynes for serving as content manager, to three anonymous reviewers who provided

substantial feedback that greatly improved the book, and to Meera Seth for shepherding me through the publication process.

Last but certainly not least, my deepest appreciation goes to my family. I thank my mother, Mimi Nichter, and father, Mark Nichter, for encouraging my passion for academia and exposing me to fieldwork during my formative years. I would also like to express appreciation to my grandmother Bea Nichter, for always nurturing my intellectual curiosity, and to my brother, Brandon Nichter, for his lifelong friendship. Finally, I dedicate this book to my wife, Maysa Eissa Nichter, whose love and patience are beyond measure. You and our children, Caspian and Acacia, remind me every day of what is most important.