

Brokers, Voters, and Clientelism

Brokers, Voters, and Clientelism addresses major questions in distributive politics. Why is it acceptable for parties to try to win elections by promising to make certain groups of people better off, but unacceptable – and illegal – to pay people for their votes? Why do parties often lavish benefits on loyal voters, whose support they can count on anyway, rather than on responsive swing voters? Why are vote buying and machine politics common in today's developing democracies but a thing of the past in most of today's advanced democracies? This book develops a theory of broker-mediated distribution to answer these questions, testing the theory with research from four developing democracies, and reviews a rich secondary literature on countries in all world regions. The authors deploy normative theory to evaluate whether clientelism, pork-barrel politics, and other nonprogrammatic distributive strategies can be justified on the grounds that they promote efficiency, redistribution, or voter participation.

Susan C. Stokes is John S. Saden Professor of Political Science at Yale University and Director of the Yale Program on Democracy. She is a member of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences, a past vice president of the American Political Science Association (APSA), and a past president of APSA's Comparative Politics Section. Her books and articles explore democratization and how democracy works in developing countries. Her research has been supported by grants and fellowships from the National Science Foundation, the Guggenheim Memorial Foundation, the Russell Sage Foundation, the American Philosophical Society, the MacArthur Foundation, and Fulbright programs.

Thad Dunning is Professor of Political Science at Yale University. He studies comparative politics, political economy, and methodology. His first book, *Crude Democracy: Natural Resource Wealth and Political Regimes* (Cambridge University Press, 2008), won the Best Book Award from the Comparative Democratization Section of APSA and the Gaddis Smith Prize for the best first book on an international topic by a member of the Yale faculty. Dunning has also written on a range of methodological topics; his second book, *Natural Experiments in the Social Sciences: A Design-Based Approach* (Cambridge University Press, 2012), develops a framework for the discovery, analysis, and evaluation of strong research designs.

Marcelo Nazareno is Professor of Political Science at the National University of Córdoba and Professor of Methodology and Public Policy at the Catholic University of Córdoba. He holds a PhD in social science as well as advanced degrees in public administration and in history. He has been a visiting researcher at Yale University and the University of Chicago. His publications, in journals such as *Desarrollo Económico* and the *Latin American Research Review*, touch on the themes of the left in Latin America, clientelism and distributive politics, and fiscal federalism.

Valeria Brusco holds a master's degree in international relations and is completing her doctoral dissertation at the National University of San Martín in Buenos Aires. She is interested in how organizational agents, whether in political parties or in nongovernmental organizations, deal with poverty, and she has published articles on this topic as well as on competitive clientelism. She teaches at the National University of Córdoba and at the Catholic University of Córdoba, Argentina. Brusco has also held a staff post in the municipal government of the city of Córdoba, is active in party politics in Argentina, and helps lead a sports organization for underprivileged youth.

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Brokers, Voters, and Clientelism

The Puzzle of Distributive Politics

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