

## **Susan C. Stokes**

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The University of Chicago  
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### **Positions held**

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|------------------|--|
| 2018-<br>current | Tiffany and Margaret Blake Distinguished Service Professor of Political Science, University of Chicago |
| 2018-<br>current | Director, Chicago Center on Democracy, University of Chicago   |
| 2017-<br>current | Founding member, <i>Bright Line Watch</i>  |
| 2005-2018        | John S. Saden Professor of Political Science, Yale University<br>Director, Yale Program on Democracy   |
| 2015- 2018       | Chair, Yale Council on Latin American and Iberian Studies  |
| 2009-2014        | Chair, Political Science Department, Yale University   |
| 2000-2005        | Professor of Political Science, University of Chicago  |
| 1996-2000        | Associate Professor of Political Science, University of Chicago  |
| 1991-1996        | Assistant Professor of Political Science, University of Chicago  |
| 1988-1991        | Assistant Professor of Political Science, University of Washington                                     |

### **Education**

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|------|---|
| 1988 | Ph.D. in Political Science, Stanford University                                     |
| 1985 | M.A. in Anthropology, Stanford University   |
| 1981 | A.B., Harvard-Radcliffe, <i>magna cum laude</i> with Highest Honors in Anthropology |

### **Grants, fellowships, honors**

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|------|--|
| 2024 | Kluge Chair, Library of Congress (spring-summer) |
| 2022 | Elected to the National Academy of Sciences      |

2021-2023	Andrew Carnegie Fellow
2020-2022	United Nations Democracy Fund, for Chicago Center on Democracy
2017-	Hewlett Foundation, for Yale Program on Democracy and Bright Line Watch
2017-	Democracy Fund, for Yale Program on Democracy and Bright Line Watch
2014-2015	Visiting Scholar, Russell Sage Foundation
2010-2014	Associate Member, Nuffield College, Oxford University
2008	Elected to the American Academy of Arts and Sciences
2003-2004	John Simon Guggenheim Memorial Foundation Fellowship
2003-2005	National Science Foundation research grant SES-0241958
2002-2003	Research grant, Trust and Consolidation of Democracy, Russell Sage
1999-2000	American Philosophical Society Sabbatical Fellowship
1997-1999	National Science Foundation research grant, Mandates and Democracy
1990-1994	SSRC-MacArthur Fellowship in International Peace and Security
1985-1986	Fulbright-Hays Department of Education Dissertation Research Grant
1982-1985	National Science Foundation Graduate Studies Fellowship
1981-1982	Fulbright-IIE research grant

## **Prizes**

2021	Guillermo O'Donnell Award and Lectureship, Latin American Studies Association
2020	David Sears Book Award, best book in political psychology and mass behavior, International Society of Political Psychology, for <i>Why Bother?</i> , with Erdem Aytaç
2016	George H. Hallett Award, APSA, for a lasting contribution to the literature on representation and electoral systems, for <i>Mandates and Democracy</i> .
2014	Luebbert Prize, APSA Comparative Politics section, Best Book in 2013 in

- Comparative Politics for *Brokers, Voters, and Clientelism* (with Thad Dunning, Marcelo Nazareno, and Valeria Brusco)
- 2014 Best Book Prize, Comparative Democratization Section of the APSA, for *Brokers, Voters, and Clientelism*
- 2012 Best Paper, Comparative Democratization Section, American Political Science Association, for *What Killed Vote Buying in Britain?*
- 2010 Honorable mention for Best Paper, Comparative Democratization Section *How does the Internal Structure of Political Parties Shape their Distributive Strategies?* (with Thad Dunning)
- 2006 Heinz Eulau Prize for Best Article in the *American Political Science Review* for “Perverse Accountability: A Formal Model of Machine Politics with Evidence From Argentina”
- 2003 Best Book Award, Comparative Democratization Section, American Political Science Association, for *Mandates and Democracy*
- 2002 Mattei Dogan Award for the Best Comparative Book of the Year, 2002, awarded by the Society for Comparative Research, for *Mandates and Democracy*

### **Research in progress**

- “Building Tolerance for Backsliding by Trash-Talking Democracy: Theory and Evidence from Mexico,” with Lautaro Cella, Ipek Çinar, and Andres Uribe, under review
- “Can Rebuttals Restore Confidence in Eroding Democracies?,” with Brett Bessen and Andres Uribe, working paper
- “Measuring Democracy: Improving the Meaningfulness and Transparency of Democratic Indexes,” with Ipek Çinar, Simon Jackman, and Shawn Treier, working paper
- “Inequality Increases the Risk of Democratic Erosion,” with Eli Rau, working paper

### **Books**

#### **Single-authored and coauthored**

*The Backsliders: Why Leaders Undermine Their Own Democracies.*  
Forthcoming in 2025, Princeton University Press.

*Why Bother? Rethinking Political Participation in Elections and Protests.* With S. Erdem Aytaç, Cambridge University Press, 2019 (Sears Best Book Award)

Published in translation in Turkish (Koç University Press, 2020), and Spanish (Siglo XXI Editores, 2021)

*Brokers, Voters, and Clientelism: The Puzzle of Distributive Politics*. With Thad Dunning, Marcelo Nazareno, and Valeria Brusco, Cambridge University Press, 2013 (Luebbert and Comparative Democratization Prizes)

*Democracy and the Culture of Skepticism*. With Matthew Cleary. Russell Sage Foundation, 2006

*Mandates and Democracy: Neoliberalism by Surprise in Latin America*. Cambridge University Press, 2001 (Dogan, Comparative Democratization, and Hallett Prizes)

*Cultures in Conflict: Social Movements and the State in Peru*. University of California Press 1995

### **Edited volumes**

*Political Representation*. Co-edited with Ian Shapiro, Elisabeth Wood, and Alexander S. Kirshner. Cambridge University Press, 2009

*Designing Democratic Government: Making Institutions Work*. Co-editors Margaret Levi, James Johnson, Jack Knight, Russell Sage Foundation, 2008

*Oxford University Press Handbook of Comparative Politics*. Co-edited with Carles Boix. Oxford University Press, 2007

*La democracia local: Clientelismo, capital social, e innovación en Argentina*. Co-edited with Samuel Amaral. Buenos Aires: Tres de Febrero, 2005

*Public Support for Economic Reforms in New Democracies*. Cambridge University Press, 2001

*Democracy, Accountability, and Representation*. Co-edited with Adam Przeworski and Bernard Manin, Cambridge University Press, 1999

Reprinted in Portuguese as “Eleições e Representação,” *Lua Nova: Revista de Cultura e Política*, 67:105-138, 2006

### **Articles in refereed journals**

“Why is Participation Low in Referendums? Lessons from Latin America,” with Eli Rau and Radha Sarkar, forthcoming, *Latin American Research Review* 60(3), 2025

“The Effect of Electoral Inversions on Democratic Legitimacy: Evidence from the United States,” with John Carey, Gretchen Helmke, Brendan Nyhan, Mitchell

Sanders, and Shun Yamaya. *British Journal of Political Science*  
2022

“Presidential Rhetoric and Populism,” with Ipek Çinar and Andres Uribe. *Presidential Studies Quarterly*, 50(2):240-263, 2020

“Who will Defend Democracy? Evaluating Tradeoffs in Candidate Support among Partisan Donors and Voters,” with John Carey, Katherine Clayton, Gretchen Helmke, Brendan Nyhan, and Mitchell Sanders *Journal of Elections, Public Opinion and Parties*, DOI: [10.1080/17457289.2020.1790577](https://doi.org/10.1080/17457289.2020.1790577), 2020

“Searching for Bright Lines in the Trump Presidency,” with John Carey, Gretchen Helmke, Brendan Nyhan, and Mitch Sanders. *Perspectives on Politics*, <https://doi.org/10.1017/S153759271900001X>, 2019

“Accountability for Realists.” *Critical Review* 30(1-2):130-138, 2018

“Beyond Opportunity Costs: Campaign Messages, Anger, and Turnout Among the Unemployed,” with Erdem Aytaç and Eli Rau, *British Journal of Political Science*, 1-15. doi:10.1017/S0007123418000248, 2018

“When do the Wealthy Support Redistribution? Inequality Aversion in Buenos Aires,” with Germán Feierherd and Luis Schiumerini, *British Journal of Political Science*, 1-13, doi:10.1017/S0007123417000588, 2018

“Why do People Join Backlash Movements? Lesson from Turkey,” with Erdem Aytaç and Luis Schiumerini, *Journal of Conflict Resolution*, 62(6):1205-1228, January, 2017

“Protests and Repression in New Democracies,” with Erdem Aytaç and Luis Schiumerini *Perspectives on Politics*, Vol. 15, Issue 1:62-82, March 2017

“Catalyst or Cause? Legislation and the Demise of Machine Politics in Britain and the United States,” with Eddie Camp and Avinash Dixit, *Legislative Studies Quarterly* 39(4):559-592, 2014

“Democracy, Interrupted: Regime Change and Partisanship in Twentieth-Century Argentina.” With Noam Lupu, *Electoral Studies* 29:91-104, 2010

“The Social Bases of Political Parties in Argentina, 1912-2003.” With Noam Lupu, *Latin American Research Review*, 44(1):58-87, 2009  
Spanish translation in *Desarrollo Económico* 47(192), 2009

“Réditos y peligros electorales del gasto público en Argentina.” With Valeria Brusco and Marcelo Nazareno, *Desarrollo Económico* 46(181):63-86, April-June 2006

“Perverse Accountability: A Formal Model of Machine Politics with Evidence from

- Argentina." *American Political Science Review* 99(3):315-325, 2005 (Eulau Prize)
- "Vote Buying in Argentina." With Valeria Brusco and Marcelo Nazareno. *Latin American Research Review*, 39(2):66-88, 2004  
Reprinted in *El Debate Político* 2(4/5), November 2006
- "Endogenous Democratization." With Carles Boix. *World Politics* 55(4), 2003
- "Calidad democrática en los gobiernos locales: gasto público y elecciones municipales en la Argentina de los 90." With Valeria Brusco and Marcelo Nazareno. *Política y Gestión* 6:53-73, 2003
- "Apuntes para la investigación del clientelismo en Argentina." With Valeria Brusco and Marcelo Nazareno, *Revista de la Sociedad Argentina de Análisis Político* (SAAP), 2002
- "Political Parties and Democracy." *Annual Review of Political Science* vol. 2, 1999
- "Constituency Influence and Representation." *Electoral Studies*, 17(3):351-367, September 1998
- "Are Parties What's Wrong with Democracy in Latin America?" *Política y Gobierno* 5(1):13-46, 1998
- "Democratic Accountability and Policy Change: Economic Policy in Fujimori's Peru." *Comparative Politics* 29(2):209-226, 1997
- "Public Opinion and Market Reforms: The Limits of Economic Voting." (Introduction to a special issue, Public Opinion and Market Reforms in New Democracies), *Comparative Political Studies* 29(5):499-519, 1996  
Reprinted in Spanish in *Desarrollo Económico*, Buenos Aires, June 1997  
Reprinted in French in *Problèmes économiques*, Paris, 1998
- "Economic Reform and Public Opinion in Peru." *Comparative Political Studies* 29(5):544-565, 1996, Reprinted in Spanish in Fernando Tuesta, ed., *Los Enigmas del Poder*, Lima, Friedrich Ebert, 1996
- "Politics and Latin America's Urban Poor: Notes From a Lima Shantytown." *Latin American Research Review* 26(2):75-101, 1991
- "Hegemony, Consciousness, and Political Change in Peru." *Politics and Society* 19(3):265-290, 1991
- "Soccer and Social Change in Early 20th-Century Peru." *Journal of Latin American Popular Culture*, with Steve Stein and José Deustua, vols. 1 and 2, 1984

## Book Chapters

- “Costly Abstention,” with Erdem Aytaç. In Marco Giugni, and Maria Grasso (eds) *The Oxford Handbook of Political Participation* online edition, Oxford Academic August 2022, <https://doi.org/10.1093/oxfordhb/97801988861126.013.47>
- “Are Protests Good or Bad for Democracy?” *In Protest and Dissent, Nomos LXII*, Melissa Schwartzberg, ed., 2020
- “A Defense of Observational Research.” *In Dawn Teele, ed., Field Experiments and their Critics*. Yale University Press, 2014
- “Political Clientelism.” *In Carles Boix and Susan C. Stokes, eds., Oxford University Press Handbook of Comparative Politics*, 2007, pp. 604-627
- “Region, Contingency, and Democratization.” *In Ian Shapiro, ed., Political Contingency*, NYU Press, 2007
- “Monopoly and Monitoring: An Approach to Political Clientelism,” With Luis Fernando Medina. *In Herbert Kitschelt and Steven Wilkinson, eds., Patrons, Clients, and Policies*, Cambridge University Press, 2007
- “Is Vote Buying Undemocratic?” *In Frederic C. Schaffer, ed., Elections for Sale: The Causes and Consequences of Vote Buying*, Lynne Rienner, 2007  
Spanish translation, “Ofertas programáticas e intercambios particularistas” in *Candados y contrapesos*. Mexico: Fondo de Cultura Económica, 2008
- “Do Informal Rules Make Democracy Work? Accounting for Accountability in Argentina.” *In Gretchen Helmke and Steven Levitsky, eds., Informal Institutions and Democracy*, Johns Hopkins Press, 2006
- “Ingreso, región, y calidad de la democracia en Argentina,” with Valeria Brusco and Marcelo Nazareno. *In Samuel Amaral and Susan Stokes, eds., La Democracia local en Argentina* Buenos Aires: Tres de Febrero, 2005
- “Public Opinion and the Political Logic of Neoliberalism.” *In Fernando Tuesta, ed., Fujimori, 1990-1999*, Lima: Friedrich Ebert, 1999
- “Democracy and Representation: Comments on ‘Democratic Representation: Two Contributions from Comparative Politics’ by G. Bingham Powell, Jr.” *In Edward D. Mansfield and Richard Sisson, eds., The Evolution of Political Knowledge* Columbus: The Ohio State University Press, 2003
- “Pathologies of Deliberation.” *In Jon Elster, ed., Deliberative Democracy*, New York: Cambridge University Press, 1998
- “Peru and the Rupture of Democratic Governance.” *In Jorge I. Domínguez and*

Abraham F. Lowenthal, eds., *Constructing Democratic Governance*. Johns Hopkins University Press, 1996

“Democracy and the Limits of Popular Sovereignty in South America.” In J. Tulchin and B. Romero, eds. *Essays on the Consolidation of Democracy in Latin America*, Boulder: Lynne Rienner, 1995

“Redemocratización y representación en América del Sur: Un balance crítico.” In Anna Balletbó, ed. *La Consolidación Democrática en América Latina*, Barcelona: Hacer, 1994

“Raza y clase social: los afro-peruanos de Lima, 1900-1930.” In Steve Stein ed. *Lima Obrera, 1900-1930*, vol. 2, Lima: Editorial Virrey, 1987

“Entre el chimpún y el offside.” With Steve Stein and José Deustua. In Stein ed. *Lima Obrera, 1900-1930* vol. 1, Lima: Editorial Virrey, 1986

## **Other Publications**

“Kansas voted for abortion rights. What does that mean for the midterms?” with Eli Rau and Radha Sarkar, *The Monkey Cage* (Washington Post), August 2022

“Would-be Authoritarians and the Pandemic in the Americas,” O’Donnell Prize Lecture, LASA Forum 52(3):8-17, Summer 2021

“Why Protests?” lead essay in *The Wilson Quarterly*, Winter 2020, <https://www.wilsonquarterly.com/quarterly/the-power-of-protest/why-protest/>

“Americans just set a turnout record for the midterms, voting at the highest rate since 1914. This explains why,” with Erdem Aytaç, *The Monkey Cage* (Washington Post), November 20, 2018

“A significant minority of Americans say they could support a military takeover of the U.S. government,” with Germán Feierherd and Noam Lupu, *The Monkey Cage* (Washington Post), February 16, 2018

“Donald Trump’s message of fear may mobilize Americans to vote (but not necessarily for him)” *The Monkey Cage* (Washington Post), July 25, 2016

“Trump supporters vastly overestimate the unemployment rate (and they blame politicians for it),” *The Monkey Cage* (Washington Post), November 2, 2016

“People who protest almost certainly voted,” *The Monkey Cage* (Washington Post), February 6, 2016

## **Lectures**



Northwestern University (2024, 2019, 2015), Universidad de San Andrés (Buenos Aires, 2024), University of Victoria, (2024), Tec de Monterrey (2024, 2022), Harvard University (2023, 2020, 2013, 2007, 2003, 2000), Kyiv Institute of Economics (2022), Stanford University (2022, 2013, 2012, 2003), Apple University (2022), Vanderbilt University (2022, 2013, 2007), University of Virginia (2021, 2008), Bogaziçi University (2021), Washington University in St. Louis (2021, 2001), Boston University (2021), Texas A&M University (2021, 2016), Clark University (2021), UDESA Buenos Aires (2020, ), Duke University (2020, 1998); University of California, San Diego (2020, 2015), Meiji University, Tokyo (2019), Australian National University (2018), University of Melbourne (2018), University of Otago (2018), University of Rosario, Colombia (2018), Johns Hopkins SAIS (2018), University of Gothenburg (2017, 2011), Georgetown (2017), University of Chicago (2017), University of Maryland (2016), Universidad Nacional de Guadalajara (2015), Tulane University (2015), , University of Rochester (2015), Vassar College (2015), University of São Paulo (2014), Koç University, Turkey (2014), Sabancı University, Turkey (2014), Universidad de los Andes, Bogota, Colombia (2013), University of California, Berkeley (2012), University of Michigan (2012, 2005, 2003, 1997), Columbia University (2012, 2007, 2002), University of Southern California (2012, 2003), University of California, Los Angeles (2012), Universidad di Tella, Buenos Aires (2012, 1995), Florida State University (2011), University of (2014, 2011), Oxford University (2010, 2011), Fundación Juan March, Madrid (2011, 1999), University of Sussex (2010), Princeton University (2018, 2014, 2010, 2009, 2007, 2003, 1997, 1996, 1995, 1993), Ohio State University (2009), CIDE, Mexico (2009), UNAM, Mexico (2009), Cornell University (2009), Central European University Institute, Budapest (2008), New York University (2018, 2008, 1996), Brown University (2007), University of Texas Austin (2007), Instituto Federal Electoral and El Colegio de México (2006), Wesleyan University (2006), China Reform Forum, Beijing (2005), University of Illinois (2004), University of Notre Dame (2004), Russell Sage Foundation (2004), Northwestern University (2004), Universidad Nacional de Córdoba, Argentina (2003), University of Pittsburg (2001), Universidad Tres de Febrero, Buenos Aires (2000), University of Pennsylvania (2000), University of Kansas (1998), George Washington University (1997), Universidad Nacional Mar del Plata (1995), Instituto de Estudios Peruanos, Lima (1993), Olof Palme Foundation, Barcelona (1993)

## **Professional activities and associations**

### *Service to Yale*

Chair, Council on Latin American and Iberian Studies (2015-2018)

Chair, Political Science Department, 2009-2014

University Budget Committee, 2011-13

Political Science Department Director of Undergraduate Studies, 2007-09

Faculty recruitment committees (multiple years)

Co-convenor, Comparative Politics Workshop

Director, Yale Program on Democracy (2005-2018)

### *Service to the University of Chicago*

Women's Leadership Council (current)

Committee on Honorary Degrees (2020-current)  
Co-convenor, Comparative Politics Workshop  
Graduate Placement Director (2001-02)  
Director of Graduate Studies (1997-2000)  
Faculty search committees, graduate admissions committees  
Social Science Dean Selection Committee  
Co-convenor, Workshop in Comparative Politics and Historical Sociology

*Service to the American Political Science Association*

Section chair, Democracy & Autocracy (2019-2021)  
Luebbert book prize committee (2016-17)  
Madison Prize Committee chair (2016-17)  
Comparative Politics Section: President (2009-11) and Vice President (2007-09)  
Vice President of APSA, 2007-08  
Program Co-Chair, annual meetings (2005)  
Comparative Politics Organized Section Executive Committee (2003-05)  
Program Chair, Developing Areas Sub-Section, Annual Meetings (2000)  
Gabriel A. Almond Award Committee (1997-98)  
Comparative Politics Section President Selection Committee (1996-97)

*Service to the Latin American Studies Association*

Latin American Studies Association delegation to observe Peruvian electoral campaign, February 1995

*Cambridge University Press*

Associate Editor, Comparative Politics Series, (2001-current)

*Society for Comparative Research*

Selection Committee, Dogan Book Prize (2004)

*Politics and Society* Editorial Board (1993-2000)