

Votes for Survival

Relational Clientelism in Latin America

SIMEON NICHTER

University of California, San Diego



CAMBRIDGE
UNIVERSITY PRESS

Contents

<i>List of Figures</i>	<i>page</i> ix
<i>List of Tables</i>	xi
<i>Acknowledgments</i>	xiii
I Introduction	I
1.1 <i>The Puzzle</i>	3
1.2 <i>The Argument</i>	5
1.3 <i>The Role of Citizens</i>	6
1.4 <i>Relational Clientelism</i>	7
1.5 <i>The Mechanisms</i>	11
1.6 <i>Implications for Clientelism</i>	14
1.7 <i>Why Brazil?</i>	16
1.8 <i>The Plan of the Book</i>	22
PART I ELECTORAL CLIENTELISM	
2 Challenges for Electoral Clientelism	27
2.1 <i>Strategies of Electoral Clientelism</i>	28
2.2 <i>Logic of Electoral Clientelism</i>	30
2.3 <i>Effect of Ballot Secrecy</i>	33
2.4 <i>Effect of Compulsory Voting</i>	41
2.5 <i>Effect of Voter Audits</i>	49
2.6 <i>Effect of Anti-Clientelism Legislation</i>	53
2.7 <i>Summary</i>	63
PART II RELATIONAL CLIENTELISM	
3 Citizens and Relational Clientelism	69
3.1 <i>Definition of Relational Clientelism</i>	70

3.2	<i>Resilience of Relational Clientelism</i>	70
3.3	<i>Vulnerability and Relational Clientelism</i>	73
3.4	<i>Declared Support</i>	74
3.5	<i>Requesting Benefits</i>	79
3.6	<i>Summary</i>	83
4	<i>Income and Vulnerability</i>	84
4.1	<i>Rising Incomes</i>	85
4.2	<i>Income and Clientelism</i>	92
4.3	<i>Vulnerability</i>	98
4.4	<i>Summary</i>	111
5	<i>Declared Support</i>	113
5.1	<i>Prevalence of Declared Support</i>	114
5.2	<i>Declared Support and Relational Clientelism</i>	117
5.3	<i>Quantitative Analysis of Declared Support</i>	127
5.4	<i>Declared Support and Signaling</i>	139
5.5	<i>Voter Calculus of Declared Support</i>	145
5.6	<i>Summary</i>	147
6	<i>Requesting Benefits</i>	149
6.1	<i>Prevalence of Citizen Requests</i>	150
6.2	<i>Requests and Vulnerability</i>	153
6.3	<i>Requests and Relational Clientelism</i>	156
6.4	<i>Requests and Screening</i>	166
6.5	<i>Summary</i>	176
PART III EXTENSIONS		
7	<i>Citizen Strategies in Comparative Context</i>	179
7.1	<i>Mexico</i>	180
7.2	<i>Argentina</i>	189
7.3	<i>Other Countries</i>	198
7.4	<i>Summary</i>	203
8	<i>Conclusion</i>	205
	<i>Appendix A Description of Qualitative Fieldwork</i>	217
	<i>Appendix B Description of Surveys</i>	220
	<i>Appendix C Signaling Model of Declared Support</i>	235
	<i>Appendix D Regression Tables for Declared Support</i>	241
	<i>Appendix E Regression Tables for Requesting Benefits</i>	254
	<i>Appendix F Regression Tables for Comparative Chapter</i>	265
	<i>Bibliography</i>	269
	<i>Author Index</i>	287
	<i>Subject Index</i>	291