

Index

abstention buying, definition of, 14n, 135 normative implications of, 254 accountability, 183, 246, 252-254, 257-258 Adams County, Ohio, 227 Afrobarometer surveys, 154, 161, 165 Aid to Families with Dependent Children (United States), 229, 230 Albania, 137 Albany (city of, United States), 232 Alfonsín, Raúl (Argentina), 37 aligned district, definition of, 133 anggota tim sukses (success team members, Indonesia), 19 Anti-Corrupt Practices Act. See Corrupt and Illegal Practices Act of 1883 (Britain) Ashton-under-Lyne, (borough of, Britain), 224 Australia, 5, 10, 136 Australian Ballot, see Ballot autonomy, of voters, 13, 154, 226, 246-247, 249, 252-254, 257-258 Ávila, Eruviel (Mexico), 4 ballot, secrecy of, 19, 35, 81, 101, 104, 181, 182n,

party-produced or ticket, in United States,

Australian, definition of, 101, 103n, 183,

reform, and decline of clientelism, 184,

reform of, United States, 184n, 220, 227, 232, 238, 242, 251 reform of, Britain, 220, 221, 223-226 Ballot Act of 1872 (Britain), 220, 222, 225 Baltimore (city of, United States), 230, 232 Bangalore (city of, India), 160 Benin, 17 Beverly (borough of, Britain), 208, 223n Bihar (India), 52-53, 65, 297 Birmingham, (constituencies in, Britain), 214 Bolivia, 156 Bologna (city of, Italy) bootstrapping, 98, 262, 265n, 271-275. (See also Bootstrapped standard errors.) Boston (city of, United States), 232, 234 Botswana, 156 Brazil, 19, 155 Bright, John, 226 brokers, as information providers, 19 definition of, 75 utility function of, 81 Bush, George W., 143

cabos electorais (vote brokers, Brazil), 19
caciques (vote brokers, Mexico), 19, 96n
Campaign Manifestos Project, 9n
Can you Forgive Her? See also Anthony
Trollope, 208
Canada, 25, 137
Cárdenas, Cuauhtémoc, 145
certain voters, definition of, 66
Chartists, 225

311

183, 202, 225

220, 227, 251

official (United States), 205

184-185, 205, 241

239, 242

More information

312 Index

Chávez Frías, Hugo, 26, 43-44, 48-49, 107, economic growth. See income, 147, 209, industrialization. Ecuador, 156 approval of and social programs, 281–284 Chicago (city of, United States), 20, 228-229, efficiency, 232, 234 as argument for clientelism, 26, 246, Chile, 156, 157 255-258 Christian Democratic Party (Partito electoral college, 132, 134, 142-143 Democratico Cristiano, Italy), 20, 88, 153 electorate, Civil Works Administration (CWA, United size of and electoral strategies, 21, 158, 177-178, 181-182, 193, 201 States), 229 Cleveland, Grover, 241 growth of and clientelism in Britain, clientelism, definition of, 13 213-214, 216-217 coercion, of voters, 13, 247, 249, 253 growth of and clientelism in the United communication, 21, 158, 178, 186, 199, 201 States, 233–236, 242 costs and the decline of clientelism in Emergency Food Aid program (Argentina), 4 Britain, 209, 211-212, 221, 221n, 226 endogenous loyalty, 24, 32, 56, 59, 61, 64-65 Estonia, 156 costs and the decline of clientelism in the United States, 238 Eurobarometer surveys, 155 Congress Party (India), 146 European Political Party Middle Level Elites Conservative Party (Britain), 210 study, 262 constituency service, definition of, 14, 106 Exchange Telegraph, 212 Conurbano (Argentina), 91, 98, 261, 264-265, 271 Faith Based Initiatives, 232 COPEI (Venezuela), 43, 107 Federal Corrupt Practices Act (United States), core constituents, definition of, 34 240-241 Corrupt and Illegal Practices Act of 1883 Federal Emergency Management Program (Britain), 206, 212, 217, 222, 224 (FEMA, United States), 134-135, 143, Corrupt Practices Act of 1854 (Britain), 231-232 222-223 federal systems, see federalism Costa Rica, 157 federalism, and distributive politics, 133, 205, Cox machine, Cincinnati (United States), 228 Czech Republic, 156 federalized, see federalism fixers (vote brokers, India), 19 Florencio Varela (Argentina), 91, 121, 126 dalal (middlemen, India), 19 Daley machine, Chicago, 228 Florida, 134-135, 143-144 de la Rúa, Fernando, 37 franchise, growth of in response to de la Sota, José Manuel, 121 industrialization, 209 decentralization, see Federalism extensions in Britain, 210, 213, 219, 219n, Democratic Action (Acción Democrática, AD, 220, 223, 224n Venezuela), 40-43, 43, 107 extension in United States, 229, 232-233, Democratic Party (United States) 1162, 238 236-237, 241 Dickens, Charles, 217 See also electorate. diminishing marginal utility of income, Fujimori, Alberto, 137 and clientelism, 25, 79, 85-86, 88, 161, 164, 170, 177, 193, 196, 251 Gaskell, Mary, 217 District Assembly Common Fund (Ghana), 18, gestores (vote brokers, Mexico), 19 138 Ghana, 138 Disraeli, Benjamin, 214, 224n, 225 Gilded Age (United States), 20, 227

Gladstone, William, 212, 225-226

gram panchayats (village councils, India), 52,

Gorst, John, 212, 226

297

Durham machine, Philadelphia (United States),

228

earmarks, 8, 11

More information

Index 313

Great Reform Act of 1832 (Britain), 202n, 206, 208, 210, 210n, 213 gross domestic product per capita (GDP), and clientelism, 152, 154-155 average in democracies, 23 See also Poor countries, Poverty. Grote, George, 225 Guatemala, 156

Hague machine, Jersey City, 228-229 Hayes, Rutherford, 238, 241 Hopkins, Harry, 228 House of Commons, 200-202, 206, 224-225 House of Representatives (U.S.), 201 Housing Improvement Program (Singapore),

hua khanaen (vote canvassers, Thailand), 19

Illinois, 142, 144, 246 immigrants, their neighborhoods as base of U.S. urban machines, 153, 204, 227, 233-234, 236-237, 239

as byproduct of U.S. industrialization, 2.33

economic rise and decline of U.S. machines, 233, 238 European to U.S., 234

and slower pace of decline of vote buying in U.S., 205, 233

imperative mandates, 153, 171 income, 45

and clientelism, 18, 25, 88, 152, 154-156, 158, 161–162, 170, 180

and clientelism in Argentina, 40, 48, 159,

and clientelism in India, 40, 160 and the decline of clientelism, 177-179, 184-185

and clientelism in Latin America, 159 and the decline of vote buying in Britain, 210, 217-219

and the decline of vote buying in the United States, 233, 237 and risk tolerance, 167

and normative considerations, 248-249, 251, 257

industrial revolution. See industrialization. industrialization,

its impact on clientelism, 21, 158, 178, 180-182, 182n, 186, 198, 198n, 199, 201, 205

and the decline of vote buying in Britain, 206, 209, 209n, 212-214, 217, 220, 222, 223, 226

and the decline of vote buying in the United States, 232-233, 237, 242

Israel, 156 Italy, 88, 156, 234 Ivins, William Mills, 242

Japan, 156

jefes zonales (zone chiefs, Venezuela), 107 Justice First party (Primero Justicia, Venezuela), 107

Karnataka, 52, 53n, 64, 112, 145, 160,

Kelly-Nash machine, Chicago, 228-229 Kenya, 17 Kerry, John, 143 Know-Nothings, 235

Knox County, Ohio (United States), 238

La Efectiva (Mexico), 4, 5, 10, 164, 259 Labastida, Francisco, 62n, 63-64 Labour Party (Australia), 10 Latin American Public Opinion Program

(LAPOP), 156, 158-159 Latinobarometer surveys, 156

Latvia, 156

League of Women Voters, 240

Leicester, (city of, Britain), 200 Lesotho, 155

Liberal Democratic Party (Japan), 131 Liberal Party (Britain), 210

Liverpool, (city of, Britain), 214 logrolling, 257

London, (Britain), 217, 220, 223n, 225 loyal district, definition of, 133, 137

Magee machine, (Pittsburgh, United States), 228

Maisanta, 44-46, 289-291 Manchester, (city of, Britain), 214, 220, 225 mandates, 252, 257

marginal district, definition of, 132 McMane machine, (Philadelphia, United States), 228

Menem, Carlos, 148, 150, 168 Mexico 2000 Panel Study, 50, 59, 72 Mezzogiorno (region, Italy), 153

Milan, 153 Mill, John Stuart, 225

More information

314 Index

Misiones (province, Argentina), 45 Missions (Misiones, Venezuela), 284 Mission Ribas, 45, 45n, 46, 147, 284 Mission Robinson, 45n, 46, 284 Mission Sucre, 147 mobilization, definition, 67 Montenegro, 156 Movement to Socialism (Movimento al Socialismo, MAS, Venezuela), 107 Mugwumps, 242 multidistrict elections, 132, 143 Naples, (city of, Italy), 20, 153 National Action Party (Partido de Acción Nacional, PAN), Mexico, 51, 61 National Fund of Compensation and Social Development (Fondo Nacional de Compensación y Desarrollo Social, FONCODES, Peru), 137 National Housing Fund (Fondo Nacional de Vivienda, FONAVI, Argentina), 148 National Solidarity Program (PRONASOL, Mexico), 144-145 National Treasury Contributions (Aportes del Tesoro Nacional, ATN, Argentina), 148-149, 150 New Deal, 25, 135, 141, 233 New York, city of (United States), 20, 227, 229, 232, 234 State of (United States), 135, 228, 238 New York State electoral reform act, 240 Newark (city of, United States), 201, 227 Nicaragua, 156 Nicaraguans, 41 nonconditional individual benefits, definition nonprogrammatic politics, definition of, 7, 10 official ballot (U.S.) See ballot opposition district, definition of, 133

Palermo (city of, Italy), 20, 153
Palmerston, Henry John Temple, 3rd
Viscount, 210
Paraguay, 156
participation,
as argument for clientelism, 22, 26, 246, 251–255, 258
See also turnout buying.
partisan bias, definition of, 12

organization buying, 250-251

party agents (vote brokers, Britain), 19
Party of the Institutionalized Revolution
(Partido de la Revolución Institucional,
PRI, Mexico), 4, 50, 59, 88
and clientelism in Mexico, 51
partisanship and vote intentions in 2000,
61, 62, 62n, 63, 64
and political use of PRONASOL funds,
144–145
patronage democracy, 52, 54
patronage, definition of, 14
Pendleton Civil Service Act (United States),
240, 241

240, 241
People's Action Party (PAP), Singapore, 4–5
People's Charter, See Chartists.
Perez, Leander, 157, 228
Perón, Eva, 4, 120
Perón, Juan Domingo, 4, 120

Peronist Party (*Partido Justicialista*, PJ), 36, 37, 40, 264 voter identification with, 58–59, 120 and low-income voters, 40–43, 162 in broker survey, 99, 100

and patronage, 121 and distribution of funds from national programs, 148–151 voters' perceptions of credibility of

campaign promises, 168–169 strength in Conurbano, 264 persuasion, definition of, 67

Peru, 137

perverse accountability, 183 Petare (city of, Venezuela), 107, 126–127 Philips, Mark, 225 Platforms, electoral, 9, 166, 177, 221, 228 Plunkitt, George Washington, 20, 231

Poland, 156
poor countries,
prevalence of vote buying in, 5, 23, 152,
154, 156, 213
people in and vote selling, 18, 77, 86,
180

poor voters, 84, 89, 158, 161–166, 169–170, 177, 185, 193, 217, 226, 237 in the electorate and clientelism, 21, 25, 152–153, 158, 185, 218, 231–233, 242 and transitions from clientelism, 88 and vote buying in Argentina, 40, 85, 159, 168, 170 and vote buying in Venezuela, 160 and vote buying in India, 160 and vote buying in Africa, 160

More information

Index 315

and normative considerations of vote Revolutionary Democratic Party (Partido de la buying, 246, 248-249, 251, 254-256 Revolución Democrática, PRD, Mexico), 51, 61, 145 population growth, Riutort, Olga, 121 impact on clientelism, 21, 178, 182n, 199 risk, and the decline of vote buying in Britain, voters' aversion to and clientelism, 18, 25, 213-214 154, 163, 163n, 164-167 and the decline of vote buying in the United reduction of and decline of clientelism, 153 States, 233–236 in candidates, 35, 134, 136 among people in Argentina, 168-169 See also electorate. pork-barrel politics, definition of, 8, 12 policy implications, 153 porteurs de voix (vote carriers, Senegal), See also poverty, income 19 rival district, definition of, 133 Roosevelt, Franklin Delano, 142, 228, 238 Portugal, 137, 156 potential voters, definition of, 66 Roosevelt, Theodore, 241 See poor, income, risk, gross domestic Salinas, Carlos, 144-145 product per capita. scheduled castes, 53 precinct captains (United States), 19 Senegal, 17, 19 presidential systems, 54, 131 Sheehan machine (Buffalo, United States), 228 Sheffield, (city of, Britain), 214 primary elections and clientelism in Argentina, 114, 122-123, 123n, 124 Singapore, 4 Program Work (Plan Trabajar, Argentina), Slovenia, 156 150-151 social desirability bias, 41, 68, 105, 154 Social Security (United States), 229 programmatic distribution, definition of, 7 South Korea, 138, 156 Progresa/Oportunidades (Mexico), 3-5, 9, 23, Spain, 11, 136, 156 Progressive Era, 204, 227-228, 241 Stafford (borough of, Britain), 200 puntero (vote broker, Argentina), 106, 167 subcontracting, 24, 32, 72, 110 Supreme Court of the United States, 8, 13, 22, Radical Civic Union Party (Partido Unión 241, 248 Cívica Radical), 36-37, 149 Sweden, 5, 10, 137, 144 and clientelism in Argentina, 38-39 and voter identification, 120 Tamil Nadu (India), 146 in broker survey Tammany Hall machine, 5, 228-229 voters' perceptions of credibility of Tanzania, 155 campaign promises, 168 Teh Cheang Wan, 5 strength in Córdoba, 264 Thailand, 19 Tory Party, see Conservative Party Rajasthan (India), 52-53, 65, 297 Ralph the Heir, (See also Anthony Trollope), Trollope, Anthony, 208 208 turnout buying, definition of, 14 redistribution, of income as argument for clientelism, 26,

U.S. v. Newberry, 241
United Socialist Party of Venezuela (*Partido Socialista Unido de Venezuela*, PSUV), 107
urbanization,

and the opacity of voting, 21, 178, 193 and the decline of vote buying in Britain, 212–213, 220

and the decline of vote buying in the United States, 232

246, 255–256, 258

as electoral redistricting, 214, 226

Reform Act of 1867 (Britain), 213, 222

Renovation Party (Partido Renovador,

Argentina), 100, 264

referente (vote broker, Argentina), 106, 167

relais électoraux (electoral relays, Senegal),

Republican Party (United States), 230, 238



More information

316 Index

Uruguay, 156–157 Uttar Pradesh, 119

Vare machine (Philadelphia, United States), 228

vecteurs (vectors, Senegal), 19

vote buying, definition of, 14

and normative democratic theory, 246–248, 251, 253–254, 256, 256n, 257–258

vote selling, see Vote buying

vote trafficking, see Vote buying

voters, utility function, 33 Vuelvan Caras, 45, 45n

weakly opposed voters, definition of, 36 Works Progress Administration (WPA), 142, 228–229 World Bank, 153

York (city of, Britain), 217 Yrigoyen, Hipólito, 120