

Susan C. Stokes

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Department of Political Science
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Positions held

- 2005-current John S. Saden Professor of Political Science, Yale University
Director, Yale Program on Democracy
Chair, Political Science Department, 2009-2012
- 2000-2005 Professor of Political Science, University of Chicago
- 1995-2005 Director, Chicago Center on Democracy
- 2000-2005 Professor of Political Science, University of Chicago
- 1996-2000 Associate Professor of Political Science, University of Chicago
- 1991-96 Assistant Professor of Political Science, University of Chicago
- 1988-91 Assistant Professor of Political Science, University of Washington

Education

- 1988 Ph.D. in Political Science, Stanford University. Major fields: Comparative Politics, Political Theory
- 1985 M.A. in Anthropology, Stanford University
- 1981 A.B., Harvard-Radcliffe, *magna cum laude* with Highest Honors in Anthropology

Grants and fellowships

- 2010-current Associate Member, Nuffield College, Oxford University
- 2008 Elected to the American Academy of Arts and Sciences

- 2003-2004 John Simon Guggenheim Memorial Foundation Fellowship, *Explaining Political Clientelism in Argentina*
- 2003-2005 National Science Foundation research grant SES-0241958, “*Explaining Political Clientelism*”
- 2000-2002 Research grant, “*Trust and the Consolidation of Democracy*,” Russell Sage Foundation
- 1999-2000 American Philosophical Society Sabbatical Fellowship
- 1997-99 National Science Foundation research grant SBR-9617796, “*Mandates and Democracy*”
- 1993-96 Social Science Division Research Grant, University of Chicago
- 1993 SSRC seed grant for conference, "Political Dynamics of Economic Reforms"
- 1990-94 SSRC-MacArthur Fellowship in International Peace and Security
- 1989-90 University of Washington Graduate School Research Fund
- 1985-86 Fulbright-Hays Department of Education Dissertation Research Fellowship
- 1982-85 National Science Foundation Graduate Studies Fellowship
- 1984 Mellon-Stanford Latin American Studies Center pre-dissertation grant
- 1981-82 Fulbright-III research grant

Books

Single-authored and coauthored

Buying Votes: Distributive Politics in Democracies. With Thad Dunning, Marcelo Nazareno, and Valeria Brusco. Anticipated publication date: 2012

In all democracies, parties try to win elections by offering voters material benefits. Why are some forms of distributive politics considered normal and legitimate democratic practices, others illegitimate and illegal? Why do parties distribute rewards to their loyal supporters, whose votes they should be able to take for granted? How does vote buying survive the introduction of the secret ballot? Why did it disappear in advanced democracies such as Great Britain and the United States? Is it being eclipsed by more legitimate forms of distributive politics in today’s new democracies? Drawing on a wealth of original research and secondary studies, and with positive and normative theoretical analysis, our book offers answers to these questions.

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

Winner of the Mattei Dogan Award for the Best Comparative Book of the Year, 2002, awarded by the Society for Comparative Research

Winner of the Best Book Award, Comparative Democratization Section, American Political Science Association, 2003

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

Edited volumes

Political Representation, co-edited with Ian Shapiro and Elisabeth Wood. Cambridge University Press, 2009

Designing Democratic Government: Making Institutions Work, co-edited with Margaret Levi, James Johnson, and Jack Knight. The 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. With Samuel Amaral. Buenos Aires: Universidad Tres de Febrero, 2005

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

Democracy, Accountability, and Representation. With Adam Przeworski and Bernard Manin, Cambridge University Press, 1999

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

Articles in refereed journals

“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):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, August, 2005
- Awarded the 2006 Heinz Eulau Award for the best paper in the *American Political Science Review*
- “Vote Buying in Argentina,” with Valeria Brusco and Marcelo Nazareno. *Latin American Research Review*, 39(2):66-88, June 2004
- Reprinted in *El Debate Político: Revista Iberoamericana de Analisis Politico* 2(4/5), November 2006
- “Endogenous Democratization,” with Carles Boix. *World Politics* 55(4), July 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), special inaugural issue celebrating SAAP’s 20th anniversary, October 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, June 1998
- "Democratic Accountability and Policy Change: Economic Policy in Fujimori's Peru", *Comparative Politics* 29(2):209-226, January 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, October 1996
- Reprinted in Spanish in *Desarrollo Económico*, 37:31-56, 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, October, 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, two parts, vols. 1 and 2, 1984

Book Chapters

"A Defense of Observational Research." In Dawn Teele, ed., *Field Experiments and their Critics*. Under review at Yale University Press. Anticipated publication: 2012.

"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: Studying the Unexpected, the Accidental, and the Unforeseen*, New York University 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: La compra de votos como vulneración de la democracia", in Gómez Álvarez, ed., *Candados y contrapesos: La protección de los programas y derechos sociales en México y América Latina*. Mexico: Fondo de Cultura Económica, 2008

"Do Informal Rules Make Democracy Work? Accounting for Accountability in Argentina," Gretchen Helmke and Steven Levitsky, eds., *Informal Institutions and*

Democracy: Lessons from Latin America, 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: Clientelismo, capital social, e innovación*. Buenos Aires: Universidad Tres de Febrero, 2005, pp. 246-274

"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: Latin America and the Caribbean in the 1990s*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1996

"Democracy and the Limits of Popular Sovereignty in South America." In Joseph Tulchin and Bernice 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

Manuscripts and Working Papers

How does the Internal Structure of Political Parties Shape their Distributive Strategies?, with Thad Dunning

Pork by Any Other Name...Building a Conceptual Scheme of Distributive Politics

Globalization, Partisanship, and the Size of the Public Sector in Latin America

Why do Clientelist Parties Target the Poor?, with Thad Dunning, Valeria Brusco, and Marcelo Nazareno

“Clientelism as Political Monopoly,” with Luis Fernando Medina. Chicago Center on Democracy Working Paper #25

“Selective Incentives and Electoral Mobilization: Evidence from Argentina.” With Valeria Brusco and Marcelo Nazareno, Chicago Center on Democracy Working Paper #26

"From Policy Change to Preference Change? Neoliberalism and Public Opinion in Latin America." With John Baughman, Chicago Center on Democracy Working Paper #19

"Citizen Information and Government Accountability: What Must Citizens Know to Control Politicians?" With Adam Przeworski, Chicago Center on Democracy Working Paper #16

Política y conciencia popular en Lima: el caso de Independencia, Documento de Trabajo no. 31, Instituto de Estudios Peruanos, 1989

Lectures

University of Gothenburg (2011), University of Essex (2011), Oxford University (2010, 2011), Fundación Juan March, Madrid (2011, 1999), University of Sussex (2010), Princeton University (2010, 2009, 2007, 2003, 1997, 1996, 1995, 1993), Ohio State University (2009), CIDE, Mexico (2009), UNAM, Mexico (2009), Cornell University (2009), University of Virginia (2008), Central European University Institute, Budapest (2008), New York University (2008, 1996), Brown University (2007), University of Texas Austin (2007), Harvard University (2007, 2003, 2000), Vanderbilt University (2007), Columbia University (2007, 2002), Instituto Federal Electoral and El Colegio de México (2006), Wesleyan University (2006), China Reform Forum, Beijing (2005), University of California, San Diego (2005), University of Michigan (2005, 2003, 1997), University of Illinois (2004), University of Notre Dame (2004), Russell Sage Foundation (2004), Northwestern University (2004), Universidad Nacional de Córdoba, Argentina (2003), Stanford University (2003), Washington University (2001), University of Pittsburg (2001), Universidad Tres de Febrero, Buenos Aires (2000), University of Pennsylvania (2000), University of Kansas (1998), George Washington University (1997), Universidad di Tella, Buenos Aires (1995), 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, Political Science Department (2009-10 and 2011-12)

Director of Undergraduate Studies, 2008-09

Chair, Council on Latin American and Iberian Studies, 2009
Faculty recruitment committees

Service to the University of Chicago

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

Service to the American Political Science Association

President (2009-2011) and Vice President (2007-09), Comparative Politics Section –
largest organized section of APSA, with over 1,200 members
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)

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)

Estudios sobre Violencia (Argentina)

Executive Committee (2004-current)

Society for Comparative Research

Selection Committee, Dogan Book Prize (2004)

Politics and Society

Editorial Board (1993-2000)

Manuscript reviewer

National Science Foundation, *American Journal of Political Science*, *American Political Science Review*, *Comparative Political Studies*, *Comparative Politics*, *Latin American Research Review*, *World Politics*