

POLSCI 688.11: Elections and Distribution

Brian Min and Noah Nathan

Fall 2021

Wednesdays 2–4pm

2454 Mason Hall

Contact Info

Brian Min, Associate Professor of Political Science, brianmin@umich.edu

Office Hours: Via Zoom, see Canvas website for signup, Thursdays 10–12noon, or by appointment

Noah Nathan, Associate Professor of Political Science, nlnathan@umich.edu

Office Hours: Via Zoom, see Canvas website for signup, Fridays, 10:30am–12:30pm, or by appointment

Course Description

This half-semester seminar surveys political science literature on five major topics in the study of electoral politics in democracies and hybrid regimes: voting behavior, turnout and political participation, political parties and party systems, distributive politics, and redistribution and the welfare state. The assigned readings on each topic mix canonical texts with examples of more recent research. Readings are drawn from all world regions. The course serves as one of the core modules comprising the Comparative Politics Proseminar and is primarily intended for PhD students in Political Science. Students from other graduate programs are also welcome. We will meet in the second half of the fall semester.

Scheduling information

Due to the compressed schedule of a half-semester course, we will begin with a full class session on the first week. Please do the reading for Week 1 in advance of our first class. If you would like, you can also submit reading responses or discussion questions for the Week 1 readings in advance of our first class (see below).

Assignments and Grading

The purpose of this class is for you learn this literature to serve as a foundation for your own future careers as scholars and teachers. Your core task is to *actually do the reading each week* and come to class prepared to actively engage in our discussion. We will assign grades because it is required, but grades are besides the point. Success is not about ticking off the boxes to get an A, but about doing the work to understand this literature deeply enough that you can teach it yourself and build on it in your own research.

- *Class participation* (50% of grade) – each student is expected to attend each class and contribute actively to our discussion. Let us know if you will be absent.
- *Reading responses* (15% of grade) – We will post reading questions (~3/week) on Canvas one week in advance of each session, including for the first week. These questions are meant to help guide your reading to make sure you are catching core arguments. If it's helpful, please consult the questions to guide your reading every week. For two class sessions of your choice, submit written responses to the questions to Canvas by noon on the day of the class session.
- *Review article* (35% of grade) – Your final written assignment is a ~3,500 word “mini” review article, in the style of a piece in the *Annual Review of Political Science*, on a topic directly related to one of the seven weeks in the course. For this assignment, you are also responsible for including any readings listed under “Further reading” for your chosen week to the extent they are relevant to your chosen

topic/question, and may also bring in outside material as well (feel free to discuss this with us at office hours). The goal is to synthesize what you see as the main theoretical puzzles in the literature on your chosen topic, identify the main categories of answers to those puzzles that you see in existing literature, discuss the potential limitations of these existing answers, and then propose new puzzles and new directions for future research on the topic. The final assignment is due (via Canvas) by **6PM on Thursday, December 16**.

1. Theories of voting, part 1: performance, information, and accountability (October 20)

Required readings:

1. Fearon, 1999, "Electoral accountability and the control of politicians: selecting good types versus sanctioning poor performance", in Przeworski et al., *Democracy, Accountability, and Representation*, Cambridge University Press
2. Taber and Lodge, 2006, "Motivated Skepticism in the Evaluation of Political Beliefs," *American Journal of Political Science*
3. Healy, Persson, and Snowberg, 2017, "Digging into the Pocketbook: Evidence on Economic Voting from Income Registry Data Matched to a Voter Survey," *American Political Science Review*
4. Ferraz and Finan, 2008, "Exposing Corrupt Politicians: The Effects of Brazil's Publicly Released Audits on Electoral Outcomes," *Quarterly Journal of Economics*
5. Lieberman, Posner, and Tsai, 2014, "Does Information Lead to More Active Citizenship? Evidence from an Education Intervention in Rural Kenya," *World Development*
6. Dunning et al., 2019, *Information, Accountability, and Cumulative Learning: Lessons from Metaketa I*, Cambridge University Press. Chapters 1, 3, and 11

Further reading:

Economic, partisan, and performance voting:

1. Campbell et al., 1960, *The American Voter*, University of Chicago Press
2. Fiorina, 1981, *Retrospective Voting in American National Elections*, Yale University Press
3. Ferejohn, 1986, "Incumbent performance and electoral control," *Public Choice*
4. Zaller, 1992, *The Nature and Origins of Mass Opinion*, Cambridge University Press.
5. Powell and Whitten, 1993, "A Cross-National Analysis of Economic Voting: Taking Account of the Political Context," *American Journal of Political Science*
6. Evans and Andersen, 2006, "The Political Conditioning of Economic Perceptions," *Journal of Politics*
7. Lenz, 2012, *Follow the Leader? How Voters Respond to Politicians' Policies and Performance*, University of Chicago Press
8. Samuels and Zucco, 2013, "The Power of Partisanship in Brazil: Evidence from Survey Experiments," *American Journal of Political Science*
9. Singer and Carlin, 2013, "Context Counts: The Election Cycle, Development, and the Nature of Economic Voting," *Journal of Politics*
10. Conroy-Krutz and Moehler, 2015, "Moderation from Bias: A Field Experiment on Partisan Media in a New Democracy," *Journal of Politics*

11. Harding, 2015, "Attribution and Accountability: Voting for Roads in Ghana," *World Politics*
12. Bisgaard, 2015, "Bias Will Find a Way: Economic Perceptions, Attributions of Blame, and Partisan-Motivated Reasoning During Crisis," *Journal of Politics*
13. Achen and Bartels, 2016, *Democracy for Realists: Why Elections Do Not Produce Responsive Government*, Princeton University Press
14. Carlson, 2016, "Finding Partisanship Where We Least Expect It," *Political Behavior*
15. de Kadt and Lieberman, 2017, "Nuanced Accountability: Voter Responses to Service Delivery in Southern Africa," *British Journal of Political Science*
16. Fowler, 2020, "Partisan Intoxication or Policy Voting?" *Quarterly Journal of Political Science*
17. Boas, Hidalgo, and Toral, 2021, "Competence versus Priorities: Negative Electoral Responses to Education Quality in Brazil," *Journal of Politics*

Information and accountability:

1. Besley and Burgess, 2002, "The Political Economy of Government Responsiveness: Theory and Evidence from India," *Quarterly Journal of Economics*
2. Chang, Golden, and Hill, 2010, "Legislative Malfeasance and Political Accountability," *World Politics*
3. Boas and Hidalgo, 2011, "Controlling the Airwaves: Incumbency Advantage and Community Radio in Brazil," *American Journal of Political Science*
4. Enikolopov, Petrova, and Zhuravskaya, 2011, "Media and Political Persuasion: Evidence from Russia," *American Economic Review*
5. Reinikka and Svensson, 2011, "The power of information in public services: Evidence from education in Uganda," *Journal of Public Economics*
6. Chong, De La O, Karlan, and Wantchekon, 2015, "Does Corruption Information Inspire the Fight or Quash the Hope? A Field Experiment in Mexico on Voter Turnout, Choice, and Party Identification," *Journal of Politics*
7. Grossman and Michelitch, 2018, "Information Dissemination, Competitive Pressure, and Politician Performance between Elections: A Field Experiment in Uganda," *American Political Science Review*
8. Bidwell, Casey, and Glennerster, "Debates: Voting and Expenditure Responses to Political Communication," *Journal of Political Economy*
9. Brierley, Kramon, and Ofosu, 2020, "The Moderating Effect of Debates on Political Attitudes," *American Journal of Political Science*
10. Incerti, 2020, "Corruption Information and Vote Share: A Meta-Analysis and Lessons for Experimental Design," *American Political Science Review*
11. Larreguy, Marshall, and Snyder, 2020, "Publicizing Malfeasance: When the Local Media Structure Facilitates Electoral Accountability in Mexico", *Economic Journal*

2. Theories of voting, part 2: ethnicity and elite influence (October 27)

Required readings:

1. Wantchekon, 2003, "Clientelism and Voting Behavior: Evidence from a Field Experiment in Benin," *World Politics*
2. Posner, 2005, *Institutions and Ethnic Politics in Africa*, Cambridge University Press. Chapters 4-5
3. Ichino and Nathan, 2013, "Crossing the Line: Local Ethnic Geography and Voting in Ghana," *American Political Science Review*
4. Baldwin, 2013, "Why Vote with the Chief? Political Connections and Public Goods Provision in Zambia," *American Journal of Political Science*
5. Frye, Reuter, and Szakonyi, 2014, "Political Machines at Work: Voter Mobilization and Electoral Subversion in the Workplace," *World Politics*
6. Cruz, Querebin, and Labonne, 2017, "Politician Family Networks and Electoral Outcomes: Evidence from the Philippines," *American Economic Review*

Further reading:

Ethnicity and identity voting:

1. Horowitz, 1985, *Ethnic Groups in Conflict*, University of California Press
2. Chandra, 2004, *Why Ethnic Parties Succeed: Patronage and Head Counts in India*, Cambridge University Press
3. Posner, 2004, "The Political Salience of Cultural Difference: Why Chewas and Tumbukas are Allies in Zambia and Adversaries in Malawi," *American Political Science Review*
4. Chandra, 2006, "What is Ethnic Identity and Why Does it Matter?," *Annual Review of Political Science*
5. Ferree, 2006, "Explaining South Africa's Racial Census," *Journal of Politics* (especially see the "Theories of Ethnic Voting" section)
6. Padro i Miquel, 2007, "The Control of Politicians in Divided Societies: The Politics of Fear," *Review of Economic Studies*
7. Trejo, 2009, "Religious Competition and Ethnic Mobilization in Latin America: Why the Catholic Church Promotes Indigenous Movements in Mexico," *American Political Science Review*
8. Huber, 2012, "Measuring Ethnic Voting: Do Proportional Electoral Laws Politicize Ethnicity?," *American Journal of Political Science*
9. Adida et al., 2019, "Reducing or Reinforcing In-Group Preferences? An Experiment on Information and Ethnic Voting," *Quarterly Journal of Political Science*

10. Nathan, 2019, *Electoral Politics and Africa's Urban Transition: Class and Ethnicity in Ghana*, Cambridge University Press. Chapters 5-7

Elite influence and control:

1. Magaloni, 2006, *Voting for Autocracy: Hegemonic Party Survival and Its Demise in Mexico*, Cambridge University Press.
2. Baland and Robinson, 2008, "Land and Power: Theory and Evidence from Chile," *American Economic Review*
3. Thachil, 2014, *Elite Parties, Poor Voters: How Social Services Win Votes in India*, Cambridge University Press
4. Baldwin, 2015, *The Paradox of Traditional Chiefs in Democratic Africa*, Cambridge University Press
5. Holland Palmer-Rubin, 2015, "Beyond the Machine: Clientelist Brokers and Interest Organizations in Latin America," *Comparative Political Studies*
6. Koter, 2016, *Beyond Ethnic Politics in Africa*, Cambridge University Press
7. Mares, 2015, *From Open Secrets to Secret Voting: Democratic Electoral Reforms and Voter Autonomy*, Cambridge University Press
8. Mares and Young, 2016, "Buying, Expropriating, and Stealing Votes," *Annual Review of Political Science*
9. Gottlieb, 2017, "Explaining Variation in Broker Strategies: A Lab-in-the-Field Experiment in Senegal," *Comparative Political Studies*
10. Dasgupta, 2018, "Technological Change and Political Turnover: The Democratizing Effects of the Green Revolution in India," *American Political Science Review*
11. de Kadt and Larreguy, 2018, "Agents of the Regime? Traditional Leaders and Electoral Politics in South Africa," *Journal of Politics*
12. Nathan, 2019, "Electoral Consequences of Colonial Invention: Brokers, Chiefs, and Distribution in Northern Ghana," *World Politics*
13. Mares and Young, 2020 *Conditionality and Coercion: Electoral Clientelism in Eastern Europe*, Oxford University Press

3. Turnout and Democratic Participation (November 3)

Required readings:

1. Kasara and Suryanarayan, 2015, “When Do the Rich Vote Less Than the Poor and Why? Explaining Turnout Inequality across the World,” *American Journal of Political Science*
2. Enos, 2015, “What the Demolition of Public Housing Teaches Us about the Impact of Racial Threat on Political Behavior,” *American Journal of Political Science*
3. Aytaç and Stokes, 2019, *Why Bother? Rethinking Participation in Elections and Protests*, Cambridge University Press. Chapters 1 and 2.
4. Eubank et al., 2021, “Viral Voting: Social Networks and Political Participation,” *Quarterly Journal of Political Science*
5. Hill, Hopkins, and Huber, 2021, “Not by turnout alone: Measuring the sources of electoral change, 2012 to 2016.” *Science Advances*

Further reading:

General literature:

1. Rosenstone and Hansen, 1993, *Mobilization, Participation, and Democracy in America*, Macmillan.
2. Blais, 2006, “What Affects Voter Turnout?”, *Annual Review of Political Science*
3. Ansolabehere and Hersh, 2012, “Validation: What Big Data Reveal about Survey Misreporting and the Real Electorate,” *Political Analysis*

Institutions and participation:

1. Jackman, 1987, “Political Institutions and Voter Turnout in the Industrial Democracies,” *American Political Science Review*
2. Cox, 2015, “Electoral Rules, Mobilization, and Turnout”, *Annual Review of Political Science*
3. Eggers, 2015, “Proportionality and Turnout: Evidence from French Municipalities,” *Comparative Political Studies*
4. Cox, Fiva, and Smith, 2016, “The Contraction Effect: How Proportional Representation Affects Mobilization and Turnout,” *Journal of Politics*
5. Harris, 2020, “Election Administration, Resource Allocation, and Turnout: Evidence From Kenya,” *Comparative Political Studies*

Context, life experience, and participation:

1. Cho and Rudolph, 2008, “Emanating Political Participation: Untangling the Spatial Structure Behind Participation,” *British Journal of Political Science*

2. Blattman, 2009, "From Violence to Voting: War and Political Participation in Uganda," *American Political Science Review*
3. Rolfe, 2012, *Voter Turnout: A Social Theory of Political Participation*, Cambridge University Press
4. Sinclair, 2012, *The Social Citizen: Peer Networks and Political Behavior*, University of Chicago Press
5. Croke et al., 2016, "Deliberate Disengagement: How Education Can Decrease Political Participation in Electoral Authoritarian Regimes," *American Political Science Review*
6. de Kadt, 2017, "Voting Then, Voting Now: The Long-Term Consequences of Participation in South Africa's First Democratic Election," *Journal of Politics*
7. Lupu and Peisakhin, 2017, "The Legacy of Political Violence Across Generations," *American Journal of Political Science*
8. Nathan, 2019, *Electoral Politics and Africa's Urban Transition: Class and Ethnicity in Ghana*, Cambridge University Press. Chapters 3-4
9. Amat and Beramendi, 2020, "Democracy under High Inequality: Capacity, Spending, and Participation," *Journal of Politics*
10. Letsa, 2020, "Expressive Voting in Autocracies: A Theory of Non-Economic Participation with Evidence from Cameroon," *Perspectives on Politics*

4. Parties and Party Systems (November 10)

Required readings:

1. Aldrich, 1995, *Why Parties? The Origin and Transformation of Political Parties in America*, University of Chicago Press. Chapters 1-2.
2. Lipset and Rokkan, 1990[1967], "Cleavage Structures, Party Systems, and Voter Alignments," in *The West European Party System*, Oxford University Press.
3. Hale, 2008, *Why Not Parties in Russia? Democracy, Federalism, and the State*, Cambridge University Press. Chapters 1 and 4.
4. Riedl, 2014, *Authoritarian Origins of Democratic Party Systems in Africa*, Cambridge University Press. Read: Preface, Chapter 1. Skim: Chapters 4, 6.
5. Huber and Suryanarayan, 2016, "Ethnic Inequality and the Ethnification of Political Parties: Evidence from India," *World Politics*
6. Lupu, 2016, *Party Brands in Crisis: Partisanship, Brand Dilution, and the Breakdown of Political Parties in Latin America*, Cambridge University Press. Chapters 2 and 3.

Further reading:

Parties in advanced democracies:

1. Shefter, 1977, "Party and Patronage: Germany, England, and Italy," *Politics & Society*.
2. Shefter, 1994, *Political Parties and the State: The American Historical Experience*, Princeton University Press
3. Cox, 1997, *Making Votes Count: Strategic Coordination in the World's Electoral Systems*, Cambridge University Press
4. Kalyvas, 1996, *The Rise of Christian Democracy in Europe*, Cornell University Press
5. Samuels and Shugart, 2010, *Presidents, Parties, and Prime Ministers: How the Separation of Powers Affects Party Organization and Behavior*, Cambridge University Press
6. Chhibber and Kollman, 2004, *The Formation of National Party Systems: Federalism and Party Competition in Canada, Great Britain, India, and the United States*
7. Jusko, 2017, *Who Speaks for the Poor? Electoral Geography, Party Entry, and Representation*, Cambridge University Press
8. Ziblatt, 2017, *Conservative Parties and the Birth of Democracy*, Cambridge University Press

Parties in emerging democracies:

1. Mainwaring and Scully, 1995, *Building Democratic Institutions: Party Systems in Latin America*, Stanford University Press

2. Levitsky, 2003, *Transforming Labor-Based Parties in Latin America: Argentine Peronism in Comparative Perspective*, Cambridge University Press
3. Greene, 2007, *Why Dominant Parties Lose: Mexico's Democratization in Comparative Perspective*, Cambridge University Press
4. Gryzmala-Busse, 2007, *Rebuilding Leviathan: Party Competition and State Exploitation in Post-Communist Democracies*, Cambridge University Press
5. Hicken, 2009, *Building Party Systems in Developing Democracies*, Cambridge University Press
6. Arriola, 2012, *Multiethnic Coalitions in Africa: Business Financing of Opposition Election Campaigns*, Cambridge University Press
7. Tavits, 2013, *Post-Communist Democracies and Party Organization*, Cambridge University Press
8. Chhibber and Verma, 2018, *Ideology and Identity: The Changing Party Systems of India*, Oxford University Press
9. Luna, 2018, *Segmented Representation: Political Party Strategies in Unequal Democracies*, Oxford University Press

5. Distributive Politics (November 17)

Required readings:

1. Dixit and Londregan, 1996, “The Determinants of Success of Special Interests in Redistributive Politics,” *Journal of Politics*
2. Burgess et al., 2015, “The Value of Democracy: Evidence from Road Building in Kenya,” *American Economic Review*
3. Min, 2015, *Power and the Vote: Elections and Electricity in the Developing World*, Cambridge University Press. Chapters 1,2, and 7.
4. Diaz Cayeros, Estevez, and Magaloni, 2016, *The Political Logic of Poverty Relief: Electoral Strategies and Social Policy in Mexico*, Cambridge University Press. Chapters 1, 3, and 4.
5. Kramon and Posner, 2013, “Who Benefits from Distributive Politics? How the Outcome One Studies Affects the Answer One Gets,” *Perspective on Politics*

Further reading:

Who gets what? The targets of distributive politics:

1. Bates, 1983, “Modernization, Ethnic Competition, and the Rationality of Politics in Contemporary Africa,” in *State Versus Ethnic Claims*, Westview Press
2. Cox and McCubbins, 1986, “Electoral Politics as a Redistributive Game,” *Journal of Politics*
3. Lindbeck and Weibull, 1987, “Balanced-Budget Redistribution as the Outcome of Political Competition,” *Public Choice*
4. Kasara, 2007, “Tax Me If You Can? Ethnic Geography, Democracy, and the Taxation of Agriculture in Africa,” *American Political Science Review*.
5. Golden and Picci, 2008, “Pork-Barrel Politics in Postwar Italy, 1953-1994” *American Journal of Political Science*
6. Cammett and Issar, 2010, “Bricks and Mortar Clientelism: Sectarianism and the Logics of Welfare Allocation in Lebanon,” *World Politics*
7. Golden and Min, 2013, “Distributive Politics Around the World,” *Annual Review of Political Science*
8. Kramon and Posner, 2016, “Ethnic Favoritism in Education in Kenya,” *Quarterly Journal of Political Science*
9. Ejdemyr, Kramon, and Robinson, 2018, “Segregation, Ethnic Favoritism, and the Strategic Targeting of Local Public Goods,” *Comparative Political Studies*
10. Harris and Posner, 2019, “(Under What Conditions) Do Politicians Reward Their Supporters? Evidence from Kenya’s Constituencies Development Fund”, *American Political Science Review*

11. Cruz et al., 2020, "Social Network Structures and the Politics of Public Goods Provision: Evidence from the Philippines," *American Political Science Review*

Democratization, decentralization, accountability and distributive politics:

1. Besley and Burgess, 2002, "The Political Economy of Government Responsiveness: Theory and Evidence from India," *Quarterly Journal of Economics*
2. Chhibber and Nooruddin, 2004, "Do Party Systems Count? The Number of Parties and Government Performance in the Indian States," *Comparative Political Studies*
3. Stromberg, 2004, "Radio's Impact on Public Spending," *Quarterly Journal of Economics*
4. Stasavage, 2005, "Democracy and Education Spending in Africa," *Journal of Politics*
5. Bardhan and Mookherjee, 2006, "Decentralization and Accountability in Infrastructure Delivery in Developing Countries," *The Economic Journal*
6. Stasavage and Harding, 2010, "What Democracy Does (and Doesn't Do) for Basic Services: School Fees, School Inputs, and African Elections," *Journal of Politics*
7. Albertus, Fenner, and Slater, 2018, *Coercive Distribution*, Cambridge University Press.

6. Clientelism (December 1)

Required readings:

1. Auyero, 2001, "The Logic of Clientelism in Argentina," *Latin American Research Review*
2. Brusco, Nazareno, and Stokes, 2004, "Vote Buying in Argentina," *Latin American Research Review*
3. Kramon, 2016, "Electoral Handouts as Information," *World Politics*
4. Nichter, 2018, *Votes for Survival: Relational Clientelism in Latin America*, Cambridge University Press. Chapters 1 and 3. Skim Chapters 5-6 for evidence as interested.
5. Hicken and Nathan, 2020, "Clientelism's Red Herrings: Dead Ends and New Directions in the Study of Non-Programmatic Politics," *Annual Review of Political Science*
6. Weitz-Shapiro, 2012, "What Wins Votes: Why Some Politicians Opt Out of Clientelism," *American Journal of Political Science*

Further reading:

1. Kitschelt, 2000, "Linkages Between Citizens and Politicians in Democratic Politics," *Comparative Political Studies*
2. Calvo and Murrillo, 2004, "Who Delivers? Partisan Clients in the Argentine Electoral Market," *American Journal of Political Science*
3. Kitschelt and Wilkinson, 2007, "Citizen-Politician Linkages: An Introduction," in *Patrons, Clients, and Policies: Patterns of Democratic Accountability and Political Competition*, ed. Kitschelt and Wilkinson, Cambridge University Press
4. Stokes, 2005, "Perverse Accountability: A Formal Model of Machine Politics with Evidence from Argentina," *American Political Science Review*
5. Keefer and Vlaicu, 2008, "Democracy, Credibility, and Clientelism," *Journal of Law, Economics, and Organization*
6. Hicken, 2011, "Clientelism," *Annual Review of Political Science*
7. Finan and Schechter, 2012, "Vote-Buying and Reciprocity," *Econometrica*
8. Stokes et al., 2013, *Brokers, Voters, and Clientelism: The Puzzle of Distributive Politics*, Cambridge University Press
9. Gans-Morse et al., 2014, "Varieties of Clientelism: Machine Politics During Elections," *American Journal of Political Science*
10. Zarazaga, 2014 "Brokers Beyond Clientelism: A New Perspective through the Argentinian Case," *Latin American Politics and Society*
11. Schaffer and Baker, 2015, "Clientelism as Persuasion Buying: Evidence from Latin America," *Comparative Political Studies*

12. Corstange, 2016, *The Price of a Vote in the Middle East*, Cambridge University Press
13. Bobonis et al. 2017, "Vulnerability and Clientelism," *NBER Working Paper No. 23589*
14. Nichter and Peress, 2017, "Request Fulfilling: When Citizens Demand Clientelism Benefits," *Comparative Political Studies*
15. Munoz, 2018, *Buying Audiences: Clientelism and Electoral Campaigns When Parties are Weak*, Cambridge University Press
16. Auerbach, 2019, *Demanding Development: The Politics of Public Goods Provision in Indian's Urban Slums*, Cambridge University Press
17. Auerbach and Thachil, 2019, "How Clients Select Brokers: Competition and Choice in India's Slums," *American Political Science Review*
18. Cruz, 2019, "Social Networks and the Targeting of Vote Buying," *Comparative Political Studies*
19. Mares and Young, 2019, *Conditionality and Coercion: Electoral Clientelism in Eastern Europe*, Oxford University Press
20. Golden, Nazrullaeva, and Wolton, 2020, "Politics in Poor Places: Clientelism and Elections in Democracies"

7. Redistribution and Elections (December 8)

Required readings:

1. Keefer and Khemani, 2005, "Democracy, public expenditures, and the poor: Understanding political incentives for providing public services." *World Bank Research Observer*
2. Ross, 2006, "Is Democracy Good for the Poor?" *American Journal of Political Science*.
3. Rueda, 2018, "Food comes first, then morals: Redistribution preferences, parochial altruism, and immigration in Western Europe." *Journal of Politics*
4. Cammett, 2014, *Compassionate Communalism: Welfare and Sectarianism in Lebanon*, Cornell University Press. Chapters 1 and 4.
5. Holland, 2017, *Forbearance as Redistribution: The Politics of Informal Welfare in Latin America*, Cambridge University Press. Chapters 1, 2, and 5.

Further reading:

Advanced democracies:

1. Meltzer and Richard, 1981, "A Rational Theory of the Size of Government," *Journal of Political Economy*
2. Pierson, 1996, "The new politics of the welfare state," *World Politics*.
3. Hall and Soskice, 2001, *Varieties of Capitalism: The Institutional Foundations of Comparative Advantage*, Oxford University Press.
4. Iversen and Soskice, 2001, "An Asset Theory of Social Policy Preferences," *American Political Science Review*
5. Moene and Wallerstein, 2001, "Inequality, Social Insurance, and Redistribution," *American Political Science Review*
6. Mares, 2003, *The politics of social risk: business and welfare state development*, Cambridge University Press.
7. Shayo, 2009, "A model of social identity with an application to political economy: Nation, class, and redistribution," *American Political Science Review*
8. Ansell, 2010, *From the Ballot to the Blackboard: The Redistributive Political Economy of Education*, Cambridge University Press.
9. Gingrich, 2011, *Making Markets in the Welfare State: The Politics of Varying Market Reforms*, Cambridge University Press
10. Lupu and Pontusson, 2011, "The structure of inequality and the politics of redistribution," *American Political Science Review*.

11. Beramendi, 2014, *The Political Geography of Inequality: Regions and Redistribution*, Cambridge University Press.
12. Rueda and Stegmueller, 2019, *Who Wants What? Redistribution Preferences in Comparative Perspective*, Cambridge University Press
13. Ansell and Lindvall, 2020, *Inward Conquest: The Political Origins of Modern Public Services*, Cambridge University Press

The developing world:

1. Lake and Baum, 2001, "The invisible hand of democracy: political control and the provision of public services." *Comparative Political Studies*
2. Stasavage, 2005, "Democracy and education spending in Africa." *American Journal of Political Science*
3. Tsai, 2007. *Accountability without democracy: Solidary groups and public goods provision in rural China*. Cambridge University Press.
4. Cammett and MacLean, 2014, *The Politics of Non-State Social Welfare*, Cornell University Press
5. Thachil, 2014, *Elite Parties, Poor Voters: How Social Services Win Votes in India*, Cambridge University Press
6. De La O, 2015, *Crafting Policies to End Poverty in Latin America*, Cambridge University Press
7. Brass, 2016, *Allies or Adversaries: NGOs and the State in Africa*, Cambridge University Press
8. Pan, 2020, *Welfare for Autocrats: How Social Assistance in China Cares for its Rulers*, Oxford University Press