

## Susan C. Stokes

Yale University  
Department of Political Science  
124 Prospect Street  
P.O. Box 208301  
New Haven, CT 06520-8301

(203) 432-6098

susan.stokes@yale.edu

### Positions held

- 2005-current John S. Saden Professor of Political Science, Yale University  
Director, Yale Program on Democracy
- 2000-2005 Professor of Political Science, University of Chicago
- 1995-2005 Director, Chicago Center on Democracy
- 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

- 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-IIE research grant

## **Books**

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

*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**

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

*La democracia local en Argentina: 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**

“Réditos y peligros electorales del gasto público y elecciones 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 20<sup>th</sup> 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**

"Political Clientelism." In Carles Boix and Susan C. Stokes, eds., *Oxford University Press Handbook of Comparative Politics*. Forthcoming, 2007

"Region, Contingency, and Democratization." Forthcoming 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. Forthcoming 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

"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**

*Trade, the Welfare Gap, and the Rise of the Left in Latin America*, July 2007

*Risk Aversion or Diminishing Utility of Income: Why is it Poor People Who Sell Their Votes?*  
July 2007

*Democracy, Interrupted: Regime Change and Partisanship in Twentieth-Century Argentina*, with Noam Lupu, June 2007

"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**

Harvard University (2007, 2003, 2000), Vanderbilt University (2007), Columbia University (2007, 2002), Instituto Federal Electoral and El Colegio de México (2006), Wesleyan University (2006), Yale University (2005, 2003, 1996), 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), Princeton University (2003, 1997, 1996, 1995, 1993), 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), Fundacion Juan March, Madrid (1999), University of Kansas (1998), George Washington University (1997), New York University (1996), Universidad di Tella, Buenos Aires (1995), Universidad Nacional Mar del Plata (1995), Instituto de Estudios Peruanos, Lima (1993), Olof Palme Foundation, Barcelona (1993)

### **Participation in Professional Meetings**

2003 “Comments on Margaret Levi’s *Consent, Dissent, and Patriotism*,” Midwest Political Science Association, Chicago, April 4

2002 Convener (with Samuel Amaral) of conference, “Local Democracy in Argentina: Poverty, Social Capital, and Clientelism”, University of Chicago, March 18-20

2001 Panel chair and discussant, “Political Dimensions of Economic Liberalization,” Midwest Political Science Association, Chicago, April

2000 “Rethinking Clientelism”, Latin American Studies Association, March 16-18, Miami Florida

2000 “Democracy and Representation: The Objective Side of the Problem,” Latin American Studies Association, March 16-18, Miami, Florida

1999 “Trade, Democracy, and the Public Sector: Why is South America Different From the

- Rest of the World?" Sociedad Argentina de Análisis Político, November 17-20, Buenos Aires, Argentina
- 1999 "Public Opinion and Neoliberalism in Latin America," Midwest Political Science Association, Chicago, IL, April 15-17
- 1998 Co-organizer, with Carol Wise, "Market Reforms, Distribution, and Conflict," Latin American Studies Association, Chicago, September 24-26
- 1997 Conference convener, "Public Opinion and Economic Reforms in New Democracies," sponsored by the Chicago Center on Democracy, Nov 16
- 1997 "Constituency Influence and Representation," American Political Science Association, Washington, D.C., August
- 1997 "Are Parties What's Wrong with Democracy in Latin America?" Latin American Studies Association, Guadalajara, Mexico, April
- 1996 "Promises, Policies, and Accountability: Explaining Policy Switches in Latin America" New York City, April
- 1996 Panel chair and discussant, "Parties, Politicians, and People in Latin America," Midwest Political Science Association, Chicago, April
- 1995 "Economics, Politics, and Public Opinion in Peru," Latin American Studies Association, Washington, D.C., September
- 1995 "Citizen Information and Government Accountability," with Adam Przeworski, American Political Science Association, Chicago, September
- 1994 "Empowering Citizens: Accountability and Economic Policy in Latin America," International Political Science Association, Berlin, August
- 1994 "Explaining Policy Change in Democracies," SSRC-MacArthur conference for International Peace and Security Fellows, Buenos Aires, Argentina, May
- 1992 "Hegemony, Consciousness, and Resistance: Gramscian Perspectives," Latin American Studies Association, Los Angeles, September
- 1991 "Peru in Crisis: The State, Economy, and Popular Movements under Civilian Rule," Latin American Studies Association, Washington D.C., April
- 1988 "Peru under Democratic Rule: Economics and Politics." Latin American Studies Association, New Orleans, March

1986 Panel participant, "Economics, Politics, and Consciousness", Latin American Studies Association, Boston, September

### **Professional activities and associations**

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

American Political Science Association, member

Program Co-Chair, annual meetings (2005)

Comparative Politics 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 Political Science Review*, *Comparative Political Studies*, *Comparative Politics*, *Latin American Research Review*, *World Politics*