

Clientelism, Declared Support  
and Mexico's 2012 Campaign

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## Introduction

Mexican elections have long been marked by vote buying and other forms of clientelism, which may be generally defined as the provision of material benefits in contingent exchange for political support. After Mexico's pivotal democratic election in 2000, Wayne Cornelius cogently argued that the diminished efficacy of vote buying contributed to the PRI's defeat. Electoral reforms during the 1990s had undermined numerous fraudulent tactics such as stuffing ballot boxes and altering returns, which left the PRI increasingly reliant on vote buying (Cornelius 2004: 48-9). During the 2000 campaign, opposition parties undermined such clientelist tactics as well, urging voters "to take the gift, but vote as you please."

Now, over 10 years later, many Mexicans accuse the PRI of reverting to their same old tricks. Accusations of clientelism commanded substantial attention during the 2012 campaign, and some partisans even contend that handouts helped clinch the presidential victory of Enrique Peña Nieto. Indeed, while contesting the election outcome, second-place-finisher Andrés Manuel López Obrador named vote buying as one of the key crimes allegedly committed by Peña Nieto's campaign. As we explore below, electoral officials deemed these allegations to be unfounded, and scholars argue that the many clientelist goods distributed were far from sufficient to turn the election in Peña Nieto's favor (Greene 2012; Simpser 2012). Nevertheless, the sheer magnitude of attention paid to clientelism during recent Mexican campaigns suggests that the phenomenon — which has serious consequences for democratic accountability and responsiveness (Kitschelt and Wilkinson 2007; Stokes 2005) — deserves careful investigation.

We explore clientelism during the 2012 campaign, using evidence from qualitative sources as well as from the Mexico 2012 Panel Study.<sup>1</sup> First, we provide an overview that examines how parties reportedly distributed benefits and estimates the prevalence of handouts during the campaign. Second, we examine what types of citizens were most likely to experience clientelism. Then, we investigate an intriguing relationship that is rarely considered in the literature on machine politics: the relationship between “declared support” (Nichter 2009) and clientelist rewards. Statistical evidence suggests that citizens who declare support publicly (by placing political advertisements on their homes) are disproportionately more likely to receive gifts during the campaign. Overall, the evidence presented in this chapter suggests that machine politics is alive and well in Mexico.

## **Overview of Clientelism in the 2012 Campaign**

Political parties distributed a wide range of clientelist benefits during the 2012 Mexican elections. In a national survey conducted by NGO Alianza Cívica on Election Day, 28 percent of voters reported that they or somebody they knew was exposed to vote buying or pressured to vote in a certain way.<sup>2</sup> Newspapers point to a broad array of handouts, including money, food, clothing, gift cards and even sheep. Although Mexico’s electoral governance body (Instituto Federal Electoral, or IFE) has made impressive strides in reducing many forms of electoral malfeasance such as stuffed ballot boxes and rigged vote-counting machines, the perceived validity of elections continues to be threatened by widespread reports of clientelism. A 2010 AmericasBarometer survey found that 7.5 percent of Mexicans

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<sup>1</sup>The Mexico 2012 Panel Study was a nationally representative, face-to-face survey consisting of two waves in 65 localities. 1,328 individuals participated in the first wave (in late April and early May), and 952 of these individuals participated in the second wave (in July after the election).

<sup>2</sup>Alianza Cívica, Boletín de Prensa, Mexico City, July 3, 2012. This survey was carried out by Alianza Cívica’s 500 election observers, who conducted the survey with 3,158 voters at polling locations in 21 states.

reported they “frequently” received offers to exchange votes for benefits in recent elections, while an additional 9.2 percent reported that they received offers “sometimes” (N = 1,541).

The 2012 Mexico Panel Study provides evidence about the prevalence of clientelism during the most recent presidential election. As shown in Table 1, 7.7 percent of survey respondents reported receiving offers of gifts during either of the survey waves. Experiences with clientelism were far more prevalent later in the campaign: while 2.7 percent of respondents reported offers during the first wave, 5.7 percent did so during the second wave. While the overall incidence of clientelist offers may appear rather low, these aggregate figures belie substantial geographic heterogeneity. Consider that the survey included over 1,300 respondents from 65 localities across the country. In 38 percent of localities, not a single respondent reported receiving a gift offer during either wave of the panel survey. By contrast, in 20 percent of localities, at least 15 percent of respondents reported receiving such offers. The reported prevalence of clientelism is much greater when asking questions about respondents’ communities instead of about their personal experiences. Across all respondents in the second wave, 63 percent believe that politicians frequently try to buy votes in their respective communities, while 62 percent believe that many citizens in their communities sell their votes.

The figures in Table 1 most likely underestimate the true prevalence of clientelist handouts in Mexico. Although only 7.7 percent of respondents reported receiving an offer during the overall campaign when asked directly, Gonzalez-Ocantos and coauthors (2012) show that such “obtrusive” questions often dramatically underestimate the actual prevalence of the phenomenon (see also Corstange 2010). Given that exchanging votes for benefits is illegal, social desirability bias leads citizens to underreport receiving handouts during campaigns.

One sign that such bias might exist in the Mexican context is the fact that there is over an order of magnitude difference between the proportion of citizens who report in the second wave that they were offered a gift (5.7 percent) and the proportion who say vote buying happens in their community (63 percent).

One way of circumventing the social desirability problem is through the use of a list experiment (also known as the item count technique), which can be used to provide an indirect measure of clientelism. This method provides a list of statements and only asks respondents how many statements apply to them, not which particular statements. By comparing the mean count given by the treatment group (given a list of vote buying and three innocuous statements) and the control group (given only the list of three innocuous statements), the analyst is able to derive an unobtrusive estimate of the prevalence of clientelist rewards. As Ken Greene and Ana de la O examine in accompanying works, the list experiment provides a much higher estimate of clientelism: 6.9 percent received gifts in the first wave, and 22.1 percent received gifts in the second wave. In other words, the prevalence of clientelism is two to four times as high when using an indirect measure that addresses the sensitive nature of the topic, instead of the direct question. However, a crucial point to note is that the two measures examine quite different aspects of vote buying. Whereas the list experiment examines *receiving* a gift, the direct question examines *being offered* a gift. Most likely, the list experiment would have reported an even greater incidence of clientelism if it had examined gift offers. In that case, the gap between the two measures would have been even larger.

Even if the direct question about rewards is interpreted as a lower bound on the prevalence of clientelism, it has the added advantage of shedding light on *who* provided the benefits. Respondents who reported receiving a gift offer were asked an open-ended follow-up question

about who offered the gift. While political operatives from all three major parties almost certainly engaged in some modicum of clientelist tactics, the vast majority of allegations across Mexico have been levied against the PRI and its victorious candidate, Peña Nieto. As shown in Table 1, the panel study similarly suggests that the PRI most frequently engaged in clientelism. Across both waves, the proportion of citizens who named the PRI (2.9 percent) is more than the corresponding figures for the PAN and PRD combined (1.1 and 1.0 percent, respectively). And while one party by no means has a monopoly on clientelist tactics in Mexico, the identical pattern of PRI predominance was also observed in the 2000 and 2006 panel studies. Indeed, in both sets of surveys, the PRI also reportedly bought more votes than the PAN and PRD combined (see Cornelius 2004: 53 and Diaz-Cayeros, Estévez & Magaloni 2009: 241).

This survey evidence about the PRI's disproportionate (though by no means exclusive) use of clientelism dovetails with a broader scholarly consensus about patterns of machine politics in Mexico. Various scholars, such as Ken Greene (2007) and Beatriz Magaloni (2006), argue that clientelism and patronage played a crucial role in sustaining the PRI's dominance during most of the 20th century. Over a decade since the PRI's 2000 electoral defeat, the party continues to have the most extensive patronage network across Mexico; it has developed and maintained deep ties among poor communities in many urban and rural areas since the Mexican Revolution. Clientelism is typically more successful when a party has extensive partisan infrastructure and social networks in poor communities (Stokes 2005, Kitschelt and Wilkinson 2007). Insight can be gleaned from a woeful (and certainly not disinterested) campaign manager we interviewed after the 2012 gubernatorial election in Jalisco. His candidate had lost to the PRI in the governor race by just four percentage points,

and he passionately lamented about the role of the PRI's extensive patronage network: "I imagine that inside the PRI's campaign structure, there is a department that's called 'vote buying.' And there you have an army of staff that are able to identify people that have needs and are willing to sell their votes."<sup>3</sup> In addition to extensive party infrastructure, the PRI's control over many state and municipal governments is also likely to facilitate clientelism in some contexts. At the time of the 2012 election, the PRI held the governorship in 20 out of 31 states. Given the common practice of diverting discretionary spending, social programs, and subsidies for electoral purposes, the PRI may have enjoyed a clientelist advantage because it had more funds at its disposal than the PAN or PRD.

Without a doubt, the PRI was not the only party to engage in clientelism during the 2012 campaign. But given the findings of the panel survey and the broader scholarly consensus, it seems safe to assume that the López Obrador and Vázquez Mota campaigns engaged in relatively less clientelism than the Peña Nieto campaign. A key question that emerges is *why* they distributed fewer handouts. One possibility is that the PAN and/or PRD preferred not to deliver contingent benefits due to fear that it would turn off middle-class voters who are less amenable to clientelist strategies (see Weitz-Shapiro 2012 in the case of Argentina). This explanation would be more applicable to the PAN, whose base of support is predominantly the urban middle class. In the case of the PRD, which similar to the PRI has a predominant base of poor voters, a lack of machine infrastructure across Mexico is a relatively more plausible explanation. In most areas, the PRD lacks the deep penetration of partisan operatives and dense social networks needed to distribute rewards as effectively as the PRI. Indeed, the strength of the PRD in Mexico City may well be the exception that

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<sup>3</sup>Interview with Clemente Castañeda conducted by Brian Palmer-Rubin on February 22, 2013.

proves the rule. Hilgers (2008) argues that the PRD engages in substantial clientelism in Mexico City, because it has been able to establish dense patronage networks there through the cooptation of neighborhood associations and urban popular movements. Overall, while such explanations about the PAN and PRD remain tentative (and undoubtedly only serve as partial explanations at best), the bottom line is that evidence suggests the PRI was the predominant distributor of handouts during the most recent presidential campaign.

Competitors cast vitriolic aspersions about the PRI's use of clientelism during the 2012 campaign. As mentioned briefly above, complaints about the PRI's alleged vote buying played a key role in PRD-candidate Andrés Manuel López Obrador's contestation of the election. López Obrador, along with his political movement MORENA (*Movimiento Regeneración Nacional*), presented a list of 10 electoral crimes allegedly committed by Peña Nieto's campaign to the national electoral tribunal (*Tribunal Electoral del Poder Judicial de la Federación*, or TEPJF). Several of these accusations centered on vote buying. Most prominently, the Peña Nieto campaign was accused of distributing gift cards that could be used at Soriana, a national supermarket chain, after the election. Anti-PRI activists claimed that Peña Nieto's campaign had distributed cards worth between 100 and 1000 pesos (roughly 8 to 80 USD) in the days leading up to the election. López Obrador's representatives submitted to the TEJPF 3,500 such cards with logos connected to the PRI and charged that Peña Nieto's campaign had distributed 1.8 million cards to voters in Estado de México (Peña Nieto's home state) alone. Other vote-buying accusations levied by the López Obrador cam-

campaign against the PRI pertained to the distribution of debit cards operated by Monex, a financial services company, and cellular phone credit in exchange for votes.<sup>4</sup>

The PRI's purported Soriana and Monex schemes offered particularly effective modalities of clientelism because their gift cards would only be redeemable *after* the election. In general, a major challenge to politicians offering clientelist benefits is the threat of opportunistic defection by citizens. Once citizens receive benefits, they can often simply vote for their preferred candidate anyway. After all, nearly 87 percent of panel survey respondents believe that their vote choices remain secret unless they explicitly tell others for whom they voted (from Wave 2). By employing the strategy of "deferred delivery" (Schaffer & Schedler 2007: 24), the PRI could allegedly make the validity of gift cards contingent on a favorable election outcome. Interestingly, despite the favorable election outcome, one reason the Soriana scandal became so public following the election was that many card recipients complained their cards turned out to be worth less than promised, or nothing at all. As one might expect, Peña Nieto's campaign vigorously disputed charges by López Obrador (and others) that it had used such programs to buy votes. PRI and Soriana representatives argued that the cards were not used to buy votes, but rather comprised payments to campaign staff and state social-program benefits.<sup>5</sup>

After considering López Obrador's claims against Peña Nieto, which in addition to vote buying also included exceeding campaign spending limits, money laundering, and misappro-

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<sup>4</sup>Citations for this paragraph are: "Enviaré AMLO al TEPJF decálogo para invalidar la elección," *Proceso*, August 7, 2012; "El 'Sorianagate', fraude al voto," *Proceso*, July 3, 2012; "Reparte el PRI tarjetas 'compravotos', acusan," *Reforma*, June 29, 2012; and "Acumula IFE quejas por compra de votos," *Reforma*, July 11, 2012.

<sup>5</sup>Citations for this paragraph are: "Compras de pánico en Soriana ante el temor de que el PRI cancelara tarjetas," *La Jornada*, July 3, 2012; "Niega cadena uso de tarjetas para depósitos," *Reforma*, July 4, 2012; and "El PRI pagó con tarjetas de Monex a sus operadores políticos en Tabasco," *Proceso*, July 18, 2012.

appropriating public funds in PRI-governed states, the national electoral tribunal (TEJPF) unan-  
imously declined to annul the 2012 election. The tribunal concluded that López Obrador  
failed to provide conclusive evidence that clientelism or other serious electoral violations had  
taken place.<sup>6</sup> Note, however, that even if the tribunal had found evidence of clientelism, it is  
highly improbable that it would have been enough to annul the election, as it was extremely  
unlikely that the PRI bought off enough citizens to secure their margin of victory of 3.2  
million votes (Greene 2012; Simpser 2012). Given the failure of the claimants to provide  
sufficient evidence of the alleged infractions, the tribunal was not obligated to judge whether  
sufficient clientelism had taken place to cast doubt on the election’s result.

Beyond López Obrador’s formal appeal to the TEPJF, public protests also fanned the  
nation in the weeks following the election, and demonstrators frequently complained about  
clientelism. Thousands of López Obrador supporters, as well as leaders of the anti-Peña Nieto  
student movement #YoSoy132 thronged the streets protesting the election. #YoSoy132,  
whose name refers to its twitter handle, was born out of protests led by students of the  
Mexico City Iberoamericana University when Peña Nieto visited the campus. As Alejandro  
Moreno’s chapter in this volume examines thoroughly, the movement centrally objected that  
electoral coverage on Televisa, a major television network, was unduly favorable to Peña  
Nieto. Many Mexicans groaned “there he goes again” as López Obrador led protestors down  
Avenida Reforma, a major artery of Mexico City where he had initiated his famous protest to  
demand a recount following the 2006 presidential election. While these public protestations  
cast aspersions on a wide array of purported electoral crimes — not just clientelism —

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<sup>6</sup>See “Monreal entrega pruebas de presunto desvío de recursos de Edomex a EPN,” *Proceso*, August 12,  
2012; “Compra masiva de votos, una operación transatlántica,” *Proceso*, July 28, 2012; “Acusan que PRI  
gastó 1,817 mdp,” *Reforma*, July 9, 2012; “Las tarjetas de Monex y Soriana no comprueban nada: IFE,”  
*Proceso*, July 19, 2012; and “Desestima TEPJF invalidez de elección,” *Reforma*, August 30, 2012.

demonstrators frequently cited vote buying as one of their chief concerns. For example, citizens from all 31 Mexican states displayed goods that were allegedly handed out by PRI campaign staff in exchange for votes during a widely publicized event called “ExpoFraude.” This multi-day gathering, sponsored by the MORENA movement, was held a month after the election in the Zócalo, the central plaza in Mexico City’s *centro histórico*.<sup>7</sup>

## Targeting of Clientelist Handouts

Thus far, evidence suggests that clientelism played a substantial (though not decisive) role in Mexico’s 2012 campaign, and that the PRI was arguably the primary distributor of rewards. We now turn to another important question: what types of citizens were most likely to receive handouts during the campaign? A burgeoning literature on clientelism, employing both formal and empirical methods, suggests that political machines often target citizens with specific characteristics. In this section, we investigate whether such patterns of targeting are evident in the panel study, employing both the direct question and list experiment.

Many studies on clientelism suggest that citizens with particular socioeconomic characteristics are targeted with rewards. Income is the most frequently cited factor: the poor are targeted because the declining marginal utility of income suggests they place greater value on a given reward size (e.g., Dixit & Londregan 1996; Stokes 2005). But gathering even more attention than such socioeconomic factors in the clientelism literature are *political* characteristics. Clientelist handouts are frequently targeted on the basis of two key political

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<sup>7</sup>Citations for this paragraph are: “Lo hacen otra vez: miles contra EPN, el IFE, la compra de votos y Televisa,” *Proceso*, July 22, 2012; “#YoSoy132 presenta al TEPJF segundo informe de irregularidades electorales,” *Noticias MVS*, August 2, 2012; “Exhiben en el Zócalo evidencias del supuesto fraude,” *Proceso*, August 12, 2012; and “Exhiben ‘fraude’ hasta con borrego,” *Reforma*, August 13, 2012.

characteristics of individuals: partisan preferences and likelihood of turning out on Election Day. Investigating whether gifts in Mexico are targeted using such political criteria is important because it can help identify if handouts actually represent “vote buying,” or another form of clientelism altogether. Distinct strategies of clientelism target citizens using different political criteria. “Vote buying,” the focus of most studies, targets opposing or indifferent voters in an effort to influence their vote choices. By contrast, “turnout buying” targets nonvoting supporters in order to induce them to the polls (Nichter 2008; Cox 2006). Other strategies include abstention buying (paying opposing voters to stay home), double persuasion (inducing votes from citizens who neither vote nor prefer the machine), and rewarding loyalists (providing rewards to supporters who would vote anyway). Another important possibility is that distributed benefits involve a broader set of strategies than just elite payoffs to citizens during campaigns. For example, studies such as Scott (1969), Auyero (2000), and Lawson (2009) discuss patterns of relational clientelism that involve ongoing relationships of mutual support and dependence.<sup>8</sup>

In order to explore whether such clientelist targeting on the basis of political and socioeconomic characteristics is observable in the 2012 Mexico Panel Study, we now turn to Table 2. This table presents regression analyses examining how each listed characteristic is associated with clientelism. The first four columns employ logistic regressions, in which the dependent variable is whether or not a respondent reported receiving a gift offer (in a direct question asked just after the election). More specifically, columns 1 and 2 reflect gift

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<sup>8</sup>An important distinction should be made between “electoral” clientelism that delivers all benefits during electoral campaigns, and “relational” clientelism that provides ongoing benefits (Nichter 2010). A broader literature on distributive politics examines parties’ distribution of targetable goods (such as infrastructure projects). Two major formal studies provide contrasting predictions: Cox & McCubbins (1986) contend that parties distribute targetable goods to core supporters, while Lindbeck & Weibull (1987) find that they target swing voters.

offers from any political party, while columns 3 and 4 focus exclusively on direct reports of gift offers from the PRI. The coefficients reflect marginal effects, and robust standard errors clustered at the district level are shown. Column 5, which is discussed more extensively below, reports results from the list experiment about clientelist benefits actually received.

We provide a brief description of each covariate shown in Table 2; the same variables are also included in later tables. Each variable is from the first wave of the survey, in order to reduce potential endogeneity from gift offers (which are measured in Wave 2). All specifications include seven political covariates, six of which are dummy variables scoring whether the respondent strongly or weakly identifies with each of three major parties in Mexico (PAN, PRD, PRI). Strong partisans are those that responded that they felt very “panista,” “perredista” or “priista” when first asked. Weak partisans are those that responded that they felt somewhat “panista,” “perredista,” or “priista,” or reported no partisan preference at first, but admitted sympathizing with the party when asked a second time. We also include a dichotomous variable reflecting whether the respondent predicted in Wave 1 that she was “very likely” to vote. Socioeconomic variables include age, gender and education (ordinal levels of educational attainment). The survey did not ask how much respondents earn due to potential response bias and measurement error, so we include a “poverty” variable. This variable reflects the respondent’s self-placement on a five-point scale of how much difficulty she has making ends meet (higher values indicate more economic difficulties). Additionally, regressions control for a housing variable, which measures the interviewer’s appraisal of the socioeconomic level of the respondent’s house on a four-point scale.

We first turn to column 1, which examines gift offers from any political party. What is perhaps most notable about this specification is that only one variable is significantly

associated with reported gift offers. Weak PRD supporters are 3.7 percentage points more likely to report a gift offer than nonpartisans, a finding that is only significant at the 10 percent level. Column 2 then adds municipal fixed effects, a step that controls for omitted variables that do not vary across individuals in a given municipality. This relatively more rigorous specification suggests that weak PRI supporters are 12.7 percentage points less likely to report gift offers than nonpartisans, controlling for other included variables (at the 5 percent significance level). In addition, respondents with greater education are significantly more likely to report gift offers (2.1 percentage points for each point increase on a 9-point ordinal scale). One reason the findings in columns 1 and 2 are so different is that nearly half of the survey observations are dropped with fixed effects, and the underlying selection process is unlikely to be random. Many municipalities have no variation on the dependent variable — in 48 percent of localities surveyed, not a single respondent reported a gift offer in the second wave. All in all, these two specifications, which examine reported gift offers from any political party, do not provide robust evidence of reward targeting.

By contrast, examining PRI gift offers reveals evidence that is relatively more consistent with political targeting. Column 3 suggests that strong PAN supporters, as well as weak PRD supporters, are 3.9 percentage points more likely to report PRI gift offers than nonpartisans (at the 1 percent and 5 percent level of significance, respectively). By contrast, strong PRD supporters are significantly less likely to report PRI gift offers — in fact, none of the 65 respondents in the second wave who identified as strong PRD supporters reported gift offers from the PRI. Income is the only socioeconomic factor that is statistically significant, but its sign is the opposite of theoretical predictions: poorer respondents are less likely to receive PRI gift offers (at the 10 percent significance level). Findings are similar when including

municipal fixed effects (column 4), even though the number of observations falls by almost two-thirds for the reason mentioned above. Looking at variation within a given municipality, strong PAN supporters are 9.1 percentage points more likely — and weak PRD supporters are 9.6 percentage points more likely — to report gift offers from the PRI (both at the 10 percent significance level). Moreover, the coefficients for strong PRD support and poverty continue to be significant; effects are even stronger with municipal fixed effects. Taken together, such evidence could be interpreted as relatively more consistent (albeit weakly so) with a PRI vote-buying explanation, rather than a turnout-buying or other explanation discussed above. But another plausible explanation, which affects many studies of clientelism, cannot be ignored. When opposing voters are asked specifically about who offered them gifts, they may be pointing accusatory fingers at the winner of the election (PRI), even if not true.

Finally, we examine the correlates of rewards using the list experiment measure. This measure addresses the sensitive nature of electoral gifts, but does not provide evidence about who offered rewards. Column 5 in Table 2 employs Blair & Imai’s (2012) item count regression technique, which predicts each covariate’s effect on the likelihood of responding affirmatively to the sensitive item of the list experiment, as if this quantity were measured independently for each respondent. Findings diverge sharply from results using the direct question. With the list experiment, weak PRI supporters are 46.1 percentage points more likely to report that they received a gift than nonpartisans (significant at the 5 percent level), while no other political variables are significant. This finding contrasts with estimates from the direct question: recall that columns 3 and 4 indicate the targeting of PAN / PRD rather than PRI supporters, and column 2 suggests weak PRI supporters are actually significantly *less* likely to experience clientelism. One possible interpretation of such differences is that

when asked directly, weak PRI supporters refrained from reporting offers of handouts, which were predominantly undertaken by their favored party. They may well underreport gifts because they are relatively invested in the perceived legitimacy of the election, given that their favored candidate, Peña Nieto, won. Separately, another contrast is that unlike the direct measure, the list experiment suggests that poorer respondents are 15.0 percentage points *more* likely to receive gifts. This finding for poverty is consistent with theoretical predictions. When interpreting the different findings for both the weak PRI supporter and poverty variables, two points should be kept in mind. First, as noted above, while the list experiment examines receiving a gift, the direct question examines being offered a gift. And second, unlike the direct question, the list experiment does not inquire about which party provided clientelist handouts. Due to both points, different estimates across specifications may well reflect true differences across related but distinct aspects of clientelism.

Summing up, these analyses provide important insights about the types of citizens who experienced clientelism. While some specifications point to targeting based on political and socioeconomic criteria, they do not unambiguously suggest a uniform pattern. One possible explanation is that measurement error, often a problematic issue in the study of clientelism, undermines our ability to identify the true patterns of clientelism used in Mexico. Another potential explanation is that political operatives actually mix several strategies of electoral clientelism, such as both vote buying and turnout buying, which is why they do not exclusively target citizens on the basis of political preferences or turnout propensity. As Gans-Morse, Mazzuca and Nichter (forthcoming) show formally, combining several strategies is the most effective way to maximize votes with a given clientelist budget (see also related work by Magaloni, Diaz-Cayeros & Estévez 2007). We now turn to another strategy of

clientelism that is relatively understudied in the existing literature — declared support. As we show, the 2012 Mexico Panel Study reveals robust findings about this strategy.

## **Declared Support in Mexico**

Whereas the distribution of clientelist rewards in Mexico remained surreptitious and mostly hidden from view, another use of campaign dollars exploded in plain sight during the 2012 election. A dramatic surge in the use of political posters, banners and other printed advertisements was widely reported by Mexican journalists. As explored below, political campaigns increasingly relied on printed materials due in part to heightened restrictions on electoral advertising in mass media. Printed advertisements not only became ubiquitous in the public arena, but as is often the case across the world, were also visible on the homes of many citizens. The remainder of this chapter explores the relationship between such public declarations of support and clientelism.

Recent research suggests that political propaganda can play a key role in clientelist linkages between citizens and elites. The link between declared support and clientelism can be demand-driven and/or supply-driven. The demand-driven logic of declared support involves efforts of citizens to obtain clientelist benefits by placing political advertisements on their homes. In the context of Brazil, Nichter (2009, 2012) argues that many citizens engage in “declared support” — for example, placing banners on their homes, wearing party t-shirts, and attending rallies — in an effort to obtain future benefits. His analysis focuses primarily on post-election benefits, and explores how declaring support can be risky in contexts with clientelism. If a voter declares support for a candidate who wins the election, she may be rewarded with greater access to handouts and social services. But if a voter declares support

for a candidate who loses the election, she may be penalized with reduced access to such benefits. Given the risks involved, many voters choose to remain undeclared, which foregoes favorable treatment but also avoids the risk of unfavorable treatment. Overall, the demand-driven logic of declared support suggests that citizens may place ads on their homes in an effort to obtain clientelist benefits either before or after the election.

Declared support may also involve a supply-driven logic. Parties may require citizens to place political advertisements on their homes as a condition of delivering current or future clientelist benefits. In environments with information asymmetries, declared support can help sort a party's supporters from its opposers, because citizens may find it costly (from an expressive utility standpoint) to declare for parties they dislike. Declared support can also limit opportunistic defection by reward recipients for two reasons. First, the visible declaration would make two-timing more difficult: citizens would be less credible when trying to engage in additional clientelist transactions with other parties. And second, citizens' future consumption may depend on the electoral fortunes of the party for whom they declared. As Kitschelt and Wilkinson (2007: 15) explain: "By forcing members of a group to publicly pledge support to the incumbent party rather than the opposition, for example, group members are effectively then cut off from any expectation of rewards should the opposition win." In addition, politicians can obtain increased advertising exposure in a community by inducing citizens to declare support. However, persuasive benefits may be limited if clientelist reasons for declaring support are common knowledge. Overall, the supply-driven logic of declared support suggests that parties may induce citizens to place ads on their homes using clientelist benefits before or after the election.

In order to investigate declared support, we examine below whether citizens with political advertisements on their homes are more likely to receive gifts during the campaign. We indeed find a robust relationship between declared support and clientelism, but at the outset we emphasize that we cannot adjudicate whether this pattern reflects the demand-driven or the supply-driven logic described above, or if it reflects a combination of these two explanations. Nevertheless, we offer robust quantitative evidence of the link between declared support and vote buying, which is a substantial contribution to the literature on clientelism in Mexico. Before presenting such evidence, we first explain why print advertising surged during the 2012 campaign, and show how often citizens declared support by placing such ads on their homes.

The surge in printed advertisements observed during the 2012 campaign was in large part an unintended consequence of a reform in campaign funding regulations. Political parties and campaigns in Mexico are publicly funded and candidates are not legally allowed to supplement public funds with outside resources. Candidates do not all receive the same amount; the funding for each party is determined by a formula that takes into account the party's vote share in the previous election. Mexico's electoral governance body, IFE, reformed advertising rules after the 2006 election such that it would contract and pay for television and radio spots (see the broader discussion in Eric Magar's contribution to this volume). This reform intended to create a more equal playing field for campaign advertisements; many observers complained that when parties procured ads directly under the previous arrangement, certain television channels had given favorable treatment to candidates by charging less money for airtime or providing exclusive access to advertising during periods of high-volume viewership. Although IFE's centralization of TV and radio ads left parties in

control of smaller campaign budgets — public campaign funds declined by one-third from 2.5 billion pesos in 2006 to 1.7 billion pesos in 2012 — the reform freed up remaining campaign funds for alternative activities. Thus, the unintended consequence of the reform was that it left more funds available for old-fashioned types of campaigning such as rallies, canvassing, and most notably, printed advertisements.

In response to IFE’s electoral reform, political parties devoted far greater funds to printed advertisements. As the campaign director for Aristóteles Sandoval, the PRI’s victorious nominee for governor of Jalisco, explains: “To the extent that there have been attempts to regulate, to establish campaign spending limits and to have an authority watching that they control expenditures, together with the fact that campaigns can no longer directly contract the mass media as they did in the past ... without a doubt campaign strategies have changed. Candidates have to look for alternative outlets, and that explains why signs and stickers have become crucial tools for all of the candidates.”<sup>9</sup> Indeed, independent analysis confirms what was obvious to any Mexican commuting to work or school: the 2012 election involved a tremendous amount of printed political advertising including banners, bumper stickers, and signs on homes and businesses. An association of plastic producers reported that 30 percent more plastic was used in campaign advertisements than in 2006.<sup>10</sup> *Reforma*, a national newspaper, tallied the number of printed advertisements on main thoroughfares and public spaces in Mexico’s three largest metropolitan areas (Mexico City, Guadalajara and Monterrey) about three months prior to the election. It found 3,625 advertisements,

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<sup>9</sup>Interview with Ricardo Villanueva conducted by Brian Palmer-Rubin on January 8, 2013.

<sup>10</sup>“Más de 2 mil toneladas de propaganda electoral invadirán a México,” *Vanguardia*, March 6, 2012.

60 percent of which were for Peña Nieto.<sup>11</sup> The newspaper calculated that maintaining the same level of advertisements in the observed areas of these three cities alone throughout the campaign would cost Peña Nieto 95 million pesos, or roughly 28 percent of his limit for *all* spending during the three-month campaign.

Amidst this bewildering array of political propaganda visible across the public sphere during the 2012 campaign, many citizens placed such materials on their homes. Survey enumerators in the 2012 Mexico Panel Study were instructed to observe the outside of each respondent's residence and to report if it displayed an advertisement for any political party or organization. As shown in Table 1, 16.7 percent of respondents had an advertisement visible on their home at the time that either of the waves of the survey was administered. Over the course of the campaign, the most frequent type of political advertisement observed on homes was for the PRI (8.2 percent of surveyed households), followed by the PAN (3.3 percent) and the PRD's coalition (2.8 percent). Declared support increased over time: 5.9 percent of respondents had political advertisements on their homes at the time of the Wave 1 interview, while 9.6 percent had advertisements during the Wave 2 interview.

Although many 2012 Mexico Panel Study respondents placed advertisements on their homes, the prevalence of this behavior was by no means uniform across the country. Much to the contrary, substantial geographic concentration of declarations is observed. Recall that the survey included over 1,300 respondents from 65 localities across the country. In a significant number of these localities, not a single respondent placed an advertisement on his or her home — 58 percent of localities in Wave 1, and 43 percent in Wave 2. In fact, over

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<sup>11</sup>“La pelea por la calle,” *Reforma*, April 24, 2012. See interactive map at: <http://www.reforma.com/libre/offlines/cazaEspectacular/>. The count included 38 streets in Monterrey, 15 streets in Guadalajara, and 2,500 public spaces in Mexico City.

one-quarter of localities had no survey respondents declaring in *either* wave. Yet while some localities had little in the way of political advertisements, others had many. For example, in a quarter of localities visited, at least 25 percent of respondents declared during one of our survey waves. And remarkably, in two localities surveyed in Southern Mexico — Villa Corzo, Chiapas and Dzemul, Yucatan — at least 90 percent of respondents had a political advertisement on their homes during the campaign.

The reader might wonder whether this marked heterogeneity of declarations across Mexico is just an artifact of the particular houses randomly chosen to participate in the panel study. Evidence points away from this possibility. To obtain a broader perspective, enumerators were also asked to stand with their backs to the doors of respondents' homes and to observe whether any political advertising was visible in the immediate surrounding neighborhood. In a quarter of localities, our enumerators observed that less than 10 percent of respondents had any political advertisements in the vicinity. At the other extreme, in over a quarter of localities, our enumerators reported that over 60 percent of respondents had such advertising visible in the surrounding neighborhood. All in all, evidence suggests that while political advertisements on homes are relatively commonplace in some localities, in other areas such activity is rare or nonexistent.

What types of citizens were most likely to declare support publicly for a candidate during the campaign? And what geographical characteristics are associated with greater concentrations of declared support? Logistic regressions in Table 3 examine these questions. First, we consider individual-level factors. One might expect that partisans would be more likely to place political propaganda on their homes. This expected relationship is indeed observed, and is most robust for PRI supporters. Strong PRI supporters are significantly more likely

to declare across all specifications in Table 3 (at the 1 percent level). In fact, holding other included covariates at their average values, a strong PRI supporter is 15 to 17 percentage points more likely to have a political advertisement on his or her home than a nonpartisan. The magnitude of this association is particularly striking, given that the baseline probability that a citizen declares is just 17 percent. Weak PRI supporters also have a significantly greater probability of declaring, though the relationship is relatively less robust than observed for strong PRI partisans. Across most specifications, weak PRI supporters are 10 to 11 percentage points more likely to declare than nonpartisans (at the 5 percent level of significance). However, this association is not statistically significant when including municipal fixed effects (column 2). This lack of statistical significance can be partially explained by the fact that including municipal fixed effects drops a quarter of observations (those in municipalities with no declared support). Looking beyond the PRI, specifications in Table 3 also suggest that strong PRD supporters are 10 to 15 percentage points more likely to declare support than nonpartisans, *ceteris paribus*. Depending on the specification, this association is significant at the 5 to 10 percent level. On the other hand, weak PRD supporters — as well as strong or weak PAN supporters — are not significantly more or less likely to place political advertisements on their homes. Moreover, across all specifications, individual-level socioeconomic factors (such as poverty, gender, age and education) are not significantly associated with higher or lower levels of declared support.

Declared support is associated not just with respondents' political preferences, but also with the political characteristics of places where respondents reside. In Table 3, column 3 includes municipal characteristics, whereas column 4 includes both municipal and state characteristics. Individuals who live in municipalities where the PRI is relatively more powerful

are more likely to declare support (columns 3 and 4). In particular, for each additional 10 percentage points of vote share that the PRI received in the previous mayoral election, an individual is 3.5 to 4.2 percentage points more likely to declare support. This association is significant at the 1 to 5 percent level, depending on the specification employed. The degree of political competitiveness in a municipality is also associated with declared support (column 3). However, this relationship is only significant when explaining variation in declared support within a given state — across Mexico, individuals in highly competitive municipalities are no more or less likely to declare support (column 4). In addition, controlling for other included covariates, individuals in smaller or poorer municipalities do not have a higher or lower probability of placing political advertisements on their homes. Turning to state-level characteristics (column 4), we observe that respondents in states where the PRI is relatively more powerful (as measured by PRI governor vote share) are no more or less likely to declare support. By contrast, individuals who live in states with greater political competition (i.e., smaller governor vote margins) have a significantly greater probability of declaring support (at the 5 percent level). Just as with the municipal regressions, respondents residing in less populous or poorer states are not more or less likely to place political advertisements on their homes. Overall, specifications in Table 3 point to important political characteristics at the individual, municipal, and state level that are associated with declared support. Future work will employ hierarchical linear modeling to explore such relationships further.

## **Declared Support and Clientelism**

Thus far, we have observed that partisans — especially supporters of the PRI — are disproportionately likely to place political advertisements on their homes. Given that declared

support has been linked to clientelism in other contexts such as Brazil, a crucial question that emerges is whether respondents with political signs, posters or paintings on their homes are more likely to receive handouts during campaigns.

In order to investigate this relationship, we first examine how experiences with clientelism differ between citizens with political advertisements on their homes (“declarers”) versus citizens without such advertisements (“non-declarers”). While such analysis does not control for other important factors, it provides important motivation for later analyses employing both logistic and item count regressions. Figure 1 shows that declarers are substantially more likely to receive rewards than non-declarers, using both the direct vote-buying question and the list experiment. For the direct question, 9.4 percent of declarers received offers of gifts, versus only 5.2 percent of non-declarers. This difference is statistically significant at the 10 percent level, and nearly at the 5 percent level ( $p=.057$ ). Results are even more striking when using the list experiment, which provides an unobtrusive measure of whether respondents actually received gifts. Among respondents with political advertisements on their homes during Wave 1, nearly 57 percent reported receiving gifts during the campaign when asked in Wave 2. By contrast, only 16 percent of non-declarers reported receiving gifts. This difference is statistically significant at the 5 percent level. In short, descriptive evidence suggests that Mexicans who placed political advertisements on their homes experienced clientelism significantly more than those who did not.

Initial descriptive analysis in Figure 1 provides evidence that declarers are far more likely to experience vote buying, but does not control for important factors that could potentially affect results. For example, declarers would likely be highly partisan, and analyses in Table 2 suggested that some partisans may be more likely to receive rewards. In order to address such

concerns, Table 4 presents logistic regressions examining the relationship between declared support and reporting a vote-buying offer during the second wave of the 2012 Mexico Panel Survey. Column 1 suggests that respondents with political advertisements on their homes during either wave are 4.0 percentage points more likely to report gift offers than those without such ads (significant at the 5 percent level). This specification includes individual-level political and socioeconomic controls, none of which are statistically significant. Column 2 introduces municipal fixed effects, a step that controls for any omitted variables that do not vary across individuals in a given municipality. In this specification, the association between declarations and clientelism more than doubles in magnitude — citizens who declare support are 8.3 percentage points more likely to report gift offers than citizens who do not declare support (significant at the 5 percent level). As discussed above, one explanation for this difference is that including municipal fixed effects drops nearly half of the observations because many municipalities have no variation on the dependent variable. The next specification in column 3 introduces several municipal variables, as well as state fixed effects. Declared support remains a significant correlate of vote buying: placing a political advertisement on one’s home is associated with a 5.2 percentage point increase in gift offers (significant at the 5 percent level). Although we showed above that municipal political characteristics are significantly associated with declared support, factors such as PRI vote share and vote margin in municipal elections are not statistically linked to clientelism. With the inclusion of state political variables in column 4, declared support is significantly associated with a 4.4 percentage point increase in gift offers (at the 5 percent level). While neither PRI vote share nor political competition is significant at the state level, results suggest that individuals in poorer and larger states tend to have a greater probability of experiencing gift offers (both

at the 5 percent level). Across specifications in Table 4, other socioeconomic and political correlates shown do not have robust significant associations with gift offers.

In column 5 of Table 4, we also examine the relationship between declared support and vote buying using the list experiment. More specifically, we rerun the earlier specification in column 5 of Table 2 employing Blair & Imai’s (2012) method, and now include a variable for declared support. Results suggest that respondents with political advertisements on their homes are 35.8 percentage points more likely to receive benefits in exchange for their votes than those without such ads (significant at the 10 percent level, with a p-value of .065). Given that the percentage receiving gifts is just 22.1 percent in the overall sample with the list experiment, this effect is striking in magnitude. Parallel to findings in Table 2, weak PRI supporters are significantly more likely to receive gifts when asked indirectly through the list experiment (at the 5 percent level). Most important, analyses using *both* the direct question and the list experiment in Table 4 suggest that respondents who placed political advertisements on their homes disproportionately experienced clientelism.

These analyses provide considerable evidence of a significant association between declared support and clientelism. As usual with observational studies, selection bias remains an important concern. In order to test the robustness of this relationship, we also conducted matching using a genetic search algorithm (Sekhon 2011). Similar to propensity score matching and other related methods, genetic matching pairs treatment units (in this case “declarers”) with control units (“non-declarers”) that are similar on a set of observable characteristics. As with other forms of matching, the procedure seeks to improve inference in the absence of a true counterfactual by constructing an artificial comparison group. Genetic matching suggests that the difference in gift offers between declarers and matched

non-declarers is significant at the 5 percent level (not shown). This robustness test of genetic matching is additional evidence of a link between declared support and clientelism, though it should be emphasized that the technique still does not provide a rigorous test of causality.

## Conclusion

During the 2012 campaign, allegations of clientelism proliferated across Mexico. Although it is unlikely that Peña Nieto's victory hinged on the provision of contingent benefits — despite such claims of the opposition — both qualitative and quantitative evidence suggests that this electoral tactic remained in the playbooks of many political operatives. The 2012 Mexico Panel Study reveals that 7.7 percent of citizens reported receiving clientelist offers at some point during the campaign. The prevalence of handouts is far higher, over 22 percent in the post-election wave, when using an unobtrusive list experiment instead of a direct question prone to social desirability bias. Although citizens report all major parties as buying votes, the PRI continues to be identified as the most frequent transgressor, in line with Diaz-Cayeros, Estévez & Magaloni's (2009: 241) finding during the 2006 campaign that the "PRI was more prone to resort to these clientelist practices than its rivals." Analyses in this chapter provide important insights about the types of citizens who experienced clientelism. While some findings point to targeting based on political and socioeconomic criteria, they do not unambiguously suggest a uniform pattern.

Allegations of clientelism during the 2012 campaign raise an important question regarding democratic processes in Mexico. Are electoral officials paying sufficient attention to clientelism? We first note that on the heels of the election, Leonardo Valdés, President of IFE's General Council, proclaimed that: "This election is the fairest in [Mexico's] demo-

cratic lifetime, and the cleanest and most impartial that we have organized. In this election, we advanced in the consolidation of a democracy that is more transparent and also more equal.” To be sure, IFE has made remarkable progress in fighting fraud in recent years, and has greatly improved the mechanics of recording and counting votes. But the 2012 election revealed a troubling shortcoming in Mexico’s electoral institutions: a high degree of ambiguity regarding electoral authorities’ responsibility to even *investigate* claims of clientelism. Following the election, the onus fell on the aggrieved candidate, López Obrador, to provide conclusive evidence of the PRI’s alleged vote buying and to show it was widespread enough to justify annulment. However, many López Obrador’s supporters contend that the IFE itself should have assumed the responsibility to collect such evidence and to take corresponding legal action. Indeed, in some countries such as Brazil, electoral authorities take a relatively more proactive role in investigating and ousting candidates who buy votes. The extent to which the IFE should similarly take a more aggressive stance against clientelism is a pressing question for Mexico, as the decision has fundamental consequences for democracy.

Our findings also shed light on an important relationship rarely considered in the literature on machine politics: the link between declaring one’s support publicly and clientelist rewards. The 2012 campaign witnessed a surge in printed advertisements, in large part due to newly introduced electoral regulations. As political campaigns increasingly relied on print advertising, many citizens placed banners and posters on their own homes. We present robust quantitative evidence of the link between declared support and vote buying. Statistical findings suggest that citizens who declare support publicly with political posters on their homes are significantly more likely to receive offers of electoral rewards. Our future work will continue to investigate the link between declared support and clientelist handouts in Mexico,

building on additional quantitative specifications as well as interviews with politicians. A key question is whether declared support in Mexico tends to be demand-driven (citizens placing ads to attract benefits) or supply-driven (politicians requiring recipients to place ads). Ethnographic research on the distribution and use of printed materials can address related questions, such as: How many voters declare out of allegiance to a party on programmatic grounds versus the prospect of obtaining clientelist rewards? Do clientelist brokers demand that reward recipients declare support, and if so, what mechanisms do operatives use to enforce such agreements? Understanding the answers to such questions is important in part because demand-driven and supply-driven patterns of declared support may have different implications for the quality of democratic representation in Mexico.

More broadly, the evidence presented in this chapter suggests that machine politics is alive and well in Mexico. One important direction for scholarly research is understanding more deeply the strategies of clientelism employed not just by the PRI — which frequently bought votes during its dominance of Mexican politics during the 20th century — but also by opposition parties. Another key question to investigate: do recent PRI victories signal the rebirth of its 20th-century machine, or rather the innovation of clientelist tactics in a multi-party environment, perhaps with an increased reliance on declared support?

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Table 1: Gifts and Declared Support in 2012

	<b>First Wave</b>	<b>Second Wave</b>	<b>Either Wave</b>
Any Gift	2.7% (37)	5.7% (53)	7.7% (71)
Gift from PRI	0.7% (10)	2.6% (24)	2.9% (27)
Gift from PAN	0.2% (3)	0.8% (8)	1.1% (10)
Gift from PRD	0.4% (6)	0.4% (4)	1.0% (9)
Any Declaration	5.9% (79)	9.6% (89)	16.7% (154)
Declared for PRI	2.6% (35)	5.0% (46)	8.2% (76)
Declared for PAN	0.7% (9)	2.6% (24)	3.3% (30)
Declared for PRD	1.1% (15)	2.2% (20)	2.8% (26)

*Note:* Data from the 2012 Mexico Panel Study. Figures for gifts reflect percentage (and number, in parentheses) of respondents who indicated they had been offered a gift in a direct, closed-ended question. Gifts from PRI, PAN, and PRD reflect respondents identifying the respective party (or its candidates or operatives) when asked an open-ended, follow-up question about who offered the gift. Figures for declarations reflect whether enumerator observed any political advertisement on respondent’s home (“Any Declaration”), or for any of the denoted parties (subsequent rows). According to the procedure by which enumerators coded advertisements, “Declared for PRD” includes advertisements for PRD or the other two parties that joined López Obrador’s coalition (PT and Movimiento Ciudadano). The universe for “Either Wave” includes only respondents who participated in both waves of the panel survey. For gifts, N = 1389 (Wave 1) and N = 923 (Wave 2 and Either Wave). For declared support, N = 1328 (Wave 1) and 923 (Wave 2 and Either Wave).

Table 2: Correlates of Vote Buying

	Direct Question: Gifts from Any Source		Direct Question: Gifts from PRI		List Experiment
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
Strong PAN Supporter	0.026 (0.03)	-0.022 (0.06)	0.039** (0.01)	0.091+ (0.05)	0.239 (0.25)
Weak PAN Supporter	0.011 (0.02)	-0.031 (0.05)	0.022 (0.02)	0.047 (0.05)	0.318 (0.20)
Strong PRI Supporter	-0.005 (0.03)	-0.056 (0.05)	-0.013 (0.03)	-0.042 (0.08)	0.184 (0.19)
Weak PRI Supporter	-0.046 (0.04)	-0.127* (0.06)	0.002 (0.02)	0.002 (0.06)	0.461* (0.20)
Strong PRD Supporter	-0.001 (0.04)	-0.019 (0.07)	-0.329** (0.06)	-0.827** (0.07)	0.131 (0.27)
Weak PRD Supporter	0.037+ (0.02)	0.033 (0.04)	0.039* (0.02)	0.096+ (0.06)	-0.048 (0.22)
Likely Voter	-0.007 (0.02)	-0.012 (0.03)	-0.016 (0.01)	-0.028 (0.03)	-0.084 (0.14)
Poverty	0.007 (0.01)	0.010 (0.02)	-0.013+ (0.01)	-0.044* (0.02)	0.150+ (0.09)
Education	0.005 (0.00)	0.021* (0.01)	0.000 (0.00)	0.013 (0.01)	-0.004 (0.03)
Housing	0.001 (0.01)	0.020 (0.02)	-0.009 (0.01)	-0.012 (0.02)	-0.077 (0.08)
Age	-0.000 (0.00)	-0.000 (0.00)	-0.000 (0.00)	0.001 (0.00)	-0.003 (0.00)
Female	0.024 (0.01)	0.046 (0.03)	0.010 (0.01)	0.024 (0.03)	0.034 (0.13)
Fixed Effects	No	Municipal	No	Municipal	No
Pseudo-R <sup>2</sup>	0.033	0.141	0.115	0.176	
Observations	900	490	900	317	879

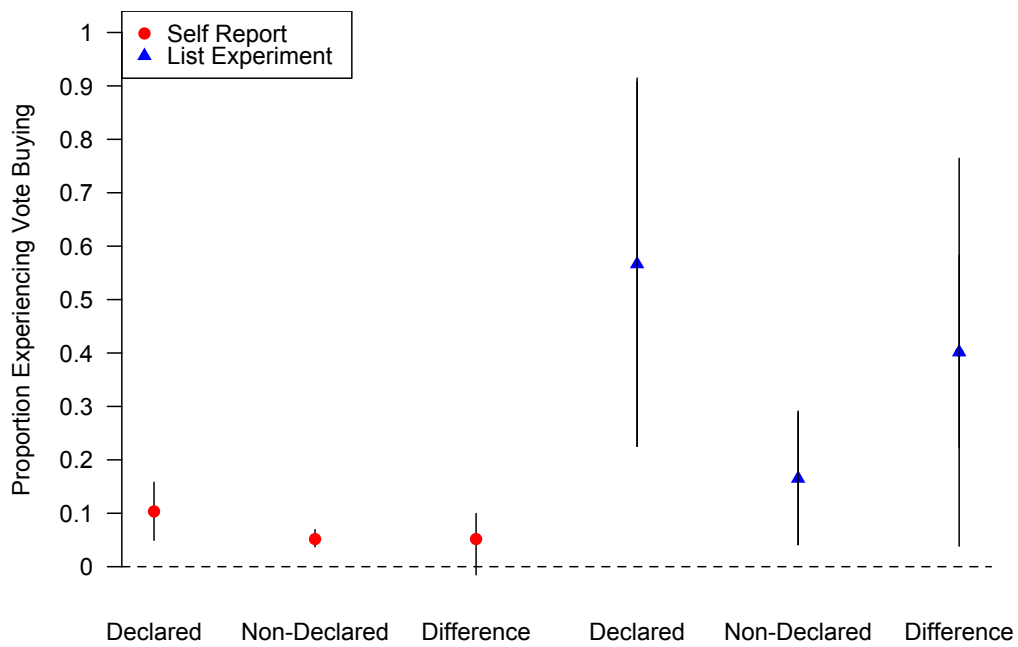
*Note:* +  $p < 0.10$ , \*  $p < 0.05$ , \*\*  $p < 0.01$ . Data from 2012 Mexico Panel Study. Columns 1-4 are logit regressions: coefficients are marginal effects; robust standard errors clustered at district level. For columns 1-2, binary dependent variable coded 1 if respondent reported offer of gift in Wave 2; 0 otherwise. For columns 3-4, dependent variable only coded 1 if respondent identified PRI as offering gift. Estimates in column 5 represent all gifts; derived using item count technique regression (ictreg) function of Blair & Imai's *List* package in R. Constants included but not shown. See text for description of independent variables.

Table 3: Correlates of Declared Support

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
Strong PAN Supporter	0.101 (0.08)	0.050 (0.07)	0.043 (0.06)	0.072 (0.05)
Weak PAN Supporter	0.029 (0.05)	-0.012 (0.05)	0.013 (0.04)	0.023 (0.05)
Strong PRI Supporter	0.170** (0.04)	0.147** (0.05)	0.149** (0.04)	0.153** (0.04)
Weak PRI Supporter	0.112* (0.04)	0.083 (0.05)	0.097* (0.04)	0.110** (0.04)
Strong PRD Supporter	0.096+ (0.06)	0.146+ (0.08)	0.140* (0.06)	0.100+ (0.05)
Weak PRD Supporter	0.048 (0.05)	0.048 (0.07)	0.082 (0.06)	0.051 (0.05)
Likely Voter	0.019 (0.03)	0.046 (0.04)	0.027 (0.03)	0.031 (0.03)
Poverty	0.017 (0.02)	0.002 (0.02)	0.010 (0.02)	0.017 (0.02)
Education	0.006 (0.01)	0.003 (0.01)	-0.001 (0.01)	0.004 (0.01)
Housing	0.029 (0.02)	-0.004 (0.03)	0.025 (0.02)	0.021 (0.02)
Age	-0.000 (0.00)	-0.001 (0.00)	-0.001 (0.00)	-0.000 (0.00)
Female	0.012 (0.03)	0.007 (0.03)	-0.001 (0.02)	0.012 (0.02)
PRI Mayor Share			0.423* (0.21)	0.346** (0.13)
Mayor Vote Margin			0.569** (0.20)	-0.122 (0.13)
Log Municipal GNP			0.042 (0.05)	0.036 (0.05)
Log Mun. Population			-0.083 (0.06)	-0.069 (0.07)
PRI Governor Share				-0.009 (0.21)
Governor Vote Margin				-0.451* (0.19)
Log State GNP				0.052 (0.04)
Log State Population				-0.014 (0.04)
Fixed Effects	No	Municipal	State	No
Pseudo-R <sup>2</sup>	0.042	0.172	0.162	0.097
Observations	926	715	851	926

*Note:* +  $p < 0.10$ , \*  $p < 0.05$ , \*\*  $p < 0.01$ . Data from 2012 Mexico Panel Study. Binary dependent variable is coded 1 if enumerator observed a political advertisement on respondent's home during Wave 1 or 2; coded 0 otherwise. Coefficients are marginal effects; robust standard errors clustered at district level. Constants included but not shown. See text for description of independent variables.

Figure 1: Prevalence of Gifts, Declarers vs. Nondeclarers



*Note:* Data from the 2012 Mexico Panel Study. Sample size: 128 for declared and 795 for non-declared (includes only respondents participating in both waves of the study). “Declared” indicates the respondent was coded as having a political advertisement on her home during either wave. Figures reflect measures of vote buying in Wave 2 with 95 percent confidence intervals. Note that the quantities measured differ: while the list experiment asks about receiving benefits, the direct question asks about *offers* of benefits.

Table 4: Correlates of Vote Buying, with Declared Support

	Direct Question				List Exp. (5)
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	
Declared Support	0.040*	0.083*	0.052*	0.044*	0.358+
	(0.02)	(0.04)	(0.03)	(0.02)	(0.19)
Strong PAN Supporter	0.021	-0.021	0.000	0.022	0.141
	(0.02)	(0.06)	(0.04)	(0.02)	(0.25)
Weak PAN Supporter	0.009	-0.028	0.003	0.009	0.319
	(0.02)	(0.05)	(0.03)	(0.02)	(0.20)
Strong PRI Supporter	-0.013	-0.066	-0.036	-0.016	0.108
	(0.03)	(0.05)	(0.04)	(0.03)	(0.19)
Weak PRI Supporter	-0.050	-0.135*	-0.063+	-0.052	0.432*
	(0.04)	(0.06)	(0.04)	(0.03)	(0.20)
Strong PRD Supporter	-0.004	-0.028	-0.009	-0.000	0.046
	(0.04)	(0.06)	(0.04)	(0.04)	(0.27)
Weak PRD Supporter	0.036	0.034	0.049+	0.040+	-0.021
	(0.02)	(0.04)	(0.03)	(0.02)	(0.22)
Likely Voter	-0.008	-0.016	-0.008	-0.007	-0.055
	(0.02)	(0.03)	(0.02)	(0.02)	(0.14)
Poverty	0.006	0.008	0.007	0.006	0.137
	(0.01)	(0.02)	(0.01)	(0.01)	(0.09)
Education	0.005	0.020*	0.010+	0.006	-0.008
	(0.00)	(0.01)	(0.01)	(0.00)	(0.03)
Housing	0.000	0.016	0.012	0.004	-0.089
	(0.01)	(0.02)	(0.02)	(0.01)	(0.08)
Age	-0.000	-0.000	-0.000	-0.000	-0.004
	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)
Female	0.023	0.043	0.021	0.023	0.041
	(0.01)	(0.03)	(0.02)	(0.01)	(0.13)
PRI Mayor Share			0.089	0.036	
			(0.17)	(0.07)	
Mayor Vote Margin			0.133	-0.056	
			(0.11)	(0.06)	
Log Municipal GNP			0.035	0.015	
			(0.05)	(0.03)	
Log Mun. Population			-0.036	-0.013	
			(0.06)	(0.03)	
PRI Governor Share				0.002	
				(0.09)	
Governor Vote Margin				-0.006	
				(0.08)	
Log State GNP				-0.046*	
				(0.02)	
Log State Population				0.059*	
				(0.02)	
Fixed Effects	No	Municipal	State	No	No
Pseudo-R <sup>2</sup>	0.043	0.154	0.141	0.063	
Observations	900	490	710	900	879

*Note:* +  $p < 0.10$ , \*  $p < 0.05$ , \*\*  $p < 0.01$ . Data from 2012 Mexico Panel Study. Binary dependent variable coded 1 if respondent reported offer of gift from any source in Wave 2; 0 otherwise. Columns 1-4 are logit regressions: coefficients are marginal effects; robust standard errors clustered at district level. Estimates in column 5 derived using item count technique regression (ictreg) function of Blair & Imai's *List* package in R. Constants included but not shown. See text for description of independent variables.