References

Acemoglu, Daron and James A. Robinson. 2021. *Why Nations Fail: The Origins of Power, Prosperity and Poverty*. London: Profile Books.

African Integrity Indicators. 2014–2020. African Integrity Indicators (2014–2024). Technical report African Institute for Development Policy. www.africaintegrityindicators.org/.

Ahenkan, Albert, Justice N. Bawole and Kwame A. Domfeh. 2013. "Improving citizens' participation in local government planning and financial management in Ghana: a stakeholder analysis of the Sefwi Wiawso Municipal." *Journal of Public Administration and Governance* 3(2):191.

Alam, Quamrul and Julian Teicher. 2012. "The state of governance in Bangladesh: the capture of state institutions." *South Asia: Journal of South Asian Studies* 35(4):858–884.

Amoah, Anthony, Edmund Kwablah, Andrews Kofi Taayeli and Benjamin Amoah. 2022. "Is an all-inclusive educational policy a determinant of voting behaviour in Ghana?" *International Journal of Social Economics* 49(5):653–668.

Asante, Kojo and Franklin Oduro. 2016. The Cost of Parliamentary Politics in Ghana. Technical report Westminster Foundation for Democracy.

Asante, Kojo and George Kunnath. 2018. "The Cost of Politics in Ghana." Westminster Foundation for Democracy, https://costofpolitics.net/west-africa/ghana.

Aspinall, Edward. 2014. "Health care and democratization in Indonesia." *Democratization* 21(5):803–823.

Aspinall, Edward and Mada Sukmajati. 2016. "Patronage and clientelism in Indonesian electoral politics." *Electoral Dynamics in Indonesia: Money Politics, Patronage and Clientelism at the Grassroots*, ed. Edward Aspinall and Mada Sukmajati. Singapore: NUS Press. pp. 1–38.

Aspinall, Edward and Ward Berenschot. 2019. *Democracy for Sale: Elections, Clientelism, and the State in Indonesia*. Ithaca, New York and London: Cornell University Press.

Association for Democratic Reforms. 2018. All India Survey on Governance Issues and Voting Behaviour. Technical report Association for Democratic Reforms.

Downloaded from https://www.cambridge.org/core. UNIVERSIDAD AUTONOMA METROPOLITANA, on 10 Nov 2026 at 12:02:56, subject to the Cambridge Core terms of use, available at https://www.cambridge.org/core/terms.
https://www.cambridge.org/core/product/0147A2CDE9C6CFACF9DF4D5C5F9C9624

Auerbach, Adam M. and Tariq Thachil. 2018. "How clients select brokers: competition and choice in India's slums." *American Political Science Review* 112(4):775–791.
Auriol, Emmanuelle, Stéphane Straub and Thomas Flochel. 2016. "Public procurement and rent-seeking: the case of Paraguay." *World Development* 77:395–407.
Avis, Eric, Claudio Ferraz, Frederico Finan and Carlos Varjão. 2022. "Money and politics: the effects of campaign spending limits on political entry and competition." *American Economic Journal: Applied Economics* 14(4):167–199.
Ayee, Joseph R. A. 2019. Six Decades of the Public Sector in Ghana: Issues and Prospects. Technical report Institute for Democratic Governance (Ghana).
Baltrunaite, Audinga. 2020. "Political contributions and public procurement: evidence from Lithuania." *Journal of the European Economic Association* 18(2):541–582.
Bandiera, Oriana, Andrea Prat and Tommaso Valletti. 2009. "Active and passive waste in government spending: evidence from a policy experiment." *American Economic Review* 99(4):1278–1308.
Banerjee, Abhijit, Rema Hanna and Sendhil Mullainathan. 2013. "Corruption." In *The Handbook of Organizational Economics*, ed. Robert Gibbons and John Roberts. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press. pp. 1109–1147.
Banful, Afua B. 2011. "Do formula-based intergovernmental transfer mechanisms eliminate politically motivated targeting? Evidence from Ghana." *Journal of Development Economics* 96(2):380–390.
Banuri, Sheheryar and Philip Keefer. 2016. "Pro-social motivation, effort and the call to public service." *European Economic Review* 83:139–164.
Bardhan, Pranab K., Sandip Mitra, Dilip Mookherjee and Anusha Nath. 2020. How Do Voters Respond to Welfare Vis-à-vis Public Good Programs? An Empirical Test for Clientelism. Technical report Federal Reserve Bank of Minneapolis.
Bauer, Gretchen and Akosua K. Darkwah. 2020. "We would rather be leaders than parliamentarians: women and political office in Ghana." *European Journal of Politics and Gender* 3(1):101–119.
Bayart, Jean-Francois. 1993. *The State in Africa: The Politics of the Belly*. London: Longman.
Becker, Gary S. and George J. Stigler. 1974. "Law enforcement, malfeasance, and compensation of enforcers." *The Journal of Legal Studies* 3(1):1–18.
Berenschot, Ward. 2018. "The political economy of clientelism: a comparative study of Indonesia's patronage democracy." *Comparative Political Studies* 51(12):1563–1593.
Bersch, Katherine, Sérgio Praça and Matthew M. Taylor. 2017. "State capacity, bureaucratic politicization, and corruption in the Brazilian state." *Governance* 30(1):105–124.
Bertrand, Marianne, Robin Burgess, Arunish Chawla and Guo Xu. 2020. "The glittering prizes: career incentives and bureaucrat performance." *The Review of Economic Studies* 87(2):626–655.
Besley, Timothy and Robin Burgess. 2002. "The political economy of government responsiveness: theory and evidence from India." *The Quarterly Journal of Economics* 117(4):1415–1451.
Besley, Timothy and Torsten Persson. 2010. "State capacity, conflict, and development." *Econometrica* 78(1):1–34.
Bhavnani, Rikhil R. and Alexander Lee. 2018. "Local embeddedness and bureaucratic performance: evidence from India." *The Journal of Politics* 80(1):71–87.

Downloaded from https://www.cambridge.org/core. UNIVERSIDAD AUTONOMA METROPOLITANA, on 10 Nov 2026 at 12:02:56, subject to the Cambridge Core terms of use, available at https://www.cambridge.org/core/terms.
https://www.cambridge.org/core/product/0147A2CDE9C6CFACF9DF4D5C5F9C9624

Blair, Graeme, Kosuke Imai and Yang-Yang Zhou. 2015. "Design and analysis of the randomized response technique." *Journal of the American Statistical Association* 110(511):1304–1319.

Blattman, Christopher, Horacio Larreguy, Benjamin Marx and Otis R. Reid. 2019. Eat Widely, Vote Wisely? Lessons from a Campaign Against Vote Buying in Uganda. Technical report National Bureau of Economic Research.

Boas, Taylor C., F. Daniel Hidalgo and Neal P. Richardson. 2014. "The spoils of victory: campaign donations and government contracts in Brazil." *The Journal of Politics* 76(2):415–429.

Boas, Taylor C., F. Daniel Hidalgo and Guillermo Toral. 2021. "Competence versus priorities: negative electoral responses to education quality in Brazil." *The Journal of Politics* 83(4):1417–1431.

Bobonis, Gustavo J., Luis R. Cámara Fuertes and Rainer Schwabe. 2016. "Monitoring corruptible politicians." *The American Economic Review* 106(8):2371–2405.

Boittin, Margaret, Greg Distelhorst and Francis Fukuyama. 2016. "Reassessing the Quality of Government in China." *MIT Sloan Research Paper, Number 5181-16*. Cambridge, MA: MIT Sloan School of Management.

Boulding, Carew and David S. Brown. 2014. "Political competition and local social spending: evidence from Brazil." *Studies in Comparative International Development* 49:197–216.

Bowornwathana, Bidhya. 2010. "The politics of becoming a top bureaucrat in the Thai Bureaucracy." *Asia Pacific Journal of Public Administration* 32(2):125–136.

Brass, Jennifer N., Justin Schon, Elizabeth Baldwin and Lauren M. MacLean. 2020. "Spatial analysis of bureaucrats' attempts to resist political capture in a developing democracy: the distribution of solar panels in Ghana." *Political Geography* 76:102087.

Bratton, Michael, Ravi Bhavnani and Tse-Hsin Chen. 2012. "Voting intentions in Africa: ethnic, economic or partisan?" *Commonwealth & Comparative Politics* 50(1):27–52.

Brierley, Sarah. 2020. "Unprincipled principals: co-opted bureaucrats and corruption in Ghana." *American Journal of Political Science* 64(2):209–222.

Brierley, Sarah and Eric Kramon. 2020. "Party campaign strategies in Ghana: rallies, canvassing and handouts." *African Affairs* 119(477):587–603.

Brierley, Sarah, Kenneth Lowande, Rachel Augustine Potter and Guillermo Toral. 2023. "Bureaucratic politics: blind spots and opportunities in political science." *Annual Review of Political Science* 26:271–290.

Brierley, Sarah and Noah L. Nathan. 2022. "Motivating the machine: which brokers do parties pay?" *The Journal of Politics* 84(3):1539–1555.

Brierley, Sarah, Noah L. Nathan, George Kwaku Ofosu and Tingxuan Zhu. 2026. "The Seeds of State Capture: Merit and Patrimonialism in the Colonial Bureaucracy." *American Political Science Review*, Forthcoming.

Burgess, Robin, Remi Jedwab, Edward Miguel, Ameet Morjaria and Gerard Padró i Miquel 2015. "The value of democracy: evidence from road building in Kenya." *The American Economic Review* 105(6):1817–1851.

Bussell, Jennifer. 2013. *Corruption and Reform in India: Public Services in the Digital Age*. Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press.

Downloaded from https://www.cambridge.org/core. UNIVERSIDAD AUTONOMA METROPOLITANA, on 10 Nov 2026 at 12:02:56, subject to the Cambridge Core terms of use, available at https://www.cambridge.org/core/terms.
https://www.cambridge.org/core/product/0147A2CDE9C6CFACF9DF4D5C5F9C9624

Bussell, Jennifer. 2018. "Whose Money, Whose Influence?" In *Costs of Democracy: Political Finance in India*, ed. Devesh Kapur and Milan Vaishnav. New Delhi: Oxford University Press.

Bussell, Jennifer. 2019. *Clients and Constituents: Political Responsiveness in Patronage Democracies*. New York, NY: Oxford University Press.

Cagé, Julia. 2020. *The Price of Democracy: How Money Shapes Politics and What to do about It*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

Carbone, Giovanni and Vincenzo Memoli. 2015. "Does democratization foster state consolidation? Democratic rule, political order, and administrative capacity." *Governance* 28(1):5–24.

Carlitz, Ruth D. 2017. "Money flows, water trickles: understanding patterns of decentralized water provision in Tanzania." *World Development* 93:16–30.

Carpenter, Daniel P. 2001. *The Forging of Bureaucratic Autonomy: Reputations, Networks, and Policy Innovation in Executive Agencies, 1862–1928*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.

Casal Bértoa, Fernando and Maria Spirova. 2019. "Parties between thresholds: state subsidies and party behaviour in post-communist democracies." *Party Politics* 25(2):233–244.

Chabal, Patrick and Jean-Pascal Daloz. 1999. *Africa Works: The Political Instrumentalization of Disorder*. Indiana: Indiana University Press.

Chandra, Kanchan. 2004. *Why Ethnic Parties Succeed: Patronage and Ethnic Head Counts in India*. New York: Cambridge University Press.

Chang, Eric C. C. 2005. "Electoral incentives for political corruption under open-list proportional representation." *The Journal of Politics* 67(3):716–730.

Charron, Nicholas, Carl Dahlström, Mihály Fazekas and Victor Lapuente. 2017. "Careers, connections, and corruption risks: investigating the impact of bureaucratic meritocracy on public procurement processes." *The Journal of Politics* 79(1):89–104.

Charron, Nicholas, Carl Dahlström and Victor Lapuente. 2015. "Measuring Meritocracy in the Public Sector in Europe." *QoG Working Paper Series* (8). www.gu.se/sites/default/files/2020-05/QoGWP_2015_8_Charron_Dahlstr%C3%B6m_Lapuente.pdf.

Charron, Nicholas, Carl Dahlström and Victor Lapuente. 2016. "Measuring meritocracy in the public sector in Europe: a new national and sub-national indicator." *European Journal on Criminal Policy and Research* 22(3):499–523.

Chauchard, Simon. 2018*a*. "Electoral handouts in Mumbai elections: the cost of political competition." *Asian Survey* 58(2):341–364.

Chauchard, Simon. 2018*b*. "What Costs So Much in Indian Elections? Intuitions from Recent Electoral Campaigns in Mumbai." In *Costs of Democracy*. New Delhi: Oxford University Press. pp. 201–231.

Cingolani, L. 2013. "The State of State Capacity: a review of concepts, evidence and measures." UNU-MERIT Working Paper Series (2013-053).

Cleary, Matthew R. 2007. "Electoral competition, participation, and government responsiveness in Mexico." *American Journal of Political Science* 51(2):283–299.

Colandef. 2019. "Traditional Areas in Ghana." Accra, Ghana: Colandef. https://colandef.org/.

Corstange, Daniel. 2018. "Clientelism in competitive and uncompetitive elections." *Comparative Political Studies* 51(1):76–104.

Downloaded from https://www.cambridge.org/core. UNIVERSIDAD AUTONOMA METROPOLITANA, on 10 Nov 2026 at 12:02:56, subject to the Cambridge Core terms of use, available at https://www.cambridge.org/core/terms. https://www.cambridge.org/core/product/0147A2CDE9C6CFACF9DF4D5C5F9C9624

Coviello, Decio and Mario Mariniello. 2014. "Publicity requirements in public procurement: evidence from a regression discontinuity design." *Journal of Public Economics* 109:76–100.

Cruz, Cesi, Philip Keefer, Julien Labonne and Francesco Trebbi. 2024. "Making policies matter: voter responses to campaign promises." *The Economic Journal*, 134(661):1875–1913.

Dahlström, Carl, Jan Teorell Stefan Dahlberg Felix Hartmann Annika Lindberg and Marina Nistotskaya. 2015. The QoG Expert Survey Dataset II. Technical report University of Gothenburg: The Quality of Government Institute.

Dahlström, Carl and Victor Lapuente. 2017. *Organizing Leviathan: Politicians, Bureaucrats, and the Making of Good Government*. Cambridge; New York, NY: Cambridge University Press.

Dahlström, Carl, Victor Lapuente and Jan Teorell. 2012. "The merit of meritocratization: politics, bureaucracy, and the institutional deterrents of corruption." *Political Research Quarterly* 65(3):656–668.

Dal Bó, Ernesto, Frederico Finan and Martín A. Rossi. 2013. "Strengthening state capabilities: the role of financial incentives in the call to public service." *The Quarterly Journal of Economics* 128(3):1169–1218.

D'Arcy, Michelle. 2019. "'Big Men' and Poor Voters: Political Corruption and Elections in Kenya." In *Political Corruption in Africa*. Cheltenham, England; Northampton, MA: Edward Elgar Publishing.

Das, Sisir K. 2000. *Public Office, Private Interest: Bureaucracy and Corruption in India*. New Delhi; Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Dasgupta, Aditya and Devesh Kapur. 2020. "The political economy of bureaucratic overload: evidence from rural development officials in India." *American Political Science Review* 114(4):1316–1334.

Dávid-Barrett, Elizabeth and Mihály Fazekas. 2020. "Grand corruption and government change: an analysis of partisan favoritism in public procurement." *European Journal on Criminal Policy and Research* 26(4):411–430.

Davis, Jennifer. 2004. "Corruption in public service delivery: experience from South Asia's water and sanitation sector." *World development* 32(1):53–71.

de Kadt, Daniel and Evan S. Lieberman. 2020. "Nuanced accountability: voter responses to service delivery in southern Africa." *British Journal of Political Science* 50(1):185–215.

de Mariz, Christine Léon, Claude Ménard and Bernard Abeillé. 2014. *Public Procurement Reforms in Africa: Challenges in Institutions and Governance*. Oxford University Press, USA.

De Soto, Hernando. 2000. *The Mystery of Capital: Why Capitalism Triumphs in the West and Fails Everywhere Else*. London: Bantam.

Debrah, Emmanuel. 2009. "The economy and regime change in Ghana, 1992–2004." *Ghana Social Science Journal* 6(2):30–30.

Di Tella, Rafael and Ernesto Schargrodsky. 2003. "The role of wages and auditing during a crackdown on corruption in the city of Buenos Aires." *Journal of Law and Economics* 46(1):269–292.

Diaz-Cayeros, Alberto, Federico Estévez and Beatriz Magaloni. 2012. "Strategies of vote buying: poverty, democracy and social transfers in Mexico." Unpublished manuscript, Department of Political Science, Stanford University.

Downloaded from https://www.cambridge.org/core. UNIVERSIDAD AUTONOMA METROPOLITANA, on 10 Nov 2026 at 12:02:56, subject to the Cambridge Core terms of use, available at https://www.cambridge.org/core/terms.
https://www.cambridge.org/core/product/0147A2CDE9C6CFACF9DF4D5C5F9C9624

Diaz-Cayeros, Alberto, Federico Estévez and Beatriz Magaloni. 2016. *The Political Logic of Poverty Relief: Electoral Strategies and Social Policy in Mexico*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Driscoll, Barry. 2018. "Why political competition can increase patronage." *Studies in Comparative International Development* 53(4):404–427.

Economist, The. 2024. Why India's Election Is the Most Expensive in the World. Technical report ProQuest One Business.

Ejdemyr, Simon, Eric Kramon and Amanda Lea Robinson. 2018. "Segregation, ethnic favoritism, and the strategic targeting of local public goods." *Comparative Political Studies* 51(9):1111–1143.

Evans, Peter B. 1995. *Embedded Autonomy: States and Industrial Transformation*. Princeton University Press.

Evans, Peter. 1998. "Transferable lessons? Re-examining the institutional prerequisites of East Asian economic policies." *The Journal of Development Studies* 34(6):66–86.

Evans, Peter and James E. Rauch. 1999. "Bureaucracy and growth: a cross-national analysis of the effects of "Weberian" state structures on economic growth." *American Sociological Review* 64(5):748–765.

Eyiah, Alex. 2004. "Regulation and small contractor development: a case of ghana," Centre on Regulation and Competition (CRC) Working papers 30668, University of Manchester, Institute for Development Policy and Management (IDPM).

Faguet, Jean-Paul. 2023. "Understanding Decentralisation: Theory, Evidence, and Practice." In *Decentralised Governance: Crafting Effective Democracies Around the World*. London: LSE Press.

Fazekas, Mihály and Gábor Kocsis. 2020. "Uncovering high-level corruption: cross-national objective corruption risk indicators using public procurement data." *British Journal of Political Science* 50(1):155–164.

Fazekas, Mihály and István János Tóth. 2016. "From corruption to state capture: a new analytical framework with empirical applications from Hungary." *Political Research Quarterly* 69(2):320–334.

Ferraz, Claudio and Frederico Finan. 2008. "Exposing corrupt politicians: the effects of Brazil's publicly released audits on electoral outcomes." *The Quarterly Journal of Economics* 123(2):703–745.

Ferraz, Claudio and Frederico Finan. 2011. "Electoral accountability and corruption: evidence from the audits of local governments." *American Economic Review* 101(4):1274–1311.

Ferree, Karen E. 2006. "Explaining South Africa's racial census." *The Journal of Politics* 68(4):803–815.

Finan, Frederico, Benjamin A. Olken and Rohini Pande. 2017. "The personnel Economics of the Developing State." *Handbook of Economic Field Experiments* 2:467–514.

Fiorina, Morris P. 1977. "The case of the vanishing marginals: the bureaucracy did it." *American Political Science Review* 71(01):177–181.

Fiorina, Morris P. 1989. *Congress: Keystone of the Washington Establishment*. New Haven; London: Yale University Press.

Fiorina, Morris P. and Roger G. Noll. 1978. "Voters, bureaucrats and legislators: a rational choice perspective on the growth of bureaucracy." *Journal of Public Economics* 9(2):239–254.

Downloaded from https://www.cambridge.org/core. UNIVERSIDAD AUTONOMA METROPOLITANA, on 10 Nov 2026 at 12:02:56, subject to the Cambridge Core terms of use, available at https://www.cambridge.org/core/terms.
https://www.cambridge.org/core/product/0147A2CDE9C6CFACF9DF4D5C5F9C9624

Fobih, Nick. 2010. "Dynamics of political parties' administration in Ghana." *Africa Today* 57(1):24–41.
Foltz, Jeremy D. and Kweku A. Opoku-Agyemang. 2015. "Do higher salaries lower petty corruption? A policy experiment on West Africa's highways." Unpublished working paper, University of Wisconsin-Madison and University of California, Berkeley.
Foster, Vivien and Cecilia Briceño-Garmendia. 2010. *Africa's Infrastructure: A Time for Transformation*. Washington, DC: World Bank.
Fouirnaies, Alexander. 2021. "How do campaign spending limits affect elections? Evidence from the united kingdom 1885–2019." *American Political Science Review* 115(2):395–411.
Franck, Raphael and Ilia Rainer. 2012. "Does the leader's ethnicity matter? Ethnic favoritism, education, and health in sub-Saharan Africa." *American Political Science Review* 106(02):294–325.
Fridy, Kevin S. 2007. "The elephant, umbrella, and quarrelling cocks: disaggregating partisanship in Ghana's fourth republic." *African Affairs* 106(423):281–305.
Fridy, Kevin S. 2012. "Where are Ghana's swing voters? A look at the voters responsible for alternating power in one of Africa's most successful democracies." *Africa Review* 4(2):107.
Friedrich Ebert Stiftung. 2010. A Guide to District Assemblies in Ghana. Technical report Friedrich Ebert Stiftung.
Fukuyama, Francis. 2004. "The imperative of state-building." *Journal of Democracy* 15(2):17–31.
Fukuyama, Francis. 2013. "What is governance?" *Governance* 26(3):347–368.
Geddes, Barbara. 1991. "A game theoretic model of reform in Latin American democracies." *The American Political Science Review* 85(2):371–392.
Geddes, Barbara. 1994. *Politician's Dilemma: Building State Capacity in Latin America*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
Gerth, Hans H. and C. Wright Mills. 2014. *From Max Weber: Essays in Sociology*. London: Routledge.
Gingerich, Daniel W. 2013*a*. "Governance indicators and the level of analysis problem: empirical findings from South America." *British Journal of Political Science* 2:1–38.
Gingerich, Daniel W. 2013*b*. *Political Institutions and Party-directed Corruption in South America: Stealing for the Team*. New York, NY, USA and Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
Golden, Miriam A. 2003. "Electoral connections: the effects of the personal vote on political patronage, bureaucracy and legislation in postwar Italy." *British Journal of Political Science* 33(2):189–212.
Golden, Miriam A. and Eric C. C. Chang. 2001. "Competitive corruption: factional conflict and political malfeasance in postwar Italian Christian Democracy." *World Politics* 53(4):588–622.
Golden, Miriam A. and Eugenia Nazrullaeva. 2023. *The Puzzle of Clientelism: Political Discretion and Elections Around the World*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
Goldsmith, Arthur A. 1999. "Africa's overgrown state reconsidered: bureaucracy and economic growth." *World Politics* 51(04):520–546.
Gottlieb, Jessica. 2016. "Greater expectations: a field experiment to improve accountability in Mali." *American Journal of Political Science* 60(1):143–157.

Downloaded from https://www.cambridge.org/core. UNIVERSIDAD AUTONOMA METROPOLITANA, on 10 Nov 2026 at 12:02:56, subject to the Cambridge Core terms of use, available at https://www.cambridge.org/core/terms.
https://www.cambridge.org/core/product/0147A2CDE9C6CFACF9DF4D5C5F9C9624

Gottlieb, Jessica and Katrina Kosec. 2019. "The countervailing effects of competition on public goods provision: when bargaining inefficiencies lead to bad outcomes." *American Political Science Review* 113(1):88–107.
Government of Ghana. 2020. "2020 Formula for sharing the District Assemblies Common Fund." Accra: Government of Ghana.
Goyal, Tanushree. 2024. "Do citizens enforce accountability for public goods provision? Evidence from India's rural roads program." *The Journal of Politics* 86(1): 97–112.
Goyal, Tanushree and Robin Harding. 2024. "Do Voters Prefer Campaign Promises About Attributable Policies?" Unpublished working paper.
Grindle, Merilee S. 2012. *Jobs for the Boys: Patronage and the State in Comparative Perspective*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.
Grossman, Guy and Tara Slough. 2022. "Government responsiveness in developing countries." *Annual Review of Political Science* 25(1):131–153.
Grzymala-Busse, Anna. 2007. *Rebuilding Leviathan: Party Competition and State Exploitation in Post-communist Democracies*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
Guardado, Jenny and Leonard Wantchekon. 2018. "Do electoral handouts affect voting behavior?" *Electoral Studies* 53:139–149.
Gulzar, Saad, Miguel R. Rueda and Nelson A. Ruiz. 2022. "Do campaign contribution limits curb the influence of money in politics?" *American Journal of Political Science* 66(4):932–946.
Haggard, Stephan. 1990. *Pathways from the Periphery: The Politics of Growth in the Newly Industrializing Countries*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press.
Hanson, Jonathan K. and Rachel Sigman. 2021. "Leviathan's latent dimensions: measuring state capacity for comparative political research." *The Journal of Politics* 83(4):1495–1510.
Harding, Robin. 2015. "Attribution and accountability: voting for roads in Ghana." *World Politics* 67(04):656–689.
Harding, Robin. 2020. *Rural Democracy: Elections and Development in Africa*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
Harding, Robin and David Stasavage. 2013. "What democracy does (and doesn't do) for basic services: school fees, school inputs, and African elections." *The Journal of Politics* 76(1):229–245.
Harris, Andrew J. and Daniel N. Posner. 2019. "(Under what conditions) do politicians reward their supporters? Evidence from Kenya's Constituencies Development Fund." *American Political Science Review* 113(1):123–139.
Hassan, Mai. 2020. *Regime Threats and State Solutions: Bureaucratic Loyalty and Embeddedness in Kenya*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
Hassan, Mai, Horacio Larreguy and Stuart Russell. 2024. "Who gets hired? Political patronage and bureaucratic favoritism." *American Political Science Review* 118(4):1913–1930.
Hicken, Allen, Edward Aspinall, Meredith L. Weiss and Burhanuddin Muhtadi. 2022. "Buying brokers: electoral handouts beyond clientelism in a weak-party state." *World Politics* 74(1):77–120.
Hicken, Allen and Noah L. Nathan. 2020. "Clientelism's red herrings: dead ends and new directions in the study of nonprogrammatic politics." *Annual Review of Political Science* 23:277–294.

Downloaded from https://www.cambridge.org/core. UNIVERSIDAD AUTONOMA METROPOLITANA, on 10 Nov 2026 at 12:02:56, subject to the Cambridge Core terms of use, available at https://www.cambridge.org/core/terms.
https://www.cambridge.org/core/product/0147A2CDE9C6CFACF9DF4D5C5F9C9624

Hoffman, Barak D. and James D. Long. 2013. "Parties, ethnicity, and voting in African elections." *Comparative Politics* 45(2):127–146.
Hollibaugh Jr, Gary E., Gabriel Horton and David E. Lewis. 2014. "Presidents and patronage." *American Journal of Political Science* 58(4):1024–1042.
Honig, Dan. 2024. *Mission Driven Bureaucrats: Empowering People to Help Government do Better*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
Hoogenboom, Ari. 1959. "The Pendleton Act and the civil service." *The American Historical Review* 64(2):301–318.
Huber, John D. and Michael Ting. 2021. "Civil service and patronage in bureaucracies." *Journal of Politics* 83(3):902–916.
Hummel, Calla, John Gerring and Thomas Burt. 2021. "Do political finance reforms reduce corruption?" *British Journal of Political Science* 51(2):869–889.
Hydén, Göran. 1983. *No Shortcuts to Progress: African Development Management in Perspective*. University of California Press.
Ichino, Nahomi and Noah L. Nathan. 2012. "Primaries on demand? Intra-party politics and nominations in Ghana." *British Journal of Political Science* 42(4):769–791.
Ichino, Nahomi and Noah L. Nathan. 2022. "Democratizing the party: the effects of primary election reforms in Ghana." *British Journal of Political Science* 52(3): 1168–1185.
Ichino, Nahomi, Martin Williams and Erik Wibbels. 2018. "The Political Geography of Government Projects: Evidence from +/- 40,000 Projects in Ghana." *Aid Data Working Paper*. Williamsburg, VA: AidData, College of William & Mary.
IDEA. 2023. Political Finance Database. Technical report International Institute for Democracy and Electoral Assistance.
Iyer, Lakshmi and Anandi Mani. 2012. "Traveling agents: political change and bureaucratic turnover in India." *Review of Economics and Statistics* 94(3):723–739.
Jablonski, Ryan S. 2014. "How aid targets votes: the impact of electoral incentives on foreign aid distribution." *World Politics* 66(02):293–330.
Jensen, Peter S. and Mogens K. Justesen. 2014. "Poverty and vote buying: survey-based evidence from Africa." *Electoral Studies* 33:220–232.
Kapur, Devesh and Milan Vaishnav. 2013. "Builders, Politicians, and Election Finance." In *Costs of Democracy: Political Finance in India*. Number 276. Oxford University Press. https://papers.ssrn.com/sol3/papers.cfm?abstract_id=1972987
Kapur, Devesh and Milan Vaishnav. 2018*a*. *Costs of Democracy: Political Finance in India*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
Kapur, Devesh and Milan Vaishnav. 2018*b*. "Introduction." In *Costs of Democracy: Political Finance in India*, ed. Devesh Kapur and Milan Vaishnav. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
Khan, Adnan Q., Asim Ijaz Khwaja and Benjamin A. Olken. 2019. "Making moves matter: experimental evidence on incentivizing bureaucrats through performance-based postings." *American Economic Review* 109(1):237–270.
Kitschelt, Herbert and Steven I. Wilkinson. 2007. *Patrons, Clients and Policies: Patterns of Democratic Accountability and Political Competition*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
Klašnja, Marko. 2015. "Corruption and the incumbency disadvantage: theory and evidence." *The Journal of Politics* 77(4):928–942.
Knutsen, Carl H. 2013. "Democracy, state capacity, and economic growth." *World Development* 43:1–18.

Downloaded from https://www.cambridge.org/core. UNIVERSIDAD AUTONOMA METROPOLITANA, on 10 Nov 2026 at 12:02:56, subject to the Cambridge Core terms of use, available at https://www.cambridge.org/core/terms.
https://www.cambridge.org/core/product/0147A2CDE9C6CFACF9DF4D5C5F9C9624

Kohli, Atul 2004. *State-directed Development: Political Power and Industrialization in the Global Periphery*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
Kohoutek, Jan and Martin Nekola. 2021. "Politicisation of the Czech Republic's ministries: still trailing behind the West?" *East European Politics* 37(3):514–533.
Kopecký, Petr. 2011. "Political competition and party patronage: public appointments in Ghana and South Africa." *Political Studies* 59(3):713–732.
Koß, Michael. 2010. *The Politics of Party Funding: State Funding to Political Parties and Party Competition in Western Europe*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
Kramon, Eric. 2018. *Money for Votes: The Causes and Consequences of Electoral Clientelism in Africa*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
Kramon, Eric and Daniel N. Posner. 2013. "Who benefits from distributive politics? How the outcome one studies affects the answer one gets." *Perspectives on Politics* 11(02):461–474.
Kramon, Eric and Daniel N. Posner. 2016. "Ethnic favoritism in education in Kenya." *Quarterly Journal of Political Science* 11(1):1–58.
Krause, George A. and Anne Joseph O'Connell. 2016. "Experiential learning and presidential management of the US federal bureaucracy: logic and evidence from agency leadership appointments." *American Journal of Political Science* 60(4):914–931.
Kudamatsu, Masayuki. 2012. "Has democratization reduced infant mortality in sub-Saharan Africa? Evidence from micro data." *Journal of the European Economic Association* 10(6):1294–1317.
Kuipers, Nicholas. 2023. "Failing the test: the countervailing attitudinal effects of civil service examinations." *American Political Science Review* 117(3):891–908.
Levitsky, Steven. 2007. "From Populism to Clientelism? The Transformation of Labor-Based Party Linkages in Latin America." In *Patrons, Clients, and Policies: Patterns of Democratic Accountability and Political Competition*. New York: Cambridge University Press. pp. 206–226.
Lewis-Beck, Michael S. and María Celeste Ratto. 2013. "Economic voting in Latin America: a general model." *Electoral Studies* 32(3):489–493.
Lewis-Faupel, Sean, Yusuf Neggers, Benjamin A. Olken and Rohini Pande. 2016. "Can electronic procurement improve infrastructure provision? Evidence from public works in India and Indonesia." *American Economic Journal: Economic Policy* 8(3):258–283.
Liddle, William R. 1985. "Soeharto's Indonesia: personal rule and political institutions." *Pacific Affairs* 58(1):68–90.
Lindberg, Staffan I. 2003. "'It's Our Time to "Chop"': Do Elections in Africa Feed Neo-Patrimonialism rather than Counter-Act It?" *Democratization* 10(2):121–140.
Lindberg, Staffan I. 2010. "What accountability pressures do MPs in Africa face and how do they respond? Evidence from Ghana." *Journal of Modern African Studies* 48(1):117–142.
Lindberg, Staffan I. 2013. "Have the cake and eat it: the rational voter in Africa." *Party Politics* 19(6):945–961.
Lindberg, Staffan I. and Minion K. C. Morrison. 2008. "Are African voters really ethnic or clientelistic? Survey evidence from Ghana." *Political Science Quarterly* 123(1): 95–122.
Lipcean, Sergiu and Iain McMenamin. 2023. "Rethinking public funding of parties and corruption: confronting theoretical complexity and challenging measurement." *Governance* 37(2):537–559.

Downloaded from https://www.cambridge.org/core. UNIVERSIDAD AUTONOMA METROPOLITANA, on 10 Nov 2026 at 12:02:56, subject to the Cambridge Core terms of use, available at https://www.cambridge.org/core/terms.
https://www.cambridge.org/core/product/0147A2CDE9C6CFACF9DF4D5C5F9C9624

Luna, Joseph. 2020. *Political Financing in Developing Countries: A Case from Ghana*. London: Routledge.
Magaloni, Beatriz, Alberto Diaz-Cayeros and Federico Estévez. 2007. "Clientelism and Portfolio Diversification: A Model of Electoral Investment with Applications to Mexico." In *Patrons, Clients, and Policies: Patterns of Democratic Accountability and Political Competition*, ed. Herbert Kitschelt and Steven I. Wilkinson. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. pp. 182–205.
Mattes, Robert and Jessica Piombo. 2001. "Opposition parties and the voters in South Africa's general election of 1999." *Democratization* 8(3):101–128.
McDonnell, Erin M. 2020. *Patchwork Leviathan: Pockets of Bureaucratic Effectiveness in Developing States*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.
Mensah, John. 2005. "Problems of district medium-term development plan implementation in Ghana: the way forward." *International Development Planning Review* 27(2):245–270.
Meyer-Sahling, Jan-Hinrik. 2006. "The rise of the partisan state? Parties, patronage and the ministerial bureaucracy in Hungary." *Journal of Communist Studies and Transition Politics* 22(3):274–297.
Meyer-Sahling, Jan-Hinrik and Kim Sass Mikkelsen. 2016. "Civil service laws, merit, politicization, and corruption: the perspective of public officials from five East European countries." *Public Administration* 94(4):1105–1123.
Meyer-Sahling, Jan, Kim Sass Mikkelsen and Christian Schuster. 2021. "Merit recruitment, tenure protections and public service motivation: evidence from a conjoint experiment with 7,300 public servants in Latin America, Africa and Eastern Europe." *Public Administration* 99(4):740–757.
Mietzner, Marcus. 2016. "Indonesia." In *Checkbook Elections? Political Finance in Comparative Perspective*, ed. Pippa Norris and Andrea Abel Van Es. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
Miller, Gary J. 1992. *Managerial Dilemmas: The Political Economy of Hierarchy*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
Ministry of Local Government and Rural Development. 2019. "District Assemblies' Performance Assessment Tool Operational Manual." Accra: Government of Ghana.
Mironov, Maxim and Ekaterina Zhuravskaya. 2016. "Corruption in procurement and the political cycle in tunneling: evidence from financial transactions data." *American Economic Journal: Economic Policy* 8(2):287–321.
Muhtadi, Burhanuddin. 2019. *Vote Buying in Indonesia: The Mechanics of Electoral Bribery*. Singapore: Palgrave Macmillan.
Muñoz, Paula. 2014. "An informational theory of campaign clientelism: the case of Peru." *Comparative Politics* 47(1):79–98.
Muñoz, Paula C. 2018. *Buying Audiences*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
Mwangi, Oscar G. 2008. "Political corruption, party financing and democracy in Kenya." *The Journal of Modern African Studies* 46(2):267–285.
Mwenda, Andrew M. and Roger Tangri. 2005. "Patronage politics, donor reforms, and regime consolidation in Uganda." *African Affairs* 104(416):449–467.
Nathan, Noah L. 2019a. "Does participation reinforce patronage? Policy preferences, turnout and class in urban Ghana." *British Journal of Political Science* 49(1): 229–255.
Nathan, Noah L. 2019b. *Electoral Politics and Africa's Urban Transition: Class and Ethnicity in Ghana*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Downloaded from https://www.cambridge.org/core. UNIVERSIDAD AUTONOMA METROPOLITANA, on 10 Nov 2026 at 12:02:56, subject to the Cambridge Core terms of use, available at https://www.cambridge.org/core/terms.
https://www.cambridge.org/core/product/0147A2CDE9C6CFACF9DF4D5C5F9C9624

Nichter, Simeon. 2018. *Votes for Survival: Relational Clientelism in Latin America*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
Nistotskaya, Marina, Stefan Dahlberg, Carl Dahlström, Aksel Sundström, Sofia Axelsson, Cem Mert Dalli and Natalia Alvarado Pachon. 2021. "The Quality of Government Expert Survey 2020 Dataset: Wave III." University of Gothenburg: The Quality of Government Institute. www.qog.pol.gu.se. DOI: 10.18157/qoges2020.
North, Douglass C. and Barry R. Weingast. 1989. "Constitutions and commitment: the evolution of institutions governing public choice in seventeenth-century England." *Journal of Economic History* 49(4):803–832.
Novaes, Lucas M. 2018. "Disloyal brokers and weak parties." *American Journal of Political Science* 62(1):84–98.
Ofosu, George K. 2019. "Do fairer elections increase the responsiveness of politicians?" *American Political Science Review* 113(4):963–979.
Ofosu, George K. 2024. "What do voters want from their legislators? Evidence from Ghana." *African Affairs* 123(491):165–192.
Ohman, Magnus. 2014. "Africa." In *Funding of Political Parties and Election Campaigns: A Handbook on Political Finance. IDEA, 2014*, ed. Samuel Jones Falguera, Elin and Magnus Ohman. Stockholm: International IDEA.
O'Leary, Cornelius. 1962. *The Elimination of Corrupt Practices in British Elections, 1968–1911*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
Oliveros, Virginia. 2020. "Working for the machine: patronage jobs and political services in Argentina." *Comparative Politics* 53(3):381–402.
Oliveros, Virginia. 2021. *Patronage at Work: Public Jobs and Political Services in Argentina*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
Oliveros, Virginia and Christian Schuster. 2018. "Merit, tenure, and bureaucratic behavior: evidence from a conjoint experiment in the Dominican Republic." *Comparative Political Studies* 51(6):759–792.
Olken, Benjamin A. and Rohini Pande. 2012. "Corruption in developing countries." *Annual Review of Economics* 4(1):479–509.
Paget, Dan. 2019. "The rally-intensive campaign: a distinct form of electioneering in sub-Saharan Africa and beyond." *The International Journal of Press/Politics* 24(4):444–464.
Pierskalla, Jan H. 2022. *Democratization and the State: Competence, Control, and Performance in Indonesia's Civil Service*. Cambridge; New York, NY: Cambridge University Press.
Pierskalla, Jan H. and Audrey Sacks. 2020. "Personnel politics: elections, clientelistic competition and teacher hiring in Indonesia." *British Journal of Political Science* 50(4):1283–1305.
Pinto-Duschinsky, Michael. 2002. "Financing politics: a global view." *Journal of Democracy* 13:69.
Posner, Daniel N. 2005. *Institutions and Ethnic Politics in Africa*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
Posner, Daniel N. and David J. Simon. 2002. "Economic conditions and incumbent support in Africa's new democracies: evidence from Zambia." *Comparative Political Studies* 35(3):313–336.
Power, Sam. 2020. *Party Funding and Corruption*. Cham, Switzerland: Springer.
Rakolobe, Mamello. 2019. "Politicised public service and corruption in Lesotho." *The Strategic Review for Southern Africa* 41(1):97–121.

Downloaded from https://www.cambridge.org/core. UNIVERSIDAD AUTONOMA METROPOLITANA, on 10 Nov 2026 at 12:02:56, subject to the Cambridge Core terms of use, available at https://www.cambridge.org/core/terms.
https://www.cambridge.org/core/product/0147A2CDE9C6CFACF9DF4D5C5F9C9624

Rasul, Imran and Daniel Rogger. 2018. "Management of bureaucrats and public service delivery: evidence from the Nigerian civil service." *The Economic Journal* 128(608):413–446.
Rasul, Imran, Daniel Rogger and Martin J. Williams. 2021. "Management, organizational performance, and task clarity: evidence from Ghana's civil service." *Journal of Public Administration Research and Theory* 31(2):259–277.
Rauch, James E. and Peter B. Evans. 2000. "Bureaucratic structure and bureaucratic performance in less developed countries." *Journal of Public Economics* 75(1):49–71.
Richards, Peter G. 1963. *Patronage in British Government*. London: G. Allen & Unwin.
Riedl, Rachel B. 2014. *Authoritarian Origins of Democratic Party Systems in Africa*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
Rix, Kathryn. 2008. "'The elimination of corrupt practices in British elections'? Reassessing the impact of the 1883 Corrupt Practices Act." *The English Historical Review* 123(500):65–97.
Roberts, Andrew. 2008. "Hyperaccountability: economic voting in Central and Eastern Europe." *Electoral Studies* 27(3):533–546.
Roberts, Kenneth M. and Erik Wibbels. 1999. "Party systems and electoral volatility in Latin America: a test of economic, institutional, and structural explanations." *American Political Science Review* 93(3):575–590.
Rose-Ackerman, Susan and Bonnie J. Palifka. 2016. *Corruption and Government: Causes, Consequences, and Reform*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
Rosenfeld, Bryn, Kosuke Imai and Jacob N. Shapiro. 2016. "An empirical validation study of popular survey methodologies for sensitive questions." *American Journal of Political Science* 60(3):783–802.
Ruhil, Anirudh V. S. and Pedro J. Camões. 2003. "What lies beneath: the political roots of state merit systems." *Journal of Public Administration Research and Theory* 13(1):27–42.
Ruiz, Nelson A. 2017. "The Power of Money. The Consequences of Electing a Donor Funded Politician." Independent working paper.
Sacks, Audrey and Jan Henryk Pierskalla. 2018. *Mapping Indonesia's Civil Service*. Washington, DC: World Bank Publications.
Samuels, David J. 2002. "Pork barreling is not credit claiming or advertising: campaign finance and the sources of the personal vote in Brazil." *The Journal of Politics* 64(3):845–863.
Scarrow, Susan E. 2004. "Explaining political finance reforms: competition and context." *Party Politics* 10(6):653–675.
Schuster, Christian. 2016. "What causes patronage reform? It depends on the type of civil service reform." *Public Administration* 94(4):1094–1104.
Schuster, Christian. 2020. "Patrons against clients: electoral uncertainty and bureaucratic tenure in politicized states." *Regulation & Governance* 14(1):26–43.
Shleifer, Andrei and Robert W. Vishny. 1993. "Corruption." *The Quarterly Journal of Economics* 108(3):599–617.
Sigman, Rachel. 2022. "Which jobs for which boys? Party finance and the politics of state job distribution in Africa." *Comparative Political Studies* 55(3):351–385.
Sigman, Rachel. 2023. *Parties, Political Finance, and Governance in Africa: Extracting Money and Shaping States in Benin and Ghana*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Downloaded from https://www.cambridge.org/core. UNIVERSIDAD AUTONOMA METROPOLITANA, on 10 Nov 2026 at 12:02:56, subject to the Cambridge Core terms of use, available at https://www.cambridge.org/core/terms.
https://www.cambridge.org/core/product/0147A2CDE9C6CFACF9DF4D5C5F9C9624

Sircar, Neelanjan. 2018. "Money in Elections: The Role of Personal Wealth in Election Outcomes." In *Costs of Democracy: Political Finance in Africa*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Sridharan, Eswaran and Milan Vaishnav. 2016. "India." In *Checkbook Elections? Political Finance in Comparative Perspective*, ed. Pippa Norris and Andrea Abel Van Es. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Stasavage, David. 2005. "Democracy and education spending in Africa." *American Journal of Political Science* 49(2):343–358.

Stokes, Susan C. 2005. "Perverse accountability: a formal model of machine politics with evidence from Argentina." *American Political Science Review* 99(3):315–325.

Stokes, Susan C., Thad Dunning, Marcelo Nazareno and Valeria Brusco. 2013. *Brokers, Voters, and Clientelism: The Puzzle of Distributive Politics*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Suryanarayan, Pavithra. 2024. "Endogenous state capacity." *Annual Review of Political Science* 27.

Suwitri, Sri, Bambang Supriyono, Sri Sulastri and Otok Kuswandaru. 2019. "Transactional politics in filling high leadership positions in Indonesian Bureaucratic Organizations." *International Journal of Research in Humanities and Social Studies* 6(5):38–50.

Svolik, Milan W. 2009. "Power sharing and leadership dynamics in authoritarian regimes." *American Journal of Political Science* 53(2):477–494.

Theriault, Sean M. 2003. "Patronage, the Pendleton Act, and the Power of the People." *Journal of Politics* 65(1):50–68.

Ting, Michael M., James M. Snyder, Shigeo Hirano and Olle Folke. 2013. "Elections and reform: the adoption of civil service systems in the US states." *Journal of Theoretical Politics* 25(3):363–387.

Titl, Vitezslav and Benny Geys. 2019. "Political donations and the allocation of public procurement contracts." *European Economic Review* 111:443–458.

Tkachenko, Andrey, Andrei Yakovlev and Aleksandra Kuznetsova. 2017. "'Sweet deals': state-owned enterprises, corruption and repeated contracts in public procurement." *Economic Systems* 41(1):52–67.

Tran, Anh. 2009. Can Procurement Auctions Reduce Corruption? Evidence from the Internal Records of a Bribe-Paying Firm. Technical report working paper.

Treisman, Daniel. 2007. "What have we learned about the causes of corruption from ten years of cross-national empirical research?" *Annual Review of Political Science* 10:211–244.

United Nations Development Programme. 2011. "Governance Principles, Institutional Capacity and Quality." In *Towards Human Resilience: Sustaining MDG Progress in an Age of Economic Uncertainty*. New York: UNDP.

Vaishnav, Milan and Saksham Khosla. 2016. *The Indian Administrative Service Meets Big Data*. Washington DC: Carnegie Endowment for International Peace.

Van de Walle, Nicolas. 2001. *African Economies and the Politics of Permanent Crisis, 1979–1999*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Van Rijckeghem, Caroline and Beatrice Weder. 2001. "Bureaucratic corruption and the rate of temptation: do wages in the civil service affect corruption, and by how much?" *Journal of Development Economics* 65(2):307–331.

Wade, Robert. 1982. "The system of administrative and political corruption: canal irrigation in South India." *The Journal of Development Studies* 18(3):287–328.

Downloaded from https://www.cambridge.org/core. UNIVERSIDAD AUTONOMA METROPOLITANA, on 10 Nov 2026 at 12:02:56, subject to the Cambridge Core terms of use, available at https://www.cambridge.org/core/terms.
https://www.cambridge.org/core/product/0147A2CDE9C6CFACF9DF4D5C5F9C9624

Wade, Robert. 1985. "The market for public office: why the Indian state is not better at development." *World Development* 13(4):467–497.
Wade, Robert. 1990. *Governing the Market: Economic Theory and the Role of Government in East Asian Industrialization*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.
Wahman, Michael and Merete Bech Seeberg. 2022. "Paying to play: how parliamentary candidates fund ruling party campaigns in Malawi." *Comparative Politics* 55(1): 95–118.
Wang, Erik H. and Yiqing Xu. 2018. "Awakening leviathan: the effect of democracy on state capacity." *Research & Politics* 5(2):2053168018772398.
Ware, Glenn, Shaun Moss, Edgardo Campos and Gregory Noone. 2007. "Corruption in Public Procurement: A Perennial Challenge." In *The Many Faces of Corruption: Tracking Vulunerabilities at the Sector Level*, ed. Edgardo Campos and Sanjay Pradhan. Washington, DC: The World Bank. pp. 295–334.
Weghorst, Keith R. and Staffan I. Lindberg. 2013. "What drives the swing voter in Africa?" *American Journal of Political Science* 57(3):717–734.
Weitz-Shapiro, Rebecca. 2012. "What wins votes: why some politicians opt out of clientelism." *American Journal of Political Science* 56(3):568–583.
Weitz-Shapiro, Rebecca. 2014. *Curbing Clientelism in Argentina: Politics, Poverty, and Social Policy*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
Weschle, Simon. 2021. *Money in Politics: Personal Enrichment, Campaign Spending, and Golden Parachutes*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
Whitfield, Lindsay. 2009. "'Change for a better Ghana': party competition, institutionalization and alternation in Ghana's 2008 elections." *African Affairs* 108(433): 621–641.
Wilkinson, Steven. 2007. "Explaining changing patterns of party-voter linkages in India." In *Patrons, Clients, and Policies: Patterns of Democratic Accountability and Political Competition*. New York: Cambridge University Press. pp. 110–140.
Wiafe, Sammi. 2025. "Presidential Candidates Need at Least $150m to Win Elections in Ghana – CDD." Citi Newsroom, 15 Apr. 2025. https://citinewsroom.com/2025/04/presidential-candidates-need-at-least-150m-to-win-elections-in-ghana-cdd/.
Williams, Martin J. 2017. "The political economy of unfinished development projects: corruption, clientelism, or collective choice?" *American Political Science Review* 111(4):705–723.
World Bank. 2020. "Enhancing Government Effectiveness and Transparency: The Fight Against Corruption." Washington, DC: World Bank.
World Bank. 2024. "World development indicators." https://data.worldbank.org/indicator/NY.GDP.PCAP.CD.
Xu, Guo, Marianne Bertrand and Robin Burgess. 2023. "Organization of the state: home assignment and bureaucrat performance." *The Journal of Law, Economics, and Organization* 39(2):371–419.
Youde, Jeremy. 2005. "Economics and government popularity in Ghana." *Electoral Studies* 24(1):1–16.
Zeleza, Paul T. 2009. "African studies and universities since independence." *Transition: An International Review* 101(1):110–135.

Downloaded from https://www.cambridge.org/core. UNIVERSIDAD AUTONOMA METROPOLITANA, on 10 Nov 2026 at 12:02:56, subject to the Cambridge Core terms of use, available at https://www.cambridge.org/core/terms.
https://www.cambridge.org/core/product/0147A2CDE9C6CFACF9DF4D5C5F9C9624

Downloaded from https://www.cambridge.org/core. UNIVERSIDAD AUTONOMA METROPOLITANA, on 10 Nov 2026 at 12:02:56, subject to the Cambridge Core terms of use, available at https://www.cambridge.org/core/terms.
https://www.cambridge.org/core/product/0147A2CDE9C6CFACF9DF4D5C5F9C9624