Where to Spend the Money? A Survey Experiment on Electoral Institutions and Party Expenditure at the District Level

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Abstract

This paper is part of dissertation research that examines the impact of electoral institutions on how political parties choose to engage in vote buying practices at the district level. Regardless of electoral rules, parties tend to concentrate their vote buying spending in the most competitive districts as opposed to party strongholds in order to maximize their electoral gains. This research argues that Proportional Representation (PR) systems enable political parties distribute their vote buying activities more evenly between party strongholds and competitive districts in comparison to Single Member District (SMD) systems. In the face of difficulty in testing this theory empirically, the paper takes advantage of the unique political structure of Mexico, which uses both SMD and PR systems in its elections. The survey experiment with Mexican students -who are exposed to both of the systems- seems to provide evidence consistent with paper's main theoretical claim.

1 Introduction

```
> library(ggplot2)
> library(reshape2)
> library(dplyr)
> library(data.table)
> library(stargazer)
> require(knitr)
> require(kableExtra)
> data = read.csv("Mexican_Data_Combined.csv")
> subdata = as.data.frame(data)
> subdata = subdata[subdata$Actual.Total>=90000 & subdata$Actual.Total<=100000,]
> #subset the columns that we want to use to analyze Question 12
> subdata_12 = select(subdata, Respondent_ID, Institution_Type, P12_Distrito_1, P12_Distrito_2, P12_Dist
> #then to make the graph we need to change Districts 1-9 to there corresponding competitiveness level
>
> #rearrange data, # I use the melt function because we want the column names to be on the x-axis. We wa
> subdata_12.melt = melt(subdata_12, id=c("Respondent_ID", "Institution_Type"))
> #Rename the districts to level of competitiveness and Institution Type to English abbreviation.
> subdata_12.melt$variable = as.character(subdata_12.melt$variable)
> subdata_12.melt$Institution_Type = as.character(subdata_12.melt$Institution_Type)
```

```
> subdata_12.melt$variable[subdata_12.melt$variable == "P12_Distrito_1"] = "-.3"
> subdata_12.melt$variable[subdata_12.melt$variable == "P12_Distrito_2"] = "-.4"
> subdata_12.melt$variable[subdata_12.melt$variable == "P12_Distrito_3"] = "-.5"
> subdata_12.melt$variable[subdata_12.melt$variable == "P12_Distrito_4"] = "-.1"
> subdata_12.melt$variable[subdata_12.melt$variable == "P12_Distrito_5"] = "0"
> subdata_12.melt$variable[subdata_12.melt$variable == "P12_Distrito_6"] = "-.1"
> subdata_12.melt$variable[subdata_12.melt$variable == "P12_Distrito_7"] = "-.5"
> subdata_12.melt$variable[subdata_12.melt$variable == "P12_Distrito_8"] = "-.4"
> subdata_12.melt$variable[subdata_12.melt$variable == "P12_Distrito_9"] = "-.3"
> subdata_12.melt$Institution_Type[subdata_12.melt$Institution_Type == "RP"] = "PR"
> subdata_12.melt$Institution_Type[subdata_12.melt$Institution_Type == "MR"] = "SMD"
> subdata_12.melt = subdata_12.melt[complete.cases(subdata_12.melt), ] #to remove NAs
> subdata_12.melt = transform(subdata_12.melt, variable = as.numeric(variable)) #change variable from ch
> Competitive = c()
> for (i in subdata_12.melt$variable) {
+   if (i == "0" | i == "-0.1") {
+     Competitive = c(Competitive, 1)
+   } else {
+     Competitive = c(Competitive, 0)
+   }
+ }
> Binary_IT = c()
> for (i in subdata_12.melt$Institution_Type) {
+   if (i == "SMD") {
+     Binary_IT = c(Binary_IT, 1)
+   } else {
+     Binary_IT = c(Binary_IT, 0)
+   }
+ }
> subdata_12.melt = cbind(subdata_12.melt, Binary_IT, Competitive)
> names(subdata_12.melt)[3]<-"Competitiveness"
> names(subdata_12.melt)[4]<-"District_Spending"
> ggplot(subdata_12.melt, aes(x = Competitiveness, y = District_Spending, color = Institution_Type)) + g
>
```