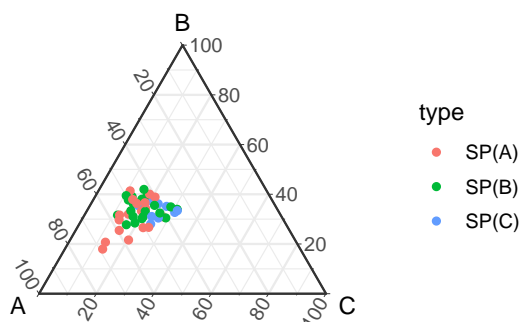


# Checking Theory Predictions

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**Figure 1:** Distribution of first preferences of all single-peaked cases

For each of the different classes, I will present two plots: one is the distribution of pivotal probabilities (by event) within that class, and the other one is the distribution of strategic votes (by permutation) within that class.<sup>1</sup> In the latter, the colours refer to Table 3 in Andy’s Theory memo:

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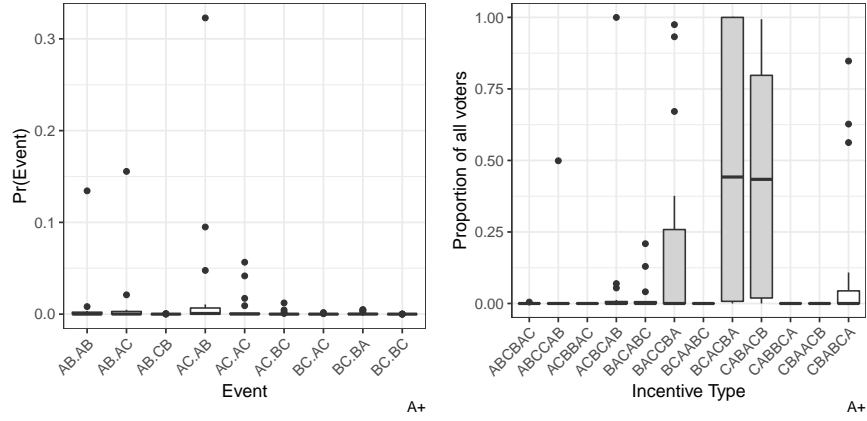
<sup>1</sup>Note that I decided against plotting second-round pivotal probabilities here because they are much larger in relative terms and would render comparisons between first-round ones unreadable.

**orange** means that this is a confident prediction (black text); **light grey** denotes those with moderately likely second-round events (grey text); and **dark grey** denotes those that are crossed out.

Note that this exercise does not involve any analysis of preference intensity –  $\beta$ 's are just taken as given from the data.

## 1 Single-Peaked

### 1.1 A is the attractor



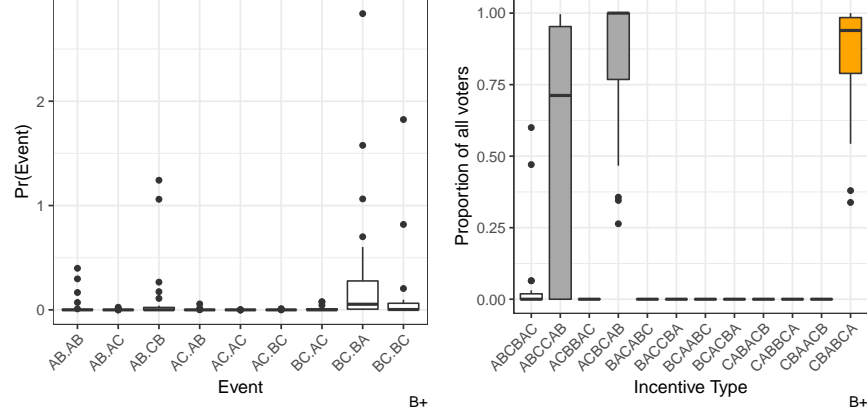
**Figure 2:** Distribution of pivotal probabilities and proportions of strategic vote incentives for all  $A+$  cases.

The theoretical prediction is that  $AC.AB$  is the dominant pivotal event; this holds true in the empirical data. However, there are a few outliers with high probabilities for  $AC.AC$  in particular, and a few for  $AC.BC$ . (Need to check whether  $AB.XX$  events are non-trivial here).

Consequently, the  $CAB \rightarrow ACB$  strategic incentive is high. The  $BCA \rightarrow CBA$  strategic incentive would only be attenuated by a high likelihood of  $BC$  events in the second round; however, this does not seem to be the case and thus the  $BCA \rightarrow CBA$  incentive is also very strong. Finally, the  $BAC \rightarrow CBA$  incentive is attenuated by both  $BC$  and  $AC$  and occurs much rarer. Note that the mean levels of strategic incentive proportions for  $CAB \rightarrow ACB$  and  $BCA \rightarrow CBA$  are much lower than for the  $B+$  and  $C+$  cases – this is because, in relative terms, the  $AC.AB$  event is much less likely than the  $BC.XX$  ones.

## 1.2 B is the attractor

This is the old case of B having neutral preferences and A, C voters both choosing B in second preferences.

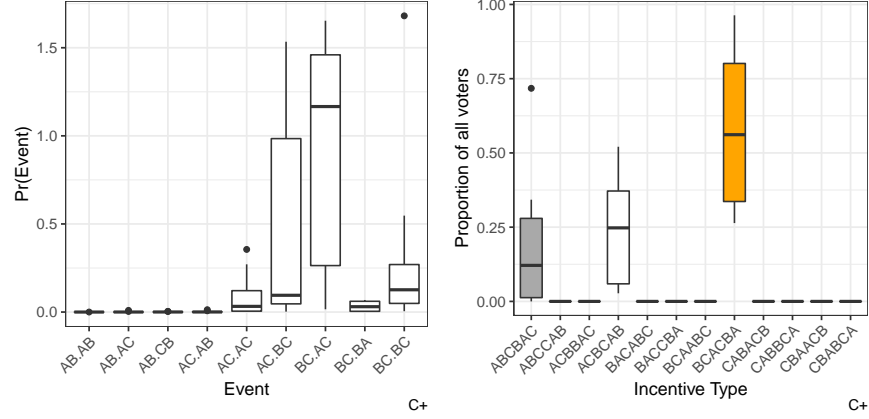


**Figure 3:** Distribution of pivotal probabilities and proportions of strategic vote incentives for all  $B+$  cases.

As predicted by the theory, the  $BC.BA$  pivotal event clearly dominates here, with  $BC.BC$  coming second.

Unsurprisingly, this means that the incentive to vote  $CBA \rightarrow BCA$  is very high – in only two cases have less than half of all  $CBA$  voters an incentive to follow this insincere vote. However, the proportion of  $ACB \rightarrow CAB$  incentives is also very high (in fact, the mean is even higher!). This is because the likelihood of a conflicting  $AC$  event in the second round is extremely small (given our labelling of the parties). Graphically, it seems that the majority of our  $B+$  cases also have  $B$ 's second preferences slightly tilt to the right, which (I think) decreases the probability of this vote type "back-firing". Finally, the  $ABC \rightarrow CAB$  incentive is, again, somewhat lower, and experiences a lot more variance than the others, because of the additional consideration of the (more likely)  $BC$  second-round event.

Here, the prediction for the crossed out elements does not appear to hold, because in the empirics, the second-round pivotal events appear to be much less likely.

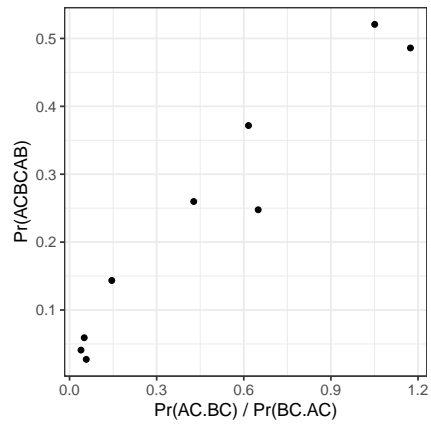


**Figure 4:** Distribution of pivotal probabilities and proportions of strategic vote incentives for all  $C+$  cases.

### 1.3 $C$ is the attractor

Here, the  $BC.AC$  event is clearly the dominant one, however, we see a few others ( $AC.AC$ ,  $AC.BC$ ,  $BC.BC$ ) that are also relevant. Consequently, because of the high  $BC.AC$  probability, the predicted  $BCA \rightarrow CBA$  incentive is also the most prevalent one. There is also some incidence of the  $ABC \rightarrow BAC$  incentive, which would only be mitigated by the  $AB$  second-round pivotal event (which is quite likely, no?). Surprisingly,  $ACB$  voters appear to have some incentive to vote  $\rightarrow CAB$ . This is probably because of the high probability of  $AC.BC$ : here, a sincere vote would help elect the least preferred candidate (no-show). Thus, if  $C$  is the attractor, the predictions don't hold as well.

## 2 Divided Majority



**Figure 5:** Proportion of  $ACB$  voters with incentive to vote  $CAB$  by the probability of the  $AC.BC$  pivotal event relative to  $BC.AC$ .