# When Strategic Uninformed Abstention Improves Democratic Accountability

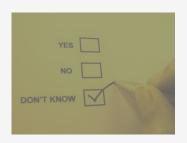
# Gento Kato gkato@ucdavis.edu

77th Annual Midwest Political Science Association Conference April 5, 2019



#### Democracy failing because **Uninformed** = **Incompetent**:

Inactive & Indecisive



Inconsistent Decision



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# This study explains the logic and consequences of uninformed voting:

- Abstention = inactivity? Possible reasons to actively abstain from the election (Feddersen and Pesendorfer, 1996, 1999).
- Elites taking advantage of uninformed? Uninformed abstension may increase the accountability of political elites (c.f. Ashworth and Bueno de Mesquita, 2014).

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# The Voting Game

The Logic of Voting

The Accountability Game

Discussion

Two groups of voters, g in I (informed) & U (uninformed), either abstain or vote to approve or reject the new policy proposal (similar to referendum).

- Policy utility:  $q + \beta_q$  if approved, 0 if rejected.
  - $q \in \{-1, 1\}$  is the **quality** of new policy proposal.
  - $\beta_g \in \mathbb{R}$  is the **ideology** of voters.
- Expressive benefit: d weighted by the prob. of voted option being correct = r<sub>g</sub>.

$$r_g = egin{cases} ext{Approve} & ext{if } q + eta_g > 0 \ ext{Reject} & ext{if } q + eta_g < 0 \end{cases}$$

• Voting cost: -c if voted. d > c.

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#### What voters know & don't know

- · Ideology:
  - · All voters know their own ideology.
  - All voters don't know others' ideology. Only know the probability density function  $f(\beta)$ .
- Policy Quality:
  - Informed voters know for sure.
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## Pivotal group determines the electoral outcome

Either one group of voters is **pivotal** and determines the electoral outcome by **random** probability (e.g., Morton and Ou, 2015).

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- If one group of voters abstained, another group of voters is pivotal for sure.

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If  $|\beta_g| > 1$ , the voters are **ideologues**. Regardless of information:

- Approval ideologues ( $\beta_q > 1$ ) vote for approval
- Rejection ideologues ( $\beta_g < -1$ ) vote for rejection.

If  $|\beta_q| \le 1$  and **informed**, voters always:

- Vote for approval if q = 1 (high quality)
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#### Non-ideologue uninformed voters' action is conditional on $\phi$

If  $|\beta_g| \le 1$  and uninformed, decision is conditional on  $Pr(q = 1) = \phi$ .



- Prefer approval over rejection iff  $\phi$  is approval threshold =  $\phi_x^*$  or higher ( $\phi_x^* = 0.5$  if  $\beta_U = 0$ ).
- Choose **abstention** over voting iff  $\phi$  falls within the **abstention interval** =  $[\phi_{V1x0}, \phi_{V1x1}]$ .

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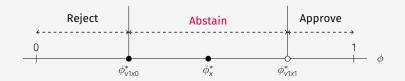
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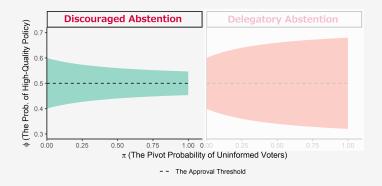
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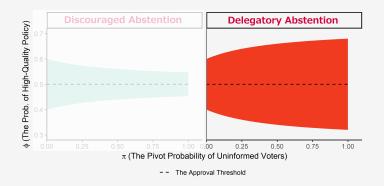
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#### Patterns of uninformed abstention



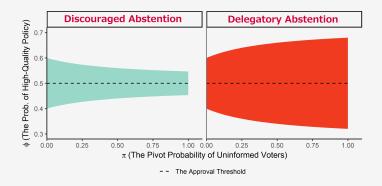
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- **Delegatory**: Abstention interval **expanding in**  $\pi$ .
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### Abstention occurs with discouraged motivation when:

- Low expressive benefit (d) &/or high voting cost (c).
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# **Policymaker** set policy quality $\phi = Pr(q = 1) \in [0, 1]$ .

- Policy approval benefit: B = 2 only when approved.
   Policymaker wants to appear effective.
- Policy formulation cost: 0 for low quality policy (q = −1). For high quality policy (q = 1):
  - $\eta_{H}=$  1 then **high capacity (H)** type.
  - $\eta_L = 2$  then low capacity (L) type.

p = prior prob. of high capacity policymaker.

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**Low capacity**  $\Rightarrow$  **always** chooses **low quality** policy.

**High capacity** ⇒ prefers **high quality** policy only when the quality **increases** the likelihood of **approval**.

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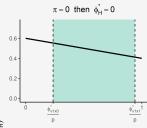
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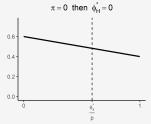
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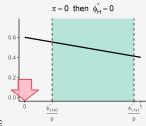
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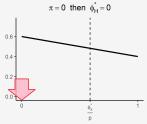
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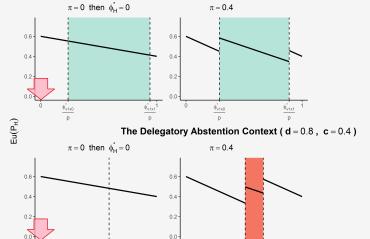
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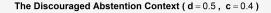


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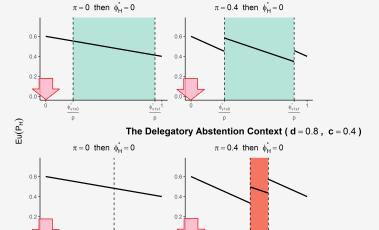
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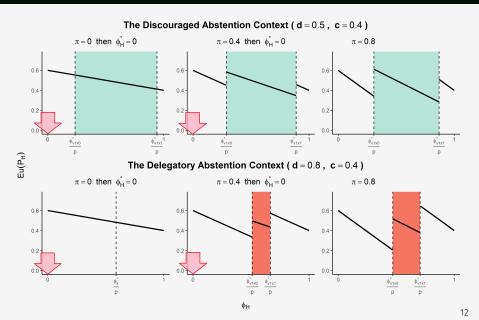


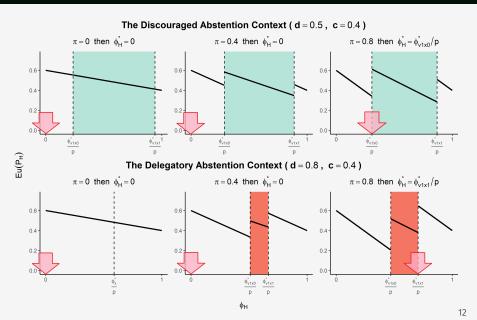


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Improvement **never occurs** under **prob. of ideologues** < 0.5. Otherwise...

H sets  $\phi_H^* = \phi^{\text{v1x0}}/p$  instead of  $\phi_H^* = 0$  for high  $\pi$  when:

- **High** prob. of **high-capacity** policymaker (*p*).
- Low expressive benefit (d) &/or high voting cost (c).
   ⇒ discouraged abstention context.

- **High** prob. of **high-capacity** policymaker (*p*).
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Uninformed voters have reason (delegation) to abstain under low voting cost, expressive benefit and high pivotality.

The increasing presence of uninformed voters can improve accountability, especially under delegatory abstention context.

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- Morton, Rebecca B. and Kai Ou. 2015. "What Motivates Bandwagon Voting Behavior: Altruism or a Desire to Win?" *European Journal of Political Economy* 40(Part B):224–241. Behavioral Political Economy.

#### Non-ideologue uninformed voters' action is conditional on $\phi$

If  $|\beta_g| \le 1$  and **uninformed**, decision is conditional on  $Pr(q = 1) = \phi$ .

· Approval threshold. If voted, approve iff:

$$\phi \ge \phi_{\mathsf{x}}^* = \frac{1}{2} - \frac{\pi \beta_{\mathsf{U}}}{2(\pi + d)}$$

• Abstention Interval. Abstain iff  $\phi$  falls between:

$$\phi_{\text{V1X0}}^* = \min \left\{ \phi_{\text{X}}^*, \frac{\pi \kappa_{l:app} (1 - \beta_{\text{U}}) + d - c}{\pi ((1 - \kappa_{l:rej})(1 + \beta) + \kappa_{l:app} (1 - \beta_{\text{U}})) + d} \right\}$$
and
$$\phi_{\text{V1X1}}^* = \max \left\{ \phi_{\text{X}}^*, \frac{\pi (1 - \kappa_{l:app})(1 - \beta_{\text{U}}) + c}{\pi (\kappa_{l:rej} (1 + \beta_{\text{U}}) + (1 - \kappa_{l:app})(1 - \beta_{\text{U}})) + d} \right\}$$