Electoral Risk and Vote Buying, Introducing Prospect Theory in the Experimental Study of Clientelism

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Vote buying: distribution of private rewards to individuals or small groups during elections in contingent exchange for vote choices (Nichter, 2014).



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- They are not. Starting point: traditional clientelism research has failed to answer these questions because it has a wrong understanding about the decision-making process of clientelist parties.

Plan for Today

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- Feedback wanted!

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- ✓ Are probable winners—risk averse in the domain of gains.
- √ Have experienced losses in the past (sunk costs)—risk-seeking in the domain of losses.

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 - 1. Clientelist Targeting.

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2. Political Contestation.

The Problem: Clientelist Targeting

Not Clear Who Clientelist Parties Target

 Since constituencies are well known to clientelist parties, they allocate resources to core voters.

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- Some state "that our knowledge of who parties target remains incomplete."

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- We contend that this is *very* important question, yet one that literature has *failed* to answer.

Not Clear The Role of Political Contestation on Vote Buying

• The more contested an election, the more risks of losing the election, the more incentives to resort to vote buying to prevent that from happening

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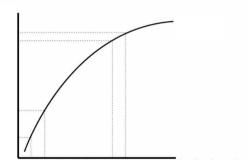
Scott (1972), Shefter (1977), Diaz-Caueros (2008), Corstange (2018).

- However, some find very high levels of vote-buying in uncontested elections. Gonzalez-Ocantos, Jonge, et al. (2012).
- Why would a party buy such a massive amount of votes in a safe and uncontested election?

Wrong Understanding of Decision-Making Process under Risk

Change from traditional focus (EUT):

- Losses and gains affect in a comparable way.
- Parties focus only on absolute levels of utilities.



Wrong Understanding of Decision-Making Process under Risk

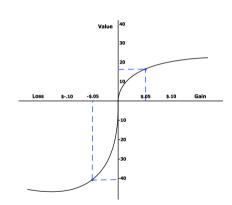
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To one based on Prospect Theory

(Kahneman and Tversky, 1979):

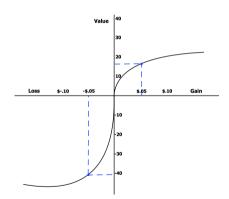
- 1. Reference dependence.
- 2. Likelihood dependence.



Theory

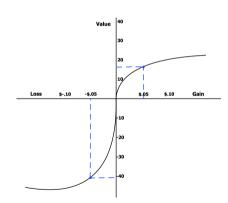
Prospect Theory

1. **Reference dependence**. Elements that influence decisions,



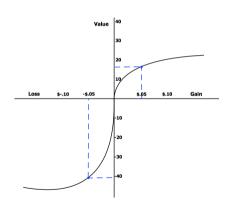
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- Reference dependence. Elements that influence decisions,
 - ✓ context in which the decision-making processes take place.



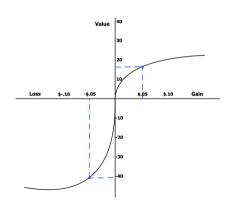
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 - changes of wealth, rather than final asset positions.



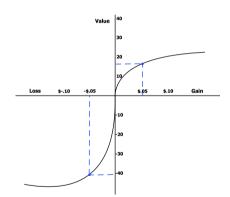
1. **Reference dependence**. Elements that influence decisions,

- context in which the decision-making processes take place.
- changes of wealth, rather than final asset positions.
- √ sunk costs do matter.



Prospect Theory

 Likelihood dependence.
 Asymmetrical curvature of the likelihood influences decisions,

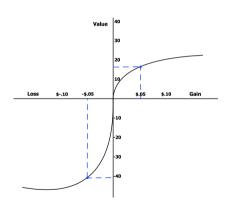


Prospect Theory

2. Likelihood dependence.

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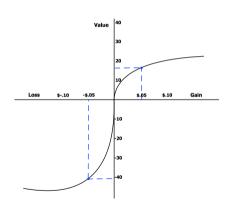


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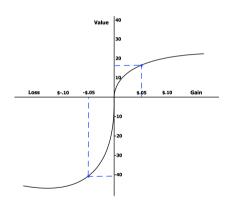
- ✓ Individuals are risk-averse in the domain of gains.
- ✓ Individuals are risk-acceptant in the domain of losses.



Theoretical Expectations

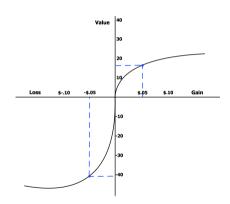
Prospect Theory and Vote-Buying

 Overweighting: in the domain of losses, the convexity of the function encourages risk-seeking behaviors by exaggerating the probabilities of unlikely losses.



Prospect Theory and Vote-Buying

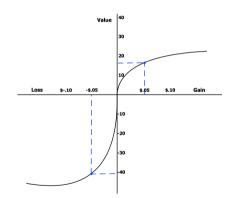
- Overweighting: in the domain of losses, the convexity of the function encourages risk-seeking behaviors by exaggerating the probabilities of unlikely losses.
- Underweighting: in the domain of gains, the concavity of the function encourages risk aversion by undervaluing the probability of success.



Prospect Theory and Vote-Buying

Vote-buying will be higher when parties,

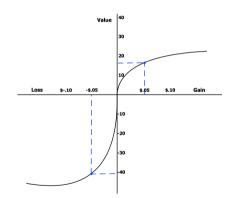
 Are probable winners: parties will exaggerate the small probability of losing the election (risk aversion).



Prospect Theory and Vote-Buying

Vote-buying will be higher when parties,

- Are probable winners: parties will exaggerate the small probability of losing the election (risk aversion).
- 2. Have experienced losses in the past (sunk costs): alter the decision-makers' reference point, making vote-buying an attractive strategy (risk-seeking).



Formal Model

A Formal Model of Vote-Buying

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 We developed a vote-buying game within the Downsian-"spatial" paradigms (EUT).

Downs (1957), Enelow and Hinich (1990), Plott (1991).

 The idea is to test the descriptive accuracy of the game-theory model in an experimental setting.

Lupia and McCubbins (1998), Bassi, Morton, and Williams (2011), Dickson (2011), Tyszler and Schram (2016), Vieider and Vis (2019).

Setup

- The experiment was conducted in Chile (April/May 2021).
- O-tree (Z-tree). Fischbacher 2007.
- All participants were required to successfully complete two practice rounds.
- Show-up fee of \$2,000 CLP (≈ 2.1€).
- Every game was played between three people: two parties and one voter.
- All transactions were performed exchanging experimental "points."
 - (1 point = \$0.42).
- 102 subjects were recruited.
- Each subject played the game three times (N = 306).

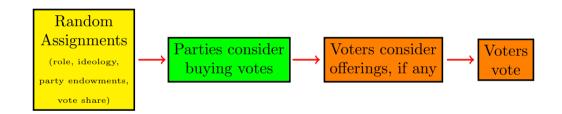
Treatments

- 1. Role: party A, party B or voter.
- 2. **Voters:** "ideological position" (points depending on whether party A or B won election). Points reflect "spatial" distance between the voter and both parties (continuum 1-100).
- 3. Parties: endowments (points to buy votes, if any).

But both parties receive the same endowment in the same game.

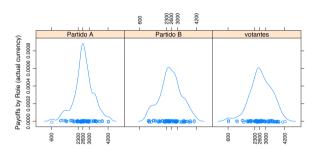
- 4. **Parties**: vote shares (number of votes each party *will* receive—excluding the "voter" participant.
- Every randomization was common knowledge.

Experimental Flow



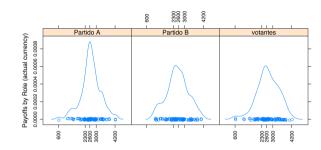
Payoffs

 Parties: payoffs depend on whether they are elected. If they spend points buying votes, that amount is discounted.



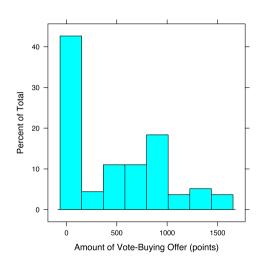
Pauoffs

- Parties: payoffs depend on whether they are elected. If they spend points buying votes, that amount is discounted.
- Voters: payoffs depend on whether their party is elected, and on whether they sell their vote. Can't defect: if they accept an offer, they vote for that party.



Dependent Variable

- Focus is vote buying (parties).
 Voter data discarded.
- Dependent variable: the amount of the vote-buying offer made by parties (if any).
- If predictions of formal model and traditional vote-buying theories are accurate, we should see that offers go up when facing probable electoral losses.



Offer
$$_i = \beta_0 + \\ \beta_1 \text{Vote Share}_i + \\ \beta_2 \Delta \text{Points Accumulated}_i + \\ \beta_3 \text{Spatial Distance}_i + \\ \beta_4 \text{Party Budget}_i + \\ \alpha_i + \epsilon_i$$

Offer
$$_i = \beta_0 + \beta_1$$
Vote Share $_i + \beta_2 \Delta$ Points Accumulated $_i + \beta_3$ Spatial Distance $_i + \beta_4$ Party Budget $_i + \alpha_i + \epsilon_i$

• Dependent variable described.

Offer_i =
$$\beta_0$$
+
 β_1 Vote Share_i+
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• Number of certain votes each party.

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• Change in points respect to t-1 (prior round).

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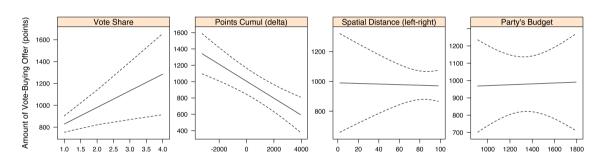
• Distance from the voter (points).

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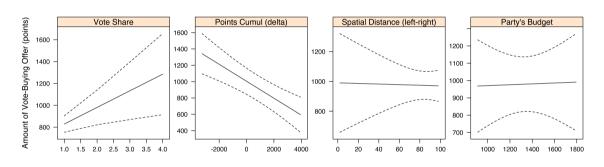
• Party's budget (points).

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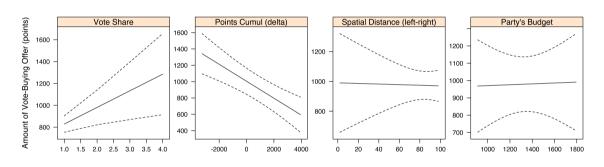
• Participant fixed effects.



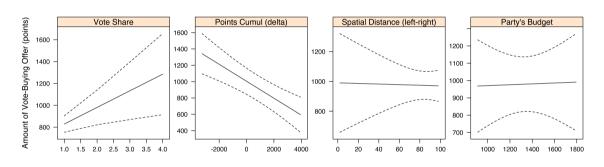
Overall, results conform with Prospect Theory's predictions. Related to Company and the Compan



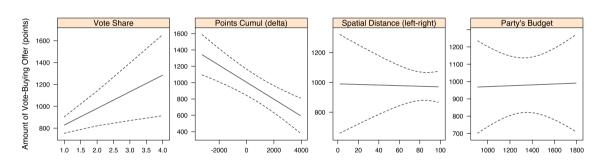
1. Parties buy more votes when are likely winners (not losers).



2. Decision-makers buy more votes when sunk costs are higher.



3. Spatial distances (core/swing) do not matter.



4. Party budget does not matter.

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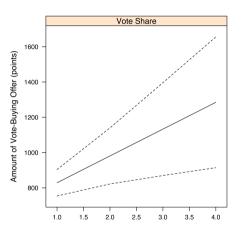
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- We introduced Prospect Theory in the vote-buying literature as an alternative way to understand decision-making under risk.
- To test this theory, we **formalized a theory of vote-buying** and test it in the **lab**.
- Results widely conform with Prospect Theory.

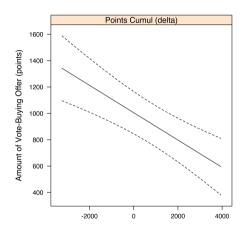
Discussion

 Parties are risk-averse in the domain of gains: decision-makers exaggerate the probability of unlikely losses, so they buy more votes when are likely winners (not losers).

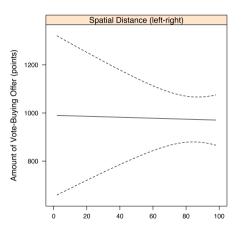


Discussion

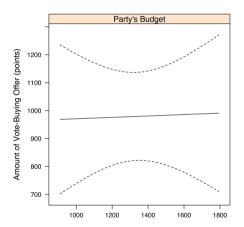
 Parties are risk-seeking in the domain of losses: unlike EUT theories predict, parties do consider sunk costs, buying more votes to compensate for past losses.



 Core/swing voters: voter types are not relevant for vote buying.



 Party budgets: unlike traditional theories, wealthier parties don't necessarily buy more votes.



End

Thank you



- Paper (draft) available at www.HectorBahamonde.com.
- All feedback is welcomed!