

ACADEMIC AND RESEARCH CAREER OF THE APLICANT

1. Curricular elements

Since my undergraduate studies to my doctoral degree, I have always been very motivated by the idea of answering important questions using top-notch quantitative methods (see transcripts and proof of doctoral degree in "Anexo"). In grad school I took all the methods courses, including formal theory at Princeton University (see transcripts in "Anexo"). Substantively, I have always worked on comparative politics, particularly, the political economy of inequality and development (where clientelism is a theme). In this section I hope I can convince the Selection Committee that there is a strong coherence between what I have studied, published and taught in the past, with the proposal I am presenting.

I've always *been* a political scientist. I am deeply connected with my colleagues, in Chile and abroad (see a selection of accepted conferences). In all of them I have tried to push the subfield forward by presenting innovative ways of measuring aspects related to my subfield or presenting counterintuitive research. In addition to that, I've supported my discipline by serving as the Executive Secretary of the "*Asociación Chilena de Ciencia Política*" since 2018. Until today, we continue organizing talks and events. Finally, I am the one political scientist and applied methodologist at the Universidad de O'Higgins in charge of teaching both the "political science" courses (to the public administration students), and the whole methods sequence to both the public administration and economics students. You can corroborate that in the "Anexos" section.

My research project follows a long-term plan, and I've been working on it for some time now. That is why I have already completed some preliminary tasks related to this project. I am happy to report that some of the programming aspects as well as the formal theory portions of this project have already been developed, pre-tested and presented at some colloquia. For instance, we already presented the preliminary experimental design at the CESS-Chile (Oxford-Usach)—see also proof of that in the "Anexo" section. We have received excellent feedback. This is important because, as I explain my proposal, they are the key entity which collects and designs economic experiments in Chile. Hence, this research proposal is nothing more than a continuation of what I have been doing for a long time, and I truly hope I get the grant to continue working on my clientelism project. My long-term plan is to obtain a *Fondecyt Regular* so I can write my first book. For that, I intend to widen the scope and sample of the overall project by including other Latin American countries, interviews and historical data. The *Fondecyt Iniciación* is just the first step.

To conclude, I'd like to mention my recent publications: all of them are related to both the methodological and substantive aspects of different areas of political economy, clientelism and inequality (more on the next section).

2. Productivity:

The main features of my expertise, my teaching interest and my proposal, can be summarized in the interest of studying topics in political economy using sophisticated quantitative methods (experimental and statistical).

In Bahamonde (2018)—see paper in "Anexo"—I study clientelism in Brazil. Methodologically, I use matching techniques for observational data. Substantively, I find that political parties engage in segmented strategies, targeting individuals when identifiability is high, and groups when there are economies of scale. In this paper I introduce the concept of economies of scale in the literature clientelism: by targeting one individual, the untargeted voters cultivate some expectations that they might be targeted in the future. I called this concept "the positive spillovers of clientelism." I used the logic of game theory, particularly, the idea of repeated games to develop such concept. Importantly, non-poor individuals can also be offered clientelism. This is a new idea in clientelism. I find that the clientelism literature has focused almost obsessively with the idea that voters need to be poor to be targeted. In this Brazil paper I find that wealthy people also get targeted. The idea that affluent societies also experience clientelism led me to write and publish the next paper about the United States. See next paragraph.

In Bahamonde (2020)—see paper in "Anexo"—I also study clientelism but in the United States. In this project, I considered that political scientists should also study advanced democracies, particularly, implementing survey questions about hypothetical vote selling. For this project I exploited a novel dataset representative for all the United States (N=1,479). In particular, I designed a list experiment (like the one

I am considering for the present proposal) to ask survey respondents if they *would* sell their votes. This question is relevant. In nineteenth-century United States politics, vote buying was commonplace. Nowadays, vote buying seems to have declined. Very much like in Chile, the U.S. has very low levels of actual vote buying. However, I discovered that in the United States (sample is representative at the country level) **25% of respondents would sell their vote for a minimum payment of \$418**, and that democrats and liberals are more likely to sell, while education or income levels do not seem to impact the likelihood of vote selling. This finding is quite interesting. While we observe almost no vote buying in the U.S. (very much like in Chile), there is a big proportion of **potential** vote sellers. This finding puts in doubt that American democracy enjoyed a good health—note that the data were collected during the first Trump campaign. *My interpretation is that clientelism is inexistent in the U.S. not because American voters have strong democratic preferences (like we used to think before the Trump phenomena), but because is too expensive as a strategy for political parties. Since what I seek to implement in Chile is essentially the same, I expect to find worse results in Chile: a larger proportion of vote sellers and lower selling prices.* Chile went through a political crisis in 2019. My believe is that political scientists should start researching *latent* behaviors (like *hypothetical* vote selling) in order to prevent possible crises (like the current crisis of political representation in Chile).

In Modrego, Canales and Bahamonde (2020) we introduced a widely used econometric method (the translog cost function) to subnational and political/economic studies. We paid especial attention to how the COVID19 pandemic affected Chilean regions in different ways. This paper is a more methodologically oriented paper. Still, it is innovative as it introduces a new method to an epistemic community. To the best of my knowledge, there are not economic or list experiments in Chile aimed at studying clientelism. Introducing methods in the community is something that I have also cared about.

Finally, I was invited to review Durán's book. Since I also work on Latin American politics (the book looks at the intersection of neoliberal governance and indigenous politics) and have actively participated at the Latin American Studies Association (LASA) conference—see "Anexo" section for proofs—they found that I was a good match to give my opinion about the book. It was a good book.

To conclude, I would like to highlight how all these three published pieces and the "Fondecyt *Iniciación 2022*" proposal have a common theme: issues in political economy addressed with sophisticated methods.

3. Contribution or connection with society or the community

Outreach, extension and scientific divulgation are very important to me. That is why I have considered in my proposal publishing a number of op-ed pieces and public talks, open not only to academics but also to the regional society in the *Región de O'Higgins*.

I would like to stress that I have always cared about connecting with our society. I invite the Selection Committee to check my four published op-ed pieces and TV interviews which I (along with co-authors, when applicable) have about inequality, transparency, unemployment, use of political concepts during campaigns and others—see "Anexos." I am very proud to say that not only I (we) have published these pieces in national outlets (such as "*Cooperativa*"), but also in regional ones, which are very important to our local society. Specially to the ones who care about decentralization like me.

As of the public talks, I am very happy to report that I have participated in a number of them, particularly, giving talks about the Chilean constitutional reform process along with nationally known political scientist (interested parties might want to check proof of the event in "Anexos"). Consequently, and thinking about my proposal, it is just natural to me to give a number of talks about democratic representation and clientelism from a political economy standpoint (as I explained in my proposal). In concrete, I expect to give 3 public talks at UC-Temuco, Austral U. and UC-Norte (Antofagasta). **This becomes even more relevant to me because I teach and publish at the one and only public university in the O'Higgins region: it comes with a sense of duty to connect with the society.**