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## Research Plan

My research plan during my stay at your institution consists of following parts:

1. Publishing ongoing research I have been working on (more details below).
2. Developing new research with faculty members, other post-docs and/or graduate students at your institution.
3. Attending the main conferences in the discipline.
4. Organizing a workshop/mini-conference per year at your institution.
5. Also, I would be very happy:
  - Giving service to the Department/Institution.
  - Teaching and/or advising graduate and/or undergraduate courses (please refer to my [teaching statement](#)).
  - Assuming administrative tasks when necessary (sitting in committees, organizing talks, etc.).

**Publishing ongoing research.** Within comparative politics, my research explores the intersection between inequality and political development, from a political economy perspective. I situate my research both in the “structural” and “behavior” paradigms.

For the former, I intend to publish a chapter from my dissertation entitled “[Income Taxation and State Capacity in Chile: Measuring Institutional Development Using Historical Earthquake Data](#).” Income taxation fostered via spillover effects increases in state-consolidation over time in Chile. The paper contributes in two ways. First, it studies the relationship between taxation and state building outside Europe. Second, the paper tests the theory using a novel approach. Exploiting the exogeneity of earthquake shocks, I create a novel hand-collected longitudinal dataset on Chilean earthquake death tolls. Under reasonable assumptions, the capacity for enforcing and monitoring building codes throughout the territory is a reflection of a state’s overall capacities. Using a Bayesian Poisson regression the paper shows that death tolls decrease (state capacity increases) once the income tax law was implemented in 1924. To explore the causal mechanisms, I discuss the Chilean case since the 1920s.

For the latter, after publishing *Aiming Right at You: Group versus Individual Clientelistic Targeting in Brazil*. *Journal of Politics in Latin America*, 10(2), pp. 41-76. on Brazil and *Still for Sale: The Micro-Dynamics of Vote Selling in the United States, Evidence From a List Experiment*. *Acta Politica*, forthcoming. on the United States, I plan on continuing my scholarly work on clientelism and development.

I have the following pieces of research in the “pipeline.” Please note that all these pieces analyze original

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data using state-of-the-art methodological techniques. All these papers are currently work in progress.

1. [“Recreating Market Conditions for Vote-Selling and Vote-Buying in the Lab: An Economic Experiment.”](#) **This is an economic experiment on clientelism.** This paper explains that the literature asserts that Chilean parties no longer buy votes. While those are good news, the bad news are that we are rather ignorants about a number of other interesting, and yet, unanswered questions. First and foremost, the approach used by most quantitative scholars focuses exclusively on vote-buying. That is, parties offering to buy votes, completely ignoring the ones who sell their votes (i.e. voters). This is a rather important distinction. What would voters do if offered the chance to sell their votes? Would voters still sell their votes to their own party of preference? We developed an experiment within the experimental economics tradition. Exploiting these novel data we shed some light on these questions.
2. [“Vote Selling in the United States: Introducing Support Vector Machine Methods to Analyzing Conjoint Experimental Data.”](#) **Using a novel dataset, I designed a conjoint experiment to test which democratic values should “fail” in order to produce vote-sellers.** Democracy has traditionally been theorized as a multidimensional concept (Dahl, 1971). Yet, the quantitative study of clientelism—as a democratic failure—has been mostly studied from a unidimensional perspective. We argue that to better understand clientelism, quantitative studies should situate the phenomena within the multidimensionality of democracy to understand which specific subdimension should fail to explain vote selling. By leveraging a conjoint experiment on hypothetical vote selling in the United States—a traditionally considered consolidated democracy—this paper makes both methodological and substantive contributions to the literature. Using machine learning techniques, the paper identifies that among the five conjoint attributes considered in this study, the one related to the co-dependence of the Presidency on Congress is the only one that explains individual levels of vote selling. These findings are particularly relevant to the study of American democracy given the fact that the data were collected during the campaign period where Donald Trump was elected.
3. [“Inclusive Institutions, Unequal Outcomes: Democracy, State Capacity and Income Inequality.”](#) **This paper’s status is Inclusive Institutions, Unequal Outcomes: Democracy, State Capacity and Income Inequality.** *European Journal of Political Economy*, forthcoming. **and it looks at the relationship between inequality, democracy and state capacity.** Although the relationship between democratic rule and income inequality has received important attention in recent literature, the evidence has been far from conclusive. In this paper, we explore whether the redistributive effect of democratic rule is conditional on state capacity. Previous literature has outlined that pre-existing state capacity may be necessary for inequality-reducing policies under democratic rule. In contrast to that intuitive view, this study argues that democratic rule combined with high state capacity produce higher levels of income inequality over time. This relationship operates through the positive effect of high-capacity democratic context on foreign direct investment and financial development. By making use of a novel measure of state capacity based on cumulative census administration, we find empirical support for these claims using fixed effects panel regressions with the data from 126 industrial and developing countries between 1970-2013.
4. **COVID and Inequality:**
  - [Skyrocketed Inequality and \(Un\)lockdown Political Elites in Chile: Aerodrome Usage during Pandemic Times.](#) This paper explores a novel dataset on daily arrivals and departures of a small aerodrome in Santiago de Chile, one of the most unequal countries in the world. It particularly shows how elites were able to bypass lockdown policies aimed to restrict mobility during the pandemic using a small aerodrome located in the heart of the richest municipalities in Santiago. While most Chileans were under heavy lockdown policies, economic elites were able to travel during weekends to their vacation houses and cottages located in other parts of the country. While the Chilean state deployed with some degree of success both the army and police members throughout its territory, it was not able to control air traffic (strictly used by the elites). These findings go in line with the recent “politics of weakness” literature. In fact, this paper shows how local authorities faced high political pressures to systematically ignore overseeing traffic control policies during the pandemic. The paper exploits a novel dataset, time-series methods, regression discontinuity designs and key informant interviews..
  - [The Bus of Inequality: Public Transportation and COVID in Santiago.](#) This paper explores a digitalized population dataset on daily public transportation and COVID contagion in Santiago de Chile, the capital city of one of the most unequal countries in the world. Using publicly available information on daily contagions of all municipalities in Santiago de Chile and a novel

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cellphone dataset to capture individual mobility, we exploit hazard models and spatial analyses to show that low-income municipalities systematically bore the cost of the COVID pandemic. Substantively, these findings go in line with the recent “politics of weakness” literature. This area of study focuses on highly strategic political decisions that lead political entities (in our case, the state) to systematically overlook certain situations (such as COVID contagions) according to some municipal characteristics (in our case, average municipal incomes). We believe that working-class municipalities have systematically higher COVID contagions rates keeping everything else constant due to loosen policies aimed to restrict mobility—i.e., looser policies relative to white-collar municipalities..

Given that I have made considerable progress in all these papers, I am sure they will be (well) published while spending time at your Institution.

**Developing new research with faculty members, other post-docs and/or graduate students at your institution.** As you can see, I collaborate with colleagues from different disciplines, scholarly interests, genders, nationalities and degrees of seniority. Following this line, I will be very happy to collaborate with you and other colleagues. I am very sure I will have something interesting to bring to the table, both from a substantive and methodological aspects. **I look forward to working and publishing with you!**

**Reaching out.** Finally, during my time at your Institution, I will take very seriously attending the main conferences in the discipline and organizing a workshop/mini-conference per year at your institution. Every year, since grad school, I attend two to three conferences per year. I have also plenty of experiencing organizing seminars and mini-workshops.

More information, [syllabi](#), my [research](#), [teaching](#) and [diversity](#) statements, as well as other [papers](#) are available on my website: [www.HectorBahamonde.com](http://www.HectorBahamonde.com). Thank you for considering my application. I look forward to hearing from you.