Interview with Turku University

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The Order of the Day

In this presentation I will...

1. Briefly describe my **profile**.
2. Quickly mention three of my most important **publications**.
3. Explain my 3-year **research plans** at Turku.
4. Enumerate the three main reasons to **move to Turku**.

Short Bio

I am a political scientist (B.A. and PhD).

- Primary subfield is the political economy of **inequality**, **political development** and **clientelism**.
- Strong interest in statistical and experimental methods (natural, lab and survey-based).
- Currently an assistant professor in Chile—but looking forward to relocate to Europe; family reasons. **Immediate availability**.

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"Inclusive Institutions, Unequal Outcomes: Democracy, State Capacity, and Income Inequality."

- Global democratic theory, inequality and stateness .
- 126 industrial and developing countries, between 1970 and 2013 (N=4,000).
- Time-series and fixed-effects methods.
- European Journal of Political Economy (forthcoming).

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"Still for Sale: The Micro-Dynamics of Vote Selling in the United States, Evidence From a List Experiment."

- Democratic development and clientelism in the United States.
- I designed a survey experiment (list experiment) and implemented it in `Qualtrics`.
- *Original* data representative at the U.S. level.
- Acta Politica (forthcoming).

Acta Politica
International Journal of Political Science

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"Aiming Right at You: Group versus Individual Clientelistic Targeting in Brazil."

- Inequality and clientelism in Brazil.
- Observational data and matching methods for causal inference.
- Journal of Politics in Latin America (2018).

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Journal of Politics in Latin America

journals.sagepub.com/home/pla

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My research plan seeks to study these issues by moving forward several pieces of research I have in the pipeline.

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Pipeline 1: Clientelism and Democratic Theory

1. **Lab and survey experiments**.
   - "Recreating Market Conditions for Vote-Selling and Vote-Buying in the Lab: An Economic Experiment" (work in progress).
   - "Analyzing Conjoint Datasets with Support Vector Machine Methods" (under review, Political Analysis).

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Pipeline 2: Inequality and COVID19

2. **Natural experiments**.
   - "Skyrocketed Inequality and (Un)lockdown Political Elites in Chile: Aerodrome Usage during Pandemic Times" (in preparation).
   - "The Bus of Inequality: Public Transportation and COVID in Santiago" (in preparation).

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Pipeline 1: survey and lab experiments

"Recreating Market Conditions for Vote-Selling and Vote-Buying in the Lab: An Economic Experiment."

- Economic experiment ("game"): subjects embody randomly-assigned roles (2 parties/1 voter).
- Behavioral economics framework, play a game of deliberation: subjects make decisions and get payed according to the quality of their decisions.
- Democratic theory: study conditions of **(i)lliberal democracy** that foster clientelism. Assign at random different:
  1. **Endowments**: "parties" and "voters" (emulates income inequality).
  2. **Ideology**: "parties" and "voters" (emulates issue/spatial location).
  3. **Contestation levels**: "risk" of losing the election (emulates party competition).
- **Data are being collected as we speak** (N=200).

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Pipeline 1: survey and lab experiments

"Analyzing Conjoint Datasets with Support Vector Machine Methods" (under review, Political Analysis).

- I designed a conjoint experiment in Qualtrics.

- Conjoint experiments are good to study the causal effect of multiple-attribute treatments.

- Democratic theory: Using Dahl's Polyarchy (1971), I devised different "political candidates" who supported different "policies."

- Tasked experimental subjects with choosing a candidate.

Candidate 1	Candidate 2
Media CAN confront the government	Media CANNOT confront the government
President CANNOT rule without Congress	President CAN rule without Congress
Citizens CANNOT vote in the next two elections	Citizens CANNOT vote in the next two elections
Citizens CAN run for office for the next two elections	Citizens CAN run for office for the next two elections
Citizens CAN associate with others and form groups	Citizens CANNOT associate with others and form groups

Which of these candidates represents the lesser of the two evils for you?

Candidate 1 ☐	Candidate 2 ☐

Attributes are assigned at random. This is just one realization. Five of these tasks were administered for every subject.

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Pipeline 1: survey and lab experiments
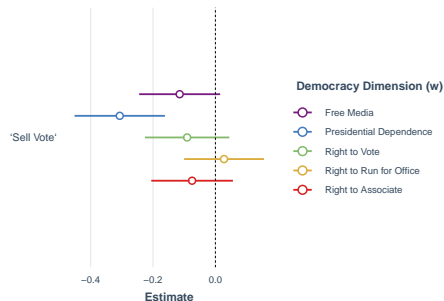
"Analyzing Conjoint Datasets with Support Vector Machine Methods" (under review, Political Analysis).

- Innovative way of exploiting conjoint experimental data:
  1. Using **machine learning methods**, we exploit those data to **classify likely vote-sellers**.
  2. Building on Dahl (1971), subjects who distrust "Free media" and "Presidential dependence" (on Congress) are more likely to sell their vote in the U.S.

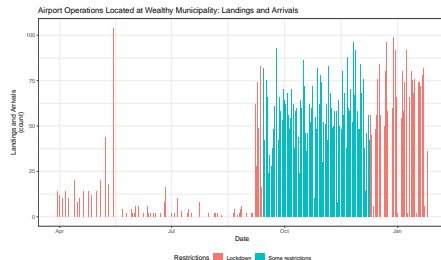- **I already have this novel data—representative at the United States level** (N=1,108).

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Pipeline 2: Inequality and COVID19

"Skyrocketed Inequality and (Un)lockdown Political Elites in Chile: Aerodrome Usage during Pandemic Times."

- *Santiago de Chile* is the capital city of one of the most unequal countries in the world.
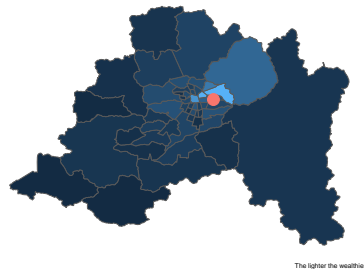
1. **Unequal** Application of the Rule of Law:
    - While the state was able to control ordinary citizens when traveling, it "failed" to control airspace.
    - Study how elites were able to travel to their vacations houses during lockdown via a small aerodrome located in one of the richest municipalities.

Airport Operations Located at Wealthy Municipality: Landings and Arrivals

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Pipeline 2: Inequality and COVID19

"Skyrocketed Inequality and (Un)lockdown Political Elites in Chile: Aerodrome Usage during Pandemic Times."

2. Natural experiment:

- **Identification strategy**: The aerodrome is *strictly* used by the elite.
- **RDD**: confinement policies are exogenous and not–random. *How effective were the lockdown policies* **for the elite**?

Santiago City: Aerodrome Located at Wealthy Hub

The lighter the wealthier

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Pipeline 2: Inequality and COVID19

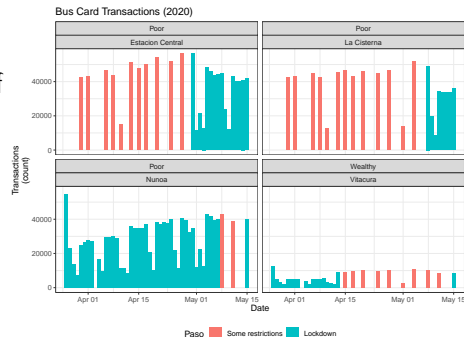"The Bus of Inequality: Public Transportation and COVID in Santiago."

Welfare, Covid and Inequality:

- Chilean social safety net is very thin.
- While the wealthy were able to work from home (or flight to their vacation houses), the working class kept riding the bus to work presentially.

Bus Card Transactions (2020)

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Pipeline 2: Inequality and COVID19

"The Bus of Inequality: Public Transportation and COVID in Santiago."

- This paper explores a digitalized population dataset on daily public transportation.
- **Hypothesis**: the poor bore the bore the cost of the COVID pandemic.
  1. Inequality: "Working from home" is a regressive policy (most workers had to ride the bus).
  2. Natural Experiment: lockdown policies are exogenous and not random. **What's the effect of the same policy implemented in poor/wealthy municipalities?**

Bus Card Transactions (2020)

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In Sum

To conclude:

- Substantive: I work on political economy, inequality and democracy.
- Geographic agnosticism: I've studied cases in the **developing** and **developed** world, as well as the **whole globe**.
- Methodological expertise: Experience designing, implementing, and analyzing experiments (survey, lab, natural).

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Reasons to move to Turku

Reasons to move to Turku

1. Research:
   - The INVEST Research Flagship Center works on socioeconomic differences, which is **my *very* topic of interest!**
   - Has the PCRClab lab (FIRIPO): I'd be really interested in **implementing some experiments!**
   - Has the Participation in Long-Term Decision-Making (PALO): doing interesting work implementing natural experiments related to "direct democracy." **Would love to get involved!**

2. Multidisciplinary-oriented institution: **diversity is great!**

3. Finland has an outstanding educational system: would be perfect for my 3YO and 4YO children! (EU citizens).

Thank you!

More info:

www.Hector**Bahamonde**.com

TOC

1. Research plan (additional slides)
   - "Recreating Market Conditions for Vote-Selling and Vote-Buying in the Lab: An Economic Experiment."
   - "Analyzing Conjoint Datasets with Support Vector Machine Methods."
   - "Income Taxation and State Capacity in Chile: Measuring Institutional Development Using Historical Earthquake Data."
2. Published papers (additional slides)
   - "Inclusive Institutions, Unequal Outcomes: Democracy, State Capacity, and Income Inequality" (EJPE, forthcoming).
   - "Still for Sale: The Micro-Dynamics of Vote Selling in the United States, Evidence From a List Experiment" (AP, forthcoming).
   - "Aiming Right at You: Group versus Individual Clientelistic Targeting in Brazil" (JPLA, 2018).
   - "Employment Effects of COVID-19 across Chilean Regions: An Application of the Translog Cost Function" (Regional Science Policy and Practice, 2020).
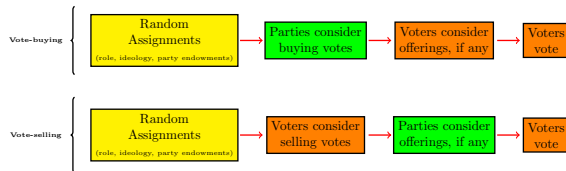
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Pipeline: Explained

"Recreating Market Conditions for Vote-Selling and Vote-Buying in the Lab: An Economic Experiment."

Tell a supply and demand story:

- Do parties target **own supporters**
  (Dixit/Londregan and Cox/McCubbins) **or**
  moderate opposer (Stokes)?
- Under what conditions do vote sellers sell to their own party of choosing?

Methodologically:

- Programmed in OTree.
- **Formally**: bargaining game (in an extensive form).

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Pipeline: Explained

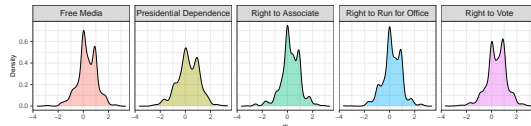"Analyzing Conjoint Datasets with Support Vector Machine Methods" (under review, Political Analysis).

- Democratic theory: Dahl (1971) specifies a number of dimensions any "polyarchy" should accomplish (*free press, free competition, right to run for elections*, etc.)

- **Particularly relevant for democratic deliberation**.

Dahl's Polyarchy Dimension	Dahl's Requirements for a Democracy	Experimental Operationalization for Conjoint Design
Formulate preferences	Freedom of expression	Media can confront the government
	Alternative sources of information	Media can confront the government
	Right of political leaders to compete for support	President cannot rule without Congress
	Right to vote	Citizens can vote in the next two elections
	Freedom to form and join organizations	Citizens can associate with others and form groups
Signify preferences	Freedom of expression	Media can confront the government
	Alternative sources of information	Media can confront the Government
	Right of political leaders to compete for support	President cannot rule without Congress
	Right to vote	Citizens can vote in the next two elections
	Free and fair elections	Citizens can vote in the next two elections
	Eligibility for public office	Citizens can run for office for the next two elections
	Freedom to form and join organizations	Citizens can associate with others and form groups
Preferences are weighted equally in conduct of government	Freedom of expression	Media can confront the government
	Alternative sources of information	Media can confront the Government
	Right of political leaders to compete for support/votes	President cannot rule without Congress
	Right to vote	Citizens can vote in the next two elections
	Free and fair elections	Citizens can vote in the next two elections
	Institutions for making government policies depend on votes and other expressions of preference	Citizens can vote in the next two elections
	Eligibility for public office	Citizens can run for office for the next two elections
	Freedom to form and join organizations	Citizens can associate with others and form groups

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"Analyzing Conjoint Datasets with Support Vector Machine Methods" (under review, Political Analysis).
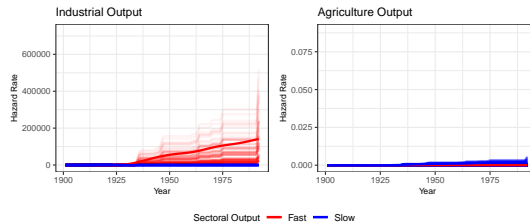
Machine learning:

- We implemented an algorithm to classify attitudes toward every "policy."

- These responses were organized in a "space" we called w.

- We had 5 different w's—one per experimental condition.

- Then using simple OLS methods between the vote-selling question and every w.

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Pipeline: Explained

"Income Taxation and State Capacity in Chile: Measuring Institutional Development Using Historical Earthquake Data."

Class structure and state formation:

- There was a clash between landowners and industrialists over the control for state institutions.
- Fiscal sociology: Using sectoral growth data from 1900's, I developed a state formation theory based on the implementation of the income tax.
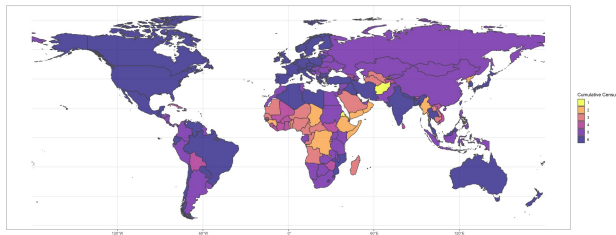

Industrial Output

Agriculture Output

Sectoral Output —— Fast —— Slow

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Published papers: Additional slides

"Inclusive Institutions, Unequal Outcomes: Democracy, State Capacity, and Income Inequality"(EJPE, forthcoming)

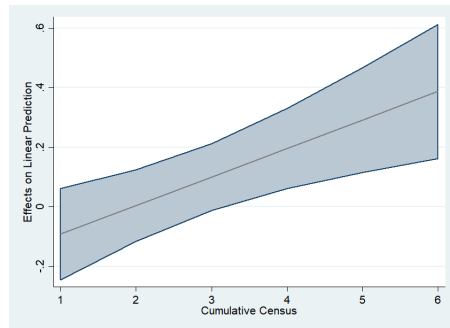**State Capacity and Democracy Increase Inequality**:

- We used a novel measurement of state capacity (cumulative census administration)

- **Data and methods**: 126 countries (1970-2013), and FE panel regressions.

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Published papers: Additional slides

"Inclusive Institutions, Unequal Outcomes: Democracy, State Capacity, and Income Inequality"(EJPE, forthcoming)

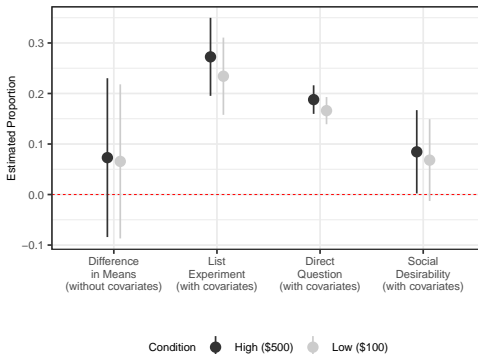**State Capacity and Democracy Increase Inequality**:

- We find that democracy combined with state capacity increases inequality overtime.
- Relationship operates through the effect of high-capacity states and democracy on FDIs.

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"Still for Sale: The Micro-Dynamics of Vote Selling in the United States, Evidence From a List Experiment" (AP, forthcoming)

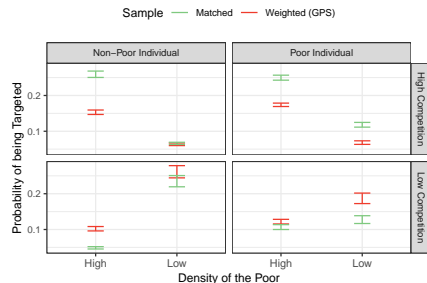**Original Survey Experiment**:

- 25% of Americans are still willing to sell their vote (expensive). **Data are representative at the country level!**

- **Data and methods**: List experiment (N=1,479) to study behaviors subject to social desirability bias (such as selling one's vote) .

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Published papers: Additional slides

"Aiming Right at You: Group versus Individual Clientelistic Targeting in Brazil" (JPLA, 2018)

Matching methods for observational data, clientelism and inequality in Brazil:

- Challenges the idea that only the poor are always targeted for clientelism.

- Wealthy individuals living in neighborhoods with lots of poor people are targeted too (Q1): **they are more noticeable (i.e., accountable)!**

- Poor individuals living in neighborhoods with lots of poor people are targeted too only in context of high contestation (Q4).

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Published papers: Additional slides

"Employment Effects of COVID–19 across Chilean Regions: An Application of the Translog Cost Function" (Regional Science Policy and

Practice, 2020)

Regional effects of Covid Pandemic:

- Aggregated translog cost function (2013–2018) we provide forecasts of regional employment loses (between 700K–800K).
- Relative impacts were spatially heterogeneous.