Losers' Consent and Democratic Stability: Experimental Evidence from Chile and Estonia

Hector Bahamonde ¹ Inga Saikkonen ² Mart Trasberg ³

Authors in alphabetical order. All contributed equally to this project.

¹University of Turku, Finland

²Åbo Akademi, Finland

³Monterrey Tec, Mexico

December 13, 2023

Motivation

- Parece existir un consenso en que algunas democracias están en riesgo de retroceder (democratic backsliding).
- Estos retrocesos han sido estudiados en un sinnúmero de casos.
 - Kaufman and Haggard (2019) explican que "a transition to competitive authoritarianism in the United States is unlikely, although not impossible."
 - Caso 2.
 - Caso 3.

Democratic Backsliding: A "Winners Bias"

Desafortunadamente, la majoría ha concentrado sus esfuerzos en cómo el **ejecutivo** *agranda* sus poderes.

- Haggard and Kaufman (2021, p. 27) definen "[d]emocratic backsliding is the incremental erosion of institutions [...] that results from the actions of [...] elected governments."
- Pérez-Liñán (2018, p. 2) explica que "most threats to democracy originate in the executive, not in congress."
- Corrales (2020, p. 41) explica que "electoral irregularities contributed to democratic backsliding in Venezuela under chavista rule."

What about the <u>electoral lossers</u>?

Motivation

Qué ocurre con los que pierden la elección? Existen diferencias sistemáticas en cuanto la tolerancia de acciones no democráticas entre "ganadores" y "perdedores"?

Nuestro Paper: "El baile de los que sobran"

- A diferencia de la mayoría de quienes estudian posibles violaciones de los principios democráticos por parte de los "ganadores," nosotros estudiamos a los "perdedores" electorales.
- Hicimos un survey experiment (pre-registrado) en dos democracias recientes, Chile (y Estonia).
- Entender si los votantes que apoyaron al candidato perdedor están más abiertos a respaldar acciones anti-sistémicas contra el ganador.
- Para esto, incluimos una teoría enfocada en pérdidas y loss aversion ("prospect theory," e.g., Kahneman and Tversky 1979).

Findings no conforman con nuestras espectativas iniciales

Our Paper

Encontramos que los votantes de **Kast** (perdedores) *no* son mas proclives que los votantes de **Boric** (ganadores) a apoyar acciones no democraticas (protestas antisistémicas) que pongan en peligro el *status quo*.

Democratic Backsliding

Democratic Backsliding

Test

Prospect Theory

- Losses loom larger than gains: individuals "give more weight to losses than to comparable gains" (Levy 1992, p. 171).
- Loss aversion: individuals "are more concerned with preventing a decline than increasing gains" (Levy 1997, p. 89).
- Asymmetric decision making: "[l]ndividuals tend to be risk averse in a domain of gains, and relatively risk seeking in a domain of losses" (McDermott 1998, p. 18).

Argument

Pre-Registered Hypothesis

Argument

Respondents who voted for the candidate/party that lost the last election (Kast) would be more likely to choose a candidate who supports anti-systemic actions (protests) against the current government than respondents in the "winning side."

Conjoint Experiment

- Disenamos un conjoint experiment (Hainmueller, Hopkins, and Yamamoto 2014).
- La muestra es representativa a nivel pais (n = 741).
- Fully randomized design (no constrains).
- Representatividad estadística de género y partido.
- Batería de socio-demográficos, intención política (Kast, Boric), evaluación de la democracia.

Dimension	Attribute Set
Gender Age Protest	Male, Female. Younger than 35, Between 35-50, Over 50. The candidate OPPOSES anti-government protest that will seek to de-destabilize the current government, The candidate SUPPORTS anti-government protest that will seek to de-destabilize the current government

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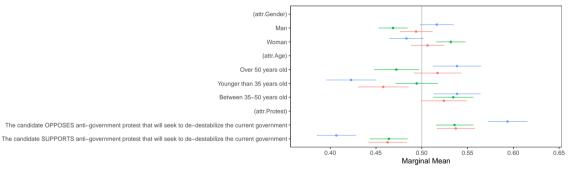
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Statistical Analyses

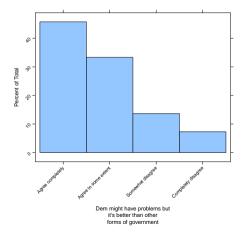
Subgroup Marginal Means (MM)

- We depart from standard AMCE analyses (Hainmueller, Hopkins, and Yamamoto 2014) and instead compute subgroup marginal means (Leeper, Hobolt, and Tilley 2020).
- In practice, when using marginal means, there's no need to set a reference category.
- \bullet "In a forced-choice conjoint design, the grand mean is by definition 0.5" (p. 209).

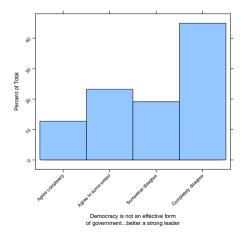


Boric Kast → Other → Boric → Kast

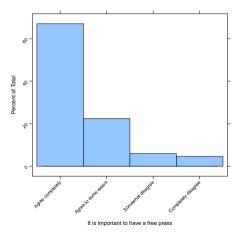
Other Descriptive Results: Support for Democracy



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Other Descriptive Results: Support for Democracy



Main Takeaways: More Questions Than Answers

- Hipotetizamos que los electoral losers estarian mas dispuestos a apoyar acciones no-democraticas (protestas anti-sistemicas).
- Registramos esta hipotesis.

Wrapping Up

- Sin embargo, no encontramos resultados que van en linea con nuestras expectativas iniciales.
- Preguntas para ustedes: cometimos un error en mezclar a la derecha con "protestas"?

Wrapping Up

Theory

Argument

Empirics

Discussion

Appendix

References

Thank you



to check updates on this project.

Summary Stats

Table: Summary Statistics

Variable	N	Percent
Age	741	
18-24	120	16%
25-34	172	23%
35-44	146	20%
45-54	146	20%
Mjc3¿ja1¿s de 55	157	21%
Gender	741	
Man	315	43%
Woman	422	57%
Otro/Prefiero no decir	4	1%
Education	741	
Educacijc3¿jb3¿n bjc3¿ja1¿sica completa (hasta octavo bjc3¿ja1¿sico).	10	1%
Educaciįc3¿įb3¿n media completa.	192	26%
Educacijc3¿jb3¿n tjc3¿ja9¿cnico-profesional completa.	214	29%
Educacijc3¿jb3¿n universitaria completa.	270	36%
Magister o Doctorado completo.	42	6%
Menos que educacijc3¿jb3¿n bjc3¿ja1¿sica (menos que octavo bjc3¿ja1¿sico).	2	0%
Otro/Prefiero no decir	11	1%
Income	741	
De \$1000.001 a \$2.000.000 mensuales liquidos	155	21%
De \$110.001 a \$150.000 mensuales liquidos	7	1%
De \$150.001 a \$225.000 mensuales liquidos	20	3%
De \$2.000.001 a \$3.000.000 mensuales liquidos	48	6%
De \$225.001 a \$350.000 mensuales liquidos	35	5%
De \$3.000.001 a \$4.500.000 mensuales liquidos	31	4%
De \$35.001 a \$75.000 mensuales liquidos	14	2%
De \$350.001 a \$450.000 mensuales liquidos	48	6%
De \$450.001 a \$550.000 mensuales liquidos	68	9%
De \$550.001 a \$700.000 mensuales liquidos	86	12%
De \$700.001 a \$1.000.000 mensuales líquidos	146	20%
De \$75.001 a \$110.000 mensuales liquidos	18	2%
Menos de \$35.000 mensuales liquidos	28	4%
Mjc3¿ja1¿s de \$4.500.000 mensuales liquidos	16	2%
No sabe / No contesta	21	3%

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