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

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Introduction

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Motivation

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- However, actions by Trump's and Bolsonaro's supporters seriously questioned their acceptance of defeat.



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"Losers' Consent": A Weak Assumption

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- However, actions by Trump's and Bolsonaro's supporters seriously questioned their acceptance of defeat.
- Research has looked into "losers" consent," focusing on satisfaction, trust, and efficacy.
- We know little about voters' "systemic support" when they lose elections (Easton, 1965).



Electoral Losses and Institutional Heterogeneities

- We analyze the level of system support among electoral "losers" using novel data from a conjoint experiment in Chile (N=811) and Estonia (N=639).
- We exploit institutional heterogeneities in presidential and parliamentary systems.
- We pre-registered the following hypotheses: link

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Our Paper

- H1 Electoral "losers" favor candidates endorsing anti-systemic actions more than "winners."
- H2 This tendency is stronger in presidential than in parliamentary systems.

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Voters' Commitment:

Electoral Losses and Institutional Heterogeneities

- 1. Social movements:
 - "Angry" losers might be more willing to support anti-systemic politicians.

 (Bowler, Donovan, and Karp 2007)
 - Winners should oppose politicians supporting anti-systemic actions.
- 2. Institutional literature: institutional setups affect differently the costs of losing an election (Lijphart, 2012).
 - **Presidential**: losers have little input outside of the electoral cycle.
 - Parliamentary: losers' interests can be represented through a variety of power sharing institutions.

 Collected novel data from Chile (N=811) and Estonia (N=639) with gender and party sample quotas.

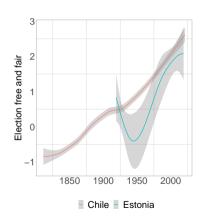
Case Selection

- Most dissimilar cases: maximize variance regarding government system (Presidential and Parliamentary).
- Most similar cases: minimize variance regarding critical V-Dem variables.

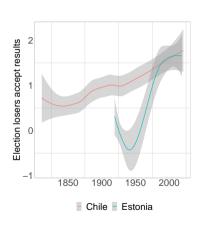
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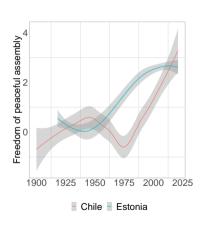
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- Designed an unconstrained, fully randomized conjoint experiment.
- We depart from standard AMCE analyses (Hainmueller, Hopkins, and Yamamoto 2014) and instead compute subgroup marginal means (Leeper, Hobolt, and Tilley 2020).

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

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Experimental Design

• Respondents were asked to choose between two options. For **example**:

Candidate 1	Candidate 2	
Female	Female	
Over 50	Between 35-50	
The candidate OPPOSES anti-government	The candidate SUPPORTS anti-	
protest that will seek to de-destabilize the	government protest that will seek to	
current government	de-destabilize the current government	
The candidate OPPOSES increases in	The candidate OPPOSES increases in	
pensions for the elderly	pensions for the elderly	
Please, choose one candidate		

- Respondents repeated this process 8 times.
- Every time, cells change their content at random.

Ouestioner

Additional Ouestions

- Included questions on socio-demographics and support for democracy.
- Losers/Winners: asked who respondents voted for in the last (real) election.
 - Chile: "Which candidate did you vote for in the 2nd round of the December 2021 presidential election?"
 - Kast, Boric, Others (Blank/Spoiled, I did not vote, Prefer not to say).
 - Estonia: "Which political party did you vote for in the last elections?"
 - List of Estonian political parties that participated in the March 2023 parliamentary election.

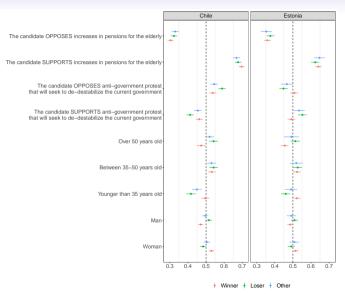
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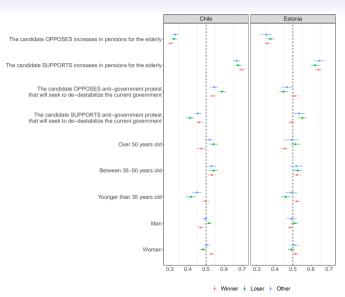
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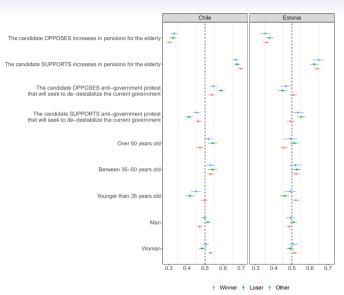
- Candidates favoring anti-systemic protests are systematically rejected by both winners and losers.
- Losers (Kast) show even stronger disapproval of such candidates.
- Estonia: results support H1.



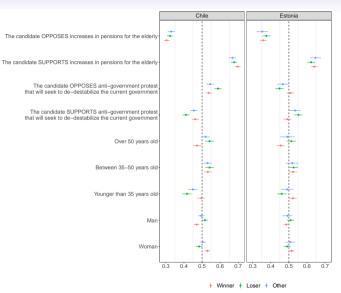
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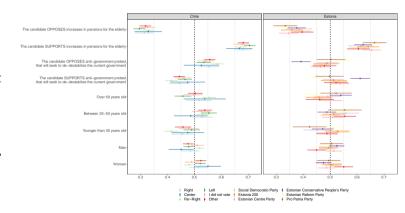
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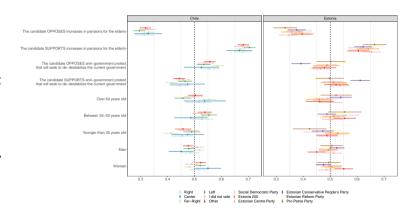
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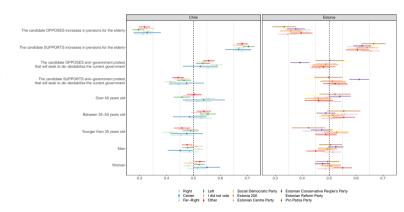
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- Extreme right voters are especially likely to reject candidates associated with anti-systemic protest.
- Estonia: loser effects are largely driven by the extreme right.



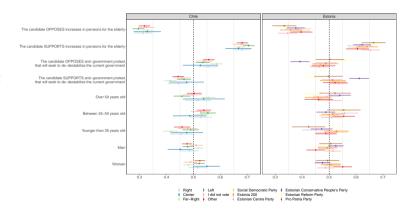
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Discussion: More Questions Than Answers

- We hypothesized (and pre-registered) that:
 - H1 *Electoral losers* were *more* willing to support anti-systemic protests.
 - H2 This effect would be *stronger* in Presidential systems (because of its zero-sum power sharing structure, **losses are more catastrophic**).
- While we did not find support in favor of our hypotheses, we still found some other interesting results.
 - Chile: Extreme-right supporters are less likely to support extreme anti-system protests.
 - Estonia: the loser effects are mainly driven by extreme-right supporters.

Main Takeaways

Thank you



oto check updates on this project.