Vote Brokers Replication Paper

Cristopher Patvakanian

Contents

1 Introduction

I am replicating "Vote Brokers, Clientelist Appeals, and Voter Turnout: Evidence from Russia and Venezuela" by Timothy Frye, Ora John Reuter and David Szakonyi.

2 Literature Review

For this paper I looked at a few papers on voting structure in Russia, as I was able to find less on Venezuela. In "How Capitalism was Built", by Anders Aslund, the literature suggests that in many post soviet countries, voting patterns were heavily influenced by the transition to democracy in instiutions built. In Russia, the

case was that there was not enough a big push to transform after communism, and thus the country had to face more difficulties in long term in ensuring fair and free elections. Additionally, in Olga Popova's "Corruption, Voting and Employment Status: Evidence from Russian Parliamentary Elections", Popova finds that controlling for different employment statuses and corruption, people are stil likely to vote differently, and more corruption generally induces people to vote more, which I think is to expected.

3 Paper Overview

For my final replication project, I decided to look at Vote Brokers, Clientelist Appeals, and Voter Turnout: Evidence from Russia and Venezuela, a paper by Timothy Frye, Ora John Reuter and David Szakonyi. The paper looks at two countries, Russia and Venezuela, to what factors, if any, in clientelist exchange. The authors specifically look at the role of brokers and leverage in these two cases. The study uses survey data to explore Russian and Venezuelan brokers and how they perform in monitoring voting.

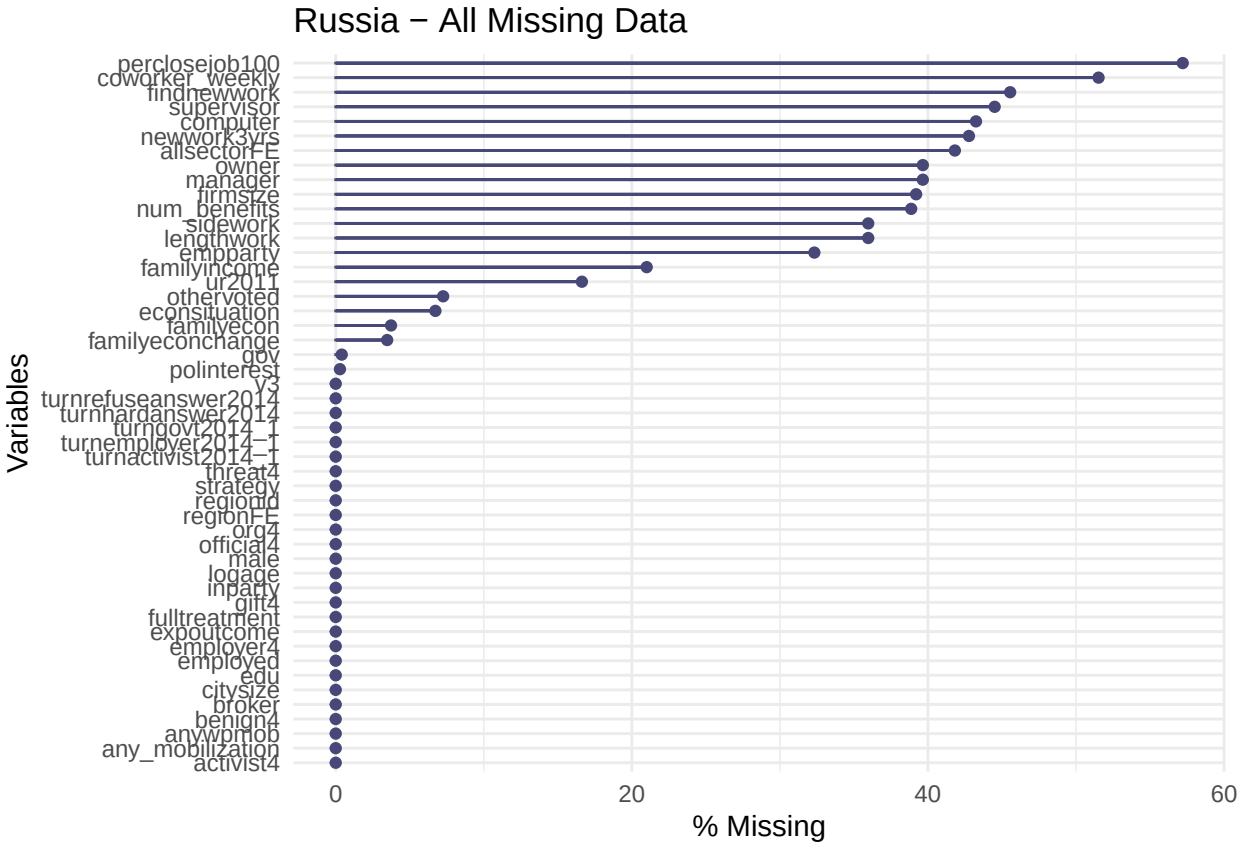
The goal is basically to understand how are monitors pressured by upper management in order to carry out clientelism and skew the voting. To understand this, the authors use a few models, such as difference of means between the different type of brokers and methods of leveraging, in both Russia and Venezuela. They also run fixed effect linear regressions to see what influence the skewing of the voting turnout for a couple of different scenarios, but actually include very few variables in their regression which is strange. The paper also has very specific demographics of the type of individuals they are looking at, which is good because it is specific but might also be a drawback because it limits the scope of the study. This paper ultimately finds that in Russia and Venezuela, different types of brokers and methods can influence voter turnout differently, which seems to be expected.

4 What I was able to replicate

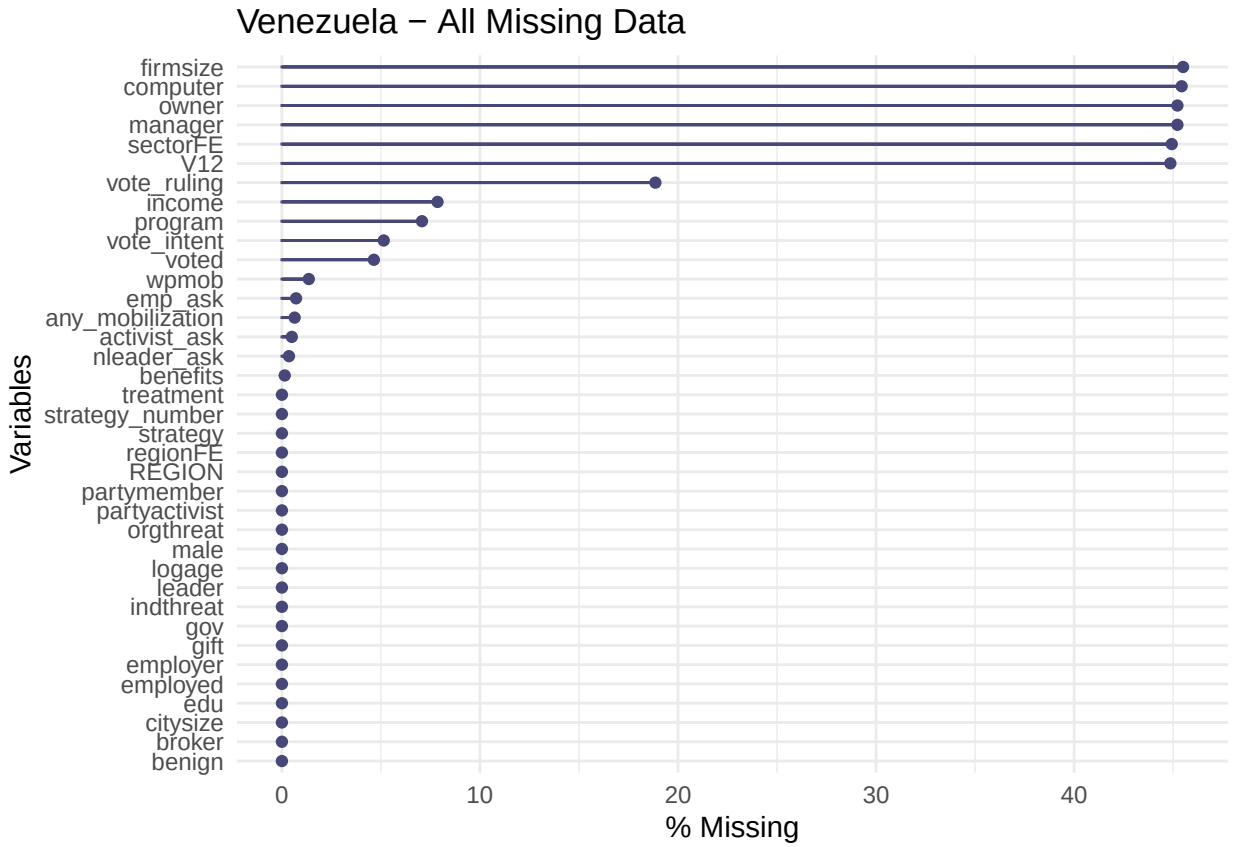
In this paper for the most part I was able to replicate all of the graphics. The tables I couldn't use the old code to make so I hand made them, which I think is not a good idea... I also had an issue combining some of the graphs to have the same legend. I also messed up some of the footnotes on the graphics, and instead used captions. On the regression, the variable order isn't like the original, which I couldn't figure out. Also, I had a lot of trouble getting the exact format from R things like GT to Latex/PDF, so that's why I had to resort to manually doing some things.

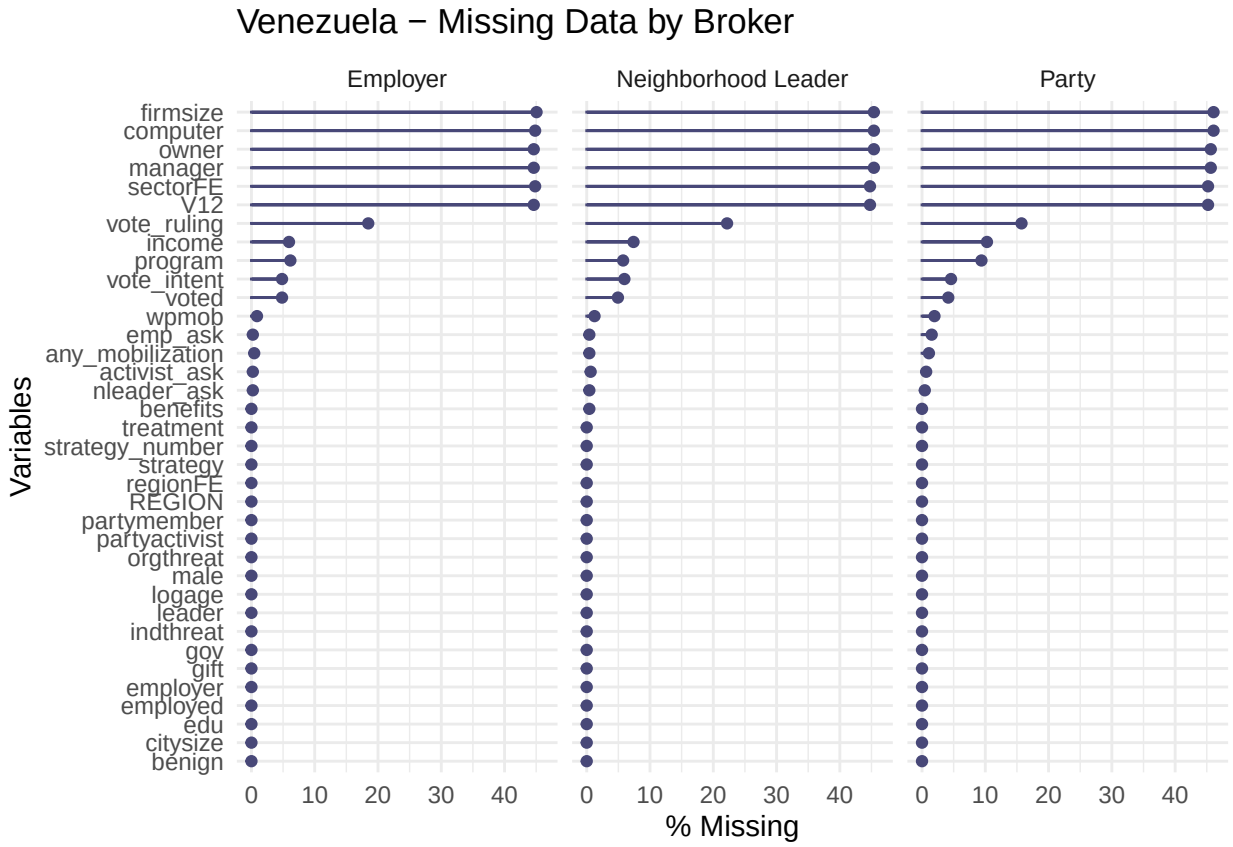
5 Extension

For my extension, I decided to look at missing data in the data sets and impute data for the regressions used in table 3. Looking at the tables below, I was able to



We see that for Russia, there is a lot of data missing for percentclose job, cowoerker_weekly, and findnewwork variables. When we further example data missing by broker, there generally seems to be the same variables missing with the exception being empparty for official, which is missing for 100% of the data.


Venezuela − All Missing Data
firmsize
computer
owner
manager
sectorFE
V12
vote_ruling
income
program
vote_intent
voted
wpmob
emp_ask
any_mobilization
activist_ask
nleader_ask
benefits
treatment
strategy_number
strategy
regionFE
REGION
partymember
partyactivist
orgthreat
male
logage
leader
indthreat
gov
gift
employer
employed
edu
citysize
broker
benign
Variables
0
10
20
30
40
% Missing


Venezuela − Missing Data by Broker
Employer
Neighborhood Leader
Party
firmsize
computer
owner
manager
sectorFE
V12
vote_ruling
income
program
vote_intent
voted
wpmob
emp_ask
any_mobilization
activist_ask
nleader_ask
benefits
treatment
strategy_number
strategy
regionFE
REGION
partymember
partyactivist
orgthreat
male
logage
leader
indthreat
gov
gift
employer
employed
edu
citysize
benign
Variables
0
10
20
30
40
% Missing

We see that for Venezuela, there is a lot of data missing for firmsize, computer, manager, and sector variables. When we further example data missing by broker, there generally seems to be the same variables missing for all of the brokers.

Given that the regression for table 3 uses only data from Russia, I decided to impute the missing values using the mice(), function and re-run the regressions, which can be found in Table 2 of the appendix. When I compare my results with the imputed data and compare it to the original study, I find the same significance and sign of the coefficients, however the magnitude of the coefficients appears to be smaller in general. I think that this just shows the original study is valid and robust, and by being able to not only replicate the data but get very similar results to the original after imputing data, I feel even more confident in the authors' findings.

6 GitHub

All analysis for this paper be found in the [original paper] (https://www.cambridge.org/core/journals/world-politics/article/vote-brokers-clientelist-appeals-and-voter-turnout-evidence-from-russia-and-venezuela/45FE0BE1216FCD8744B02A82919B328A) and [data verse] (https://dataverse.harvard.edu/dataset.xhtml?persistentId=doi:10.7910/DVN/YSVMS2) My Github repo for this project is located under my username, cpatvakanian. [^1]

7 References

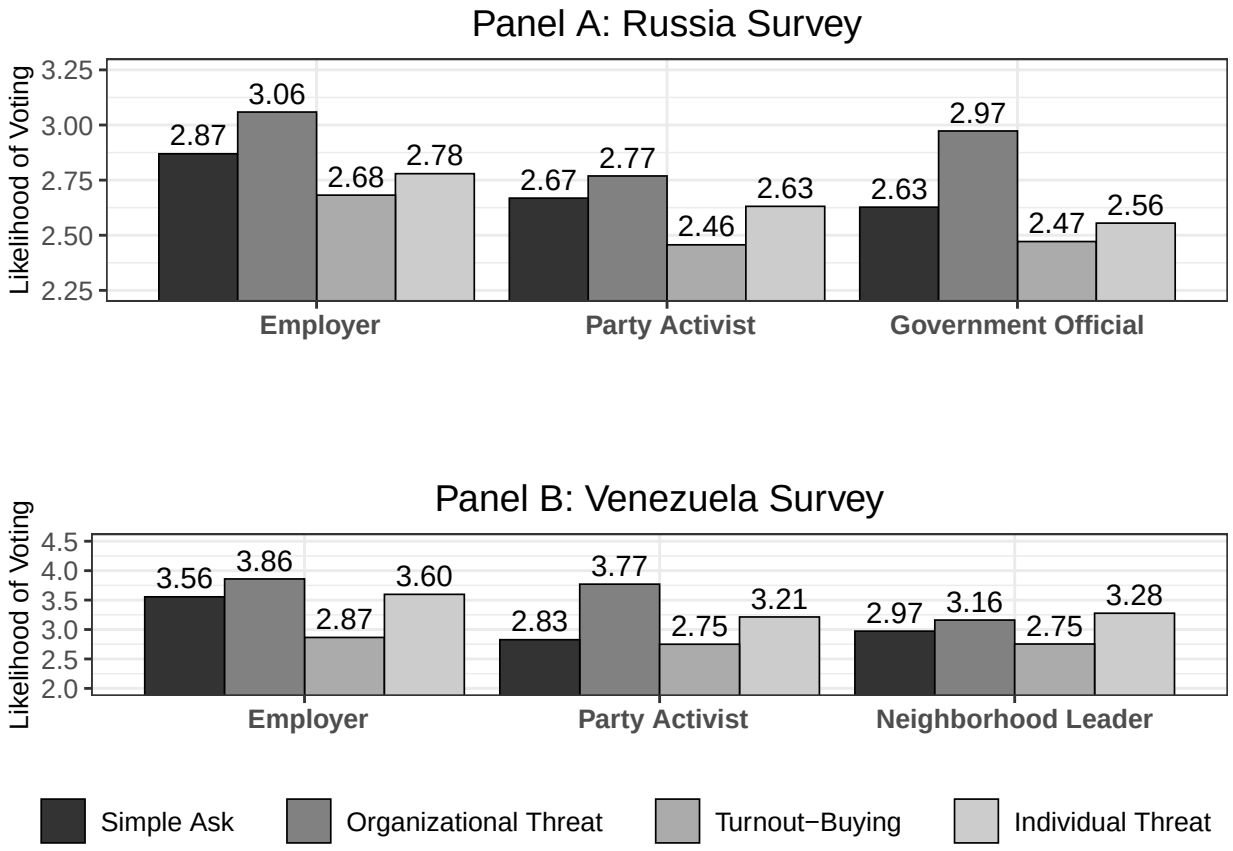
I make use of Aslund (2012), Popova (2010), and Frye, Reuter, and Szakonyi (2019).

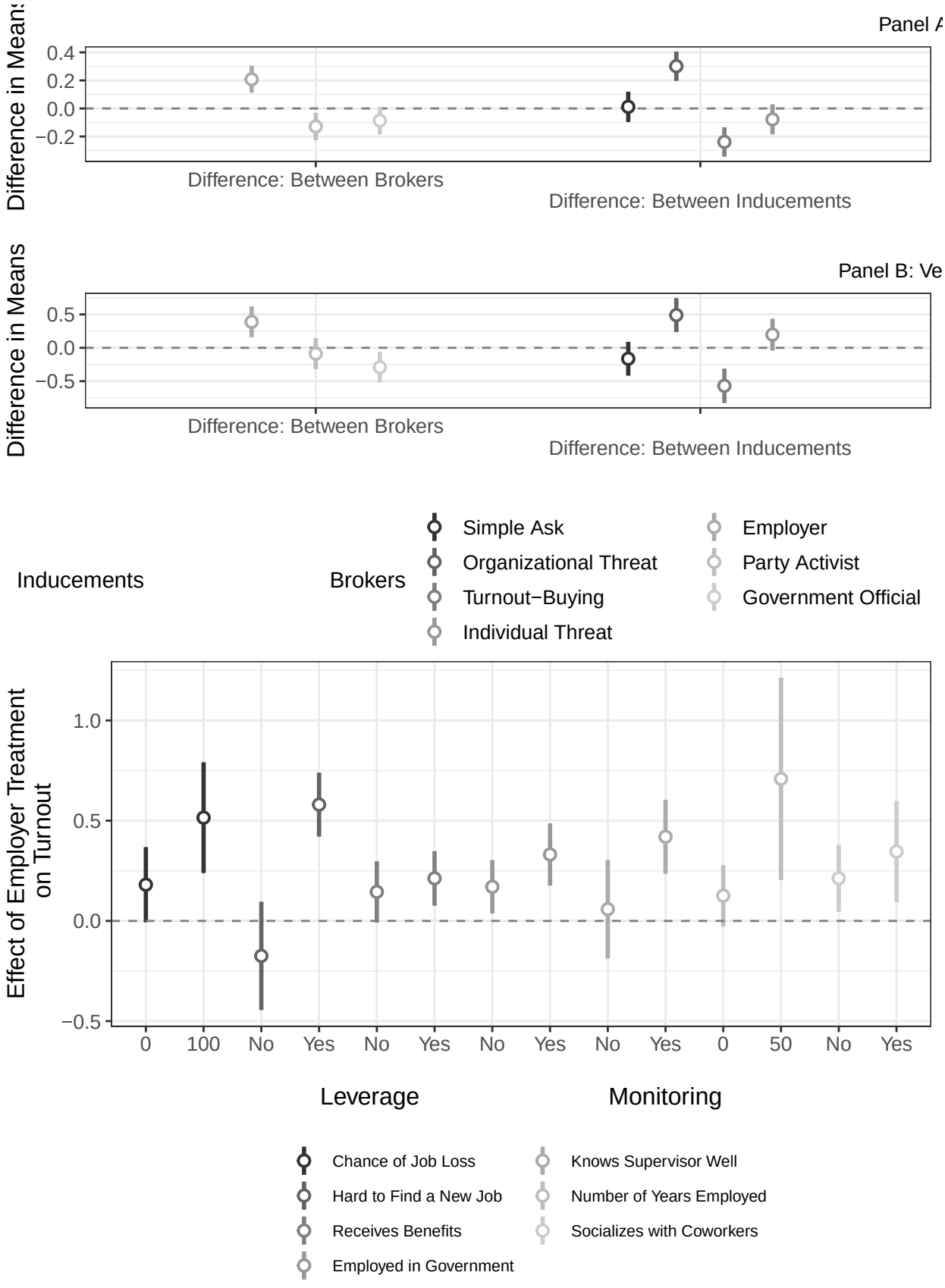
Aslund, Anders. 2012. *How Capitalism Was Built: The Transformation of Central and Eastern Europe, Russia, the Caucasus, and Central Asia*. 2nd ed. Cambridge University Press. https://doi.org/10.1017/CBO9781139207850.

Frye, Timothy, Ora John Reuter, and David Szakonyi. 2019. "Vote Brokers, Clientelist Appeals, and Voter Turnout: Evidence from Russia and Venezuela." *World Politics* 71 (4). Cambridge University Press: 710–46. https://doi.org/10.1017/S0043887119000078.

Popova, Olga. 2010. "Corruption, Voting and Employment Status: Evidence from Russian Parliamentary Elections." *SSRN Electronic Journal*.

8 Appendix


Panel A: Russia Survey
Likelihood of Voting
3.25
3.00
2.75
2.50
2.25
2.87
3.06
2.68
2.78
2.67
2.77
2.46
2.63
2.63
2.97
2.47
2.56
Employer
Party Activist
Government Official
Panel B: Venezuela Survey
Likelihood of Voting
4.5
4.0
3.5
3.0
2.5
2.0
3.56
3.86
2.87
3.60
2.83
3.77
2.75
3.21
2.97
3.16
2.75
3.28
Employer
Party Activist
Neighborhood Leader
Simple Ask
Organizational Threat
Turnout−Buying
Individual Threat


Panel A
Difference in Means
0.4
0.2
0.0
−0.2
Difference: Between Brokers
Difference: Between Inducements
Panel B: Ve
Difference in Means
0.5
0.0
−0.5
Difference: Between Brokers
Difference: Between Inducements
Inducements
Brokers
Simple Ask
Organizational Threat
Turnout−Buying
Individual Threat
Employer
Party Activist
Government Official
Effect of Employer Treatment on Turnout
1.0
0.5
0.0
−0.5
0
100
No
Yes
No
Yes
No
Yes
No
Yes
0
50
No
Yes
Leverage
Monitoring
Chance of Job Loss
Hard to Find a New Job
Receives Benefits
Employed in Government
Knows Supervisor Well
Number of Years Employed
Socializes with Coworkers

Asked You to Vote

Your Employer 344

A Party Activist 336 A Government Official 339

Indicates There Will be Negative Consequences For You If You Do Not Vote

Your Employer 344

A Party Activist 353 A Government Official 337

Offers You a Gift, Money, or Reward for Voting

Your Employer 374

A Party Activist 360 A Government Official 352

Tells You That Your Firm or Org. Will Suffer if Turnout Among Employees is Low

Your Employer 372

A Party Activist 362 A Government Official 331

Broker	Asked You to Vote	Indicates There Will be Negative Consequences For You If You Do Not Vot
Your Employer	344	34
A Party Activist	336	35
A Neighborhood Leader	339	33

Table 1: Survey Coverage

Russian Survey (a)

Broker	Asked You to Vote	Indicates There Will be Negative Consequences For You If You Do Not Vote	Offers You a Gift, Money, or Reward for Voting	Tells You That Your Firm or Org. Will Suffer if Turnout Among Employees is Low
Your Employer	344	344	374	372
A Party Activist	336	353	360	362
A Neighborhood Leader	339	337	352	331

Venezuelan Survey (b)

Broker	Asked You to Vote	Indicates There Will be Negative Consequences For You If You Do Not Vote	Offers You a Gift, Money, or Reward for Voting	Tells You That Your Firm or Org. Will Suffer if Turnout Among Employees is Low
Your Employer	96	132	113	114
A Party Activist	94	133	113	118
A Neighborhood Leader	125	118	120	124

Table 2: Substantive Effects: Predicted Probabilities by Broker Treatment

Probability of Voting (%)

(a)

	Russia	Venezuela
Employer	28.6	54.2
Party Activist	22.5	44.9
Government Official	23.1	
Neighborhood Leader		40.9

Probability of Not Voting (%)

(b)

	Russia	Venezuela
Employer	35.7	24.4
Party Activist	43.5	32.1
Government Official	42.7	
Neighborhood Leader		35.7

Table 1

	Dependent variable:						
	Outcome Respondent Would Vote						
	Leverage				Monitoring		
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)
empparty:gov				0.166**			
				(0.072)			
empparty:perclosejob100	0.360**						
	(0.167)						
empparty:findnewwork		0.156***					
		(0.038)					
empparty:num_benefits			0.070**				
			(0.036)				
empparty:supervisor					0.119**		
					(0.059)		
empparty:lengthwork						0.012**	
						(0.006)	
empparty:coworker_weekly							0.063
							(0.076)
Observations	1,209	1,532	1,724	1,806	1,567	1,806	1,389

Note: *p<0.1; **p<0.05; ***p<0.01

The outcome variable is the willingness to turnout outcome (five-point scale) from the survey experiment. The sample includes only respondents who received the employer or political party broker treatment. The employer treatment collapses the data along the inducement treatment arm of the factorial design used in the experiment. The sample is limited to only those who are employed. Chance of job loss measures the probability a respondent believes he or she will lose his or her job in the next twelve months. Hard to find a new job uses a five-point scale to capture the likelihood that if he or she were to lose his or her job, a respondent could find a similar one; higher values indicate more difficulty. Receives benefits captures the number of in-kind benefits (health care, education, transportation sub- sidies, etc.) respondents received from their employer. Higher values on the three-point scale used in knows supervisor well indicate better familiarity with one's boss. Number of years employed measures the length of time at one's work. Socializes with coworkers captures whether respondents spend time with colleagues outside work. All models include the constituent terms and basic demographic characteris- tics (gender, age, education, size of settlement, and an indicator for government employment). Models are estimated via ols and cluster errors at the region level.

Table 2

	Dependent variable:						
	Outcome Respondent Would Vote						
	Leverage				Monitoring		
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)
empparty:gov				0.155**			
				(0.065)			
empparty:perclosejob100	0.252**						
	(0.126)						
empparty:findnewwork		0.087***					
		(0.031)					
empparty:num_benefits			0.057*				
			(0.033)				
empparty:supervisor					0.105**		
					(0.051)		
empparty:lengthwork						0.012**	
						(0.006)	
empparty:coworker_weekly							0.042
							(0.059)
Observations	10,324	10,647	10,839	10,921	10,682	10,921	10,504

Note: *p<0.1; **p<0.05; ***p<0.01

The outcome variable is the willingness to turnout outcome (five-point scale) from the survey experiment. The sample includes only respondents who received the employer or political party broker treatment. The employer treatment collapses the data along the inducement treatment arm of the factorial design used in the experiment. The sample is limited to only those who are employed. Chance of job loss measures the probability a respondent believes he or she will lose his or her job in the next twelve months. Hard to find a new job uses a five-point scale to capture the likelihood that if he or she were to lose his or her job, a respondent could find a similar one; higher values indicate more difficulty. Receives benefits captures the number of in-kind benefits (health care, education, transportation sub- sidies, etc.) respondents received from their employer. Higher values on the three-point scale used in knows supervisor well indicate better familiarity with one's boss. Number of years employed measures the length of time at one's work. Socializes with coworkers captures whether respondents spend time with colleagues outside work. All models include the constituent terms and basic demographic characteris- tics (gender, age, education, size of settlement, and an indicator for government employment). Models are estimated via ols and cluster errors at the region level.

8.1 Regressions with Imputed Data

TABLE 3
EXAMINING MECHANISMS: RUSSIA SURVEY EXPERIMENT [a]

	Outcome: Respondent Would Vote						
	Leverage				*Monitoring*		
	(1)	*(2)*	*(3)*	*(4)*	*(5)*	*(6)*	*(7)*
Employer treatment *	0.360**						
Chance of job loss	(0.167)						
Employer treatment *		0.156***					
Hard to find a new job		(0.038)					
Employer treatment *			0.070**				
Receives benefits			(0.036)				
Employer treatment *				0.166**			
Employed in government				(0.072)			
Employer treatment *					0.119**		
Knows supervisor well					(0.059)		
Employer treatment *						0.012**	
Number of years employed						(0.006)	
Employer treatment *							0.063
Socializes with coworkers							(0.076)
Constituent terms	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes
Demographics	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes
Observations	1209	1532	1724	1806	1567	1806	1389

***$p < 0.01$, **$p < 0.05$, *$p < 0.1$

[a]The outcome variable is the willingness to turnout outcome (five-point scale) from the survey experiment. The sample includes only respondents who received the employer or political party broker treatment. The employer treatment collapses the data along the inducement treatment arm of the factorial design used in the experiment. The sample is limited to only those who are employed. *Chance of job loss* measures the probability a respondent believes he or she will lose his or her job in the next twelve months. *Hard to find a new job* uses a five-point scale to capture the likelihood that if he or she were to lose his or her job, a respondent could find a similar one; higher values indicate more difficulty. *Receives benefits* captures the number of in-kind benefits (health care, education, transportation subsidies, etc.) respondents received from their employer. Higher values on the three-point scale used in *knows supervisor well* indicate better familiarity with one's boss. *Number of years employed* measures the length of time at one's work. *Socializes with coworkers* captures whether respondents spend time with colleagues outside work. All models include the constituent terms and basic demographic characteristics (gender, age, education, size of settlement, and an indicator for government employment). Models are estimated via OLS and cluster errors at the region level.

[^1]: [(https://github.com/cpatvakanian/milestone_7)]