# Gov 2006: Formal Political Theory II Section 1

Sophie Hill

February 5, 2019

# **Agenda**

• Introductions / logistics

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How to...

- write up problem sets
- read a formal theory paper
- come up with your own research idea!

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#### How to...

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- read a formal theory paper
- come up with your own research idea!

#### Review:

- Definitions
- Probabilistic voting model

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- Problem sets are on a weekly basis (for now). PS1 is up on Canvas and is due next Tuesday 2/12 at 9am.
- We posted a summary of today's lecture on Canvas these bullet points should help to guide your reading each week.

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We may also:

- review tricky parts of the PSETs
- review anything that was unclear from lecture
- brainstorm ideas for the final paper

#### How to... do problem sets!

 You can work in groups on the PSETS, but you must write up your own solutions and state who you worked with at the top.
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- Your solutions should be typeset and submitted via Canvas as a PDF.
- Help me (and your future self) out by showing your working!

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Constrained optimization  $\rightarrow$  look for key elements:

- Motivation
- Model set-up
- Timing of the game
- Solving the model
- Comparative statics
- Intuitions?

# How to... come up with a research idea

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- Instead, a short research paper. Basic formula: existing model
   + twist = new intuition.
- Start thinking about ideas now. We will also do "brainstorms" in section. Group meetings to discuss preliminary ideas in Weeks 3/4.

#### **Review: Definitions**

Given an ordering of policies, the preferences of voter i are **single-peaked** if:

If 
$$q'' \leq q' \leq q(\alpha^i)$$
 or, if  $q'' \geq q' \geq q(\alpha^i)$ , then  $W(q''; \alpha^i) \leq W(q'; \alpha^i)$ ,

where W is the indirect utility function and  $q(\alpha^i)$  is voter i's bliss point.

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Given an ordering of policies and voters, the preferences of a set of voters satisfy the **single-crossing property** if:

If 
$$q > q'$$
 and  $\alpha^{i\prime} > \alpha^i$ , or if  $q < q'$  and  $\alpha^{i\prime} < \alpha^i$ , then

$$W(q; \alpha^i) \ge W(q'; \alpha^i) \implies W(q; \alpha^{i'}) \ge W(q'; \alpha^{i'}).$$

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#### Review: Definitions

What about multi-dimensional policy spaces?

Let  $\mathbf{q}$  be a *vector* of policies and, as before, let  $\alpha^i$  be a scalar. Then voters have **intermediate preferences** if their indirect utility function  $W(\mathbf{q}; \alpha^i)$  can be written:

$$W(\boldsymbol{q};\alpha^i) = J(\boldsymbol{q}) + K(\alpha^i)H(\boldsymbol{q})$$

where  $K(\alpha^i)$  is monotonic in  $\alpha^i$ , for any J(q) and H(q) common to all voters.

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# Probabilistic Voting

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## **Probabilistic Voting**

- Common feature of Probabilistic Voting models is that they introduce uncertainty from the candidates' viewpoint
- Key advantage (compared to, say, the Median Voter Theorem) is that you can deal with multidimensional policy spaces in a tractable way
- There are many "versions" of the probabilistic voting model this exposition is based on the simple model in PT, which is in turn based on Lindbeck & Weibull (1987)

<sup>\*</sup>This section is based on Prof. Larreguy's lecture slides from 2018.

## Basic idea of probabilistic voting

• Let  $\pi_P^i$  be the probability perceived by the candidates that voter i votes for party P, where P = A, B, and suppose that these probabilities refer to independent events for different voters.

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- Since, there are *I* voters, the expected vote share of party *P* is then

$$\pi_P = \frac{1}{I} \sum_{i=1}^I \pi_P^i.$$

• Under Downsian competition with two identical parties,  $\pi_P^i$  jumps discontinuously from 0 to 1 as voter i always votes with certainty for the party that promises the better policy.

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- Under Downsian competition with two identical parties,  $\pi_P^i$  jumps discontinuously from 0 to 1 as voter i always votes with certainty for the party that promises the better policy.
- Because of these discontinuous jumps, a Nash equilibrium may fail to exist.

## **Smoothing out discontinuities**

• Probabilistic voting models instead develop a model where

$$\pi_A^i = F^i(V(\mathbf{q}_A; \alpha i), V(\mathbf{q}_B; \alpha^i)),$$

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- Note that  $\mathbf{q}_A$  and  $\mathbf{q}_B$  can now be *n* dimensional vectors.
- This smoothness implies that a small unilateral deviation by one party does not lead to jumps in its expected vote share and thus gives rise to well-defined equilibria.

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- Assume that  $F^i(\cdot)$  is a continuous and well-behaved cumulative distribution function (c.d.f.), associated with a symmetric probability distribution.
- In fact, we often go further and consider the special case where all  $F^i(\cdot)$ 's are uniform.

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• Clearly, party B faces a symmetric problem:

$$\pi_B = 1 - \pi_A \equiv 1 - \frac{1}{I} \sum_{i=1}^{I} F^i(V(\mathbf{q}_A; \alpha^i) - V(\mathbf{q}_B; \alpha^i)).$$
 (2)

# First-Order Conditions and Nash Equilibrium

• The first-order conditions for the two parties can be written as

Party 
$$A - \sum_{i=1}^{l} f^{i}(V(\mathbf{q}_{A}; \alpha^{i}) - V(\mathbf{q}_{B}; \alpha^{i})) \frac{\partial V(\mathbf{q}_{A}; \alpha^{i})}{\partial q_{jA}} = 0,$$
  
Party  $B - \sum_{i=1}^{l} f^{i}(V(\mathbf{q}_{A}; \alpha^{i}) - V(\mathbf{q}_{B}; \alpha^{i})) \frac{\partial V(\mathbf{q}_{B}; \alpha^{i})}{\partial q_{jB}} = 0,$ 

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each for j=1,...,n.

- It must be that in a Nash equilibrium both parties will choose:  $\mathbf{q}_A = \mathbf{q}_B$ .
- We are then back to policy convergence!

# **Optimal Choices**

• The FOCs for a maximum of (1), evaluated at the equilibrium policy  $\mathbf{q}_A$ , and taking  $\mathbf{q}_B$  as given, can be written as

$$\sum_{i=1}^{I} f^{i}(0) \frac{\partial V(\mathbf{q}_{A}; \alpha^{i})}{\partial q_{jA}} = 0 \text{ for } j = 1, ..., n$$

where  $\mathbf{q}_A = (q_{1A}, ..., q_{jA}, ...)$  for all j, and  $f^i(0)$  denotes the density of the c.d.f.  $F^i(\cdot)$ , evaluated at 0 (that is, in equilibrium) when  $V(\mathbf{q}_A; \alpha^i) = V(\mathbf{q}_B; \alpha^i)$ .

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- Thus, the equilibrium under this form of electoral competition implements the maximum of a particular weighted social welfare function, where voter i receives weight  $f^{i}(0)$ .
- In other words, we have that the equilibrium policies are determined as

$$\mathbf{q}^* \in \arg\max_{\mathbf{q}} \sum_{i=1}^r f^i(0) V(\mathbf{q}; \alpha^i)$$

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- In other words, more "responsive" voters, who have a higher density  $f^i(0)$ , receive a better treatment under electoral competition.
- Clearly, if all voters are equally responsive (if they all have the same value of  $f^{i}(0)$ ), this form of electoral competition implements the utilitarian optimum.

#### Extensions of the basic PV model

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#### Examples:

- Divide voters into 3 classes: poor, middle class, rich. (Persson Tabellini simplified version in PT pp. 53-57)
- Characterize voters as "ideological" or "swing" voters. Allow the incumbent to use repression/violence against certain groups as well as proposing a policy platform (Robinson & Torvik, 2009)