## Cash for Votes

#### Evidence from India on Election Financing and Dynastic Politics

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#### Key feature of elections: cash for votes



Times of India, 16th April 2016

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Times of India, 16th April 2016



Includes cash seized by both local police and I-T dept; data as on April 12, 2016, for all states except for Assam where it is up to April 11; gross seizure does not factor in amounts returned after it was proven that money was not for poli purposes.

#### Seizure Report in Lok Sabha Polls 2014



Times of India, 16th April 2016

#### Cross Country evidence on Election Financing

Democratic elections and democratic governance involve a mixture of high ideals and, all too often, dubious or even sordid practices. Election campaigns, political party organizations, pressure groups, and advertising all cost money. This must be found from somewhere. The financing of political life is a necessity (and a problem.) Pinto-Duschinksy (2002)

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- Scarrow (2007) focuses on increasing availability of candidate details and their funding in countries outside the US; this allows cross-country comparisons of the use of money in elections to an extent.

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### Election Financing: Country studies

Studies range across countries at various stages of development

- Spain: Costas et al. (2010) document the link between corruption and electoral outcome by using news reports in Spain on scams to construct a data set related to bribery to show that normally such news doesn't matter except when it is covered widely in the media.
- Brazil: Gingerich (2010) looks at the use of significant amounts of undeclared money during elections to "purchase" politicians and determine electoral returns.
- Britan: Eggers and Hainmueller (2009) study post electoral monetary returns to serving in Parliament using data on estates of deceased MPs. Using an RD to compare wealth of those who were elected to those who lost MP elections, the authors find that serving doubles the wealth of Conservatives but had no impact on Labor

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Different types of data have been used to study electoral cycles and spending

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#### Returns to the Politician

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- Kwaja and Mian (2005) use loan level data on a set of firms from Pakistan to show that politically connected firms have 45% larger borrowing and 50%
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- We try to match the timing of elections far more precisely to the consumption cycle than has been done before
- We also try to understand voter's preferences in terms of how they spend money.

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#### Two sources of data

#### • National Sample Survey Data during 2004 - 2011

- Each year consumption module is field to construct estimates of monthly consumption expenditure
- 6-700 product commodities are canvased.
- Covers all states in India and year long survey and gives us household characteristics and the date of Survey (DoS)
- Election Data
  - State Assembly Elections i.e. elections for State Legislature
  - Elections are at the constituency level, however, entire districts go to elections on the same day
  - Elections are announced two months in advance by the Election Commission
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#### State-Time Variation in Date of Election



#### Figure: Election Days

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#### State-Time Variation in Date of Survey



#### Figure: Date of Household Survey

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### Merge: Step 1 - Who is my neighbour?

States	Α	В	С	D	E
A	0	0	1	0	1
В	0	0	0	1	0
С	1	0	0	1	1
D	0	1	1	0	0
E	1	0	0	1	0

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#### Merge: Step 2 - Who is in the sample?



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For each election day t, in state s, we want to capture the impact of cash based mobilization on household consumption. To do this we can classify the sample in state s as follows:

- *Post*: households interviewed between  $[t \delta, t]$
- *Pre*: households interviewed between  $[t 2\delta, t \delta)$
- Not Relevant: households interviewed outside  $[t 2\delta, t)$  time-frame
- Geographically, for each state *s* we can identify  $(s_1, \ldots, s_k)$  that are its neighbours; households in these neighbours form the control group.

#### Sample Size



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#### Table: Mean Expenditure (in Rs.) of key commodities

		Cor	ntrol	Treated		
Commodities	Window	After	Before	After	Before	
Local Liquor	10	159.19	205.5	158.17	148.11	
(Tharra)	15	170.58	194.57	154.24	149.82	
	30	180.95	183.28	152.24	185.79	
Sari	10	343.43	344.91	409.78	286.71	
	15	347.89	341.29	388.69	308.50	
	30	337.88	356.40	352.35	383.97	
Education	10	2,089.35	2,406.13	2,137.77	2,266.35	
	15	2,174.08	2,397.06	2,078.04	2,204.94	
	30	2,226.91	2,321.65	2,132.11	2,020.02	

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$$y_{it} = \beta_1 + \beta_1 E_{it} + \beta_2 Post_{it} + \beta_3 E_{it} * Post_{it} + \mathbf{x}_{it}\beta + \epsilon_{it}$$
(1)

where

- y measures consumption expenditure (30 days recall)
- E<sub>it</sub> is a dummy for state elections
  - = 1: household *i* surveyed within  $2\delta$  days own state election
  - = 0: household *i* surveyed within  $2\delta$  days of neighbouring state election
- *Post<sub>it</sub>* is a dummy for state elections
- $Post_{it} = 1$ : household *i* surveyed within  $\delta$  days of an election.
- *Post<sub>it</sub>* = 0: household *i* surveyed between  $2\delta$  to  $\delta$  days from an election.
- $\beta_3$  is the parameter of interest; this will vary with  $\delta$

- identification is driven by the orthogonality in the timing of state elections and the NSSO sampling schedule.
  - State Governments and Election Commission decide when elections are held.
  - NSSO Sampling Schedule decides which household is interviewed and when.
  - They happen in parallel and in the same districts.

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#### Results: Entire Sample

	Local liquor			Sari			All Education		
	(10)	(15)	(30)	(10)	(15)	(30)	(10)	(15)	(30)
E	-1.689	3.779	14.887*	-76.394***	-54.345***	-28.472***	57.562	141.005	40.888
	(13.733)	(12.536)	(8.835)	(13.735)	(12.214)	(8.717)	(163.814)	(142.796)	(115.042)
Post	3.883	-10.677	0.390	-127.807***	-103.115***	-13.732	282.988	67.093	-465.519***
	(17.594)	(14.169)	(11.897)	(17.409)	(14.855)	(11.336)	(261.874)	(206.918)	(150.332)
E*Post	35.311	26.663	-6.183	100.802***	67.249***	15.034	-249.109	-169.880	345.620**
	(21.622)	(17.261)	(14.292)	(20.283)	(17.564)	(13.436)	(296.329)	(238.372)	(175.385)
Hindu(dummy)	-58.431**	-49.448**	-44.002***	13.073	10.278	-1.600	-13.142	18.282	80.637
	(23.444)	(19.700)	(13.968)	(14.808)	(12.868)	(9.872)	(156.994)	(142.296)	(108.376)
General Caste (dummy)	10.752	5.107	-0.466	42.625***	45.692***	38.875***	-113.913	0.793	-21.854
	(18.415)	(14.524)	(10.799)	(11.043)	(9.692)	(7.476)	(126.136)	(109.730)	(83.578)
Rural (dummy)	-27.486**	-18.974*	-13.704*	-20.114*	-10.152	7.266	-216.337	-278.008**	-265.793***
	(12.470)	(10.693)	(8.091)	(10.700)	(10.373)	(7.654)	(139.628)	(111.034)	(78.510)
Household Size	8.947***	10.353***	8.766***	60.433***	59.834***	59.901***	291.678***	275.778***	282.033***
	(1.484)	(1.636)	(1.106)	(2.076)	(1.734)	(1.374)	(19.918)	(15.929)	(12.451)
Ln_mpce30	152.974***	150.688***	154.397***	381.589***	371.010***	368.685***	3,971.567***	3,914.973***	3,794.843***
	(13.158)	(10.884)	(8.304)	(14.143)	(12.941)	(9.924)	(200.708)	(167.259)	(131.975)
No. Observation	1,905	2,573	4,303	19,664	26,329	43,242	11,744	15,848	26,585
Adjusted R2	0.187	0.179	0.182	0.198	0.183	0.188	0.176	0.174	0.167

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#### Estimated Impacts on Entire Sample



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- Merging NSSO data with Election data is possible and it gives us an analytical sample to work with.
- A priori, we didn't expect to see anything, and yet, our results suggest that
  - Households tend to additionally spend on a range of staples and also to an extent on "intoxicants"
  - Our results are strongest for Saris and clothes, but for a number of others we see the same pattern.
- There are welfare implications for how the household budget is eased and we have preliminary estimates of that here.
- This may also offer a way to estimate the size of the black economy.

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## Consumption Literature—What happens to households when they get money?

- Literature exists on consumption smoothing and informal risk sharing behaviors.
- Little is known about what kind of commodities. Choice of expenditure items when exposed to unexpected income in less understood.

Is it possible to link norms of election financing to dynastic politics?

- Election financing, campaign spending regulations, black money, and corrupt use of public funds.
- Patronage through political dynasties and social networks.

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# EXTRA: Estimated Impacts on sample of landless households



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#### EXTRA: Estimated Impacts on the Rural sample





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# EXTRA: Estimated Impacts on bottom expenditure quintile





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