

How Much Democracy?

Andrew Eggers

LSE

Session 18, 10 January 2014

Plan



This session: People make mistakes.

Plan



This session: People make mistakes. What does that mean for policymaking and politics?

Plan



This session: People make mistakes. What does that mean for policymaking and politics?

Two parts:

- Behavioral public policy (including "nudge")
- Assessments of voter competence



Behavioral public policy

Behavioral politics

Unimpressive voters
Defenses of democracy



Assumption of standard welfare economics (and much of political science): people act in their rational self-interest.



Assumption of standard welfare economics (and much of political science): people act in their rational self-interest.

Revealed preference: if a and b are both affordable, and agent i chooses a, then i prefers a to b (i.e. $a \succ_i b$).



Assumption of standard welfare economics (and much of political science): people act in their rational self-interest.

Revealed preference: if a and b are both affordable, and agent i chooses a, then i prefers a to b (i.e. $a \succ_i b$). Some implications:

▶ No distinction between choice preferences and utility: consumers can be trusted to choose what is best for them.



Assumption of standard welfare economics (and much of political science): people act in their rational self-interest.

Revealed preference: if a and b are both affordable, and agent i chooses a, then i prefers a to b (i.e. $a \succ_i b$). Some implications:

- No distinction between choice preferences and utility: consumers can be trusted to choose what is best for them.
- Only defensible roles for government:
 - redistribution, and
 - addressing market failures (e.g. externalities, asymmetric information, market power)



Assumption of standard welfare economics (and much of political science): people act in their rational self-interest.

Revealed preference: if a and b are both affordable, and agent i chooses a, then i prefers a to b (i.e. $a \succ_i b$). Some implications:

- No distinction between choice preferences and utility: consumers can be trusted to choose what is best for them.
- Only defensible roles for government:
 - redistribution, and
 - addressing market failures (e.g. externalities, asymmetric information, market power)

Anything else is misguided paternalism.



What about when individuals make systematic mistakes?



What about when individuals make systematic mistakes?

▶ Framing effects: More people want to be treated if told 90% survive than when told 10% die. (cites in Sunstein and Thaler 2003)



What about when individuals make systematic mistakes?

- ► Framing effects: More people want to be treated if told 90% survive than when told 10% die. (cites in Sunstein and Thaler 2003)
- ► Lack of self-control: People over-eat, smoke, fail to save enough. They also sometimes pay for help in addressing these failures.



What about when individuals make systematic mistakes?

- ► Framing effects: More people want to be treated if told 90% survive than when told 10% die. (cites in Sunstein and Thaler 2003)
- ► Lack of self-control: People over-eat, smoke, fail to save enough. They also sometimes pay for help in addressing these failures.

How do we resolve info asymmetries when there is no "neutral" way to provide information? Should we try to help people avoid bad decisions?

Policy proposal: "Libertarian paternalism"





Sunstein (L) and Thaler (R); photo from time.com

Policy proposal: "Libertarian paternalism"





Sunstein (L) and Thaler (R); photo from time.com

Basic idea: Recognize people make some bad choices. Design policies that preserve choice but use framing and defaults to "nudge" people toward decisions that benefit them.

Policy proposal: "Libertarian paternalism"





Sunstein (L) and Thaler (R); photo from time.com

Basic idea: Recognize people make some bad choices. Design policies that preserve choice but use framing and defaults to "nudge" people toward decisions that benefit them.

Examples:

- Smarter defaults for employee savings plans
- Requiring credit card companies to issue detailed end-of-year statements detailing fees
- Gambling "self-bans"



Behavioral public policy

Behavioral politics

Unimpressive voters Defenses of democracy

If people make bad choices . . .



Behavioral public policy: People make bad choices. Benevolent policymakers should provide "nudges".

If people make bad choices . . .



Behavioral public policy: People make bad choices. Benevolent policymakers should provide "nudges".

Democratic theory: Voters are capable of choosing leaders.

If people make bad choices . . .



Behavioral public policy: People make bad choices. Benevolent policymakers should provide "nudges".

Democratic theory: Voters are capable of choosing leaders.

Contradiction?



Even without self-control problems, there is reason for concern.



Even without self-control problems, there is reason for concern.

Rational, self-interested voters would tend to pass on fiscal burdens to future generations. Think of this as a fiscal common-pool problem, or an externality problem.



Even without self-control problems, there is reason for concern.

Rational, self-interested voters would tend to pass on fiscal burdens to future generations. Think of this as a fiscal common-pool problem, or an externality problem.

Even worse if voters also lack self-control: run up the deficit! don't prepare for future risks! skimp on education!



Even without self-control problems, there is reason for concern.

Rational, self-interested voters would tend to pass on fiscal burdens to future generations. Think of this as a fiscal common-pool problem, or an externality problem.

Even worse if voters also lack self-control: run up the deficit! don't prepare for future risks! skimp on education!

Some evidence:

- ▶ Healy and Malhotra (2009) show that U.S. voters reward politicians for disaster *relief* spending but not for disaster *preparedness* spending (even though disaster preparedness spending is much more effective)
- Wagner's Law (increasing size of public sector over time) held in OECD countries until about 1990; operating in developing countries now

Arbitrary voters



Voters respond to the wrong things.

Arbitrary voters



Voters respond to the wrong things. Two nice examples:

- ▶ Attention to irrelevant events: Healy, Malhotra, and Mo (2010) show that U.S. voters support incumbent candidates more when local college football team wins before the election
- ▶ Recency bias: Huber, Hill, and Lenz (2012) show in a lab that "voters" pay too much attention to recent "events" and their "vote" is affected by clearly unrelated events



A person with self-control problems wants to fix those problems.



A person with self-control problems wants to fix those problems.

The tree-cutting problem (e.g. Lizzeri and Yariv 2013) with time-inconsistent preferences:

- ▶ In period 1, the tree is planted
- ▶ In period 3, the tree is fully-grown and ready to be cut down
- ▶ In period 1, you plan to cut it down in period 3; in period 2, you are tempted to cut it down immediately due to **present bias**.



A person with self-control problems wants to fix those problems.

The tree-cutting problem (e.g. Lizzeri and Yariv 2013) with time-inconsistent preferences:

- ▶ In period 1, the tree is planted
- ▶ In period 3, the tree is fully-grown and ready to be cut down
- ▶ In period 1, you plan to cut it down in period 3; in period 2, you are tempted to cut it down immediately due to **present bias**.

The point is that in period 1 you would pay for a way to prevent yourself from cutting down the tree in period 2.



A person with self-control problems wants to fix those problems.

The tree-cutting problem (e.g. Lizzeri and Yariv 2013) with time-inconsistent preferences:

- ▶ In period 1, the tree is planted
- ▶ In period 3, the tree is fully-grown and ready to be cut down
- ▶ In period 1, you plan to cut it down in period 3; in period 2, you are tempted to cut it down immediately due to **present bias**.

The point is that in period 1 you would pay for a way to prevent yourself from cutting down the tree in period 2.

Bottom line: Government can offer commitment devices that people with poor self-control want. e.g. public pension system, Behavioural Insights Team.

Technocracy



Voters may be bad, but they don't rule directly in a representative democracy. This may make policy more forward-looking (Jacobs, 2011).

- Interest groups are more informed, future-oriented than voters.
- Party organizations may also be more future-oriented than voters.
- Inattentiveness of voters, complexity of issues may create space for technocratic policymakers to operate.

Lowering our standards



Even if voters don't use information optimally (e.g. they focus too much on the recent past) and respond to irrelevant events (e.g. college football games), democracy will basically "work" if voters vote on the basis of something that is correlated with the desired outcome.

Lowering our standards



Even if voters don't use information optimally (e.g. they focus too much on the recent past) and respond to irrelevant events (e.g. college football games), democracy will basically "work" if voters vote on the basis of something that is correlated with the desired outcome.

Retrospective voting: "Are you better off now than you were four years ago?" (Ronald Reagan campaign slogan from 1980)

Lowering our standards



Even if voters don't use information optimally (e.g. they focus too much on the recent past) and respond to irrelevant events (e.g. college football games), democracy will basically "work" if voters vote on the basis of something that is correlated with the desired outcome.

Retrospective voting: "Are you better off now than you were four years ago?" (Ronald Reagan campaign slogan from 1980)

This "works" if individuals' welfare is correlated with whatever you want voters to be choosing (e.g. effort, policymaking ability, etc.).

(See Diermeier and Li 2013 for a recent theory paper on this.)

Aggregation

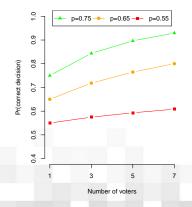


Condorcet jury theorem: Suppose each voter has a probability *p* of voting "correctly". Then if p > 1/2 the probability that the majority will be correct is increasing in n.

Aggregation



Condorcet jury theorem: Suppose each voter has a probability p of voting "correctly". Then if p > 1/2 the probability that the majority will be correct is increasing in p.





Marquis de Condorcet; photo from Wikipedia

→ voters don't even have to be that accurate!



Applying ideas from the math pre-fresher:

► The sum of *n* random variables is approximately normally distributed (for large enough *n*) even when the underlying random variables are not normally distributed



- ► The sum of n random variables is approximately normally distributed (for large enough n) even when the underlying random variables are not normally distributed
- ► If this works for coin flips, it works for voters who are correct with probability *p*!



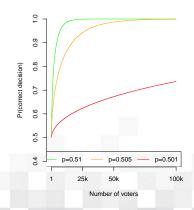
- ► The sum of n random variables is approximately normally distributed (for large enough n) even when the underlying random variables are not normally distributed
- ▶ If this works for coin flips, it works for voters who are correct with probability *p*!
- Given n voters who are correct with probability p, denote the number of correct voters as m. The correct option wins when m/n > 1/2.



- ► The sum of n random variables is approximately normally distributed (for large enough n) even when the underlying random variables are not normally distributed
- ▶ If this works for coin flips, it works for voters who are correct with probability *p*!
- Given n voters who are correct with probability p, denote the number of correct voters as m. The correct option wins when m/n > 1/2.
- ► The distribution of m/n is approximately Normal with mean p and variance $\frac{p(1-p)}{n}$.



- ► The sum of n random variables is approximately normally distributed (for large enough n) even when the underlying random variables are not normally distributed
- ▶ If this works for coin flips, it works for voters who are correct with probability *p*!
- ▶ Given n voters who are correct with probability p, denote the number of correct voters as m. The correct option wins when m/n > 1/2.
- ► The distribution of m/n is approximately Normal with mean p and variance $\frac{p(1-p)}{n}$.





For discussion:

- ▶ How much does the Condorcet jury theorem reassure you about democracy?
- ▶ What is missing from the model?

Other ideas to debate (if time)



Two ideas from Steven Johnson Future Perfect:

- "Liquid democracy": a "fluid" form of representation
- Crowdsourcing spending decisions: "Kickstarter" for local public works