

# Governing Through Division

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## Introduction

- Political parties are not monolithic: they consist of diverse factions
- Traditional view: factions obstruct policy-making and weaken party effectiveness (Rohde, 1991; Cox and McCubbins, 1994)
- Common wisdom: voters should prefer unified, strong parties that can implement reforms effectively
- Yet, could factional constraints sometimes benefit voters?

## Introduction

- When party in government is divided, opposing factions can obstruct policy-making
- Voters value government effectiveness, often penalizing parties perceived as divided (Greene and Haber, 2015; Lehrer et al, 2024)
- By successfully implementing reforms, party leaders may be able to project strength

# Reforming to Showcase Strength



## Research Questions

1. How do factions affect policy-making?
2. Can factions improve voter welfare?

## Preview of the Model

Electoral accountability: Incumbent party's leader chooses whether to implement a reform or not, knowing whether reform is needed

- Factions can steer the electoral reform in their direction: when factions dissent, policy-making is less effective

Voter unsure about what is best, *and* about Incumbent's strength

- Crucially, reform reveals how strong party leader is
- If no reform, no direct learning

Re-elect or replace with challenger

## Central Trade-Off

Policy has two effects on Incumbent's payoff:

1. Welfare: Incumbent wants to implement the optimal policy
2. Information: policy-making influences voter learning

### **Key Trade-off:**

Implementing the optimal policy, vs implementing policies that maximize retention chances by appearing strong

## Main Takeaway (1): Over-Reform to Show Strength

We find that **strong incumbents can behave worse than weak ones** (i.e., implement the wrong policy)

Why? In equilibrium,

- Voter punishes inaction (more likely from factionalized party)
- If Incumbent is weak, it implements the correct reform
- If instead Incumbent is strong (i.e., *ex-ante more efficient*), it implements reforms when not needed, to **signal strength** to voter → **over-reform**



## Main Takeaway (2): Factions can be Good

Competing effects of factionalization on voter welfare. A strong Incumbent (i.e., low-factionalized party):

- better implements reforms, when it is necessary to do so, **but**
- has the incentive to over-reform → less likely to maintain the status quo when needed

## Main Takeaway (2): Factions can be Good

Competing effects of factionalization on voter welfare. A strong Incumbent (i.e., low-factionalized party):

- better implements reforms, when it is necessary to do so, **but**
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Welfare can be increasing (and non-monotonic) in factionalization

## Related Literature

- 1. Institutional frictions and constraints** (Tsebelis, 2002; Prat, 2005; Ashworth & Bueno De Mesquita, 2014; Fehrer and Hughes, 2018)  
→ our paper: **constraints beneficial even with unbiased, competent politicians** (similarly to Fox and Jordan, 2011)
- 2. Agency models**
  - Uncertainty over bias (Acemoglu et al., 2013; Kartik and Van Weelden, 2019; Merzoni and Trombetta, 2022)
  - Uncertainty over competence (Canes-Wrone et al., 2001; Ashworth and Shotts, 2010; Fox and Stephenson, 2011)  
→ only the **competent politician misbehaves** (no bias)
- 3. Over-production of laws/reforms** (Dewan and Hortala-Vallve, 2017; Prato and Wolton, 2018; Gratton et al., 2021)  
→ novel channel: **party internal division**

## **Baseline Model**

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## Players and Actions

Two-period game

Players: incumbent  $I$ , challenger  $C$  and representative voter  $V$

State of the world:  $\omega_t \in \{0, 1\}$

- If  $\omega_t = 1$ , it is optimal to implement a reform in  $t$
- If  $\omega_t = 0$ , it is optimal to keep the status quo

$I$  chooses whether to implement reform ( $x_t = 1$ ) or not ( $x_t = 0$ )

$V$  chooses whether to reelect or not

## Policy-Making

Implemented policy in period  $t$  is

$$\tilde{x}_t = \phi_I x_t + (1 - \phi_I)0,$$

where  $\phi_I \in \{\phi_L, \phi_H\}$  measures  $I$ 's 'flexibility' ( $0 < \phi_L < \phi_H < 1$ )

- Microfoundation: party internally divided, and faction (with bliss point at 0) can sabotage policy decision
- $\phi_H$  refers to a strong Incumbent (and, a weak faction)

## Information

The Incumbent knows everything

The Voter has prior beliefs:

- $\Pr(\omega_t = 1) = \pi$
- $\Pr(\phi_I = \phi_H) = \gamma = \Pr(\phi_C = \phi_H)$

## Payoffs

Voter:

$$u_t^v = -(\tilde{x}_t - \omega_t)^2$$

Incumbent party:

$$u_t^p = \begin{cases} -(\tilde{x}_t - \omega_t)^2 + R & \text{if in power} \\ 0 & \text{otherwise} \end{cases}$$

### Assumption

$$R > \pi(1 - \phi_L)^2.$$



## Timing

In the first period:

1.  $I$  chooses  $x_1$
2.  $V$  observes  $\tilde{x}_1$  and votes. NB:  $\tilde{x}_1 = \phi_I$  perfectly reveals the type of the incumbent
3. Electoral outcome

In the second period:

1.  $I$  chooses  $x_2$
2. Electoral outcome

Solution concept: (pure strategy) PBE

# Analysis

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## Voter Problem

Second-period officeholder always matches the state  $\rightarrow$  Voter faces **selection problem**: wants to re-elect Incumbent if strong ( $\phi_H$ )

Re-elects  $I$  if and only if

$$\Pr(\phi_I = \phi_H | \tilde{x}_1) \geq \gamma$$

Note that when  $x_1 = 1$  voter retention rule ( $\rho(\tilde{x})$ ) is trivial:

- $\tilde{x}_1 = \phi_H \rightarrow$  re-elect:  $\rho(\phi_H) = 1$
- $\tilde{x}_1 = \phi_L \rightarrow$  oust:  $\rho(\phi_L) = 0$

## Weak Incumbent

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  - If  $\rho(0) = 1$ , then both types must be pooling on always matching the state  $\Rightarrow x_1 = 1$
  - If  $\rho(0) = 0$ , then weak incumbent never re-elected  $\Rightarrow x_1 = 1$



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Will the Incumbent 'over-reform' in equilibrium?

## Over-Reform Equilibrium

### Proposition

*There exists an 'over-reform' equilibrium where*

*(i)  $\sigma_{H,0} = 0$  and  $\sigma_{I,\omega} = 1$  otherwise,*

*(ii)  $\rho(0) = 0$ ,*

*if and only if  $R \geq (1 + \pi)\phi_H^2 - 2\pi\phi_H + \pi$ . The equilibrium is unique for sufficiently high values of  $R$ .*

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Intuition:

- $\rho(0) = 0$ : Incumbent not re-elected if  $\tilde{x}_1 = 0$
- If rents from office big enough  $\rightarrow$  over-reform when  $\omega_1 = 0$

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- (iii)  $\rho(0) = 1$  if and only if  $R \leq 1 - (1 - \phi_L)^2 + \pi(1 - \phi_L)^2$ .*

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**(ii)**  $\rho(0) = 0$ :

- weak incumbent always ousted  $\rightarrow$  match
- strong incumbent matches when  $\omega_1 = 0$  if rents small enough



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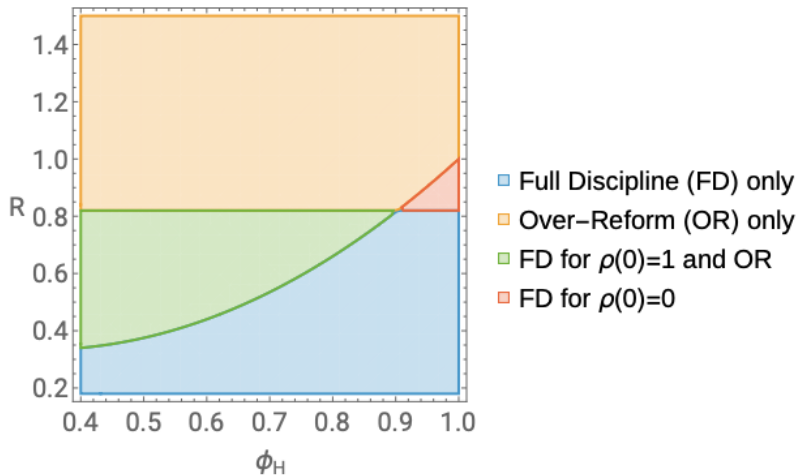
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(iii)  $\rho(0) = 1$ :

- strong incumbent always re-elected  $\rightarrow$  match
- weak incumbent matches when  $\omega_1 = 1$  if rents small enough

## Equilibria: Illustration



# Welfare Analysis

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## Are Factions Good or Bad for the Voter?

$\gamma$ : prior probability of the Incumbent being strong

- $\gamma \downarrow \Rightarrow$  factionalization  $\uparrow$
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- Is low  $\gamma$  good for Voter?

Never, in the Full-Discipline equilibrium. Why?

- Both types always implement the correct reform
- $\gamma \downarrow$  (factionalization  $\uparrow$ ): strong Incumbent less likely  $\Rightarrow$  reform implementation more inefficient

Yet, not so straightforward in the Over-Reform equilibrium

# Factions and Voter Welfare

Two channels:

1. **Direct effect** on implementation:

- Strong Incumbent implements reforms more effectively
- But over-reforms when  $\omega_1 = 0$  to signal strength

2. **Retention effect** for second period ▶ Retention:

- Strong Incumbent always gets re-elected
- Value of retention depends on quality of replacement

## Proposition

*In the Over-Reform equilibrium, Welfare ( $W$ ) can be increasing or decreasing in  $\gamma$ .*

# Non-Monotonicity in Voter Welfare

As  $\gamma$  increases (less factionalization):

## 1. Implementation trade-off:

- + Better implementation of needed reforms
- More over-reform by strong incumbents

## 2. Retention trade-off:

- + Current incumbent more likely to be strong
- But replacement also more likely to be strong

## Key mechanism:

- low  $\gamma$ : Retention benefit dominates (strong leader rare to find)
- high  $\gamma$ : Over-reform cost dominates (easy to replace leader)



## Cross-Equilibria Comparison

Can Over-Reform equilibrium be better than Full-Discipline?

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### Proposition

*W is higher in Over-Reform equilibrium than in Full-Discipline equilibrium if  $\pi [(1 - \phi_L)^2 - (1 - \phi_H)^2] > \phi_H^2$  and  $\gamma$  suff low.*

Intuition:

- Strong Incumbent implements costly reform today ( $\phi_H^2$ )
- re-elected  $\rightarrow$  guarantees higher payoff tomorrow
- low  $\gamma \rightarrow$  few strong replacements in Full-Discipline equilibrium

# Microfoundation

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# Endogenous Factional Dissent

Key Question: Can we microfound our reduced-form parameter  $\phi_I$ ?

Approach:

- Make faction's dissent decision endogenous ( $d_t \in \{0, 1\}$ )
- Show dissent emerges in equilibrium
- Verify over-reform incentives remain

**Main Result:** ▶ Microfoundation

- Factions choose to dissent in both equilibria
- Strong leaders may still over-reform to signal strength

# Equilibrium with Strategic Dissent

## Second Period:

- Both types of Incumbent always match the state
- Factions always dissent for policy gain

## First Period:

Weak faction (faces strong leader):

- $I$ 's type revealed through implementation  $\rightarrow$  always re-elected
- Gains policy advantage without electoral cost

Strong faction:

- Cannot prevent electoral loss
- At least minimizes policy loss

## Conclusion

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## Wrapping Up

Accountability model where party in government is divided

We show that strong party leaders may implement unnecessary reforms to signal their strength

Implications for institutional design:

- Stronger internal opposition might be optimal
- Pure efficiency in implementation isn't always best

## Moving Forward

Do voters reward leaders more for implementing reforms when they face internal opposition?

### **Survey experiment:**

- Control: No information about response to opposition
- T1 (Strong Leader): Opposition ignored, original reform maintained
- T2 (Weak Leader): Opposition succeeds, reform modified

### **Key Measurements:**

- Electoral support for incumbent
- Perceived leader competence



**Thank You!**

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# Appendix

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## Retention Benefit

Policy cost dominates ( $\partial W/\partial\gamma < 0$ ) iff

$$\underbrace{(3 - 2\gamma)}_{\text{Retention benefit}} \underbrace{\pi [(1 - \phi_L)^2 - (1 - \phi_H)^2]}_{\text{Implementation benefit}} < \underbrace{(1 - \pi)\phi_H^2}_{\text{Over-reform cost}}$$

Retention benefit multiplies gain from better reform implementation tomorrow

## Microfoundation: Endogenous Factional Dissent

Party Leader: implement reform ( $x_t = 1$ ) or not  $x_t = 0$

Faction: dissent ( $d_t = 1$ ) or not ( $d_t = 0$ )

- If  $d_1 = 1 \rightarrow \tilde{x}_1 = \phi_I x_1$
- if  $d_1 = 0 \rightarrow \tilde{x}_1 = x_1$

Strong faction ( $\phi_I = \phi_L$ )  $\rightarrow$  more effective dissent:  $\phi_H > \phi_L$

$\Pr(\phi_I = \phi_H) = \gamma$

## Factions' Payoff

Faction:

$$u_t^F = \beta R - (\tilde{x}_t + \omega_t)^2$$

with  $\beta \in (0, 1/2)$

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Leader:

$$u_t^L = (1 - \beta)R - (\omega_t - \tilde{x}_t)^2$$

## Timing

In the first period:

1. Reform choice:  $x_1$
2. Dissent choice:  $d_1$
3. Voter observes  $\tilde{x}_1$
4. Voter updates on  $\gamma$ :  $\hat{\gamma}$

In the second period:

1. Reform choice:  $x_2$
2. Dissent choice:  $d_2$
3. Electoral outcome

## Robustness of Over-Reform Equilibrium

Baseline: exogenous  $\phi_I$ . Here: Faction always dissents

Aim of analysis: find conditions s.t. both types of factions dissent  $\forall \omega$ , and the strong senior faction chooses  $x_1 = 1$  if  $\omega_1 = 0$



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Second period: always dissent, always match the state

First period:

- weak faction: get re-elected and policy advantage  $\rightarrow d_1 = 1$
- strong faction: cannot pretend to be weak  $\rightarrow d_1 = 1$  (at least policy advantage)