Pre-Analysis Plan

Citizen Evaluations of Patrons and Clients in Different Forms of Clientelism

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1) Introduction

After focusing on vote-buying and the "supply side" for the last two decades, new literature on clientelism emphasizes the important role of clients in the exchange (Nichter and Peress 2017; Nichter 2018; Pellicer et al. 2017, 2018), the citizen perspective on clientelism (Mares and Young 2018), as well as the diversity of clientelistic exchanges (Pellicer et al. 2018). These new strands of research highlight that the citizen perspective on clientelism matters for the persistence of clientelism in that they might be supportive of clientelism or reject it. In this context, the literature also suggests that different forms of clientelism can have different welfare implications for clients (Pellicer et al. 2018). Relational forms might serve as insurance against bad shocks (Nichter 2018), collective forms might provide access to local public goods (Gottlieb 2017) whereas coercive forms make access to public services to which citizens are entitled conditional on vote choice (Mares, Muntean, and Petrova 2016; Mares and Young 2018; Nichter 2014; Wegner et al. 2018)).

To date, the literature of citizen evaluations of clientelism essentially consists of two key contributions. In their seminal paper, Gonzalez-Ocantos et al. (2014) study citizen evaluations of voters involved in vote-selling in Latin America. They find evaluations to be more positive when clients are portrayed as more needy, among others. Mares and Young (2018) study citizen evaluations of patrons engaging in coercive vs. non-coercive clientelism in Eastern Europe. They show that citizens dislike coercive patrons the most. An additional important finding is that citizens feel less negative about coercive patrons in situations where they feel they compete with the clients for welfare resources (Mares and Young 2018). This literature thus shows, first, that citizens are not indifferent to the characteristics of a clientelistic exchange, that is, they differentiate across types of clientelism. Second, the evidence suggests that not only the characteristics of the exchange matter for the evaluation, but also the characteristics of those doing the evaluation.

These contributions provide important new insights and underscore the relevance of pushing further our understanding of citizens evaluations of clientelism. What is missing thus far from

the literature is a) a more complete view of how citizens evaluate the variety of empirically existing forms of clientelism, b) what factors drive their evaluation, and c) how they evaluate the role of clients and patrons in the exchange.

In this project, we seek to fill these gaps and study how citizens rank normatively different clientelist exchanges, what drives their evaluations, and how they attribute the responsibility or "blame" for these exchanges? These questions relate directly to the persistence of clientelism and client welfare: to the extent that some form of clientelism is seen in a more positive light than others, it is more likely to persist; blaming the patrons for the exchange could lead to more critical attitudes towards these practices and greater demands for accountability whereas blaming the clients could rather lead to more social conflict around the distribution of public resources. Moreover, understanding better what aspects of clientelism drive citizen evaluations is crucial for understanding what factors need to be addressed by accountability campaigns.

To date, we know little about what it is, in particular, that drives citizen evaluations of clientelism. Most research uses an outcome measure about whether vote-selling/ or vote-buying is "justified" or "acceptable" – i.e. a generalized normative judgement (e.g. Tawakkal et al. 2017; Muhtadi 2018). However, the literature notes various ways in which clientelism is viewed to be undesirable (Pellicer et al. 2018; Piliavsky 2014). First, because of the inequality of the relation where patrons exploit their higher status and resources to buy or coerce clients' political support. This can be seen as inherently problematic, but moreover relates to arguments made in the literature regarding "perverse accountability" (Stokes 2007, 2005; Kitschelt and Wilkinson 2007). A second critique of clientelism relates to public resource allocation. In clientelistic societies many (scarce) public resources (such as access to social welfare, jobs in public works programmes, and so on) are allocated not because of merit or neediness but because clients provide political support to patrons. This implies that public resources are misdirected, and their allocation is inefficient (Keefer and Khemani 2005, 2004; Keefer 2005). Third, clientelism contributes to the under-provision of public goods. Clientelism implies that the exchange logic of goods is private with those citizens supporting a particular patron receiving particularistic goods. As clients receive such benefits individually, either the ability in terms of public funds or the pressure to provide public goods is undermined.

It has been noted, however, that these arguments are based on Western perceptions of what is desirable or undesirable political behaviour. Western ideals imply that "sound political choices should emerge from concern for the greater social good, and be driven by policies and ideologies whose benefits stretch beyond any individual's interests or lifespan" (Pilavski 2014, p.28) and that mutually beneficial, respectful, social relations cannot be based on inequality (ibid, p. 30). Thus, the selfishness and inequality involved in exchanging goods for political support are seen as morally wrong. But, as Pilavsky notes, this is clientelism interpreted from the perspective Western ideals and it is possible that local communities affected by clientelism care about different things.

Understanding whether citizens dislike clientelism because it involves inequality, because it involves client's getting scarce public resources, or because it involves a general privatization of public resources - or if they effectively don't care about these issues - is an important contribution to the literature, and, for policy-makers and researchers involved in designing accountability campaigns.

In summary, this paper seeks to make four contributions that revolve around the following research questions:

1. How do citizens evaluate different forms of clientelism?
2. Who do citizens hold responsible for the exchange? Does this vary across types of clientelism?
3. What factors drive their evaluation? What is the role of a) value of the goods, b) scarcity of the goods, c) inequality of the relationship, d) size of the beneficiary group, and e) adherence to rules in driving the evaluation?
4. Are there differences in how political scientists and Tunisian and South African respondents evaluate clientelism?

We explore these research questions with a conjoint experiment in South Africa and Tunisia, as well as with a sample of political scientists working on normative political theory and on the comparative politics of developing countries.

This PAP is organized as follows. Section 2 briefly introduces our theoretical framework and elaborates our core hypotheses. Section 3 describes the experiment, section 4 the outcome questions, section 5 the analysis and section 6 the fieldwork partners and samples.

2) Framework and explanation of core hypotheses

2.1 Framework

The framework to think about types of clientelism and the dimensions that define them is based on Pellicer et al. (2018). This framework emerges from an extensive coding of clientelistic exchanges described in the ethnographic literature. Pellicer et al. (2018) identify two core dimensions that define clientelistic exchanges, "vertical" and "horizontal". The high extreme of the vertical dimension features thick relations and the exchange of valuable goods (clients get insurance/protection and gives labor). It also features a high degree of inequality (the relation is judged as hierarchical, the broker is important, the client gives loyalty). Different types of clientelism are placed at different positions of the vertical dimension. "Traditional clientelism" is the most vertical, followed by relational and followed by vote buying, which is the least vertical.

The second dimension, horizontal, mainly captures an aspect of collectivity in the exchange. At one extreme of this dimension, the exchange is fully individualistic, such as in vote-buying exchanges. Moving further in that dimension, we find exchanges at the group level, where clients get a collective good (infrastructure). Pellicer et al. 2018 argue that the extreme of this dimension could be thought of including the programmatic provision of public goods, which displays the highest scope in terms of size of beneficiaries.

2.2 Hypotheses

Core Hypotheses

Our core hypotheses follow directly from our framework, where each dimension highlights different problematic aspects of clientelism.
Regarding the vertical dimension, there are in principle three potentially problematic aspects that come together with more verticality and that we attempt to disentangle with our experiment (see below). The first is that more vertical exchanges usually involve more valuable goods from the patron and client's side (in the extreme: the patron "taking care of the client" and the client being at the patron's "disposal"). Second, more vertical exchanges involve more subordination. And third, more valuable goods from the patron's side might involve goods that are more scarce. All these aspects could form the basis of negative evaluations of clientelism (H2-H4).
The second dimension in our framework addresses the extent to which private or public goods are being exchanged. At one extreme, only particularistic goods are being exchanged and, at the other, public goods. Again, there are two aspects of this dimension that might contribute to the evaluation. The first is the size of the beneficiary group of citizen demands that ranges from individual/ family to community (as in collective clientelism) to national (as in programmatic politics). The second is whether the distribution of goods is ad hoc (e.g. whether a community gets goods because they managed to coordinate votes for a patron and he has the power to influence where goods (e.g. infrastructure) is being directed) or whether a community gets goods because the allocation rules are such that their type of community is supposed to gets goods. In general, exchanges involving public goods that benefit all citizens and public good allocation based on transparent rules are judged normatively better (H5 and H6).

These normative judgements of what is bad about clientelism are, at present, mostly based on academic assessments of these exchanges and on how they contradict democracy, equality, and/ or needs-based public good allocation. We are at agnostic as to whether these hypotheses will be confirmed or falsified in our Tunisian and South African samples.

Our first hypothesis concerns the rank-ordering of types of exchanges:

H_1: Traditional clientelism (valuable goods are exchanged, patron goods are scarce, and the relationship is unequal) < vote-buying (opposite characteristics) < collective clientelism < programmatic politics

Our second set of hypotheses concern the evaluation of particular dimensions of exchanges

H_2: The more valuable the goods that are exchanged, the more negative is the evaluation of the exchange

H_3: The more unequal the relation, the more negative is the evaluation of the exchange

H_4: Exchanges in which patrons provide scarce goods are judged more negatively

H_5: Individual exchanges are evaluated more negatively than collective exchanges

H_6: Exchanges based on rules are evaluated more positively than those based on ad hoc decisions by patrons

Secondary Hypotheses:

Secondary hypotheses concern key interaction effects and the attribution of responsibility for the exchange.
First, we hypothesize that citizens competing with the clients for the same public goods are sensitive to scarce goods being used in clientelism. This hypothesis is based on previous work in Wegner et a. 2018 as well as on findings in Mares and Young 2018. We believe that competition is stronger, the poorer citizens are. Thus:

H_7: Heterogeneous effects associated to H4 and poverty. Poorer respondents judge worse than non-poor respondents exchanges involving scarce goods from the patron's side relative to non-scarce ones

Relatedly, we hypothesize that poorer respondents are more likely blame clients who receive such scarce goods rather than the patrons. Thus:

H_8: Heterogeneous effects regarding poverty, scarcity and client blame. Poorer respondents judge clients worse than non-poor respondents in exchanges involving scarce goods from the patron's side relative to non-scarce ones

Other secondary hypotheses concern respondents with particular attitudinal dispositions. As mentioned above, two key potentially undesirable charactersitics of clientelism is the inequality of relation and the selfishness that is involved in the exchange. Respondents with higher inequality aversion and more altruistic predisposition should thus feel more negatively about particular exchanges. Thus

H_9: Heterogeneous effects associated to H_3 and inequality aversion. The more inequality aversion the more negative is the evaluation of unequal exchanges relative to equal exchanges.

H_{10}: Heterogeneous effects associated to H_5 and altruism. The more altruism the more negative is the evaluation of individual exchanges relative to collective exchanges.

Other parts of this research project are more exploratory and do not lend themselves to clear-cut hypotheses. Importantly, we are interested in the comparison of our local samples with the political scientist sample. We conjecture that the political scientist sample should be closer to the negative sides of clientelism described in the Western literature on clientelism than the local communities.

An additional interest is the question of how the behavior of the patron and the client is evaluated in these different exchanges. We conjecture that in unequal relations, the patron's

behavior might be seen as more unacceptable than that of the client and that, on the whole, the behavior of the patron might be seen as more inacceptable but again, we see the role of this project as more exploratory in these regards.

3) Experimental Manipulation

We use two conjoint experiments to explore citizen evaluations of clientelistic exchanges, the first tapping into the different aspects of the vertical dimension of the exchange, and the second tapping into different aspects of the horizontal dimension.

3.1 Experiment 1: "Vertical Dimension"

In the first experiment we manipulate three different key aspects of the exchange: 1.) the value of the goods exchanged, 2.) the scarcity of the good, and 3.) the power relation between patron and client. The value of the exchanged goods varies on three levels (small/medium/large) the other dimensions (scarcity and power relation) vary on two levels (abundant/scarce and equal/unequal). It is important to note that, in case of the goods exchanged, only goods of the same level (small citizen good vs small patron good) will be combined. In this sense, engaging in an unfair trade (e.g. being at the patron's disposal for a bag of groceries) is *not* part of the evaluation investigated in this project. Thus, overall twelve different exchanges are created (see Table 1 below and Appendix for the full list of exchanges).

Table 1: Attributes and levels of vertical conjoint

Attributes	Levels
Goods exchanged by patron and client	Not very valuable, a bag of groceries (patron) for a vote (client) Fairly valuable, a job in a public works program (patron) for campaigning to make sure that more people in the community vote for politician (client) Very valuable, a long-term, office job (patron) for being at the patron's disposal (client)
Power Relation	Unequal: The politician has the upper hand in their relation. The citizen and the politician know that the citizen needs him and has to show him respect. Equal: The relation is equal. The citizen and the politician realize that they need each other
Scarcity/ Abundance	Abundance: In this community, there are many [bags of groceries/ temporary jobs/ long term jobs] and most people can have them. Scarcity: In this community, there are very few [bags of groceries/ temporary jobs/ long term jobs] so very few people can have them.

Implementation

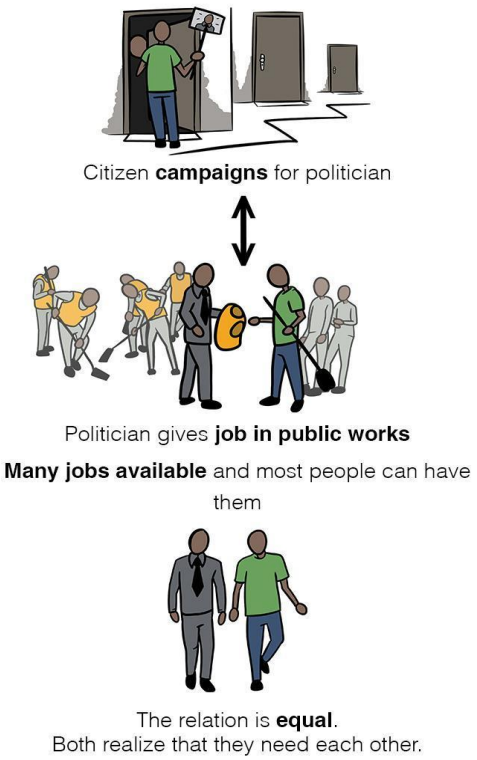
Each participant is presented two pairs of exchanges for comparison, preceded by a short introduction which reads as follows:

Intro: Politicians and citizens relate to each other in many different ways. Sometimes they agree on exchanges where the politician gives something special to a citizen and the citizen gives something special back. Please look at these different exchanges between a citizen and a politician in these drawings and tell us your opinion about it.

Then, the respondent is shown a first exchange, asked for an assessment, then a second exchange, again asked for an assessment, and then is shown the two exchanges side by side and asked for a comparative evaluation. The exchanges are operationalized as simple illustrations. The enumerator reads out the description on the illustration while pointing at the corresponding parts on the illustration.[1]

Here is an example of what a respondent might be seeing:

"Let's first focus on this exchange."

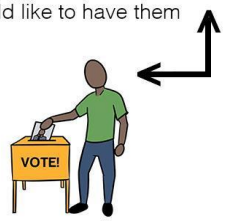


[*Outcome Questions – See section 4*]

1 Piloting this experiment showed that these exchanges are too complex to communicate in a verbal vignette and we opted for illustrations to communicate the exchanges in an accessible way

“Let's now focus on this exchange.”

Politician gives **bag of groceries.**
Only **few groceries available** and lots of people would like to have them



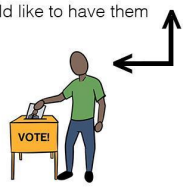
Citizen **votes** for him

The **politician** has the **upper hand** in the relation. Both know that the citizen needs the politician and has to show him respect.

[Outcome Questions – See section 4]

“Now, let's compare the two exchanges we have just seen. If you had to choose, which of these exchanges is more ACCEPTABLE in your opinion? The one on the left side or the one on the right side?”

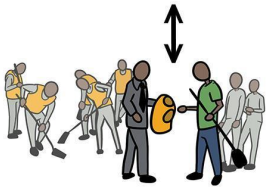
Politician gives **bag of groceries.**
Only **few groceries available** and lots of people would like to have them



Citizen **votes** for him

The **politician** has the **upper hand** in the relation. Both know that the citizen needs the politician and has to show him respect.

Citizen **campaigns** for politician



Politician gives **job in public works**
Many jobs available and most people can have them

The relation is **equal**.
Both realize that they need each other.

[Outcome Questions -see Section 4]

This sequence is repeated once, so that four "vertical" exchanges are compared and evaluated by each participant in total.

3.2 Experiment 2: "Horizontal Dimension"

The second experiment is designed to measure citizens' evaluation of what we call the "horizontal dimension" of clientelism (see section 2). Thus, the exchanges vary in the level of 1) the size of the beneficiary group (individual vs. collective) and 2) the extent to which they are rule based (whether it's about getting something ad hoc or by changing policies) (see table 2).

Table 2: Attributes and levels of Horizontal Conjoint

Attributes	Levels
Size of Beneficiary Group	Individual Community Region
Extent of rules	Rule based Not rule based

In this case not all combinations are plausible (e.g. individual but rule based) so that we use only the following four scenarios (see table 3).

Table 3: Description of Horizontal exchange scenarios

Individual/ not rule based	The citizen campaigns for the politician and in exchange, the politician ensures priority access to healthcare for his/ her immediate family
community / not rule based	The citizens vote in block for the politician and in exchange, the politician uses his influence so that the community gets a clinic.
community / rule based	The citizens of a community vote in block for a politician who lobbies for a change in the eligibility rules for the allocation of clinics so that the community becomes eligible for a clinic
regional / rule based	The citizens of a community vote in block for a politician who lobbies to increase regional expenditure for healthcare so that more clinics are being built.

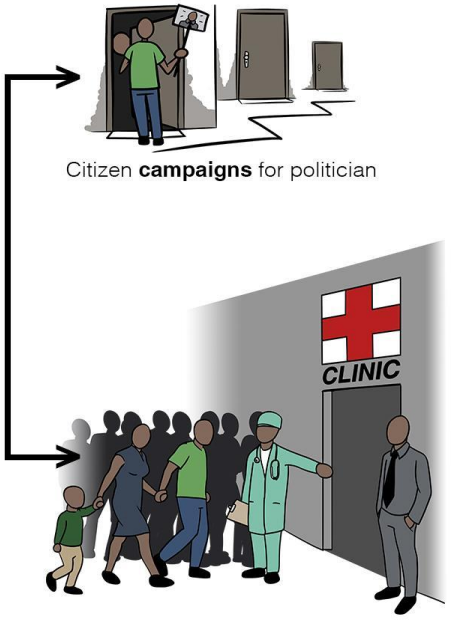
The probability of these scenarios is 0.3 for each of the first three scenarios and 0.1 for the fourth scenario (regional/rule-based). We reduced the probability for this last scenario as it is a programmatic exchange and would presumably always be considered very acceptable by respondents.

Implementation

As in the first experiment, we use pictures to illustrate the different exchanges. As laid out in table 3, these exchanges take place at three different levels (individual, community, regional) and are either rule based or not. Each respondent will be asked to evaluate one set of two exchanges. As in the first experiment, the respondent is shown the illustrations sequentially they are asked to compare the exchanges.

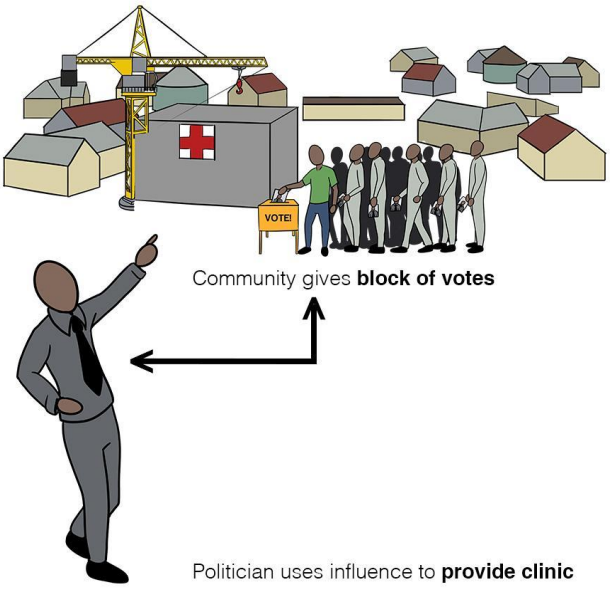
Here is an example of what a respondent might be seeing:

"Let's first focus on this exchange."



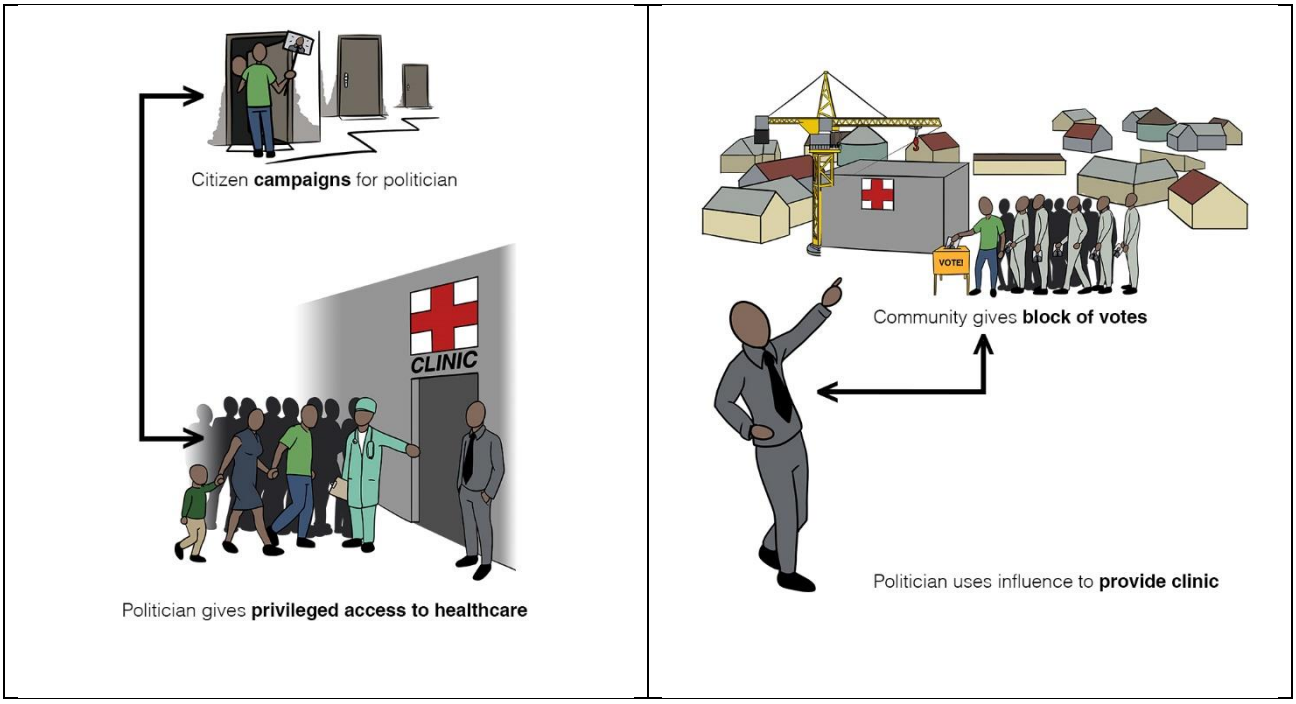
[Outcome Questions: see Section 4]

"Let's now focus on this exchange."



[Outcome Questions: see Section 4]

"Now, let's compare the two exchanges we have just seen. If you had to choose, which of these exchanges is more ACCEPTABLE in your opinion? The one on the left side or the one on the right side?"



[Outcome Questions: Section 4]

4) Core Variables

Outcome variables

The two experiments use the same outcome questions.

We measure citizen evaluations by asking how respondents feel about an exchange in general and about the behavior of the politician and citizen respectively. After each of the illustrations above, the following questions are asked

question	**Answer options**
How do you feel about this exchange? How acceptable is it?	10-point scale from 1 Totally UNACCEPTABLE to 10 Totally ACCEPTABLE
What do you think about the behavior of the politician in this exchange? How acceptable is it?	10-point scale from 1 Totally UNACCEPTABLE to 10 Totally ACCEPTABLE
What do you think about the behavior of the citizen in this exchange? How acceptable is it?	10-point scale from 1 Totally UNACCEPTABLE to 10 Totally ACCEPTABLE

If the depicted exchange is evaluated below a score of five of acceptability the participant is asked to answer an open follow-up question on the specific scenario about their reasons for classifying a specific exchange as unacceptable.

question	
Could you please tell us in one sentence what is bad about this exchange?	*Capture open ended answer*

After evaluating each exchange of a pair individually, respondents are asked to compare and to choose which of the two exchanges is more acceptable.

question	**Answers**
If you had to choose, which of these exchanges is more acceptable in your opinion? The one on the left side or the one on the right side?	1 - left ; 2 – right

Questions measuring inequality aversion and altruism

Altruism:

Imagine the following situation: you won 10000 Rand in a lottery. Considering your current situation, how much would you donate to a good cause? [any number between 0 and 10000 Rand is possible]

Inequality Aversion, based on Bartels (2005):

Question	Answer Options:
Do you think the difference in incomes between rich people and poor people in South Africa [Tunisia] today is larger, smaller, or about the same as it was 20 years ago?	Larger Smaller About the same
"And do you think this is a good thing, a bad thing, or haven't you thought about it?"	Bad Good Don't know

5) Analysis

Throughout our analyses, we will use OLS regressions with standard errors clustered at the individual level. For H1, we will restrict the sample to the specific scenarios considered in the hypothesis and regress our outcome variable on indicator variables for these scenarios.

For hypotheses 2-4, we will perform a regression of the outcome variable on indicator functions for goods value, unequal relation, and scarcity. For hypotheses 5-6, we will do the same using as explanatory variables indicators of the different size of beneficiary groups (as a categorical variable) as well as an indicator variable of rules vs. no rules. Additional, for the size of beneficiary group variable, we will use a numeric code going from 0 to 2.

Hypotheses 7-10 will be tested using the regressions above, but with the relevant explanatory variable interacted with poverty (for H7 and 8), inequality aversion (H9), and altruism (H10).

Our additional exploratory analysis are similar to the ones above, only that different samples, outcome variables or interaction terms are used. We will study differences between the South Africa and Tunisian samples. We will stack to these the political scientist sample and study differences in coefficients associated to hypotheses 2 to 6 as interactions between an indicator for this sample and the corresponding explanatory variable. We will also perform the analyses above using as outcome variable, not only the overall evaluation of the exchange, but also the evaluation of the patron of and client. To compare the effect of an explanatory variable for the two outcome variables, we will use SURE. We will also perform regressions with heterogeneous effects for neighborhoods of different living standards as well as basic demographic characteristics such as gender, age and education.

For robustness, we will perform our main regressions also using probit models as well as individual fixed effects models.

6) Fieldwork Partners and Samples

Fieldwork and data collection in Tunisia and South Africa will be implemented by local service providers. The surveys will take place in the metropolitan areas of Tunis (January/ February 2019) and Cape Town (December 2018). Sample size is 300 for each country. All participants in the survey are of fairly low income. To ensure some variation in socio-economic status among participants, each country-sample is supposed to consist of three sub-samples. These sub-samples consist of a) very poor residents (in SA residents of an informal settlements); b) low income residents of a formal settlement and c) more affluent lower middle class members (100 respondents each). We stratify data collection in these three samples. Interviews are face-to-face and responses are recorded on tablets.

In South Africa, data collection is executed by Ikapadata. Interviews in Cape Town are conducted in English and isiXhosa in Khayelitsha. Three types of neighborhoods in Khayelitsha with different living standards were identified (in consultation with ikapadata). In each EA, 18 respondents are interviewed.

In Tunisia, data collection is implemented by ELKA consulting. The Tunis survey will be conducted in Tunisian Arabic and will take place in Hay Ettadhamen (cité de la solidarité) which offers the same income gradation as in South Africa.

The political scientists survey will be implemented by the researchers as an online survey. We identified about 300 political scientists working either in normative political theory or the comparative politics of developing country. These political scientists will be invited to participate in an abridged version of the survey. We will record their country of origin, gender, age group and specialisation.

We received ethical clearance for this project from the University of Duisburg-Essen's ethics' committee.

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Appendix

A2. List of figures used in Experiment I (vertical dimension)

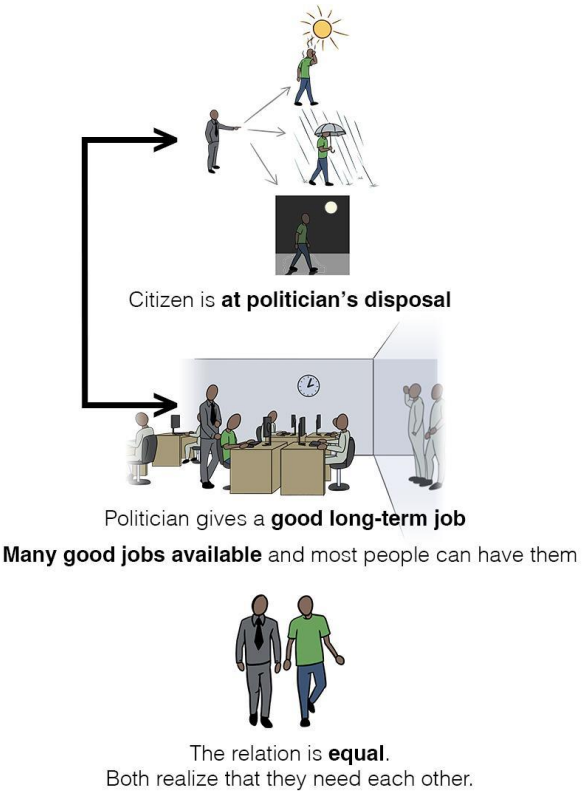


Figure 1. Value high, abundant, equal

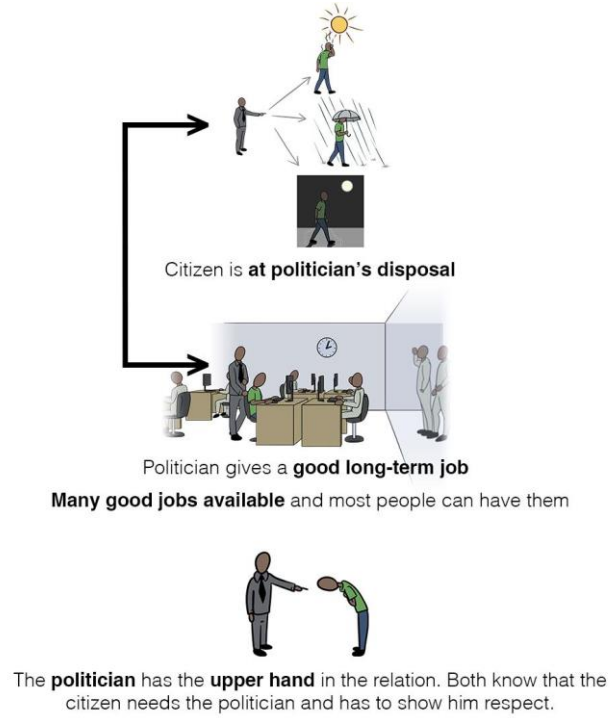
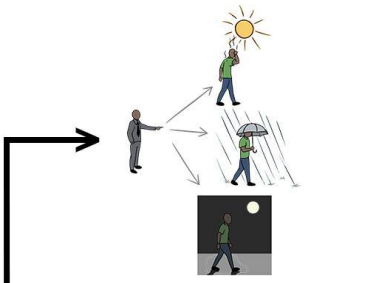


Figure 2. Value high, abundant, unequal



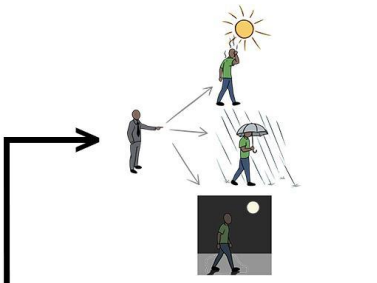
Citizen is **at politician's disposal**

Politician gives a **good long-term job**

Only **few good jobs available** and lots of people would like to have them

The relation is **equal**.
Both realize that they need each other.

Figure 3. Value high, scarce, equal



Citizen is **at politician's disposal**

Politician gives a **good long-term job**

Only **few good jobs available** and lots of people would like to have them

The **politician** has the **upper hand** in the relation. Both know that the citizen needs the politician and has to show him respect.

Figure 4. Value high, scarce, unequal

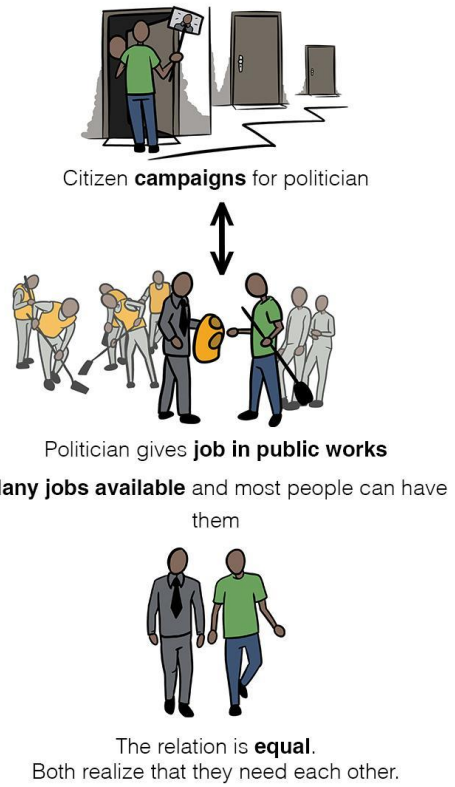


Figure 5. Value medium, abundant, equal

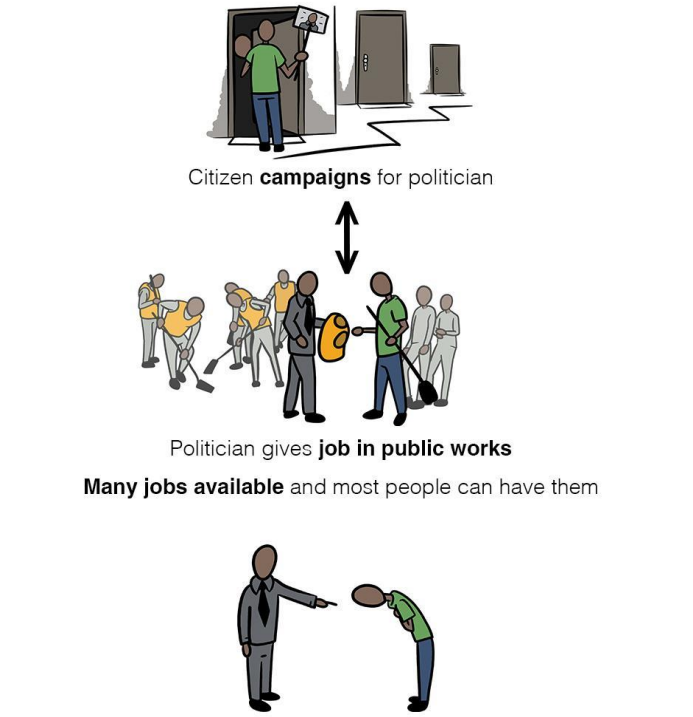
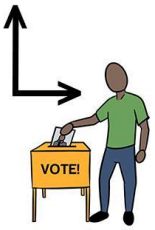


Figure 6. Value medium, abundant, unequal

Figure 7. Value medium, scarce, equal

Figure 8. Value medium, scarce, unequal

Politician gives **bag of groceries.**



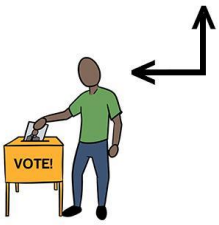
Citizen **votes** for him

Many groceries available and most people can have them.

The relation is **equal**.
Both realize that they need each other.

Figure 9. Value small, abundant, equal

Politician gives **bag of groceries.**



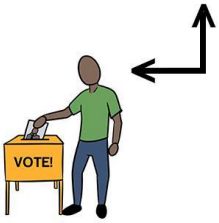
Citizen **votes** for him

Many groceries available and most people can have them.

The **politician** has the **upper hand** in the relation. Both know that the citizen needs the politician and has to show him respect.

Figure 10. Value small, abundant, unequal

Politician gives **bag of groceries.**



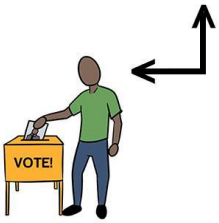
Citizen **votes** for him

Only **few groceries available** and lots of people would like to have them

The relation is **equal**.
Both realize that they need each other.

Figure 11. Value small, scarce, equal

Politician gives **bag of groceries.**



Citizen **votes** for him

Only **few groceries available** and lots of people would like to have them

The **politician** has the **upper hand** in the relation. Both know that the citizen needs the politician and has to show him respect.

Figure 12. Value small, scarce, unequal

A2: List of figures used in Experiment II (horizontal dimension)

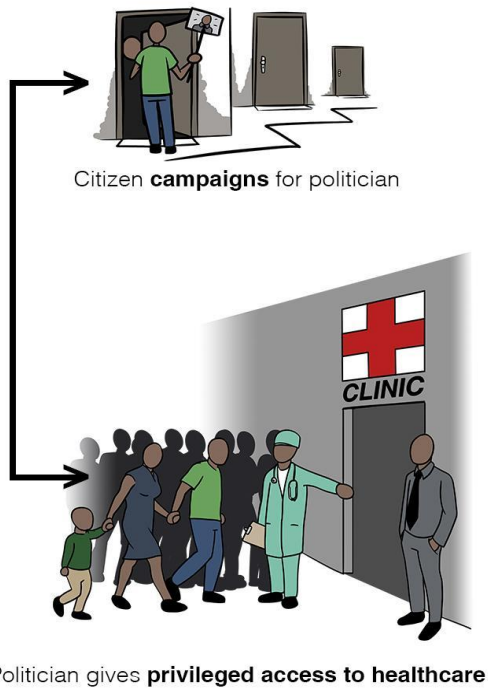


Figure 1. individual, not rule based

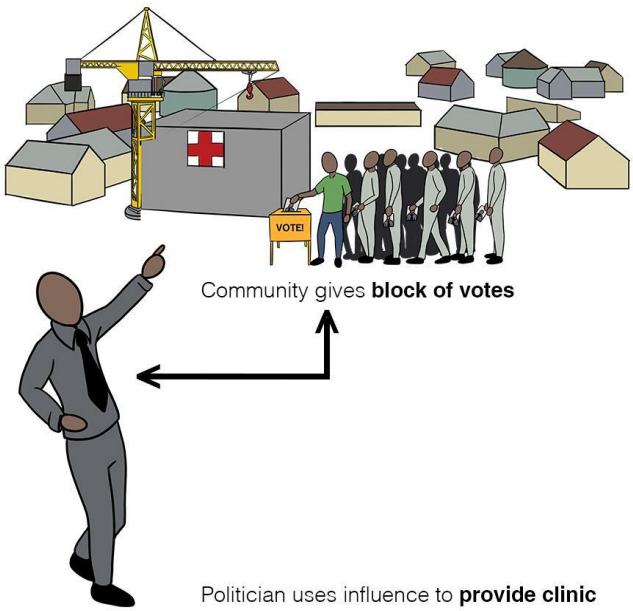


Figure 13. Community, not rule based

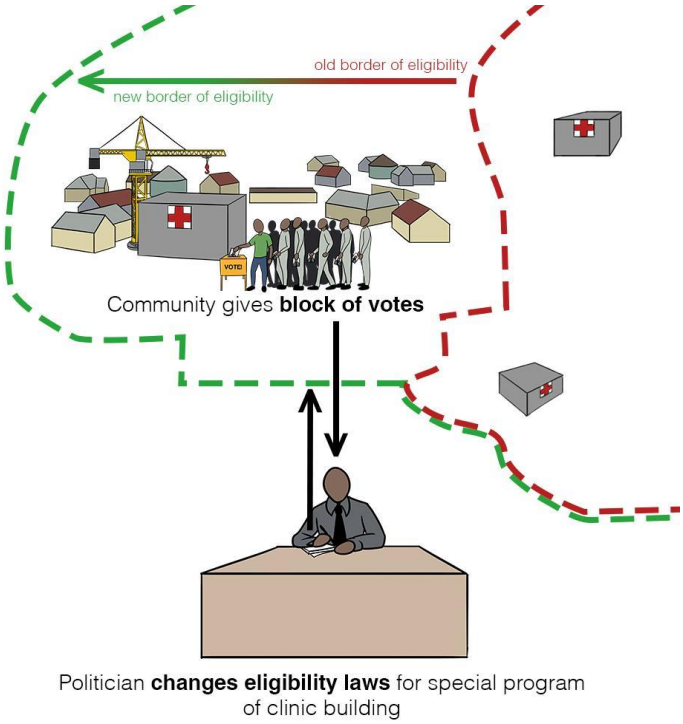


Figure 3. Community, rule based

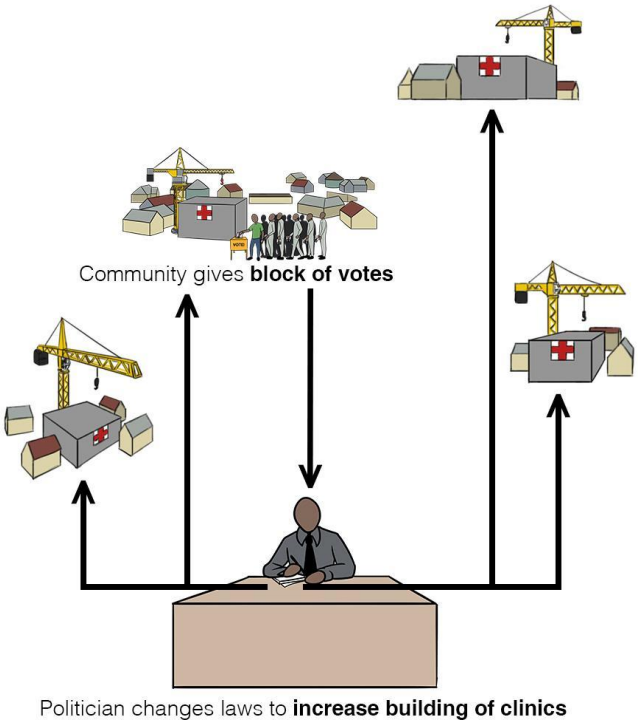


Figure 4. Regional, rule based