Motivation
Results
Summary

Voting after Displacement
Barriers to Political Participation in Colombia

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Motivation

- Why is political participation important for development?
- Why should we expect low turnout among displaced populations?

Results

- Large Variation in Participation
- The Way People Leave Affects Participation
Outline

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Political Participation Affects Development Goals

Goal 16: Promote just, peaceful and inclusive societies

Full participation incentivizes public investment in development

Figure: "We, the displaced of Naya, want peace and the removal of violent groups"; "No more forced displacement. Respect the territory of indigenous people and farmers."
Why is political participation important for development?
Why should we expect low turnout among displaced populations?

Displacement Changes the Electorate

When political actors gain from displacement. . .

Figure: Referendum "Do you support the final agreement for the termination of the conflict and the construction of a stable and durable peace?"
Motivation

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Why is political participation important for development?

Why should we expect low turnout among displaced populations?

Costs and Benefits of Voting: \( V = PB - C \)

\( V = PB - C \) (Riker & Ordeshook 1968)

- **Pivotality**: the degree to which your vote changes the outcome of an election
- **Benefit**: Your perceived benefit to voting
- **Cost**: Your perceived cost of voting

To increase participation, \( pB > C \)
Costs to Voting

- Introduction of local level elections revealed polling-station data on U.P support
- Paramilitaries used election data to target displacement (Steele, 2017)
- 25% of Colombians do not believe the ballot is secret (ELCA)
- Polling-station size affects secrecy (Larreguy, Marshall, & Querubín,)

Figure: "I am a survivor of the genocide against the U.P."
Benefits to Voting

- Unlikely to return to home-community for vote
- Clientelistic Parties
  - Vote-buying
  - Voter-buying
  - Relational clientelism
- Interest Organizations (Holland & Palmer-Rubin, 2015)

**Figure:** "If I had known I could have traded (my vote) for a ministry position or ambassadorship, I wouldn’t have eaten the sandwich so quickly"
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Voting Changes after Displacement
Source: Encuesta de Hogares Desplazados (Ibáñez, 2005)
Geographic Variation in Turnout Rates
Source: Encuesta de Hogares Desplazados (Ibáñez, 2005)

Local Election Voting Patterns by Department
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In the face of collectively targeted violence, three options:

1. Protection: Leave contested area for protection in faction stronghold
2. Anonymity: Leave contested area for anonymity in cities or far from home
3. Cluster: Leave contested area with others and seek shelter in a group
Protection

Protection-Seekers Voting Behavior

Voted in Origin

Voted-in Host

Abstained in Origin

Abstain in Host
Anonymity

Anonymity-Seekers Voting Behavior

- Voted in Origin
- Abstained in Origin
- Voted in Host
- Abstain in Host
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Cluster

Community-Movers Voting Behavior

Voted in Origin       Voted-in Host

Abstained in Origin   Abstain in Host
Internally Displaced Persons face high costs to participation and low immediate benefits.
The way in which IDP’s depart likely influences their participation rate.
Researchers need more data to be collected on this topic.

Current Projects:
- Lowering Costs: Electoral Institutional Design and Preserving IDP Anonymity
- Increasing Benefits: Interest Group Organization and the Mobilization of IDP’s

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For Further Reading I


Ana María Ibáñez
Encuesta de Hogares Desplazados
*Universidad de Los Andes,* 2005.
ATT for Protection-seeking

Results

Estimate... -0.0095785
SE......... 0.02986
T-stat..... -0.32078
p.val...... 0.74838

Original number of observations................. 1924
Original number of treated observations............ 522
Matched number of observations.................. 522
Matched number of observations (unweighted). 522
ATT for Protection-seeking
Propensity Score Density

Density of Estimated Propensity Score

- Protection-Seekers
- Non-identified Movers

N = 522  Bandwidth = 0.03027
ATT for Anonymity-seeking

Results

Estimate... -0.073022
SE......... 0.031513
T-stat..... -2.3172
p.val...... 0.020494

Original number of observations................. 1895
Original number of treated observations............. 493
Matched number of observations.................. 493
Matched number of observations (unweighted). 493
ATT for Anonymity-seeking
Propensity Score Density

Density of Estimated Propensity Score

- Red line: Anonymity-seekers
- Blue line: Non-identified Movers

N = 493  Bandwidth = 0.01803
ATT for Community-keepers

Results

Estimate... 0.096463
SE......... 0.034498
T-stat..... 2.7962
p.val...... 0.0051703

Original number of observations.............. 1713
Original number of treated observation.......... 311
Matched number of observations............... 311
Matched number of observations (unweighted). 311
ATT for Community-keepers
Propensity Score Density

Density of Estimated Propensity Score

N = 311  Bandwidth = 0.0112

- community-keepers
- Non-identified Movers