

# An Ambition-Theoretic Approach to Legislative Institutional Choice

James S. Coleman Battista  
University of North Texas  
battista@unt.edu

January 10, 2003

## Technical appendix

### Proof of Proposition 1:

To begin, because the benefits of office-holding are constant from the point of view of the candidates in the campaign, I collapse the benefit terms so that  $A = \alpha b_p + (1 - \alpha)b_D$  and  $\Delta = \delta b_p + (1 - \delta)b_D$ . This reorganizes the utility functions into the simpler

$$U_1 = \left( \frac{c_1}{c_1 + c_2} \right) \left( \frac{1}{k^{b_p + b_D}} \right) A - c_1 \quad (1)$$

$$U_2 = \left\{ \frac{c_2}{c_1 + c_2} + \left( 1 - \left( \frac{1}{k^{b_p + b_D}} \right) \left( \frac{c_1}{c_1 + c_2} \right) \right) \right\} \Delta - c_2 \quad (2)$$

In a Nash equilibrium in the election game, each candidate's cost and effort must be a best response to the other player's effort or incurred campaign cost (as well as to any other salient aspects of the environment). The first-order conditions that express this are

$$\frac{\partial U_1}{\partial c_1} = \frac{A}{(c_1 + c_2)k^{b_p + b_D}} - \frac{c_1 A}{(c_1 + c_2)^2 k^{b_p + b_D}} - 1 = 0 \quad (3)$$

$$c_1^* = \sqrt{\frac{Ac_2}{k^{b_p+b_D}}} - c_2 \quad (4)$$

and

$$\frac{\partial U_2}{\partial c_2} = \left\{ \frac{1}{c_1 + c_2} - \frac{c_2}{c_1 + c_2} - \left( 1 - \frac{1}{k^{b_p+b_D}} \right) \left( \frac{c_1}{(c_1 + c_2)^2} \right) \right\} \Delta - 1 = 0 \quad (5)$$

$$c_2^* = \sqrt{\frac{\Delta c_1}{k^{b_p+b_D}}} - c_1 \quad (6)$$

Additionally, equations 4 and 6 will satisfy the second-order requirements for maxima – at the appropriate values,  $\frac{\partial^2 u_1}{\partial c_1^2} = -\frac{2}{\sqrt{\frac{Ac_2}{k^{b_p+b_D}}}}$  and  $\frac{\partial^2 u_2}{\partial c_2^2} = -\frac{2}{\sqrt{\frac{\Delta c_1}{k^{b_p+b_D}}}}$ . These expressions will be negative (ensuring that they find maxima) when the variables and parameters underneath the square root signs are positive.  $A$ ,  $\Delta$ , and  $k^{b_p+b_D}$  are all constrained by assumption to be positive, so whenever the other player expends any effort, these are the utility-maximizing hypersurfaces or reaction functions for each player.

## Proof of Proposition 2:

In equilibrium,  $c_2 = c_2^*$ , which implies that

$$c_1 = \sqrt{\frac{A \left( \sqrt{\frac{\Delta c_1}{k^{b_p+b_D}}} - c_1 \right)}{k^{b_p+b_D}}} - \sqrt{\frac{\Delta c_1}{k^{b_p+b_D}}} + c_1 \quad (7)$$

Simplifying this expression leads to

$$\sqrt{\frac{A}{k^{b_p+b_D}}} \sqrt{\frac{\Delta c_1}{k^{b_p+b_D}}} = \sqrt{\frac{\Delta c_1}{k^{b_p+b_D}}} \quad (8)$$

And solving for  $c_1$  yields

$$c_1^* = \frac{A^2 \Delta}{k^{b_p+b_D} (A + \Delta)^2} \quad (9)$$

Substituting Equation 9 back into Equation 6 yields

$$c_2^* = \sqrt{\frac{\Delta \frac{A^2 \Delta}{(A+\Delta)^2 k^{b_p+b_D}}}{k^{b_p+b_D}} - \frac{A^2 \Delta}{(A+\Delta)^2 k^{b_p+b_D}}} \quad (10)$$

Which implies that

$$c_2^* = \frac{A \Delta^2}{(A+\Delta)^2 k^{b_p+b_D}} \quad (11)$$

Which completes the proof.

### Proof of Proposition 3

The equilibrium values for  $c_1^*$  and  $c_2^*$  can now be substituted back into the legislator's utility function to determine what shape a sitting legislator's preferences for the institutions of the next session takes. After substituting and simplifying,

$$U_1 = \frac{A^3}{(A+\Delta)^2 k^{b_p+b_D}} \quad (12)$$

And re-expanding the collapsed terms yields

$$U_1 = \frac{(\alpha b_p + (1-\alpha)b_D)^3}{((\alpha b_p + (1-\alpha)b_D) + (\delta b_p + (1-\delta)b_D)^2 k^{b_p+b_D}} \quad (13)$$

Which completes the proof.

### Proof of Proposition 4

Consider the border solutions where  $b_p = 0$  or  $b_D = 0$ . When  $b_D = 0$ ,

$$U_1 = \frac{(\alpha b_p)^3}{(\alpha b_p + \delta b_p)^2 k^{b_p}} \quad (14)$$

This can be differentiated and solved for the constrained maximum of  $U_1$ . After some simplification and rearrangement,

$$\frac{\partial U_1}{\partial b_p} = -\frac{\alpha^3 k^{-b_p} (-1 + b_p \ln(k))}{(\alpha + \delta)^2} \quad (15)$$

$$b_p^* = \frac{1}{\ln(k)} \quad (16)$$

Note that this holds independent of  $\alpha$  and  $\delta$  whenever  $b_D = 0$ . The second-order condition for a maximum also holds. Simplified,  $\frac{\partial^2 U_1}{\partial b_p^2}$ , evaluated at  $b_p^* = -\frac{\alpha^3 \ln(k)}{e(\alpha+\delta)^2}$ , which is guaranteed to be negative because all of the variables and parameters to the right of the negative sign are themselves positive. Here, it should be noted that the  $e$  in the second-order condition is the root of the natural logarithm and not a parameter of the model.

When  $b_p = 0$ ,

$$U_1 = \frac{((1-\alpha)b_D)^2}{((1-\alpha)b_D + (1-\delta)b_D)^2 e^{b_D}} \quad (17)$$

The constrained maximum of  $U_1$  along this line can also be found:

$$\frac{\partial U_1}{\partial b_D} = \frac{(-1+\alpha)^3 k^{-b_D} (-1+b_D \ln(k))}{(-2+\alpha+\delta)^2} \quad (18)$$

$$b_D^* = \frac{1}{\ln(k)} \quad (19)$$

Again,  $b_D^* = \frac{1}{\ln(k)}$  irrespective of the values of  $\alpha$  and  $\delta$  when  $b_p = 0$ . This result also satisfies the second-order conditions. As in the case where  $b_D = 0$ ,  $\frac{\partial^2 U_1}{\partial b_D^2}$ , evaluated at  $b_D^* = -\frac{\alpha^3 \ln(k)}{e(\alpha+\delta)^2}$ .

### Proof of Proposition 6 :

To begin, note that the level of provided benefits will, in equilibrium, be  $0$ ,  $\frac{1}{\ln(k)}$  or  $\frac{1}{\ln(k)}, 0$  as equations 16 and 19 show. This implies two cases: one where  $b_p$  is positive and one where  $b_D$  is positive.

**Case 1:**  $b_p = \frac{1}{\ln(k)}, b_D = 0$

When  $b_p = \frac{1}{\ln(k)}$  and  $b_D = 0$ ,  $c_1^*$  simplifies to

$$c_1^* = \frac{\alpha^2 \delta \exp(-1)}{\ln(k)(\alpha+\delta)^2} \quad (20)$$

Differentiating with respect to  $k$  leads to

$$\frac{\partial c_1^*}{\partial k} = -\frac{\alpha^2 \delta \exp(-1)}{k \ln(k)^2 (\alpha+\delta)^2} \quad (21)$$

This will always be negative since all of the terms are positive and are multiplied by  $-1$ .  $\ln(k)$  is assured to be positive by the assumption that  $k > 1$ , but even if  $k$  were less than 1 (implying an electoral bonus rather than penalty for higher levels of benefits), the squaring of the resulting number also assures that it will be positive. This means that  $c_1^*$  is falling in  $k$ , and since lower  $k$  implies higher provided  $b_p$ ,  $c_1^*$  and  $b_p$  are directly related, which completes the proof.

**Case 2:**  $b_p = 0, b_D = \frac{1}{\ln(k)}$

The proof for this case proceeds as before except that

$$c_1^* = \frac{(1 - \alpha)^2(1 - \delta) \exp(-1)}{\ln(k)(2 - \alpha + \delta)^2} \quad (22)$$

and

$$\frac{\partial c_1^*}{\partial k} = -\frac{(1 - \alpha)^2(1 - \delta) \exp(-1)}{k \ln(k)^2(2 - \alpha - \delta)^2} \quad (23)$$

This equation will always be negative, assuring that  $c_1^*$  and  $b_D$  are positively related, for the same reasons as in the first case.

Similar proofs can be easily constructed for  $c_2^*$  by moving the square in the numerator of these equations from the  $\alpha$  term to the  $\delta$ .