Partisan Shocks and Financial Markets: Evidence From Close National Elections

Daniele Girardi*

Nov 2020

* University of Massachusetts Amherst (USA).

Research question

How do financial markets react to electoral outcomes?

- 758 Worldwide national elections (1945-2018).
- Effect of left-wing electoral victories on stock and bond markets.

Research question

How do financial markets react to electoral outcomes?

- 758 Worldwide national elections (1945-2018).
- Effect of left-wing electoral victories on stock and bond markets.
- RD-based event study.
- Heterogeneity:
 - policy platforms;
 - income level;
 - time.



Preview of results

Main results:

- Left-wing victories cause large short-term decreases in share prices. • -12 to -15 p.p. in the 2 months after the election.
- Stronger effects...
 - when left economic platform is more 'interventionist';
 - $\circ\,$ in developing economies.
- Little reaction of gov't bond yields, overall and in any subsample.

Preview of results

Main results:

- Left-wing victories cause large short-term decreases in share prices. • -12 to -15 p.p. in the 2 months after the election.
- Stronger effects...
 - when left economic platform is more 'interventionist';
 - in developing economies.
- Little reaction of gov't bond yields, overall and in any subsample.



Existing evidence

- Causally identified evidence scarce and limited to few case studies.
- Identification is challenging.
- Prediction markets to deal with anticipation effects:
 - Snowberg et al. (QJE, 2007): 2004 US election (Bush vs. Gore);
 - Herron (AJPS, 2000) 1992 UK election
- Close elections (likely exogenous and unanticipated):
 - Girardi & Bowles (2018, JDE): 1970 Allende election
 - Wagner et al, forthcoming, JFE: 2016 'Trump shock'

National elections dataset (1945-2018)

Presidential elections:

- Novel dataset covering 958 elections.
- Coding of candidates as left or conservative based on various sources.
- Left margin = margin of victory/loss of the left-wing candidate

National elections dataset (1945-2018)

Presidential elections:

- Novel dataset covering 958 elections.
- Coding of candidates as left or conservative based on various sources.
- Left margin = margin of victory/loss of the left-wing candidate

Parliamentary elections:

- Results & partisan coding from MPD (715 elections in 56 countries);
- Left victory indicator from cabinet members data (PGDS).
- Left margin = 2(Left Share of Seats 50%)

Dataset

Financial Data

Share prices:

- Broadest available country-level stock indexes.
- Monthly and daily frequency.

Government bond yields:

- 10-year government bond yields.
- Monthly frequency.

Main source: Global Financial Data.

Dataset

Financial Data

Share prices:

- Broadest available country-level stock indexes.
- Monthly and daily frequency.

Government bond yields:

- 10-year government bond yields.
- Monthly frequency.

Main source: Global Financial Data.

Estimation Sample

• 758 'usable' elections

Estimation strategy

RD-based event study

• Intuitively: compare elections closely-won vs. closely-lost by the left.

Estimation strategy

RD-based event study

- Intuitively: compare elections closely-won vs. closely-lost by the left.
- Fuzzy RD specification:

 $D_{i,e} = \beta Z_{i,e} + g(x_{i,e}) + \eta_{i,e}$ $\Delta y_{i,e,t+h} = \gamma_h Z_{i,e} + f^h(x_{i,e}) + \epsilon_{i,e,t+h}$ for h = -m, ..., 0, ..., n

 $D_{i,e} =$ left government indicator.

 $\Delta y_{i,e,t+h} = \%$ change in y between time t - 1 and time t + h- raw return or residualized on time effects (*abnormal returns*);

 $x_{i,e} = \text{left margin}$

 $\textbf{Z}_{i,e} = \mathbb{1}\{x_{i,e} > 0\}$

Discontinuities at the threshold in parliamentary elections



(a) Probability of left-led government

(b) Left-wing cabinet members (%)

• Discontinuity size \approx 30 p.p.

Left-wing electoral margin and financial markets



(a) Share prices

(b) Gov't bonds: real yield

• vertical axis = p.p. change between t-1 and t+1

RD-based event study – monthly data



- LATE of left-wing victories around the election:
 - pprox -13 p.p. on average;
 - \approx -10 p.p. in presidential elections;
 - $\bullet~\approx$ -18 p.p. in parliamentary elections.

RD-based event study - daily stock price data



11

Stock market effects are stronger...

- when Left economic platform is more interventionist
 - measured by MPD policy position estimates;
 - negative effect twice as strong when left party 'interventionism' above the median;
- in developing countries.
 - effect size 4 times stronger in developing countries (relative to high-income ones).
- No big difference pre- and post-1990.

Robustness & falsification tests

Robustness and falsification tests

- Vary bandwidth selection criteria.
 - CCT MSE-optimal (Calonico, Cattaneo and Titiunik, 2014)
 - IK MSE-optimal (Imbens and Kalyanaraman 2012)
 - CCT CER-optimal (Calonico, Cattaneo and Titiunik, 2014)
 - Common vs. different on the two sides.
- Placebo thresholds.



• Placebo election dates.

_ detail

- Sensitivity to influential observations
 - e.g. Allende 1970 or Mitterrand 1981.

Some take-aways

- Negative short-term reaction of share prices (-13/15%) to (center-)left electoral victories.
- Strongly suggests that political parties matter.
- May reflect expectation of policies (relatively) less favorable to K, and/or more tolerant of inflation.
- Uncovering channels can inspire for further research
 - Girardi & Bowles 2018 study potential channels in the (very specific) case of Allende's 1970 election.
 - *Girardi (2021?)* will study channels and potential investment effects in the case of Mitterrand 1981.

Additional Materials

Distribution of t-statistics from placebo thresholds



(c) Share prices (monthly

(d) Share prices (daily)

Red dotted line = t-stat from true threshold.

BACK

Distribution of t-statistics from placebo election dates



(f) Share prices (daily)

Red dotted line = t-stat from true election dates.