

Change in Representation: Are Citizens Represented in the System?

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July 20, 2017



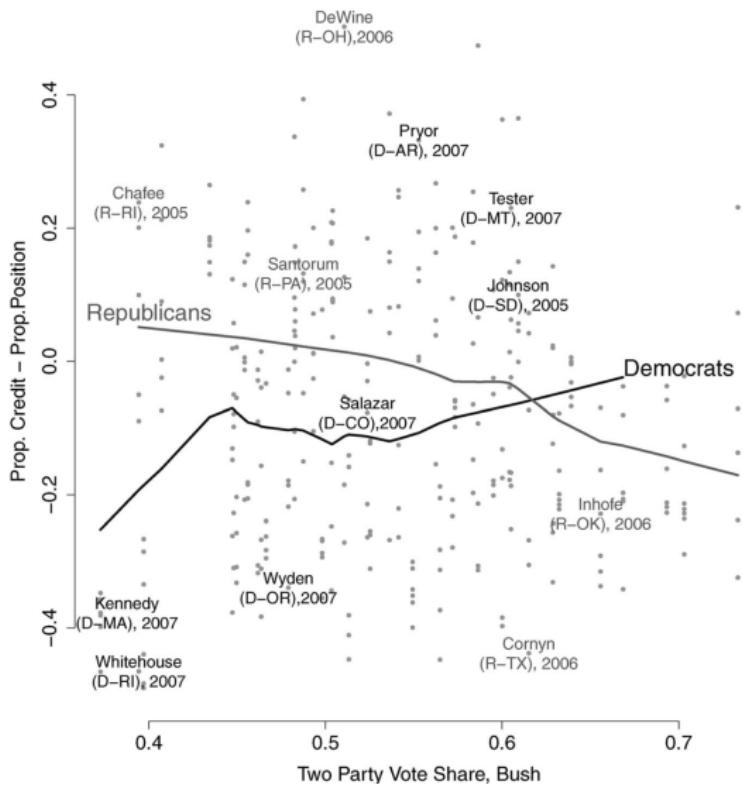
Agenda

- 1 Variation in “Home-Style”
- 2 District-Centered Representation
- 3 Partisan-Centered Representation

Variation in Member Means of Re-election

- ▶ Grimmer (2013) finds that marginal member's develop differing "home-styles" based on needs of re-election
- ▶ Appropriators or Position takers? What do you think the differences in these members are?
- ▶ What sort of activities do appropriators engage in & what type of activities do position takers engage in?
- ▶ For which member is *committee* or important and for which member is *party* more important?

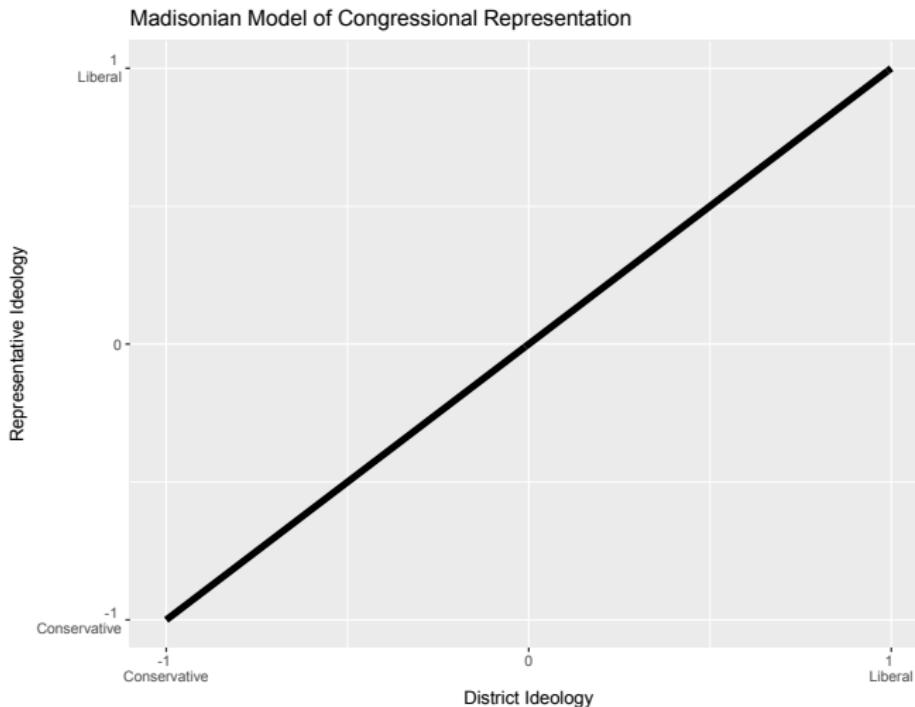
FIGURE 3 Marginal Legislators Systematically Emphasize Appropriations and Avoid Policy



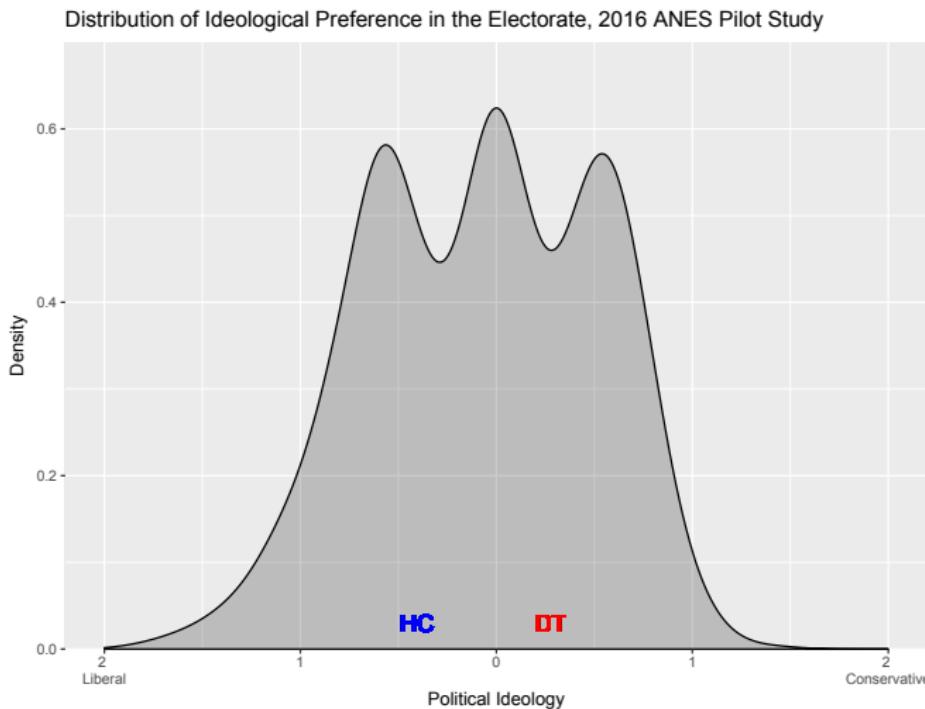
*District vs. Party in Congress**Congress Type*

	District Centered	Party Centered
Committees	Autonomous	Arms of Parties
Policies	Particularized Policy; Universalism	Party Agenda
Election Mechanism	Incubency	Partisanship
Representation	Individual responsibility, district-focused responsiveness to median voter	Collective responsibility, ideological conflict, partisan tides decide MC fate

- ▶ What does district-centered representation look like with respect to congruence between constituent & member ideology?



- ▶ Who determines “district ideology” under the district-centered model? What incentive for candidates?



District-Centered Representation: *Miller & Stokes*

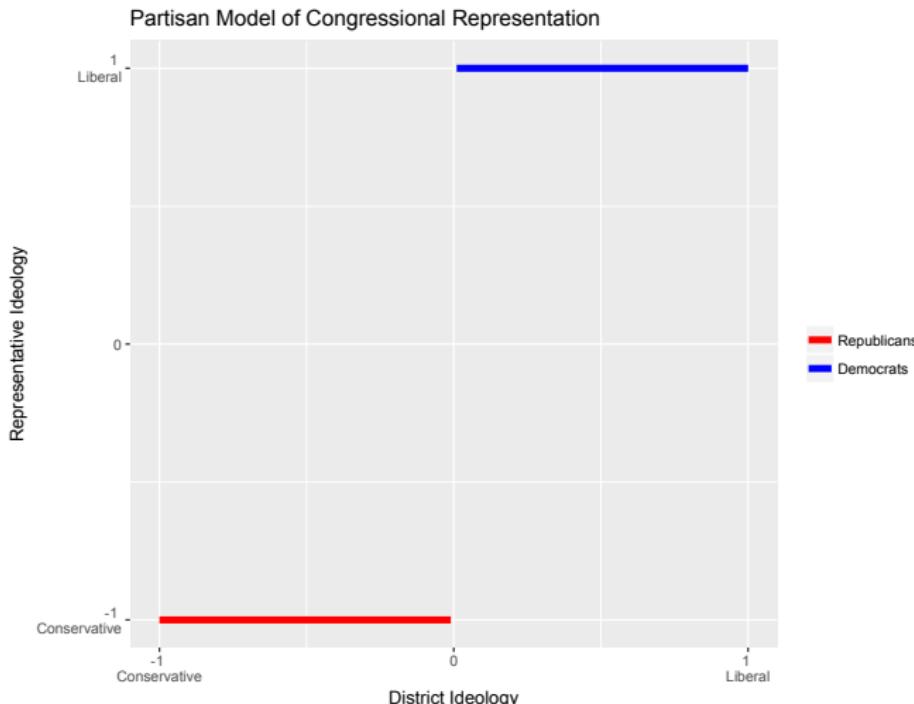
- ▶ Two contrasting models of representation: *delegate* vs. *trustee* model
- ▶ Which does Madison's *Republic* adhere to?
- ▶ Under what conditions are constituents able to influence representation? How is representation conceptualized as?
- ▶ Constituents influence MCs on social policies (Burkean model)
- ▶ On Civil Rights, MCs using the delegate model (usually regional salience wins out over partisan salience)
- ▶ View of voters: ambivalent and low information on how MCs provide ideological representation

Consequence of Being "Out-of-Step"?

"You can only go so far in Texas... there's nothing more useless to the Democrats than a dead liberal." Rep. Lyndon Johnson (D-TX)

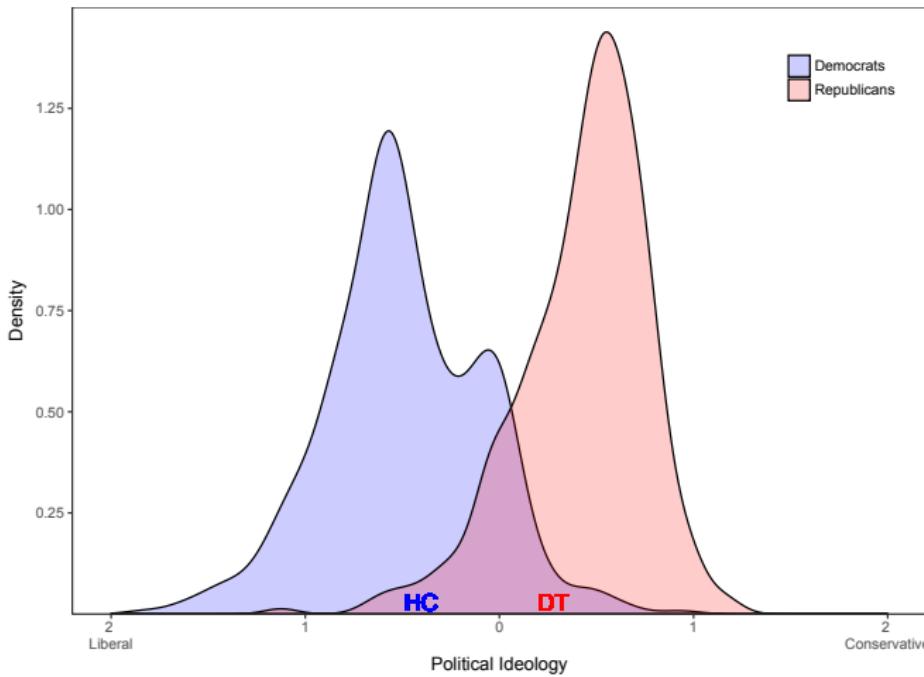
- ▶ Another assumption about voters: "individual voters are fairly ignorant about members' policy actions"
- ▶ However, are members still attentive to constituent opinion? Particularly which constituents under the district-centered model?
- ▶ What do Canes-Wrone & her authors find?
- ▶ Electoral *consequence* for "out-of-step" members that privilege party over district preferences
- ▶ Extremists less likely to be re-elected & they lose vote-share (both in marginal & safe seats)
- ▶ Evidence for the district-centered model?

- ▶ What does partisan-centered representation look like with respect to congruence between constituent & member ideology?



- ▶ Who determines “district ideology” under the district-centered model? What incentive for candidates?

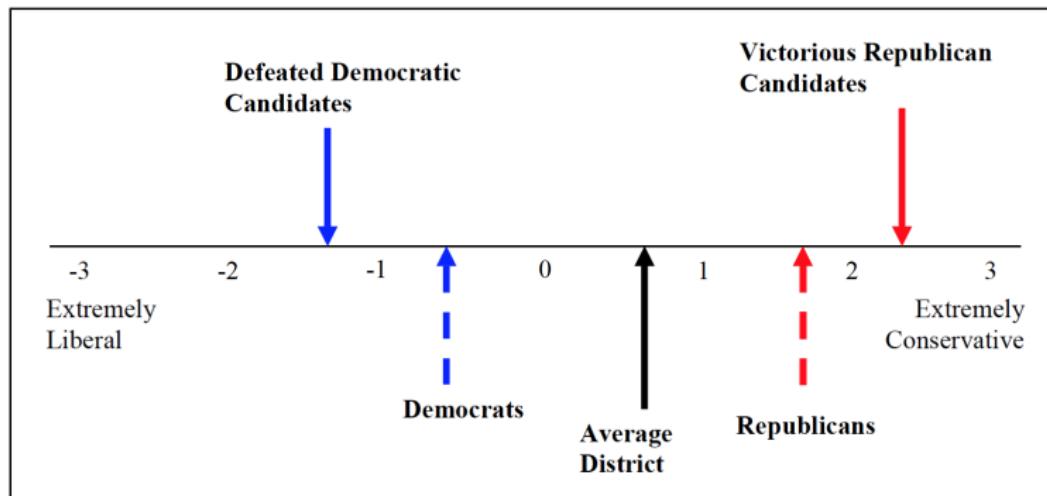
Distribution of Ideological Preference in the Electorate, 2016 ANES Pilot Study



Implications of the *Partisan-Model*

- ▶ What's Bafumi & Herron's argument?
- ▶ *Leap-frog representation*: median voter “leap-frogged” & change in representation happens at the extremes

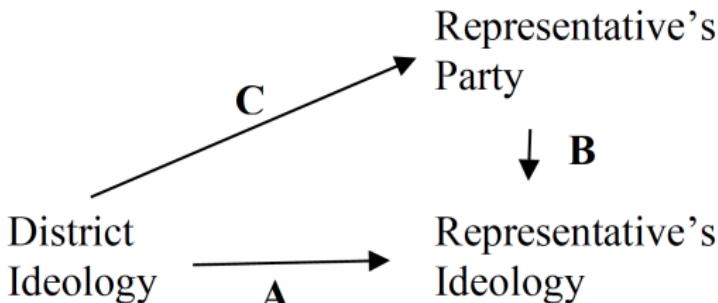
Leapfrog Representation: Change in Representation among Swing Districts, 2010



Implications of the *Partisan Model*

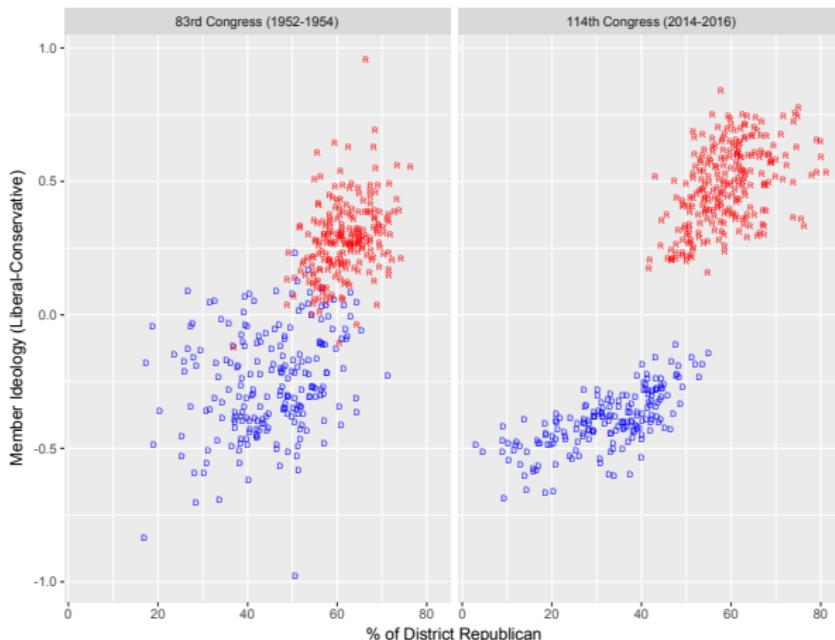
- ▶ What are the implications of the *partisan model* with respect to accountability?
- ▶ Collective responsibility more paramount in *partisan model*
- ▶ Which set of voters are pivotal in the partisan model?
- ▶ Which legislative chamber is relatively “more extreme” according to Bafumi & Herron? What are the implications for transaction costs?
- ▶ Why would this disconnect between the median voter & member ideology exist?
- ▶ Are MCs more *ideologically extreme* than their constituents? What's the implications for this with respect to Madison's *Republic*?

Contrasting Sources of Representation



- ▶ If **A** is dominant, which system of representation do you get?
- ▶ If **B** is dominant, which system of representation do you get?
- ▶ What if **C** is dominant, which system of representation do you get?

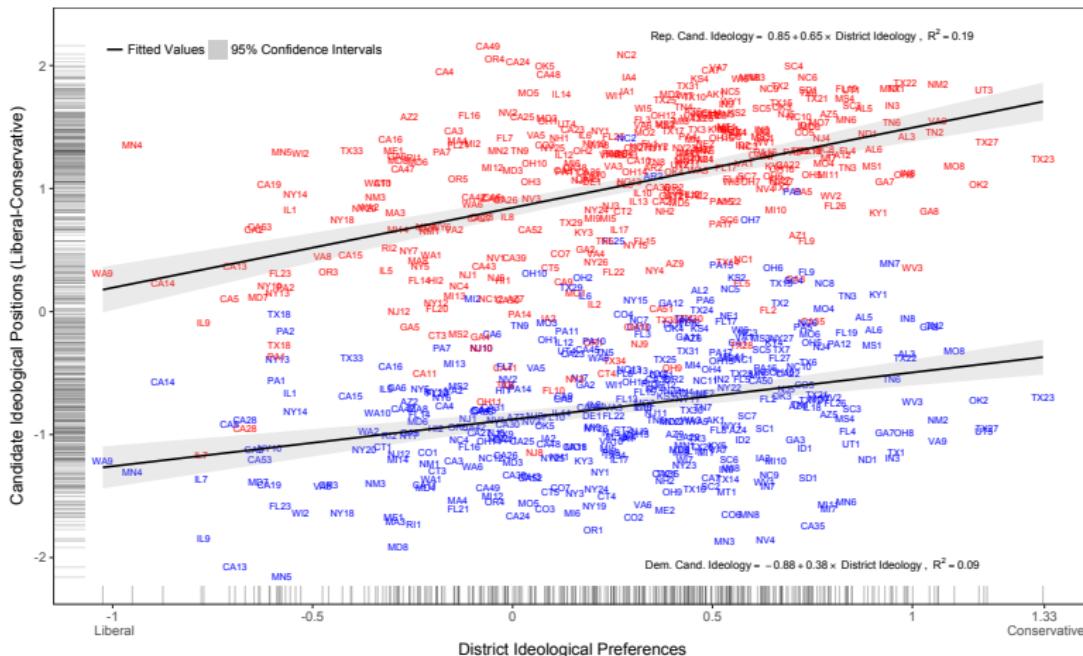
Evidence of *Change* in Representation



- ▶ Which Congress is more consistent with the “district-model?”
Which is more consistent with the “partisan model?”

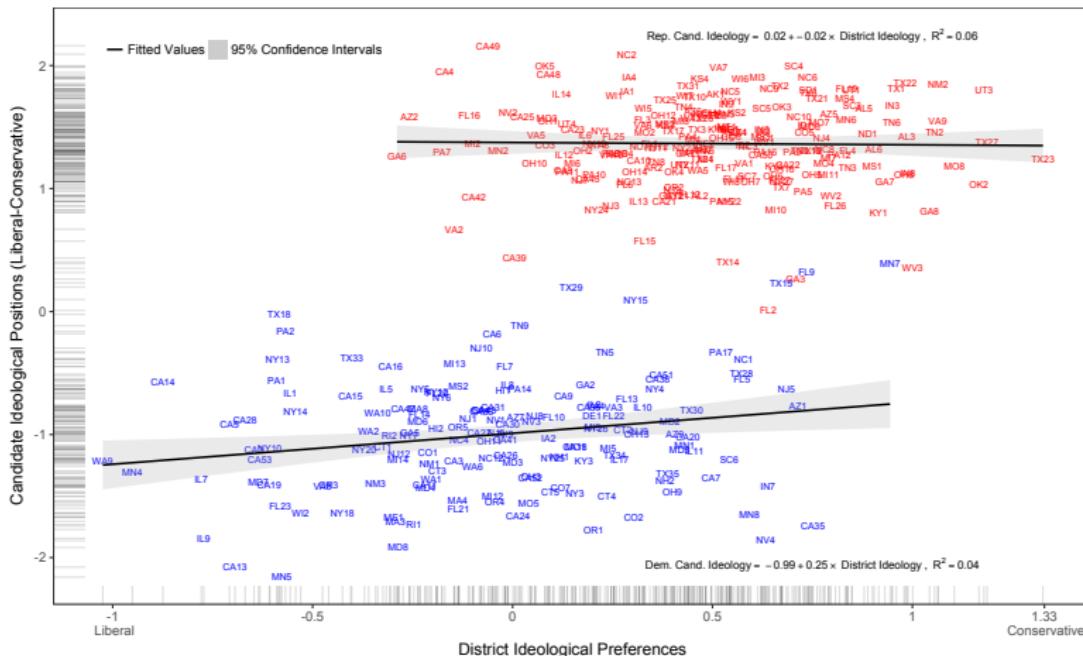
Evidence for the *Partisan Model?* Candidate Emergence

House Candidates' Ideological Positions by District Ideology Preferences in the 2016 Elections

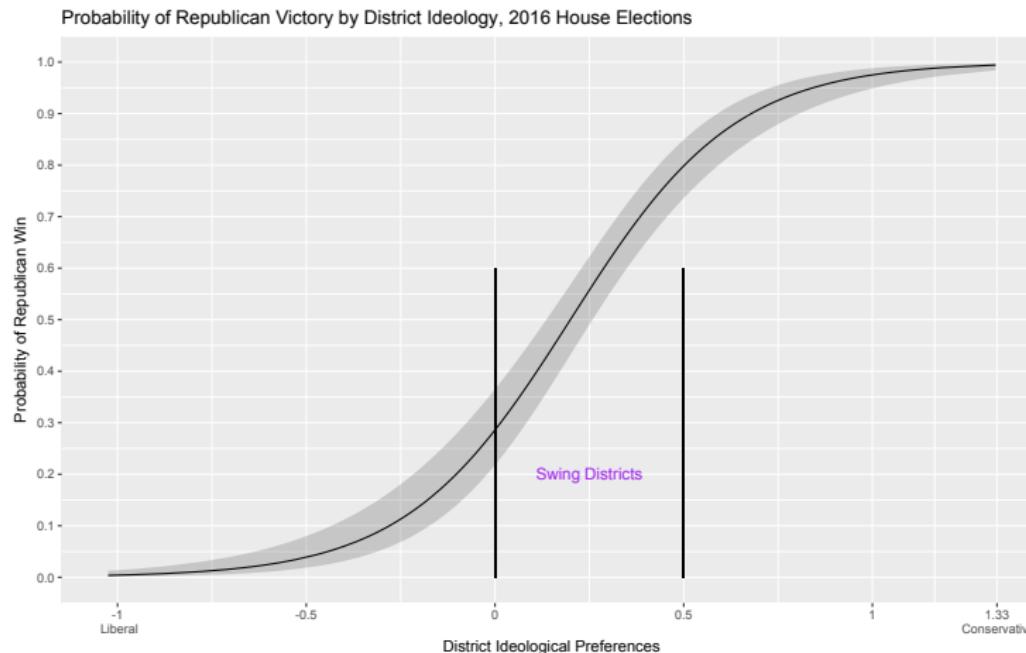


Evidence for the *Partisan Model?* Winning Candidates

House Winning Candidates' Ideological Positions by District Ideology Preferences in the 2016 Elections

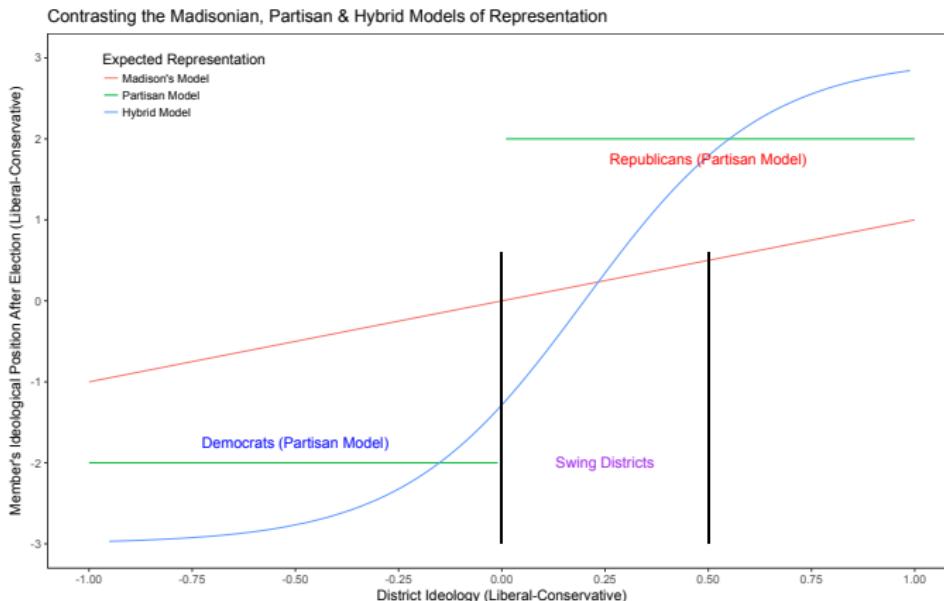


Hybrid Model of Representation?



Is there evidence that district ideology influences representative's party? Does this fit with any of the models discussed?

Contrasting Representation Outcomes Across Models



- ▶ How is the model a blend of the Madisonian & partisan model? Does this fit Bafumi & Shapiro's thesis?

Key Points:

- ▶ Members adjust their “home-styles” based on districts, districts conditions what MCs do to get re-elected
- ▶ Madisonian Theory suggests perfect congruence between district (median voter) preferences & member ideology
- ▶ Miller & Stokes find in the 1960’s that MCs largely responsive to district preferences on social policies but not & foreign policy
- ▶ Canes-Wrone find a penalty for voters that are “out-of-step with district”
- ▶ Current partisan polarization leads to “leap-frog” representation
- ▶ Greater variation within party (not perfect) leads to hybrid model between district & party models