

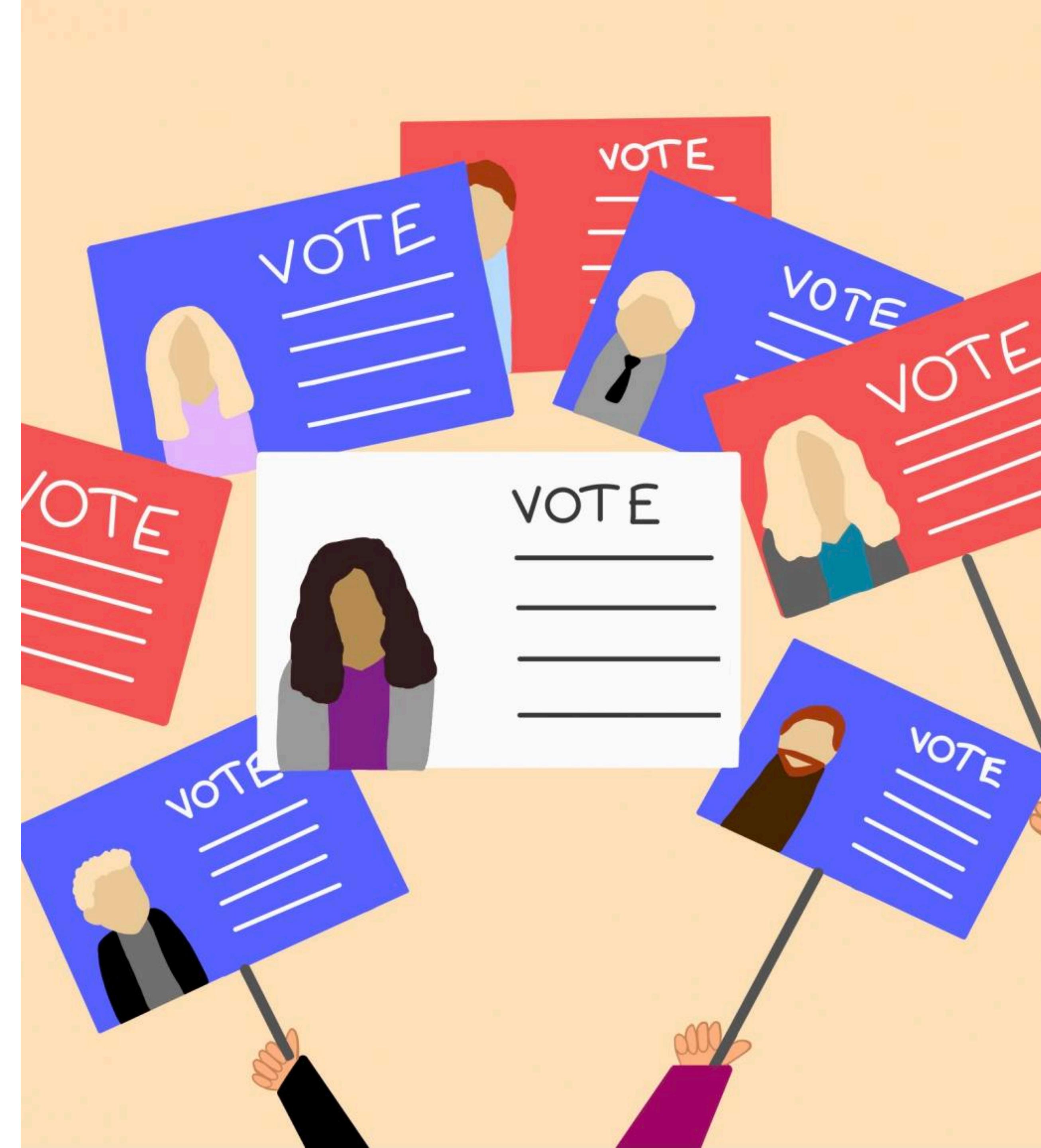
POLS 30005: The U.S. Congress

Dr. Rachel Porter

## **Key Question:**

*Who do members of Congress represent?*

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# Theories of Representation

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- Promissory
- Anticipatory
- Gyroscopic
- Surrogate

# Theories of Representation

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- Promissory
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# Promissory Representation

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- Classic principal-agent model
  - Agent: representative; principal: voter
  - Direct democracy vs. republican government system
- Delegate model
  - Agent guided by the express political and policy preferences of constituents
- Trustee model
  - Agent is guided by own judgement on the long-term best interests of constituents

# Promissory Representation

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$$V_{T1} \rightarrow R_{T2}.$$

- Voters exercises power in election ( $V_{T1}$ ) over representative in governing period ( $R_{T2}$ )
- Works through implicit or explicit promises made to electorate
  - Representative tries to satisfy campaign promises made to voters in  $T_1$
  - Voters will exercise power over representative ( $V_{T3}$ ), rewarding or punishing representative governing actions ( $R_{T2}$ )

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  - Voters will exercise power over representative ( $V_{T3}$ ), rewarding or punishing representative governing actions ( $R_{T2}$ )
- **What normative criteria should be met for promissory representation to function well?**

# Theories of Representation

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- Promissory
- **Anticipatory**
- Gyroscopic
- Surrogate

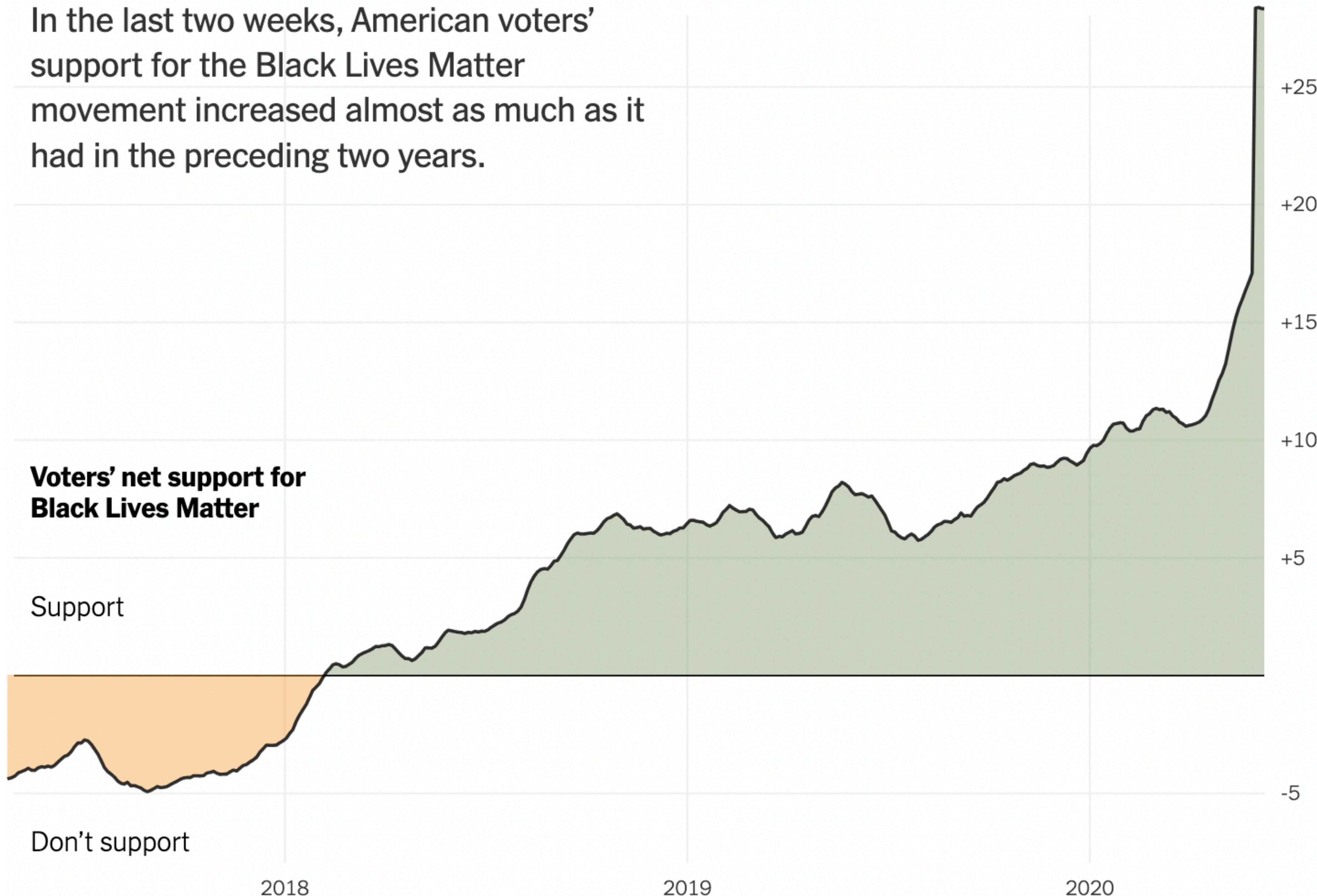
# Anticipatory Representation

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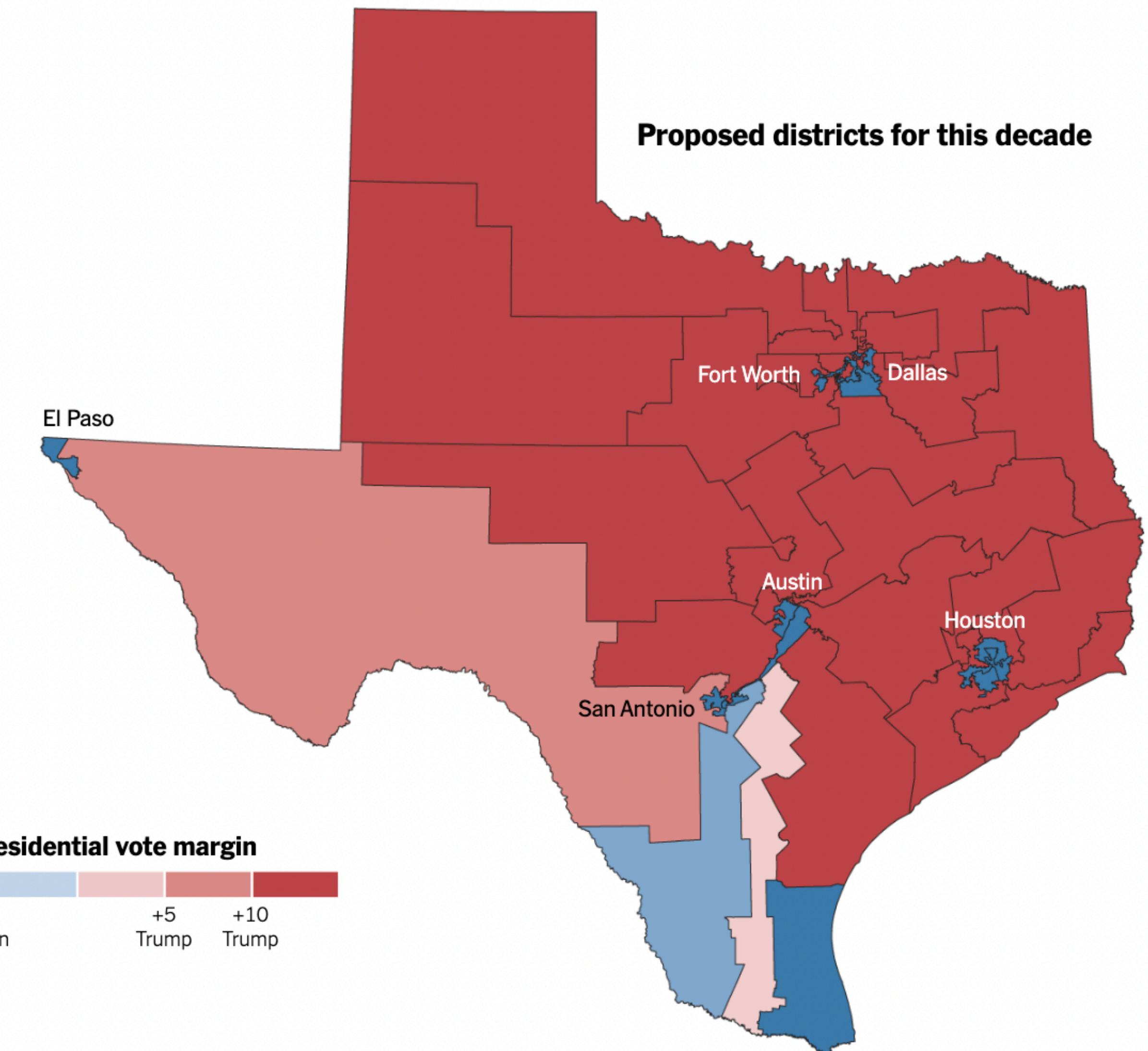
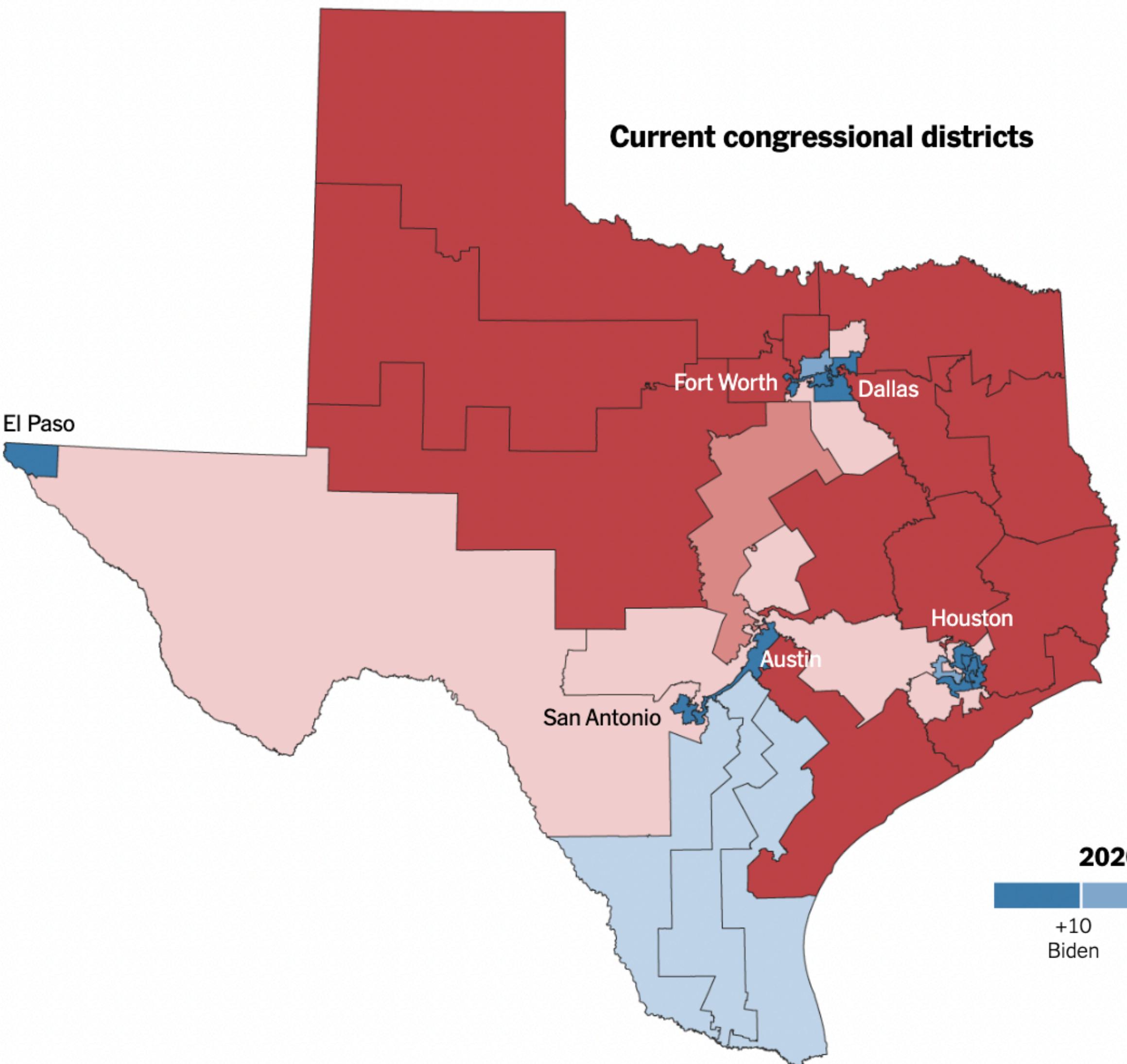
$$R_{T2} \leftarrow V_{T3}$$

- Similar principal-agent relationship
- *Except in this model* power relationship is reversed
- Voters exercises power in election ( $V_{T3}$ ) over representative in governing period ( $R_{T2}$ )
  - Works through beliefs of representative about what future voters will want
- Will have largest impact when constituency preferences change

In the last two weeks, American voters' support for the Black Lives Matter movement increased almost as much as it had in the preceding two years.



Net support is a measure showing the percent of respondents who supported a policy minus the percent who said they did not support it. • [Civiqs](#) daily tracking poll of registered voters



# Anticipatory Representation

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$$R_{T2} \leftarrow V_{T3}$$

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- *Except in this model* power relationship is reversed
- Voters exercises power in election ( $V_{T3}$ ) over representative in governing period ( $R_{T2}$ )
  - Works through beliefs of representative about what future voters will want
- **What normative criteria should be met for anticipatory representation to function well?**

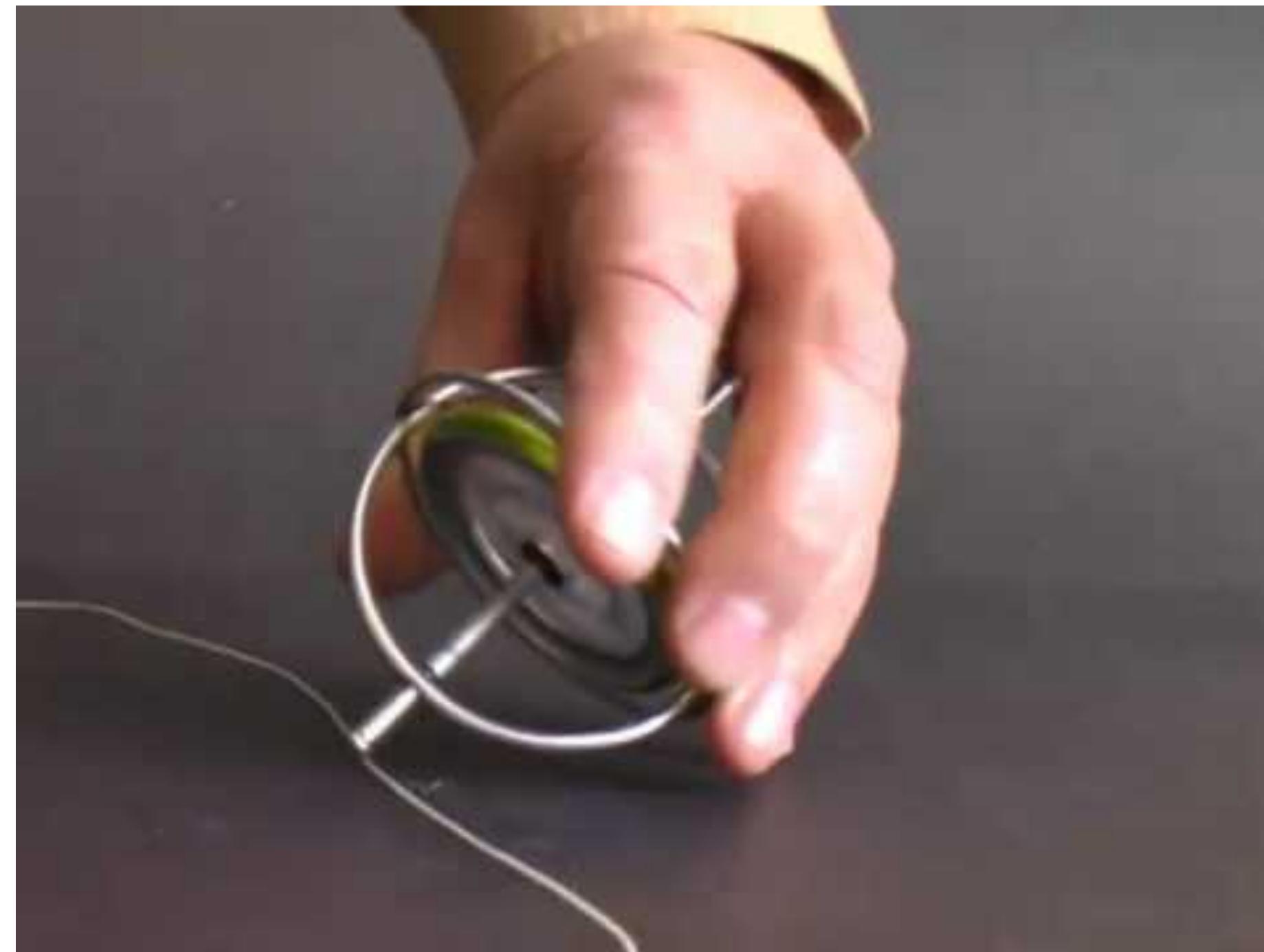
# Theories of Representation

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- Promissory
- Anticipatory
- **Gyroscopic**
- Surrogate

# Gyroscopic Representation

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- Representatives act in a way that voters approve of *without* external incentive
  - Maintains a certain direction through “built-in” goals
  - Guiding principal could be narrow (issue specific) or broad (ideological)

# Gyroscopic Representation

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$$V_{T1} \rightarrow \text{SYSTEM}_{T2}.$$

- Voters affect political outcomes by selection, *not* induction
  - Voters place a representative in a broader political system
- In this model, the constituency is not taken into account; electoral accountability is not necessary; communication with constituents not necessary
- **How does gyroscopic representation differ from a trustee style of representation?**
- **What normative criteria should be met for gyroscopic representation to function well?**

# Theories of Representation

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- Promissory
- Anticipatory
- Gyroscopic
- **Surrogate**

# Surrogate Representation

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- Representation by representative in another district
  - “Non-territorial” representation rather than dyadic representation
- Individuals and groups turn to representatives with whom they have a non electoral relationships to advance their interests
  - Representatives may feel that their constituency extends beyond their district

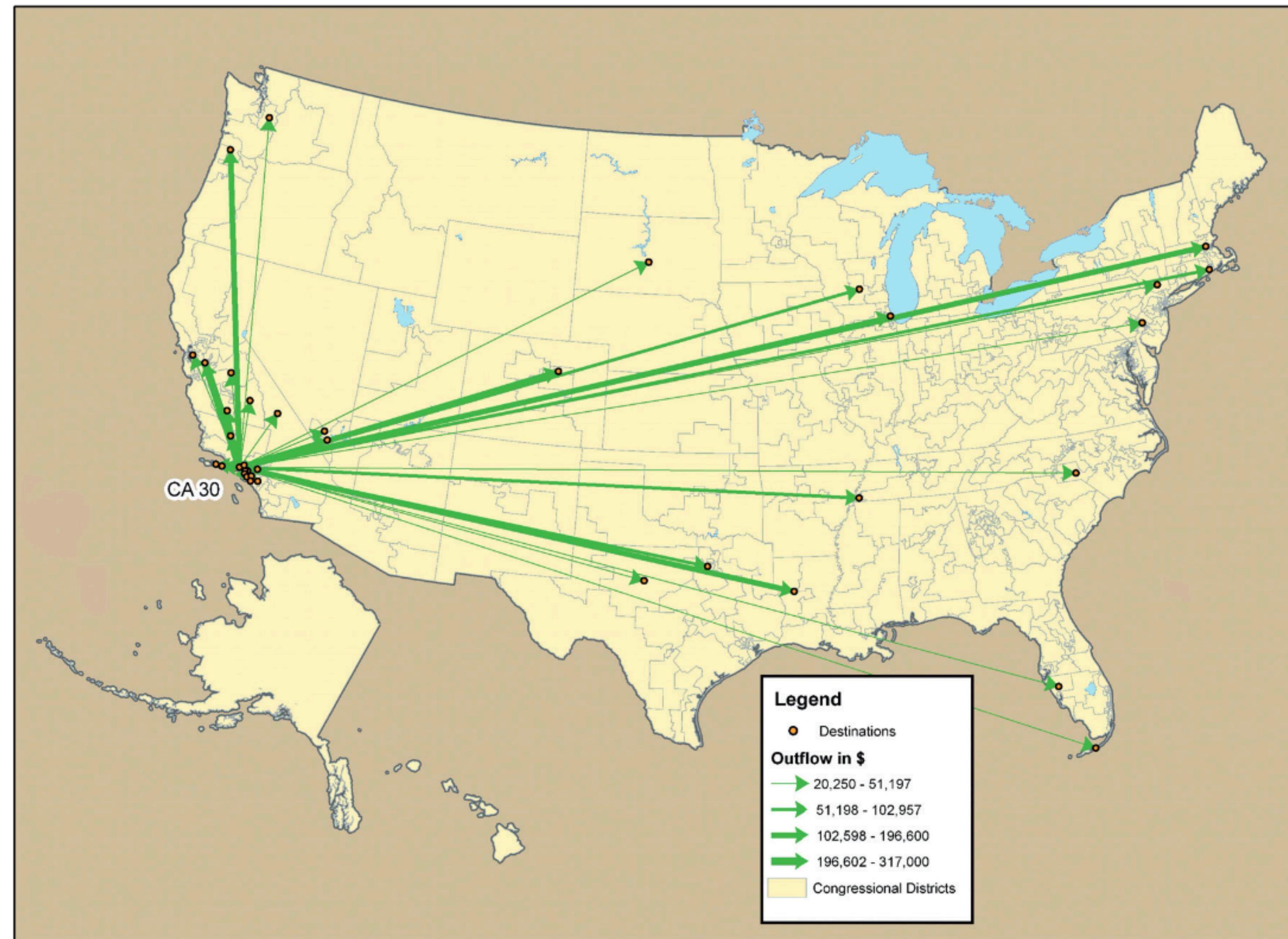
Who benefits from surrogate representation?

# Surrogate Representation - The Affluent

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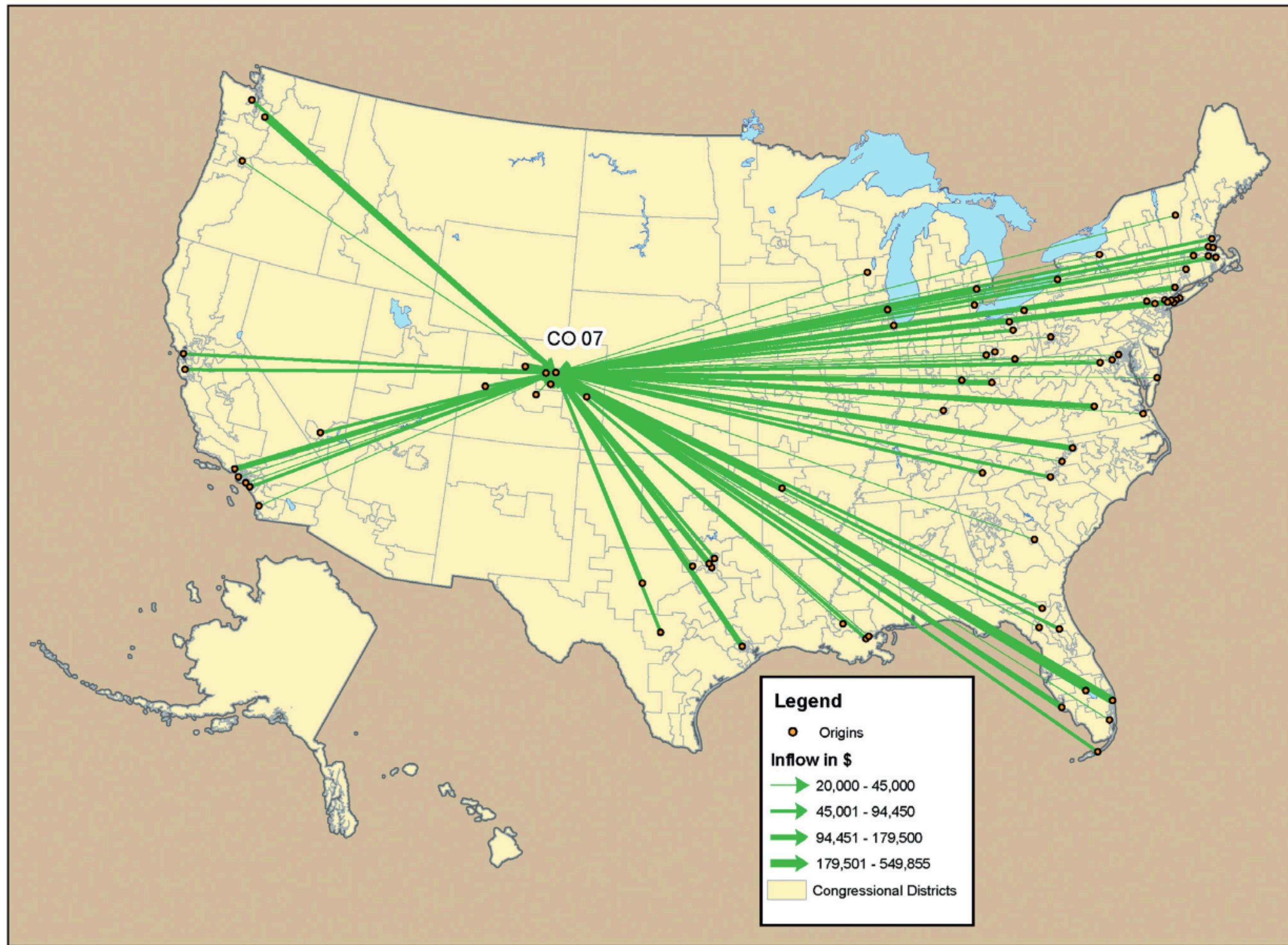
- The Affluent
  - Individuals and groups face monetary limitations in campaign contributions
  - Give to candidates who align with their interests beyond district

**FIGURE 3 Contribution Outflows of Greater than \$20,000 from California District 30 in the 2004 Election Cycle**



**FIGURE 5 Contribution Inflows of Greater than \$20,000 to Colorado District 7 in the 2004 Election Cycle**

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# Surrogate Representation - The Affluent

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- The Affluent
  - Individuals and groups face monetary limitations in campaign contributions
  - Give to candidates who align with their interests beyond district
- Campaign contributors exert power by...
  - Expecting representatives to make good on campaign promises (promissory)
  - Potentially withholding future contributions (anticipatory)
  - Placing in the legislature individuals who align with values (gyroscopic)

# Surrogate Representation - The “Losers”

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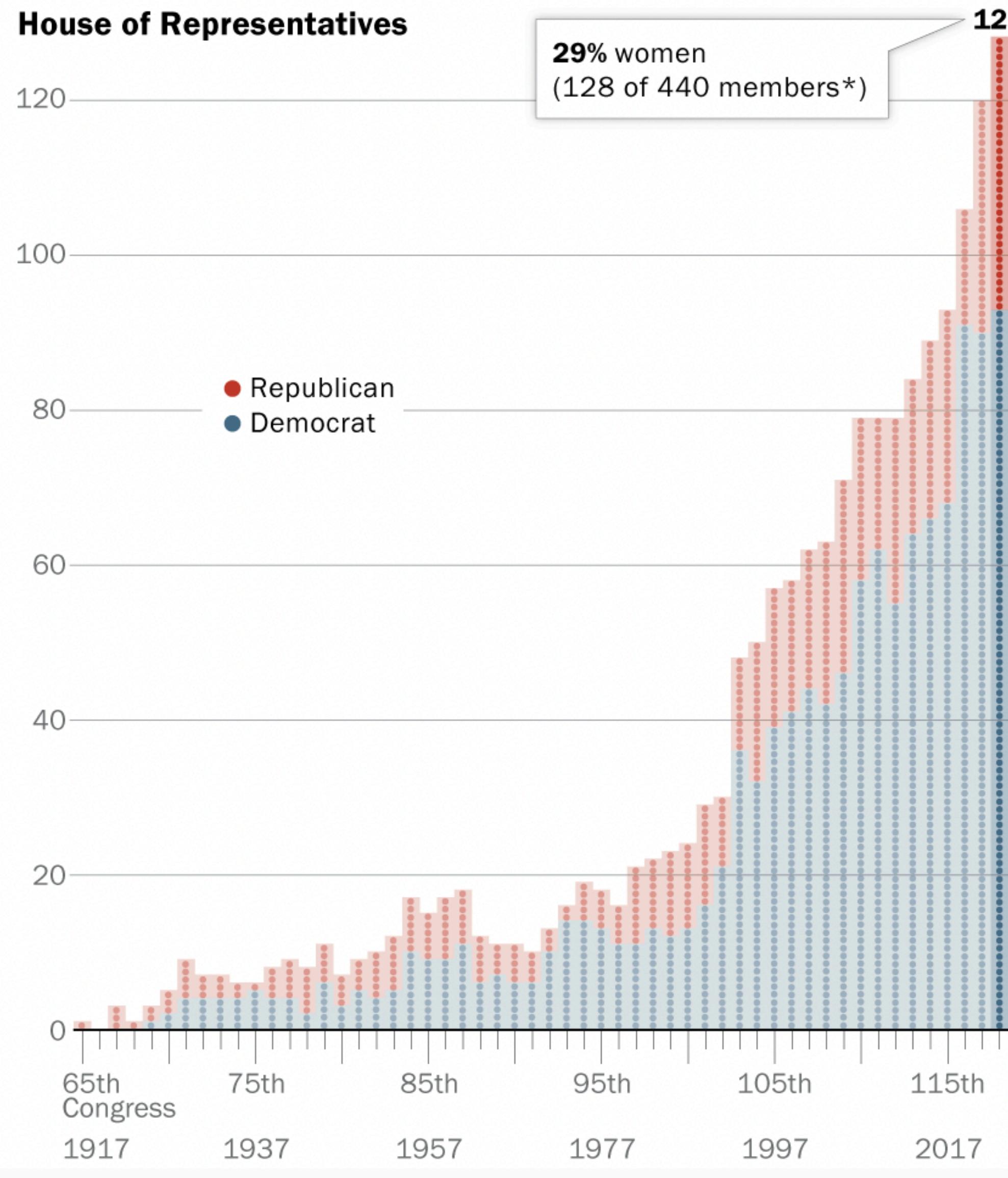
- Those who “lose out” in their own district
  - Congressional elections feature single-member districts — minority voters lose out
  - If there is sufficient geographic clustering, voters who lose out in one district will find representation in another
- Why might representatives feel beholden to non-monetary surrogates?
  - Tied by shared identity or lived experienced (i.e., descriptive representation)
  - Most pronounced when legislature includes few, or disproportionately few, representatives who belong to the group in question

**What normative criteria should be met for non-monetary  
surrogate representation to function well?**

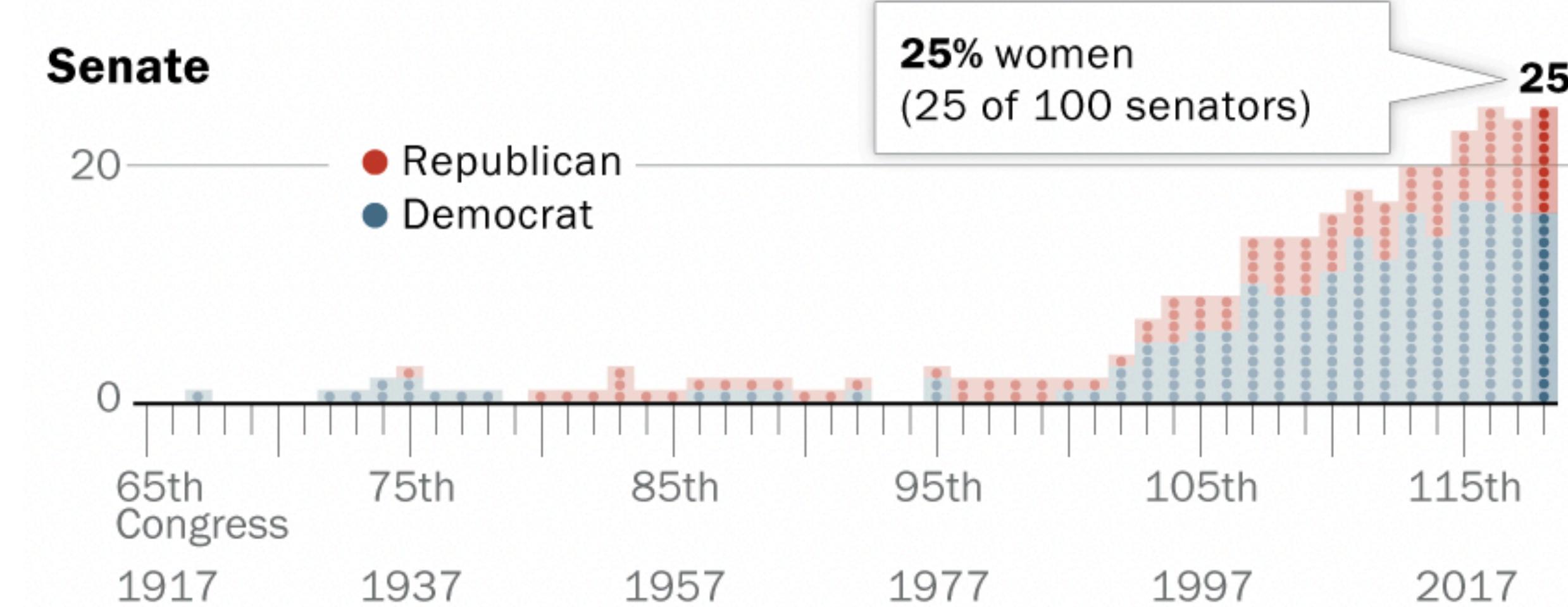
# Women make up more than a quarter of the 118th U.S. Congress' membership

*Women members of Congress, by party*

## House of Representatives



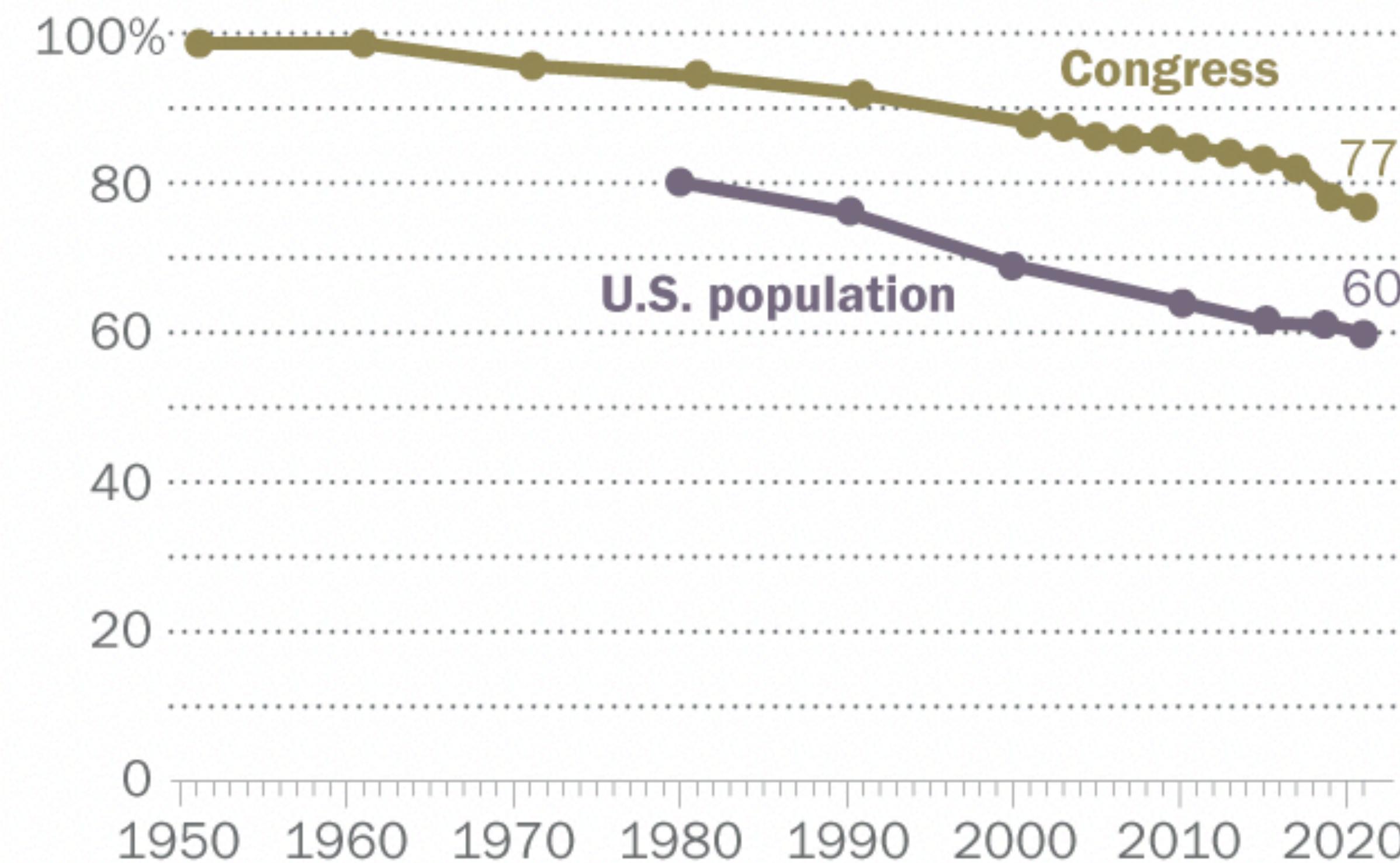
## Senate



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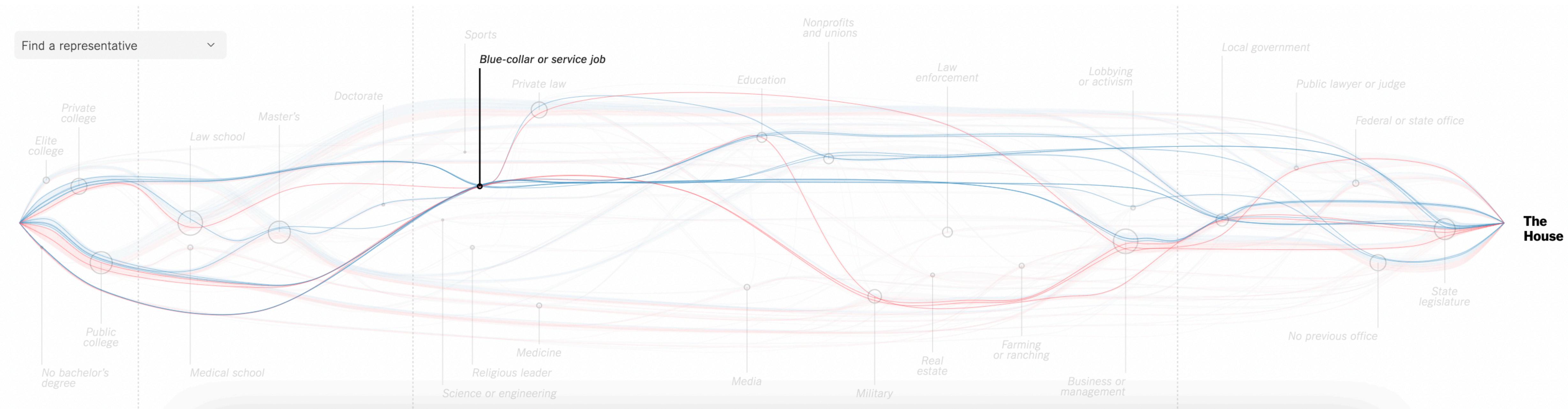
## **White Americans make up larger share of Congress than of U.S. population**

*% White of ...*



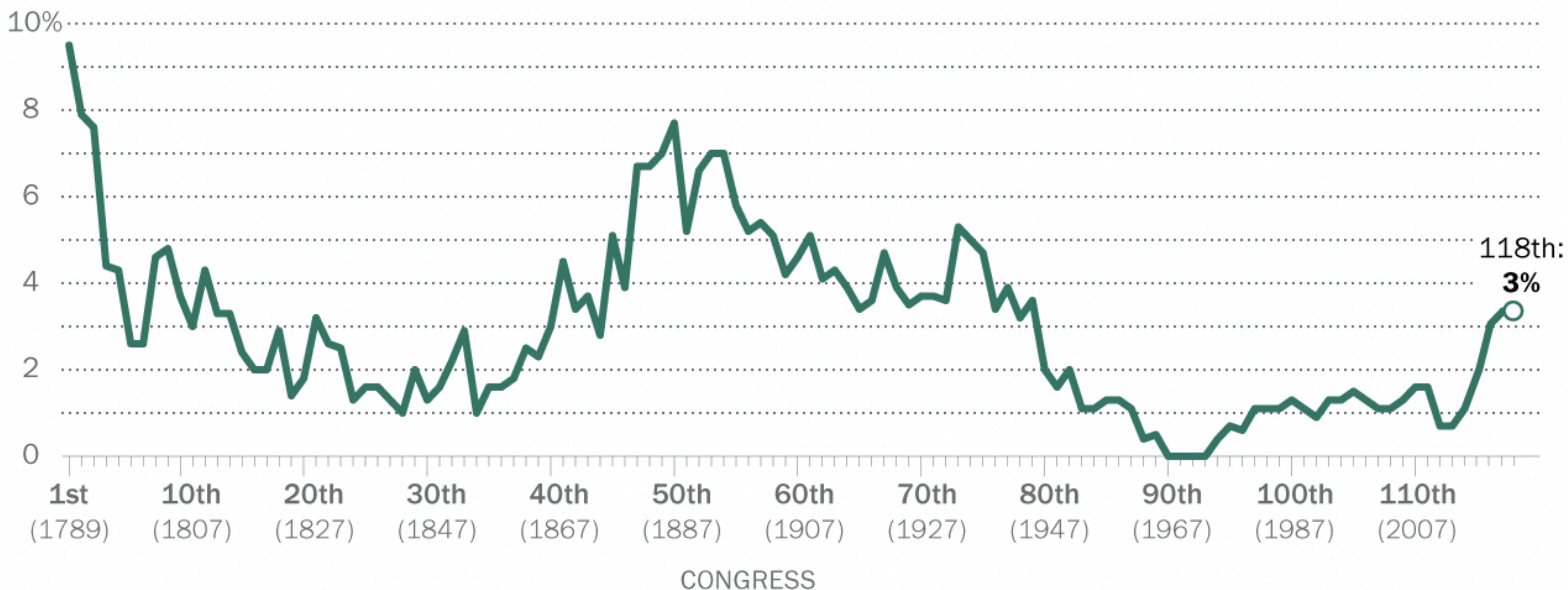
# Fewer than 5 percent of representatives cite blue-collar or service jobs in their biographies.

## *Blue-collar or service job*



## Foreign-born share of Congress remains below historical highs

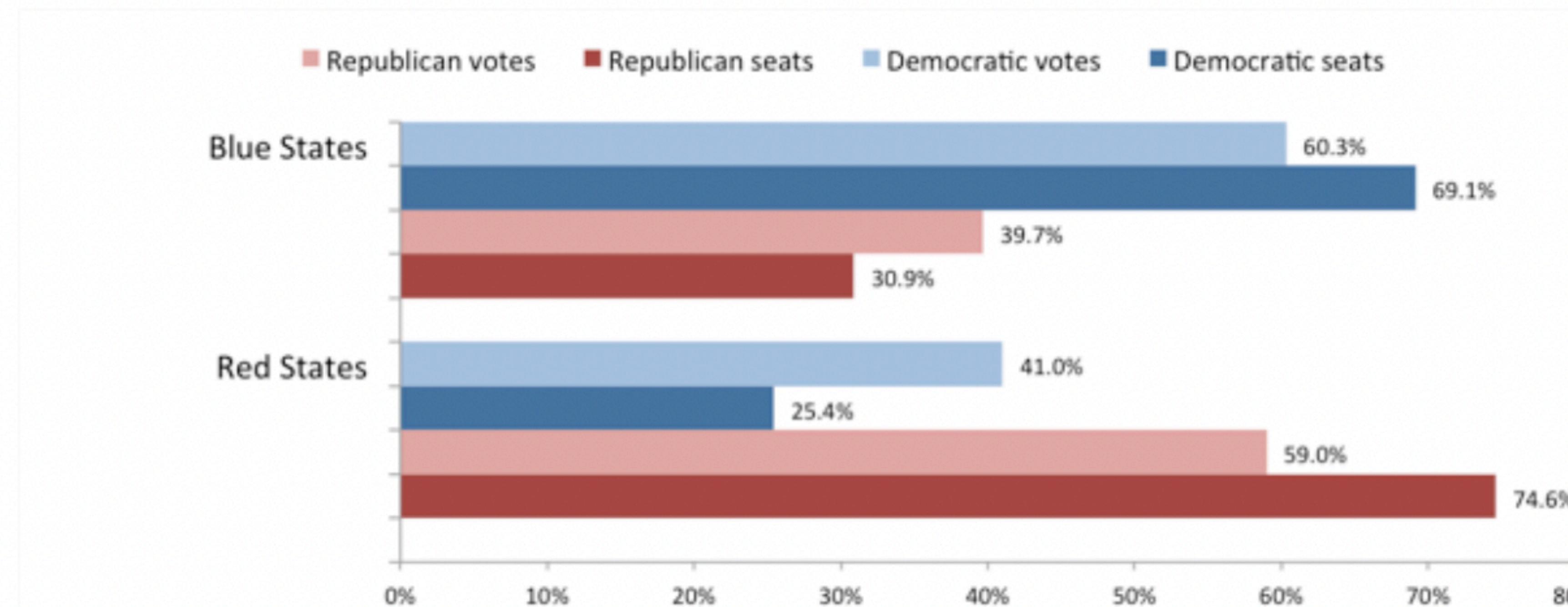
*Foreign-born members' share of the House and Senate, by Congress*



Note: Figures based on voting senators and representatives only. Share based on the total number of senators and representatives who served during the life of a Congress. Data for 115th Congress reflects membership as of Aug. 17, 2018, and does not include 19 members who left office for various reasons since that Congress' inception. Data for 118th Congress as of Jan. 7, 2023.

Source: Lawson, Murray. 1957. "The Foreign-Born in Congress, 1789-1949: A Statistical Summary." American Political Science Review; and Pew Research analysis of the Biographical Directory of the United States Congress and independent sources.

## Figure 2: Majority Party Wins Disproportionate Representation



So...do non-monetary surrogates have power?

$$V_{T1} \rightarrow 0.$$

**TABLE 1. Forms of Representation**

	Promissory	Anticipatory	Gyroscopic	Surrogate
Focus	Authorizing election	Reelection and preceding term	Authorizing election	Composition of legislature

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Traditional accountability	Yes	No	No	No

CHRISTIAN R. GROSE  
BRUCE I. OPPENHEIMER  
*Vanderbilt University*

*The Iraq War, Partisanship,  
and Candidate Attributes:  
Variation in Partisan Swing  
in the 2006 U.S. House Elections*

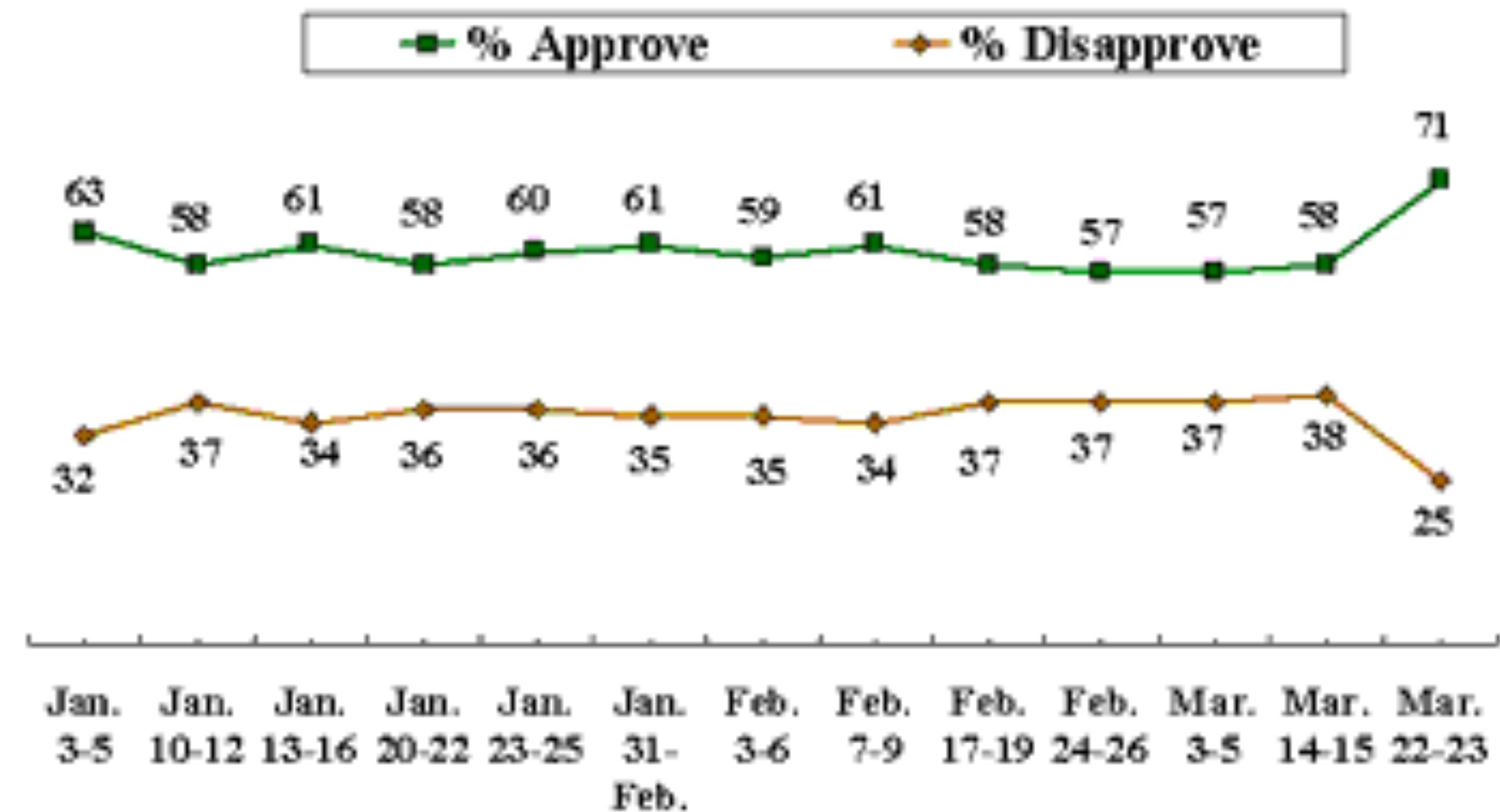
- RQ: How do voters think about representation?
- What was public opinion of the war like in 2002/2003?

MARCH 24, 2003

# Seventy-Two Percent of Americans Support War Against Iraq

Bush approval up 13 points to 71%

BY FRANK NEWPORT

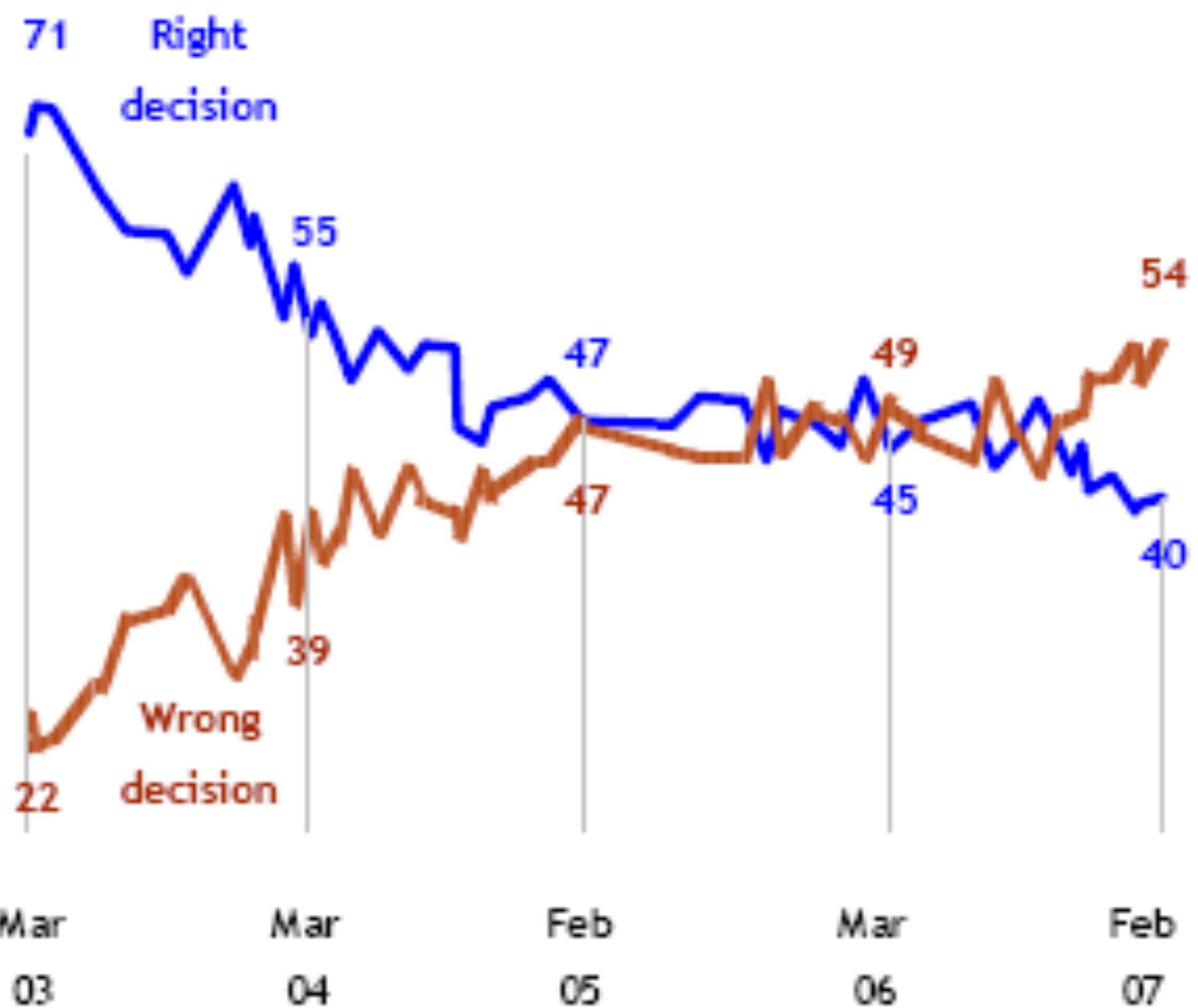


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*Vanderbilt University*

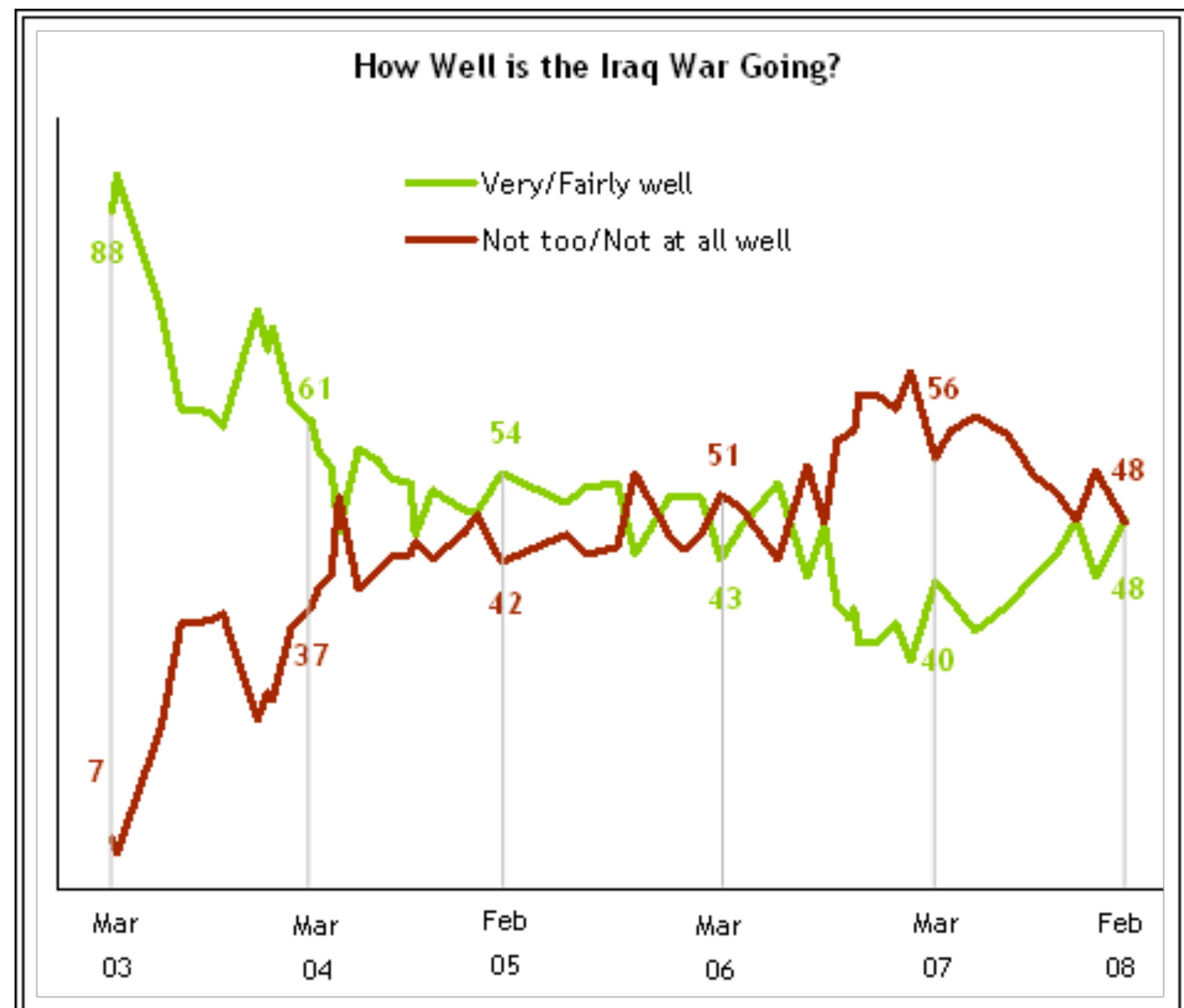
*The Iraq War, Partisanship,  
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- RQ: How do voters think about representation?
- What was public opinion of the war like in 2002/2003?
- How did this change?

## Decision to Use Military Force in Iraq?



## How Well is the Iraq War Going?



CHRISTIAN R. GROSE  
BRUCE I. OPPENHEIMER  
*Vanderbilt University*

***The Iraq War, Partisanship,  
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- How should voters in 2006 react under promissory representation?
  - They should still approval of representative's past vote
- How should voters react in 2006 under anticipatory representation?
  - They should disapprove of representative's past vote

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**FIGURE 2**  
**Predicted Values of Democratic Swing Percentage, by**  
**Number of Iraq War Fatalities in District, Republican Seats Only**  
**(based on Model 3, Table 3)**

**BRANDICE CANES-WRONE**  
*Princeton University*  
**KENNETH M. MILLER**  
*University of Nevada, Las Vegas*

## *Out-of-District Donors and Representation in the US House*

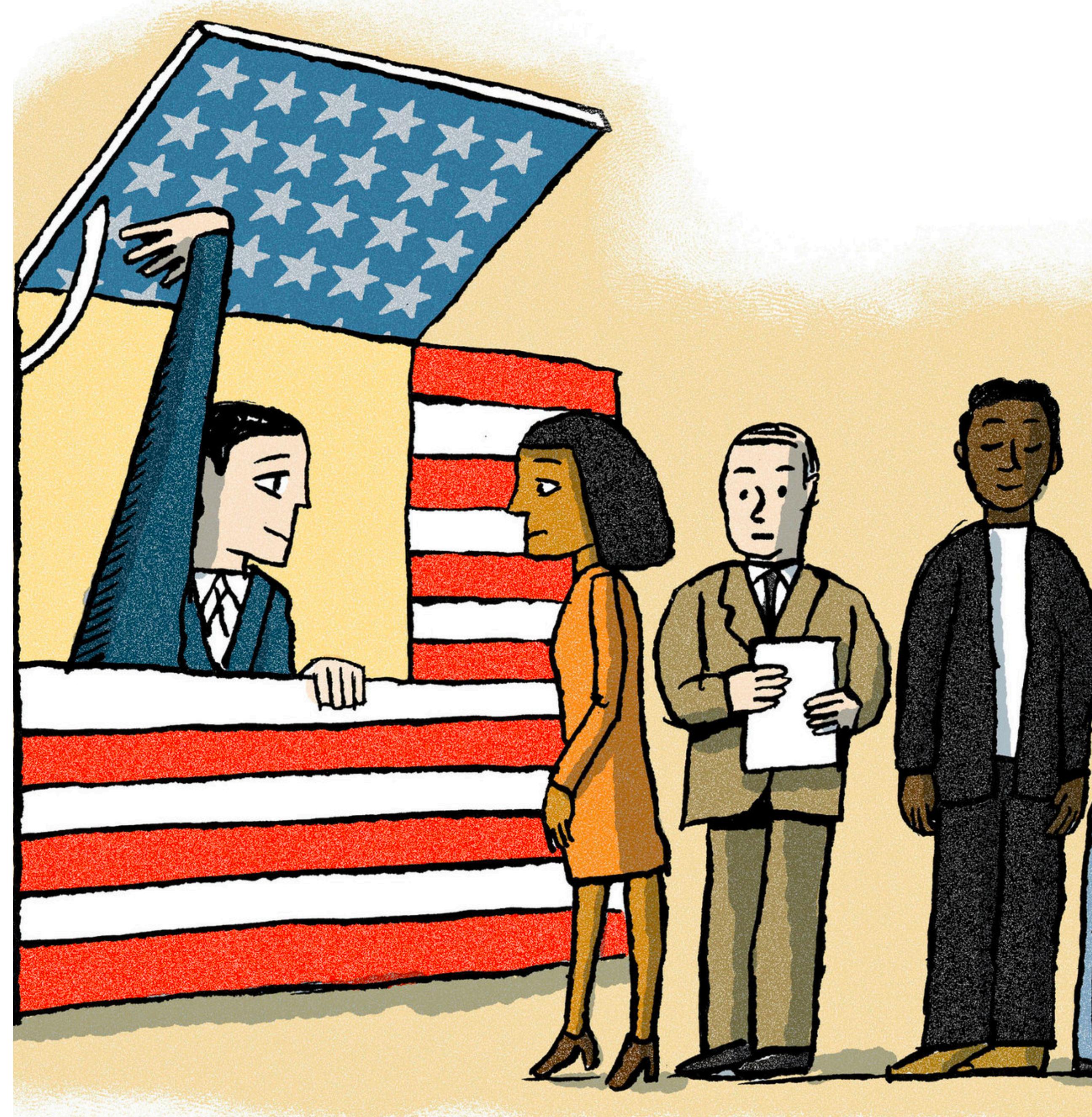
- RQ: How does members balance the preferences of different constituencies?
- If donors and district constituents are at odds, what should a member do?
  - Under dyadic representation?
  - Under surrogate representation?

TABLE 2  
House Member Roll Call Votes When Cross-Pressured

	N	% Votes agree with donor opinion
Donor Opinion versus District Opinion	3115	81%
Donor Opinion versus District Opinion & District Partisan Opinion	600	66%

On Constituencies...

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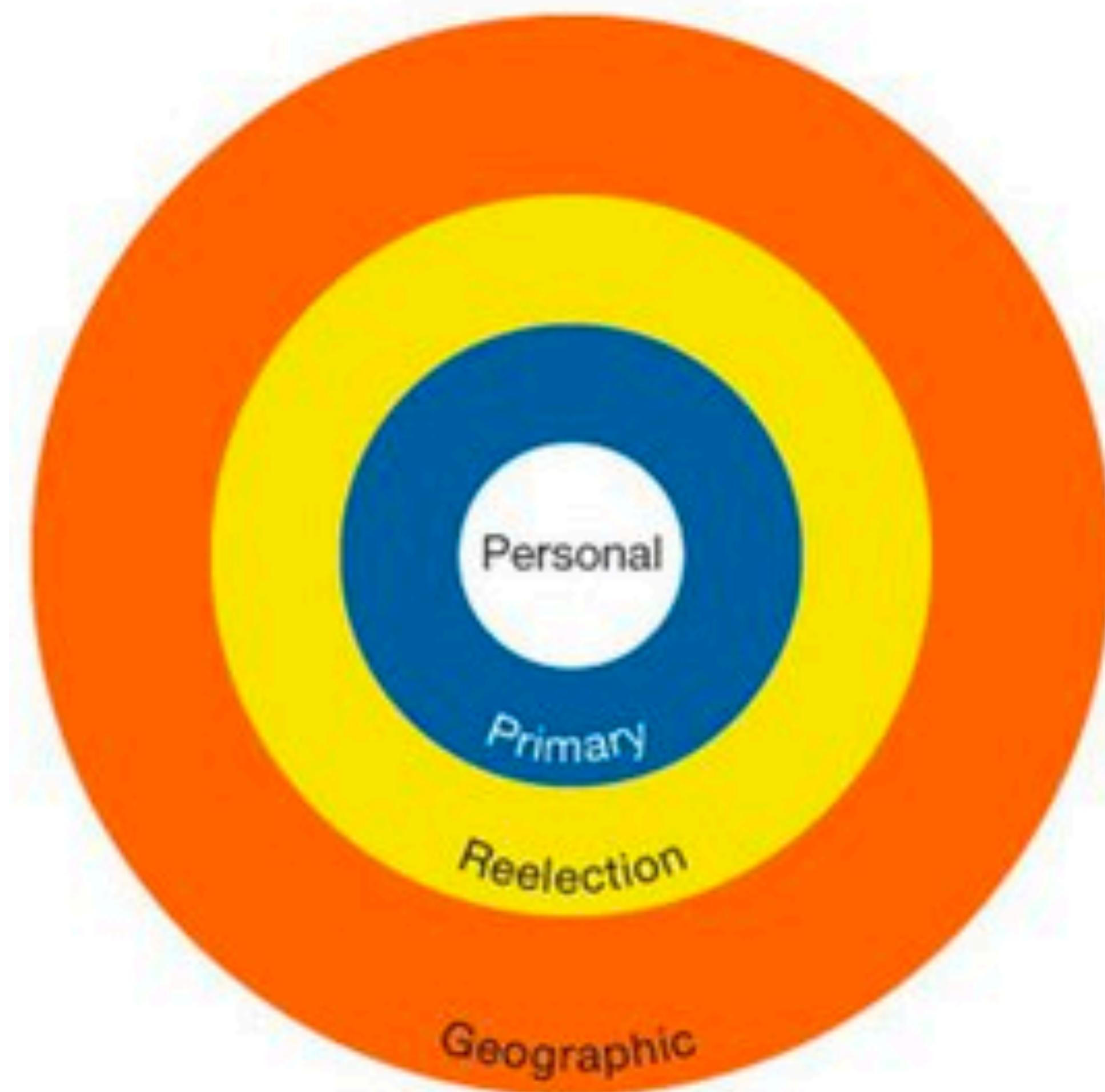
# Theory on Constituencies

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- What is a constituency?
  - A body of voters in a specified area who elect a representative to a legislative body
- What is a subconstituency?
  - Meaningful groups of sub-voters who belong to the broader constituency

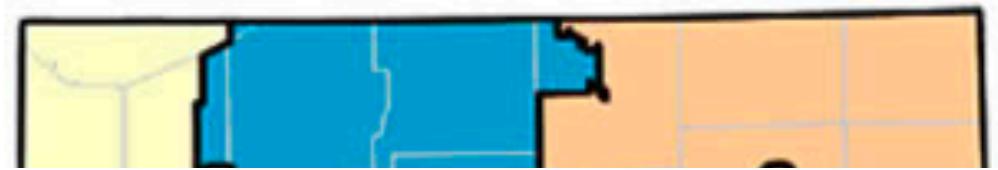
# Fenno's Constituencies & Subconstituencies

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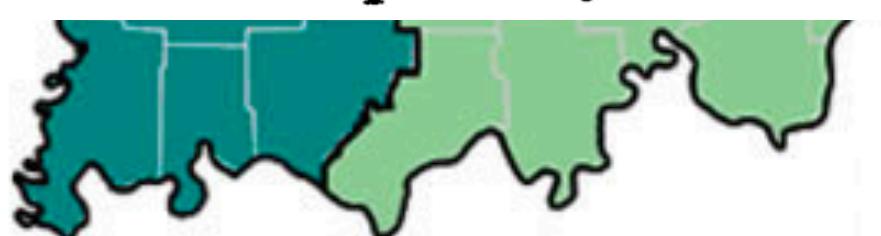


# Geographic Constituency

- Geographic Constituency
  - Legal bounded space that a legislator represents
  - Described in terms of social/demographic characteristics
  - Key variable: homogeneity vs. heterogeneity
- Why does *homogeneity vs. heterogeneity* matter?
- Is it possible for a member to represent their *entire geographic constituency*?



Geographically, it covers the northern one-third of the state, from the border of (state X) to the border of (state Y), along the Z river – twenty-two counties. The basic industry is agriculture – but it's a diverse district. The city makes up one-third of the population. It is dominated by the state government and education. It's an independent minded constituency, with a strong attachment to the work ethic. A good percentage is composed of people whose families emigrated from Germany, Scandinavia and Czechoslovakia. I don't exactly know the figures, but over one-half the district is German. And this goes back to the work ethic. They are a hardworking, independent people. They have a strong thought of 'keeping the government off my back, we'll do all right here.' That's especially true of my out-counties.



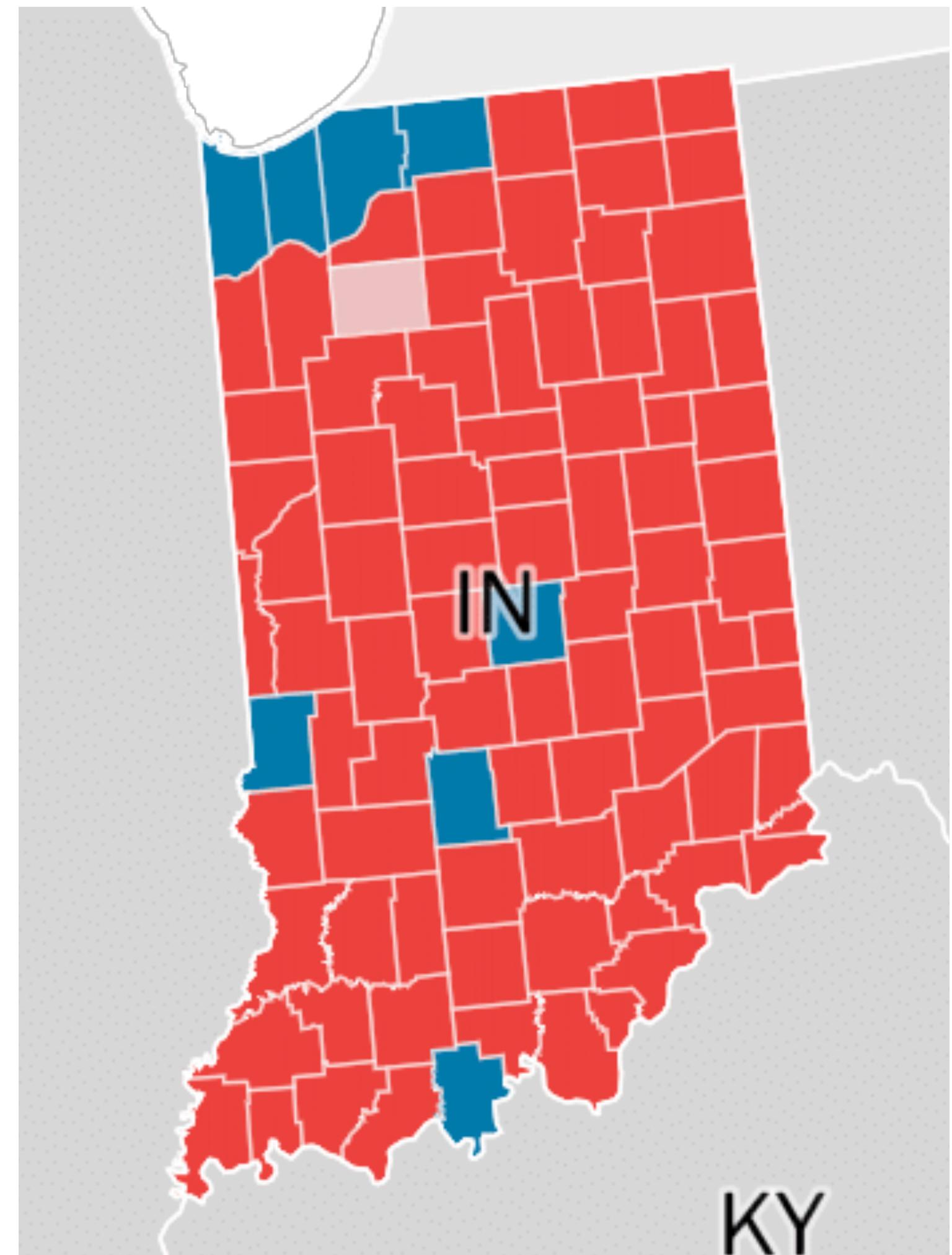
# Reelection Constituency

- Reelection Constituency
  - Political constituency of voters who will vote the legislator

and those who do not. “I do well here”; “I run poorly here.” “This group supports me”; “this group does not.” By distinguishing supporters from nonsupporters, he articulates his baseline political perception.

United States Senate election in Indiana, 2016<sup>[99]</sup>

Party	Candidate	Votes	%	±%
Republican	Todd Young	1,423,991	52.11%	-2.49%
Democratic	Evan Bayh	1,158,947	42.41%	+2.40%
Libertarian	Lucy Brenton	149,481	5.47%	+0.08%
Independent	James L. Johnson, Jr. (write-in)	127	0.01%	N/A
Total votes		2,732,546	100.00%	N/A



# Primary Constituency

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- Primary constituency
  - Strongest supporters, earliest backers
  - Individuals who vote for a candidate in the **primary election**

I have a circle of strong labor supporters and another circle of strong business supporters. . . . They will ‘fight, bleed and die’ for me, but in different ways. Labor gives you the manpower and the workers up front. You need them just as much as you need the guy with the two-acre yard to hold a lawn party to raise money. The labor guy loses a day’s pay on election day. The business guy gets his nice lawn tramped over and chewed up. Each makes a commitment to you in his own way. You need them both.

# A Quick Note on Congressional Elections

- Individual state elections

United States Senate election in Indiana, 2018<sup>[72]</sup>

Party	Candidate	Votes	%	±%
Republican	Mike Braun	1,158,000	50.73%	+6.45%
Democratic	Joe Donnelly (incumbent)	1,023,553	44.84%	-5.20%
Libertarian	Lucy Brenton	100,942	4.42%	-1.26%
Write-in		70	<0.01%	N/A
	Total votes	2,282,565	100%	N/A
	Republican gain from Democratic			

- In most states:

- Two stage election

- Primary: each party

- General: republicans vs democrats

- In a few states:

Republican Primary U.S. Senate, Indiana, 2018<sup>[73]</sup>

Party	Candidate	Votes	%
Republican	Mike Braun	208,497	41.18%
Republican	Todd Rokita	151,904	30.00%
Republican	Luke Messer	145,936	28.82%
	Total votes	506,337	100%

# Primary Constituency

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- Primary constituency
  - Strongest supporters, earliest backers
  - Individuals who vote for a candidate in the **primary election**
- Who do you think is more important to a representative: the *primary constituency* or the *reelection constituency*?

# Personal Constituency

[Open image](#) X



Source information	
Name	MARIEN, JOANNE
Earmarked by	ACTBLUE
City and state	KATONAH, NY 10536
Occupation	PROFESSOR
Employer	MANHATTANVILLE
Year to date	\$250.00

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Source information	
Name	ZOHNY, TAREQ
Earmarked by	ACTBLUE
City and state	NEW YORK, NY 10128
Occupation	TEACHER
Employer	DEPT OF ED
Year to date	\$300.00



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Source information	
Name	FRACKELTON, WILLIAM FRACKELTON
Earmarked by	ACTBLUE
City and state	BROOKLYN, NY 11216
Occupation	PRINCIPAL
Employer	NYCDOE
Year to date	\$250.00

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Source information	
Name	LIN, EDGAT
Earmarked by	ACTBLUE
City and state	BROOKLYN, NY 11238
Occupation	EDUCATOR
Employer	NYCDOE
Year to date	\$500.00

**Key Question:** How would you try to **win over constituents** as a member of Congress?