Congressional Incentives & "The Textbook Congress": Representation & Getting Re-Elected

Carlos Algara calgara@ucdavis.edu

November 13, 2017







2 The "Textbook Congress": Incentives & Re-Election

District vs. Party in Congress

Congress Type

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

Summing It Up

- Individual legislators each have a competing self-interests, even those in the same party
- ▶ Inherent structure of Madison's Model: Human Nature \rightarrow_1 Factions \rightarrow_2 Representation
- Each legislator needs to pass policies favored by factions to be re-elected, but making policy requires compromise (i.e. coalition maintenance) & paying transaction costs
- Parties reduces transaction costs & coalition maintenance by controlling the agenda (number of options available to vote on)
- Parties have a strong incentive to come up with *minimal* winning coalitions, why?
- Legislative parties are consistently plagued by collective action problem: perhaps a disconnect between individual self-interest of members & collective party self-interest

Mayhew's Electoral Connection

- What is the paramount assumption Mayhew makes about members of Congress?
- ▶ What about policy goals for members of Congress (MCs)?
- Mayhew argues that some MCs might have policy goals, but pursuing goals conditional on being re-elected
- Does Mayhew contend that there is anything MCs can do to be re-elected? What is Mayhew's conception of MCs?
- MCs operate under conditions of *high uncertainty*, what does this mean?
- MCs are not certain that what worked for them in the past will work for them in the future...
 - Perhaps they take the wrong vote (red-state Democrats & ACA)
 - Perhaps they will face a better funded & well-known quality opponent in next election?

How MCs Act on Self-Interest

How do MCs maximize their chances of being re-elected & continuing their political careers?

- Political Advertising
 - What is advertising as Mayhew defines it?
 - "It helps a congressman to be known. In the main, recognition carries a positive valence; to be perceived at all is to be perceived favorably."
 - How is congressional advertising done?
 - Through *franking priviledges*: such as town-halls, mailers, mobile office meetings, Facebook accounts, Twitter feeds, etc.
 - Can you think of an example of advertising?

Continuing MC Self-Interest

- 2 Credit-Claiming
 - "Defined here as acting so as to generate a belief in a relative political actor (or actors) that one is personally responsible for causing the government to do something that the actor (or actors) considers desirable."
 - "The empahsis here is on individual accomplishment (rather than, say, party or governmental accomplishment) and on the congressman as doer."
 - Key to credit-claiming is *particularized benefits*, what are these?
 - Benefits to specific group or geographic concentration where the cost is *distributed*
 - Examples of this?
 - Must be worthy of credible claim by the MC
 - Why would credit-claiming on non-particularized benefit not work?
 - ► MC 1/535 members: credible to say "I personally" am responsible for passage of the transportation program

Continuing MC Self-Interest

Position-Taking

- "Public enunciation of a judgmental statement on anything likely to be of interest to political actors. This statement may take the form of a roll call vote."
- Is this more a valence consideration or a policy consideration?
- The political message itself is the commodity rather than "doing"
- What would be an example of congressional position taking?
- Perhaps most salient: repeal & replace
- Policy positions rather than valence positions



Congressional Committees As Mechanisms of Re-Election

- How do committees help individual members get re-elected?
- Platforms for *position taking* & advertising
- Example: grilling cabinet officials
- MCs specialize policy expertise in congressional committees (division of labor in Congress)
- Committees can also help on deliverance of *particularized* benefits to constituents

Committees as autonomous actors & norm of universalism

"Any time any member of the committee wants something, or wants to get a bill out, we git it out for him...makes no difference-Republican or Democrat. We are all Americans when it comes to that." -U.S. Rep. Anonymous (D/R-America)

Contrasting View of Congressional Committees

Committees as Work Horses

"Congress in session is Congress on public exhibition, whilst Congress in its committee rooms is Congress at work." -Woodrow Wilson (1885)

- What does this mean?
- Traditional theories of committees posit autonomous MCs with little regard for party leadership & norm of universalism
- Committees more autonomous during periods of less partisan polarization, why?
- "Lower levels of partisan polarization are associated with stronger committees and relatively weak party leaders."
- Committees one of the *multiple points of access*, each committee responsible for specific policy domains (subcommittees more specialized)...Congress delegates to committees to pass policy.

Role of Committees in Crafting Policy

- Party theory posits that committees are merely extensions of party leadership exercising *positive* & *negative* agenda control
- Textbook Congress posits that committees mainly to serve re-election goals of members; policy outcomes "intended to promote stable policy outcomes and the electoral interests of members"
- Members self-select into committees based on *electoral* considerations, what does this mean?
- "Committee assignment process ensures that members generally will be placed on panels with turf important to the folks back home" - Evans (2015)
- While committees given distinct *property rights*, also have "ex post veto" for legislation changed on floor

A More *Partisan* Story of MCs

- Does Mayhew present a more district-centered view of members of Congress or partisan-centered?
- Parties becoming more distinct & cohesive in Congress
- What portrait of Congress does Party Theory paint?
- Congress marred with partisan conflict, MCs maybe cross-pressured between party goals & district preferences
- "Fundamental tension occurs when a member's individual & collective interests are in conflict."
- Being "out-of-step" can have dramatic consequences on re-election, example?

A More Partisan Story cont.

- Parties help facilitate conflict by shutting out other party from legislative process when they are in the majority...how do they do so?
- Recall party theory posits that "power shifts from the committee rooms of Congress toward majority party leaders as policy preferences within each party become more homogeneous"
- Committees are just "partisan arms" of the party, exercising the will of leadership
- Potentially costly for legislators representing politically volatile districts (50/50 districts or districts that lean towards opposing party)
- ► In polarized & party-centered environments, MCs may

Variation in Member Means of Re-election

- Marginal member's develop differing "home-styles" based on needs of re-election
- Main distinction is between appropriators and 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?

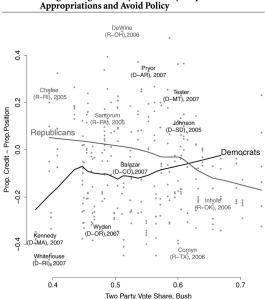


FIGURE 3 Marginal Legislators Systematically Emphasize Appropriations and Avoid Policy

Key Points:

- Mayhew paints a district-centered (Madisonian) view of Congress
- MCs primarily motivated by incentive to be re-elected & operate in high degree of uncertainty
- Members engage in 3 activities to be re-elected: political advertising, credit-claiming, position taking
- Congressional committees important for Mayhew under his model
- Text-Book Congress posits autonomous and less partisan committees
- However, as Congress polarizes, committees key to exercising party control over agenda (party theory)
- In text-book Congress, members need incumbency to cultivate support
- Politically vulnerable members still elect to stress committee service to cultivate support needed to win re-election