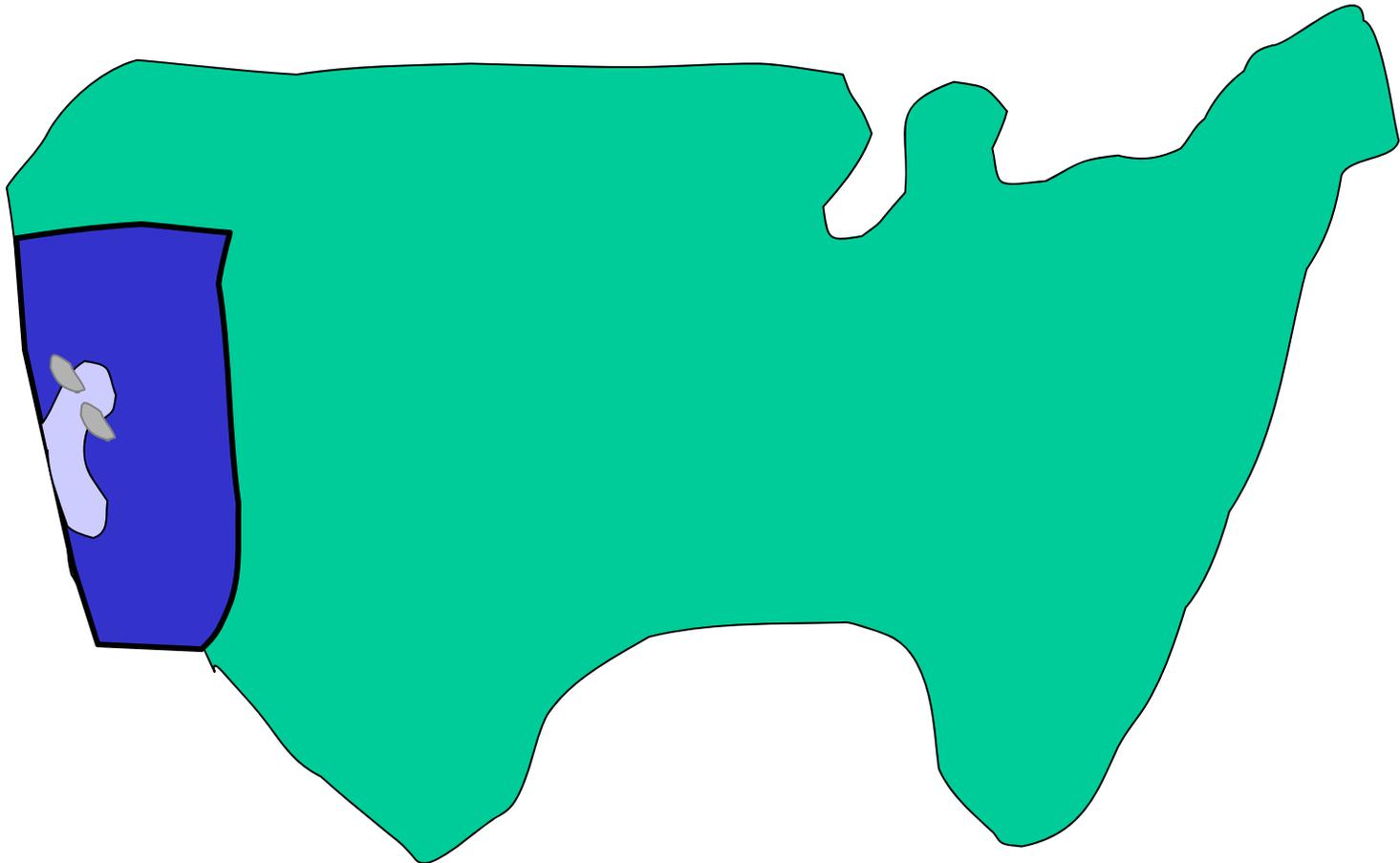


Congressional Candidates

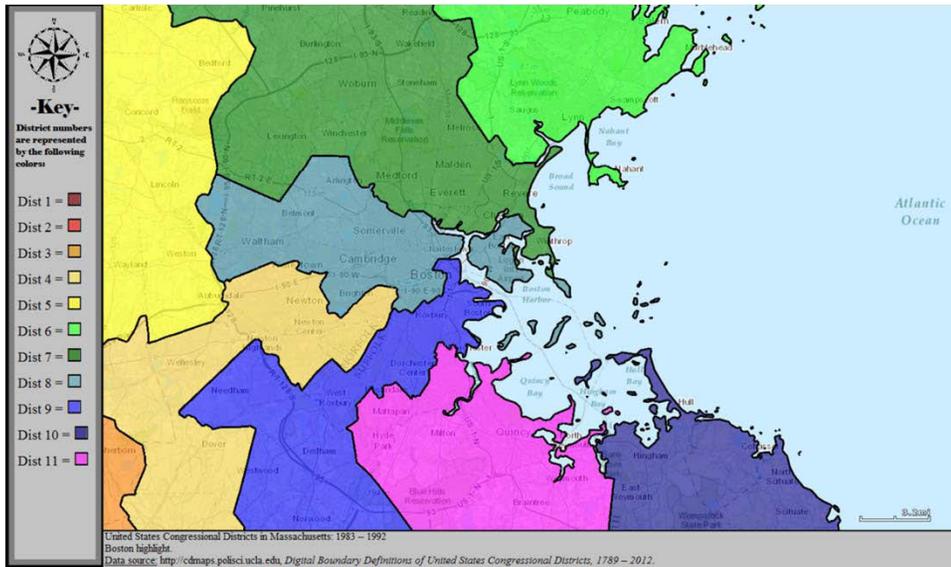
17.251/252

Fall 2016

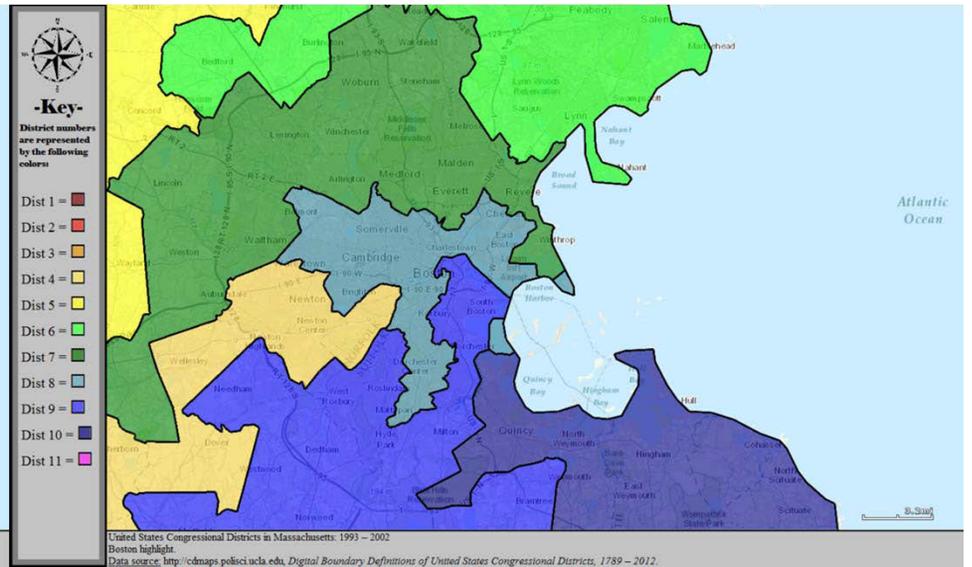
The Hierarchical Structure of Running for Office



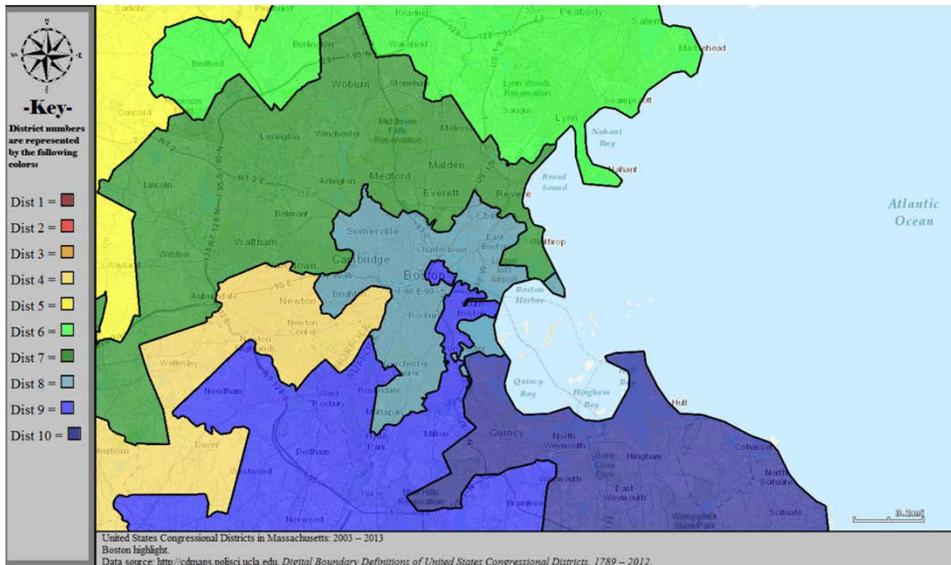
1982-1990



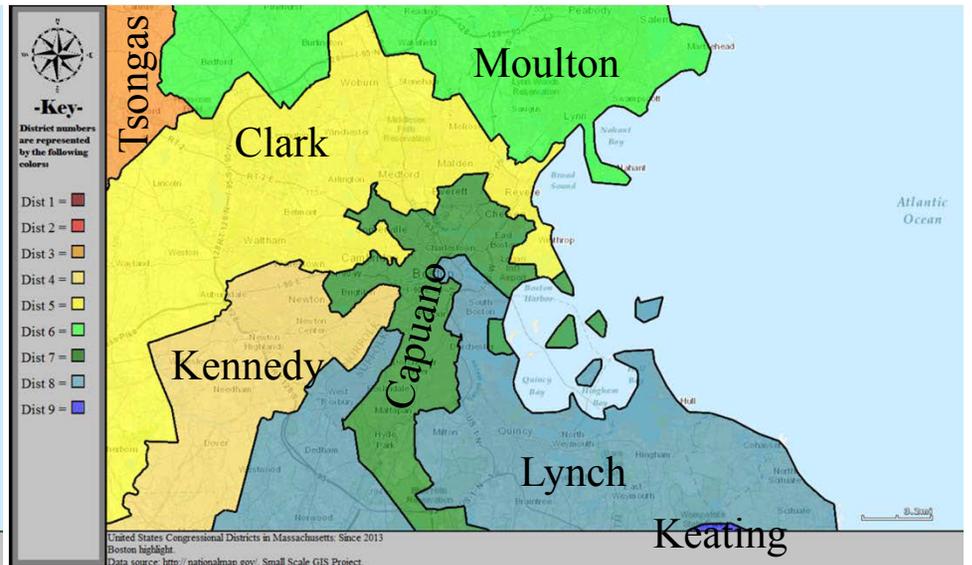
1992-2000



2002-2010

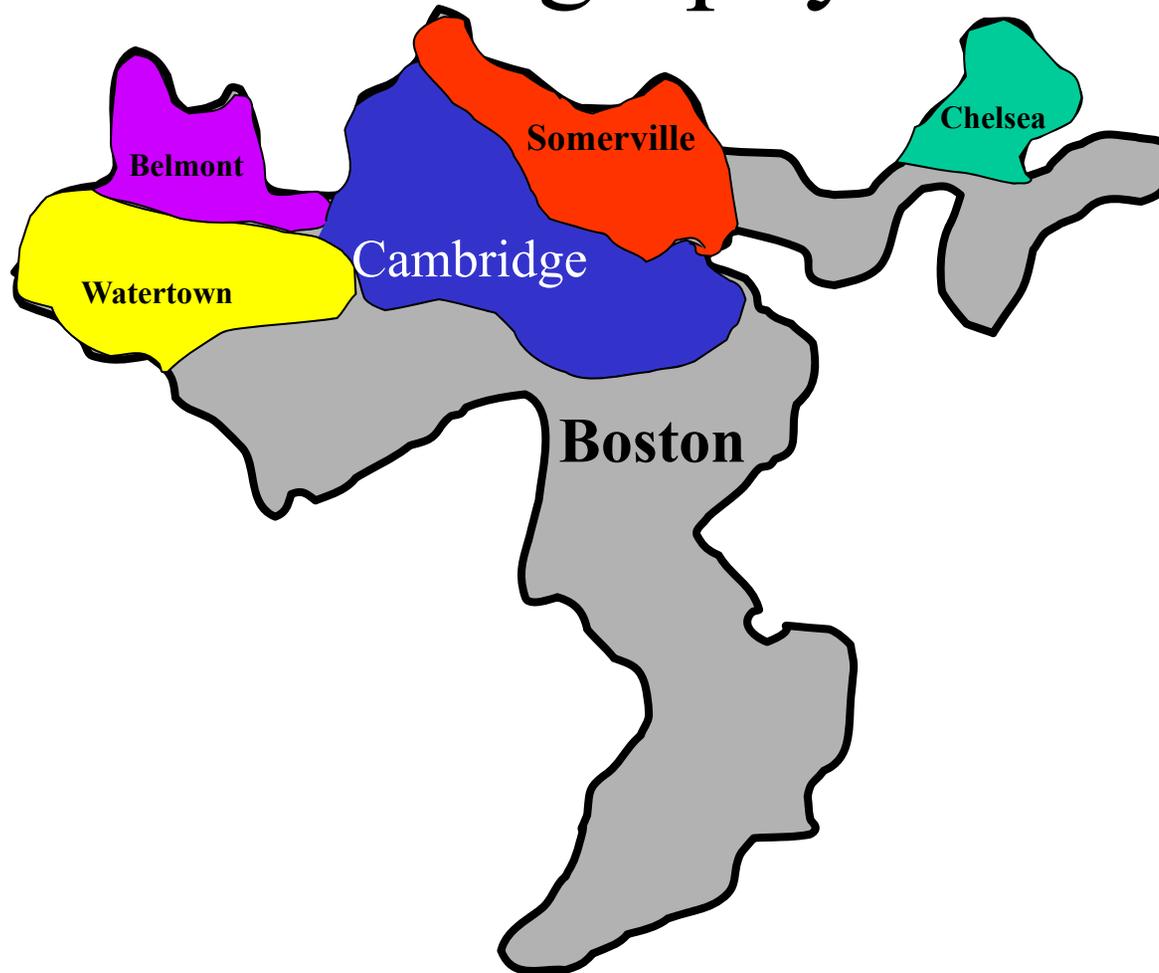


2012-2020



8th District 1998

Geography

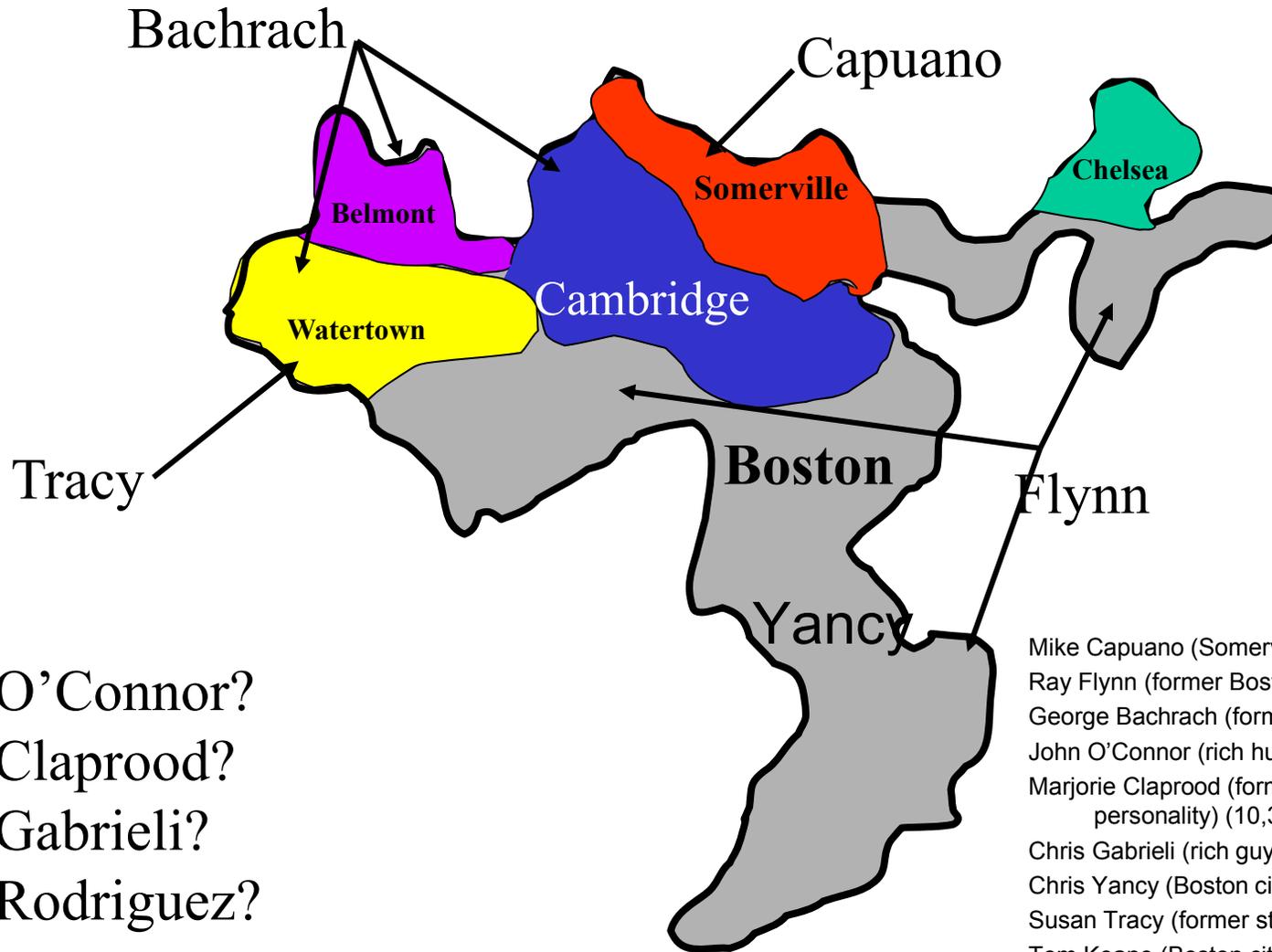


8th District 1998 Candidates

- Mike Capuano (Somerville mayor) (19,439)
- Ray Flynn (former Boston Mayor) (14,829)
- George Bachrach (former state sen. & almost-Rep.) (12,166)
- John O'Connor (rich husband) (11,035)
- Marjorie Claprod (former state rep & radio personality) (10,358)
- Chris Gabrieli (rich guy) (5,732)
- Chris Yancy (Boston city council) (4,460)
- Susan Tracy (former state. Sen.) (2,855)
- Tom Keane (Boston city council) (2,150)
- Alex Rodriguez (1,799)

8th District 1998

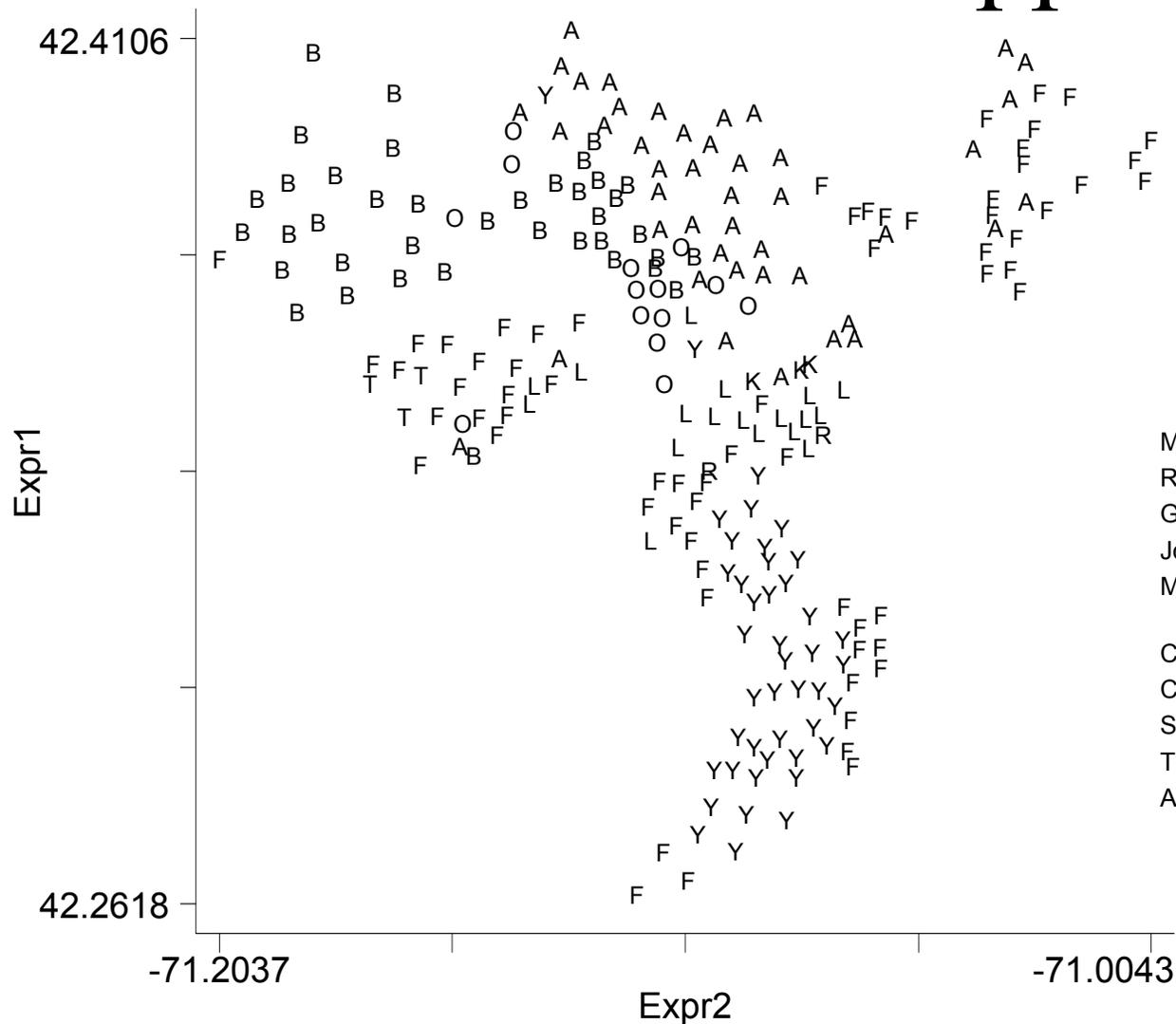
Schematic of support



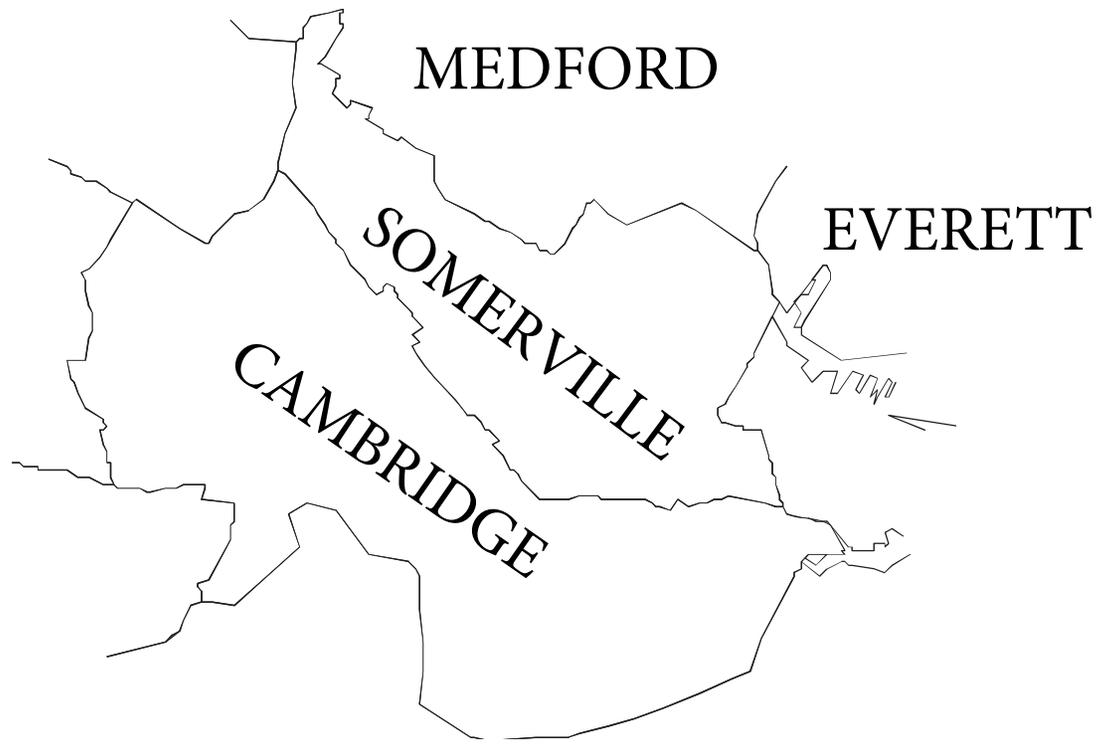
O'Connor?
 Claprood?
 Gabrieli?
 Rodriguez?

- Mike Capuano (Somerville mayor) (19,439)
- Ray Flynn (former Boston Mayor) (14,829)
- George Bachrach (former state sen.) (12,166)
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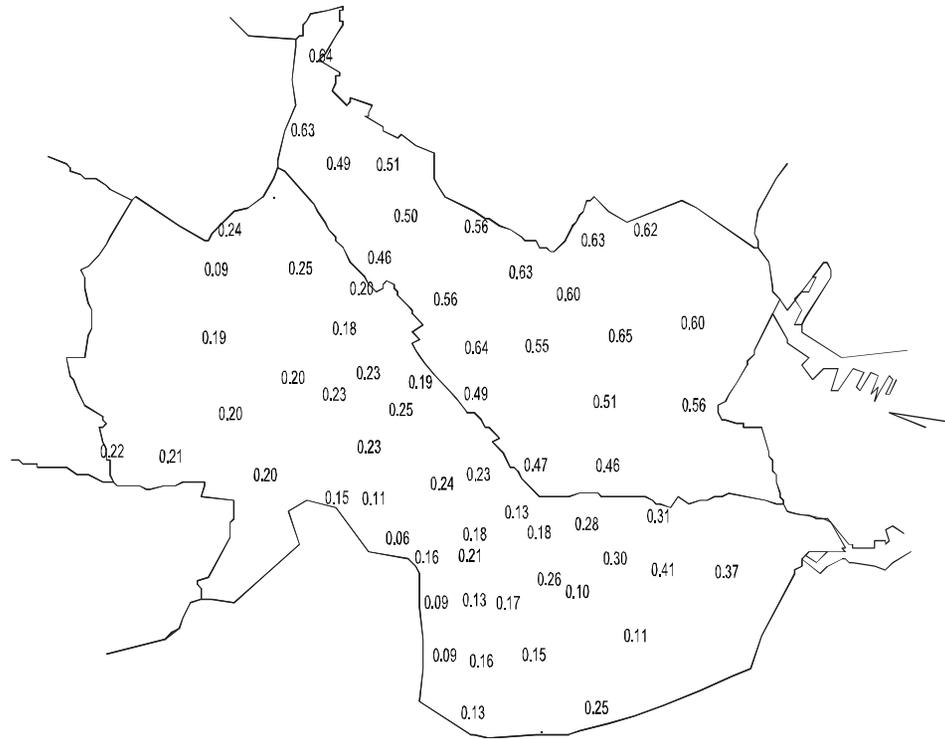
8th District 1998 District Support



- Mike Capuano (Somerville mayor) (19,439)
- Ray Flynn (former Boston Mayor) (14,829)
- George Bachrach (former state sen.) (12,166)
- John O'Connor (rich husband) (11,035)
- Marjorie Claprood (former state rep & radio personality) (10,358)
- Chris Gabrieli (rich guy) (5,732)
- Chris Yancy (Boston city council) (4,460)
- Susan Tracy (former state. Sen.) (2,855)
- Tom Keane (Boston city council) (2,150)
- Alex Rodriguez (1,799)



Capuano Support



Strategic Choice and Political Careers

$$E(a_i) = P_i U_i - C_i$$

$$E(a_j) = P_j U_j - C_j$$

Some important considerations

- Variations in variable values
 - across time
 - cross-sectionally
- Factors that affect the calculus of progressive ambition

$$E(a_i) = P_i U_i - C_i$$

Factors that Affect the Calculus of Progressive Ambition

U_L vs. U_H	P_L vs. P_H	C_L vs. C_H
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -Scope of legislative authority -Political and policy resources within the institution -Pay and perquisites -Springboard effects 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -National forces -Party identification in the districts -Redistricting -Scandal 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -Opportunities foregone -Number and quality of challengers -Fund-raising efficiency -Efficiency of translating money and volunteer time into votes

Pay and Perquisites of state legislatures (some examples)

State	Stipend	Travel allowance
Alabama	\$10/day (C)	\$4,308/month plus \$50/day for three days during each week that the legislature actually meets during any session (U).
California	\$90,526/year	\$141.86 per day for each day they are in session
Georgia	\$17,341/yr	\$173/day (U) set by the Legislative Services Committee.
Massachusetts	\$60,032.6 /year	From \$10/day-\$100/day, depending on distance from State House (V) set by the legislature.
New Hampshire	\$200/two-year term	No per diem is paid.
Rhode Island	\$14,947.34/yr	No per diem is paid.
West Virginia	\$20,000/yr	\$131/day during session (U) set by compensation commission

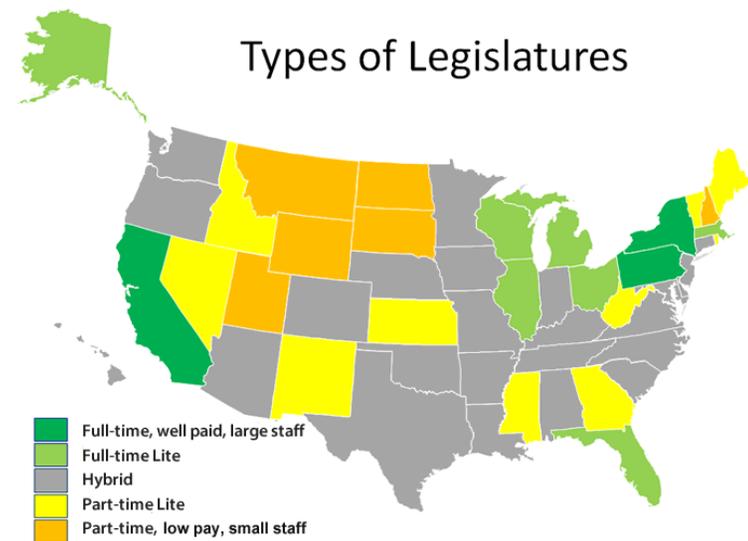
U = Unvouchered
V – Vouchered
C = Calendar Day

Source: National Conference on State Legislatures
<http://www.ncsl.org/research/about-state-legislatures/2014-ncsl-legislator-salary-and-per-diem-table.aspx>

Quote removed due to copyright restrictions. Please see Mehta, Seema. "[L.A. County Board of Supervisors: 5 jobs politicians especially covet](#)." Los Angeles Times. September 6, 2013.

Variation in state legislative capacities

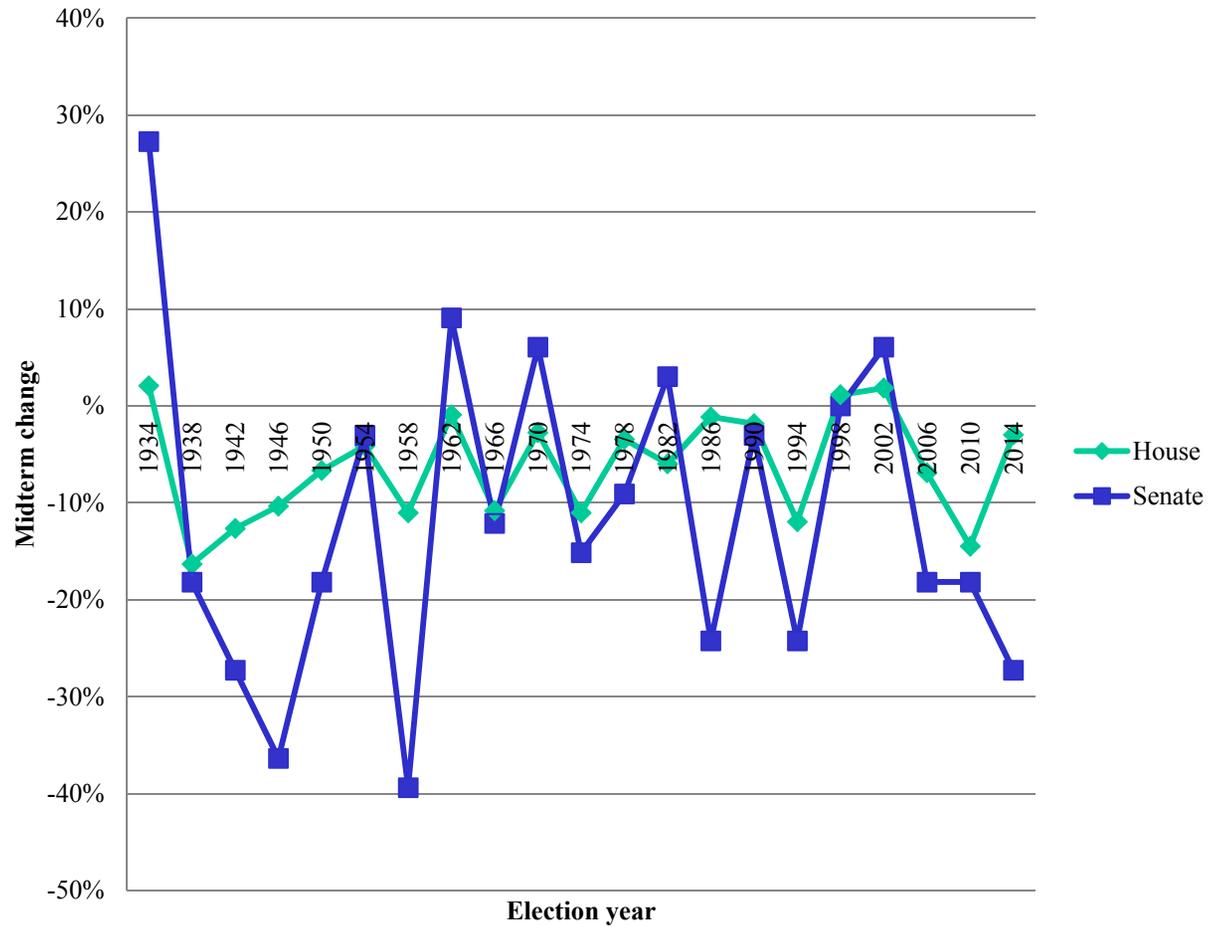
Category of Legislature	Time on the Job	Compensation	Total Staff/ legislature
Green (Used to be Red)	82%	\$81,079	1,340
Gray (Used to be White)	70%	\$43,429	479
Gold (Used to be Blue)	54%	\$19,197	169



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Source: <http://www.ncsl.org/legislatures-elections/legislatures/full-and-part-time-legislatures.aspx>

National tides



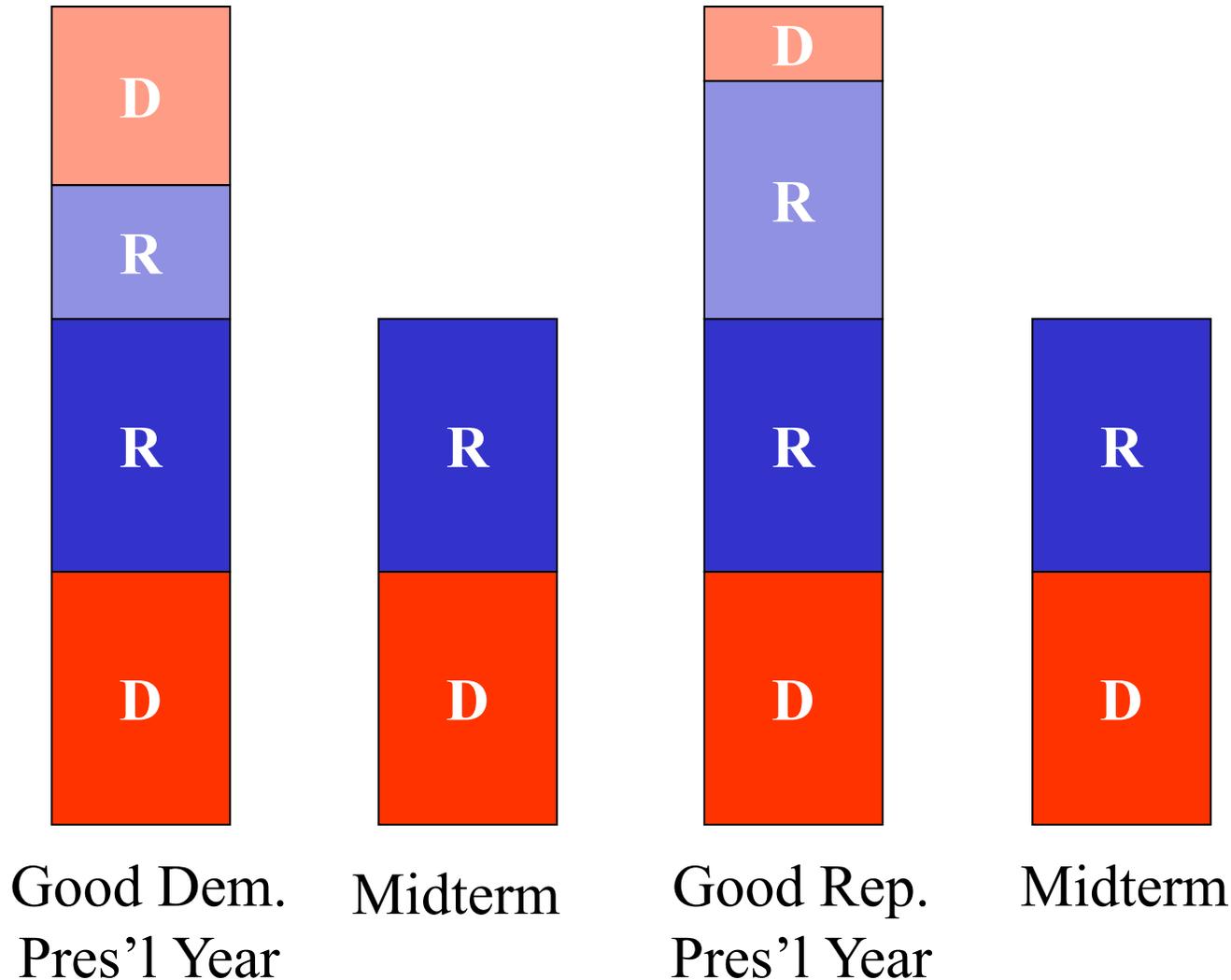
The National Tide in 2006, 2010, 2014

- Retiring from the Senate
 - 1994: 0R, 3D (+8R)
 - 1998: 1R, 3D (0)
 - 2002: 4R, 1D (+2R)
 - 2006: 6R, 0D (+6D)
 - 2010: 5R, 3D (+6D)
 - 2014: 2R, 5D (+9R)
- Retiring from the House
 - 1994: 0R, 34D (+52R)
 - 1998: 10R, 12D (+5D)
 - 2002: 12R, 6D (+8R)
 - 2006: 21R, 0D (+30D)
 - 2010: 8R, 11D (+63R)
 - 2014: 14R, 10D (+13R)

Why the midterm loss?

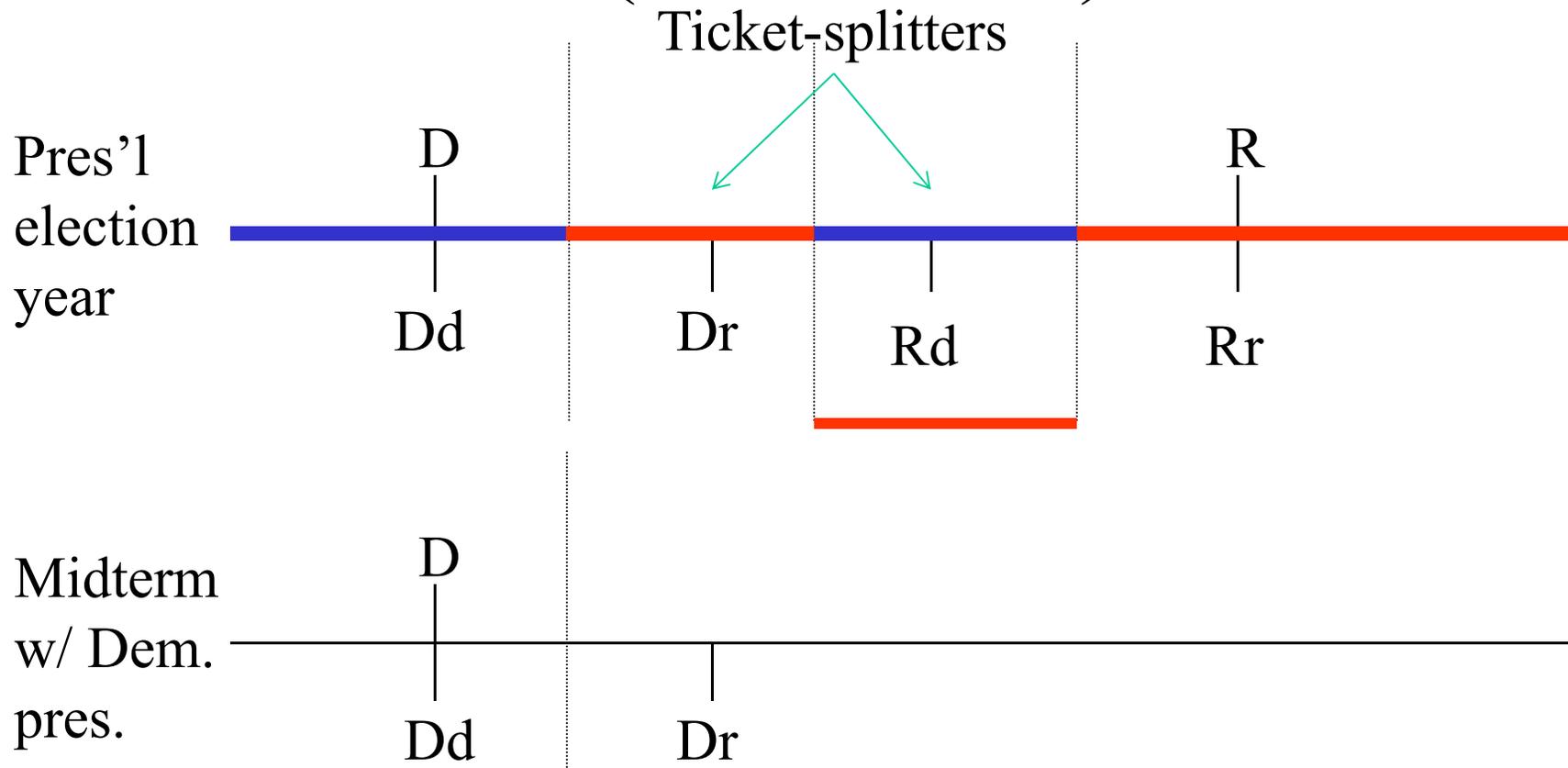
- Surge and decline effect
- Strategic voters
- Strategic politicians

Surge and decline effect*



*Similar to Erikson & Wright's "withdrawn coattails" effect

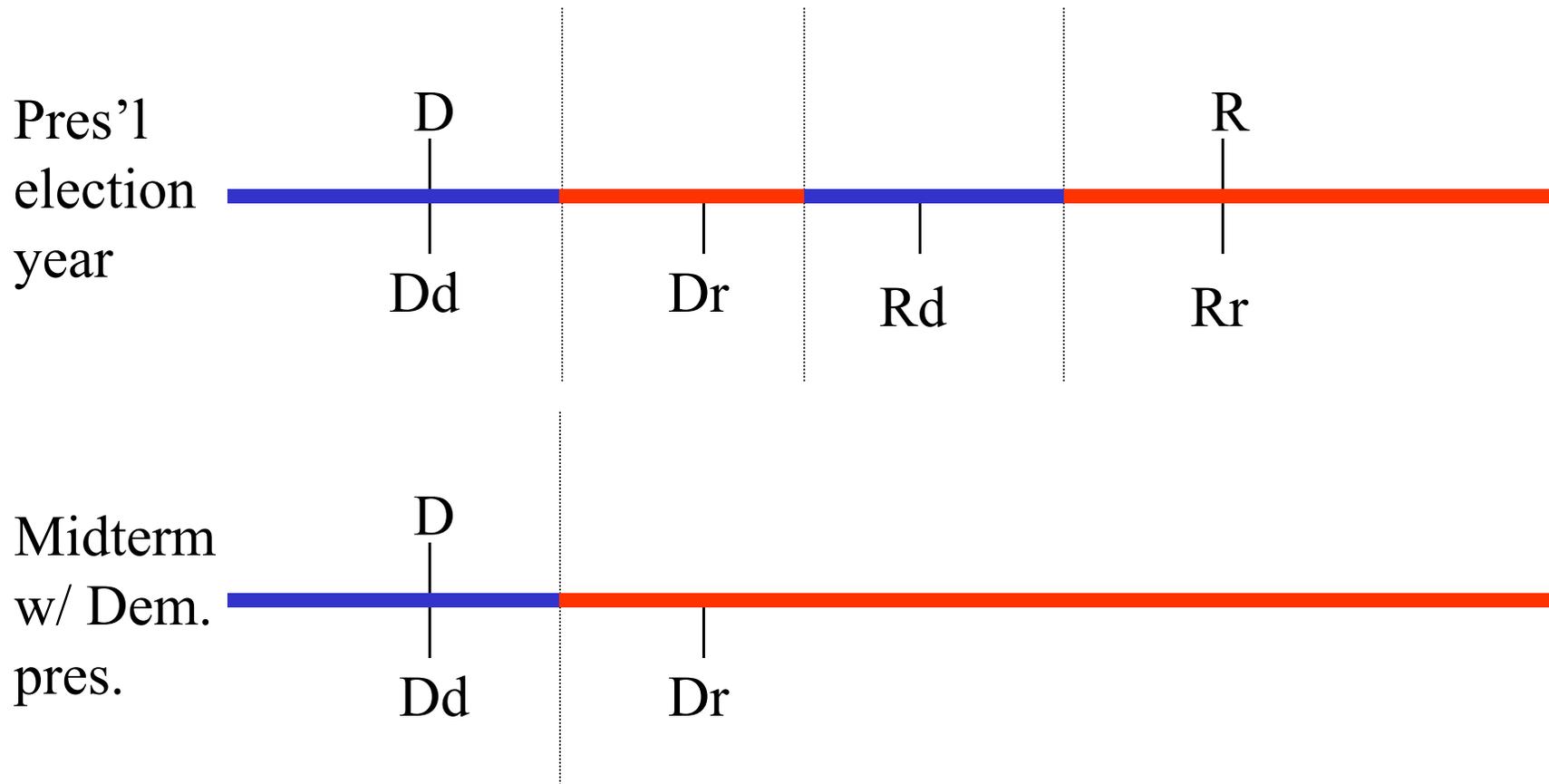
Strategic voters*† (not to scale)



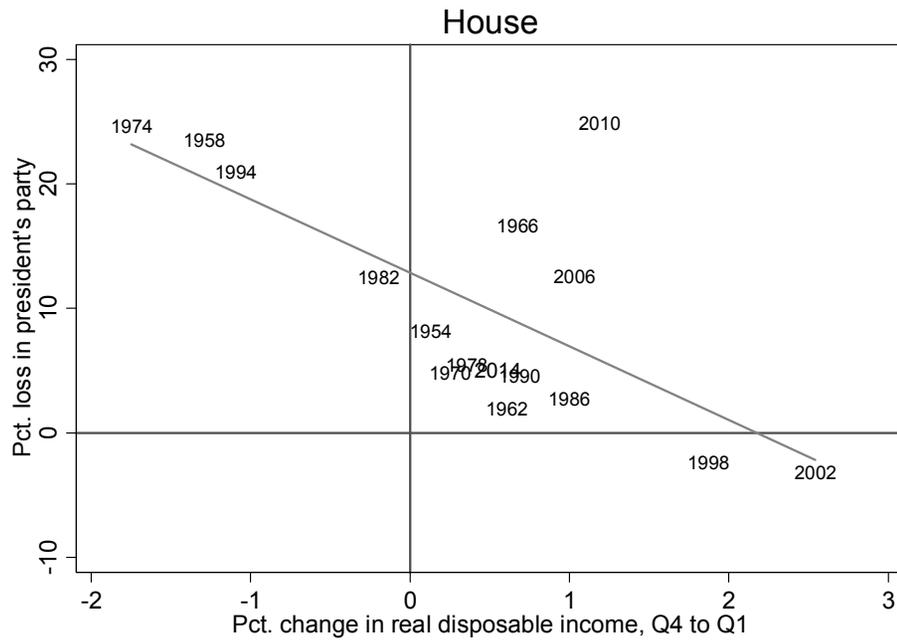
*Policy = $w(\text{President's ideal point}) + (1-w)(\text{Congress's ideal point})$

†Similar to Erikson and Wright's "ideological balancing," but more precise.

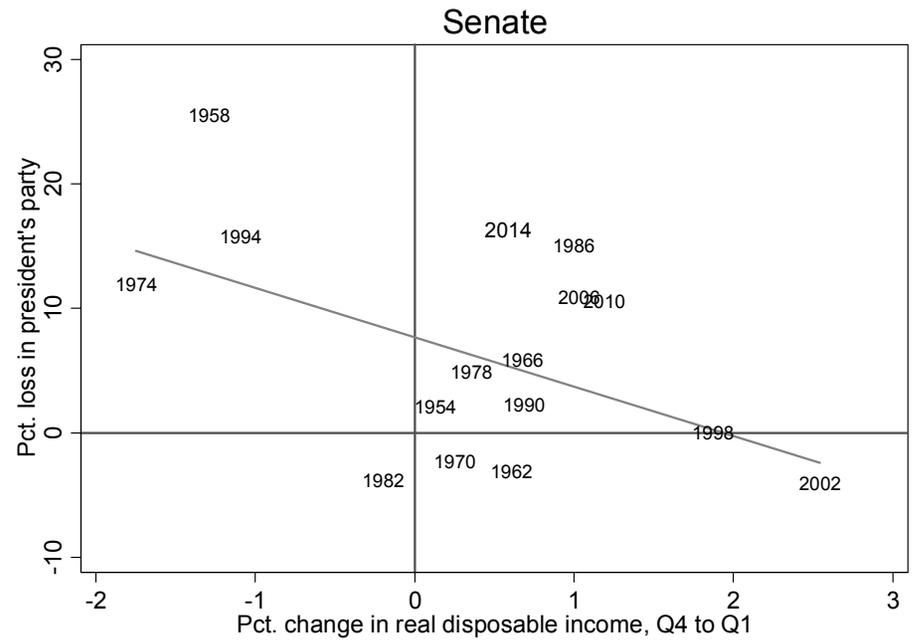
Strategic voters (not to scale)



Strategic Candidates

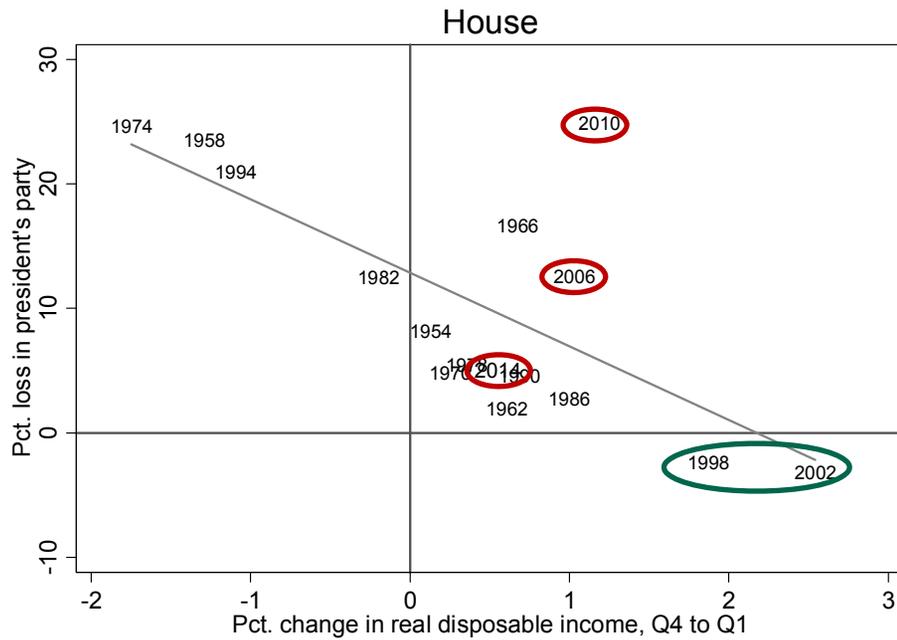


$R^2 = .38$

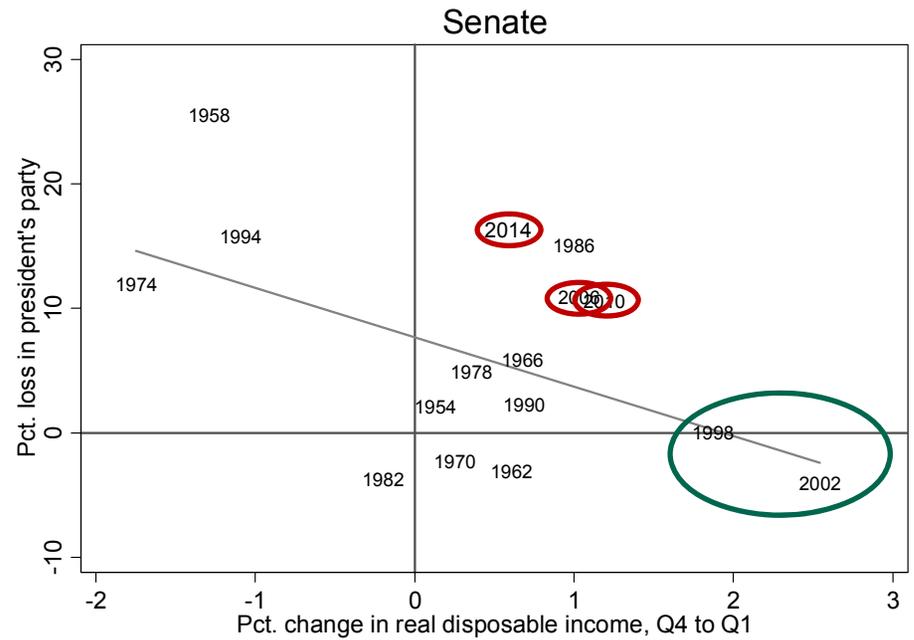


$R^2 = .28$

Strategic Candidates



$$R^2 = .38$$

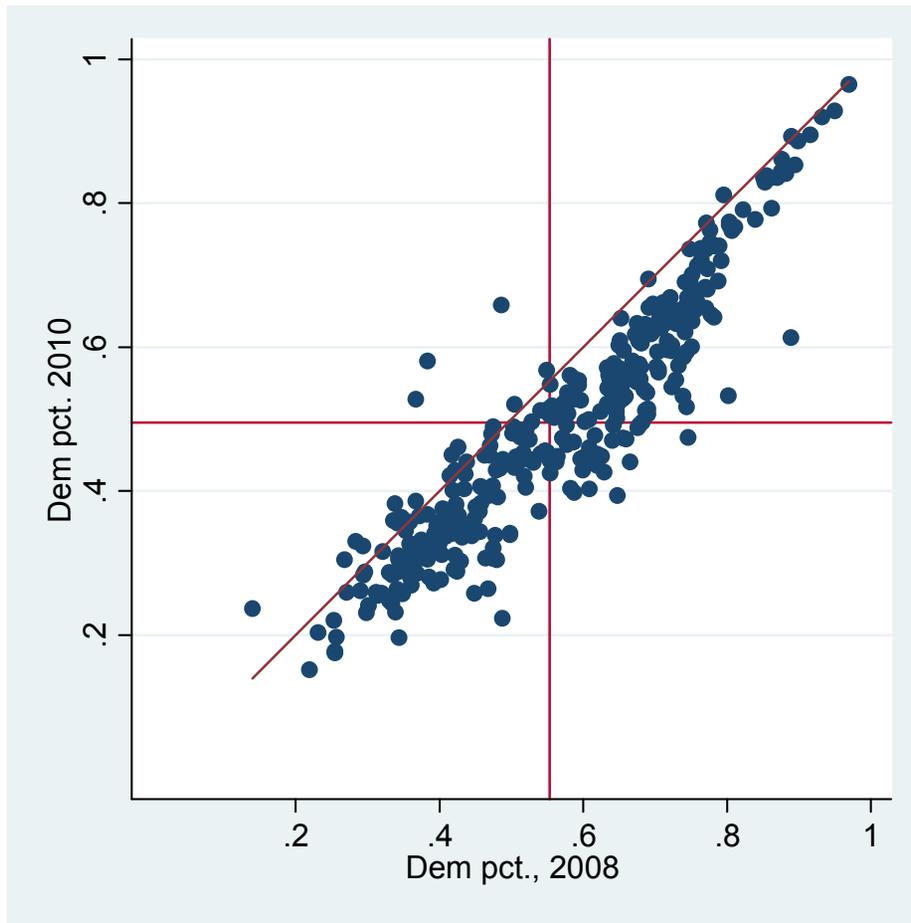


$$R^2 = .28$$

Incumbents, challengers, and open seat candidates

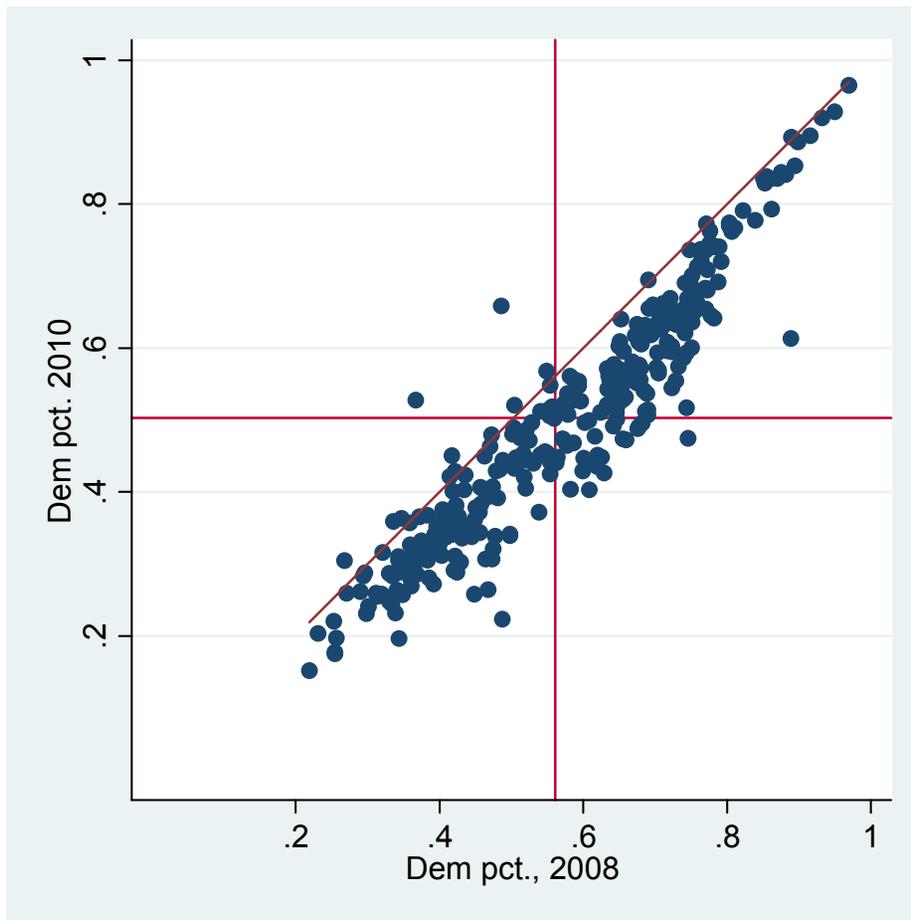
- Incumbents
 - Incumbency advantage
- Challengers
 - Challenger quality
- Open seat candidates
 - The free-for-all

A simple look at incumbent advantage in 2010



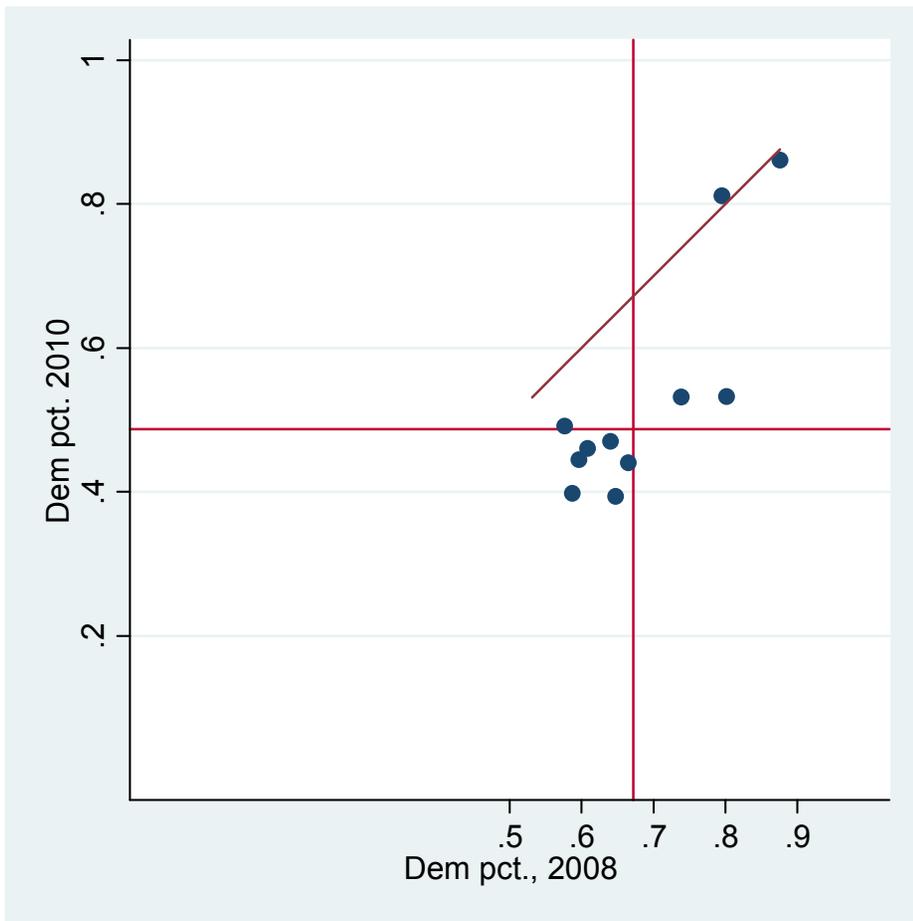
Dem. pct., 2008 = 56.0%
Dem. pct., 2010 = 48.5%
Diff = -7.5%

A simple look at incumbent advantage in 2010--incumbents



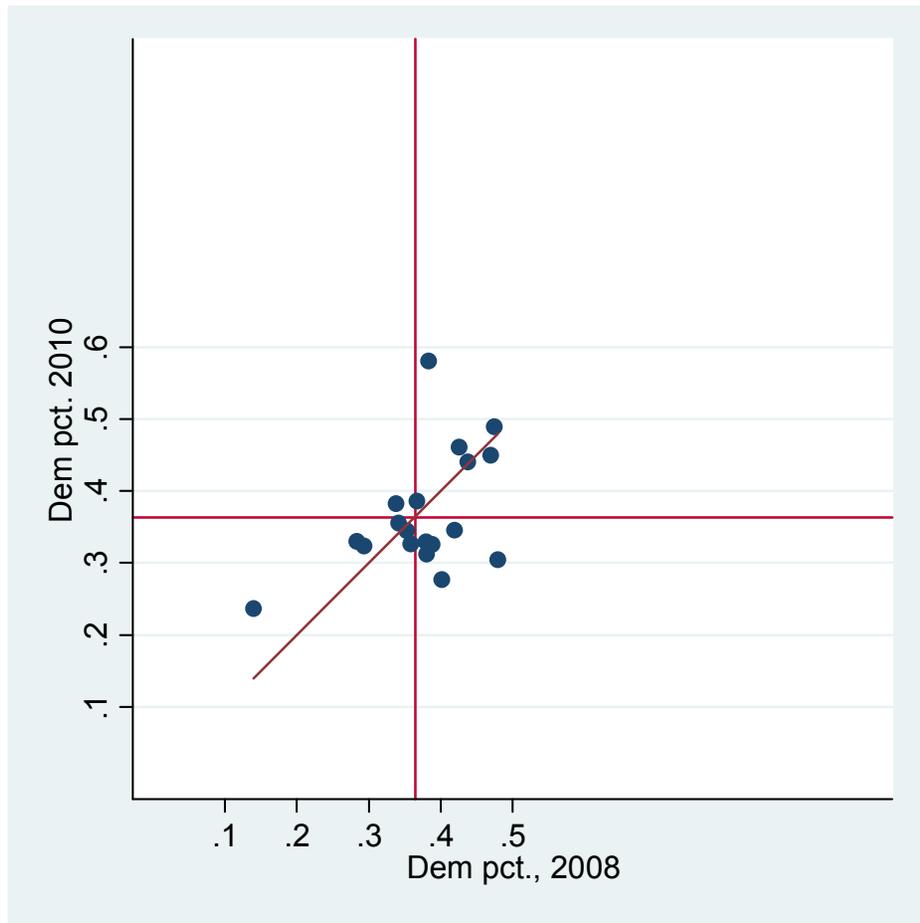
Dem. pct., 2008 = 56.6%
Dem. pct., 2010 = 49.0%
Diff = -7.6%

A simple look at incumbent advantage in 2010---Dem. open



Dem. pct., 2008 = 68.5%
Dem. pct., 2010 = 53.1%
Diff = -15.4%

A simple look at incumbent advantage in 2010—Rep. open

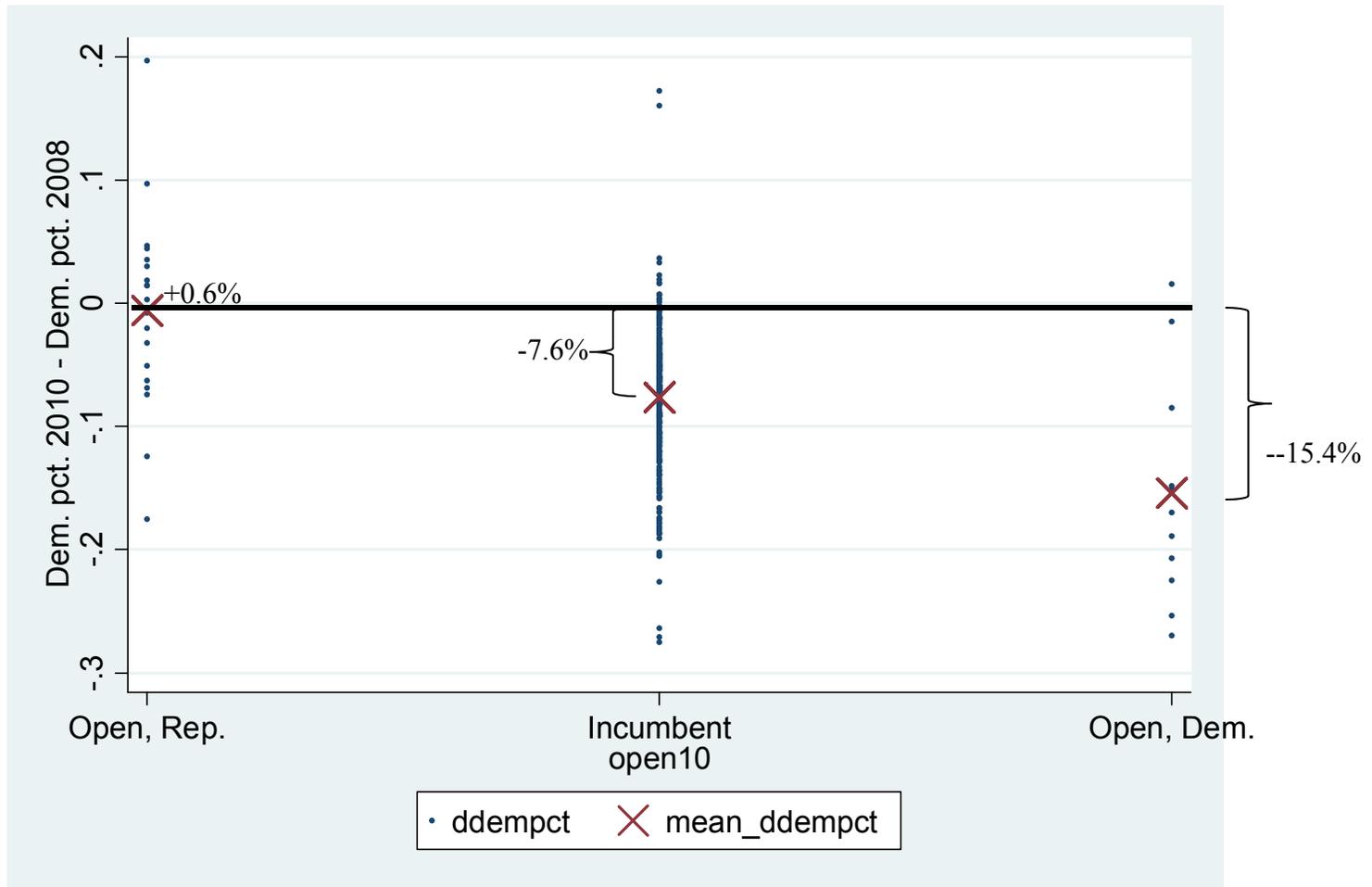


Dem. pct., 2008 = 37.4%

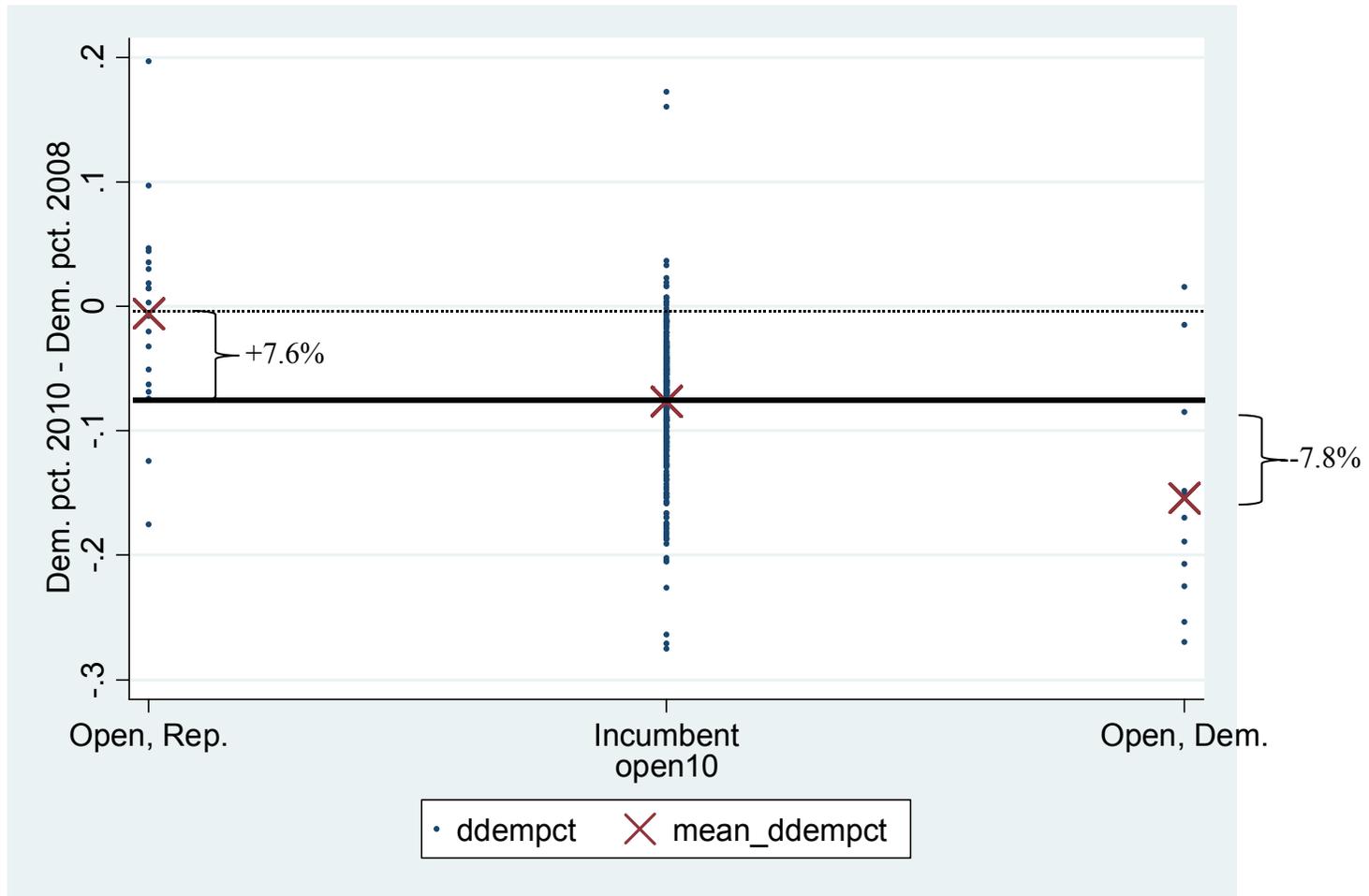
Dem. pct., 2010 = 36.8%

Diff = 0.6%

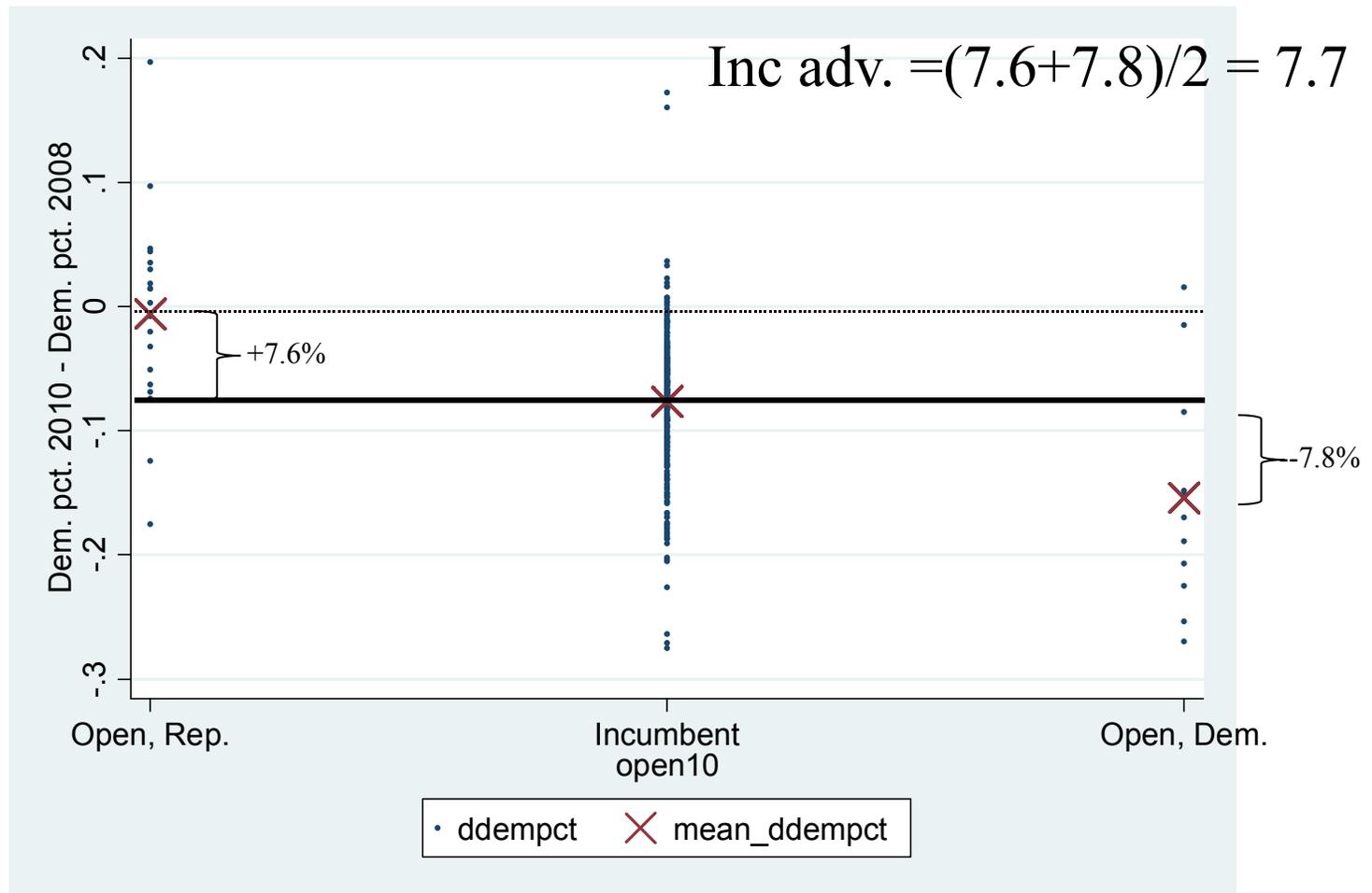
2010 summary (compared to 2008)



2010 summary (compared to 2008)



2010 summary (compared to 2008)



Incumbency Advantage: Primaries

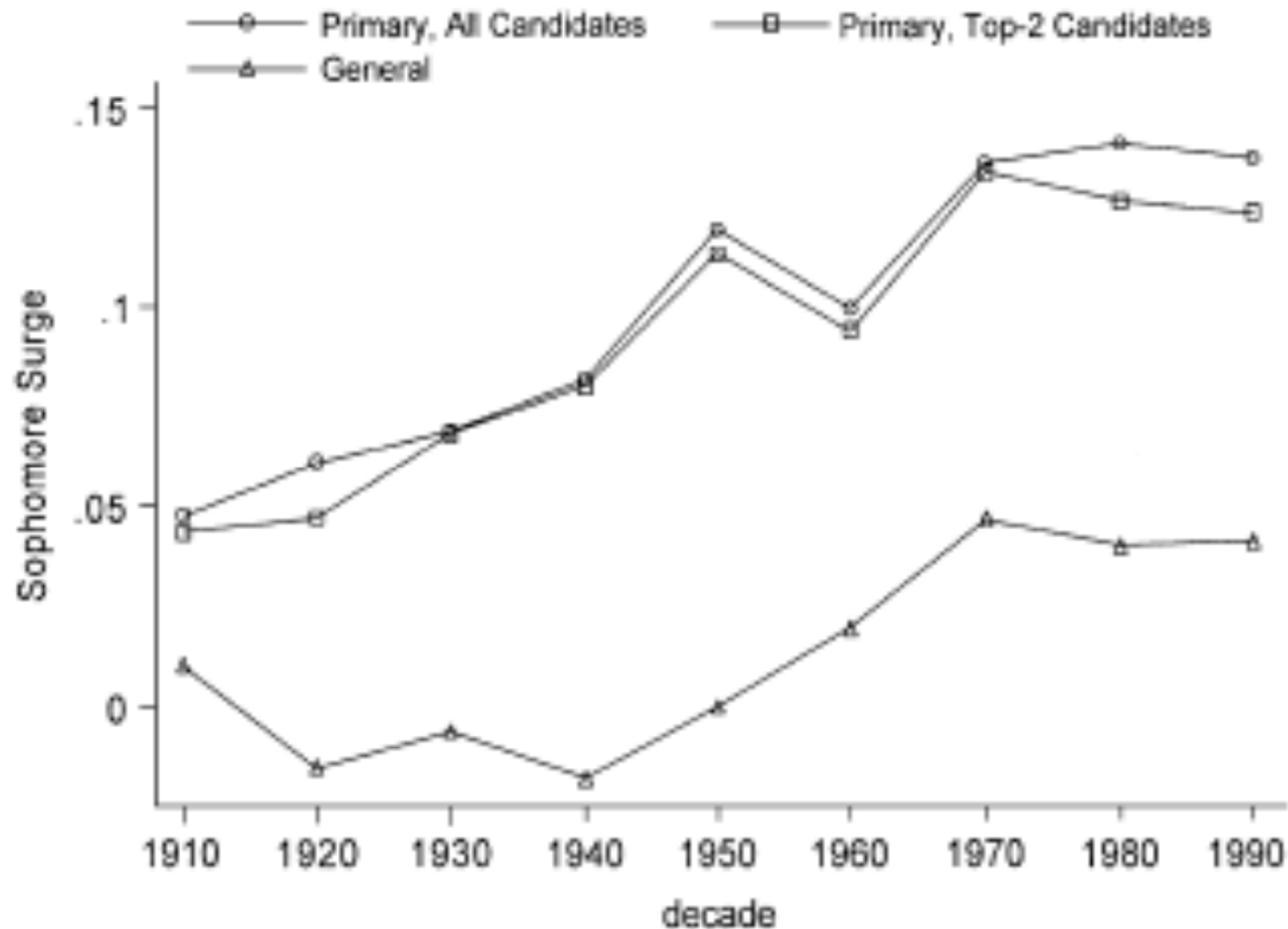


Figure 2 from Ansolabehere, Stephen, John Mark Hansen, Shigeo Hirano, and James M. Snyder. "The incumbency advantage in US primary elections." *Electoral Studies* 26, no. 3 (2007): 660-668.

Incumbency advantage

- Why does it exist?
 - Audience participation

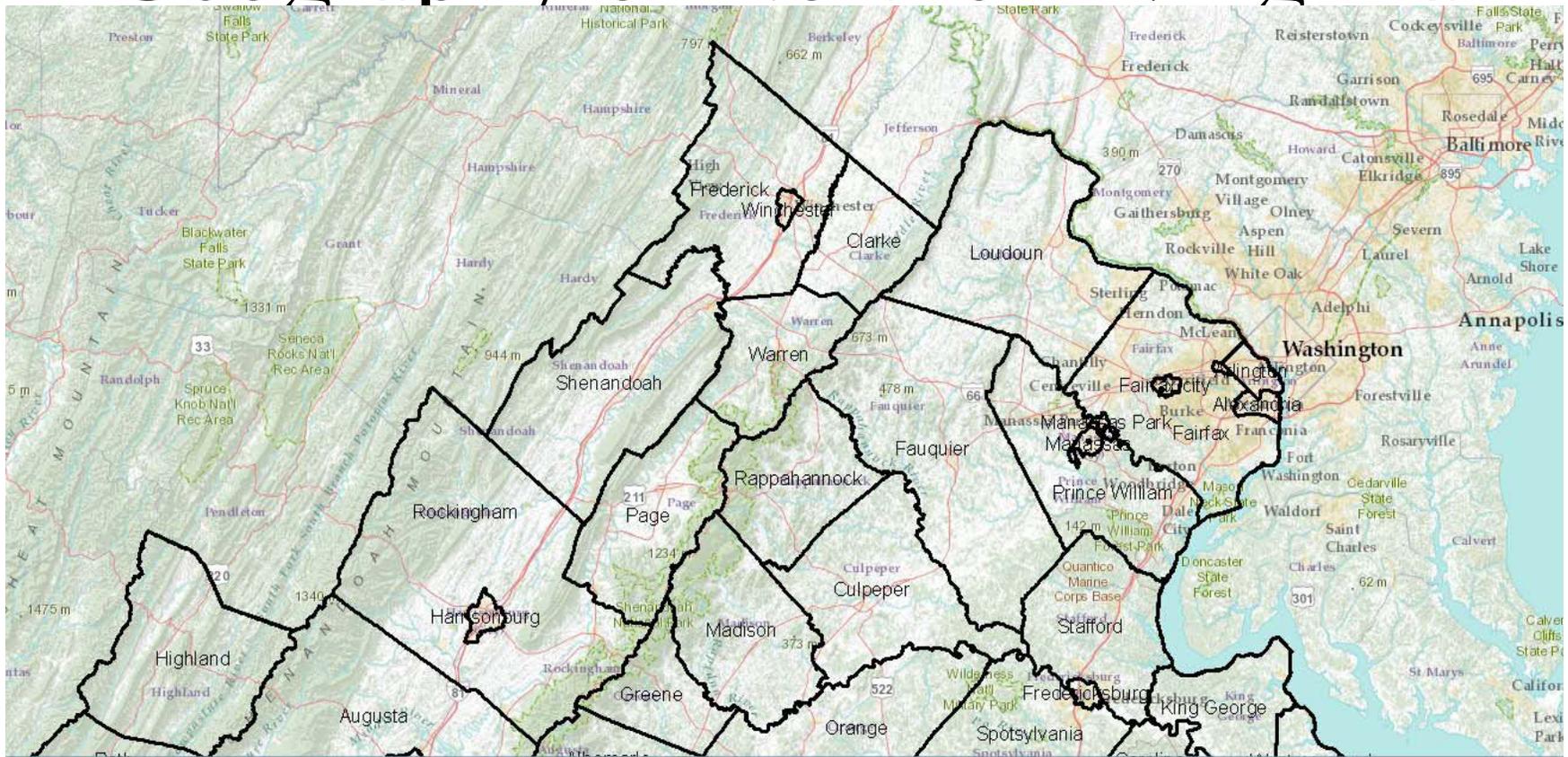
Incumbency advantage

- Why does it exist?
 - Franking, etc.
 - Constituency service
 - Redistricting
 - Smarter candidates
 - Spending advantage

Incumbent-protection gerrymandering

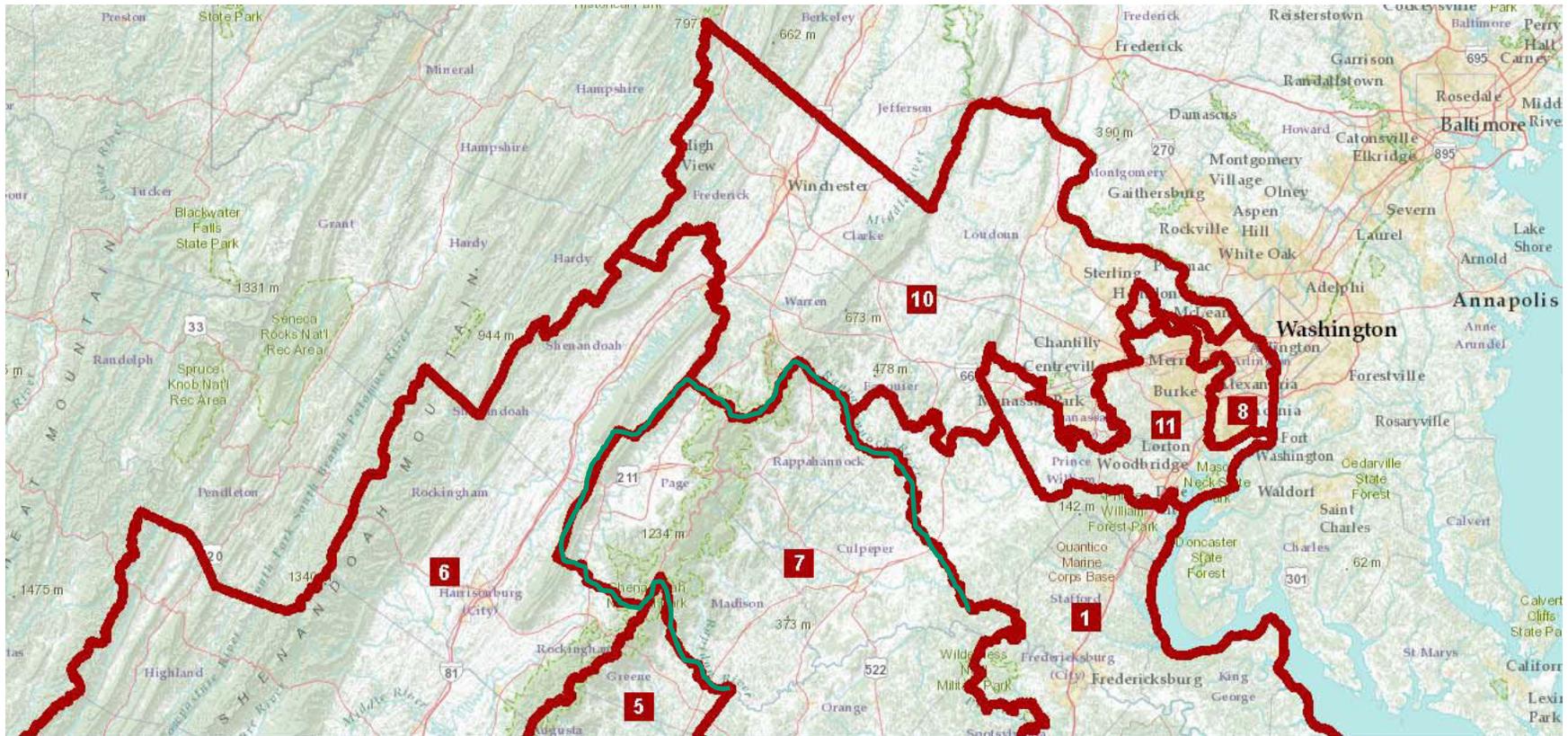
- Frank Wolf (Figure 4.1 in Analyzing Congress)

Geography of Northern Virginia



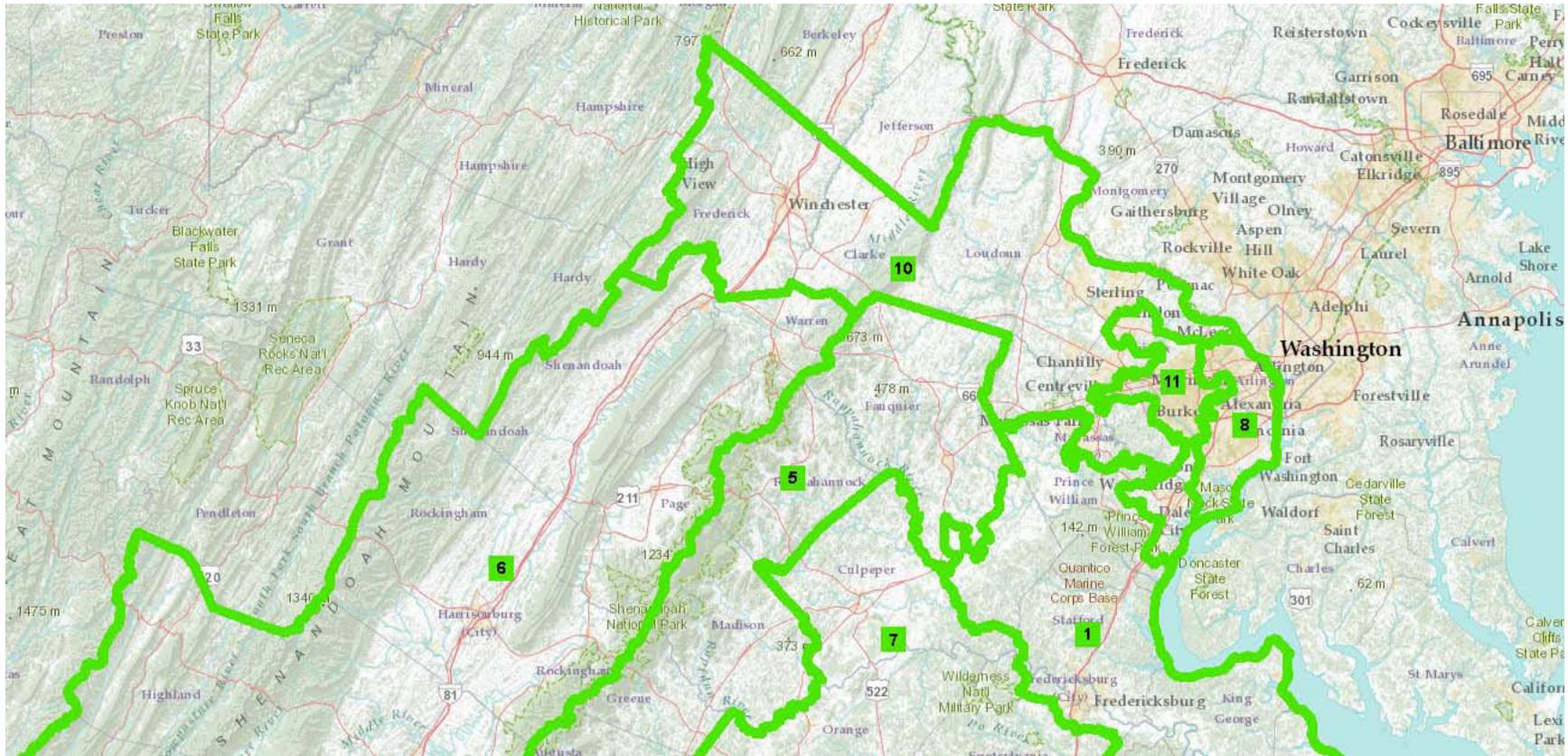
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2001-2010 districts



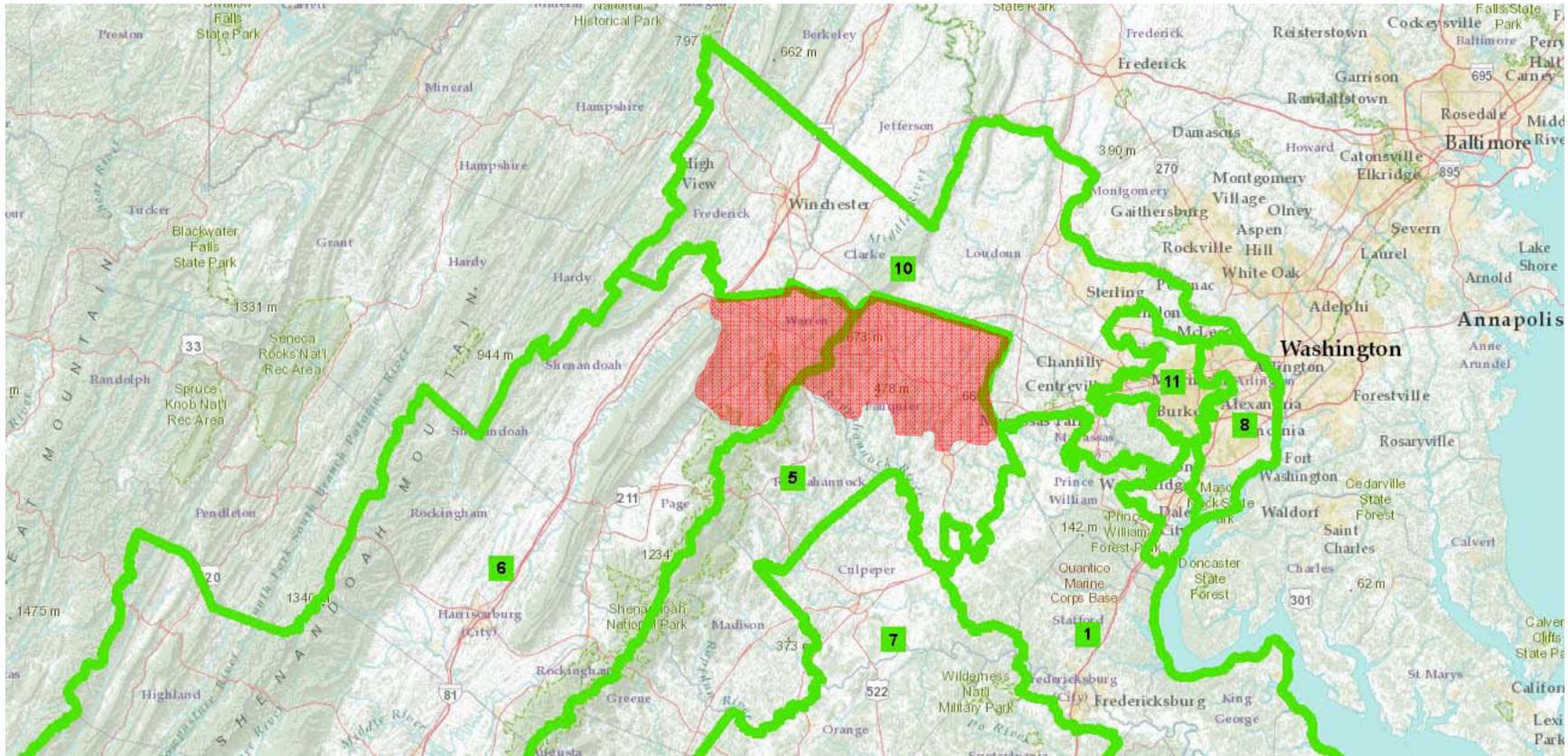
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2011-2020 districts



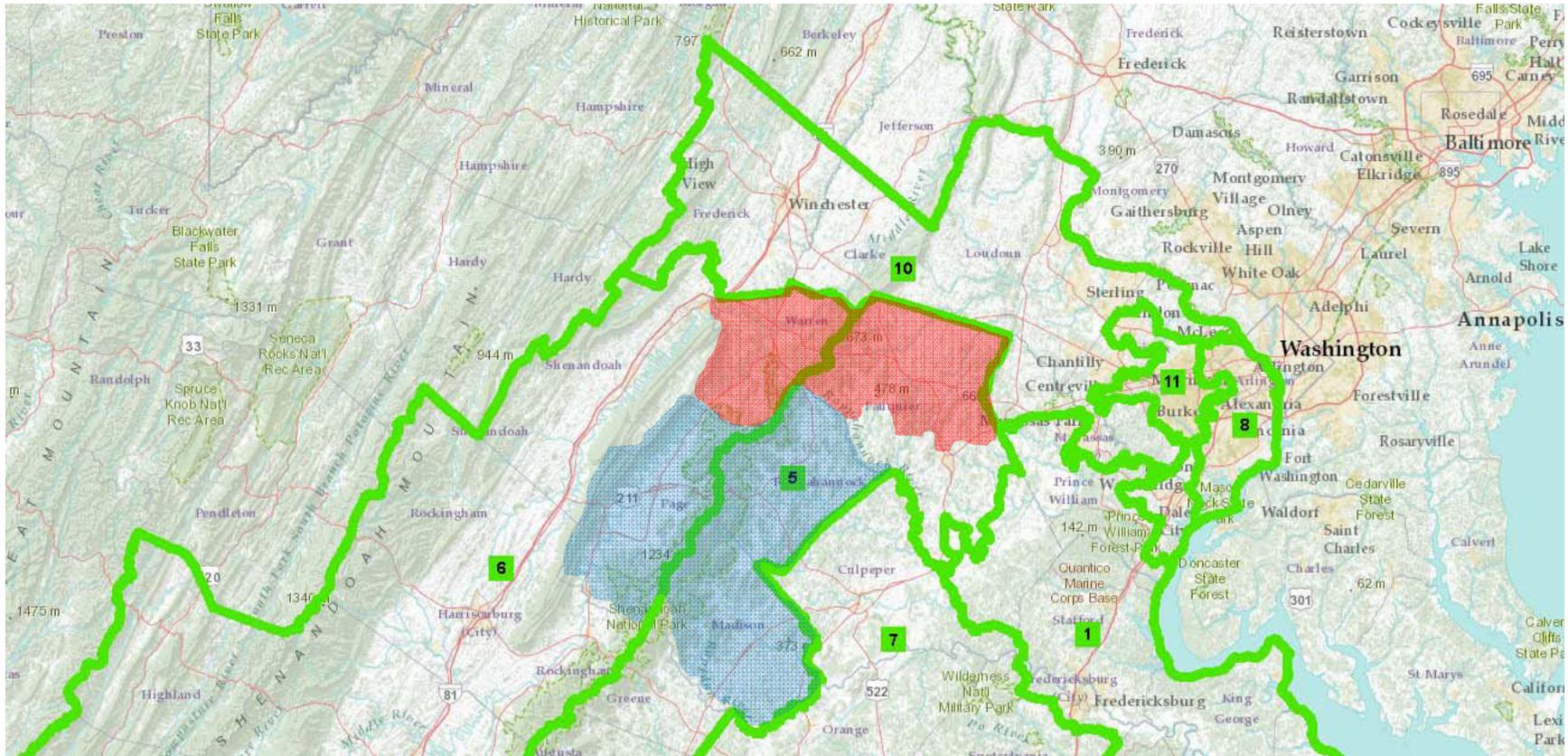
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2011-2020 districts



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2011-2020 districts



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Effect of 2011 Redistricting

District	Republican before	Republican after	Difference
10 (Wolf)	46%	50%	+4%
7 (Cantor)	53%	56%	+3%

POLITICS

Eric Cantor Defeated by David Brat, Tea Party Challenger, in G.O.P. Primary Upset

By JONATHAN MARTIN JUNE 10, 2014



Eric Cantor, a Republican, gave a concession speech in Richmond, Va. Steve Helber/Associated Press

WASHINGTON — In one of the most stunning primary election upsets in congressional history, the House majority leader, Eric Cantor, was soundly defeated on Tuesday by a Tea Party-backed economics professor who had hammered him for being insufficiently conservative.

The result delivered a major jolt to the Republican Party — Mr. Cantor had

widely been considered the top candidate to succeed Speaker John A. Boehner — and it has the potential to change both the debate in Washington on immigration and, possibly, the midterm elections.

The Incumbency Spending Advantage (Update of Fig. 4.2)

Figure 4.2: Average Campaign Fund Raising in House Races, 1974-2014 (2014 dollars)

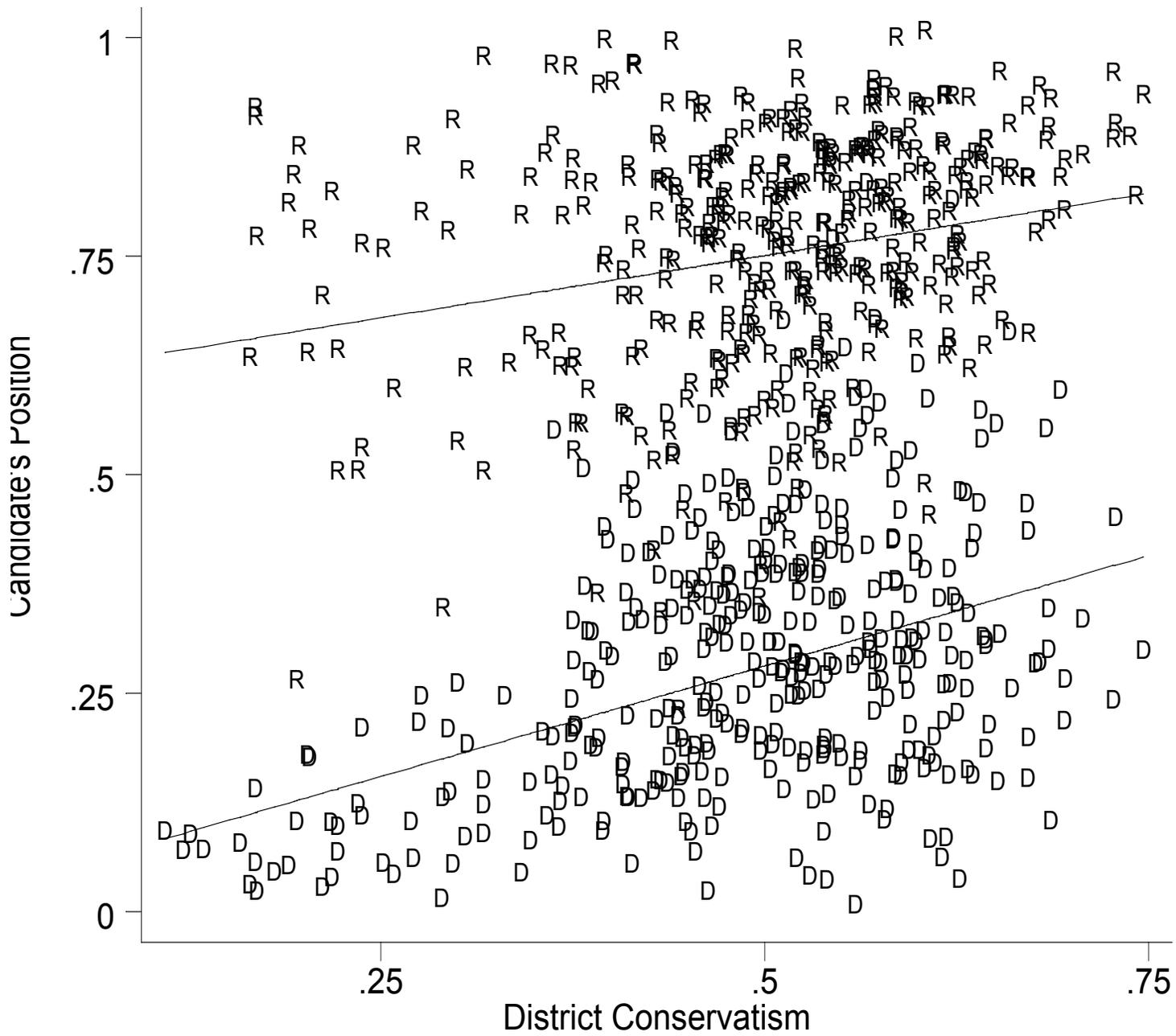


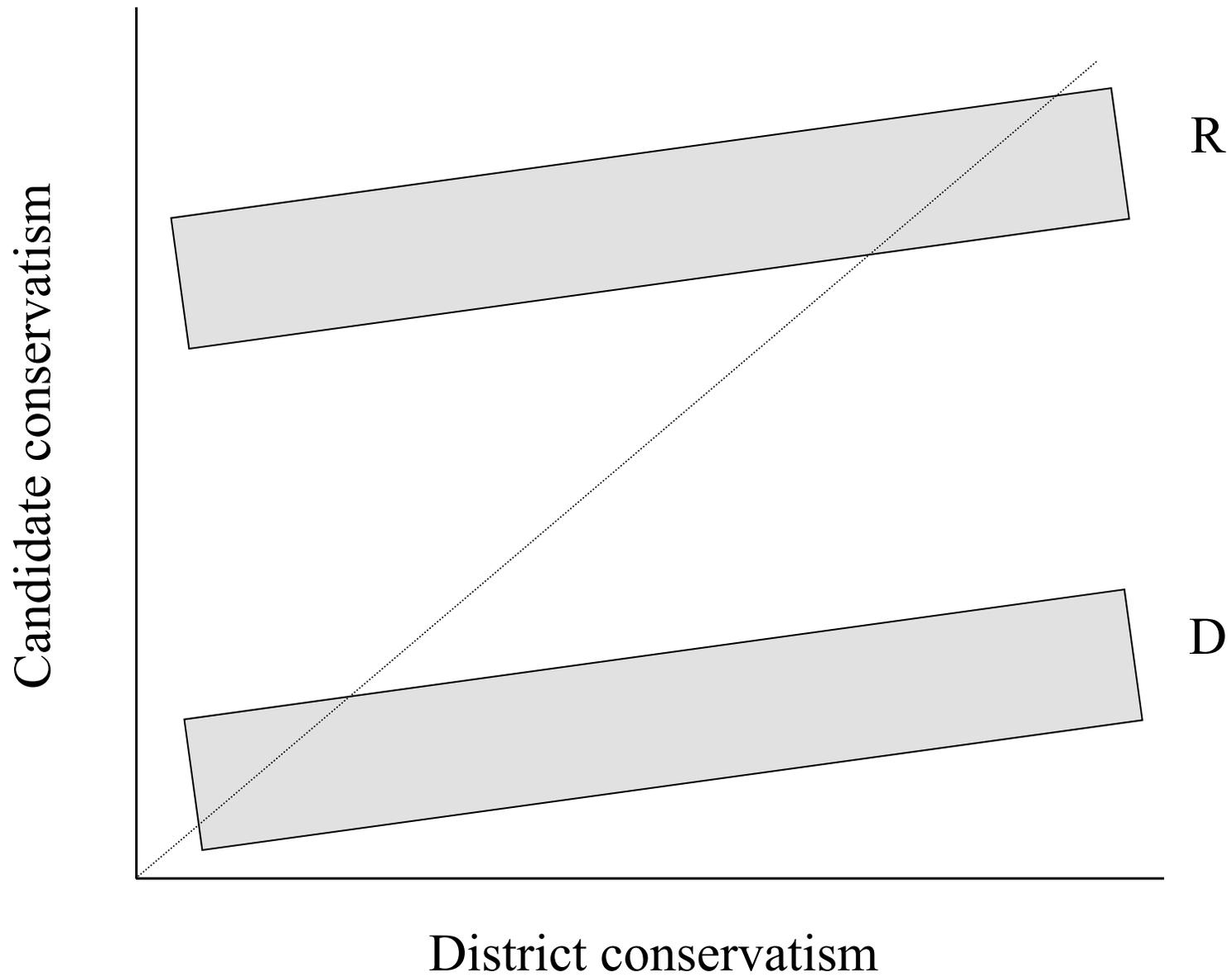
(Challenger) Candidate Quality: 2010

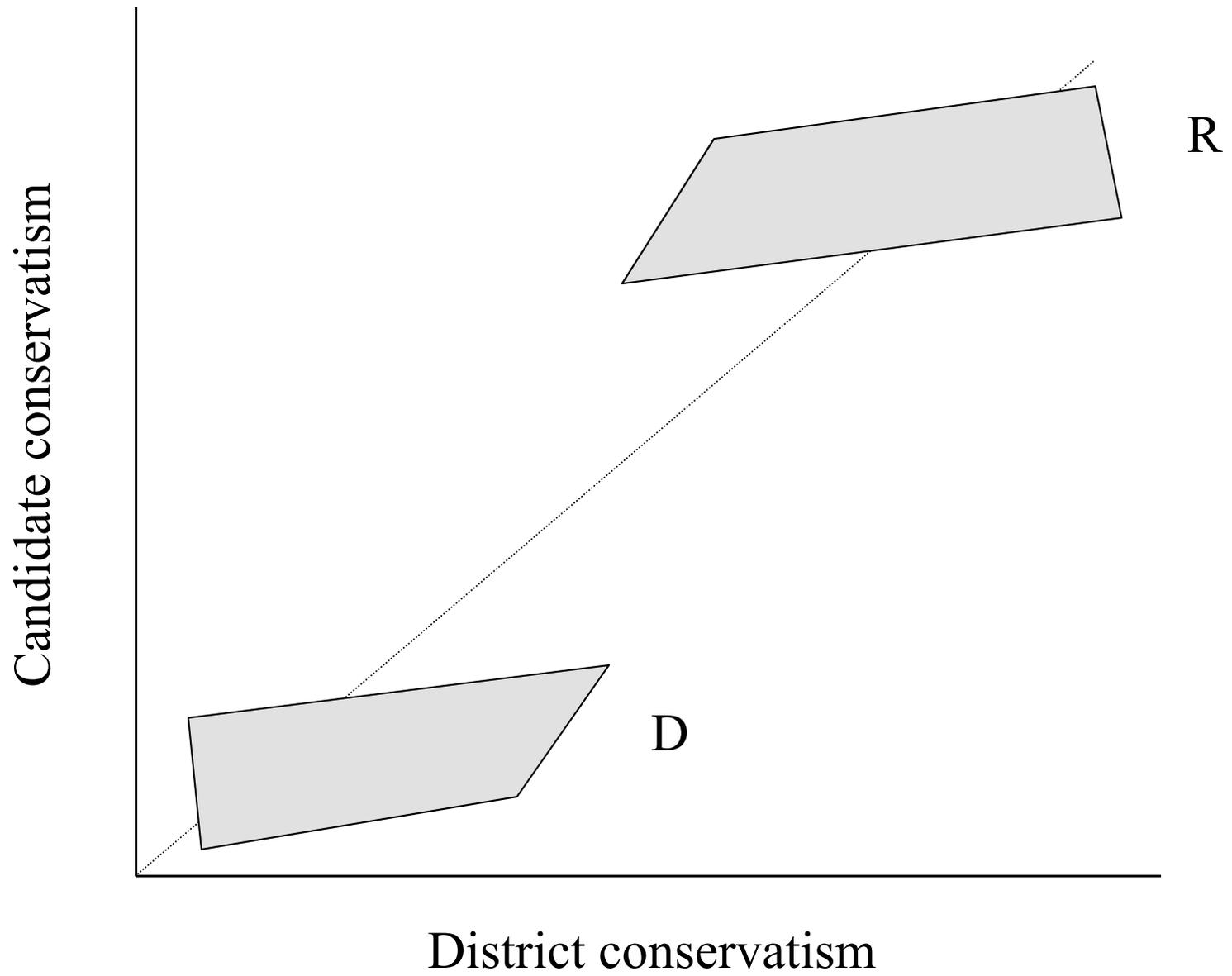
Table 4.4

	Dem. Challenger against Rep. Incumbent		Rep. Challenger against Dem. Incumbent	
	No prior office	Held prior office	No prior office	Held prior office
Challenger won	0%	13%	12%	56%
Total challengers	111	23	179	52

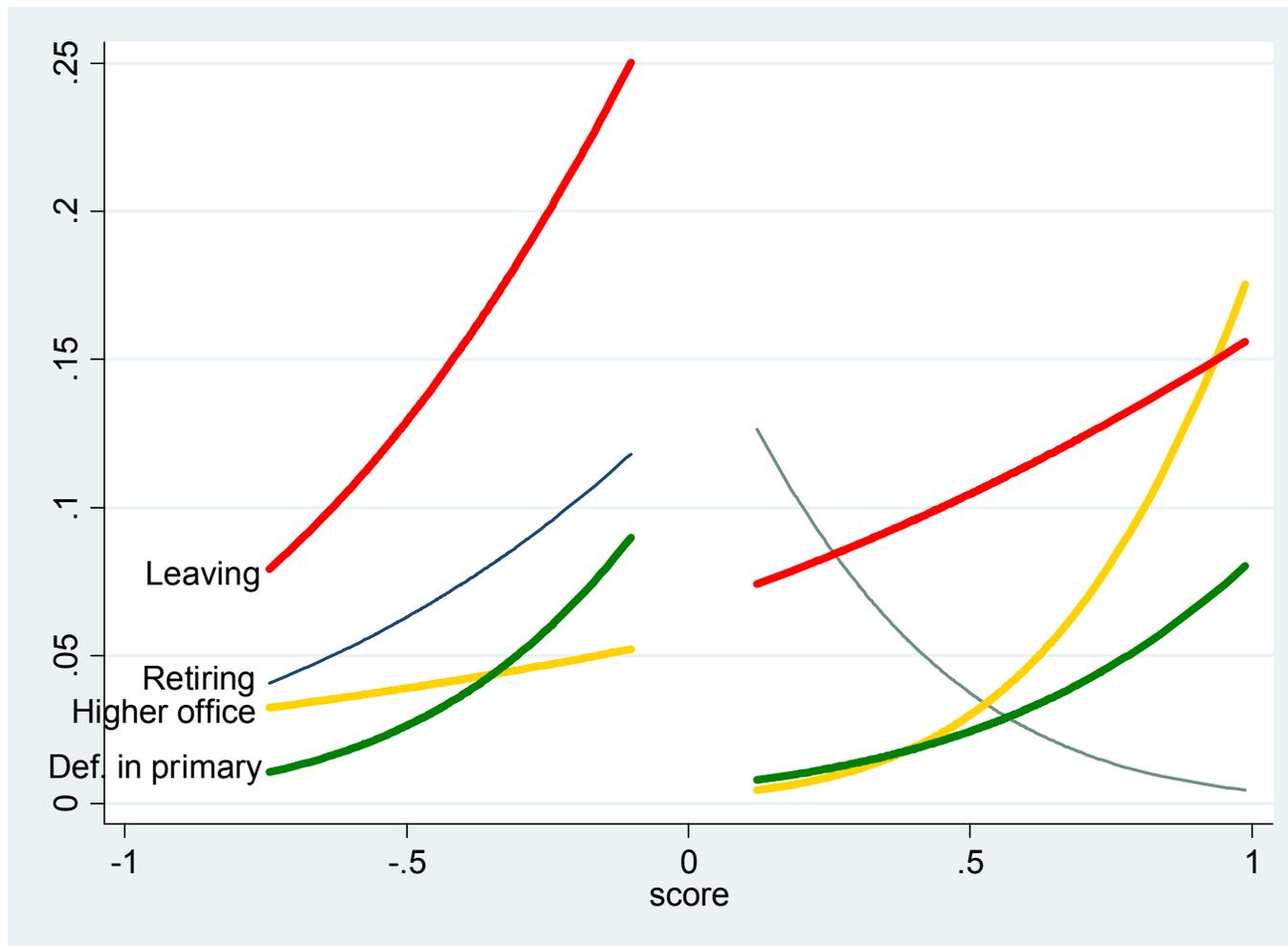
Candidate Positioning Add-on



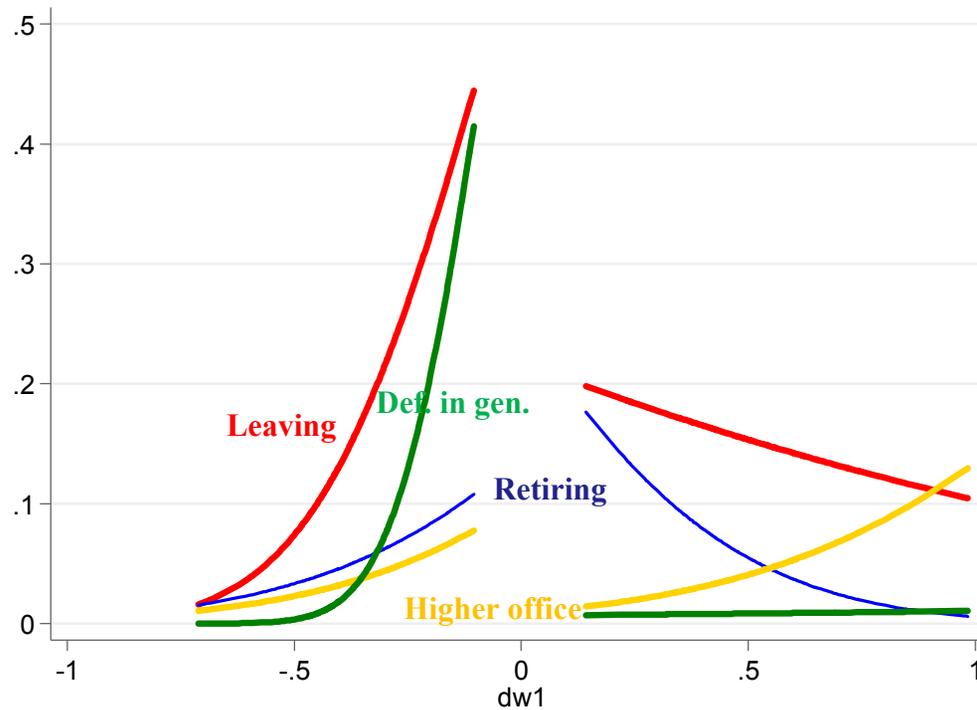




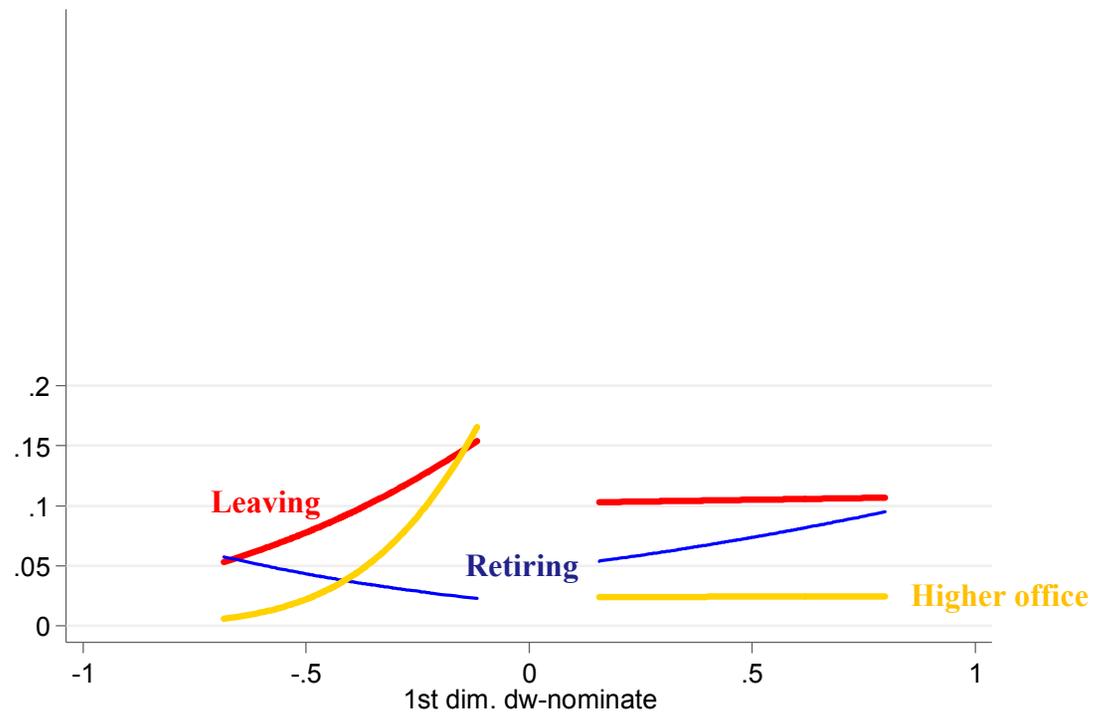
Effect of candidates leaving, 2012



Effect of candidates leaving, 2014



Effect of candidates leaving, 2016



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17.251 Congress and the American Political System I
Fall 2016

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