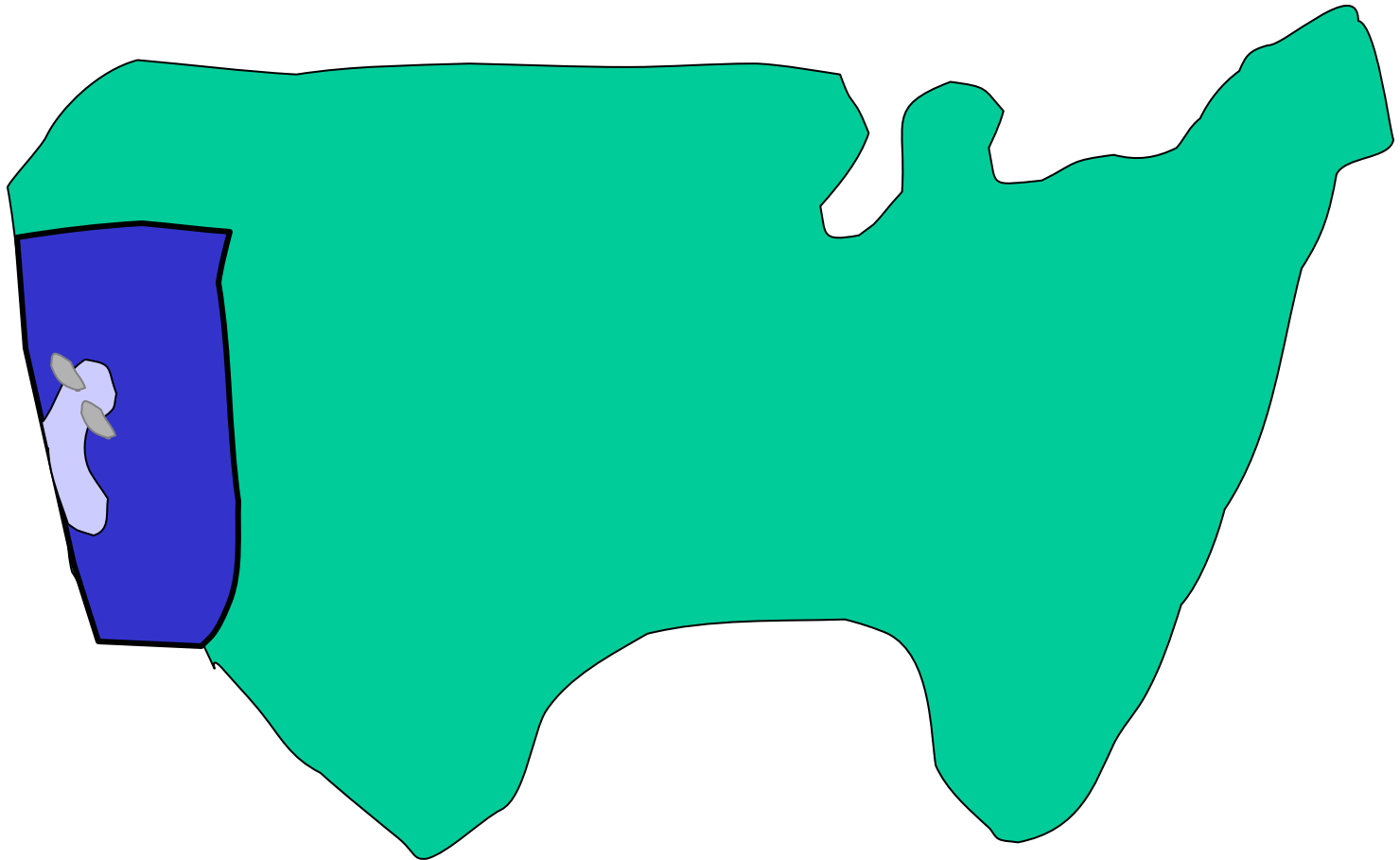


Congressional Candidates

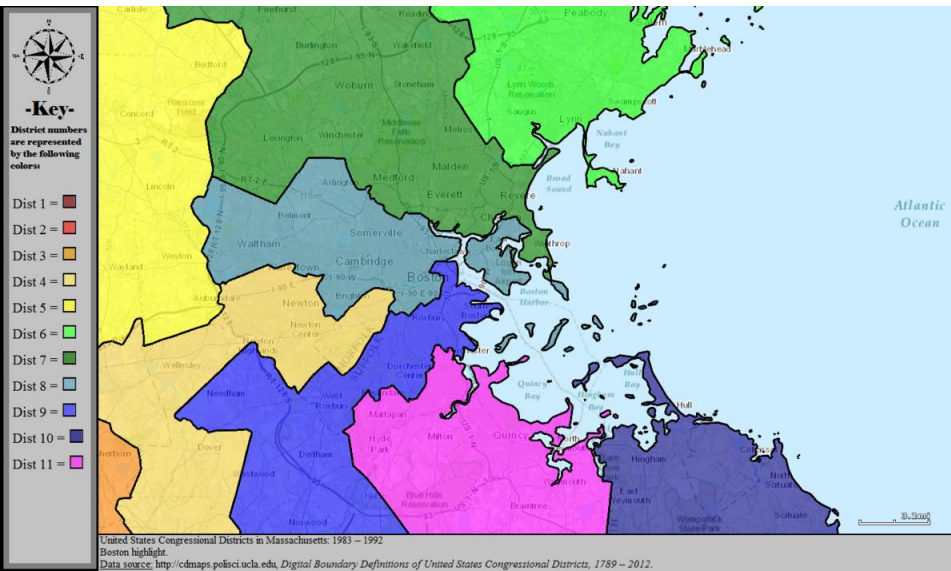
17.251/252

Fall 2015

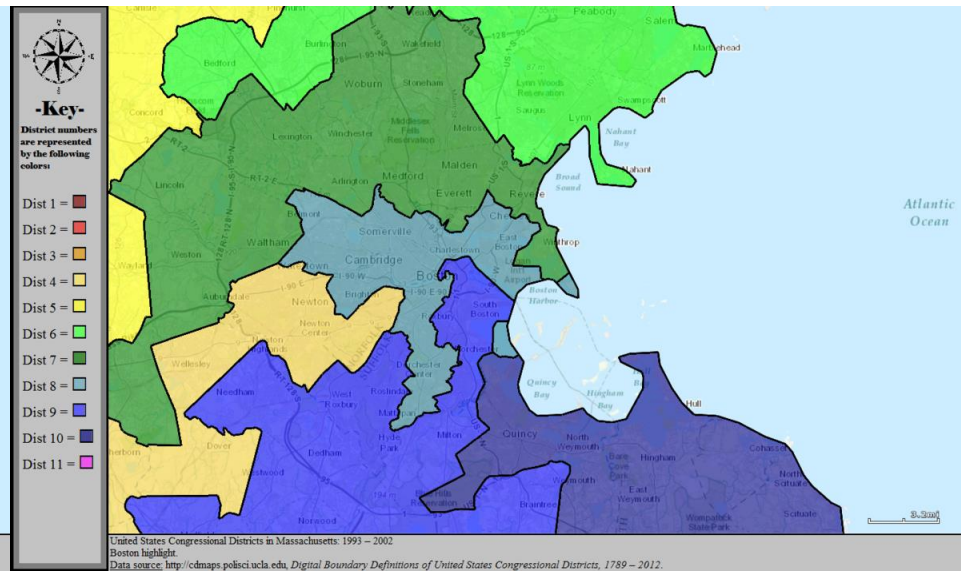
The Hierarchical Structure of Running for Office



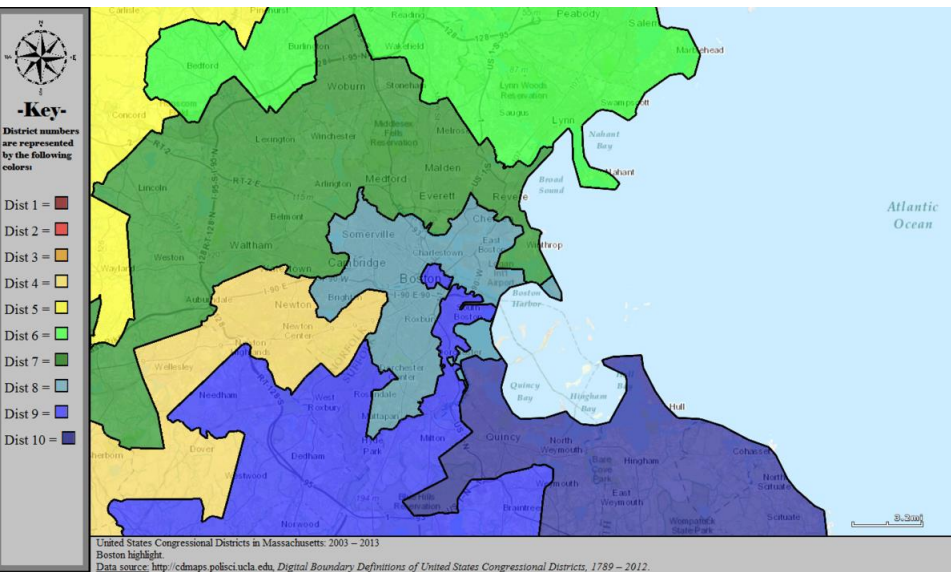
1982-1990



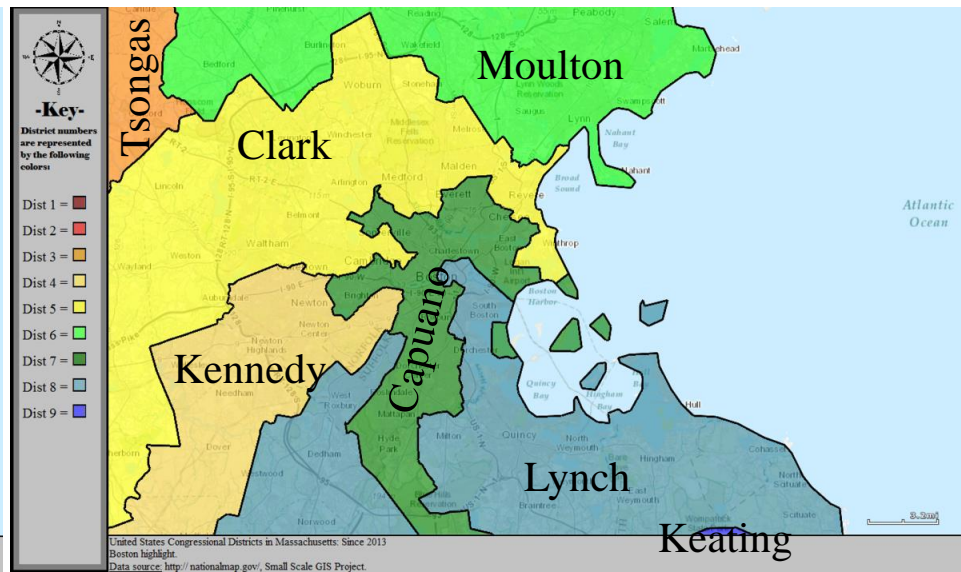
1992-2000



2002-2010

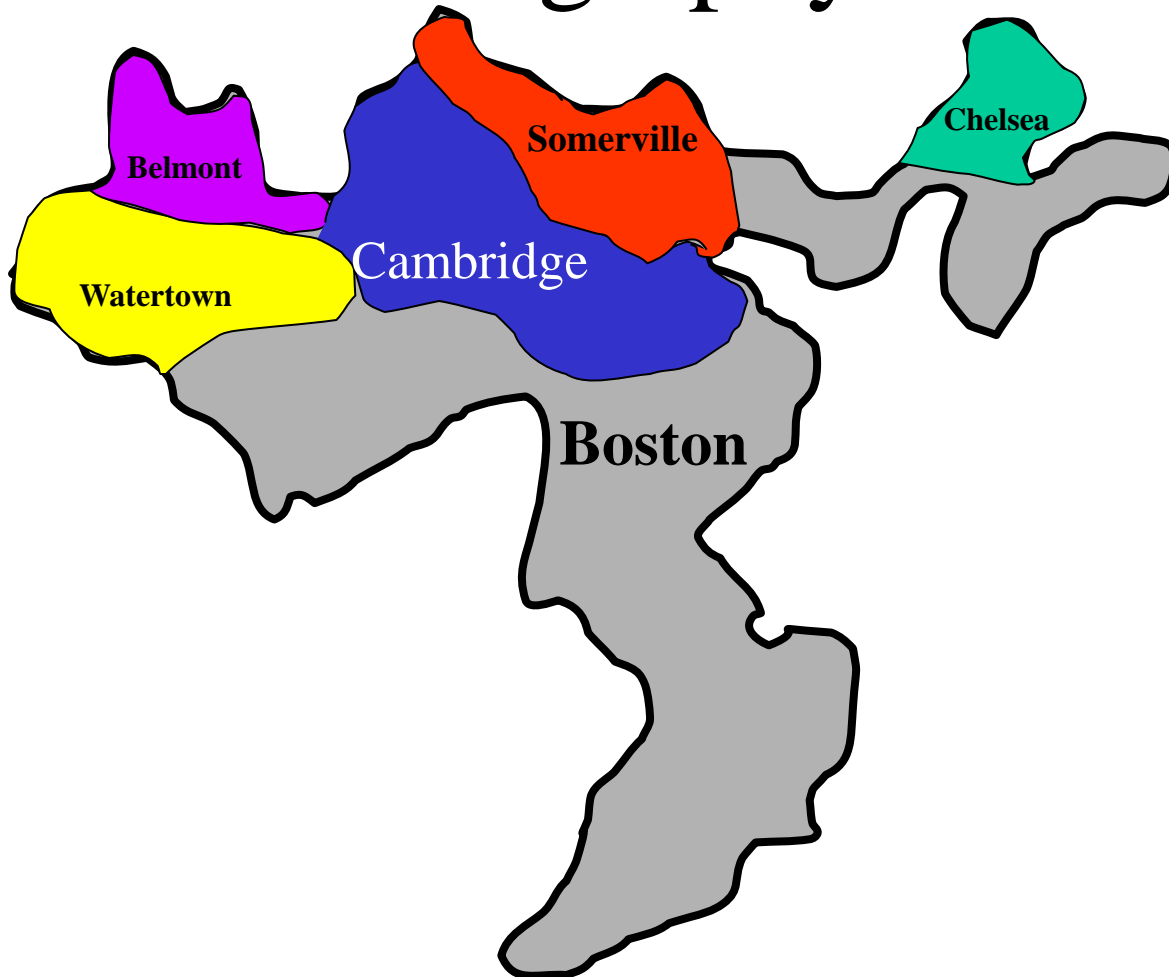


2012-2014



8th District 1998

Geography



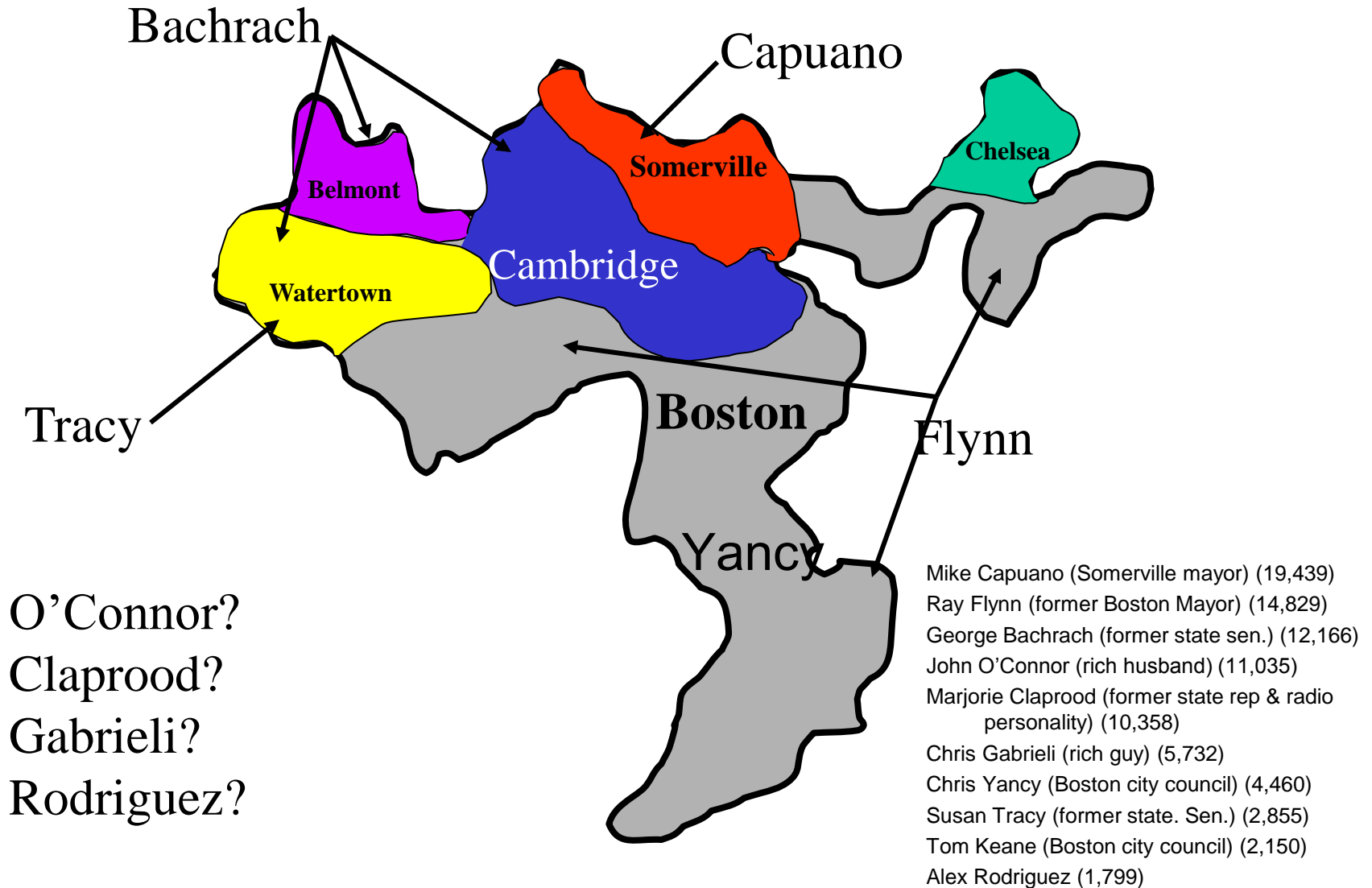
8th District 1998

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 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)

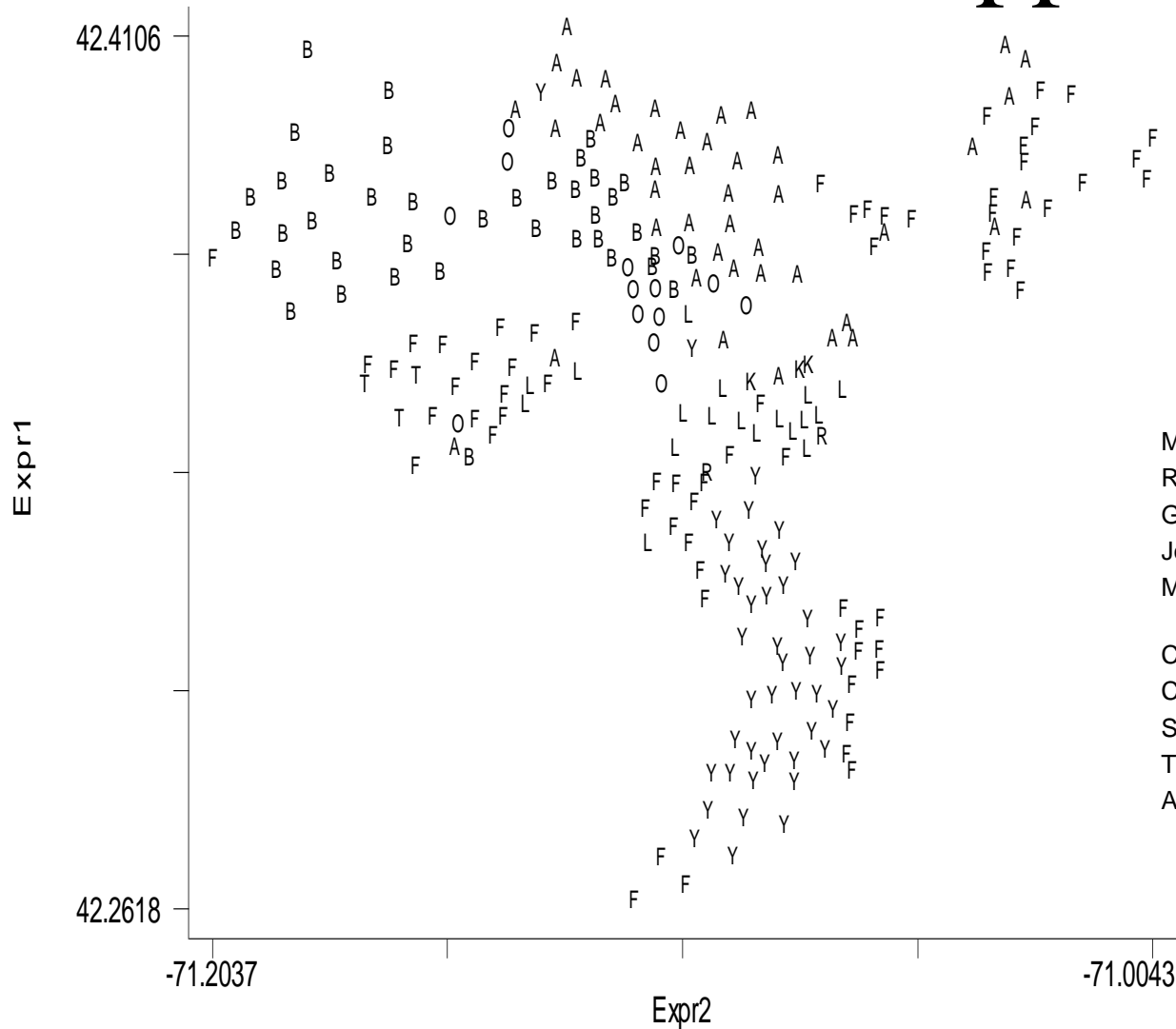
8th District 1998

Schematic of support

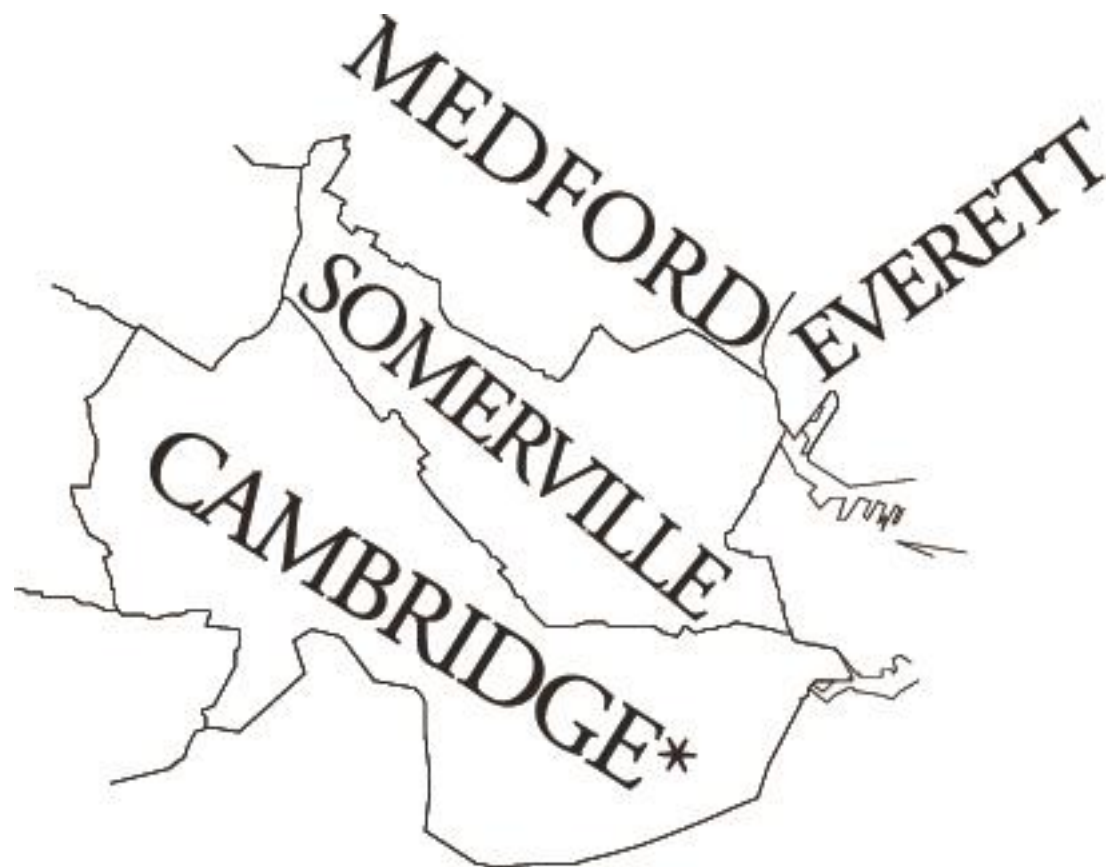


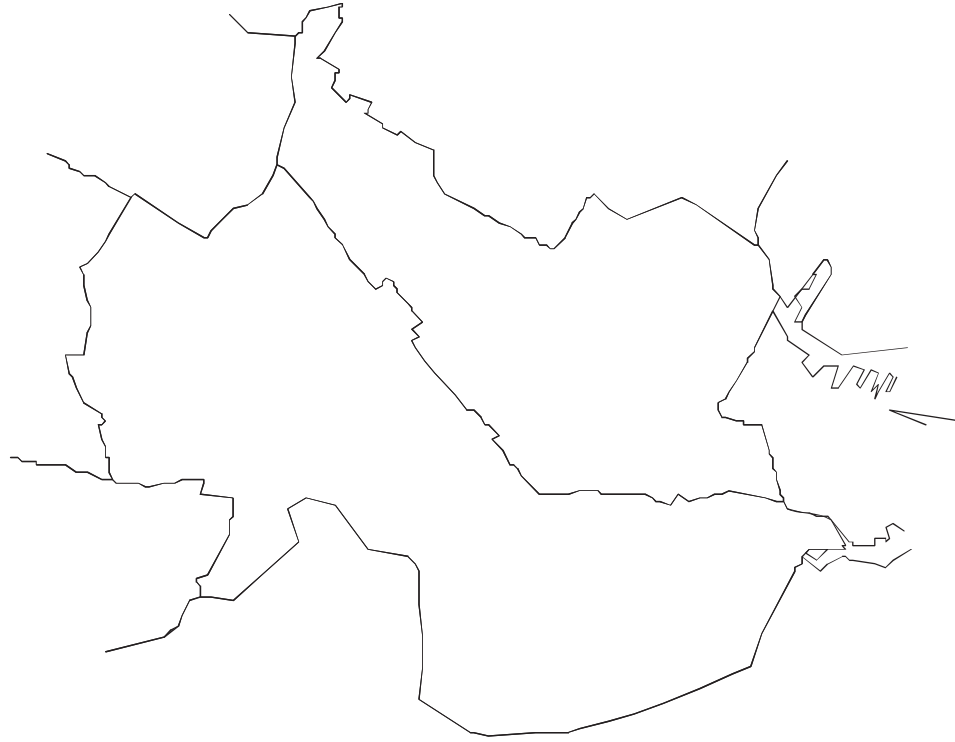
8th District 1998

District Support

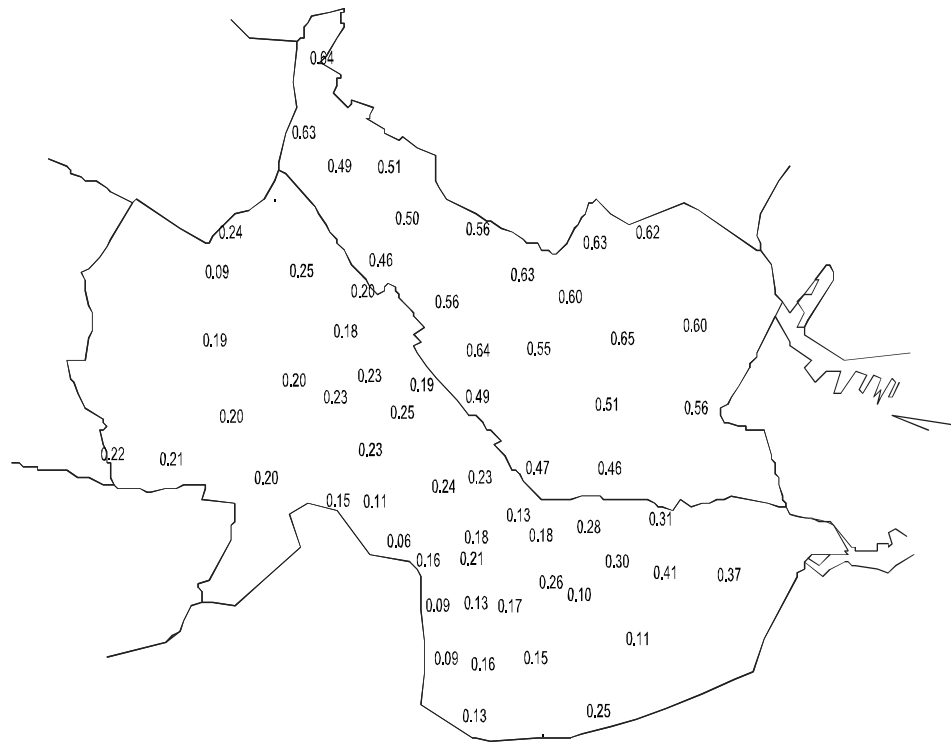


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 Tom Keane (Boston city council) (2,150)
 Alex Rodriguez (1,799)





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

Factors that Affect the Calculus of Progressive Ambition

B_L vs. B_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>

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A BAKED POTATO

EXPAND



**BACON
SO
THICK**



**STEAKHOUSE
B.L.T.
GET RECIPE**

Local

Janice Hahn Announces Run For LA County Supervisor

February 18, 2015 8:23 AM

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Los Angeles Councilwoman Janice Hahn (credit: Kevork Djansezian/Getty Images)

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**IT
SHOULD
COME
WITH A
BAKED
POTATO**



**STEAKHOUSE
B.L.T.
GET RECIPE**

At weekly downtown meetings in a cavernous chamber, the supervisors make decisions on law enforcement, healthcare delivery, food safety regulation, taxes and land development that can affect a population larger than that of all but seven states. They spend \$25 billion a year in public money, often with little oversight.

"There's really no checks and balances," said Rep. Janice Hahn (D-San Pedro), whose father served on the panel for four decades and whose family name adorns the county's giant Hall of Administration where the board convenes. "They create laws, they execute laws and sometimes they even sit in judgment of their own laws."

The benefits are considerable. Each supervisor is allotted \$3 million a year for staff, cars, office expenses and pet projects, on top of a \$179,000* annual salary.

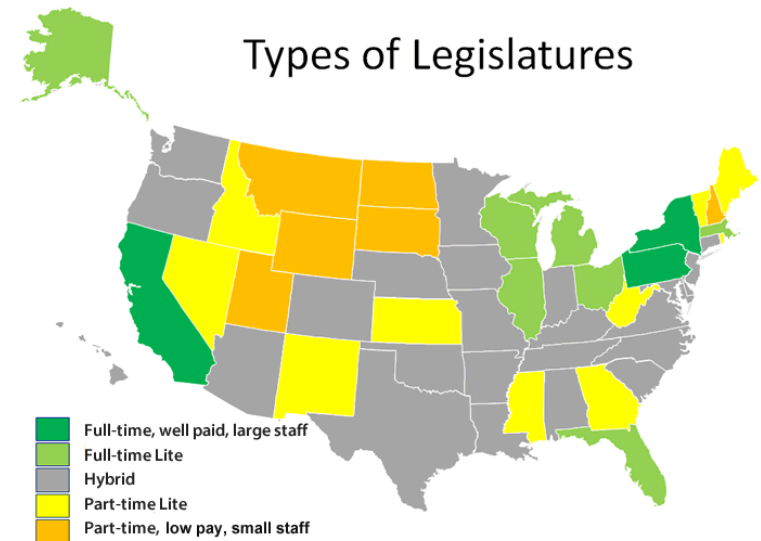
The public and the media pay less attention to the board than to City Hall leaders two blocks away in the Civic Center, partly because of the dizzyingly complex array of state and federally mandated social programs that officials spend much of their time managing.

*Salary of U.S. members of Congress: \$174,000.

Source: LA Times, Sept. 6, 2013, <http://articles.latimes.com/2013/sep/06/local/la-me-five-kings-20130903>

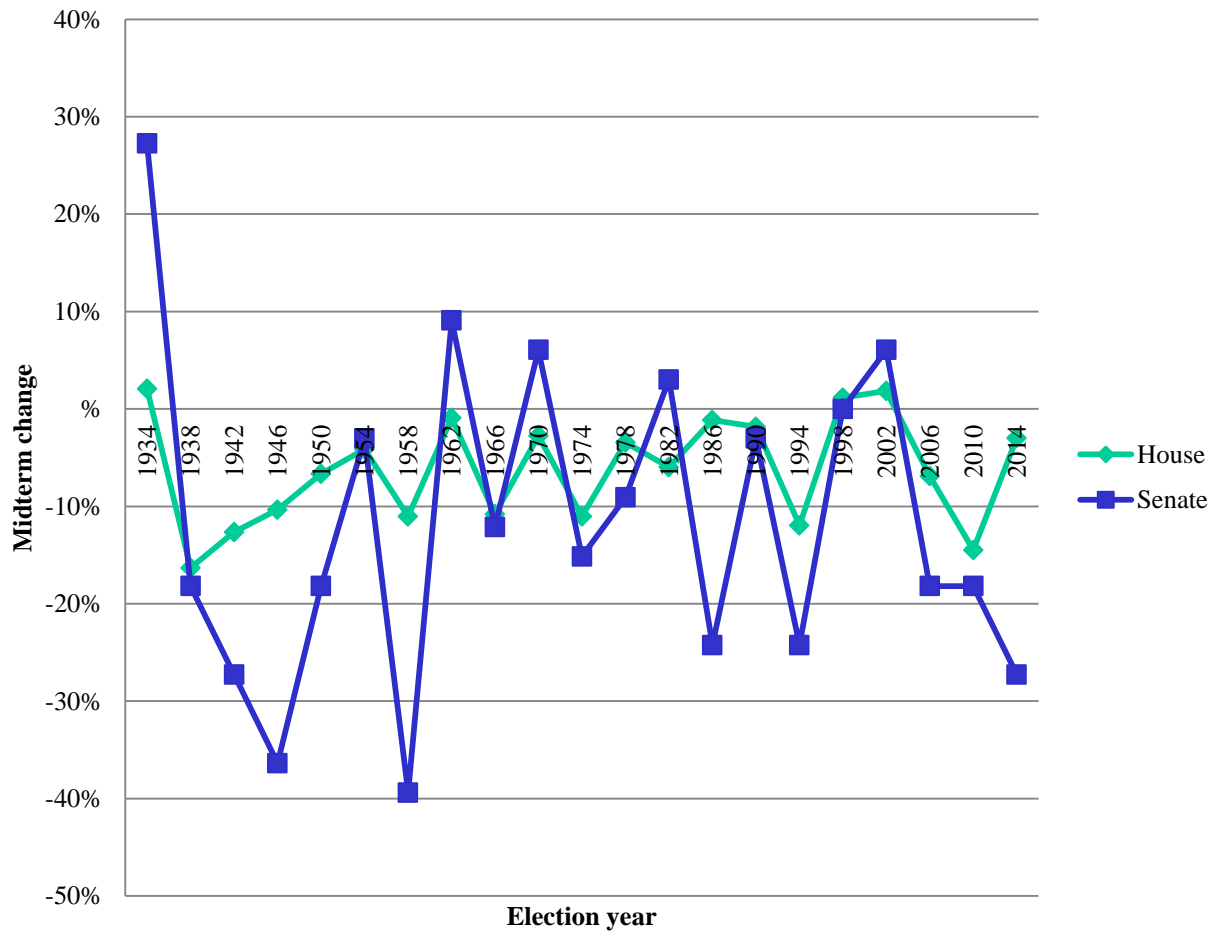
Variation in state legislative capacities

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



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

National tides



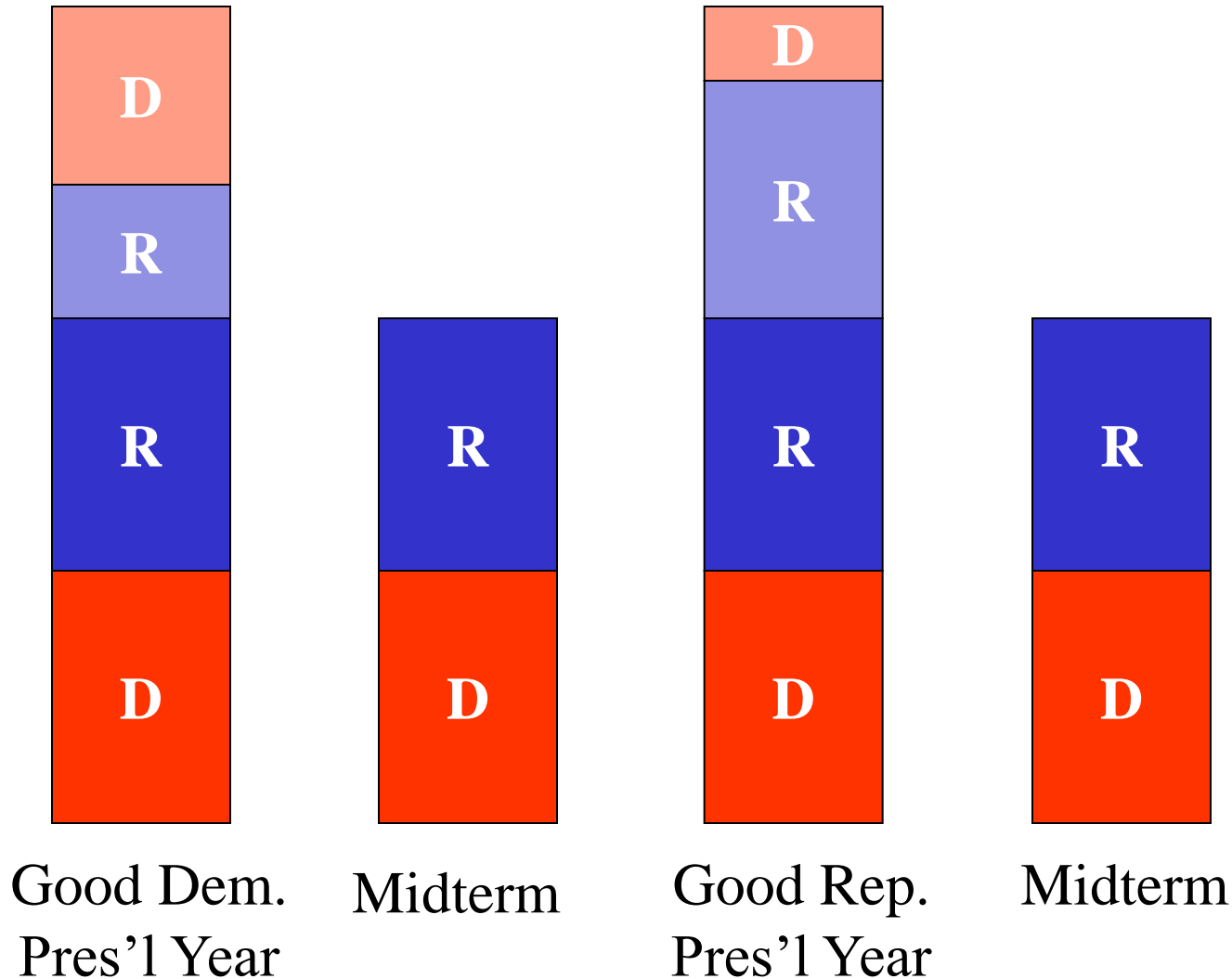
The National Tide in 2006, 2010, 2014

- 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?

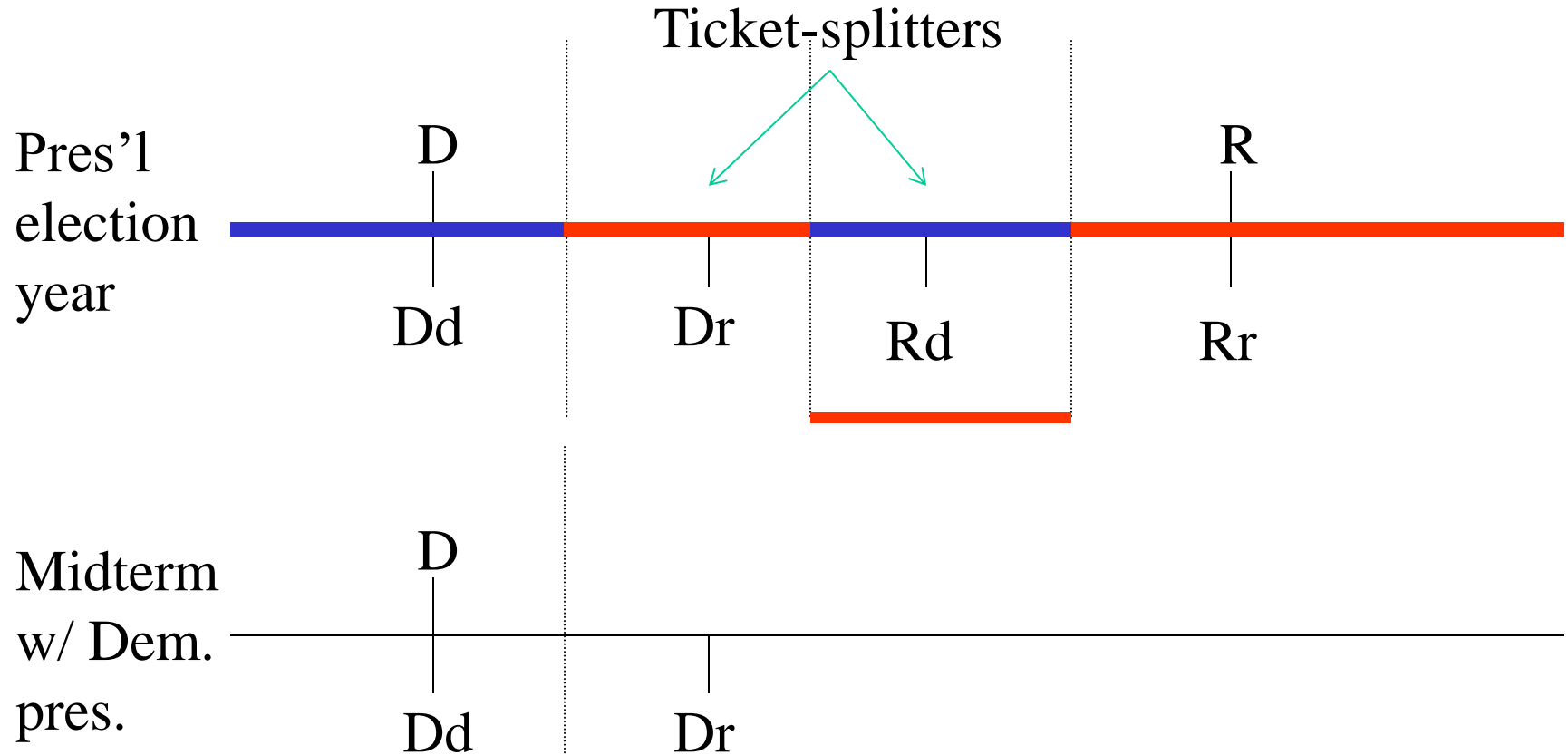
- Surge and decline effect
- Strategic voters
- Strategic politicians

Surge and decline effect*



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

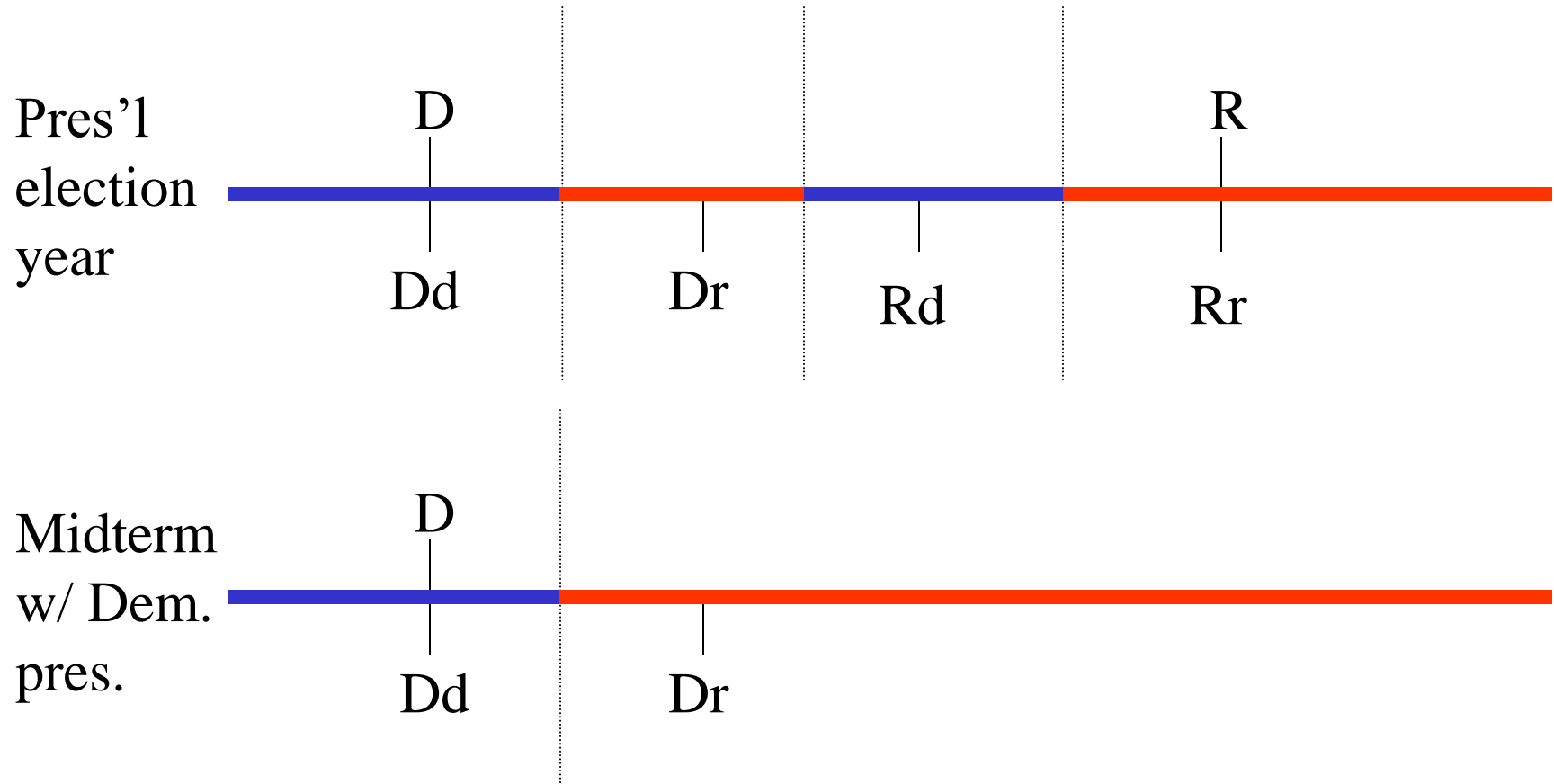
Strategic voters*† (not to scale)



*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)



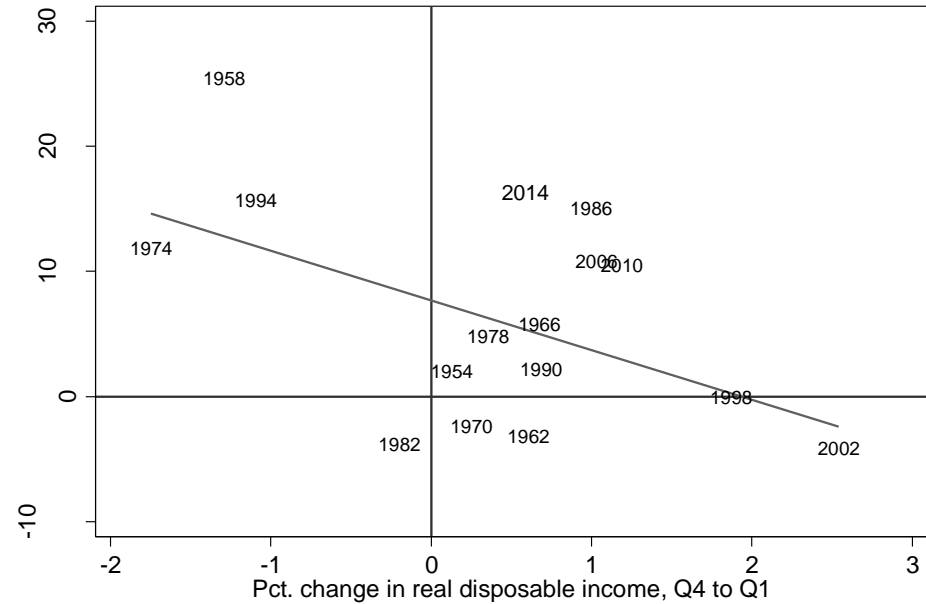
Strategic Candidates

House



$$R^2 = .38$$

Senate



$$R^2 = .28$$

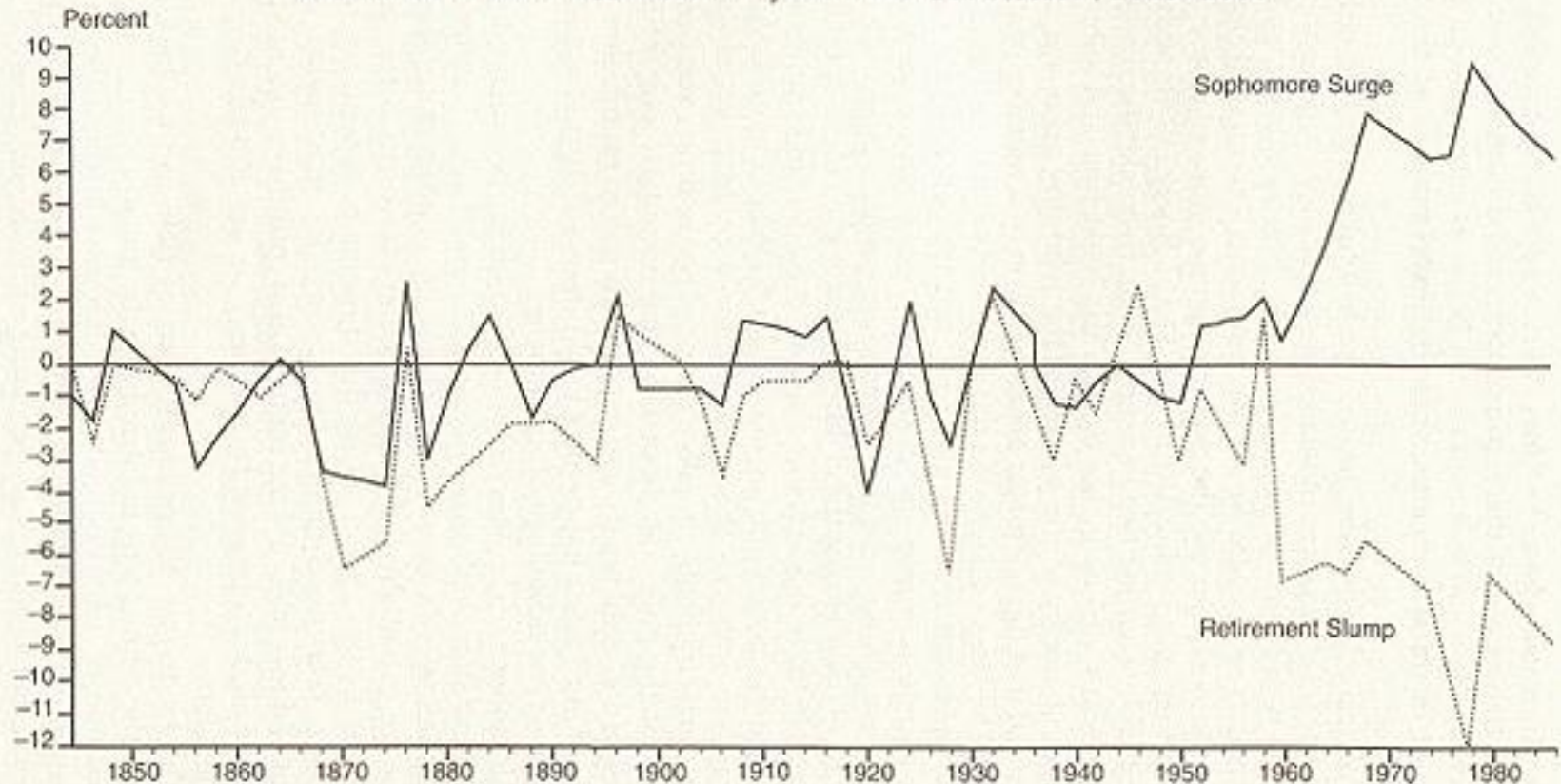
Incumbents, challengers, and open seat candidates

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

Incumbency advantage: The Picture

FIGURE 2

U.S. HOUSE ELECTION WITH MAJOR PARTY OPPOSITION, 1846–1986



NOTE: No data shown for election years ending in "2" and "4".

SOURCE: John R. Alford and David W. Brady (1991: 23).

A simple look at incumbent advantage in 2010

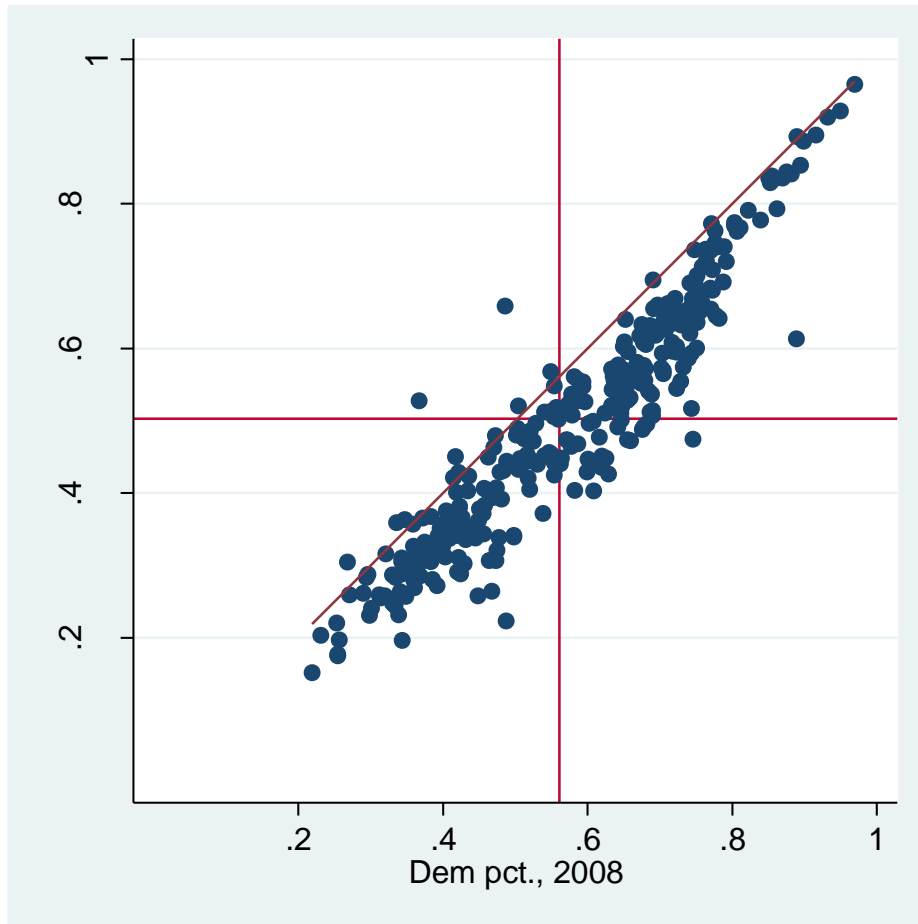


Dem. pct., 2008 = 56.0%

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

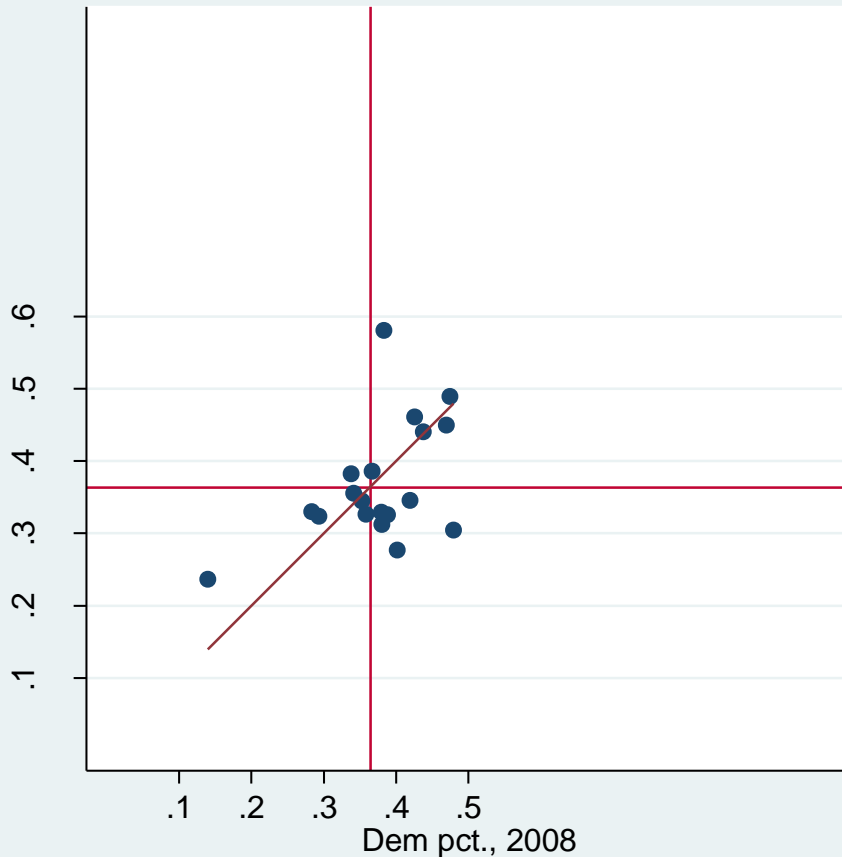


Dem. pct., 2008 = 68.5%

Dem. pct., 2010 = 53.1%

Diff = 15.4%

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

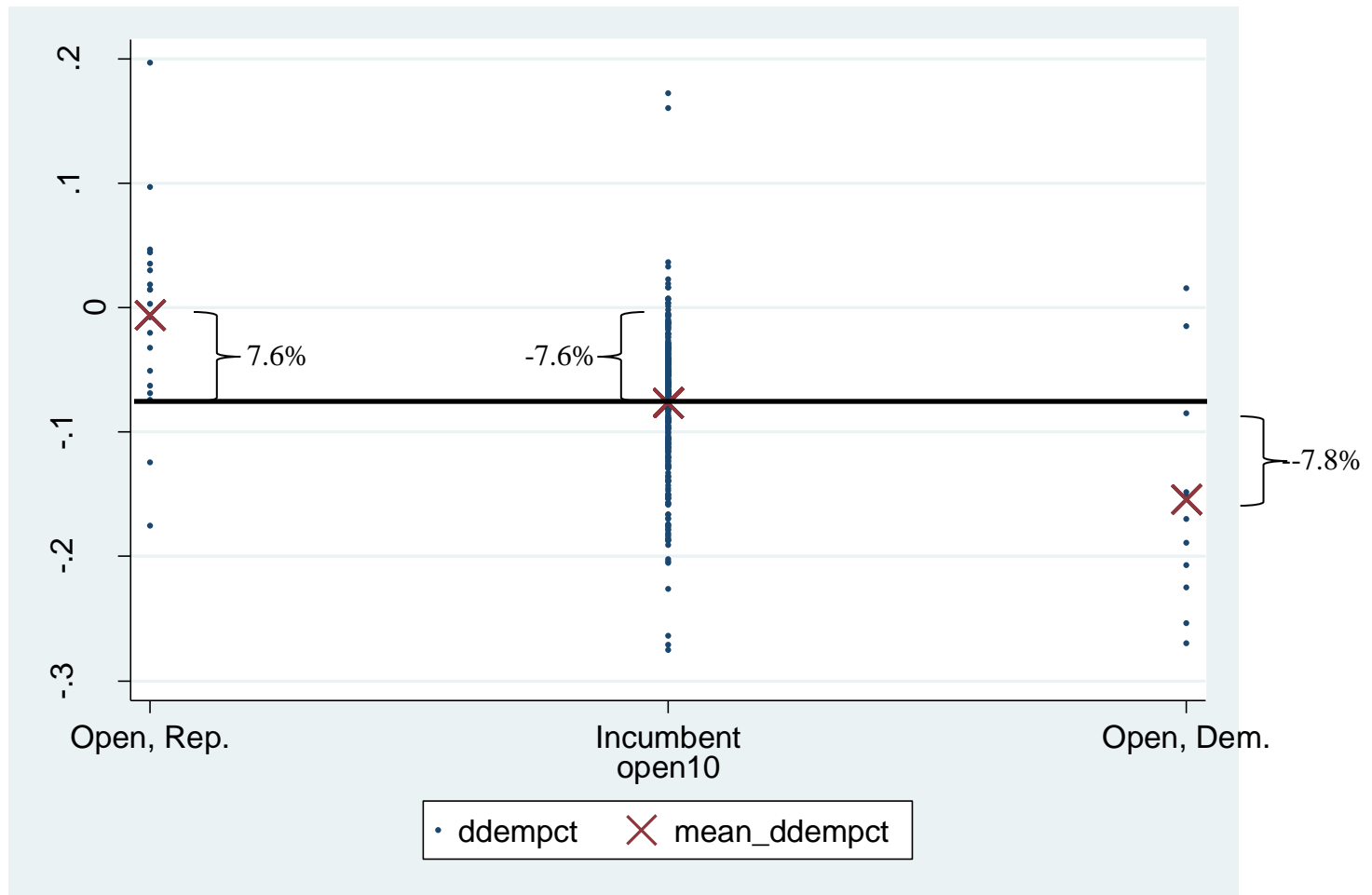


Dem. pct., 2008 = 37.4%

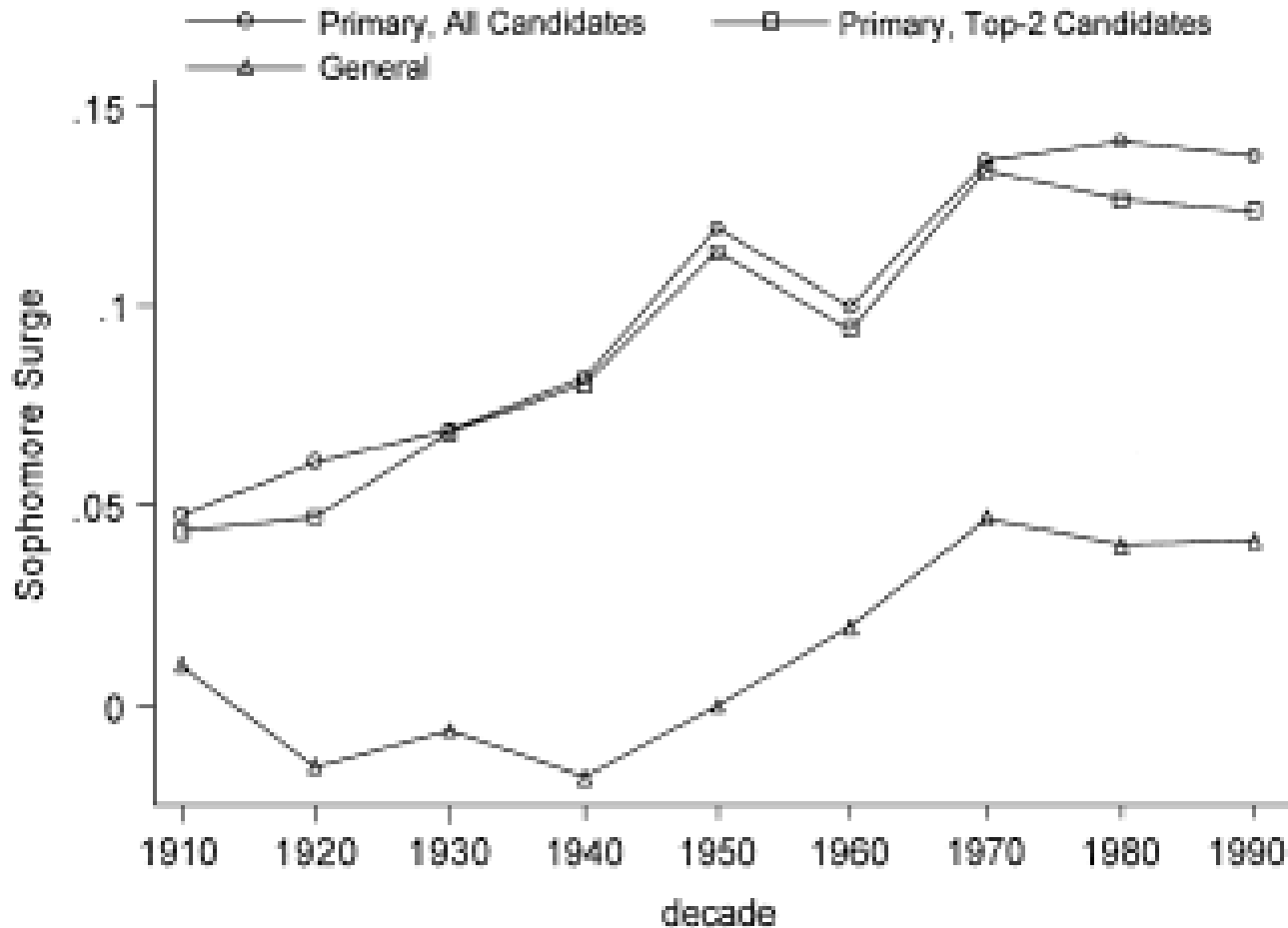
Dem. pct., 2010 = 36.8%

Diff = 0.6%

2010 summary (compared to 2008)



Incumbency Advantage: Primaries



Source: Ansolabehere, et al., 2007, "The incumbency advantage in U.S. House elections, *Electoral Studies*.

Incumbency advantage

- Why does it exist?
 - Audience participation



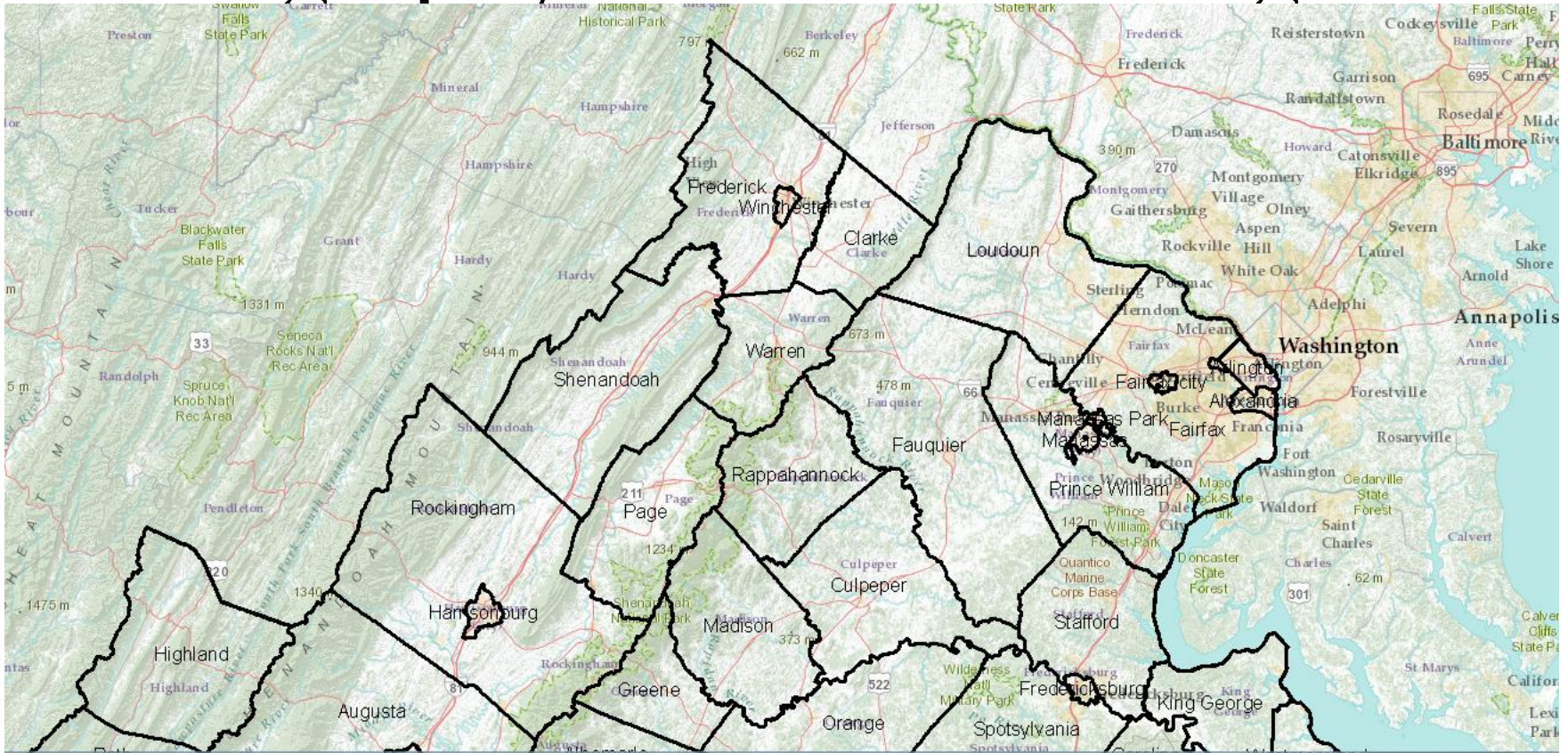
Incumbency advantage

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

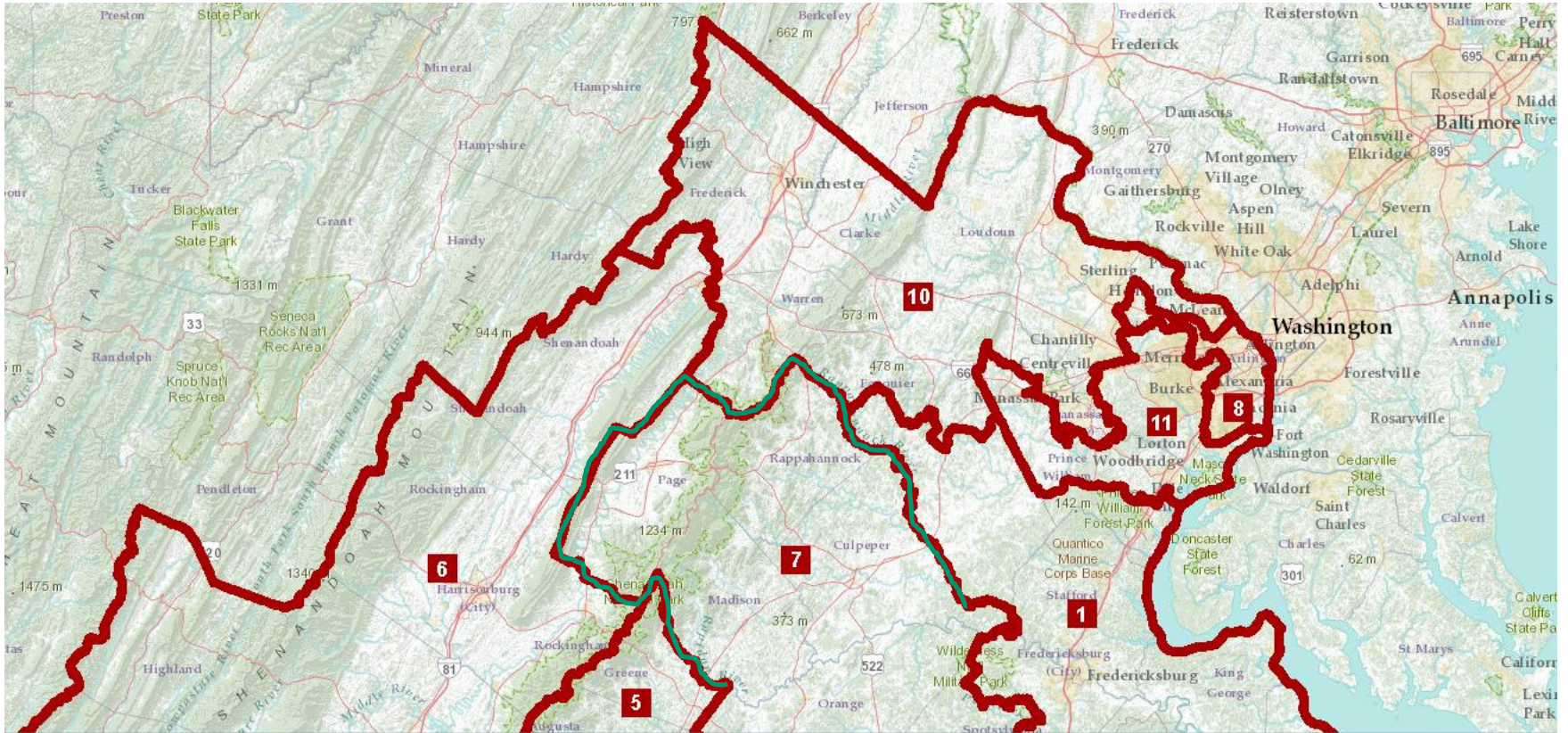
Incumbent-protection gerrymandering

- Frank Wolf (Figure 4.1 in Analyzing Congress)

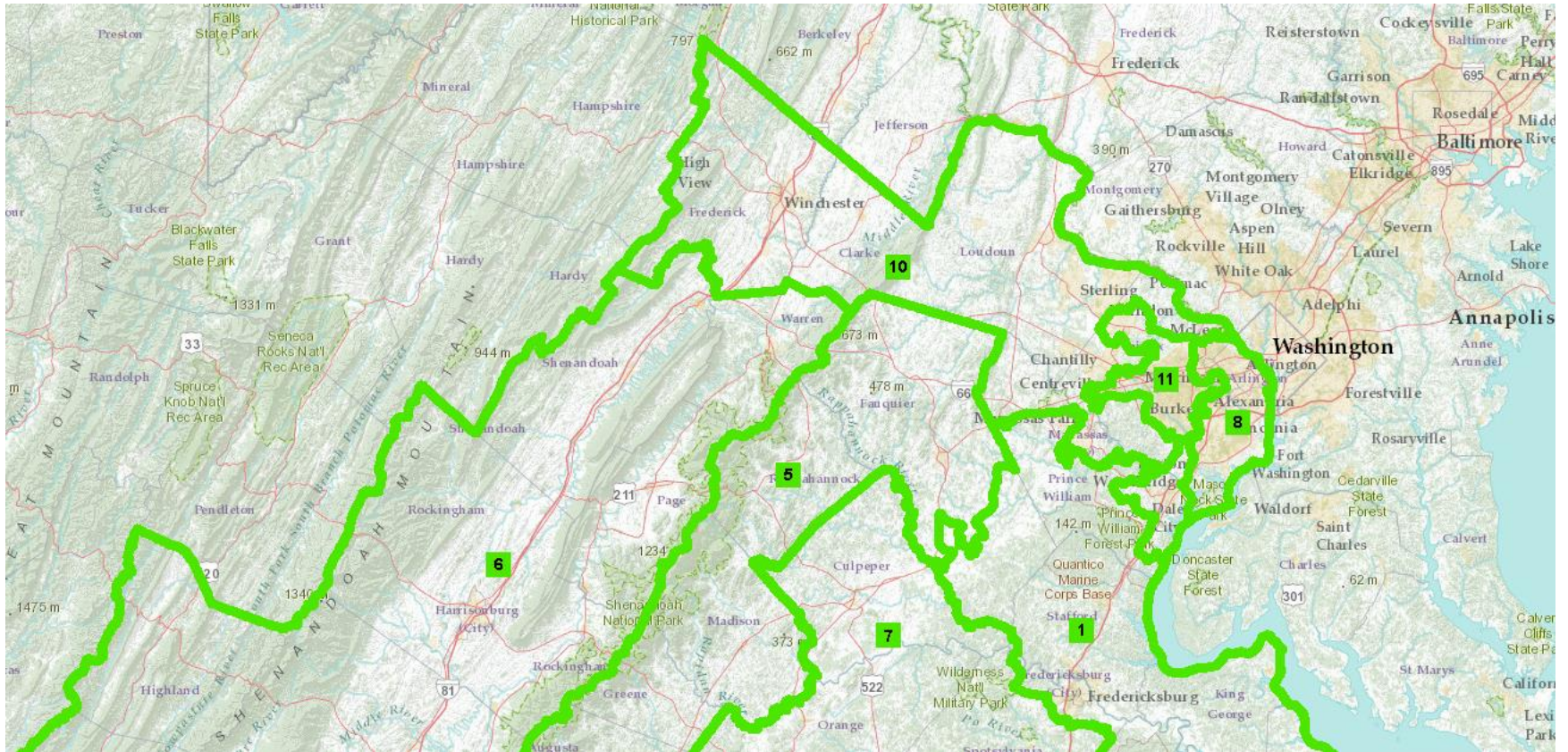
Geography of Northern Virginia



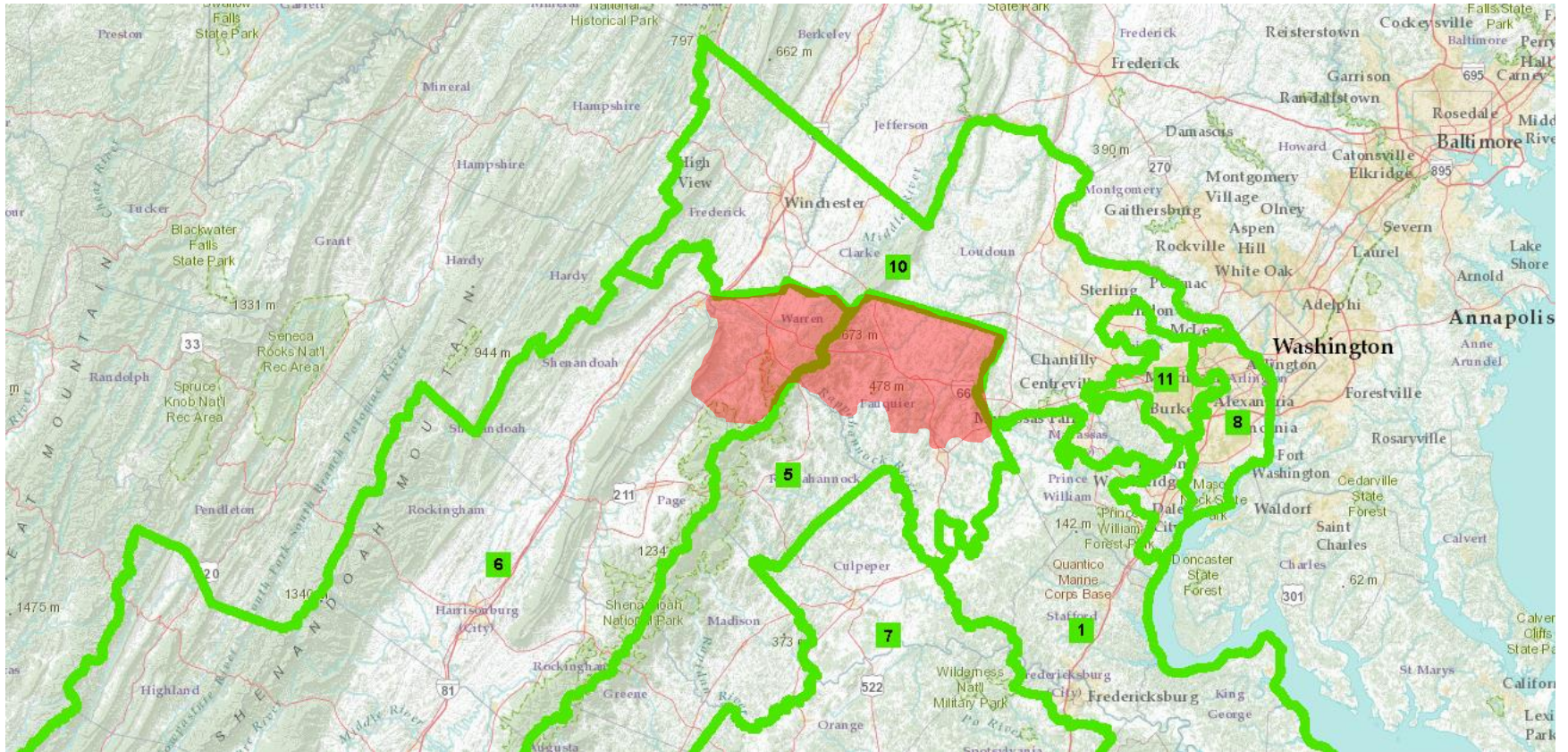
2001-2010 districts



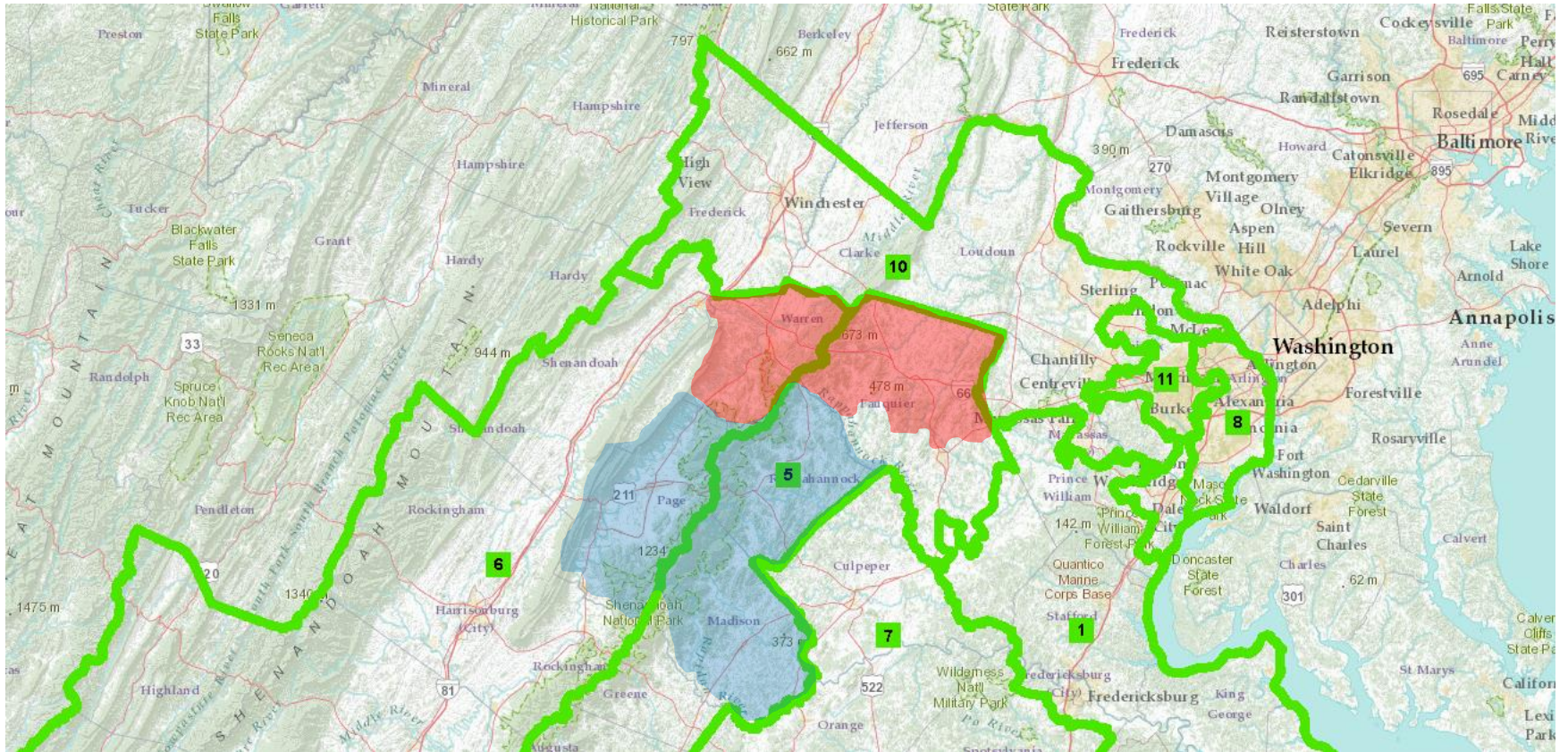
2011-2020 districts



2011-2020 districts



2011-2020 districts

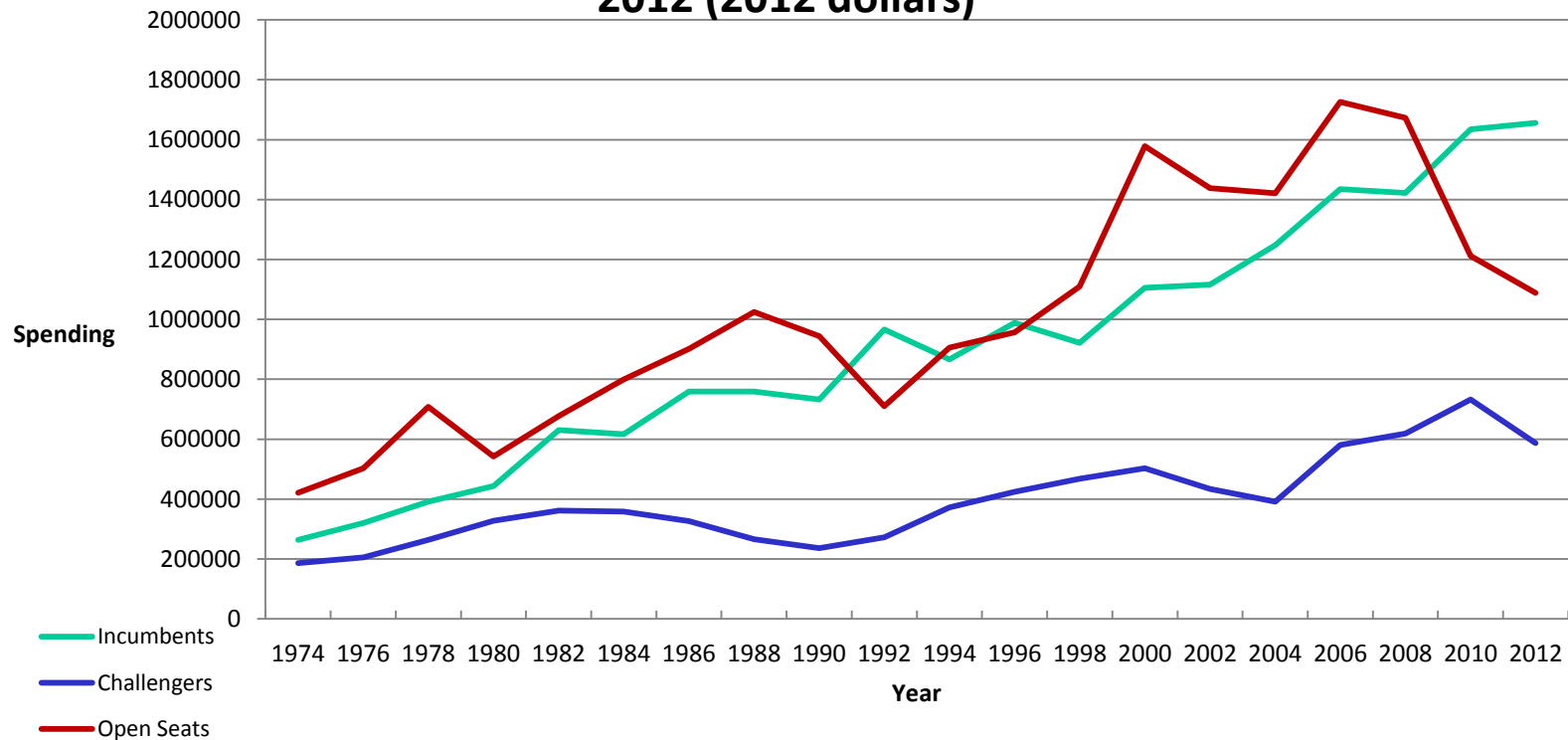


Effect of 2011 Redistricting

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

The Incumbency Spending Advantage (Update of Fig. 4.2)

Figure 4.2: Average Campaign Fund Raising in House Races, 1974-2012 (2012 dollars)

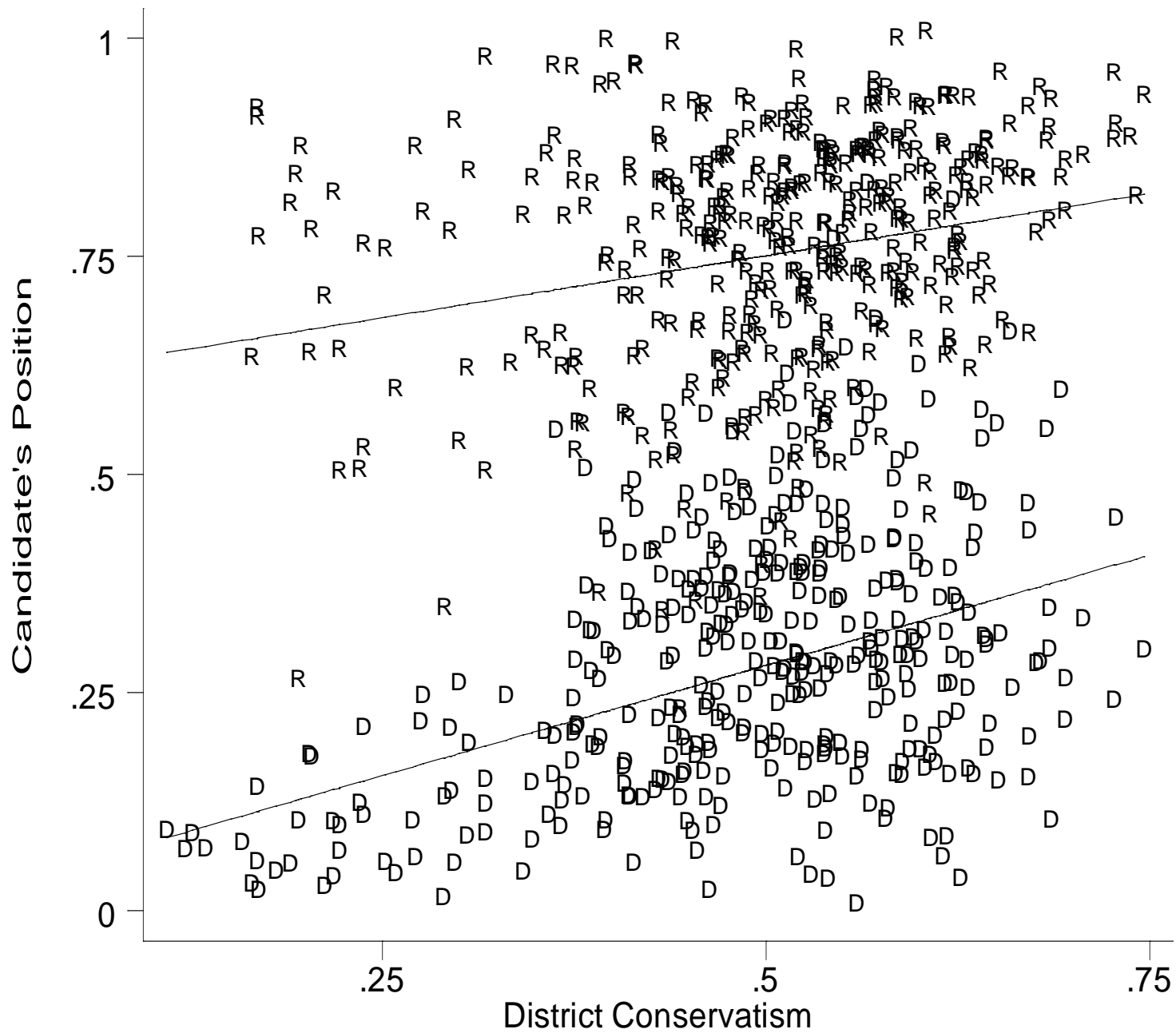


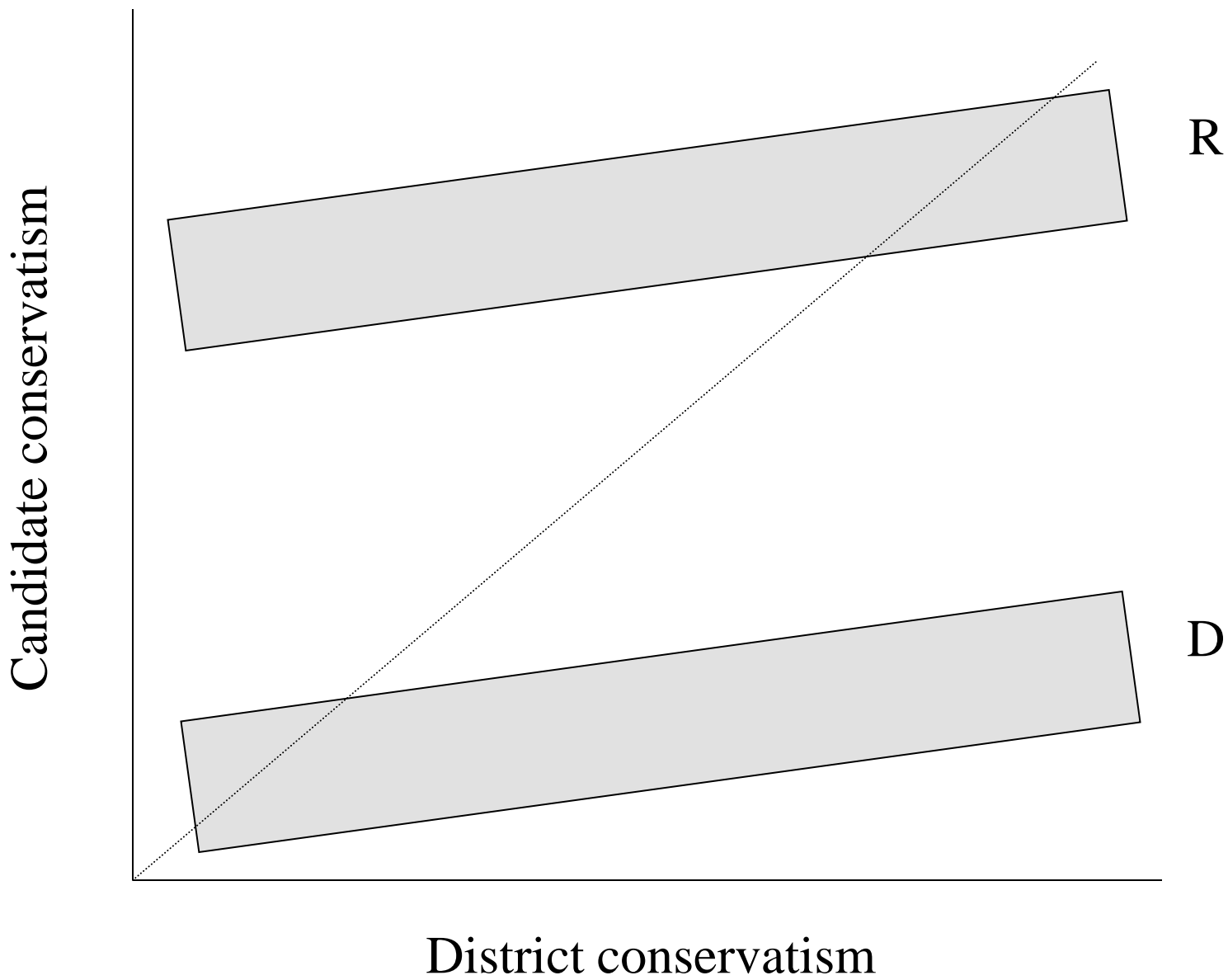
(Challenger) Candidate Quality: 2010

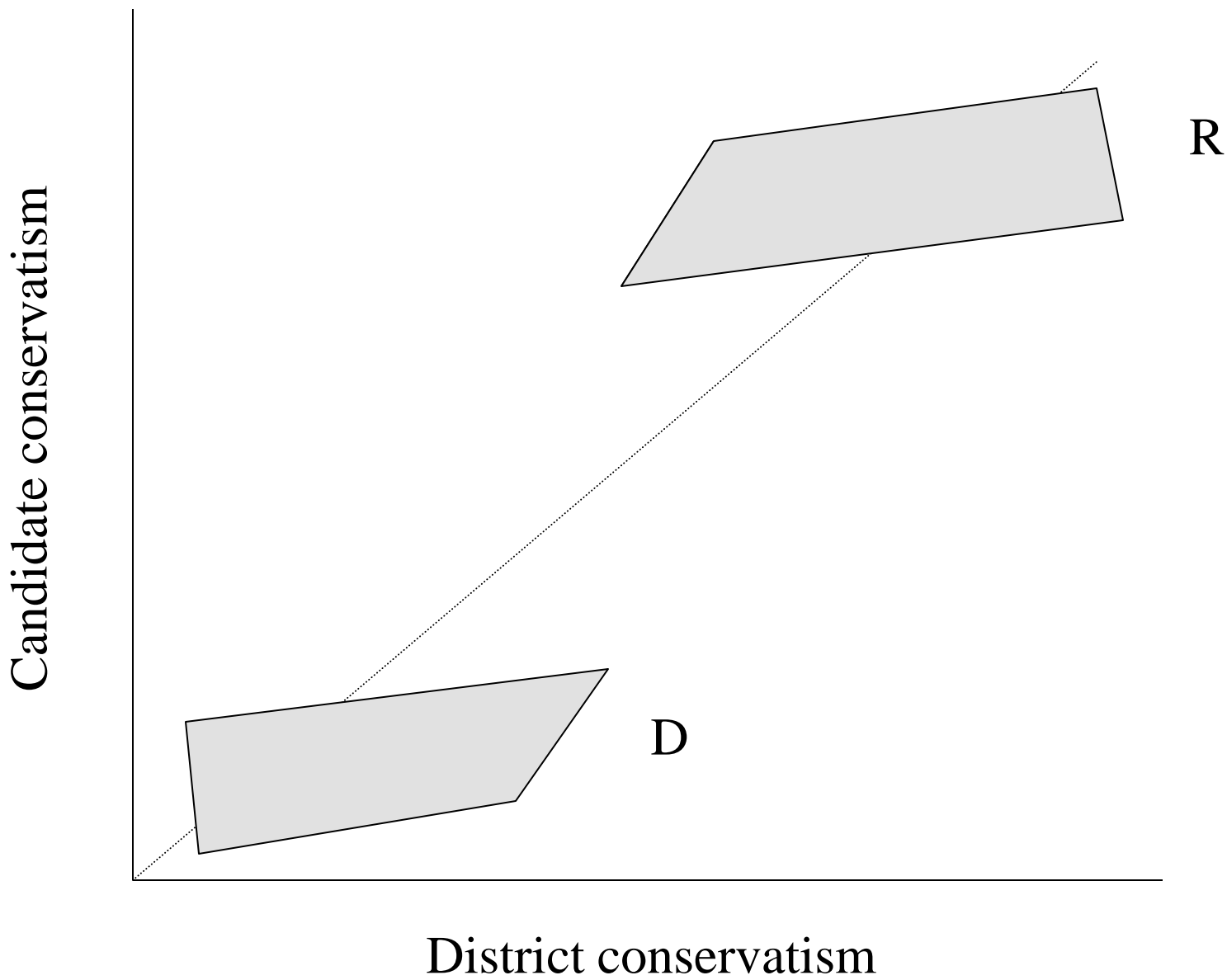
Table 4.4

	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

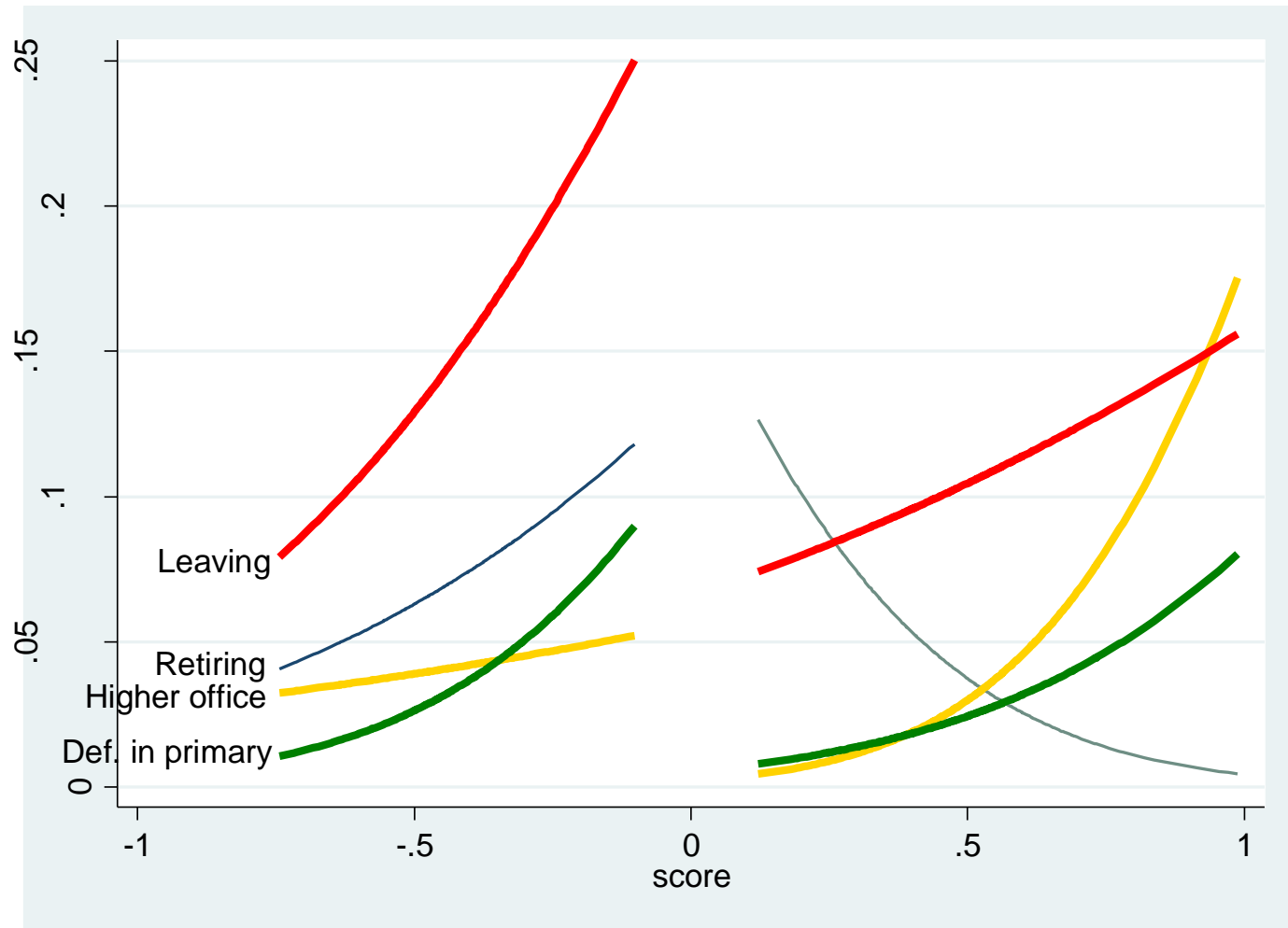
Candidate Positioning Add-on







Effect of candidates leaving, 2012



Effect of candidates leaving, 2014

