

Index

abortion policy

issue complexity theory and, 58-59 polarization with Violence Against Women Act, 2 issue easiness, 60 Burke, Edmund, 19 in Methodological Appendix, 179-84, 193-94 Bush, George W., 2, 111 party polarization over, 58-59 busing, as party-defining, 71 as party-defining issue, 34, 71 representational linkages for, campaign finance reform issue complexity theory and, 58-59 70,82 issue easiness, 60-61 switched-seat members and, 120 trustee representation and, 120, in Methodological Appendix, 164-65 189-90 The Almanac of American Politics, 104 party polarization over, 58-59 American National Election Study representation linkage for, 91-94 roll call votes for, 126, 128 (ANES), 11-12, 15, 51, 187-90 American Representation Study, 10, 82 Shays-Meehan bill for, 61 ANES. See American National Election trustee representation in, 91-92, Study 164-65 civil rights policy in American Representation Study, belief-sharing constituency preferences and, 157 with dyadic representation, 8, 43-44 delegate representation for, 9 military spending policy and, issue complexity theory and, 58-59 150-52 issue easiness, 60 representational linkage and, 83-87 in Methodological Appendix, 197–99 roll call votes and, 110, 114-19 party polarization over, 58-59 in scientific study of representation, representational linkages for, 70 collective representation, 20-21, 66 171-72 for switched-seat members, dyadic representation and, 173-75 partisan representation and, 173-74 114-19

bipartisanship. See also party



220 Index

Congress, U.S. See also elections, to Congress; electoral marginality, of legislators; House of Representatives; Senate; switchedseat members, in Congress 85th Congress, 52 embryonic stem cell use, bills for, 2-3 95th Congress, 51 97th Congress, 51 106th Congress, 50-51 Patient Protection and Affordable Care Act, partisan responses to, congressional elections. See elections, to Congress constituency preferences belief-sharing and, 157 in dyadic representation, 38, 159, electoral marginality of legislators and, 137, 152 in issue complexity theory, 38 party polarization and, 38 in theoretical research for dyadic representation, 12-13 trustee representation and, 157 constituency representation collective representation and, 20-21 consideration of observable phenomena for, 26 dyadic representation and, 4-7, 163-68 electoral rules and, 18 for embryonic stem cell use, 2-3 in global democracies, 17-20 in House of Representatives, 4-5 for Patient Protection and Affordable Care Act, 1-2 perceived quality of, 21 political parties in, role of, 28 pork barrel policies and, 3 preferences of, demographic attributes as influence on, 12-13 scholar's intuition as influence on, 27 as theory, 3, 26-30 for Violence Against Women Act, 2 construction, of theory, 47

co-partisan model, for social welfare policy, 78-79, 81-82 cross-cutting issues case study literature on, 61-63 with dyadic representation, 44-46 electoral marginality and, 136 in issue complexity theory, 32-34, 53-54 metrics for, 53-54 military spending policy, 71, 80-81 party liberalism and, 54 party polarization and, 32-34, 53-54 social welfare policy, 71, 169-70 daylight savings time, 71 delegate representation, 7-8 for civil rights policy, 9 Democratic Party role in constituency representation, support for Patient Protection and Affordable Care Act, 1-2 directional theory of voting, 122-23 dyadic representation. See also representational linkage, patterns of; scientific study, of representation; theoretical research, for dyadic representation ANES and, 10-12 assumptions about, 36 belief-sharing model and, 8, 43-44 character of, 166-67 collective representation and, 173-75 for complex political issues, 44 in Congress, 4-7 constituency preferences in, 38, 159, constituency representation and, 4-7, 163-68 constituent knowledge of elected representative in, 37-38 criteria for, as political theory, 24-26

with cross-cutting issues, 44–46 delegate representation and, 7–9

38-39

electorally revealed preferences in,



for established political issues, 43

full constituency preferences with,

fairness to subgroups with, 5-6

Index 221

issue complexity theory and, 36-39, 158-63 legislator knowledge of constituent preferences in, 39 with new political issues, 41-43 parsimony of, 25, 46 partisanship as influence on, 5, 161-62 party polarization and, 36-39, 158-63 party-defining issues and, 44-46 policy issue salience and, 62-67 principle predictions as result of, 39-46 re-election as influence on, 38 responsible party representation and, 8-9 seminal research on, 9 standard model of, 158-63 sub-constituency representation and, tests of predictions for, 95-97 theoretical expectations about, 7-9 trustee representation and, 7-9 unification of theory for, 23-24 dynamic representation, 174 85th Congress, 52 Einstein, Albert, 23, 26 elections, to Congress competition on policy issues and, 100-3, 106-7 data testing and methodology for, directional theory of voting, 122-23 incumbent policy preferences and, 124-25 military spending policy and, 127 representational linkages and, 100 for sophisticated candidates, 102-7 switched-seat members and, 108-10 trustee representation and, 103 unsophisticated candidates, 103-4

electoral marginality, of legislators constituency preferences and, 137, 152 constituency responsiveness and, 133 on cross-cutting issues, 136 defined, 132 easiness of issues and, 140 electoral vulnerability and, 139 empirical methodology for, 136-38 for gun control policy, 148-50 legislator responsiveness and, 135-38 marginality hypothesis and, 133-35 military spending policy and, 150-52 party polarization and, 140 on party-defining issues, 136, 138 personal electoral votes and, 133 policy issue type and, 135-38 policy preferences and, expected effects of, 140-48 predictions for, 136-37 research design for, 136-38 on social welfare policy, 140-48 electoral rules, constituency representation and, 18 embryonic stem cells, use of Congressional bills for, 2-3 Republican Party response to, 2-3 Equal Rights Amendment (ERA), 147, explanatory power, of political theory,

The Federalist Papers (Madison), 99
Feynman, Richard, 24, 155
foreign policy
issue complexity theory and, 58–59
issue easiness, 61
in Methodological Appendix,
199–200
under Mutual Security Acts, 121
party polarization over, 58–59
switched-seat members and, 120
trustee representation and, 9, 120,
164–65



222 Index

gay rights, representational linkages for, 70
General Social Survey (GSS), 193
gun control policy
as cross-cutting issue, 169
electoral marginality of legislators
and, 148–50
issue complexity theory and, 58–59
issue easiness, 61
in Methodological Appendix, 184–86
party polarization over, 58–59
as party-defining issue, 169
roll call votes on, 57, 127–28
trustee representation in, 91

House of Representatives
constituency representation in, 4–5
embryonic stem cell use in, bills for,
2–3
Violence Against Women Act in,
bipartisan support of, 2

ideal points, for legislators, 14 incumbents, in re-elections data and methodology for, 125-27 policy preferences for, 124-25 roll call votes for, 121-25, 127-29 issue complexity theory. See also verification, of political theory abortion and, 58-59 assumptions about, 30-36 bidirectional influences on, 32 campaign finance reform and, 58-59 case study literature for, 61-63 civil rights policy and, 58-59 complexity of policy issue and, 54-56 constituency preferences in, 38 constituent knowledge of elected representative in, 37-38 cross-cutting issues and, 32-34, 53-54 dyadic representation and, 36-39, 158-63 electorally revealed preferences in,

evolution of policy issues in, 34-36

gun control policy and, 58-59 issue-specific metric scores for, 57-59 legislative constituencies and, 36-37 legislator knowledge of constituent preferences in, 39 with length of time on political agenda, 56-57 military spending policy and, 58-59 multiple alternative patterns of, 31 party-defining issues and, 32-33, public knowledge of issues in, 33-34 public policy issues and, 31 re-election as influence on, 38 for scientific understanding of representation, 155-57 with social welfare policy, 58-59

jury prediction theory, 37

Kaplan, Abraham, 154 Kennedy, Ted, 147, 192

liberalism. See party liberalism

Madison, James, 99, 129 marginality hypothesis, 133 existing research on, 133-35 measurement validity of, 135 Methodological Appendix, 51, 53, 104-5, 177-79 abortion policy in, 179-84, 193-94 campaign finance reform in, 189-90 civil rights policy in, 197-99 foreign policy in, 199-200 gun control policy in, 184-86 military spending policy in, 195-97 social welfare policy in, 186-92, 200-2 military spending policy, 51 belief-sharing and, 150-52 congressional elections and, 127 as cross-cutting issue, 71, 80-81 electoral marginality of legislators

issue complexity theory and, 58-59

and, 150-52

issue easiness, 61

foreign policy and, 58-59

38-39



Index 223

in Methodological Appendix, 195–97 party polarization over, 58–59 representational linkage for, 70, 79–81 roll call votes for, 111, 125–27 multilevel regression and poststratification (MRP), 49 Mutual Security Acts, 121

National Annenberg Election Survey (NAES), 50, 78–79, 179, 184–89
National Political Action Test (NPAT), 50, 78–79, 104–5, 179–80, 184–89
95th Congress, 51
97th Congress, 51
nomothetic model of explanation, 25
NPAT. See National Political Action
Test

Obamacare. See Patient Protection and Affordable Care Act 106th Congress, 50–51 outcropping research, 50

partisan representation, 173-74 partisanship. See also bipartisanship; Democratic Party; Republican dyadic representation influenced by, 5, 161-62 over Patient Protection and Affordable Care Act, 1-2 for social welfare policy, 170 party liberalism, 54 party polarization. See also Democratic Party; Republican Party; verification, of political theory abortion policy and, 58-59 assumptions about, 30-36 bidirectional influences on, 32 on campaign finance reform, 58-61 case study literature for, 61-63 civil rights policy and, 58-59 constituency preferences and, 38 constituent knowledge of elected representative and, 37-38 from cross-cutting issues, 32-34, 53-54

dyadic representation and, 36-39, 158-63 electoral marginality of legislators and, 140 electorally revealed preferences in, 38-39 evolution of policy issues and, 34-36 foreign policy and, 58-59 gun control policy and, 58-59 issue easiness and, 59-61 issue-specific metric scores for, legislative constituencies and, 36-37 legislator knowledge of constituent preferences in, 39 with length of time on political agenda, 56-57 military spending policy and, 58-59 multiple alternative patterns of, 31 party-defining issues and, 32-34, 53-54 public knowledge of issues and, public policy issues and, 31 re-election as influence on, 38 for scientific understanding of representation, 155-57 social welfare policy and, 58-59 party-defining issues abortion as, 34, 71 busing, 71 complexity of policy issue and, 54-56 dyadic representation and, 44-46 electoral marginality for, 136, 138 gun control as, 169 issue complexity theory and, 32-33, 53-54 metrics for, 53-54 party liberalism and, 54 party polarization and, 32-34, 53-54 Patient Protection and Affordable Care Act as, 45 social welfare policy as, 71, 169 time as factor for, 45



> Index 224

Patient Protection and Affordable Care roll-call vote equations in, 82-83 Act (PPACA) for social welfare policy, 70, 78-79, constituency representation and, 1-2 Democratic Party support for, 1-2 for tax policy, 70 as party-defining issue, 45 for tax reform, 70 Republican Party opposition to, 1-2 political theory. See also dyadic representation; issue complexity Republican Party theory; party polarization; verification, of political theory consideration of observable phenomena for, 26 conventional criteria for, 24-26 election effects in, 29 evolution of policy issues and, 30 explanatory power of, 25 Revamp Medical Insurance nomothetic model of explanation for, 25 roll call votes, 61 parsimony of, 25, 46 scholar's intuition and, 27 simplicity of, 25 theoretical completeness as part of, 25, 27, 29 125-27 Politics in America, 104 pork barrel policies, constituency 123-24, 128 representation and, 3 Project Vote Smart, 50 public policy, constituency representation and, 31 125-27 by policy issue, 111-12 representation. See dyadic representation; scientific study, of 121-25, 127-29

representation representational linkage, patterns of for abortion, 70, 82 belief-sharing and, 83-87 for campaign finance reform, 91-94 causal processes for, 97-98, 100 for civil rights policy, 70 for congressional elections, 100 in existing research, 70-73 for military spending, 70, 79-81 models of, identification of, 97-98 policy test cases for, 91-95 predictions for, 73-74 responsible party representation and, 73-83

with trustee representation, 88-91 verification of theory and, 70-73 on embryonic stem cell use, 2-3 opposition to Patient Protection and Affordable Care Act, 1-2 role in constituency representation, responsible party representation, 8-9 for social welfare policy, 9 Regulations Act, 187-88 belief-sharing and, 110, 114-19 for campaign finance reform, 126, data testing and methodology for, extremism in, by incumbents, on gun control, 57, 127-28 for incumbents, 121-25, 127-29 for military spending policy, 111, re-election prospects as influence on, in representational linkage, 82-83 for social welfare policy, 127 for switched-seat members, 108-19 trustee representation issues and, 94-95, 119-21

scientific study, of representation additional prediction tests, 171 belief-sharing in, 171-72 future verification tests for, 169-70 for issue complexity theory, 155-57 replication tests for, 170-71 research design implications for, 155-57

Senate, 2-3



Shaw, George Bernard, 154

Index 225

Shays-Meehan bill, 61 Snyder, James, 180 social welfare policy co-partisan model for, 78-79, 81-82 as cross-cutting issue, 71, 169-70 electoral marginality of legislators on, 140-48 evolution of, 34-35 issue complexity theory and, 58-59 issue easiness, 60 in Methodological Appendix, 186-92, 200-2 partisanship for, 170 party polarization over, 58-59 as party-defining, 71, 169 representational linkage for, 70, 78-79,82 responsible party representation for, roll call votes for, 127 sophisticated candidates, 102-4 defined, 103-4 issue position predictions for, 104-7 sub-constituency representation, 173-75 switched-seat members, in Congress abortion policy and, 120 belief-sharing for, 114-19 foreign policy and, 120 roll call votes for, 108-19 testing expectations of, data methodology for, 110-14 trustee representation issues, 119-21 tax policy, representational linkages for, 70 tax reform, representational linkages theoretical completeness, in political theory, 25, 27, 29 theoretical research, for dyadic representation, 9-12. See also political theory alternative forms of representation

consequences of, 16-17 constituency preferences in, 12-13 future scholarship influenced by, 20-21 legislator ideal points in, 14 legislator preferences in, 13-14 limited data availability in, 12–16 scholarly consensus after, 16-17 theory. See construction, of theory; political theory; verification, of political theory Toward a More Responsible Two-Party System, 8 trustee representation, 7-8 abortion policy and, 120, 164-65 Burke and, 19 in campaign finance reform, 91-92, 164-65 congressional elections and, 103 constituency preferences and, 157 foreign policy and, 9, 120, 164-65 future research on, 172 for gun control, 91 representational linkage with, 88-91 roll call votes and, 94–95, 119–21 verification, of political theory. See also dyadic representation with ANES, 51 case study literature for, 61-63 complexity of policy issues and, 54-56 for cross-cutting issues, 53-54 data collection efforts in, 52 with 85th Congress, 52 empirical tests for, 155-56 functions of, 47-48 issue easiness and, 59-61 issue-specific metric scores in, 57–59 with length of time on political agenda, 56-59 measures of concepts for, 48-53 with models of representation, 48–49 MRP and, 49 with National Annenberg Election Survey, 50

in, 14-15

with ANES, 10-12, 15



226 Index

verification, of political theory. (cont.) with 95th Congress, 51 with 97th Congress, 51 with NPAT, 50 with 106th Congress, 50–51 as ongoing process, 70, 157 outcropping research for, 50 for party-defining issues, 53–54 policy cases for, 48–53

policy issue salience and, 62–67 representational linkage and,
70–73 research plan for, 48–53 in scientific study of representation,
169–70 Violence Against Women Act constituency representation and, 2 in House of Representatives, 2