

17.20 Introduction to the American Political Process

Recitation: Collective Action and Interest Groups; Electoral
Geography and Voting Rights

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Announcements

Announcements and Logistics

- We will distribute the paper prompt this week
- Argument/Analytical Paper: No outside research is needed
- Response paper grading and feedbacks
- Commented copy
- Tips for response paper

Logic of Collective Action

Main Argument

- Large groups have problems coordinating collective actions
- Diverse interests?
- Members have incentive to free-ride
- Individual members are rational actors

Logic of Collective Action: Case Study

- Say we are planning a protest demanding transparency
- Let's assume:
 - Everyone's goals are exactly the same
 - Two actors are rational actors who maximize their own utility (happiness)
 - Organizing a protest can be time-consuming and risky.
 - Base utility for each actor = 2; Benefit of organizing the protest = 4; Cost if one person do everything = 6; Cost if both actors participate = 2

Logic of Collective Action: Payoff Matrix

		B	
		Protest	Shirk
A	Protest	4,4	0,6
	Shirk	6,0	2,2

Additional thoughts

- A payoff 4 is better than 2 anyway. Why not protest?
- Each individual was responding to other's strategy
- Choosing "shirk" will always be a better option *given* other's strategy
- This is called the "dominant strategy"

Selective Benefits/Incentive

- One way to solve the collective action problem is to reward workers and/or punish shirkers:
- Can be positive or negative
- Let's create an rule such that shirkers will clean workers' room through out the rest of the year. The cost of room cleaning and the benefit of having a clean dorm are the same: 5

Logic of Collective Action: Payoff Matrix with Selective Incentives

		B	
		Protest	Shirk
A	Protest	4,4	5,1
	Shirk	1,5	2,2

Selective Benefits/Incentive

- One way to solve the collective action problem is to reward workers and/or punish shirkers:
- Can be positive or negative
- Let's create an rule such that shirkers will clean worker's room for the rest of the semester. The cost of room cleaning and the benefit of having a clean dorm are the same: 5
- In practice, designing and implementing selective benefits can be difficult for large groups.
- It might also create some serious problems in the long run...

Issue Salience

How Political Scientists Think about Issue Salience?

- Definition: the relative importance people attach to policy issues

- Media Coverage

To measure *Salience*, we conducted a Proquest search of *New York Times* articles counting how often the policy was mentioned in some form (details available by

Lax and Phillips, 2012

Lax, Jeffrey R., and Justin H. Phillips. "The Democratic Deficit in the States." *American Journal of Political Science* 56, no. 1 (2012): 148–66. © Wiley-Blackwell for the Midwest Political Science Association (United States). All rights reserved. This content is excluded from our Creative Commons license. For more information, see <https://ocw.mit.edu/help/faq-fair-use/>.

- Measuring Issue Salience
- Does media coverage really capture issue salience among general public?
- Do politicians really care about the voice from the other side?

- Survey Question

What do you think are the most important problems facing this country? (IF MORE THAN ONE PROBLEM:) Of all you've told me (1996-LATER: Of those you've mentioned), what would you say is the single most important problem the country faces?

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Measuring Issue Salience

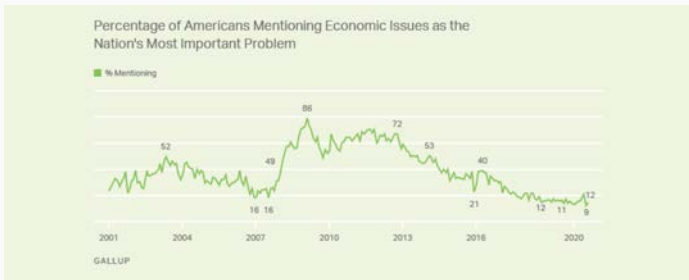
- Survey Question

- 01. AGRICULTURAL
- 02. ECONOMICS; BUSINESS; CONSUMER ISSUES
(includes foreign investment, tariffs/protection of U.S. industries, international trade deficit/balance of payments, immigration, interstate commerce/transportation; does not include unemployment [09], defense spending [03], foreign [03] or government spending on domestic social welfare [09])
- 03. FOREIGN AFFAIRS AND NATIONAL DEFENSE
(includes: foreign aid, defense spending, the space program; does not include: international trade deficit [02])
- 04. GOVERNMENT FUNCTIONING
(not 'the economy' [02])
- 05. LABOR ISSUES
(not unemployment [09])
- 06. NATURAL RESOURCES
- 07. PUBLIC ORDER
(includes: crime, drugs, civil liberties and non racial civil rights, women's rights, abortion rights, gun control, family/social/religious/moral 'decay,' church and state, etc.)
- 08. RACIAL PROBLEMS
(note: this primarily includes civil rights issues and racial equality; monetary assistance to minorities is primarily found in code 9, however there is a slight overlap: see Note 7 for specific codes; note especially 1988 code 300 and 1966-1972 codes 61-63)
- 09. SOCIAL WELFARE
(includes: population, child care, aid to education, the elderly, health care, housing, poverty, unemployment, 'welfare' etc.)
- 97. Other problems (incl. specific campaign issues)

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Measuring Issue Salience

- Survey Question



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- Survey methods are not without limitations:
 - Question wordings and survey formats vary among different pollsters
 - Issue pool changes overtime, reflecting current events

Cameron, Epstein, and O'Halloran, 1996

Descriptive Representation vs. Substantive Representation

- Argument: promoting descriptive representation does not always lead to greater substantive representation
- Implication: creating more majority-minority districts may not promote minority interests
- Conditions:
 - African American voters can form a coalition with liberal white voters
 - and/or Liberal white candidates that promote African American interest

Descriptive Representation vs. Substantive Representation: Case A

- 9 legislative districts in state A. Each district elects one state legislator.
- Statewide population: 900 black voters, 990 liberal white voters, and 1,800 conservative white voters (3,690 in total)
- Each district features two candidates: a black candidate and a white conservative candidate
- The newly elected legislators will vote on an Affirmative Action bill

Case A: Voters are Evenly Distributed

100B; 110L; 200C	100B; 110L; 200C	100B; 110L; 200C
100B; 110L; 200C	100B; 110L; 200C	100B; 110L; 200C
100B; 110L; 200C	100B; 110L; 200C	100B; 110L; 200C

Case A: Voters are Evenly Distributed

Black	Black	Black
Black	Black	Black
Black	Black	Black

- Affirmative Action Bill got passed.

Case A: Creating 3 Majority-Minority Districts

45B; 110L; 255C	45B; 110L; 255C	45B; 110L; 255C
220B; 110L; 90C	220B; 110L; 90C	220B; 110L; 90C
45B; 110L; 255C	45B; 110L; 255C	45B; 110L; 255C

Case A: Creating 3 Majority-Minority Districts

White Conservative	White Conservative	White Conservative
Black	Black	Black
White Conservative	White Conservative	White Conservative

- Affirmative Action Bill failed.

Descriptive Representation vs. Substantive Representation: Case B

- 9 legislative districts in state A. Each district elects one state legislator.
- Statewide population: 900 black voters, 990 liberal white voters, and 900 conservative white voters (2,790 in total)
- Each district features three candidates: a black liberal, a white liberal candidate and a white conservative candidate
- The newly elected legislators will vote on an Affirmative Action bill

Case B: Voters are Evenly Distributed

100B; 110L; 100C	100B; 110L; 100C	100B; 110L; 100C
100B; 110L; 100C	100B; 110L; 100C	100B; 110L; 100C
100B; 110L; 100C	100B; 110L; 100C	100B; 110L; 100C

Case B: Voters are Evenly Distributed

White Liberal	White Liberal	White Liberal
White Liberal	White Liberal	White Liberal
White Liberal	White Liberal	White Liberal

- Affirmative Action Bill got passed.

Case B: Creating 3 Majority-Minority Districts

50B; 110L; 150C	50B; 110L; 150C	50B; 110L; 150C
200B; 110L	200B; 110L	200B; 110L
50B; 110L; 150C	50B; 110L; 150C	50B; 110L; 150C

Case B: Creating 3 Majority-Minority Districts

White Conservative	White Conservative	White Conservative
Black	Black	Black
White Conservative	White Conservative	White Conservative

- Affirmative Action Bill failed.

Relevance to Current Events

- Say you were a campaign consultant working for Republicans
- Your state is turning purple: new immigrants, people are getting more educated, and big tech companies are setting offices here...
- Bad news for Presidential elections
- Creating more majority-minority districts in urban areas?

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17.20 Introduction to the American Political Process
Fall 2020

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